

# **9<sup>th</sup> INTERNATIONAL PRAGMATICS CONFERENCE**

## **ABSTRACTS**

### **Contents:**

- **Plenary lectures** **3**
- **Lectures, posters, and panel contributions** **9**
- **Panel overviews** **408**

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## PLENARY LECTURES

**Rukmini Bhaya Nair**

***Pragmatics, Pragmatism and the Postcolonial: A Philosophical Overview***

As long ago as 1959, Rudolf Carnap suggested that the realm of Pragmatics extended across all those regions of linguistic study in which reference was made to the "user of a language". That broad definition was subsequently refined in many different theoretical directions. Phenomena as distinct as deixis, presupposition, implicature, irony, narrative and politeness have by now all been explored under this rubric, using the apparatus of Speech Act and Relevance Theory as well as Conversational and Discourse Analysis. Yet not many serious attempts have so far been made to connect these apparently value-free methodological developments within Pragmatics to the ideological perspectives that motivate another, perhaps allied, set of philosophical doctrines known as Pragmatism.

A primary goal of this paper is to initiate the project of understanding whether Pragmatics and Pragmatism have anything in common, particularly with respect to such foundational concepts as 'truth', 'use', 'belief', 'causation' and 'cultural practice.' With this aim in view, the paper concentrates not so much on the early versions of philosophical Pragmatism as developed by Pierce, James and Dewey, but on what has been called 'post-Quinean' Pragmatism (Murphy, 1970). This contemporary strain of Pragmatism is both markedly linguistic and often marked by a neo-Darwinian social ethic, as the work of its main practitioners Richard Rorty, Donald Davidson and Hilary Putnam tends to show. Recently, Daniel Dennett's perspective on cognition and cultural evolution has also aligned itself with this school. Just as the work of Austin, Searle, Wittgenstein and Grice once provided a tremendous impetus to research in Pragmatics, this paper argues that current thinking in the tradition of Pragmatism could make a significant contribution to rigorously examining the philosophical premises upon which the discipline of Pragmatics rests today.

At the same time, it is crucial to recognize that the neo-Darwinian content of Pragmatism needs to be sharply critiqued and examined for its social biases, if it is indeed to contribute to a core problem in current Pragmatics: that of defining how inter-cultural norms should be theoretically analyzed. This is where the second important goal of this paper comes into prominence. Specific examples of language use and cultural practice from the Indian subcontinent are adduced to reveal how ethical questions are inevitably fore-grounded when the familiar phenomena of presupposition, implicature, irony, politeness and so forth are re-examined in the often fraught social context of a post cold-war, 'global' world.

Pragmatics, studied in the light of the philosophy of Pragmatism and the politics of Postcoloniality, thus becomes, in this sense, far from just an irrelevant and esoteric academic subject. The paper concludes by suggesting that the discipline of Pragmatics has now reached a stage of maturity in which it can - and must - interrogate its own theory and practice with confidence. At the turn of the millennium, it has the liberating potential to actually redefine what Carnap meant by "the user of a language."

**Robyn Carston**

***Pragmatic Inference – Reflective of Reflexive?***

The well-known Gricean ‘working-out’ schema for the derivation of conversational implicatures is a clear instance of explicit, rational, reflective inference. In reasoning from the fact that the speaker has said such-and-such to a conclusion concerning what she means, the hearer employs premises concerning the speaker’s mental states (intentions and beliefs, specifically). These premises may run to several orders of metarepresentational complexity; for instance, ‘she knows (and knows that I know that she knows) that I can see that the supposition that she thinks that q is required [in order to preserve the assumption that she is observing the maxims]’.

At the other end of the inferential spectrum are the kinds of cognitive processes performed by classic Fodorian modular mental systems, such as visual perception or linguistic decoding. As Fodor (1983) has put it, these processes can be thought of as computational reflexes – they are very fast, automatic, domain-specific, and autonomous. On a Fodorian view of the mind, understanding verbal utterances involves processes from both ends of the inferential spectrum: reflexive linguistic decoding and reflective pragmatic reasoning.

However, recent pragmatic theorising casts a different light on at least some of the pragmatic processes involved in utterance interpretation, suggesting that they may be more akin to domain-specific, reflex-like cognitive processes than to reflective thinking about the intentions behind a speaker’s communicative behaviour. For instance, Stephen Levinson (2000) has suggested that generalised implicatures are generated by a system of default inference rules which apply automatically as particular lexical items and constructions are decoded. Francois Recanati (2004) makes a distinction between primary pragmatic processes, which contribute to explicit content, and secondary pragmatic processes, which are responsible for implicatures. On his view, primary processes are entirely governed by the dumb mechanics of an associative network of concepts at different levels of activation, while secondary processes remain essentially Gricean and reflective. Ruth Millikan (2005) develops an account of understanding on which the bulk of the interpretive work, even in many cases of quite particularised implicature, is achieved by conventions of one sort or another together with an ability to monitor the attentional focus of others.

These three accounts, while radically different in other respects, are all geared toward reducing the role played by considerations of a speaker’s intentions and beliefs in the process of understanding verbal utterances. Recent thinking within Relevance Theory can, in some respects, be seen as having a similar objective (Sperber & Wilson 2002; Carston 2002; Wilson & Sperber 2004). Grounded in Dan Sperber’s evolutionarily-based advocacy of a fully modular cognitive architecture (Sperber 1994), the idea is that all pragmatic processes of comprehension are effected by a dedicated mental module, activated by ostensive stimuli and operating in accordance with a single relevance-based criterion. Interpretive hypotheses (whether for implicatures, disambiguation, reference assignment, content enrichments, etc) are tested in their order of accessibility and the first one to meet the relevance-based criterion is adopted. Premises involving aspects of the speaker’s psychology may or may not be involved, depending on various factors, including the metarepresentational capacity of the hearer (rudimentary in the case of young children). On this account, pragmatic processes are certainly not explicit and reflective in the way that Gricean reasoning is, but nor do they have the distinctly non-inferential flavour of the local default mappings of Levinson, or the different concept-activation levels of Recanati, or the usage conventions of Millikan.

In this talk, I will attempt to assess which of these moves towards a more ‘unreflective’ account of comprehension is most adequate in both meeting the empirical

objections to the reflective approach (that it is too slow, effortful, conscious, and meta-representationally complex) and accounting for the extensive contribution of pragmatic processes to the level of explicitly communicated meaning.

**Steven Davis**

***Demonstratives: Same Saying and Believing and Understanding***

The standard neo-Russellian direct reference theory of the demonstratives 'this' and 'that' is that they contribute their referents to the contents of what is said. I reject the standard account; my account is neo-Fregean. I claim that what on their occasion of use 'this' and 'that' contribute to contents are properties that pick out the objects to which speakers intend to refer and that are constituent of speakers' referential intentions. There are two problems, however, with this neo-Fregean view. How can two people with different referential intentions who use the same sentence containing a demonstrative with the same referent say the same thing and express the same belief? How can a hearer understand a speaker who uses a sentence containing a demonstrative, when the speaker's referential intention is not accessible to the hearer? My paper attempts to answer these two questions and thereby provide support for a neo-Fregean theory of demonstratives.

**Charles Goodwin**

***Multi-modal action in discourse***

Utterances are multi-party activities, something done through the collaborative actions of both a speaker and a hearer. During this process hearers are largely silent. They display how they are participating in the activities of the moment through the use of their visible bodies. The construction of an utterance in face-to-face interaction is thus not only a multi-party activity, but also a multimodal one, something that is accomplished through the joint interplay of structurally different kinds of sign systems, including both the language of the speaker, and the embodied displays of both the hearer and the speaker. More generally a primordial site for the organization of human action, cognition, language and social organization consists of a situation in which multiple participants are building in concert with each other the actions that define and shape their lifeworld while attending to each other, the detailed organization of the talk in progress, relevant phenomena in the environment and the larger activities they are engaged in. The construction of multimodal action provides for resources for both the ongoing organization of action (for example enabling parties to project what each other is about to do) and for the calibration of vision, cognition and embodied practice in ways that are relevant to the practices of specific communities and professions. These issues will be investigated through analysis of videotapes recorded in a range of natural settings including face-to-face conversation and interaction in work settings such as archaeological excavations and surgical operations.

**Clotilde Pontecorvo**

***From talking to reasoning***

I discussed a lot the title of my lecture with the chair of this international conference and I am grateful to her for the discussion, even though I am not sure about the felicity of the results. However I will start from it although the issue is still problematic.

My position stems from research carried out of some 20 years with primary and infant school teachers and children. I first discovered the relevant role of the sceptic opposer in

children's discussions when some children showed not to be satisfied by the other's (including the teachers) statements or explanations (Pontecorvo, 1985; 1987).

These first results supported our further studies (with M. Orsolini and M. Amoni, 1992) devoted to promote and analyse verbal interaction of pre-school children - in classrooms where small groups of children discussed about a narrative and a scientific topic - under their teacher's guide.

By the same time with other colleagues (Girardet and Zucchermaglio, 1993) we discovered that older children could discuss and argue successfully within small peer groups without teacher's active guidance, once the teacher had triggered their socio-cognitive activity through a task implying different points of view based on possible diverse perspectives.

More recently in a national research endeavour involving family dinner table verbal interaction (Pontecorvo, Sterponi, Fasulo, 2001), we found that parents trigger accounts from rather young children about their behavioral and verbal rule violations (Pontecorvo, Sterponi, 2001; Sterponi, Pontecorvo, 2002). But it is still an open issue whether it is more effective the role of the opposition or the role of the accountability request in promoting children's reasoning in interactional talk.

## **Marina Sbisà**

### ***How to Read Austin***

Austin's *How to Do Things with Words* is a famous book, short and lively, still read by many, but rarely put to use in philosophy or linguistics. Its structure is misleading and some early, influential misreadings have fostered misunderstanding.

In this paper, I consider some widespread ideas about the aims and contents of *How to Do Things with Words* and suggest that a more accurate reading of it would help appreciate Austin's original contributions. In particular, I deal with:

- the idea that *How to Do Things with Words* was written "in pursuit of" performatives
- the characterisation of illocutionary acts as producing uptake
- the characterisation of perlocution as dependent on extra-linguistic goals
- the alleged exclusion of "non-normal" cases.

As is known, *How to Do Things with Words* was published posthumously. In its first edition (1962), the evidence for a reading in which illocutionary acts are the acts both mentioned and performed by performative utterances was weaker than in Austin's notes. This flaw was repaired in the second edition (1975), but in the meantime, influential reviews had already interpreted *How to Do Things with Words* as a self-defeating attempt to define the performative utterance, rather than as the controversial and risky discovery of the illocutionary dimension of language use. *How to Do Things with Words* is better read as a deliberate *reductio ad absurdum* of the performative/ constative dichotomy.

Illocutionary acts are characterized by most authors as acts, whose effect consists of the eliciting of the hearer's uptake. This idea originates from an influential paper by Peter Strawson (1964), where uptake has been considered as the only effect that every felicitous illocutionary acts must have. But Austin merely meant uptake to be a necessary condition for the successful achievement of the core effect of the illocutionary act, which is "conventional" in nature. Conventional effects are defeasible or cancellable and depend on the participants' agreement upon what has been done.

Austin's definition of the perlocutionary act is to be traced back to Austin's peculiar conception of action. Austin did not believe in the ontological primacy of "basic" actions, but insisted that one and the same (simple or complex) gesture may be legitimately described as constituting several actions, thus presupposing that actions are not to be identified with intentionally performed gestures, but through the effects achieved and the viability of

ascriptions of responsibility for these. Thus, the perlocutionary act is not a matter of the speaker having certain extra-linguistic goals, but amounts to the actual production, under the responsibility of the speaker, of non-conventional effects.

Austin deliberately focused on one kind of flaw in language use, namely, the infelicities of illocutionary acts, and was attacked by Derrida on this. In fact, focus on infelicities was relevant to his aim of redescribing assertion as an illocutionary act, but he never thought the issue of aetiologies to be merely disturbing and neglectable. Rather, from his distinction between infelicity and aetiologies there follows that any illocutionary act may be performed either in a standard or in an aetiolated situation of utterance. As to what makes a situation of utterance aetiolated, the kind of analysis Austin hints at in his notes is more complex than the by now customary reference to "pretence" or "making as if".

I am aware that the tenets I attribute to Austin are philosophically controversial. Nevertheless, I believe, they are more interesting than those offered by the received reading of *How to Do Things with Words*. Some of them at least could be put to fruitful use in various areas of research or reflection on language. I am thinking especially of the insights offered to sociolinguistic, cultural and sociosemiotic research by the proposal to consider illocutionary acts as producing conventional effects.

## **Wolfgang Wahlster**

### ***Computational Pragmatics for Ambient Intelligence***

Instrumented environments require robust and intuitive interfaces for accessing their embodied functionality. We describe a new paradigm for tangible multimodal interfaces, in which humans can manipulate, and converse with physical objects in their surrounding environment via coordinated speech, handwriting and gesture. We discuss the symmetric nature of human-environment communication, and extend the scenario by providing our objects with human-like characteristics.

We introduce a new interaction paradigm for ambient intelligence, in which humans can conduct multimodal dialogs with objects in a networked shopping environment [Wasinger and Wahlster, 2005]. The communicating objects in our framework provide a combined conversational and tangible user interface that exploits situational context (e.g. product is in or out of a shelf) to compute the meaning of dialog contributions. Our experimental scenario attempts to combine the benefits of both physical and digital worlds in a mixed-reality setting by targeting an in-store scene, but augmented by instrumented devices like a Personal Digital Assistant (PDA) and an instrumented shopping trolley with a mounted display.

Our Mobile ShopAssist (MSA) is a demonstrator that aids users in product queries and comparisons [Wasinger and Krüger, 2004]. The goal is to provide rich symmetric multimodal interaction and the ability for users to converse directly with the products. Using the MSA, a shopper interested in buying a digital camera would for example walk up to a shelf and synchronize its contents with their PDA. After synchronization, they may ask a product about its attributes (e.g. "What is your optical zoom?"), or even compare multiple products together (e.g. "<gesture> Compare yourself with this camera <gesture>").

The MSA is a mixed-initiative dialog system, which means that both a product and the user can start a dialog or take the initiative in a sub-dialog. For instance, when the product is picked up and sufficient time has passed without further user interaction, the product will introduce itself. Another system-initiated dialog phase can be introduced in cross-selling mode, when a product is placed into the shopping trolley. Such a dialog might give advice on accessories available for the product, for example: "You may also find the NB-2LH batteries in the accessories shelf to be useful".

The main infrastructure components that exist in our shopping environment are the containers (e.g. shelves, trolley) and the objects (i.e. shopping products) belonging to a shop. Each shelf is identified by an infrared beacon that is required when a user synchronizes the shelf's product data. The products are identified through the use of passive RFID tags. Each container has an RFID antenna and a reader connected to it, and this allows the shelves and shopping trolley to recognize when products are put in or taken out of them.

As defined in [Wahlster, 2003], symmetric multimodality refers to the ability of a system to use all input modes as output modes, and vice-versa. Information provided by one or more sources, can be used to resolve ambiguities or manage recognition and sensor uncertainties in another modality, thereby reducing errors both in the system's interpretation of the user's input, or the user's understanding of the system's output.



# LECTURES, POSTERS AND PANEL CONTRIBUTIONS

(in alphabetical order, according to the first author)

**Lyudmyla A'Beckett**

## ***Connotative semantics of negative metaphors: Pragmatics of ambivalent attitude***

The paper deals with a range of attitudes conveyed by metaphors of negative experience such as "virus", "infection", "epidemics", "war" and others. Contrary to the expectations associated with those words (Ungerer & Schmid 1996: 148-151) and definitions in English and Russian dictionaries incorporating negative attitude toward phenomena, the words are quite often used in a positive or ambivalent context. E.g. "Laughter is a valuable infection", "Robert M. Pirsig and the Cult Virus: the Onset, the Infection, the Epidemic". Explanation of the shift in the words' semantics leads us to the online concept construction (Carston 2002).

Analysis of Russian and English corpus data shows that understanding negative metaphors in a positive context requires changes in accessibility of lexical items (Ibid.). Most frequently it evokes mitigation or elimination of negative components which are represented by attributes "destructive", "dangerous", "painful/unpleasant" in the metaphorical group of "Infectious diseases". Thus connotative semantics get bleached out and components of positive evaluation "ability to spread and proliferate fast", "taking over/ gaining control", "noticeable impact" and others become more salient.

In the paper, contextual cues affecting the connotative semantics ("beautiful life", "valuable (infection)" and others) have been analyzed. An attempt to present target domains associated with positive evaluation of negative metaphors has been made.

Most often concept restructuring accompanies speaker's intention to generate ironical comments. E.g. the concept of "war" in the text "In February the Russian Government declared the war on American chickens. It became scandalous: in September the chickens won." The mitigation or reversal of negative experience are aimed at establishing common ground between the speaker and the interpreter. Understanding irony largely depends on the ability of the interpreter to recognize contextual cues and his/her background knowledge or relevant experience. It is often a test of solidarity, shared views between the speaker and interpreter.

In many cases the interpretation of salient negative metaphors embedded in irony inducing context lends credence to the "graded salience hypothesis" (Giora 2002): negative components of meanings which gained salience in the culture but clash with speaker's views are retained as an alienated opinion. E.g. "virus of jazz" retains the Soviet perception of jazz music as a plague from the West but contradicts views of the interview participants who use the expression in an ironical sense.

The definition of irony as the meaning revealing the opposite to what is said literally, needs some elaboration in the context of online concept construction. Only selective components of the word meaning are understood to the contrary (not the meaning of all words in the expression). E.g. In "Virology of sound" components of "virology" "destructive/constructive impact" can be reversed or preserved as an echo of the opinion others apart from the speaker.

**Keiko Abe**

## ***A comparative study of cross-cultural consensus making***

It has been noted that the discourse strategies of consensus making are different between Japanese and Americans. This study explores these differences and attempts to find out why they occur. In particular, the study focuses on the procedures of arriving at a consensus in interaction involving two participants.

As a theoretical basis, the analysis relies on the work of Kume (1992), who employed the terms "mawashi"(information rotation) and "toshi"(direct information) to describe consensus making processes. According to Kume (1992), the basic concept of "mawashi" represents a typical Japanese strategy in that it requires agreement from a partner and generally avoids confrontation among people from the same in-group.

On the other hand, “toshi” refers to the process through which an individual person proposes his/her ideas and attempts to persuade others to accept the ideas.

The data was collected by giving participants a set of fifteen illustrated cards and asking them to construct a story in pairs. In order to decrease the effects of gender, only women were asked to participate in the study. The pairs were constituted by the following two types of relationships: 1) University students who were friends; and 2) A teacher and a university student who were meeting for the first time. In total, there were twenty American pairs and twenty-six Japanese pairs. All of the interaction was videotaped and transcribed for analysis.

The analysis finds that for the Japanese pairs, the participants constructed their story through a process of connecting information. One of the participants would typically utter a few words (in an incomplete sentence) and the next participant would repeat that utterance and adds some words. The fragment below shows an example.

A: Kore ichiban, maa, saisho ni motte ikimasu ka?

(Well, should we put this one first?)

B: Kore ichiban saisho kana, saisho.

(this as the first one, the first?)

In contrast, among the American pairs, participants expressed their opinions by using sentences. They would continue expressing their own opinions by adding information to their partners' utterances without repetition. Furthermore, when one participant did not agree with the opinion of her partner, she would often express her own opinion using questions and negation such as “I don't think...”. The next fragment offers an example of a participant (B) questioning her partner's opinion.

A: So...I'm thinking he's walking along...he's like, and then, for some reason he starts going that way.

B: Does that make any sense to you?

In addition to the above contrast, differences were also found according to the relationships of the participants. In the Japanese pairs, the teacher-student pairs used more formal language than the student-student pairs. By comparison, such a difference was not observed in the American pairs. This result suggests that in addition to “mawashi” and “toshi”, invocation of the concept of politeness is also necessary for understanding the phenomena found in the data. Accordingly, this study will account for cultural differences in the consensus making process of Japanese and Americans by making reference to the three concepts, “mawashi”, “toshi”, and politeness.

## **Keiko Abe**

### ***On echoic use of imperatives: A relevance-theoretic approach***

Imperatives in traditional grammar are regarded as a typical linguistic form to represent a directive illocutionary force. In Relevance Theory, the semantic structure of the imperatives is assumed as follows:

[i] X regards Y as potential

[ii] X regards Y as desirable to Z [X=Speaker, Y=Proposition]

(Wilson & Sperber 1988)

In this framework, the speaker communicates a directive message by describing what is potential and desirable to the speaker / hearer. When the hearer recognizes this through the explicature, she understands the speaker's utterance.

There is another use of imperatives which has not been discussed sufficiently, although it has sometimes been referred to as a kind of “echoic” expression. Consider the following examples.

(1) Student: Get out!

Teacher: Get out! Who are you talking to ?

(2) PETER: Can I open the window?

MARY: Go ahead and let in some nice Arctic air. (W&S 1988: 90)

(3) [Mary, seeing Peter about to throw a snowball, says threateningly]

Go on. Throw it. Just you dare. (W&S 1988: 80)

(4) That's right. Misinterpret everything I say. (Blakemore 1992: 111)

In (1), the teacher echoes the student's utterance, in (2) Mary echoes the content of Peter's question, in (3) Mary echoes Peter's action, and in (4), the speaker echoes the hearer's attitude. By echoing, these utterances suggest the speaker's “dissociative” attitude.

The purpose of this paper is to clarify the comprehension process of the echoic use of imperatives. The mechanism of metarepresentation is likely to supply the framework for this analysis.

In Grice's framework such utterances as these might be regarded as implicating the opposite of what was said by flouting the maxim of truthfulness. However, this approach cannot explain the utterance convincingly. Taking a Relevance Theoretic standpoint, we need not resort to the truth condition in dealing with these utterances. We are expected to work out a more general, inclusive and convincing analysis.

It should be noted that echoic use is not peculiar to imperatives but is recognized in other types of utterances, e. g. echo questions. In proceeding with my study I will explain what characteristics imperatives and other utterances share in their echoic use. At the same time I will point out characteristics that are possessed by imperatives exclusively.

**Karen Adams**

***Truth, lies, and misrepresentations in limited turn-taking debates***

This paper will look at the co-construction of other correction of perceived inaccuracies in a corpus of televised political debates where candidates are typically expected to stay on particular topics within a one or two exchanges limit. Such correction and the labelling of the perceived inaccuracy as 'not true/not the truth', 'lies,' 'misstatements', and 'misrepresentations' will be analyzed here.

Candidates in the USA often feel constrained in identifying the other candidate's positions as inaccurate, because of media and voter criticism about a campaign degenerating into 'personal attacks'. Such constraint would lead us to expect that more euphemistic labeling would be the norm or no labeling at all. Given these constraints, but recognizing that candidates do want to clear their record, defend their claims and note failures of their opponents, they still seize the opportunity to characterize an utterance as fitting into these and other categories labeling inaccuracies.

This study will do a corpus analysis of lexical items and expressions referring to misrepresentations and look at the co-construction of these acts. What characteristics of the prior utterance makes an opponent claim this representation, and how does the opponent frame the alternative construction? The corpus used here has over 100 debates with candidates running for local to national offices in the United States. It also includes many third party candidates who views are often further away from the major parties and can be expected to claim misrepresentations more frequently.

**Wale Adegbite**

***Agency in dispute mediation interactions: The perception of mediators by the Yoruba in Southwestern Nigeria***

This study investigates how the social status of mediators as well as their self-perception and ideologies interact with their roles in dispute mediation interactions among the Yoruba people of Southwestern Nigeria. It conceives of dispute mediation as a social practice whose description requires a complex framework of analysis, a framework which incorporates a knowledge of the perception of a society about (i) the concepts of conflict and conflict resolution, (ii) the structure, content and context of dispute mediation, (iii) the competence and skills of the mediator and (iv) the claims, attitudes and orientations of disputants in the interaction process.

While all these aspects need to complement one another in a comprehensive description of Conflict Mediation Discourse, each of them deserves special attention in separate studies on the subject. The study identifies the social and ideological perceptions of mediators and describes how these influence the interaction process and product.

The data for the study is based on transcriptions of conversations collected from thirty mediation sessions in non-formal and institutional settings and also on ethnographic information elicited, via tape-recorded interviews, from mediators.

Our decision to focus on the personality of the mediator in this study is borne out by the fact that this aspect has been neglected so far in studies on the subject, which have concentrated on the content of the interaction process. Yet this is an area that cannot only give an insight into the cultural ideologies of the Yoruba people, and thus benefit inter-cultural studies, but can also illuminate the subject of dispute mediation. We hypothesize in this study that a lot of dispute are resolved not only by the truthfulness and logical validity of disputants argument but due to the respect they have for the "face" of the mediator. A Yoruba proverb says "Agba kii wa loja ki ori omo tuntun wo" (An elderly person does not stay around and allow a crisis to brew) or "Agba ko si ilu baje, baale ile ku ile dahoro" (The absence of elders in a town breeds anarchy/chaos). What is the concept of "agba" (elders) in the Yoruba society and how does this reflect in and indeed influence dispute mediation practice in the community?

The results of the study indicate that the combined attributes of high social status, integrity, eloquence and neutrality, among others, contribute to the success of dispute mediation interactions.

Thus, in order to get a full grasp of conflict mediation discourse, one needs to go beyond an analysis of the linguistic content of the interaction and also consider the circumstances, including the participants' knowledge and social beliefs.

**Svenja Adolphs & Anne O'Keeffe**

***Using a corpus to investigate variational pragmatics: Listenership in British and Irish discourse***

In this study we will outline the approach taken in a comparative investigation of spoken discourse in British and Irish English where two comparative corpora have been built for the purpose of studying spoken discourse in context. The two corpora involved in this study are the Cambridge and Nottingham Corpus of Discourse in English (CANCODE) and the Limerick Corpus of Irish English (LCIE). By way of illustration of the importance of a considered corpus design for the study of variational pragmatics, this paper will look at one aspect of spoken discourse, namely listenership, and empirically study it in two varieties of English using CANCODE and LCIE.

Investigating variational pragmatics poses many methodological challenges for the researcher, and increasingly access to spoken data through language corpora raises important design issues in this area. In order to yield generalisable results, there is a need to investigate large amounts of spoken data. However, these data need not only to be representative of the variety, but also representative of spoken discourse itself. If a corpus is geographically representative one can make generalisations about usage patterns at a syntactic level, but in order to look at variational pragmatics the data also need to be representative of a number of spoken discourse variables. When working comparatively spoken corpora need to be structured according to the same principled matrix which will allow the researcher to extract data according to situational variables such as speaker relationship, context and genre across both datasets so that these factors can be isolated or controlled according to the research question. We hope to illustrate the importance of corpus design considerations in the extraction stage of this study and also to highlight the methodological challenges that had to be overcome in order to conduct this study of spoken data.

For the purposes of this study, listenership is defined as the vocal, verbal and non-verbal non-floor-holding activity that a listener engages in to respond to the floor-holding message in a conversation. It has had a long lineage of research going back to Fries (1952). The tokens used in this activity (such as mm, yeah, umhum) are referred to differently across the literature for example backchannel Yngve (1970), minimal response (from studies in language and gender see Zimmerman and West 1975; Fishman 1978 and Coates 1986). In this study we will use that term listenership response token as it is inclusive of both minimal responses and non-minimal responses (e.g. you're kidding! really). Initially we will look at variation across forms and functions of these items in our British and Irish datasets and then we will examine the data at the level of variational pragmatics to gauge whether there is any correlation of forms, functions and/or frequency relative to variables such as speaker relationship, context and spoken genre. In order to do this we will look at data where the speaker relationship is symmetrical (conversations in homes between friends and families) and asymmetrical (conversations in institutional settings between for example lecturer and student or boss and employee).

**Ali Ahangar Abbas**

***Negative politeness strategies in Persian***

Brown and Levinson's (1987) model of politeness theory rests on the interlocutors' mutual awareness of 'face' sensitivity in verbal communication, thereby a set of efficient, rational and universal strategies are claimed to be employed by the interactants to mitigate face threatening acts (FTAs). In this respect, it has been proposed that positive and negative politeness strategies are used to redress and save the interlocutors' positive and negative face, respectively. As to politeness, Iranian people also generally tend to express it in various ways and treat others with respect primarily because of social, cultural, and ethnic backgrounds. Hence, this paper, among different politeness strategies, aims to explore the negative politeness strategies employed by Persian speakers in some situations such as apology, request and invitation. In order to provide a satisfactory illustration of these strategies, I will investigate a number of discourse or exchange units with specific situations. Then, I will extract and describe the linguistic (syntactic) patterns governing the given discourse units in Iranian culture. The findings of this study not only show that Iranian people, depending on different social variables and contexts, develop a hierarchy of politeness strategies to deal with social interactions but contribute to determine cross-cultural similarities and differences on negative politeness strategies in different languages and cultures as well.

**Elisabeth Ahlsén & Lotta Saldert**

***Inference and spoken interaction after acquired brain damage***

The purpose of this study was to investigate the ability to make inferences in two types of subjects with acquired brain damage and to relate this ability to features that can be identified in conversation. This was done against a background of increasing interest in subtle (or "high level") language (HLL) disorders found in some persons with acquired brain damage (see, for example, Crosson 1996, Laakso et al. 2000, Ahlsén et al. 2001, Saldert

(ms)). These language disorders are typically quite hard to pinpoint and some of them are often ascribed to “pragmatic” factors.

Two groups of subjects were studied, one with left hemisphere lesions and one with right hemisphere lesions. There were 14 subjects in each group and a control group was added.

Test data concerning sustained attention, verbal working memory and inference ability (a typical HLL ability) in discourse comprehension was collected and correlations were calculated between these three abilities for the two groups. The subjects were also recorded in informal conversation with a researcher. Some significant differences were found between the two groups as to the type of inferences that were affected in the discourse comprehension test data and in the correlation of these problems with the more basic neuropsychological test results concerning sustained attention and verbal working memory.

Two representative subjects, one from each group, were then selected for a more in-depth microanalysis of video-recorded conversation. The analysis focused on finding features of the conversations that might indicate the subtle language problems in a general way or more specifically related to the type of problem. Since problems of this type might not be easily identified in spoken interaction, if they are not already known, it is a challenge to try to find features indicating problems of comprehension, interaction and/or co-construction of meaning, which can depend on disturbed inference ability. We have tried to identify such features, looking, for example, at pausing and lengthening of continuants in speech, gaze aversion, the use of gestures and repair sequences, which might, among other things, indicate problems relating to inference, in general, or to a more specific type of inference. The results point to a need for both specific testing and analysis of spoken interaction in capturing the type of problem and its consequences for the individual.

### **Karin Aijmer**

#### ***Does English have modal particles?***

Modality is not confined to verbal features. At least in the Germanic languages we also need to consider 'modal particles'. In Swedish we find *ju*, *nog*, *väl* and descriptions of German regularly identify over twenty modal particles (including *schon*, *wohl*, *denn*, *ja*). English has modal adverbs such as *surely*, *certainly*, *definitely*, *indeed*. It has been claimed, for example by Hoye (1997: 208) the concept of modal particle is relevant to the classification of modal adverbs in English as well: modal adverbs display various degrees of semantic bleaching (e.g. together with modal verbs) and they exhibit other signs of grammaticalization such as pragmatic strengthening. It will be shown in my presentation that some modal adverbs come close to the notion modal particle in English, while other modal adverbs are more like discourse particles i.e. they have discourse functions rather than the modal function of expressing certainty or uncertainty. However modal adverbs are notoriously difficult to analyse. Depending on a number of factors such as prosodic stress, position and collocation they can be more or less particle-like.

### **Gabriella Airenti**

#### ***Speech acts without speech***

In this paper I shall discuss the use of speech acts in developmental pragmatics.

Cognitive psychologists working on the development of communication have often shown a remarkable interest for the concept of speech act. This concept is thought to be suitable to explain the transition from preverbal to verbal communication in children. According to Bruner, during the preverbal phase adults lead children to understand the conditions under which a speech act can be used. In this view, children in their interactions with adults receive “speech act lessons”. This allows them to acquire the felicity conditions of speech acts.

However, is it reasonable to extend a linguistic concept to nonverbal communication? What is a speech act without speech? In order to elucidate this question, I will use results coming from empirical investigations of the child’s developing understanding of the mind. This will bring me to discuss Searle’s distinction between representative intentionality and communicative intentionality. My conclusion will be that, since the acquisition of different speech acts requires different representational capacities, one should recognize that the relevant concept involved in the acquisition of speech acts among children is what Searle has defined as the direction of fit. I will argue that this new perspective provides for a better understanding of the applicability of speech act theory to preverbal communication.

### **Morana Alac**

#### ***Enacting processes of conceptual integration in fMRI brain mapping practice***

Conceptual integration theory has been almost exclusively interested in conceptual spaces internal to the mind of a single individual. Nevertheless, its principles can also be applied to external structures. Hutchins (in press) analyses conceptual integration networks where one input space is a conceptual space in the usual sense, while the other one has the structure of a physical object or event. The examples of such structures are watch, method of loci, or people standing in line. In this kind of network, conceptual relations are mapped onto relations among the material elements. One of the emergent properties of such a construct is the stability of conceptual representation.

Can this type of analysis be further expanded? Can we talk about a blending process which includes more than one input space expressed in material form, or even articulated through an embodied enactment? Furthermore, can the process of conceptual integration and its final products be largely produced in the embodied and social world of action?

To study cognition as it develops through practice, I observe and video-tape neuroscientists as they engage with digital brain images. While analyzing such practices, I describe cases in which two conceptual entities, both of which exist in the external world of action, are brought into coordination in a way that suggests a process of conceptual blending. In addition, I also illustrate how the coordination of various material and enacted forms can generate hybrid and imaginary entities that exist in the environment of practice. For example, I investigate a case where a digital image of the brain is coupled with gesture and linguistic expressions to build a hybrid cognitive model. The model transforms abstract information (e.g. quantitative information about experimental data) into a manipulable, object-like entity. The enactment of the integrated and imaginary conceptual structure is achieved by the placement of the gesture at the border between the digital image and the physical space of action. The gesture can enact an imaginary object to the extent that the object emerges from the coordination with other structures distributed in the environment.

**Laura Alba Juez**

### ***Impoliteness in Peninsular Spanish and Argentinian Spanish: Are Spaniards more impolite than Argentinians?***

The main aim of this paper is to compare the main communication patterns and strategies used by Spaniards and Argentinians when being impolite. Taking Culpeper's (1996) definition and anatomy of impoliteness as a starting point, which is in turn based on Brown & Levinson's (1987) Theory of Politeness, an attempt is made to draw conclusions with respect to the similarities and differences between Peninsular Spanish (PS) and Argentinian Spanish (AS) in order to find the answers to the following research questions:

- Are Spaniards more abrupt and direct than Argentinians when being impolite? Do they sound impolite even on occasions when they do not want to?
- Do these two varieties of Spanish differ in the type of head acts (Blum Kulka, 1989) speakers use when being impolite?
- How do Spaniards and Argentinians mitigate or aggravate impolite acts?
- Is it the case that the strategies used by both varieties are the same and it is only the expressions and/or the pragmatic markers (Fraser, 1996, forthcoming) that differ? Or, on the contrary, the strategies and communication patterns used are also different?

In order to answer these research questions, the discourse used in two Spanish and two Argentinian films is analyzed, taking into consideration previous studies such as Kaul de Marlangeon's (1995) analysis of impoliteness in the lyrics of tango songs or Márquez Reiter's (2002), whose analysis of indirect requests in PS and Uruguayan Spanish leads to the conclusion that, in spite of the fact that Spaniards are generally regarded as more direct and abrupt than Latin Americans, there are no significant differences at the linguistic encoding level of their utterances. García's (2004) analysis on the way Argentinians reprimand and respond to reprimands is also taken into account, in an attempt to confirm or deny this author's findings regarding the tendency of Argentinians (as well as of Spaniards, according to Bravo 1999) towards a solidarity politeness system rather than towards a deference one (Scollon & Scollon, 1986).

The Power (P) variable is considered as a key variable affecting the use of impolite language in both varieties, and the fact that neither Spaniards nor Argentinians seem to give priority to the need to be liked or approved of is discussed.

**Ottavia Albanese & Caterina Fiorilli**  
***Classroom discourse and error management***

Classroom discourse in learning-teaching processes between teachers and pupils take a relevant role to promote cognitive and metacognitive competences (Albanese and Fiorilli, 2002; McGee, 1992; O'Flahavan et al., 1992; Almasi, 1995).

Studies on text comprehension prove that good comprehenders show metacognitive strategies, such as text sensitivity, knowledge of reading scope, self-regulating processes (Jacobs and Paris, 1987; Garner, 1987; De Beni, 2003; Lumbelli, 2003).

The aims of our research are identifying teachers conversational strategies during error management. We hypothesized that pupil's errors correction is positively affected by teacher metacognitive strategies in errors' management.

13 teachers and 259 pupils (8-10 years old) of five Italian Elementary School was engaged in a task on text comprehension.

We videotaped teachers-pupils interaction for 1063 minutes and transcribed conversational data in 3032 turns. We elaborated data using two methods: conversational and sequential analysis.

We found metacognitive conversational strategies used by teachers during errors' management such as requests for having the mistake explained, open questions, reflections upon the comprehension process. Then we analysed teachers employ of these categories and identified different types of teachers errors' management about strategies to detect and correct students' error and to support pupils' correction of their errors.

**Marta Albelda**  
***Polaridad y temporalidad en 'apenas no'***

En este trabajo se presenta un análisis de la expresión apenas no en el español contemporáneo. Las gramáticas (Bello y Cuervo 1988: 1847, Gili Gaya 1983: 1943) describen dos significados: por un lado, es un adverbio de cantidad y su valor puede equivaler a escasamente, sólo, difícilmente; por otro lado, puede realizar una función conjuntiva con el mismo valor que enseguida que, en cuanto que, al instante. Obsérvense los siguientes enunciados con apenas no:

- (1) Las causas y el resultado de las intervenciones apenas no han variado en un año.
- (2) La realidad es que pensamos tanto en nosotros que apenas no da tiempo a ponernos a analizar a los demás.
- (3) Todavía quedó tiempo para dos remates de Recoba, uno de ellos que apenas no fue el cuarto gol.
- (4) Busque a la mascota cuando apenas no está en la casa y presente una denuncia policial en la comisaría del distrito.

En ellos se aprecian fenómenos diferentes: en los ejemplos (1) y (2) a pesar de enunciar una negación, no se niega, es decir, se mantiene el valor positivo pero con una aproximación al negativo. En los ejemplos (3) y (4), en cambio, sí se niega: el adverbio no cumple su función de invertir la polaridad del significado del verbo, a la vez que el componente aproximativo de apenas no acerca el enunciado a la afirmación. A diferencia de los dos primeros casos, en estos, la eliminación del adverbio no supondría un enunciado agramatical. Por otro lado, en (4) la polaridad expresada por apenas no se encuentra en el dominio temporal, mientras que en el resto expresa un valor de cuantificación.

El objetivo de este trabajo será tratar de ofrecer una explicación a este carácter vacilante entre la afirmación y la negación en apenas no, provocado por la combinación de un componente polar y uno próximo. Aunque ha habido trabajos previos sobre aproximativos -por poco (no), casi (no) (Li (1976), Schwenter (2002), Ziegeler (2002), Pons y Schwenter (e.p.))- , el estudio de esta construcción plantea una particularidad por su relación con el dominio temporal y por su peculiar carácter semántico-pragmático. La caracterización será sincrónica y se analizarán algunas de sus restricciones semánticas, como pueden ser los valores aspectuales y temporales en que se emplea.

**Gábor Alberti**  
***Generalized truth-conditional interpretation in ReAl interpretation system***

We would like to demonstrate a new interpretation system called ReALIS (REciprocal And Lifelong), whose fundamentals lie in its system of time-dependent static and dynamic interpretations based on each other, where certain parts of the result of the dynamic interpretational process of earlier periods, i.e. representations, become part of the model serving as the basis of the current (static/dynamic) interpretation. Simply saying, agents are taken to permanently model each other, "reciprocally" but not symmetrically, as e.g. in Benz's (2000, GötaLog) multi-agent DRT-system.

The further antecedents of ReALIS, listed below, can be regarded as forming a chain from sentence-level semantics to pragmatics:

- Montague's Grammar;
- Karttunen's (1976:364) theory of discourse referents;
- the Kamp-Heim Theory (Kamp 1981, Heim 1982) and different versions of Kamp and his colleagues' representationalist dynamic discourse-semantics (e.g. 1993, 2004);
- alternative representationalist dynamic semantics such as
  - Asher and Lascarides's (e.g. 1993:438) Segmented DRT, based on a logic that "provides a suitable system of inference for modelling the interactions between the Gricean pragmatic maxims and the world knowledge used to calculate temporal [spatial and rhetorical] structure during interpretations";
  - DIRT (Deferred Information Representation Theory), whose characteristic feature is its approach to licensed (but not entailed) pieces of information (Kálmán 1990)
  - LDRT (Alberti 2000, GötaLog), whose decisive feature is its interpreter-based "lifelong" perspective.

ReALIS is defined as a quadruple consisting of

- a model of the external / "real" / "oracle's" world;
- a "world-function" assigning momentary information states / "internal worlds" to pairs consisting of an interpreter and a point of time;
- a function of dynamic interpretation mapping pairs consisting of an information state and a (typically linguistic) "impulse" to another information state;
- a function responsible for "generalized truth / static evaluation".

This "generalized truth evaluation" is intended to be demonstrated in more details in the talk. Its basis is a labeled accessibility relation among referents in momentary internal worlds, which roughly corresponds to Kamp's "box hierarchy". Its construction is based on an equivalence classification, whose classes will be referred to as (internal) worldlets; then a strict partial ordering is to be defined among worldlets with a least element: the interpreter's root / real worldlet; finally, successive worldlet pairs are to be associated with a reality label distinguishing suppositions, beliefs, wishes, intentions, dreams, etc. What ReALIS makes explicit in this way is that possible "possible worlds" are all such that they have been created by a certain interpreter, they stand in definite relations with other internal world(let)s, and the entities "available" in them also stand in definite relations with other world(let)s' entities.

In the core of the above mentioned generalization of truth evaluation is the customary method of "pattern matching" between some internal representation and the external world. The generalization lies in the application of "pattern matching" between internal representations in two different worldlets, whose (partial) failure enables us to capture such anomalies of everyday communication as misunderstanding, misleading, lie, bluff, mistaken assumptions and presuppositions, attempts to fish out some information, blurting out some secret, etc.

## **Keith Allan**

### ***The pragmatics of connotation***

- The connotations of a language expression are semantic effects that arise from encyclopaedic knowledge about its denotation (or reference) and also from experiences, beliefs, and prejudices about the contexts in which the expression is typically used.
- The connotation of a language expression is clearly distinct from its sense, denotation and reference. For example, <i>Mike</i> and <i>Michael</i> can have the same reference but different connotations. <i>John</i> is an unsuitable name for your new-born daughter; so is <i>Springtime in Paris</i> an inappropriate name for a 1200cc Harley-Davidson motorbike or an auto-repair shop; <i>Wheels and Deals</i> might be a good name for a used car mart, but not for a new strain of corn, nor for a maternity boutique.
- Identifying the connotations of a term is to identify the community attitude towards it. For instance the connotations of English <i>octopus</i> and the Japanese translation equivalent <i>tako</i> are very different: an octopus is a sinister, alien creature; tako is edible and endearing.
- Connotation is intimately involved with notions of appropriateness in language use. For instance, racist dysphemisms occur when a speaker refers to or implicates the hearer or some third person's race, ethnicity, or nationality in such terms as to cause a face affront. Many such 'racist' terms can be disarmed by being used, without irony, as in-group solidarity markers by the targeted group; e.g. the use of <i>nigger/nigga</i> among African Americans.
- The negative connotations of some existing word often lead to its replacement. Gendered words like <i>man(kind)</i> 'human beings, people', <i>chairman</i> 'chairperson, chair', or <i>actress</i> 'actor' have been regarded as discriminatory and are dispreferred by many and taboo to a few. <i>Waiter</i> or <i>waitress</i> have given way to <i>server</i> or <i>waitperson</i>. New vocabulary is generated by various kinds of remodelling and substitution of phonetically similar words. To avoid blasphemy, the word God is



avoided in euphemistic expletives such as the archaic *'Sbodlikins! Odrabbit it!* and the more contemporary *Gosh! Golly! Cor! Gordon'ighlanders! For goodness sake! Good gracious!* Although *Jesus Christ!* is blasphemous, *Gee whiz! By jingo! Jiminy cricket! Christmas! Crust! Crumbs! Crikey!* are not. From a purely rational viewpoint, if one of these is blasphemous, then all of them are. What is different is different connotations of the remodelled euphemistic versions. Similarly with euphemisms and dysphemisms referring to body parts connected with sexual reproduction, micturition, defecation, and the correlative effluvia.

- Connotation is involved in choosing expressions that upgrade, downgrade and insult. It plays a part in the loaded weapon of dysphemism and the euphemistic avoidance of dispreferred expressions judged discriminatory, blasphemous, obscene, or merely tasteless. Reactions to connotation motivate semantic extension and the generation of new vocabulary.

[[NB: HTML tags used for *italics*]]

## **Nicholas Allott**

### ***Grice, reasoning and pragmatics***

For Grice, arriving at speaker's meaning involved reasoning: "one of my avowed aims is to see talking as a special case or variety of purposive, indeed rational, behaviour" (1975, p. 47). He did not think that reasoning was always conscious and explicit. "We have... a 'hard way' of making inferential moves; [a] laborious, step-by-step procedure [which] consumes time and energy... A substitute for the hard way, the quick way, ... made possible by habituation and intention, is [also] available to us" (2001, p. 17).

Typically, pragmatically derived material is arrived at 'the quick way'. I argue that this involves reasoning, in contrast to Warner's view that only the 'hard way' counts: "people hardly ever reason this way when communicating. ... You read the sentence and understood, without any intervening reasoning" (2001, x). I also argue that an inferential account of pragmatic processes does not depend on the personal availability of a rational reconstruction to the interpreter. It is simply the best-supported hypothesis.

Warner's remarks suggest a 'different levels' view, in which Gricean talk about speaker's meaning and rational inference is at the personal level (in Dennett's sense), while at the sub-personal level pragmatics might be correctly described, for example, as the operation of heuristics.

In contrast, for Recanati the conscious availability of implicature-derivation constrains our account of the process involved: it is genuinely inferential, unlike perceptual processes or recovery of what is said.

"It is constitutive of conversational implicatures that the inference which gives rise to them is available to the interpreters... A tacit inference is ok,... provided the subject herself has the reflective capacities for making the inference explicit." (2004, p. 50)

Recanati can be taken as making the empirical prediction that people who cannot consciously reason about intentions cannot derive implicatures. Alternatively he may be arguing that the concept of implicature should not apply to any mental representation that such an agent might derive from an utterance. There is developmental evidence against the first view: very young children apparently lack important elements of belief and desire reasoning, but they comprehend some implicatures and other pragmatic phenomena. If, on the other hand, Recanati's point is conceptual rather than empirical, then, I argue, he is committed to the claim that children who lack Theory of Mind do not derive implicatures. Even if children understand a speaker's implicated meaning by identical mechanisms to adults, arriving at the same mental representations in particular cases, Recanati would have to deny these representations are implicatures.

I also argue against the assumption of the 'different levels' view that talk of inferences and rationality should be confined to the personal level. 'Quick', unconscious processes can be assessed in terms of their rationality. Key elements of rational thought may be mentally represented in a pragmatics module or 'written into' its operation.

## **Jens Allwood**

### ***Rationality and communication***

The concept of rationality has been conceived in slightly different ways in different scientific disciplines and traditions.

This paper discusses the conceptions of rationality offered in economic theory, political theory and in more communication oriented theories. I contrast four views of rationality and discuss the consequences of the differences for the analysis of communication. The four views which are contrasted are:

- 1) Max Weber's view
- 2) The instrumentalist view
- 3) The economist view

#### 4) The communication view

It is argued that the concept of rationality in communication oriented theories, in some interesting respects differs from the concepts often assumed in theories prevalent in economic theory and political science. One of the main differences will concern the consequences of having as the main goal of rationality “enlightened self interest” versus having as the main goal “sharing of information” in communication oriented theories.

The paper then further contrasts three different communication based approaches to rationality, i.e. those of Grice, Habermas and Allwood, and points to some differences between the approaches.

Here two of the main differences will concern the role of means – and reasoning and the role given to ethics.

### **Maria Alm**

#### ***The role of sentence position in the definition of modal particles***

There is a common agreement in the literature on German modal particles, that this kind of particles is restricted to a medial sentence position and cannot be moved to any other sentence positions without a change of meaning and function. Apart from this positional restriction, there is no agreement in the literature on what functions and meanings actually characterise the modal particles.

The German word also is usually ruled out of the group of modal particles because it is said to be able to appear in the medial and initial sentence positions without a change of meaning. It is claimed, that also is an adverb with a consecutive meaning, marking that its host sentence is a consequence of the sentence or sentences preceding it. When investigating authentic conversations, however, it becomes clear firstly that this consecutive meaning is not as straight forward as it seems, and secondly that several functions have to be distinguished.

The aim of this investigation is thus to clarify what the functions of modal particles versus the functions of adverbs really are. Then the use of also will be compared to these functions in order to determine whether also in medial position can be considered to be a modal particle or an adverb - or both. If (some of) its uses can be seen as modal particle uses, it will be examined whether these modal particle functions can be attributed to the sentence-medial position itself, that is, whether the particular modal particle functions are directly tied to the syntactic construction rather than to the particles themselves.

### **Isabel Alonso & Maddalena Antonello**

#### ***Towards an interactional characterization of evaluative nuclei in English and Italian editorials: A cross-cultural study***

This paper explores the interactional function of evaluative nuclei in English and Italian written argumentation. The semantic constellations of positive and negative evaluations and their interactional relations with the surrounding rhetorical units have been analysed contrastively in an extensive corpus of newspaper editorials in English and Italian. Relevant literature on the rhetorical structure of written argumentation (Tirkkonen-Condit, 1985) and on the semantic characteristics of the rhetorical role of evaluation (Mann and Thompson, 1998; Hunston and Thompson, 2000) constitute the methodological framework. Data show that English editorials tend to be complex networks of semantic parataxis in which evaluations are justified, explained or exemplified, while Italian leading articles are characterized by linear hypotaxis and evaluations are cumulated rather than enhanced by subordinated acts. These different results indicate a culturally diverse management of the writer-reader interaction in English and Italian newspaper editorials. In English leading articles, the reader's adherence is not taken for granted, hence the need to support evaluative nuclei through a series of satellites. In Italian editorials, however, the writer tends to treat the reader from a position of authority and hardly does he/she feel the need to prove that his/her claims are valid.

### **Sónia Alves**

#### ***A modular analysis of classroom discourse and the construction of power relations***

This paper aims to account for the discursive manifestations of the construction of power relations in classroom interactions, applying instrumental devices for discourse analysis developed within the Geneva interactionist and modular approach to discourse organization. Therefore, we will describe the hierarchical-relational structure and the polyphonic organization of several authentic discursive segments produced in a specific typology of communicative events: foreign language classes.

The Geneva Model of Discourse Analysis aims at accounting complex discursive phenomena through the description of the interrelations established in the various dimension and forms of organization of discourse,

enhancing the importance of jointly considering information provided by three levels of analysis – situational, textual and linguistic (cf. Filliettaz & Roulet, 2002: 376).

The present investigation focus on the description of the hierarchical dimension allowing the identification of textual constituents at different levels (cf. Filliettaz, 2002: 231) – exchange, move and act –, as different stages of the communicative agents’ negotiation process (cf. Roulet & Pires, 2001: 78), and on the analysis of the relational organization as it reveals the functional relationships between discourse constituents and information in discursive memory (cf. Roulet, Filliettaz & Grobet, 2001: 165-166). In our description, we also include data of enunciative nature, relating to the identification of the discourse source.

Power relations in the classroom give origin to a set of interactional constraints that surely influence discourse textual structure in what concerns, among others, dyadic or triadic structure of exchanges or the distribution of initiative and reactive moves. Those constraints may also determine relational organization, for instance through the need or willingness to produce argument, clarification and preparation subordinated constituents, that contribute to assure a cooperative attitude. Power relations also affect the polyphonic organization of classroom discourse giving rise to discursive phenomena that allow the speaker to incorporate the others’ discourse in her/his own utterances – as occurs in polyphony and diaphony –, and to recover or anticipate her/his own discourse – through autophony –, with varied communicative purposes (cf. Roulet, 1996: 14; 1999: 170).

### **Patrícia Amaral & Scott Schwenter** ***Are approximatives stable? Hardly!***

There has recently been a considerable upsurge in studies dealing with the instability of approximative adverbs with respect to the polar component of their meaning (i.e. positive vs. negative), e.g. Horn (2000, 2002) on English, Schwenter (2002) and Pons and Schwenter (2004) on Spanish, Amaral (2004) on European Portuguese. This paper contributes to this line of research, taking a cross-linguistic perspective on the inverted (Horn 2002) interpretations of semantically similar adverbs in English and European Portuguese (EP): *hardly* and *mal*. Our main argument is that the inverted meaning is not equally conventionalized in the two adverbs, even though the motivation underlying each case is similar.

An inverted interpretation of an approximative is one in which the polar component normally associated with the adverb flip-flops (from negative-to-positive, or positive-to-negative) in a particular context. Our focus here is on approximatives with a positive polar component which at times are interpreted as conveying a negative polar meaning. To illustrate our point, note the contrast between the approximative adverbs *hardly* and *barely* in English:

- (1a) I imagine that John will hardly/barely arrive on time. (positive)  
(1b) I hardly/#barely imagine that John will arrive on time. (negative)

In (1a) both adverbs are interpreted as entailing the truth of the proposition “John will arrive on time”, and asserting that he will come close to not arriving on time. In (1b) however *hardly* is interpreted as entailing the negation of this proposition and *barely* is infelicitous. Therefore, *hardly*, but not *barely*, has both the canonical approximative reading (=‘barely’) and an inverted reading expressing negative polarity. Additional evidence for this analysis is that *hardly*, but not *barely*, can occur in isolation as a negative reply:

- (2) A: Did you finish your dissertation?  
B: Hardly. (= no; NOT = ‘barely’)

In contrast, the negative polar interpretation of EP *mal*, which usually translates the positive polar approximative ‘barely’ as in (3), is restricted to constructions with verbs of cognition in the imperfect tense, uttered with exclamatory pragmatic force (i.e. in expressives), as in (4):

- (3) O João mal acabou de jantar.  
‘João barely finished dinner.’  
(4) Mal sabia eu que havia de morar aqui!  
‘I hardly (= did not) knew that I was going to live here!’

Through a battery of linguistic tests (NPI-licensing, redundant affirmation [Horn 1991], coordination), we show that although both *hardly* and *mal* have the possibility of the inverted meaning (i.e. positive > negative), they differ with regard to the degree of conventionalization of that meaning.

We conclude that there is conventionalized semantic as well as pragmatic inversion of approximatives, as exemplified by *hardly* and *mal*, respectively. What they have in common is the role of understatement as the source for inversion, and the fact that the degree of inversion is always extreme. In the cases at issue here, the development is from “approximation to ~p” to “not even close to ~p”. The results of this synchronic analysis provide clear directions for future research on how inverted approximatives arise diachronically.

**Nana Aba Appiah Amfo & Thostein Fretheim**

***On the non-existent role of implicatures in signaling the cognitive status of discourse referents***

In their seminal work on the way that different types of referring expression encode information about the cognitive status that the intended referent has for speaker and hearer, Gundel, Hedberg & Zacharski (1993; hereafter GHZ) invoke Grice's Quantity<sup>1</sup> and Quantity<sup>2</sup> maxims, respectively, to account for the fact that nominals of type "this/that N" are generally inferred to refer to discourse entities that are not 'in focus' (just 'activated'), while nominals of type "the N" are generally inferred to refer to discourse entities that are 'familiar' or 'activated', although such nominals encode no more information than that the referent is 'uniquely identifiable'. We do not dispute that these may be inferences that people avail themselves of in their search for a unique referent, but we argue against the belief that they are (conversational) implicatures. An implicature is a communicated thought, which can be stored in hearer's memory in propositional format. It is the output of an inferential process. An assumption like 'The referent of this expression is not an in-focus entity' may represent one step in the context-determined process of reference resolution, hence a step towards recovery of the proposition expressed, but it is not itself a truth-evaluable proposition that anyone would activate and store for future use. It refers to metalinguistic terms both in subject and predicate and is therefore not a scalar implicature of the Q1 type.

We propose an alternative to GHZ's maxim-based implicature analysis, focusing on (i) certain properties of demonstratives that cannot be captured in terms of GHZ's so-called Givenness Hierarchy model, (ii) the importance of the presence vs. absence of content words in referring expressions, against GHZ's almost exclusive emphasis on function words like pronouns, determiners and articles as determinants of the cognitive status of referents, and (iii) the distinction between definite descriptions used referentially and attributively in the sense of Donnellan (1966).

Data from English and the West African (Kwa) languages Akan and Ga will be examined. Special attention will be given to the multifunctional Akan marker "no" as indicator of the intended referent's cognitive status, both when it appears alone and when it appears in a phrase together with words that encode conceptual meaning.

**Molly Andrews**

***Refusing to tell the expected tale as a form of counter-narrative***

This paper examines the impact of expected storylines on interview-based narrative research. Although in discussions of qualitative methodology more generally, there has been extensive exploration of the role of researcher in co-production of interviews (particularly though not exclusively from feminist methodologies), there is still a tendency in much narrative research to focus on de-contextualized 'data.' Often we, as narrative scholars, come to our work with an expectation of what kind of stories will emerge from our research. This construction of the 'expected tale' functions as a filter not only for what we hear, but often for what we are told. Master narratives thus come into play not only in respondents' positioning of themselves in the world at large, but in the very form of the tales they recount to us – and by implication, those which are omitted because they do not 'fit.' The paper will build on recent theoretical work on the relationship between counter and master narratives, examining the interplay between the two in the context of a research interview. Using examples from my own life history research, I will discuss situations in which research participants overtly resist dominant discourses which frame interview settings, and examine the function of these counter positions as identity indicators.

**Jannis Androutsopoulos**

***Language contact on the internet: Code-switching, language crossing and code choice***

The global spread of computer-mediated communication (CMC) turns the Internet into a space of multilingual communication, which research has only started tackling. A crucial issue in the study of the "multilingual Internet" (Danet & Herring 2003) is the analysis of code-switching in various genres of online text and talk. Does it always have a blueprint in face-to-face discourse? Which models of spoken code-switching can be applied to written code-switching in CMC? What are the effects of online genre and online community? In addressing these questions, this paper argues that we need to transgress the primacy of face-to-face interaction and examine how new selections and combinations of multilingual resources emerge in socially situated uses of CMC. The paper draws on data from synchronous interaction in three online communities, all based in Germany: German-Turkish bilinguals in a dedicated "ethnic" chat channel; native Germans in a chat for online gamers; and an ethnically mixed group of salsa aficionados in a dedicated "salsa chat". Much interaction in the German-

Turkish group is reminiscent of alternational code-switching and can be accounted for by conversation-analytic approaches. In addition, participants in all three groups occasionally engage in language crossing, i.e. draw on a code they do not “own” and have limited competence in. This might be the code of a particular interlocutor (e.g. German chatter addressing Turkish fellow chatter in Turkish), or a code that is emblematic for the community’s formative activity (e.g. English by German online gamers, Spanish by members of the salsa chat). Language crossing in CMC has restricted communicative functions and is contiguous to the community’s online activities. In still other cases, participants choose a code from their multilingual repertoire to “design” aspects of their online persona that stand off the main line of interaction (e.g. nicknames, signatures, background member information). It is therefore suggested that CMC provides a space in which the multilingual resources of a community can be aggregated in a manner based on, but not identical to face-to-face discourse.

### **Romina Angeleri, Francesca Bosco, Livia Colle et al** ***Basic speech acts in linguistic and extralinguistic communication***

The study aims to present some empirical data collected by means of a new protocol for the assessment of the communicative competence. Our Protocol for the Assessment of Pragmatic Competence includes tasks evaluating various kinds of pragmatic phenomena; in particular, the present study focuses on Basic Speech Acts (BSAs). Kasher (1981) proposes the existence of four basic types of speech acts - Assertions, Questions, Requests and Commands - usually performed by uttering a specific kind of sentence. The author argues that the different types of BSAs have different complexity; assertions have been argued to be the most basic speech act whereas every other BSA requires more sophisticated cognitive processes.

In the present study we wish to investigate the ability to comprehend and produce BSAs both in linguistic and extralinguistic modality. According to the Cognitive Pragmatics Theory (Airenti, Bara & Colombetti, 1993) we consider communication as an unitary cognitive faculty, were linguistic and extralinguistic means are conceived of as different ways to manifest communicative intentions. Thus, we built two parallel protocols, capable of eliciting the appropriate linguistic and extralinguistic BSAs within an interactive context. Both protocols consisted of a set of vis-à-vis conversational interactions with the examiner, but during the extralinguistic tasks subjects were allowed to use only gestures. In line with Kasher, we expect assertions, questions, requests and commands to have different complexity in comprehension and production. The protocol was administered individually to 300 children divided into three age groups: 5;5-6, 6;6 -7 and 8-8;6 year-olds. Our results show different trends of complexity in children’s comprehension and production of linguistic and extralinguistic BSAs. Linguistic protocol (comprehension): requests, commands and questions are equally easy to comprehend and all of them are easier when compared with assertions (T Test:  $t$  ranging from  $-5.5$  to  $-4.7$ ;  $p < .0001$ ). Linguistic protocol (production), from the easiest to the most complex: assertions, questions, requests and commands (Anova:  $F = 36.23$ ;  $p < .0001$ ). Extralinguistic protocol (comprehension): assertions are easier to comprehend when compared both with commands and with requests (T ranging from  $-7.3$  to  $7.2$ ;  $p < .0001$ ), commands and requests are equally easy to comprehend; questions are the most difficult to comprehend (T ranging from  $-14.9$  to  $7.9$ ;  $p < .0001$ ). Extralinguistic protocol (production), from the easiest to the most complex: commands, assertions, requests and questions (Anova:  $F = 151.1$ ;  $p < .0001$ ). Globally considered, our data seem not to confirm the existence of parallel cognitive systems for the comprehension and production of BSAs expressed by linguistic and extralinguistic communication.

### **Luigi Anolli & Valentino Zurloni** ***Lying in close and casual relationships***

Nowadays miscommunication has become a significant topic in linguistic and communication psychology, because it is a subject of interesting debate in the border area between semantics and pragmatics with strong relational implications. According to Anolli (2001), miscommunication is not simply a communication failure, since a failure involves a sort of arrest of the communicative exchange. The common-sense idea of communication in terms of semantic and intentional transparency should be overcome, since communication is always a risky activity.

Within such theoretical paradigm, Anolli suggested a new definition of miscommunication as “say not to say”, that integrates the standard view of communication with the concept of miscommunication as a communicative chance in everyday interaction. In particular, the Miscommunication as a Chance Theory (MaCHT) provides some suggestions to overcome the Gricean distinction between “what is said” and “what is meant (or implicated)”. Meaning, in any case, is a unitary totality of “what is communicated”, though it is neither monolithic nor rigid, but composite and flexibly organized within itself.

To analyze deceptive message design as a communicative act, Levinson (2000) defined three pragmatic principles which stress the dialectic opposition between “speaker’s economy” (use as few words for concepts as

necessary) and “auditor’s economy” (use as many expressions as messages to make the communication clear). Between these principles, which replace Grice’s maxims, the communicator has to plan his/her message, which could be truthful or deceptive. According to Deceptive Miscommunication Theory (DeMiT), proposed by Anolli et al. (2001) we have to underline three aspects of the cognitive processes implied in deceptive miscommunication. First, deceptive and truthful communication have the same cognitive mechanisms both for planning, production and execution of the messages. Second, the cognitive demand for deceptive communication is not a homogeneous and constant factor, but there is an increasing of cognitive request in function of the deception subgroup. Third, the cognitive demand of deceptive message production is associated with the necessary activity of monitoring and controlling one’s own performance.

The present contribution aimed at underline how the use of deception is related to situational meaning. The meaning of a word or an utterance or a gesture does not depend so much on a universal, abstract and fixed semantic system, but it is strictly connected with the referring context. In particular, in order to understand the role of lying in close and casual relationships, we analyzed the nature of the lies that are told in everyday life. In a diary study, 101 graduates and 70 community members recorded their social interactions and lies for a week. As DePaulo and Kashy (1998) sketched out, lying violates the openness and authenticity that people value in their close relationships. As a matter of fact, we found that participants pragmatically told fewer lies per social interaction to the people to whom they felt closer. Moreover, results of this study illustrated a general contextual tendency of lying more frequently for self-serving than for altruistic purposes. Summing up, the present findings showed relevant differences in the nature of lies between close and casual relationships both at qualitative and quantitative layers.

## **Hasan Ansary & Esmat Babaii**

### ***Chain interaction (CI) analysis: A cross-cultural study***

Chain Interaction Analysis of texts produces a Cohesive Harmony Index which is a formal (in contrast to functional) measure of cohesion as well as coherence of texts (cf. Halliday & Hasan, 1989). This study was an attempt to (1) explore the local and/or micro-linguistic texture of English newspaper editorials and catalog what Halliday and Hasan (1989, p. 94) refer to as the “Cohesive Harmony Index” (CHI) of texts, and (2) examine whether there is significant micro-textual variation from one culture to another within the same genre.

A total of 90 editorials electronically culled from three English newspapers (30 editorials each) published in three different socio-cultural environments by native speakers of English (The Washington Times), and non-native speakers (The Iran News, and The Pakistan Today) were text-analyzed. The results of a CI analysis of texts demonstrated that, in terms of the cohesive harmony in texts, there is ‘statistically’ no significant difference ( $\alpha = .05$ ) between English newspaper editorials written by (non)native editorial writers, in whatever socio-cultural and socio-political context they are produced and disseminated. In other words, results revealed that Cohesive Harmony Indices of editorial texts— being a formal (in contrast to functional) measure of cohesion as well as coherence of texts (cf. Halliday & Hasan, 1989)— turned out to be identical suggesting that the editorial texts produced by non-native speakers of English enjoy the same degree of linguistic cohesiveness as native texts.

The significance of CI Analysis to genre pedagogy and its implications for the theory and practice of Systemic Functional Linguistics will be discussed.

## **Charles Antaki & Rebecca Barnes**

### ***Diagnostic formulations in psychotherapy***

Conversation analysts have noted that, in psychotherapy, formulations of the client's talk can be a vehicle for offering a psychological interpretation of the client's circumstances. Indeed, it might be said that, for CA, formulations are the 'royal road' to uncovering the interpretative practices of psychotherapy. But not all formulations in psychotherapy offer interpretations. We offer an analysis of formulations that are diagnostic: that is, used by the professional to sharpen, clarify or refine the client's account and make it better able to provide what the professional needs to know about the client's history and symptoms. Such information may not fully emerge at first request, due to confusion or unclarity in the client's account, or a mismatch between the terms of the client's account and the institutional requirements of the therapist at that particular stage of the therapeutic session. Open-ended pursuit of answers may be supplemented by specific formulations which propose clearer and more complete versions.

From a corpus of some eighteen hours of Cognitive Behaviour Therapy and private, psychodynamically-based individual therapy we give examples of such clarificatory formulations and how they are designed to be diagnostic. Sometimes the formulations are designed discreetly. We examine one such discreet formulation in detail, and show how its very ambiguity can lead to its failure as a diagnostic probe. In

sum, the argument we advance is that CA can continue to make contributions to understanding the practices of the institutional work of psychotherapy not only by examination of its canonical features, but also by examination of the therapist's more mundane, agenda-oriented work

**Zilda Aquino**

***The organization of verbal productions in the mediatic discourse: The political debates***

This paper observes the relations between political discourse and mediatic discourse, aiming at describing the power relations in the discursive activity. Specifically, we have selected a concrete unit of language production – the debate in the media – in order to analyse relevant cases within the decisions made by the participants of the discursive activity, considering the context in which the communication event occurs.

Context is the field of power relations and, in this sense, there is a great game to win the debate: the participants devote themselves to create common knowledge with the viewer and reach a consensus, which is made possible through the use of specific strategies that may create a new context or transform the existing one. The corpus consists of transcriptions of a television debate, broadcasted on 25.06.2004 by TV Câmara, a Brazilian state TV broadcaster, whose participants were four Brazilian political characters: two federal representatives and two guests (in this case, associations presidents) – all of whom are experts in the topic discussed. The selected topic is always current and polemic and the event we analysed was about “health plans”. The theoretical presumptions rely on Lindstrom (1992), Fairclough (1995), Van Dijk (2001), among others. We start from the hypothesis that, if on one hand, information exchange often leads a casual conversation to a harmonious coordination of actions, on the other in a debate, it is usually coordinated to provide the opposite. In the debate under analysis, we found evidence that the linguistic and paralinguistic elements within the topic cause a certain tension and might indicate impoliteness; however, the linguistic-discursive activities allow the identification of a coordination chart. If this didn't happen, there would be chaos – which might undermine the results the debate seeks to achieve. Indeed, there should not be agreement in relation to the position defended by one debater; disagreement certifies the opposition between the political parties and/or associations; it's the mark that differs the role played by each participant in this discursive event.

The conclusions of such reflection also allow us to say that a debate tends to have a form where an interests game takes place – the mediator (who represents the broadcaster, interested in the audience and in the enlightenment of this public), - the representatives (who must preserve their images and the representation of the political party), - the associations representatives (who must well represent their groups) – the audience (who not only seeks information, but also takes notice of each representative's performance in office). At last, we highlight the importance that a communication vehicle such as television has in continental-size country as Brazil.

**Lucia Arantes**

***On pragmatic approaches to language in the autistic and psychotic children***

This presentation discusses some pragmatic biased analyses and explanations concerning autistic/psychotic patients' speech, which can be seen as representative of the way Austin's Speech Acts Theory or Grice's Maxims were (and are) implied in the field of Speech Pathology and Therapy. I intend to show that whenever Pragmatics is applied to either the diagnostic or treatment clinical instances, its theoretical force is sharply reduced. When autistic or psychotic children's utterances are considered, pragmatic approaches are still more frequently used (Bloch, J. et alli 1980; Bishop, D. 1989; Brook, S. & Bowler, D. 1990; among others). Researchers justify such a tendency saying that those patients' utterances, although “anomalous”, are “grammatically correct”. It is argued that autistic/psychotic speech is predominantly echolalic and not sensible to contextual and/or interaction constraints. Thus, some researchers conclude that autistic/psychotic children are not cooperative (Buckingham, 1992; Hoffman et al, 1982). Surprising and paradoxically, others say that they are cooperative, although violating the cooperation principle in particular ways (Dascal and Françoso, 1983). According to the latter perspective, it is the addressee who fails to apprehend the hidden (but intended) implicature in the child's utterances, i.e., the conversational failure is attributed to the interlocutor (Novaes, M. 1996). It should be pointed out, though, that both perspectives admit that some covert and deeper cognitive disorder causes the overt speech disorders. There is, indeed, an undisputable fact: those children's language usage do affect/disturb interaction and communication, but I understand that their speech challenges the conception of language as communication and the idea that what they say represents “the speaker's intention to communicate”. Rigorously speaking, those patients' utterances challenge the very idea of the speaker as epistemic subject. It would appear that, therapists' and researchers' of pathological speech have restricted themselves to the imaginary order of communication. This presentation intends to propose an alternative approach to language in autistic/psychotic children, based on the assumption that there are ‘internal laws’ which

operate in speech (Saussure, 1916; Jakobson, 1960) and that a psychological notion of the subject-speaker is logically incompatible with above mentioned theoretical perspective (de Lemos, 2002). The concept of subjectivity, in this discussion, implies the notion of “unconscious”. In other words, I shall approach language in autistic and psychotic children implying both the symbolic order (the functioning of language) and the idea of speech as “act” to deal with the effect of strangeness they produce. Segments of clinical sessions will be presented to illustrate and support my discussion.

**Sonia Araújo**

***The communication ideal and its costs in clinical practice***

In the Speech Therapy field, clinical practice is meant to produce transformations in symptomatic speech. That being the case, I argue that the speech therapist’s commitment ought to be with that speech which, in fact, imposes communication difficulties. In other words, I claim that clinical approaches should not ignore the specific and singular nature of the a patient’s productions, although in current pragmatic rehabilitation programs the general idea is that the therapist ought to create adequate verbal contexts in order to make interaction more symmetric. If we agree that conversation is “the most basic form of language usage” (Levinson 1983: 285) in which two or more participants take their turns aiming at communication, clinical interactions should be reconsidered. Deriving from that assumption, I state that asymmetry has to do with the functioning of language, not merely with the empirical dual relationship between the therapist and her/his patient. Moreover, the importance of differentiating clinical from everyday symmetric or asymmetric interaction stems from the fact that clinical interaction is not one kind of social interaction among others. One could say, for example, that attempts to grasp the patients’ intention in order to make communication flow may go from being totally irrelevant to absolutely disruptive of interaction. Indeed, the problem of such a clinical procedure is that the patient’s problematic speech is not “listened to” and is, therefore, left in a so-called marginal position. The specific or singular nature of symptoms, in addition to the burden of establishing the distinction between normal and pathological speech, requires a clinical act, involving the difficult task of structuring the patient speaks. In other words, it requires that a clinical interpretation be produced and such a clinical act is dependent on the language conception assumed by the therapist. In this paper, I intend to review the communication notion (Grice, 1975, Shegloff, 1996 and others), in order to evaluate the way it has been read and applied by speech therapists. Shortly, I intend to discuss the notion of interpretation in the clinical setting, which I consider sharply different from the notion of interpretation in everyday communicative situations. I argue that, in the first case, the speech therapist has to face the radically singular manifestations of symptomatic speech, which cannot be identified either with ambiguous utterances or with occasional disorders in speech. This discussion will be triggered by a theorization implying the acknowledgement of la langue (Saussure, 1916) and its operation in speech (Jakobson, 1960; de Lemos, 2002; Lier-De Vitto, 1999, 2003). Clinical data will be presented and discussed.

**Argiris Archakis & Villy Tsakona**

***Constructing identities via humor: Evidence from Greek conversational data***

Although there is a growing interest in pragmatic research on the issue of identity construction via humor, research on Greek data is still rare (see Antonopoulou & Sifianou 2003). In this paper, we intend to investigate questions like the following: What is the role of humor in the construction of social identity? How could the General Theory of Verbal Humor (in Attardo 2001, henceforth GTVH) contribute to the analysis of humor as a means of identity construction, and, more particularly, what are the useful components of the GTVH to this end? We will illustrate our points using Greek conversational narratives coming from same-gender groups of young Greek males and females. We will show that, in our data, conversationalists select targets either outside or inside their group. In the first case, humor criticizes the “other” behavior; in the latter case, humor serves as a correction mechanism of in-group behavior in a rather covert manner. In both cases, the target of humor reinforces the existing bonds among group members, while bringing the evaluative dimension of humor to the surface.

Special emphasis will be given to self-targeting humor (henceforth STH) and its function as a discourse strategy used for identity construction. Research on this kind of humor has revealed that STH can be interpreted as an index of either lack or presence of self-confidence and self-esteem. We show that it is this very ambivalence of STH that renders it a very effective device for identity construction. In our data, conversationalists realize the incongruity of their actions and, instead of seriously criticizing it, they present it in a humorous way. We argue that, by using STH, our interlocutors indirectly point to a positive self-image. STH actually raises the speaker’s status by pretending to lower it.

Based on the analysis of our data, we argue that among the six knowledge resources proposed in the GTVH the most relevant one for describing the social function of humor is target. This knowledge resource



helps us identify whose behavior our young informants consider incongruous and, at the same time, worth laughing at. It reveals the “bonding” and “biting” -in Boxer & Cortés-Conde’s (1997) terms- function of humor, which renders it a very flexible device for the construction of participants’ identity.

Finally, our analysis brings an interesting pragmatic difference to the surface. This difference is related to the effect of humor on the identities constructed: through humor directed at other people’s behavior (in the cases of out- and in-group targets), the speaker eventually de-legitimizes those others, while, through self-targeting humor, the speaker aims at legitimizing him/herself and his/her own actions.

### **Jonathan Arnett**

#### ***Dialectic, rhetoric, and pragma-dialectic analysis: An examination of scientific journal articles***

This paper applies van Eemeren and Grootendorst’s pragma-dialectic argumentation theory to a 1969– 1974 series of articles that appeared in the internationally acclaimed journal *Science*. The original article reported that chromosome damage could occur from LSD use; the remainder were follow-ups to this study. Pragma-dialectic analysis of these articles revealed several interesting overlaps between the theoretically at-odds fields of rhetoric, which focuses on persuasion, and dialectic, which ostensibly focuses on pure truth.

First, pragma-dialectical analysis clearly depends on situated, interpretive (read: rhetorical) reading for the process of identifying speech acts, locating them in argumentative stages, and classifying them as assertives, directives, commissives, expressives, or usage declaratives.

Second, pragma-dialectics also depends on interpretive rewriting for transformations (re-creations of the previously mentioned speech acts into a standardized linguistic format) to be successful.

Third, pure dialectic can be an exercise in stating the obvious. It may have been an effect of both the text samples used in the paper and the highly structured scientific paper format, but the logical progression of every argument presented in the texts examined was easily discernible without resorting to pragma-dialectics.

Fourth, a dialectical analysis may not reveal any more about an argument’s premises than a rhetorical analysis reveals. Once again, this may be an artifact resulting from the sample under examination, but rhetorical analysis was equally as useful, if not more so, as pragma-dialectics at exposing unstated, influential ideas behind authors’ propositions and standpoints.

In summary, whereas dialectic argumentation analysis is a useful method of investigation, it is not the end-all; dialectic and rhetoric neither should nor can be divorced. They can actually coexist with ease and should be used together, in a complementary fashion. Analysts using pragma-dialectic theory should expand the scope of their investigations to include rhetorical considerations as a valuable supplement to their primary focus, discerning dialectic patterns in the abstract scheme described by pragma-dialectic theory.

### **Robert Arundale**

#### ***Face as relational and interactional: Alternative bases for research on face, facework, and politeness***

Brown & Levinson (1987) introduced face as a central issue in understanding polite language use in interaction. Only some theories of politeness utilize face as an explanatory concept, but Watts (2003) argues that all human interaction involves facework, even though it does not always involve politeness. Many earlier examinations of face have critiqued Brown & Levinson’s definition. Current studies of the concept provide new conceptualizations and identify new research issues. In a recent re-examination of face as related to politeness, Bargiela-Chiappini (2003: 1463) identifies a need “to understand and compare cultural conceptualizations of the social self and its relationship to others as an alternative and possibly more fruitful way of studying the relevance and dynamics of ‘face’ and ‘facework’ in interpersonal contacts.”

Most who examine the concept of face draw upon Goffman’s (1955) treatment as an aspect of interpersonal ritual. But this account is based both in a Parsonian and in an individually oriented explanation of a social self (cf. Eelen 2001). Future research needs to address these Western explanatory biases if it is to provide alternative accounts of face that fully acknowledge other “cultural conceptualizations of the social self and its relationship to others.” In addition, in an often overlooked critique of their own theory, Brown & Levinson (1987: 48) argue that improved conceptualizations will likely rest on new theoretical models that account for interactional organization in language use. Despite his concern with examining the “interaction order,” Goffman’s account of face is not based on a conceptualization of language use as interactional (Schegloff, 1988). Future research that addresses the “dynamics of ‘face’ and ‘facework’ in interpersonal contacts” needs to be based on an interactional account of language use such as those provided by Arundale (1999) or by Clark (1996).

One potentially productive alternative account of face draws on the well-developed tradition of theory and research on human communication in interpersonal relationships. Within this framework, face is a relational, rather than an individual phenomenon, in that the social self arises and is maintained only in relationships with others. At the theoretical level, face is the interactional achievement in talk and nonverbal action of both connection and separation among persons. In conducting empirical research, this culture-general conceptualization of connection with others (as an alternative to positive face), as achieved in dialectical opposition with separation from them (as an alternative to negative face), is interpreted in terms of the culture-specific construal of this dialectic in relationships between self and others within the particular cultural group. Framing face as relational permits a new account of politeness as social indexing, and the basis for reconceptualizing views of politeness as strategic conflict-avoidance (Kasper 1990). Framing face as both relational and interactional permits an integrated account of the full scope of human facework from outright threat, through both addressing face without changing it and balancing threat with support, to outright face support.

**Tijana Asic**

### ***Spatial and temporal language and thinking: A case of Titi***

According to the Localistic Hypothesis (LH, Lyons, 1977) spatial expressions are linguistically fundamental and used to express temporal relations. The cognitive counterpart of it is the Thematic Relations Hypothesis (TRH, Jackendoff, 1985), claiming that the representation of time is based on the representation of space. There has been a lot of evidence for the LH across languages (Asic, 2004): spatial prepositions are often used to represent relations between temporal entities. Moreover it is possible, on the basis of the spatial ontology created by Casati & Varzi (1999) enriched by the notion of orientation (Levinson, 2003) to define the basic semantics of not only spatial but also temporal prepositions. However, the objective of my present study goes beyond my linguistic research. My aim is to verify the THR: I tried to check whether temporal cognition is always and obligatory based on the spatial cognition and notably, in a domain of relations between temporal entities. Therefore, I have invented two natural languages Titi1 and Titi2.

In Titi1 there are only spatial prepositions and in Titi2 there are only temporal prepositions. In the first task the participants were asked to use the existing spatial prepositions to denote temporal relations (like: after the piano lesson). The Titi sentences were the translation of the sentences in their mother tongue, previously given to them. None of the participants had a problem with this task, although there were some variations in answers (for example, to denote posteriority some participants used a preposition *pok* (under) and some used *miti* (behind)). In the second task I asked the same participants to use the given temporal prepositions (in Titi2) to describe spatial relations (like: a cat under the bed) and they had lots of problems with it. This is just a general impression of the results.

However, it should be emphasized here that the answers in the Titi-tests varied significantly depending on the mother tongue of the participants. That is, I gave Titi test to the native speakers of the languages that have rich prepositional systems (such as: English, French, Serbian) and to the native speakers of the languages that have poor prepositional systems (Hebrew, Kikuyu, Japanese). It turned out that the speakers of the “poor” languages (in which because of their number, prepositions have a variety of standard and non-standard usages) used spatial prepositions more easily to express temporal relations (and vice versa). Does this mean that language affects our spatial thinking (as pretends the Hypothesis of Linguistic Relativity)? My conclusion is that the mother tongue does certainly affect the linguistic thinking in new and unknown languages (such as Titi1 and Titi2) but that we have to be cautious in asserting that the language we speak does really structure our cognitive representation of space and our spatial reasoning. However, the fact that generally the participants (regardless of their mother tongue) use effortlessly spatial prepositions in Titi1 to represent temporal relations, but have difficulties in representing spatial relations with temporal prepositions in Titi2 is a rather strong confirmation of the TRH.

**Angeliki Athanasiadou**

### ***On the subjectivity of intensifiers in Greek***

The paper discusses the subjectivity of two Greek intensifiers of the maximizer group, *entelos* ‘quite, completely, thoroughly, fairly...’ and *teleios* ‘perfectly, completely, utterly, quite,...’. By definition, intensifiers are capable of imposing a scalar reading on the elements they modify. They typically modify adjectives and other adverbs, but other clause elements as well, in two ways: they scale the meaning of the modified element upwards from an assumed norm ((1) *entelos/teleios veveos* ‘completely certain’) or they scale it downwards ((2) *entelos/teleios anikanos* ‘completely unable’). It should be noted, however, that one does not use them for upward modification as readily as for downward modification, as for instance \**teleios thavmasios* ‘completely wonderful’ but *teleios*

ilithios/axristos 'completely stupid/useless'. This aspect contributes to their subjective character which is based on the speaker's assessment of built-in norms and values that lead to judgements of certainty (1) or inability (2). The partial synonymy of the two adverbs under discussion suggests similar source domains; however, this is not the case. The two intensifiers differ with regard to the polysemy of their source domains, both of adjectives and adverbs. It has to be noted that the adjectives entelis and teleios as well as the adverb teleia have non-scalar meanings. The adjective entelis (formal use) involves a process or an activity that has reached the final endpoint whereas the adjective teleios involves the meanings of being (a) exemplary, (b) absolute or (c) complete. The respective adverbs entelos and teleia or teleios have undergone a semantic extension from the above non-scalar meanings in order to impose scalar readings on other clause elements, e.g. adjectives entelos dieftharmenos 'thoroughly corrupted' or verbs katastrafike entelos 'it was completely destroyed'.

I will argue that the fact they have become capable of imposing scalar meanings on other elements implies that they have undergone a semantic extension which qualifies for subjectivity in Langacker's sense (1990, 1997). The speaker construes the reported event as being inside or close to it. More specifically, an entity or an event is objectively construed to the extent that it goes 'onstage' as an explicit, focused object of conception. It is subjectively construed when it remains 'offstage' as an implicit, unselfconscious subject of conception. I would like to suggest that the choice of entelos and teleios can be described in terms of an arrangement in which the speaker is moving inside the onstage region or is coming close to it, step by step, increasing thus the objectivity of the construal and the subjectivity of the conceptualized object.

Moreover, I will argue that although the adverbs entelos and teleios have different functional profiles outside the intensifier class, they are developing along similar lines as intensifying modifiers (entelos/teleios apentaros).

## **Hassan Atifi**

### ***Emergent language practices in Moroccan online communication***

Considering that netiquette represents a set of rules symbolising "good use" which applies to the Internet in general (electronic mail, forums of discussion, mailing lists, IRC-chat.), one may wonder about the main local and cultural specificity's of their uses. To answer this question, we will focus on the uses that Moroccan Net surfers make of the "good use" standards on the Internet. The main purpose is to see how Moroccans Net surfers actually communicate on the internet and the way they make these rules own or not in their everyday on-line dialogues.

We will analyse Moroccan discussion forums to see how these Net surfers make world-wide rules their own and we'll highlight the possible differences between the rules of "good use" and the real national practices that we observe. This ethnographic and linguistic analysis will be about various conversational aspects: openings and closings, self-presentation, greetings, themes, language choice, linguistic rituals, lengths of messages, code-switching, etc.

This paper shows that communicative behaviours of Moroccan users of newsgroups seem to be not very influenced by Netiquette, but on the contrary, reflects clearly the Moroccan communicative style. Moreover, most of the Moroccan communicative rituals (e.g. Arabic language) still exist in cyberspace.

## **Jay Atlas**

### ***What happened to meaning?***

Jerrold Sadock, in a famous paper of 1984, "Whither Radical Pragmatics?", suggested that it was a *reductio ad absurdum* of the Radical Pragmatic view, associated with an earlier version of himself, Jay Atlas, and others, that literal meanings were not minimal meanings but, on the premises of Radical Pragmatics, no meanings. And if no meanings, how could there be Gricean implicatures from the utterance of sentences with no literal meanings? So Radical Pragmatics was false.

In the intervening years the Atlas and Kempson view of minimal meaning as semantically general/non-specific meaning and similar if not identical views of underdetermined meaning in various forms have been adopted, or re-created independently, by Relevance Theorists in the U.K., by speech-act theorists like Kent Bach and Francois Recanati in the U.S.A and in France, by Gricean linguistic theorists like Stephen Levinson, and their colleagues and students.

Twenty years after Sadock pronounced the view dead, it has apparently achieved a vigorous after-life.

But 20 years later, it is time to re-assess Sadock's arguments and the later views, to see what is interesting or useful, vague or obscure, valuable or worthless about the views of under-determined meaning and under-determinate meaning and to examine how pragmatic inference interacts with such meanings.

## **Salvatore Attardo**

### ***Non-cooperation and Gricean pragmatics: The pretense theory***

This paper argues, following Raskin (1992) Attardo (1997), that there exists a gradient of cooperation between “pure” cooperation and outright non-cooperation ranging from mildly non-cooperative and mostly cooperative modes (such as irony), passing by partially cooperative modes (such as competitive interaction; e.g., persuasive/argumentative talk, such as witness cross-examination) and partially non-cooperative modes (such as joking and licensed lying; e.g., advertising). What all partially or completely non-cooperative modes share, according to the theory presented here, is that they crucially involve the representation (i.e., pretending to perform a felicitous speech act) of a cooperative speech act, while in fact the speaker has ulterior goals, which may or may not be cooperative. In other words, according to the pretense theory of non-cooperation, at some point during the processing of the utterance the goals of the speaker and the hearer diverge and while they may re-converge to make the exchange ultimately cooperative (for example, in white lies, where the speaker may lie--thus diverging from the hearer’s goal of knowing the truth--but may do so ultimately for the good of the hearer) the divergence is real and not mentioned, or attributable to someone else than the speaker, as has been claimed in the (scarce) literature on the subject. A good place to begin investigating the locus of the divergence is the divide between cooperation for the sake of the linguistic exchange and cooperation to achieve extra-linguistic goals.

The pretense theory of non-cooperation is distinct from Clark’s pretense theory of irony. Clark’s theory (1996) can be summed up as requiring that the speaker pretends to be someone else. The pretense theory of non-cooperation, conversely, claims that the speaker pretends to perform a speech act but does so unfavorably or inappropriately. It is claimed that this approach matches Grice’s talk of irony as “making as if” saying something (1989: 34) and of “pretending” (1989: 54). The pretense theory of non-cooperation is based on extensive research and publications in the field of humor research as well as a goal-based (Castelfranchi and Poggi 1998) approach to pragmatics that aims at bridging the chasm between action theory and neo-/post-Gricean pragmatics.

The pretense theory of non-cooperation is meant to apply to a wide range of phenomena, including, but not limited to, irony, insinuation, allusion, hinting, flattering, seduction, manipulation, advertising, sales talk, propaganda, lies, licensed lies, deception, humor and finally all modes that “ape” communication: witness cross examination, classroom talk, TV political shows, etc. Several examples of partially and completely non-cooperative exchanges will be analyzed, to show the different combinations of goals on the speaker’s and the hearer’s part, as well as the degree of openness of the goals (covert/overt communication).

## **Rosa Attie Figueira**

### ***Agentivité et intentionnalité dans la parole de l'enfant: Comment les enfants découpent les événements***

La façon dont les langues naturelles découpent les événements intéresse non seulement les linguistes, mais aussi les psychologues et les philosophes. Ainsi que le signale Lyons, “as human beings we are particularly interested in the results of our purposive actions and the effects that our actions have upon patients” (1977:491) : il met ainsi en relief un type de structuration linguistique - également appelé “événement causatif” - dans laquelle deux entités du monde réel sont unies dans une relation causale (v. par ex, Dowty 1972, 1979, pour l’étude des “accomplishments”). Étudier ce type de structuration complexe revient, entre autres choses, à étudier la notion d’agentivité : qui fait quoi à qui et dans quel but... Dans le domaine spécifique de l’investigation de l’Acquisition du Langage, une telle étude exige, à notre avis, que la parole de l’enfant soit envisagée sur deux plans : le plan de la langue (les formes par lesquelles les événements s’organisent en expressions) et le plan du discours (le fonctionnement discursif auquel elles se prêtent). En concentrant notre travail sur la production linguistique d’un enfant âgé de 2;8 à 5 ans, notre objectif est d’observer comment le flux des événements correspondant aux situations vécues, ou simplement accompagnées, par l’enfant sont par elle/lui découpés. L’enfant nous surprend souvent avec des découpages linguistiques peu communs : là où l’on attendait une structure Agent - Action - Entité Affectée, on voit émerger des énoncés dont la structure exhibe la pure mention à un état des choses, c’est-à-dire le résultat ou l’effet de l’action de X sur Y. Dans ce cas il n’est pas difficile de constater qu’il s’agit de situations interprétables comme exemption de responsabilité ou culpabilité. D’autres fois, il s’agit de transférer la responsabilité de ce qui s’est passé sur un agent plus éloigné, non-immédiat, qui, dans la chaîne causale, a une participation indirecte. Mais il reste encore à expliquer quelques autres situations, dans lesquelles l’enfant découpe un événement de façon tout à fait inédite, voire insolite, échappant complètement à ce que l’on pourrait attendre. De telles situations occupent, dans cette étude, une place importante, car elles mettent à jour des moyens non-évidents de lier un effet à une cause. Elles finissent par constituer des contre-exemples à l’existence préalable de schémas conceptuels, en servant à argumenter contre

une conception de la langue comme pure représentation. On constate qu'apprendre à énoncer des événements causatifs ou leur contrepartie non-causative revient à adopter des perspectives différentes devant un événement, perspectives qui dans le dialogue peuvent être investies d'une direction argumentative (Ducrot 1999, 2001) par l'effet qu'elle déclenche dans l'interlocuteur, ce qui indissociable de la condition vécue par l'enfant et l'adulte dans cette situation-là. La perspective théorique cherche à mettre en relief le fait que des catégories linguistiques comme l'agentivité, l'intentionnalité se construisent à l'intérieur d'une pratique discursive effective, dans laquelle il appartient à l'enfant d'exercer différents regards sur les événements, ses causes et ses conséquences.

**Elisa Baena & Eduardo Urios-Aparisi**

***Figurative language in action: Coordination and conflict***

The aim of this paper is to discuss how rhetorical figures such as metaphor, irony and hyperbole interact in the context of interaction. We start from the position that the dynamics of the interaction is partly determined by the participants' awareness of how their linguistic choices contribute to the progress of the interaction and how they affect their face according to the roles which they have adopted or those roles assigned to them. This theory has developed as recent progress in field of linguistic reflexivity has defined metapragmatics as an important factor to explain linguistic behaviour (cf. Silverstein, 1993, Verschueren, 1999 and Reyes, 2002). Therefore, we will show how figurative language use is determined by social and cultural factors as well as its cognitive meaning. The interface between socio-cultural and cognitive elements is a requisite in order to comprehend figurative language in contrast to some views on metaphor which tend to focus on exclusively cognitive aspects.

The data for this paper comes from the comparative study of an interaction between four young men and a young couple recorded in Spain (Briz & Val.Es.Co 2001). Both conversations show that reflection on language and language use is defined by the participants' awareness on the rules of the interaction, how the interaction is defined in terms of power and dominance, and how this awareness determines their linguistic choices (cf. Verschueren, 1999). Therefore, in this paper we identify the mechanisms (background knowledge, identification of pretense, humor, or exaggeration, Gibbs 2000, Kreuz 1996), through which the participants determine to identify the intention of the other participants' figurative language and how the interaction is framed by the poles of conflict and coordination (cf. Clark 1996).

**Raja Mallek Bahloul & Maher Bahloul**

***The pragmatics of English demonstratives and language teaching***

A closer examination of several recent ESL textbooks (Badalamenti & Henner-Stanchina, 2000, Murphy, 1993, Azar, 1996, Breyer, 1995, Foley & Neblett, 1998, Schoenberg, 2000, Dooley & Evans, 1998, McKay, 1996, Nelson, 1995, Elbaum, 2001) reveals a recurrent mention of the deictic function of the English demonstratives as the sole and unique one. Schoenberg (1999), for example, explains that the demonstrative 'this' "... refers to a person or thing near you," while the demonstrative 'that' "... refers to a person or thing far from you." (p132). The same analysis applies to the plural counterparts 'these' and 'those', as illustrated in the example below (Nelson, 1995, p.61):

1) We use these to show that many things or people are close to us.

These books are Mary's.

Are these your papers?

2) We use those to show that many things or people are far from us.

Those cars are very expensive.

Those are my books on the table.

Now consider the following excerpt from the first Bush-Kerry Presidential Debate held on 30 September, 2004, at the University of Miami, Coral Gables, Florida.

Kerry: "This president thought it was more important to give the wealthiest people in America a tax cut rather than invest in homeland security. Those aren't my values. I believe in protecting America first."

Bush: "Can I respond to that?"

While the concept of 'physical proximity' may be somehow clear in the use of 'this' given the closeness of the two speakers, it is quite impalpable in the use of 'those' and 'that'. In addition, there is much more at stake than physical proximity in the use of English demonstratives (Strauss, 2000). In this paper, I report on the results of a research based on a corpus of 20441 words from published debates between political figures, moderators, journalists, and college students. During these long debates, the English demonstratives 'this' and 'that' and their counterparts 'these' and 'those', occurred 304 times. While the frequency analysis shows that the demonstratives 'that/those' have a much higher distribution (70% to 80%), the choice of one form over the other appears to be sensitive to a number of textual and pragmatic factors such as: (i) anaphoric, cataphoric, and exophoric reference, (ii) the level of intimacy between interactants, (ii) shared and unshared

knowledge, (iii) the degree of attention the hearer is asked to pay to the referent, (iv) and the referent salience to the speaker. The demonstrative ‘this’, for example, seems to play a major cataphoric function; however, the use of ‘that’ is overwhelmingly anaphoric. In addition, speakers make use of ‘this’ when they seek much more attention to the referent from the hearer, while the demonstrative ‘that’ is much more reserved for level of intimacy whether close or remote. Based on such conclusions, the paper proffers a description of the underlying mechanism of the English demonstratives and makes practical recommendations for language teaching to remedy the existing practices.

## **Lukas Balthasar**

### ***Everyday verbal practices, institutionally constrained practices & some of their counterparts in classic rhetorical theory: The case of TV interviews with politicians***

The historical links between rhetoric and modern pragmatics are, at least to some extent, pretty well documented. So it is known that one of the founding fathers of the classic theory of rhetoric, Cicero, plead at his time for a true science of conversation (talk as it is “found in social groups, [...] gatherings of friends” etc.) and that he clearly distinguished this kind of the use of speech from oratory, typical for institutions (“law courts”, “public assemblies” etc., *De officiis* 1.37.132). Conversation analysis, one of the major approaches in contemporary pragmatics may perhaps have given us a theory of that kind. Also, H. Sacks and his colleagues have indeed argued that there is an important difference between ordinary conversation and talk on its institutional occasions. The latter may in fact constitute a derivate of the first, emerging under and accounting for the specific constraints characterizing a given institutional context (e.g. Sacks 1972, Schegloff 1992).

Our communication will start off with the analysis of a stretch of contemporary institutional interaction where the means of ordinary conversation and institution driven practices emerge in intricately linked ways. TV broadcast encounters between journalists and politicians like the traditional Interview du 14 Juillet with the president of France – highly prepared on both sides (and massively watched nationwide) – yield lots of materials where specifically audience designed and well rehearsed formulae are to be co-produced with the help and against the odds of many of the means of everyday interaction and spontaneously delivered speech. In the sample case we present, a question is raised about one of the main sensitive issues of the political season. Our focus is the moment where the pun of the question and the structure of its delivery become projectable and where the interviewee starts a series of attempts to push the journalist off the floor and to impose his re-structuring and re-punning of the point. We show how even though the journalist maintains and re-adapts the turn structure himself for some time, the president succeeds in fusing the conflicting co-produced materials into a stringent, quite possibly pre-set formulation that indeed provided for the next day’s newspaper headlines. We thus show how the resources of ordinary conversation, gap and overlap as well as instant repair and recycling of other-produced materials are used to co-construct one of the crucial formulations – a “rhetorical highlight” – of a live broadcast political interview.

By reconstructing the fabric of a stretch of institutional interaction from its detailed empirical basis, it seems then possible to identify some of the used procedures with traditional concepts of rhetoric and to show how other procedures – some fundamental for the organization of ordinary conversations and indeed left over in rhetorical theory – are fused into the former to constitute a highly orderly single structure. At least some of the complex figures described in classic rhetorical theory seem to be associable with ordinary conversational structures and their realization under the specific constraints of a given institutional context.

## **Valentina Bambini, Claudio Gentili, Emiliano Ricciardi et al**

### ***Metaphor comprehension: An fMRI study***

**BACKGROUND:** Interest on metaphor is rapidly growing, due to the popularity of certain cognitive theories according to which metaphorical operations are at the basis of human knowledge processes [1]. However, the cognitive mechanisms governing metaphor are far from being known. Behavioural studies do not agree on the existence of a specific module devoted to non-literal, beyond-semantics interpretation [2]. Much of the traditional neuropsychological literature assumes the selective involvement of the right hemisphere. Yet impairments in metaphor understanding have been observed in left-hemisphere brain-damaged patients as well [3]. Functional exploration of the brain methodologies (positron emission tomography, “PET”, and functional magnetic resonance imaging, “fMRI”) have been used to study neural activity in metaphor comprehension. Yet the literature is not only very poor but also affected by many experimental biases, so that it provides conflicting results [4 vs 5].

**OBJECTIVE:** Based on previous experience in studying elaboration of non-literal meanings (i.e. moral of the story, [6]), our group has developed a fMRI experiment aiming at identifying the neural correlates of metaphor comprehension.

## MATERIALS AND METHODS

We used fMRI (Gradient echo EPI, 1.5T GE) in four right-handed healthy subjects (1 female; 3 male; mean age  $25 \pm 1.73$  years; average scholasticity  $18 \pm 0$  years).

The experimental design is based on the comparison between visually presented pairs of the following type (adapted from Italian):

T1: Do you know what that fish is? A shark. [literal]

T2: Do you know what that lawyer is? A shark. [metaphorical]

The materials (created de novo) have been parameterized along frequency and familiarity (based on previously collected subjective ratings). Moreover, we varied the contextual environment, from isolated sentences to micro-discourses. Our paradigm differs from those applied in other studies with respect to several crucial points. First, we kept the target words invariant (alternatively literal or metaphorical, cf. shark), changing just one item in the contextual settings (cf. fish vs lawyer). Second, subjects were not asked to perform any metaphor detection task. Rather, they were involved in a semantic decision task between adjectives presented after the target. Thus, no cognitive bias toward metaphor identification could result.

**PRELIMINARY RESULTS AND DISCUSSION:** Overall activations in extrastriate and striate visual cortex and traditional language areas were observed while subjects read both literal and metaphorical sentences. Compared to literal sentences, metaphors produced greater activations in middle temporal gyrus (MTG) and inferior frontal gyrus (IFG) bilaterally, and left posterior superior temporal sulcus (pSTS). These findings are consistent with the hypothesis of a diffuse and bilateral network involving regions already described for language processes (MTG and IFG, especially involved in semantics), but also areas that might be related to higher order cognitive functions (pSTS).

## Patricia Baquedano-Lopez

### *The pragmatics of reading prayers: How school-aged children negotiate knowledge and the interpretation of text in Spanish-based religious education classes (Doctrina)*

The role of social institutions in socializing individuals to learn the norms of comportment and the skills and knowledge that are historically valued and organized by social groups has been cornerstone in the study of everyday practices across a variety of social institutions (Bourdieu, 1977; Giddens, 1984; Foucault, 1980; de Certau 1984). From a more socio-cultural approach, across social institutions people engage in tasks and activities that provide opportunities to display and promote the development of culturally-valued and meaningful competencies and expectations (Rogoff, 1990; Lave & Wenger, 1991). In these interactions, the role of language is fundamental in both the display and the development of cultural and interactional competencies (Goffman, 1964; Schieffelin & Ochs, 1986; Hanks, 1996). As a social institution, the role of the Church in promoting a variety of competencies has been analyzed across different fields of inquiry, however, we know little of the role of language in the realization of these ends. In this paper I present an analysis of interactions from children's (ages 7-9) religious education classes to illustrate the socializing force of language in the development of religious knowledge, in particular during the performance of prayers as discursive acts (Baquedano-López, 1999).

The interactions are part of a larger ethnographic study of the socialization of religious and literacy competencies among Mexican immigrant children in Spanish-based Saturday religious education classes (doctrina) at two parishes in California. The excerpts analyzed here are taken from a database of over 100 hours of videotaped interactions spanning six years of fieldwork. The analysis focuses in particular on the memorization of the "Act of Contrition" by four female students under the supervision of an adult female teacher aide. The Act of Contrition is the prayer that is part of the Sacrament of Reconciliation, a ritual for which the students are preparing. The students take turns reading the prayer and reciting it by memory. A number of features of their interaction provide clues as to how they negotiate the parameters of their reading and memorization activity—memorization of religious text is already a richly described activity in the language socialization literature (see Moore 2004). First, the task is organized in two principal ways: The aide leads a choral reading of the prayer and the students then recite the memorized prayer. Second, the aide supports the individual memorization of text lines by providing interpretations of the text through questions. Third, the reading task under analysis is complicated by the fact that one of the students is unable to decode written text (i.e. read). The ways the other three students actively collaborate in reading, memorizing, and performing the Act of Contrition with the aide appear to minimize the non-reader student's dissonant role in the group. The analysis of doctrina interactions around religious text provide us with ways to understand how actors make meaning of the tasks they are accomplishing and how they deal with the contingencies of the moment in the pursuit of collaborative goals.

## Alex Barber

### *What refers? How?*

The NRA slogan, ‘Guns don’t kill people; people kill people’, has an analogue in semantic theory: ‘Words don’t refer to things; people refer to things’. But of course, just as people kill using guns, they refer using words. And just as guns have properties that allow them to be used to kill people, words must have properties that enable them to be used to refer. This paper addresses a puzzle that arises because the semantic properties of words make them, apparently, ill-suited for use by humans in acts of referring.

The puzzle can be framed as a real or apparent tension between two assertions. For any referring term, W:

Assertion 1 (which is about words referring):

(W refers to O) & O=O\* => W refers to O\*

Assertion 2 (which is about people referring):

(S, in using W, refers to O) & O=O\* !=> S, in using W, refers to O\*

(O and O\* are substitutional variables in the metalanguage. " $\neq$ " is "does not require".) I show how these two assertions are supported by two pairs of pre-assertions, the source of the real or apparent tension:

Pre-assertion 1a:

The truth conditions of a sentence containing W depend compositionally on what W refers to

Pre-assertion 1b:

All instances of the following schema hold, where ‘[S]’ is a use of the sentence S: S is true iff [S]. (Small print: S does not contain anything that will generate a semantic paradox, e.g. a truth predicate or self-referential element)

Pre-assertion 2a:

S, in using W, refers to O iff S intends H to recognize her use of W as a reference to O

Pre-assertion 2b:

(S intends H to interpret her use of W as a reference to O) & O=O\* !=> S intends H to interpret her use of W as a reference to O\*

I claim that the tension between Assertion 1 and Assertion 2 cannot be dismissed simply by distinguishing terminologically between speaker-reference (‘picking out’) and semantic-reference (‘designating’). Assertions 1 and 2 taken together are incompatible with the ease with which we are able to refer by using words that refer. In ordinary circumstances, S, in using W, refers to O iff W refers to O, but this generalization requires rejecting the conjunction of Assertions 1 and 2 even after ‘refers’ has been lexically disambiguated into ‘picks out’ and ‘designates’.

I consider various solutions to the puzzle, with a view to holding on to the claim that semantic relations like referring are intimately connected to, and ultimately grounded in, the communicative intentions of the speaker (as Pre-assertion 2a suggests).

## Vincent Barletta

### *Literacy, narrative, and the social construction of reality in early modern Spanish Islam*

Recent literacy research in cross-cultural (and historical) settings has demonstrated that while Walter Ong and the younger Jack Goody were probably right to frame literacy as a “technology of the intellect,” the power of literacy to shape and transform consciousness stems primarily from its intersubjective use within culturally and historically situated settings. As Sylvia Scribner and Michael Cole have pointed out in their analysis of literacy among the Vai people of rural Liberia (1981), it is not the engagement of written texts per se that generates Western-style abstract thought – rather it is the intersubjective engagement of written texts within Western-style institutions and activity systems that accomplishes this.

What this point about the social situatedness of literacy ultimately means for researchers who are interested in issues of readership in historical settings is that we rethink our unit of analysis. Rather than analyzing the interaction of readers with written texts (a metaphoric interaction at best, as the texts themselves are not able to “act” in any literal sense), it is necessary to focus on the mediational role of written texts and physical books within the socially embedded activities (i.e., human agents interacting with one another) by which members of communities gave shape to their world.

These ideas concerning mediation and interaction are especially important for a consideration of reading and the role of handwritten texts in the crypto-Muslim communities of sixteenth-century Castile and Aragon. The last vestiges of the Muslim communities that had constituted al-Andalus during the medieval period, these people – commonly referred to as moriscos – were forcibly converted to Christianity during the first quarter of the sixteenth century. In spite of these conversions (and the best efforts of the Inquisition), a



significant majority of Moriscos continued to practice Islam in varying ways until Philip III first ordered their expulsion from Spain in 1609.

One of the ways in which Moriscos managed to practice Islam during the century-long period between their conversion and expulsion was the secret production (and reproduction) of Castilian and Aragonese narratives that were handwritten in Arabic script. As mediating means for a range of processes – not the least of which was cultural resistance in an extraordinarily dangerous social climate – these handwritten narratives played an integral role in the communal life of Iberian crypto-Muslims. And this is true not only for those few who were alphabetically literate. For the most part, these narratives were read as part of group activities that intersected with broader social practices such as language socialization and ritual practice – activities in which people that we might consider "illiterate" played fundamental participatory roles. Given this, the handwritten narratives of the Moriscos provide a tremendous opportunity for scholars to analyze the manner in which written texts served as important social and cognitive tools within late medieval and early modern Iberia.

In this presentation, I will be making use of an activity-centered approach to reading in order to shed light on the social roots of thought and meaning within crypto-Muslim communities in sixteenth-century, rural Aragon. Because time is short, I will limit my textual focus to the *\_Alhadith sobre el sacrificio de Ismail\_*, a Morisco narrative that retells the Qur'anic story of Abraham's near-sacrifice of his son, Ishmael.

### **Anne Barron & Klaus Schneider**

#### ***Variational pragmatics: Contours of a new discipline***

Intra-lingual variation, whether due to geographical or social factors, has long been neglected in pragmatic research (cf., e.g., Márquez Reiter, 2002, 2003; Barron/Schneider, 2005). Similarly, research in dialectology has concentrated overwhelmingly on phonology, lexis and grammar, ignoring variation in linguistic (inter)action on a widespread scale despite its focus on the investigation of synchronic variation (cf. Wolfram/Schilling-Estes, 1998, p. 89). Consequently, languages have been largely viewed as homogeneous wholes from the point of view of language use. Variational pragmatics, at the interface of pragmatics and dialectology, is concerned with the study of intra-lingual pragmatic variation across geographical and social varieties of one language (cf. Schneider/Barron, forthcoming).

The purpose of this paper is to establish the field of variational pragmatics and to develop the concepts presented in Schneider/Barron (forthcoming) for the study of variational pragmatics. This, we do by identifying parameters of intra-lingual variation based on an in-depth analysis of the findings of studies of pragmatic variation (cf. Barron, forthcoming), and proposing a discourse model designed to integrate these and other potential parameters. In doing this, we choose to focus on regional variation. The paper also serves to launch the panel "Variational pragmatics: cross-cultural approaches" by explicitly relating each contribution to this proposed framework.

### **Liliana Bastos**

#### ***Narratives of violence: Health professional's talk about sexual abuse and court testimony***

This paper addresses how health professionals talk about children victims of violence, as well as the consequences and implications of violent action. In addition to face experiences, that are dramatic in themselves, health professionals have to make decisions regarding which therapeutic and bureaucratic procedures should be followed, knowing that these decisions have a definite impact on the lives of their patients and families. The experience of dealing with violence is also inevitably intermingled with questions of professional behavior and ethics.

The paper will focus on narratives produced by members of an interdisciplinary group that offers support to health professionals who deal with children and adolescents victims of violence. This group meets every two weeks, in a public hospital, in Rio de Janeiro, Brazil. During these meetings, participants talk about their feelings of insecurity and fear, related to future actions that concern the families and the children. They also consider reporting (or not) the acts of violence to upper government institutions. The analyzes follows an interactional approach to discourse (Gumperz, 1982; Schifffrin, 1994), that considers the local processes of meaning making in interface with social, cultural, and historical structures. The narratives are understood as identity performances, where different dimensions of the social self are at stake (Mishler, 1999; Linde 1993; Schifffrin, 1996, 2000).

Specifically, I will present the analysis of three narratives told by the same physician (a woman gynecologist), in three meetings, which took place over a period of five months. In a context of fear and insecurity, the gynecologist tells stories about her personal experience with the case of a very young girl, who she examined and diagnosed as having been sexually abused. She was called to court because of this diagnose. The stories are told before and after she goes to court, and after she learned that the father, the perpetrator, was

proved guilty. The analyzes discusses the different ways that she frames (Goffman, 1974; Tannen and Wallat, 1984) her experience as acts of courage and success, offering a positive experience to the group. During this process, members of the group bring up a discussion about professional behavior and ethics. These narratives work simultaneously on the construction of the gynecologist's identity, the group's identity, and the identity of health care professionals.

Much of what happens in health care settings happens outside medical encounters (Atkinsons 1999; Sarangi and Roberts, 1999). If we want to gain more understanding on how health care professionals see themselves and the communities in which they practice (Wenger, 1998), we need to go beyond the traditional biomedical caricature (Iedema et al 2004). Looking at narratives, we can not only see how the narrator's social identities are constructed, but also how they work on binding the group together, creating culture and professional identities. The analyzes of narratives on the suffering of high-need populations, such as the victims of violence (Chang, 2003), is an important means to understand all this.

## **Sergio Maruenda-Bataller**

### ***New lexico-pragmatic processes in interaction: The negotiation of word-meaning***

The last five years are witnessing a growing interest of pragmatic research to bring the semantics-pragmatics distinction down to lexical meaning, thus augmenting the role of inference in yielding whatever meaning is communicated, either by means of a partly defeasible logical form (Blutner 1998, 2002; Lascarides & Copestake 1998; Levinson 2000) or by pragmatically narrowing or broadening the linguistically encoded meaning unlimitedly. For the Relevance theory approach, the one I adopt in this paper, the result is an ad hoc concept that is an integral part of the explicature (see Carston 2000, 2002b, 2003; Sperber & Wilson 2002; Wilson & Sperber 2002; Wilson forthcoming).

Acknowledging traditional criticism of the 'asocial' character of Relevance theory, and aiming to test the theory against real discourse, a reference corpus of 35 TV interviews was collected and analysed to provide a relevance-theoretic account of lexical narrowing and broadening within the multi-level complexity and richness of naturally-occurring conversation. This analysis pointed the need to

(i) describe these processes from the point of view of neither the speaker alone nor the hearer alone but from the standpoint of negotiation of lexical meaning. The results contribute to giving a new account of how meaning negotiation is effected in discourse, an aspect which has been neglected in traditional manuals on pragmatics (see Leech 1983; Levinson 1983; Green 1989; Yule 1996) and for which Relevance theory pragmatics is a powerful tool. Also, it has some implications for the semantics-pragmatics distinction and the encoding of social factors and cultural meaning (Bou & Garcés forthcoming, Sperber 1996).

(ii) identify two further processes that were seen to be at work in real dialogic discourse. I will call such processes concept merging and ad hoc category construction. Briefly, concept merging involves the fusion of two distinct lexically simple concepts to form an ad hoc complex concept whose meaning ranges from partial compositionality to an entirely once-off occurrence, depending on specific goals of communicators and their social and cognitive abilities. In accounting for ad hoc category construction, I will rely on experiments from psychology (Barsalou 1987, 1992, 1993) that have proved that speakers make up spontaneously ad hoc conceptual categories to be used in specific contexts and with definite goals. The analysis of real discourse shows the recursiveness of these lexico-pragmatic processes and how meaning in context is accessed, their combination resulting in distinct typologies as regards semantic and pragmatic criteria.

The originality of this paper is that, to my knowledge, no prior research into lexical pragmatics has either tested the theory against real dialogical discourse or identified these two new interactional processes.

## **Yasemin Bayyurt**

### ***Is it all right if I address you by your first name Madam?: Formality versus politeness in TV talk shows***

This paper reports a study which investigates the relationship between the concept of formality and politeness theory in the context of selected episodes from four different talk shows that are broadcast on state and independent channels in Turkey. In general, the term formality is used in a variety of ways in the literature, but it is most commonly used to refer to the occurrence of certain language forms which are considered to be more formal than the others in an interaction such as the use of personal pronoun you[V] instead of you[T] and deferential address term Sir/Madam instead of first names (FNs). The concept of informality, on the other hand, can be defined as the opposite of formality – i.e. the occurrence of certain language forms which are considered to be less formal than the others, such as, the use of the pronoun you[T] instead of the pronoun you[V] and the use of FNs instead of titles. The level of formality in an interaction is influenced by familiarity and power asymmetries among the participants which in turn influence their choice of language forms, such as address

terms and T/V pronouns. In this study, selected examples from talk show data are analysed in relation to formality and politeness theory. Two aspects of politeness theory are taken into consideration to determine the level of formality of the talk show data:

(1) structural politeness markers such as the use of *Could you please open the door?* instead of *Open the door!*;  
(2) deference which covers the use of T/V pronouns: 'Sen/Siz' you[T]/you[V]; and address forms – i.e. honorifics such as 'efendim' sir/madam, titles such as 'Doktor Hanım' Ms. Doctor, kinship terms such as 'abla' elder sister. The analysis of the data shows that involvement factor plays a major role in determining the level of formality of a situation. In other words, the more personal involvement between the participants in an interaction the less formal it is, and vice versa.

## **Annette Becker**

### ***The appropriateness of questions***

When is a question appropriate? In *Recontextualizing Context*, Fetzer (2004) distinguishes between “grammaticality” and “appropriateness” of sentences and utterances. Appropriateness, other than grammaticality, is a socio-cultural construct. Whereas the grammaticality of sentences may be judged without consideration of their textual, interpersonal, or interactional context, the appropriateness of utterances is highly context-dependent on all these levels. This is especially apparent in dialogical discourse types like media interviews. On the one hand, an interview shows a clear allocation of participants' roles. On the other hand, the appropriateness of a question's proposition and pragmatic force may be judged differently by interviewers, interviewees, and, in the case of media interviews, by an overhearing audience who witnesses live to which extent the participants of an interview accept or contest their co-participants' contributions. Observations on this have been made from various theoretical perspectives, such as conversation analysis (e.g. Schegloff 1988/9), pragmatics (e.g. Harris 1991), or in approaches combining pragmatics and critical discourse analysis (e.g. Fetzer 2000) or pragmatics, critical discourse analysis and appraisal theory (e.g. Lauerbach 2004, Becker 2004, Becker to appear). This paper uses methods from these fields to identify the criteria according to which interviewees interpret their interviewers' questions as appropriate or inappropriate. Data are taken from videotaped interviews television journalists conducted with politicians and experts during British, German and U.S.-American election night coverages. The analysis of the data shows that interviews with politicians and interviews with experts show clear differences as to what is interpreted as an appropriate question. This is due to the different discursive functions of these two sub-genres within the macro-genre "election night coverage". For instance, politicians are usually interviewed about potentially face-threatening topics generally associated with success or failure, whereas experts co-operatively co-construct the news story. These generic functions and their correspondence with the context-dependent appropriateness of interviewers' questions will be discussed in detail and demonstrated on the basis of selected data.

## **Monica Bednarek**

### ***Evaluation in broadsheet and tabloid publications***

Reporting expressions, which are used to comment on the speaker's, the listener's or a third party's utterances can be regarded as evidential comments, marking the source of a proposition as HEARSAY, and include verbs (to claim), nouns (the claim that), adjectives (alleged), adverbs (allegedly) and prepositions (according to). They can be more or less neutral (say), distancing (allege) or endorsing (point out) (see e.g. Thompson 1994, Hunston 2000), and can thus be employed to express the writer's evaluations towards (the speaker of) the reported utterance(s). This evaluative function of reporting expressions is the focus of this paper, which analyses the evaluation expressed in British tabloid and broadsheet news stories, on the basis of a detailed pragmatic-stylistic analysis of a 70.000 word corpus.

In this analysis I distinguish between two kinds of reporting expressions:

(1) reporting expressions that refer to linguistic activities, and which can further be sub-divided according to whether they are neutral (say), refer to the illocutionary act involved (promise), signal a relation to the ongoing discourse (add), refer to an institutionalised process (sentence) or to paralinguistic aspects of the utterance (mutter).

(2) Reporting expressions that refer to mental activities, and which can be subdivided according to whether they refer to emotions (fear), knowledge (know), beliefs (think that), expectations (expect), volition (want), mental processes (imagine) or states-of-mind (puzzled).

I also take into account whether such expressions involve an additional comment as far as the writer's attitude towards (the speaker of) the reported utterance is concerned.

The results of this analysis show that some of our preconceptions about the tabloid press might be misguided: contrary to expectation, they do not use significantly more illocutionary and paralinguistic (i.e. more

evaluative) reporting expressions than the broadsheets. In both sub-corpora the preference is for neutral reporting expressions, followed by illocutionary, declarative, discourse signalling and paralinguistic expressions. Furthermore, there is no higher frequency of reporting expressions that involve a semantic dimension of negative emotivity (attack, blame, blast, criticise, threaten), as would perhaps be expected of the popular press. However, the tabloids do use more expressions that indicate a clear negative evaluation of the speaker of the reported utterance (boast, brag), and also employ more expressions that judge the reliability of the reported speakers as very high (reveal). Additionally, the tabloids have a preference for reporting expressions that refer to emotions (fear) rather than to beliefs and intentions.

Apart from commenting on the findings of the corpus-based study, I shall also provide a detailed analysis of the evaluative functions of individual reporting expressions such as threaten and admit, demonstrating that their evaluative force is crucially shaped by the context in which they occur.

The study thus is to be seen as a contribution to the pragmatic study of evidentiality and evaluation, and closes an important gap in linguistic research in its extensive exploration of the difference between broadsheet and tabloid publications.

## **Bergljot Behrens & Cathrine Fabricius-Hansen**

### ***Temporal and non-temporal dimensions of the discourse relation accompanying circumstance: A cross-linguistic study***

The English ing-adjunct structure, being non-finite, is underdetermined with respect to how it is temporally interpreted. In context, it lends itself to varying interpretations, depending on its position relative to the matrix clause and the (aspectual) nature of the verb phrases involved in the construction, among other things (Kortmann 1991, Behrens 1998). One interpretation option is “accompanying circumstance” as in (1):

(1) He smiled slyly, nodding.

The relation of Accompanying Circumstance is very close to canonical Elaboration, in which the event in the ing-adjunct and the event in the matrix are merged (Behrens, op.cit., Sæbø t.a.), but differs from it in that the two event descriptions do not relate to the same event (Fabricius-Hansen and Behrens 2001). In either case, however, a relation of co-temporality is inferred between the ING-event(uality) and the matrix event(uality). In that respect, the ing-adjunct structure contrasts with and-conjunction in which aspectually unmarked (i.e. non-progressive) non-stative verb phrases are generally pragmatically understood as describing events that follow each other in time; cf. (2).

(2) He smiled slyly and nodded.

German and Norwegian both lack an equivalent of the ing-adjunct; as well as the grammatical distinction between progressive and non-progressive aspect, i.e. present and past tense forms corresponding to smiles, smiled are underdetermined with respect aspectual (perfective vs. non-perfective) ‘viewpoint’ as understood by Smith (1997). Correspondingly, additive conjunction seems to have a wider temporal updating potential in Norwegian than in English, allowing coordinate structures corresponding to (2) to translate ing-structures like (1); viz. (1’):

(1’) Han smilte litt lurt og nikket.  
he smile.PAST a-little slyly and nod.PAST

German, however, differs from Norwegian by having an anaphoric adverbial connective *dabei* (lit. ‘thereby’) which explicitly marks the event described by the clause it occurs in as an accompanying circumstance to the antecedent event (Fabricius-Hansen 2005). This connective is used in the second conjunct of coordinate (or paratactic) translations of ing-constructions like (1); cf. (1’):

(1’’) Er lächelte verstohlen und nickte dabei.  
he smile.PAST slyly and nod.PAST thereby

In more general terms: as a standard means of expressing the relation of Accompanying Circumstance, ‘bare’ coordination (or parataxis) in German, as in (3), competes with *dabei*-coordination (or parataxis) as in (1’).

(3) Er lächelte verstohlen und nickte.

By way of pragmatic strengthening (Levinson 2000), then, coordinate or paratactic structures without *dabei* are driven towards an interpretation of temporal sequence rather than cotemporality or Accompanying Circumstance. Consequently, ‘bare’ coordinate structures like (3) are dispreferred as translations of ing-constructions.

Norwegian has no exact equivalent of German *dabei*; and “accompanying circumstance” will be arrived at by inference, either based on an underdetermined coordinate structure, as above, or by the pragmatic strengthening of the propositional relation expressed by a purely cotemporal connective, as in (4’):

(4) He raises his hands in mock defence (beautiful, long fingers, she immediately notices, wondering whether he is conscious of it too).

(ABR1)

(4’) In gespielmtem Entsetzen hebt er die Hände (wunderschöne, lange Finger,

wie sie sofort bemerkt und sich dabei überlegt, ob er sich dessen gleichfalls bewußt ist).

‘... as she immediately notices and dabei wonders whether ...’

(4’) Han løfter hendene til forsvar på fleip (vakre, lange fingre, ser hun straks, mens hun undres på om han også er klar over det).

‘... she immediately notices, while she wonders whether ...’

In our paper we will discuss the linguistic and contextual basis for the pragmatic interpretation of Accompanying Circumstance in relation to Elaboration on the one hand and in view of the weaker relation “same time” on the other, and particularly look at the interpretation potential of German and Norwegian translations by conjunction. In particular we are concerned with the constraints on inferential paths based on the existence of competing constructions within each language. Our study is based on data from the Oslo Multilingual Corpus (see <http://www.hf.uio.no/german/sprik/korpus.shtml>).

## **Rebecca Beke & Adriana Bolívar**

### ***The management of certainty and commitment in the construction of academic knowledge***

The construction of knowledge in academic discourse has to do with how a certain kind of knowledge is negotiated and evaluated in a scientific/academic community (Chafe, 1986; Hyland, 1999, 2000; Swales, 1990), and how writers encode this knowledge in the text in their interaction with an “imagined” or “ideal” reader (Coulthard, 1994). The writer-reader interaction implies linguistic choices by writers concerning degrees of certainty and commitment to propositional content in their endeavour to persuade their readers (Thompson and Thetela, 1995). In this paper we focus on research articles, written in Spanish in the field of humanities and published in indexed Venezuelan journals, with the purpose of identifying those choices in various disciplines (education, linguistics, philosophy and psychology) and text types (essays, forums and research reports). Our research questions are: what are the sources of variation for the degrees of certainty and commitment? How do subject-matter and communicative purpose affect certainty and commitment? The categories are modalization (probability, possibility, frequency and quantity) and modulation (obligation and inclination) (Thompson, 1986). The corpus consists of research articles selected from the corpus of academic texts (CorpusAca2003) of the Academic Discourse research group at Universidad Central de Venezuela. The search was carried out using the programs WordPilot and WordSmith tools for the identification of writers’ linguistic signals; the data was then classified and analyzed according to the categories of analysis. The results show variation within disciplines and types of articles regarding the linguistic and pragmatic choices made by writers in relation to their responsibility and commitment to their respective field of knowledge. Moreover, the results suggest a possible influence of subject-matter and communicative purpose in writers’ choices.

## **Emmanuel Bellengier & Béatrice Priego-Valverde**

### ***Mitigation in discourse: A dialog gameboard study***

The research describes here investigate the production and the interpretation of mitigation during interactive conversation. We show that the interpretation of mitigation [Caffi, 1999] can be computed with high accuracy using a model of dialog.

Mitigation is a meta communicative activity which allows the speaker to reduce the aggressive or inappropriate part of his own discourse. Thus, this activity shows the distance the speaker can put between his discourse and himself.

On the basis on real data audio and video taped, we show the correlations between mitigations and the informational state of participants of a dialog. We first present a coding scheme for annotating communication following Ginzburg's dialog gameboard. The annotation is done by using ANVIL, a computational tool for annotating dialog (cf. [Kipp, 2001])

The main result of the corpus study and of the annotation is that a speaker can produce two kinds of mitigation. The first one is both a discursive activity helping the speaker to produce his own discourse and a meta communicative activity showing that he is trying to choose words in agreement with his thought. The second one, is a mitigation provoked by back-channel, i.e. the hearer’s behaviour which forces the speaker to mitigate his discourse in order to anticipate and answer to a potential objections by the hearer.

As a meta-communicative process, we can bridge the mitigation to Ginzburg’s model which distinguishes between two sides of the dialog’s meaning : the private meaning and the public meaning. The private meaning is instantiated by the stock of information available into the public meaning (which contains the linguistic description of the sentence), and contains some information about utterer’s beliefs and plans, both are stacks of information states. The private stack refers to the two parts of the mitigation process described into the corpus description.

**Diana ben-Aaron**

***What's new in news values***

This paper proposes a rethinking of the theory of news values, based on findings from a study of news reports about a single national political holiday, the Fourth of July in the United States, over 150 years in the New York Times. Galtung and Ruge proposed a system of news values in 1965 that has been expanded upon by Bell (1991) and largely upheld in the recent work of White (1998). The most important news values in this system were negativity, unexpectedness, and superlativeness— not surprisingly since most of the work on which those studies were based was ‘hard’ news about international affairs, politics or catastrophes. Analysis of the national holiday stories and other ‘soft’ news leads me to suggest that, orthogonal to these familiar news values, there is a dimension of newness, which is important enough not to be subsumed into the minor category of ‘novelty’ as the prior theory of news values has done. Work in linguistics going back to the Prague School (reviewed and substantially extended in Chafe 1994) indicates that newness is a central property of texts and utterances, which interacts with recoverable and retrievable information in the reader’s or listener’s consciousness.

At first glance, the national holiday news stories lie close to an extreme of non-newness, since they concern an activity type (Levinson 1989) or practice (Bourdieu 1991) that is reproduced in a relatively stable fashion. At the opposite extreme from the holiday stories there is the brand new, the event that has never happened before and must be covered as an extreme or hybrid version of a familiar news event; examples include the September 11 attacks (initially conceived as a combination of airplane crash, natural disaster and terrorist strike, and soon by much of the U.S. press as war) and the explosion of the first atom bomb (which combined war news and science news). Lesser degrees of newness appear as variation from the norm, which is perceived as brand-new when it exceeds a certain threshold and can still be presented as somewhat new when it falls below it: as collective memory systems are improved and automated over the life of the news outlet, usuality can increasingly be checked and expectations quantified down to the smallest details.

The general shape of routine news is familiar to most people by adulthood, but there is always a surface of new information in the form of specifics such as names and numbers and actuality such as video, sound and photographs from the news scene. The often symbiotic changes in technology and reporting practices also create new kinds of news, in the form of observations and connections that were logistically impossible to make before, as well as new writing styles and conventions. For example, an estimate of the prevailing level of emotion (whether accurate or inaccurate) has long been one of the primary ‘news’ in holiday reports. But it is only relatively recently that emotions have been presented through the words of the people at the scene, because vox populi quotes are a relatively recent introduction in news reporting, driven by vernacular television reporting styles enabled by smaller cameras. Finally, in many news stories there is also widely known, treated-as-given information that is new to the reader, a contextually-bound aspect of newness that occurs mainly where children and newcomers are being scaffolded into the local literate community and initiated into its ideologies.

In addition to these and other dimensions of newness in individual stories, the description of stable practices forms a ‘ground’ (embodying the familiar values of consonance, easy facticity, continuity, predictability, prefabrication and composition) against which the ‘figure’ news values of negativity, recency, unexpectedness and superlativeness in the most important and community-threatening news stories can be seen more clearly. Types of ‘ground’ news change over time (for example, shipping news and church services were once regular news, and entertainment news has assumed a more important place recently) but if the ground disappeared and media outlets began to report only the negative, unexpected and superlative, the habitus of readers would be disturbed and bad news would lose much of its impact. The study of newness as a news value thus has ramifications for all types of news, and also for other types of texts such as speeches and annual reports, which typically make extensive use of obviously recycled text but are also supposed to appear spontaneous, creative and in touch with the Zeitgeist.

**Paola Bentivoglio**

***Does the presence of a clitic reduplicating the relative pronoun que fulfill a necessary pragmatic function?***

In Spanish, mainly spoken but also written, it is possible —though infrequent—to find a construction as the following:

- (1) El sentido común es UNA BROMA que la tiene todo el mundo  
'Common sense is something that everybody has it'

where the relative pronoun "que" (that) is followed by the clitic "la" (it), which would not be necessary according to traditional grammars of Spanish. However, these constructions exist not only in spoken but also in written Spanish (mostly in the press), regardless of the apparent redundancy. Though this phenomenon is not

new in the language, as examples exist in documents from medieval times on, it is only recently that linguists have paid attention to it and tried to explain the underlying motivations. The more relevant studies on the subject are Lope Blanch (1984), De Mello (1992), Silva-Corvalán (1996), De Kock (1997), Suñer (2001), and Bentivoglio (2003a, 2003b). In the present research, I characterize the relative constructions headed by relative *que* with and without a following coreferential clitic pronoun with the aim of proposing: i) a quantitative corpus-based analysis of the possible factors that may influence the absence or presence of a clitic; and ii) a qualitative analysis of all cases of the construction with *que* + clitic in order to find the possible explanations for the clitic presence, in spite of the obvious redundancy. In effect, if the grammatical role of the relative pronoun is sufficient for the hearer to decode satisfactorily the utterance, there would be no need for a following clitic, whose only function seems to be that of coding linguistically the categories of gender, number, and grammatical role. The corpus consists of all relative clauses with "que" found in a half an hour of informal conversation by one hundred and sixty speakers (160) of Caracas Spanish. After having statistically evaluated the influence of a set of linguistic and extralinguistic (age, socioeconomic level, gender) factors, I will focus on the fact that the presence of a clitic in a relative clause appears to be almost always pragmatically motivated, as it clarifies grammatical details of the antecedent; the pronoun *que* is morphologically and syntactically opaque and can refer to different grammatical roles, gender and number. From the analysis it is evident that the presence of the clitic is very useful, as it eliminates all doubts caused by opacity of "que". But if this is the case, why –after one thousand years– the relative + clitic only represent less than 5% of all *que* relative constructions? The results will show that, even in fast spoken Spanish, the presence of a clitic coreferential with a relative *que* is really small (222 out of a total of 5,800 cases analyzed), even though its presence is easily explained if pragmatic reasons are invoked.

**Fabrizio Bercelli, Federico Rossano & Maurizio Viaro**  
***Patients' storytellings as reponses to therapist's elaborations***

In this paper we analyze a conversational practice we have identified in psychotherapy sessions: patients' storytellings placed in a specific sequential environment within the overall structural organization of the session. Our corpus consists of 6 brief individual therapies, conducted by 2 cognitivist and 2 relational-systemic therapists. The transcribed sessions amount to 60. The method used to analyze the practice is Conversation Analysis.

In every session the therapist asks for and the patient gives descriptions of events or experiences of his/her life, the therapist comments by elaborating what the patient has said, and the patient displays his/her uptake of the therapist's elaboration, in a more or less extended way. The telling of a new story about some episode of their own life (or the telling of a new version of an already told story) is just one of the many ways in which patients display their uptake of therapists' previous statement(s). This practice occurs rather rarely, at least in our corpus, in this sequential position – patients' storytellings occur much more frequently as responses to therapists' questions.

We describe and discuss some aspects of the practice and its interactional environment: how the storytelling is launched, how it is linked to (and aligned or disaligned with) the previous therapist's elaboration, which actions are done through it, and how the therapist deals with them.

In some cases, the patient's storytelling displays a change of his/her previous versions of the matters talked about – with both patient and therapist marking it as a meaningful change. In a wider research design, which combines conversation analysis with other research methods, we also test this phenomenon as an indicator of the therapeutic process.

**Domenic Berducci**  
***Conceptual and empirical analyses of teaching and learning: A scientist trains a technician***

Scholars have for many years successfully performed extremely detailed qualitative analyses of social interaction. These achievements of conversation analysts and microethnographers in examining innumerable cases of diverse types of interaction are renowned, and in this study, I attempt to append to that type of analysis a Wittgenstein-inspired conceptual investigation. Specifically, I combine this type of conceptual analysis with a qualitative empirical analysis of one instance of teaching/learning interaction.

I argue that a conceptual analysis increases analytic reflection, clarifies analytic concepts, and is valuable as a supplementary tool to analyze any social interaction. To begin the conceptual analysis, I explicate concepts related to the objects under scrutiny, 'teaching' and 'learning', thus foregrounding, for myself and for readers, the analytic ground of the forthcoming empirical analysis. Specifically, I begin by revealing three general teaching and learning concepts that are familiar to me. Next, I examine dictionary definitions of

‘teaching’ and ‘learning’, and critique the implied relations between them. I continue by examining teaching and learning as both process and achievement verbs ala Ryle, and finally examine the internal (non-causal) relation between these two concepts.

To the empirical microanalysis of the interaction between the biochemist and technician I apply the consequences of the foregoing conceptual analysis. Empirically I demonstrate my earlier arguments originating from the conceptual analysis that, contra dictionary definitions, and commonsense understandings, that teaching and learning do not and cannot exist in causal relation. Rather, an internal relation obtains between them as concepts and as empirical processes; that both these concepts and activities co-constitute each other, yet that teaching can exist without learning, and learning can exist without explicit teaching; finally, in the empirical analysis I demonstrate that teaching can be observed and thus named in real-time, but observations of learning are not warranted and remain as claims until learning as product is verified.

I conclude that conceptual and empirical analyses of interaction are mutually reinforcing analytic practices that would benefit all analyses of interaction.

## **Alexander Bergs**

### ***The future in context: A constructional approach***

The four major ways of expressing futurity\* in present-day English are:

(1-a) John WILL make a toast.

(1-b) John IS GOING TO make a toast.

(1-c) John MAKES a toast tonight.

(1-d) John IS MAKING a toast (tonight).

While all four constructions share a core of meaning (S to the left of E and R in Reichenbachian terms), there are also very complex co-occurrence restrictions and subtle differences in meaning: (1-a) makes very general predictions about future events, (1-b) implies immediacy and/or plans underway; (1-c) implies “future facts”, (1-d) certain arrangements underway, though the future event could still be cancelled. In terms of co-occurrence restrictions, we find that (1-a) and (1-b) are both modifiable by time adverbials. Adding tomorrow makes (1-a) more certain, and it lowers the immediacy overtone in (1-b). (1-c) is almost unacceptable without modification by a time adverbial; (1-d) is ambiguous unless modified. Moreover, (1-a) basically allows for almost all subject types, animate (agentive) and inanimate. However, first person subjects in this context can lead to ambiguities between epistemic readings (prediction), and root readings (volition, i.e. resolve and willingness). This effect is further strengthened if dynamic or intentional action verbs are present.

This paper argues that these phenomena can be elegantly accounted for in a constructional approach. In essence, the meaning (differences) in future constructions are based not on the polysemy of single verbs or adverbials, as is often assumed (e.g. Coates 1983), but on the construction AS A WHOLE and in its context (e.g., shared (world) knowledge, co-text etc.). Constructions are defined as form-meaning pairings at all levels of linguistic structure. The constructions of a given language form a structured inventory with, e.g., family resemblances. The ambiguities in (1-a) with first person subjects, for instance, can be modeled as polysemy links between related constructions, since these constructions (epistemic and root) share the same syntactic configuration, but show distinctive meanings. These can be distinguished through contextual factors, or grammatical configurations: Ambiguity usually does not arise with subjects in other persons; these structures are uniquely ascribed to the epistemic construction. (1-d) also only gains its specific meaning either in context or through the appropriate adverbials. In (1-c), in contrast, the adverbial slot is obligatory in most cases, though, even here, cotextual factors might occasionally suffice to disambiguate the simple present construction from the future construction (see, e.g., Wekker 1976: 81).

It is thus suggested that future constructions have an (optional) syntactic and semantico-pragmatic slot which could be filled by either implicature through context or specific morphosyntactic items that provide that context. This paper develops a unified account for future constructions with and without (semi-)auxiliaries in which different semantico-pragmatic functions are distinguished as the meanings of different but related construction types, like “present progressiveness” versus “futurity with an arrangement”.

\*Needless to say, there are also numerous marginal constructions, such as be about to, be to V etc. While it may be hypothesized that here the same principles apply, they cannot be discussed in detail in this paper.

## **Susan Berk-Seligson**

### ***False confession: Linguistic and extralinguistic evidence of coercion in a police interrogation***

Discourse analyses of ‘stance’ point to a variety of linguistic mechanisms that speakers use to express their “attitudes, feelings, judgements, or commitment to the propositional content of their message” (Biber and



Finegan 1989). Grammatical elements together with lexicon play an important role in creating stance. The studies of Biber and Finegan (1989), Conrad and Biber (2000), Halliday (1994), Johnstone (2004), and Stubbs (1996) point to the ways in which particular discursive elements contribute to achieving stance.

Stance-taking is particularly relevant to adversarial interaction, and especially salient in situations of highly asymmetrical power relations, such as police interrogations. In such interaction, the interrogator through a variety of means conveys to the suspect that he, the interrogator, has reason to believe that the suspect has been involved in the perpetration of a crime, and the suspect--even if guilty--works at making himself appear blameless.

This paper analyzes stance-taking in a case involving a Mexican young man convicted in the USA for participating in the grisly murder of a latino couple and the kidnapping of their three-month old baby and three-year old son. He currently sits on death row. The police interrogator, a bilingual U.S. latino, conducted the interrogation in Spanish, and in addition acted as interpreter for the defendant and for the monolingual English-speaking district attorney who drew up the defendant's confession statement.

The paper demonstrates that coercion was involved in obtaining a signed written confession from the suspect and that there is convincing evidence of the defendant's innocence. Linguistic evidence will be drawn from affidavits of the defendant and his co-defendants--all three of whom were accused of collaborating in the murder/kidnapping--together with pretrial and trial testimony of the police detective and the defendant. In addition, extralinguistic evidence of coercion will be presented, based upon the recent reasoning of U.S. judges with respect to the use of police as interpreters during interrogations, and the testimony of a number of persons, primarily latinos, who report having been subjected to similar abusive behavior by the particular police detective in question. The paper presents evidence of abuse that is not merely psychological, but physical as well. In addition, it demonstrates the discursive techniques used by the abusive police interrogator on the witness stand to construct a persona of "Mr. Nice Guy," when his behavior is called into question by attorneys for the defense.

## **Lawrence Berlin**

### ***The enactment of evasive talk: When is it appropriate to flout the cooperative principle?***

The current study identifies the conditions and contexts in which evasive talk and its concomitant flouting of the Cooperative Principle (CP) are deemed acceptable. Specifically, during the hearings of the 9-11 Commission (a commission formed to investigate the circumstances and possible culpability of responsible parties leading to the security breach involved with the incidents of 9-11-2001 in New York City and Washington, DC), government officials engaged in evasive talk while under oath during questioning.

A Grounded Theory (GT) methodology is employed to conduct the study. Grounded Theory is essentially an inductive, heuristic approach wherein theory is derived from the data. In this paper, the levels of speech acts and discourse analysis are employed in order to understand not only the structure of evasive talk, but also the sociolinguistic, sociocultural, and socio-political contexts that lend themselves to conditions wherein the flouting of the CP seems appropriate.

Typically, the performance of evasive talk in dialogue emerges when a respondent does not wish to provide information requested by an interlocutor, yet does not choose to simply ignore the question (i.e., avoidance). Evasive talk has generally been defined according to two possible strategies: direct and indirect. In a direct refusal strategy, a respondent goes "on record" to verbalize either an unwillingness or inability to provide requested information. In an indirect refusal, a respondent may shift topics, thus addressing his or her own negative face needs (i.e., proceeding without impediment) while seemingly responding to the interlocutor.

While these strategies seem to be sufficient for describing a commonplace question-answer routine, they do not amply describe the enactment of evasive talk within the adversarial process of a congressional hearing. In such a context, a power differential exists (i.e., the interrogators have a higher status or more authority than the respondents) wherein respondents are required, by law, to adhere to the maxims of Grice's Cooperative Principle, providing appropriate, relevant, and direct answers to questions or suffer potential consequences (e.g., contempt of court, obstructing justice).

In the case of the 9-11 Commission, however, high-ranking government officials fulfilling the respondent role were allowed to flout conversational maxims with evasive talk in a manner that not only proved a useful strategy for them as defendants, but also seemed an acceptable strategy to interrogators.

## **Ruth Berman & Bracha Nir-Sagiv**

### ***The lexicon as a window on thematic content of adolescent discourse: Cross-cultural perspectives***

The paper investigates the lexicon as a diagnostic of thematic content of the discourse of speaker-writers from different age groups and communities. To this end, texts produced on the shared topic of interpersonal conflict

by adolescents in two age groups (junior high school 7th graders and high school 11th graders) are compared across the variables of genre (personal-experience narratives versus expository discussions) and cultural background (mainstream native-Israeli adolescents and their less advantaged peers of Ethiopian immigrant origin). Analysis of a total of 128 texts (16 subjects in each of two age-groups) considers two types of lexical items: nouns ranked on a pre-established scale from concrete, imageable, and specific in reference to abstract, generic, and categorical (Ravid, in press) and verbs divided by an innovative set of categories between lexical and non-lexical predicates, with the latter further subdivided into patient- or agent-oriented dynamic predicates and speech act verbs versus different classes of stative predicates – main verbs expressing affect, evaluation, and mental as compared with physical states and modals expressing prescriptively deontic versus cognitively epistemic attitudes (Reilly et al, 2002). We predict that these rankings will reveal differences in treatment of the topic of interpersonal conflict across the variables of age, genre, and culture as follows. In both communities, younger subjects will refer more to concrete incidents, events, and people and they will use mainly agent-oriented dynamic action and speech act verbs in their narratives, and they will express vague generalities by generic reference and nonlexical predicates in their expository texts; in contrast, older adolescent subjects will make more abstract and categorical nominal reference in both types of texts, and they will draw more generalizaed inferences in their narratives and will rely more on cognitively motivated epistemic modals and verbs to refer to possible worlds and alternative solutions in their expository texts. Younger subjects will express judgemental, socially-inculcated prescriptive attitudes to the topic of interpersonal conflict, while older students will provide more individual interpretations based on personal experience. Cross-cultural differences will find expression mainly in the sites of the conflicts that are described (school and neighborhood in the middle class groups, home and family in the immigrant groups) and will reflect socio-cultural attitudes relating to such factors as emotional involvement, familiarity with scenes of physical violence, and the importance of family honor and group status.

**Maria Bernal**

***Insultan los insultos?: Descortesía auténtica vs. descortesía no auténtica en español coloquial***

El presente trabajo de investigación se basa en conversaciones extraídas de las grabaciones del corpus general de español hablado del grupo Val.Es.Co., de la Universidad de Valencia (cf. Briz & grupo Val.Es.Co 2002). El propósito es hacer una lectura de corte sociopragmático al centrarnos en los efectos sociales que produce el uso de determinadas estrategias relacionadas con la cortesía, o más bien, con la falta de ella, como es definida la descortesía en el Diccionario de la R.A.E. El marco en que se desarrollan las conversaciones de nuestro corpus, la interacción cotidiana de registro coloquial, implica la negociación de las imágenes de los interlocutores participantes, entendiendo por imagen social, face, (Goffman, 1967:10) la autoimagen que la persona desea presentar ante otros en la interacción. Las expresiones habitualmente utilizadas para insultar o ridiculizar al otro pueden, en ciertos contextos, tener un efecto social afiliativo, reforzando el sentimiento de solidaridad grupal y la cercanía entre los interlocutores; es lo que hemos denominado descortesía no auténtica.

Seguiremos el modelo teórico de Culpeper (1996, 2003), quien propone unas superestrategias de descortesía partiendo de las superestrategias de cortesía del modelo de Brown & Levinson ([1978]1987), así como la propuesta de Kaul de Marlangeon (e.p.), quien refleja un tipo de descortesía inmersa en un clima de hostilidad, la descortesía intragrupal-crónica, cuyo propósito es anular la imagen del oyente (descortesía auténtica). En situaciones en las que el objetivo es deteriorar la imagen del otro, se producen actos intencionalmente amenazadores como son los insultos. Si bien su efecto canónico es negativo, constatamos en este trabajo que es primordial considerar las coordenadas contextuales ya que, en la línea de la descortesía burlesca o fingida, mock impoliteness, mencionada por Culpeper (1996), los insultos pueden reforzar la solidaridad in-group. En este sentido, nos hacemos eco del término anticortesía propuesto por Zimmermann (2003) para estas estrategias. En este trabajo sobre el español consideramos algunos conceptos relativos al papel crucial del contexto como son el de hipótesis sociocultural de Bravo (2003:104), según expectativas y conocimientos compartidos en determinada sociedad, y el de ideomas corteses (Briz 2004:82), característicos de cada cultura o grupo social, como activadores de la protección de ciertas imágenes propias o ajenas.

Las interacciones coloquiales en las que nos centramos en este estudio sobre el español en su variante peninsular nos han permitido, en primer lugar, observar diferentes realizaciones lingüísticas que en forma no marcada pueden clasificarse como insultos. En un segundo nivel, hemos analizado su uso en los diferentes situaciones de nuestro corpus, para llegar a la conclusión de que no en todos los casos cumplen con esa función no marcada, es decir, que no siempre constituyen descortesía auténtica, sino que, dependiendo de ciertos factores contextuales (interacciones producidas entre jóvenes que tienen entre sí una relación con un alto grado de familiaridad) y de una adecuada contextualización sociocultural y co-textualización textual, pueden ser definidos como de descortesía no auténtica.

**Roxane Bertrand & Catherine Chanet**  
***Particules et signaux back-channel dans la conversation***

Cette étude emprunte à l'analyse conversationnelle et à l'analyse des discours en examinant la façon dont les participants à l'échange collaborent à l'élaboration du discours et à la gestion des tours de parole.

Notre objectif est d'analyser plus précisément les cas de co-occurrence des signaux de back-channel (BC) et des particules, tous deux phénomènes inhérents à l'oral spontané. On connaît relativement bien le rôle des BCs à préserver la relation entre les interlocuteurs, qui se donnent mutuellement des signes de leur présence et de leur intérêt. En ce sens, les BCs fournissent de l'information sur les processus d'écoute et de compréhension des discours. En revanche, l'hypothèse selon laquelle les BCs fournissent également des informations sur les processus d'élaboration des discours, en signalant notamment des étapes de cette élaboration, demeure beaucoup moins envisagée. De leur côté, les particules sont plutôt décrites pour leur rôle dans la structuration du discours, à différents niveaux. Or, elles peuvent également intégrer une dimension phatique, qui a été moins étudiée. BCs et particules partagent donc un double fonctionnement, au niveau interactionnel et au niveau de la structuration des discours. Nous formulons l'hypothèse que la co-occurrence de ces deux phénomènes correspond à des moments cruciaux où les interlocuteurs ont accompli un but, voire un projet discursif, et se le rendent alors manifeste l'un à l'autre.

Le corpus examiné est composé de 5 interactions conversationnelles, en face à face, enregistrées en chambre sourde. Les locuteurs sont équipés de micro-casques, ce qui permet l'enregistrement de chacune des voix sur piste séparée, et facilite ainsi l'analyse des phases de chevauchement de parole par exemple.

Au stade actuel, nous avons mené des investigations sur un extrait de 15 minutes comportant 37 cas de co-occurrences de BCs (mhm, ouais) et particules (quoi, bon, enfin). Nous considérons qu'il y a co-occurrence lorsque les BCs et les particules apparaissent dans un environnement proche (moins de deux mots) ou simultanément (en chevauchement de parole). Nous avons opposé ces cas aux deux autres cas possibles de 1/ présence de BCs sans particule dans leur environnement proche ou 2/ présence de particules sans BCs. Sur la base de ces premières observations, nous pouvons interpréter la co-occurrence des BCs et des particules non seulement comme un moyen, pour les interactants, de se signaler mutuellement l'état d'accomplissement d'un projet discursif mais aussi comme une stratégie pour mettre à jour, conjointement, l'état des représentations cognitives partagées.

**Camilla Bettoni & Antonia Rubino**  
***Handling complaints cross-culturally: Italians vs Anglo-Australians***

We will analyse the speech act of complaint as realised cross-culturally by native speakers of Italian in Italy and of English in Australia. Complaint is a delicate and difficult act both to address and to receive, and Italian and Anglo-Australian cultural values are sufficiently different to affect all aspects of the speech act: from the decision to complain, through semantic and linguistic features of the interaction, to the satisfactory outcome of the verbal exchange. Yet little attention has been devoted to this speech act in general, and to its realisation in Italian in particular.

For a sharper differentiation of the two language groups, the analysis will combine concerns for more situational, context-external variables, such as cause for complaint and sex of complainant, with concerns for less predetermined, more context-internal variables affecting the local, sequential organisation of on-going discourse seen as a process of progressive negotiation.

Our participants are adults (rather than students), whose wider range of life experiences allows for our choice of open role-enactments (rather than role-plays). In acting out our brief scripts, participants work in pairs, alternating the roles of complainant and complaine. In real life, these pairs are all long-standing couples, which allows first for higher involvement and more natural conversations during the interaction, and then for more closely matched comparisons in the analysis. Our 20 couples, 10 Italian and 10 Australian, act out 9 situations, where the complaint is variably caused by a wrong whose redress is obligatory, negotiable, or null, and variably addressed to institutional representatives, service-personnel, or strangers.

We will show that, as well as homogeneity, there is significant variation both between the two cultural groups and within them. The main cross-cultural differences are to be found in the overall organisation of the interaction (e.g. position of the head act in the sequence, number and type of preparatory moves, speaker- vs hearer-oriented perspective), in the levels of directness (e.g., type of strategy used for the head act, quantity and quality of mitigating devices), and in the type of resolution finally reached.

All this forebodes interesting problems for inter-cultural communication and interlanguage development, which will be the focus of our next investigations.

## **Robbert-Jan Beun & Rogier van Eijk**

### ***Dialogues and ontologies***

When two dialogue participants (human or electronic agents) exchange information, they have an individual conceptualisation of the domain of interest and a shared vocabulary to communicate facts with respect to this domain. The two conceptualisations can be expressed in so-called ontologies. An ontology is a catalogue of the types of things that are assumed to exist in a domain of interest from the perspective of a person who uses a language for the purpose of talking about the domain [3]. Hence, an ontology abstracts the essence of the domain of interest and helps to classify and distinguish the various types of objects in the domain, their properties, and relationships.

In collaborative performance of tasks, agreement between the participants with respect to their ontologies is crucial or, at least, the participants should be aware of existing discrepancies. Ontological discrepancies may cause serious communication flaws [1] and the generation of adequate feedback in order to repair such flaws is an essential part of modelling a proper communication process. We will refer to this type of feedback as ontological feedback.

The main goal of our paper is to present a computational framework that enables us to generate elementary speech acts that contribute to ontological agreement between two dialogue partners. In the framework we make three assumptions:

1. the ontological representations of the participants are independent and may, therefore, be formalised in different languages;
2. the information in a received message is in agreement with the ontology of its sender;
3. ontological representations of both participants are rooted in a common domain of interest.

In the communication process, we clearly distinguish between message interpretation and message generation. In the interpretation process, presuppositions are extracted from the sender's message and subsequently compared with the receiver's ontology; for various reasons, we have represented the sender's ontology as a type-theoretical context. Message generation is based on Gricean scalar implicatures [2]. It produces two types of information: first, the information that causes the discrepancy, and second, a possible way to solve the problem, for instance, a question about the interlocutor's ontology or a statement about its own ontology.

Essential to our approach is that ontological discrepancies are treated on the basis of the participants own subjective view on the world. In other words, there is no reference to any (implicit) third ontology. Therefore, the framework abstracts from a notion of truth which is inherent to model-theoretic approaches. Dialogue participants work towards agreement on the basis of their own belief states and the generated speech acts.

## **Eudenio Bezerra**

### ***Cognition, interaction and language as situated activity: Puzzles and solutions***

Although we can distinguish between theoretical trends that understand meaning as a something fixed, and those that take it as a dynamic construction in which speaker and hearer are deeply involved, we can broadly identify, even in the second group I will privilege in this discussion, beliefs I consider inadequate regarding notions we can not dispense with, as the operation of human organisms in general, and the nervous system, cognition and language in particular. In fact, only very late in the last century the current understanding of human beings as biological beings and their typical phenomenology began to be broadly challenged as such, having some of the criticisms that appeared by that time been informed by well developed and robust theories that either adopt a systemic and complex stance or are aware of the variety of domains involved in human phenomenology. In this paper, I will address to some of these conceptions I find distinctive here as they are understood by the Biology of Cognition. As an argumentative strategy I will compare two theoretical propositions of the second kind above mentioned on the light of this framework, seeking for logical consistency and empirical validity in the treatment of meaning construction. Aiming at giving an account of the socially collaborative, culturally and materially grounded nature of the human mind, Sinha (to appear) criticizes the mentalist and individualist characteristics of classical cognitive science preserved by the conceptual blending theory, arguing for the extension of both theory and data, highlighting the role of cultural material objects as meaning-bearing elements. Mondada (2001) articulates the praxeological dimension of the interactant's activities with cognitive processes, which are then seen as simultaneously situated in the context of the interaction and distributed between the participants of an interaction. Yet, she suggests empirical fields and analytic activities emphasizing the importance of the configuring role of the linguistic and multimodal sources mobilized in social interaction. Putting these two propositions side by side will allow me to discuss philosophical implications and challenges faced by cognitive-linguistic analysis that pursue a radical pragmatic orientation.

## **Anne Bezuidenhout**

### ***Parentheticals and the re-ranking of forward-looking centers***

According to Centering Theory (Grosz et al., 1995), each discourse has a number of discourse ‘centers’, which are the entities being talked about. Every utterance has a ‘backward-looking center’, Cb, as well as a set of ‘forward-looking centers’, Cf. Cb is the current topic of conversation. The members of Cf are the discourse entities that are candidates to become the next topic and are ranked in order of salience. The most highly ranked member of Cf becomes the Cb of the following utterance. When Cb is the most highly ranked member of Cf, this indicates that it will continue as topic. When another entity is the most highly ranked, an upcoming topic shift is signaled.

The factors influencing the re-ranking of entities in Cf have not been systematically explored. Gordon et al (1993) found that putting a non-subject in a phrase in sentence-initial position facilitates a shift to this entity as the new topic in the following utterance:

Utt1: Susan bought Fred a pet hamster.

Utt2: In his opinion, she shouldn't have done that.

Utt3: He doesn't have anywhere to put a hamster cage.

The entity referred to by ‘she’ is the Cb(Utt2), while the entity referred to by ‘he’ is the Cb(Utt3). The fact that this topic shift is facilitated suggests that the entity indexed to ‘his’ is the most salient member of Cf(Utt2). In other words, fronting a non-subject apparently makes it the most salient entity in Cf(Utt2).

However, an analysis of the parentheticals used by Gordon et al. shows that they do not belong to a uniform class. The majority were mental attitude/ speech act parentheticals (MAPs), such as ‘In his opinion’, ‘According to her’. But there were also substantial numbers of three other sorts. Here I will focus just on MAPs and one other class, namely locative/ temporal/ instrumental parentheticals (‘locatives’ for short), such as ‘In the instructions to him’, ‘Until his arrival’, ‘With her help’. There is reason to believe that MAPs and locatives do not work in the same way.

In ‘Anne is coming, I'm certain’ the role of the parenthetical is to perform a subsidiary speech act that comments on the one performed by the main clause. When parentheticals of this sort are in the 3rd person, the commenting speech act may in addition have independent relevance. I argue that this is true of MAPs. On the other hand, I argue that locatives behave more like non-restrictive relatives. In ‘Mary's husband, who is over in the corner, is a linguist’, two independent speech acts are performed. But the one performed by the parenthetical conveys information that is backgrounded relative to the main clause information. If we assume that the salience ranking of an entity mentioned in a parenthetical is a function of the prominence of the information conveyed by the parenthetical, and if information in MAPs is more prominent than in locatives, then entities mentioned in MAPs should be more salient than entities mentioned in locatives. If the salience ranking of entities can be influenced by the type of informational units they participate in, we have reasons to believe that salience re-ranking is not automatically triggered by putting a phrase mentioning an entity in sentence-initial position.

## **Michela Biazzì**

### ***Reformulating in native-nonnative interaction: Grammatical and interactional perspectives***

This paper will present some results from a corpus-based investigation on reformulations in Italian native-nonnative naturally occurring conversational exchanges in non-pedagogical contexts.

The data consist of 30 hours of audio/video recorded dyadic and multi-party face-to-face interactions ranging from doctor/patient conversational exchanges to “service encounters” and meetings among cultural mediators taking place in two local agencies for migrants in Italy. The corpus has been transcribed using CLAN according to the CA coding scheme.

One of the aims of the research is to investigate patterns at the “syntactic and interactional interface” (Fox/Hayashi/Jasperson 1996; Ochs/Schegloff/Thompson 1996; Schegloff 1979) emerging from the reformulation sequences in the corpus, in connections with their (trouble) sources (Bazzanella/Damiano 1999; House/Kasper/Ross 2003). The rationale behind it is that on the one hand, the syntactic structure of reformulation units may play a role in their turn-taking and sequential organization; on the other hand, their position within a TCU and a sequence may shape their syntactic format. In order to tackle these issues both from a linguistic and an interactional perspective lexical, syntactic and functional studies on reformulations (Bazzanella 1996; Clark/Brennan 1991; Fuchs 1994) have been compared with CA and Interactional Linguistics investigations on repairs and grammar-in-interaction (Du Bois 2003; Ford/Fox/Thomson 2002 and 2003; Selting 2001).

A further research question deals with the problematic issue of which criteria the analyst should follow in order to investigate when and how the nonnativeness of at least one of the speakers is relevant to the syntactic and

interactional shaping of reformulation sequences. SLA research on the handling of misunderstanding in intercultural encounters (Bremer 1988) have been compared with CA studies on nonnative discourse (Antaki/Widdicombe 1998; Di Luzio/Günthner/Orletti 2001; IAL 2000; Kurhila 2001; Orletti 2000): the former, following a top-down approach, “pre-categorize” nonnative speakers as L2 learners, whose interlanguage stage represents a resource to explain their language practices, while the latter are interested in the way the speakers themselves display their membership categorization during conversational exchanges.

This paper will comment on some excerpts from the corpus focusing on the relation between syntactic structures and interactional organizing principles in reformulation sequences. The account will provide both qualitative and quantitative observations (Scheghloff 1993) on the following patterns: correction and topicalization phenomena in insertion sequences; repair and non-repair self-reformulations; self- and other reformulations in collaborative word search sequences; self-initiated explicative paraphrases and reformulations in closing-up sequences.

Furthermore critical observations will be made about the notions of “reformulation”, “repair”, “repetition” on the one hand and “TCU” (Ford/Fox/Thompson 1996) and “sequence” on the other hand, which cover different linguistic and interactional phenomena according to the research framework of reference, being very much dependent on the criteria (i.e. semantic, syntactic or pragmatic ones) chosen in order to identify units within the speech continuum.

The paper will also hint at the problematic notions of “nonnativeness” and “L2 interactional competence” in order to look at the use of linguistic structures in interaction from a SLA developmental perspective (Gajo/Mondada 2000, Pekarek Doehler 2000).

**Károly Bibok**

***Conceptual differentiation and lexical pragmatics: The case of the Hungarian and Russian verbs with meaning 'cut'***

Theoretical background. The present paper is built on a conception of lexical pragmatics which critically amalgamates the views of Two-level Conceptual Semantics (Bierwisch 1996), Generative Lexicon Theory (Pustejovsky 1995) and Relevance Theory (Sperber–Wilson 1995) concerning word meanings in utterances. Lexical pragmatics accepts, as a starting-point in construction of word meanings in utterances, lexical-semantic representations which can be underspecified and allow for methods other than componential analysis. According to lexical pragmatics, as words have underspecified meaning representations, they reach their full-fledged meanings in corresponding contexts through considerable pragmatic inference. One of these interpretation operations is the so-called conceptual differentiation, which originates from Two-level Conceptual Semantics (cf. selective binding in Pustejovsky 1995 and contextual modulation in Cruse 1986). Conceptual differentiation modifies the underspecified meaning belonging to the linguistic level in slightly different ways within one and the same conceptual domain. The paper uses conceptual differentiation combining it with the notions of lexical stereotype and prototype.

Aims. In the present paper I have one general and two special aims. As to the general one, I thoroughly investigate how conceptual differentiation, lexical stereotype and prototype co-operate in the lexical field of the Hungarian and Russian verbs with meaning ‘cut’ in order to construct their actual contextual meanings in utterances. With this general aim in mind, I first analyze such Hungarian verbs as *vág* ‘cut’, *nyír* ‘cut/mow’, *fűrész* ‘saw’ and *borotvál* ‘shave’. On the basis of a wide range of immediate and extended contexts in which this word can occur, I define their underspecified linguistic meanings. Then, I try to show that these encoded meanings are restricted by lexical stereotype and prototype. Furthermore, I present how such complex representations capture indefinitely many actual uses of the Hungarian verbs under investigation in corresponding utterances. The second special aim is concerned with a comparison of the Hungarian words and their Russian counterparts, viz. *rezat* ‘cut without a blow’, *rubit* ‘cut with a blow’, *strič* ‘cut/mow’, *pilit* ‘saw’ and *brit* ‘shave’. The cross-linguistic differences revealed in the contrastive section of my paper correlate with the language-specific characteristics of underspecification in lexical encoding.

Conclusions. My examination of these Hungarian and Russian verbs results in a more adequate description of the word meaning than it can be found in dictionaries. It offers a more reliable model of representation and derivation of their several meanings. Moreover, this result can be reached only in a way followed in my research, which argues for a division of labor between the underspecified linguistic encoding in combination with lexical stereotype and prototype and contextual interpretation.

**Jack Bilmes**

***I know as part of a multi-component response***

“I know” is a very common response in conversation. It seems to be the quintessential state-of-knowledge response in that it explicitly affirms that what the previous speaker has said is already known to the recipient. Even a casual examination of the data, however, reveals additional functions of “I know.” It is frequently used to indicate alignment—agreement with a stated opinion or a shared emotional response—or understanding. “I know” may occur as a full turn-at-talk or as part of a multi-component turn. It may occur in overlap, almost as a back-channel, or as an in-the-clear, in-turn utterance. Its sequential consequences are varied.

In an effort to bring some initial order to a multifarious phenomenon, I have chosen to concentrate attention on “I know” as the initial element (it is almost invariably initial) in multi-component utterances. The questions to be addressed are “What can follow “I know” and how does the following element relate to the initial “I know”?” It is found that “I know” can serve a number of sequential functions:

1. It can provide closure on a certain bit of business. The following element opens a new, usually related, bit of business.
2. It prefaces further indications of alignment or agreement.
3. It prefaces some indication of disalignment or exception.
4. It prefaces a commentary on itself, showing that I do indeed have the knowledge I am claiming to have.

The analysis in this paper will focus primarily on functions 1 and 4. The data are drawn largely from the Linda Tripp tapes, although other sources are used as well.

## **Karin Birkner**

### ***Expressing disagreement in German-German job interviews***

Job interviews are a central selection instrument for the labour market in western industrialised countries. After the German reunification East Germans had to prove themselves in a communicative genre of Western cultural imprint. Although East and West Germans speak the ‘same language’, and interact successfully on the surface, communication between the two communities is often perceived as tense and susceptible to mutual misunderstandings. However, instead of recognizing the differences in people’s underlying communicative norms and expectations, the tension is often attributed to personal characteristics. This can be highly consequential in job interviews guided by West German interviewers, since job interviews represent a typical gate-keeping situation and the oral performance of the applicants plays the crucial role in the selection decision of the interviewers. As a consequence this can lead to either social participation or marginalisation.

In the lecture I will analyse sequences between West German interviewers and East and West German applicants in which disagreement is required in order to avoid damage for the applicants’ image. The reactions by East and West Germans to the interviewers’ confrontational questions show very different ways of managing disagreement: Whereas West German seem to prefer a style which can be characterized as more dissens-oriented, East Germans tend to avoid open dissens and are oriented toward the display of agreement. These sequences often take an asymmetrical progression linked with high risks for positive self presentation for the East Germans in the job interview. The recurrence of the phenomenon reveals that West and East Germans differ as regards norms and underlying regularities of the genre displayed in the linguistic practices. Further, it is shown that differing concepts of the genre are treated by the interviewers as knowledge deficits.

## **Oscar Bladas Marti**

### ***Conversational routines and the form-function association***

This paper is devoted to some pragmatic properties of the so-called conversational routines (CR) (e.g. hello, howdy, help yourself). More specifically, its main purpose is to present some recent data related to one of the most distinctive features of these expressions, namely, their strong association with a pragmatic function.

Although many scholars focus on this feature when they define CR, it has never been explained clearly how such association works and which kind of pragmatic information must be taken into account. In this paper, however, I present some data which helps to shed some light on the problem by relating the pragmatic properties of more than 700 colloquial Catalan and Spanish expressions with the pragmatic concept of deixis.

As it is known, any item, when uttered, is automatically located in a particular spatiotemporal context, i.e. it is anchored by several deictic devices in a particular place and time in relation to the here-and-now deictic centre. Most items can be anchored in different deictic coordinates (DC), where they acquire different pragmatic functions depending on the context (cf. I promise I’ll do it [= a promise], I promised I’d do it [= an assertion]). CR, however, seem to be a significant exception to that rule as they are reluctant to accept different DC where to carry out different pragmatic functions. See in (1a) that the Spanish greeting formula hola is only acceptable if it is situated in here-and-now DC, not in past DC, as in (1b), where it works as a description of a past event. Besides the agrammaticality of (1b) is not due to syntactic reasons, as interjections can be coordinated with a sentence in Spanish, as it is shown in (1c):

(1a) ¡Hola!, ¿cómo estás?

Hello!, how are you?

(1b) \*Me lo encontré el otro día por la calle y hola

I bumped into him in the street the other day and hello

(1c) Ya sé que tenías trabajo, pero ¡joder! [me podrías haber avisado de que no venías]

I know you were busy, but fuck! [you should have told me that]

Therefore the unacceptability of (1b) must be caused by pragmatic restrictions, basically by the fact that hola is not anchored in here-and-now DC, but in past-not-here DC, where it can only be interpreted as an assertion because of the context (I bumped into him in the street the other day).

An analysis of more than 700 colloquial Spanish and Catalan expressions shows that similar deictic restrictions are particularly common in CR. It has been observed as well that deictic restrictions can also help to distinguish between non idiomatic items —not deictically restricted (e.g. the English order Get out of here! [cf. the assertion He got out of there])— and their idiomatic counterparts —deictically restricted (e.g. the expression of incredulity Get out of here!, cf. the assertion ??When he told me that I said him to get out of there).

The main conclusion drawn from this data is that the pragmatic function of any item is strongly determined by the deictic coordinates in which such item is located. This is particularly clear in the case of CR, which can only be uttered in some particular DC and hence can only carry out some particular pragmatic functions.

## **Daniel Blair & Catherine Wearing** ***Pragmatic impairments in autism***

A leading explanation of the linguistic and social impairments exhibited by autistic children and adults traces these problems to deficits in their ‘theory of mind’. The idea, in brief, is that many of the distinctive patterns of behavior seen in autism are the result of an impoverished ability to explain an agent’s behavior in terms of her beliefs, desires, and other propositional attitudes. Autists are ‘mindblind’: explanations in terms of such mental states seem not to be available to them (Baron-Cohen 1995).

With respect to linguistic impairments, this view affords a natural explanation of the specific difficulties that autistic speakers exhibit. The difficulties in question are uniformly pragmatic. For example, 1st and 2nd person pronouns are reversed, differences between literal meaning and speaker’s intended meanings are routinely problematic, and autistic speakers have difficulty following conversational rules (e.g. turn-taking, exchanging relevant information). Strikingly, autistic speakers do not show comparable difficulties with syntactic and semantic aspects of language (Tager-Flusberg 1994). As a result, the theory of mind explanation is compelling because pragmatics is routinely understood to involve information about a speaker’s intentions and beliefs (so, propositional attitudes). Quite generally, apprehending what someone intended by an utterance, when this goes beyond or is different from the literal meaning of the words they use, requires a bit reasoning that appears to essentially involve the resources of the theory of mind. Suppose one wants to know what someone meant by saying that, e.g., ‘Harry isn’t the nicest person in the world.’ The hearer is typically meant to understand more than the triviality expressed by the sentence’s literal meaning, but recovering the additional content of the assertion requires a robust sensitivity to, among other things, the speaker’s state of mind, her beliefs, and her intentions. The theory of mind view gives a compelling explanation of why different aspects of autism seem to come together as they do with respect to language.

Nonetheless, this explanation of pragmatic impairments deserves further scrutiny. In this paper, we will defend two claims. First, we will argue that the explanatory role of ‘theory of mind’ needs to be more sharply delineated. Autists are not completely impaired with respect to pragmatic aspects of language use. As a result, there is a substantial question about why certain pragmatic failures occur while others do not that a straightforward appeal to speaker’s intentions will not answer. Interestingly, the observed failures range from the ‘more linguistic’ (pronoun reversal) to the ‘strictly conversational’ (turn-taking). Our second goal is a sharper taxonomy of the roles that intentions play within the different phenomena. Is there a natural dividing line among the phenomena which involve intentions and which is relevant to telling apart one theory of language use in autism from another?

## **Mariko Bohn & Yoshiko Matsumoto** ***Young women in the Meiji period as linguistic trend setters***

The normative speech associated with Japanese women today has been identified as a product of the Meiji government’s modernization project in the early 20th century. That project included the standardization of the Japanese language and the inculcation into young women of Confucian ideology and the western cult of domesticity (e.g. Inoue 1994, 2002, Nakamura 2003). While the government’s aim of nation-building and



industrialization doubtless had a strong influence on the establishment of the modern ideology of women's language, a closer examination of the so-called women's language and the contexts in which it was used in the early 20th century reveals other dimensions of women's speech.

The normative speech of Japanese women has generally been exemplified in previous studies by the use of sentential final particles such as *wa* and *no*. Typical users of such particles in the Meiji period were female high-school students in Tokyo, i.e. upper middle class young women of the time. They were indeed the privileged few and they attracted the attention of the public and of novelists and essayists. It is illuminating to note that, as numerous essays and newspaper articles then indicated, the language use of such young women was a target of criticism by older linguistic norm holders (e.g. educators, novelists) as being coarse, crude and unladylike, in contrast to upper-class (samurai) women's speech in the preceding Edo period. The linguistic style of female students was called "te yo – da wa kotoba (te yo - da wa speech)" from the characteristic sentence final expressions – expressions that were later considered the epitome of normative women's language. Criticisms toward such 'crude' speech and behavior were exemplified in the feature 'Teyo-dawa story' published in a satirical cartoon magazine of that period. In one revealing cartoon, in which female students playing a Japanese card game are depicted as about to have a fist-fight, the caption quotes "female" expressions now viewed as normative.

(Karuta o) yomiageru to kuma taka manako de tobituku. "Watasi ga saki da wa." "Watasi ga hayakutte yo."

'When a card is read, they (female high school students) throw themselves at the card with the sharp and avaricious eyes of a hawk and a bear. "I was the first." "I was much quicker."'

[Tokyo Pakku, 1906]

We examine expressions now associated with normative femininity occurring in novels, magazines, and other print media from the early 20th century in conjunction with other notable expressions of the time (e.g. foreign borrowings), female students' clothing and hairstyle, and other social behavior. Noting that these sentence final expressions now categorized as 'feminine' were part of the vernacular, rather than of the school curriculum, and drawing comparisons with the linguistic novelty of current young Japanese women, we suggest that young female speakers of the Meiji period can be viewed as the trend setters of the era, rather than as passive targets of ideological conditioning, and that further insights into so-called women's or feminine language become apparent from such an aspect.

## **Barbara Bokus**

### ***Children's instructions how to tell stories to younger and older listeners: Metapragmatic knowledge***

The study deals with the well-known phenomenon of age appropriate speech styles, acquiring new importance in the light of our developing knowledge of theory of mind. In most of the studies on child language variation in situations with different listeners, only inferences are made about the speaker's representation of the listener. In this study we take a step further. We try to find a way to learn directly from the child narrator about his/her social knowledge.

Forty 5-year-olds told picture-based stories, once to a younger listener (3-year-old child), and once to an older (7-year-old). The listeners' task was to arrange a set of pictures according to the story they had heard. The research design was balanced for narrative theme and order of narration in the two experimental variants. After the story-telling, the narrators prepared instructions for future story-tellers in a similar task. During an interview with the experimenter, they were asked how a story should be told to a younger or to an older listener, and why.

Two different narrator orientations were found, one to the listener's task (e.g., "for him to have true information"), and the other to the listener's psychological state during story reception (e.g., "so he would be glad", "so she wouldn't cry"). The instructors perceived the younger and the older listeners differently, attributing to them different representations of they wanted to listen to, i.e., happy-end stories expected by younger listeners, more realistic stories expected by older listeners. New analyses deal with different age-appropriate manners of narrative transmission, e.g., verbal and nonverbal, proximic relations, facial expression, and voice loudness.

## **Adriana Bolívar**

### ***The pragmatics of insults in political confrontation***

The role of insults in discourse has already been studied from various perspectives, mainly from the view of theories of politeness and cognitive or sociolinguistic approaches (Culpeper, 1996, Kienpointer, 1997, Martin Rojo, 2000, Haverkate, 2001, Blas Arroyo, 2001, Ilie, 2001). However, core theories of politeness seem to be insufficient to explain how impoliteness works in the social and political dynamics as they tend to give more

attention to micro-contexts, to the polite side of the polite-impolite distinction and to the producers rather than to the evaluators in the interaction (Eelen, 2001). I assume that in political confrontation the use of insults has to be approached both at the macro and micro level in order to explain them pragmatically and beyond pragmatics. Together with the description of (im)polite acts, what is needed is an explanation of the meaning of opposing evaluations of the same act in terms of political strategies and negotiation of cultural identity. I claim that in political interaction we need to explain insults from a theory that gives more attention to the impolite than to the polite side of politeness (Bolivar, 2001, 2002, 2003) and to how pragmatic knowledge is handled when political affiliation is involved. In this paper, four questions are discussed: a) how can we explain political interaction in which impoliteness and not politeness is the rule? b) how can we explain the use of insults beyond micro-exchanges? c) how do insults function in the ideological struggle for power and cultural identity? d) how do representations of politeness and impoliteness interact with political affiliation? I propose a critical interactional approach (Bolivar, 2004) in which the central notion is evaluation and the focus is on the social actors involved, their actions, and the effects that are produced. A large corpus that includes newspapers texts, presidential speeches, graffiti, and caricatures is used. Also, material actions such as demonstrations and physical confrontations are taken into account. A sample of Venezuelan political events is analyzed to show how verbal and non-verbal elements combine to produce macro-exchanges in which the participants include political actors as well as common citizens who evaluate insults. Common citizens are interviewed in order to find out how they represent politeness and impoliteness, and how they evaluate political insults individually. I show how acts and actions that are inherently impolite in Venezuelan culture, are simultaneously evaluated differently by followers and adversaries of the present Venezuelan government mainly in line with domination and resistance strategies. The discourse strategies used are described and assessed in the light of the political aims of groups and organizations. Although the issue on the surface seems to be a matter of different views on "education" and "culture", what the research reveals is that in the ideological confrontation group affiliation seems to be more important than the "values" agreed upon at a more personal / stereotypical level. The discussion centers around the construction of anti-values as a political strategy.

**Anna Bonifazi**

### ***Some pragmatic markers in Homer***

The versions of the Iliad, the Odyssey and the Homeric Hymns we read represent a curious mix of transcriptions from oral performances and the result of multi-chronological fixations of a written text. Although the philological debate on the text itself and on its use down the centuries is still open, it is commonly acknowledged that several linguistic features reflect the original oral character of the textual production.

These features include also particles. Ancient Greek language is notably rich in particles, traditionally identified as monosyllabic words with different semantic functions. Hitherto, studies aiming at grammatical classifications of these different functions prevailed (not without difficulties in defining them in certain occurrences). Currently, pragmatic studies on some particles in some authors are already available, but pragmatic overviews on connectives and in general on discourse markers in ancient Greek literature are missing.

Pragmatic markers in Homer are particularly interesting to be considered, as they are very ancient, and dependent on oral communicative successfulness. Some investigations about the Homeric usages of particles *te*, *de* and *ara* indirectly imply a pragmatic perspective: *te* (4254 occurrences) is said to express the conviction by the speaker about a fact as a permanent one, which always happens in the same way (cf. Ruijgh 1971); *de* (11773 occurrences) is said to simply mark a step forward in the narration (cf. Bakker 1992); *ara* (1217 occurrences) is said to convey the nearness of the speaking 'I' to the narrated deeds (cf. Bakker 1993).

According to my pragmatic cognitive study, not yet published, *au*, *aute*, *autis* and *autar*, all from IE \**au-* (175, 341, 138 and 837 occurrences respectively), can be seen as pragmatic multifunctional markers that help the hearer to give visual prominence to an item, to visualize the shift from a focus of attention to another, to isolate new thematic sections and to let the audience recognize an already known fact. Moreover, despite of the traditional assimilation between the usages of *autar* and those of *atar*, the latter (136 occurrences) is to be interpreted as a different pragmatic marker, whose basic function is to convey frustration of expectation.

In summary, it could be argued that at least some particles and connectives in Homer have the following pragmatic functions: to mark the procedural meaning of the poetic narration, to mark visual shifts from an item to another, and to underscore the participation of the speaker to the narrated events. On the whole, they operate at the metalinguistic (metapoetic) level of communication, since they indicate which kind of speech act (or group of speech acts) is going to be made, and in which direction such speech acts orient the attention of the audience.

The usefulness of this kind of approach consists of providing new tools for the textual interpretation of Homer, shedding light on both the specific *raison d'être* of particles and connectives, and on the intervention of the speaker (either the performer or a speaking character) in the interaction with the public.

## **Ronny Boogaart & Theo Janssen**

### ***Semantics and pragmatics in construction grammar: The case of modal verbs***

To account for the fact that modal verbs allow for different uses, like deontic and epistemic ones, most linguists have taken either a 'monosemous' or a 'polysemous' view. However, both approaches to the meaning of modal verbs have their own specific problems (Papafragou 1998). In this talk, we will demonstrate that the framework of construction grammar (Croft & Cruse 2004: 225-327) enables one to integrate the monosemous and the polysemous account of modal verbs, while at the same time staying clear of the problems attached to either approach individually.

We will illustrate this by presenting a taxonomic construction network for the Dutch modal verbs 'kunnen' ('can') and 'moeten' ('must'). The monosemy principle of 'one form : one meaning' is captured in our network by the property of (complete) inheritance: the 'moeten construction' and the 'kunnen construction' constitute the top node in a network of more specific constructions, all of which share the formal and semantic/pragmatic features of their 'parent' construction. At the same time, the construction network does represent some uses of the modals, including their use in 'conventionalized indirect speech acts', as separate constructions. However, compared to the 'senses' in a polysemy network, the number of constructions is restricted: constructions are supposed to differ from one another not only in meaning or use, but also in form. Formal features distinguishing between the different uses of 'kunnen' and 'moeten' include the aspectual nature of the complement, the presence of certain particles or adjuncts and the grammatical template that the modal occurs in, such as 'the complementation construction' (Verhagen, in press).

In some instances, however, the only formal indication for the intended reading of the modal is to be found in the surrounding discourse, or there is no explicit indication at all. This raises an issue of theoretical importance. Clearly, construction grammar allows for a great deal of pragmatics to be incorporated in the 'semantic' component of constructions (Kay 2004), but the question raised here is to what extent the 'formal' component of a construction may include linguistic indications across clause boundaries or, ultimately, non-linguistic information. The latter is at odds with the very definition of a construction but it is questionable (Janssen 2001) if one can make a principled distinction between, for instance, epistemic readings of the modal that are triggered by clause-mate adverbials and those that are triggered by indications in the wider linguistic or non-linguistic context.

## **Emma Borg**

### ***Implicature and modularity***

Imagine that A asks B what the attendance was like at her paper and B replies "Some of the delegates came". In many conversational contexts A will take B to have conveyed the proposition that 'Not all of the delegates came'. This kind of conveyed proposition Grice termed a generalized conversational implicature. It is an implicature since the literal meaning of 'some delegates' does not, apparently, exclude 'all' (as witnessed by the fact that B may without contradiction continue her utterance with "In fact, now that I think about it, all of them came"). However, it does seem to be in some way standardized – the move from 'some' to 'not all' is too general to be treated as a potentially one-off, particularized conversational implicature. Generalized conversational implicatures, together with conventional implicatures (e.g. the contrastive element to connectives like 'moreover' and 'but' which seems to go beyond the meaning of a simple conjunction), are thus theoretically important as they form a staging post between literal meaning and speaker-meaning.

The aim of this paper, then, is to explore what such implicatures reveal for the relationship between meaning and use, and how they can be treated within an account of language understanding. I will argue that the move from grasp of literal meaning to grasp of a generalized conversational implicature or a conventional implicature requires knowledge which goes beyond that strictly required for understanding a language, appealing as it does to information about common conversational contexts and the conventional appropriateness of a term. However, I will also suggest that the information appealed to differs in kind from that required to grasp speaker meaning. For grasping the latter requires an ability to 'mind read'; that is to say it requires an ability to access the speaker's mental states. If this distinction in the kind of knowledge base required for each type of implicature is correct then it impacts on the types of cognitive process which can underpin implicature recovery. For while generalized conversational implicatures and conventional implicatures might be accounted for by a modular reasoning process, grasp of particularized conversational implicatures or speaker meaning will require full-blown abductive (i.e. inference to the best explanation) reasoning, which cannot be modelled on a modular basis. Standardized implicatures thus help to highlight the limits of modular explanation in the mind of the language user.

**Amedeo Boros, Giuseppe la Biunda & Giuseppe Mantovani**  
***The textures of an imagined community: Pragmatics in cultural negotiation***

This paper presents a research carried out in a multicultural dwelling cooperative located in Padova (Italy). The object of the research was the development of the relationship and the negotiation of the activities between a multicultural group of teenagers still living with their families and a multidisciplinary group of university researchers who assisted them to develop the skills needed to build the website of their cooperative. The project was interdisciplinary in its design because not only the researchers had different backgrounds in both anthropology and psychology but especially because their purpose was of exploring theoretical and methodological routes to interdisciplinary research on multicultural environments.

The theoretical approach to cultural negotiation is focused on hermeneutics circularity which assumes that all the subjects acting in a context are producers of meanings; meanings are stratified and their stratification constitutes a texture that forms the text of a given culture: the culture is conceived of as a text (Geertz 1988) continuously rewritten by all the subjects, included the researchers.

The methodology used is based on the visual approach. All phases of the work were video recorded (the corpus referred to is of around one-hundred hours of video records) by several video cameras operating simultaneously, in order to collect diversified “points of view” and to extend in space and time the observation (Marazzi 2002; Faeta 2003). “Ethnologically oriented” conversation analysis has been largely applied in the various phases of the study (Mantovani, 2003).

A central result of the research is that identity –both of the researchers and the kids of the cooperative– stands on habitats of significance (Bauman 1992) that can expand, contract, and overlap. There are no fixed and definite borders but continuously changing situations made with elements coming from the local and from the global, without a precise order (Hannerz 2001). The research team imagined that during the negotiations with and among the kids cultural patterns specific of the communities of origin would have emerged. Instead, in accord with theoretic approaches such as Geertz’s and Hannerz’s, these “cultural” patterns did not surface in the research.

According to the Mosaic model (Geertz C., 1988), a person in the context of the action does not display herself in her entirety, but only in the specific and limited aspect required from the context. She shows only some of the tesserae from which the mosaic is made. This can also be considered a form of protection of the Self in front of the Other (from Self), as it is suggested by the theory of disemia, for which Herzfeld drew his inspiration from the dichotomy existing in the Greek language between *katharevousa* (pure language) and *demotiko* (the popular language). This theory has been applied also to other cultural contexts in which self-display and/or self-knowledge are maintained as mediators of the Self in negotiations with the Other (Boros 2001). The processes of identification, its meaning and its results are indissolubly linked to the context, to the langue, “... every meaning of a sign arises in a context” (Hjelmslev 1968).

**Patricia Bou Franch**  
***The sociopragmatics of Spanish electronic interaction: Focus on openings and closings***

Although computer-mediated communication (CMC) has received increasing scholarly attention over the last fifteen years, pragmatic constraints related to the cognitive, social and cultural contexts for the production and understanding of messages are still underresearched. Furthermore, the bulk of research in this field has centred mainly on the English language, with little work being done in other languages (Herring 2003; Yus 2001; Alcoba Rueda 2004; Noblia 2004; Bou-Franch 2004, forthcoming). Wanting to address these issues, this paper sets to analyze the sociopragmatics of electronic interaction in Peninsular Spanish.

The work of Herring (1996) and Collot & Belmore (1996) were among the first to underline the importance of interactional and interpersonal concerns in this type of communication. However, CMC is highly varied - ranging from e-mails and chats to SMS and weblogs – and there is an even larger variety of contexts in which these modes of CMC may take place. Therefore, there is a consequent need in this young research area for more studies into the contextualized pragmatic constraints of different modes of CMC.

This paper takes a politeness and community of practice approach to the study of the discursive structure and politeness resources of electronic interaction in a Spanish academic setting (Brown & Levinson 1987; Fraser 1980, 1990; Garcés-Conejos 1995; Morand & Ocker 2002; de Oliveira 2003; Mills 2002, 2003). Prior research into Spanish emails showed that opening and specially closing moves in encounter-initiating emails were rather formal and elaborate; however, a small corpus suggested that this changed as the interaction progressed (Bou-Franch 2004, forthcoming).

In order to test this suggestion and study the sociopragmatics of openings and closings in Spanish academic e-mails, a corpus of 60 electronic interactions was gathered, each comprising at least two messages,

and amounting to a total of over 150 messages. Power and interpersonal relationships of co-participants and the social-institutional requirements of this communicative situation were analysed.

This paper seeks to point out the most common discourse moves and politeness mechanisms in the opening and closing of Spanish academic e-mails classified according to their interactional function (Stubbs 1983). The working hypothesis was that openings and closings in each e-mail would vary as the interaction progressed.

The data showed that there were indeed changes in the framing phases of individual messages. A general tendency towards less formality and deference and more informality and solidarity was found in combination with a trend towards simplicity as regards number of moves and words. Furthermore, the politeness and CofP approach adopted and the type of data used proved instrumental in relating our findings to the discursive construction and negotiation of politeness, interpersonal relationships and individual and institutional identities.

## **Paolo Bouquet**

### ***Language as a boundary object: An inquiry on semantic coordination***

This paper presents some learned lessons from the work done by myself and other colleagues [Bouquet et al., 2003] on the problem of allowing semantic-based exchange of information across computer-based systems (for example, databases of different companies, or document management systems), without presupposing the existence of a shared world model or any beforehand agreement on the meaning of data. As I'll try to make clear, this problem raises, in a simple but very concrete form, many interesting problems that arise in explaining human communication as well.

The first idea is that linguistic communication between cognitive agents that do not share a common world model is usefully viewed as a semantic coordination game, namely a game whose purpose is to find a sort of agreement on the content of (private) mental representations through the exchange of messages in some (public) language. However, this form of language mediated coordination between mental representations can't be reached in vacuo. Indeed, given an arbitrary language L (for example, a first order language), an infinite number of (possibly incompatible) models is possible, and therefore the problem of making sure that an agent is using the same - or a compatible - model when talking to another agent in a given context would be computationally intractable. Therefore, we need a way of restricting the number of admissible interpretations. To this end, I introduce the second idea, namely that any language we use for communicating with other agents (like English or Italian) is not a (direct) vehicle of meaning, but rather a cognitive artifact whose function is to reduce the number of models that an agent can sensibly ascribe to other agents in a given context.

In organization sciences [Bowker & Star, 1999], an artifact like this is called a boundary object, and is defined as an object with a complex internal structure (so agents can project complex interpretations onto it); and is compatible with more than one (but not with any!) interpretation. The main thesis of the paper is that language works exactly like a boundary object: on the one hand, it is an artifact with a complex internal structure (lexical and grammatical), onto which different agents may project mental contents; on the other hand, it supports multiple projections (namely, it has some degree of ambiguity), but not any arbitrary projection, as there are tight social constraints on what can be done and what cannot (I will say more about this in the long version of the paper).

In the long paper, I will illustrate how these ideas can be transformed into a general model of communication as semantic coordination, and present a real implementation in the case of a simple language. In particular, I will elaborate on the notion of language as a boundary object, and on the kinds of constraints it poses on semantic coordination between agents with autonomous (and thus possibly different) models of the world. Finally, I will provide a context-based formal model, where the idea of semantically coordinated representations can be given a precise technical definition.

## **Line Brandt & Todd Oakley**

### ***A semiotic approach to fictive interaction***

One of Fauconnier and Turner's most memorable examples of conceptual blending appears at the beginning of Chapter 4 of their book *The Way We Think*. They report of a contemporary philosopher leading a seminar, who says the following:

I claim that reason is a self-developing capacity. Kant disagrees with me on this point. He says it's innate, but I answer that that's begging the questions, to which he counters, in *Critique of Pure Reason*, that only innate ideas have power. But I say to that, What about neuronal group selection? And he gives no answer (2002: 59).

As Fauconnier and Turner point out that this “passage,” supposedly a report of a real event, represents a situation where a contemporary philosopher is carrying on a debate about the nature of reason with a philosopher who is long dead. What is more, the contemporary philosopher emerges as the victor in the debate, having argued Kant into silence. As fantastic as this scenario may seem on paper, Fauconnier and Turner maintain that such conceptual blends—debating with dead people—is a common practice in everyday life. Pascual (2002) offers additional evidence that these apparent impossibilities, which she calls fictive interactions are indeed commonplace ways of thinking and communicating, and shows specifically how these fictive interactions operate in the context of courtroom communication. We will give a few examples of phenomena that exploit the cognitive possibility of representing fictive interactions, including examples such as the above, which are examples of what we will call virtual being blends (semiotic online blends of virtual reality), but also more mundane examples of what Pascual calls phrasal fictive interaction compressions (e.g. “a ‘nobody will believe this when I tell them’ situation”) which are not products of conceptual blending but are characterized by interesting metonymic traits.

All these variations of fictive interactions are analyzed as representations that occur in a communicative setting, whether intra- or interpersonal. Language is inherently dialogic, in this view, both at the structural level and at the level of language use. Fictive interaction, we claim, is the dramatization of conceptual content in the phenomenal experience of representations in meaning construction. Our approach to fictive interaction and, more generally, to meaning construction, thus presupposes 1) actual or potential conscious access to subjective thought (the ‘phenomenological’ premise), and, 2) the intersubjectivity of communication as the semiotic foundation of language (the ‘semiotic’ premise). The phenomenological premise rules out principally unconscious cognitive content as data in non-experimental empirical scientific studies, specifically blending analysis, and the semiotic premise rules out any essentialist approaches to the study of meaning, specifically truth-conditional semantics, as well as approaches to conceptual blending that do not view representations as meaningful qua their function in discourse and other expressive practices. We will present a mental space analysis of the fictive interaction with Kant rendered above in a semiotic framework and hypothesize a general virtual being network.

## **Diana Bravo**

### ***Roles sociales y percepción de cortesía en un modelo de análisis del habla verbal y no verbal en conversación cara a cara***

En este trabajo se analiza un corpus de conversaciones entre académicos/as argentinos/as y se observan los efectos comunicativos de la lectura de los recursos verbales y no verbales en relación con la percepción de cortesía de estudiantes argentinos de lengua en nivel de maestría. Estos estudiantes debían – siguiendo un modelo de interpretación de los recursos no verbales en interdependencia con los verbales- observar la relación entre actividades percibidas por ellos como de cortesía y variables extra-lingüísticas como la edad, el género y la jerarquía universitaria de los hablantes.

Estas interpretaciones se comparan con las hechas por la autora en forma previa. Los roles de los estudiantes en el momento de la evaluación son tomados en cuenta para el estudio. Es decir su género, edad y jerarquía universitaria (muchos de ellos son profesores). Los objetivos de este trabajo son dar cuenta de un modelo de análisis de recursos verbales y no verbales interdependientes en el habla (v. Bravo, 1998 y 2000), destacar la importancia del rol de investigador en la percepción-interpretación de efectos sociales de cortesía y de otros que son neutrales desde el punto de vista de la cortesía y, finalmente, dar cuenta de las imágenes sociales que estos hablantes han transmitido mediante sus comportamientos comunicativos.

## **Barbara Neza Brecko & Igor Zagar**

### ***Truth and argumentation in survey research***

We live in a society that requires prompt and accurate flow of information on preferences, needs, and behavior of people. This information is usually gathered by survey research – most common methods are telephone, mail and face-to-face interviews. Survey research questionnaires are the instrument of collecting information on attitudes, behaviors, preferences and needs from (the sample of) individuals.

In the flood of different surveys the following questions arises: “Is the data collected by survey questionnaires real? Do respondents in survey questionnaire express their true opinions, feelings and facts? What influences respondents to give truthful data?” In this paper our main interest are not personal characteristics of respondents (which also influence responses), more attention is paid to the instruments used to collect the data. The question we are putting in the focus of our research is the following: what are the (technical) characteristics of questions and questionnaires that may influence the response? For instance, how important is the relative position of questions in a questionnaire, selection of words for the questions, or their length? We

also discuss the reliability of response (reliability of measuring), i.e.: does the instrument (variables) really measure what we wanted to measure (latent variable)?

Another important aspect of survey research, concerning truth and argumentation, is the presentation of the data gathered. It is well known the data can be presented in different ways. In other words: it is quite easy to manipulate the data. At first it can be manipulated during the data collection period, secondly it can be manipulated during the analysis (using wrong or inappropriate methods), or it can be manipulated during the interpretation and presentation of results. Therefore, the question we are asking in this paper is: what is the status of truth in survey research, and what argumentative purposes can such instrument(s) serve?

### **Charles Briggs**

#### ***Pragmatic violence: How courts, journalists, and publics transform infanticide stories into national narratives***

Aaron Cicourel pioneered the study of how categories, practices, and discourses are multiply located within the same bureaucratic contexts at the same time that they are transformed as they circulate through successive institutional contexts. Legal and media representations of infanticide provide important circuits for this process in Venezuela. The institutional and popular discourses that converge as prosecutors, defense attorneys, judges, reporters, family members, neighbors, and members of ‘the public’ condemn women and sometimes men accused of killing their children form monstrous narratives that seem to embody the moral conscience of ‘the people’. This paper traces how these accounts are produced by criminal investigators and police spokespersons, taken up by reporters, become the foci of popular commentary, and then are turned into legal cases (whose verdicts are virtually guaranteed in advance). Their status as narrative representations of unspeakable acts imbues these texts with powerful affective significance, discursive mobility, and authority. Although they constitute only a small percentage of homicide charges, infanticide cases generate sensational media stories that get widely recirculated through rumor and gossip.

This paper asks two questions of contemporary cases in Venezuela. First, why do both legal and media representations juxtapose contextualizing and dehistoricizing practices? As women and occasionally men become synecdoches of “indigenous culture,” “marginal barrios,” and socially defective immigrants, complex juxtapositions of acts, trials, and press reports in are transformed into standardized narratives that seem to perfectly fit widely disparate interpretive practices. Second, these articles appear in diverse venues addressed to disparate audiences; as they are differentially received, the social categories and images they bear construct distinct publics. The conclusion explores how particular convergences of institutional practices, media economies, and the creation of multiple publics can imbue a small-scale industry for the production of violent representations with a big role in shaping national and transnational imaginaries and everyday strategies of survival.

### **Frank Brisard**

#### ***Some implicaments of a cognitive semantics for describing the semantics/pragmatics interface***

When pursued consistently, any radical conception of a usage-based model for analyzing natural language, complemented with a conceptualist semantics that is encyclopedic in scope (cf. the overviews in Rudzka-Ostyn 1988, Tomasello 1998–2003, and Barlow & Kemmer 2000), will have a number of definite implications for the study of meaning production and interpretation, and in particular for the assumed division of labor that is usually called upon to motivate the distinction between semantic and pragmatic analysis. For one, it will not, in a principled way, seek to consolidate this distinction, or related themes of “pragmatic intrusion”: given a certain emphasis on matters of construal and perspective, reflecting the speaker’s interests in “what is said”, every phenomenon of meaning properly called semantic is by necessity one of use (linked with a speaker’s intentions in producing a specific usage event). This gives rise to some confusion regarding the intrinsic links, not divisions, between pragmatics, as the study of purposeful behavior, and cognitive analyses of linguistic meaning, as illustrated in Levinson’s (2000: 243) uncharitable portrayal of a so-called “pragmatics”. In contrast with such an undifferentiated notion of a cognitive-pragmatic “module”, I suggest that Cognitive Semantics (CS) may at the same time maintain that meaning is indeed a function of use, and so wholly pragmatic in every conceivable way, and insist on a markedly pragmatic, in a related sense of entextualized, aspect of linguistic meaning analysis that can be separately described in explicit fashion, and is readily distinguishable from a semantics focused on issues of conceptual content and its organization.

This cognitive and usage-based take on pragmatics is to be informed by observable or inferable orientations displayed by discourse participants (“what the speaker says/may say (she said)”, including its local “exploitation”), and thus depends crucially on an acknowledgment of language use as a social praxis that is

given meaning internally by speakers and hearers in interaction. This is why logical meaning, the prime example of a (formal-)semantic object external to the use of language, is not privileged as such in CS (Langacker 2003). Instead, it counts as just one among many potential usage types in an expression's network of meanings, and usually not one that is particularly salient to language users, either. Likewise, an expression's conventional character does not, in CS, of itself warrant its semantic status, as frequency and degree of entrenchment in a meaning network define continuous classes without absolute cut-off points. Thus, any nonarbitrary boundary between semantic and pragmatic meaning should at least be of a qualitative nature, as with some of the classic Gricean conversational implicatures, whose derivation does not depend on (semi-)automatic, associative extensions of an original representation, but on more or less conscious and deliberate, if possibly conventionalized, propositional inferencing.

I will take clear cases of particularized conversational implicature and presupposition accommodation, and present them as starting points for a pragmatic analysis that is both nonformalist and nontrivial. Conventional implicatures, GCIs, and in fact almost all of the subcategories that have been proposed after Grice to deal with the "enrichment" of an underspecified semantics (explicature, implicature, etc.) need not be recognized in CS as special in any cognitively relevant way — the "pragmatic" phantom. On top of this rather restricted conception of the role of implicature in pragmatic analysis, I will illustrate some further points of methodological contention with examples from context-bound expressions (spatial deictics, tense) and from the realm of conventional and novel metaphor.

**Antonio Briz & Marta Albelda**

***Codificación de la descortesía y variación de su interpretación dependiendo de factores sociales y situacionales***

Si bien en relación con la configuración de la imagen de hablantes no anglófonos se ha dirigido la atención principalmente a los factores culturales, se ha obviado, sin embargo, el análisis de las diferencias que pueden suponer otras variables contextuales, en especial, los factores situacionales. Esta desatención, en el caso del estudio de las amenazas a la imagen, tiende a dar por hecho que sus efectos son descorteses.

El objetivo de este trabajo es observar si realmente existe una relación biunívoca entre actos de amenaza a la imagen y descortesía. Para ello se han analizado dos corpus de habla del español, cada uno de ellos con diferentes rasgos sociales y situacionales. Los presupuestos teóricos aplicados a este análisis se han basado en la propuesta de Briz (2004), donde se distingue una (des)cortesía codificada y una (des)cortesía interpretada. Los primeros resultados del análisis han mostrado que la conjunción de determinados factores contextuales puede neutralizar el valor apriorístico de actos de habla codificados como descorteses. Entre otros, estos rasgos atañen a la relación de solidaridad entre los interlocutores, a la temática del discurso, a la finalidad, a la proximidad social y cotidiana entre los interlocutores, a la edad, etc. Todos estos, en el corpus trabajado, han influido en mayor o menor medida en la interpretación de aquellos actos que convencionalmente se podrían haber considerado descorteses. En este mismo sentido, se ha podido apreciar que, a diferencia de lo postulado por Brown y Levinson (1987), la presencia de los factores aludidos, en ocasiones, conlleva la despreocupación entre los interlocutores por minimizar las ofensas a la imagen, sin que por ello se provoque un daño al interlocutor.

**Cristiano Broccias & Nicoletta Puddu**

***Completer and all: A cross-linguistic study***

In this paper we offer a cross-linguistic analysis of AND ALL, which we call a "completer", in Sardinian, (Castilian) Spanish and (British) English. AND ALL, in capitals, is a convenient label to refer to its concrete realisations in the three languages under examination, i.e. English "an(d) all", Spanish "y todo", Sardinian "e totu". References to AND ALL are quite sparse in the literature and, more importantly, do not either offer a systematic analysis of its uses or trace its diachrony.

Firstly, we observe that AND ALL can have quite an extensive range of uses. It can mark (vague) completion (hence, the label "completer", which however can also easily be applied to its other uses), see (1). It can function as a (scalar) additive focus particle, see (2) (where it means "too"). It can be used as an intensifier in the sense of König (2001), see (3). It can be employed as a(n emphatic) final prosodic marker (i.e. to give more phonological weight to the final part of an utterance possibly emphasizing the whole sentence), see (4).

- (1) Le dió para el viaje cartas, dineros y todo. (Spanish)  
(S/he) gave her/him maps, money and all for the journey
- (2) [Billy is dancing with Gina in a club where they have just met]  
Gina: "Billy, I've got something to tell you. I'm married. I'm separated."  
Billy: "I am an' all." (Eastenders, October 22, 2004)



- (3) Dd'apu fatu de u e totu. (Sardinian)  
I did it myself.
- (4) I've been starving myself for weeks an' all. (Eastenders, June 9, 2004)

Further, we point out that AND ALL is a grammaticalised completer as is evidenced by its obligatory final position and phonological reduction in English (where is usually realised as /@n'o:l/ and often written as <an' all>) and lack of agreement in Spanish and Sardinian. We also observe that there are register variations in its use, i.e. it is colloquial in English and in Spanish and neutral in Sardinian, where (at least in the Campidanese dialect) it is the prototypical intensifier.

Secondly, we propose that the various uses of AND ALL can be arranged along a conceptual/historical path whose origin coincides with the central sense "(vague) completion". All three languages develop along the (additive) focus function direction even though Sardinian further develops the latter use into the intensifier function (note that the focus function is not attested in contemporary Sardinian). English also develops the central sense into the (emphatic) prosodic marker function, i.e. in a different direction.

Finally, we underline that our fine-grained analysis has important consequences on at least two levels. On a practical level, it serves to fill in lexicographical gaps (e.g. the additive focus particle use of English an(d) all is not included in any dictionaries we are aware of) and hence it may also be important for translation studies. On a more theoretical level, the proposed conceptual/evolutionary paths can be tested by investigating other languages that employ elements comparable to AND ALL in cases like (1) to (4).

## **Geert Brone**

### ***The construction of collaborative vs. adversarial humour in multi-agent settings***

Recent studies in pragmatics (see e.g. Attardo 2003) have shown a renewed interest in humour as a valuable topic of interdisciplinary research. One broad locus of investigation that has been largely marginalized in humour studies is the cognitive structure of humorous texts. Although humour plays a central role in discourse and constitutes a major force of linguistic creativity, the study of reasoning patterns in humour interpretation has only very recently received systematic scrutiny (Coulson 2000, Brone, Feyaerts and Veale (in preparation)). What motivates this new direction in cognitive pragmatics is the belief that (a) creative language variation (like humour) is guided by the very same linguistic-conceptual mechanisms that underlie everyday language use, and (b) insights from the study of humour can shed light on aspects of cognitive processing that extend beyond the perspective of humour research.

This paper reports on an ongoing research project on the cognitive construal of humorous texts, expanding the pilot studies by Graesser et al. (1989), Giora (1991, 2003), and Attardo et al. (2002). The analysis of a corpus of conversational data reveals that

- (a) agents in a conversational setting build on and subvert the linguistic-conceptual construal of other agents' utterances, and in doing so, jointly construe a humorous strand or engage in a playful verbal duel respectively;
- (b) for the purpose of continuing a humorous strand or making a (counter)move in a verbal 'fencing' match, agents often do not employ specific linguistic humour mechanisms (as described in most linguistic humour research), but rather exploit the everyday semantic construal operations (like metaphor, metonymy, figure-ground constellations, etc.) underlying other agents' utterances by de-automatising them or stretching their conventionalised use;
- (c) in order to capture the dynamic nature of multi-agent humour, models of discourse semantics need to account for the interplay between the structural level of linguistic organisation and deeper conceptual representations. It is argued that a combination of insights from models of knowledge integration (Kintsch 1998; Gernsbacher 1990) and Cognitive Linguistics (Langacker 2001) may contribute to the construction of more adequate analytical tools.

## **Mathias Broth**

### ***The audience in the interactive construction of the theatre performance***

The Audience in the Interactive Construction of the Theatre Performance

This paper focusses on the theatre audience, and on its role in the maintenance of the theatrical situation. Using video-recorded performances of relatively naturalistic, modern dramas, the study examines the behaviour of the audience in relation to the unfolding of stage events. Such behaviour is described through close inspection of the sounds the audience produces, consisting primarily of coughing, throat-clearing, and laughter. CA methods are used to analyse not only an audience's overt reactions to stage events, but also the actions occurring outside these relatively short-lived phenomena in the context of a theatre performance.

Using conversation analytic (CA) methods, the study demonstrates that members of the audience refrain from making "vocal noise" during the verbal interaction of actors, and some of the resources used to

achieve this end are described. These include the interpretation of the emerging dialogue, of the relative positioning of actors and of the actors' use of gesture. Members of the audience are observed making vocal noise around possible completions in the sequence of ongoing stage actions, a placing which seems to make it maximally unobtrusive.

Regarding the audience's laughter, it is argued that members of the audience negotiate collective moments of laughter with each other and with the actors. In doing so, the audience displays a sensitive awareness of the other members of the audience and the performers on stage.

It is finally suggested that vocal noise on one hand and laughter on the other are differently placed in relation to an emerging stage action. This relative placing seems to indicate their producers' different orientations to these actions, according to which vocal noise is to be hidden and laughter to be taken as an overt reaction.

## **Asa Brumark**

### ***Regulatory talk and politeness at the dinner table***

The focus of this study was the use of regulatory talk during dinner in 20 Swedish families with children aged 7 - 17. The questions posed were: How is activity regulation realized and what differences may be distinguished due contextual factors, such as age of participating children, number of participants and different kinds of conversational contexts (instrumental talk and non-instrumental conversation)? Regulatory talk extracted from 20 videotaped dinner conversations was transcribed, coded and analysed within the framework of theories of control acts, indirect speech and politeness.

Regulatory utterances – about 10 % of all utterances produced – appeared primarily to have the goal of asking for actions to be performed or objects to be handed over, mostly related to the main activity of having dinner (about 60 %). When the groups were compared, there was more regulation in families with younger children (>11 years) and during dinners with more than four participants. Most of the regulators were formulated as direct requests and about 15 % of them were mitigated, softening the impact of coerciveness. Indirect regulators occurred in less than one half of the cases, whereas hints were rather uncommon in these twenty families. But when occurring, they were not often responded to in the expected way. Disregarding contextual differences within the conversations, there tended to be more indirect but less mitigated communication in the twenty Swedish families, compared to the American and Israeli groups in Blum-Kulka (1997).

The activity context had an obvious impact on the way regulatory utterances were performed. Most instrumental regulators were direct (somewhat more than 60 %), most non-instrumental regulators were indirect (nearly 60 %).

Parental regulation was indirect in nearly half of the cases and mitigated in about 25 % of the cases, closely matching the American parents in the study of Blum-Kulka (1990). Furthermore, maternal regulation was more indirect and more often mitigated when direct (21-48 %) than those of the fathers. In instrumental contexts, i. e. when regulating routine actions related to the meal, most parental regulators were direct (60 %), whereas about 75 % of the utterances were indirect in non-instrumental contexts.

Not only activity context or talk genre seemed to affect the regulators used but also their intended goal, i. e. what action was wanted from the addressee. Thus, most often regulation at the dinner table concerned non-verbal actions and requests for objects, related to the main activity.

Finally, about 50% of the regulatory utterances in the 20 families were adequately responded to, both those of the parents and those of the children. However, parental regulators were obeyed to if indirect, child regulation if direct. In those cases when there was no compliance, negotiation was rather common, both to child and parental regulation. Ignorance and resistance occurred in less than 10% of the cases. Thus, judging from the realization of regulatory utterances and the outcome effectuated by the regulators, Swedish family members seem to be fairly indirect and “polite” around the dinner table.

## **Ludmila Bulatetska**

### ***Morphological means and their pragmatic transformation in Ukrainian***

Morphological Means and their Pragmatic Transformation in Ukrainian

Morphological means of the Ukrainian language have a rich paradigm. Their functional design goes beyond the boundaries of morphology and regulates the psychological and social distance between the interlocutors. This phenomenon exists in other languages too (Dressler, Barbaresi 1994 : 10). But a wide range of diminutives as morphological means and gender transformation processes in Ukrainian have not been the object of research from the point of view of pragmatics.

In Ukrainian functional transformation of morphological means is so strong that it is able to neutralize the grammatical base of many morphological elements. As a result, the morphological meaning is ruled by the pragmatic function. Such processes are well illustrated by the variation of the Ukrainian category of gender. In this language there is a rich paradigm of flexions to discriminate feminine, masculine and neuter gender which are covered by four declensions. Within them the gender forms are very flexible : they can easily change their function due to the rich diminutive morphology.

Generic transformation is expressed in a noun, but the pragmatic meaning extrapolates to the whole situation and spreads over the speech act. Such interdependence of morphology and pragmatics is scarcely investigated in linguistics in a systemic way (Dressler, Barbaresi 1994 : 50 ).

A rich paradigm of the Ukrainian diminutives often makes it difficult to predict their contextual usage often for the native speakers. The pragmatic difference between diminutive suffixes is sometimes almost inconceivable even in the appropriate context. For example, the diminutive paradigm of the noun *dytyna*(baby) includes seven forms with transformed gender and three forms with the stable gender marker. Ten forms of this paradigm can hardly be explained and translated into other languages (even into the languages of the Slavic group) because of the lack of the equivalent morphemic forms. The preferable usage of one form instead of another is often the question of its productivity; the speaker is free in his choice, he is a kind of interpreter of every element of this paradigm.

The Ukrainian language shows dependence of the diminutive noun structure upon the morphological structure of its modifiers : the meaning of the attributive element is also transformed into the diminutive. As a consequence the grammatical meaning becomes functionally limited. The transformation operation is a kind of pragmatic strategy when morphosemantic feature becomes the source of the morphopragmatic use. As we see, morphological means of Ukrainian are functionally overloaded.

There is a rapid search underway for the reasons which should explain the discrimination of number and gender and transformation the whole situation of speech from detached and indefinite to sympathetic and polite.

Conclusion: A newly attained grammatical meaning of the neuter gender no longer reflects the sex of the living being denoted by nouns with diminutives : the grammatical function of flexions goes out of morphology and enters the domain of pragmatics in which situation the speaker will use one gender form rather than another. The former grammatical meaning of gender is neutralized by the pragmatic force which signals the egocentric adherent properties of the noun referents and elements modifying it. The pragmatic force becomes a kind of a regulative property which rules the hearer's comprehension of the speaker and the whole situation which this speaker is creating.

## **Bert Bultinck**

### ***Why Paul Grice should have been a corpus linguist: An analysis of 'two'***

Even though two of the main "radical pragmaticists" have abandoned their strict neo-Gricean line on cardinals (Horn 1992:170-175, Levinson 2000:90), the analysis in which 'at least' meanings of numerals are semantic, and 'exactly' readings are pragmatic (Horn 1972, 1989, Gazdar 1979, Levinson 1983, Hirschberg 1991 [1985], Kadmon 1987) still seems to live on (Levinson 2000:passim). The alternative accounts that now compete for general approval (cf. Fretheim's 1999 [1995] postscript to Fretheim 1992), and deal successfully with earlier criticism by Cohen (1971) and Sadock (1984), primarily work with the notion of "underdeterminedness" or "underspecification" (Sperber and Wilson 1986, Carston 1988, Recanati 1989, Atlas 1989, 1993, Ruhl 1989, Pustejovsky 1995) and assume an underspecified meaning, which generalizes over all uses and is enriched along relevance theoretic lines (Carston 1985, 1995, 1998), or start from an 'exactly' semantics (Scharten 1997) developing their analysis along the lines of Discourse Topic Theory (Van Kuppevelt 1995, 1996).

Surprisingly, not a single participant in this lively "cardinal debate" has taken a look at what corpus data has to offer. I will present the results of a corpus analysis of the numeral two, demonstrating not only that the neo-Gricean account is incorrect, but also that the alternative analyses are incomplete. On the one hand, the data suggest that the so-called 'exactly' meaning of cardinal numbers is frequent, but they also show that the term "'exactly' reading" is inappropriate and had better be replaced by the term "absolute value". The difference between two and exactly two will be shown to be merely one of the ways in which language users modify the meaning of two. On the other hand, the incompleteness of the meaning of numerals that is presupposed by the relevance theoretic analysis is too strong a claim: the underdetermined '|2|' meaning of two often does not need to be pragmatically "enriched", and hence should not be called "underdetermined".

The corpus data will be added to the existent data (e.g., the suspension and cancellation tests). These "hermeneutic" data, together with the traditional logical-structuralist data, will provide the basis for a unified analysis of the meaning of cardinal numbers.

**Barbara Businaro**  
*Apologizing in spoken Italian*

The proposal I would like to submit to the 9th International Pragmatic Conference deals with the adoption of philosophical frameworks for analysing the conversational act of apologizing as realized in spoken Italian. So my paper is meant to give an overview of forms and functions linked to this act.

My analysis has been developed on a corpus of 596 tokens of spoken Italian drawn both from an existing corpus of spoken Italian (De Mauro/Mancini/Vedovelli/Voghera, 1993, *Lessico di frequenza dell'Italiano Parlato*) and from recordings of broadcasts, phone calls and spontaneous conversational interactions. The research has been based on the integration of theoretical and methodological frameworks such as Speech

Act Theory (Searle, 1969), Logic of Conversation (Grice, 1978), Conversation Analysis (Sacks/Schegloff/Jefferson, 1974) and Politeness (Brown/Levinson, 1977). After developing a detailed analysis and finding out clear parameters, three nuclei of apologies emerged from corpus analysis: central nucleus, justification and discourse markers. In fact I reached the conclusion that apologizing in spoken Italian, apart from superficial forms, has two main functions: conversational and conventional. First of all, apologizing can have a conversational function: in this first occurrence it can be meant to lessen an offence and so it has social and interpersonal relevance, because, thanks to apologizing, the offender expresses regret for a past (or sometimes future) act considered unpleasant for the victim, so apologizing lets the offender reduce the offence which threatens victim's face in Brown and Levinson's sense. The apologizing act can be realized both in a direct (apology) and in an indirect (justification) way. However, sometimes, apologizing acts are used in a conventional manner just to organize discourse, so, in these cases, they lose their social and interpersonal relevance and they get a textual relevance. Perhaps it can be said that they undertake a process similar to grammaticalization, in fact, they lose their original function as apologizing acts articulated when an offence occurs and they assume a new function as discourse markers useful for textual organization. We can imagine that this kind of discourse markers – that share with apology the same superficial forms – were originally effective apologizing acts that occurred always in the same contexts and whose aim was both to recover an offence and to assure discourse development avoiding conversational failure; then, their first social function has been shaded by their second textual function, so in speaker's awareness they are no longer considered apologizing acts, but they are felt as discourse markers.

In conclusion I think that this paper could show how pragmatic research is strictly linked to philosophical frameworks in order to find out linguistic and functional categories of analysis.

**Carly Butler & Ann Weatherall**  
*Membership categorisation in children's play*

This paper is part of a larger study which explores the organisation of children's social worlds through talk-in-interaction. Play is one of the most distinctive features of children's everyday lives, and a site in which the production and reproduction of culture is readily observable. In this paper, I examine how children actively produce intersubjective versions of reality in their play. Play activities are treated as locally occasioned and jointly produced social actions, rather than windows into children's social and cognitive abilities. The aim was to reveal the methods and procedures used by children to create and perform play activities.

More than thirty hours of naturalistic interactions between six to eight year old children were audio-recorded in the school classroom and playground. A mini-disc recorder was worn by one or more children as they engaged in school work and play, and the conversations transcribed. Instances where the children were engaged in play activities were selected for closer analysis.

Conversation analytic techniques, in particular, membership categorisation analysis (MCA), were used to analyse the interactions. The categorical and inferential features of children's talk were examined to reveal how these were used as resources to build and organise play. The central tasks of game playing were identified as establishing the play activity, who could play, and negotiating what various players can and cannot do. The analysis showed that and how these tasks were accomplished through the use and knowledge of categories and membership category devices. These were observedly used to coordinate the children's play, and to produce a shared understanding of the play activity and its associated members, activities, and rules.

For example, an analysis of talk in an activity referred to by the children as 'fairy club' revealed how membership and participation was organised by an asymmetric category set (Jayyusi, 1984), including the categories 'teacher', 'student' and 'helper'. I describe how membership within these categories was recognisably achieved, and how the children oriented to the categories as encompassing certain rights and obligations within the activity.

The analysis supports Sacks' (1992) idea that categorization activities are 'culture-in- action'. The children produced and reproduced aspects of their social worlds to create extended, collaborative and orderly play interactions. Children's use of categories reveals them as culturally competent members.

**Kristin Bührig**

***Satirizing in multilingual communication***

Satirizing in multilingual communication

Satirizing in face-to-face-communication often takes place in constellations in which inter-locutors feel somehow uncomfortable (cf. e.g. Günthner 1996, Kotthoff 1998) - it seems to be one way of handling embarrassing situations that may result from difficulties with particular tasks in the ongoing conversational cooperation. Satirizing is thus close to the speech situation involving immediate referencing to interactants' preceding contributions. In multilingual communication, especially when interpreting persons help to overcome a language barrier, the speech situation may be characterized by an 'internal dilation' (cf. Bührig & Rehbein 2000). This might be one reason why in multilingual communication it is rather difficult for interpreters to render satirizing from source to target discourse.

In this paper, two case studies will be discussed. The first case study deals with satirizing in a multilingual family. The second one deals with multilingual medical briefings for informed consent taken from the corpus of the research project 'Interpreting in Hospitals'. The analyses which are conducted within the framework of 'functional pragmatic discourse analysis' (cf. e.g. Ehlich 1991, Rehbein 2001) will show to which elements of the ongoing cooperation satirizing activities react. Furthermore, the paper will present reconstructions of both the specific demands on persons confronted with the task of interpreting these satirizing contributions and the interactive consequences of their interpreting.

**Rosario Caballero**

***The pragmatics of metaphor in multimodal texts: Using visual and conceptual metaphors in architectural design assessment***

The present paper looks into the ways in which metaphorical language both reflects and contributes to building up the author-reader relationship established through the building review genre as specified by the discipline of architecture as a whole and, more particularly, the genre's rationale. The discussion draws upon previous research on architectural metaphors (Caballero 2001), research informed by the cognitive linguistic theory of metaphor first expounded in Lakoff and Johnson (1980). Together with confirming the figurative motivation of a large amount of architectural jargon, the analysis of a 95-text corpus revealed the strategic dimension of metaphorical language in the genre, where it is an important device at the service of the rhetorical purposes of texts (covering issues of writer-reader relationship and textual coherence and cohesion).

The discussion will be organised as follows. After briefly introducing some of the metaphors articulating architects' particular world-view and textual communication, attention will be focused on the ways in which reviewers mobilise metaphor to add an axiological perspective to the objective facts concerning the buildings at issue in reviews without entering into conflict with their peer audience. In other words, the paper is concerned with an exploration of the reviewers' use of metaphor to keep the 'fragile' however tacit-contract established between them and their visually literate readers in a genre characterised by the explicit display of the object under evaluation through diverse graphic representations. The hypothesis here explored is that both image-based and abstractly driven figurative expressions (i.e. image and conceptual metaphors respectively according to the Lakoffian paradigm) fulfil a hedging role and, therefore, are part of the face and politeness strategies used in the genre. Hedging appears to be accomplished in two different ways. Abstractly-driven metaphorical language and, especially, personification cases will be discussed as effective avoidance strategies helping authors to apparently disengage from the claims sustained in the reviews, to create the illusion of objectivity in a nevertheless intrinsically subjective genre, and to shift the focus towards the reviewed buildings rather than to their own selves. In contrast, visually-loaded expressions motivated by image metaphors will be seen as revealing the reviewer's presence more explicitly, their subjective quality also working at the service of face saving and politeness in compliance with the genre's evaluative thrust and aesthetic bias.

**Emanuela Caldognetto**

***Expression of emotions in e-learning: Synchronous and asynchronous interactions***

In e-learning communities it is widely spread the use of chat and forum to support collaborative and cooperative learning. As in these communities social and emotive aspects are fundamental (Garrison et al. 2000), our aim is to find emotive cues in chat and forum interactions. The interactions could be synchronous (i.e. chat) or

asynchronous (i.e. forum) and could vary according to the interlocutor role (communication between student-student, student-teacher, student-tutor) and the number of the interlocutors (one-to-one or peer-to-peer communications).

Since, with respect to the multimodal face-to-face communication, in computer mediated communication (CMC) the expression of emotive cues is difficult, socio-emotive aspects are totally burdened to emoticons and creative idiosyncratic uses of the writing (Riva 2002).

When emotions are communicated on purpose, directly or indirectly, in CMC interactions we differentiate two alternatives: emotion induction and emotion communication. Emotion induction occurs when B feel a particular emotion due to an A action or communicative act, making feel that emotion to B, while emotion communication takes place when A produce a communicative act or a communicative sign on the purpose to know B that A is feeling an emotion. To study and quantify emotion transmission in e-learning we collected a corpus of chat and forum from four university courses and masters.

In chat and forum interactions we want to analyse and quantify:

- 1- emotion communication: for example in the corpus collected Sono curiosa di conoscerti (I'm curious to know you) expressing writer curiosity but seems to get flatter the readers too. So A communicate an emotion to rise gratification in the interlocutors;
- 2- A wants to induce an emotion to B not communicating an emotion felt by A: for example greetings (Buongiorno!, saluti a tutti, ciao!) have the purpose to induce the interlocutor well-arrangement (Eibl-Eibesfeldt 1974, Goffman 1971) without expressing emotion;
- 3- A communicate an emotion without the purpose to induce an emotion in B: for example the exclamation mark (even repeated several times) express a writer emotion of but not necessarily wants to induce an emotion in the interlocutors too.

## **Thea Cameron-Faulkner**

### ***A pragmatic analysis of English child directed speech***

The present study investigates the role of the input in the early stages of linguistic development. Researchers working within the Usage-based approach to language development suggest that the input is central to the acquisition process; children can and do learn their target language directly from the input by means of cognitive general learning mechanisms such as analogy and categorisation (Tomasello, 2000). In the Usage-based approach children are claimed to acquire and produce item-based constructions in the early stages of development (e.g. It's a X..., Where's Y..., There's the Z....) and gradually formulate a more abstract linguistic representation of their target language.

Cameron-Faulkner, Lieven & Tomasello (2003) conducted a lexically based analysis of English Child Directed Speech (CDS) and found a high proportion of item based frames. A preliminary analysis of the children's speech indicated that these frames were amongst the first construction to emerge in the children's speech. Thus the study suggested that the input was conducive to the language acquisition process given a Usage-based approach. However, the study focused only on the structural aspects of CDS. A number of researchers have stressed the centrality of pragmatic function in the acquisition of language (Bruner, 1975; Bates, 1976; Ninio, 1990) and indeed the notion of communicative intent is central to the Usage-based approach. Thus the present study aims to build on Cameron-Faulkner et. al. by analysing CDS from a functional perspective which may facilitate our understanding of how children experience and break into the ambient language. The key research questions are as follows:

- 1) What kinds of pragmatic functions are most frequent in Child Directed Speech?
- 2) What kind of constructions are used to express these functions?
- 3) What role does pragmatic function play in the development of constructions in the early stages of language development?

The speech of one child (Brian) and his mother was analysed in terms of pragmatic functions and item based frames. The INCA-A coding taxonomy (Ninio et. al. 1994) was used to code video recordings of the mother and child in a naturalistic setting. The data are taken from a dense database collected by researchers at the Max Planck Institute, Leipzig. The sample for the present study is taken from the weekly video recordings of Brian at 2;0, 2;6 and 3;0.

The three most frequent communicative intents found in the input sample were discussing joint focus (52%), negotiating the immediate activity (11%) and directing the hearer's attention (7%). Within each category high frequency item-based frames were discovered. Analysis of the child's data indicates that the high frequency frames attested in the input were the first multi-word constructions to emerge in the child's expression of pragmatic functions.

The findings of the study suggest that there is a close relationship between the types of constructions used to express communicative intent in the input and the emergence of multiword construction in the development of the child's speech which strongly supports the Usage-based approach to language development.

## **Mark Campana**

### ***Audible cues to intended meaning***

In classic Gricean theory, speakers operate more-or-less cooperatively, often grasping at intended meaning through deviations from that which is expected (i.e. the flouting of maxims, etc.). Typically, such inferences are cast in terms of lexical and/or contextual factors:

(1) A: What are you going to wear today?  
B: How cold is it?

(2) A: Ready for your dinner?  
B: It's still kind of early.

In (1), speaker A infers that 'cold' will determine B's response to the question. In (2), time-awareness leads A to conclude that B would rather wait. Still, there are variations in the sound of each of B's replies which, we submit, tip off the listener (in this case A) that an implicature is pending. This is the focus of this paper.

Theoretically, intended meaning is recovered through introspective questioning: 'Speaker B has chosen to flout the Maxim of Relevance. Why did s/he do that?'. In real time, however, this process unfolds very quickly, and communication does not suffer for it. How then are speakers able to manage the flow of information, both perceived and self-generated? In the majority of cases, the key lies in miniscule, but readily perceptible variations in the speaker's voice pertaining to timing, style, and prosodic features like volume, pitch and intonation. The recorded utterance (1), for example, shows a marked intonation pattern that audibly draws attention to the fact that B considers coldness to be the issue. Speaker A is thus led to infer this point in relation to the expected response.

We propose that intended meaning is signaled by paranormal audible and/or visible cues. All life-forms have the capacity to recognize in members of the same species inherent features of communication. For us, these include individual base settings for vocalization—including loudness, tempo & pitch—as well as any deviation from them. Intonation patterns are evaluated on recognition of an individual as a speaker of the same language, dialect, class, etc. Stylistic features (including vocabulary selection) require more familiarity (hence time) before a baseline can be established, but their processing is the same: once established, any departure from the norm serves as a signal for an implicature.

Ultimately, Gricean-type principles must hold not only of verbal meaning, but –and perhaps primarily—of meaning carried by the human voice. Just as e.g. pauses are considered as significant, so too are modulations of sound delivery. Theoretically then, interpretation could take the form of questions like "Why did Speaker B place such undue emphasis on that word?". Of course, actual processing does not allow for this kind of introspection. Rather, it would involve the simultaneous tracking of several fields, not unlike a building security guard watching video monitors. A sound 'alert', e.g. prosodic deviation from a base setting would be assigned to one field or another, together with an implicature relating to the speaker's attitude, presupposition, or social status. Various examples from recorded conversations will be given in support of this sound-based approach to intended meaning.

## **Costas Canakis**

### ***Indexing non-hegemonic masculinities in Greek***

This paper deals with how non-hegemonic masculinities (Renold, 2004) are indexed and enacted linguistically, focusing on homoerotic masculinities and describing aspects on self- and other-representation of gendered subjects (cf. Ochs, 1992). I argue that there is a plethora of pragmatic markers contributing to "doing" these gendered identities (Cook-Gumperz, 1992). The data are partly derived from participant observation and feature conversations, chat-room session transcripts, SMS's, and e-mails.

Drawing on traditional sociolinguistic research, one may start with the so-called characteristics of "men's language" (whether agreeing with them or not) as they may be exploited in setting up a stereotype which is always culture- and language-specific and against which other linguistic production may be gauged. I therefore give special attention to features such as non-cooperative, adversarial talk and bantering as a privileged area.

Moreover, I am showing that non-hegemonic masculinities may be constituted and enacted (a) by juxtaposition to a masculine stereotype and consequent approximation of the feminine pole of the gender continuum, or (b) without making overt reference to any stereotype, thus giving the impression of "independent emergence" (a view underpinning political goals). Indeed, studies in masculinities as well as net-culture suggest that both exist—in fact they may coexist. Each of these non-hegemonic masculinities bears its own distinct pragmatic markers, from voice and intonation—so that people may actually "sound gay"—to choice of lexical

items (Smyth et al. 2003), often usurping elements of another, contrasting masculinity to ridicule it. Thus, we have both direct and indirect evidence of their existence. Gay camp is linguistically and paralinguistically indexed and variegated. Here, I am dealing with two polar gay masculinities, often described by terms such as *aderfi* or *kuklitsa* “sissy” and *adráki*, *androprepís* or even *pedarús* “straight-acting, jock”, with the latter being currently prevalent (complicating things further, as “jock” or “gay clone” culture could be construed as “hegemonic” within the “gay community”). Be that as it may, it is possible to isolate moments of the linguistic production of gendered subjects as emblematic of these polarized masculinities, with (1) alluding to “jocks” and (2) to “sissies”:

(1) *Íne adráki re peði mu, ðen íne kuklitsa...*  
 He-is little-man vocative child my, not he-is little-doll...  
 ‘He’s a real stud I’m telling ya, he’s no sissy...’  
 [Deprecative comment typically issued by a “jock” or jock-wanna-be]

(2) *Ase mas agápi mu!*  
 Leave! us love my  
 ‘Get out o’ here!’ or ‘Yeah right!’  
 [Exclamation of dismissal or/and exasperation]

## Monica Cantero-Exojo

### *Combining visual form and meaning: Multimodal representations and pragmatic function in word formation*

The naming and advertisement of commercial products by means of visual effects in combination with communicative intentions and word formation rules often results in the “creation” of new words and later, following their incorporation into the lexicon, represent the visually conceptualized meaning shaped into a written unit, created for a very specific and unique purpose. The morphological processes implied in the creation of these particular image-like-words in the field of promotion, for instance, reveal strategies of a pragmatic communicative performance and the need of “going beyond the word” to convey a more dynamic and persuasive meaning.

This approach to the structure of words which we are exploring here represents the convergence of different avenues of investigation. The first is morphological and lexical theory (Aronoff 1976, 1994), (Bauer 1983); another is centered around research into the psychological properties of language (Sperber and Wilson 1986) and the use of cognitive processes in morphological theory (Bybee 1985); the third and final avenue of research consists of the study of the general pragmatic effects and meanings which are a result of the application of morphological rules (Dressler and Barbaressi 1987), (Dressler and Kiefer 1990).

Our objective is to carry out a study of the pragmatic motivations of productive morphological strategies employed by the speaker of a language in order to create and reflect in the best way his communicative intentions when making use of the word formation rules to manipulate and create a new concept or meaning in the language, which it will also carry a visual effect. It is a reflection of the mental process which determines how a language user is capable of combining form and meaning conflated within any of the morphological rules of word formation. Data collected for this purpose comes from the advertisement industry, with a cross-cultural component, since it comes from English (US) and Spanish (in the US and in Spain).

Conclusions about how the speaker codifies meaning and form by means of visual strategies and word formation rules can be drawn from our analysis. One constant element in the analysis of forms used in this research is the fact that the speaker will always address his communicative intentions to convey useful and relevant information.

## Bert Cappelle

### *Contextual cues for particle placement*

This paper discusses some contextual factors that influence constituent ordering in the English transitive verb-particle construction. The particle in this construction can generally occur on either side of the object NP--see (1a-b)--but it has to follow an unstressed pronominal object and precede an NP with sufficient complexity--see (2a-b).

(1a) Pete {put down the knife / put the knife down}.

(1b) Kate {googled up the data / googled the data up}.

(2a) They had to {\*helicopter out us / helicopter us out}.

(2b) I {made up things about people who don't exist / \*made things about people who don't exist up}.

These well-known restrictions on particle placement have been considered as a grammatical reflection of the more basic pragmatic tendency to put discourse-old information towards the beginning of a sentence and



discourse-new information towards the end: pronouns typically refer back to contextually identifiable entities and therefore precede the particle, while heavily modified nouns typically refer to entities that are newly introduced into the discourse, and are therefore saved for later in the sentence (cf. Gries, 2003: 18-20 for a brief overview of the literature on the effect of discourse-newness on particle placement).

While previous mention of the referent of the object NP certainly influences particle placement, other contextual factors have to be taken into account as well.

One factor that can be shown to be relevant is focality, which is to be distinguished from discourse-newness, and which should be viewed as an attribute that can receive one of multiple values (e.g. 'focus on the entire VP', 'focus on the object NP', 'focus on the particle', 'focus on the verb-particle combination but not on the object NP', etc.). Depending on the value, which represents a particular contextual scenario, one or both orderings are felicitous (cf. Dehé, 2002 for the influence of focality on particle placement, but she considers fewer scenarios and matches each of them with one ordering only, something which cannot be supported empirically). To illustrate with only two values (focused constituents appear within square brackets, accented words appear in capitals):

(3a) Focus on the object NP (e.g., as a possible reply to the question, What did Durban turn off, the camera or the microphone?)

Durban {turned off [the CAMERA] / turned [the CAMERA] off}.

(3b) Focus on the particle (e.g., as a possible reply to the question, What did Durban do with the camera, turn it off or turn it on?)

Durban {??turned [OFF] the camera / turned the camera [OFF]}.

Among further contextual factors that need to be accommodated are:

- syntactic priming: an ordering tends to be triggered by its previous use (cf. Gries, s.d.)

- accessibility (perhaps to be treated in terms of Fillmore's Frame Semantics): an NP referring to an entity that is easily evoked in the context of a certain activity may occur more readily in the discontinuous order than an NP referring to an entity that is less obviously associated with that activity (cf. Bolinger, 1971: 55-57):

(4a) Today I {cleaned up my room / cleaned my room up}.

(4b) Today I {cleaned up my website / ?cleaned my website up}.

Some data gathered from web search experiments tentatively corroborate the difference in status between expected and less expected object NPs. (For example, with "look up", the expected NP "a word" has a one-in-four chance of preceding the particle, while the less expected NP "a name" has less than a one-in-ten chance of preceding it. The possible but unexpected NP "a quote" has virtually a zero chance of preceding the particle.)

- (other) 'encyclopaedic' knowledge: the discontinuous order is used when the verb is stative (e.g. She {\*left up the blinds / left the blinds up}, cf. Fraser, 1976: 11), but only real-world experience with objects, the laws of physics, etc. can tell us whether a stative verb like "keep" is involved in a stative or a dynamic situation in a given context:

(5a) He {??kept on his coat / kept his coat on}. (cp. He {put on his coat / put his coat on})

(5b) This rope will {keep down the hood / keep the hood down} while you drive.

In (5a), the situation referred to is stative, since no particular effort is needed to keep a coat on. By contrast, in (5b), the seemingly stative situation requires a sustained application of a counterforce exerted by the rope: the function of the rope is to prevent the hood from being blown up. This counteraction makes the situation dynamic, despite the resulting steadiness. In the following authentic example, the tendency of non-elastic socks to slip down is also neutralized by a counterforce (thus making the situation dynamic), which again accounts for the possibility of the particle to be put before the object NP:

(6) I suggested that she find a pair of those old fashioned garters that men wore to keep up their socks, in the pre-elastic stone ages. (www)

This paper, in short, adduces evidence that the choice of one word order pattern over another is prompted by more than just the assessment of the relative discourse-newness of the words (or their referents) involved. At least in the case of particle placement, the selection of a particular ordering is cued by contextual kinds of information that go far beyond what could be retrieved by an automatic processor and that can only be gathered via a full linguistic and extra-linguistic understanding of the situation referred to.

## **Filomena Capucho**

### ***Discourse as a mirror: The place and face of the teacher***

Public discourse of academics, researchers, teachers, ministries and institutions reflects the dominant social and political ideologies that determine methodological choices by creating representations about the function of educational institutions and the profile of the citizen they should form. At the same time, this discourse builds and carries representations about power relations within the educational context and, moreover, conceptions of power itself. As such, it should determine the status and consequent roles of the different actors involved in the classroom setting and, consequently, the range of possibilities for action and talk.

The pragmatic, syntactic and semantic analysis of utterances produced by the teacher help to observe the position that is claimed by him/her within the interactional net, as well as the one that is proposed for the learners to occupy. These aspects are most relevant in the following situations: if the teacher follows the institutionalised rules that have governed classroom interaction for a long time, s/he will claim for a hierarchical position in discourse, thus generating an asymmetrical system in which the learners will obviously occupy a lower place. If s/he focuses the communication process on the creation of symmetrical positions, if s/he uses the adequate politeness strategies that protect and redress the students' faces, then the co-operative process can be commonly assumed and it will be possible to change the traditional institutional rules. The teacher's discourse is thus, in this particular context, vital.

In our paper we present the results of the analysis of a corpus of authentic classroom talk collected during 5 English classes in Portugal. The analysis focuses on verbal aspects (enunciative position and modalities – cf. Vion, 2001) that are related to the negotiation of the teacher's face (cf. Goffman, 1974) and place (Brown & Levinson, 1987) within the interaction, as well as the kind of politeness strategies that s/he uses to redress the learners' faces. The research shows how teachers still tend to claim a central place in the interaction, thus contradicting the discourse that is produced within the social (national and international) context about education.

Therefore, we conclude that in spite of the official tendencies and ideologies, the traditional Social Order is still prevailing in the concrete educational field.

**Eddy Carli**

### ***John Searle on collective intentionality and conversation***

The main purpose of this paper is to reach the following outcomes: (1) to underline the connection between the structure of the conversation and collective intentionality, and the question of the individualistic premises of Speech Acts theory (Streeck, 1993, Sbisà 1993). (2) To point out some problems of Searle's "internalist" approach to collective intentionality (Bratman, 1993, Meijers 2003).

Searle's theory of collective intentionality set out from his analysis of conversation, and from the insight that conversations are genuine forms of collective actions (Searle 1986, 1992). In the conversation, shared intentionality is not given in advance but built up in the course of the conversation: shared intentionality is the object of continuous negotiation and evaluation by the interlocutors (shared intentionality would be an attempt to break through the individualistic premises of Speech Acts theory).

In this paper I try to point out the weakness of Searle's "internalist" approach to collective intentionality. For

Searle, we-intentionality is a primitive concept: collective intentions expressed in the form "we intend to do such-and-such", and, "we are doing such-and-such" are primitive phenomena and cannot be analyzed in terms of individual intentions of the form "I intend to do such-and-such" or "I am doing such-and-such". There really is such a thing as collective intentional behavior which is not the same as the summation of individual intentional behavior, and which cannot be reduced to an individual intentional behavior.

I will develop my critical discussion pointing out three main problems in Searle's analysis: (1) Individualism: intentionality, individual and collective, is independent from the real world, it is a primitive which exists in the individual brains. But, in this case, we could attribute intentionality, singular or plural, only to individuals. (2) Sharing and cooperation: for an intention to be shared, it is not enough that intentions are coincident. You and I can have the intention to sing a duet together without we intending to do so. Cognitive attitudes are not sufficient to explain the sharing of intentionality. (3) Normativity attitudes have to be part of the analysis, and Searle doesn't seem to consider these aspects. A radical alternative would be a theory considering also the relational aspects involved in collective intentionality, and which refers to the holistic perspective.

**Luciana Carnevale**

### ***Pragmatics and speech pathology and therapy: Some critical remarks***

In the field of Speech Pathology and Therapy, several publications, mainly those that relate symptomatic speech to psychiatric disorders, have pointed to the worthiness of the contributions made by Linguistic Pragmatics. It is asserted that, by this means, it is possible to describe the speech of patients with diagnostic purposes and to establish communicative-disorder oriented therapeutic procedures. Accordingly, echoes of Grice (1975) and Searle's theoretical framework (1984) can be acknowledged in some therapeutic proposals. It is stated that "...the comprehension of language is facilitated by the social context (...) and the meaning of the word is constructed by means of the circumstances in which it is used" and that "reference and meaning are psychological activities, acts speakers carry out, rather than properties sentences have." (Fernandes 1995). In this fashion, symptomatic speech, which said to be characterized by incongruous utterances, from a textual viewpoint and/or by utterances that express "untrue" experiences, is conceived of as "communicative failures"

deriving from a fragile integration between the context and semantic/cognitive contents. Researchers say that the rehabilitation procedure should promote the appropriate convergence between context and the patient's speech production. It is argued that the therapist-patient interaction must either facilitate meaning (re)construction or, when children are patients, the language acquisition process. Having in mind that basic assumptions and concepts from Pragmatics are often simplified when applied in the field of Language Pathology and Therapy, I claim that the relationship between fields ought to be carefully carried out. It seems that approaching language meaning or intentions as "transparent" (as often found in the work of speech therapists) and attributed to Pragmatics, should raise doubts - specially when symptomatic speech is taken into consideration. If the fluency in communication is the target, it seems to me that the most hindering element to its accomplishment is the disturbing effect that symptomatic speech produce in the interlocutor. In my presentation, I intend to critically approach the naïve application of concepts and descriptive apparatuses from Pragmatics to patients' speech, i.e., its naïve implementation in clinical practice. I shall further discuss the following issues: 1) how can one accept, without taking into consideration significant asymmetric interaction, the use of the idea of communication as "necessary purpose" in the realm of Clinical Language Practice?; 2) how can one back up the idea of epistemic subject, in light of the disruptive interaction deadlocks promoted by speakers who can do nothing to change their speech? A careful revision of Grice and Searle's theoretical proposals will be accomplished, geared to pointing out the places where the complexity of their discussions was reduced. I understand that such reduction is motivated by the burden of solving problems clinical practice raises. Empirical data from speech therapy sessions will be presented and discussed.

**Francesca Carota**

### ***Collaborative use of contrastive markers: Co-textual and contextual implications***

Focusing on little studied Contrastive Markers (CMs) of Italian, such as *ma* (but), *invece* (instead), *mentre* (while), *però* (nevertheless), their correlation with discourse structure (DS) and context is investigated by comparing information- and task-oriented dialogues.

The aim is explaining the context-dependency of CMs, by delineating a unified framework based on a linguistically motivated notion of context.

As a multifaceted extra-linguistic whole, context subsumes, *inter alia*, interactional, social, cognitive components. Although, context is conceived here as a cognitive environment, which interacts intrinsically with the online construction of DS, and modelled as a Common Ground (CG), a shared cognitive state formed through the coordinative process of grounding (Clark, 1996). In this process, co-participants' private mental states get coordinated during communication. By involving a presentation of some parameter, and an acceptance phase evidencing if the presented parameter has been grounded, grounding allows co-participants to achieve CG on:

1. access to their communicative actions (CAs),
2. perception that they have been performed,
3. understanding of their meaning,
4. agreement about their tasks/information-related goals.

Classical work on grounding concerns perception and understanding (Traum, 1999). Therefore, information/task-oriented dialogue requires especially agreement on the task/information-related negotiation. Consequently, CG is defined not as a mutual/shared knowledge, inadequate for naturally-occurring conversation, but as a common mental state of agreement reached on several communicative levels, from the extra-linguistic dimension to the linguistic co-textual one, itself multilayered, which is stressed here since it concretely realizes DS.

DS is a dynamically expanding object: it is cognitively shaped by grounding the ideational meta-scheme of dialogue or global topic (Chafe, 1994) and captured in terms of dialogue units (DU) of both CG (containing task/information-related macro-plans already grounded) and topic. Locally, DS results from the interplay of such DU and intra-utterance information structural themes, which package topical entities.

Themes set an explicit topical coordinate, which specifies how the host local utterance relates to the global topic. Rather than conveying grounded information, they are involved in the "meta-negotiation" of topical coordinates, which have to be accepted in the CG and agreed upon by co-participants, in order to situate the current utterance into an appropriate ideational frame.

Accordingly, pragmatic appropriateness is the property of a linguistic element to fit congruently the cognitive-pragmatic circumstances determined by the interaction between the co-textual and contextual features which DS is sensitive to.

Following these premises, corpus evidence suggests that some CMs accommodate in the cognitive context the pragmatic meaning of a previous signal of feedback on acceptance status (i.e. *si*, *certo*, *no*), by meta-communicating that the communicative goal of a presented DU has not been fulfilled.

Furthermore, when a topic shift is presented to the CG, by locally introducing a new topical coordinate within a theme, CMs appropriately re-orient the coordination process towards the meta-negotiation of the topic-change. In conclusion, CMs are crucial collaborative devices which correlate with context-updating strategies to mark the initial structural boundary of a new DU, by signalling intersubjectively the status of the grounding on a previous presentation.

## **Glória Carvalho**

### ***The child's communicative intention and the researcher's interpretation***

The aim of this presentation is to discuss the investigator's interpretation of children's speech, when he assumes a pragmatic viewpoint to approach the language acquisition process. Following such a theoretical trend, researchers' interpretations are based on (or depart from) the effort to apprehend children's communicative intentions. Dore ( ), for example, suggests that the linguist's interpretation of children's productions should be as close as possible of that of their mothers', i.e., the investigator should try to apprehend the communicative intentions shared by the dyad child-mother. Such a descriptive/analytical proposal seems, at least in part, to follow Grice's conception of communication, according to which the communicative effect, produced on the addressee, is closely related to the her/his recognition of the speaker's intention conveyed in her/his statement. It is worth noticing that when Grice (op. cit.) focuses on the notion of "effect", he faces a peculiar problem: the effect of ambiguity which, for that author, is still "intended", though showing the impossibility of full control over meaning. I would like to point out that in pragmatic approaches to language acquisition, authors like Ochs and Schiffelin (1985) have stressed that ambiguity should be considered a universal feature of children's productions, specially when they are at the transition period, i.e., from non-speaker to speaker of a given language. Taking into account Grice's consideration about the effect of ambiguity, I claim that such an effect should be attributed to the interlocutor's listening of children's productions. Indeed, the effect of ambiguity, as conceived by the author, is closely linked to the idea that the speaker controls language usage. The question I raise and discuss in my presentation is the following: "Is it plausible to sustain that children can control speech to convey some intention?" or else, "can children, during the above mentioned transition period, sustain ambiguity (an intended ambiguous effect)?" In fact, the two questions insinuate negative answers. Based on empirical data and theoretical reflection, I take refuse the idea that the investigator's interpretation is dependent on her/his recognition of intentions children supposedly want to convey. I agree with de Lemos (1982, 1992, 2002) when she states that the child should not be conceived as a subject-in-control of intentions and therefore, I shall propose a different notion of effect. Empirical data will be presented to illustrate the discussion.

## **Cristiano Castelfranchi**

### ***Deception and co-operation***

This work provides a definition of deception and challenges the grician view of lying as a violation of the cooperation principle, starting from a goal and belief model of social action (Castelfranchi & Poggi, 1998) that views communication as a means both for social influence and for co-operation.

We communicate to influence others, to have them pursue goals they did not have before. But since we decide to pursue goals on the basis of our beliefs, if Agent A wants Agent B to pursue a goal G that B would only pursue if he had belief p, A will have good reasons to let B assume p, whether or not A assumes p as true: if President A wants people of his country B to engage in a war against country C, and he thinks they would if they believed C has terrible weapons, A will make B believe this, whether it is true or not. A deceives B to influence B, to have B pursue the goals A wants.

On the co-operation side, to achieve its goals Agent A must lean on world conditions, its own action capacity and beliefs; but when these are not sufficient, A must resort to other people's adoption, namely the willingness of another Agent B to put its own material and cognitive resources to the service of A's goals. But should an Agent give all its resources to others, it could not achieve its own goals; so, a principle of reciprocation holds, the principle of reciprocal altruism (Trivers, 1975; Castelfranchi, 1991): if Agent A has had one's goals adopted by Agent B, A must later adopt B's goals in turn. But Agents depend on each other for knowledge as well as for action, and to exchange beliefs is an advantage for all Agents because it multiplies their chance to achieve their goals. Therefore, the principle of reciprocal altruism is instantiated in the domain of communication as a principle of reciprocal altruism of knowledge: if A has a belief p useful to B's goals, A should give belief p to B; and if A does not A deceives B.

So far, the principle of reciprocal altruism of knowledge runs parallel to the Grician principle of co-operation, because by definition knowledge is useful to Agents qua a necessary means to their goals. But sometimes deception, though violating this principle at a first level, at another level aims at adopting the other's

goals: e.g., in withdrawing knowledge from others since it would cause them stress, pain, anxiety, confusion (like in white lies), or withdrawing it momentarily to prepare the relief and amusement of surprise (like in jokes). This work defines deception and provides criteria to tell when an untruthful act is deception or not (like in irony), and to distinguish altruistic from selfish deception. By these notions it analyzes cases of deception in the health domain, namely in doctors, nurses, and patients.

**Joanne Cavallaro**

***Refractions on indirectness: Writing conference as prism***

Indirectness has long been associated with power relations, politeness strategies and solidarity moves (Leech 1983; Levinson 1984). From a socio-pragmatic perspective, indirectness occurs when “some conflict exists between the speaker’s intention to say something and the anticipated reaction of the hearer” (Davison 1975). It results from the need for saying and not saying in the same breath.

As such, it can be used either to maintain or to disrupt existing power relations in different ways, depending on whether it is addressed up, down or sideways along the power dimension. It can be addressed up, for lack of power often requires a speaker to be indirect. It can be addressed down, for having power allows one to be indirect. And it can be addressed sideways as a means of negotiating power relations among equals. Within any discourse, indirectness can be used by both the powerful and the powerless to negotiate both power and solidarity, to manage politeness and face concerns, and to create what is known as pragmatic space (Leech 1983: see also Cavallaro 2000; Rundquist 1998).

Lakoff (1990) notes that indirectness is most prevalent when the topic is “risky,” as it is when offering criticism. Teacher-student writing conferences, in which a learner seeks help from an “expert,” are inherently risky situations for both learners and “experts.” An analysis of indirectness used in such conferences can offer insights into these potentially risky interactions. This paper examines the ways in which indirectness enters the intertextual dynamics of teacher-student and tutor-student writing conferences. Specifically, it examines -- in the multiple voices and texts of a writing conference -- the ways in which indirect disagreements and directives can be used as tools to control discourse, to challenge authority and to save face. Transcripts of five teacher-student and five tutor-student conferences are examined along several dimensions of indirectness: conventional implicature vs. conversational implicature (Grice 1975); presequencing (testing the waters first to avoid potentially embarrassing speech acts (Obeng 1997)); and pragmatic ambivalence (a situation in which a speaker is “deliberately indeterminate” to protect either her own or the listener’s face (Wajnryb 1998)).

Analysis of the transcripts indicates that instructors’ use of indirectness differs from that of tutors and students in ways that not only reflect the power differentials among participants but also help create those differentials. Although teachers may use indirectness to lessen power differentials, such use may only serve to render those differentials less visible and thus less open to challenge. Students, nevertheless, find ways of using indirectness to challenge the authority of teachers and tutors. And peer tutors, students caught between two roles (fellow-student or teacher-substitute), use it to balance the conflicting demands of those roles.

Looking through the prism of one speech event, a writing conference, we can see how indirectness functions in opposite but complementary ways, allowing the speaker both to flip or manipulate the hearer and beautifully balance, often in few words, the tension between saying and not saying inherent in all communication.

**Federica Cavicchio, Emanuela Caldognetto & Isabella Poggi**

***Irony, humor and ridicule in judicial debates: Multimodal cues***

In a preceding work (Attardo, 2002) an analysis was carried on of the vocal and facial cues of ironic communicative acts. This analysis, however, only took into account fragments of American situation comedies. This kind of data, however, might have some flaws: first, they are drawn from fiction and not real interaction; second, situation comedies are typically ones in which ironic communicative acts generally have the goal to cause or to stress humorous situations: in other words, in situation comedies data humor and irony are strictly intertwined. In our view, however, in real communication it is only in some cases that irony and humor overlap; therefore, a relevant research goal is to single out which signals, in the vocal and verbal modalities, are specifically devoted to communicate irony as opposed to humor, or to other nuances of the Speaker’s communicative goals. To this aim, a research was carried on to study chunks of real face to face interaction whose goal is not one of entertainment but, on the contrary, a very serious one: judicial debates. In particular, some fragments have been analysed of the “Mani pulite” trial: a famous trial, held in Italy in 1993, of very high political import, in which many politicians were charged of corruption. In this process, both the accuser, Antonio Di Pietro, and one of the attorneys, Spazzali, often use irony while interrogating the accused and the witnesses; but their interrogations also provide examples of humor and ridiculization.

Also this kind of data are, however, very peculiar: as Giglioli et al. (1999) put it, this trial counts as a “degradation ritual” (Goffmann, 1967) in that a whole political class was impeached through it. It is a situation in which men formerly with a high status and high social and political power were publicly shamed, and where, therefore, the use of irony, humor and ridicule was quite justified by the very goal of re-establishing a balance between the politicians who, in a sense, did not deserve such power, and the people. In different judicial contexts the use of irony, humor and ridicule might be less frequent because they could be viewed as a politically incorrect and pointlessly cruel behavior when addressed to laypeople in such an uncomfortable situation as a trial.

A first goal of this work is then to provide a definition of irony, humor, and ridicule in terms of a model of mind and communication in terms of goals and beliefs; the second goal is to analyze the vocal, gestural, facial and body cues specifically devoted to meta-communicate these communicative intents; the third goal is to compare the relative frequency of use of irony, humor and ridicule, and their respective interactional goals, in everyday trials as opposed to the “Mani pulite” trials.

### **Elisabet Cedersund**

#### ***Conversations between people with Alzheimer's disease and their caregivers: On human agency, identity formation, and the risk of losing identity***

The paper uses data from a project concerning communication and social interaction between old people with Alzheimer's disease (AD) and their carers (employed by the municipal social services). The empirical data consist of dyadic conversations between a person with AD and a caregivers (40 conversations). The aim of the project was to investigate naturally occurring conversations between individuals with AD and their caregivers. The analyses did not focus only on the disabilities but also on the communicative abilities of the AD patients. The study explored how communicative abilities may change over time and different situations, and how the communicative behaviour of persons with AD may be influenced by conversational contributions of the healthy interlocutors. The analyses in the paper focus on the following aspects: (a) The care-givers methods of talking with the old person (e.g. to give support, or to make corrections); (b) The narratives produced by the old persons; (c) The construction and co-construction of narratives in this type of care setting.

According to the results some of the stories told by the persons with AD have a conventional structure – a classical beginning – middle – end format, with a description of a situation, introduction of characters, the introduction of some kind of problem or dilemma, and a resolution. However, several of the stories take a different form: E.g they do not have a conventional ending with a resolution of the issues raised. Characters talked about may disappear without explanation, or the story may end without any conclusion. These changes may be linked to the old person's memory difficulties, and the mixing of details from other stories. But just like in other social situations - conversations between people with AD and their caregivers include interplay between the interlocutors. The listeners (i.e. the caregivers) are not passive recipients but active contributors to the shaping of the tellings with their responses.

In this paper it is showed how caregivers may assist with the constructions of narratives to help the old persons with AD to articulate their stories. While this practice may give the person with AD a chance to appear as “real”, the caregiver also sometimes corrects the stories told by the old person in order to get a “right” version, complicating the construction of the old person's identity as well as confusing the person telling a story about the past.

### **Asta Cekaite**

#### ***Soliciting teacher co-orientation in an immersion classroom: Affect displays and embodied action***

This paper explores methods for soliciting attention and conversational uptake by focusing on children at very early stages of second language learning. The present study draws on video recordings of lessons in a Swedish language immersion group for refugee and immigrant children (aged 7-10), who had recently arrived in Sweden. On the basis of an approach, inspired by conversation analysis and ethnomethodology, this study has adopted an emic (participant-relevant) perspective on how participants jointly accomplish meaningful interaction. By attending to the sequential organization of the participant's actions, it explored a range of multimodal resources (Goodwin, 2000) that the children employed to summon the teacher's attention and secure her/his co-orientation. Children's methods for recruiting a conversational partner have been analyzed in monolingual preschool and school settings (Corsaro, 1979; Lerner, 1995; McHoul, 1978; Mehan, 1979, Pallotti, 2000; Sahlström, 1999). In the L2 discourse of novice speakers, repetition has proved to be a handy resource for entering an ongoing conversational activity (Pallotti, 2001). However, prior work has focused on teacher-fronted instructional

activities or L2 novices' access to multiparty conversations. The present study instead focuses on individual work on task, and examines how L2 novices establish teacher's initial attention.

Because of the socially complex nature of the present classroom and the way the teacher was "multi-tasking" the group of children, it was quite common that several children simultaneously called for the teacher's assistance. At times, being informative about the communicative project (Linell, 1998) proved to be a condition for establishing the teacher's orientation.

The analyses illuminate lexico-semantic as well as prosodic features in the production of summonses. A summons (an "attention-getting device") may include directives tailored to guide the recipient's attention, terms of address or other vocatives, as well as physical actions such as hand raising or tapping a shoulder (Schegloff, 1968).

Apart from prosodic features, it is also demonstrated how nonvocal aspects of the children's embodied actions (posture, gestures and bodily movement) were employed as ways of establishing mutually recognizable activities. These resources proved important in signaling a series of affective student stances, e.g. "tired", "bored" or "eager", that provided for different ways of participating in classroom activities.

The performative displays of affect supplemented the children's limited lexical repertoires by establishing a framework for interpreting the participants' interactional moves in the encompassing classroom activity. Thus, the affective displays of occasion relevant identities provided embodied cues as to how one might construe a subsequent interactional move. In fact, the analyses of the present examples indicate that affect displays seem to be relatively stable resources, which children with minimal linguistic resources deploy in meaning making during conversational exchanges. These locally available resources allowed children to indicate their communicative projects, and to mark the noteworthiness of their summons, in spite of their limited L2 competence. The findings are discussed in terms of their implications for understanding participation in L2 classroom interactions as being a matter of delicately calibrated collaborative accomplishments, indicating a need to attend to the role of emotion in an L2 learning setting.

**Stéphanie Chaminaud, Josie Bernicot & Virginie Laval**

***Pragmatics and nonliteral language: A study of the comprehension of several nonliteral forms by French-speaking children***

This study examines the development of nonliteral language understanding in children between the ages of 4 and 10 years. By definition, nonliteral language is employed when "what is said" differs from "what is meant". Most studies conducted on this topic deal separately with only one of the various forms of nonliteral speech, therefore offering a fragmented view of their comprehension. In the current state of the research, it seemed important to study the different nonliteral language forms simultaneously, in an attempt to determine whether a particular acquisition order exists. Among the forms noted so far, we find idiomatic expressions, allusive indirect requests, and conversational implicatures. To understand these three nonliteral forms, listeners must make inferences of varying complexity. In idiomatic expressions (e.g. "pour your heart out"), knowledge of a linguistic convention enables the listener to go from an utterance structure that says one thing (here, a statement that talks about a heart) to a meaning that is referentially far from it ("tell me everything that's troubling you"). In indirect requests (e.g. "cold air is coming through the window" used to mean "close the window"), relating the utterance to its context enables the listener to go from assigning the utterance an assertive function (the speaker expresses a belief about the state of the world: cold air is coming through the window) to assigning it a directive function (the speaker is asking the listener to close the window). In conversational implicatures (e.g. Jean asks Marie "Do you want some candy" and Marie replies "I'm on a diet"), the presumed abidance by the principle of cooperation and shared knowledge of a property of the referent (candy has sugar in it and sugar is fattening) enable Jean to infer something that wasn't said (Marie doesn't want any candy).

Forty-four native French-speaking children participated in the experiment. They were divided into four age groups: 4-year-olds, 6-year-olds, 8-year-olds, and 10-year-olds. The children's pragmatic skills and metapragmatic knowledge of these three nonliteral forms were tested using a new computerized story-completion paradigm. The children's task was to complete each illustrated story displayed on the screen by choosing one of two possible endings (pragmatic-skill task) and to explain their choice (pragmatic-knowledge task). The stories provided the context for the utterances used to test nonliteral speech understanding.

The results indicated a clear-cut order of acquisition for these three nonliteral forms: understanding of conversational implicatures with a shift in meaning were noted by the age of 4, and indirect requests showed up by the age of 6. Idiomatic expressions were understood last, between the ages 8 and 10. Pragmatic knowledge did not appear until the children were 8, and pertained solely to conversational implicatures and idiomatic expressions. These results supply evidence of a lag between the development of pragmatic skills and pragmatic knowledge.

## **Brian Chan**

### ***Code-switching and relevance theory***

Research has indicated that code-switching is frequent across various language-pairs in certain “hot spots” or “conversational functions” such as quotations or clarifications (Auer 1995, Gumperz 1982, etc.). Lists of these “hot spots” have been revised, updated and expanded (e.g. Baker 2001). Nonetheless, it has seldom been explored as to why code-switching tends to appear in these “hot spots” in various language-pairs.

Gumperz (1982) and Auer (1995) have dismissed these “conversational functions” as ill-defined and not explanatory. Their proposal is that code-switching is a “contextualization cue” which highlights certain contextual assumptions in a conversation, and this theory seems to be unanimously accepted in recent literature (see Auer 1998, Ed.). Based on my recent works (Chan 2003, 2004), I argue that “contextualization cue” is only a partial account of the motivations of code-switching and the inferences it conveys.

This paper revisits the “conversational functions” in the light of Relevance Theory (Sperber and Wilson 1995). It is suggested that these so-called “conversation functions” in fact fall into different categories which reflect the pragmatic functions of code-switching: First, code-switching expresses inferences in a “metaphorical” manner; second, it marks “interpretive use”, and, third, it frames background and foreground information.

## **Jackie Chang**

### ***Ideologies of English-language-teaching (ELT) in Taiwan***

In my paper, which is based on my recent doctoral dissertation, I engage with the following ideologies in the ELT industry in Taiwan, an English-as-a-Foreign-Language (EFL) country: ‘English-as-the-global-language’; ‘the-ideal-English-teacher’; ‘the-ideal-English-teaching-methodology’; ‘American-English-as-standard-English’; and ‘the- younger-the-better’. I am using Critical Discourse Analysis (CDA) to analyze data drawn from language school promotional materials, including school fliers, websites, television commercials and television English teaching programs. At a first glance, these may seem mundane, but in fact they are crucial in the dissemination of the above concepts. The premises of English language teaching and learning in Taiwan are based on the assumption that English language mastery is the key to achieving a better life and future for the aspiring individual, particularly in the context of globalization. However, the study reveals that English teaching and learning has, in fact, resulted in wide-spread social, cultural, educational, and linguistic inequalities in contemporary Taiwanese society.

## **Vincent Tao-hsun Chang**

### ***Multimodal communication in advertising: A case study of the captions for the Olympics 2008***

This paper aims to explore the dialogic relations between form and function in multimodal discourse by looking into six print advertisements for the Olympics 2008 released by Mainland China. Data for analysis are chosen on the grounds that, first, the wordings in Mandarin Chinese are simple, slogan-type, but creatively interweaving the Games' logo with attractive pictures through which the messages could be plenty. Secondly, they encourage the (imaginative/creative) audience to integrate the semiotic elements (slogans and visual images) to trigger contextual effects, namely pun, irony, metaphor and humour, and will perform various pragmatic functions thereafter. Thirdly, they are ideologically significant for conveying and promoting traditional Chinese culture, inviting and persuading the audience to recognize the prominent values in a friendly style.

Different readers will receive different readings and search for their optimal relevance (Sperber & Wilson 1995) in the interpretation process, during which a wide array of implicatures would be inferred and derived from non-/verbal communication together with the contexts, depending on different degrees of involvement and shared cognitive environment. Lending itself as a symbolic arena for embracing competing ideologies, multimodal discourse displays the gist of, and adds interest to interpretability, reflecting the speaker-audience's interaction, and thus keeping the dialectical relationship between sociocultural structures and social practice/discourse.

## **Ross Charnock**

### ***OVERRULING as a speech act***

In J. Austin's (1832) account of law-giving, rules are presented as general commands, emanating from a metaphorical 'sovereign'. To the extent that this view is accepted, it is therefore legitimate to see legislation as



involving illocutionary acts on the part of the legislature, creating new obligations and norms of behaviour through declarations which are constitutive of the law. In all legal systems the judiciary also has an inevitable "interstitial" legislative function, insofar as the judges are frequently required to declare how the law should be interpreted and applied in new, unenvisaged circumstances. In the common law system such decisions constitute legal precedents and become part of case law.

Following the rule of stare decisis, later judges are bound by precedents decided in courts of the same level or above. Much legal argument therefore turns on whether the rule given in the earlier case is in fact binding, or whether the case may be distinguished on its facts. Higher courts also have the option of overruling the precedent, in effect declaring invalid the rule followed in the earlier case, which may have been wrongly decided. This allows regrettable decisions to be corrected, and also allows the judges to take account of new social developments. However, to overrule an established precedent, which may have been followed in a series of cases, amounts to a declaration that the law is no longer as it was hitherto understood to be. Such judicial decisions are often seen in retrospect as constituting historical turning points in the law.

The decision to overrule represents a negation of the rule of stare decisis, and is therefore taken only rarely, in particularly significant cases. The moral authority of the judges derives in part from the fact that they are seen as following pre-existing law, rather than as making decisions on their own initiative. They are naturally reluctant to weaken this trust by exercising their discretion to the extent of rejecting legal precedents, thereby making overt changes in the law. By convention therefore, even where a precedent is clearly overruled, the judges frequently claim that they are simply preserving the existing law, which may have been previously misunderstood.

For this reason overruling is rarely accomplished through the use of explicit speech acts, in the sense of Austin (1962). Despite the historical importance of such judicial declarations, such new statements of the law are usually expressed in a more indirect, less conventional form. The oblique nature of the wording often results in a lack of clarity, leading to subsequent debate as to exactly what was intended, and indeed on whether and to what extent the earlier rule has been overruled at all. Various celebrated cases from English and American law may be cited as examples.

## **Liang Cheng & Jiansheng Guo**

### ***Mixing of language typology types in speech: Ways of expressing motion in Madarin Chinese frog story narratives***

Talmy (1985, 1991, 2000) has proposed a dichotomous typology on how languages in the world encode human perception of motion. Satellite-framed languages (e.g., English and German) characteristically encode manner of movement in the main verb (run) and path in the subordinate satellite element such as a particle (in, out, across), whereas Verb-framed languages (e.g., Spanish and French) characteristically encode path in the main verb and use subordinate elements to describe manner. Mandarin Chinese, which typically encodes manner in the first verb and path in the second verb of the serial verb (V1+V2) construction (zou3jin4 jiao4shi4 "walk enter classroom"), presents a problem for Talmy's typology. To address this issue, Talmy (2000) argues that the second verb is a complement to the first, similar to a particle, and therefore Mandarin Chinese is a Satellite-framed language. However, Tai (2003) argues that the second verb in the serial verb construction is cognitively more salient than the first, and therefore Mandarin Chinese should be classified as a Verb-framed language. Adding more complication, Slobin (2004) considers Mandarin as belonging to a third type, the Equipollently-framed type, where path and manner of motion are encoded by equivalent grammatical forms. These conflicting claims about Mandarin Chinese raise an important empirical issue: Do native speakers use Mandarin Chinese as a Satellite-framed language, a Verb-framed language, or an Equipollently-framed language?

To answer this question, data collected from 12 adult native speakers of Mandarin Chinese by using the picture story book "Frog, Where Are You?" (Mayer, 1969) are analyzed in comparison to English and Spanish speakers. Results indicate that: 1) Mandarin speakers tend to use verbs expressing manner significantly less than English speakers, but slightly higher than Spanish speakers, leaning toward the Verb-Framed language type; 2) the Mandarin manner verbs are used primarily to express very general manner of motion, not indicating fine-grained manners of motion; 3) Mandarin speakers restrict the elaboration of ground, and provide limited information about the source, goal, and medium of movement, showing the Verb-framed language tendency; 4) Mandarin speakers pattern with Satellite-framed language speakers in their tendency to break up a scene into more narrative segments, but they also pattern with V-framed language speakers in their tendency to provide rich static scene descriptions.

These results indicate that Mandarin speakers use a mixture of linguistic devices in natural speech events to encode the different components of motion, and support Slobin's (2004) claim that speakers' use of linguistic forms may be influenced by multiple factors, such as ease of accessibility of linguistic forms, the cultural and aesthetic values held by the speakers, and the speakers' communicative perspectives and goals. Consequently, instead of arguing about the static typology of a language based on data out of speech contexts, it

may make better sense to work out a dynamic typological model for speakers' on-line processing of speech, considering factors such as available resources, psycholinguistic constraints, and communicative needs and goals.

**Stephanie Cheng**

***Pragmatic and metapragmatic development among Taiwanese L2 English learners in the US***

Language learners have been observed having difficulty adequately performing speech act behaviors in target languages (e.g. Eisenstein & Bodman, 1986, 1993). Little research has examined the relationship between learners' length of residence in the target community and their speech act behaviors and perceptions of these behaviors (e.g., Olshtain & Blum-Kulka, 1985).

This study focuses on the speech act behavior of expressing gratitude in English among Taiwanese students residing in the United States. By describing and comparing expressions of gratitude among Taiwanese students with various lengths of residence in the United States, and by comparing their perceptions of this same speech act behavior to baseline data provided by American students, this research will identify communicative strategies attained by learners with various exposure to the American community and will explore the motives and cultural and/or personal beliefs that impact learners' speech act behavior.

A Discourse Completion Task (DCT) is used to elicit learners' performance of expressions of gratitude and a Metapragmatic Judgment Task (MJT) is used to elicit learners' perceptions of the appropriateness of this behavior. Results of the DCT will be analyzed and categorized. Different strategies for expressing gratitude will be selected to construct the MJT. In addition, interviews are employed to elicit learners' perceptions of the various expressions used in the speech behavior under investigation and to elicit their attitudes and reasons for choosing particular expressions in certain situations in English.

Results will be discussed in terms of thanking strategies, lexical intensifiers, length of speech, and judgments and beliefs of appropriate usage of linguistic forms.

**Coralie Chevallier**

***Pragmatic inferences from spatial descriptions***

How do we understand the meaning of spatial terms? How do we represent those terms mentally? And what factors can influence that representation?

To gain more insight on those issues, we concentrated on the analysis of indeterminate descriptions, that is descriptions for which several representations are possible.

Take for instance the two following statements: B is to the left of A, C is to the left of A. This description is indeterminate and could be represented with at least two possibilities, or mental models:

- (1) CBA
- (2) BCA

Studies on human reasoning have indicated that people tend to reduce the complexity of such indeterminate descriptions by representing only one possibility. But which one will people favour? Two competing hypotheses make different predictions about the representation which people form most often.

- We either favour (1) and in that case we put the term introduced in the second premise (C) outside of the already existing schema formed by the terms in the first premise (BA). It could then be argued that we favour that representation because it involves a minimal change of our existing mental representation. This is what we call the "economical model".

- We either favour (2) and in that case we put the term introduced in the second premise (C) inside of the already existing schema formed by the terms in the first premise. Here, we may say that we prefer that model because we adopt a strong interpretation of the spatial term and infer "strictly to the left of" from "to the left of". In other words the hearer pragmatically enriches the meaning of the spatial term and assumes that if the speaker had meant (1) then it would have been more appropriate for him to utter "C is to the left of B". The hearer therefore chooses (2), what we call the "pragmatic model".

Our experiments demonstrate that under some circumstances, the economical model is preferred but that this tendency can be totally reversed under other experimental conditions.

These results are important with regards to the mental model theory and stress out the fact that pragmatic factors should be considered when describing the way people form mental representations.

**Fabienne Chevallier**

***Unfinished utterances in French conversation: Sequential context and syntax as primary resources***

Despite the fact that the turn-taking system for conversation provides for an obligation to complete a turn (SSJ, 1974), incomplete turns are frequent in conversation, at least in French conversation, e.g., ‘.hh oui enfin bon on veut pas non plus euh::::’ (.hh yes except that well we don’t want to uh::::). Further, unfinished turns are regularly treated as interactionally complete and are responded to ‘appropriately’. This talk uses a conversation analytic approach to explore how it is possible for turns to be left unfinished in conversation and what enables unfinished utterances to be treated as interactionally complete and coherent by the recipient.

Data extracts from two-party telephone conversations are presented and reveal that sequential context and grammar are major resources that provide for the recognisability of actions. Firstly, sequentiality, or the structural relationship that exists between the unfinished turn and the sequence of action in which it participates, is a primary resource that contributes to making the context so rich that a turn need not be finished for the action it embodies to be recognisable. In particular, unfinished utterances are shown to be answerable to position in sequence. Subsequent sequential positions are environments in which unfinished utterances may be done without disrupting the trajectory of the talk, whilst, in initial positions, unfinished utterances display a vulnerability to not being recognisable. Further, the data reveal that participants orient not so much to the completion of the turn for its own sake as they do to what its possible completion (or non-completion) reveals of the ways in which the turn shows itself to be relevantly activated in the service of the work that the sequence in which it participates seeks to perform. Secondly, whilst syntax projects the type of constituent(s) that is/are due next in the unfolding of a turn, turns are also constructed in actual conversation in such a way that grammar is adapted and fitted to sequential position, i.e., to the positions in which various actions are done in conversation. Participants draw upon this combination of resources to make use, and sense, of unfinished utterances in context.

## **Tina Chiles**

### ***The construction of a identity as mentor in white collar and academic workplaces: A preliminary analysis***

Formal mentoring schemes have been implemented within many white-collar and academic organisations both in New Zealand and throughout the world over the last few decades. A major reason for the implementation of such schemes is to assist members of traditionally under-represented groups, such as women and immigrants, to achieve significant career advancement. In formal mentoring schemes, a more experienced member of staff (the mentor) is paired with a less experienced member of staff (the mentee), primarily to assist the mentee, though generally with intended benefits to both the mentor and the organization as well.

Although there is a large literature within the field of management on mentoring, the issue of how mentoring is actually accomplished in face-to-face interaction has rarely been addressed from a sociolinguistic point of view. The main focus of this study is to examine how the role of mentor is discursively constructed by people in different types of workplace environments.

The research discussed in this paper sets out to answer the following questions:

1. How do employees of private sector or corporate organisations discursively enact the identity of mentor when interacting formally with their mentees?
2. How do academic employees of tertiary education organisations discursively enact the identity of mentor when interacting formally with their mentees?
3. What similarities and differences can be found in the ways private sector/corporate employees and academics enact the identity of mentor?

The questions reflect the assumption that there will be some differences in the ways that mentors from different types of organisations construct this particular role.

It is hypothesized that mentors from private sector/corporate organisations will tend to orient to the goals of their organization to a greater extent than will academic mentors. Academic mentors, in contrast, are likely to pay more attention to the collegial aspects of the mentoring relationship.

The questions will therefore be discussed in relation to the orientation of the mentor to two specific goals:

- a. their obligation to their organisation, and
- b. their obligation to their mentee.

In the leadership literature, leaders who attend more to the organisational goals are considered more ‘transactional’ in their leadership, while leaders who attend more to the relational aspects are considered more ‘transformational’. I will look at how mentors resolve the potential conflict of interest between their role as ‘colleague’ (more transformational/relational) and their responsibility to their organisation (more transactional/goal oriented).

The data discussed in this paper consist of formal mentoring meetings recorded in two workplaces in New Zealand, one in a private sector/corporate organisation and the other in a tertiary education setting. The meetings were regular scheduled meetings between mentoring pairs in formal mentoring relationships, and were

recorded without the presence of the researcher, in the setting in which the mentoring pair would normally meet. The paper will also draw on information provided by participants in follow up interviews.

## **Marianna Chodorowska-Pilch & Nuria Alturo** ***Sisplau: Different functions of the Catalan marker***

Various studies have shown that conditional structures may be used to convey meanings other than conditional or hypothetical ones (Levinson 1983, Sweetser 1990, Schwenter 1996, Montolio 1999, Athanasiadou & Dirven 2000, Salvador 2002, inter alia). Among numerous uses of conditional constructions, the so called ‘politeness conditional’ (Geis 1995) plays a significant role in various languages; for example, English (Sweetser 1990, Geis 1995), Finnish (Kauppinen 1999), Japanese (Fuji 1995), Spanish (Montolio 1992, 1993, Chodorowska-Pilch 1999).

The present study examines the contemporary usage of *sisplau* ‘please’, which originates in a conditional construction *si us plau* (lit. ‘if it pleases you [pl.]’). The main objective is to demonstrate that *sisplau* is a grammaticalized discourse marker to convey politeness and non-politeness meanings in Catalan. One of the contemporary uses of *sisplau* can be illustrated by example (1):

- (1) Pot repetir-ho, *sisplau*? (Mas et al. 1998)  
‘Can you repeat it, please?’

It is well-accepted that *si us plau* functions as a polite formula to mitigate orders and requests in Catalan (Ruaix 1995, Wheeler et al. 1999, Salvador 2002, Espinal 2004), in uses similar to example (1). At the same time, researchers mention *sisplau* either as a colloquial variant (Rouix 1995, Espinal 2004) or as a coexisting possibility (Bladas 2000, Cuenca 2002, Salvador 2002). Only a few openly use and defend *sisplau* (cf. Solà 1999, Vallverdú 2000). This study shows that nowadays the use of the latter is more frequent and extensive in Catalan. Indeed, it substitutes the more formal *si us plau* as a natural result of grammaticalization and acquires new uses in language. *Sisplau: different functions of the Catalan marker*

Data obtained from the Internet, dramas, and different oral and written corpora seem to suggest that the usage of *sisplau* may be divided into: (I) polite and (II) emphatic use. The second layer derives from the latter and may be divided into: (1) polite and (2) non-polite. The last layer derives from non-polite and is divided into: (a) attention-caller and (b) indignation. Such extension of meaning of *sisplau*, the growing frequency of its usage, and most importantly the pragmatic strengthening of the construction into a marker provide clear indication of grammaticalization process of *sisplau* in Catalan (cf. Traugott 1989).

The paper corroborates and goes beyond the main arguments on the use of *sisplau* proposed in Solà (1999). In particular, it considers it a grammaticalized marker. The paper also demonstrates the significance of this marker in the synchronic context by showing numerous uses of *sisplau* in the contemporary Catalan .

## **Jinyoung Choi & Yoon-Kyoung Joh** ***Discourse Functions of Korean Sentential Conjunctions: A Centering***

### 1. Goal

This paper discusses the discourse functions of Korean sentential conjunctions ‘*kuliko*’, ‘*kuliko-nun*’, and ‘*kuleca*’, for each of which we collected 100 tokens from newspaper articles, novels and textbooks.

The primary interest is to reveal the constraints that each conjunction imposes on referring expressions and on the transition types from Centering Theory (Grosz, Joshi & Weinstein 1995) defined in (1). The preferred center (Cp) is the most highly ranked entity in the forward-looking center (Cf) list, and the backward-looking center (Cb) is the highest ranked element of the previous utterance (Un-1) that is realized in the current utterance (Un).

### 2. Contrasts among the three conjunctions

‘*Kuliko*’ is the most frequently used, neutral form of conjunction in Korean. Compared with it, first, ‘*kuliko-nun*’ and ‘*kuleca*’ exhibit contrasts w.r.t. types of referring expressions in the subject position of the second conjunct. Namely, ‘*kuliko-nun*’ prefers zero forms with a ratio of 99% while ‘*kuleca*’ prefers overt forms (91%). There is no such preference for the subject of ‘*kuliko*’-initiated utterances.

Related to this, we also identify a constraint on the Cp’ s, such that the zero-form preferring ‘*kuliko-nun*’ posits the condition:  $Cp(Un)=Cp(Un-1)$  (100%) whereas the overt-form preferring ‘*kuleca*’ requires the opposite:  $Cp(Un) \neq Cp(Un-1)$  (99%). ‘*Kuliko*’ remains neutral regarding the “Cp constraint” as well. Given that Cp is understood as a projected topic within Centering model, we claim that ‘*kuliko-nun*’ signals the continuation of a projected topic whereas ‘*kuleca*’ indicates its switching.

Third, ‘*kuliko-nun*’ and ‘*kuleca*’ occur only with eventive predicates in both conjuncts, and the event of Un-1 temporarily precedes Un in all cases. In contrast, ‘*kuliko*’ can be used with no such temporal precedence relation. Therefore, we conclude that only ‘*kuliko*’ can be equivalent to logical conjunction.

### 3. A constraint on zero subjects

When a subject is realized as a zero, we further identify that both 'kuliko' and 'kuliko-nun' impose a constraint, Cb(Un)=Cp(Un) (henceforth, Cb constraint). Thus, transition types of [kuliko/kuliko-nun zero...] are restricted to Continue(74.6%) and Smooth-shift(25.4%). We argue that the Cb constraint comes from the conjunctions, rather than from the (referential) zero itself. In [U2-1] of (2) with no utterance-initial conjunction, the zero can refer to 'Mary' or 'John' evoked in [U1], or even the Speaker as long as being contextually salient. However, adding 'kuliko' or 'kuliko-nun' excludes the possibility for the zero to be resolved to the Speaker in [U2-2] since the Cb constraint cannot be overridden.

[U1] Mary whispered something in John's ear.

[U2-1] 0 asked why.

[U2-2] kuliko/kuliko-nun 0 asked why.

Moreover, the Cb constraint can account for the restriction on discourse-deictic zeros. When the zero subject points to a certain portion of the previous discourse, the Cb constraint serves to filter out the string \*[kuliko/kuliko-nun zero(discourse-deictic)...] since the discourse-deictic zero can be a Cp but not a Cb of the current utterance.

## **Eva Christensen**

### ***When's a story not a story?***

This paper is founded on a Ph.D.-project whose aim, by examining narrative sense-making processes gathered at Christiania, the "free city" within Copenhagen, is to describe how conversational narratives, referring to the same historical events, change among various communicative contexts within the social field. The notion 'story' here refers to the telling of what occurred according to the teller, ending with the telling of the punchline (see Sacks, 1974 and 1992, vol II, pp.478-482). 'Narrative' refers to a more extended unit of actions including also the participants' evaluation of the reported events (e.g. Labov & Waletzky, 1967; Ochs, 1997).

Using oral narratives collected from tourist guides, group discussions, meetings and interviews, it will be shown how stories referring to the same historical event are told almost identically regarding structure, but whose function in context differs. For example, as presented in this paper, a tourist guide tells the same story about a violent motorcycle gang, part of her anecdotal repertoire, during two guided tours. The story is fixed in content and structure, but when brought into social interaction with tourists, it becomes part of a broader narrative activity, and involves complex processes of constructing identities. The very same story serves as a resource for different sense-making and identity constructing processes in different contexts.

The paper points to the following conclusions:

1. A story may appear to have fixed meaning and structure, but when used in social interaction the story serves as a resource for negotiation and sense-making, rather than presenting fixed meaning.
2. To grasp the complex sense-making processes performed within a social field, a narrative analysis should focus not so much on "the story itself" as a structural phenomenon, but on the broader narrative activity, including interactional evaluation and negotiation of the story's modality and content.
3. More effort ought to be put into understanding the narrative activity as part of various communicative projects of the actual ongoing conversation, for example, identity construction.

Kjærbeck, Susanne og Asmuss, Birthe: "Negotiation meaning in narratives: An investigation of the interactional construction of the punch line and the post punch line sequence" coming in Narrative Inquiry 2005.

## **Aaron Cicourel, Saadi Lahlou & France Clamart**

### ***Pragmatic discourse and organizational status: Comparing insider and outsider perspectives during video-taped discussions***

This paper describes an ethnographic study of an organizational unit by two investigators, an insider and an outsider. The insider is the director of the high tech human/computer interaction laboratory on the research campus of a large European public utility. The outsider observed and participated in the lab as a linguistic anthropologist during various visits over a period of three years. The two observers separately analyzed video tapes of four long meetings of the lab team where the insider participated and the outsider simply observed before comparing their analyses.

We will present video clips and textual transcriptions to show how organizational structure (the existence of a matrix system of vertical and horizontal authority) directly and indirectly influenced the kind of discourse produced. The authority structure also influenced the ability of the lab director to obtain the needed services of particular members when deliverable products were needed for granting agencies and clients. The comparison of the insider's and outsider's analysis reveals specific biases and shows how each focused on different issues within the pragmatic displays.

For example, from the insider's perspective, the meetings were "life as usual" despite some "normal" tense moments. He tended to minimize the amount of "inappropriate" behaviour. From the outsider's perspective, the meetings appeared to be often full of tension and variable hostile and innocuous discourse. He has some familiarity with the country and its language but experienced difficulty following the rapid-fire verbal exchanges during face-to-face meetings. He often had to rely on hand-written notes and frequently limited himself to the prosody of the interaction rather than being able to summarize actual speech acts.

**Anna Ciliberti & Laurie Anderson**

***Metapragmatic comments in institutional/semi-institutional talk: A comparative analysis across settings***

In working in recent years on spoken interaction in various institutional and semi-institutional settings, we have had repeated occasions to observe the close relation existing between communication and various aspects of linguistic reflexivity - 'metapragmatic functioning' (Silverstein, 1993) - i.e. natural language capacity to represent its own structure and use, to embed acts of language use within other acts of language use. Instances of metapragmatic functioning are reported speech -in which the current speaker inserts another speaker's act of speaking into his own discourse, and in so doing gives it new life (re-animates it); or, more generally, the language user's "conceptualization of linguistic behaviour while engaged in it" (Verschuere 2000: 446). Explicit metalanguage phenomena are also manifest when the language user, whether interpreter or utterer, analyses, comments upon, assesses, evaluates particular language usages while engaged in their production or understanding.

Social reflexive aspects of metacommunication are intimately related to the specific context and purpose of talk. In a classroom setting, for example, in order to successfully participate in the series of 'classroom activities' of which a lesson is composed, pupils and teachers need to share a common understanding of the activity they are engaged in. Metapragmatic discourse in this context serves to establish, maintain and modify the academic, participatory, instructional and intertextual frames of which this understanding is based (Ciliberti et al., 2004:161). Moreover, reflexive activities, as they are deployed in the management of classroom activities, structure the participation and socialisation of pupils.

Looking across various corpora on spoken interaction in different institutional and semi-institutional settings with which we have had occasion to deal - classroom interaction, ranging from language-arts lessons in the primary school to post-graduate seminars (Ciliberti/Anderson 1999; 1988; marital therapy (Anderson 2000); political talk shows (Anderson, 2004); family gatherings of Italian immigrants (Ciliberti, in press) - it appears that certain contexts tend to favour the expression of interactants' metapragmatic understanding: for instance, those settings in which 'self-centred' narrative discourse plays an important role (on the importance of metadiscursive encoding of evaluation to narrative understanding, see, for eg., Trabasso, T. and Özyürek, A. 2000). In this contribution we look at instances of metapragmatic comments across these various corpora in order to identify recurrent features of the sequential contexts in which they occur but also in order to try to tease out the contextual parameters that tend to favour the expression of metapragmatic awareness in certain institutional/semi-institutional settings more than in others.

**Lenny Clapp**

***Rhetorical relations and indirect speech acts: A promising approach?***

In their recent book *Logics of Conversation* (2003), Asher and Lascarides develop a sophisticated version of dynamic semantics. A key element of their dynamic theory is the proposal that in a well-formed discourse every (non-initial) utterance must stand in a rhetorical relation to a previous utterance. According to Asher and Lascarides, comprehension of the semantic content of a discourse requires an interpreter to determine, for each new utterance of a discourse, (i) to which previous utterance the new sentence is rhetorically related, and (ii) how, via which rhetorical relation, the new utterance is so related. Asher and Lascarides also maintain that these rhetorical relations are speech act types, the sorts of linguistic actions described and categorized, most influentially, by Austin (1962) and Searle (1969, 1979). Thus Asher and Lascarides maintain that the taxonomy and ontology of rhetorical relations can at least partially replace Searle's (1979) Austin-inspired theory of speech acts, which categorizes speech acts non-rationally by relying primarily upon the intentions of speakers. They state that "the typology of rhetorical relations includes the typology of those speech acts whose illocutionary point has to do with connecting information in a discourse together. There may be other speech acts that have received attention in the literature, but ..." (2003, p. 306). The caveat is well motivated, for many of the linguistic actions discussed by Austin and Searle, e.g. performatives such as promising, do not function to connect utterances in a discourse, and thus are not plausibly construed as rhetorical relations. I argue that it is a mistake to offer the typology of rhetorical relations as a replacement for the non-relational typology endorsed by

Searle, because the non-relational speech acts that are the focus of Searle's work are a different sort of entity, and function on a different level, than do the rhetorical relations described by Asher and Lascarides: Rhetorical relations are required for a discourse to be well formed, in the sense that every (non-initial) utterance of a discourse must be rhetorically related to at least one previous utterance. But it is not required for discourse coherence that an utterance be an instance of a non-relational speech act type, such as promising. Thus, since rhetorical relations and non-relational speech acts are different kinds of action, their respective typologies will cut across one another. As a result, there is nothing particularly problematic about one utterance being, for example, an answer at the level of rhetorical relation, and a promise at the "higher level" of non-relational speech act type. And this suggests a promising alternative approach to so-called "indirect speech acts."

### **Jonathan Clifton**

#### ***The interactional construction of organisational reality: Turn-taking, power and influence in management teams***

As Cunliffe (2001) states, the role of a manager is to make sense of the myriad of events that make up organisational reality and so to create the organisation from within. In short, a manager's responsibilities are more interpretational than operational. Yet despite the importance of such interaction, many researchers have noted there has been a relative lack of research into talk-in-interaction in a managerial environment (e.g. Boden 1994, Bargiela-Chiappini and Harris 1997). Using conversational analysis as a research methodology, this paper analyses transcripts of naturally occurring talk taken from a management team meeting. It attempts to explicate how a management team collaborates in order to negotiate a definition of organisational reality and who, if anybody, is able to have more influence in the negotiation process. The results of this study indicate that turn taking procedures in such small team interaction are conversational (Sacks et al. 1974) in that no specific practices (such as turn pre-allocation) are employed in order to deal with the interactional problem of achieving shared attentiveness to the task in hand. Participants thus orient to 'conversational' turn taking procedures in order to talk themselves into being as a team. Self-selection at transition-relevance places (TRPs) is extensively used in order to negotiate organisational reality. Thus, on the face of it, each participant is equally able to participate in the talk. However, the paper indicates that despite the fact that everybody in the team is a potential next speaker, the negotiation of organisational reality is 'skewed' (Schegloff 1999). Firstly, the shape of the turns in progress appear to be category bound. Essentially, participants do not self-select at TRPs when the director is taking a turn yet when other participants are talking anticipatory completions, the adding of increments and in general the co-authorship of turns is liable to occur. The discursive ability to take extended turns reflexively talks into being the director's situated identity of 'boss'. The director is then able to use category bound access to these extended turns to formulate upshots of the negotiation and so have more influence in the authoring of organisational reality. Secondly, certain actions performed by the turns also appear to be category bound. Only the director is able to initiate and carry out repair. Through orienting to category bound access to discursive rights (such as extended turns and repair), the social order of the company is talked into being and this allows the director to become 'first amongst equals': the director has the 'edge' when defining organisational reality and thus has greater power to influence the team's sense making process.

### **Daniel Cohen**

#### ***Argument, truth, and metaphor***

Arguments and metaphors are two linguistic and conceptual phenomena that ought to be of paramount interest to philosophers but for very different reasons. Argument may be the philosopher's stock in trade but metaphors are the medium of exchange, the ubiquitous and indispensable coin of the realm. There is a complex network of relations between metaphors and arguments. Within arguments, metaphors can be premises; they can serve as inferential licenses; and they can also be the conclusions for arguments. We can argue for the appropriateness of a metaphor, and its acceptance – seeing the world through the lens it provides – can be a goal of argumentation. From a more distanced perspective, it can sometimes be helpful to read metaphors as being truncated arguments. And sometimes, conversely, it can be helpful to read arguments as themselves being metaphors of a special sort. Each can fulfill the distinctive functions characteristically associated with the other. Nowhere is this tangled web knottier than at the intersection of the various strands connecting arguments and metaphors to the concept of truth. Argumentation – its practice, its products, and its evaluation – implicitly requires a robust, realist notion of truth. Metaphors, in contrast, are independent of truth and in some ways seem to positively exclude truth from playing any important role in explicating their meanings. Apparently, then, we are confronted with the paradox that truth both must and cannot be used in evaluating the meaning of those arguments that behave like metaphors!

Each of the three theses involved – that argumentation is dependent on truth, that metaphors are independent of truth, and that some arguments are metaphors – is controversial and in need of significant elaboration and defense, as does the curious and perhaps unfamiliar idea of "the meaning of an argument." They will all be addressed in turn, followed by a proposal for beginning to resolve the paradox built around the idea that truth itself is to be understood in large measure as one of language's "essential metaphors." Truth functions as a metaphor in several important ways. The boundaries of its range of appropriate application are fluid. Its role in our thinking is more organizational than substantial. And, most of all, it cannot be given definite definition. Its meaning can, however, be both broadly circumscribed and mined indefinitely without ever being fully exhausted. The entire dialectic of realist and anti-realist argumentation does the former. The history of correspondence, coherence, pragmatic, and deflationary theories gives us a series of metaphors for the latter.

## **Charles Coleman**

### ***What does testing test?: Pathologizing African intellect***

People are confusing high standards with standardized tests; they're not the same thing.... We support high standards. We don't believe standardized tests are the best way to measure them. (A parent urging a boycott of state mandated standardized tests for high school students, *The New York Times*, Education section, April 13, 2001)

The parent quoted in the above *New York Times* article lives in an affluent New York state suburb where test scores are among the highest in the nation. Yet some parents in this affluent suburb were encouraging a boycott of state mandated standardized tests. The parent's statement about confusing standards with standardized tests surfaces an important assumption about the role of assessment in our national conversation on literacy instruction. Words such as "standards" are part of our coded racialized vocabulary. Gunnar Mrydal points out, for example, that when politicians run on "law and order" platforms, they are using coded language for controlling Black crime, particularly Black on White crime. The claim that high stakes testing is the best way to raise or maintain standards is a way of reassuring the intellectual health of many European American mainstream members by pathologizing the intellectual health of many Blacks and Latinos. I will examine language justifying the use of high stakes standardized testing of educators and students in President Bush's No Child Left Behind legislation as well as similar language justifying the recent requirement that standardized testing be used as the principle promotion criterion for third graders in New York City public schools.

## **Elena Collavin**

### ***Talking like a citizen: Examples from the debate over experiments with genetically modified plants in Italy***

This paper considers citizenship as a social category that is ascribed and co-constructed in the course of social life and explores, on the basis of conversational data, some ways in which it becomes salient and is interactionally dealt with. Citizenship, like gender, is something people always carry with them but that becomes salient in certain situations. The category is related to participation in regulatory processes: it entails some form of involvement in governmental undertakings (see the White Paper on Governance issued by the European Commission in 2000).

More specifically, citizenship appears to be relevant in discussions over the development of new and potentially dangerous technologies. More and more, public discourse seems to hold that members of society—citizens—should not only be informed but also contribute to decisions that will have vast impact on the future of mankind (see in particular Philip Frankenfeld's notion of 'Technological Citizenship'). One of the situations where citizenship becomes relevant is when perceived rights are violated. This study makes use of conversational data collected in Italy during a three year research project on participatory discourse about open air experiments with genetically modified plants (PARADYS). Recordings document local debates about two cases of ongoing field trials. In the context of experiments with genetically modified plants, Italian regulation does not provide for involving local citizens in the decision-making procedure required for authorizing the trials (Collavin and Pellegrini's *Paradys Italian Report to the Commission*, 2004). As a result, 'participation' in this context is denied in practice to Italian citizens; still, many local citizens in their speech show that they take it for granted that they have a right to participate, thus asserting it beyond legal provisions. In informal contexts that have no legal standing in the official regulatory process, issues of justice and the role of people in the decision-making process are enacted and discussed.

The study relies on pragmatic notions such as participant role, speech act and presupposition and shows how citizenship is linguistically embodied outside the legally provided slots.



**Daniel Collins**

***Indirectness in legal speech acts: An argument against evolution out of ritual***

For a comparative perspective on speech acts in different periods to be possible, one must assume as a first principle that comparability is possible---in other words, that certain fundamentals of cognition and communication remain constant through all the changes in social institutions. Nevertheless, some recent work in Historical Pragmatics (e.g., Bax 1999, 2002) has, in effect, rejected this Uniformitarian Hypothesis (to use Labov's term) by arguing that "linguistic indirectness developed through three successive stages"---from ritual performance to "autonomous forms of linguistic indirectness, that is indirect usages not restricted to the confines of ritual interaction" (Bax 2002: 96). This approach, which assumes deep cognitive archaisms persisting in the relatively recent stages of human language attested in writing, would seem to be an argumentum ex silentio; in fact, we cannot assume that the extant written forms fully represent the oral genres in premodern stages of language, so that the absence or paucity of indirect locutions in specific genres should not be taken as evidence that indirectness did not exist.

The language of the law can provide valuable empirical evidence on the question of whether ritual is the parent of indirectness, since legal institutions typically involve (to a greater degree than, e.g., religious ones) a mixture of ritualized and spontaneous communication. In this paper, I will examine the distribution of indirect and direct speech acts in medieval Russian, particularly (but not exclusively) in fifteenth- and sixteenth-century Muscovite texts, including law codes, court records, charters, and ukazes (letters of command). I will take into account such factors as the ritualization and formality of the given form of legal communication; the historical age of the rituals; the extent to which the given text was meant to have general or local application; and the social distance between the addresses. I will show that, on the whole, the proportion of direct speech acts actually increases in ritualized and formal contexts (e.g., verdict announcements and law codes) and decreases in more flexible contexts, where interpersonal factors could be taken into account during the interpretation process. This would seem to be the reverse of what would be expected if indirectness were evolving out of ritual activity. Thus the evidence I will provide will problematize the evolutionary hypothesis and suggest that other factors are responsible for the putatively later appearance of indirect speech-act strategies in the historical record.

**Peter Collins**

***It-clefts and wh-clefts: Prosody and pragmatics***

It-clefts, basic wh-clefts and reversed wh-clefts differ from one another in the interplay of four variables: informativity, topicality, presupposition and weight. It is argued that informativity, which has attracted significantly more attention in the literature than the others, is signalled primarily by discourse-recoverability rather than prosody. Prince's (1978) 'known fact' effect, found in new-presupposition it-clefts, is argued to arise from the non-negotiable nature of the new-yet-presupposed proposition expressed by the information in the relative clause. The same effect is argued to occur, albeit less frequently, in reversed wh-clefts. Basic wh-clefts differ from the other two constructions in having a topical relative clause, one whose presupposed open-proposition has a strongly backgrounded character and lower communicative salience than that of the it-cleft. The three constructions are claimed to differ as well in their 'weight' properties.

**Josefa Contreras**

***El silencio en la conversación y su relación con la imagen social***

La imagen social descrita por Goffman (1971), tiene la virtud de conectar los conceptos de identidad personal y social. Este último es un conjunto de percepciones acerca de quienes somos en relación con nosotros mismos, los otros y los sistemas sociales, por lo que la imagen social varía según la comunidad de habla.

Consideramos que en una conversación, los deseos de imagen de los interlocutores que mantienen el equilibrio presentan unas características dadas por la comunidad de habla a la que pertenecen, ya que los interlocutores construyen y afirman las imágenes sociales según el contexto situacional y su propio contexto sociocultural. Y en ese sentido, la concepción del silencio varía según el contexto situacional y según la imagen social de cada comunidad de habla. Por lo tanto, según el contexto sociocultural y las características de la imagen social de cada cultura, el silencio forma o no forma parte de la conversación.

Para demostrar esto, nos basaremos, referente a la imagen social, en los postulados de Diana Bravo y en la propuesta mi para la imagen social alemana. Una vez expuestas las diferencias culturales en cuanto a la imagen social, analizaremos el fenómeno del silencio en conversaciones transaccionales y coloquiales españolas y alemanas.

## **Haruko Cook**

### ***Reanalysis of discernment from social constructivist perspective: Academic consultation sessions in Japanese universities***

From the social constructivist perspective, this paper examines academic consultation sessions between the professor and student in Japanese universities and demonstrates that politeness is an interactional achievement.

One of the major challenges to Brown and Levinson's politeness theory (1978, 1987) comes from studies on East Asian languages (Ide 1989, 1992; Ide and Yoshida 1999; Mao 1994; Matsumoto 1989). They differentiate Asian societies from the Western societies by claiming that strategic politeness based on face needs is, for the most part, foreign to Asian societies. For example, Ide (1989, 1992) and Ide and Yoshida (1999) claim that in Japanese society discernment (*wakimae*) is more important than the volitional use of politeness (strategic politeness based on face needs). The argument for the dichotomy between volition and discernment discussed here have two underlying assumptions: i) some human actions are an active choice of the participants while others are passive observations of social rules; ii) Social identities are a priori given in society. However, these two assumptions are untenable from the point of view of social constructivism, which claims that social identities are fluid and an emergent product of social interaction (e.g. Bucholtz 1999; He and Keating 1991; He 1995; Ochs 1993).

Assuming social constructivist perspective, this paper investigates how politeness is displayed in the academic consultation sessions between the professor and student in Japanese universities by examining the speech style shifts between the addressee honorific *masu* form and its non-honorific counterpart, the plain form. The paper attempts to show how what was previously described as a display of discernment is reanalyzed as an active co-construction in the sequential organization of talk.

The data come from academic consultation sessions conducted by three male professors of two different universities in the Tokyo area. The professors are in their 40's to 60's. The consultation sessions of two of the professors with their male students were an hour-long each, and the entire sessions were video- and audio-recorded. The third professor's consultation sessions consist of 6 separate segments in which he consulted 6 female students, each of which lasts about 20 minutes. All the consultation sessions were held in the respective professor's office in the university. The data are qualitatively analyzed.

The findings are that i) the professor and the student jointly construct multiple social personae in the course of the academic consultation session by means of various strategies. Reciprocal exchanges of the *masu* form co-construct an official and equal relationship. Non-reciprocal exchanges of the *masu* and plain forms construct the student's deference toward the professor; ii) social relationships the participants hold are displayed in the moment-by-moment unfolding interaction. When the professor shifts to the plain form, the student's move in the next turn defines the social relationship between the two; iii) both syntactic features and organization of talk are resources for various strategies. The paper identifies the students' strategies that utilize the morpho-syntactic structure of Japanese as well as the sequential organization of talk to politely obscure the unequal power relationship.

## **Jenny Cook-Gumperz**

### ***Time of life and life chance: Women's narratives of change in mid-life***

This paper explores two basic issues; first, there is the need to distinguish two aspects of time, the publicly recognized chronological time and a more personal biographical one. These two aspects are interwoven in the lives of adult women as they manage both families and home/work in their early productive lives, and later reshape their sense of self-identity in midlife. From the perspective of home/work/education commitments are a matter of juggling the time needs of others in shared, publicly available chronological time (Hochschild 1986;1997). From another perspective, that of awareness of one's individual life passing, sense of time reflects the specific juncture of the biological and the biographical. This leads to a personal realization in mid-life of a switch in time perspective from "life since birth to life left-to-live" (Neugarten 1996) that brings about a re-assessment of life chances and of possible change.

Second, how these two temporal perspectives enter into our everyday activities, descriptions and narrative accounts can best be seen in life stories told by women attempting to make, or recently having made, some major changes in their life circumstance. For as Barbara Johnstone (2001) has commented in a review of narrative analysis, the urge to make our lives coherent by telling about them must be universal; personal narrative is how we make sense of ourselves as individuals and as members of groups. I argue that life story narratives told to a sympathetic listener provide an ideal occasion for exploring the intertwining of time of life and identity as the teller creates and places their narrative self in their life story.

This paper focuses on narrative analysis of a series of stories about life changing events told both individually and within group discussion settings. Many studies of narrative temporality have been based on of the analysis of Labov and Waletzky's early work (1967/1997) that concentrated on grammatical representations within the structure of the narrative. More recently Och's and Capp's study of women's personal crises (1995;2001) showed that taking a wider discourse oriented perspective provides a more fruitful approach to how language reflects the development of self-identity in the course of life story accounts. The main analytical in the present paper are with a similar discourse approach focusing particularly on how the narrators frame their presentation through choice of topics, lexical/grammatical choice within these frames dealing with causality and agency, as well as the implications of these choices for the narrator's self positioning (Wortham 2000).

### **François Cooren**

#### ***For a new semiotics: Opening to non-human agency through tele-action and representation***

This paper investigates the intersection between pragmatics and semiotics by highlighting what could be called a blind spot in language studies, i.e., objects' discursive agency. While pragmatic studies tend to be focused on language use between two or more interlocutors in a given situation, semiotics does not hesitate to analyze the functioning of various objects – paintings, architectural elements, pictures, signs – without having recourse to the classical speaker – hearer schema. In keeping with the semiotic openness to non-linguistic objects, while acknowledging the incarnated dimension of communication, as highlighted by pragmatics, I will show that pragmatics could benefit from opening its perspective to nonhuman agency (Cooren, 2000, 2004). If, as Sbisà (1987) rightly shows, speech acts can be more generally considered actions, and even, according to Geis (1995), social actions, it should be worth exploring how various artifacts can be said to be doing something in given situations, especially when this doing implies actions like “saying” (assertive), “guaranteeing,” (commissive), “suggesting” (directive), “sanctioning” (declaration) or “rewarding” (expressive).

Following Greimas (1983) and Tesnière (1959), I contend that any utterance can be analyzed as a little drama, in which different characters – called actants – are involved on a scene that represents the actional circumstances. Of interest for pragmatics are, of course, trivalent verbs, since they involve an agent (or prime actant), an object (or second actant) and a recipient (or third actant) and include what Tesnière calls “verbs of saying” and “verbs of giving,” but the most interesting case comes from what Descombes (2004) identifies under phenomenon of tetravalent structures, which involves four actants. Although no verb in any language seems to correspond to this type of structure, it actually refers to the phenomenon of factitiveness (Greimas & Courtés, 1982), i.e., causing to do, when applied to trivalent verbs, as in the sentence, “X makes Y tell something to Z.” In this sentence, what appears to be Y's action (telling) can now be attributed to X, that is, Y is the agent, while X is the principal. It is precisely this logic of imbrication (Taylor & Van Every, 2000) and representation that allows us to open up the traditional speaker / hearer schema by 1) acknowledging action from a distance, what could be called “tele-action,” while 2) highlighting the chain of agencies that pervades any interactional situation.

### **Maria José Coracini**

#### ***Between intentionality and indecidability in the identity constitution of foreign language teachers and translators***

This presentation is part of a research devoted to study the identity of multilingual speakers, postulating that the subject is inevitably located in an intermediate position, spot of tension and, therefore, spot of crossing between the same and the different, the stable and the unstable. We aim at discussing Searle's statement (1977), that every utterance is a result of illocutionary intentions of the speaker/author and, consequently, that every discourse is defined as a message of conscience, what renders us favorable to the derridean critic to the theory of speech acts. Since this theory identifies the meaning of an utterance to the intentions of the author or writer (Austin, 1962), Derrida (1990; 2000) proposes what he denominates the indecidability of the subject and of language, and the consequent unpredictability of senses that every utterance may produce. As we all know, the notion of intentionality presupposes the belief in a conscient subject, characterized by the “will of saying” and by the search for argumentative strategies that would guarantee the efficacy of linguistic acts. Our initial hypothesis is that, even in situations of apparent control, the unconscious leaks through the porosity of language (Authier-Revuz, 1998), pointing out to in-between places, to the unsolvable aporia regarding the need for belief in a conscious communication and the impossibility to attain stability: the speaker/author would always be in the movable field of indecidability, that disturbs the expectation of (self-)control, coherence and truth. So, since there is no language that is not in-between languages, there is no subject that is not in-between subjects, and this is the disturbing position that impedes the belief in effective intentionality. For this study, we analyse answers to

40 questionnaires and to 10 interviews with teachers and translators, speakers of more than one language, as well as 20 essays produced by teachers relating their own histories. Amongst the most relevant results, it is possible to indicate the illusion of language mastery, the belief in control of each language and the distinction among them, mainly when the speaker/author refers himself to as a professional. His performance seems to be marked by a professional conscience, result of a social imaginary that takes language as a manipulative object. Absence of control, miscegenation, hybridism? Only in the other that already lost the necessary contact with the so-called foreign language. Besides, beyond slips of the tongue and crucial moments of decision taking that point out to the permanent conflict for those who deal with language, it is possible to identify that, in the case of translators or immigrant teachers, their own speech is marked by contamination and thus, by the impossibility of control. It is still worth noting that when the subjects speak about their personal relationships with languages, they confess the inevitable overlapping and point out to unpredictable effects of sense, attesting their permanence in the “in-between” position of language and subjectivity.

## **Eros Corazza**

### ***Empathy and the de re/de Se distinction***

In this paper I discuss some linguistic data favoring the de re/de se distinction. To do so I focus on the different way epithets (e.g.: ‘the bastard’, ‘the imbecile’, ...) and quasi-indicators (e.g.: ‘she herself’) behave when appearing in psychological characterizations. I argue that they often work like attributive anaphors. The quasi-indicator ‘she herself’ in “Jane<sub>1</sub> believes that she (herself)<sub>1</sub> is rich” inherits its value from ‘Jane’ and attributes an ‘I’-thought to Jane. The epithets ‘the bastard’ in “Jane planned to marry Jon<sub>1</sub>, but the bastard<sub>1</sub> run away” also inherits its value from ‘Jon’ and attributes the property of being a bastard to Jon. I shall show how the ungrammaticality of sentences like “\*Jon<sub>1</sub> claimed/ said/ thinks/... that the bastard<sub>1</sub> was honest”) does not threaten the view that epithets can be understood as anaphoric pronouns. Their ungrammaticality rests on the fact that the epithet is embedded in what should be a de se attribution (e.g. “Jon<sub>1</sub> claimed/said/thinks that he (himself)<sub>1</sub> was honest”) while its nature is to contribute to the expression of a de re attribution. This also helps to understand the ungrammaticality of “\*Jane<sub>1</sub> said/ thinks/ promised/... that the imbecile<sub>1</sub> will come” vs. the grammaticality of “Jane<sub>1</sub> said/ thinks/ promised/... that she (herself)<sub>1</sub> will come” on the one hand, and the ungrammaticality of “\*Jon<sub>1</sub> ran over a man who was trying to give he (himself)<sub>1</sub> directions” vs. the grammaticality of “Jon<sub>1</sub> ran over a man who was trying to give the idiot<sub>1</sub> directions” on the other hand. These linguistic data will ultimately be accounted for in referring to discourse consideration involving notions such as point of view, perspective and empathy. The latter is central when we come to distinguish between de se and de re construals. I shall further show how the different behavior between an epithet and a quasi-indicator is best accounted for in focusing on the notion of empathy. When the reporter empathizes with the attributee s/he is unlikely to use an epithet in characterizing the attributee. Hence, empathy is also be relevant when we come to defend the view that in an attitude ascription an epithet forces the de re reading while a quasi-indicator triggers the de se one.

## **Marisa Cordella**

### ***Embryonic narratives: Self-portray pictures of patients' identity***

This study focuses on embryonic narrative episodes that emerge during medical visits between one oncologist and his patients. It takes both Labov's (1972) analytical framework to analyse narratives and the dynamic model for doctor-patient communication developed by Cordella (2004) to analyse the participants' interaction during the medical visits.

The term embryonic has been introduced to encapsulate the main structural narrative features found in an institutional discourse where contextual and socio-cultural factors tend to hamper the realization of a comprehensive narrative, producing instead an incipient and tentative story. The embryonic narrative is frequently co-constructed during the course of the consultation in a joint effort (by doctor and patient) to give a picture of the patient.

The interest of this research at the micro level of the consultation is twofold: understand how patients initiate the narrative episode and how the doctor responds to them. In addition, the use of medical and patient voices is explored to investigate whether particular medical voices (Doctor voice, Educator voice and Fellow Human voice) prompt the appearance of a narrative episode, support patients' elaboration of a storytelling and/or tend to silence patients' narratives. The study also focuses on the voices of patients (Health-related storytelling, Competence, Social Communicator, and Initiator) to determine which ones are mainly displayed in the event.

Since discourse cannot be understood in isolation to the socio-cultural context and setting where the narrative occurs, this study aims to comprehend, at the macro level, the dialogical relationship between the story being narrated and the socio-cultural construction of the event.

The corpus of this study is formed by ethnographic data as well as eleven natural recorded consultations comprising female and male patients and one male doctor that were collected in a cancer hospital in Santiago, Chile.

The structural framework devised by Labov (1972) distinguishes six components of the narrative (abstract, orientation, complicating action, evaluation, result or resolution and coda). The medical visits under investigation however, deviate from this model.

The abstract is not generally present in the narrative while coda and resolution may be produced at different stages in the consultation following the use of the Doctor voice and/or the Fellow Human voice. The latter voice favours the elaboration of a storytelling by using linguistic strategies that make the patient elaborate the story (e.g. CMs -continuer markers-, emotional reciprocity, joint-productions).

In terms of orientation and complication -'the bone of the narrative' following Holmes's description- patients are usually first protagonist of narrative events that revolve around themselves and the medical condition they are experiencing. Nevertheless, patients may also introduce a narrative that validates their social identity distancing themselves from the disease and identifying themselves as an ordinary human being with social relationships and responsibilities.

By understanding patients' narratives health providers can connect holistically to the patient comprehending both the medical and personal impact that the disease has on them and provide a platform that can enhance their communication.

### **Bert Cornillie**

#### ***Subjectification or how to make pragmatics semantic: The case of Spanish amenazar to threaten and prometer to promise***

In this paper I look at the semantics - pragmatics debate from both an empirical and a theoretical point of view. On the basis of synchronic and diachronic corpus data (Corpus del español), I argue that the subjectification of Spanish prometer 'to promise' and amenazar 'to threaten' is rather cognitive semantic than pragmatic. These verbs render a subjective evidential reading in (1) and (2), while they otherwise yield an agentive one.

(1) Este invierno promete ser llovedor. -Llovedor, patrón, promete ser este invierno.

'This winter promises to be rainy. Rainy, boss, this winter promises to be'

(2) El encuentro amenaza ser ensombrecido por medidas de presión de varios sectores.

'The meeting threatens to be overshadowed by pressure measures from various sectors'

Previous corpus research has shown that subjective amenazar is far more frequent than subjective prometer and that the latter conveys a stronger likelihood that the event expressed in the infinitive takes place than the former (cf. Cornillie 2004). In this paper I show that Traugott's (1989:5, 1997) concept of "pragmatic strengthening" cannot satisfactorily explain these different paths of subjectification, i.e. "process whereby meanings become increasingly based in the speaker's subjective belief" (Traugott's view). First, I subscribe to Brisard's (forthcoming) criticism that "pragmatic strengthening" is too broad and does not differentiate between inference and implicature; moreover it is based on contradicting views on the alleged modularity of language. Second, I show that the well-developed pragmatic dimension of lexical 'to promise' can also block further "pragmatic strengthening". In this context, Verhagen (2000) claims that the illocutionary force of 'to promise'—leading to "character subjectivity" attached to the promisor—delays the rising of a subjective reading, whereas the absence thereof with 'to threaten' leads to increased speaker - hearer subjectivity, favoring a subjective reading. The foregoing shows that pragmatic elaboration of semantics is not straightforward.

As an alternative I give a conceptualist semantic account of the synchronic co-existence and historic layering of amenazar and prometer, in terms of subjectification as a specific kind of semantic extension through dynamic conceptualization (cf. Langacker 2000). I contend that the attenuation of the intentions present in lexical prometer and amenazar leads to different subjective readings. By focusing on the locus of potency in the construal of these verbs, pragmatics is seen as a part of overall semantic conceptualization. I compare this with Jaszczolt's (1999:229) argument that "ambiguity can be accounted for by means of introducing degrees of intentions that help to reach the intended interpretation". Without making a distinction between internal, context-independent meaning and external, context-dependent meaning, the different readings of prometer and amenazar, I argue, can be explained as a shift from an objective construal with intentions to a subjective one with attenuated intentions. The corpus data on the subjects and infinitives that combine with amenazar and prometer empirically underpin the attenuation account (e.g. prometer's preference for non-intentional infinitives, while amenazar combines with all types).

### **Paolo Cottone, Valentina Schiavinato & Giuseppe Mantovani**

#### ***Focussing on contact zones: Pragmatics in intercultural research***

We present a field study concerning the introduction in a group of teenagers living with their families in a multicultural dwelling cooperative sited in Padua, Italy, of the competence in information technology required to build a web site of their cooperative. The research group proposed the construction of the website, assisted the teenagers in the acquisition of the necessary skills, and was involved in the complex social processes which accompanied the acquisition of the competence and the design of the website by the teenagers. The research group expected to find emergent patterns of the different specific cultural, religious, and ethnic "identities" which the teenagers were supposed to possess. On the contrary, we found that in everyday life the teenagers presented themselves, at first sight, just as teenagers instead than as persons possessing a single and fixed "identity". Instead of preexisting and fixed "identities" mobile "identification processes" emerged in the different specific situations of everyday life (Baumann, 1996, 1999; Mantovani, 2000, 2004). Everyday practices such as discourse, cooperation during the learning activities, and narratives of the teenagers about themselves were video recorded and analyzed using a methodology of ethnographically oriented discourse analysis (Duranti, 1994, 1997); the key concepts used were those of the situational "positioning" of the actors, of the "system of activity" (Goodwin, 1994) in which the actors were involved, and of the overall "history of the project". The corpus of video records analyzed amounts to 30 hours for 20 sessions and collected during a period of 12 months.

A pragmatic perspective has been proved necessary both theoretically and methodologically to study intercultural processes. To study the interactions taking place among people coming from different backgrounds requires that no previous, fixed, stereotyped categories: new meanings are created moment-by-moment by social actors through their practical intercourse. Current cross-cultural research considers "cultures" as homogeneous, stable and coherent entities capable of controlling the actions and the minds of the person who "belong" to them. In this way the "agency" which actors constantly exhibit in their everyday life is ignored: actors are supposed to act constantly according to their "culture" (Triandis, 1989; Markus and Kitayama, 1991). "Culture" itself undergoes a process of "reification" in cross cultural research: it ceases to be a narrative, controversial construction and it is transformed in a "badge" used to distinguish the members of mutually exclusive social groups (Amselle, 1990, 2001). On the contrary, a pragmatic approach allows to focus on the performative aspects of the interaction, in which actors re-define themselves through their practices adapting themselves smoothly to different situations. In order to understand what happens in intercultural contexts the traditional research strategy that uses general concepts to illuminate specific situations is no longer valid, just because the "general", "universal" concepts are put at risk in the intercultural contexts (Chakrabarty, 2000). The only viable methodological route available in situations in which "the other" has to be recognized as (at least partially) "other" is that of relying on the multiple, changing, often dissonant narratives offered by the actors involved.

**Seana Coulson & Todd Oakley**

***Connecting the dots: Mental spaces and metaphoric language in discourse (part of mental spaces approaches to discourse and interaction session)***

How are metaphors understood in context?

We examine the rise of the expression "connect the dots" in the 21st century and its relationship to other conventional metaphors in English that refer to information. We further examine three particular instances of this metaphor in the speech of counter-terrorism expert Richard Clarke in a radio interview.

(1) There are some dots that are out there that are meaningless unless you put them together with lots of other dots.

(2) But there are some dots that come out screaming at you, "Do something now about me!"

(3) That would have been the kind of dot that didn't need connecting, that would have screamed out at you.

Although conceptual metaphor theory (Lakoff & Johnson, 1984; 1999) provides important insight into the congruence of the connect-the-dots metaphor with conventional metaphoric mapping between seeing and knowing, it cannot explain the novel uses of the metaphor in (2) and (3). These novel uses are better described by conceptual blending theory (Fauconnier & Turner, 2002), as involving conceptual structure integrated from multiple mental spaces. In contrast to the emphasis on conventional metaphors in conceptual metaphor theory, conceptual blending theory has been shown to capture spontaneous, on-line processes that can yield short-lived and novel conceptualizations (Grady, Oakley, & Coulson, 1999).

In analyzing the way that (1)-(3) are understood, we detail how specific aspects of background and contextual knowledge contribute to their meaning. Background knowledge includes conventional metaphoric mappings, a conventional blend known as fictive interaction (Pascual, 2002), as well as American cultural knowledge about the terrorist attack known as 9/11. Contextual knowledge includes particular facts laid out by the speaker (Clarke) in the co-text of these remarks, as well as the interactional moves in the interview where these remarks occurred. Further, by examining the intonational contours in the speech, we assess whether intonational cues that indicate the status of information in the on-going discourse -- whether it is given,

accessible, or new as outlined by Chafe (1987) -- can be used by listeners to determine whether conceptual structure can be recruited from an existing mental space, or whether a new space must be constructed. Compatibility between mental spaces theory and Chafe's theory of discourse is assessed.

**Nina Crespo & Ricardo Benitez**

***La comprensión de los significados no literales en el discurso oral: una perspectiva ontogenética***

Ante el discurso oral, el oyente se ve obligado la mayoría de las veces a ir más allá de lo literal explícito y a construir un significado alternativo, realizando procesos inferenciales (Searle, 1993). Dentro de estos casos, están los significados no literales, que incluyen los actos de habla indirectos (Searle, 1986). También interesa la comprensión de la ironía y de la metáfora, cuyos mecanismos de comprensión fueron explicados inicialmente por Grice (1991).

Entre los lineamientos teóricos más recientes —entre otros, Levinson (2000) y Gibbs (1987, 1993)—, se siguen considerando estos procesos como de naturaleza inferencial; no obstante, la noción se aparta de una visión racionalista y consciente como la propuesta por Grice y supone la generación de inferencias de un modo más complejo (por defecto, comprobación de hipótesis, etc.)

Esta ponencia intenta explicar cómo se produce el desarrollo de la capacidad para comprender estos significados no literales en el lenguaje entre los cinco y los trece años. A partir de una muestra de 420 sujetos de Viña del Mar (Chile), se hipotetizó que estadísticamente habría diferencias significativas en los puntajes que evalúan la capacidad de comprender las inferencias entre los individuos de diversos grupos etáreos.

El instrumento de medición pragmática es un software interactivo, donde un personaje en dibujo animado invita al usuario a acompañarlo en un día de su vida a través de diferentes escenas. El usuario encuentra estas escenas separadas en tres secciones: a) la escuela, en la cual el personaje interactúa con una de sus profesoras y con sus compañeros; b) el almuerzo, en el cual el personaje se encuentra con su familia; y c) el partido de fútbol, en el cual comparte con varios amigos. En el transcurso de la secuencia de acciones, al sujeto de la investigación se le presentan 54 instancias de diálogo entre los personajes. Dentro de dichas instancias, se producen significados indirectos. Una vez que el sujeto ha escuchado la instancia, éste debe seleccionar una de tres posibles interpretaciones —una de ellas correcta.

La prueba ha sido aplicada en forma individual en setiembre y octubre de 2004 y el análisis preliminar de los resultados permite tanto confirmar la hipótesis como realizar algunos señalamientos interesantes acerca del distinto nivel de dificultad que implican para los niños los diferentes significados indirectos. Así, los actos de habla indirectos y las metáforas parecieron ser más fáciles para todos los sujetos, mientras que la ironía revistió una mayor dificultad para los sujetos pequeños y mayores. Esto podría explicarse por una diferencia en los recursos de procesamiento. Según Winner y Gardner (1993), Escandell (1998) y el citado Gibbs, la comprensión de los dos primeros dependería más del conocimiento de mundo que guía la interpretación de las claves, mientras que la ironía necesitaría más de la capacidad de metarrepresentarse la mente de otro para poder entender sus actitudes respecto de lo que dice (Winner y Gardner, 1993).

**Hatice Cubukcu**

***Poweracts: Towards the fourth layer in conversation***

In this study I have tried to investigate how interactional discourse is structured regarding power relations among the interlocutors i.e, how talk is patterned through power acts. I will use the term 'power act' to denote the function of utterances that serve as a 'move' to contribute to the distribution of power between the S and the H.

This study has been triggered by a very basic view on human communication, (see, Foucault, 1980; Ervin-Tripp, 1984; Dijk, 1997) in relation to the concept of 'power', as would be better expressed in Lakoff's (1990) words than in mine: whether we intend it to be or not, everything we do in the course of a day communicates our relative power. We may enter the transaction knowingly or not, we may function mainly as manipulator or manipulatee- but we are always involved in persuasion, in trying to get another person to see the world or some piece of it our way, and therefore to act as we would like them to act. If we succeed, we have power (p.17).

This research also finds roots in some recent studies that take a 'dynamic' view of power, as evident in the works of scholars, namely, Fairclough, 1989; Scotton, 1988; Diamond, 1996) and others.

That is, power is not a permanent and undisputed attribute of any one or social grouping. On the contrary, those who hold power at a particular moment have to constantly reassert their power, and those who do not hold power are always liable to make bid for power. (Fairclough, 1989:46)

We can briefly, conclude that while we 'do' lots of 'things' with words at various levels during the conversation, our utterances are basically geared to having control over the other interlocutor. Accordingly, I suggest in this study that persuasive talk (if not, all talk!) is structured at a deeper level of the conversation, based on the negotiation of power among the speakers and that these structures must be uncovered through studies on natural speech to see whether they have some predictable patterns.

The data selected via 'theoretical sampling' method, comprised of 25 excerpts (apprx. 800 utterances), of natural conversations, persuasive in nature, and audiotaped, obtained from 48 adult native speakers of Turkish (23 males and 25 females). The conversational corpus was analyzed in terms of power acts-concept developed from the criteria suggested in Fairclough, (1989:46).

The analyses of the texts expose 4 basic types of structures at the level of power acts.

These acts are grouped into two broad categories as, acts of Empowerment and the acts of Depowerment. The first category includes 4 different power acts issued by means of 32 speech acts and 4 discourse acts. The second category includes 4 different power acts issued by means of 20 speech acts and 3 discourse acts. Patterning of these acts are illustrated on sample texts. Also, the study attempts to entail further discussions on the power acts.

## **Hortènsia Curell & Maria Sabaté**

### ***I'm really really sorry vs et faria res?: Apologies in British English and in Catalan***

This paper aims to examine the realisations of the speech act of apologising by British English and Catalan speakers. The apology realisations of the two groups are compared under the same contexts (eight fixed situations) along two parameters, social distance and power, given the strategies provided by the apology speech act set. This is a classification of potential apology strategies firstly suggested by Fraser (1981), later redefined by Owen (1983) and Trosborg (1987), and finally validated by Blum-Kulka et al (1989), and by several authors working on similar projects (Mir 1992, Márquez Reiter 2001).

The initial hypothesis is that Catalan and British speakers will use the same set of strategies, thus confirming the findings of other research on apologies, such as the ones mentioned above. However, there will be a difference in the amount of downgraders and intensifiers, due to the culturally-distinctive interactional styles of the two languages. In Catalan it is based on appealing for common ground and forgiveness (solidarity style), whereas in British English it requires redressing of one's wants (deference style).

Two groups of informants participated in this study: a group of native speakers of English and a group of Catalan native speakers. The former were twenty-six undergraduate students of Modern Languages from the University of Durham (England), and the latter were 26 undergraduate students of English at the Universitat Autònoma de Barcelona. They all completed an open-ended Discourse Completion Task (DCT) with no hearer response, one in English and the other one adapted to Catalan. These DCTs consisted of eight apology situations already validated by several researchers (Cohen & Olshtain 1981, Trosborg 1987, Mir 1992, Márquez Reiter 2001), taken from the CCSARP. Each situation is designed to elicit apology strategies according to a fixed social setting, combining the factors social distance (+ or -) and power ( $x=y$ ,  $x<y$ ,  $x>y$ ).

The results obtained after the analysis of the DCTs confirmed the initial hypothesis: both groups used the available set of strategies, although there is a marginally significant difference in the average number of strategies per situation, and a significant difference in the average number of explicit apologies, IFIDs (illocutionary force indicating device), per situation. This is due to the fact that in English we find a more conventionalised system of explicit apologies which does not require the use of as many IFIDs as Catalan. Besides, the intensification of the apologies is done differently in the two languages, as a result of these two culturally-distinctive interactional styles. In Catalan, it is done by means of minimisation of the offence, that is, a greater use of strategies calling for common ground and understanding, such as appealers and appeasers (typical downgraders). In English, on the other hand, it is carried out by means of a greater degree of IFID intensification, that is, by expressing deeper regret for the offensive act itself.

## **Traci Curl**

### ***Offers of assistance: Constraints on syntactic design***

This study uses the methods of conversation analysis to explicate the sequentially-specific syntactic formats of offers produced in a corpus of telephone calls. The analysis shows how the use of different syntactic constructions allows offerers to foreground either themselves or their would-be recipients: speakers can display themselves as agents of goodwill and helpfulness, or they can expose the implicit desires of others. Offers are taken to be those turns or sets of turns which propose the satisfaction of another's want or need, or the resolution of some difficulty. Within the corpus, offers were identified as made by the caller as a reason for calling, or as generated within the course of the interaction itself, and so made by either speaker (caller or called). Some such



interactionally-generated offers propose solutions to situations overtly described as problematic by the subsequent recipient of the offer. These offers are designed to assist in the resolution of the problem just described; the solution or remedy offers the very thing that was claimed to be lacking or problematic, and the offers are produced immediately after the lack or need is stated. Some offers, however, propose a solution to problems that are merely latent in the prior talk. Before these offers are made, the problems they educe were not treated by either speaker as a situation in need of remedy. While the problem drawn out by the offer is identifiable in the prior talk, neither participant orients to the lack of an offer of remedy or assistance as relevantly absent when the problem was first stated. These offers are placed at a point which is temporally and sequentially distanced from the problem-relevant talk. The analysis highlights the differences in the sequential placement of offers, and the various activities performed at these different locations: some offers occur in the openings of calls, as reasons-for-calling; some offers are produced as immediate responses to the overt description of problems; and some offers are produced at some remove from the prior problem-relevant talk, and propose potential solutions to those latent problems. These differences are reflected in the syntactic format of offers. Reason-for-calling offers are produced as three-part sequences, culminating in the offering turn itself, which is constructed with the conditional “if”. Offers of remedy for problems educed from previous talk are always produced with the syntactic format “do you want me to X”, thus displaying the offerers’ understanding that their proposed action will fulfill the covert desires of the recipients; offers responsive to overt problems are never produced with “do you want”, though they are produced with a variety of other syntactic formats all fitted to the prior talk for which they offer a remedy. An analysis of offerers’ repairs from one syntactic format to another supports the conclusion that the design of turns at talk, in this case the syntactic format of an offer, is crucially dependent on both sequential position and activity type.

### **Ilaria Cutica, Bruno Bara & Monica Bucciarelli** ***Pragmatic competence in right-hemisphere-damaged patients***

Communication can be defined as an agent’s intentional and overt attempt to affect a partner’s mental state within a social situation. According to Airenti, Bara & Colombetti (1993) the process of comprehension of a communicative act consists in drawing inferences from the literal meaning to the actor’s meaning. Depending on the complexity of the inferential chain necessary, they distinguish a standard path from a non-standard path of comprehension. A first aim of our work is to verify whether the difference sketched holds for both right hemisphere damaged (RHD) patients and healthy controls.

RHD patients are usually tested on linguistic pragmatic tasks because of their impairments in pragmatic ability, in particular with comprehending indirect requests (e.g. Stemmer et al., 1994), sarcasm and deceit (e.g. Tompkins & Mateer, 1985), metaphors and idiomatic sentences (e.g. Schmitzer et al., 1997). However, most of the studies on RHD pragmatic ability were realized through an analysis of the linguistic communicative ability, so that “pragmatic ability” is usually intended as “linguistic pragmatic ability”. As we assume that pragmatic competence is a cognitive function that could be expressed relying both on language and on extralinguistic means, we are interested in studying both sides of this faculty. With extralinguistic communication, we intend any hand gesture, body movement or facial expression that is intentionally used to share a communicative meaning with a partner.

We hypothesize that, for both Patients and Controls, standard communication is easier to comprehend than non standard communication. However, we expect to find out that the difference in difficulty between the standard and the non-standard path of communication, is greater for Patients than for Controls. Furthermore, we aim at verifying whether the hypothesis above mentioned hold for both linguistic and extralinguistic pragmatic ability, and at exploring the possible differences between the two forms of communication.

We tested 13 RHD patients, 9 males and 4 females (whose age ranges from 51 to 65 years, mean 56;4), and 13 control subjects, with one linguistic and one extralinguistic pragmatic protocol, both involving the comprehension of standard and non-standard communication. Both the linguistic and the extralinguistic protocols comprised 12 videotaped fiction each (one scene lasts about 16-20 seconds): 6 standard communicative acts (3 direct and 3 non-conventional indirects) and 6 non-standard communicative acts (3 deceptions and 3 ironies). Each fiction depicts a single communicative act.

Participants were tested on their understanding of the actor's communicative intention. The results, which are consistent with the literature on linguistic pragmatics in RHD patients, confirm our predictions on the difference between standard and non standard communication, and between linguistic and extralinguistic communication, thus suggesting a possible distinction between the linguistic and the extralinguistic side of pragmatic ability.

**Suzana Carielo da Fonseca**

***On equivocal utterances and communication in speech therapy with aphasic patients***

This presentation focuses on the nature of the relationship between the fields Speech Therapy and Pragmatics and discusses the notion of “speech act” in the realm of clinical practice with aphasic patients. For starters, I will try to clarify what can be qualified as a “utilitarian approach” to Austin (1962) and Searle’s (1969) theoretical-descriptive frameworks. It is worth mentioning that due to the discredit of Programmed Stimulation Approaches, aphasia therapists became interested in creating new techniques which could, at a time, replace the behaviorist rehabilitation procedures and welcome clinical data that pointed to the fact that aphasic patients were able to sustain communication (Wilcox, 1978; Kadzielawa, 1981; Foldi, 1983). Pragmatics was immediately elected as the convenient theoretical-descriptive source (Davis & Wilcox, 1985; Ulatowska, 1992; Holland, 1991): after all, it is in its realm that the communicative function of language is rendered a problematic proposition. However, rather than carefully exploring the philosophers’ and linguists’ reflections on the matter, speech therapists seemed to have retained only the importance to guarantee the relationship usage/context in the clinical setting, i.e., they endeavored to turn the therapist/patient interaction the closest as possible to “natural communicative situations”. In other words, they tried to reproduce “typical natural situations,” so that the aphasic would gradually master conversational rules and, consequently, improve their communicative skills (verbal or nonverbal). According to Basso (2003), though, that type of clinical procedure established the failure of pragmatic approaches directed to the treatment of aphasic patients, since clinical interactions are very distant from the so-called ecological exchanges which do not take place in the clinical setting. I claim that such attested failure derives from a lack of theoretical commitment to the fundamental presuppositions in Pragmatics. Indeed, it seems not plausible to derive, from Austin’s work the possibility of contextual or communicative control in verbal interactions. I agree with Zizek (1990) that one reflect upon the question: “under what conditions can we talk about ‘successful communication?’” . It could also be fruitful to consider that “communication is a successful mistake” (Lacan, 1956). The final comments concerning Austin, Zizek and Lacan, will trigger the discussion I shall develop to answer the following questions: (1) if interaction is taken as a contingent meeting between two interlocutors, what sense does the term “communication” acquire?; and (2) how can such a view of interaction be implied in the therapeutic process? I shall depart from the notion of “act”, as proposed by Austin, to approach the notion of “clinical act”, taking into account the therapist-aphasic patients interaction. Segments from clinical session will be presented to illustrate my discussion.

**Federica da Milano**

***The systems of demonstratives in the European languages: Typological and areal considerations***

The aim of this research is to provide a semantic characterization of the systems of demonstratives in the European languages .

Cross linguistically, spatial deixis is mainly encoded in: place adverbs, demonstrative determiners, demonstrative pronouns, presentatives and a few lexical items, like verbs of movement. However, it is generally agreed that adverbs, determiners and pronouns are the items prototypically encoding spatial deixis.

I will use a definition of ‘demonstrative’ based on Diessel’s study (1999):

- demonstratives are deictic expressions used for particular syntactic functions (the notion which I intend to follow here covers not only pronouns and determiners, but also place adverbs, like English here/there).

According to Diessel’s analysis, demonstratives covers four syntactic functions:

- they are used as independent pronouns;
- they can co-occur with a noun in a noun phrase;  
they can function as verbal modifiers (place adverbs);
- they can cover the position of subject/topic in copulative or non-verbal sentences.
- demonstratives generally cover specific pragmatic functions: they are often used to address the attention of the hearer, but they can also be used for other functions;
- demonstratives are characterized by specific semantic features.

The languages

“The analysis of spatial terms in familiar European languages remains deeply confused, and those in other languages almost entirely unexplored” (Levinson 1996: 134).

Languages that are considered: Albanian, Armenian, Basque, Breton, Bulgarian, Catalan, Czech, Danish, Dutch, Finnish, French, Georgian, German, Greek, English, Icelandic, Irish, Italian, Lithuanian, Maltese, Norwegian, Polish, Portuguese, Rumanian, Russian, Sardinian, Serbo-croatian, Slovak, Slovenian, Spanish, Swedish, Hungarian, Welsh.

Data

The research is based on data partly collected from descriptive grammars, partly elicited through a questionnaire (48 pictures).

The aim of the research is the analysis of the systems of demonstratives in the European languages: in particular, the relationship between adverbs (Adv) on the one side and determiners (Det)/pronouns (Pron) on the other. "Whereas Det and Pron often show a high degree of formal and functional affinity, we find no automatic parallelism between these and Adv. [...]"

It is worth remarking that usually, when such quantitative discrepancy exists, the Adv system tends to show more distinctions. Such discrepancies lead to think that the different categorical status is not the only contrast opposing deictic Adv to deictic Det and Pron, but that also relevant functional/semantic differences exist" (Benedetti & Ricca 2002: 14-15).

## **Ylva Dahlman**

### ***How pictural practice affects understanding in the field of study for students of natural and social science***

The origin of this study is an investigation of an academic course, Graphic Arts and Design for students of natural and social sciences, at SLU (Swedish University of Agricultural Sciences) in the years 1994/95 – 2001/02. The course contains exercises that develop the ability to depict, to formulate new ideas and to present those ideas. The exercises usually start with a verbal or written motif and ends with individual written reflections and discussion. The benefits of attending the class, as the result of questionnaires, student's diaries and participating observations show, were an increased ability to solve problems, new and different ways to observe the environment, better self confidence, and a higher regard for working processes. The participants on the course considered that the artistic activities they took part in affected their academic courses since the exercises were seen as creative and meaningful, which led to a changed attitude towards their studies. The exercises developed a comprehensive view of the world and an ability to concentrate, which were conducive to problem solving.

Former didactic research, about these so called transfer effects, indicates a connection between artistic skills and academic results, but has found this impossible to state scientifically. In this study these observations are the point of departure, focusing a discussion of the act of drawing in connection with the cognitive approach of pragmatism, with Michael Polanyi's concept of tacit knowing, and with some theories on the function of metaphors.

My contribution is the following attempt at a theory of knowledge that includes artistic experiences: Creating a picture means turning imagination into a concrete object. This does not indicate a depiction of an idea, but a direction of imagination into an articulation other than verbal thoughts or ideas. The picture shows a moment in the ongoing process of imagination. The act of drawing transforms hitherto unarticulated forms of experience into artefacts possible to reflect upon. This act of drawing often requires that seemingly incompatible categories of experience are being connected, and the world thus being articulated in new shapes. This is done by overcoming the resistance to leave old and familiar categories. The range of imagination increases and, with more alternatives at hand and an enhanced ability to formulate and solve problems, the world appears more complex.

Such a process entails that when the world is accepted in a new articulation, knowledge has grown and the relation to the world has changed.

## **Phyllis Dalley**

### ***New school, new rules: Welcoming as social process***

New school, new rules: Welcoming as social process

As 13 and 14 year olds transit from their respective elementary schools to a common high school, their role as students is modified both by the school's structure and by their interactions with other students and new teachers. As they become part of a larger community, friendship networks and position within the classroom and school are renegotiated. Based on discourse analysis of ethnographic data, this paper will explore this renegotiation in one French language school in Alberta, Canada. Using a critical sociolinguistic (Heller, 2002) framework, this paper's focus will be on the role of language and space in this process.

As members of one of Canada's two official language communities, francophones have a constitutional right to a French language education in schools under their control. The province of Alberta, where francophones constitute 2% of the overall population (Statscan, 1996), counts five French school boards and 25 autonomous French schools. Given the small number of francophones in any one region, students are bussed in from large geographical areas and some find themselves to be the alone from their neighborhood to attend a French school. Furthermore, as greater numbers of French speaking immigrants move to Alberta and as martial

and common law unions between French and English Canadians become more common, the definition of who counts as a francophone is contested terrain. As the only institution under the control of the French population, the school is at once a political tool and a discursive space where this process of inclusion and exclusion gets played out.

Recently completed studies of parental expectations of French schools (Dalley, 2003) and of the school choices of French (African) parents (Dalley, Bukuba, Moke, 2003), show how parents of various backgrounds have adopted the notion of the “place of welcome” (lieu d'accueil) to speak about issues of inclusion and exclusion. Following a presentation of the general context, this paper will briefly explore the concept “welcome” as it emerged in parent discourse. We will then turn to data taken from a recently begun ethnography of schooling. This data will allow us to further define linguistic and cultural practices of “welcome” or “unwelcome” as they appear in three grade seven classes in one French high school in Alberta, Canada. These practices will be linked to the organization of space, both linguistic and physical, as they constitute the school as a “place of (un)welcome” for students from various backgrounds. Concluding remarks will take up the constraining and liberating consequences of these practices for the definition of the social category “French” or “Francophone”.

**Christiane Dalton-Puffer**

***Immersion settings: Classroom questions for language learning?: The impact of the IRF-cycle on student output***

Generally, classrooms as speech events are characterized by the frequency and specific quality of questions, which together with representative and directives constitute the majority of illocutionary acts realized in whole-class interaction. While early verdicts on the ‘unnaturalness’ of typical classroom questions are still widely adhered to, many educationalists have re-evaluated questions as central instruments in the discursive construction of knowledge. This presentation seeks to reconsider the case for classrooms where a foreign language is the medium of instruction, pursuing the issue of the impact of questions on the quantity and quality of student output in the target language.

The database consists of 42 secondary level immersion lessons (English=language of instruction) taught in Austrian secondary schools, covering a range of different school subjects. Ten transcripts were submitted to coding and detailed analysis. The analysis employs a set of question typologies developed for the study of educational discourse. Teacher questions as well as student questions and responses are considered. The results show that contrary to expectations it is not teacher display questions but referential or ‘real’ questions which are the dominant question type overall and that there is a clear differentiation according to register (instructional vs. regulative). However, it must be noted that a question being referential is not a good predictor regarding the characteristics of the output it stimulates. Other features of classroom questions like their being open or closed and their actual objects (e.g. facts vs. opinions) are shown to be more relevant in this respect. Factual questions typically receive minimal responses while answers to other questions tend to require the encoding of full, sometimes complex propositions. In this light the overwhelming share of factual questions in the lessons studied points towards the limiting conditions which typical content-classroom discourse sets for the richness of classroom language from which second language speakers can learn.

**Susan Danby & Michael Emmison**

***Orienting to troubles announcements and reasons for calling: The initial diagnostic work of counsellors on a national children's helpline***

This paper examines the opening sequences between young callers and counsellors at Kids Help Line, a national Australian helpline and counselling service that deals with inquiries from young people aged between five and eighteen. The helpline operates from a child-centred organisational philosophy – ‘we listen we care’ rather than ‘we can solve your problems.’ Unlike many helplines where an explicit offer of help is made in the call taker’s opening turn, the Kids Help Line counsellors provide only an organizational identification. The design of this turn serves - contrary to popular opinion - to indicate that the counsellor does not assume that the young caller requires help. The consequence of this design is that the onus is placed on the caller to account for the call. The caller’s accounting typically involves announcing a trouble or problem and then, delivered separately, a specific reason for the call. The order in which these two components are delivered may vary although the ‘reason for the call’ is usually made subsequent to the ‘troubles announcement’. For instance, a caller may initially indicate the problem of being “so stressed out” but the reason for the call, produced later in the interaction, is that the caller needs “to talk to somebody.” The focus of the paper, then, concerns the diagnostic work of the counsellor as they search for, and assess, these features. Until the receipt of the reason for the call, the counsellors usually offer acknowledgement tokens only to show that they are still listening. However, once

their assessment is made, the diagnostic work of the counsellors then becomes hearably evident. As analysts, we search for that moment when we hear the counsellors assess the reason for the call. The initial identifying moment is often accompanied as “oh”, “okay” or “yeah” and a pause, seeming to suggest that the counsellor has identified the crucial information from the caller and now can proceed with diagnostic activities. We investigate the structural and sequential features of the counsellors’ assessment and accompanying activities to show how they are done in a setting where calling for help is an accountable activity, and requires the counsellor to manage the interaction that respects the organisational philosophy of caring and listening.

## **Barbara Dancygier**

### ***Frame metonymy and grammar: Modification of proper names***

This paper will propose a mental space/blending interpretation of the use of proper names with NP modifiers.

Recent work by Marmaridou (1989, 1991) and Vandelanotte and Willemsse (2002) shows clearly that the use of proper names is not sufficiently explained through unique reference. In my analysis, I will suggest that all uses of proper names (unique and non-unique ones) are cases of frame metonymy – they provide conceptual access to contextual frames, uniquely associated with a given term, but not necessarily referring to unique referents. Modifiers then reveal the ways in which the frame is used.

For example, the name 'Pinatubo' may refer to a volcano in the Philippines or to aspects of the frame which the reference to the mountain calls up (the latter usage typically coincides with the presence of modification, as when geologists interested in history talk about 'the ancestral Pinatubo' or 'the modern Pinatubo'). In 1991, Pinatubo erupted violently, causing massive damage, hence the metonymic reference to the “event” part of the frame in 'Pinatubo, one of the most destructive volcanic eruptions...!', or to any other volcanic eruption of that magnitude, as in 'If we had another Pinatubo today,...!', 'are we ready for the next Pinatubo?'. The modifiers ('the ancestral', 'another', 'next') help structure the frame by adding temporal sequentiality and indicating non-unique reference.

My examples further suggest that such uses cannot be sufficiently described as a series of independent metonymies of various types, but that the contextual frame available to discourse participants decides on what kinds of metonymies are possible or not. When a caption under a picture of a destroyed house says 'Pinatubo was here!' (to refer to the physical force of the pyroclastic flow) the metonymic reference is highly frame-specific. Also, the available spectrum of metonymic usage can change in time, along with the content of the contextual frame available to discourse participants. In 1991/92, journalistic prose often referred to destructive events as 'a political Pinatubo' or 'an emotional Pinatubo'. Such phrases are no longer used, as the frame lost its contextual salience.

The meaning of a proper name is thus constructed against a frame available in the shared discourse context. Some grammatical forms, such as indefinite articles, signal the absence of such a shared frame. For example, 'There is a Tom Hanks on the phone' signals the speaker's lack of access to a frame (of movies/actors) explaining the identity of 'Tom Hanks'. The interpretation results to the same degree from the discourse function of the article and the understanding that the proper name does call up such a frame.

In the paper, attested data (from fiction and non-fiction texts, conversations, websites, etc.), will be used to show how various uses of proper names result from the selection and highlighting of different aspects of contextual frames. Using the framework of mental spaces and blending, I will also show how major types of NP modifiers restrict the meaning of the noun and trim its contextual frame to fit the discourse context.

## **Eve Danziger**

### ***Reflexive communicative intention in cross-cultural context: The fate of the flout***

Thanks to their derivation from the philosophies of Searle and Grice, most current theories of linguistic pragmatics place great weight on Utterer intentions and their recognition by Audiences. But anthropologists continue to report cases in which speakers claim that intentions and their recognition play little or no role in the mechanisms of talk. There is room therefore to question whether everyday communication can be operating in all cultural circumstances in the way proposed by Grice: i.e. by means of overt and mutual efforts at reflexive intention-recognition.

In general, and whether dealing with words or deeds, the Mopan Maya of Central America strongly prefer to evaluate only the outcomes of actions, and to maintain agnosticism about others' possible intentions. In Mopan, literal falsehood is considered blameworthy and supernaturally dangerous, regardless of the intentional or belief-states of the speaker. While such a belief-system clearly does not preclude compliance with the Gricean maxim of Quality (?do not say what you believe to be false?), or indeed the violation of that Maxim, it does preclude the use of such violation in the construction and interpretation of deliberate pragmatic flouts. When designing a flout of Quality (such as a metaphor, allegory or other nominally false figurative utterance)

Utterers must rely on Audiences' willingness to seek out the Utterer's probable mental state in making the utterance. We should predict that at least those forms of figurative meaning based on flouts of the Maxim of Quality will be absent among those who in general hold other than intention-laden theories of linguistic meaning. And indeed, there is no genre of literary fiction among traditional Mopan, and individuals react with puzzlement when asked by outsiders to consider hypothetical examples or allegorical accounts.

Recent theories from within the philosophy of language (Bar-On in press, Green 2003) suggest that a conscious intention to trigger intention-recognition on the part of Audiences is not a necessary component of successful linguistic expression. In this view, the making of any utterance can be taken as a conventionalized symptom, rather than as a deliberately intended statement, that the Utterer is in compliance with the Cooperative Principle (Keller 1998). Under this sort of analysis, those areas of Western linguistic interaction in which the operation of reflexive communicative intentions is most clearly to be observed (the Gricean flouts) would be seen as specialized cultural traditions of verbal art, and the use of non-reflective convention would be recognized as playing a far more important role than we have yet supposed in communicative practices around the world.

## **Regna Darnell**

### ***The cultural pragmatics of contemporary hunter-gatherers: Canadian first nations exemplars***

This paper will explore the persistence of decision-making strategies employed by former hunters and gatherers in contemporary circumstances. Both on Reserves and in urban areas (where more than half of Canada's Indigenous peoples now reside), most Native people no longer make their living by traditional subsistence. Nonetheless, they continue to work within a nomadic attitude toward the exploitation of available, and always variable or shifting, resources. People still move back and forth frequently; today this movement takes place primarily between Reserves and cities. These former nomads live in or belong to more than one place simultaneously. One need not be resident in a community to exercise rights of governance and citizenship within it. People move away from the Reserves where there are extremely limited economic opportunities to seek employment, education and social services, especially medical. My current research project involves a collaboration with several Native organizations in the city of London and on nearby Ojibwe (Algonquian language family) Reserves to collect life histories and genealogies showing different kinds of relationship between people and resources. Preliminary results indicate that the narratives rapidly become generic; that is, there are a limited number of motives and strategies underlying residential decisions. Individual narratives account for the intersecting decisions of individual, family and to some extent community. The analysis will draw on a long-term study with Lisa Valentine on the adaptation of English to the contemporary purposes of monolingual Native people in southwestern Ontario (as reported to a previous IPA conference). The paper will move between discourse analysis of how contemporary "nomads" move around on land. Their decision-making strategies pose a powerful challenge to the Eurocentric notion of settled residence. I argue that this difference between settler and nomad is fundamental. It underlies the Algonquian definition of pragmatics and poses a theoretical counterexample to the understanding of pragmatics in communication that most linguists take for granted. By juxtaposing these abstract discourses of the relationship of self, family, community and land, I hope to clarify both the Ojibwe pragmatics and the methodology of sociolinguistics.

## **Wayne Davis**

### ***How normative is implicature?***

In *Implicature* (1998), I introduced H. P. Grice's term "implicature," and illustrated the practical and theoretical importance of the phenomenon it denotes. I then argued that the Gricean theory designed to explain and predict conversational implicatures, and describe how they are understood, was a near complete failure. In particular, I argued that implicatures are never derivable from conversational principles in the way Grice required, and do not exist in virtue of the satisfaction of Grice's cooperative presumption, determinacy, or mutual knowledge conditions. The root of the problem, I argued, is the intentionality of speaker implicature and the conventionality of sentence implicature.

Jennifer Saul (2001, 2002) and Mitchell Green (2002) have recently suggested that my objections missed their target because Grice's conception of implicature was normative in crucial ways. Their suggestions are attractive and potentially fruitful. Nevertheless, I will argue here that Grice did conceive of speaker implicature as a form of speaker meaning, and therefore as a matter of speaker intention. I will also argue that making Grice's theory normative in the ways Saul and Green suggest would not enable it evade the most serious problems I raised.

## **Ofelia Duo de Brottier & L. Cubo de Severino**

### ***Politeness strategies in academic discourse***

The academic writers intent to performer their discourse with objectivity. The linguistic resources to obtain this goal are rhetorically - established tradition in the academic community. But, an analysis in a very detailed way allows us to propose a "continuum politeness force" with different levels of subjectivity. In the present work, we analyze the 'Introductions' of Scientific Article's corpus that are published in Revista Argentina de Lingüística from 1992 to 2000 and we find out some parameters to make a politeness scale. The data let us to established that the author's intentions lead the "politeness force" in the Establishing a niche move (J.M. Swale, 1990:141).

## **Paola De Fabritiis, Alessandro Tavano, Stefano Pozzoli, Renato Borgatti & Franco Fabbro**

### ***Validation study of a test of metaphor, idiom and prosodic comprehension in Italian children aged 6 to 14: Preliminary results***

Developmental psychology has so far studied pragmatic acquisition with a number of methods, highlighting typical developmental patterns.

Quite recently, pragmatic impairments in clinical samples with language disturbances (Developmental Language Disorders, acquired aphasias, early focal lesions, Eisele et al., 1998, Bates, 2004), have gained much attention, similarly to the well known linguistic difficulties affecting those samples. In fact, clinicians sense that pragmatic difficulties, differently from syntactical, morphological, lexical and phonological difficulties, escape routine neuro-linguistic assessment. They report clinical observations attesting to the impact that, in those clinical populations, subtle linguistic impairments have on social and interpersonal functioning well after that grammatical skills have been reliably acquired. Clinical neuropsychologists and speech therapists are therefore concerned that pragmatic skills be overlooked in linguistic rehabilitation programs. At the same time, they pinpoint that validated tests to appreciate systematically pragmatics are still lacking. So, standardisation and validation of clinical tests reveal to be essential.

**Aim.** This contribution, aiming to meet such clinical needs, presents with the preliminary results of a validation study on a new pragmatics test, formed by 6 subscales. The focus will be on verbal, visual metaphor and idiom understanding, and prosodic comprehension. Firstly, the results will be discussed with regard to the typical developmental trends. It is still in progress the analysis of the performances by a clinical sample of 8 children with ACC, which is a rare pathology affecting the communication between the hemispheres and liable to linguistic and pragmatic difficulties.

**Participants and Procedure.** 143 children from 6 to 14, were administered 10 verbal and 10 visual metaphors (a verbal metaphor represented in a line drawing alongside with 3 drawings, one being the literal meaning and two incorrect answers), and 10 idioms. Children were asked to explain the metaphors in their words. Answers were classified as correct or not, by two judges agreeing on the criteria and going through discussion to settle possible discordant judgments. Then, 12 sentences pronounced with different emotional prosodies (happy, neutral, sad) were listened and classified by the participants.

**Results.** Results show that understanding of metaphors, either verbal or visual, and idioms increases with age. In detail, there is a continuous, linear increase in verbal metaphor, with a fast rate from 1st to 4th degree, and then a slightly shallower increase. In visual metaphors, increase is shallower than verbal metaphors, but the task results to be easier than verbal one, in that performances are higher since the first degree. Finally, idiom understanding is quite shallow and always at lower levels than metaphors. As to emotional prosody understanding, increase appears again to be linear and earlier than in all the other subscales, in that at the first degree children already pass half the items.

Overall, it appears that sensitivity to emotional prosody is already acquired by the beginning of elementary schools, while implicit and somehow conventional meaning conveyed in metaphor is grasped later in childhood, and only then the ability to understand idioms emerges.

To resume, although there is need to encompass in systematic assessment of pragmatics lexical references, implications and presuppositions as the core features of pragmatics, it is worth noting that the subscales used in the study appears to be a promising tool for clinical applications. Also, non literal, mentalistic and linguistic reasoning in children should be assessed in all clinical populations alongside with the well known syntactic and morphological skills, in that the ability to get beyond literal meaning of linguistic statements is essential in interpersonal, linguistically mediated, life.

## **Anna De Fina**

### ***Who tells which story and why?: Context and narrative in an Italian American club***

Among the most important points raised by recent research on narrative is the importance of recognizing the situatedness of storytelling. Researchers like Mattingly (1988) Ochs and Capps (2001); Georgakopoulou (2002); Holmes (forthcoming) have shown that narratives exhibit complex and fascinating relationships with different contexts, and that their functions and structure vary tremendously as a result of their insertion in different interactional situations. As mentioned in the panel description, such awareness of the embedding of narratives within contexts has important theoretical consequences, since it leads to an analysis of narrative as a type of discourse practice (De Fina, 2003a and 2003b), not as a genre with fixed structure and characteristics. One way of looking at narrative as practice is to ask what kinds of narratives are told in certain contexts, what specific functions they carry out and what types of relationships can be established between these functions and the structure that they exhibit.

It is from this perspective that I analyze the case of narratives told by members of an Italian American card-playing club based in the Washington area. I focus more specifically on a group of topically linked narratives that I call "the Italian stories." These are narratives that center directly or indirectly around Italy and/or Italians, such as travel stories about encounters with the country and its inhabitants, personal stories about Italian heritage, and stories that illustrate or challenge perceived Italian cultural traits. I argue that these different types of Italian stories have a variety of individual and social functions that can only be understood if we see them as related to the contexts formed by the global and local objectives of club's activities, the social roles and relationships negotiated within the club, and the set of shared assumptions and ideologies that are made relevant by participants in these interactions. I analyze ways in which these different functions reflect on the structure of these narratives. Finally, I argue that the telling of these different types of Italian stories crucially reflects but also contributes to construct a collective frame of reference for the interpretation of verbal interactions and social practices within the Club.

### **Lourdes De Leon**

#### ***Subverting asymmetries: Humor and the interactive unfolding of verbal play in (Tzotzil) Mayan children***

In his classical study of Chamula Tzotzil (Mayan) genres, Gossen documented children's improvised games in terms of their structure as transitional to adult genres, and also as "imperfect imitations of adult behaviour" (1977: 92). Among Mayan studies on children's language, this study is one of the few that looks at children's use of verbal genres in a Mayan language. However, very little is known of how genres unfold in peer interaction and how they express children's own everyday culture.

In this paper, I explore the interactive unfolding of Mayan children verbal play as an activity reflecting the peer's group everyday construction of culture. I first look at how a Chol group of peers negotiate identities and subvert age hierarchies through metalinguistic play. I also look at how a brother and a sister negotiate within and without a play frame asymmetries related to gender and age difference. I later analyze how two Tzotzil speaking toddlers transform conventional dialogic repetition into language play breaking rules of politeness of the typical Tzotzil question-answer structure where the main verb of the question is repeated in the reply of the interlocutor. Here the children manipulate the repetition structure into a game where they incorporate their blind grandfather as a peer playfully turning the polite question-answer format into a humorous language drill. Other forms of play based on the use of a basic structure with word substitutions in greetings are part of siblings humorous interchanges and also emerge in situated interaction. My point is to show that register, genres, and conventional structures are negotiated in interaction and emerge as part of the peer group culture making.

The study is part of a larger two decade ethnographic and linguistic research in the Tzotzil hamlet of Nabenchauk, Zinacantan, Chiapas, Mexico. Research in the Chol area is part of a pilot study of children's language socialization in this Mayan language.

### **Francisco Ruiz De Mendoza Ibañez & Olga Diez Velasco**

#### ***The cognitive dimension of interpretive meaning***

Within the context of the relevance-theoretic analysis of interpretive meaning and the explicature/implicature division, Carston (1997, 2002) has made a distinction between broadening (e.g. "My job is a jail", 'a routine job, which restricts my freedom or creativity, which I'd like to be able to quit, etc.') and narrowing (e.g. "Sam doesn't drink", 'drink alcohol') of linguistically coded concepts. In our view, broadening and loosening are two cover terms for a number of more specific cognitive operations involving loose uses of language (metaphor, metonymy, hyperbole, etc.), in the case of broadening, and parametrization of generic values, in the case of narrowing. This situation calls for greater specificity with respect to the kinds of operation involved. In this connection, we argue that, underlying explicated representational patterns, there are at least the following kinds of additional cognitive operation: (i) correlation (cf. Grady 1999) and contrast, which are usually associated with



the interpretation of metaphorical expressions (compare "Prices are going up", where we correlate quantity with height, with "My lawyer is a shark", where we interpret the lawyer's behavior in terms of a shark's attributed behavior); (ii) domain expansion and reduction, which are converse metonymic operations (in the case of expansion, the metonymic source is a subdomain of the target; in the case of reduction, the target is a subdomain of the source: cf. Ruiz de Mendoza, 2000; Ruiz de Mendoza & Diez, 2002); (iii) strengthening (as described by Sperber & Wilson, 1995, in examples like "It will take some time" meaning 'it will take a long time') and mitigation (e.g. "This suitcase weighs tons!" may be mitigated into 'This suitcase weighs a lot' with the added contextual effect that this bothers the speaker); (iv) counterfactual reasoning, which may be considered a subcase of mitigation in cases of impossible events (e.g. "If John were a lion, he would meow like a little kitten" is a counterfactual in which the apodosis makes use of hyperbole). Implicated representations, on the other hand, are exclusively obtained on the basis of metonymic expansion operations which exploit either high-level or low-level situational cognitive models. In this view, traditional implicature-derivation is explained in cognitive terms as a domain expansion operation on a low-level situational model, while implicit illocutionary meaning would be a matter of an expansion operation on (more abstract) high-level situational models. For example, in the specific situation where John is very fond of Westerns, John's utterance "I saw a Western yesterday" would implicate the idea that John enjoyed the film. The explicated meaning representation derived from this utterance would provide a point of access to a whole situational model. The expression "I'm thirsty" used as an indirect request would be the result of providing access to a more abstract cost-benefit model according to which if it is manifest to A that a particular state of affairs is not beneficial to B, and if A has the capacity to change that state of affairs, then A should do so.

## **Walter De Mulder**

### ***Towards a husserlian analysis of demonstrative determiners***

Himmelmann (1996) and Diessel (2003) distinguish four use types for demonstratives:

- exophoric (or situational) use: e.g. "Give me that book!"
- anaphoric use: e.g. "The Yukon lay a mile wide and hidden under three feet of ice. On top of this ice were as many feet of snow." (Jack London, *To build a fire*, cited by Diessel 2003: 11)
- discourse deictic use: e.g. "Then he goes off ... and that's the end of that story ..." (Pear Stories, cited by Himmelmann 1996: 24)
- recognitional use: e.g. "Because next thing you know, he's picking up his coffee and his New Yorker and he's coming over to me doing that little raised eyebrow thing to ask if he can join me ..." (Carolyn Steele Agosta, *After the wink*, cited by Diessel 2003: 13)

The aim of this talk is to show that these different uses of demonstratives can be analyzed starting from Edmund Husserl's theory of demonstratives.

In his "Logical Investigations", Husserl defends two theses about "essentially occasional expressions" such as demonstratives:

1. Like proper names, these expressions identify their referent "directly", "as that which it 'itself' is", and not "in the attributive way, as the bearer of these or those properties" ("Logical Investigations" VI, § 5).
2. Their general semantic function, which Husserl describes as their pointing function or "indicating meaning", should be distinguished from their full meaning in context, which he calls the "indicated meaning". These ideas may seem comparable with recent direct reference theories, which hold that the referent of the demonstrative, and not its linguistic meaning, is part of what is said (the expressed proposition). However, in Husserl's view, the full meaning of a demonstrative is best conceived as a mental (intentional) state, which can be described as a "dossier" containing a series of predications that are attributed to the same object (a "determinable X"), so he would not consider the referent to be part of the proposition (cf. Beyer 2000). In our view, moreover, the conception of the full meaning of demonstratives as dynamically constructed mental representations allows a better analysis of their use in discourse than the idea that the referent is part of what is said.

In our talk, we will offer a more detailed comparison of Husserl's analysis with the direct reference theories of Kaplan, Perry and Récanati, and use Husserl's theory of demonstratives as a starting point to analyze the various uses listed above. Recasting the later Husserl's idea that our representations of objects include "horizons" of future possibilities, we will then show that the construction of a referent in discourse is constrained by a general principle of coherence.

## **Mercedes Montes De Oca**

### ***The role of particles in narrative texts***

The aim of this paper is to show how particles or discursive markers have a fundamental role in the cohesion of nahuatl narrative texts, organizing spatial and sequential events.

Nahuatl is a yutoaztec language for which we have textual material from 16th century onwards. In such texts we see that particles not only played a fundamental role in text coherence and cohesion but that there were many more than the ones that exist today in modern dialects. Why did most of them disappear and how does the language cope with this loss?. Is there a pattern for the lexicalization of the ones that have survived. Which are the main textual functions that were preserved by the remaining particles?.

Some of these remaining particles have undergone semantic change and their function is different, for example: *axcan* is a particle that, in what has been known as the classical dialect, had the meaning 'now' instantiating a temporal frame, in central modern dialects the meaning has changed to 'but' with a contrastive value.

In a synchronic and diachronic perspective, the analysis will combine some aspects of the relevance theory with a cognitive approach.

## **Beatriz De Paiva**

### ***Negotiating requests in new contexts: The case of second language pragmatics***

This paper examines the development of pragmatic abilities in a second language by means of a study of requests among learners of Brazilian Portuguese as a second language. The conclusion of the current research is that there is no universal translation of pragmatic abilities from first language settings to second-language contexts and that in consequence theoretical accounts of such abilities need to be examined empirically in local contexts.

For this purpose, this paper will present hitherto unpublished data from a series of empirical studies conducted among learners of Brazilian Portuguese as a second language interacting with native speakers of different social status. Qualitative and quantitative analysis of subject performance in a range of interaction scenarios and across a range of different proficiency levels will be discussed in the light of existing theoretical paradigms whose connections have so far been neglected such as the information-processing accounts of Bialystok and Schmidt. Here, the discussion will draw on concepts such as noticing, analysis and control. In addition, in order to examine the context-dependencies of the development of pragmatic abilities as both complex cognitive and communicative processing, there will be a critical engagement with claims made by Relevance-theoretical accounts of relevance. The aim here is to argue for a theoretical account of the acquisition of second language pragmatics which can shed light on the ways learners develop in displaced contexts.

Findings suggest that as pragmatic abilities develop distinct patterns in pragmatic interactions emerge: 1. contrary to Sperber and Wilson's account, the construction of relevance is not reducible to a reduction in the processing of effort; 2. noticing and cultural transfer can actually constrain the learning of culturally specific pragmatics; 3. learners, regardless of their linguistic abilities, are prepared to negotiate their requests in order to achieve their goals, often requiring enhanced processing effort on the part of the interlocutor. On the other hand, as is well known, native speakers accommodate to non-native speakers in a manner of ways. They will, for example, keep the interaction to a minimum with the least proficient learners. In this way, the 'negotiation of meaning' (Thomas) in pragmatic interactions seems to reflect heightened awareness of cultural context with an accompanying increase in processing effort, noticing and transfer. 'Pragmatic overload' seems to be the price of the learning of pragmatic abilities in culturally specific contexts.

## **Mark De Smedt**

### ***Discourse-based meanings of a lexical item: The case of cultura (culture)***

Certain lexical items are so widely used that they acquire meanings much more elaborate than those that might be found in a dictionary. Many of these meanings are pragmatic in nature and need to be studied in close connection with the discourse contexts in which they occur. This paper aims to describe the meanings of one such lexical item, viz. 'cultura' ('culture'), within a semantically and pragmatically unified corpus of discourses, insofar as the data was gathered during a single event called Week of the Indigenous Migrant's Culture in Mexico City.

The empirical research which is reported here builds on a semantic-pragmatic model of meaning by Castaños (1997). According to this model, linguistic signs involve three levels of mental representation : an abstract semantic core, frames (generalizations of experiences) and data (particularized experiences). These levels interact with three pragmatic dimensions, which are labeled epistemic (concerning the creation and modification of knowledge), deontic (pertaining to norms) and valorative (involving attitudes and emotions). I assume that the levels and dimensions proposed by Castaños will combine into complex meaning patterns when applied to the uses of 'cultura'.

After the meanings of 'cultura' have been described for each separate level and dimension (by means of a variety of syntactic, semantic and discourse markers), several meaning patterns are confirmed. The first pattern shows ambiguity between levels in the epistemic dimension of 'cultura' : whereas the semantic core is delimited on an ethnic basis (e.g. 'cultura indígena'), geographical delimitation criteria (e.g. Mexico City) prevail on a data level. Another type of ambiguity is observed within both the deontic and valorative dimensions, where culture is promoted from a speaker-inclusive perspective, but associated with marginalization from a speaker-external point of view. A third kind of pattern consists of coherent conceptualizations of 'cultura' which can be observed along a range of levels and dimensions, e.g. its belonging to an ethnic group, its marginalization and its being conceived in function of an anonymous norm. Although these patterns may seem fairly abstract, their communicative functions become apparent when they are contextualized through a final series of analyses involving speakers' conscience of the culture concept, their claims in relation to culture and their attitudes towards culture and language.

While speakers' visions on culture are relevant to ethnographic research on indigenous migrants, the description of the concept's epistemic core contributes to lexical semantics by identifying a network of basic meanings, syntagmatic and paradigmatic relations. Most importantly, I hope to show that a multilevel and multidimensional approach is useful and even necessary for analyzing discourse-specific meanings of lexical items such as 'cultura'.

**Elwys De Stefani & Anne-Sylvie Horlacher**

***Interrogative structures in second language acquisition: The interactional resources of definition inquiries in French***

Interrogative structures can be observed with a high frequency in classroom interaction, in particular as for definition inquiries. In spoken French these definition inquiries are mostly expressed through a dislocated syntactic structure, whereas speakers can choose between several morpho-syntactic formats (i.e. there are different ways of constructing left-dislocated or right-dislocated questions). Formulations like *L'enfer qu'est-ce que ça veut dire?*, *Qu'est-ce que c'est l'enfer?*, *C'est quoi ça l'enfer?* are used both by the teacher and the students as resources for structuring discourse. Teachers can employ such questions not only as a means of verifying the students' comprehension of a subject matter, but also to introduce or to reorient a discourse topic, as well as to make the conversation progress. Definition inquiries as used by the teacher convey, thus, a mainly pragmatic purpose, which consists in increasing the level of learners' attention in regard to the ongoing interaction. Phrasing a question as a left-dislocation or a right-dislocation rather than as an "ordinary" VS-question is then an interactionally sensible thing to do, as it signals more clearly what is exhibited as relevant for the ongoing discussion. As for the students, they employ definition inquiries primarily to ask for a lexical unit they lack in L2, or in order to ask for an elucidation of a comprehension problem. By doing so, the question-LD format or the question-RD format is again most frequently chosen.

The aim of our presentation is to show that it is necessary to take into consideration interactional features when analyzing the syntactic structure of questions. Moreover, we will suggest that the dislocated syntax of questions in French definition inquiries can be seen as a grammaticalized structure, which has its origin in spontaneous interaction. Thus, the dislocated format of these questions can be seen not only as a preferential means for the acquisition of new lexical items by the students; in fact, they learn above all the pragmatic effect of dislocated structures.

**Mirjana Dedaic**

***Discursive deconstruction of the wicked stepmother***

This paper examines the discursive identity construction of the stepmother in books purporting to help members of stepfamilies cope with relational and role problems. The self-help books are understood as a form of discursive practice which is constitutive of, and constituted by, particular social realities (cf. Fairclough & Wodak 1997). The most obvious function of these books, written by non-experts who usually base their discussion on personal stepfamily experiences, is to combat a firmly established discourse of the 'wicked stepmother'. Such an image, grounded culturally and socially, is held responsible for the stepmothers' troubled co-existence with their stepchildren.

As I demonstrate in this analysis, the deconstruction of the unwanted stepmother's identity requires establishing one that is preferred. However, the discourse of the self-help books indicates that the creation of a new identity of a stepmother is difficult in both private and public arenas. While the changes in identities of other familial roles seem to be accepted rather quickly (for example, the change of the role of the mother from the unilateral care-taker to the working mother, and from the bread-winner father who has no household duties to the equal partner in the family), changes in role of stepparent lag far behind. The troubled image of the

stepmother contributes to troubled familial relationships which re-create the troubled image, rolling into a vicious discourse circle that perpetuates formulation and formation of negative attitudes. The self-help books that I examined attempt to break the vicious circle by offering three types of discourses: (a) oppositional, that challenge the current image by logical arguments; (b) humorous, that mock that image; and (c) conciliatory, that suggest acceptance and placating behavior.

After a brief discussion about problems implicit to the integration of a stepmother in an emerging family, I examine the discourse of a dozen popular self-help books to (1) determine the strategies for discursive de-construction of the stereotypical image of the stepmother, (2) identify discursive building blocks used to construct a new, positive image, and (3) evaluate resulting success or failure of an image reconstruction. Within the discourse-analytical methodology, I focus on linguistic choices in these manuals, the tone of discussion (serious vs. humorous), and the positioning of the stepmother in real life stories and dialogues.

### **Jeanine Deen**

#### ***Cooperation and conflict in teacher-centered and groupwerk interaction in the multicultural mathematics classroom***

This paper reports on a qualitative research project 'Interaction in a Multicultural Classroom - Processes of Inclusion and Exclusion'. In this project a multidisciplinary approach was chosen to get a better understanding of inclusion and exclusion processes of minority students in Dutch secondary education, and in particular of Moroccan students, who are relatively less successful in their school career. The focus is on mathematics, as this subject (in the internationally influential Dutch concept of 'realistic mathematics') requires an intensive interaction between teacher and students, but also between students themselves. Video and audio recordings of classroom interaction were made in 2 classrooms of 12-14 year old students over a period of several weeks in 2 schools (with 30 to 50% minority students). This paper will report on the part of the project that focused on the interactive learning processes of minority and native Dutch students in groupwork and teacher-centered interaction in one of these classrooms.

The hypothesis was that both cooperation and conflict are necessary to stimulate cognitive growth. Interaction analysis showed ample evidence of both processes in the group work data. When students were focused on the subject matter they produced meaningful and original output on a high cognitive level. However, the group work rarely led to the expected co-construction of knowledge. In addition, social dominance determined whether constructive contributions from students were accepted by the group. In the group work setting, students used daily language when solving mathematical problems, but not so much school or mathematical language, thus not reaching a higher level of abstraction. In the teacher-centered interaction the students took on a more passive and responsive attitude complying with traditional classroom interaction patterns, which rarely involved higher cognitive levels.

### **Alice Deignan**

#### ***Investigating types of figurative language using corpus linguistic data and techniques***

This paper describes the use of corpus data to investigate figurative language, within the theoretical framework of Conceptual Metaphor Theory and recent work on metonymy. It has been argued that many metaphors are grounded in bodily experience; where a bodily experience is used to stand for an emotional one, the mapping could be considered partly metonymic, on the grounds that one aspect of an entity is being used to stand for the whole entity (Kövecses, 2002). Reasoning along these lines has led to the current, widely-held view that metonymy and metaphor overlap and interact with each other. Goossens shows that there are several different ways in which metaphor and metonymy can interact to produce figurative expressions (1990). In this paper, corpus citations are analyzed to examine this view, and ample evidence is found to support it. Some linguistic features of the metaphor-metonymy interaction are described, and it is argued that they can be used to distinguish different points on a metonymy-metaphor cline, and can thus help to refine the categories established using other forms of data analysis.

Several conceptual mappings have been examined in some detail. The linguistic correspondences noted in the conceptual metaphor literature have been analysed using the corpus, together with other semantically related metaphors, metonymies and idioms that were found through corpus techniques such as collocation analysis. It is found that many, but not all of the linguistic metaphors cited in the literature are evidenced in the corpus although with varying degrees of frequency. However, the corpus also provides details about the meaning and use of linguistic metaphors that had not been retrieved using other forms of data, and that can contribute importantly to metaphor theory.

From the perspective of research methodology, the analyses described in this paper demonstrate that the examination of naturally-occurring linguistic data is able to provide evidence which is consistent with the

claims of Conceptual Metaphor Theory. In addition, it is argued that the patterns found in linguistic data constitute tangible and replicable evidence in support of the notion of different types of metaphorical mappings. This suggests that the close examination of language in use can provide informative and detailed clues as to conceptual structure. It is argued that such detailed facts about language would be impossible to obtain by eliciting language from informants, or by interrogating the researcher's language intuitions. Corpus methodology thus has a valuable role to play in future metaphor research.

### **Maria del Saz Rubio & Bruce Fraser** ***Reformulation in English***

Discourse Markers of Reformulation, hereafter RFMs, have been widely investigated in languages such as French (Antos 1982, Gülich and Kotschi 1983, Roulet 1987), Italian (Rossari 1994), and Spanish (Fuentes 1987, Casado 1991, Pons 2001, Briz 1998, Portolés and Zorraquino 1999). In these studies the notion of reformulation is conceived as a discourse relation that facilitates interactive completeness.

In contrast, no concerted effort has been made in English to provide a conceptual definition of the phenomenon of reformulation, nor has any attempt been made to elaborate a taxonomy of the lexical phrases that are included within the category of English reformulators. The only exceptions are a few insightful and scattered comments in some of the contemporary grammars of the English language (Greenbaum 1969, Quirk et al. 1985), as well as semantic classifications of lexical units that serve to establish coherence and cohesion (Halliday and Hasan 1976, van Dijk 1977, Halliday 1985, Mann and Thompson 1987, Sanders et al. 1993).

In this paper, based on del Saz 2003 and Fraser & del Saz 2004, we first provide a conceptual definition of the notion of reformulation, broad enough to embrace the wide range of lexical phrases that display the function of reformulating in English. We then group RFMs into nine classes, depending on (1) the type of reinterpretation of the first segment that takes place with the RFM present, (2) the scope of the reformulation (what aspect of the prior discourse segment is being reformulated), and (3) the way these RFMs markers occur in discourse marker sequences with markers as and, but, or, and so. Our data for the analysis came from both British and American English speakers in both written and oral use, primarily from the British National Corpus, and the first re-release of the American National Corpus. Thus, the data on which we have based our analysis and results have been taken from actual texts with their surrounding contexts, rather than from intuitions of native speakers.

### **Francesca Delogu** ***Presupposition accommodation and discourse coherence***

Recent literature on presuppositions tends to treat them in the framework of dynamic semantics, that is, semantic theories in which the meaning of a sentence is defined in terms of context change. A number of theories following this tendency converge on the claim that presuppositions are examples of the semantics/pragmatics interface. As regards the semantic dimension, presuppositions of a sentence, which are frequently taken to arise as a part of the lexical meaning of some expression used in the sentence, act as pre-conditions to the admissibility of the sentence in a certain context (Heim, On the Projection Problem for Presuppositions, 1983), or to the possibility of interpreting the sentence (Van der Sandt, Presupposition Projection as Anaphora Resolution, 1992). Moreover, presuppositions engage in complex interactions with semantic operators, such as quantifiers and conditionals. The pragmatic dimension lies in the accommodation process, a repair strategy consisting of adding the required presupposition to the context of utterance whenever the presuppositional requirement is not met.

Despite the common approach, these theories don't agree on the notion of presupposition adopted nor on the nature of pragmatic constraints involved in the accommodation process. According to van der Sandt, presuppositions are just anaphors; as anaphoric expressions, they want to be bound to a linguistic antecedent which is either already given or created by accommodation of the presuppositional semantic content into the context of utterance. The "anaphoric" theory combines Kamp's treatment of anaphoric expressions in DRT with pragmatic principles of discourse coherence, or contextual acceptability, governing the accommodation process. Van der Sandt (1992) only discusses consistency and informativeness principles, leaving it open whether further constraints are needed.

Alleged counterexamples to the anaphoric theory comprise compound sentences such as conditionals where the consequent triggers non-entailed presuppositions (Beaver, Presupposition: a Plea for Common Sense, 1999). Discussion of these examples suggests that the theory needs further principles governing accommodation. My aim is therefore that of (1) identifying these principles and (2) discussing how they interact with the accommodation process. Concerning (1), I'll argue that the anaphoric theory might be usefully integrated with Gricean conversational maxims. These are able to guide the interpretation process of texts in which

presuppositions lack anaphoric antecedent, thereby obtaining the preferred interpretation in the absence of particular contextual information. Given that there are multiplex contexts (or levels of representation) in which accommodation can occur, these pragmatic principles interact with accommodation process constraining the choice of the best context of accommodation (point (2)). The resulting process of interpretation might be roughly described as follows: the hearer, on the basis of what is said, is able to avoid global accommodation, i.e. the option by default, whenever the result of accommodation would make the presupposition incoherent with the goals of communication, and the conversational contribution thereby non-cooperative. This kind of analysis not only allows to correctly predict presuppositions of compound sentences such as those discussed by the critics, it has also the advantage of keeping the interpretation process more anchored to linguistic form than it is in rival theories of presupposition.

## **Hanny den Ouden & Carel van Wijk**

### ***Reading aloud narratives: Effects of text structure on prosody***

A text has a structure which can be depicted as a fully connected tree. This representation clarifies the layeredness of the text. It shows that boundaries between adjacent sentences occur on different levels. The highest levels correspond with paragraph boundaries. In written text, a boundary can be typographically marked in relation with its importance, for example, with a subtitle, a blank line, an indentation, a full stop, or a comma. But how to proceed in spoken text? Is prosody going to take over? Three parameters have been given most attention: pausing, pitch range, and speech rate. The general idea is that the higher in text structure the boundary between two sentences, the longer the pause between them, the higher the pitch range of the second sentence, and the faster its speech rate. These hypotheses have been extensively studied for news items (Den Ouden, 2004). Two major results emerge from these studies. First, prosodic parameters behave differently with regard to text structure: pauses are related strongly, pitch range does so but less clearly, and speech rate shows no relation at all. Second, prosody bears some relation to the global design of the structure. Basically news items come in two types: reports which tell a sequence of recent events have a linear organisation, and commentaries which discuss a specific topic have an hierarchical organization. The latter seem to be realized prosodically in a more sophisticated way, especially with respect to pitch range.

To substantiate these conclusions, a replication was done for a different genre. Two types of narratives were used that originally had been designed as stimuli for psycholinguistic experimenting: the linear 'causal chain' type (Omanson, 1982) and the hierarchical 'story grammar' type (Thorndyke, 1977). For both types, two texts were selected. Each of these four texts was read aloud by the same speaker; ten persons participated. This set up enabled to check whether results can be generalized over speakers, or depend also on some proficiency in diction.

Results corroborated those of the earlier studies. Pause duration between two sentences related clearly to the levels of the boundaries in the text structure. This relation was a bit stronger for linear organisations than for hierarchical ones. Only the latter type, however, displayed a systematic relation with pitch range as well. Whereas in linear texts prosodic marking concentrates on chunking, it is used in hierarchical texts for foregrounding as well. Although prosodic realizations of text structure were not equally clear for each individual speaker, everyone behaved essentially the same. Text structure becomes realized in prosody both in news items and narratives.

## **Patrick Dendale**

### ***Responsabilité versus prise en charge: Une étude sur la source énonciative, l'assertion et la vérité dans la théorie de la polyphonie et au-delà***

Dans cette communication nous voudrions examiner dans quelle mesure le lien de responsabilité (énonciative) tel qu'il est défini et utilisé par la ScaPoLine (la théorie scandinave de la polyphonie linguistique) est assimilable à la notion de prise en charge, telle qu'elle est utilisée, de façon extrêmement récurrente, dans diverses théories sémantico-pragmatiques.

Dans la ScaPoLine la notion de responsabilité -- qui est explicitement assimilée à la notion de prise en charge (Nølke, Fløttum & Norén 2004:44) -- est définie en termes de source (X est responsable (uniquement) des points de vue dont il est la source), ceci contrairement aux définitions habituelles de la prise en charge, qui se font en termes de vérité et d'assertion. Les questions auxquelles cette communication veut apporter des éléments de réponse sont :

(A) quelle est la place de la notion de vérité, à côté de celle de source, dans la définition du lien de responsabilité par la ScaPoLine ?

(B) quelle est la place que la ScaPoLine accorde à l'assertion dans sa définition des liens énonciatifs, plus particulièrement les liens de responsabilité et d'accord ?

Pour répondre à ces questions, nous avons fait (1°) une analyse critique des concepts de base de la ScaPoLine et (2°) une mise en parallèle de l'emploi de la notion de responsabilité par la ScaPoLine avec l'emploi de la notion de prise en charge ailleurs en pragmatique.

Cette analyse critique montre, pour la question (A), que la notion de vérité, si elle est absente de la définition de la responsabilité par la Scapoline, n'en est pas moins présente à l'arrière-plan de la théorie. Elle apparaît en effet dans la définition de la notion de point de vue, autre notion théorique de base dans l'axiomatic de la ScaPoLine. Or, si on met maintenant en rapport définition du pdv et définition de la responsabilité -- ce que la ScaPoLine ne fait pas, ou pas explicitement en tout cas -- on se heurte aux rapports complexes entre les liens énonciatifs (externes au pdv) et les jugements de probabilité, de vérité, etc. (internes au pdv), liens complexes qu'il faut d'abord démêler, ce que nous ferons. L'analyse critique montre aussi une étonnante asymétrie dans la ScaPoLine entre la définition du lien de responsabilité et la définition des autres liens énonciatifs (parmi lesquels nous focaliserons surtout sur le lien d'accord).

La mise en parallèle des notions de responsabilité et de prise en charge montrera, pour la question (B), que la notion d'assertion, convoquée presque systématiquement dans la littérature lorsqu'il est question de prise en charge, (1°) est, étrangement, absente du cadre théorique de la ScaPoLine comme élément théorique et (2°) que semble pas être le facteur décisif dans l'identification d'un lien de responsabilité. Cette conclusion pose la ScaPoLine devant le problème de préciser sur la base de quels critères elle déterminera le type de lien énonciatif en jeu.

## **Henri-José Deulofeu & Jeanne-Marie Debaisieux**

### ***Constructions and context: When a construction constructs the context***

The aim of our presentation is to address a particular case of constructions involving context. We claim that there exist constructions which bring in background "contextual" information to maximize the "relevance" of the utterance they are used in. These constructions have, in the domain of speech, the same status as footnotes have in written uses of language. This special status must be accounted for in linguistic theory and in construction grammar, since the pattern is linked to idiosyncratic formal as well as pragmatic properties.

We will focus on a subgroup of these constructions extracted from a corpus of spoken French, which appear as superficially synonymous with prototypical subordinated clauses, introduced by "parce que". ( Debaisieux 2002) :

(1) A alors cette soirée avec le nouvel élu comment ça s'est passé  
(so this evening with your new date how was it ?)

B eh ben on est d'abord allé au cinéma avec Paul [parce qu'i]l s'appelle Paul tu vois  
Well so first we went to the movies with Paul [cos' ]his name is Paul you see  
et puis le restaurant tout bien...  
and then the restaurant everything ok...

This use of "parce que" has neither the properties of subordinating parce que nor even of the parce que / 'cos introducing "supplements" clauses :

(2) Sure John is at the University "cos' "I noticed he dropped his car in the parking

Parce que clause in (1) shares this non-subordinate status, but differs in many respects, for instance it allows strict lexical repetition (see 5 below), which is very awkward in constructs such as (2); it shows a specific prosodic contour (Delormier et Morel, (1986), "lexical marking" of parenthetical status ,has its proper illocutionary force and additional specific semantico-pragmatic properties, such as :

a) its focus is not the truth conditions of the main clause but its "relevance"

b) parce que conveys a procedural meaning: "in order to process the current utterance meaning and to improve its relevance, take into consideration the following specific piece of contextual information I put hereby in salience". (notice the metalinguistic comment below)

(5) le "roi" parce que le "roi" est très aimé en Thaïlande {je crois que j'en ai parlé avant }  
the king because the king is extremely loved in Thailand I think I have mentioned that before  
"le roi" est arrivé[...]... à leur faire comprendre que cette culture était très en dents de scie  
the king has succeeded in making them realize that this culture was somehow unequal

Our hypothesis is that "parce que" constructions in 3 and 5 belong to a special construction, which we will call Context Focussing Construction. This construction inherits its formal properties both from "supplementive" constructions (resistance against all prototypical adjuncts diagnostic tests) and from a general Parenthetical Construction.

A typology of these uses of parce que, introducing Context Focussing Construction based on syntactic contexts as well as pragmatic functions will be presented and contrasted with similar cases of concessive markers (Cooper-Kuhlen 2000).

**Sergio Di Sano & Maria Silvia Barbieri**

***The development of referential communication: Adapting the message to the listener***

The production of effective messages involves both the detection of the distinctive features of the referent and the selection of the features that are relevant to the listener. These different competences are both involved in referential communication ability but generally the first has been more emphasized. Anyway, in natural contexts the construction of a listener model is really at the heart of successful communications. A good message is such if the speaker takes into account the common ground with a specific listener, because it is the integration between the message and the information in the common ground that can make the message more or less effective, redundant, or appropriate.

One aspect of common ground involves the ability of speaker to calculate what he and his listener can mutually perceive (called “physical copresence“, Clark, 1992). So, the speaker should produce a message that integrates with the information that the listener can obtain by perception, and allow him to identify, in such a way, the referent of the message. A possible way to study children’s ability to use common ground in referential communication is to manipulate the common ground that can be calculated in a specific communicative situation. In our task we gave the same set of stimuli to both the speaker and the listener, but while the speaker (child) could both see and touch the stimuli; the listener (experimenter) could only-see or only-touch the stimuli.

To solve the task, children needed at least two competences: (a) the knowledge of the information that can be obtained by a specific perceptual modality; (b) the knowledge of the role of common ground in referential communication. The aim of this study is to investigate the role of both source knowledge and ability to select features from common ground in producing effective messages for referential communication purposes.

Forty 5 and 7 y.o. children participated to the experiment. They were given a perceptual-access comprehension task, based on source knowledge questions, and a referential communication task.

The referential communication task was devised to evaluate the child’s capacity to select the specific information which was appropriate to the perceptual access of the listener. While the speaker could always see and touch the objects and so identify both visual and tactual features; the listener could only either see or touch the objects. Therefore he could identify the referent only if the speaker selected the information that was appropriate to the informative access of his listener.

The results show that 5 y.o. children perform poorly and produce random or biased answers both in the source knowledge and in the referential communication tasks; on the contrary, 7 y. o. children are able to solve both tasks even though at a different degree. Altogether our data indicate that the comprehension of access is a necessary but not sufficient condition for the production of messages that are appropriate to the perceptual access of the listener.

The source knowledge is not enough in our referential communication task because the child needs also to know the role of common ground and to have the ability to use it in effective ways. Therefore, we conclude that the production of appropriate messages involves specific communicative and pragmatic competencies.

**Doris Dippold**

***Pragmatic development and learners projection of identity in disagreement: Patterns in the disagreement strategies of English learners of German***

This paper approaches the study of face and (im)politeness from the perspective of the language learner, whose linguistic choices are constrained by a multitude of factors.

Firstly, language learners have a limited ability to retrieve the “appropriate” linguistic forms, caused by insufficient overall linguistic competence or by gaps in the knowledge of target language “rules” of speaking (Bialystok, 1993).

Secondly, with pragmatics tightly linked to cultural practices and self-identity, learners also have to decide which identity they want to project through their pragmatic messages – an identity linked to the L1 community, an identity linked to the target (L2) community or one which does not conform to either of those (Driscoll, 2001; Beebe & Giles, 1984).

The paper also expands traditional approaches to politeness by taking a perspective that sees politeness not solely as the use of various mitigating devices with the goal of being polite towards other. It takes up criticism of this one-sided view (Chen, 2001) to include politeness towards self through the use of both offensive and defensive “impoliteness acts” (Culpeper, Bousfield & Wichmann, 2003).

The speech act of disagreement is particularly adept to show the dichotomy of orientation towards self-face and other-face. Not only does speakers’ face-orientation change in heated argumentations, when it becomes more important to maintain self-face by showing one has and sticks to a position, accompanied by a change in preference organisation (Kotthoff, 1993). In addition, social bonding in the ‘community of practice’ (Wenger,



1998) of native speakers of German is primarily achieved through explicit negotiation of opinions, while the emphasis in the English CoP is laid on valuing and acknowledging each other's positions (Byrnes, 1986; Kotthoff, 1989; House, 1996).

This makes a study of native English learners' of German disagreement strategies ever more interesting. The study makes inquiries into their acquisition of the formal resources to express disagreement (pragmalinguistic development) and the degree to which their choice of forms conforms to native speakers' usage in the same context (sociopragmatic development). However, it also asks what factors influence and restrict learners' choice of forms, i.e. individual and cultural identity management, influence of the experimental task, restricted knowledge of linguistic forms.

The cross-sectional study is mainly of a quantitative nature, using data gathered through an argumentative conversation task performed by German NS and English NS dyads as well as learner dyads of different proficiency levels. In addition, retrospective interviews will be used to ask learners about their decision-making processes.

The study aims to open up the field of (Interlanguage) Pragmatics to the study of impoliteness and strategies to save/enhance self-face. By identifying more clearly the factors underlying the acquisition of pragmatic competence in a foreign language, it also intends to make a valuable contribution to the refinement of the theoretical frameworks in Interlanguage Pragmatics and to the discussion of the role of pragmatics in language pedagogy.

## **Gurkan Dogan**

### ***Poetic effects triggered by weak explicatures: A relevance-theoretic approach***

The cognitive framework proposed by Relevance Theory (Sperber & Wilson 1986/1995) to account for poetic effects is solely based on the notion of 'weak implicature'. This paper is an attempt to argue against such an account by claiming that poetic vagueness can also pertain to 'weak explicatures'.

Relevance Theory explains utterance interpretation through three successive stages:

Stage 1: The language module handles any linguistic stimulus automatically to yield a range of semantic representations – logical forms – for every sense of the sentence uttered as a result of a decoding process. Contextual information plays no role in this automatic decoding process.

Stage 2: The above mentioned logical forms have to be developed into complete propositions in order to recover the thoughts intended by the speaker. Such a recovery requires both decoding and pragmatic inferencing using contextual information. Disambiguation, reference assignment, enrichment and completion are the inferential sub tasks that the hearer has to accomplish to recover a full proposition. Sperber & Wilson (1986, 1995) call an explicitly communicated assumption an explicature which usually considered to be fully propositional/semantically complete (Carston 2002).

Stage 3: The new information (the fully propositional form mentioned above) is contextualized with the old information (the additional assumptions supplied by the hearer) to yield the implicatures by deduction. Relevance Theory claims that implicatures are indeterminate by nature and there is no cut off point between assumptions backed by the speaker and assumptions derived from the utterance but on the hearer's sole responsibility. Consequently, Relevance Theory comes up with the notion of 'weak implicature' to indicate interpretations distant from the 'authorized meanings'. It is this notion of weak implicature Sperber & Wilson (1986/1995) and Pilkington (2000) think could be useful in accounting for poetic force and connotations in literature.

Subscribing to the above view, the aim of this paper is to argue that the concept of weak communication can easily be extended to explicatures (Doğan 1992, Carston 1997). Poems by Asaf (1982) will be employed where reference assignment, connectivity and enrichment provide relevant data to support my claim.

## **Rosana Dolón**

### ***Private self and institutional self accounting for their working philosophies: When self-promotion coincides with self-exclusion***

Background: My interest lies in the study of what Janks (1997) would term competing discourses: when within a discourse practice the text implicitly and/or explicitly contains signs of the co-existence of two or more competing discourses. This is well illustrated with letters of application, where the self unfolds into a private self and an institutional self, both liable to meet and overlap to some extent, but also prone to clash given the nature of the 'competing' selves: while the expression of the private takes us to the individual, hence to a dynamic self, the institutional is linked to some social order, to a static category. The institutional self engaged in a discourse

practice through the letter of application, shares with the members of the discourse community its recurrent standardized rhetorical features and conventions about appropriacy of form and function of the text type at issue. The institutional self coincides, however, simultaneously with a private self, required to present and project a specific self-image.

The textual construction of letters of application corresponds to a discourse practice where the self stands in a somewhat contradictory position: on the one hand, both the discourse community and the institutional function of the genre impose restrictions on the discourse practice; on the other hand, the individual acts as a private self yet engaged in a marketing activity: she/he has to “sell” her/himself, constructing a promotional and persuasive discourse in an endeavour to present her/himself as the ideal employee. Expected to prove excellence but also modesty (through politeness conventions), self-enhancing and self-effacing strategies are consequently triggered off simultaneously.

**Research aim and hypothesis.** The aim of this paper is to trace the discourse practice of the self, starting from her/his contradictory position referred to above, and explain the choices made on the part of the language user considering the pressures that converge to restrict his/her discourse activity.

I have started from the assumption that the applicants, while engaged in this self-promotional discourse practice, enact self-presentation strategies and project representational choices of social actors that conceal/exclude the social self in favour of an institutional self, projecting a social actor where certain identity and subjectivity traits are excluded and/or deconstructed.

**Method.** This research is based on a corpus of thirty samples of letters of application, all of which written in reply to an advertisement displayed in *The Times* and *The Guardian Educational Supplement* to cover a position as a KS2/KS3 maths teacher. The advertisement explicitly requested a personal statement of the applicants’ working/teaching philosophy. I have centred my research on this precise generic move, understanding that this is where the self is explicitly requested to bring up her/his own social and psychological self-construction.

I have relied on the methodological framework provided both by the field of Critical Discourse Analysis (CDA) (e.g. Fairclough, 1992, 1993, 1995; Janks 1997; VanLeeuwen 1996; Wodak & Ludwig 1999) and Social Psychology (e.g. Billig 2001; Gergen 1994; Giddens 1991; Goffman 1959; Wetherell 2001). From the perspective of Social Psychology I have studied the dynamic enactment of strategies for self-presentation. Falling back on the underlying principles of CDA, I have traced the representational choices of social actors as well as the coherence of self-presentation, starting from the utterance as a representation of patterns of experience; analysing, more specifically, the self’s activities, experiences and situations linguistically encoded through pronominal forms of self-reference, tracing verb phrases and adjectival complementation associated with these.

To prove to what extent the institutional pressures intervene in the relational self-construction, this research was extended to a complementary corpus of twenty samples of discourse practices where teachers already holding a position were asked to refer in writing to their teaching philosophy, whereby the element of persuasion was cancelled.

**Conclusions.** Self-concealment strategies and practices of self-exclusion could be evidenced in the analysis. The applicant proved to know, through the enactment of specific strategic choices of self-presentation, that she/he is aware of acting both as a private and as an institutional self. Interesting is the activation of social perception strategies and the differences in self-coherence construction when acting either with or without the institutional pressure.

## **Daniel Donato**

### ***EthnoModel for (not only) human communication***

The aim of this paper is to present a computational model of the communication process; such that it accounts for observations emerged in the frame of Ethnomethodology (EM) and Conversational Analysis (CA). The paper consists of three parts. First, I will present the main assumption on communication in a broad sense. Secondly, I will show how it is possible to furnish a basic model for communication. Here I consider a highly idealized animal. Thirdly, I will show that it is possible to extend the basic model in order to deal with real communication.

he first part of the paper is an introduction to the basic ideas which are beyond the formalization. By means of some real interaction transcription, I argue for the reasonability of the following:

(1) a communicative action assumes meaning by a set of shared structures that are compatibles with the history of the interaction, the situation, and the beliefs of the participants.

here are two main assumptions of this work

a) The property (1) is fundamental for human communication. (Its violation may compromise the result.)

b) The property (1) is not only related with human communication. It is required even in inter-species communication.

In the second part, I will present a minimum model of the interaction, which accounts for a supposed (idealized) non-smart animal. These animal skills are highly limited. It is even unable to learn or to plan. This part consists of two sections. In the first section, I will show the mathematical model. An implementation is discussed in [1]. This model is a multi-context system, which consists of two sets of contexts <EmotionalSensInput, Games> and two bridge rules <Identification, Action>.

In the second section of this part, I will introduce the topic of basic emotions [4]. Darwin [3] showed that humans and many species of animals seem to have similar emotions. Nowadays, there is a quasi-general agreement on the existence of six innate basic emotions. These emotions seem to be similar in humans and in many other animals. I will point out that by using the non-smart model of interaction, it is possible to sketch a accurate model of a non-smart interacting animal based on these six emotions. In fact, I ran a simulation of the interaction between two soft-animals. Both are based upon this model. The result is a pattern of interactions, which seems similar to what results from real life interspecies interaction.

In the third part I will return to the starting point of the analysis: the recorded interactions. I will point out, if we extend the presented model with two bridge rules, that it is possible to emulate realistic smart communicative behaviors. I will show that it is possible to obtain the smart communication behavior by adding two different bridge rules to the model [2].

Final remark; in the frame of Cognitive Science this model of interaction seems to be coherent with the Cultural Psychology analysis. Despite the general incompatibility of these two fields.

## **Jing Dong**

### ***Teachers' politeness in EFL classrooms: A contrastive investigation of Chinese-native-speaker teachers and English-native-speaker teachers***

Power, efficiency and intimacy set the tone of teachers' politeness. This study aims to examine whether there are differences in linguistic politeness between Chinese-native-speaker teachers and English-native-speaker teachers in EFL classrooms. As there are a great number of differences between Asian culture and Western culture, it is supposed that these two groups of teachers tend to behave differently in the speech acts of control.

Brown and Levinson's face-saving view provides the theoretical framework of this paper. Three levels of directness are incorporated in the model: direct strategies, conventionally indirect strategies and non-conventionally indirect strategies. These strategies are placed on a direct-indirect scale, and the length of the inferential process needed becomes longer as one moves up this scale. Besides the strategies listed above, there are mitigation strategies, subdivided into internal and external modifications, which are also able to soften or intensify the force of speech acts.

The data are collected by recording ten 100-minute oral English classes for sophomore English majors in ten universities in Beijing. Half of the teachers are native speakers of Chinese, and the other half are native speakers of English, say, Americans, to ensure stylistic homogeneity. English is used by all the teachers in class no matter which language is their mother tongue. The audio recordings are transcribed, and the teachers' control acts are identified and coded using Blum-Kulka et al.'s coding scheme. The first category of analysis comprises the classification of control acts according to the level of directness. These speech acts of control are next classified according to the types of mitigation.

The results indicate that (1) the prevailing style of the Chinese teachers' control acts is highly direct; (2) the American teachers' politeness is shown in their use of both mitigated direct strategies and conventionally indirect strategies; and (3) neither the Chinese nor the American teachers often use non-conventionally indirect strategies. The results are further statistically tested and it is revealed that the differences in the degree of directness and mitigation are significant, that is, the Chinese teachers employ more non-mitigated direct strategies and the American teachers employ more mitigated direct strategies and conventionally indirect strategies although the Chinese teachers' direct strategies are also richly mitigated.

The tendency for higher directness on the part of the Chinese teachers is consistent with the ethos of positive politeness orientation found to characterize the Chinese society emphasizing involvement and in-group relations, which is in contrast with the American society placing a higher value on privacy and individuality and thus favoring the negative aspect of face. On the other hand, the unequal power relationship between teachers and learners and the need for efficiency and pragmatic clarity in class always motivate teachers to employ direct strategies more often than indirect strategies, which may also account for the fact that neither the Chinese nor the American teachers frequently use non-conventionally indirect strategies. The findings of this study may offer evidence of marked and distinct cross-cultural differences between the style of Chinese-native-speaker teachers and English-native-speaker teachers in EFL classrooms.

**Aurora Donzelli**

***Indexing authority: Shifting forms of linguistic order and centre-periphery relations within Indonesian political discourse***

A crucial issue within linguistic anthropology concerns the dialectic relation between linguistic ideologies and communicative practices. Drawing on the analysis of linguistic data collected in the Toraja highlands (South Sulawesi, Indonesia) this paper is focused on the intersection between the level of local theories of language and linguistic differentiation and the level of communicative and indexical practices through which specific representations of language and of relations between languages are enacted.

The sociolinguistic context in the Toraja highlands is marked by the combination of Toraja-Indonesian bilingualism with Toraja inner functional differentiation between a daily way of speaking and a high ritual speech. This paper will explore the shaping of the local regimes of language in their making. The analysis of situated metapragmatic discourse as well as concrete interactions is aimed at demonstrating how the hierarchical relations between local and national or standard languages should not be taken as crystallised in stable and permanent configurations. To the contrary the relations between different codes and registers undergo processes of dynamic transformation and thus should be investigated in their pragmatic context of production. Furthermore, it will be described how particular forms of code-switching and genre-switching within the language employed in public and political speeches index different structures of authority and different imagined communities. Finally, the paper will show how local public discourse and situated political interaction constitute important loci for gaining an insight into how local actors elaborate their own position with respect to Indonesian's linguistic authority and to the Indonesian nation-state political centre.

The corpus of linguistic and ethnographic data upon which my analysis is based was collected in Tana Toraja between 2002 and 2003 through participating in official political meetings (rapat), debates, electoral rallies (kampanye) and village councils (kombongan). Audio and video recorded data have been transcribed in loco with the help of local assistants. Both transcribed material as well as video-taped instances of verbal interaction have been submitted to several native speakers (oftentimes the actual performers, but also other Toraja native speakers who did not know anything of the context where the speech had been delivered) in order to elicit their own insights and aesthetic judgements.

**Kathleen Doty & Risto Hiltunen**

***From In their Majest's names to Jurat in Curia: Functions of formulaic discourse in the trial records of Salem, 1692***

The Salem witchcraft documents (Boyer & Nissenbaum 1977) contain a wealth of material of the notorious New England trials of 1692 in the form of a range of different document types representing a variety of genres (e.g. indictments, depositions, examination records, etc.). The documents have multiple origins in terms of the recorders involved. In preparing the documents for the specific legal purposes of the trials the recorders aimed at a text that would be in harmony with the relevant official context in terms of both form and content. One aspect of the objective of putting together an adequate formal text is the use of specific phraseology and formulaic language. The range of such expressions, as well as their usage varies depending on the recorder and his training and background.

The present paper will investigate the function of some frequent phrases and formulas in different genres of the material, including those in Latin. Depending on the context, such expressions may, for example, indicate power relationships between the actants of a particular case, highlight specific speech acts (such as proclaiming), structure the text into recognizably distinct sections, and, in varying degrees, indicate familiarity with the conventions of the legal language of the time, besides attempting to fulfil the requirements of an official text.

**Bettina Dresemann**

***Functions of (receptive) multilingualism in ELF business discourses***

English is not only an important second and foreign language (see e.g. Brutt-Griffler 2002), but is arguably the most important lingua franca in the world. Its spread and development have been discussed from various points of view (see e.g. Knapp/Meierkord 2002, Meierkord 1998, 2003, Seidlhofer 2001), yet mainly as used in social rather than in professional and business encounters. However, its use in professional contexts differs from the use in other, mainly private, encounters (see Dresemann 2004). Especially in the European Union with its numerous national languages, English as a Lingua Franca (ELF) is probably the most important form of language use in business communication.

Although a large number of such encounters are carried out mainly in English, they are not “monolingual” in the strict sense, but other languages influence the process of communication in different ways. Mainly “receptive multilingualism” is not always obvious in intercultural communication, yet it can be an essential form of language use when linguistic resources are limited.

Consequently, the receptive and productive use of other languages influences the discourse – as code-switching, interferences, and in other forms – on different levels, intended or unintended by the speaker. They can cause misunderstandings as well as enable communication, e.g. when used in forms that deviate from standard usage. In addition, they can fulfil social and strategic purposes, such as forming in-groups or carrying out “side-discourses”.

Some forms and effects of receptive and productive multilingualism and their use in intercultural business discourse will be discussed in this paper. The examples are taken from a corpus of business negotiations recorded at a trade fair, showing representatives from Germany, Norway and France making use of different forms of ‘inter-language’ and ‘cross-language’ communication in encounters carried out in ELF. With the help of the examples I will demonstrate that language use is partly determined by different speaker intentions, and partly by conscious and unconscious linguistic knowledge. Furthermore, I will discuss the effects of receptive (and productive) multilingualism on intercultural communication, especially on ELF communication, and raise the question whether the terms “code-switching” and “interferences” are sufficient to describe all forms of language use in ELF communication.

## **Paul Drew**

### ***Requesting assistance in emergency calls***

Calls to emergency help lines - this paper considers two such help lines, out-of-hours calls to the doctor, and emergency telephone calls to the police - are generally understood to be requests for assistance. Callers are widely regarded as seeking assistance, in the form of a visit by the doctor to the home of a sick patient, or through police attendance at the scene of some incident. In either case, assistance is sought to deal with (and possibly remedy) some trouble. Despite the understanding that callers are requesting assistance, it appears in the data for this study that callers make very few overt requests. That is, they generally do not ask the call taker whether they would visit the patient (if a doctor) or send a police car over.

Preliminary investigation of the data (a corpus of out-of hours calls to a British GP; and emergency calls to the police, in Britain, and in the US) suggests that callers use various indirect forms to request assistance, and that they avoid overt request forms. Using the sequential approach and methods of Conversation Analysis, this paper will explore:

- The practices through which callers design turns to request indirectly, especially accounts (for requesting)
- The sequential environments in which callers do make overt requests.
- What syntactic forms they use to do so (ie. overtly request), and how those forms are fitted to the sequential environments in which requests are made.
- The practices for responding to both implicit/indirect and overt forms of requests, in call takers’ responses to requests for assistance.

It is hoped that this research will make three kinds of contribution: first, to our understanding of indirection in talk-in-interaction (indirect speech acts), and specifically of the practices through which indirection is managed; second, to the literature on the syntax of request forms; and third, to the emerging interest in the relation between grammar and interaction - here, how sequential position or environment is related to syntactic form. It will also, I hope, contribute to our understanding of how the work of help lines gets done, and of the contingencies which callers and call takers alike manage in calling for assistance, and in granting, or withholding, that assistance.

## **Patricia Duff, Duanduan Li & Emy Nakamura**

### ***Multilingual participation in foreign language classrooms: Voice, agency, and language functions***

Research conducted on the use of students’ first vs. second (or third) languages in foreign language (FL) classrooms in the early 1990s (e.g., Duff & Polio, 1990; Polio & Duff, 1994) suggested that students deserve and require maximal, high-quality exposure to the target language in class in order to learn it optimally but that in many classrooms the FL is underutilized. In the meantime, other studies adopting a Vygotskian theoretical perspective, have suggested that the first language (L1) can serve an important potential scaffolding role in FL classrooms (e.g., Anton & DiCamilla, 1998; Kobayashi, 2004; Swain & Lapkin, 2000; Storch & Wigglesworth, 2003). Other sociocultural researchers might suggest that to deny students the use of their L1 in class would be

to deny them not only their linguistic and cognitive resources but also aspects of their individual and collective identities (e.g., Pavlenko & Lantolf, 2000). Researchers have argued that trying to socialize students into L2-only use in classrooms is unnatural, unrealistic, and unhelpful to particular types of learners, and when trying to discuss particular topics for which students may lack the requisite L2 resources (e.g., culture, grammar). In this presentation, we outline some of the debates and issues connected with this topic, contrasting psycholinguistic/cognitive, sociocultural, and sociolinguistic accounts of language use in classroom language teaching—framed here in terms of participation structures, voice, agency, and language functions. We then outline recent studies by the presenters that have addressed this issue in Mandarin, Japanese, and other university language courses. The studies take into account observed patterns of language choice as well as teachers' and students' perspectives on the co-existence and use of multiple languages in their courses. We also discuss new "non-traditional" communities of practice in which, for example, Chinese-L1 students predominate in Japanese courses (with English as L2), or when heritage language learners are studying a language that is not easily classified as their L1 vs. L2 and effortless code-switching is part of their hybrid identities. Finally, we will note the applicability of language socialization perspectives to FL classroom learning, highlighting the issue of heteroglossia as a case in point (Bakhtin, 1981; Pujolar, 2000).

**Domnita Dumitrescu**

### ***Qué tipo de estrategias de cortesía realizan las interrogativas-eco?***

Numerosos investigadores del lenguaje oral han sido fascinados por una de sus más típicas características, a saber la constante presencia de repeticiones de tipo léxico, y han ofrecido variadas interpretaciones de sus funciones discursivas (Tannen 1989, Johnstone 1994, etc.). En cuanto al español, uno de los primeros en destacar la frecuencia inhabitualmente alta con que se da la repetición en la interacción dialogal ha sido Beinhauer (1958/1985), quien llama este fenómeno “perfecto encadenamiento entre habla y réplica”.

Haverkate 1994, también observa que en este idioma “la repetición léxica se da con tanta regularidad que no sería desacertado calificarlo como una especie de lengua eco” (212). Dentro del conocido marco de la Teoría de la Cortesía de Brown y Levinson (1978/1987), Haverkate llega a la conclusión de que la repetición léxica es fundamentalmente una estrategia para transmitir cortesía positiva – puesto que “la conformidad refuerza la imagen egocéntrica del interlocutor” (211). Sin embargo, este autor también hace notar que “el hablante puede valerse de la repetición altocéntrica incluso para manifestar descortesía; en ese caso, la reduplicación de las palabras del otro, que busca ponerle en ridículo, produce un efecto sarcástico” (213-14). La relación entre alo-repetición y descortesía es un tema relativamente poco explorado todavía, a pesar de las valiosas contribuciones de Camacho 2003 (quien se basa en Stati 1982) y sobre todo Bernal 2003, dentro del marco teórico de EDICE.

Ahora bien: todas las consideraciones anteriores, y los estudios sobre repetición léxica en general, se centran casi exclusivamente en repeticiones realizadas en forma de aserción. La cuestión que me propongo explorar en este trabajo es qué tipo de estrategia – desde el punto de vista de la teoría de la cortesía– realizan las repeticiones en forma interrogativa de las palabras del interlocutor, o sea el tipo de interrogaciones que en trabajos anteriores he llamado eco (cf. Dumitrescu 1993, 1996, 1998), así como las exclamativas eco en el sentido de herrero 1995. Para ello, me valgo de datos proporcionados por varios corpus de español hablado publicados en los últimos veinticinco años, la mayoría de ellos dentro del Proyecto de la Norma Culta de las Grandes Ciudades Hispánicas, pero también el proyecto Val.Es.Co y otros proyectos más actuales.

La conclusión del análisis es que en la mayoría de los casos, las interrogativas y las exclamativas eco (especialmente las encabezadas por partículas citativas, como que o cómo que) representan estrategias de descortesía, en la medida en que ponen en tela de juicio o atacan claramente la credibilidad del interlocutor, o la oportunidad de su intervención en la interacción, haciéndole en ambos casos “perder la cara”, o sea lastimando su imagen positiva y cumpliendo una función desafiliativa, en el sentido de Bravo (1999, 2001, 2003). Ello no excluye la alternativa –aparentemente menos frecuente, sin embargo – de una función afiliativa en el caso de las preguntas eco que simplemente representan manifestaciones de interés u ofrecen al interlocutor la posibilidad de “salvar la cara” al auto-corregirse o de “reparar” la comunicación momentáneamente perturbada por un malentendido.

**Anna Duszak & Grzegorz Kowalski**

### ***Renegotiation of academic face: Evolution of student-teacher relations in Polish academic settings***

Teaching environment has been traditionally divided into those who teach and those who are taught. Globally approved and implemented, this system settles a clearly delimited boundary between the teacher and the student. It has been recognized worldwide that the student and the teacher have different communicative statuses, which

is a natural corollary of the fact that their relationship is hierarchical. Although the traditionally established roles of the teacher and the student are invariably valid in modern teaching settings, it is sometimes the case that the inviolable boundary is threatened outright. Such situations occur repeatedly in Polish academic environment. Indeed, in recent years the status of Polish academic teacher has been frequently challenged.

The aim of the present paper is twofold: firstly, it attempts to determine the concept of academic face; secondly, it explores student-teacher interactions in post-communist academic settings in Poland. The results of the research will demonstrate changes in academic politeness and academic interaction routines.

The conception of academic face presented in the paper draws upon the general concept of face (Brown and Levinson 1987, Politeness...), although references are made to other theories, including Goffman's (1959) theory of self-presentation, social identity theory and social categorization theory. In addition, Ivanič's (1998) work on discursive construction of identity in academic writing is considered to be relevant to the issue of academic face discussed in the present paper.

Determining the concept of academic face is a precondition for the analysis of how teacher's public image is renegotiated in modern Polish academic settings. The research of real data allows us to reveal the possible areas of communication in which the academic face is challenged. The scope of investigation includes forms of address, use of relevant academic honorifics, phatic signals of entering into and closing an act of communication as well as transaction-related speech acts like requesting and 'bargaining'. The project accommodates an evaluative part, which includes the following analytical tools: simulation discourse completion tests based on the real-life material obtained in the research, questionnaires and interviews. Selected teacher – student interactions are evaluated by academic teachers and students of Warsaw University.

### **Derek Edwards & Elizabeth Stokoe**

#### ***God helps those who help themselves: Self-help as a topic in calls to neighbour mediation centres***

We analyze telephone calls to UK centres that provide mediation services for disputing neighbours. These are not calls to specialized 'helplines' but, rather, calls that may result in arrangements for mediators to visit neighbours and facilitate talk-based problem solutions. Nevertheless, the calls themselves typically deal in some detail with problems and explore how mediation may be able to help. One general theme, relevant to any request for help, is whether, and how, a client may already have tried to resolve the problem themselves. Having tried and failed to do so may arise as part of the initial problem definition, and is relevant to what the service may be able to offer. In the cases examined here, however, it appears that no such efforts have been made. We focus on how and when the topic of prior efforts at self-help arise, at what interactional juncture, in the service of what kinds of interactional business, and how they are dealt with.

Typically, in cases where it is left to the mediator (M) to ask about prior efforts at self help, there is a recognizable sequential order of business. M's enquiry follows an extended initial problem description by the client (C), and takes the form of an open-ended interrogative addressed to the activity of 'talking' to the problem neighbours. Clients orient to the question, not merely as seeking additional information on that point, but as an accountable matter. They display accountability by various kinds of 'dispreference' marking ('well'-prefacing, delays, etc.), and by the provision of accounts, with orientations to the normatively prerequisite nature of any such efforts, when asking for help. Accounts provide for various kinds of inability, difficulty, strong probability of failure, or reasons to be fearful of the consequences. It is generally at this point, following a client's self-help inability account, that M provides a description of what the mediation service can and can not offer.

The status of prior efforts at self-help, rather than featuring as a logical 'felicity condition' of requesting help from others, is produced and analyzed as a normatively oriented-to and occasioned interactional matter. The ways in which participants deal with it manage a range of interactional business, including: the severity and possible tractability of the problem; its appropriateness for mediation; potential problems in arranging help provision; and the relevance of alternative avenues such as legal procedures or police intervention. One particular feature of these mediation calls is that efforts at self-help may mirror what the service itself provides, which is an opportunity to talk with the neighbours. This contrasts with what other kinds of help services may provide, such as technical information, police action or medical intervention. Accounts for the failure or absence of self-help, in requests for help, therefore provide bases for identifying both generic and setting-specific features of help calls.

### **Susan Ehrlich**

#### ***Inferring sexual consent: The role of culturally-biased background assumptions***

Using a Gricean approach to utterance interpretation and conversational implicature, in this paper I provide a pragmatic account of the defence of 'implied consent' as it is manifest in a recent Canadian sexual assault judicial decision (*Her Majesty the Queen v. Ewanchuk*, 1995). In particular, I consider the kinds of inferences or implicatures that would need to be drawn in order for an interlocutor to reasonably infer sexual consent --given that this judicial ruling considered consent in this case to be 'implied' -- and the kinds of shared and readily accessible cultural assumptions that such inferences would necessarily rely upon.

The case involved an alleged sexual assault that took place during an ostensible job interview in the accused's van. In direct testimony, the complainant asserted that she submitted to coerced sex with the accused out of fear that her resistance would result in more extreme and prolonged instances of violence. The trial judge acknowledged that the complainant was a credible witness and that her fear was 'very real for her.' However, the judge also commented in his ruling that she 'did not communicate to A [the accused] by words, gestures or facial expressions that she was 'frozen' by a fear of force.' On the basis of this 'lack of communication', the judge ultimately acquitted the accused, arguing that the complainant 'implied consent.' This decision, I argue, elucidates the culturally-biased nature of the shared and mutually-accessible knowledge that interlocutors (are understood to) rely upon in drawing inferences. That is, in ruling that a woman who is 'frozen by a fear of force' implies sexual consent, the judge is relying upon culturally-biased assumptions regarding women's lack of agency and passivity in the course of 'normal' sex.

## **Aviad Eilam**

### ***Universal concessive conditionals in modern Hebrew***

One of the most intriguing instances in which straightforward semantic compositionality fails to account for the meaning conveyed by an utterance is that referred to in the literature as expletive negation. In this case, a conventionally encoded negative marker is not interpreted as such, but rather serves some other discourse function.

The numerous manifestations of this phenomenon across languages have received extensive treatment in formal approaches, which explain its effect in terms of various syntactic or semantic stipulations (e.g., Brown 1999). It has also garnered some attention in functional circles, culminating in attempts to examine diachronic motivations for its quirky synchronic status (for example, Bordería and Schwenter 2003).

Adopting the latter perspective, the following paper will constitute a first effort to tackle the occurrence of expletive negation in Modern Hebrew (MH). Specifically, I will look into its appearance in constructions labeled universal concessive conditionals (UCC), demonstrated in (1):

(1) "le'an še-lo tifne, rak hefsedim ve-hefsedim!"

"Wherever you turn to, only losses and losses!"

(Levin, H. 1999. *Maxazot 10 - Aškava Ve-axerim*: p. 192)

In general, these constructions are characterized by the inherently concessive relation holding between a set of antecedent clauses, known as protases, and a single consequent clause, the apodosis. The protasis is also distinct in the universal quantification found therein, realized through various means in different languages. In English we find the –ever morpheme connected to an interrogative pronoun, whereas MH displays an interrogative pronoun, the subordinator *še*, and in many cases, but not necessarily, the negative marker *lo*.

In this paper, I will attempt to trace the historical origins of the MH construction, submitting a putative trajectory of grammaticalization based on proposals put forward by Haspelmath and König (1998), while also acknowledging the possibility that it is in fact a calque in MH, borrowed from Russian and/or Yiddish. Along the developmental path, I will note interrogative and exclamative stages which eventually led to the construction employed today, as well as survey a number of forms which seem to be offshoots of this construction.

In the end, I hope to provide substantiation for perspectives which view the dynamic nature of human discourse as a potential source of language change. By using corpus data and theoretical argumentation, such perspectives may grant us insight into phenomena which seem to constitute linguistic puzzles in synchronic terms.

## **Els Elffers**

### ***Wittgenstein and pragmatics***

The philosophy of the later Ludwig Wittgenstein is often mentioned as one of the foundations upon which pragmatics has been developed. Thoughts about the precise links between Wittgenstein's work and pragmatics, however, differ widely. At least three types of link are suggested in recent literature:

1) Wittgenstein's "meaning is use" theory and his concept 'language game' are direct sources of the pragmatic study of speech acts. This view is defended in, for example, Nerlich and Clarke (1996)

2) Wittgenstein's "meaning is use" theory is a main source of a general pragmatic and functionalist view of meaning. This view is defended in, for example Keller (1995).



3) Wittgenstein's "meaning is use" theory and his private language argument, are sources of a non-mechanistic, pragmatic meta-view of meaning and cognition. This view is defended in, for example, McDonough (1989).

The three views differ in their level of abstraction. According to (1), Wittgenstein's work prepares a pragmatic analysis of those elements and aspects of language in which meaning is not referential but discourse-related. According to (2), Wittgenstein's views yield arguments in the discussion about meaning in general: representationism vs. pragmatism/functionalism. Wittgenstein is regarded as a theorist of the latter type. According to (3), Wittgenstein's view of meaning determines the type of theory to which theories of meaning belong: mechanism vs. holism/pragmatism.

In my lecture I will defend the view that (3) is the adequate level of abstraction at which Wittgenstein's views have to be regarded. If taken seriously, these views have far-reaching consequences for the whole area of cognition (including its relations to neurology) and semantics (including pragmatics).

(1) and (2) are largely based upon misunderstandings. As to (1), Wittgenstein's "pragmatic" analyses of sentences concern more than pragmatic meaning alone. Their main tenet is what is called "philosophical behaviorism", the anti-dualistic view that "mental" predicates do not refer to a separate realm of mental entities (Ryle's "ghost in the machine"), but to behaviour. This view equally applies to referential and pragmatic aspects of language.

As to (2), the issue itself is beset with problems. I will argue that if a pragmatist or functionalist approach is attributed to all types of meaning, the opposition with representationism loses its significance. This type of pragmatism turns out to be too general to make any difference for questions about semantic description. Its alleged Wittgensteinian character is doubtful.

Of course, my analysis does not deny the actual influence Wittgenstein's view have exerted on the development of ideas of the types (1) and (2). Austin's frequent remark "Let's see what Wittgenstein has to say about that" is only one example of this, not conceptual but historical, aspect of the issue.

## **Sofie Emmertsen**

### ***Confrontation as broadcast news***

This paper concerns confrontation in the British broadcast debate interview. The debate interview is an emerging form of news interview, developing out of the traditional news interview in which investigation and interrogation are the most central features of the talk between one interviewer and one interviewee. The debate interview presents the viewers with a confrontation between two opponents whose positions and views are pre-allocated and introduced to the setting as mutually contrary. The debate interviewers' task is to elicit the polarisation of the interviewees' positions and to mediate the confrontation when it turns from the traditional question-answer based talk into a direct, unmitigated confrontation between the opponents.

The paper presents findings from a conversation analysis of the construction of interviewees' talk as unmediated confrontation. Through an examination of 1) the sequential position and 2) the lexical form of interviewees' rebuttals, the analysis attempts to explore how confrontation breaks off from the question-answer based interview talk, how it is escalated and how it is abandoned. The turn-taking organisation of talk-as-confrontation is compared to, on one hand, the organisation of talk-as-news-interview, and on the other hand, that of ordinary conversation, both relayed through recent conversation analytic studies.

## **Orie Endo**

### ***The construction of Japanese women's language: A historical perspective***

This paper traces the development of an ideology of linguistic femininity from the 8th to the late 19th centuries, with particular attention to the distinction between a first-order set of metapragmatic constraints on women's speech (e.g., speak gently, be polite, etc.) and the particular set of linguistic forms held to embody these qualities as they vary through time. Data are drawn from early classic texts, supplemented in later periods by instruction books and popular novels.

The earliest records--conversations between women and men found in *Kojiki* (712 A.D.), Japan's oldest literary work--reveal no sex differences. However, by the 10th century differences begin to emerge. For example, Murasaki Shikibu notes some differences in her famous *Genji Monogatari* (circa 1010), largely centered around literacy training practices, wherein women were taught to use hiragana, a simple syllabary, and men kanji, complex Sino-Japanese characters. Expressions of politeness appear in *Genji* but they were oriented toward rank rather than sex differences.

After the bushi 'warrior' class came to power in the 13th century, women's position declined, exacerbated by the popularization and spread of Buddhist philosophies having negative views on women. This decline in women's social position was accompanied by a proliferation of constraints on women's speech. Books of instructions included such admonitions as "Don't laugh with your mouth wide open", "Don't make

jokes”, and “Speak softly”. Upper-class women were also told to use more honorifics in their spoken language than men. As this paper will demonstrate, it is here that many of the first-order metapragmatic admonitions that regiment women’s speaking practices today came into being.

Nyoobookotoba ‘court women’s language’, an argot used among the women working at the Imperial Court, appears in the 14th century. It consisted of special words for foods, personal belongings, and everyday activities, created by numerous word formation processes, including: 1) the addition of polite prefix *o-* to nouns (e.g. *ohiya* ‘water’); 2) clipping plus the addition of *moji* or *mono* to nouns (e.g. *sumoji* ‘sushi’); 3) abbreviations (*matsu* for *matsutake* ‘mushroom’); 4) reduplication (*akaaka* ‘bright’); and 5) metaphoric extensions of everyday words (e.g. *murasaki* ‘purple’ for ‘soy sauce’). The paper will discuss the reasons for the emergence of these linguistic forms and delineate their linkages to the metapragmatic constraints to be elegant, refined, and indirect. It will also trace the transformation of this exclusive, in-group style of elite women into the “feminine” style of the nobility, samurai society, and finally, the affluent merchant class as the norm for women of good family. Commoner women in the Edo Period were not constrained by this norm, and the free, open speech they exchanged is vividly depicted in the novels (*ninjoobon*) of the time.

In sum, the ideology of feminine speech gradually took shape in the spread of education in Meiji Japan, although it was not necessarily disseminated to all segments of society. Further, it continues to affect the prescription of women’s speech through universal education in modern Japan, as illustrated by the use of *nyooboo kotoba* as exemplary of ideal linguistic femininity.

## Robert Englebretson

### *From relative clauses to nominal: On the discourse-pragmatics of yang constructions in colloquial Indonesian*

This paper provides a discourse-based study of the forms and functions of phrases introduced by the morpheme *yang* in colloquial Indonesian. Through a corpus-based analysis of *yang* constructions in nearly four hours of colloquial Indonesian conversational discourse, I demonstrate that these constructions comprise a formal continuum from full relative clauses on one end, to nominal phrases on the other—and *yang* constructions across the continuum fulfill a broad range of pragmatic functions. Taken together, these observations support the view that in the case of this particular construction in this language variety, the distinction between clauses and lower-level syntactic phrases is neither discrete nor pragmatically motivated.

*Yang* has generally been analyzed as a relative clause marker (cf. Alwi et al. 1993, Sneddon 1996, inter alia), as in example (1) below.

(1) *yang* as relativizer (Pencuri 2832-2833)

Bagi orang yang nggak bawa duit, tidak terpengaruh.  
for people REL NEG bring money NEG NONVOL-influence  
“As for people who aren’t carrying money, they aren’t influenced.”

Based on the close analysis of the 739 tokens of *yang* constructions in the corpus, I demonstrate that this morpheme in fact introduces a variety of material: a formal continuum ranging from full-fledged transitive relative clauses on one end (as in the previous example), intransitive relative clauses, adpositional phrases, numbers, nouns, and, on the other end of the continuum, even determiners as in the following example.

(2) *yang* preceding a determiner (Pencuri 3819)

Enak yang itu.  
delicious REL DEM  
“That one is delicious.”

The pragmatic functions of the 739 *yang* constructions in the corpus are likewise diverse, including (among others) referent characterization, referent identification, and the co-constructed negotiation of reference in the context of social interaction.

I argue, however, that for *yang* constructions in the Indonesian corpus, the mapping between syntactic form and pragmatic function is not isomorphic. In other words, it is not the case that the *yang* constructions which are relative clauses have one pragmatic function, while those which consist of *yang* followed by a determiner have a different pragmatic function. Statistically, the range of pragmatic functions of *yang* constructions is distributed across the continuum of syntactic form. As noted by Cumming (2000), this raises interesting questions of terminology from a typological perspective, as *yang* constructions fail on several counts to be characterized either as relative clauses or as nominals (see also Simin 1988.)

I argue that the thorough discourse-based analysis of *yang* constructions provided in this paper highlights the necessity to understand categories of grammar as continuous, nondiscrete, and polyfunctional. Analyzing the pragmatic functions of this construction necessitates an eclectic methodological approach, drawing on the research traditions of corpus linguistics, functional syntax, and Conversation Analysis.

## **Frances Erlich**

### ***Creating proximity or distance with the hearer: A pragmatic goal in Venezuelan political discourse***

This investigation aims to present evidence of verbal strategies that signal Venezuelan President Hugo Chávez' intended purpose of maintaining proximity with part of the audience as an important aspect of the overall rhetorical organization upon which his broadcast weekly program 'Aló, Presidente' is built. Chávez' oral productions in this specific speech situation are analyzed in order to identify interactive mechanisms and topics that favor this particular pragmatic goal as well as the linguistic resources deployed and the strategic functions that are accomplished.

The data is characterized and organized in such a way as to allow the investigator to reach relevant conclusions based on the insight that is provided from previous research in the increasingly expanding field of Venezuelan political discourse analysis and from direct observation of discursive events in this particular context. The research yields evidence of how the speaker attempts to bolster his relationship with part of his hearers by simultaneously creating two effects: on the one hand, one of intimacy or solidarity both with his appointed officers and sympathizers, that include the long-forgotten lower class, and on the other hand, one of exclusion or depreciation of his detractors. The results of the research lead me to conclude that the identified linguistic marks or strategic choices employed in the context under discussion play an important role in shaping political reality and, more crucially in the case at hand, in impeding the concretion of democratic ideals by favoring a polarized public debate.

## **Elena Escalera**

### ***Plurifunctionality in children's use of discourse markers***

This study examines age differences in the use of seven plurifunctional words, discourse markers with more than one discourse function. According to Ervin-Tripp's three hypothesis model 1) early and initial uses of these forms have functions that serve social interaction, 2) a given form is at first used only in a single context, and 3) as a form acquires different functions, it comes to take on a meaning that refers back to that context. This cross-sectional study highlights evidence that children in the three-year-old group demonstrated significantly greater use of plurifunctional forms for social interactional functions, while children in the five-year-old group used more ideational functions than the younger children. A form-by-form analysis shows age differences in the number of contexts in which each plurifunctional is used, with the five-year-olds using each form in a greater number of conversational activities.

## **Julio Escamilla**

### ***El uso del humor y las palabras de grueso calibre como soporte conversacional en la ciudad de Barranquilla (Colombia)***

Tal como lo hemos planteado en otro trabajo, "los procesos conversacionales en Barranquilla se basan en un ritual propio, acorde con la idiosincrasia de su gente y caracterizado por la informalidad, la destinación abierta, las interpelaciones cargadas de una marcada afectividad positiva y por la recurrencia de los enunciados que buscan la distensión de la relación de fuerza subyacente en la interacción" (Escamilla et al., 2004). En consonancia con lo anterior, en esta ponencia damos cuenta del uso reiterado que los barranquilleros -fieles a su condición de caribeños-, hacen del humor y de las palabras de "grueso calibre" (palabras obscenas, vulgares, groseras). De manera concreta describimos las intenciones y actitudes discursivas asumidas por diferentes participantes de algunas interacciones grabadas en contextos familiares, laborales, académicos, recreacionales y deportivos, entre otros, lo mismo que los efectos perlocutivos que se desprenden de dichas actitudes. A la luz del análisis realizado hemos comprobado que para los barranquilleros, la conversación es una actividad eminentemente lúdica, cargada de humor, aun en aquellos casos que los hablantes de otras regiones colombianas consideran serios o trascendentales. Ese humor es expresado frecuentemente por medio de la "mamadera de gallo" o tomadura de pelo, la alusión a personajes, eventos y situaciones de la vida diaria, los juegos de palabras y la ironía. También hemos comprobado que para la mayoría de los barranquilleros no existen situaciones tabúes que los obliguen al uso de eufemismos, pues casi todo el mundo emplea tales palabras en muy diversas situaciones sin sentir ningún pudor. Esta actitud conversacional de los barranquilleros sirve para corroborar que el concepto de palabras de "grueso calibre" es "una noción puramente social" utilizada por una élite para juzgar el comportamiento discursivo de los otros (Guiraud, 1976), tal cual lo hacen los habitantes de la región andina de Colombia cuando califican de vulgar u ordinaria el habla caribeña. Sirve también para mostrar cómo los hablantes de una lengua desestiman y hasta convierten en inoperante cualquier tipo de censura lingüística (Bourdieu, 2001).

Los fundamentos teóricos de este trabajo comprenden, además de los autores antes mencionado, la concepción semiolingüística del discurso defendida por Charaudeau (1983 y 1992), la descripción del “aparato formal de la enunciación” (Benveniste, 1982), la caracterización de los actos de habla de Austin (1982) y Searle (1986), la teoría de las formas de “trasgresión lingüística” (Huston, 2002) y la identificación de “las actitudes discursivas del hombre costeño” (Escamilla, 1998).

## **Ricardo Etxepare**

### ***Quotative constructions and the representation of speech eventualities in Spanish***

Main clauses in Iberian Spanish can be headed by an overt complementizer:

- (1) a. Oye el Madrid ha ganado la Champions  
       hey, the Real Madrid has won the Champions  
       b. Oye, que el Real Madrid ha ganado la Champions  
       hey that the Real Madrid has won the Champions

The apparent optionality of the complementizer masks an important difference: whereas (1a) constitutes a (speaker) assertion that Real Madrid won the Champions, (1b) contributes the additional meaning that someone else said that Real Madrid won the Champions, such that the speaker's utterance of (1b) constitutes a report of what has been said (Coulmas, 1986). Now consider (2):

- (2) a. Si viene tu madre, el tabaco es tuyo  
       if comes your mother, the tobacco is yours  
       b. Si viene tu madre, que el tabaco es tuyo  
       if comes your mother, that the tobacco is yours

Imagine the following situation: two teenagers are secretly smoking in a room. Fearing that his mother could show up and find out, one of them says (2a). By saying that, the speaker asks the other person to act as if the tobacco was his or hers. By saying (2b) the speaker asks more than that: he/she asks the other person to say that the tobacco is his/hers. This is not, strictly speaking, reported speech. Both (1b) and (2b) can be accounted for together under the hypothesis that matrix complementizers are associated to an underlying speech eventuality. This speech eventuality can be referred to (Etxepare, 04), and modified by VP adverbs(3):

- (3) Si viene mi madre, \*(que) el tabaco es tuyo, y educadamente/rápidamente  
       if comes my mother, that the tobacco is yours, and politely/rapidly

"If my mother comes, (you say) that the tobacco is yours, and (you say it) politely/rapidly"

It can also be quantified over (4). Not all quantifiers can quantify over speech eventualities, however: only the universal one can.

- (4) Siempre/\*Nunca/\*aveces/\*rara vez/\*a menudo que el Madrid es el mejor. Basta ya!  
       Always/noone/sometimes/rarely/often that the Madrid is the best Enough!

"Always/Never/often/sometimes/rarely (this saying) that Madrid is the best. Enough!"

Krifka (2001, 2003) has independently argued that speech act operators, which he claims are present in the semantic representation of utterances, undergo identical restrictions. The underlying speech eventuality in quotative constructions (QCs) may syntactically project event participants, as in (6).

- (3) Tu padre que cuándo vienes

Your father that when you-come

"Your father is saying "when are you coming?"

These constructions thus show a mixture of verbal and operator-like properties which make them similar to Ross's old Performative Verbs (1970). Unlike PVs, however, QCs do not represent the ongoing speech event, avoiding the unwellcome consequences of the performative hypothesis (e.g. Levinson, 1983). This paper shows that underlying QCs in Spanish, there is a tacit verb of speech, and considers several syntactic, semantic and pragmatic restrictions which apply to it.

## **Ann-Carita Evaldsson**

### ***Accounting for friendship: Blame-accounts in preadolescent girls' talk about relational troubles***

This paper addresses the links between morality, gender and talk-in-interaction (Bergmann, 1998; Goodwin 2002) by examining how a group of preadolescent girls' talk about relational troubles. The peer group includes five 11 years old girls, with low-income and multi-ethnic backgrounds (Kurdish-Finish, Finish-Swedish, Bosnian, Romy and Swedish). The girls were recorded (50h audio and 5h video) as part of a fieldwork in a multiethnic elementary in Sweden (Evaldsson, 2004). Commonly the girls' talk about relational troubles comes after some form of violation and is as a site for the giving of accounts. Particular analytical attention is directed toward the sequential organization of the blame-accounts and how girls within the same peer group are

portrayed and positioned through that talk. The approach taken ties directly to the ethnomethodological concern for members' understanding of social categories (MCA) and conversation analytic (CA) examination of talk-in-interaction. This line of reasoning addresses the importance of capturing the situated character of accounts in talk-in-interaction, and the multiple meanings actions have for the participants themselves in particular contexts (Antaki, 1994; Buttny, 1993). As will be shown, negative descriptions of others' relational troubles and enactments of others' talk ("when you two do not get along then you come like this (. . .) "She did this and she did that" only because you [want us to take sides]") provide warrants for allocating blame and responsibility. The relational descriptions offer opportunities for more elaborated animations of the activities of other girls and to establish links between the target of offence and some negative person descriptors ('you're unfair', you two always fight', etc). After the first girl presents her version of 'what the problem is', the girl being cast as target responds with a denial and an account, calling into question the stance taken as well as the competence of the girl who produced the talk. The allocation of blame makes not only a denial and an account conditionally relevant but shapes the participation in distinctive ways. The girls, who initiate the telling of relational troubles, insisting on and displaying alignments to a particular version, position themselves as superior while subordinating the interest of others. By accounting for problematic social conduct those girls as well construct the boundaries of what is considered to constitute acceptable friendship behaviours. The norms-in-being displayed in the girls' blame-accounts bring moral dimensions of power, social differentiation, (in)justice and exclusion into focus. Overall the analysis demonstrates that blame-accounts form an important role in girls' production of, and innovation in, feminine moral orders.

### **Michael Ewing**

#### ***Negotiated grammar: Distributed cognition in the context of language shift in Eastern Indonesia***

In this study, a domain of contested cultural knowledge and authority is accessed through contested grammatical forms. Grammatical knowledge is an example of distributed cognition, in which cognitive phenomena are distributed among individuals and interaction becomes a crucial analytical element. This is especially pronounced during language shift, where receding knowledge of the indigenous language is differentially retained and where there is rapid emergence of new grammatical forms.

Allang village on Ambon island, Maluku, Eastern Indonesia, is presently experiencing the culmination of a century-long process of shift from the regional language, Allang, to dominant varieties of Malay/Indonesian, with a concomitant cultural re-orientation. I analyse an audio recording of an interaction in which two elderly holders of cultural tradition work with each other, and with me as documenting linguist, to produce a text presenting the history of the community in the Allang language. I look at the diverse grammatical constructions produced by the two speakers, including possessives, clauses structure, clause combining and discourse structure. Some of these structures reference older forms in the language while others are forms emerging in the context of language and cultural shift. I show how negotiation between these two community elders over grammatical forms run parallel to and interact with negotiations which assert, contest and establish their identities and relative status as holders of local cultural knowledge.

The episode analysed begins as each of the elders stakes his claim in a different aspect of cultural knowledge, one linguistic, the other historical. Through the course of the interaction, they become more assertive in their presentation of knowledge and presentation of self. In the study, I identify movements in stance as the two elders contest the presentation of this knowledge with each other and I link these to shifts in linguistic expression used in building the text. Conflicting claims about historical content and linguistic form are eventually reconciled by the elders, who then move to present a united front to the 'outside' world as represented by myself as fieldworker. Collaborative work building toward a common goal, such as that illustrated in this episode, is a valued style of interaction in Allang society, where it is explicitly named with the Malay phrase *saling mengisi* 'to filling each other['s gaps]'.

As linguistic knowledge recedes and individual shares in that knowledge become more disparate, there is potential for grammatical conflict. In the Allang interaction analysed here, what we see instead is work towards grammatical collaboration, grounded in a local cultural discourse which explicitly values presentation of self as the contributor of one's unique expertise to the larger whole. Grammar is one component in a range of interlocking social and cognitive expertises that are distributed through members of the community. Emergent grammar is contestable and becomes part of the work of (re)claiming social and cultural identity.

### **Lars Fant**

#### ***Dialogue perspectives on modalisation: Data from focus discussions and interviews in Spanish***

In data drawn from focus discussions and semi-structured interviews performed in Spanish, the interactants are frequently found to produce opinions, assessments and categorisations that are strengthened or weakened in various ways. These strengthening and weakening activities, which appear to take place at several planes of dialogue simultaneously, can be 'semantically' interpreted as instances of modalisation with various sets of operators at work. From a dialogical and communicative-needs perspective, modalisation, far from being functionally confined to the 'packing' of e.g. knowledge (epistemic modality) or necessity (deontic modality), could arguably be given a minimalistic definition as an encompassing strategy related to quantity and degree. Four types of modalisation markers are highlighted which are seen to correspond to four different types of communicate needs: (1) expressions that qualify the attribution and extension of categorisations; (2) expressions that qualify the trustworthiness of categorising, evaluating or argumentative utterances; (3) expressions related to the degree of shared knowledge; (4) expressions related to formulation accuracy. These four types of needs, although seemingly intertwined, pertain to four different dialogue planes, viz. sentence meaning, illocutionary force, interaction management and own-speech management. It will be shown, however, that the modalisation markers are highly multifunctional, not only with regard to their paradigmatic meaning but also in their current contexts, leaving room for alternative interpretations and, thereby, for meaning negotiation.

### **Alessandra Fasulo & Cristina Zucchermaglio**

#### ***Working narratives: Time frame, activity and participation***

Narratives are central means to the life of groups for their capacity of both circulating local knowledge and creating social cohesion. Stories pass round past events, moral perspectives, and exemplary myths, but also gather audiences and involve listeners in different kinds of participation (Bauman, 1986; Bruner, 2002; Ochs e Capps, 2001; Sacks, 1992).

Both the knowledge and the social aspect are vital for the functioning of work organizations. In the present study we draw on former work (Fasulo, Zucchermaglio 2004 and in press) where two types of narrative - "rewind" and "fiction" - were identified in different work settings: the first type is oriented to level up gaps in a member's knowledge by going over past events, the second type help to create scenarios for developing projects.

The study presented here, based on a collection from a wide range of workplace corpora, analyses how the structural features of these narratives, particularly of their launch and delivery, exploit local resources for meaning (spatial, kinesic, artefactual) and provide for a differentiated participation framework, where individual access to the past or future or the organization can be displayed. Both types of narratives are discussed as for their relationship with different ongoing activities.

As for narratives of past events, Labov (1997; 2001) argues that the more reportable a fact (i.e. disruptive, unusual, etc.), the more tellers have to go back in a causal chain until getting to the conditions which make that fact plausible. Goodwin (1982) and Lerner (1997) show that reporting or exhibiting troubles allows listeners which are involved in the events to take part in the story, becoming co-tellers. The initial part of the story, Lerner argues, is a relevant place for the attribution of the roles, and for potential narrative consociates to stand for their rights. By exploiting this general properties of narrative, stories in the workplace appear to draw significantly on the capacity of trouble in first position to recruit participation and co-drafting, and of unexplained occurrences to call for their antecedents, so that, for example, a narrative can be launched by uninformed participants to open a discourse space where missing knowledge can be handed in by co-workers. Narratives in mundane settings also show enactment of possible worlds, especially in the form of idealized versions of future action (Goodwin 1982). The use of narrative to create scenarios for exploring courses of events has been noted in the psychotherapeutic setting as well (Fasulo 1997). In organizations, planning activity of varying time span is continuously taking place, often assisted by fiction narratives where spaces, identities and procedures can be tested. These structures also allow for different participation patterns, covering a range that goes from more normative and instructive 'if-then' stories imparted by one teller to wide open sessions where groups appear engaged in the collaborative drafting of organizational future action.

### **Kristy Beers Fägersten**

#### ***Swearing and the discursive construction of identity of young adults***

Research on swearing has traditionally focussed on swear words as single units, for example, in terms of definition, offensiveness, syntactic roles, or semantic categories. In the present study, spontaneous swearing utterances were recorded in naturally occurring social settings, in an attempt to observe the social conditions conducive to swear word usage. Data collected from a university speech community suggest an important role of swearing in the identity construction of young adults. It is hypothesized that their use of swear words

functions as an element of the discursive construction of identity of self, while the non-use of swear words can be understood as a construction of the identity of other.

The data of over 500 swearing utterances, 60 questionnaires and 11 interviews were collected within a university speech community. The spontaneous swearing utterances reveal clear tendencies among the subjects to use swear words with interlocutors who are most like themselves in terms of age, race and gender. Among the student (young adult) sample population, the use of swear words functions to identify the speaker (self) as similar to the hearer, thus establishing or confirming group solidarity. As interlocutor similarities decrease, however, so do the swearing utterances. For example, the data showed a decrease in swear word usage when interlocutors were of different gender and a further decrease among interlocutors of different race. The fewest occurrences of swearing, however, were among interlocutors of different age. In fact, the questionnaire and interview data revealed age of the hearer to be the most influential variable in determining the speaker's likelihood to swear. The data indicate that, for young adults, to refrain from swearing is a way of actively constructing (or imposing) the identity of other, thus establishing or confirming social distance. Swearing is regarded as a proprietary linguistic marker of identity, which itself is bound to generation. Within this student/young adult speech community, the use of swear words both with and by younger or older interlocutors is deemed as inappropriate. Generation is therefore an important variable in identity construction, as it can award or restrict linguistic freedom.

## **Milan Ferencik**

### ***Exercising politeness: Social categorization in radio phone-ins***

Since its inception in the early 1990s, the Noèné dialógy ('Night Dialogues') radio phone-in programme in Slovakia has been an important catalyst of the processes of democratic transition from a totalitarian to democratic society. The format of live public participation allows listeners to directly air their opinions on current issues of the public life and discuss them with invited guests. Throughout the past decade the unedited lay participation in the construction of public discourse has provided an unprecedented opportunity for the growth of responsible and opinionated citizenry.

The paper seeks to demonstrate that, first, over the course of interaction in the phone-in events, participants display orientation to various aspects of their co-participants' identities, second, since membership categories emerge and are developed at various sequentially relevant times, the membership categorization processes are closely tied with the event's sequential organization, and, third, categorization bears on politeness aspects of interaction as the participation in the public 'arena' causes participants' faces to be constantly at stake.

The methodological underpinnings of the paper are represented by the ethnomethodological approaches of Membership Categorization Analysis and Politeness theory based on the conceptualization of face. The data are drawn from the corpus of Noèné dialógy radio phone-ins broadcast on the Slovak public radio over the period of 1995-2004.

It appears that participants are engaged in category work which sequentially unfolds in the course of phone-in production. Participants' progressive involvement in talk is closely linked with the construction of layers of their categorial identities. Some of these categories (location, gender) represent the minimum agreed-upon canon of call-relevant identities. As they are universally applicable, they have the least face threatening potential, for which reason they are used explicitly. In contrast, strategies of non-explicit categorization, i.e. invoking categories through category-relevant predicates or features, apply to topic-relevant categories carrying a significant face-threatening 'load' (e.g. family status, political affiliation). In summary, sequential organization and category work are seen as closely intertwined with the latter also being employed as a positive and negative politeness strategy.

## **Silvia Fernandes & Alessandra Del Ré**

### ***The role of verbal interactions in the construction of cognitive practices***

In the realm of language acquisition, besides discourse and pragmatic competence, there is the interactive activity where the child, the receiver and the actor of the utterance, is required to experience a certain amount of cognitive elaboration to apprehend the communicative and pragmatic meanings. Cognitive practices are understood to be a set of procedures that make up reference, i.e. different dimensions of both sense construction and discourse unit interplay. Accordingly, the analysis focuses on the diversity of ways of "making sense", the discourse movements and the inherent dynamics of the utterance act. Besides, the analysis includes context relations that are an integral part of the social-cognitive process by means of which children construct their answers and explanations and plan their thinking (Perret-Clermont et al.).

The working hypothesis, thus, is that cognitive practices are easily established in interactive contexts that are essentially characterized by opinion divergences or by the opposition between the speech act actors; a

situation where there is a "common" object of interest and the development of different points of view. If studies as those focus on the role language plays in the development of cognitive practices, it is crucial to tackle how conversational activities are likely to contribute to the acquisition of certain aspects of linguistic knowledge. The linking between conversational events and the emergence of a new cognitive practice may mean the subject's impressive effort of reorganization of and coordination between conversational contents.

Furthermore, by admitting that the explanatory/justifying act is an interactive phenomenon, this paper stresses the need for identifying the explanatory/justifying practices (EJP), and for observing the interactive situation where the child's action and verbalization occur. Concretely, this paper examines a 20-30 month-old Brazilian child's speech and explanatory/justifying attempts in the context of the child's parents' verbal interactions. An explanatory discourse does not occur in isolation, i.e. decontextualized and divorced from other discourses, from the situation that determines it and where its effects are manifest. (Borel) By the same token, if cognitive procedures are inherent in the development of the child's perceptive and reflexive competence, the study of EJP in children's language may uncover its outstanding features and contribute to a better understanding of language construction by children. The interpretation of linguistic facts of a discourse in a specific context (parent-child relations) may not only uncover the overwhelming heterogeneity of that type of linguistic manifestation but contribute to a better understanding of language.

**Gisella Ferraresi**

***The role of pragmatic and syntactic context in the historical development of German modal particles***

The role of context in a pragmatic phenomenon such as German modal particles has often been debated. However, with most authors it is not at all clear which kind of contexts they refer to. Particles are indisputably realized in the syntax, which also interacts with semantics. The question arises how to distinguish between the different levels. How does the context -both pragmatic and syntactic - influence the interpretation of particles such as *schon*, *doch* or *wohl*, which are considered polysemous between an adverbial and a modal-particle reading?

Historically, the radius of action of most of such elements has changed from the domain 'clause' to the domain 'discourse' in their function as modal particles.

In this talk, special attention will be paid to the concept of context. In particular, I will show exemplarily by means of a corpus-based investigation ranging from Old/Middle High German to contemporary German that the presupposition induced by such elements in stylistically marked structures has been interpreted as an implicature that involves contrast. In this process the informational structure of the sentence plays a decisive role.

**Gaelle Ferre**

***Dramatic intensity in spontaneous narratives***

In a conversation with two participants, one can easily distinguish between sequences (of a monological vs dialogal type), but also between several genres (explanations, narratives, projects, and so on). In this paper, we intend to analyze conversational narratives. Our approach consists in analyzing discourse content together with intonation and gestures produced by the speakers as has been done by McNeill (1992 and more recent work) and Bouvet & Morel (2002) among many others.

S. Ervin-Tripp & A. Küntay (1997), after Labov & Waletzky (1967), defined a narrative as a sequence of past events told by a protagonist of these events (or another person to whom the events have been reported). While studying our own corpus, a video recording between two young British girls speaking freely together for half an hour, we met a certain number of sequences that did correspond to the description. Leaving aside sequences of a dialogal type, as well as sequences that introduce reported speech, we kept around 10 narratives of variable length. All of these have the same inner structure: after a short introduction, called background, the tension of the narrative is then increasing, leading to the climax which is immediately followed by the anti-climax (in a conversation, the anti-climax usually is either a positive or a negative appraisal of the event reported — see Trabasso & Özyürek 1997). The following example illustrates the different components of the narrative:

NARRATIVE

there was a bus to Rennes uh at about seven o'clock in the morning and one that arrived back around seven o'clock in the evening so you couldn't like just rely on that cause you'd have to spending like entirely the whole day there (h) it was just awful

NARRATIVE PARTS

Background



there was a bus to Rennes uh at about seven o'clock in the morning and one that arrived back around seven o'clock in the evening

Increasing intensity

so you couldn't like just rely on that

Climax

CAUSE YOU'D HAVE TO SPENDING LIKE ENTIRELY THE WHOLE DAY THERE

Anti-climax (negative appraisal)

it was just awful

This description of a narrative, given as well in Chafe (1997) corresponds in fact to the description of literary texts and we will show that it has some intonational and gestural reality as well. The climax, which corresponds to the most important information of the narrative semantically speaking, is regularly uttered with a louder voice and a slower rate of speech. The climax is also produced with more gestures than the rest of the narrative. At a lexical level, the climax contains quite a few intensifiers, but these are used even more in the anti-climax (appraisal). This anti-climax, contrary to the climax is uttered with a decreasing melody and voice intensity. It is also regularly followed by laughter in which way the speakers acknowledge the end of a sequential unit.

We will conclude that it is then possible to determine narrative sequences in a conversation and that these are very precisely structured around their central part: the climax. This climax being usually accompanied by specific prosodic and gestural marking we can guess that some speakers will tend to be more expressive than others (see Zellner-Keller 2003) and that poor story tellers would be speakers who would not be able to make a clear distinction between the different dramatic intensity phases of a narrative.

## **Anita Fetzer**

### ***If I may say so: Indexing appropriateness in dialogue***

The goal of this paper is to examine those environments in which a contribution is assigned the status of not such as is required (Grice 1975). The contexts are categorized with regard to the questions of where the inappropriateness is manifest, what constitutive part of the contribution is assigned the status of being inappropriate, who refers to the inappropriateness and how the inappropriateness is realized linguistically.

The theoretical framework, in which the questions are examined is informed by Habermas's theory of communicative action (Habermas 1987), the Gricean cooperative principle (Grice 1975), and Sbisà's research on speech acts (Sbisà 2002). In natural-language communication coparticipants negotiate the validity of their communicative contributions which comprises their truth, sincerity and appropriateness. A contribution's truth is captured by its truth conditions, a contribution's sincerity is captured by one of its felicity conditions and a contribution's appropriateness is captured by its appropriateness conditions. Appropriateness conditions are anchored to the interpersonal, interactional and textual presuppositions of a contribution, and their values are interdependent on a genre's contextual constraints and requirements of which the contribution is a constitutive part (Fetzer 2004). While the speech-act-theoretic concept of felicity and the semantic concept of truth hold for the domain of an individual contribution, the dialogic concept of appropriateness goes beyond the domain of a contribution by anchoring the contribution to local and global contexts. Thus, appropriateness and its operationalization in the framework of appropriateness conditions is a relational construct which feeds on an individual contribution and on the contribution's connectedness with the macro category of genre and the genre's embeddedness in social and sociocultural contexts. Sbisà's stance that the satisfaction of a contribution's felicity is assumed by default is adopted to the appropriateness of a contribution which is also assumed by default. As a consequence of that, appropriateness conditions are assigned a presuppositional status in dialogue and are generally not made explicit. Against this background, a reference to a contribution's appropriateness conditions signifies that the appropriateness of its interpersonal, interactional and textual presuppositions or of the contextual constraints and requirements of the genre is at stake.

In the data examined, which comprise media discourse (dyadic political interviews) and ordinary face-to-face interactions (BNC), references to the appropriateness conditions indexing the micro domain tend to intensify the force of a contribution, and references to the appropriateness conditions indexing the macro domain tend to function as a regulative device.

## **César Félix-Brasdefer**

### ***The negotiation of face in a hierarchical politeness system among Mexicans and Americans***

Recently, the notion of politeness à la Brown and Levinson (1987) has been the focus of much criticism regarding the universality of politeness across cultures and the distinction between polite behavior and face-

work (Eelen, 2001; Watts, 2003). This study examines the selection of pragmalinguistic information during the negotiation of face among forty university-level male native speakers of Spanish (N = 20) and English (N= 20) during three refusal interactions in a hierarchical politeness system (Scollon & Scollon, 2001) (+Power, +Distance): a refusal to an invitation, a refusal to a request, and a refusal to a suggestion. In order to control the variables of distance and power and to compare the negotiation of face in both countries, data were collected in Mexico and the United States using open-ended role plays. The 120 interactions were analyzed according to face-saving strategies including direct and indirect strategies, and positive politeness strategies. Further, face-saving strategies were examined according to head acts and supportive moves (Blum-Kulka, House, & Kasper, 1989). Descriptive and inferential (t-tests) statistics were used to analyze the data. Results showed significant differences in the use of pragmalinguistic strategies by the groups, with the Spanish group using a significantly higher number of strategies than the English group. Higher levels of linguistic politeness were observed in the Spanish group who engaged in longer interactions in order to show respect and to save the interlocutor's positive face. Significant differences were also obtained in the use of supportive moves, with the Spanish group using a significantly higher number of these strategies than the English group. In particular, the Mexicans used a significantly higher number of supportive moves than the Americans to end the negotiation politely by means of indirectness, in addition to various instances of mitigation. As a discourse strategy, mitigation was strategically used by both groups to attenuate the illocutionary force of the refusal, to promote negotiation, to save both the speaker's and the hearer's positive face, and to produce a distancing and polite effect between the interlocutors. Mitigation was more pronounced in the Spanish data. Finally, based on the empirical results, the notion of face is analyzed in both societies according to the concepts of independence and involvement (Scollon & Scollon, 2001). Further, the notions of power and social distance (Fairclough, 1989; Lakoff, 1990) are examined and contrasted in both societies.

## **Grace Fielder**

### ***Adversative connectives in Bulgarian: Conjunctions or discourse markers***

This paper examines the Bulgarian adversative connectives *no* and *ama* (which roughly translate as English 'but') because of their multifunctional properties, namely that they may function as conjunctions or as discourse markers. As adversative conjunctions, *ama* and *no* are defined almost identically in the Bulgarian Academy of Sciences Dictionary, that is, they function to conjoin, compare or contrast clauses, with the only difference that *ama* is attributed to the colloquial register. Additionally, there is second lexical entry for *ama* as a particle with several functions: to intensify and express either a reaction (by implication the foregoing discourse), either positive (delight, surprise, amazement) or negative (dissatisfaction, irritation, anger). This second *ama* clearly falls under the category of a discourse marker as "textual coordinates of talk that bracket units of it" (Schiffrin 1987:31).

There are several questions that need to be answered. The first is how to account for the use of *no* versus *ama* in a given context. Is it indeed simply a difference in register, or are there other factors at work? Examples are taken both from written and spoken language, as well as narrative and non-narrative, in order to more clearly delineate the variety of factors that correlate with *no* versus *ama*. I show that the distinction between the two connectives goes beyond that of register and invokes cultural presuppositions. Moreover, the choice of one versus the other has specific pragmatic effects such as participant alignment, attitudinal positioning. In order to account adequately for the data, then, a distinction between semantic, discourse, and procedural functions is made. The second question is how to distinguish between the adversative connective used as a conjunction as opposed to a discourse marker. Georgakopoulou and Goutsos 1998 argue that textual position is an important criterion in making this distinction, such that initial position correlates with the discourse marker function of a connective. What the data reveal is that *no*, generally considered in grammars to have only a conjunction function, and should therefore be expected to occur in medial position, frequently occurs in initial position and, in fact, exhibits several properties characteristic of discourse markers.

## **Max Figueroa Esteva**

### ***Diffusion of responsibility in Mexican Spanish***

Mexican media provide a rich inventory of lexico-grammatical resources for the diffusion of responsibility and/or the agent. Based on a corpus of Mexican newspaper items, the present paper approaches the question paying particular attention to some of the strategies and tactics put to work by the speaker/writer in order to diffuse, or diffusely assign, responsibilities for the alleged facts presented, as well as for the defocalisation of an agent. According to the author's interpretation, these tendencies transcend modern Mexican Spanish, since they can be observed as well in newspapers, radio and TV programs of several other Spanish-speaking countries.

However, it appears also useful to take into account the Mexican sociocultural background in order to arrive at a deeper understanding of such phenomena.

### **Laurent Filliettaz**

#### ***Time, rhythm and contextualization: A praxeological approach to time in discourse analysis***

Amongst the various issues that have caught linguists' attention, the problem of contextualization has long been a key element in contemporary approaches to discourse. Not only has it been central in various disciplinary subfields concerned with the description of actual language use, but it has incontestably contributed to stress epistemological and methodological boundaries among different paradigms such as for instance CA, CDA, interactional sociolinguistics, etc.

Modular Discourse Analysis (Filliettaz & Roulet, 2002) clearly contributes to address the question of contextualization and to describe the complex links relating semiotic forms with situated social practices. It does so in at least three ways :

1. By locating discourse realities at the meeting point between linguistic, textual and situational units of analysis, Modular Discourse Analysis (MoDA) acknowledges the idea that discourse is best conceived as a social practice, and that the concept of action should play a central role in the definition of social contexts (see Filliettaz, 2002).

2. By adopting a multimodal approach to discourse realities (see Filliettaz, 2004a), MoDA stresses the importance of non-verbal conducts, and contributes to describing the various ways in which language may be linked to situated action.

3. By exploring how discourse is deeply constrained by the rhythmic properties of social actions, MoDA sees the concept of time as a key element in analyzing context.

In my contribution to this panel, I would like to underline the usefulness of a modular approach for the analysis of action and discourse in work-related settings (see Filliettaz, 2004b). More specifically, I will focus on the problems of relations between action, gesture, discourse and rhythm in order to show how contextualization is best conceived both as a pre-constructed entity and as a moment-by-moment achievement.

The data I will be working on is drawn from two-weeks of field-work conducted in September 2002 in a factory producing IV infusion devices for medical care. It mainly consists in video-taped work sessions, during which highly expert workers are engaged in various tasks related to the production of IV solutions and biologically inert plastic containers. A close examination of some extracts will enable to raise and address the following issues :

- How do workers coordinate their engagements and frame their participation in a highly complex and layered action setting?

- What are the contributions of discourse processes and other semiotic forms (gestures, body movements, etc.) to the moment-by-moment regulation of a "multifocused" social scene?

- How do workers cope with the multiple and in some ways antagonistic rhythmic patterns that shape their situated actions in a highly technical and constrained environment : the rhythm of a production line ; the rhythm of work ; the rhythm of decision making, etc.

In doing so, I wish to argue for the necessity of a multimodal approach for addressing the questions mentioned above and foreground the methodological insights of a modular framework for carrying a multimodal analysis of this kind.

### **Rosalie Finlayson & Sarah Slabbert**

#### ***I understand what you mean: Communicating local government services in a developing country***

Customer care and protection in government services in South Africa are inherent in the human rights ideology that underpins the Constitution. In its description of the objectives of local government, implicit reference is made to customer care and protection. The implicit customer focus has been expanded in eight Batho Pele (People First) principles that aim to transform public service delivery. The underlying message is that there should be full, accurate information in consulting citizens about the level and quality of the public services they receive.

Local government legislation and policy, including Water Services, give their own interpretations of both the Constitutional obligations and the Batho Pele principles. For example, the vision of the Water Services' Strategic Framework is that "water supply and sanitation services are provided by effective, efficient and sustainable institutions that are accountable and responsive to those whom they serve."

The introduction of concepts such as Customer Care and Customer Relationship Management (CRM) in the public sector is however relatively recent, both internationally and in South Africa, as the impetus of e-Government and a citizen focused approach becomes more prominent.

Mobilising communities for their direct involvement in the participatory process requires that all parties affected gain access to credible and easily understood information. Of crucial importance in participatory planning is effective communication between communities and governmental institutions. How development concepts are conceived of and debated requires a clear and unambiguous understanding of the language and communication networks in the environment in which these actions are played out.

Within this developmental milieu and in accordance with the Constitution, emphasis is placed on the acknowledgement, promotion and development of the indigenous languages of the country. Numerous initiatives are being conducted aimed at the promotion of these indigenous languages and of multilingualism. Considerable debate continues to focus on the feasibility of using more than one language as a communication medium. The use of English, for example, is being favoured not only by certain sectors of government and private sector but also by mother tongue African language speakers.

Further challenges that national and provincial development programmes and projects have to deal with include:

- How well are policies, usually conceptualised in English, understood by communities whose mother tongue is an indigenous African language?
- Conversely, in conducting needs analysis surveys and interviews, the question arises, are the needs of the poorest of the poor being correctly understood by policy makers and administrators?
- Further compounding these situations is that of ongoing interaction (not once off) between communities and development bodies where the possibility exists for further miscommunication and confusion.

Within the theoretical framework of “multilingualism-as-resource” (Ruiz 1984) and Haugen’s ecology of language (1972), this paper addresses implications for the establishment of bi-literacy (Hornberger 2003: 3) and multilingualism within a language environment that could be seen as more conducive to meeting the “Batho Pele” requirements of government’s “putting people first”. The paper will include a case study in which a national line function department seeks to convey socio-economic messages to those communities it serves. How these messages are conveyed, interpreted and responded to will constitute the main body of the paper.

## **Alan Firth**

### ***Instructing as a collaborative accomplishment in calls to technical support***

Although the activity of instructing is ubiquitous and characteristically undertaken through the use of language, it has received surprisingly little attention from scholars of language and social interaction. Ethnomethodological and conversation analytic studies of the workplace, for example, have all but by-passed activities where instructing is the central feature of occupational conduct. Consequently we have scant knowledge of what the activity of instructing entails in terms of its social organization and use of language, and how it is socially and contextually accomplished and made accountable in practice. This paper seeks to redress the imbalance. It explores the activity of instructing in calls to Microsoft's technical support helpline. In particular, I examine how callers and call-takers collaborate in the activity of 'instructing', noting how call-takers deploy various strategies to elicit and guide the callers, who not only follow instructions given but act in ways that shape the design and character of the call-taker's instructions. Collaboration, then, is shown to take a number of forms. Additionally and relatedly, both call-takers and callers display orientations to the here-and-now exigencies and longer-term requirements. In this way, callers' specific and immediate problems are addressed during calls, while being 'educated' in the general and non-specific use of computer software.

## **Kerstin Fischer**

### ***Towards understanding the functional spectrum of modal particles***

Many different proposals for modal particle functions have been made in the German modal particle literature, and their pragmatic function seems to be the most problematic aspect of their description. Thus, proposals range from marking epistemic stance over illocutionary force indicators to signalling speaker attitude or marking common ground. How is this variability possible?

One reason could be that there are many different types of modal particles, some of which fulfil epistemic functions, others attitudinal and a third set grounding functions, for instance, and that the different proposals originate from generalising from some modal particles to the whole class.

Another reason may be that modal particles are multifunctional; they mark attitude, stance, illocutionary force and common ground at the same time.

A third possibility is that the different functions are highly interrelated and do not exclude each other.

Finally, modal particles may fulfil different functions in different situations, and the diversity of proposals results from focussing on different types of data.

I want to argue that all four problems hold. Using data from different situations as well as from an English/German translation corpus that is currently built up at the University of Bremen, I will show that German modal particles are indeed multifunctional. Furthermore, the requirements of particular situations bias their functions in particular ways as much as particular modal particles are biased towards particular uses. Most importantly, I shall use the English translations of German modal particles to show in which ways the epistemic, attitudinal, grounding and speech act functions may interact.

## **Irene Fonte**

### ***Filtering the news: Contributions of the press to international misunderstanding***

In the circulation of news stories from one national press to another, what does not get reported is often as significant as what does. Using press case studies from a Mexican-Canadian research project on discourse, ideology and national identity in the cultural dialogue between the two countries, this paper examines some instances of how a national press filters and “adapts” foreign news content to the political and ideological constraints of the national scene.

Much ink has already flowed on how news sources distort their stories even when they pride themselves on “objective” reporting and vehemently reject the notion of propaganda. Meta-pragmatic analyses such as those reported in Verschueren (1999: 228ff) speak of “ideological webs... framing, validating or legitimating” particular ideological positions, and of a “constant interplay between different socio-ideological languages competing for dominance or hegemony” (p. 238). Indeed, news reporting is much better seen as a turbulent dialogue of competing voices, than as the smooth transmission of reports from one agency to another. And in this dialogue certain topics are left out altogether.

Two notions which we have found particularly useful as explicative devices in dealing with the metapragmatics of news reporting are the ideological complex, used in the social semiotics of Hodge and Kress (1988) to refer to a unstable network of contradictory versions of reality, and the enunciative scene (deriving from Bakhtin and Benveniste’s theory of enunciation), applied by Fonte (2002) to refer to the set of voices and actors in interplay around any particular reported event. As in the theatre, the number of speakers and actors upon the stage will vary as the drama unfolds.

Our working hypothesis is that an enunciative scene on one national stage will inevitably be filtered and transformed as it passes to another. In that process, the ideological complex of the receiving country may misinterpret or dismiss as irrelevant elements of the ideological complex of the source nation. Or it may choose to pass over them as ideologically “inconvenient”. Our corpus of Canadian and Mexican news from the second half of 2000, selectively extended since then to include major events, affords us a number of interesting cases of news filtering and barriers between these two Western democracies and NAFTA members. The consequence is that news, like other dialogues, is fraught with the pragmatics of misunderstanding.

## **Francesca Foppolo & Maria Terasa Guasti**

### ***Children failures with scalar implicatures: A reassessment of their pragmatic competence***

The Question: Recently, a lot of experimental works have been done to investigate children pragmatic abilities (Chierchia-et-al.,2001; Noveck,2001; Papafragou&Musolino,2003; Guasti-et-al.,2004), especially focusing on Scalar Implicatures (SI), i.e. inferences that are derived when a scalar item is used:

- (1) Some linguists are Italian
- (2) Not all linguists are Italian

A general conclusion emerge from the literature:

- children have problems with SI

We intend to newly address the question of children pragmatic ability, arguing that previous works underestimated children competence. We show that, by using a different experimental design, children’s performance improves dramatically.

Our study. We considered two facts:

- The influence of the task: subjects give more “logic” responses if the setting is non natural
- The bimodal distribution of subjects: either these always accept, or always reject, the critical statements

We suggest that subjects resort to a strategy of response, favoured by some features of the experimental design:

- different groups of subjects were tested on different scales separately, so that each subject was tested on just one type of scalar items, presented 4 or 5 times in the course of the experiment;

- all critical stories had the same underlying structure and the same outcome. For example, all the stories for “some” started with 5 characters and two alternatives; in the outcome, all characters chose the same thing, and the puppet described the story using “some X did Y”, true but underinformative (all X did Y);

- this similarity among stories contributed to consider the situation “artificial” and to put pragmatic norms aside

We tested 40 5-year-old children and 40 adults on 3 different scalar items: some-of (in subject/object position), two, a-piece-of. The task used was the same of Papafragou&Musolino(2003), the TVJT, but we changed the experimental design:

- 4 conditions were created, 12 items each: 8 controls + 4 critical items;

- 10 subjects were randomly assigned to each condition so that each subject was shown only one occurrence of each target item and all subjects saw all types of scalar items;

- the structure of the stories varied a lot across items.

Our results & conclusions. As in Papafragou&Musolino(2003), we found that SI associated to numbers is more readily derived than other items. However, overall children rate of derivation of SI rose significantly with respect to previous findings, on all items: two is interpreted as not-three 98% of times, some as not-all 72,5% and a-piece-of as not-whole 62,5%.

In addition, the response given to the first target statement was not necessarily reiterated in the others, and no bimodal distribution was found. This suggests that subjects were answering according to the item, as they normally do in conversations, and not resorting to a strategy.

In light of these findings, we think that previous results and claims about children’s pragmatic failures need to be reassessed: their competence, in fact, is much more adult-like than previous works suggested.

## **Charles Forceville**

### ***Multimodal metaphors in commercials***

Interpretations of multimodal representations – as of any type of “text” – are cued both by intratextual elements and pragmatic factors. “Genre” is a highly fruitful concept for bridging the two, since it can be regarded as an interface between the sum total of intra-textual elements (relatively “objectively” determinable) and the sum total of extra-textual circumstances (an endless array of potentially pertinent phenomena and events, and hence much more difficult to model). Whether a film is a Western or a melodrama, for instance, can to some extent be decided on the basis of semantic and syntactic elements, but also depends on categorization decisions taken by interested groups (critics, studios, exhibitors, fans) (Altman 1999). Since genre-attribution involves the imposition of reading/viewing/listening etc. conventions, genre codetermines the range of possible meanings of a representation (Fokkema & Ibsch 2000: 22 et passim; Forceville 1999).

In this paper I want to chart and discuss the parameters that play a role in the identification and interpretation of multimodal metaphors. Multimodal metaphors are here defined as metaphors whose target (tenor, topic) and source (vehicle) are represented wholly or partly in different modes. A non-exhaustive list of “modes” would be: written language, spoken language, moving or static images, non-verbal sound, music, touchable surfaces, smell, taste.

The genre within which multimodal metaphors will be identified and discussed is that of commercials. For purposes of analysis, this genre has the great benefit of providing complete, but brief (often no more than 30”) audiovisual texts, whose interpretation is moreover governed by clear conventions, namely (i) that their subject is a commodity that is for sale (ii) for which a positive claim is made (Forceville 1996: 104; see also Hermerén 1999: chapter 1).

A number of commercials will be discussed that, allegedly, feature a multimodal metaphor drawing on images, non-verbal sound, music, spoken text, and/or written text. Questions addressed include: (1) how do genre conventions steer and constrain the construal of a metaphor in a given commercial? (2) Via what mode(s) is/are a metaphor’s target and source, respectively, identified? (3) What role does socio-cultural background play in the identification and interpretation of the metaphors in the (Dutch) commercials?

## **Angie Foster & Amy Kyratzis**

### ***Becoming a conversationalist: Three- and four-year-olds' discourse markers in peer talk***

Through pretend play, children index a bond with other children and indicate that they are members of the peer group (Corsaro, 1985).

But how does the ability to engage in this kind of talk develop? The “language of social pretend play” is complex (Garvey, & Kramer, 1989). Pretend talk has many phases and voices, each with their own distinctive marking. The narrative voice consists of statements that set the frame for what will happen in the play. It is distinguished by use of connectives (“and,” “because”) and a measured reading tone. These statements are sometimes marked with “pretend” as well as other markers (Cook-Gumperz, 1995). This report presents an

analysis of how pretend play talk is used by 3- and 4-year-old children, how the talk is marked (Kyratzis & Ervin-Tripp, 1999), and how it develops. Videotaped interactions from an ethnographic study which followed peer interactions in a preschool classroom of 3- to 4-year-old children over one year were analyzed. Data come from one playgroup of three-year-olds and two playgroups of 4-year-olds.

Analysis of discourse markers and prosodic features revealed that pretend play utterances had the following features. Utterances in declarative form ended with a continuative sing-song intonation and with tag questions. Three-year-olds used more tag forms, suggesting that they were less sure of the uptake of the ideas they suggested. Uptake in the next turn was often indicated with "okay", "yeah", "and", "right" ("right, and I cook thee-, these up, so we could, so they would be ready to buy, right?") and other continuation forms, including "because" as well as other causal markers ("In case it spills, right?"). Continuation markers were used by three year olds. One marker that developed between 3 and 4 years was "pretend", used to mark a shift in frame or direction of the play (Goodwin, 1993). That three year olds used this marker infrequently suggests that they do not readily shift the direction of their play.

Three year olds may seek to emulate the way their 4-year-old peers talk, readily shifting direction of the play through new ideas, following up on the play of others and competently realizing their own agendas through the talk. To style themselves as older, more competent children and effective story builders, threes may use the forms that mark narrative coherence ("now", "pretend", "okay", "because", etc.), leading at times to hyperbolic use of tags and connectives.

## **Tamar Fraenkel**

### ***Preserving negation of adjectives while passing a message to third party***

Most adjectives have antonyms. Nevertheless, people sometimes use the negation of an adjective instead of using its antonym while describing themselves or others. In previous research we have examined what senders of communication mean when they use negations instead of antonyms and how receivers of negations interpret them. We have found that negations are used in order to convey a weakened sense of the message. When Tim is described as "not lazy" the sender may wish to imply that he is neither lazy but nor particularly industrious. We have also found that the extent of the weakening of a message by using negation depends on the nature of the adjective. Weakening is more pronounced when the adjectives are contraries (for example hot-cold) than when they are contradictories (for example alive-dead). The magnitude of weakening also depends on the markedness of the adjectives. Negation of the unmarked adjective weakens the message less than the negation of the marked one. For example, "not good" resembles "bad" more than "not bad" resembles "good".

This research goes one step further to examine what happens when a receiver of a message with a negation passes it later to a third party. It is known that sometime people "translate" a negation of an adjective to the negated adjective antonym (i.e. they receive a message that the movie is 'not bad' and tell a friend later that the movie is 'good'). The question of interest is whether this translation tendency has to do with the resemblance between the adjective and its negated antonym. Do people translate more when the negated adjective is close in meaning to its antonym? (For example when the antonyms are contradictories or the negated antonym is the unmarked one.) Or do people translate no matter how much this translation changes the meaning of the original message?

This research also examines if we can affect this translation tendency. Can we create situations in which people will be able to control and reduce the amount of translation of negations to the antonym of the negated adjective? For example if a speaker wants to contradict the hearer belief that a movie is bad and he tells him that the movie was not bad, the hearer will understand that the real intention of the speaker was to say that the movie was good, and he will pass the information later as the movie is good. But if the hearer has no such prior belief and he knows the speaker has a good knowledge of the language, and that he takes notice of his words selection, he will understand that the speaker used negation because he wanted to convey a different meaning than the 'movie is good' and won't translate it. In general, we think that when a hearer understands that the speaker chose to use negation on purpose, and when being exact is important, he will refrain from translating negations to the opposite antonym.

Two experiments tested these questions. In the first experiment subjects heard stories using both negations and affirmations of adjectives that were contraries or contradictories, marked or unmarked, and later had to recall the adjectives in a written text with missing words (cued recall). Half of the subjects were requested to be exact and half were requested to be clear when making the recall task. We were interested both in finding if the amount of translation depended on the features of the negated adjective (marked/unmarked, contrary/contradictory) and if the request to be exact will cause subjects to translate less than the request to be clear. The results showed that when subjects were requested to be exact they translated much less than when they were requested to be clear (11.59% vs. 37.43%). The properties of the negated adjective affected the amount of translation as follows: There were more translations in contradictories than contraries, and more translation when the negated adjective was marked than when it was unmarked.

In the second experiment subject heard a story similar to the ones used in the first experiment but longer. These stories used only contraries. The stories were in Hebrew. Half of the subjects heard the story by a native speaker of Hebrew, and half heard it told by a nonnative, Canadian speaker of Hebrew. The subject had to recall the story in writing first in a free recall and later in a cued recall assignment. As in the first experiment we were interested in finding if the amount of translation depends on the features of the negated adjective (marked/unmarked). We were also interested if the accent of the speaker will affect the amount of translation. We thought that subjects will think that a speaker with a native accent is more accurate and intentional in his word selection than a nonnative speaker, and thus will translate more when they hear a nonnative speaker. This manipulation didn't succeed; subjects who heard a nonnative speaker did not translate more than subjects who heard a native speaker. As in the first experiment there were more translations when the negated adjective was marked than when it was unmarked.

The implications of the results regarding the conservation of the original meaning when passing a message to a third party, and the ways to affect it, will be discussed in the lecture.

### **Charles Frake**

#### ***Long words replacing tall trees: The end of the rain forest in Southwestern Mindanao and the emergence of dense thickets of contentious discourse***

This paper tells a story often told in the world today, a story of environmental destruction coupled with bitter conflict over any useful remains. And the tellings of the story (including this one) are invariably weapons deployed in the conflict. But each telling, because of the uniqueness of particular histories and of particular story tellers, helps inform all of us concerned with the plight of the environment, the fate of the powerless, and the power of words.

Using research spanning the past fifty years in the Zamboanga Peninsula of Southwestern Mindanao, the Philippines, this paper critically examines the plots of the discourses of the multitude of story tellers: the indigenous peoples trying to carve out a politically viable and economically sustainable identity for themselves; the local peasantry, not qualifying as "indigenous," but equally struggling; local and national politicians; militias, military, and multinational mining companies; illegal loggers, bandits, kidnappers, and insurgents (a.k.a. terrorists); a profusion of NGO's, local, national, and international; myriads of missionaries of mutually antagonistic affiliations; and the stray anthropologist.

Out of this verbal morass we examine how landscapes are imagined, maps redrawn, resources wishfully allocated, and power struggles realized in action.

### **Florice Franck & Françoise Mignon**

#### ***Négation et intensité: Le cas des formes rédupliquées non non et no no en français et en italien***

Le phénomène de la réduplication a depuis longtemps attiré la curiosité des linguistes (cf. notamment Diez (1851), Pott (1862), Hultenberg (1903), Kocher (1921), etc). Nous voudrions ici l'aborder moins sous l'angle de la phonologie que du point de vue syntactico-sémantique, étant entendu que les propriétés sémantiques sont indissociablement liées au matériel segmental (et supra-segmental) qui en est le support. On s'intéressera en premier lieu au statut syntaxique des formes 'simples' NON et NO. Un certain nombre de caractéristiques distributionnelles invitent à les analyser comme des modalisateurs dont le fonctionnement est au fond assez proche de celui de marqueurs tels que peut-être / forse et heureusement / meno male. Ces holophrases peuvent en effet être enchâssés (cf. il m'a dit que non / mi ha detto di no); ils peuvent constituer le membre indépendant d'une phrase complexe (- Je peux regarder la télé ce soir? - Non si tu es méchant; - Posso guardare la TV stasera? - No se sei cattivo). Ils s'utilisent typiquement dans les structures où ils résument un contenu précédemment posé en le polarisant négativement (il est venu hier, mais aujourd'hui non; è venuto ieri, ma oggi no): de ce point de vue, non et no fonctionnent fondamentalement comme des anaphoriques. Non et no présentent toutefois des propriétés singulières qui les placent un peu à part des autres modalisateurs: ils peuvent être coordonnés avec eux-mêmes (non et non! / no e no!), et surtout ils peuvent être rédupliqués asyndétiquement: non non! / no no!. On fera l'hypothèse que ces marqueurs de négation holophrastique sont apparentés aux interjections dont ils partagent de nombreuses propriétés: comme le soulignait déjà Brøndal, il s'agit de formes synthétiques (elles forment un point de concrétion de diverses catégories) susceptibles de variations ou modulations quasi infinies (cf. Brøndal (1948: 64)). On montrera donc que le phénomène de réduplication de la négation est un phénomène d'intensification analogue à des phénomènes tels que la gémation consonantique d'origine expressive (cf. Martinet (1937)). Il en résulte que la forme rédupliquée est inacceptable dans la plupart des contextes où la forme simple est parfaitement licite (cf. ?? il m'a dit que non non / ?? mi ha detto di no no; - Je peux regarder la



télé ce soir? - ?? Non non si tu es méchant; - Posso guardare la TV stasera? - ?? No no se sei cattivo; ?? il est venu hier, mais aujourd'hui non non; ?? è venuto ieri, ma oggi no no).

## **Loredana Fratila**

### ***Bedtime stories: Old and new***

Traditionally, fairy tales are meant as an enjoyable way of getting children acquainted with the society they live in and with the rules that ensure its faultless functioning. However, rewritings of such tales may no longer address children, but rather adults, aiming at making them aware that the bedtime stories they used to tell youngsters are no longer up-to-date - society has changed and so should the way in which this is reflected in fairy tales do.

The present paper briefly studies the process of transforming Brothers' Grimm "Snow White and the 7 Dwarfs" into Finn Garner's "Snow White" and Angela Carter's "The Snow Child".

The analysis hints at if/how linguistically-encoded gender and culture-related stereotypes detectable in the traditional variant of the story are dealt with in its later versions (changes in the graphic form of words, euphemisms, males' and females' semantic roles, adjectives that describe male and female characters, allusions to what is perceived as male/female common behaviour or to very down-to-earth matters of modern society such as environmental friendliness, big companies' selling practices, etc).

## **Luminita Frentiu & Codruta Gosa**

### ***Constructing ideological identities in pre-election debates in Romania***

The year 2004 was an election year in Romania. As numerous studies have shown, televised debates play an important role in convincing the public to support their candidates and in taking decisions, for those still undecided. On one hand, debates with preallocated turn taking structure provide equality of chances to candidates, and on the other hand they offer the candidates the opportunity to make their platform (which is bound to be ideologically grounded), available to a large audience. This paper analysis some pre-electoral televised debates of the three major presidential candidates representing three different parties which claim to be: of central-left (PSD - the social democrat party); one of central-right (a liberal-democrat alliance called D.A. - 'Truth and Justice'); one of extreme-right orientation (PRM - 'The Great Romania Party'). The main goal of all the candidates is to persuade the audience, to gain votes and eventually to win the presidential elections. The already known orientation of the party is likely to create ideological assumptions and presuppositions in the audience, which are not always met by the discursive strategies used by the candidates. Our analysis draws on Discourse analysis and Critical Discourse Analysis and seeks to identify the strategies used by the speakers in order to reach their goal. Our working hypothesis (grounded in our knowledge of the Romanian system) is that in their attempt to win the elections, the speakers' ideological identity (as representatives of their own parties) is of minor or of no consequence in the way they approach their persuasive discourses. The broader consequences of the research findings (both at the national and the European level) are also discussed in our paper.

## **Thorstein Fretheim**

### ***An intonational constraint on pragmatically derived scope of negotiation in Norwegian negative declaratives***

Any East Norwegian finite verb form that has an underlying Low tone for word-accent 1 can be realized with a High-to-Low tone for word-accent 2 at the utterance level, when an unstressed negation operator "ikke" (not) appears later in the accent unit where the verb is the accented head. This is not a word-prosodic rule but an intonational rule licensed by a phonological input with a focal accent on an item elsewhere in the same utterance, outside the accent unit where the verb to undergo Accent Shift is located. It will be argued that East Norwegian Accent Shift has a procedural semantic meaning which can be stated as a two-step instruction to the hearer:

- (i) Construe the scope of negation as wide.
- (ii) Let the focussed grammatical constituent that licenses replacement of accent 1 by accent 2 be the target of the negation operator.

The effect of Accent Shift is seen for example in (1b) and (2b) compared to non-accentshifted (1a) and (2a), respectively.

(1) a. Jeg 1SÅ-dem-ikke FØRST. = "First I didn't see them."

(I saw them not first)

b. Jeg 2SÅ-dem-ikke FØRST. = "I was not the first one to see them"

(2) a. HALVPARTEN 1skjønner-jeg-ikke. (internal neg) = "Half of it, I do not understand"

b. HALVPARTEN 2skjønner-jeg-ikke. (external neg) = "I do not (as you seem to believe) understand half of it" (which implicates that the speaker understands less than half of it)

Prominent pragmatists have argued that the negation operator has maximally wide scope in the grammar-determined logical form (Carston, *Thoughts and Utterances*, 2002), so what can possibly justify postulation of a rule that instructs the hearer to construe the scope as wide? Truth-conditional strengthening in the form of pragmatic narrowing from presupposition-cancelling to presupposition-preserving negation is prevalent in communicative events, so whenever the intonational phrasing of a Norwegian utterance invites the inference that some sentence constituent takes scope over negation, Accent Shift tells the hearer that that constituent is (i) within the scope of negation and moreover (ii) the only constituent affected by the negation operator.

## **Mirjam Fried**

### ***Between frames, context, and constructions: A diachronic perspective***

This corpus-based case study explores the question of how context enters conventional linguistic patterning and becomes part of the codified relationship between meaning and form in a given expression. It is widely accepted both within prototype-based approaches to semantic structure (eg. Geeraerts 1992) and within dialogical approaches (e.g. Linell 1998) that speakers' expressive needs, together with general cultural understanding and specific contextual clues, participate in shaping and negotiating meaning of a given piece of discourse. A question that has not been addressed systematically concerns the way(s) in which the interaction between codified semantic structure ('lexical meaning'), broad thematic and cultural context, and recurring morphosyntactic patterns may give shape to a newly emerging grammatical category. The present paper takes up this issue, focusing particularly on the problem of adequately representing speakers' grammatical knowledge such that it includes reference to recurring semantic and pragmatic constraints.

I trace the rich semantic and morphosyntactic history of the Old Czech (OC) participial adjective (PA) *verici* '(the) one believing', in relation to the verb *veriti* 'to believe'. The hybrid nature of the PA places it in the gray and poorly understood area between inflection and derivation, thus providing a particularly illustrative case for studying the issues at hand. The OC verb *veriti* developed four senses (roughly, BELIEF, FAITH, CREDIT, TRUST), each associated with a distinct complementation pattern and reflecting particular communicative context (e.g., Christian religion, commercial transactions, transfer of responsibility). Using an extensive corpus from OC texts containing a wide variety of genres, I show that while the PA originates within the same semantic structure as part of the verbal inflectional paradigm, it developed additional uses distributed over specific time periods ('a Christian', 'believable', 'pious', 'creditor', 'trustworthy', 'authorizing', etc.), and different lexico-pragmatic properties correlate with different categorial outcome (nouns vs. adjectives) and syntactic preferences (e.g., NP structure, word order).

The development occurs along several dimensions: conceptual shifts vis-à-vis textual distribution and contextual restrictions; role of collocational patterns; shifting categorial status (N, Adj, V); recurring syntactic preferences; chronological layering. The result is a complex picture of semantic, pragmatic, and grammatical factors that collectively motivate the changes in the form's usage and that must be part of any representation that aspires to be descriptively accurate and to have an explanatory value. In that respect, the present study makes a case for Frame Semantics (e.g. Fillmore 1982) and Construction Grammar (e.g., Fillmore 1979) as a particularly suitable model for representing lexico-grammatical networks in which the relative stability of grammatical form does not conflict with the relative flexibility of meaning or expressive richness, and vice versa.

Overall, the paper establishes (i) the interdependence of lexical meaning, the context in which the word is used, its illocutionary force, and the morphosyntactic form that encodes these relationships; (ii) how these factors figure in categorial shifts known as 'transpositional morphology' (Haspelmath 1995), and (iii) how the relevant generalizations about context in grammar can (or, indeed, cannot) be formally represented in terms of complex grammatical signs, through frames and constructions.

## **Aldo Frigerio**

### ***On the status of Kaplan's characters***

There are at least two ways to interpret the statement that there exists a direct link between a word and its referent:

- a) What mediates the relationship between the word and its referent is not part of the word meaning (e. g. the causal chain)
- b) What mediates the relationship between the word and its referent is part of the word meaning but is not part of the proposition expressed by the sentence (e. g. the Kaplan's character)

Whereas the first interpretation is usually claimed to be correct as far as proper names are concerned, the second one is the most proper in regard to indexicals. Indeed, the character is part of the meaning of an

indexical, in fact it is its conventional meaning. But it is not part of the proposition expressed because it is not part of the truth conditions of a sentence: the contribution of an indexical to the truth conditions is restricted to its referent.

Therefore the status of the character is very particular: on the one hand, like every contextual clue, it helps the hearer to identify the object meant by the speaker, on the other it is not a pragmatic device because it is the conventional meaning of the indexical word. Furthermore, if one accepts Kaplan's theory, one must admit that there is no more identity between meaning and truth conditions.

I would like to explore an alternative solution to the problem of the character status. I claim that the character is part of what we express by a sentence and is similar to a Fregean incomplete sense. This sense is largely insufficient to identify an object and thus the hearer needs a piece of contextual information to determine what object the speaker means by an indexical. So the semantics and pragmatics of indexicals are very similar to those ones of incomplete referential definite descriptions.

I would like to analyze the reason why Kaplan maintains that characters cannot be Fregean incomplete senses. Kaplan thinks that once the character, along with the context, has determined the referent, only the latter is relevant to the truth conditions and "travels" around the possible worlds. But the descriptive content of a definite description in its de re reading does not travel either around the possible worlds: it determines its referent and only that object is what fixes the truth conditions of the proposition in other circumstances. I think that indexicals receive a necessary de re reading and that their characters do not travel around the worlds precisely because the descriptive content of de re definite descriptions does not. Indexicals must be read de re since their referents have to be searched in the context of the sentence and that context is part of the speaker's world. But if necessarily the referent has to be searched in the speaker's world, necessarily the indexical has to be read de re. A proof of this claim is that also contextual definite descriptions necessarily receive a de re reading.

## **Mihai Daniel Frumuselu**

### ***Defining concession***

Concession originally emerged as a rhetorical figure used in argumentation as a tool of enhancing one's ethos and came to be gradually regarded as a grammatical relation. Where does actually concession belong to? The rhetorical use of concession supports a definition of concession as a discourse relation, and the analysis of concession within Functional Discourse Grammar reveals the functions of concession at the different discourse levels. Moreover, concession is closely related to relations like causality, condition and adversativity, and more investigation on this connection suggests that it is the pragmatic perspective on language that assigns concession to other adverbial relation, and therefore a comprehensive definition of concession should be given within pragmatics.

But is actually the noun 'concession' or rather the verb 'concede' that should be defined? The philosophical investigation of language in the 20th century (Morris, Austin, Searle, Grice) have paved the way towards an investigation of the speech act of 'conceding' and the way it can be defined in the terms of language philosophy.

In addition to the general requirements enounced by Aristotle, a definition which tries to hold for a notion, respectively a speech act, that occur across world languages should be as less ethnocentric as possible. The Natural Semantic Metalanguage developed by Wierzbicka (1996) and Goddard (1998) is helpful in avoiding ethnocentricity while performing the investigation in English. The results of the study consist of two definitions: of the relation of 'concession' and of the speech act of 'conceding', both done at the pragmatic level and aiming to be as less ethnocentric as possible.

## **Jing Fu**

### ***Gender behaviors in the second language classroom***

#### Gender Behaviors in the Second Language Classroom

The purpose of this paper is to highlight conflicting issues regarding behavior differences between male and female learners and related implications for second language education (SLE) by drawing on gender and second language research and theory.

Previous studies in language and gender issues have demonstrated the communicative behavior differences between males and females (e.g. Tannen, 1990; Cameron, 1992; Coates, 1993). However, there is a gap in that there is seldom research focusing on teacher-students' gender-related behaviors in second language classrooms. In this paper, I argue that teacher and learner characteristics are shaped by cultural backgrounds which influence gender behavior and learning; and teachers' gender, cultural-based attitudes and behaviors will affect learners' performances. I will first provide: (i) general background about research findings related to

gender behavior differences; then, (ii) discuss the influence of cultural backgrounds for SLE classes and participants; (iii) followed by examination of the influence of teachers' behaviors and gender in SLE classrooms, and students' gender-related behaviors and implications for the L2 classroom.

In sum, gender behavior may be considered uncertain and a variable along with social organization, power and individual consciousness. In the L2/foreign language classroom, as Freeman and McElhinny (1996) claimed, not only gender but also socio-economics and changing power and social relations will affect the L2 classroom. Thus, gender behavior in L2 classroom also depends on social roles, power and individual awareness. This paper examines gender-related behavior in the L2/foreign language classroom according to these variables. (248 words)

## **Yoko Fujii**

### ***Independent collaboration and cooperative collaboration: A comparative study of how Japanese and American pairs co-construct stories***

The purpose of this research is to investigate how Americans and Japanese collaborate in doing a required task and to elucidate how patterns of collaboration are interrelated with the two languages - American English and Japanese. People often encounter situations where collaboration is required. In those situations, it is easy to imagine that patterns of collaboration would differ across cultures and that those patterns would be reflected in the languages being spoken. It is likewise possible that differences and similarities in patterns of collaboration would be related to cultural principles underlying language usage.

In order to examine the co-construction of stories, this study works with data consisting of videotapes of participants who were asked to produce stories in pairs based on a set of fifteen cartoon cards. In total twenty American pairs and twenty-six Japanese pairs participated in the study.

The findings reveal the following overall differences: 1) turns were considerably longer in the American-English interaction, whereas Japanese speakers made frequent attempts to elicit reactions from their co-participants, thereby leading to a discourse structure of short-turns by speakers and responses from their interlocutors; and 2) the Japanese participants employed linguistic items such as final particles, questions, and tag questions that produced reactive expressions from their co-participants while the American participants used linguistic expressions that focused more on the propositional content of the story like 'makes sense,' 'you're right,' or 'what do you think?' In general, then, the Japanese participants expended more energy to make the interaction cooperative while the Americans placed much more of an emphasis on the propositional content of the story than they did on the elicitation of confirmation or agreement.

The implications of this study lie in the connections that can be made between the interaction and underlying cultural values. The findings suggest the American participants' patterns of interaction reflect the ideals and cultural practices associated with independence; participants desire to express their own ideas as full propositions. On the other hand, Japanese participants concentrate on cooperation as they collaborate and work together to accomplish the telling of stories. In this sense, it can be said that comparative study across cultures of aspects of language as they are used in actual interaction, for example final particles, questions, tag questions, and English expressions such as 'makes sense' and 'you're right', can enhance understanding of the ways that cultural ideals and principles are reinforced and maintained in discourse.

## **Mihoko Fukushima**

### ***Gender orientations to food and weight in Japanese conversation***

This paper employs 'grammar and interaction', a relatively new strand of conversation analysis to, explore the question of how gender becomes available in interaction, especially in the context of the conversational topics of food and weight. I will examine fragments of naturally occurring mixed-sex conversations in Japanese taking place in restaurant settings. The analysis will build on previous work (Tanaka and Fukushima 2002), which has suggested participant orientations to an asymmetrical gender norm in Japanese society, namely that women should be concerned about their appearance and that men have expanded rights to demand such a concern from women (tentatively referred to as the 'gender constraint'). While the previous article proposed a framework for approaching the study of gender orientations based on relatively short fragments of talk, the present paper attempts to reinforce and extend the framework by examining two case studies of longer fragments. In both instances, participants (both men and women) are shown to establish a strong association between food (eating) and women's weight issues, in which the act of 'eating' is treated negatively. Moreover, when such topics are brought up in interaction, they tend to make relevant a joking/non-serious interactional environment. In the process of looking at how the individual sequences unfold, attention will be focused on the particular ways in which female members take part in displaying an orientation to the proposed gender constraint. I will

demonstrate that the issues of 'eating', 'weight', 'appearance' and 'humour' are intricately intertwined within the framework of the 'gender constraint'.

## **Ingrid Furchner**

### ***Local "we" as a concept of citizenship in participatory discourse***

This contribution is based on a study carried out in the context of an interdisciplinary EU research consortium, investigating participation in permitting procedures about the deliberate release of genetically modified plants under different legal/administrative conditions. In the EU, field trials implying deliberate release of GMOs require permit by a national authority. German law regulating the respective licencing procedure provides for the possibility of citizens to participate, in the form of submitting written objections against the field trial applied for.

What we are interested in here is social positions, and therewith concepts of citizenship, that are communicatively achieved in participatory discourse of this kind.

The slot for participation is generally – and vaguely – provided for citizens. If people are taking up this slot to participate (or if they are simply discussing the matter and giving their opinion about it), they will necessarily do so from a certain standpoint: see themselves as affected by the matter with respect to a certain aspect of their identity, consider themselves as capable, entitled, suited to participate or give their opinion in a certain capacity. In other words: they will have to position themselves in some way or the other in the given context. This also means that in communicating people will, implicitly or explicitly, account for their interpretation of the procedure in which they participate and their own role in it, and thus display their conception of what 'being a citizen' means in this context. It is in this sense that analysing participatory discourse allows for an empirical reconstruction of members' concepts of citizenship.

In order to reconstruct such communicatively achieved social positionings, or images of self (and others), we will analyse communicative data from the context of such a licencing procedure: written objections submitted against the field trial applied for as well as oral data, namely interviews and a local public debate. Within a conversation analytic framework, drawing on earlier CA work about categorisation, positioning and membership, we will ask how people categorise or position themselves and others implicitly or explicitly; from which perspective they consider the matter; which aspects of it they address and how; which social role they take in the given context, how they define their contribution to the procedure or debate; what characteristics, rights and duties etc. they ascribe themselves and others.

In particular, we will focus on a specific social position emerging in this context, which has turned out to be a very prominent one in our case, namely the self-positioning as LOCAL 'WE', that is, as part of a local community as a whole. We will show how people communicatively constitute this as their primarily relevant social position in this context, and how this structures the whole reflection and argumentation about the matter discussed.

In a further step, we will discuss how the social position of a LOCAL 'WE' made relevant in participatory discourse, and the framing of the procedure it achieves, run counter to the concepts of procedure and participation implied by the given legal/administrative structure and logic.

## **Philip Gaines**

### ***The rhetoro-pragmatics of attorney trial practice***

I propose an overview of the "rhetoro-pragmatic" practices of attorneys as revealed in a range of textual domains associated with trial practice: trial manuals, attorney apologies for the adversary system, case preparation (e.g. development of case theory and theme), and attorney discourse in the courtroom (e.g. opening/closing statements, witness examination). Rather than a micro-analysis of a particular process, this presentation will discuss the overall rhetorical schema (as exemplified in the texts/discourses of the various domains) that attorneys bring to the pragmatics of trial practice and will show the overarching rhetorical nature of all of trial practice—even in surprising contexts. For example, I will discuss 1) attorney trial manuals—written by attorneys for attorneys—and the ways in which they establish methodological and pragmatic guidelines for the various aspects of courtroom work, 2) quasi-academic texts written by attorneys which offer justifications and defenses of the partisan adversary system, 3) notions of case theory and theme, in which the rhetorical motivations for audience manipulation are revealed, and 4) the discourse of actual attorney courtroom practice, with special emphasis on the underlying rhetorical structure of pragmatic processes (e.g., lines of questioning in witness examination) which are not traditionally understood as "oratorical" in nature (such as opening statement and closing argument). While each of these various domains is linguistically and pragmatically complex in itself, the presentation will touch on each (with enough examples, of course, to ground the discussion) in a way that economically traces the pervasive rhetorical pragmatics of trial practice.

**Aleksandra Galasinska & Olga Kozłowska**

***Social isolation and (un)employment: Self-reflexivity in narratives of post-communist Poland***

In this paper we shall discuss discursive constructions of work and unemployment, and in particular notions of work-related isolation, among interviewees from a post-communist country in transition. The data comes from two ethnographic projects studying unemployment and lived experience of post-communism in Poland, and was collected in 38 interviews in two large towns and a rural area.

The most characteristic feature of the data concerning work is a clash between our unemployed informants' discourse of individual struggle (mainly constructed in terms of loneliness, helplessness and illness) and the constructions of collective identity among those who work. Even though the latter is usually described in negative terms, almost all employed interviewees choose to describe themselves as members of a particular group. On the other hand, narratives of social isolation and loneliness were invariably repeated by almost all of those out of work.

We shall argue that post-communist discourses of work and unemployment are underpinned by different ideological bases and in consequence they belong to different orders of discourse. While, the former is still embedded in communist ideologies, the latter belongs to a "new" capitalist ideology of western societies.

Consequently, there is little chance that the cry for help of those without work will either be heard or understood by those who work and who do not share the same experience and thus do not partake in the discourse of unemployment. These include such workers as the policy makers, civil servants, or counsellors, all responsible for answering it.

**Dariusz Galasinski**

***Post-communist masculinities***

In this paper I am interested in the relationship between gender identities and the experience of post-communism. More particularly, I shall focus upon the constructions of masculinity in the changing social, political and economic situation in Poland. The data comes from two projects studying unemployment and lived experience of post-communism in Poland, and was collected in 21 interviews with men in urban and rural areas. The paper is anchored in the critical discourse perspective.

I shall first demonstrate that despite that the men's narratives have largely remained anchored within the traditional, heavily patriarchal, model of masculinity, there are two ways in which the model is incorporated into the men's stories and used in their local construction of identities. On the one hand, it is embedded into the stories of activity and success, with masculinity positioned as a springboard for action. On the other hand, it is part of men's helplessness and inability to succeed, and is used as an excuse for failure. I shall argue that the divergence is underpinned mainly by the interconnection of masculine identities with those of the social class.

Finally, I shall argue that gender identities must be viewed as intertwined with their counterparts, such as social class, age, ethnicity and others. Moreover, they interact with the competing metanarratives of the political, social and economic system and system transformation across the life-span of the informants. With some of them anchored in the past, and others explicitly referring and contesting the past, they also offer a set of resources from which to construct one's identity.

**Renata Galatolo & Véronique Traverso**

***Cooking together: Activity coordination in professional cooking***

The analysis focuses on verbal and nonverbal modalities professional cooks use to accomplish a joined activity, which is the preparation of a meal.

The data are taken from the video recording of two cooks preparing meals in the kitchen of an Italian restaurant. The activity has been recorded with two cameras from two different points of view in order to obtain a more complete vision of the entire activity. The total amount of data corresponds to the preparation of four meals. The cooks are preparing the meal following the orders which are communicated by the waitress. For communicating the orders, the waitress enters the kitchen saying the order aloud and hanging up the written version of the order on the wall. The written order hanging on the wall functions as reference for the cooks' evaluation of the sequential arrangement of the actions they are accomplishing.

The analysis shows how, in the context of a complex and shared activity, the accomplishment of an action can project the following relevant action organizing the activity of all participants. The performance of single actions, for example the action of putting a pot in a specific place or describing aloud what one's is doing, can function as an organizational device of the whole activity of co-preparing meals.

**Anna Rita Galiano**

***Analyse pragmatique de la psychose maniaco-dépressive: Le processus intercompréhension dans la résolution un problème de référenciation***

Les recherches en pragmatique de la communication permettent de porter un regard nouveau sur des pathologies qui présentent un cadre nosologique complexe. La psychose maniaco-dépressive est considérée comme une pathologie psychiatrique et reste le modèle central des troubles de l'humeur. Notre recherche fait partie un projet mis en oeuvre par le GIS (Groupe d'Intérêt Scientifique) intitulé : "Communication et Cognition: le modèle pathologique de la maladie maniaco-dépressive" sous la direction de J. Bernicot, J. Beaudichon et A. Trognon. L'objet de notre travail est double : d'une part décrire de manière détaillée le processus de référenciation dans la résolution une tâche cognitive, d'autre part étudier le processus d'intercompréhension dans une situation de non-coopération cognitive. Pour le premier objet, nous nous référons au modèle de Clark et Wilkes-Gibbs (1986) , alors que pour le deuxième, nous utilisons comme référence le modèle de la Logique Interlocutoire (Trognon & Kostulski, 1999 ; Trognon & Coulon, 2001 ; Trognon & Batt, 2003).

Pour notre étude nous avons eu recours à 15 sujets dont 5 atteints de psychose maniaco-dépressive, 5 membres de la famille des bipolaires et 5 témoins qui n'ont pas de liens avec les deux autres groupes. Les patients bipolaires sont vus "hors crise" (phase de lucidité), c'est-à-dire qu'ils ne sont pas polarisés sur une phase dépressive ou maniaque et donc ne présentent pas les symptômes typiques de la pathologie. Les sujets sont soumis à une tâche cognitive (figures du Tangram) ayant pour but de produire des séquences d'intercompréhension au niveau verbal. Grâce à ce travail nous avons pu observer des résultats intéressants concernant l'utilisation des références dans le processus d'intercompréhension. Plus particulièrement, les sujets bipolaires semblent se différencier des deux autres groupes observés quant à la façon de résoudre des problèmes de référenciation et d'avoir recours de manière significative à la communication non verbale. Ce comportement est observé lorsque le verbal fait défaut. Dans ce sens, le non-verbal vient se présenter comme une solution efficace au problème de référenciation. En outre, notre travail contribue à la mise en place d'un modèle général de l'intercompréhension. Ce modèle permet de montrer que, même en situation de non coopération, l'intercompréhension est possible et que des stratégies logico-discursives sont utilisées pour faire face à ce type de comportement, cela indépendamment de la pathologie étudiée.

En conclusion, notre recherche fait émerger des caractéristiques pragmatiques qui sont propre à la psychose maniaco-dépressive en période de lucidité. Elle participe aussi à l'accroissement des connaissances sur l'utilisation du langage en contextes spécifiques.

**Carmen Garcia**

***Different realizations of solidarity politeness: Comparing Venezuelan and Argentinean invitations***

Using Brown and Levinson's (1987) and Blum-Kulka et al's (1989) theoretical frameworks, this study compares Venezuelan and Argentinean participants' strategies when issuing an invitation and the effect they have on the speaker's and/or hearer's face. This comparison attempts to uncover the different underlying perspectives that make-up their culture within the context examined.

Most studies on speech act realization in Spanish have concentrated on intra-cultural communication. A limited number, however, has compared different Spanish-speaking groups (among others, Uruguayan and Ecuadorean Spanish (Márquez-Reiter & Placencia 2004), Peruvian and Venezuelan Spanish (García 2004), Ecuadorian and Peninsular Spanish (Placencia 1998), Mexican and Peninsular Spanish (Curcó 1998). This paper falls under this category and argues for pragmatic variation (Placencia 1994) in the performance of this speech act as a reflection of different cultural values and perspectives (Spencer-Oatey 2000). Results show that although Venezuelan and Argentinean participants preferred solidarity politeness strategies in issuing an invitation, and imposed on both themselves and on the interlocutor's negative face, there were differences in the type of strategies they used to establish and maintain solidarity and to threaten the interlocutor's face. As a consequence, although the final goal might be the same, the strategies used by these two cultural groups differ to the point where inter-cultural communication might bring about pragmatic failure.

**Immaculada Garcia Sanchez**

***The role of peer interaction in second language socialization***

Social success through interaction and participation in the activities of the peer group is crucial to immigrant children's healthy development and evolving membership in society. Furthermore, research on child-to-child

interaction has stressed the importance of language practices in the peer group for the elaboration of children's cultures (Corsaro, 1988; Goodwin, 1990; Kyratzis, in press), for second language acquisition (Fillmore, 1976; Ervin-Tripp, 1986; Tabors, 1997; Blum-Kulka and Snow, 2004), and for children's cognitive development (Rogoff, 1998). This paper focuses on the socializing, interactional, and linguistic embodied practices that immigrant non-native speaking (NNS) children engage in when undertaking socio-cultural activities within the peer group. The corpus used in this study consists of video recordings of five ESL children playing hopscotch on a school playground. This group of five children is composed of three females and two males, all age nine. The three female players are from China, Azerbaijan, and Saudi Arabia; the two males are from Korea and from Mexico. All five children have been living in the U.S. for no longer than a year.

The paper explores how immigrant children become mentors in facilitating cultural learning, competent pragmatic use of language, as well as in co-constructing norms of social conduct in their community. More specifically, it investigates: 1) How, in the course of solving the disputes that rule violations engender, the players in the group go beyond regulating the application of conventional game rules. Through the use of a wealth of semiotic resources, such as a) prompting, b) deictic pronouns, c) marked intonation, d) gestures, e) embodied demonstrations, and f) conventionalized response cries, children construct strong oppositional stances to other violations that regulate appropriate social conduct during the game. The unmitigated forms of correction that players display throughout the game in violation sequences provide opportunities for children to socialize each other into how to express strong disagreement and how to develop strategic competence, by handling conflict through humor and elaborate forms of argumentation. From a socialization standpoint, learning how to handle conflict and reach compromises is essential for children's developing competencies as social actors; 2) How children with different language abilities and levels of expertise in the game learn from one another through intent participation and through the deployment of forms of multi-modality: a) directives, b) deictic pronouns, c) gaze and body positioning, d) environmentally coupled gestures, and e) embodied demonstrations. These communicative practices along with the horizontal organization of participation in their learning environment facilitate the development of shared understandings of rules and the emergence of intersubjectivity, which is crucial for children's cognitive and linguistic development; and 3) How children use linguistic strategies, such as repetition and format tying, as well as non-linguistic strategies, such as reliance on routinized contexts, as tools to achieve effective participation in joint social activity and to socialize one another into communicative competence. In sum, this paper underscores the importance of immigrant children's linguistic practices in their peer groups in order to understand larger developmental processes of socialization into a second language and culture.

## **Marcos García García**

### ***Differential object marking and quantity-implicatures***

According to Grice (1975, 1989), from an utterance like "I went into a house, yesterday" it can be derived that neither the speaker's house nor another discourse-prominent house is meant. Instead, the utterance seems to imply that the house is an unknown, i.e. not-specific one. Obviously this conclusion is not based on a logical implication but rather on a pragmatic inference, i.e. a conversational implicature which can be accounted for with reference to Grice's (1975) Cooperative Principle and the corresponding Maxims of Conversation. According to the (first) Maxim of Quantity, which postulates that a conversational contribution should be as informative as required, it is possible to reconstruct that in the example mentioned above there is no reference to a house that belongs to the speaker. Otherwise the speaker would not have been as informative as required. Following Horn (1973, 1984, 1989) and Levinson (1983, 2000) among others this type of inferences can be seen as scalar implicatures, which result from the fact that a relevant and logically stronger utterance, which could have been made in a given context, has not been uttered. Thus it is conversationally implicated that a logically stronger, more informative assertion like "I went into my house, yesterday" is not true.

Apparently an analogous explanation can also be sketched for differential object marking in Spanish. Comparing utterances like "Juan busca una secretaría" ('Juan is looking for a secretary') vs. "Juan busca a una secretaría" ('Juan is looking for a specific secretary'), the latter assertion with the particle "a" is obviously the more informative one, since it makes reference to a specific referent, i.e. to a specific secretary. Consequently, the former utterance without "a" induces the interpretation that the reference to a particular secretary does not hold. The conclusion that leads to this interpretation can principally, also be reconstructed as a scalar implicature. Taking a closer look at the theory of generalized conversational implicatures (cf. Hirschberg 1991, Levinson 2000, Primus 1997) on the one hand, and approaches which relate differential object marking to specificity, animacy, telicity, and other interpretative effects (cf. e. g. Heusinger & Kaiser 2003, Leonetti 2003, Torrego-Salcedo 1999) on the other, the aim of the talk is to expand the outlined analysis and to propose a new and unified account of the phenomenon of differential object marking within the the framework of generalized conversational implicature.



**Christopher Gauker**  
*A semantic theory of even*

A common opinion is that certain words, such as “too” or “yet” or “even”, express a relation between the proposition they modify and a proposition that belongs to the interlocutors’ common ground. For example, it might be said that “Even John solved the problem” is appropriate only if there is some proposition, such as that Mary solved the problem, that belongs to the common ground and the proposition that John solved the problem is more surprising than or less likely than that one. I argue that this theory is mistaken since the proposition to which the proposition expressed by the sentence containing “even” is compared need not be part of any common ground.

Instead, I explicate the meaning of “even” in terms of a semantics of assertibility in a context. For each conversation, there is a context of facts that determines what is assertible in that conversation. Contexts in this framework are conceived as objective, not determined by (or not solely by) the interlocutors’ attitudes. In order for an “even”-sentence to be assertible in a context, the context must provide a suitable scale and the sentence modified by “even” must be higher up on this scale than some given, assertible reference sentence. All kinds of scales can be provided by the context; it need not be a scale of surprisingness or improbability. The reference sentence may be merely implicit, but we do not have to define this kind of implicitness in terms of common ground; instead we can define it in terms of the content of the objective context pertinent to the conversation.

**Jaime Gelabert**  
*Not so impersonal: Implications for the use of pronoun uno in contemporary Spanish political debates*

In recent years, a growing locus of scholarly analysis is the language of politics. In particular, several studies have examined the interaction between politicians at a micro-level, working within a pragmatic paradigm to analyze such features as pronominal uses, pauses, and spatio-temporal deixis (Chilton 2002, Bull 2003 or Partington 2003). Continuing this line of research, the present project studies the pragmatic functions of the indefinite pronoun uno (one) in the context of parliamentary debates in contemporary Spain. Drawing upon methodologies from corpus linguistics, pragmatics and discourse analysis, this paper compares the behavior of uno in two large corpora of Peninsular Spanish: newspaper interviews and parliamentary debates. The analysis provides solid quantitative evidence that the directionality of uno in both corpora diverges from the canonical impersonal function defined in traditional grammars. Indeed, it will be shown that uno is utilized in political debate in two primary ways: as an instrument for self-praise, and as a tool for mitigated confrontation. Though apparently disparate, these functions ultimately share an essential face-saving (in Brown & Levinson's terminology) purpose. While in the first case, Members of Parliament avoid constant self-reference through the use of uno, in the second they employ it to convey univocal reference and thereby avoid breaches of parliamentary etiquette. The taxonomy of such uses and its implications for reconceptualizing pronominal functions are discussed in detail.

**Linda Gentry El-Dash & Mary Ellen Oliveira**  
*Expression of path and manner in motion events: Pragmatically-based strategies in English to Portuguese translations*

The superficial representation of semantic features varies from one language to another, and language learners must learn to deal with the regular form-meaning mapping patterns of their second language. Frequently, however, such regularities never become explicit during the learning process, and many learners fail to recognize them. Especially when these correspond to typological differences between the mother tongue and a foreign language, such a failure can lead to serious communicative difficulties. One example of differences in such form-meaning mapping patterns is found in the way path in a motion event is regularly expressed in English and Portuguese (Talmy, 1985). In English, path is generally expressed by what Talmy calls satellites (prepositions or adverbial particles), independent of the verb root, whereas in Portuguese this is but one of the semantic features of the roots of verbs indicating movement. This often means that in translating texts involving motion events, Brazilians will need to restructure the information provided to be able to create a comprehensible version of a message. Moreover, the root of verbs of motion in English often include semantic features related to manner of movement, yet such information is normally not made explicit in Portuguese, or if present, is independent of the roots of verbs of motion. This basic difference in form-meaning patterns presents a serious obstacle for Brazilians learning English. Even when the difference has been identified, it is by no means easily dealt with. The present paper relates insights from the verbal protocols of Brazilian teachers of English

attempting to deal with the issue while translating a short written narrative containing 27 examples of the typical English pattern. These protocols reveal the difficulty perceived and the frustration involved in attempting to deal with the problem and suggest that a conscious awareness of the pragmatic implications of the form-meaning mapping of the two languages may help facilitate the development and selection of more adequate translation strategies.

### **Alexandra Georgakopoulou & Michael Bamberg**

#### ***Small is beautiful: Small stories as a new perspective on narrative and identity analysis***

Although a diverse endeavour, narrative research in (socio)linguistics and other disciplines (e.g. sociology, psychology) tends to employ specific kinds of data and methodologies which in turn generate a specific analytic vocabulary. In particular, departing from Labov's (1972) influential model, numerous studies have focused on research or clinical narratives that are invariably about non-shared, personal experience, past events. These stories (cf. life stories, autobiographies) are oft employed as heuristics for the inquiry into tellers' construction of identities. The guiding assumption here is that stories are privileged forms/structures/systems for making sense of self, by bringing the co-ordinates of time, space, and personhood into a unitary frame (where a person, cf. "Narrator" or "Narrative Perspective", comes to "being").

We will argue that the assumptions, sensibilities and interpretive idiom warranted by this 'narrative canon' have filtered down to work on conversational (cf. non-elicited) narratives informing analysts' definitions of what constitutes a (tellable) story and/or a story that can be used as a point of entry into identity work. Although there is recognition that the narratives told outside research interviews depart significantly from the autobiographical model (e.g. Ochs & Capps 2001), there is still much scope for documenting the forms and contexts of these 'other' a-typical stories, the analytical tools appropriate for them and their consequentiality for narrative cum identity research.

Our aim is to give voice to and argue for the 'worthiness' of stories that are still in the fringes of narrative research. We will do so by first naming them as "small stories" (complementary formulations are ongoing stories and story-lines) and then by charting their main textual/interactional features, concentrating on spatiotemporal order, tellership, tellability, and embeddedness.

Taking this point of departure for the exploration of the relationship between small stories and identity construction, we will argue for a view of narratives as situated and occasioned in ongoing social interaction, where the practices of engaging in small stories become the ground for identities that are constituted and constituting each other in interaction (identities-in-interaction; Antaki & Widdicombe, 1998; Georgakopoulou, 2002). This way, we will claim, it becomes possible to frame the micro-analysis of small stories as a window into the micro-genetic (Bamberg, 2004) processes of identities as 'in-the-making' or 'coming-into-being', forming the background against which identities in life-event or biographic interviews can become foci of investigations within the framework of more traditional narrative methodologies.

We will substantiate the above claims with reference to the (conversational) storytelling practices in two (linguistically and culturally different) groups of male and female adolescents respectively.

### **Marianthi Georgalidou**

#### ***Studying gender differences in the discourse of Greek children's play-groups***

This paper examines the discourse of children of nursery school age concerning the construction of gender. It focuses on the use of control acts - i.e. conversational moves which attempt to change the behavior of others-, and the use of politeness - i.e. strategies for the protection of face- in connection to the sex of the children, the type of the activity, and the composition of the play-group.

Much of the research on gender related discourse differences is based on the relativist model of intercultural communication (Maltz & Borker 1982) and in particular the Separate Worlds Hypothesis (S.W.H.) which states that "boys and girls come from different sociolinguistic subcultures, having learnt to do different things with words in conversations" (Maltz & Borker 1982: 200). Despite the fact that research has shown that children tend to segregate in same sex groups in which different communicative styles prevail, feminist researchers have criticized the S.W.H. as to the essentialization and universalization of sex-gender differences (Kyrtzidis 2001, Goodwin 2001 a.o.). Culture, the context of the situation, as well as expertise exhibited by the participants prove to be crucial parameters of linguistic choice affecting apparent gender differences.

Taking criticism over the S.W.H. into account, the present study investigates how children use different forms of control acts, i.e. imperatives, interrogatives, declaratives, to organize play activities. The issues examined concern the differences that are exhibited between boys and girls as to the use of the form of the control act within the context of the activity and the conversational exchange. The data of the present study is taken from a corpus of a larger study examining the use of control acts by children of nursery school age

(Georgalidou 2001). It is based on ethnographic observations of children's play-groups at the nursery school environment that lasted one school year. Recordings took place during play-time activities.

Based on the analysis it will be shown that Greek children, girls and boys, exhibit differences in their conversational practices and linguistic choices, but these are context dependent. The results of the present study are compatible with other gender focused research on child discourse that has shown that the use of imperative forms and aggravated counter moves, rather than being sex linked, is related to expertise and one's achieved position of relative power in a specific context (Goodwin 2001).

## **Marianna Gerstein**

### ***Recovery online: Identity and transformation in a mutual support group for compulsive gamblers***

While finding treatment is fairly straightforward for individuals with a substance abuse problem, there are very few options for individuals with gambling problems. Most gamblers in treatment undergo individualized therapy and/or attend meetings at a local branch of Gamblers Anonymous—a 12-Step program based on the philosophies of Alcoholics Anonymous. However, by the time most gamblers need treatment, they rarely have funds left for therapy or inpatient care. Furthermore, while GA is a low-cost option, local chapters are uncommon, and meetings often take place near gambling facilities. Consequently, many gamblers are turning to online support groups as an adjunct to, or in place of, traditional treatment options.

In talk therapies such as these, some researchers believe that the process of developing a new personal narrative comprises the essence of what is transformative. For example, Omer and Strenger (1992) have stated that a critical component of psychotherapy is that one transform one's "story" by applying alternate categories of meaning. Becker (1994) states that therapy can transform our "inner languaging" by "reshaping and repairing the stories we tell ourselves." Such work suggests that by internalizing the language and concepts of a treatment community, an individual may successfully treat an addiction. However, because online support groups are anonymous and fluid communities of individuals who rarely have face-to-face contact, traditional research methods are unlikely to yield useful data on this hypothesis.

This study uses quantitative and qualitative methods to characterize and analyze the discourse of an online support group for gamblers. The dataset is a 2.2 million-word corpus spanning 8 months and comprising approximately 15,000 posts. These posts have been tagged to allow analysis by length of time since last bet and gender. The first part of this paper will describe how this group's posts differed depending on time abstinent. Specific lexical items that appear far more (or less) frequently among one group's posts than another's will be identified and explained. The results of a concordance run on selected keywords will shed light on the contexts of particular syntactic structures and terms that were used (or not) by individuals, depending on how long they had been abstinent.

The second part of this paper will focus on a micro-level investigation of the dialectic between new and existing members in a longitudinal framework—in other words, how the posts of selected newcomers changed over time to reflect more closely the language of more established members, and how the posts of existing members keyed to these newcomers' posts in order to socialize them into the group and help them achieve recovering status. Use of pronouns, repetition, negation, constructed dialogue, and other markers of alignment and disaffiliation among members, as well as between members and the 12-Step paradigm, will be discussed.

## **Sara Gesuato**

### ***Titles in linguistics: Naming practices across four genres***

The title of a scientific work is a succinct descriptive label of that publication. Ideally relevant to the topic of the study and self-explanatory to its readers (Swales and Feak 1994: 205), it is meant to name the work, summarize its content and appeal to the reader (Busch-Lauer 2000: 77).

Previous research has shown that titles of scientific works vary across disciplines and language varieties with regard to their textual organization, syntactic formulation, length, and type of semantic relationships between their structural components (Haggan 2004, Bush-Lauer 2000). However, it is not known whether the naming practices of scientific publications differ across genres. The present study addresses this issue, by examining titles of publications in linguistics, belonging to 4 genres: dissertations, journal articles, proceedings papers, and books. The 200 titles considered (50 x 4 genres) were selected from the MLA bibliography by using linguistic terms (syntactic, speech act(s), bilingual(s), sociolinguistic, and learning) as title key words for on-line queries.

The titles examined revealed such expected similarities as: preferred organization as multi-word nominal groups (70%); high number of content words (70%); higher frequency of nouns than other types of content words; preference for nouns with single-word or zero pre-modification (41% vs 36%); recurrent

reference to the scope and topic, rather than the methodology, of the studies carried out. However, genre-specific titles also revealed their peculiarities: dissertation titles were quite long (15 words), often characterized by rich post-modification of nouns, typically structured as two information units separated by a colon (72%), and never encoded as prepositional groups or clauses. Journal article titles were almost as long as dissertation titles (11 words), allowed moderate forms of post-modification of nouns, and showed a preference for a mono-structure format (60%). Proceedings article titles were quite short (9 words), preferred a title-subtitle format (64%), but also included moderate types of post-modification of nouns. Book titles were as short as proceedings article titles (9 words), but contained no or limited post-modification of nouns, and were typically divided into two information units (64%).

The differing encoding of titles of different publications hint at the authors' awareness of their different communicative goals and targeted readers: dissertation authors need to succinctly convey precise, detailed information about their works to appointed examiners who will evaluate their academic adequacy: lexically dense, syntactically elaborate titles may be perceived as descriptively adequate and to the point. Journal article authors need to convey accurate information to interested expert peer readers: the high informativeness of mildly elaborate titles serves this purpose. Conference presenters need to attract to their paper sessions attendees who are experts in their fields: structurally simple, but lexically precise titles will be both easy to process and informative. Book authors need to attract prospective readers and buyers: short titles, divided into syntactically simple, easy-to-decode information units will be reader-friendly.

The data suggest that the wording of titles of scientific publications is partly similar due to the texts' relevance to the same discipline, and partly different due to their different genre membership.

**Naomi Geyer**

### ***Politeness, humor and speaker identity in institutional discourse***

Recent works on linguistic politeness have marked a significant departure from the traditional approach. The act-by-act treatment of linguistic politeness has been replaced with a new discursive approach (e.g., Arundale, 1999; Eelen, 1999, 2001; Okamoto, 1998, 1999; Watts, 2003) and a new framework of politeness has been developed based on Bourdieu's concept of social practice (Eelen, 2002; Watts, 2003). Within this framework, politeness is not conceptualized as reliant on invariable norms but as the result of human (inter)action.

Even though this new framework is theoretically appealing, there have not been sufficient empirical studies to effectively demonstrate its applicability. Such efforts are especially scarce in non-European languages. This study attempts to describe the process of social production of politeness in Japanese interaction by concentrating on a particular discursive practice—conversational humor—situated in an institutional setting.

Conversational humor and its interpersonal functions have been researched through sociologically oriented discourse analyses (e.g., Crawford, 2003). Humor is conceptualized as a distinct discursive mode, which accepts ambiguity, paradox, incongruity, and multiple interpretations of reality (Mulkay, 1988). Due to its flexibility and ambiguity, conversational humor provides an excellent frame in which the processes of politeness production become transparent.

This study attempts to depict the social construction of politeness through the microanalysis of conversational humor in multi-party institutional discourse. Forty-two discourse segments with occurrences of conversational humor were extracted from six audio-taped faculty meetings (five to seven participants per group) in three Japanese secondary schools. The segments were transcribed and analyzed from an interactional sociolinguistic perspective, making use of the researcher's knowledge of the participants, setting, and the cultural ethos of a given discursive group.

The microanalysis adopted in this study investigates how the frame of conversational humor is initiated and maintained through various linguistic and paralinguistic means (e.g., informal register, interactional particles, interjections, tone of voice, laughter, pitch change). The study further explores how the social meaning of politeness markers (e.g., formal and informal registers, epistemic modality markers, final particles) is constantly renegotiated and transformed within such a frame. By applying this methodology it attempts to discern how conversational humor and shifting politeness within this discursive action are closely related to affiliation or disaffiliation of interlocutors, and to power relations between them.

In conversational humor, the boundary between politeness and impoliteness may disappear or be renegotiated. Thereby, it creates a dynamic interactional space in which interlocutors' identities are collaboratively reconstructed. This study presents empirical evidence for the claim that what is considered polite or impolite is not self-evident, but must be understood with reference to interlocutors' locally negotiated identity.

## **Frances Giampapa**

### ***Ideologies of language, italianità and power: Italian Canadian youth in the Italian language classroom***

This paper explores the discourses on what it means to speak Italian and its connection to being the "right" Italian Canadian in Toronto. Norton & Toohey (2004: 1) state that "language is not simply a means of expression or communication; rather, it is a practice that constructs, and is constructed by, the ways language learners understand themselves, their social surroundings, their histories, and their possibilities for the future".

Drawing from a post-structuralist perspective, I examine how the Italian language university classroom is a site of struggle and negotiation where discourses on language, power and representation conflict and collide. At this micro-level, who is defined as the possessor of the "right" forms of linguistic and cultural capital (Bourdieu 1977) is connected to macro-level discourses that operate within the Italian Canadian in Toronto. Italian Canadian youth enter Italian language classrooms with varied linguistic and cultural forms of capital. Those that do not possess the legitimate forms of capital must manage, negotiate and challenge discourses on language and representation in order to claim social positions and access symbolic and material resources within the Italian Canadian world.

From a critical discourse analytic perspective, I focus on data from individual and focus group interviews, newspaper texts, a questionnaire and observations to show: a) how discourses of language, power and representation are played out in the Italian language classroom; b) the need to incorporate students' multilingual and cultural forms of capital in the classroom; and c) the importance of considering how classroom practices are tied to linguistic and cultural discourses that support social visions that include some and exclude others within a globalizing world.

## **Martin Gill**

### ***The real thing? On authenticity, ideology and language***

Certain terms, or, more correctly, the dualisms these terms imply – truth (vs. myth), the literal (vs. the metaphorical), fact (vs. fiction), among others – have been basic to modes of understanding in the Western tradition, defining a space in which responsible research is conducted, autonomous text is written, expert authority is claimed. They have provided what Lloyd (1990) calls a "rhetoric of legitimation" for that tradition, which, when imposed on modes of thought in which they do not occur, seems to offer confirmation of its 'natural' superiority.

During the late twentieth century, however, the spread of a new rhetorical self-consciousness, even in fields that derived their methodological paradigm from 'science', made clear the constructedness and ideological status of these basic categories, which were now seen to originate within a historically and geographically specific set of discursive practices. As a result, it has become much less easy to take the universality of such terms for granted (as the use of scare quotes in the present text demonstrates).

Yet it seems that a need remains for some set of terms – or what Rorty (1989) calls a 'final vocabulary' – that will confer validity on our assertions, interpretations, beliefs, forms of life, etc., and differentiate them from the mere errors and opinions of others. If these are not now reliably to be found in an independently existing world of fact, they can still be derived from the supposed universals of human experience, both individual and collective. Terms expressing qualities such as community, solidarity, authenticity, originality, though themselves products of the western tradition, are widely used in this way, often without close critical attention, in many areas of the human sciences, not least pragmatics, sociolinguistics, and applied linguistics. However, the work they do, it will be argued, is analogous to (and in a sense, replaces) that done by those problematic terms we have learnt to avoid: they define a space in which research can claim access to self-validating meanings, and construct a privileged set of objects whose nature possesses intrinsic value.

A key cluster of terms in this process is that surrounding the notion of authenticity (as opposed to the mixed, the hybrid, the fabricated, the fake, etc.), attributed, among other things, to speakers, texts, translations, interpretations, languages, speech communities and contexts. Building on work by Bucholtz (2003), Coupland (2003) and others, this paper will examine ideologies of authenticity in linguistics research, the terms in which authenticity has been claimed or contested, and what this reveals about the ways the field defines and legitimates its chosen objects.

## **Rachel Giora**

### ***On the accessibility of negated concepts***

Evidence from naturally occurring discourses renders suspect the widely received view that negation is fundamentally different from affirmation (for a review, see Horn, 1989). A look at the various discourse roles

assignable to negation points to a wide range of affinities between negatives and affirmatives in terms of their use. In addition, laboratory findings allude to a great number of online processing equivalences underlying both negation and affirmation, suggesting that comprehension mechanisms assumed to be automatic following negation are sensitive to discourse considerations and to the specific roles negation plays in a context setting. This sensitivity, while corroborating discursal findings, further explains the variability of the roles assignable to negation in discourse.

In this study I look into some of the functions people believe are specific to negation in order to question the asymmetry between negation and affirmation, which is the received view prevalent among pragmatists and psycholinguists. On the assumption that "[m]uch of the speculative, theoretical, and empirical work on negation over the last twenty-three centuries has focused on the relatively marked or complex nature of the negative statements vis-à-vis its affirmative counterpart" (Horn, 1989: xiii), I examine here the extent to which negation is indeed functionally different from affirmation. Based on findings from both naturally occurring and laboratory data, which argue against the asymmetry hypothesis, I propose the functional equivalence hypothesis.

Specifically, I show that discourse roles uniquely attributed to negation, such as denying, rejecting, implicating the opposite of what is said, eliminating concepts within the scope of negation so that their accessibility is reduced, or affecting meta-linguistic negation are not peculiar to negatives and can be easily carried out by affirmatives. I further show that negatives can be treated as affirmatives in that they may affect mitigation rather than elimination of concepts, be used as intensifiers, suggest comparisons, obey discourse coherence requirements, affect concepts' classification, follow the principle of discourse resonance, and enjoy pragmatic priority in the same way that affirmatives do. Out of context, however, negatives might give rise to unique effects allowed by affirmatives only when specific contexts are made explicit.

Examination of the temporal aspects of processing negation does not suggest that negatives are different from affirmatives either. Initially, comprehension is insensitive to negation. Both negatives and affirmatives give rise to affirmative concepts. Later interpretation processes are highly sensitive to discourse considerations, regardless of negation. They either retain or suppress concepts depending on their discourse roles. This holds whether they are negated or not. Only out of an explicit context do negatives and affirmatives exhibit different processes.

## **Andrea Golato & Carmen Taleghani-Nikazm** ***Negotiation of face in web chats***

In today's world, conversation interfaces with technology in a variety of ways, e.g., communication via the telephone, videophone, internet, etc. Due to technological constraints, the system of communication in web-based chat rooms is organized markedly differently in terms of sequence organization and turn-taking than "ordinary" conversation (Hutchby 2001, Schönfeldt & Golato 2002). The present study investigates which effects these technological constraints have on politeness, i.e., on the negotiation of "face" and social solidarity. Through conversation analytic and linguistic study, the paper describes when, why, and how participants adjust the format and placement of their turns from ordinary conversation to suit the particular conditions of the medium of web chats.

Heritage (1984) demonstrates that interlocutors negotiate issues of face through the mechanisms of "preference organization" inherent in talk-in-interaction. This term entails a distinction between two action formats. Certain actions (e.g., offers) make two alternative actions relevant in second position (e.g., acceptance / rejection). It has been shown that these two alternatives are non-equivalent; that is, acceptances are produced in markedly different ways from rejections. Actions which are produced straight-forwardly (without delay, hesitations, or accounts) are called "preferred actions"; those which are produced with delays, hesitations or accounts are called "dispreferred." The structural design of turns allows participants to draw inferences about the kinds of actions a turn is performing while it is being uttered.

This paper investigates the negotiation of face in online German communication by focusing on the preference organization of requests. Requests were chosen because their organization has been studied in detail for ordinary German conversation (Taleghani-Nikazm, 1999, 2002, forthcoming). The study is based on a chat log (15, 000 words) from the web chat program of a popular German radio station which yielded a total of 30 request sequences.

The findings of this research can be summarized as follows: While inter-turn silences and general hesitations regularly foreshadow dispreferred turns in ordinary conversation (Pomerantz 1984, Auer & Uhmann 1982), silences in chats are oriented to by the coparticipant as either a server problem (i.e., a technical problem) or as the coparticipant having (intentionally or not) overlooked a turn. In other words, delaying a given turn by silences or speech perturbations does not represent an interactional resource for signaling dispreferred turns. Instead, participants delay the production of a dispreferred turn by a) making use of multiple, elaborate pre-request sequences, b) by increasing the length of the requesting turn, c) by simultaneously positioning the

request at the end of such a longer turn, and d) by including emoticons (e.g., a typed smiley-face) before or after the request.

This research provides new insight into the way participants organize negotiate face when using a novel form of communication. By analyzing how communication is affected by technology, the paper contributes to our understanding of the nature of human communication. At the same time, it contributes to our understanding about the social nature of communication technology by showing how it both relies on and adapts basic human communication patterns.

### **Zosia Golebiowski**

#### ***The pragmatics of text facilitation: The study of academic English of native and non-native writers***

In this paper I describe the discursive strategies related to the writer–reader textual reciprocity. I focus on one way of achieving such reciprocity -- the employment by the writer of facilitative schematic structures and metalanguage where one text segment signposts information conveyed in the segment that follows. I refer to these facilitative schematic structures as “organising relational schemata”. I see organising relations as the most explicit components of the rhetorical structure of texts: they illuminate the main message and aid the reader’s cognitive processes in the orientation of how information is conveyed by text.

This paper discusses the way the choices of organising relations and associated metalanguage by the writers in different cultures and different discourse communities contribute to the communicative homeostasis in the world of text. It shows how the influence of a native culture and intellectual style together with the forces operating within the writer’s international disciplinary community interact in the authorial guidance in the scholarly prose.

I introduce and exemplify three types of organising relational structures: Advance Organisers, Introducers and Enumerators. I trace the utilisation of these three types of relations in sociology research papers written in English and produced in “Anglo” and Polish academic discourse communities by native English speaking and native Polish speaking scholars. The relational typology adopted is based on a study by Golebiowski (2002), which proposed a theoretical framework for the examination of discursive structure of research papers, referred to as FARS – Framework for the Analysis of the Rhetorical Structure of Texts. FARS entails a relational taxonomy which displays a pattern of rhetorical relations utilised by the writer to achieve textual coherence.

I describe intertextual differences in the frequency of occurrence of organising relations, their degree of explicitness and their positioning in the hierarchical structure of texts. Differences in the mode of employment of textual organisers suggest that the rhetorical structure of English research prose produced by non-native speakers cannot escape being shaped by the characteristics and conventions of the authors’ first language. They are also attributed to cultural norms and conventions as well as educational systems prevailing within the discourse communities which constitute the social contexts of texts.

### **Jean Goodwin**

#### ***Deliberative arguing and collective intentions***

As argumentation theory has taken a pragmatic turn, away from considering arguments as logical units and towards considering them as speech activities, scholars have taken up the question of what contributions those speech activities might (or ought to) make to the communities that adopt them. Many have asserted that the use, or, as it is often termed, the “function” of argumentation is the rational resolution of disputes (e.g., van Eemeren, Grootendorst, Jackson & Jacobs, 1993, *Reconstructing Argumentative Discourse*; Walton, 1998, *The New Dialectic*; see also Ehninger, 1958, “Debating as Critical Deliberation;” Habermas, 1996, “Deliberative Politics: A Procedural Concept of Democracy”). As such arguing can be seen as producing truth: something agreed upon by all, and for good reasons.

But there are puzzles with this view, at least in deliberative settings where important public issues are debated. For one thing, resolution is seldom if ever reached. Indeed, it seems paradigmatic of democracy to end disputes with a vote, not with consensus. Further, the vote in deliberative settings is on the policy to adopt, and though policies can certainly be assessed as better or worse, they are hardly true or false. Their “direction of fit” is world-to-words, not words-to world.

In this paper, I will point out the existence and significance of one prominent use of arguing in deliberative settings, a use that goes beyond conflict resolution and/or truth creation. Based on a case study of the 1991 U.S. Congressional debate over entry into the Gulf War, I propose that a key use of arguing is the formation of a collective intention. By arguing, the minority in opposition to the war was avowedly and in practice forcing the majority to reply in kind. In making a case for the war, however, the majority committed

itself to certain reasons for war. And this is precisely to say that an intention could now be ascribed to them. The meaning of the war had been defined; a specific range of consequences had been accepted as the intended consequences; and the majority had put itself in a position to be held responsible for the war, if events should ultimately show that their reasons were flawed or inadequate. Thus out of a contentious process of talk, a collective intention had been created.

In closing, I will extend this analysis in two directions. First, I will compare this account with other accounts of collective intent, most notably that of Searle (1990, "Collective Intent and Action"), given in primarily psychological terms. By contrast, I will show how a collective intent is constituted in and through discourse. And I will close by sketching how my analysis handles a perennial problem in legal discourse: the establishing of the "legislative intent" with reference to which statutes can be interpreted.

## **Marjorie Goodwin**

### ***Affect, assessment, and social construction of evaluative commentary in a multi-cultural girls' peer group***

This paper examines the activity of assessment among a group of multi-cultural, multi-class preadolescent girls in Southern California. Not only do assessments provide an important window into the processes through which girls come to construe events and objects of value. They can also provide ways of sanctioning untoward behavior through ridiculing someone whose behavior is viewed as outside the bounds of acceptability.

One of the favorite pastimes of girls is providing commentary on features of their social landscape. Assessment descriptions (Goodwin and Goodwin 1987, 1992) provide a principal way in which girls in their peer group make sense out of experience and objects in it. The grammar of an emerging assessment utterance provides for local social organization, as participants take up some form of stance with respect to the emerging assessment. After speaker offers her version of the event, recipients provide their take on the same event. Through "format tying" (Goodwin 1990) speakers make use of the grammatical structure of an immediately prior utterance to weigh in on their particular point of view relative to it. Next moves in response to assessment descriptions thus provide ways in which participants can compare their understanding of actions and events and contest one another's position, as a second speaker can attempt to match or top prior speaker in a reciprocal move. As girls link statements about objects to categories of person, local notions of culture are made visible.

One context in which participants generally express agreement in second assessments is when they are providing negative next descriptions about an absent offending party. Feelings of righteous indignation towards the offender generate similar types of stances. This paper will examine a particular gossip session in which girls evaluate the captain of a softball game and his "honey bunny," "trendy," Spice-Girls-enamored girlfriend who have excluded them from the game. Through talking together girls articulate and elaborate their moral positions regarding how members of their age cohort should treat one another. Differentiated forms of coparticipation occur in the midst of this gossip session. Not only what one says, but also how one positions the body can display a participant's "terms of engagement" and entitlement to performing negative commentary (and celebratory hand clapping). Even in the midst of negative assessment about an offender, differentiated forms of participation are afforded a "tag-along", marginalized girl.

The activity of assessment affords for recipients resources for displaying to each other a congruent or divergent view of the events they encounter in their phenomenal world and provides one way we can attempt to understand the moral intersubjective experiences of young girls. Data consist of over 80 hours of video taped playground interaction collected over a three-year period of ethnographic fieldwork in a "progressive" Los Angeles elementary school. The videotape makes evident the embodied ways that affective displays are critical to the activity of assessment.

## **Luisa Granato**

### ***The role of acts in the structure of genre***

Austin's and Searle's publications about Speech Acts (1960 and 1969 respectively), gave rise to developments in the field of the philosophy of language which made very important contributions to the study of pragmatics and the analysis of verbal interaction. The notion of act in their theories has been adopted and adapted to be applied to the study of functional meaning in conversation by researchers of different schools who look at interaction from various perspectives. One of the first and most influential models was the one devised by the Birmingham School represented, in the first place, by the work of Sinclair and Coulthard (1975) followed and modified by members of the same School as well as of other academic units, notably the School of Geneva, Edmonson (1989), Tsui (1994), Kerbrat-Orecchioni (1994), to name but a few. In their description of the structure of conversation these authors include the act as the minimal functional unit of analysis in a hierarchy of ranks which hold a relationship of inclusion between them. In this presentation I hypothesize about the



existence of a functional hierarchical organization of a different type, also involving the act, but which moves away from the above mentioned models. In this view, the starting point is the notion of genre described by functionalists of the school of Sydney (Martin and Rose 2003, Eggins and Slade 1999, among others) who consider that genre is a process that aims at the fulfillment of certain social functions and which is realized in stages that together contribute to the general aim of the genre. The identification of these stages is also done according to the purpose they perform as parts of a whole, and are, as such, functional constituents. I propose to include the act as a unit in the structure, in as much as it contributes to shape the steps that constitute the genre through the function it expresses. The act is regarded as a product of the dyad -seen as the ontological unit of interaction- and thus resulting from a real co-construction that can be analysed independently from the number of participants that produce it. It is then considered the minimal component of a new repertoire of units built around the given definition of genre. This proposal will be exemplified with the analysis of generic fragments appearing in our corpus of naturally occurring conversations between university students.

## **Mitchell Green**

### ***Cohen's problem and dynamic semantics***

William Lycan formulates what he calls Cohen's Problem in the following terms. Consider the sentence,

1. I claim that it is going to rain.

An assertion of (1) seems at the very least an undertaking of commitment to the proposition that it is going to rain. If I do not believe that it will rain, then I am lying in uttering (1). However, it will not do to follow Austin and Urmson in holding that the prefix 'I claim that' is not part of what is said. That view runs afoul of the obvious relations among

(1) and, for instance,

2. I claimed that it is going to rain,

and

3. You claim that it is going to rain.

It seems instead that we must treat 'I claim that' as contributing both syntactically and semantically to the assertion of (1). On the other hand, if we take this approach, then it becomes unclear how an utterance of (1) normally commits the speaker to the proposition that it is going to rain, while utterances of (2) and (3) do nothing of the kind. How shall we make sense of this disanalogy?

Many authors have weighed in on this question, including Recanati, Urmson, Ginet, Harnish, and others. In addition, the issue holds clear relevance to some approaches to Moore's Paradox: the apparent incoherence of asserting, 'It's raining but I don't believe it,' and 'I believe it's raining but it is not.' On some of these approaches, exemplified in the work of Rosenthal and Shoemaker, 'I believe that p' and 'p' have the same conditions of assertibility even if they are not semantically equivalent. This raises the question, if these authors are right, why it should be that 'I believe that', 'I claim that', etc., affect the assertibility condition of their complement clause in the way they do?namely, not at all?while other attitudinatives and speech act verbs do make a difference for the assertibility conditions of their complement.

In this paper I will offer a reading of locutions such as 'I believe that', 'I claim that' as peculiar kinds of force indicator. I first argue that contrary to a widely held conviction, a force indicator can have semantic content, and it is capable of embedding in a larger sentential context. I next develop a notion of illocutionary validity that explicates the way in which one speech act can commit its performer to another force/content pair. Next, I use the tools of dynamic semantics to show that one semantic feature of certain natural language constructions is that they update the conversational score, and a particular way in which this might be done is by updating the commitments of an individual interlocutor. I then generalize the dynamical model to include not only content, but also force: the nature of speakers' commitment to those contents. I then show that 'I believe that', 'I claim that' and the like are force indicators whose semantics can be given in part in terms of their (thus refined) dynamic role in updating conversations by means of illocutionary implication.

## **Ann Jorid Klungervik Greenall**

### ***Alfred Schutz' relevance structures: A phenomenological foundation for a new theory of flouting***

According to Alfred Schutz (1973), certain elements in our life-world carry properties that make them stand out more strongly to experiencing individuals than other elements: they are relevant to the individual. One such property is that of being unusual, unknown or unexplained against an otherwise familiar background. Elements that possess this property are said to carry imposed thematic relevance. The main claim made in this paper is that the (detectable) non-fulfilment of maxims (Grice 1989) and of other intersubjective constraints on interaction, in virtue of constituting a deviation from a norm, displays this property and hence carries this

particular type of relevance, which, in addition to the mentioned attention-getting effect, also has the effect of stimulating increased interpretational activity in the recipient (an activity whose main goal it is to make sense of a deviant utterance, or, in more traditional parlance, to 'retrieve an implicature'). The link between the general phenomenon of imposed thematic relevance and the non-fulfilment of intersubjective constraints on interaction shows, among other things, that there is a principled difference between the non-fulfilment of maxims (constraints) and the observance of maxims which has not previously been assumed, as both are said to produce 'implicatures'. The lumping together of the two phenomena may be one of the reasons why the growth of our understanding of non-fulfilment (and implicature) seems to have been somewhat stunted.

**Eric Grillo**

***Peirce on categories: Towards a metaphysical foundation of pragmatics***

It is commonly admitted that the reason why categories constitute the touchstone of philosophical theories of knowledge is the fact that they are usually held to account for the way in which mind relates to objects through language or signs, so as to give rise to objective knowledge in his common as well as scientific forms. From Aristotle to Kant, this has been the major aim of categorial research. But it is also usually acknowledged that these two (most ?) famous attempts to find out the complete « table » of categories both failed in so far as they couldn't provide them with the required generality and necessity : Aristotle by anchoring his categories in the particular grammar of Greek language, which he admitted uncritically, Kant, by deriving them from a theory of judgment that was far from being adequate.

As we know, Peirce's major claim in his own categorial research was that his method (a renewed logical analysis of thought) allowed him to overcome such limitations, thereby providing his own (list of) categories with the required necessity and universality. In this paper I'll then focus on Peirce's account of the categories, of what they are and the way they work, and in so doing my purposes will be the following : First, to work out a synoptic (if not systematic) view of Peirce's categorial research, despite the fact that it gave rise to numerous and varied texts that, moreover, belong to different phases of Peirce's philosophical development ; this I'll undertake for I'm convinced that following the internal evolution of Peirce's conception may help us understand why, and to what extent he actually overcomes the limitations of the classical conceptions.

Then, I shall focus on the conceptual changes that Peirce's categorial research entails in each of the three dimensions (ontological, semiotic and cognitive) that such a research involves and is supposed to articulate. I'll show that Peirce's solution here consists in grounding this articulation in the iteration and modalization of the fundamental triad (Firstness, Secondness and Thirdness), thereby making clear the structural aspect of his Categories.

Yet I'll state that what makes Peirce's conception original is not his recognition of the structural aspect of categories, but rather the fact that this aspect doesn't exhaust their potential : in the various status they acquire (fundamental elements of phenomena, most general conceptions or guidelines for inquiry) in the varied fields in which they operate, what characterizes them is their openness, that is their determinability. To that extent, being, meaning, knowledge and even truth become forms of varied (but always open-ended) processes of determination which, at least when meanings are concerned, turn out to be also context-dependent, interpretative, and communal. These pragmatic properties allow us to argue that the metaphysical foundation that contemporary Pragmatics often lacks might reasonably be sought for in Peirce's categorial research.

**Olga Griswold**

***Achieving authority: Discursive practices in Russian pre-adolescent girls' pretend play***

Authority as a moral and political concept has long been the focus of philosophical and sociological investigations (e.g. Weber, 1968; Wolfe, 1998). Most such investigations have concentrated on examining the criteria of power legitimization and the balances between authority and government within formal political systems. Despite this persistent interest in authority as a political concept, however, until recently social science has paid relatively little attention to the actual practices through which authority is instantiated during members' mundane activities constituting their cultural life-worlds. In this paper, I seek to expand our current understanding of authority by examining how Russian pre-adolescent girls deploy linguistic actions, such as permission and information requests, directives, role negotiation, and assistance appeals, to invoke hierarchies of authority during self-organized pretend play of house.

By conducting a microanalysis of girls' turn-by-turn conversation, I argue for an understanding of authority not as an abstract political category according to which humans distribute power but as an interactional achievement developed through talk. In particular, I show how through their grammatical and lexical choices, children publicly display their relative statuses as superordinates or subordinates within a social hierarchy.

Moreover, I demonstrate that to co-construct authority in the context of play, children assume or ascribe to each other pretend statuses reflecting their cultural understanding of authoritative criteria. In other words, I argue that authority is produced as a discursive and cultural practice embedded in a larger action of play. My argument is grounded in the theoretical framework of extensive research on the establishment of power structures within children's groups (e.g. DeHart, 1996; Erwin-Tripp, Guo, and Lampert, 1990; Goodwin, 1993, 2002; Kyratzis, Marx, and Wade, 2001; Sheldon, 1996, 1997).

The data for this study were collected during fieldwork I conducted in the summer of 2003 in a medium-sized industrial town in Western Russia. They consist of video-recordings of children involved in self-organized and self-regulated play and talk activities in the public spaces such as parks and school playgrounds. Ethnographic notes accompany the video-recordings. The paper relies on the tenets of Conversation Analysis and Ethnography as its main research methodologies. The combination of these methodologies allows for the investigation of the instantiation of social phenomena as they are made relevant by interaction participants in and through talk-in-interaction. From this inherently ethnomethodologic perspective, I examine how children establish hierarchies of authority in the process of play activities.

**Michèle Grosjean & Johann Henry**

***Organizing homecare in care networks without power: The negotiation as way of life of new network services***

In hospitals, means for diagnosis and care are structured along an organizational system. With the promotion and acknowledgment by health authorities of care networks that focus on the homecare, new configurations of care are merging as 'knot working', co-configuration (Engeström & al. 1999). In these care network, the 'articulation work' (Strauss, 1985, Grosjean & Lacoste 1999) necessary to care the patient at home has to be done by a combination of actions of diverse professionals (doctors, nurses, physiotherapists, other caregivers), services town associations, health insurances, and care providers which do not belong to a common organization and do not come under the same authority. And above all, this configuration has to be agreed by the patient and family who are strongly involved in its organisation. Without authority over anybody, the professionals who are in charge to coordinate the care actions are under obligation to negotiate and renegotiate constantly to obtain a care configuration, which will be suitable for all.

On the basis of an ethnography research recently carried out from interactions analysis in the coordination centre of the City-Hospital-Private Clinic-Network of Mâcon (France), we studied this 'articulation work' which needs to be done when the patient comes back at home after a stay in hospital: in these interactions, we show that negotiation is the only mean for the coordinating nurses to adjust and make compatible the diverse systems of activity and rules (private, public, professional, insurance, medical, domestic, civic) which are implied in each specific care configuration. Mainly the paper is focussed on the different levels of negotiations and the specific resources and constraints of these nurses' negotiations with each participant of the care configuration. These resources are linguistic, interactional, situational and sometimes they are in objects or artefacts.

Finally we emphasize the central role of negotiation in the new health network services and we consider it is the real "way of life" (Zartman, 1987) of all the services which need to be coordinated between diverse providers and with the customers' participation.

**Marco Guerini, Oliviero Stock & Massimo Zancanaro**

***Computational modelling of persuasive communication***

Persuasion is an emerging topic in the field of Human Computer Interaction: persuasion functions will improve the effectiveness of intelligent interfaces. The emphasis on modeling persuasion mechanisms goes beyond the current focus of "Captology", the term introduced by (Fogg, 2002) with reference to persuasive technologies. Most current approaches on persuasive technologies provide hardwired persuasive features. On the contrary, we are focusing on deep reasoning capabilities for human-computer interfaces.

The semantic amplitude of the term persuasion is very extended: it has been defined in many different formal ways. While there are lots of theories explaining different facets of persuasion by humans, only few have hardly tried to categorize all its aspects in a comprehensive and computationally oriented way.

Perelman (Perelman, 1996) defines persuasion as a skill human beings use in communication in order to make their peers perform certain actions or collaborate in various activities. In our approach, we prefer to narrow this definition by considering action inducement only (while the "large" definition involves behavior inducement).

At the basis of our work is the systematization of persuasive strategies and a meta-reasoning model that works on this taxonomy. We adopt the BDI model (Cohen & Levesque 1990) as a reference framework, focusing our attention on the four following aspects:

1. The cognitive state of the participants
2. Their social relations (social power, shared goals, etc.)
3. Their emotional state (both the emotional state of the user and the one expressed by the system)
4. The context in which the interaction takes place.

Our system uses meta-reasoning module to generate an abstract description of the message. This abstract description has a tree-like structure and its leaves are persuasive strategies taken from the taxonomy. Then, by means of selection theorems, we account for the interaction between persuasion and rhetorical relations selection. The theorems allow stating which rhetorical relation can better express the message.

As a test case, we consider the situation in which the museum guide has the goal of persuading an absent-minded pupil to pay attention to a specific painting. The system could use a persuasive strategy such as threatening the kid to tell the teacher he did not pay attention during the visit. It can do so only if it knows that: a) for him the judgment of the teacher is important (it weighs more than the boredom derived from paying attention to something that is not of his interest); b) it can do some action to prevent the pupil from reaching his previous, contrasting, goal (to have a good reputation in front of the teacher), and c) it can convey its intention in an appropriate manner (in relation to the emotional state of the pupil). The “deterrence” of the interface must also be credible to the kid.

### **Marie-Noelle Guillot**

#### ***Pragmatic development in advanced L2 oppositional talk: A contrastive study of the discourse marker mais at the beginning of turns in NS and NNS French and but in similar contexts in English***

This paper is interested in assessing pragmatic development in the oppositional talk of advanced learners of French as a foreign language, with particular focus on turn-taking features at points of speaker change. Interlanguage pragmatics research applied to English as a foreign language has had strong advocates (cf. Bardovi-Harlig (1999, 2003) in particular and, for example, the work reported in Bardovi-Harlig and Salisbury (2004) on disagreement sequences). Research efforts have, however, been more limited for other languages. The type of conflictual interactions investigated in the pilot work to be presented here, part of a larger project investigating factors affecting the involvement of learners of French in confrontational interactions, is particularly poorly represented. The paper will focus more specifically on turn design and strategies deployed in adversative turns and, in particular, on NNS uses of the discourse marker *mais* at the beginning of turns at two stages of acquisition, in contrast with both NS uses and NS uses of the English *but* in comparable contexts. Data for this part of the project comprise six 30-minute audio/video recordings of same format/same topic discussions involving in each case 5 participants in 3 groups: a group of native English advanced learners of French as a FL before an extended period of residence in France, the same subjects recorded after an extended period of residence in France, and a group of French native advanced learners of English as a FL, each recorded first in the foreign language then in their mother tongue. Differences in the frequency of use of turn-introducing *mais* in the various groups, in relation to the overall number of adversative turns and, more importantly, in the design of the turns in which *mais* occurs, point to significant pragmatic shifts in pre- and post-year abroad learners. These confirm the overuse of certain discourse markers observed in characterisations of the so-called advanced learner variety for French (Bartning 1997, Hancock 2000). But the changes, assessed against the background of Pomerantz's 1984 research into disagreement sequences in English - the mother tongue of the learners of French in the study - also point to revealing shifts from interlingual to intralingual transfer in the learners' pragmatic development of turn-taking strategies in oppositional contexts.

### **Elisa Guimaraes Pinto**

#### ***Consignes: Des expressions du Portugais du Brésil***

Cette étude recherche les structures de phrases auxquelles ont recours les utilisateurs de la langue maternelle portugaise, au Brésil, pour s'exprimer dans des situations de consignes.

Elle part de l'hypothèse selon laquelle les sujets parlant une langue maternelle développent des modèles de phrase de consignes qui, en fonction des caractéristiques culturelles, les différencient de ceux qui emploient d'autres langues ou la même langue dans des communautés différentes.

L'étude a donc pour but de réfléchir sur les manières dont les utilisateurs structurent leurs énoncés des consignes. Elle exploite la diversité de ces formes parmi les utilisateurs natifs du Portugais du Brésil, ayant pour

“corpus”de recherche l’ensemble d’échantillons collectionnés parmi des universitaires de la ville de São Paulo au Brésil.

Cette étude aborde encore les consignes sous le prisme culturel des peuples, en comparant les études réalisées aux États-Unis sur le même topique des consignes en anglais – parmi les étudiants en tant qu’utilisateurs natifs et les étudiants chinois, ceux-ci en situation d’apprentissage de la langue anglaise comme langue étrangère.

Ainsi prend-on en compte les protocoles culturels indissociables de l’expression linguistique elle-même dans un inévitable regard fonctionnel du langage.

Pour cete remission interculturelle, on se base sur le études de Hinkel (“Appropriateness of Advice. DCT and Multiple Choice Data. In : Applied Linguistics. 18v.number 1.Oxford, University Press). La proposition d’analyse et de classification des formes des consignes est basée sur la théorie des actes de parole d’Austin (How to do things with words.London, Oxford University,1962) et Searle (“A classification of illocutionary acts”. In : Language in Society. London, Cambridge University Press, 1976)

## **Hartmut Haberland**

### ***Language shift in conversation as a metapragmatic device***

This paper explores cases where bilingual speakers shift language in a conversation and which cannot be analyzed as code-switching, at least not within the current frameworks. Like in situational code-switching, there may be a change in topic or embedding activity, but the language shift is not conventionally tied to such a change. Neither do the speakers intend any stylistic effect or add semantic precision by choosing an expression from a different language, as bilinguals often do in metaphorical code-switching, making full use of their shared repertoire in two or more languages. These cases can neither be explained in a framework of matrix and embedded languages, since the type of language shift I am talking about is usually irreversible (though occasionally renegotiable). I interpret language shift in these cases as a metapragmatic comment on the other speaker's language choice. Possible reasons are that speakers don't want to ratify the language choices of their interlocutors (e.g. because they don't accept them as bilinguals), or that the speakers consider their interlocutors' language choices as situationally inappropriate or unnecessarily cumbersome. It is interesting that these comments rarely are made explicitly ('You just don't know any L,' or 'Let's stop using L!'); one rather refuses to speak L with one's interlocutor by switching to some L'.

One has commented on the complexity of the phenomenon of code-switching before - the use of several languages in one conversation can take on several forms and can have widely divergent functions. Viewing some types of shifting to a different language in conversation as a type of metapragmatic comment might help us to better understand the functions of choosing one or more particular languages from a larger language repertoire.

## **Auli Hakulinen & Lea Laitinen**

### ***Anaphoric zero revisited***

Our paper discusses the syntax and pragmatics of the so called anaphoric zero in Finnish. ‘So called’, since the metaphoric use of ‘zero’ is often misinterpreted as literal. We have located positions where third person anaphoric pronoun cannot occur, eg in clause coordination (a) or in subordinated clauses preceding main clause (b). In instances where the pronoun is a possible alternative, it conveys a different sense to the expression (c-d).

(a) Hän polkaisi luukun auki ja \_ nakkasi puut pesään.

He kicked the hatch open and \_ threw the wood in the stove.

(b) Vaikka \_ onkin BBC:lle tehty, dokumentti vaikuttaa kovin amerikkalaistyyliseltä.

Although \_made for the BBC, the document looks very American.

(c) Asiakas on tullut hakemaan lomaketta, jota \_ ei ole saanut postitse.

The client has come for a form which \_ did not get by mail.

(d) M: Onks Tiina jo kotona? S: \_ ei oo tullu vielä.

M: Is Tiina already at home? S: \_ has not come yet.

When the antecedent is in subject position, anaphoric zero is possible across sentence boundary and across speaker change. Structures where reference tracking is equally possible as in those with nominative subject are genitive subject in a modal construction expressing obligation, clause initial object-NP of impersonal passive construction and experiencer construction with emotive causative verbs, as well as locative construction with an animate possessor. The initial elements in these constructions are highly subject-like; the same environments also allow for a generic zero person. On the contrary, a clause-final existential ‘subject’, nor any optional nominal elements, when initial, cannot serve as antecedents to anaphoric zero.

Examples (b-c) are typical of written language. In spoken language, also instances where the antecedent is further away in the preceding context occur, or where the referent is only inferrable from the context. Often, but not necessarily, the trackable referent is human; the zero can also be interpreted as having a state of affairs as antecedent.

(e) S: Se on nyt ihan niin hermona että minä- mulla mnenee hermot kohta tässä jo.

He (S's husband) is now so upset that I am also about to lose my nerve here.

V: Voi eiks \_oo naurettavaa.

Oh isn't \_ridiculous.

Most of the examples we are going to discuss come from spoken interaction, where zero typically occurs in the presentation of another person's speech or experience, and when the speaker is identifying herself with the person spoken about (f):

(f) T: Sinikin näki tässä (.) muutama vuosi sitten rakkausnähtämyksen yöllä ja

Sini saw some years ago a love dream at night and

mä heräsin siihen kun se iski mua nyrkillä silmää.

I woke up when she hit me in the eye with her fist

(7 lines of laughter and other responses )

\_oli nähnyt jotain unta et mä olin kiusannut sitä,

\_had dreamt about me having teased her,

Y: \*mm\*

T: \_ hosi vielä unissaan.

\_ waved arms still asleep.

One of our aims is to show what meaning differences are created, if, instead of a zero, an anaphoric or a logophoric pronoun is used.

## **Huamei Han**

### ***Becoming a new immigrant in Toronto: Identity re-construction under bilingualism and multiculturalism***

This paper aims to illuminate how learning a second language (L2) entails the process of identity reconstruction of the learner, which further shapes L2 learning. Recently some researchers have focused on the socio-political contexts of language learning, and its impact on becoming bilingual (e.g. Heller, 1999; Giampapa, 2004; Goldstein, 1997, 2003; Lin, 2001). Focusing on interactions and their social interpretations, this paper analyzes the language ideologies that mediated these interactions and interpretations in social contexts, and explores ways to address language ideology awareness critically in L2 and general education.

Lave & Wenger (1991) contends that any learning is a dual process of participating in particular communities of practice legitimately in the periphery and learning to become, and being recognized as, a more capable member. However, because of the interplay between legitimate language and legitimate speaker (Bourdieu, 1977, 1991), some learners are confined to the margin instead of the periphery (Toohey, 2000; Norton, 2001). I see identity as a 'production' in making, which is never complete and always constituted within, instead of outside, representation (Hall, 1990, James 2001). Through encounters in the L2, learners learn not only how to appropriate the use of a new language, but also how they are positioned in the new community. Making meaning of who they are and how others perceive who they are, L2 learners constantly organize and reorganize their sense of self in different contexts and relations (James 2001; Pierce, 1997).

This paper is based on a two-year ethnographic study of language practices among recent skilled immigrants from Mainland China to Toronto. I will focus on one key participant Yang who was in his mid-twenties upon arrival. Presenting important episodes in sequence, I will analyze why Yang took pride as being a skilled worker immigrant from P. R. China before and right after immigration, how he resisted being positioned as a 'new immigrant from Mainland', and how and why he gradually learned the values of different languages and different varieties of Chinese, and the realities of being a 'new Chinese immigrant' in Toronto. Yang, a Mandarin speaker, learned to speak fluent Cantonese at and for work, and lived his life mainly in Mandarin, Cantonese and some English. This process demonstrates the complexity and fluidity of ever changing identity-in-formation within different contexts and relations.

I argue that Yang formed and continued to form his language ideologies through interactions with both legitimate speakers and learners of English in both China and Canada. The working of language ideologies has consequences for both immigrants and Canada as a whole. Therefore, I argue that we need to rethink critically about the contradictions between bilingualism and multiculturalism at policy level if Canada as a nation meant and means to protect linguistic rights of immigrants and their children, and to guarantee them equal access to education. Ways to incorporate critical language ideology awareness into general education and L2 pedagogy will be recommended.

## **William Hanks**

### ***Context and indexical construal***

This study is part of a broader study of the relation between language and communicative practice. It explores the meaning and use of some deictic expressions in Yucatec Maya, a native American language spoken by about 750,000 speakers in southern Mexico, and parts of Belize. The basic empirical question I address is: how do deictic expressions in this language contribute to the identification of referential objects, that is, what are the contextual factors according to which Yucatec speakers select deictics and how do hearers understand them? I assume that the forms in question have relatively invariant features that are encoded in the language, that the same expressions, when used in speech, are associated with various sorts of contextual inferences and effects, and that a proper account of indexicality must distinguish these two.

It is widely assumed that deictic distinctions in natural languages turn on the relative proximity of objects denoted, where proximity is defined as spatial contiguity in relation to the speaker. Hence in the standard view, the basic or 'literal' meaning of an expression like 'here' is something like 'The place close to the speaker,' as opposed to 'there' 'the place not close to speaker, whereas 'this' is 'the object close to speaker', 'that' 'the object not close to speaker,' and so forth. The idea is that what deictics do is individuate objects and places spatially arrayed at different distances from speaker. The argument of this paper is that the standard view is wrong for Yucatec (and probably for most languages). There are two parts to the argument: first, for most deictics, spatial proximity is a readily cancelable effect of context, not a semantic feature in its own right. Second, Yucatec speakers readily shift in the course of utterances between different deictic construals of one and the same referent without any rearrangement of spatial context, and without any of the transpositions typical of quoted speech. The first point suggests that the semantics of Yucatec deictics are more abstract than spatial proximity, and the second suggests that Yucatec speakers have access to several different deictic construals of context at the same time. The standard view is misleading because it reduces the multiplicity to a single dimension, effectively flattening interactive context into a spatial arrangement.

The failure of the standard view to explain ordinary deictic usage forces us to rethink the idea of indexical context and the cognitive abilities required for indexical reference. The data adduced in this paper suggest that indexical context in Yucatec is a field made up of the following sub-fields: the Participant framework, Perception (visual, tactual, peripheral), Discourse (anaphora, reference to prior discourse, cataphora), Space (relative proximity, Inclusion/Exclusion) and Time (retrospect, prospect). Given the multidimensional make up of the deictic field, a Speaker who makes reference to an object necessarily construes the relation between the object and the field. This construal is a social process and the deictic field is a social cultural organization.

## **Kati Hannken-Illjes**

### ***If that's what I said: The argumentative exploitation of credibility in criminal trials***

Criminal trials in Germany assume a particularly close linkage between argumentation and truth. They aim explicitly at discovering the truth about an incident. At the same time argumentation is ubiquitous in criminal trials: no indictment without a hint why somebody might have done something, no questioning in court that does not try to explore the defendant's reasons for his or her behavior, no verdict without reasons backing it. The truth cannot just be stated, it has to be "reasoned".

In this paper I will concentrate on an argumentative move that is prominent in witness testimonies in German criminal trials. In response to the question, why the witness is certain of her account he or she often says: x is true, because non-x would be wrong. This move could be seen as a fallacy and is an invalid form of reasoning in court. In practice, however, it often functions as a sound argument. I shall argue, that this argumentative move has two different functions in criminal trials: presupposing (and thereby immunizing) the own credibility and introducing statements and information from the pre-trial (although one does not remember them).

I will first lay out briefly the paper's theoretical and methodological background. The theoretical starting point is a field theory that understands argumentation fields as fields of practice (Willard 1981, Slob 2002). From this perspective, argumentation in criminal trials draws from different fields, the legal field being only one of them (Hannken-Illjes, forthcoming). Methodologically, this paper combines ethnography and argumentation analysis. The data used stems from extensive fieldwork in a law firm.

Second, I will describe instances of the argumentative move "x is true, because non-x would be wrong" in criminal trials and distinguish two functions it serves. By employing this move, the arguer builds his or her argumentation on the presumption, that he or she would not do something that is wrong or prohibited. I suggest that this move can be analyzed as a form of begging the question, as the argument rests on what has to be established in court: credibility. It assumes credibility of the witness in an interaction which is directed at testing

exactly this credibility. The second function extends the first one. Here, the argumentative move is used by witnesses in order to introduce statements and findings into the main hearing although they do not remember them: if that is what I have said prior, then it is correct.

I will then discuss the implications of viewing this move as an instance of begging the question and as a means to solve the problem of how to establish truth in court. The use of this argumentative move shows, how the acceptability of arguments depends on the exigency of the rhetorical situation and how it is negotiated in the actual situation.

## **Robert Harnish & Christian Plunze**

### ***Illocutionary rules***

The idea that speaking a language is a rule governed form of behavior is not new. On some interpretations it goes back at least to Wittgenstein's (1958) language game analogy. This view can also be found within speech act theory, most notably in Austin (1962), Searle (1969) and Alston (2000). In one way or another all of these authors subscribe to the following rule claim:

(R)The performance of an illocutionary act requires illocutionary rules in the language community to which the speaker belongs --shared rules that govern expressions and transform an utterance act into an illocutionary act.

There are two major arguments for (R). On the one hand it is claimed (for example by Austin) that illocutionary acts cannot be performed unless the speaker conforms to certain illocutionary conventions or rules. On the other hand it has been claimed (by Searle and Alston) that illocutionary acts have normative dimensions; one can neither explain the fact that illocutionary act have normative consequences nor the fact that there is a difference between defective and non defective illocutionary acts without reference to illocutionary rules. Since it has been convincingly argued by Strawson and others that the first claim may not be true for all illocutionary acts, we will focus on the second claim. We will argue that neither Searle nor Alston has proposed an adequate conception of illocutionary rules. First, there are internal problems with their analyses of shared illocutionary rules as the basis of normativity. We argue that the proposed criteria for the existence of implicit social rules are not sufficient, and in particular we argue that the assumption that the members of the group are acting rationally would also lead to the fulfillment of these conditions. Second, Searle and Alston both tie their analyses of illocutionary rules to the semantic description of natural languages in order to, on the one hand, avoid circularity in their analyses of illocutionary acts, and, on the other hand, to propose what might be called 'illocutionary act semantics'. Roughly, all proposed rules involve setting down conditions on the utterance of (specific) sentences of the language. We contend that this link distorts their theories of illocutionary acts in such a way as to cause them to fail to meet intuitively plausible conditions of adequacy for the description and classification of illocutionary acts. We conclude that neither previous theory meets the conditions of adequacy because no theory of illocutionary acts and semantics of natural language can be correct if it has the form of rules setting down conditions on the utterance of (specific) sentences of the language. We offer an argument to that conclusion. In light of these conclusions we can ask what a conception of language use as rule governed might look like. That will be the subject of speculation at the end.

## **Jessica Harris**

### ***How to do being a recipient of crying: Displays of orientation to crying episodes***

This paper examines how the activity of crying is recognised and interactionally managed in a variety of settings. Past sociological and psychological research has tended to use survey-style studies to elicit information about participants' crying behaviour, which use the term 'crying' as a "unitary and self-evident category" (Hepburn 2004). Similarly, most interactional studies involving crying episodes have described, rather than transcribed, 'crying' in interaction. In this way, past studies have relied upon participants' and readers' members' understanding of what 'crying' is, in order to answer survey questions or understand transcripts. The aim of this paper is to examine how members display this understanding of crying episodes in situ through talk and action. Using Hepburn's (2004) transcription conventions and descriptions of the 'features of crying' as a starting point, this paper examines the interactional contexts of crying episodes taken from counselling sessions, medical training sessions and the third series of Australian "Big Brother" (2003). This examination will focus on the range of actions, used by these conversation participants, to orient and respond to crying episodes. This paper endeavours to show how participants' choices of actions may display particular understandings of what 'crying' is, and how one may 'do being the recipient of crying'.

## **Anamaria Harvey**

### ***Towards an assessment of the genre report at university level***



The object of this contribution is to inform about research currently being conducted, from a pragmatic viewpoint, on the genre 'report' in academic discourse in Chilean universities, and the results obtained to date for a given stage of the literacy process. The aims of the study are: (i) To determine the main features and functions that tutors belonging to different fields of knowledge and students reading in different disciplines attribute to the genre, and (ii) characterizing the features and functions of reports actually produced by students from the Humanities and the Social Sciences, the Biological and Medical Sciences and the Physical and Mathematical Sciences of three institutions of the capital city. To this effect, we have operationally defined the genre as an institutional and formal communicative event that is structured and conventional and which responds to a socially recognized purpose and is characterized by a set of predetermined and shared communicative goals between the actors of the process, tutors and students. To carry out the study we have considered three sources of information: the institution, the participants and the texts actually produced by second-year university students and collected three sorts of materials, the official syllabi, the answers to two consecutive questionnaires applied to both teachers and students and a corpus of reports written by these same students. In this presentation features foregrounded by the quantitative and qualitative analyses of the data emanating from the instruments and from the texts are illustrated and further compared with respect to features and functions of the genre in order to contrast beliefs and expectations held with actual performance. The analyses of the corpora confirm our claim with respect to the overall social goal of the genre in this particular communicative situation—to transmit a certain disciplinary content in response to a given task in the case of the students, and to evaluate knowledge in accordance with formal and functional predetermined parameters, in the case of the tutors—and point to the existence of four classes of reports emerging at this level of the literacy process, classes which share the goal and nuclear features of the genre but differ in their textual realizations and functional purpose. Common and divergent features among classes and disciplines within classes are therefore further contrasted and discussed. Results obtained lead us to conclude that this sort of study into academic discourse in the making provides sound bases to assess the degree of literacy attained as well as metacognitive awareness and strategies deployed by the student population under study.

**Yoko Hasegawa**

***Exploration of soliloquy in Japanese***

This paper advocates investigation of soliloquy (uttering one's thoughts without addressing anyone) as a new approach in pragmatics research. Language has been recognized as instruments of communication and thought. The research exploring the communicative function of language is enormous, and our understanding of various linguistic devices for effective communication has advanced significantly in the past several decades. By contrast, exploration of language as an instrument of thought is scant, with the study of private speech in psycholinguistics a notable exception. Studies of soliloquy can provide valuable data in examination of how linguistic structures differ between communicative and non-communicative settings.

The Japanese language is especially appropriate to investigate in this respect, for its native speakers appear to have a categorical awareness of soliloquy. That is, they can almost invariably identify certain utterances as soliloquy. English speakers, by contrast, frequently do not have the same clear distinction. For example, when asked whether such an expression as 'I see' is dialogic or soliloquy, their answers vary considerably. This difference is likely due to the fact that the soliloquy mode of discourse has been grammaticized in Japanese, but not in English. Consequently, soliloquy plays a more significant role in Japanese, although it has pragmatic significance in both languages.

Some researchers consider that speech and thought are always dialogic (i.e. the speaking self and the talked-to-self mirror normal conversational exchanges) — an idea consistent with Vygotsky's thesis of the social origins of private speech. Even if this is the case, there should be significant differences between the two modes of discourse. For example, linguistic politeness as a politeness behavior is expected to be absent in soliloquy because no face-threatening acts are involved. The information structure of soliloquy must be eminently different from normal conversations because speaker does not have to consider addressee's knowledge and perspectives. Vygotsky speculated that in private speech the speaker omits known information, e.g. the subject, and states only those aspects of situations not yet known or clearly formulated. This hypothesis has not been validated because most researches have focused on children who have not yet articulated long sentences. Studies of adult soliloquies can facilitate investigation of this inquiry.

The present study reports an experiment in which 11 subjects (3 males and 8 females, all native speakers of Japanese) spoke their thoughts for 10-15 minutes in an isolated room. They were instructed not to speak to an imaginary person, but rather, to verbalize whatever came to their consciousness. Their soliloquies were recorded on audio tapes and subsequently transcribed. A total of 1,427 utterances and utterance fragments were obtained. The following findings will be discussed: (1) female speech style, which is common in casual

conversation, rarely occurs in soliloquy; (2) the sentence final particle *ne*, considered one of the most salient communicative markers, frequently occurs in soliloquy as well, (3) the uses of the topic marker *wa* and the nominative *ga* do not differ in dialog and soliloquy modes of discourse.

**Yumiko Hashimoto**

***Discourse analysis of contemporary Japanese dramatic texts***

This paper examines the characteristics of Japanese dramatic texts of Hirata Oriza (b1962) based on his notion of “contemporary colloquial theatre” (Hirata, 1996) by applying Toolan’s speech move scheme.

Hirata claims that contemporary theatre is no longer a medium to convey ideologies, themes and sense of values in the society. Instead, theatre should present human existence and relation to search our lives and consciousness. To achieve the mission, Hirata is well aware of the change of the language in the contemporary society with his belief that only newly systematized and constructed spoken language can express thoughts and the mental state of our modern era. Examining the characteristic elements of Japanese language, he developed distinctive style of his dramatic discourse using short simple sentence with particular attention to the linguistic functions such as ellipsis, reverse word orders, interjections, deixis, modal sentence endings, and overlaps.

Among of the above, this study is particularly concerned with the role of interjections in Hirata’s texts applying to Toolan’s concept of speech act models. In this scheme (Toolan, 1998), he classifies functions of speech in dramatic discourse into four major moves such as Information, Question, Request, and Undertaking. In addition, he introduces Acknowledgment (Toolan, 2000), which includes interjections, greetings and acceptance. However, this is recognized as the secondary move, since it cannot perform as critical part in an interaction.

In this paper I will explore the important roles of Acknowledgment in Hirata’s texts, and argue how the function of this minor speech act in English texts by Toolan’s account is crucial to the contemporary Japanese colloquial theatre.

**Ciler Hatipoglu**

***Cultural identity and the study of (im)politeness: Some evidence from e-mails***

This study examines whether or not macro contextual factors such as national and regional cultures, as defined by Hofstede (1980, 1991, 2001), affect the way individuals organise their e-mails in English. More specifically, the paper aims to identify how writers coming from individual vs. collectivist cultures and high vs. low uncertainty avoidance cultures utilise, combine and modify various expressive and directive speech acts in their messages in order to achieve the same communicative goal in the same language. The survey also examines whether or not, there is a relationship between cultural identity and the interpretation of (im)politeness by comparing whether or not while trying to reach their aim, informants with different cultural backgrounds obey or disobey some of the basic politeness rules proposed in Brown and Levinson’s (1987) theory.

The corpus used in the study consists of e-mails collected between January 2002 and June 2004. The e-mail data were chosen for analysis in the present study since with the developments in technology, and due to its easy access and efficiency, nowadays, the medium has started to rapidly replace the more traditional forms of communication such as mailed letters and telephone conversations all over the world. Therefore, it is believed that more information about the rules of communication governing this new mode of interaction is required.

To make the current analysis more consistent and the results more meaningful only e-mails related to a single topic – organisation/participation at a conference – was chosen. Analyses included t-tests, factor analyses and correlations in order to determine whether or not some of the observed differences were significant.

The findings of the study suggest interesting relations between a number of the macro contextual factors and the organisation of e-mails in English by the members of different cultures. It is hoped that the current study will contribute to enhancing knowledge in the field of pragmatics, raising awareness about the relationship between cultural identity and the interpretation of (im)politeness, thus, providing valuable insights into inter-cultural communication rules.

**Michael Haugh**

***Identity and the co-construction of face and politeness by learners of Japanese***

Learners of languages often face a dilemma in relation to their identity in that language. In Japanese language textbooks, for example, learners are often implicitly presented with a particular “model identity”, with little attention paid to other identities they might wish to be able to co-construct. The question thus arises as to what kinds of identities they might wish to acquire and how they can learn to co-construct them in their second language (LoCastro 2004; Chapman and Hartley 2000).

There are a number of different aspects of identity that are pertinent to learners of second languages, broadly divided into individual and societal factors (Siegal 1996). This paper focuses on two less-studied dimensions of social identity, namely, the degree of politeness with which learners of Japanese may wish to associate themselves, and the kind of face they might attempt to maintain in various social situations. A metalinguistic approach is employed to bring greater clarity in explicating these two important aspects of social identity.

Learners of Japanese may co-constitute varying degrees of politeness (*teinei, reigi tadashii*) in interactions with others, thereby implicitly identifying with a certain type of politeness identity. This degree of politeness arises from what one shows one thinks of the 'place' (*ba*) of others and oneself through various linguistic and non-linguistic behaviour (Haugh 2003, 2004, 2005). While politeness in Japanese is often seen as something that is fairly prescribed (Ide 1989), developments in discursive politeness theory (Watts 2003), and in empirical studies (Okamoto 1999; Usami 2002) indicate that the degree of politeness generated in Japanese can be negotiated by interactants, and is thus constantly evolving throughout the course of interactions. The degree of politeness co-constituted by interactants is therefore a means by which learners may co-construct part of their identity.

The co-constitution of 'face' is also another important aspect of the co-construction of social identities by learners of Japanese. In discussions of face in Japanese thus far, the focus has been primarily on how Japanese 'face' differs from that proposed by Brown and Levinson (1987), and little has been said about the actual constituents of face in Japanese (for example, Matsumoto 1988). The lack of explanation about the nature of Japanese face is due in part to the lack of clarity as to the status of emic notions of face, including *kao*, *menboku*, *tainen* and *mentsu* (Haugh, in press). Learners of Japanese who wish to acquire the ability to co-constitute their own 'face' in Japanese must therefore gain an understanding what underlies these notions.

The metalinguistic approach to deconstructing the emic notions of 'politeness' (*teinei, reigi tadashii*) and 'face' (*kao, menboku, tainen, mensu*) proposed in this paper aims to give learners the tools to co-construct aspects of their identity in Japanese, and move beyond the "model identity" that is often implicitly presented to students in Japanese language textbooks. In this way, learners of Japanese may become more empowered in their attempts to co-construct their own social identities.

## **Eric Hauser**

### ***Reformulating a student's answer as a model of correct language***

In a language classroom, models of correct language may be an important resource for the accomplishment of the task of language instruction. Such models may be provided by a number of different sources, with one source that seems likely to be fairly common in the language classroom being the teacher him or herself. When such models are provided verbally within interaction, they can be understood as a kind of instructional talk. Adopting a conversation analytic approach to the study of institutional interaction, this paper presents analyses of sequences of interaction between a language teacher and students in a particular language classroom, sequences that involved the provision of models of correct language and that followed a recurrent pattern. To briefly and typically characterize this recurrent pattern, the teacher would open a sequence by addressing a question, which could have a variety of correct answers, to the class. This could involve one or more repetitions or reformulations of the question in pursuit of a student response. When a student would indicate readiness to answer by raising his or her hand, the teacher would select that student. The student would then address his or her answer to the teacher. In the following turn, the teacher would first accept the answer and would then proceed to reformulate it, addressing the reformulation not to the student who answered the question as an individual, but to all the students as a class. Finally, the teacher would close the sequence by, among other things, producing a brief positive assessment, and would then open a new sequence, which would be likely to follow the same pattern, by re-issuing the question to the class. Fine-grained analyses of actual sequences of interaction, sequences which closely followed the typical pattern as well as sequences which deviated from it, revealed that 1) the participants were oriented to institutional roles as language teacher and language student and 2) the teacher produced the reformulations as models of correct language. In addition, by providing models of correct language in the form of reformulations of student contributions, the teacher validated these contributions as appropriate answers to his question. In any particular case, the answering student could even perhaps be understood as the ultimate source of the model. This paper demonstrates one way in which a language teacher may use language to accomplish the task of language instruction. It also demonstrates how, in what could be labeled instructional talk, orientation to roles as teacher and student, or more generally as expert and novice, is reflected in and constituted through the structure of turn-taking.

## **John Haviland**

### ***Batons in the hand, and batons in the air: Creating a gestural environment***

Recent work on spontaneous interaction, in situations where interlocutors are engaged in activities in which talk is, if central, nonetheless not the exclusive nor even an explicit focus of interactants, embeds various indexical devices in utterances within a wider environment which both encloses and defines the interaction. My own previous work has concentrated on deictics, in word and gesture, and the laminated geographical spaces they project, especially in linguistic traditions (Australian, Mayan) where conventions on deictic frames of reference are both conceptually and practically divergent from previously studied languages. Here I consider, in two contexts in which talk is but part of interaction, how interactants create a discursive environment, which includes virtual objects, spaces, and actions, by exploiting indexical projections between talk (including gesture) and different presupposable contexts of the interaction. In particular, I examine how teachers in a string quartet master class combine playing instruments with demonstrations and talk about how to play, and how Mayan cornfarmers frame an agricultural work task in word, gesture, and action.

**Patrick Hawley**

### ***Forward induction and communication***

The resources of game theory promise to help solve some of the difficulties which have faced attempts to work out, in detail, Grice's theory of conversational implicature[1][5]. As a formal theory of rational interaction, game theory may provide the means to generalize and formalize Grice's rather loose framework of maxims and principles of rational conversation. At least that is the hope. My goal in this paper is to describe and analyze two specific cases of conversational implicature using the game theoretic notion of forward induction.[4][3] In the first case, a speaker conversationally implicates something by remaining silent. The second case is the well-known recommendation letter example, often held up as the paradigm example of conversational implicature.

Consider the stark situation in which a conversational participant remains silent rather than making an utterance. An act of remaining silent, arguably, can generate conversational implicatures.[2]. How can these implicatures be detected by the hearer? By considering the possible utterances that the speaker might have been expected to make, but failed to make. The game theoretic notion of forward induction will help in understanding the stark situation. Using forward induction reasoning, one player, on the assumption that common belief in rationality will persist into the future, can sometimes determine the other player's next move. The reasoning depends on recognizing available actions which are not chosen. One player, in a sense, "signals" her next move by not choosing some available actions.

**Makoto Hayashi**

### ***Referential problems and turn construction***

Using the methodology of Conversation Analysis, this study investigates how participants in Japanese conversation deal with 'referential problems' in the course of constructing a turn at talk, and how various grammatical practices used in this process shape the organization of turns and sequences in an orderly manner. Referential problems refer to those problems that speakers commonly face in formulating and establishing referential expressions that are appropriate for the particular recipients to whom their utterances are addressed. When referential problems occur, they regularly create tension between the speakers' orientation to dealing with the problems and their orientation to executing the 'larger' action (e.g., asking a question; telling a story) of which the reference in question is a part. To solve referential problems, speakers need to put on hold the construction of the turn with which they intend to execute the larger action. On the other hand, speakers' orientation to executing the larger action motivates the progress of turn construction, which in turn motivates the minimization of a disruption to the 'progressivity' of the unfolding turn. By examining ways in which participants handle referential problems during turn construction, we show how participants manage two potentially competing activities within an ongoing turn and how they mobilize grammar to organize their concurrent engagement in these competing activities.

Two major findings of this study are: (1) Recurrently, speakers engage in reference negotiation as a prefatory activity to their engagement in the larger activity. In Japanese (and English), reference negotiation is often carried out temporally prior to the execution of the larger activity, and when this temporal ordering is violated, i.e., when reference negotiation is initiated after the speaker has already launched into the larger activity, it is marked as misplaced, often through self-interruption of the larger activity. (2) Japanese speakers mobilize certain grammatical resources available in the language – postpositional nominal particles, among other things – to organize the intersection between reference negotiation and turn construction in a way that is not observed (and probably not possible) in English. Thus, a postpositional particle is deployed utterance-initially immediately after the completion of the sequence of reference negotiation, in order to resume the construction of the turn for the larger action as if it were a direct grammatical continuation of a nominal

embedded within the reference-negotiation sequence (for instance: A: ken oboeteru? ‘Do you remember Ken?’; B: un ‘Yeah’; A: ni denwa shita no ‘I gave a call to (him)’). This rather peculiar grammatical configuration, I argue, is a manifestation of the speaker’s effort to achieve an intricate balance between the orientation to solving referential problems and the orientation to minimizing disruption to the progressivity of the turn embodying the main action. It demonstrates how the integrity of syntactic structure can be systematically subordinated to interactional concerns (Schegloff 1979).

Our findings suggest that the regularities in language use that we think of as ‘grammar’ are shaped by, and emerge from, recurrent methods in solving common interactional problems (such as referential problems) employed by participants in everyday interaction.

## **Xiaoling He**

### ***On the medio-passive in Chinese***

One of the most intriguing questions in Chinese grammar has been the relationship between the ‘BEI-construction’ and the ‘patient-subject construction’, as illustrated in (1) and (2) below respectively:

- (1) Beizibei (ta) da po le  
 glass BEI (him/her) hit broken SENT-PART  
 ‘The glass was broken (by him/her).’
- (2) Beizi da po le  
 glasshit broken SENT-PART  
 ‘The glass broke/ has been broken.’

On the question of whether patient-subject constructions are passive structures there has been considerable controversy (e.g. Wang Li 1943 and Liu Shuxin 1987 vs. Zhang Zhigong 1953). The aim of this paper is to provide a systematic account of these two sentence-types with a view to clarifying their similarities and differences.

From the point of view of cognitive grammar and using Idealized Cognitive Models (e.g. Croft 1994, 1998), both (1) and (2) are portrayals of cause-and-effect events, the structure of which can be represented as follows:

- (3) CAUSE + BECOME + STATE

Even though, unlike (1), a syntactic constituent encoding CAUSE does not, and indeed cannot, appear in (2), the presence of CAUSE is nonetheless presupposed, both by the semantics of the verbal predication as well as the ‘non-human’ nature of the patient-subject. In spite of this common event structure, however, there is a clear difference in emphasis between (1) and (2), in that CAUSE is foregrounded in the former but presupposed in the latter.

From the point of view of grammatical voice, the main difference between the two sentence-types is that whereas the BEI-construction is clearly passive in orientation, the patient-subject constructions appears to have some affinities with both the middle (cf. Chao 1968) and the passive. For example, compared to the BEI-construction, the patient-subject construction is unmarked in terms of all three of Croft’s (1991) criteria for unmarked sentence-types: structural simplicity, textual frequency, and broad syntactic distribution. On the other hand, its word order exhibits a diathesis which is typical of passives in the world’s languages. It is therefore proposed that the patient-subject construction is best understood as a ‘medio-passive’ (Grady 1965, Geniusiene 1987, Klaiman 1991) while the BEI-construction an ‘unexpected passive’ (in that its main function is to encode unexpectedness), which is in turn developed from an original ‘adversative passive’ as described in Li and Thompson (1981).

From a historical point of view, there is ample evidence that the unexpected passive is a much more recently developed structure relatively to the medio-passive, and indeed is a sub-type of the medio-passive. As a more recent derivation, the unexpected passive is much more restricted, both in terms of its semantic and pragmatic functions as well as in its textual distribution. For example, the subject of the unexpected passive must be ‘affected’, but no such restriction applies to the ‘patient-subject’ of the medio-passive.

As a result of this study, a comprehensive account of the voice system in Chinese can be constructed: it is one in which the basic opposition is between active and medio-passive, with the unexpected passive coming up as an off-shoot of the medio-passive.

## **Trine Heinemann**

### ***Some interactional uses of negative interrogatives in Danish***

A substantial amount of linguistic research has focused on negative interrogatives and their answers (e.g., Bolinger 1957, Pope 1973, Ladd 1981, Sadock and Zwicky 1985, Quirk et al. 1985, and more recently, Buring and Gunlogson 2000, Han and Romero 2001, van Rooy and Safarova 2003). These studies have been especially

interested in the ambiguity of negative interrogatives, looking for ways in which to explain how both positive and negative answers can either agree or disagree with the assumptions encoded in a negative interrogative. For instance, negative interrogatives such as 'Isn't it raining?' can be used to ask whether it is true that it is not raining, but it can also indicate that the speaker guesses that it is indeed raining. Hence, such constructions can be biased towards either a 'no'- or a 'yes'-response as the agreeing answer, according to how it is understood. To account for the ambiguity both of negative interrogatives and their answers, various semantic, typological and/or syntactic models have been suggested. Recently negative interrogatives have also attracted the interest of interactional studies of language-in-use, particularly within CA (Heritage 2002, Koshik 2002 and Heinemann forth.). Here it is proposed that the sequential position and the interactional function, or use, of a negative interrogative has consequences for how it is understood, and consequently for whether the negative interrogative is biased towards a 'no'- or a 'yes'-response as the agreeing answer.

In this paper I show how negative interrogatives in Danish interactions can be used among other things for the purpose of making requests, offers and suggestions. I further demonstrate that in language-in-use, negative interrogatives and their corresponding answers are not treated as ambiguous, and argue that this is because the function of the negative interrogative as well as its sequential position dissolves the ambiguity, leaving the answerer in no doubt as to what assumptions are encoded in the negative interrogative.

## **Monica Heller**

### ***Distributed knowledge, distributed power***

This paper examines ways in which Cicourel's examinations of the construction of socially-distributed knowledge in workplaces and institutions open up possibilities for examining basic processes of social structuration. His recognition of the importance of tracing genealogies of what gets constituted as knowledge within the constraints of institutional structures and processes allows for asking what makes those institutions tick. Answering that question requires both an analysis of the communicative creativity of social actors within the constraints and possibilities of their position, and an analysis of the ways in which institutions act to produce and distribute resources of knowledge. As such, analyses have to attend to relations of power, not just regarding control over resources, but also regarding the attribution of value to them. Using examples from fields such as education, new economy workplaces and cultural associations, the paper will explore Cicourel's contribution to a sociolinguistics of structuration.

## **John Heritage & Geoffrey Raymond**

### ***The epistemics of social relations: Cognition and identity-bound knowledge in self-other relations***

Scholars have long understood that linkages between the identities of actors, their perceptions of events and the design of their actions in interaction constitute one of the central mechanisms by which social patterns are produced. Although a range of empirical approaches have successfully grounded claims regarding the significance of various forms or types of identity (such as gender, sex, race, ethnicity, class, familial status, etc.) in almost every form of social organization, these analyses have mostly focused on aggregated populations, aggregated interactions, or historical periods that have been (in different ways) abstracted from the particulars of singular episodes of interaction. By contrast, establishing the mechanisms by which a specific identity is made relevant and consequential in any particular episode of interaction has remained much more elusive. In this paper we develop a range of general analytic resources for explicating how participants to an interaction can make relevant and consequential specific identities in particular courses of action. We then illustrate how these methods can be used as analytic resources by examining a phone call between two friends, one of whom we will argue relevantly embodies "grandparent" as an identity. The central mechanisms we will be concerned with involve members' methods for managing rights to identity-bound knowledge in self-other relations -- or, as we will have it: the epistemics of social relations. Towards this end we describe how the distribution of rights and responsibilities regarding what participants can accountably know, how they know it, whether they have rights to describe it, and in what terms, are directly implicated in organized practices of speaking. These observations have a range of implications for understanding the connection between conversation and cognition. First, since the representation and embodiment of cognitive processes is coordinated through interactional practices, some explication of those practices and their sequential deployment will be consequential for our understanding of the cognitive processes they may reflect. Second, insofar as such (putatively) cognitive matters are represented and embodied in interaction, they may be matters that conversational co-participants are concerned to manage. Finally, by examining how members police the boundaries of knowledge to which they can claim special rights by virtue of their identities we can begin to appreciate the ways in which the regulation of experience,

information and sense making are implicated in the production and management of more abstract forms of social organization.

### **Nieves Hernández-Flores**

#### ***Cortesía y otros tipos de actividades de imagen: Significado comunicativo y social en un debate televisivo***

El presente estudio tratará de adentrarse en la caracterización de la cortesía en una situación comunicativa concreta: la de los debates televisivos en España. Se analizarán estos debates desde un punto de vista sociopragmático a fin de señalar algunos de los rasgos comunicativos que presenta la cortesía y qué función social adquieren dentro de este tipo de intercambios. El análisis se hará desde una perspectiva cultural, pues se considera que las características de la imagen social (face, Goffman 1967) y de los roles (Goffman 1961) que adaptan los interactuantes están definidas de acuerdo con las características de la comunidad cultural, la española en este caso (Bravo 1999, 2003 y 2004). El objetivo del trabajo es de tres tipos. En primer lugar, qué funciones adquiere la cortesía con respecto a la situación de la imagen social de los participantes en dichos intercambios; para ello se recurrirá a la clasificación de estas funciones establecida en un estudio anterior (Hernández Flores 2004): atenuación de amenazas a la imagen, reparación de amenazas y realce de la imagen. En segundo lugar, qué papel tiene la cortesía en relación con la presencia de otros tipos de actividades de imagen (facework) no corteses: la descortesía y las actividades de autoimagen (actividades de imagen dirigidas por un hablante hacia su propia imagen) (Hernández Flores en prensa). Por último, y como derivación de los dos puntos anteriores, se tratará de dilucidar cuál es el sentido de usar la cortesía en el marco de los debates televisivos, es decir, qué objetivos comunicativos y sociales se alcanzan mediante su uso en este específico tipo de género comunicativo (Luckman 1995).

La hipótesis de este trabajo es que la cortesía podría adquirir un significado propio en el género comunicativo de los debates: por una parte, supondría un medio de regulación del intercambio comunicativo y de seguimiento de unas normas de participación propias de este género (finalidad comunicativa) y, por otra parte, significaría la confirmación de las características culturalmente atribuidas a los roles de los hablante y a su imagen (finalidad social). Esta hipótesis tratará de demostrarse mediante el análisis de varios fragmentos de interacciones en tertulias televisivas españolas.

### **Richard Hirsch**

#### ***Pragmatic semantics***

Saying what is meant by an expression is a practice that occurs repeatedly in everyday conversations and other more specialized dialogic communication. Giving semantic interpretations of expressions in everyday natural language is also something that professional linguistics and philosophers of language regularly do. In the everyday case normal everyday language is used to formulate paraphrases, explications, etc. In Linguistics and Philosophy specialized metalanguages are used to make the semantic interpretations. In this talk I argue that the everyday practice of reformulating what is meant by what is being said is both sufficient and necessary for successful semantic interpretation and communication. A local contextual notion of synonymy is evoked in paraphrases together with other aspects of reformulations - elaborations, specifications, precisifications, etc. in empirical studies of how interlocutors go about the everyday business of making intersubjective sense of natural language expressions. The argument of the talk is related to certain 'read-back' practices in more specialized communication situations (e.g. air-traffic) where a verbatim repeat is taken as evidence that the message has been received and understood. In the paper it is claimed that repetition as such is only effective as proof of understanding if the expression is meant in a strictly performative world-creating sense and that otherwise there must be a paraphrasing reformulation which would be the only possible proof of successful interpretation and understanding.

### **Christiane Hohenstein**

#### ***Receptive multilingualism: A viable chance in German-Japanese expert communication?***

As there is no clear-cut borderline between where receptive multilingualism stops to be an 'ausbau' of L1 competence and where it starts to develop into an L2 it is interesting to look for identifiable linguistic entities that may facilitate a transition from L1 'ausbau' to secondary or tertiary language learning. Learners of secondary and tertiary languages obviously rely on the reconstruction of similarities between the languages they know in order to achieve comprehension (cf. Hufeisen & Marx (eds.) 2004). Thus, the question has to be asked 1) whether 'receptive multilingualism' is a type of comprehension used with regards to typologically distant languages like Japanese and German as well, and 2) whether receptive multilingualism in that sense may offer a

viable chance on the road to tertiary acquisition of non-L1 related languages, as in the case of Japanese L2 and German L1.

I will show that linguistic entities identifiable in L2 may become related to seemingly similar constructions in L1 or another (secondary or tertiary) language. This is the case, for example, with ‘I think–constructions’ in German and Japanese – even though they actually are used for different discourse purposes (cf. Hohenstein 2004). An other case in point is the formation of knowledge regarding action patterns. Based on Japanese and German data from my research in the project „Japanese and German Expert Discourse in mono- and multilingual settings“ (JadEx), I will discuss whether structures such as those may hinder or help a receptive multilingualism, that is, e. g. prepare an L2 listener to follow a complex academic presentation, without (yet) being able to give a talk by oneself. I will argue that, if analysed and reflected in terms of their language internal and language external functionality, action patterns present a prospect to a shared basis of understanding that may well serve a receptive multilingualism; on the other hand, a more general theory of ‘multilingual receptive understanding’ may be called for.

### **Janet Homes, Meredith Marra & Stephanie Schnurr**

#### ***Being (im)polite in New Zealand workplaces: maori and Pakeha leaders***

This paper investigates what it means to “do leadership” appropriately in ethnically diverse workplaces in New Zealand. Our previous research has defined effective leadership as discursive behaviour which achieves both transactional and relational objectives (eg Holmes and Schnurr 2004, Marra, Schnurr and Holmes 2004, Schnurr fc). This research demonstrates that leaders draw on diverse discursive strategies in order to integrate these two important leadership objectives in their everyday interactions, always taking account of norms regarding what counts as appropriate and acceptable behaviour in their distinctive communities of practice.

While there is some research which investigates the ways in which people “do politeness” in mainstream majority group workplaces (eg Harris 2003, Holmes and Stubbe 2003, Morand 1996), there is relatively little research on the ways in which politeness is accomplished in organizations where the majority of the participants, or the predominant culture, is that of an ethnic minority group. Assessments of what constitutes “effective” and appropriate leadership behaviour, as well as what is judged “polite” and impolite”, are inextricably embedded within their socio-cultural context (cf. Mills 2003, Watts 2003). Hence it seems likely that leaders from ethnically diverse organizations employ similar discursive strategies in rather different ways in order to construct their professional and their ethnic identities, while also adhering to norms of adequate and polite behaviour within the context of their organisation.

We explore this hypothesis using four case studies based on recordings of the everyday interactions of two female and two male leaders, two of whom identify as Pakeha, and who work in a predominantly Pakeha community of practice, and two who identify as Maori, and work in a predominantly Maori community of practice. Pakeha (New Zealanders of European, mainly British, origin), constitute the largest proportion of the New Zealand population; Maori are the indigenous population and constitute 14.7%. The case studies are selected from the database of Victoria University’s Language in the Workplace project, which currently comprises 2500 interactions from a wide range of organizations. The data used for this analysis encompasses two distinct types of discourse setting: one-to-one interactions and team meetings.

The analysis focuses on three features of the leaders’ discourse: firstly, meeting openings where the formalities and protocols of the work groups are very evident; secondly, differences in the way humour is used in the different work groups as they relate to ethnic group norms; and thirdly the role of silence in meetings, a component of communication which has a range of different cultural interpretations eg respect vs lack of cooperation (eg. Scollon and Scollon 1995, Jaworski 1997, Stubbe and Holmes 2000).

In sum, we provide evidence that what is considered polite between members of one ethnic group at work may be considered impolite between members of other groups (cf Spencer-Oatey 2000), and that the leaders in the case studies skillfully draw on a range of discursive strategies and styles which enable them to achieve their leadership objectives, while taking account of precisely these different ways in which politeness, ethnicity and group norms interact.

### **Atsuko Honda**

#### ***Conflict and facework in Japanese public affairs talk shows: A speech act analysis***

In institutional talk or disputational contexts, disagreements are often expressed straightforwardly in an unmitigated fashion. However, confrontational exchanges observed in Japanese public affairs talk shows are different; here conflict is always managed by some kind of redressive action. It is shaped by two opposing processes: “conflict” and “facework” against conflict.



The present study investigates these two opposing behaviors observed in Japanese public affairs talk shows from the viewpoint of speech act theory. By analyzing each observed action, not only as an individual utterance but also as an action situated in interaction, it will be shown that each action functions either as “conflict” (or the manifestation of one’s opinion that encourages conflict) or “facework”, that is, attempts to minimize threats to one’s self-image.

The analysis uses recorded and transcribed programs taken from Japanese public affairs talk shows. In each program, utterances corresponding to the two behaviors, “conflict” and “facework”, are quantitatively and qualitatively analyzed.

It is often assumed that actions which sustain the behavior of “conflict”, or the one that encourages conflict, such as expressing one’s opinion or supporting one’s arguments, can be categorized as “representatives”, speech acts which commit the speaker to make some statements. “Facework”, on the other hand, is specifically oriented to the party in conflict, and it can be classified as “commissives”, acts which commit the speaker to do something for the other party. In addition, if consideration is shown by means of expressing one’s psychological state toward the party, it can be achieved through “expressives”, attempts by the speaker to express some feelings or attitudes.

The data presented here will show, however, that the talk show participants manifested their opinions not only by means of “representatives” but also by other actions. The analyses also suggest that “facework” is achieved mostly through “representatives”. These observations indicate that what is mainly achieved in interaction is not “facework” but “conflict”, or the manifestation of one’s own argument that sustains conflict. This suggests that the interaction primarily consists of “conflict”, and “facework”, though clearly present and important, is subsidiary to “conflict” in the context examined.

The analyses presented also suggest that speech acts are a useful tool for analysis of actions, not only as individual utterances, but also as events situated in interaction.

## **Jin-Ok Hong**

### ***Confucian ideology and ideologically motivated Korean honorific usages***

Brown & Levinson’s notion of relational work points out that individual interests and personal motivations are crucial elements in influencing linguistic strategies, and are particularly obvious in the use of politeness. Nevertheless, with regard to institutional politeness, the personal interest that may conflict with H’s institutional face on a discursive level often employs a culturally specific ideological nature in the renegotiation of individual identity. For instance, the ideological language use viewed from situation-specific norm-based modeling clearly demonstrates that participants’ choices of various address terms are intentional: when non-work-related requests deviate from institutional norms, they strategically employ over deference in order to counteract the acts from face threatening acts. That is why intentional language use tends to employ overly deferential language use. For example, a professor addressing a secretary as ‘Secretary Lee’ is the norm. Yet, the academic mentor’s choice of the non-reciprocal address term ‘teacher’ combined with the honorific marker ‘nim’ toward the less powerful secretary means that she has an intentionality underlying the adoption of over-deference.

In my data collected from naturally occurring situations within the two distinctive institutions (i.e., British and Korean universities). P (power), D (distance), and R (ranking of imposition) are very sensitive to cultural ideologies in terms of Korean politeness forms. Confucian ideologies are strategically employed in situations involving high R. Cultural values are closely interconnected with the manifestation of the level of (im) politeness and individual identity. Deliberate use of highly deferential address terms are used as negotiating boosters for the fulfillment of work-related tasks. In this sense, politeness is INTENTIONAL. These deliberate effects are also derived from the situated nature arising from the discursive interaction. In this respect, politeness is INTERACTIONAL.

One point that needs to be considered is that deliberate motivation triggering cultural ideologies can only be visible in actual discursive situations. Harris (2003: 7) argues against a pre-existent socio-linguistic perspective in that the notion of appropriacy should be ideologically determined rather than defining appropriateness in context. My data demonstrate that the notion of appropriateness operates on the culturally specific ideological dimension rather than merely being appropriate within locally situated contexts. In this sense, situation-specific cultural practice can better analyze the pragmatic notion of politeness, since I describe ideological language use and linguistic behaviour as well. For example, Korean honorifics are very sensitive to social and situational practice. When Korean people express deep gratitude, they often use the expressions ‘ceongmal komaweoyo’ (really thankful), and ‘taetanhi kamsahamnita’ (greatly thankful). Both of which indicate identical meaning ‘I really thank you’, but reveal different implications of politeness. The selection of appropriate language use depends on differing situational contexts and power relationships. The former reveals more solidarity-based emotional feeling and is often used to indicate positive face strategies, whilst the latter connotes formal and negative politeness strategies. Nonetheless, institutional participants deliberately exploit these implications on a discursive level in order to achieve their pragmatic goals.

## **Krisadawan Hongladarom**

### ***I don't mean to criticize you but...: A study of metapragmatic utterances in Thai***

Thai people usually say things indirectly when they want to make refusals or requests, break bad news, criticize their interlocutors or simply disagree with them. Of all these speech acts, criticism is worth investigating in more detail, as it seems to be one of the most striking characteristics of Thai culture. Yet, it has hardly been studied especially from the aspect considered in this paper. Thai speakers often remark that they do not like criticism and they do not want to be criticized. Criticism in public spheres can be devastating particularly when they are done in a blunt and direct way and when the target has a higher social status than the critic. This is why it is not uncommon that criticism is often disguised in form of conversational jokes and gossips which present criticizing utterances as something but criticisms. When observing from the interactional plane, we see that speakers resort to various kinds of devices to loosen the force of the speech act or replace remedial acts (e.g., apologizing) which are sometimes necessary to perform soon after the act of criticizing is over. One of the most common of such devices is the use of disclaimers like "I don't mean to criticize you but...", "Don't be upset with me if I tell you this...", including the play with reported speech. In my view, the most interesting case of such metapragmatic comments is when meta-utterances blend so well with the original utterances and the reader or listener are not aware of the writer's or the speaker's evaluative voices. Drawn from various sources in spoken and written Thai ranging from daily life conversations, talk shows, webboards and gossips in newspapers, the paper will discuss what metapragmatic utterances are like in Thai, what kinds of meta-devices are employed, and how they interact with the propositional content of the utterances they quote or comment upon. Based on Bakhtinian notions of polyphony and intertextuality, the paper will also discuss the interplay between these utterances and the discourses in which they are embedded.

## **Motoko Hori**

### ***Discoursal problems in cross-cultural conversations***

Presentations in this panel are concerned with some pragmatic problems people often experience when conversing with people from other countries. Since problems in vocabulary and grammar, directly related to linguistic elements, have been discussed often in the past, the discussants will focus on problems related to pragmatics, particularly to the problems of politeness. The difference in the concept of politeness could be one of the major causes of misunderstanding of messages and misinterpretation of personalities because it is very likely that the same behaviour might be judged appropriate in one culture while inappropriate in another culture.

The presenters on this panel analyzed the same experimental conversations exchanged by the participants of two different language groups, one between the Japanese and the Americans and the other between the Japanese and the Chinese. The purpose was to find what parts of cross-cultural conversations, including paralinguistic elements such as silence, influenced the impression of other groups. The result is amazing because the total of those small parts come to construct the characteristics of each culture. In other words, the specific cultural features are spread over every turn of the utterances and create culture-syncretic speech styles.

The most significant finding is that the greatest difference between the native speakers of Japanese and the native speakers of English lies in the evaluation of positive politeness and negative politeness (Brown and Levinson 1987). What is considered 'polite' in English is not considered so in Japanese, and vice versa. Interestingly, however, less difference was found between the Japanese and the Chinese in the reaction to paralinguistic elements.

In an initial encounter, the American participant told about himself a lot to his Japanese partner in order to show his open-heartedness and friendliness. This is a typical act of a native speaker of English who puts more importance on approaching attitude, the basis of positive politeness. On the contrary, the Japanese participant tried to give turns to his American partner in order to show deference and continued listening until the American felt uneasy and stopped talking. That is a typical behaviour of a native speaker of Japanese who puts great importance on silence and keeping distance, the basis of negative politeness.

Such an opposing interpretation of politeness could sometimes cause a serious problem. Since either side knows nothing about why the other party acts the way they do, it might develop into a misunderstanding of each other's personalities.

Each presentation on this panel will demonstrate what part of a conversation could become a locus of misunderstanding in cross-cultural interactions. Since most of the problems lie deeply in each culture and may be hard for the native speakers to remedy or change, the only solution might be to share the knowledge of each other's conversational styles and try to understand the differences and accept them, no matter how big the differences may be from one's own cultural viewpoint.

**Kaoru Horie**

***Modality and discourse in Japanese and Korean: A cognitive-typological approach***

Through an in-depth analysis of Japanese and Korean Sentence Final Particles (SFPs) as employed in conversational interactions, this paper explores the following empirical and theoretical questions from the perspective of Cognitive Typology, an emerging discipline that correlates prominent grammatical features of a language with the socio-cultural cognition of the linguistic community as contrasted with other languages differing to varying degrees typologically (Croft 2001):

- (i) What are the fundamental differences between Japanese SFPs and their Korean counterparts?
- (ii) What are the motivating factors leading to these differences?

Discursive foundations of grammatical categories (e.g. ergativity, anaphora) and constructions (e.g. presentational construction) have been scrutinized by discourse and functionally-typological linguists (e.g. Du Bois 1987, Du Bois et al. 2003, Lambrecht 1994). Since the seminal work by Palmer (1986), modality has received much attention in typological literature (e.g. Bybee and Fleischman 1995, Palmer 2001).

What has largely escaped scrutiny in previous typological studies though, is the relationship between modality and discourse, i.e. the discursive foundation of modality. In fact, Palmer (1986) and the 2nd updated edition (2001), do not appear to pay due attention to this topic, concentrating on more 'central' topics such as dynamic (deontic) and propositional (epistemic) modalities and mood. This relative lack of attention to the discursive foundation of modality is arguably due to the fact that it is not a prominent feature in European languages.

Japanese and Korean are known to exhibit remarkable similarity in lexico-grammatical structure including word order, case-marking system, agglutinative morphology, and honorification. These languages also have similar modal systems. Importantly, Japanese and Korean both overtly index the relationship between discourse and modality by means of grammaticalized sentence-final particles.

Japanese SFPs are known to index the speaker's interactional stance vis-à-vis her/his interlocutors (Maynard 1993) as well as the degree of her/his endorsement of the proposition expressed in the utterance (Kamio 1994). They are prevalent in Japanese spoken discourse and their absence can even lead to unnaturalness. Korean SFPs apparently exhibit similar interactional and informational properties. However, it is suggested that, on closer scrutiny, SFPs in both languages serve rather differing functions in the discourse structures of the respective languages.

This paper probes the discursive foundations of the modal systems in Japanese and Korean by closely analyzing video-taped conversational interactions in Japanese and Korean. It further argues that the observed cross-linguistic differences are closely correlated with differing socio-cultural cognitions shaped by respective cultural values and communicative practices.

**Yuri Hosoda & David Aline**

***Orientation to no-gap transition in an educational setting: English classes in Japanese elementary schools***

Using the framework of Conversation Analysis (CA), we examine how "true" beginners of a second language manage turn-taking and show understanding of instructional talk in a second language that they are only slightly familiar with.

Previous Conversation Analysis studies of interaction involving second language speakers show that generally second language conversations are "normal" conversations in which basic organizations of conversation (e.g., turn-taking, sequence organization, repair) found in ordinary conversations between/among native speakers operate (e.g., Firth, 1996; Gardner & Wagner, 2004; Hauser, 2003; Hosoda, 2000). For example, Carroll (2000) found that even "novice" level second language speakers are capable of the precision timing involved in "ordinary" conversational speakers' practice of projecting potential turn-completions and launching an appropriate next turn without a noticeable gap. However, the "novice" level second language speakers Carroll examined were "false" beginners who had studied English at school for seven years. Therefore the question remains, what is the case of "true" beginners? Furthermore, while Carroll analyzed equal power interaction among learners, in this study we look at interaction within the unequal power structure of traditional language classrooms. As Markee (2000) argues, there are some important differences in turn-taking systems between equal and unequal power interaction. Therefore, the second question is, do participants in traditional classrooms with unequal power structure orient to no-gap next turn start-ups observed in equal power interaction? The data come from English classes in eight Japanese public elementary schools. The schools visited were randomly selected by geographic location. The two researchers videotaped each lesson with two cameras

supported with audio tape recorders. Transcriptions were prepared through analysis and reanalysis. Since most of the classes were conducted by assistant language teachers (ALTs, almost always native English speakers), with only in-class monitoring by the licensed Japanese elementary school teacher, the classroom talk was mostly in English. Students in the classes were 4th to 6th graders. For most of the students, this was their first year of English and they had 45-minute English classes 10 to 20 times a year.

Our analysis of the data revealed that in initiation-response-feedback (IRF) sequences (Sinclair & Coulthard, 1975, 1992) in the English classes, teachers and students showed their orientation to no-gap, normal transitions. Generally speaking, both teacher and children were capable of exchanging turns without noticeable gaps. The students' understanding of the instructional talk was shown through turn-taking between the teachers and students exchanged in precision timing. The students were able to project potential turn completion of teachers' turn and launched their responses at or near the end of teachers' turns. When students' responses involved noticeable gaps before next turns, teachers' and students' orientation to precision timing was displayed through various verbal and non-verbal resources the participants employed to minimize the gap. This study shows that even in traditional second language classrooms with "true" beginners, teachers and students show their orientation to no-gap, normal transition observed in ordinary conversation. This study was supported by the Japanese Ministry of Education, Culture, Sports, Science and Technology under Grant 16520359.

## **Anders Hougaard**

### ***Interactional mental spaces***

Through a single case study - an excerpt from a call to a call in show on the San Francisco Bay Area Radio or an excerpt from a telephone call conducted in the White House during the Watergate affair - this paper introduces and discusses prospects and consequences of an interactional approach (IA) to the cognitive semantics study of "online meaning construction", that is structures of meaning which are composed locally during interaction. The IA employs the method of conversation analysis (CA) to bring about naturally occurring evidence in the form of recurrent structures of talk-in-interaction. On the basis of this evidence, cognitive descriptions and modelling of processes of meaning construction are designed. Those processes by which meaning is constructed in interaction are construed in terms of the notion of dynamic mental space networks (Fauconnier and Turner 2002). First the paper lists some central and frequently pinpointed problems with and shortcomings of mental spaces as a theory of and method for capturing real processes of online meaning construction. Then the theoretical, methodological and philosophical basis for coupling a non-mentalistic method (CA) with a mentalistic, single-mind-focused theory complex (mental spaces) is briefly discussed. Finally the single case study will be used to illustrate the technicalities of the IA and what it has to offer with respect to the development of mental spaces as a theory of online meaning construction. The main problems which the IA will address are: (i) the lack of process-focused analyses, on the basis of data which allows such analyses, to support assumptions about the workings of mental spaces building, (ii) the often decontextualized and single-mind-focused analyses, which tend to portray meaning construction in an asocial, atemporal, and contextfree vacuum, 3) the zest for generalizations which are at risk of losing essential features of the phenomena under scrutiny. By attempting to deal with these problems the IA, is meant as a contribution to an empirically, contextually and socially responsible development of mental space theory as well as cognitive semantics in general.

## **Juliane House**

### ***Communicating in English as a lingua franca: A special cases of intercultural discourse***

In this paper I will discuss the nature of a particular case of intercultural discourse that is today gaining increasing importance worldwide: Talk in English as a lingua franca (ELF), i.e., talk between non-native speakers of English who use English as a means and a medium of making themselves understood to their interlocutors.

In the first part of the paper I will present a brief review of research into ELF discourse setting it off in particular from the classic interlanguage native-non-native discourse.

Secondly, I will present, discuss and interpret my own recent empirical research of ELF discourse, which I have conducted with groups of interactants from many parts of the world speaking many different mother tongues. The data consists of authentic interactions between dyads as well as groups of four interactants followed by interviews in which participants comment on their own and their interactional partners' discourse behaviour. The analysis is based on a cognitive discourse processing model (House 2003), which takes account inter alia of speakers' emotional involvement. The results of the analysis suggest that ELF discourse can indeed be called 'robust' as there is an astonishing dearth of misunderstandings and communication breakdowns.

Further, there are surprisingly many (pragmatic) transfers from interactants' L1s to the point that one might characterize ELF discourse as a both genotypically and phenotypically hybrid type of discourse.

The paper concludes with some suggestions for a new research agenda covering an important, yet still surprisingly underresearched domain.

## **Chad Howe**

### ***An indirect account for the direct evidential features of the Spanish perfect***

The development of evidentiality features in South American Spanish perfects has been discussed as a case of contact-induced convergence of linguistic features (Schumacher 1980; Escobar 1997; & Sánchez 2004). Escobar and Sánchez both analyze the perfect in Peruvian Spanish as having adopted various evidential features from Quechua. In this paper, I argue that while the distribution of the perfect in Peruvian Spanish may be influenced by Quechua, it is not the system of evidential enclitics in Quechua that serve as the model for the Spanish perfect. Furthermore, I demonstrate, following recent work by Faller (2002 & 2004), that these 'innovative' features of the Spanish perfect are analogous to the type of evidentiality which is indirectly expressed by the past tense maker *-sqa* in Quechua.

- (1) Yo he venido de allá en el año 72. (from Escobar 1997:863)  
'I came from there in 1972.'

Escobar analyzes the 'curious' uses of the Peruvian perfect, as in (1), as showing spatial relevance, i.e. that the event occurred in the same place as the 'here-and-now' of the speech event. She also claims that the perfect can be used to describe experiences in which the speaker participated directly. While it seems reasonable to claim that these uses are 'innovative' from the viewpoint of the prototypical distribution of the perfect in Spanish, it is not the case that the features they display are the same as those expressed by the Quechua system of evidentiality, which distinguishes between direct and indirect evidentiality via a system of evidential enclitics (Cusihuaman 1976, Faller 2002). Both Escobar and Sánchez assume that the system of past tenses in Quechua is the primary source of evidential features. Faller (2002), however, argues that evidentiality in Quechua is a function of the system of enclitics and that any 'evidential' features of the past tenses are only indirectly expressed. Similarly, though the development of perfects into markers of evidentiality is widely attested, they generally come to indicate indirect evidence rather than evidence based on first-hand experience (cf. Bybee et al 1994, Izvorski 1998, *inter alia*).

Faller (2004) analyzes the Quechua 'non-experienced' past tense *-sqa* as a spatio-temporal deictic element, having an evidential interpretation that arises only indirectly. Interestingly, the type of evidentiality expressed by the past tense *-sqa* is not the same as that expressed by the reportative enclitic but is strikingly similar to the evidential features of the perfect in Peruvian Spanish as described by Escobar and Sánchez. I argue that the Peruvian perfect does not follow from the pattern of evidentiality exhibited by the evidential system in Quechua *per se* but instead follows, as perhaps might be expected, from the verbal system. This analysis provides a more explicit approach to describing the mechanisms by which convergence in typologically distinct languages occurs. Moreover, I demonstrate that convergence of pragmatic features is highly sensitive to contextual parameters of the speech situation in a way not explained by current approaches (cf. Sánchez 2004).

## **Hui-chen Hsu**

### ***The distinctive characteristics of heartfelt and tactful expressions of gratitude in Chinese English learners and native English speakers***

The giving and receiving of gifts and favors, as well as responding appropriately, are some of the ways that feelings of solidarity can be built. The expression of gratitude has been found to be especially problematic for many second language learners. This is because the social norms for gift giving/receiving are to some extent specific to a culture and a language. In this study there is an endeavor to identify certain semantic formulae (and other linguistic characteristics) that are distinctive to expressing heartfelt gratitude, as opposed to the notion of 'token' gratitude. For the purpose of this study, an expression of heartfelt gratitude is congruent with the underlying emotional state, and an expression of token gratitude is similarly incongruent. Ten Chinese intermediate/advanced English learners and ten Native Speakers of English (NS) were administered a six item discourse completion task. Three of the items were conjectured to elicit heartfelt gratitude, and three were conjectured to elicit expressions of token gratitude. After the completion of the task, the subjects ranked on a six point Likert scale their relative gratitude/annoyance and ease. They were also given the space to write any other comments. In certain instances the emotional reactions were quite specific to the language group. The Chinese EFL learners often evidenced much less annoyance than expected. Some similarities were found between the token gratitude of NS and the Chinese EFL learners' heartfelt gratitude in which certain kinds of semantic formulae were chosen. The lack of cross-cultural distinctiveness could lead to instances of pragmatic failure.

## **Chun Huang**

### ***On the function of ironic criticism and the application of face***

This study is an analysis of the pragmatic function of ironic criticism. Ironic criticism is defined as the canonical form of verbal irony that appears as a compliment while in effect conveying a critical intent on the underlying level (Kreuz and Link 2002). For example, a person who disagrees with her/his friend's taste of style might say, "Look at you, what a beautiful dress!"

In Brown and Levinson's (1987[1978]) analysis of linguistic politeness, verbal irony has been categorized as one of the speaker's linguistic strategies for saving face. Dews and Winner (1995), following Brown and Levinson, propose a TINGE HYPOTHESIS, asserting that the surface expression of an ironic utterance functions to tinge/mute the underlying meaning. With respect to ironic criticism, they claim that the surface compliment serves to soften the negative tone of the underlying criticism and hence predict that ironic criticism should be less offensive than direct criticism. Dews and Winner (1995) and Dews et al. (1995) report two surveys in which all participants are American English native speakers as supportive evidence of the prediction. However, Okamoto (2002), with experimental designs similar to the American studies, indicates that Japanese native speakers actually perceive ironic criticism as more offensive than its literal counterpart. The tinge hypothesis hence appears questionable insofar as any cross-linguistic applicability is concerned.

This paper reports on a study of ironic criticism in Mandarin Chinese spoken in Taiwan. It is two-pronged. First, a survey was conducted via internet, all participants being Taiwan natives. The methodology replicated the previously mentioned English and Japanese studies, using short stories consisting of dyadic dialogues where one of the characters utters a critical utterance toward the other who just committed a mistake. The critical utterances were designed as either ironic or literal, and the participants were asked to rate on a seven point scale how offensive the utterances are. It was found that Chinese native speakers also consider ironic criticism as more offensive than direct criticism, posing a problem to the tinge account. Based on this finding, borrowing insights from Brown and Levinson (1987[1978]), Kinnison (2000), and O'Driscoll (1996), I propose a modified notion of FACE. This new notion of face, along with Ghita's (2001) interactive analysis of irony communication, constitutes what I call OFFSET FACE ANALYSIS. This offset analysis allows us to examine different sorts of face-wants that are damaged and/or attended to within face-to-face interactions. I further found that while the American English speakers' positive polite compliment response (CR) pattern allows them to reduce the potential face damage induced by an ironic criticism, the Chinese and Japanese negative polite CR patterns seem to block equivalent face-saving opportunity. The cultural difference in irony perception is hence explicable. Finally, I conclude that verbal irony should be viewed as a negotiation game where both interactants take parts. Studies on its function must therefore be based on an interactive point of view rather than on a solely speaker-oriented standpoint or universals.

## **Thorsten Huth**

### ***Negotiating structure and cultural identity: L2 learners' complimenting behavior in talk-in-interaction after instruction in target language pragmatics***

In 2002, Golato presented a contrastive study of American English (AE) and German compliments and compliment responses (Journal of Pragmatics 34 (2002) 547-571). Within the methodological framework of conversation analysis (CA), Golato highlights cross-cultural pragmatic differences in the sequential organization and preference structure of this verbal activity in both languages.

While a number of scholars have suggested that findings in CA concerning conversational sequences may be used in language classrooms to teach pragmatics (Crozet and Liddicoat 1997, Barraja-Rohan 1997, Taleghan-Nikazm 2000, Golato 2002), no research to-date has focused on the outcome of such instruction in terms of second language acquisition. Given that conversational sequences are the product of a collaborative effort of two co-present interactants, Golato asks: "How are these [pragmatic] phenomena acquired? How are they acquired in immersion situations and in the classroom?" (Golato 2002:568).

In response to the above research questions, this paper investigates the acquisition of pragmatics by L2 learners in the foreign language classroom. Specifically, two questions will be pursued: (1) May L2 learners acquire conversational sequences and use them in talk-in-interaction? (2) How do L2 learners negotiate the availability of two sets of socio-pragmatic behavior in the sequential organization of their own talk when using the target language?

To shed light on these issues, Golato's (2002) findings on pragmatic differences of German and AE complimenting behavior were used to develop a teaching unit on the sequential organization of compliments which was conducted in a second semester elementary German class at an American University in 2003. Before and after instruction, telephone conversations between L2 learners in the target language were audio-taped. This

made possible a conversation analytic examination of unelicited conversational data to monitor signs of language acquisition on part of L2 learners.

The data analysis shows that (1) L2 learners may indeed acquire the sequential organization of compliments that are cross-culturally variable and use it in talk-in-interaction; (2) L2 learners employ distinct discourse markers to signal to their co-participants the specific use of a sequential pattern of the target language; (3) L2 learners display their cultural orientation as they apply the target language structures and thus make the “foreign” sequences a locus for negotiating their cultural identity as mediated by pragmatics. All three findings will be demonstrated with an authentic data example featuring an unelicited compliment exchange between L2 learners after the instructional unit.

In sum, this paper investigates pragmatic development in L2 learners with conversation analytic research techniques in order to show that cross-cultural findings in pragmatic research may be successfully integrated into the foreign language classroom to teach pragmatics. The findings underscore the importance of teaching target language pragmatics since L2 learners demonstrably benefit with both a structural and cultural awareness of pragmatic rules underlying language use.

**Maria Ibba**

***Speech acts in medical discourse: An inquiry into language-related causes of illocutionary effect not obtained in physician-patient encounters***

Medical research outcomes and contemporary technological advances have been moving at an unprecedented speed, making patient care increasingly complex and, consequently, increasingly difficult to explain and predict. Thus the physician's task of adequately informing the patient of significant risks and benefits of a diagnostic procedure, a therapeutic course and the foreseeable results thereof, has become increasingly more challenging. Oral and written communication events do take place prior to the patient's consent, (informed consent). Inadequate communication was often observed to occur: the physicians failing to meet their standards for the patients' understanding of crucial facts. Objective of my study has been to devise ways to improve the language of the written consent forms and of the physician-patient verbal exchanges leading to the patient's signing of the consent to treatment or experimentation. Funded by the National Science Foundation and conducted in a major State University Hospital in the U.S.A., the study has resulted in, practically: a) new drafts of a variety of consent forms to be test used in the host Institution's hospitals, b) a set of observations, language improvement suggestions, to the healthcare providers and, theoretically, c) pragmatic considerations on communication rules violated both in the orally uttered sentences and in the written, highly synthetic transmission of crucial meanings.

**Sachiko Ide, Rumiko Ochiai & Yuko Nomura**

***Two stages of the indexing of contextual construal***

The purpose of this paper is twofold: (1) An overview is provided of the project, 'Culture, Interaction and Language', on which this panel is based and (2) After reviewing the linguistic devices serving as interfaces between linguistic modality and context in the data, it is claimed that there are two stages of indexing achieved by the use of addressee honorifics in Japanese.

The project aims to explore ideas encouraged by Dell Hymes' message on the occasion of the inauguration of The Japanese Journal of Language in Society. He wrote "There has been a long tradition in Japan of attention to its own ways of speaking. Let us hope that such sensitivity will help others to recognize possibilities of view and interpretations that might be overlooked or ignored." In doing linguistics and pragmatics, it has been customary to use Western frameworks. However, the aspiration Hymes hoped for demands an indigenous method faithful to natural data. Here, 26 sets of Japanese and 22 sets of comparable American English discourse were video-taped. Each set of data consists of speech from two kinds of informants, one pair with a close and the other with a distant interactive relationship. Data are (1) dialogues while doing joint tasks, (2) narratives and (3) free conversations.

This presentation proposes two stages of indexing in Japanese discourse. Hill et al (1986) among others proved that speakers who do not have a close relationship to the addressee use, without exception, addressee honorifics, indexing the contextual construal of an out-group relationship. When speakers talk with a person with whom they have a close interactive relationship, they speak without addressee honorifics, and that entails the use of subsequent informal linguistic items. This pragmatic phenomenon was observed in the task dialogues and the free conversations in the data. This means that speakers with different status and/or an unfamiliar relationship index their discernment (*wakimae*) of the context. In contrast, in the data using American English, a language without linguistic devices for indexing context, there are no obvious shifts of speech styles.

However, there are exceptions: In the Japanese discourse of non-close interactive participants, there are utterances that do not use addressee honorifics. Does this mean that the rule to index the context according to

the relationship is wrong? How can this exception be accounted for? It turns out that discourse has two stages, and only at the first stage must the speakers be sensitive to the contextual factors and obligatorily index the contextual construal. When speakers get involved in the propositional content, they do not have to pay attention to the context and can speak without modality, just as the 'vivid present' in English narratives can be used for past events. Noting this double-staged interpretation, it is claimed in this presentation that this pragmatic rule in Japanese, namely that interactive relationships must be indexed, is robust.

## **Elly Ifantidou**

### ***Evidentials and metarepresentation***

Sperber and Wilson (2002); Wilson (to appear) argue that inferential comprehension and recovery of explicatures (or implicatures) is a variety of mind-reading which develops (in childhood) and is present (in adult life) in multiple levels (or 'varying degrees'). Hearsay markers are examples of multi-level representational devices, proposed to be analysed in the broader context of metacommunicative abilities by Wilson 2000; Sperber 2000; Ifantidou (to appear). Evidential reasoning also exploits varying layers of mind-reading abilities, as illustrated by (1):

(2) Mother to 5-year-old son: It's a cold day.

In interpreting (1), the hearer may not only have to assign temporal reference, but resolve evidential indeterminacies too, since (1) may be interpreted as a weak assertion, along the lines of (1a): Mother thinks/supposes it's a cold day; as a strengthened assertion, along the lines of (1b): Mother knows/The weather forecast reports it's a cold day; or as a deceitful assertion, along the lines of (1c): Mother wants me to believe it's a cold day (so that I agree to put my jacket on). For recovering interpretations (1a) and (1b), the hearer need engage in first-order mind-reading, i.e. metarepresent the speaker's thoughts and consider what interpretation she might have thought would be relevant enough. For recovering interpretation (1c), the hearer need engage in second-order mind-reading, i.e. add an extra-layer of mind-reading and consider what interpretation the speaker might have thought the hearer would think was relevant enough. The question is: what type of such metarepresentational abilities may the 5-year-old (or the 3;6-4 year old) afford?

The paper examines the link between evidential markers (e.g. *nomizo* 'I think', *pistevi* 's/he believes', *fenete oti* 'it seems that') with metarepresentation, by focusing on how varying degrees of metarepresentational ability may have an effect on the acquisition of MG evidential lexical items. Drawing on early natural language production (3;6-5;4 year old) and linguistic tasks (6-12 year olds) the following facts are observed: (i) an early (yet restricted) production ability and (ii) an early (relative to age) comprehension ability of evidential terms. This improved-yet-still-limited working capacity of the evidential terms under examination is attributed to immature metarepresentational abilities gradually developing until 12 years of age. It is suggested that a fully-working pragmatic evidential capacity is constrained by different levels of our metarepresentational ability (paralleling different stages of its development). How evidential pragmatic abilities and respective mind-reading abilities relate is explained using Sperber's (1994) theoretical model of gradual sophistication in utterance interpretation drawing on three strategies: Naïve Optimism, Cautious Optimism and Sophisticated Understanding.

## **Keiko Ikeda**

### ***Variable enactments of a social works: Use of a triadic speech exchange pattern in Japanese interaction***

Multiparty interaction brings about numerous ways to arrange the participant framework (Goffman, 1984), and such diversity allows for many interactional strategies to be used towards achieving social goals. Kang (1998) has delineated one of these strategic patterns uniquely available for multiparty participation, which she calls "triadic exchange." A triadic exchange is recognized when a speaker addresses a mediating addressee ("Mediator") to communicate a message to another co-present addressee(s), or "Target."

Triadic interactions are used across a wide range of interlocutory relationships to elicit a vast range of stance, act (Ochs, 1996) and activity displays (Ochs, 1996; Field, 2001). Triadic exchange patterns are indeed an integral resource for the participants to organize their social world. In this study, two different social settings in Japanese were examined. One is a gathering of five close friends' talk over dinner, and the other is a multiparty debate among Japanese politicians. All the data are video-recorded, and the analysis pays careful attention to the physical arrangement, gestures, manner of speaking, and linguistic content that co-occur with the triadic exchange to show the moment-by-moment process. The dinner discourse data are two settings that is approximately comprised of 8 hours, and the political debate data are selected from a collection of video recording from a weekly television program aired in Japan between the years 2002- 2003. The analyzed data is approximately 10 hours.



The analysis demonstrates that in the dinner get-together context, a triadic exchange pattern was found in the stories-in-rounds situation. When one of the audience of the first story initiated telling of a “second story” (Sacks, 1992: 764), a triadic exchange pattern was established by the teller’s choosing someone besides the first storyteller as her main listener. The teller’s formulation of the story, use of speech styles, and eye gaze indicate her selection, as well as the main listener’s display of her ratification in her responses. The pattern invoked upgrades of the ratification level for the other quieter, side-participants (Clark & Carlson, 1982) at the table, resulting in a transformation of the participant framework (Goffman, 1981). In the political discourse context, the triadic pattern was invoked by the moderator, in the pursuit of opposition to a particular panel discussant, which in terms of his “neutral” social role (Clayman, 1992; Heritage & Clayman, 2002) would not be appropriate if done more explicitly. The analysis shows that the “targeted” political figure, despite the triadic route of the message, indeed treats the utterances exchanged between the moderator and the mediating participant as an opposing claim against himself. The analysis also shows that during this “side” exchange, the political figure (the “targeted”) is not allowed to directly participate verbally, because the participation role cast on him is merely the “overhearer.” In this sense, we can also say that the moderator’s voice is heard in a ‘secured’ space.

This paper demonstrates a remark that although the same interactional practice on the surface was implemented, the social goals of these settings accomplished by it are diverse, given the different contexts.

### **Makoto Imura**

#### ***Do you understand?: Raising awareness of illocutionary force using a movie-line database search system***

Most Japanese students are uncomfortable speaking English despite years of language study. Partly, their reluctance to speak out is linked to a sense that they are unable to correctly calibrate the force of their expressions to match what they intend and what is expected. Government approved language textbooks provide a large source of language input for Japanese students yet rarely are these constructed dialogues explicitly compared with other bodies of authentic or natural language data. This case study investigated the contexts of use for the question “Do you understand?” in textbooks and films. The investigation demonstrated that there was a significant difference in illocutionary force in the instances of this question found in a one-million word spoken English corpus based on the scripts for 100 contemporary American films when compared with the way it was used in the textbooks.

### **Maria Isaksson**

#### ***The wisdom of corporate codes of conduct: How words make men good; how good men do the right things; how the right things create prosperity***

The wisdom of corporate codes of conduct. How words make men good; how good men do the right things; how the right things create prosperity.

The main question raised by this paper is how social virtues express themselves in corporate codes of conduct. Corporate codes of conduct can be a management tool for establishing and articulating the values, responsibilities, obligations, and ethical standards of an organisation’s social control and behavior. They provide guidance to employees on how to handle dilemmas on alternative courses of action, or when faced with pressure to consider right and wrong. Such standards require more than just complying with the law. Codes of conduct thus impose ethical and moral obligations on companies and individuals. The statement of the code of conduct usually appears as an integral part of the company’s mission statement and philosophy (Campbell & Tawadey 1990).

In contrast to work ethics and its associated individual virtues, the economic effect of social virtues encouraging spontaneous sociability and organizational innovation has been studied much less systematically. Fukuyanma (1995:48) makes a strong argument for social virtues in that they “are prerequisites for the development of individual virtues like the work ethic, since the latter can best be cultivated in the context of strong groups—families, schools, workplaces”.

Similarly, Fogh Kirkeby (2001:73) uses Aristotle to maintain that it is crucial to analyze virtues first as an individual phenomenon and then examine them in interaction with the collective. Aristotle’s ethics sets out to discover the good life for man: the life of supreme happiness or eudaimonia. In order to reach supreme happiness, man needs wisdom (phronesis). To guarantee good action, social virtues depend not only on wisdom, but also on a disposition (hexis) for attention. In his analysis of continuity and change in organizations, Fogh Kirkeby then identifies the four important social virtues of equity, trust, integrity and attention. According to Fogh Kirkeby (120-121), the autonomy of the members of the organization presupposes an organization founded on the determination to promote these social values.

My study attempts to answer the following questions: To what extent are the four social virtues present in real-world codes of conduct? Do social virtues show similar or different profiles of form, content and frequency across industries? To what extent are the social virtues relevant and functional for tapping meanings of ethical conduct?

To explore these questions empirically, I collect a data set of corporate codes of conduct from the oil, telecom, banking, beverage and a few other industries. Drawing on Aristotle's notion that "all human activities aim at some good" the analysis attempts to identify the corporate ethos through the social virtues of equity, trust, integrity and attention. The data is tested for equity appeals (expressions of recognition, compassion, consideration, righteousness, respect, empathy, nobility, magnificence, generosity), trust appeals (expressions of trustworthiness, sympathy, kindness), integrity appeals (expressions of honesty, authenticity) and attention (expressions of patience, gentleness). Units of analysis include (1) headings, (2) subheadings, (3) entire paragraphs, (4) individual sentences, (5) phrases and clauses, (6) single words.

## **Michael Israel**

### ***The pragmatics of understatement in the grammar of negation***

A number of authors have recently sought to explain the behavior of negative polarity items (NPIs) in terms of a kind of strengthening requirement barring them from use in weak statements (Kadmon & Landman 1993; Jackson 1994; Krifka 1995; Lahiri 1998; Chierchia 2001; van Rooy 2003; Zepter 2003). But many polarity items seem to be subject to an opposite requirement: PPIs like *some*, *somewhat* and *now and then*, and NPIs like *all that*, *any too* and *take long* occur only where they are conspicuously weak and liable to interpretation as expressions of understatement (Israel 1996). This paper couples a neo-Gricean account of the pragmatics of understatement with a constructional, usage-based theory of grammar, to argue that polarity items in general are conventional expressions of rhetorical affect.

I define understatement (unoriginally) as the intentional use of a weak proposition to communicate a related, stronger proposition. Such purposeful uninformativity runs counter to the Gricean enjoinder to say as much one can; but it is consistent with the contrary principle that one should say no more than one has to (cf. Atlas and Levinson 1981; Horn 1984, 2004; Levinson 2000). Like its figural cousins allusion, euphemism, indirection, and irony, understatement depends on a hearer's ability to enrich the content of an indeterminate meaning. It thus both frees the speaker from full responsibility for what she communicates, and frees the hearer from undue strain on his credulity.

Horn (1989) shows that this sort of inferencing plays a key role in the semantics of neg-raising, affixal negation, and the litotic interpretation of double negation. I suggest that it also drives the grammaticization of attenuating polarity items. Attenuators are common within and across languages. I have found over a hundred in English, and at least a handful each in languages like Dutch, Farsi, Japanese and Hungarian. Attenuators occur in a variety of grammatical functions (e.g. as indefinite determiners and quantifiers, degree modifiers, temporal and phasal adverbs, modal auxiliary constructions, clausal connectives, and in a variety of lexical domains). They are sensitive to the same broad class of triggers as other polarity items, including questions, conditionals, and adversative complements, but differ systematically in the details of their use. I argue that the grammatical constraints on these forms are best understood directly (or indirectly) in terms of the pragmatic functions which motivate them.

Such a view fits well, I suggest, both with standard theories of grammaticalization (e.g. Traugott & Dasher 2002) and construction-based theories of language acquisition (e.g. Tomasello 2002). Moreover, it suggests that at least some universals of grammatical structure may have more to do with the negotiation of joint attention in communication than with innate principles of linguistic form.

## **Yuko Iwata**

### ***The role of language in bilingual socialization***

This paper investigates how two languages (English and Japanese) mutually influence the socialization process of children in a bilingual family, i.e. it investigates the role of language in bilingual socialization. Language socialization means socialization through language and socialization to use language. In this sense, language in use is a major if not the major tool for conveying sociocultural knowledge and a powerful medium of socialization (Ochs 1986).

The study is based on analysis of dinner table conversations of a bilingual family living in Tokyo, which I video-taped and audio-taped. The reason why I decided to film dinner talk is that dinner is not only an activity but also a social, conversational event. Meal time is a unique family ritual where family values and social norms intermingle and interact.

The conversational data analysis in this study has indicated that two types of socialization are taking place at the table. The first is parent-determined socialization, such as telling the children to eat properly, and when and what to say properly. I term this kind of socialization ‘non-embedded socialization’ because the parents’ socialization goals are explicit. The second type of socialization involves the parents displaying to the children or co-constructing values with the children without conscious awareness. I label this type of socialization ‘embedded socialization.’ For example, languages can be chosen by the parents to raise their children bilingually (non-embedded socialization), but at the same time, there is a bilingual style that is peculiar to a family and that is realized through the quotidian rituals of the family (embedded socialization). This peculiar bilingual style becomes one of the important resources in claiming membership in the family. Through such bilingual practices, family members negotiate their social identities within the family unit. In other words, non-embedded socialization is defined as socialization of norms. Embedded socialization is defined as socialization of values. The parents may not be consciously aware that they are supporting the latter socialization. However, the parents’ regard for their culture and their language is being transmitted to the children.

This analysis has demonstrated that non-embedded socialization was realized through teaching the children table manners and language manners. The latter type of socialization, embedded socialization, included confirming family membership, strengthening solidarity, teaching role socialization, displaying language attitude, sharing the value of code-switching and ensuring cultural orientation.

In summary, I have investigated the role of dinner talk as an agent of socialization. The children are socialized into more competent members of a society by actively participating in a culturally structured activity. At the same time, since two languages are used at the table, the children are socialized into appropriate use of code-switching and the value of bilingualism. The children are socialized through two languages, and they are socialized to use two languages. Two languages, two cultures interact with each other and produce the family’s own language, their family code, i.e. bilingualism, and their own family culture, a blending of two cultures. Bilingualism is somehow perceived as a ‘first language’ by the children in this family.

## **Geert Jacobs & Tom Van Hout**

### ***Journalists and press releases: A meta-theoretical analysis***

This paper is part of a wider research project that is aimed at examining the complex ways in which the media actually deal with the press releases that they receive from all sorts of would-be news sources. As a preliminary to a large-scale empirical investigation into the journalists’ writing and rewriting routines, we propose a meta-theoretical analysis of the relevant literature on this topic in the field of communication and media studies. In particular, we would like to identify some of the main theoretical concerns that have recently dominated the sociological debate on the news production process since we believe that they can help to guide our own future discourse-oriented research efforts in this direction.

As for data, our analysis covers a wide range of publications, from White’s (1950), Boorstin’s (1961) and Sigal’s (1973) early work on gatekeeping practices to more recent contributions on news management (Schudson 1978), journalists’ professional norms (Bantz 1985) and the economics of the media business (Kimball 1994)

It should be clear that the present approach is an empirical one since we propose a close reading of the scientific and educational texts mentioned above (and others) as texts and we examine them not to provide a state-of-the-art survey of news production research but to unravel some of the cues that these texts contain regarding the nature of press releases and the practices surrounding them as a part of social reality. In particular, we will argue that press releases are typically conceptualized as channels, (promotional) products and pseudo-events and that this may well serve to ignore some of the complexities involved in the day-to-day use of press releases.

Crucially, we have found those cues in the critical passages (explicit theoretical claims, conclusions, definitions) but also in the non-critical passages (implicit information, examples, side remarks). In this sense, the present paper can be linked with similar previous meta-theoretical efforts in such diverse areas as intercultural communication (Koole & Li 2000), politeness (Eelen 2001) and crisis (Jacobs 2001).

## **Alexandra Jaffe**

### ***Learning cooperative discourse in a Corsican bilingual school***

This paper examines how children are socialized to participate in a particular kind of classroom discourse—the weekly “cooperative meeting”—in a Corsican bilingual school. During these meetings, children were prompted to recount past events, enumerate ongoing academic projects and set priorities for work and extracurricular activities. Drawing on video recordings of cooperative meetings made over a one-year period, this paper focuses

on language choice (Corsican vs. French), narrative structure and interactional policy, looking both at children's contributions and how they are scaffolded and revoiced by teachers. Classroom discourse rules and patterns are analyzed in the light of the ideals of democracy and citizenship that underpinned the cooperative format; ideals that are thrown into sharp relief in two kinds of extraordinary cooperative meetings. The first of these extraordinary meetings is an extended session that occurred at the beginning of the school year in which cooperative rules were explicitly taught by teachers. The second is a "performed" cooperative meeting that was filmed by the regional television station as part of a program on bilingual education. Language choice plays a role in these cooperative meetings (with Corsican emerging clearly as the preferred "public" voice for the television broadcast) but outside of the TV setting, language choice is backgrounded with respect to other ideals of interaction, including listening respectfully (taking turns) and carefully, being able to summarize orally and in writing the outcomes of group conversation, and distributing access to voice and decision-making. Finally, the structure and functioning of cooperative discourse is related to the politics of language use and choice in a sociolinguistic context of language shift and language revitalization. Specifically, it is claimed that the emphasis on individual responsibility and choice with respect to the collective agenda resonates with Corsican language activists' ideas about the possibilities for language revitalization in a situation of advanced language shift. That is, Corsican-language educators know that formal schooling is not enough to make children into speakers of the minority language; that becoming a speaker requires significant personal investment in the language as an element of identity. Just as the meetings attempt to create the conditions in which children can recognize the advantages of democratic, collective decision-making, the bilingual schools attempt to lay the linguistic and motivational groundwork for children to make future choices to become Corsican speakers.

**Richard W. Janney**

***So your story now is that...: Metapragmatic framing strategies in courtroom interrogation***

Transcripts of courtroom testimony provide a wealth of empirical data for research on trial lawyers' use of metapragmatic framing strategies to cast doubt on witnesses' credibility, character, or truthfulness. This paper analyzes a prosecutor's interrogation techniques in transcribed courtroom testimony, focusing on metapragmatic comments implicitly framing the defendant's testimony as vague, misleading, evasive, uncooperative, or deceptive. These include interpellations (so your story now is that...), retrospective reframing moves (so in trying to protect yourself at that time, you lied, right?), procedural reprimands (would you please just answer the question?), restatements of the question (Sir, I'm not asking about your 'feelings of responsibility', do you understand? I'm asking what you did - your physical movements and actions), disqualifications (Your Honor, I move that this testimony be stricken from the record; the witness is being unresponsive), and a number of other techniques. While utterances like these often appear ostensibly to be aimed at getting the defendant to be 'more specific', 'more accurate', or 'tell the truth', they are actually part of an interrogative framing game designed to achieve just the opposite effect. In this metapragmatic game, the prosecutor's strategically feigned inability to elicit 'adequate' answers becomes evidence of the defendant's evasiveness. The essence of the game is that the manipulative co-text of the interrogation itself becomes part of the context in which the defendant's credibility is ultimately judged.

**Frank Jansen**

***Institutional factors related to the distribution of information in appositions in press releases and newspaper reports***

A typical opening of a press release issued from a Dutch telecommunications company is:

(1) Maarten Henderson (55), CFO of Royal Dutch KPN NV, has decided to pursue his career outside KPN and intends to leave the company before the end of 2004

The opening of the corresponding newspaper report based on this press release is:

(2) The financial manager of KPN, Maarten Henderson (55), intends to leave the telecompany before the end of this year. Hij has decided himself to pursue his career outside KPN.

The informational content of the head of the first phrase in (1) is the name of the manager; the apposition gives the reader information about his function. This distribution has two advantages. It is in line with the institutional function of press releases: telling continuing stories about the company which is so much of interest to the readers. The order in (1) has the presuppositional effect that the reader was already familiar with Henderson and needed only a reminder about his function. Besides this institutional effect of taking the perspective of the company, the order in (1) has a stylistic advantage because the apposition is longer and more complex than its antecedent, which is in accordance with Behaghels Gesetz des wachsende Glieder.

The journalist writing (2) has evidently decided that the opposite order serves the needs of his readers better. He knows that his readers are interested in all kinds of personal changes in the board of major companies,

and is aware of the fact that his report will appear amidst all kinds of business news. Therefore he starts with the functional information, and uses the apposition for the name. In other words, the journalists' institutional role makes a neutral perspective attractive.

In my contribution I will discuss the factors influencing the distribution of information in phrases containing one or more appositions, in the Utrecht corpus of press releases and the newspaper reports based on them (see Henk Pander Maat (Utrecht), *The daily struggle between press release writers and newspaper journalists*). Among others, the following two factors are included:

1. Writer's perspective
2. Internal complexity and length of the phrases.

Especially interesting are cases like (1) and (2), in which factor 1 is in conflict with factor 2. I will demonstrate that the writer's perspective is the dominant factor. Furthermore I will claim that a syntactic manipulation like the distribution of information of antecedent and apposition is not open for conscious deliberation and therefore unsuitable as preformulation device.

## **Daniel Janssen**

### ***The ANP news agency's sacred service***

The Dutch ANP (General Dutch Press Agency) is an important news supplier in the Netherlands. One of their tasks is: adapting press releases from organizations in such a way that they are fit for immediate publication in news media. This process of adaptation is an interesting phenomenon for linguistic pragmatic and communication research for at least two reasons.

Firstly, the ANP is an important intermediary. In order to fully understand a genre like 'press releases' and to develop functional criteria for text quality, we have to understand how a press agency operates and how it processes press releases.

Secondly, according to their website the ANP strives to be objective, reliable, up-to-date, complete and fast. It is interesting to find out how these self-attributed qualities (and organizational goals) influence the adaptation process of press release. It is evident that organizations use all kinds of strategies to present relevant news facts in the most positive way. Pander Maat's research (2004) shows that corporate press releases are written in a more 'intensified' style than the newspaper articles that are based on them. So somewhere along the way a journalist has de-intensified the organizational input in order to obtain acceptable journalistic output. Unfortunately, we know very little about these transformations and how they contribute to the aspired objectivity and reliability; two 'holy' values in the journalistic profession.

In my presentation, I will report the results of a corpus-analysis in which original press releases and ANP news reports are compared. I will show that the ANP's linguistic transformations are made to (1) distance, (2) objectify, (3) concretize, (4) unequivocalize and (5) simplify the original press release and I will describe the linguistic means that the ANP uses to achieve these goals.

## **Mark Jary**

### ***Assertion, context change and knowledge***

Assertion, a central notion in pragmatics, has been approached in different ways by philosophers and linguists. Philosophers have tended to analyse it in terms of its epistemic effects. For example, Williamson (1996) argues that what distinguishes assertion from other truth-aiming speech acts is that it seeks to communicate knowledge, while Millikan (1984) argues that what has led to the survival and proliferation of the indicative mood is its propensity to create true belief in an audience. Dummett, moreover, sees assertion as perception by proxy: 'we learn to react to the statements of others in the same way that we react to various observed features in the environment' (1981: 355).

Linguists, on the other hand, have been more likely to follow Stalnaker (1978) in analysing assertion in terms of its effects on a context, rather than in terms of its epistemic role. This approach has been highly influential in the so-called dynamic turn in semantics and pragmatics, particularly in the analysis of presupposition projection, and in attempting to give a unified account of the semantics of embedded and unembedded indicative clauses.

What prevents the unification of these two approaches is the nature of the context as defined by the Stalnakerians, who see the context as a set of possible worlds picked out by a set of propositions constituting the common ground of a discourse. Adding a proposition to that set reduces the set of possible worlds (i.e. the context set) and thereby reduces uncertainty as to the nature of the actual world. While this is undoubtedly a useful tool in the analysis of assertion, it is not clear how such a view could be related to the epistemic concerns of philosophers, as it makes no reference to objective truth: the addition of a proposition to the common ground depends only on its acceptance by the participants, not its truth.

However, by focussing not on the set of possible worlds picked out by a set of propositions but on the nature of the forms that express those propositions, a link between philosophical and linguistic concerns can be forged. Specifically, we need to view the propositional forms that pick out the context set as representations of the actual world, representations which are capable of being true or false. Once this view is taken, then the addition of an asserted proposition to a context can be analysed not only in terms of its effect on the Stalnakerian context set but also on the individual's representation of the world: his epistemic state. In this presentation, I develop this proposal, making use of the machinery afforded by Relevance Theory (Sperber & Wilson 1986/1995).

## **Jürgen Jaspers**

### ***Doing ridiculous: How a minority group organises linguistic sabotage at school***

Schools and other modern institutions have amply been identified as sites where hegemonic learning processes and the dominant representations of reality that accompany them hold sway. In sites like these, ethnolinguistic minority groups meet the hybridizing and purifying practices that reproduce the imperfectness of minority membership vis à vis national and modern identities, and the linguistic ideologies of monolingualism and standardization that legitimise these practices (cf. Bauman & Briggs 2003). How minority groups respond and contribute to these hegemonic practices locally however, is subject to considerable difference. In this paper I will report on sociolinguistic-ethnographic research carried out on one secondary school in Antwerp, Belgium. And more specifically, on how a group of Moroccan adolescents engaged with the unequal structures that envelop them by constructing forms of linguistic sabotage.

One of the major ways in which the Moroccan boys I studied constructed their daily life at school was by what they called 'doing ridiculous': a practice of performing and play-acting in which they frequently feigned enthusiasm or an eagerness to learn and co-operate, simulated ignorance, and created other kinds of ambiguity and inauthenticity. In class, and in interviews with the researcher, this practice of doing ridiculous regularly was a cause for delay, confusion and unauthorised pleasure, and it could lead to substantial interactional trouble. Doing ridiculous can be described as a kind of sabotage: it thwarted the flow of the classroom or interview frame, but it didn't cause a complete breakdown of the situation (cf. Goffman 1974).

Three Dutch language varieties offered themselves frequently as resources: Antwerp dialect, Standard Dutch, and what was called 'Illegal' (a learner Dutch that a.o. indexes the speech of 'illegal immigrants'). Playing with these varieties, or styling them, caused indexical and interactional trouble. Not only did the use of them suddenly evoke social relations outside school which intensified the ethnic or institutional character of routine but asymmetrical student-teacher or student-researcher relationships (whose acceptability was in this way questioned [cf. Rampton 1995]). But also interactionally these stylisations put a spoke in the wheel: often they were uttered precisely at those moments when relationships at school underwent significant change (e.g. at the start of a lesson or interview, when reproach or conflict was in the air). By projecting, a.o., extremely subservient identities or reproachful authoritative ones, Moroccan boys disturbed the easy transition to situations in which they would be increasingly subjected to the gaze and evaluation of teachers and researchers, and negotiated the nature of their participation. In this way, Moroccan boys could be seen to be actively engaging with the felt or perceived hegemonic structures and representations around them.

## **Katarzyna Jaszczolt**

### ***The feature tense and the simple present in truth-conditional pragmatics***

The pragmatic input to the truth-conditional representation of what is said by the speaker has been well accounted for in post-Gricean 'truth-conditional pragmatic' theories (e.g. Carston 2002, Recanati 2003). However, it has been a topic of ongoing discussion whether pragmatic inference that contributes to what is said has to pertain to unarticulated constituents of the syntactic representation (a 'bottom-up' process, e.g. Stanley 2002) or rather can be a so-called 'top-down' process, as contextualist and quasi-contextualist accounts have it (Recanati 1994, 2003). I demonstrate that various uses to which Simple Present can be put in English are well handled by a contextualist account. In order to do so, I employ merger representations of Default Semantics (Jaszczolt 2003) and demonstrate that pragmatic inference is such a 'top-down' process. I consider sentences such as (1) and (2) where the present tense form is used for the present (habitual) and the future-time reference respectively.

- (1) Tom plays with the Cambridge Philharmonia.
- (2) Tom plays in the Royal Albert Hall tomorrow.

Meaning representations of Default Semantics are compositional structures that result from merging information from word meaning and sentence structure (WS), two types of default interpretations called cognitive and social-cultural defaults (CD, SCD), and conscious pragmatic inference (CPI). Social-cultural defaults and

conscious pragmatic inference are active during two stages of utterance interpretation: the recovery of what is said (SCD 1, CPI 1) and the recovery and construction of implicatures (SCD 2, CPI 2). Merger representations do not give priority to the output of syntactic processing and treat all the sources of meaning information on an equal footing. In other words, the restrictions such as the syntax-based construction rules of Discourse Representation Theory can be avoided. While DRT handles well the ordinary, default use of the Simple Present in (1), it has problems with accounting for (2):

[The feature] TENSE has three possible values, past, present and future, signifying that the described eventuality lies before, at, or after the utterance time, respectively. The value of TENSE for a given sentence S is determined by the tense of the verb of S. When the main verb is in the (...) simple present, TENSE = pres (...).'  
Kamp and Reyle (1993: 512-513).

In my account, the future-time reference in (2) is derived through prefixing an Acceptability operator to states and events: ACC Dn e ('it is acceptable of the type D and degree of informative intention n that e') and deriving other information from WS, CPI 1 and CD, where n adopts the value tf for the so-called 'tenseless future' (Dowty 1979) use. The values for n are placed on a scale of strength of the informative intention in communication. I conclude that when compositionality is regarded as a property of such merger representations, then different uses to which the Simple Present is put can be accounted for as departures from the default use by means of sources such as WS, CD and CPI 1 and degrees of the speaker's informative intention.

## **Sabine Jautz**

### ***Thank you ever so much - for shutting up: Gratitude in the media. Nothing but gushing?***

According to a common stereotype, the media is a world of showing off. Politeness is mainly employed to create a positive self-image rather than to show respect for one's interlocutors and their face wants of being confirmed or of not being imposed on. However, is it really predominantly gushing when, for instance, expressions of gratitude are uttered in the media? What other functions do they fulfil?

The present study is based on transcripts from radio broadcasts from the Wellington Corpus of Spoken New Zealand English and the British National Corpus. Expressions of gratitude are chosen as focus, being a textbook example of politeness. The naturally occurring media data are displayed within their contexts. Closely analysing the whole transcripts may reveal what functions the speakers' expressions of gratitude are intended to fulfil apart from (supposedly) being grateful, and how the individuals evaluate their interlocutors' expressions of gratitude in turn. Furthermore, in this corpus-driven research the overall frequency of expressions of gratitude, regular variations of their forms including collocations, intensifications etc. and their positions within the texts are examined.

It is striking that expressions of gratitude often appear at the end of a conversation. Information on speakers and their roles give further indications as to their functions: At the end of radio phone-ins they are frequently uttered by the (male) presenter of a programme to organise the on-going discourse, namely to interrupt or silence callers taking part in the show, suggesting that their time to speak is up and that someone else is to take the floor. Thus expressions of gratitude may be used to end a conversation (sometimes combined with a farewell).

This observation leads to the further question of whether such discourse-organising expressions of gratitude are constitutive elements of, for instance, radio phone-ins. How do they function in the presenters' task of integrating the audience, who is invited to take part in a show via telephone (and who is often very willing to verbosely contribute to the programme), while still sticking to a strict schedule and the democratic principle of giving many people a chance to contribute?

If expressions of gratitude are used to fulfil aims such as interrupting or silencing interlocutors, one also has to ask whether they are still instances of politeness or whether the addressees of such utterances rather consider them rude. The analysis of responses to such examples of "politeness as disguise" shows that people may be puzzled by interruptions by means of expressions of gratitude, but that they surrender their personal wants to the overall structure of the genre of, for example, radio phone-ins, in which they are enabled to take part, and thus accept such (more or less) polite "silencers".

Finally, the differing results for British and New Zealand English regarding the overall frequency and the importance of discourse-organisation need to be discussed against the cultural backgrounds.

## **Marjut Johansson**

### ***Person deixis in sociocultural contexts***

In this paper, I propose to examine how speakers and/or writers – or subjects - anchor themselves to different contexts – the cognitive, linguistic, social and especially the sociocultural context by using the 1st person personal pronoun I. In the cognitive and linguistic contexts, the use of the 1st person shows that the subject

anchors her/himself to her/his discourse giving it a certain perspective or center. In the social context, the personal pronoun anchors the subject in the immediate, physical context, but at the same time the subject is linked to the discursive and interpersonal roles on the one hand, to the social roles and statuses on the other. In other words, from the cognitive and linguistic level of person deixis, the investigation turns to the question of how participant deixis functions in different sociocultural contexts. This leads to the question of the practices of a discursive community: is there a certain use of person deixis that is (only) appropriate in that particular sociocultural context? In other words, I am interested in contrasting the use of 1st person participant deixis in order to observe its use in different sociocultural contexts, namely French and Finnish.

In my theoretical framework, I will discuss the person deixis or the participant deixis from different perspectives. Firstly, there is the person pronoun system that is taken up. Secondly, there are the notions of self and participation framework. Thirdly, the (French) theory of subject and person deixis will be discussed. In this discussion, the fact that in the social context, the subject has to build some kind of relationship to the Other will be taken into consideration. These issues will be discussed with the notion of appropriateness (Fetzer 2004) which is linked to dialogue's textual domain, and to interpersonal and interactional domains.

In this paper, the data is CMC, discussion groups in the Internet. In analyzing the discussions, I am interested in textual and discursive sequences where the subject is evaluating something. This type of sequence requires a personal stance from the subject and the focus will be her/his use or non-use of personal pronoun and its sociocultural variation.

### **Alison Johnson**

#### ***From where we're sitting...: Marking narrative evaluation in the police interview***

Labov and Waletzky's (1997) model of narrative has been applied to both oral and written narratives in a range of contexts. Edwards (1997), though, points out that they overlook the presence of evaluation in the things that "occasion" the narrative, looking only at narrative as monologue. In the police interview the narrative is produced in dyadic interaction within an institutional context where the key goal is to occasion a narrative as evidence and this is done through questioning and elicitation sequences. The evidence - details of a story from a suspect or witness - is elicited through interaction in an interview. This paper examines a corpus of police interviews with suspects and witnesses, looking at discourse markers and evaluative patterns and frameworks that reveal how evaluation is carried out in a range of question and response speech acts (Stenstrom, 1984). The analysis illustrates features of contested and collaborative evaluation, marked in turns that reveal concessive and adversative positions. It shows how discourse rules and roles develop in an evolving and "renewing" context (Heritage, 1984) with interviewers and interviewees changing their stance and altering their footing, moving from interrogator to therapist and from cooperation to non-cooperation and back again. I draw on pragmatic principles from conversational analysis of institutional interaction (Drew & Heritage, 1992), from Forensic discourse analysis and from appraisal theory, particularly Martin's (1993) categories of affect and judgement and Hunston and Sinclair and Hunston and Thompson's (1993) evaluative patterns that are used to 'persuade' and 'manipulate' hearers and 'maintain' interaction. Conclusions point to the function of discourse markers and evaluative frames in the elicitation of a confession. The paper focuses on the marking of stance by interviewers in relation to the evidential value of the elicited narrative. It sheds some light on the marking of narrative evaluation in stories that are elicited rather than performed and for legal rather than social purposes.

### **Rodney Jones**

#### ***Rhythm and timing in computer mediated communication***

When people interact, whether they are physically co-present or communicating through information technologies, they have at their disposal multiple modes with which to communicate information and relationship. Running through the use of all of these modes and affecting how they are used, are the factors of timing and rhythm. Temporality is both a factor in determining how different modes and communication are deployed by social actors and, in itself, an important resource for constructing social meaning.

Much work has been done on the role of rhythm and timing in face to face interaction and how it affects things like conversational management and relations of power between interactants. This paper uses the theoretical framework of mediated discourse analysis to examine how participants in synchronous computer mediated communication use temporality to create interactional synchrony with interactants, as well as synchrony among multiple interactions occurring at the same time.

Mediated discourse analysis focuses not on individual interactions, but on the entire range of actions people are engaged in when they communicate. An approach focusing on action helps the analyst to understand how different trajectories of actions on different timescales interact and how participants manage this complex



temporal landscape, using rhythm and timing as communicative resources. It allows us to analyze how interactants cooperate to produce 'shared times' within which their actions are framed.

The data for this study comes from two ethnographic studies, one examining how gay men use the internet, and the other focusing on Chinese adolescents. It includes screen movies of participants' computer interaction as well as site movies of participants' movements off-screen. On-screen and off-screen actions of participants are investigated with a particular focus on such factors as speed, duration, acceleration, rhythm, and synchronization.

The analysis of participants engaging in multiple simultaneous computer-mediated interactions suggests that time is a particularly important mode in this form of communication, with users creatively managing rhythm and timing to claim and impute identity, maintain relationships, create implicature and efficiently distribute their attention among different tasks. The effective deployment of different modes, it is argued, depends on how participants work with their interlocutors to construct 'shared times' and how the temporal demands of different modes are reconciled.

## **Andreas Jucker**

### ***Al hayl, Symond, y-fayth! Hou hares they faire doghter and thy wyf?: A speech act analysis of greetings and farewells in Chaucer's Canterbury Tales***

Recent research in the history of specific speech acts has revealed a number of theoretical and methodological problems, such as the comparability (*tertium comparationis*) of illocutions and perlocutions across different stages in the development of a language and their recognisability in different literary and non-literary genres. In this paper I provide a case study of two largely phatic speech acts – greetings and farewells – in the Middle English narratives of the *Canterbury Tales* written by Geoffrey Chaucer at the end of the fourteenth century. The *Canterbury Tales* are a collection tales with a frame narrative and numerous narratives within narratives, i.e. stories told not only by the characters in the frame but also by characters in the individual tales, and even by characters that occur in such embedded stories. Speech acts in narratives can occur in direct speech ascribed to individual characters, they can be reported indirectly or they can be merely described by the narrator. Greetings and farewells are particularly rewarding speech acts for such an analysis because in addition to their function as openings and closings of interactions between speaker, they also serve to establish and re-establish the speaker's relationship towards each other in terms of their respective places in the social hierarchy, their familiarity and their respective power. While literary language may differ considerably from the spoken language of the day, it gives us important insights in how an author of Chaucer's calibre chose to represent the oral interaction between the characters of his tales.

## **Konstanze Jungbluth**

### ***What about the hearer?***

Languages with a paradigm of three demonstrative pronouns contrast inside and outside, speaker- and hearer-side, proximal, medial and distal spaces. At the root of these contrasts is the dyad, which is formed by the speaker and his/her hearer(s). If we assume that these spatial conceptualizations do not belong to the historical level of certain languages but are universal, the following question arises. How do speakers of those languages which only have two terms express the hearer-side space?

I will focus on demonstratives of three Iberoromance languages: Spanish (*este – ese – aquel*), Catalan (*aquest – aquell*) and Brazilian Portuguese (*esse – aquele*). While Spanish demonstrates a lively use of its three term system, the speakers of the other two languages only have two terms at their disposal.

As speakers usually refuse to establish a boundary between themselves and their listener(s), only certain contexts have shed light on this question. Situations in which the speaker and the hearer are looking in the same direction but stay in line, one behind the other, are especially productive. Action embracing language use, as for ex. teacher-student instruction or interaction at work, is especially data productive. The turned away position of the hearer forces the conceptualization of two different spaces. The hearer-side space is naturally limited by the back of the hearer and is in contrast to the speaker-side space.

Based on data collected during fieldwork in Spain I shall show that Catalan speakers often use possessive pronouns in contexts where Spanish speakers prefer their "middle" term *ese*.

If one looks data on Brazilian Portuguese one can see another discourse strategy is used. On the axis of the *syntax* speakers add place adverbs in order to fill the gap of their two-term-system. In the case of American Portuguese these routine combinations are on the way to establishing a new paradigm which solves ambiguities typical for the system used in European Portuguese.

The research on the three Iberoromance languages shows that there is a strong pragmatic affinity between different deictic systems, e.g. between pronouns of different kinds or between pronouns and adverbs.

Comparing language use in context the two term paradigms of European and American varieties have developed different means to refer to the hearer's side. Once again the traditional way of categorising the system of demonstratives as being either person- or distance-oriented is shown to be inadequate. Regardless of the number of paradigm terms, the focus on the hearer shows that all the systems are dyad-oriented.

**Mirosława Kaczmarek**

### ***Appropriateness in Japanese face to face encounters***

Japanese is widely known as one of the most difficult languages to gain pragmatic competence. Many learners complain, that in spite of having already acquired vast amounts of vocabulary and grammar, it is still very difficult for them to communicate freely with native speakers.

This paper tries to examine the psycho-linguistic context in Japanese face to face encounters. It is presumed that because there exists no category of person, Japanese texts cannot be interpreted and evaluated in terms of Western cultural values.

In order to contrast interpersonal realities of native Japanese and those of the Polish speakers, a common framework was needed to carry out the analysis. Such framework was provided by recording face to face conversations between Japanese and Polish speakers in similar settings.

During the qualitative stage of analysis two kinds of linguistic behaviors: the use and non-use of addressee honorifics were first examined. Japanese analysis dealt with up-shifts and down-shifts of speech levels, while the analysis of Polish centered around the verb category of first and second persons. Because of the differences in indexing addressee honorifics in situational context of conversation, it was supposed that the linguistic behaviors of use and non-use of addressee honorifics might play different psycho-linguistic functions in Japanese and Polish conversations. This statement was further verified quantitatively with the results supporting it by showing existing overall regularities in the perceptions of social context between Japanese and Polish speakers.

Language use may be analyzed from two aspects in pragmatics: language use that conforms to social norms and conventions and language use that allows individual choice for the speaker. Language use that conforms to social norms and conventions is obligatory and does not reflect speaker's volition and intention. On the other hand, language use that allows a speaker to select from a few possibilities (to express his volition) may be referred to as 'strategic' in nature.

On the basis of differences in ways of manipulating addressee honorifics by Japanese and Polish speakers, it is suggested that strategic language use in Japanese does not appear at the level of individual sentences, while strategic language use in Polish seems to appear at this level.

Furthermore, it is presumed, that this difference in manipulating language by speakers, might influence their cognition and lead to confusion of what kind of language behavior constitutes to social norm and what kind of language behavior is the reflection of speaker's volition.

**Zoltan Kadar**

### ***Hairless donkey and venerable myself: A multidisciplinary approach of Chinese formal impoliteness***

The present study purports to inquire into Asian (im)politeness through the neglected field of Chinese impoliteness: its basic assumption is that the basic characteristic of Chinese formal (im)politeness is inherency. In other words, there is no stylistic permeability between politeness and impoliteness on the formal level; this is traced back to the social meta-message that is conveyed by (im)polite forms. This peculiarity is much in accordance with the weight of offending "social identity" in East-Asian cultures, cf. Spencer-Oatey (2000). Consequently, since the Chinese formal (im)politeness system conveys inherent beliefs, no "evaluation-centered [general] politeness approach" (Eelen 2001: 112) can be applied to it. Although evaluation has its own role in Chinese (im)politeness, when formal politeness interacts with the non-formal one, it is restricted, thus it differs from the evaluative character of other (im)politeness systems. Therefore, an independent Chinese (im)politeness theory has to be shaped. The existence of this independent theory necessitates the application of the culture dependent, i.e. "first-order (im)politeness"-focused view of Watts (2003).

A somewhat related issue, which will only be briefly touched upon in this paper, primarily pertains to Chinese pragmatics, but has to be mentioned because it regularly occurs in (more general) (im)politeness studies. This is the relation and supposed co-existence of what Gu (1990) defines as Self-denigration and Address maxims. As will be argued through the study of inherency, Gu's Self-denigration Maxim can only be extended to impoliteness if it is collapsed with the Addressing Maxim, so the two phenomena become interdependent. This will support the necessity of studying impoliteness and politeness simultaneously: the lack of examining impoliteness can lead to unfounded inferences – in this case the separation of the two maxims.

The main corpus of research is the so-called “pre-modern” or vernacular Chinese, i.e., the written vernacular of the period spanning approximately the 11th through 19th centuries, up to 1911. The particular data that will be studied is the so-called *chengwei* (lit. ‘addressing’) phenomenon, which has a central role in Chinese (im)politeness, see Kádár (to appear).

The present paper approaches the notion of inherency from multidisciplinary, philological, morphological and semantic-referential perspectives. Although it is not separated as a distinct approach, discourse analysis occurs as an aid, as well.

**Werner Kallmeyer**

***Social positioning and perspectivation in verbal interaction***

Identity work in interaction is a major issue of interactional linguistics / sociolinguistics, and important advances in the analysis of the interplay of “brought along” and “brought about” identities in interaction have been made during the last few years (cf., e.g., Antaki/ Widdicombe 1998). We have now much better insight into the great variety of multi-facet activities which serve social positioning in verbal interaction. Nevertheless, it would be fruitful to expand this approach and incorporate notions of perspectivation in discourse (cf. Graumann / Kallmeyer 2002). This would enable us to reconstruct the link between individuals’ attributed identities and their way of acting more explicitly. Harvey Sacks’ social categorization theory, which has been highly influential in the field of identities in talk, uses the term “category bound activities” to establish such a link between the participants’ identities and their orientations to specific activities. But as the study of the use of verbal practices such as, e.g., I as an XX would say... in situated identity work demonstrates, this link needs further inspection and a more detailed explication.

This paper will analyze examples from several German case-studies of problem and conflict talk where peoples’ identities are established and disputed with respect to the cases at stake. The analysis will concentrate on the interplay of verbal practices of perspectivation and social positioning and their consequentiality in the actual context (cf., e.g., Schegloff 1997). The findings will then be discussed in the framework of a rhetorical approach to conversation (Kallmeyer 1996). The idea is to pick up the classic distinction in conversation analysis between “structural provision” and “participants’ work” which first Gail Jefferson proposed in an early paper (1972), and to develop further the part of “participants’ work”. Emphasis is laid on the sequential and wider pragmatic implications of the use of specific verbal practices in particular contexts. The aim is to show how members interpret these implications in terms of chances and risks, i.e., in a rhetorically relevant way.

**Kaoru Kanai**

***The variation of Japanese responsive utterances and their significance to the sequential organization of conversation***

This study examines a series of Japanese responsive utterances that include 'so (that)', a demonstrative which refers to a referent closer to the hearer than to the speaker. In conversation, this type of responsive utterances conveys the speaker’s attitudes toward the information provided by the other speaker. Expressions like *so desu ne* ('so' + honorifics + particle) and *so da yo ne* ('so' + auxiliary + particle + particle), are examples of such a variety. In this paper, I will illustrate how the variations of so-responses are used and how the recipient of a narrative contributes to sequential organization of conversational narratives through the use of these responses.

The data consist of twenty-six sets of dyadic conversation between Japanese native speakers. The topic “the experience you were most surprised at” was given to the informants in advance by the researchers, and they were asked to discuss the topic for five minutes. Thus, the informants were supposed to tell narratives to each other in turn. So-responses uttered by the recipients of the narrative are analyzed within the framework of the conversation analysis.

Analysis reveals that although semantic differences among the variety of the so-responses are so slight that they are often considered interchangeable, they have remarkably distinctive functions in terms of their contribution to the organization of a narrative. “So *desu ne*”, “so *da yo ne*”, and their stylistic variables are used to indicate the recipient’s agreement or acknowledgement, and function as continuers inviting further talk from the narrator. The recipient aligns herself with the narrator through “so *desu ne*”, “so *da yo ne*”. In other words, these utterances maintain the narrator-recipient roles between the interactants and the sequential organization initiated by the narrator. On the other hand, the responsive form “so *nanda* (so + particle)” indicates that the information provided by the narrator is utterly new to the recipient and surprising to some degree. Interestingly, the occurrence of “so-*nanda*” does not always immediately follow the utterance that contains the source of the “surprise”. Instead, it tends to be used around the end of a narrative. It can be argued that “so-*nanda*” ties the preceding utterances by the narrator together as a single narrative and evaluates it as “surprising”. Therefore,

“so-nanda” is often perceived as a proposal to close a narrative and thus shift the narrator-recipient roles. The current narrator may agree to accept this proposal, or turn it down and continues with her story.

Although all so-responses have tended to be translated as ‘that’s right’ in English and regarded as expressions of speakers’ internal states of agreement, this study suggests that the varied forms of the so-responses should be considered as linguistic resources through which interactants implicitly negotiate when to close a narrative and switch the narrator-hearer roles. It is further argued that by expressing different attitudes toward the narrator’s utterances, the recipient of a narrative can maintain a well-balanced distance to what is called the narrator’s “territory” or “epistemic authority”.

## **Yasuko Kanda**

### ***Emergence of meaning and functions from modus ponens***

The Japanese sentence ending marker NODA, which is originally a combination of a particle and a copula, functions as a pragmatic marker through grammaticalization in the same way as MONODA (Fujii1997) and WAKEDA (Suzuki1999), and provides a variety of functions from epistemic marker to deontic marker. The aim of this paper is to show; 1) the basic structure of the NODA sentence and modus ponens, 2) the cognitive process and emerged implicature, and 3) the matching of the semantic-pragmatic features of a German modal particle 'ja'. This is intended to lead to the eventual goal of showing one aspect of cross-linguistic comparison of pragmatic markers. It is widely accepted that the NODA is derived from the combination of a nominalizing particle NO and a copula DA (Saji 1989, Tanomura 1990). In the example 1) shown below, both NO function as a nominalizer and the whole sentence makes a copula sentence 'P wa Q da ' (Literally; P is Q. 'Wa' is a topic marker).

(1) Konoha ga nureteiru NO wa ame ga futta NO da. (Konoha~NO=P, ame~futta NO=Q)(Literally; That the tree leaves are wet means that it rained.)

However, the examplers below with grammaticalized NODA illustrate that the NODA sentence refers to the preceding sentence and can be read as a reasoning (in (2)), the unsaid but explicit situation before the eyes of the speaker implying a reasoning (in (3)), or some hidden fact unknown to the hearer implying as a revelation (in (4)).

(2) Konoha ga nureteiru. Ame ga futta NODA.(Konoha~iru=P,Ame~NO=Q)

(Literally; The tree leaves are wet. It rained NODA.)

(3){Looking at wet tree leaves} Ame ga futta NODA.({ }=P,Ame~NO=Q)

(4) Ore, konna koto iu nomo hazukashii kedo, ai ni ueteru NDA.\*

(Literally; I...I feel embarassed to say such a thing, but I am hungry for love NODA.) \*NDA is a phonetically reduced form of NODA.(Ore~N=Q)

Thus it can be said that the NODA sentence forms Q holding the antecedent, be it explicit or implicit, linguistic or extra-linguistic, as P of a copula sentence structure. In other words, the copula sentence structure 'P is Q' is a modus ponens. and the way how Q in the formula is produced through cognitive process determines the implicature of the NODA sentence. For example, in the case of explicit P, Q is presented as an uncontrovertible fixed stipulation of P, and referred Q functions as reasoning or paraphrase in the sense of Uchida (1998) and assumption and so on. If P is unknown to the hearer, there is no cues of finding P for him/her and implies that there must be some hidden facts in the background of the interlocuter's utterance, and the interlocuter takes the hearer into his/her confidence revealing the fact. Thus the NODA use of this type turns out to convey the speaker's emotiveness and intimacy. In the same manner, we can analyse the semantic-pragmatic commonality of meaning and functions of the German modal particle 'ja' which is said to be derived from an affirmative response marker. (498 words)

## **Tomoko Kaneko, Takako Kobayashi & Misuzu Takami**

### ***The use of emotional expression in English by non-native speakers: A corpus-based comparative study***

Although emotional expression has been studied from the perspective of many different disciplines, the study of the use of learners’ emotional expressions in SLA has not yet been fully explored. This paper explores the learners’ use of emotional expressions in the Japanese, Chinese and French learner corpora in spoken English against that of native speakers.

The data consists of Louvain International Database of Spoken English Interlanguage (LINDSEI) Japanese, Chinese and French sub-corpus and two native speaker corpus (London Lund Corpus and Wellington Spoken Corpus). Emotional vocabulary and the categories for the strategies employed, such as intensifiers and minimizers, have been listed based on several former studies on emotional expressions (Rintell 1989, etc.). WordSmith concordance tool was used for the analysis.

The results show that 1) the use of emotion vocabulary differed according to the learners' language background (Japanese students preferred less face-threatening negative emotional expressions than the other non-native groups and Chinese students used positive emotional expressions more frequently than French or Japanese students), and 2) strategies used in expressing emotions also differed according to the learners' linguistic background (In expressing negative emotions, the Chinese and French students used different strategies more frequently than the Japanese students and native speakers, but out of the five groups the Japanese students used minimizers most frequently, while in expressing positive emotions, Chinese students used the different strategies less frequently than French and Japanese students).

Noticeably among the three non-native data sets, the Japanese data set included the narrowest range of negative emotional expressions and supporting strategies. Generally, Japanese culture avoids face-threatening expressions, and this fact may have limited the range of expressions utilized in accordance with their limited English proficiency. Chinese students used positive emotional expressions the most frequently among the three learner groups, while they used the supporting strategies for those types of emotional expressions the least frequently. French students used positive emotional expressions the least frequently, while they used the supporting strategies the most frequently. Overall, the results shown here have proven that Japanese students as well as the other non-native students do try to express emotions, in fact more frequently than native speakers of English. The difference seems to lie in how well they can use a variety of emotional expressions and their supporting strategies. Providing students with sufficient exposure to emotional expressions and their supporting strategies should be one of the most important instructional goals to implement.

### **Neslihan Kansu-Yetkiner & Gisela Redeker**

#### ***Pronominal shifts and identity practices in Turkish women's talk on sexual and health issues***

This study investigates how Turkish women present themselves through shifts in agency evidenced by the use of pronouns *sen* ("you"), *biz* ("we") and impersonal nominal references *kişi/insan* ("a person/man") instead of *ben* ("I") when asked to disclose intimate personal information on gynecological and sexual issues. Pronominal choice and especially pronominal shift reflects speakers' views about themselves and their role in social world. In talk on sensitive and innocuous topics in particular, they serve self-presentation and face management functions. If this view is correct, we would expect pronominal shifts in first-person references to occur more often in sensitive topics than in innocuous talk. We also expect the cultural context to have an influence.

We investigated the role of pronoun shifts in identity practices in a 16-hour corpus of informal group interviews with 49 uneducated Turkish women living in Ankara (Turkey) and Groningen (The Netherlands). The interviews were recorded in 14 different homes, seven in Groningen (25 women total) and seven in Ankara (24 women) during arranged house visits conducted by the first author. The questions in the theme list shifted smoothly from innocuous topics (daily life, social network of the respondents, child delivery, preference for the female doctor, menopause) to sensitive topics (abortion, birth control, first sex experience, sex life, menstruation, gynecological problems). For the analysis of pronominal shifts, we selected passages where respondents answered questions about their personal experience or opinion. A pronoun shift was noted whenever the disclosure elicited by the question was presented in a form other than the first person singular, e.g.:

Int: İstekli olup da başlatıyo musunuz? (siz-polite form of second person singular)

G: Biz çok istekli değiliz valla başkasını bilmiyom

N: Başlatması değil de sonradan arkasını da getiriyosun yani. (Güler). Yani başlatmıyoz ama...

Int: Being desirous, do you initiate (sex)?

G: We are not very desirous, I swear, but I don't know the others.

N: It is a not a matter of initiation, but you manage the rest of it, (laughing) I mean we don't initiate it, but...

In talking about innocuous topics, the women in our study avoided the 1st-person pronoun in about one fourth of the cases (28.8% and 23.1% respectively in the Ankara and Groningen groups). As expected, pronominal shift occurs more frequently in sensitive topics (51.5% in the Ankara group and 38.1% in the Groningen group). In addition to topic sensitivity, these results also show an effect of the more liberal, individualistic societal context of the Groningen group. The high frequency of pronominal shifts in the Ankara group reflects both the more strictly defined female gender role in Turkey and the collectivistic nature of the Turkish culture.

### **Gabriele Kasper**

#### ***When once is not enough: Politeness in multiple questions***

This paper takes the view that politeness is not an abstract phenomenon residing in particular speech acts or linguistic resources. Rather, the stance taken here is that politeness is bound to and ongoingly (re)constructed in specific situated activities.

The activity in question is the Language Proficiency Interview (LPI), a type of gatekeeping encounter serving to determine a candidate's "proficiency" in a foreign or second language. Like many other types of institutional discourse, LPIs are characteristically arranged as question-answer sequences with a predetermined turn-allocation procedure (Heritage & Greatbatch, 1991) – hence their generic categorization as 'interviews' (Drew & Heritage, 1992, p. 54). In the LPI context, this is the most expedient exchange structure because it enables the interviewer to elicit ratable speech samples on the topics mandated by the interview schedule in a timely fashion. Although LPI participants orient to the Q-A sequence as the normative exchange structure, empirically departures from the canonical sequence are frequently seen. One such departure occurs when interviewers reissue a question so that multiple questions are performed on the same referential point (e.g., Heritage & Roth, 1995).

In the LPI, multiple questions occur with some regularity in several sequential environments, where they accomplish a number of different actions. When placed in a turn following some action by the candidate, multiple questions are responsive actions to candidates' displays of non-comprehension or partial comprehension and offer him or her another stab at providing a relevant and ratable answer. When housed in the same turn, multiple questions are proactive actions designed to enable relevant and ratable responses in interactional environments where shared understanding is at an increased risk, such as topic changes and shifts, requests for extended verbal action beyond 'answering questions', or questions about hypothetical circumstances or events. Overwhelmingly, the different versions of a question are formatted differently. To some extent, such differences relate to variation in referential scope, but often, the question versions differ in their social stance (Ochs, 1996), i.e., they are differentially 'polite'.

Based on a large collection of multiple questions, drawn from a corpus of 100 LPIs with candidates learning English as a foreign language in Japan, this study will examine how different question formats are related to the specific sequential environment in which the questions are produced. Data were analyzed using standard Conversation Analysis (CA) as the primary method. The analysis of politeness-implicative linguistic resources will also draw on empirical speech act pragmatics.

## **Yasuhiro Katagiri**

### ***Interactional alignment in collaborative problem solving dialogues***

Based on a cross-linguistic analysis of collaborative problem solving dialogues by speakers of American English and Japanese, two contrasting interactional alignment strategies for reaching shared problem solutions are identified and characterized. It is argued that this behavioral contrast reflects underlying differences in the cultural norm concerning the ownership of ideas.

People who engage in a conversation align their behaviors with each other. This behavioral alignment takes place at multiple levels of conversations. Interactional synchrony of bodily movements and speech rate convergence between interlocutors are the two prominent examples of low level conversational behavioral alignment. Congruent syntactic choice, referential expression copying, and common grounding are higher level phenomena that demonstrate the wide range of alignment behaviors that manifest themselves in conversations as joint activities.

We focus on yet another level of alignment in conversation, the way in which conversational participants negotiate and come to agreement with each other. This level is significant because reaching an agreement among participants is one of the main purposes of engaging in conversation, and it is commonplace in our everyday life in the form of making joint proposals and joint action plans. This level of alignment also involves the signaling of evaluative attitudes, which is significant in maintaining cultural behavior norms. Social groups have their own norms that determine appropriate and inappropriate behaviors in the groups. Accompanied with the group norms are a repertoire of response behaviors, those behaviors that signal positive approvals or negative reprehensions toward behaviors of conversational partners, through which the group norms are indirectly enforced.

We conducted a comparative examination of dialogue data between Japanese and American speakers on a collaborative problem solving task, and analyzed the type of behaviors employed by participants in negotiating and controlling the process of collaboratively finding solutions for the problems imposed by the task. The task was the construction of a story, in which a pair of participants were provided with a set of pictures and asked to collaboratively construct a coherent story by rearranging the pictures.

The alignment behaviors were analyzed in terms of the following five categories of interactional behaviors: (a) proposal-acceptance sequence, (b) proposal-rejection sequence, (c) identification of troubles, (d)

trouble-remedial proposal, and (e) initiative negotiation. We found that Japanese participants make proposals in small units and do not express rejections explicitly, whereas American participants produce proposals in large units and explicitly express both positive and negative evaluations. These characteristics are also manifested in the contrast between the frequent occurrences of collaborative completion and equal negotiation of proposals by Japanese participants, on the one hand, and the clear role division and explicit floor exchanges by American participants, on the other hand. It was also observed that initiative switches take place within a single solution proposal in Japanese dialogues, whereas initiative switches accompany a change in proposal units in American dialogues.

These contrasting characteristics of alignment behaviors can be posited as originating from differences in the conceptions and norms of joint and independent ownership of ideas by the participants.

### **Kuniyoshi Kataoka**

#### ***Contextual preference of frames of reference in route-finding discourse: The case of Japanese signboard instructions***

The purpose of the current study is to show that the context and the genre of spatial reference can affect the default application of a language's dominant "frame of reference" (FoR). A current conceptualization of spatial perspective for static objects in a natural environment basically consists of three types of FoR—relative (viewer-centered), intrinsic (object-centered), and absolute (environment-centered) (Levinson 1996, 2003). In European languages like English and Dutch, the relative perspective is assumed to be the dominant FoR for the encoding and decoding of humans' ordinary space. Thus speakers of these languages, based on the viewer's/speaker's perspective, normally describe the spatial relations of objects (e.g., apple [referent] and vase [relatum]) with such expressions as "The apple is {to the right/left, in front/back} of the vase."

It has recently been claimed, however, that the other types of FoR can also be employed to serve the same purposes (Pederson et al 1998; Levinson 2003). Thus, in cultures where people heavily rely on the absolute FoR, they locate the objects with such (indigenous) expressions as "The apple is to the {north/downhill/upriver} of the vase." More interestingly, researchers found that some relative languages like Tamil (Pederson 1995) and Japanese (Inoue 2002) may succumb to regional variation in terms of their assumed loyalty to the relative FoR. In other words, it has become apparent that in giving spontaneous descriptions of ordinary space, some local speakers employ a higher degree of absolute perspective than those in other regions. My claim here is that, in addition to such potential regional variation, the context and the genre of reference could motivate a higher degree of absolute perspective—at least in Japanese. To confirm this assumption, I will focus on the spatial expressions used on Japanese signboards, in which locational information is given in such a manner as to guide the viewer to a destination by using 'arrows,' 'maps,' and 'instructions' as typically seen in route-finding discourse. For the current analysis, I will use a computer program for analyzing language variation, VARBRUL, to determine the relative preference of certain FoRs in a given context by incorporating such variables as "distance to destination," "type of environment: rural, commercial, and residential," "number of turns to destination," etc.

The analysis will show that the spatial reference used on signboards relies unexpectedly on a high degree of absolute FoR, and that other FoRs are differentially used in order to maximize the cognitive activity to be engaged (i.e. finding out where the destination is) in the changing environments. Finally, I will argue that, as the geographic scale and route complexity increase, there emerges a general tendency away from intrinsic descriptions, through relative descriptions, to absolute descriptions (Kataoka to appear), despite the overall low usage of the absolute FoR in modern Japanese. Accordingly, I will suggest that humans do select and shift among one or more of these FoRs, but that the potential variation could be constrained by physical and contextual features of use as well as their indigenous FoR(s).

### **Napoleon Katsos, Richard Breheny & John Williams**

#### ***Pragmatics or Semantics or both? An experimental investigation on the interpretation of disjunctions and numerals***

In this paper we discuss the results of three experimental studies on the off-line and on-line processing of scalar terms as well as differences between types of scalar terms, namely the disjunction and the numerals. This research is motivated by the linguistic debate on the truth conditional meaning of scalar expressions, on how semantics and pragmatics contribute to speaker meaning and whether numerals are a proper species of scalar implicature (see Chierchia forthcoming, Levinson 2000, Recanati 2003, Sperber & Wilson 1995, and for the debate on numerals see Carston 1998, Guerts 1998, Horn 1989 i.a.). We review a number of recent theoretical approaches to implicature that claim psycholinguistic as well as philosophical validity (Chierchia forthcoming,

Levinson 2000, Sperber & Wilson 1995 i.a.) and we set out to locate contextual as well as structural factors that may affect implicature processing.

Specifically, in the off-line study, we investigated whether scalar implicatures are defeasible inferences: 60 participants, native speakers of English, were asked to fill in a verb in either singular or plural following a disjunction. Participants produced significantly more verbs in singular when the disjunction was embedded in an Upper Bound context that licenses the generation of an implicature and an exclusive interpretation of the disjunction. On the other hand, participants produced significantly more verbs in plural when the disjunction was embedded in a Lower Bound or a Downward Entailment context which license an inclusive interpretation of the disjunction. In the two on-line studies, we measured reading time on implicature triggers through a self-paced segment by segment reading time paradigm. 40 participants, native speakers of English, read texts with disjunctions and numerals embedded in Upper and Lower Bound contexts. In the case of the disjunction, we found that the generation of implicatures is an effortful process; this reflects on requiring more time to generate an implicature. Moreover, we found that implicatures are generated only in Upper Bound contexts, contrary to the expectation that implicatures will be generated by default (and subsequently cancelled in a Lower Bound or Downward Entailment context). On the other, we gathered evidence that suggest that numerals do not behave like disjunctions and that the interpretation of numeral terms must follow some other process (e.g. underspecification) rather than implicature generation.

These findings are relevant to the theoretical debate on the semantics/pragmatics of scalar terms and the status of numerals in pragmatic theory. In the final section of the paper, we will discuss what the growing body of research on implicature processing implies for the architecture of the pragmatic system and how linguistic and psychological theories can inform each other.

## **Shlomy Kattan**

### ***Soldiers in the army of compassion: Narrating the New American in G.W. Bush's NCLB speeches***

On January 8, 2002, George W. Bush signed into law the No Child Left Behind Act (NCLB). Since its passage, Bush's cornerstone education reform bill has encountered both criticism and support whether for its demands on schools, its emphasis on assessment, its fiscal impact, or its general effects on education in America. In this paper I examine the discourses and ideologies on education in America as expressed in Bush's speeches at schools across the country since the signing of NCLB. Specifically, I am interested in how Bush constructs a new America, a new education system, and a new American in his talks before elementary and secondary school students, teachers, and administrators. I contend that these speeches, in narrating an idealized perspective on America as a community, also construct an idealized American identity that aligns with the goals and priorities of the state.

Theoretically, this paper draws upon previous research on narrative construction of identity, most notably the works of Bruner (1990), Ochs & Capps (1996), and Baquedano-López (2001). Like Baquedano-López, I argue that through narrative Bush constructs a collective social identity. I am thus identifying political speeches as a narrative genre, taking 'narrative' to mean a structured text "composed of a unique sequence of events, mental states, [and/or] happenings involving human beings as characters or actors...[which] can be 'real' or 'imaginary' without loss of its power as a story (Bruner, 1990: 43-44)." Furthermore, I align myself with Baquedano-Lopez, who writes, "Through narratives we relate not only events, but also stances and dispositions towards those events. While they emerge from experience, narratives also shape experience; thus we tell our stories for their potency to explain, rationalize, and delineate past, present, and possible experiences (2001: 343)." Additionally, this paper takes identity to mean subject position, a conceptualization which decenters, historicizes, and contextualizes the self (Kramsch, forthcoming). Identity is thus not merely a static category into which one is placed, but rather an emergent, fluid, and co-constructed subject position that comes about in interaction.

This paper analyzes speeches made by Bush at elementary and secondary schools since January 2002 to assess the language used to create an idealized America and an idealized American identity. I also examine the different contexts and sites in which these speeches were delivered, accounting for the diversity of audiences and circumstances under which each speech was given. The speeches, as they are delivered to different audiences, have a transformative intent which aims to homogenize the diverse group of listeners. I argue that the speeches reinforce a top-down approach to leadership, thereby legitimizing Bush's rule as the "leader" of this country. Secondly, through the use of metaphor, the talks militarize the education system, calling also for a direct link between the military and the schools. Finally, I argue that these lines of argument amount to the creation of a new, ideal "American," a citizen who is willing to "sacrifice" for her/his country and to promote a vision of America that essentially aligns with Bush's views on the country.



## **Fred Kauffeld**

### ***Presumptions and shifting the burden of proof***

Analysis of the ordinary practice of presuming things shows that the presumptions taken in day-to-day thought and speech are inferences based on the supposition that someone will make or would have made the presumed proposition true rather than risk criticism, resentment, retribution, etc. for failing to do so (Kauffeld, 2003). Thus, when a speaker seriously says that *p*, we presume that she is speaking truthfully because, we suppose, she would not openly risk resentment for failing to make it the case that she is sincerely expressing beliefs the truth of which she has made a reasonable effort to ascertain.

This analysis of the ordinary practice of presuming things supports insight into important topics in pragmatics and argumentation. It illuminates the pragmatics of a broadly Gricean analysis of utterance-meaning (Kauffeld, 2001; Stampe, 1967); it supports accounts of the efficacy of argumentatively significant speech acts (Kauffeld, 1995, 1998b, 2002); it clarifies the genesis of probative obligations, the persuasive force of arguments, the limits of probative burdens, and the role of pivotal issues argumentation (Goodwin, 2001, 2002; Kauffeld, 1989, 1994, 1995, 1998a, 2002); and it casts light problems in the construction of ideal models of argumentation (Fran H. van Eemeren & Houtlosser, 2003). The paper here proposed will bring analysis of the ordinary practice of presuming to bear on problems in argumentation theory associated with shifting the burden of proof.

In argumentative discourse the obligation to substantiate or refute critically important propositions may shift from one side of the dispute to another. This sometimes occurs because the advocates for one view appear to have discharged their probative obligations (Kauffeld, 1995, 2002) and it may also occur when an advocate puts forward an apparently presumable proposition. That some presumptions may reorder probative obligations is well attested (Gaskins, 1992; Kauffeld, 2002; Zarefsky, 1990). Indeed, presumptions are often identified as propositions which stand good unless and until substantial reason is provided for rejecting them (Cronkhite, 1966; F. H. van Eemeren & Grootendorst, 1992; Ehninger & Brockriede, 1966; Flew, 1976; Gaskins, 1992; Goodnight, 1980; Hill & Leeman, 1997; Perelman & Olbrechts-Tyteca, 1969; Rescher, 1977; Ullmann-Margalit, 1983; Walton, 1996; Willard, 1989). While it is a mistake to define 'presumption' in terms of the burden of proof, theoretically interesting and practically significant connections do hold between some presumptions and some realignments of probative obligations.

However, it is far from clear just how the supposed adequacy of a proposition or a position could impose on skeptics an obligation to substantiate their doubts about a view presumed adequate by others. Various attempts have been made to clarify this matter by the construction of procedural rules for argumentation in the courts and in idealized dialogues. But these approaches cast limited light on the relationships between presumption and shifting probative burdens in the largely unregulated arenas of ordinary day-to-day discourse. In the proposed paper I will critique inherited views from legal theory and argumentation studies regarding the power of presumptions to realign probative obligations and will offer an account of several ways in which probative obligations are redistributed in our ordinary practice of presuming things.

## **Leelo Keevalik**

### ***The Estonian complementizer and evidential particle et in conversation***

In a recent paper, Thompson (2002) argues convincingly against analyzing object complements as subordinate. It has also been demonstrated that many phrases that include complement-taking predicates (CTPs) such as I think, I dunno, you know have been reduced to formulas with epistemic or evidential meaning in actual conversations. Thus, they do not function as main clauses. As a part of the reduction, the complementizer that has often disappeared from the adverbial usage of I think and I guess.

In some languages, however, an opposing phenomenon can be found, whereby complementizers, or what have traditionally been described as complementizers, appear as pragmatic particles without the CTPs (Englebretson 2003, Keevalik 1999, Laury & Seppänen 2004, Suzuki 1999). In this paper I will discuss the turn-initial usage of the Estonian particle *et* as a possible evidence of lost CTP-phrases, which in its turn demonstrates the non-subordinate status of complements.

The turns initiated by *et* regularly put forward interpretations of or conclusions drawn from the immediately prior speaker's speech. In an ideal literary world, these would be the typical cases of object complements, following main clauses such as you mean, you're suggesting or you're saying, and the turns are indeed interpreted as elliptical in precisely this way by novice, albeit thoroughly literate, students. A case in point would be (1), where the telemarketer M produces a candidate reason for why K is not interested in the newspaper subscription.

(1)

M has asked K whether she has any complaints about the newspaper.

1K: e:i:: oska praegu midagi öelda  
at the moment (I) cannot say anything

2 M: et liiga vähe veel käind jah  
ET you've had it too short (a time)

One possible way of development suggested for the closely related Finnish particle *et*(*tä*) is via a stage where the proadverb *että* 'in this way' was used after verbs of speaking (Laury & Seppänen 1994). In conversational Estonian, *et* may also accomplish the quotative function alone without a CTP, which may be a further step towards the evidential usage in (1). The gradual development of the proadverb into quotative and evidential cases supports the argument that the profiles of main clauses with CTPs are overridden by those of the "subordinate" complement clauses, possibly to the degree of oblivion of the main clauses.

### **Julie Kerekes**

#### ***Identification and distribution of verbal actions in successful and failed gatekeeping encounters***

Achieving perfect understanding between interlocutors is not necessarily the goal of all verbal interactions; rather, as dictated by the "principle of mutual responsibility," interlocutors establish as much common ground and mutual understanding as is necessary to satisfy "a criterion sufficient for current purposes" (Wilkes-Gibbs 1997, p. 245). In the case of gatekeeping encounters – specifically, employment interviews – if the interviewee is able to present realistically her/his employability, and the interviewer is able to assess accurately the interviewee's eligibility for employment, then the "current purposes" of the interaction are met. The concept of joint construction – or co-construction (Shea 1994) – hinges on the notion that meaning is created through the interaction itself, in the specific context of that interaction. The success or failure of the job interview is, therefore, not simply a result of the interviewee's performance, but also a result of the interviewer's responses to that performance, and of the interaction between the two; the outcome, whether successful or failed, is co-constructed by the interlocutors.

There is no doubt that characteristics such as gender, class, native language background, and communicative style contribute to the outcomes of gatekeeping encounters (see, e.g., Gumperz 1992; Erickson & Shultz 1982; Kerekes 2004), but the topical content of the interactions also influences the interviewer in her assessment of the interviewee. What actually gets discussed, including, but not limited to, the candidate's job skills and previous work experience, is considered by the interviewer (the gatekeeper) as she assesses the candidate (the gatekeepee). The question is, to what degree is it the candidate's personal characteristics and interactional style, and to what degree is it the content of her/his verbal acts, which determines the outcomes of the gatekeeping encounter?

It is the purpose of this study to identify the verbal components comprising one particular type of gatekeeping encounter – job interviews at an employment agency – in order to then examine their distribution and to determine which of these components are necessary to effect a successful outcome. A data set of 79 transcribed interviews from a national employment agency is analyzed. First, the concepts of success and failure are examined. How is a successful job interview characterized by the interviewers and interviewees, and what factors determine its success? Second, the general structure of employment interviews is described. What verbal components define the interview, and which ones are optional and/or variable? Third, the verbal actions which occur in successful, failed, and weak interviews are identified and described, in order to understand how these actions are co-constructed and how or whether they can predict the relative success of particular encounters. The distribution of the verbal actions is examined in relation to social factors such as the job candidates' native language and second language ability (where relevant), gender, and type of job for which they are applying (i.e., clerical/white collar or manual/blue collar work). Success rates according to the second language ability of the job candidates are discussed, as well as implications for English language teachers, staff at employment agencies, and employment training programs. (499 words)

### **Friederike Kern**

#### ***Conversational activities in a (cross)cultural perspective: The case of Turkish German in Berlin***

Like in other urban centers all over Europe, a new ethnic style of German has emerged in Berlin (Germany) among the second generation of young Turkish migrants. A project funded by the German Research foundation (DFG) looks at the specific prosodic and syntactical patterns of Turkish German, and the use of such patterns for the organization of conversational activities.

In the context of story-telling and turn-by-turn talk, prosodic and syntactical structures arise that may be culturally patterned, as they are unusual for spoken standard German. E.g., accentuation and rhythm are both used as tools to signal relevance, and to establish coherence with preceding utterances. Microanalyses of the construction of turn constructional units and turns then provide insight into some of the grammatical forms and functions of Turkish German in the context of talk-in-interaction.

**Manfred Kienpointner**

***Emotional arguments in dialogical interaction***

Traditionally, emotional arguments have been described as fallacies (e.g. the so-called arguments "ad hominem, ad verecundiam, ad populum, ad baculum, ad misericordiam" etc.). However, recent research in argumentation theory has shown that emotional arguments are not necessarily fallacious and can even be legitimate means of argumentation in certain contexts (cf. Walton 1992, 1998, 2000; Plantin 1998, 1999; Kienpointner 2002). These recent developments are in line with Aristotle's treatment of ethos and pathos as acceptable means of rhetorical persuasion. Therefore, the main problem for evaluating arguments is not whether they are emotional or not, but which emotions are appealed to in which dialogical context. In this paper, I would like to support these classical and recent approaches to the role and function of emotions within argumentation. To do this, I wish to discuss examples for emotional arguments taken from authentic dialogues in order to describe the persuasive strategies which are employed and to evaluate the soundness of the arguments.

**Kyu-hyun Kim**

***Pauses projecting imminent completion of turn-constructional units: Implications for the organization of structure and action in English conversation***

On the basis of the examination of audio-taped and video-taped English conversational data, this paper analyzes various discourse-structural and sequence-organizational features of the pause that projects a possible completion of the turn-constructional unit (TCU) (Example: becu:z she figures he's no:t yihknow (•) being responsible). For this study, TCUs that contain a pause projecting imminent completion are identified, and from a conversation-analytic perspective, their discourse-organizational and interaction-management features are illuminated in terms of how the speaker and the recipient mutually orient to the interactional import of the pause and TCU-final component that follows it.

One of the structural features widely observed in the data in relation to the pause before TCU completion (hereafter PBTC) is that the projected TCU-final element preceded by a PBTC tends to be followed by an additional TCU or a series of TCUs. In such cases, the newly added TCU (or TCUs) is linked back to the prior TCU with a connective (e.g., and), often prefaced by in-breath. This pattern suggests that the speaker is taking the post-pausal TCU completion point in his/her turn not as the final destination in the trajectory of the course of action he is constructing, but as a "mid-point" leading to some sort of an upshot to be delivered through the forthcoming TCU.

The speaker's orientation to the post-pausal TCU-final component as not being "final" is displayed by the fact that they tend to be formulated as an "approximation," often accompanied by expressions such as you know, like, or or something (like that). Such a formulation seems to be designed to pre-empt the recipient's possible attempt to take up and focus on the import of the current TCU being completed by a post-pausal TCU-final item for its own sake. The post-pausal (or sometimes pre-pausal) area, in this respect, is often exploited as a place where the speaker can plant a "delicate" or "face-threatening" material for which s/he might be potentially accountable, and present it as something that is designedly to be taken up only briefly in passing by the recipient.

The recipient's uptake at the post-pausal TCU completion point massively takes the form of a continuer (e.g., uhuh), which allows the speaker to continue to talk, as opposed to a more substantial contribution that may induce a more focal treatment by the speaker. That the recipient does so shows that the recipient, on his/her part, also orients to the PBTC as a place that projects more than the upcoming TCU-final component. It is noteworthy, in this respect, that it is not the TCU-final component projected by the PBTC, but a new TCU following it, which is often oriented to by the recipient as something to respond to in earnest, i.e., with a more freely collaborative (or confrontational) uptake. This organizational pattern is recurrently observed in the data examined in this paper, with the speaker and the recipient both displaying orientation to what comes "after" the projected TCU-final component as an "upshot-relevant point" that warrants a more active, upgraded uptake.

**Michael Kimmel**

***Image schema clusters in ethnography: The case of a Ladakhi bride-raid ritual***

Based on ethnographic work discussed by Bloch (1992, cf. Phylactou 1989), I will show that arguments about cultural webs of symbolism, not untypically, make implicit reference to cognitive functions that cognitive linguists have attributed to 'image schemas'. The ethnography describes a brideraid ritual in Ladakh and, as I shall argue, highlights transmodal symbolic overlap: In the ritual an arrow and sticking it into a pile of grain, an act of forcibly entering the house, the house pole as spiritual center, a place of power, and a connection to the gods and rape/sex are connected by virtue of some image-schematic similarity (including embodied evocations) around the force and conduit image schemas. The multiple overlaps of imagery, all embedded within the complex cultural models of marriage, religion and sustenance, are not perfectly tidy. Yet, like filaments of a thread (which Wittgenstein used to illustrate his notion of 'family resemblances') they are strong enough to tie together the symbolic levels that are part-and-parcel of the brideraid ritual.

Based on this case study, my first task is to explicate how some cognitive functions of image schemas (e.g., structuring mappings; constituting schematic inclusion hierarchies or families of related images) may help explain how multimodal symbolic fabrics are interwoven in cultural context.

The ethnography is also a point of entry for surveying modalities in which image schemas occur, in particular to draw attention to some less recognized ones ethnographers will be especially interested in. Image schemas are often discussed as being linguistically evoked at the word and phrase levels (Lakoff & Johnson 1999) or through the iconicity of text contours (Lakoff & Turner 1989), as structuring the perception of shapes and emblems (Tilley 1999), and as underlying gestural action patterns (McNeill 1992). More recently, it has been suggested that image schemas may also structure larger-scale event representations in narrative (Kimmel 2004, cf. Turner 1996) and modes of embodied proprioception (Geurts 2004), perhaps in culturally specific ways. Finally, I argue that giving the two final dimensions more attention offers a possibility for resituating Bourdieu's notion of 'habitus' (1977) within present cognitive research.

## **Mikhail Kissine**

### ***Promises and predictions: Deriving deontic commitment from epistemic possibility***

While directive and assertive illocutionary forces are prototypically coupled with the imperative and declarative moods respectively, no syntactic mood is associated with commissive speech acts (e.g. promises and threats). For that reason, several authors claimed that commissive speech acts are not to be grouped together with assertions and orders and must be analysed referring to non-linguistic social conventions. However, most of the time, commissive illocutions involve a futurity-marker. Therefore, a typology of illocutionary acts based on morpho-syntactic properties of sentences should group commissive illocutions and statements about future together.

My aim is to explain how a strong deontic commitment is derived from a prediction about speaker's action without invoking non-linguistic conventions. Under the dominant view, English "will" is analysed as a modal. One option is to take "will" as a forward-shifting necessity (Enç 1996), which would explain why it might give rise to a strong deontic commitment, as in (1).

(1) I'll come tomorrow.

However, such an analysis yields wrong predictions in cases like (2):

(2) It is possible that Mary will come tomorrow.

A rough formalisation would be:

(2a) Possible[Necessary(Mary comes tomorrow)]

In modal logic (S5 system) (2a) is equivalent to:

(2b) Necessary(Mary comes tomorrow)

According to a second position, defended recently by Jaszczolt (forthcoming), "will" stands for epistemic possibility (or weak rational acceptability). But it is unclear why (1) generates a strong deontic commitment, if the only reading is that it is possible (or weakly rationally acceptable) that I will come tomorrow. A second point, which applies to any treatment of predictions as modal statements, is that with such views it is impossible to make a difference between ungrounded predictions and predictions that are grounded but turn out to be false.

I shall argue that predictions are better analysed as speech acts that have conditions of success and conditions of satisfactions. A prediction is successful iff the chance for the propositional content to be true  $ch(P)$  is strictly superior to 0. Note that the value of  $ch(P)$  is irrelevant for an utterance to be considered as a successful prediction (unless  $ch(P) = 0$ ). A prediction is satisfied when the propositional content is true. This alternative analysis permits to derive promises from predictions. Structurally, (1) is a prediction about a future action of the speaker S. If S is sincere, she intends to bring about the truth of propositional content. Following Davidson (1978), I consider that if an agent intends to perform P, then for that agent  $ch(P)$  has the maximal value 1. Hence, in (1) in addition to commit herself to the truth of  $ch(P) > 1$  (as it is the case with any sincere prediction), S also commits herself to the truth of  $ch(P) = 1$ , and thus commits herself to bring about P. In cases where  $ch(P) < 1$ , the utterance cannot be interpreted as a promise:

(3) I'll probably come.

(3a) ?? I promise, I'll probably come.

In my approach, the commissive force is thus part of what is said, automatically derived by the hearer from first-person ascriptions of future actions.

## **Sachiko Kitazume**

### ***How to do things with humor***

From the age of Greek philosophers, various functions of humor have been presented by a lot of linguists, psychologists and philosophers. The functions presented so far are so diverse and some seem to have contrary or contradicting effects with each other. Ziv (1984), for example, presented aggressive function, sexual function, social function, defensive function and intelligent function of humor. Aristotle and Plato argue that laughter involves some malice toward others and too much laughter is harmful to be fully human. This raises questions: what is humor? What is the function of humor?

This paper attempts to present a new definition of the function of humor that is comprehensive enough to cover all the functions presented by Ziv. First we will clarify the processes through which we attain the effects of humor by proposing "humor act theory", which is developed based on the speech act theory of Austin (1962).

Austin pointed out that 'words' are in themselves actions and proposed a speech act theory. He analyzed speech acts on three levels: the locution (the words the speaker uses), the illocution (what the speaker is doing by using those words) and the perlocution (the effect of those words on the hearer). We will propose that humor can be analyzed in the same way as Austin analyzed a speech act, or an action performed by an utterance.

We will analyze examples of aggressive humor that attack George W. Bush. The analysis reveals that humor makes an aggressive action which is not socially acceptable into "a socially acceptable action" and it will be assumed that this function owes very much to the physiological aspect of laughter of relieving tension proposed by Spencer (1860). Laughter, by relieving tension, relieves negative aspects of life, while it gives positive effects.

We will further study the functions of all types of humor proposed by Ziv (1984). The analysis reveals that there are three dimensions in actions performed by humor: humor act, inhumor act and perhumor act. Humor act is an act of expressing humor with an utterance, a cartoon, an image, a graphological device, an action and so on. Inhumor act is an act of arousing laughter with such causes as claimed by the superiority theory, the relief theory and the incongruity theory. Perhumor act is an act of giving effects of laughter. Physiologically laughter can be defined as an action of relieving tension and venting the nervous energy. The relieving of tension and expenditure of nervous energy relieve negative aspects of life, such as anger, aggressiveness, fear, tension, weariness and depression, while they give positive effects such as cheering up the spirits, achieving appreciation, sympathy and even love. These effects of laughter, in turn, make unsociable actions, such as aggressive verbal attack and a sexual talk, socially acceptable by modifying the malignant, harmful or unpleasant elements of these actions.

## **Yuriko Kite, Modiri Nishizawa & Donna Tatsuki**

### ***Japanese textbook compliment realizations compared with film and TV interview compliment data***

Assuming that instructional materials are vital part of input and interaction for the development of pragmatic competence in an EFL setting, this presentation will look at the relationship between compliments (C) and compliment responses (CR) in authentic language use and government approved textbooks in Japan. The data come from 20 of the most popular Japanese Ministry of Education approved language textbooks. Although it is perhaps not reasonable to expect that textbooks present solely authentic language use, the study suggests that textbook writers should be more sensitive to and aware of the discrepancies between their constructed dialogues and the findings of natural data research.

## **Eliza Kitis**

### ***Performatives and dia-lectics***

There has been a long debate amongst speech act theorists about the nature of performative utterances and the character of the performative verb. The original view comes from Austin (1961, 1962) who considers performatives to be a distinct class, originally from constatives, and later, when he includes constatives in the

class of performatives, from statements. This view is developed by Searle and, more recently, it is also defended by Reimer (1995). On the other hand, ever since Bach and Harnish (1979), there has been another tradition in the field, which defends the view that performative utterances are statements and their performativity is derived via an inferential procedure in the spirit of Grice. Admittedly, this latter view, were it to be on the right track, would be a most convenient solution, as it tidies up the semantic landscape. If performative utterances are interpreted originally as statements, then we can claim that their interpretation as performatives occurs at a slightly deferred stage (even if this is a short-circuited indirect procedure), just as is the case with indirect speech acts such as 'Can you open the window?' If this can be shown convincingly to be so, then not only can we claim that performatives are true statements, but also that the occurrence of such potentially performative verbs in non-performative sentences is also explained, without postulating ambiguity or different meanings and other undesirable notions.

In this paper I will discuss the merits of the two positions, make some suggestions regarding the nature of performative verbs and consider evidence from Greek. I will argue that neither of the two positions has argued convincingly their respective theses, because they have failed to consider issues relating to the nature of the performative verbs. A closer look at the type of verbs qualifying as performative, as well as at some social facts relating to linguistic performances, might show the way out of this impasse. I will identify a class of verbs ordinarily used in the performative mode, which I will call *dia-lectics*, and I will discuss their specific characteristics that support an account along the lines provided by Bach and Harnish. *Dia-lectics*, as the term denotes, impinge on processes taking place in interindividual, intersubjective territory, which has been nurtured in signs and, therefore, constitutes a social institution encapsulated in speech performances that engulf all types of individual variation and creativity. *Dia-lectics*, seen from this discursive point of view, may constitute the cornerstone of social psychology.

**Sachiko Kiyama**

***Disagreement in Japanese: From the perspective of discourse politeness***

Discussions of politeness in Japanese often focus on the notion that Japanese avoid disagreement at all costs as group harmony is highly valued (e.g. Krauss, et al. 1984). While there is indeed an emphasis on reaching consensus in groups in Japan, at least as an ideal, there are, of course, many instances where disagreements do arise. If these disagreements cannot be resolved amicably then there are obvious negative implications for the relationships between the parties involved. At the discourse level we may observe a number of strategies used to smooth over these kinds of disagreements. This paper focuses on the use of politeness strategies at the discourse level when disagreement arises, with analysis conducted from the perspective of Discourse Politeness Theory (Usami 2002). It draws from a comparative analysis of conversations between Japanese meeting for the first time and those who have been friends for some time.

A total of 15 conversations between intimate friends and between unacquainted persons were recorded and transcribed. All the subjects were female Japanese native speakers in their twenties. The transcribed data from both contexts was then compared quantitatively. Disagreements with the previous utterances of other interlocutors can be classified into two types: "courteous disagreement" where one either puts oneself down or praises the other interlocutor while disagreeing, and "substantial disagreement" where one neither puts oneself down nor praises the other interlocutor.

The result indicated that substantial disagreement occurred in ninety per cent of cases of disagreement observed in conversations between friends, but in only fifty-five per cent of cases in conversations between people meeting for the first time. Courteous disagreement, on the other hand, occurred in around only eleven per cent of cases in conversations between intimates, but in forty-five per cent of situations between strangers. These results indicate that "courteous disagreement" more occurs between strangers than between friends.

Further analysis of the "substantial"/"courteous" dichotomy revealed marked variations. When a simple correction of a verifiable fact was at issue, "substantial disagreement" was found in equal proportions between both friends and strangers. However, when the matter could be discussed at length, "substantial disagreements" were more often found between friends than strangers. The smaller frequency of disagreement between strangers is a reflection of their underdeveloped mutual relationships. In the case of "courteous disagreement", on the other hand, there were many direct expressions that notified the addressee of the speaker's "polite" intention, regardless of whether the interlocutors were friends or strangers.

In conclusion, this paper demonstrates the need to examine disagreements not only at the utterance level, but also at the discourse level if we are to gain a better understanding of how disagreements are managed in relation to human interaction.

**Susanne Kjaerbeck**

***Narratives in institutional interaction***

This paper focuses on institutional aspects of narratives in talk-in-interaction. Theoretically, it draws on the insights established by the philosophy of language that language is a form of action and not a representational system. The approach is conversation analysis, which focuses on sequential action analysis and which is well established in the area of conversational storytelling. The data consists of a corpus of narratives told in face-to-face interaction in different settings.

In narrative research, in the linguistic tradition, Labov and Waletzky's seminal paper from 1967 still constitutes an important point of departure, even if it, to a great extent, is based on the narrative as a representational language form. Therefore, I begin this paper by addressing some important methodological aspects in narrative studies: the analysis of action and structural and interactional aspects of narratives.

Thereafter, I will analyze narratives from different institutional settings in order to show how the narratives can be used for special purposes relevant to the talk and how the participants' orientation to certain situational identities may influence narrative structure. The analysis suggests a definition of a narrative as an activity which is sequentially organized, collaboratively produced by the participants of the conversation, and which comprises not only the telling of a story, but also the reactions to and explicit interpretation of the story told.

### **Jo Anne Kleifgen**

#### ***Variation in multimodal discourse: How new technologies can expand or constrain modes of communication***

Discourse has always been multimodal—we use talk, text, and images in our everyday interactions as well as in our professional practices. Now that computer technologies are part of our social and professional lives, can we assume that our interactions have become “more” multimodal? To what extent do these new technologies affect multimodality? This paper offers two examples of social interaction to illustrate how the complexity of modes can vary depending on the mediating tools and the activities in which they are used. In one, modal resources are decreased and verbal communication is enhanced; in the other, modal resources are increased and verbal communication is reduced. The first example is an activity in which social interaction is conducted through on-line discussions in a distance learning course. In this context, text alone is used to construct meaning. I describe how participants in the on-line discussion deal with the constraints of a single mode in online learning, and how they begin to develop norms for interaction in this environment. The second example describes a complex work setting—a circuit board assembly plant, in which tasks are mediated by a computerized machine that loads components onto boards. Trouble-shooting the machine is a recurrent activity for machine operators. I focus on two workers as they integrate talk, gestures, numbers and tools in this problem-solving activity. In this multimodal interaction, talk, surrounded by other modes, is shaped into a simplified register charged with precision numbers. The two illustrations point to the need for close analysis of a variety of social interactions to understand variation in multimodal discourse.

### **Janine Klein & Neal Norrick**

#### ***Disruptive talking out of turn in the elementary classroom***

In our paper we describe the forms and functions of disruptive talk in the elementary classroom. The teacher ostensibly has the power in the elementary classroom, but all the pupils are potential disruptors and there are a range of possible points for disruption during instruction. Although there is a growing body of literature on dealing with unruly children, there is no corpus-based research on real disruptions in classroom interaction. Especially in the early years of elementary school, children sometimes “talk out of turn,” because they momentarily forget the rules of appropriate classroom behavior; they also engage in whispering and chatting, as described in Jones and Thornborrow (2004); but these kinds of talk are just minor disturbances in an otherwise well-organized floor. By contrast, a “class clown” baldly interrupts the ongoing activity with an orientation toward humor and in a voice loud enough to be heard by the whole class. In spite of reprisals from the teacher, class clowns may continue to disrupt class with their attempts at humor, as in the passage below, where a pupil produces a clearly disruptive question, and the teacher reacts directly to the disruption.

Teacher: okay. (1.5) you could color IN, and you can use your markers.

Katie: do I have to do it neatly?

Teacher: {annoyed} of COURSE you have to do it neatly.

The reprimand seems rather severe, unless Katie is frequently disruptive or the teacher is reacting to the implication that pupils should ever purposely produce sloppy work. In other cases, teachers take flippant disruptions in stride, as in:

Teacher: what we're going to do: is: (2.0) mount up your uhm=

Peter: =°flippies?°=

Teacher: =counters=

Kelly: =uhu

Teacher: you all have paper . . .

Here the pupil produces a jocular completion of the teacher's ongoing turn, latched directly onto a hesitation marker. The teacher simply completes the utterance correctly, latching onto the insertion with no further reaction.

Based on twelve hours of recordings from first through sixth grade classrooms at an American elementary school in Germany, we investigate how disruptions arise, how they are handled, and what they accomplish interactionally. We explore the relations of humorous disruptions to antecedent events, e.g. direct response to teacher initiation, evaluative comment on teacher action, emotional response to announcement. And we explore the interactional functions of humorous disruptions, e.g. to assert individual identity into the otherwise faceless group orientation of classroom interaction, to comment on classroom process, to mock the teacher, and to impress classmates. We show that the teacher may affiliate with the class clown by joining in the laughter or producing a cohesive (humorous) follow up, just as they may disaffiliate by explicitly reprimanding the class clown or pointedly ignoring the disruption. Classmates sometimes affiliate with the class clown, continuing the disruption cohesively, laughing out loud or laughing sotto voce (but visible to classmates), though they may also disaffiliate, by initiating a counter move or simply ignoring the disruption.

### **Peter Klotz**

#### ***The pragmatic art of description and its philosophical underpinnings***

The text type "description" is part of the general inventory of standard, scientific and aesthetic modes of communication. As opposed to other basic, pragmatic actions such as "narration" or "argumentation", description as such has rarely been analyzed theoretically, and as a rule is dealt with in terms of banal concepts such as precision, objectivity, clarity, etc. Precisely these concepts, however, ignore the basic function and structure of this text type, making it difficult to learn by clouding understanding of a very important, equally pragmatic and cognitive act.

Description presupposes perception, and perception requires knowledge in order that that which should and can be perceived may be understood. If perception and description can be combined, then description becomes the beginning of a process of gaining insight, by means of which the description itself leads to better, heightened perception and in positive instances results in insight.

The perceiving/describing and understanding subject thus stands between an interest-driven, purposeful act which thematized that which is important to him or her; and an act of explanatory description based on particular assumptions while actually striving for objectivity. The decision for one form or the other represents either the assumption of a "perspective" with all its implications of viewpoint and distortion; or an attempt at a more or less "cartographic representation" of the object based on previously elaborated assumptions.

These fundamental of description are to be discussed during the presentation using texts and pictures -- especially such as Jan Vermeer's "The Artist's Studio". It will be introduced as a fundamental approach for the philosophical implications and for the insight into the cognitive process of as well formulating as understanding description.

### **Karin Knorr Cetina**

#### ***Global finance as global conversation***

In this paper, I discuss a form of scopic system and conversational interaction that occurs in institutional global financial markets. One can argue that some of these markets are held together by ongoing massive conversational activities which add social liquidity to these markets and define them as social and institutional forms that cannot be understood solely on the basis of economic considerations. I also show how scopic systems configure and shape the conversational realization of these markets. The presentation is based on data collected in an ongoing ethnographic study of institutional foreign exchange markets conducted in Europe and the United States. The analysis draws on findings of earlier ethnomethodological studies and on the methodological and theoretical implications of Aaron Cicourel's work.

### **Sungbae Ko**

#### ***Sequence organisation in multiple response sequences in classroom talk***

This paper aims to examine a corpus of instances of multiple-response sequences (MRSs), occurring in adult Korean TESOL classrooms. The data is from 18 TESOL classrooms in Australia and in Korea. In the corpus



there are 14 different teachers (7 Korean teachers: 7 native English-speaking teachers), and 145 learners are all adult Koreans. Over 1050 cases of multiple-responses (MRs) to a teacher's question turn were found.

MRSs occur when a teacher asks a question and more than one student responds. More specifically, MRSs are primarily accomplished in a classic three-part IRF pedagogical sequence: a question (Initiation) from the teacher followed by answers (Responses) from students, which in turn are followed by a comment or evaluation (Follow-up) from the teacher (cf. Sinclair & Coulthard, 1975). In these classrooms, I identified four major types of MR: identical, complementary, collaborative and competitive.

To illustrate the general characteristics of MRSs, the four types of prototypical MRs are first discussed. In this, I describe the relatively simple and basic structure of MRSs that constitute a single type of MR in a single MRS. Then, based on the fundamental organisation of MRSs, one particularly rich and complex sequence will be presented in order to show how MRs may become sequentially more complex when more than two students are involved. In this sequence, the focus of the activity is on Wh-question formation. In the sequence all four basic types of MR occur in what I term an 'exploded' second pair part (X-SPP): the SPP is broken up by the students and teacher into three clearly distinguishable sub-turn constructional units (sub-TCUs). These are produced collectively by all six students in the class, with the teacher providing comments and continuers at sub-TCU level. Each of these sub-TCUs focuses on phrase level grammatical units, and the boundaries of these units are grammatically, pragmatically and intonationally incomplete. However, given the pedagogical focus of the activity, it can be argued that sub-completion is relevant to the participants, in the sense that there is a focus on the correct articulation of grammatical phrases in a stepwise manner. Following the successful production of the X-SPP, the teacher, in a post-expansion, asks the class to re-produce the co-constructed base SPP in choral mode, thus bringing together the base SPP into a fluent and coherent whole.

These sequences provide an opportunity for learners to share participation and collaboratively achieve a local learning objective. This environment can be considered as a potential site of second language learning in the classroom. That is, the MRSs presented in this study show remarkable coordination and effort by students and the teacher to collectively produce unified and comprehensible outcome to the sequence.

## **Nobo Komagata**

### ***Pragmatic phenomena as living fossils of language evolution***

While human languages are highly "analytic" in that an utterance is made up of words, primitive communication, e.g., of primates, is "holistic" in that a signal refers to the whole situation. One of the main questions is how to account for the continuity, i.e., how human languages could have evolved from primitive communication. One point is that holistic aspects can still be found in modern human languages, e.g., certain frozen expressions convey meaning more holistically than analytically. This type of linguistic property can then be seen as evidence of language evolution, i.e., a living fossil. Other potential living fossils include primitive aspects of language that surface when modern language is disrupted, e.g., in creoles, and primitive semantic type distinction of human babies' speech.

Although the above-mentioned living fossils are essential for explaining the continuity, they are not sufficient for explaining how the analytic aspect emerged from the holistic one. Existing models of language evolution spanning this gap generally do not explain the transition. In order to bridge the gap, we would ask whether there be living fossils relevant to the holistic-analytic transition. If so, how would emerging analytic structures look and what would be motivating such a transition? Answers to these questions are important for understanding language evolution.

This paper identifies pragmatics as an area where one can find additional evidence of language evolution, especially in connection to the holistic-analytic transition. This point also suggests another possibility. That is, a variety of hypotheses and techniques used in the study of language evolution, including quantitative analyses and simulation, would become available to identifying and analyzing principles in pragmatics.

First, the paper observes multiple pragmatic phenomena corresponding to the holistic aspect of language. The literature has already reviewed speech acts as a pragmatic feature shared by both primates and humans. In addition, we can consider the notion of "inference" as a holistic aspect of human language in the following sense. Inference is a relation between two propositions, where one is a logical consequence of the other and each proposition corresponds to a holistic situation. Some aspects of "presupposition" can also be considered holistic, as it is closely related to inference.

Second, the paper introduces information structure, roughly the organization of "old" and "new" components in a sentence, as a possible living fossil. This point is based on the following observations. Since information structure does not affect the transmission of the propositional meaning of an utterance, it could have evolved independently from the propositional semantics. The division between old and new is not always clear-cut, especially in narratives. In addition, the linguistic realization of information structure and the degree of "grammaticalization" vary greatly among languages. For example, in spoken English, information structure is

conveyed by intonation, fairly clearly; in written English, where intonation is lost, information structure is conveyed partially by word order, much less clearly. Information structure might still be evolving along the holistic-analytic transition, gradually establishing a language-specific means of facilitating efficient communication.

**Irina Konovalova**

***L2 pragmatic development as (re-)construction of the self: The role of grammatical competence***

Interlanguage pragmatics has become a popular area of study in linguistics. Research in this area focuses on how particular features of L2 learners' interlanguage impact their pragmatic development. Empirical studies that explore the relationship between L2 learners' developing grammatical competence and pragmatic proficiency yield contradictory results (Keiko, 1989, Dittmar and Terborg, 1991, Rost-Roth, 1999, Salsbury and Bardovi-Harlig, 2001). It is unclear, however, how the connection between grammatical competence and pragmatic proficiency can be investigated independently of other variables that may affect L2 pragmatic development. Precisely, L2 learners' development in pragmatics, which is the most culture-bound aspect of language proficiency, cannot be viewed without considering their perceived social roles in the target language socio-cultural group. Based on Bakhtinian perspective of agency in language practices, the paper suggests that L2 pragmatic development be viewed at the intersection of grammatical competence of L2 learners and their self-constructed socio-cultural identities. The claim is that although having a similar grammatical proficiency in their target language, L2 learners may still perform differently in pragmatics due to their different perceived positions in the target language culture. The study involves several highly proficient learners of English as an L2. Their grammatical proficiency, rated on the basis of a standardized test, is similar. At the same time, their differential pragmatic proficiency in the ability to express apologies in English correlates to the differences in how the participants author themselves in the target language socio-cultural community. The data are obtained through role-plays, interviews and self-reports.

**Timothy Koschmann, Curtis LeBaron, Alan Zemel & Gary Dunnington**

***Things we encounter in concern***

Highly-skilled teamwork requires coordinated and disciplined action by a team of workers. How this level of coordination is accomplished in the nonce, however, is a matter for careful study. As our contribution to this panel on multimodality, we will describe how members use talk and embodied action to coordinate their use of certain specialized tools in a particular setting.

We will examine tool use in the operating room (OR) of a teaching hospital. Teaching is done here on two levels—medical students receive their first exposure to surgical practice, while residents, at various stages of training, develop their surgical skills under the tutelage of more experienced surgical attendings. All activity in the OR is closely regulated with regard to who can do what, who can go where, and who can touch certain objects. The tools of the OR are used collaboratively. We start from the premise that interactional work is involved in collaboratively using tools. There are several aspects of this interactional work that attract our attention. We are interested, for example, in the ways that participants employ gaze as a resource in coordinating their tool use. We are also interested in how the physical arrangement of the workplace, both the designed environment and emergent organization of that environment as produced by the participants, frame both the work and the instruction. Finally, we attend to certain temporal (e.g., the staging of tools for subsequent use) and spatial (e.g., role-defined work boundaries) features of the local organization of work practice.

In keeping with the conference theme of "Pragmatics and Philosophy," we will explore how Heidegger's various writings on "equipment" (das Zeug) might methodologically and analytically inform our understandings of what we observe in the OR. Heidegger (1962) defined equipment as "entities which we encounter in concern" and specified, "[e]quipment is essentially 'something in-order-to'" (p. 97). For Heidegger equipment also implicated and embodied the work to which it is put. This treatment of equipment in its situated and realized use provides a warrant for an ethnomethodologically-informed analysis of equipment, in this case, the tools of the OR and the uses to which they are put in the OR. Other authors (c.f., Dreyfus, 1991, Koschmann, Kuutti, & Hickman, 1998) have commented on the relevance of Heidegger's extensive writings on the relationship between equipment and the worker's engaged performance of a task to our understanding of situated tool use.

**Helga Kotthoff**

***Interactional approaches to irony development***

To understand irony requires taking into account many layerings of meaning and various aspects of the context. Among them, making sense of this type of non-literal language requires making inferences about speaker's general beliefs, and then using this information as the basis of inferring the speaker's current intentions and attitudes. Children manage the understanding of easy forms of irony not before six (Winner 1988).

I have analysed ironic interactions between adults in a Bakhtinian and frame analytic approach (Kotthoff, 2002, 2003). In this paper I will try to use this framework in order to understand which sorts of irony nine year olds understand or even produce themselves. I will differentiate various sub-types within the broad category of irony. Some sub-types match with teasing, others more with critical comments. One of my points is that not only the pragmatics of irony (processing the gap between what is said and what is meant) is important but also the meta-pragmatics (relationship management).

My empirical data stem from an informal home work group which was lead by two students who sometimes used various sorts of irony in talking to the boys. A surrounding was created in which natural interactions took place. The richness of the ironic interaction is not artificially limited. Irony research so far was mostly carried out in experimental lab settings which allowed to isolate certain cognitive features. The whole scenes which include the ironic examples are quite artificial and the irony is seen as a monological act. I am interested in cognition in interaction instead. In some cases the children's reactions to irony and their own ironic utterances allow us to reconstruct their understanding of what is going on within the conversational context. I will critically discuss how far we can come using interaction analysis as a tool in researching irony.

## **Soichi Kozai**

### ***We always respect you: Conscientiousness in Japanese and English***

In this study, I will present a unified account of cognitive dimensions of politeness strategies in Japanese and English. Speakers of both languages linguistically indicate their conscientiousness in the same manner but with different cognitive elements focused. The key notion used here is subjectivity – the representation of a speaker's viewpoint in discourse (Finegan 1995). This cognitive notion plays a major role in sentence constructions, and many scholars examined the notion, naming it different terms, such as 'empathy' by Kuno (1973), 'vantage point' by Langacker (1990), and 'viewpoint space' by Fauconnier (1994). Aspects of subjectivity concerned in this study are, agentivity and controllability of sentences with respect to particular beneficial conditions.

Since Brown and Levinson (1987) proposed the universal theory of politeness, many studies of Japanese appeared to criticize the theory (Matsumoto 1988, Ide 1989, Hori 2002, Usami 2002, and many others). Those works argue that the theory fails to take consideration pragmatics properties specific to Japanese. But neither group accounted for how polite expressions are constructed. Subjective construal of the speaker can, however, reveal how such polite expressions are created.

Consider examples (1) of requests and (2) of offers from Japanese:

- (1) a. Sore o totte mora-itai-no desu ga.  
that Acc getting receive-want-Nomlz Cop but  
'I want [(you) to get that] (for me).'
- b. Sore o totte kure-masen ka?  
that Acc getting give-Pol/Neg Q  
'Can you pass me that?'
- (2) a. Sore o yar-asete kure-masen ka?  
that Acc do-Cau/ing give-Pol/Neg Q  
'Will you let [me do it] (for you)?'
- b. Sore o site age-tai-no desu ga.  
that Acc doing give-want-Nomlz Cop but  
'I want to do it (for you).'

Utterances in (1.a) and (2.a) are politer than their counterparts (1.b) and (2.b), respectively. Benefactors are primary agents (as profiled in brackets) in both politer sentences, i.e., a second person as in (1.a) and a first person as in (2.a). Thus, Japanese speakers communicate their conscientiousness by taking the benefactor's viewpoint.

Although an English speaker's conscientiousness is communicated in the same way, manipulated is not agentivity but controllability. See examples (3) of offers and (4) of requests:

- (3) a. Let me do it for you.
- b. Do you want me to do it for you?
- (4) a. Can I get that? [upon a request]
- b. (Please) pass me that.

Sentences (3.a) and (4.a) are politer expressions than their counterparts in (3.b) and (4.b), respectively. A benefactor is an agent in (3.a), but a beneficiary is an agent in (4.a). However, a controller is a benefactor in both politer sentences. Unlike Japanese, English speakers make a benefactor a controller of the sentence to communicate their conscientiousness. A cognitive account can, thus, predict how polite expressions are constructed in both languages.

I will further show correlation between agentivity and controllability of both languages, which is unique to each language, yet whose special features are manipulated by both speakers. And I will account for why agentivity is regarded more important by Japanese speakers, while controllability is by English speakers.

## **Alexander Kozin**

### ***On being in the face of the other: Between Goffman and Levinas***

In this presentation I address the relationship between pragmatics and philosophy as the relationship between microsociology and phenomenology of sociality. The former approach is associated with Erving Goffman's work on presentation of self in action, while Emmanuel Levinas's philosophy of the other stands for the latter. The unifying motif for the two approaches is ethics, while the unifying concept is "face." The reason for the choice of the concept is two-fold: on the one hand, both Levinas and Goffman forward face as a foundational structure of being and therefore the basis for social interaction. On the other hand, when juxtaposed, the two interpretations of face explode in agonistic tension. At first sight, this tension appears to be irresolute. For Levinas, face is a transcendental concept that points to the infinite responsibility for the other: "Infinity presents itself as a face in the ethical resistance that paralyzes my powers and from the depths of defenceless eyes rises firm and absolute in its nudity and destitution" (1969, p. 200). A-temporal and non-specific, the Levinasian face falls outside of the empirical reach. In contrast, for Goffman, the concept of face comes from the universal experience of "face management;" his face is therefore a mediated contact that is generated specifically in the empirical realm as "a pattern of verbal and non-verbal acts by which the person demonstrates his/her understanding of the encounter and its context in terms of the other's place in it and, more importantly, his own view of the self" (1959, p. 5).

Yet, on second consideration, the relationship between the face that calls for absolute ethics and the face that calls for pragmatic action exhibits a certain beneficial complementarity that many in human sciences find to be worth pursuing. For example, Barry Smart (1996) and Stanley Raffel (2002) are convinced that there could be a synthesis of purposive and ethical action that, in the long run, is bound to expand human scientific research beyond a bifurcated analysis of the self as either an internally or externally motivated entity. I leave a detailed exegesis of their respective arguments for later; here, I only note that appreciating the significance of their research I cannot help but disagree with its direction. I rather claim that a direct transition from the absolute face to the pragmatic face is but an impossible leap. I therefore suggest that we re-examine the ways Goffman and Levinas describe their respective concepts of face; we discover then that either face may appear in a realm other than empirical or transcendental. This other realm or what Levinas calls "beyond" and Goffman calls "outside" shows the traumatic face that discloses itself under most extreme conditions that amalgamate the pragmatic action based on moral values with the sacrificial action based on ultimate ethics. Captured by the unprepared self, the experience of trauma can not manifest itself but only be disclosed as testimonial narrative. There, trauma appears as simultaneously pragmatically manifest and absolutely revealing. The turn to the disclosive experience of face allows us to bypass the gap between the empirical and transcendental by combining the two different sides of ethics, purposive and absolutist. The ultimate import of this doubling is to extend pragmatic analysis to those social phenomena that manage to escape the visible hand of presence.

## **Bettina Kraft**

### ***Complaints in service encounters: A comparison of role plays and naturally occurring data***

Recently an increasing number of people have taken an interest in the speech act complaint (Cupach & Carson, 2002; Gelykens & Kraft, 2003; Kraft & Gelykens, 2002; Laforest, 2002; Ruhil, 1999; Tatsuki, 2000).

This paper deals with the realization of complaints in service encounters. The data consist of naturally occurring complaint episodes, taken from a British fly-on-the-wall-documentary, and of role plays, based on the real-life scenarios of the documentary. The role-plays have been enacted in English by native speakers of English, as well as by (advanced) learners of English (with German as L1).

Main research questions include the following: 1. Are the data obtained through role play comparable to the naturally occurring complaints? 2. What are the specific properties of complaints in service encounters as opposed to complaints in the private domain? 3. Do proficient learners complain as effectively as native speakers?

The results indicate that role plays do indeed resemble naturally occurring speech events, in the sense that they have similar turn-taking mechanisms, and similar verbal strategies. However, they cannot replace naturally occurring data, especially for the study of complaints. Face-threatening acts entail a high degree of emotional involvement for all interlocutors, a dimension which is almost entirely absent from role play interactions.

Complaints in service encounters are usually more routinized or scripted than complaints in the private domain. The roles of the interlocutors are more clearly defined and there is a certain set of rules and regulations which can help to resolve the matter at hand. It is crucial for learners to know these conventions and the politeness formulae of the target language in order to keep the balance between cooperative verbal interaction and successful complaining.

### **Barbara Kryk-Kastovsky** *Speech acts in early modern English court trials*

The paper explores a variety of speech acts which occurred in two Early Modern English court trials: The Trial of Titus Oates and The trial of Lady Alice Lisle. The choice of the two trials logically follows from their chronological simultaneity, since they both took place in the same year, i.e. 1685, and only a few months apart, thus they represent a relatively homogeneous socio-historical background.

Speech acts are one of the main exponents of orality and I will investigate to what extent old court trial records have preserved the features of spontaneous speech of Early Modern English. First, some illocutions which occur in the two trials will be identified and compared with their modern counterparts. In the genre analysed here, i.e. court trial records, the act of questioning (i.e. in most cases request for information), is the main means of conducting trial proceedings. It is hardly disputable that the right to ask questions constitutes an important instrument of power in court. Thus, interrogators employ performatives and other types of formulaic language as exponents of the high level of formality which characterises the discourse going on in court. Conversely, the very formal language used by the interrogators creates an obvious social distance from the interrogated and still enhances the power which the former have over the latter. Moreover, since the use of performatives and formulaic expressions clearly contributes to the fragmentation, spontaneity, and directness of the ongoing discourse, the occurrence of these features would provide additional evidence concerning the orality of my data. Even a short glimpse at the texts of the two trials reveals a few instances of speech acts. As could be expected, some of the performative formulae employed in the Early Modern English period do not differ from those used in the modern legal jargon to mark new turns, e. g. Swear X, whereas others, like the performative use of the verb desire in I desire to know are now marked as archaic.

It will also be investigated here to what extent performative utterances were the linguistic means used as instruments of power in the Early Modern English legal system. Language can be subject to conscious manipulation by the interrogators especially when they exercise their authority in order to elicit information and to achieve their ultimate goal, e.g. making the defendant plead guilty. Many of the above-mentioned performative utterances will be investigated in the course of this paper.

### **Lorraine Kumpf** *Teachers' expression of stance in the classroom*

This paper investigates ways in which teachers construct stance in the classroom. Related to the terms voice and attitude, stance as used here refers to the teachers' subjective perspective-taking, particularly with reference to social role/identity, while interacting with students. The data, from public high school science classes in the U.S., suggest that teachers vary their stance, taking on the discourse of scientist (expert), translator of science, fellow student of science, naïve onlooker, and others. Teachers apparently distance themselves from science, pronounce students to be experts, and so on. In so doing, they frame meanings of "science" for their students, sometimes with explicit reference to science and sometimes not. In an example of an explicit reference in (a), the teacher, in a genetics lesson, seems to take a stance as translator of science: she corrects a student's use of the term 'children' to 'offspring': (a) "If I'm going to be scientific about it I always have to use this special term, because it refers to more than children." In an example of what seems to be a fellow student stance in (b), the teacher discovers a student's error in calculation during in a lesson on electricity, leading to a discussion of the importance of mathematical accuracy: (b) "Look, we got the math wrong here. I wonder if that makes any difference."

This study asks: How do teachers express and modify stance, i.e., what pragmatic and grammatical resources are involved in the indexing of stance? Do certain sequences, for example, surrounding the expression of key concepts or evaluative actions, signal stance? Assuming that stance is socially constructed by teachers and students, can students' interactional moves be seen to signal modifications in teacher stance? Ten

hours of video recordings of classes taught by four different teachers are examined for evidence of stance. Results show that teachers finely tune the expression of stance to local interactions and classroom situations. While noting other features such as lexicon, discourse markers and prosodics as important in the expression of stance, the study emphasizes syntax as an index of stance. Finally, some problems encountered in demonstrating the social construction of stance in a complex classroom setting will be presented.

**Claudia Kunschak & Braña Krivanova**  
***Questioning patterns in official exams of German (ÖSD)***

Oral examination practice, especially in the English language testing tradition, from the Oral Proficiency Interview (OPI) to its derivatives Simulated OPI, Visual Oral Communication Instrument (VOCI) or Computerized OPI, to mention just one widely-used system, has traditionally been considered a straight forward endeavor. Candidates are asked a set of questions and are then judged by the correctness, appropriateness, fluency, etc. of their answers. The set of questions may be prerecorded and preordered as in SOPI and VOCI, prerecorded but adaptive as in COPI, or just preplanned as in the face-to-face interviews of the traditional OPI. This linear model of question-answer or rather stimulus-response, however, has proven to be too simplistic (e.g. Kasper, 2004) because of the interactive component of true interview situations. Many recently developed oral exams tend to emphasize this cooperative principle of any communicative event: examiner and examinee co-construct the interaction, albeit in different roles and with different power. The exams developed on the basis of the Common European Framework of Reference (CEF, 2001) which serve to evaluate candidates on a 6-level scale (A1-C2), carry this cooperative principle in every task and situation. As a result, candidates are judged in their receptive, productive and interactional competence. In such a context, the interviewers and their questioning patterns clearly constitute an important factor. An equally important factor, however, lies in the contributions of the interviewees. In this paper, we will focus on the questioning pattern embedded in the interviewer-interviewee interaction at the example of the oral component of an official exam of German, the Österreichisches Sprachdiplom Deutsch (ÖSD). Data from training videos and mock exams from preparatory classes at the four levels offered by the ÖSD will be analyzed and variation across levels, tasks and examiners will be addressed. Particular emphasis will be placed on the format of pair interview as opposed to individual interview at the level of Zertifikat (CEF-level B1) and the interviewee-initiated task and the argumentative task at the level of Mittelstufe (CEF-Level C1). The analysis will be carried out along two lines: a traditional turn-based approach to document functioning, breakdown and repair of the exam conversation and a critical discourse perspective to document power relations between examiners and examinees, negotiating strategies of examinees, and collaborating moves of examiners. Findings will be discussed with a view to framing the interview in co-constructive terms, exploring the potential for improving examiner training, and validating authentic interaction for assessment purposes.

**Salla Kurhila**  
***Talking non-nativeness into being: Interrogatives in word search sequences***

Within the framework of second language (acquisition) research, increasing interest has evolved to broaden the traditional database, so that more studies would base their analyses on naturally-occurring interaction between native and non-native speakers. That is, studies that would investigate second language as it is used in the socially-mediated world are being called for (see e.g. Firth and Wagner 1997, Atkinson 2002). This paper investigates one phenomenon that occurs in authentic interaction between native and non-native speakers, and that proves to be relevant when the participants constitute their linguistic identities, namely word search.

When engaged in conversation, the speaker has various ways to signal that she is having trouble in finding a relevant linguistic item. One of the most explicit means is an interrogative utterance, where the speaker verbalises the absence of some target item (e.g. What was it now, What was the name of the guy, etc.). Both native (NS) and non-native speakers (NNS) are involved in word searches, and both can initiate searches by producing interrogative utterances.

In this paper, I will shed light on these instances in NS-NNS interaction where the participants' mutual understanding is potentially at stake, i.e. one of the interactants has announced her failure to find a word. Drawing from the database of around 10 hours of videotaped naturally-occurring conversation between native and non-native speakers of Finnish in a variety of settings, I will present and discuss instances of word search sequences which are "flagged" (cf. Wagner and Firth 1997: 325) by an interrogative utterance. It will be shown that the interrogatives used by NSs and NNSs are typically different, both in terms of how much they specify the referent and to whom they are directed to. These differences are shown to reflect the speaker's orientation to their linguistic status.

**Amy Kyratzis**

***Now we return back to our weather report: Appropriating authoritative registers in girls' pretend play***

"Systematic variation within (the speech of) every speaker" (Ervin-Tripp 1973) is constitutive of social identities and relationships. In role play, child peers enact different registers, not only building coherent pretense episodes, but also displaying their own alignments and social relationships to one another (Hoyle, 1998). "Directives constitute the principal means through which children realize positions of dominance and submission between characters such as those in the mother-child relationship" (Goodwin, 1993: 156). Older children in the role of mother address younger children with "directives that are imperatives delivered loudly and with exaggerated emphatic stress (Goodwin, 1993: 156)." Children appropriate the features they observe in real interactions to organize their own peer relationships.

To observe the ways in which children use directives and other features of role-related speech to enact power relationships within their own peer groups in pretend play, videotaped interactions of one friendship triad, collected as part of an ethnographic study of children's spontaneous talk in friendship groups in a nursery school classroom over one year, were analyzed for roles enacted and speech acts used in roles. The preschool served a middle-class community in a West coast city in the U.S. Across several play themes, one child assumed the lead roles (head newsreporter in newsannouncer play). A second and third girl in the triad assumed lower-status roles – (e.g., interviewees who were brought on and off the stage at the head newsannouncer's whim). Power was enacted by the lead child through authoritative speech acts of those roles, and in their complementary roles, the other group members used subordinate speech acts to her. For example, as head announcer, G., the lead child, relied on features of the register such as introductions and salutations. She brought K. on as a gymnast to be interviewed, but after introducing her, shifted frame almost immediately to take K. off the stage ("oops K., your doll's about to get snatched out of the \*leaves, you better pick it up quickly/ well, that's the end of our news for today"). By unceremoniously removing her from the stage so quickly, G. subverts the ritual format of introductions (Goodwin, 2002). K. conceded to her dismissal from the stage ("okay, we're going"). G. also appropriated another feature of announcer register, discourse markers that mark turn transition points ("now", "so", "well"; e.g., "now we return \*back to our \*weather report"). These forms mark power (Andersen, Brizuela, Maquela, DuPuy, and Gonnerman 1999). The lead child uses the affordances of the announcer register, as well as those of other authoritative registers, to organize hierarchical relations among the members of the peer group. Through the play, she also takes the lead role in sanctioning and evaluating the behavior of other members of the peer group.

**Minna Laakso & Marja-Liisa Helasvuo**

***Negotiating meaning, negotiating reference in interaction between parent and one-year-old child***

The purpose of this paper is to study how the meanings of first words are being negotiated in interactions between parent and one-year-old child. The study is based on data from four parent-child-pairs. All children were acquiring Finnish as their first language. The interactions have been videotaped at home, and they belong to the database of the project Child's developing language and interaction.

When looking at picture books or playing with toys, one major activity for young children is naming objects they see or handle (e.g. Tarplee 1996). Through this activity, children acquire new vocabulary. We will show how children negotiate the meanings of the newly acquired words and their referential potentialities in interaction with their parents.

Research in the conversation analytic tradition has shown that conversation is sequentially organized (Sacks et al. 1974); in this paper, we will focus on what we call naming sequences. These sequences consist of three elements: first, there is a word or an attempt for a word or a pointing gesture by the child, followed by a candidate understanding by the parent, and a response by the child. Candidate understandings provide the recipient's possible understanding of the prior turn and explicitly deal with problematic aspects of it (c.f. Schegloff et al. 1977: 368). We will claim that second turns formed as candidate understandings are the major device that parents use to teach their children words and meanings.

We will show that naming sequences provide an environment where the child and the parent can negotiate meanings. We will further show that in first language acquisition, the acquisition of lexicon is embedded in various activities. Therefore, we need to study closely the sequential organization of these activities and the contexts these activities are embedded in.

**Maria Labarta & Júlia Todoli**

***Avoiding exclusion: the construction of identities and the formation***

Background. Globalisation has increased competition among cities to offer a specific product in order to appeal tourists. One of the most important alternatives to globalisation consists of the building of theme parks, which both diversify the tourist offer and provide huge profits to the investing societies. Some of those theme parks are set up by redeveloping some neglected areas and by transforming them into a tertiary area.

In this paper we will focus on the “Plan for restoring the Arabian wall”, a plan that attempts to set up a leisure centre for tourism by redeveloping an inhabited area of the old city in València (Spain). Specifically, we will look into how the authors of the plan use discourse to justify a redevelopment initiative. We will also study the discursive resistance through which residents, residents' associations, intellectuals and engaged citizens oppose to the plan, forming a kind of “public sphere” where citizens deal with matters of general interest and express their opinions freely without being subjected to coercion (Habermas, 1989: 231)

Aim, method and data. The main aim of this paper is to show the linguistic strategies used to form public opinion and to unpack the real goal of the plan, the redevelopment of an area and the expulsion of its inhabitants, instead of the alleged restoration of the Arabian wall.

The data are analysed according to Halliday's transitivity system and to other CDA tools such as naming choices, lexical choices and overlexicalisation used to foreground some topics or social actors and to background others. We will also analyse discursive metaphors (such as “the live as a battlefield”) through the combination of the approach of Critical Discourse Analysis (e.g. Fairclough 1992, 1995, 2003, Chouliaraki and Fairclough 1999 and Van Dijk 1998) and conceptual metaphor theory (e.g. Lakoff & Johnson 1980/2003). Metaphor is a salient feature of discourse whose function is twofold. Firstly, it helps make complex issues understandable to the public, and secondly, it helps promote and legitimise the ideological viewpoints of particular groups. Thus, metaphors are ideal instruments for maintaining power or constructing consensus.

The data for this study consist of opinion articles from newspapers, campaigns organized by residents' associations and round tables.

**Clarice Lamb**

### ***The inferential process of the L2 learner***

Human sensibility in communication has an incredible amount of procedures concerning what is not explicitly uttered. This process of grasping the unsaid (implicatures) is called inferencing.

The fundamental aspect is that little has been studied in the history of the theory of meaning about what is implicit, relating it to the teaching of a second language. It is crucial that second language methodologies incorporate linguistic theories related to the phenomenon of inferencing. Textbooks and teachers' manuals should have some foundation on the interface of Semantics and Pragmatics and the tasks should play the role of instruments for L2 learners to relate with the target language. Interspersed in this presentation, there is the hypothesis that we cannot justify the use of implicits only based on Semantics, for if Pragmatics is left aside, all justifications of meaning would be called ambiguities.

This presentation will use Sperber and Wilson's Theory of Relevance (1986) in the belief that it is capable to account for the phenomenon of inferencing of implicit meanings.

The theory has the purpose to support and illustrate the fact that dialogues in traditional textbooks ignore all the linguistic and pragmatic processes humans go through in real life when communicating. Most of pedagogical materials presented to students have their basis on the code model, rather than on a more pragmatic model.

In this presentation, I intend to propose a model where learners have to learn to think about the language, as well as develop cognitive strategies which will help them make inferences about what is often unsaid in daily conversations. To deal with the ideas presented above, there will be three main parts, with the following organization:

Firstly, I will discuss the relationship between linguistic theory and the teaching of a second language, between the Communicative Approach (CA) and Meaning presenting reasons to work on the interface between Semantics and Pragmatics connecting with the use of the CA to teaching an L2, work on methodological properties as well as illustrate some limitations and offer some criticism in the issue of meaning;

Secondly, I will revisit the Communicative Approach by presenting a pragmatic discussion about the teaching of English as a second language, will discuss the role of inferencing, present a methodological proposal, based on inferential communication and show the importance of the task-based approach to incorporate the theories.

Thirdly, will discuss some remaining problems and propose new investigations.

I would like to make salient the idea that this presentation is a proposal for a methodology centered on L2 teaching, even though not totally reduced to that, as it brings relevant information for those interested in the study of Semantics and Pragmatics.



**Sylvie Lamoureux**

***Linguistic minority and linguistic identity: To be, by definition or not***

The hegemonic discourse in the French first-language school community since 1994, has been and continues to be that efforts must be sustained in order to ensure the vitality of the Francophone linguistic minority community in Ontario. School communities have a moral obligation to develop students' sense of identity, both linguistically and culturally, with the minority Francophone community of Ontario. Transitions, as seen in pragmatism and social psychology, are an occasion for development, where interactions can lead to new socio-cultural formations (Zittoun, et. al, 2003, *Culture and Psychology*, 9(4), p. 416). The transition to university offers an opportunity to explore questions related to language and identity, from a sociolinguistic perspective, as they pertain to the definition and affirmation of linguistic identity.

This paper will present data collected during an eighteen month ethnographic study (2003-2004) of students graduating from a French first-language school in Ontario, Canada, as they transition from secondary school to university. These students have experienced a Francophone academic setting, a larger Anglophone community setting, and a variety of linguistic settings at home (i.e., Francophone, Anglophone, bilingual, multilingual). As the transition to university progressed, their discourse reveals tensions regarding linguistic identity – they grapple with what it means to be Francophone, bilingual, or plurilingual in Ontario, and with the concept of defining identity.

Some students question the relationship between speaking a language, having linguistic ancestry and being a member of a linguistic community, especially in light of globalization and the pragmatism of multilingualism. Others, who have learned the minority language at school, feel stronger ties to Ontario's Francophone community despite having no ancestral linguistic or cultural ties to that community. Through their interviews and the ensuing discourse that is constructed, the participants offer us more questions than answers, and cause us to reflect upon the concept and practice of defining linguistic communities and their members.

**Rosana Landi**

***The anomia deficit: Its relation with language internal***

The "nomination deficit" or difficulty in recalling nouns, attributed to a gradual decrease of the so-called functional vocabulary, is considered the most evident language disorder in Alzheimer's disease (DA). If such a characterization is a consensus among DA researchers; its cause, however, raises controversy and divides researchers into two groups: 1) those that are in favor of the hypothesis that the DA patient has perceptual changes leading to anomia; 2) those that state that anomia in DA derives from the loss of the objects' semantic features. It must be said that research is generally based on quantitative measures, derived from the application of batteries of standardized tests. Along these lines, Lawson and Barker (1968) found that the nomination task was made easier for subjects with DA when the function of the object was indicated and, therefore, concluded that the patients had "off-course perception" (op. cit.). Bayles and Tomoeda (1983), on the contrary, state that nomination errors occur due to a cognitive-linguistic deficit; in spite of correctly perceiving the visual characteristics of the object, the patient cannot remember the name corresponding to them because it was the name which was lost. In this fashion, the selection of another word, associated with characteristics similar to those the patient perceived, takes place. The patient may say, for example, "red apple" instead of "red ball" (the expected production). One could state that despite the fact that the verified "anomia" raised some controversy about its nature, the two sets of studies converge because both consider language as part of a more general cognitive/ mental skill, whose role is to express ideas and/or mental representations. Such a view on language as an "instrument of thought" is supported, as well known, in the broad range of the 'humanities', in Philosophy and the great majority of clinical fields. As a result, the two currents, although "divergent," focus on the loss of language external reference power; this means that, whether through perceptual or linguistic change, what really counts is that the patient's speech does not refer to the picture he/she sees. Nevertheless, I argue that they miss the possibility of touching upon important issues concerning the nature of the DA patients' speech, i.e., its close relation both to the interlocutor's speech and to their own speech. In other words, both approaches ignore language internal reference power. In this paper, I intend to approach the issues of language changes observed in DA patients, from the viewpoint that takes into account the speakers' relationship with language and speech, be it their own, or that of the interlocutor. Austin's notion of "speech act", Jakobson's metaphoric and metonymic processes and Benveniste's opposition between internal and external reference power of language will be implied in my communication (clinical data will be presented and discussed).

**Giorgio Lando**

***The concept of assertion between Wittgenstein's Tractatus, dynamic semantics and pragmatics***

My paper is articulated in two parts: an historical part and a theoretical one. In the historical part, I show the presence and the importance in the *Tractatus Logico-Philosophicus* of a notion of semantic assertion. In the theoretical one, I propose to use this Tractarian notion of assertion as a philosophical clarification for such notions as “assertive potential” and “context change potential” in DRT and dynamic semantics. Moreover, I aim to show through this connection that a semantic notion of assertion is legitimate and interesting. This kind of semantic assertion turns out to be sharply different from the notion of assertion in speech acts theory, although there are important connections between these two notions.

To all appearances, the notion of assertion plays no role in the *Tractatus Logico-Philosophicus*. The only relevant section of the text rejects assertion sign as logically meaningless. The historical aim of this part of my paper is to show that the rejection of the sign does not imply the rejection of the correspondent notion. We show the presence and the importance in the TLP and in its preparatory writings of a notion similar to Fregean and Russellian logical assertion. We propose to call this notion “affirmation.”

This Tractarian notion of “affirmation” is a semantic notion of assertion: it is more semantic than its Fregean and Russellian predecessors, insofar as the assertive nature turns out to be an intrinsic property of a meaningful utterance. In the second part, firstly I show why a semantic notion of assertion is prominent in some wide-spread trends in contemporary semantics. Dynamic semantics – and in some measure DRT too – proposes to identify the semantic value of each utterance with a function: this function expresses its potential of restricting the set of possible worlds compatible with the truth of the discourse in which the utterance is included. According to this notion, an utterance has in itself the power to say that things stand as it shows and this specific content is its semantic value; this potential is independent of any specific force given by the speaker to the utterance; therefore, this intrinsic potential has not to be identified with assertion as a speech act. However, two important connections between the semantic notion of assertion and the pragmatic one should be investigated: pragmatic assertion is the actualization of the semantic assertive potential; secondly, pragmatic assertion is quite crucial, when we try to define what a “discourse” is. We need to know this, in order to define the function which – according to dynamic semantics – is the semantic value of any utterance. In fact, each utterance has the power to restrict the set of possible worlds compatible with the truth of the discourse. Therefore, the argument of this function is the set of possible worlds compatible with the discourse, as it is before that utterance: when we consider this discourse in order to determine this set of possible worlds, we have to look only at those utterances which are asserted in the pragmatic sense of “assertion”.

## **Patricia Lange**

### ***Interpellating identity through the use of indexicals: When Peirce meets Althusser***

Scholars often assume that Internet communication (such as typed messages) lacks identifying “social cues” (Kiesler, Siegel and McGuire 1984; Tannen 1998; Thompson and Nadler 2002). Clearly, elaborate Internet masquerade is possible. However, assuming that all Internet interactions are anonymous simply because anonymity is possible is theoretically flawed. Such a view ignores the rich and varied linguistic cues participants use to discover and manipulate other participants’ identities in online conversation. This paper examines a case study in which a banned member of an online group tries to reintegrate into the community posing as someone else. The paper examines how participants launch accusations containing verifiable indexical signs (such as comparisons of past and current linguistic behavior) as well as non-verifiable indexicals (such as “pointing” to the accused) to expose the banned member and co-construct his identity as socially deviant. Yet accusations alone are insufficient proof of guilt. As Althusser’s interpellation theory states, one must turn around and answer an accusatory hail (such as a policeman’s shout of “You there!”) to bring into being one’s identity as the subject of the hail (Althusser 1970). Extrapolating from Althusser, the hail arguably must be compelling enough to induce the interpellated subject to answer it. A hail containing an indexical accusation (such as, “You in the stolen hat!”) that attempts to link the interpellated subject to a specific act is quite compelling. This paper discusses how indexicals, which ostensibly have an existential link to that which they represent, offer similarly persuasive “evidence” that the interpellated subject must address (Peirce 1955). For instance, participants accuse the poseur of “acting like” the banned member because he verbally defies authority in particular ways. Such an indexically-based accusation is “verifiable” because one can compare the banned member’s linguistic style to the poseur’s behavior. But determining linguistic similarity is open to interpretation. Further, the outcome of an accusation depends upon the accused’s linguistic uptake. The paper examines how the accused’s defense strategies provide additional indexically-charged resources for his accusers. The poseur ultimately confesses and thus participates in the interpellation of his identity as both the exilee and as socially deviant. Bringing together philosophies from Peirce and Althusser, this study therefore asks: 1) How do interlocutors discover and co-construct social identities? 2) How do interlocutors interpellate identities? and 3) How and why are indexical signs used to interpellate online identities? This paper analyzes how interlocutors discover and co-construct identity as it unfolds through talk. This study increases our understanding of how identities are socially

constructed according to local conversational contexts (Brubaker and Cooper 2000). It demonstrates that no level of anonymity in social interaction should be assumed according to the medium of the exchange, but rather investigated empirically with close attention paid to available linguistic resources. Finally, the paper provides an important argument for semiotically studying how the assumed existential concreteness of indexicals induces interlocutors to participate in identity interpellation, even though the indexicals deployed are socially constructed in ongoing talk.

**Staffan Larsson**

### ***Meaning-as-use, grounding and rules***

By combining a formal Wittgensteinian account of meaning-as-use with a Wittgensteinian/Kripkean account of grounding as open-ended rule-following, this paper presents a theoretical basis for the exploration of the complex interplay between language-as-system and language-in-use.

Following Wittgenstein's dictum "meaning is use", I initially propose a model of the meaning [c] of a linguistic construct (e.g. a word) c, as a function of the set Sc of situations where that c has been used.

$[c] = f(Sc)$ , where  $Sc = \{ s \mid c \text{ was used in situation } s \}$

The situation will typically include the linguistic context of c, e.g. the grammatical construct in which it appears.

As part of the process of grounding (integrating an utterance into the "common ground"), the content of the utterance must be accepted or rejected by the hearer (henceforth, H).

Similarly, I claim that H in addition has the option, for each construct used in the utterance, of rejecting \*that particular use\* of it.

The rule governing the concrete use of a linguistic construct c in a specific situation s is written  $s \neq c$ :

$s \neq c$  iff c is appropriate in s given  $f(Sc)$

Now, consider a situation where c is used in situation s. Several outcomes are possible:

A. if  $s \neq c$  holds:

A1) H accepts c

A2) H rejects c

B. if  $s \neq c$  does not hold:

B1) H accepts c

B2) H rejects c

Whenever a construct c is used, Sc will be extended and so the meaning of c,  $f(Sc)$ , may change. In case A1, there is no reason that  $f(Sc)$  would change substantially. Case B2 reveals a discrepancy between speaker's and the hearer's views of [c], which may be resolved through a negotiation of meaning.

Importantly, the choice whether to accept or reject c is not completely determined by the appropriateness of c. H may accept a use of c that violates H's current idea of the meaning of c (case B1), or H may choose to reject a use of c that conforms to the current rule (case A2).

In both of these cases, the meaning of c may be more substantially altered. An occurrence of case A2 (rejection of a use previously regarded as appropriate) will taken the case for using c in similar situations in the future. Correspondingly, an occurrence of B1 will strengthen the case for using c in similar situations.

We now have a formal basis for clarifying how the meaning of words in a language may shift as a result of concrete language use. This is a powerful principle which can also shed light on various issues such as language acquisition, accounts of language and power (insofar as power is exerted in the grounding process), and (possibly) machine learning of language.

Needless to say, the account as presented here is very sketchy. However, even at a fairly abstract level the account opens up a way of concisely formulating and interrelating several interesting problems related to language use.

**Jannika Lassus**

### ***A study on the sender-reader perspective in Swedish and Finland-Swedish brochures from the Social Insurance Institutions***

Swedish is an official language in both Sweden and Finland. In Sweden, it is the language of the majority, while Finland-Swedish is a minority language in a bilingual country. In this paper I will examine the two varieties of Swedish with emphasis on the language of the authorities. It is of importance to examine the differences in language use between the two varieties, as there seldom are two Swedish versions of the same text in, for instance, the European Union. This study is part of my doctoral thesis work.

The studied material consists of brochures from the Social Insurance Institutions in the two countries, written in the years 2002–2004. The brochures are issued by the Social Insurance Institutions in Finland and Sweden, institutions which operate under the supervision of Parliament. The work of the institutions is highly

restricted by laws concerning social security benefits. In order to get information about the institutions, I have interviewed staff at the information departments and translators. I have also studied annual reports and web pages of these institutions.

My research questions are: In what kinds of ways are the sender and reader visible in the texts and how are they referred to? What do these findings, together with information published by the institutions and given to me in interviews, tell us about the discourse communities within these institutions and the two varieties of Swedish used by the authorities (see Fairclough 2003)? My aim is to study if the sender and reader perspectives are different in the two language varieties. I study this by analysing syntactic features such as the use of nominals, here understood as pronouns – *du, vi* (you, we) – and nouns – FPA, Försäkringskassan (the names of the institutions), *sökanden* (the claimant) – and noun phrases with reference to persons – *dem som bor allena* (those who live alone) – and also of passive verbal constructions – *betalas* (is paid). The analysis will be both quantitative and qualitative. The results presented in my paper will suggest that the differences between the two varieties can be explained by the tradition of informality in Sweden (as Mårtensson 1988), the work for clarity in the language use of the authorities in Sweden (see Statskontoret 2001:18), and the Finnish original and the law, by which the Finland-Swedish text is written (Heikkinen, Hiidenmaa, Tiililä 2000, Heikkinen 2002). The different sender-reader perspectives are a result not only of two different methods of text production, that is writing directly (in Sweden-Swedish) and translating (in Finland-Swedish), but also of two different discourse communities.

**Ritva Laury & Eeva-Leena Seppänen**

***Clause combining, interaction, evidentiality, participation structure, and the conjunction-particle continuum: The Finnish *että****

This paper examines the use of the Finnish *että* in ordinary conversations. *Että* has been described as a complementizer in standard descriptions of Finnish grammar (e.g. A. Hakulinen and Karlsson 1979:346-347; 353-354; Vilkuna 1996:66-69). However, in spoken Finnish, *että*-clauses are not always subordinate (Vilkuna 1996:69-70; cf. e.g. Thompson 2002, Englebretson 2003 regarding complementation in English and Indonesian), and *että* is also known to function as a discourse particle (Vilkuna 1996, Hakulinen et al to appear).

The origin of *että* is believed to be a proximal demonstrative, and the complementizer use is thought to have developed through a process in which *että* has first developed from a proximal demonstrative stem into an adverb through a regular derivational process (L. Hakulinen 1968:64). The complementizer use is then thought to have developed from the adverbial use in a fashion similar to that noted for several other languages (Heine and Kuteva 2002:106-107) from constructions which would originally have meant something like ‘s/he said/thought/believed thus’. This developmental explanation, however, leaves unexplained the provenance of the particle use.

In our paper we will demonstrate, through one extended example from a multi-party face-to-face conversation, how the particle/conjunction *että* is used (1) on the level of syntax and discourse: not so much to form complement clauses embedded in a main clause, but rather to link constructions into a loosely bound chain of utterances, in which each new clause is a new element in a whole larger than the just preceding clause, and (2), semantically and pragmatically, to show that what is being said should not be taken as the speaker’s own words but rather as a quote whose principal is somewhere else, and also to pursue responses from other participants in the conversation. We will show that in our data, the particle and conjunction uses share a number of similarities, and that the particle-conjunction division is not a binary one, but rather forms a continuum.

This leads us to conclude that the two uses of *että* (as a complementizer and as a discourse particle) are related in function as well as form, and in fact cannot be neatly separated. From one end of the continuum to the other, *että* functions to regulate the participant structure in conversation. *Että*-initial utterances in the data function to open up the footing, constitute paraphrases and explanations of previous utterances, and offer stances for other participants to adopt or otherwise react to. Very similar views regarding the closely related Estonian particle *et* have been presented by Keevallik (1999, 2000), who has shown that in Estonian, the particle *et* is used evidentially to transfer responsibility for an utterance to another participant.

We will also consider the possibility that it is the interactional functions of *että* which motivate its syntactic and discourse-level characteristics, and we will present a hypothesis concerning the implications of this for the grammaticalization path of *että*, suggesting that conjunction-to-particle may not be the only possible developmental direction.

**Eva Lavric**

***Code choice and face***

The present paper is an attempt at shedding light on the various code choice options from the point of view of Brown/Levinson's politeness theory. The author has done quite a lot of work about code choices and code choice factors in multilingual working environments (a language department and some export oriented companies). Only afterwards she realized how much the factors that govern language choices among colleagues and/or business partners are the result of face considerations:

1. „Natural“ or „efficient“, or „default“ language choice, which means, e.g., using a common mother tongue. If no such common mother tongue exists, the interlocutors choose the language for which the product of their competences is highest. For instance, a Frenchman with poor English competence and an Englishman who speaks rather good French will choose French as the most „natural“ or efficient language.

Speaking in terms of face, this way of doing maximizes the negative face of both partners, as language competence may be equalled with freedom of action in one particular language.

2. Language practice, a factor which is quite important in a language department: it means that one chooses a language not because it is the easiest one but because one wishes to practice it; in general, this is done with a native speaker.

Speaking in face terms, practicing means consciously reducing one's negative face for the moment in order to increase it on the long run. As for the positive face, practicing a less well dominated language means, weakening one's positive face for the moment, in order to strengthen it on the long run. This is related to the next factor:

3. Prestige or its opposite, fear of losing face by making mistakes. This dichotomy depends very much on the degree of competence, but also on the personality of the interactants. It is clearly the positive face aspect of language choice, as one might want (and manage) to impress the partner by one's good language competence, or one might be afraid of making a bad impression through a lack of fluency or a series of mistakes.

4. And finally, the Compliance factor, especially important in business contexts. It means, adapting to the language preferences of your partner by speaking either his mother tongue, or a language s/he dominates very well and/or has a preference for.

This is a truly polite way of acting, because it means reducing your own negative face in order to increase the one of your partner. Which in turn will contribute to the positive face of both partners, the one feeling important because s/he is being complied, and the other one getting the image of a kind and polite person. This face balance explains not only why compliance is a very popular behaviour pattern, but also why it is important to learn foreign languages (in order to be able to comply others) and why it is important to master them as well as possible (in order to keep your negative face intact while making a compliance language choice).

## **Doina Lecca & Isabelle Delacroix** ***Between mental and social possible worlds***

Starting from the concept of possible worlds as defined by Rescher (1974) and a revised theory of pragmatic acts including mitigation and reinforcement (Sbisa 2001), the author analyzes the illocutionary force of pragmatic acts primarily from job interviews and related job search materials as well as the perlocutionary effects these pragmatic acts have on recent French immigrants. Also, the way these pragmatic acts modify the subjects' communicative behavior is being investigated during a combined English-for-the-workplace and job-search training course in Montreal, Canada.

In developing the instrument for analysis, the concept of world is dichotomized into a mental or inner world (Wr) and a social world (Ws). The world threatening and world redressing acts (Lecca 2004) found in the data consisting mainly of job interview models on the one hand and the subjects' job interview simulations on the other hand are analyzed in terms of mitigation/reinforcement.

This study is meant to offer a qualitative comparative analysis of the way the new Ws (social world) operates on the subjects' mental/inner world (Wr). One way their new identities seem to be shaping up is through sometimes conflicting values of mitigation and reinforcement in the immigrants' original culture versus the adopted one. We argue that it is precisely this clash that prevents new immigrants from performing successfully in job interviews.

To reduce the risk of the researcher's subjectivity, reflections of human resources consultants working with the subjects have been included in the data.

Beyond the concrete result of assessing the role played by mitigation and reinforcement in an important cross-cultural communicative area, the study has resulted in a taxonomy of world dynamics, which may provide the individual with a useful kit of mental and social mechanisms meant to help him/her in the process of adaptation.

**Cher Leng Lee**

***Understanding discourse marker: Pragmatics of English then in colloquial Singapore Mandarin***

Singapore is a multi-lingual society with more than 70% Chinese, 20% Malay, 9% Indian and 1% of others. Code-switching in Singapore is a common phenomenon especially in casual conversations. In an earlier paper on code-switching in Singapore Mandarin (Lee 2003), I have found that 'then' is the most frequently used English word in Colloquial Singapore Mandarin (CSM). The data shows that 'then' appears so frequently that according to Myers-Scotton's (1992) definition, it qualifies as a borrowing word rather than a code-switched word.

This paper attempts to answer the following questions:

- Why are there so many occurrences of 'then' in CSM?
- What pragmatic functions do they perform?
- Why are their counterparts in Mandarin not used?

The data consists of 315 instances of 'then' in colloquial Singapore Mandarin from 18 separate natural conversations of about 30 minutes each. These conversations are tape recorded and transcribed.

An analysis of the data shows that the pragmatic functions of 'then' in CSM can be classified at two different levels. At the textual level, 'then' shows the following pragmatic functions of cohesiveness:

- (1) Succession in time and topic (44%).
- (2) Preface questions asking what comes after (15%)
- (3) Stating the outcome (7%)
- (4) Additivity (6%) to mean 'moreover' or state something in addition,
- (5) Adversitivity (6%) i.e. to show contrast

The intriguing issue is how can 'then' whose basic meaning is succession mean adversitivity. Biq (1990) shows that when a cohesive word is used in topic change, it is a manipulation on the part of the speaker to make the change seem like a continuation of talk, thus exploiting the interactional aspect of conversation. I propose that the subjectivity of grammaticalisation (Traugott 1995) is involved here where the speaker is moving towards a subjective view.

At the interactional level, the pragmatic functions of 'then' shows how the speaker uses it to fulfill his/her own subjective intentions:

- (1) Topic-relatedness (9%) - topic continuation, related descriptions, sub-topics
- (2) Foregrounding (9%) - commenting, particularizing, acting out
- (3) Questioning (3%) - prompting for further elaboration, and
- (4) Conversational strategies (1%) - restarting conversation, securing the floor

'Then' is thus seen to fulfill multiple pragmatic functions in CSM: At the textual level, we see the cohesive functions of 'then', at the interactional level, we see the speaker using 'then' to fulfill his/her intentions. Due to its ability to perform so many pragmatic functions, it is very convenient for Singapore bilingual speakers to use it when speaking Mandarin instead of using the various Mandarin words and phrases. This explains the high occurrence of 'then' in CSM rather than its counterparts in Mandarin.

**Eunmi Lee & Mayumi Usami**

***The functions of speech levels and utterances without politeness markers in Japanese and Korean: From the perspective of discourse politeness***

It is commonly thought by speakers of Japanese and Korean that all utterances in those languages must end with an honorific or non-honorific predicate that indicates the "politeness level" of that utterance (e.g. Ide 1989, Matsumoto 1988). Closer examination of actual conversational discourse, however, reveals that for a large number of utterances in both Japanese and Korean there is no linguistic markers of politeness level. These include not only backchannels (aizuchi), but also so-called "incomplete utterances." This paper examines the function of utterances that include no linguistic markers of politeness level (or utterances without politeness markers) at the discourse level, using data gathered from conversations in both Japanese and Korean between interactants meeting for the first time.

The study employed a social psychological approach, where the interlocutors' ages and genders were varied, in order to understand the dynamism of language use during verbal interaction. A base subject was asked to have conversations with six different partners with whom he/she was not familiar: older/same sex, same age/same sex, younger/same sex, older/opposite sex, same age/opposite sex, younger/opposite sex. The data from conversations were recorded and transcribed.

This analysis first revealed utterances without politeness markers were most commonly found in conversations between interlocutors from different age groups, and were the least frequent in conversations

between interlocutors of the same age, regardless of their gender. While it is commonly assumed that age differences are indexed in the asymmetrical usage of more polite forms by younger interlocutors and less polite forms by older interlocutors in both Japanese and Korean, the rate of usage of utterances without politeness markers was fairly high in these interactions, suggesting the use of a strategy aimed at making the hierarchical status differences between interlocutors less obvious. In Japanese, not only backchannels, but also incomplete utterances have the function as described above. In Korean, however, it is mainly the backchannels that exhibit this function.

The second point to emerge from this analysis was that for Japanese, whether or not it was marked explicitly with politeness level, the entire utterances seem to obey the normative honorific usage. However, for Korean, the hierarchical relations of age difference are heavily reflected in linguistic forms in predicate endings.

In this way it can be observed that while Japanese and Korean have similar politeness forms, at the discourse level, the functions of those forms differ, both in terms of speech levels in general, and in regards to the usage of utterances without politeness markers. These differences in functions at the discourse level reflect underlying differences in the discourse politeness of Japanese and Korean. The use of utterances without politeness markers can thus be regarded as an important politeness strategy for smooth communication and mutual understanding, which reflect the expression of cultural and social values.

**Hye-Kyung Lee**

### ***Semantic/pragmatic constraints on temporality: A comparative study between English and Korean***

In Korean, the use of suffixes is one of the commonest ways of expressing temporality between two eventualities (a la Bach 1981). In this paper, I am going to examine the behaviours of several suffixes in Korean in comparison to English and other relevant connectives. More broadly, I will examine to what extent the two languages are similar and different in expressing temporality.

here are various ways of expressing temporality between two eventualities in Korea like in other languages. Either they can be communicated explicitly by means of certain lexical items or it can be communicated implicitly. The suffix –ese in Korean appears to have temporality as part of its lexical meaning. Therefore it can be said that temporality involved in –ese is communicated explicitly, which makes the suffix –ese quite different from English and in that and is normally assumed to contain only conjunctivity as part of its inherent meaning (Grice 1989, Carston 1993).

There is another Korean suffix which appears in the discussion of temporality: -ko. It is generally believed in the literature that –ko does not carry temporality as part of its intrinsic meaning: temporality involved comes from the nature of the connected eventualities. It has been claimed that the choice between –ko and –ese depends on the nature of the predicate it is attached to: whether the relevant predicate is an unaccusative or not (Lee 2002). It is also the case that the closeness between two connected eventualities affects the choice between the two relevant suffixes as shown in the following.

(1) She caught the suspect-ase/\*ko took him/her to the police.

(2) She had breakfast-\*ase/ko went to school

From these two pieces of evidence I claim that the choice between the two suffixes under consideration has bearing with the semantic/pragmatic contents of the two connected eventualities. This kind of semantic/pragmatic constraint does not apply to the English counterpart, and.

As is the case with most of connectives, the connective or suffix –ese in Korean can deliver various senses depending on the environment in which it occurs: temporal meaning and causal meaning. There are some grammatical factors that account for the decision of the meaning such as the identity of the subjects or the nature of the predicate which are discussed elsewhere (Lee 2002). It is also argued that as far as Korean suffixes –ese and –nikka are concerned, the claim for the boundary between conceptual and procedural meanings (Blakemore 1987) is not tenable. In addition, I proposed that there are not degrees within blocks of senses.

However, some grammatical or morphological facts in Korean suggest that there be degrees within blocks. For example, among the senses of temporality, there seems to be at least two groups in terms of whether scrambling is possible: one allows for scrambling, while the other does not. This difference is also accounted for by the degree of closeness between two eventualities. The two groups also show a difference in the possibility of producing compound verbs.

In summary, the degree of closeness between two connected eventualities is represented by the use of different suffixes and by some grammatical phenomena in Korean. On the contrary, English counterpart, and, does not seem to be sensitive to it. Based on these facts, I argue that the two languages differ in terms of the degree they grammaticalize the semantic/pragmatic factors.

**Jamie Lee**

***Husband vs. wife: Conflict talk in Korean TV shows***

This study investigates a corpus of video recordings of Korean TV shows that feature antagonistic verbal confrontation in marital disputes. Studies on face-threatening speech behaviors involve arguing (Dersley and Wootton, 2000; Grimshaw, 1990; Muntigl and Turnbull, 1998; Tannen 1998), blaming (Pomerantz, 1978), chastisement and disagreement (Beebe and Takahashi, 1989), complaining (DeCapua, 1989; Laforest, 2002; Olshtain and Weinbach, 1993), disagreeing with assessments (Pomerantz, 1984), fight (Taylor, 1995), griping (Boxer, 1993), nagging (Boxer, 2002), and scolding or disapproval exchanges (D'Amico-Reisner, 1986). However, none of these studies are concerned with Asian contexts. It is often suggested that East Asian discourse is in general cooperative and harmonious, due to its great social emphasis on "saving face." However, in an intimate and private home environment with the absence of public scrutiny, conflicts arise among Korean couples.

TV shows might not necessarily replicate in naturally occurring spontaneous interaction. However, TV shows are supposed to approximate natural conversation and seem to viewers to be natural and something they can identify with and something similar to their intuitive assumptions about ordinary conversation (Lakoff and Tannen, 1984). Following Lakoff and Tannen (1984) and Dersley and Wootton (2000)'s frameworks, this paper examines the following questions: (1) What are the strategies for advancing accusations? (2) What are the strategies for responding to accusations?

The TV shows that are analyzed for this paper are Kkorlika kilmyen caphinta ('You are bound to get caught') and Komkwa yeowu ('The bear and the fox'), which were aired in August 2003 on Ariang TV. These shows were selected based on the following commonalities: (1) They deal with marriage problems (2) Couples discuss a divorce (3) Couples engage in acrimonious arguments.

The findings of this study suggest that silence is used both to make hostile complaints and acrimonious accusations and at the same time to respond to harsh accusations. The difference between these two types has to do with accompanying non-verbal cues. What I term aggressive silence is demonstrated with the aid of hostile body gestures such as glaring, biting lips, and making a fist. On the other hand, in the case of responding to accusations, what I term passive silence is adopted to show remorse and regret such as looking down and avoiding eye contact. The Korean interactants in these shows use both verbal and non-verbal strategies to make accusations and to respond to accusations. In advancing accusations, aggressive silence, emotional response cries, vocative, and self-blaming remarks are utilized. In responding to accusations, outright denials are rare. The interlocutors in this study make use of the following strategies to act against accusations: passive silence, vocative, playing the victim by blaming circumstances and a third party, self-serving remarks, counterattacks, avoiding the issue at hand, and apologizing.

**Michiel Leezenberg**

***Ordinary language as the norm and as the normal: Kinds of normativity in linguistic theorizing***

Contemporary (post-) analytical philosophy and linguistic theory have become so deeply embedded in their respective specialized vocabularies that a fruitful exchange of ideas has become more and more difficult. On the one hand, influential philosophical exercises like Brandom's (1994) inferentialist semantics are so deeply embedded in technical philosophical concepts and assumptions that their relevance for more empirical approaches becomes doubtful; conversely, cognitive approaches in linguistics, like, most recently, Jackendoff (2002) and Croft (2004), wholly ignore the strongly anti-internalist or anti-mentalist arguments in analytical philosophy since Wittgenstein and Austin. Both analytical-philosophical and linguistic perspectives, however, appear to share problematic assumptions that have long gone unexposed, let alone challenged. What both traditions tend to do is, first, to assume 'language' as a natural-kind term, which is not affected by our changing beliefs and practices involving it; secondly, both tend to represent language usage and cognition as an adaptive confrontation between the individual mind and the natural environment, downplaying or ignoring the social or cultural level in between; or where they acknowledge the social, they conceive society in highly consensual terms of shared concepts, beliefs, and values, and of cooperative social action. That is, both tend to downplay or ignore the social as the domain of norms, normativity, power and conflict.

I will argue for this point by focusing on the different kinds of linguistic normativity presupposed in their accounts. On the one hand, we have something like a legalistic view, originating in, among others, Austin's (1975) "our word is our bond", which pictures language usage in terms of law and transgression; on the other hand we have the biological-naturalist accounts of linguistic competence starting with Chomsky, which reduce all linguistic normativity to notions of the biologically normal as opposed to pathological. This tension between a quasi-legalistic and a quasi-naturalistic view is particularly visible in Wittgenstein's (1953) unresolved tension



between a naturalist account of language use as on a par with breathing and eating, and his argument for the irreducibly normative (hence 'non-natural') character of rule-following; a similar tension appears in Grice's influential writings (1989).

Both the quasi-legal talk of rules, laws, and norms, and the quasi-biological discourse of normality mask the different and historically changing ways in which language structure, language ideologies and linguistic practices may be mutually constitutive. I will briefly illustrate this claim with some empirical material on linguistic practices and ideologies as they appear in classical Greece, especially in the (admittedly confrontational and transgressive) language of tragedy.

## **Esa Lehtinen**

### ***Constructing expertise: On displaying state-of-knowledge in genetic counseling***

Genetic counseling is an institutional situation in which doctors and nurses with a specialty in medical genetics talk with clients, who are affected or are at risk of being affected by a genetic disease. Genetics is a highly specialized branch of medicine, and a large part of the counseling session is used for the delivery of information by the doctor. On the other hand, however, the clients also have knowledge. They might have experiential knowledge about the disease, and they might have acquired medical knowledge from various sources, e.g. relatives and friends, the media and the internet, or other experts they have been in contact with. Genetic counseling is thus a meeting place for the knowledge of the doctor and other kinds of knowledge. In my contribution to the panel "State-of-knowledge responses" I will analyze a particular sequence in which the different kinds of knowledge clash. The data consists of video-recordings of genetic counseling sessions in Finland. The method is based on ethnomethodological conversation analysis.

The sequence I will analyze consists of the following three parts: 1) information delivery by the doctor, 2) client's turn in which he/she presents information from other sources that is potentially discrepant with the information given by the doctor, and 3) the doctor's response. In turn 3 the doctor responds to two things: a) the information in the client's turn, and b) the implied discrepancy. In my presentation I will concentrate on how '3a' is done. In their response to the information presented by the client the doctors display their state-of-knowledge vis-à-vis the information. In some cases, by confirming or disconfirming the information in the client's turn, the doctor displays that the information concerns issues he/she is an expert on. When, however, the information concerns matters the doctor is not entitled to know, e.g. the client's experiences, the doctor acknowledges the information without taking a stance regarding its truthfulness and thus displays that he/she is not entitled to know about it. There are, however, subtle differences even in these cases: the doctors' responses vary all the way from showing surprise to showing that the information is totally expected. These different ways of orienting to knowledge also project way the doctors handle the implied discrepancy. For example, non-surprise is shown in cases where the doctor subsequently 'explains away' the discrepancy by showing that the new information can be incorporated into the information given by the doctor. Surprise is shown when the explanation to the discrepancy is left uncertain.

Through the state-of-knowledge displays in their responses the doctors thus construct their expertise vis-à-vis the expertise of the clients and other sources the clients might refer to and project how that expertise is going to be used in solving the problem at hand.

## **Manuel Leonetti & Victoria Escandell-Vidal**

### ***Spanish imperfecto, coercion and the nature of quotative readings***

This paper addresses the availability of quotative readings of Spanish imperfecto in examples such as Juan llegaba mañana. We will rely on the notions of procedural content (Wilson & Sperber, 1993) and coercion (de Swart, 1998) as basic explanatory tools. Quotative readings of the IMPF arise as a particular effect of aspectual coercion: they occur when the IMPF coerces a telic predicate under its scope into an atelic one by producing a prospective reading. Our approach will provide some arguments for the idea that quotative readings are not intrinsic semantic values of the IMPF, but last resort solutions to satisfy the instruction encoded by the IMPF when the context excludes every other alternative, i. e. inferential effects arising from the convergence of various factors, including Aktionsart, the occurrence of temporal adjuncts, the role of personal features, and other pragmatic considerations. From our analysis a number of theoretical consequences can be drawn, the most evident one being that only with an adequate theory of the semantics/pragmatics interface can we account for the rich variety of readings that tenses display.

## **Ivan Leudar**

### ***Formulations in practice: Mere talk?***

If psychotherapy works then it does so in and through the talk. Does this mean that psychotherapy is just talk? Or is it more, and the way in which clients and therapists engage each other is resourced by therapeutic policies of a particular therapy school, with these policies inscribed in the practice of therapy through training? I shall discuss this issue – in effect, how does talk become a distinct therapeutic practice? - on the case of ‘formulations’. These are one device used by psychotherapists in general to aid clients to change cognitively (e.g. Davis, 1986; Hak and de Boer, 1996; Madill, Widdicombe and Barkham, 2001). The use of formulations in cognitive behaviour therapy, psychoanalytic psychotherapy, and brief cognitive therapy will be compared and discussed, tying their distinct characteristics to the respective therapeutic policies (cf. Drew, 2003; Heritage and Watson, 1979). The argument will be that formulations do not just try to accomplish cognitive change, but they do so accountably indicating a therapeutic policy, or in effect the therapy being done. In discussion, a consideration will be given to the issue of what limits may conversational structure of formulations put on what any therapist might accomplish with them – can formulations be used to manage emotions in therapy? The talk will practically demonstrate how the analyst may properly combine ethnographic and conversation analyses in a seamless whole (cf. Turner, 1972).

## **Natakua Levshina**

### ***Pragmatic functions of implicit information in pre-election discourse***

The paper describes the pragmatic functions of the implicit information in the pre-election discourse, which is understood as a diversity of texts (slogans, newspaper articles, Internet sites, posters, leaflets, etc.) that promote a candidate and/or discredit his or her opponents. Different election campaigns in Russia, the USA and the Ukraine have been under consideration.

The implicit information is defined as the information that is not conveyed directly by the linguistic units that constitute the utterance, but which is perceived by the hearer or reader.

In this type of discourse, the implicit way of conveying information is mainly used for polemical and discrediting purposes. In addition, the use of implicitness gives the communicator psychological, communicative and argumentative advantages, which result from the method how the speaker guides the consciousness of the hearer, who extracts the information implied.

The extraction of the implicit information involves making inferences. When describing the inferential process in verbal comprehension, many scholars use the terms that were created in the domain of logic. The logical notions, such as the proposition, implication, presupposition, deduction, syllogism with premises and conclusions, are widely used in the works on the implicit way of communication. As Sperber and Wilson have shown, the inferential tier of comprehension is not a separate pragmatic module, but application of the unspecialized central thought processes to the output of the linguistic decoding module. Logic studies the forms of thought and particularly the processes whereby new assertions are produced from already established ones. Therefore, it is natural to assume that the logical notions and laws are applicable to the description of the inferential process in verbal communication. At the same time, the semantics of natural language utterances is much more complicated than the semantics of the formal language systems used by logic. That is why sometimes logical formalization of the implicit information conveyed by the utterance is difficult, if not impossible. In the paper, the above mentioned logical notions are examined from the point of view of their explanatory value for interpretation of the real examples from pre-election texts. The conclusion is made that these notions can be used for describing the implicit information extraction and functioning, but they are not always sufficient for an exhaustive analysis and representation of the inferential process and its pragmatic effects.

## **Fu Li & Xiaohui Han**

### ***A relevance-based strategic approach to information processing in listening comprehension***

Of the four major areas of language development in second language learning, listening is the most basic language skill. The ability to speak, read, write and master other complex cognitive skills is directly or indirectly dependent upon effective listening ability. Therefore searching for an effective way to improve the students' listening ability has become a greatly attended problem in the EFLT circle.

Listening comprehension is not only a decoding process of recognizing the sound, vocabulary and grammar but an inferential process, which involves world knowledge, previous experience and human cognition etc. It is an active, inferential, ongoing process of constructing and modifying an interpretation of what the text is about, based on whatever information seems relevant at the time.

Over the last few decades, many researches on listening ability have been made mostly from the psychological point of view. However, all these researches tend to isolate theory and practice. This paper is

meant to deal with listening comprehension from the viewpoint of cognitive pragmatics, that is, relevance theory, which focuses mainly on the interpretation of utterances and thus possesses the explanatory power for information processing.

This paper is meant to establish a strong linkage between theory and practice by illustrating how an instructional model can originate in theory and research and move toward classroom practices that are useful, understandable, and effective for teachers and for students. A survey on the students' learning strategies is thus carried out, examining the students' recognition of the nature of listening and use of learning strategies. Finally a relevance-based strategic model is proposed aiming at achieving the greatest cognitive effect with the smallest processing effort. We hope, by appreciating the range of resources--- highlighted by relevance theory--which listener can draw on in order to listen successfully, we will be in a better position to diagnose the causes of our students' difficulties and to offer appropriate treatment.

## **Xiaoping Liang & Sara Smith**

### ***Meta-representational discourse in physics lectures***

In the proposed paper we will analyse the metadiscourse in a series of physics lectures, with a focus on the ways in which the instructor guides students in creating a coherent mental model of phenomena under discussion. We believe a critical aspect of comprehension in science consists of integrating various modes of representation into a model that allows one both to understand data as presented in an original explanation and also to generate implications from the model. We are interested to see the means used by the instructor to facilitate this process for the students. In addition, we find that this language serves to engage students in the process of discovery, by presenting them as co-discoverers of the principles under discussion.

In developing our analysis of meta-representational discourse, we build on work in several areas, including analyses of how science is done and talked about by scientists (e.g., Kozma 2003), research on strategies of science instruction and their impact (e.g., Cheng 2002, Mishra & Brewer 2003), analyses of metadiscourse in academic texts (e.g., Dahl 2004, Hyland 1999), and analyses of metadiscourse strategies in general (e.g., Bublitz & Lenk 1999, Ciliberti 1999).

For a set of physics lectures, e.g., on Fourier's Theorem, we identify several means of representation used by the instructor-- (1) verbal descriptions (2) formula as a whole and formula segments, (4) diagram of series of waves and a segment of that diagram representing one wave, (6) a different form of diagrammatic representation, and (7) examples of the phenomenon (cello, piano, etc.).

We are interested in the language used to introduce, to link, and to comment on these different representations. We present a "map" of the links between these units, and we describe the language used to make those links. In some cases, the linkage is stated directly, "it can always be expressed as...", "it just corresponds to..." We also analyze cues embedded in these links that provide further guidance as to how these representations are to be processed or used. The instructor indicates the relative importance of some components, differentiates between initial introductions and reminders, and conveys the expected level of difficulty in processing information.

We also note the ways in which the instructor conveys the alignment of students with the instructor. In some expressions, the instructor serves as the expert introducing concepts to the students. But in many expressions the instructor invites the students to see themselves as collaborators "so we know this...we've got it!" or even agents "and then you've got yourself..." That is, even though the principles under discussion were obviously originated by Fourier, the instructor uses metapragmatic language to convey to students the sense that they are co-discoverers of these principles.

While we have chosen physics lectures as an extreme case of the significance of metapragmatic language, we believe that also in everyday language use speakers attempt to guide listeners in making representations of events and beliefs, and they also encourage listeners to believe that they are playing an active role in constructing knowledge.

## **Maria Fr. Lier-De Vitto**

### ***Some theoretical challenges imposed by pathological speech***

This paper discusses some traditional approaches to the so-called pathological speech, assuming that speech is not a straightforward clear notion. In the realm of linguistic studies, speech is empirical data manipulated according to different frameworks. Indeed, Linguistics, as an empirical science, cannot avoid the burden of factual verification of hypotheses and formal propositions (Milner, 1989). Fletcher & Ingham (1997), among others, endeavored to define symptom through grammatical means. They tried to select incorrect constructions, named "atypical" by them. Curtiss & Tallal (1991) and others qualified symptomatic speech in terms of violation of contextual and/or interactional principles. Both sets of investigations arrived at inconclusive results:

(1) either typical or atypical productions were found in the speech of both 'normal' and 'problematic' children; (2) either 'normal' or 'problematic' children were both sensible and insensible to contextual/interactional restrictions. Thus, one could state that strict descriptive manipulation of speech-as-factual-data does not suffice to define pathological speech. Within clinical fields, speech is "sign" – observable behavior taken as index of some particular disturbance in other domains (organic, cognitive or other). I would like to point out, though, that Linguistics or clinical fields make free usage of the term "symptom." Medicine has made a theoretical distinction between sign – which refers to the clinician's ability to identify atypical behaviors, and symptom – which refers to the patient's complaints about her/his condition. Taking into account such a distinction, I suggest an alternative way of building a concept of speech as symptom. I shall try to develop the argument that, in order to do that, questions about language and subjectivity should be theoretically articulated. I take "language" as symbolic operations (metaphoric and metonymic ones) conceived as laws which govern the internal composition of language (as proposed by Jakobson, 1954 and 1960; after Saussure, 1916). I argue that "la densité signifiant" of any speech can be explained when the above-mentioned laws are implied in the analysis. Also, the singular tissue of signifiants raises questions: (1) about the nature of the relationship between the speaker and language/speech (de Lemos, 2002), i.e., about the specificity of a speaker's listening ability; (2) about the way a production is restricted by language and by the singular nature of a speaker's listening ability. Austin will be consulted because his critical arguments concerning the philosophers' and grammarians' positions about language (reduced to designation and representation functions) can be extremely fruitful. Accordingly, the inclusion of the "strictly nonsensical" statements as well of those which are "beyond the scope of traditional grammar" fits my discussion about symptomatic speech. Moreover, the theoretical trend advanced by Austin opens the possibility of approaching the problem of subjectivity. Shortly, I shall try to draw theoretical consequences about subjectivity from the concept of language as "act." Two books: *How to do things with words*; *Sense and Sensibilia* (Austin, 1955, 1962) will be dealt with. Segments of texts produced by speakers with symptomatic speech will be presented and discussed.

**Niina Lilja & Maria Egbert**

***Language proficiency as a member's category in natural conversation***

The notion of proficiency in language use has not been empirically grounded in either SLA or CA research although this concept seems to be an assumption underlying many studies in both areas of investigation. This problem of conceptualizing and labeling language users in terms of their proficiency is noted frequently but has not been resolved. It is particularly problematic in the terminological dichotomy of "native" and "nonnative" speakers.

One way to make advances is to look at how the dimension of proficiency emerges in natural interaction. To pursue an answer to this question, we identify and analyze data segments in which conversationalists make their language proficiency locally relevant. In Paper 1 we present results of a CA analysis of conversational data in which interactants orient in some way to their own language proficiency or to the proficiency of their interlocutor. Based on this analysis we reconsider some of the methodological and theoretical positions stated in prior discussions (Paper 2). The empirical exploration is guided by the following questions:

What relevance does proficiency have in interaction?

In what interactional environments do orientations to proficiency emerge?

Are there recurrent structural elements in segments where interlocutors make proficiency relevant?

What are the interactional achievements in bringing up proficiency?

How is orientation to proficiency co-constructed?

Are there orientations to linguistics norms?

Are there orientations to social normality?

The data analyzed consist of everyday conversation in German and Finnish, where participants speak language(s) acquired early and later in life. The results indicate that members' categories of "nativeness" and "nonnativeness" do not capture the emic representation of the interlocutors. Rather, interactants portray a more complex social and linguistic world than prior research seems to imply.

**Maria Cunha Lima**

***Indefinites, reference and text processing***

In this presentation we aim to discuss some aspects of the indefinites articles functioning in Brazilian Portuguese, specially the occurrences of anaphoric indefinite. In Portuguese there is a binary opposition between definite (a, o) and indefinite (um, uma) articles. This opposition is usually directly linked to the given-new opposition in discourse, indefinites serving only as referent introducers, never as anaphors. In opposition to the

traditional view, text linguists as Schwarz (2000) and Koch (2002) has pointed out that there are occurrences indefinites anaphoric but, unfortunately, have not given a detailed account of the phenomenon. Cunha Lima (2004) has investigated the anaphoric indefinites in detail and proposed that the anaphoric reading of an indefinite expression is related to the absence of finite verbs on the sentences in most occurrences. It seems that whenever the clause lacks a finite verb or this verb occurs within a relative clause, and there is an appropriate antecedent candidate, indefinite expressions are read as referring back to that antecedent, see the examples below:

(1) A man died of hunger. A young man poorly dressed.

(2) A man died of hunger. A man that was abandoned by society.

In both examples (attested), the expressions “a young man” and “a man” of the second clauses clearly refers back to “man” of the first clause. This seems also to be the case when the finite verb is a synonym or quasi-synonym (or a repetition) of the one present in the clause where the antecedent candidate was introduced. On the other way round, any finite verb expressing a new event or change of state demands a new referent to be set for the indefinite expression. Compare the examples above with the following one, where the anaphoric reading is not possible:

(3) A man died of hunger. A man came to see the corpse.

We have been developing a series of psycholinguistic experiments in order to test this hypothesis. The first one, a self-paced reading experiment, showed that finite verbs are read faster after definite than indefinites expressions, this can indicate that an extra effort is done after reading a finite verb following a indefinite expression, extra effort that can be related with the setting of a new referent. Currently we are conducting an experiment in the cross modal prime paradigm, in order to test the level of activation of each referent in different moments of sentence processing.

Our finding seems to indicate that the referential saturation of indefinite expressions is much more sensitive to sentence and text conditions than it is traditionally suppose. If correct, this hypothesis has important implication to the theory of reference processing, which we intend to discuss in detail in our presentation.

## **Holger Limberg & Ronald Geluykens**

### ***Preference organization and social variation in threat responses***

The illocutionary act of 'threatening', and the felicity conditions involved in its execution, have remained largely unexplored in the literature on speech acts (see Austin 1962). Moreover, their possible perlocutionary effects have been all but neglected. This paper attempts to address this problem by empirically investigating threats and their verbal responses in English.

Additionally, it will be argued that conversation-analytic (CA) methodology can contribute substantially to our understanding of the interactive strategies involved in the realization on the threat / response adjacency pair. From a CA point of view, threat responses are either preferred or dispreferred second parts (cf. Schegloff and Sacks 1973). It will be shown that the linguistic realization of these responses depends not only on preference organization, but also on sociocultural variables such as gender and social dominance.

Based on a corpus of threat responses (TRs) collected under controlled conditions, a classification is offered on a five-point scale, ranging from overt compliance, as in [1], to overt non-compliance, as [2] (The context of all examples is a speaker being threatened by a policeman for parking in a prohibited parking space):

[1] Ok. I'll move it.

[2] Give a ticket then.

In the majority of cases, however, such (non-)compliance is achieved through so-called 'supportive moves' (Blum-Kulka et al. 1989) such as:

[3] Sorry, I'm only going to be a few seconds. [mitigating]

[4] Do it yourself thick shit. [aggravating]

Our quantitative analysis shows that TRs are indeed sensitive to both preference organization and sociocultural variation. First of all, compliance (the preferred response type) is more frequent than non-compliance in absolute terms. Secondly, there is a direct correlation between degree of (non-)compliance and utterance length. Thirdly, gender variation can be observed in the data, in that female TRs are, on average, longer and more compliant than male TRs.

Additionally, several types of variation can be found in our data with regard to supportive moves. First of all, mitigating moves are more frequent than aggravating ones; this is to be expected, given the highly face-threatening environment in which responses to threats occur. Secondly, female speakers use more supportive moves than male speakers, which appears to confirm that male speakers are more direct in their TRs.

From these results, several conclusions can be drawn. First of all, they show the need for further empirical investigation into the relationship between threats and their verbal responses (esp. based on data collected in more spontaneous environments). Secondly, since we are dealing with a dynamic process realized through the interaction between (at least) two interlocutors, the sequential organization within this interaction

needs to be explored further based on CA methodology. Thirdly, and finally, the relationship between threat exchanges and social variables (such as gender, dominance, social distance, etc.) needs to be quantified further.

**Maria Lindholm**

### ***Community language in European Commission press releases: Myth or reality?***

This paper is part of a wider research project on “Community language”, i.e. the language in texts produced by the institutions of the European Union. The overall question for my research is whether it is adequate to talk about a community language in the first place. Is there a difference between EU texts and their national counterparts? Have the European institutions, and in my case the European Commission, developed a proper language usage with its own registers and norms?

To date, there is no clear-cut and overall definition of what a community language would be, but a Community French/English/Swedish etc is often referred to. Characteristics would be an unclear and abstract language, using nouns instead of verbs, passive voice instead of active and in addition, sparkled with EU jargon. The aim of my research project is to provide a better understanding of what these linguistic and stylistic differences may be for the two languages of my study, i.e. French and Swedish. The scope of this paper, however, will be limited to the textual structure of press releases, the genre of my study.

So far, studies have focused on legal language, but community language is also said to exist in non-legal texts. This is one of the reasons which made me establish a corpus based on a non-legal text genre, namely press releases. My corpus consists of European Commission press releases in French and Swedish, and national press releases from French and Swedish ministries. By way of an intralinguistic comparison, I search for differences – and similarities – in this particular text genre. Are differences lexical, phraseological, syntactical, or on a textual/structural level? By looking at various textual/linguistic levels, my aim is to get a better grasp of what the differences may be, i.e. if there are differences in the text genre I have chosen.

My research is both product and process oriented, product oriented in the sense that I started off with a textual analysis of the texts as the readers meet them, without so much prior knowledge about how they were produced. It is process oriented, then, in the sense that explanations for perceived differences between national and EU texts are searched for in the institutional production process. A five months stay at the European Commission Directorate-General for Translation in 2003 has proven extremely useful for the comprehension of the text production.

Indeed, the text production process within the European Union is highly interesting, being a collaborative process between people who do not necessarily meet. Texts are drafted by people who do not write in their native language and the texts are subject to considerable changes before they reach their final, official stage. During the process of translation the traditional practice of one original and one translation is put aside. Ongoing translations in different languages are compared in order to grasp the often vague wordings. In the end, however, all language versions must say the same thing. Although press releases are not a legal text genre, they are an integrated part of this production process since they are often issued as a result of a new proposal for directive or regulation as well as a result of a study or survey conducted by the Commission.

Several readings of my data have revealed differences in the structure of the press releases. Despite the fact that EU and national guidelines on how to write a press release are strikingly similar, the texts as such are quite different from each other. Interestingly, there seems to be a change towards a much shorter average Commission press release. During my presentation I will focus precisely on the structure of the press releases.

**Per Linell**

### ***Constructions in dialogue***

The notion of ‘grammatical construction’ has been widely discussed in recent years, within Construction Grammar (CxG) and related approaches. It can be argued that the interactional and contextual aspects of constructions have been under-researched, perhaps even ignored, in ‘mainstream’ approaches to CxG (Östman & Fried 2004). This contribution is based on a distinctly ‘dialogical’, i.e. interactional and contextual, approach to language in general and to grammatical constructions in particular. It is largely built on a development of Ono & Thompson’s (1995) notion of ‘constructional schema’.

The author has analysed some grammatical constructions, e.g. cleft constructions and the so-called x-and-x construction (Lindström, 2000), in dialogical terms (Linell 2004, 2005). The argument is that the opportunities for using a particular construction are largely built up dialogically over sequences. (These matters have often been understood in terms of ‘information structure’.) Conversely, constructions often have properties that show how they are built precisely to fit into sequences, with responsive properties (requiring certain structures in prior co-text) and/or projective properties (setting up conditions on possible next units). Hence, this

implies a way of developing the notion of 'outer syntax' in CxG. Constructions may have links to other kinds of context too, such as activity types. Work along these lines has also been done by Wide (2002).

This contribution will also give rise to discussion on some general issues having to do with the treatment of 'contexts' in grammar. Should contexts be described in the same kinds of terms as constructions themselves? Is it at all possible to formalise relevant contexts exhaustively? My provisional answer to both these questions is "yes, partly". As regards the second question, I will argue that relevant contexts cannot be specified, hence not formalised, in all respects, but that it would be possible to bracket some parts of the dialogicality of languaging and formalise grammatical constructions at the type level. This, however, presupposes that meanings be construed as meaning potentials, rather than as fixed sets of semantic properties.

## **Kerry Linfoot-Ham**

### ***Pragmatics and the intuitions of law enforcement officers***

This paper is a continuation of work presented at the Cardiff University conference on Forensic Linguistics, 2004. Building upon information from observations on the adherence to or breaking of Grice's (1964) Cooperative Maxims by suspects and witnesses in encounters with law enforcement, further theories prevalent in the field of Pragmatics are studied with a view to discovering how the intuitions of law enforcement (specifically the 'gut-feelings' of distrust and suspicion) are conceived.

When interacting with citizens, experienced officers will frequently infer that a person is lying to them. They will not, however, be able to explain to anyone just how this intuition was formed. By observing phenomena that are already part of existing Pragmatic theories (including Grice's maxims, the Politeness Principle (Brown and Levinson, 1987), Derivational Thinking (Hardman, 1993), and others), it is hypothesized that it may be possible to supply scientific linguistic/Pragmatic reasons for these intuitions. This could be an important step in the training of law enforcement in interpersonal communication skills. If a label can be given to a feeling of distrust, law enforcement will be able to avoid many of the misfortunes that may come about due to communicative frustration – including physical conflict.

These observations are an ongoing project, but initial findings are promising, as is the reaction from officers that taking part in the study. To be able to pinpoint a feeling of distrust, and moreover to be able to explain it succinctly to other officers and the suspect/witness in question, is a tool that they believe would be invaluable in the field.

## **Ping Ping Liu**

### ***The influence of L1 conceptual thinking on L2 discourse: a case study of Chinese ESL learners' conversational involvement in NS-NNS interaction***

The purpose of this study is to explore the affective role of NS–NNS interaction in second language learning, particularly regarding its influence on Chinese ESL learners' willingness to communicate (WTC) with native speakers. The theoretical ground underpinning this study is the acquisitional role of NS-NNS interaction in second language learning. Under the interactionist approach, active participation in conversations means that L2 learners have the opportunity to receive and produce comprehensible language and to collaborate in the building and maintenance of a conversation through constant meaning negotiation. Socioculturalists, on the other hand, argue that it is through such active participation that L2 learners establish successful socialisation with the target language group, which is essential for developing and exercising their interactional competence (see, e.g., Hatch, 1983, 1992; Sato, 1990).

It is reasonable to assume that L2 learners start with a willingness to communicate with the target language group. However, as Ajzen (1988) notes, the intention to perform a behaviour does not guarantee its occurrence because circumstances may intervene between intention and action. One line of research, mainly based on Schumann's acculturation model, has argued that the amount of actual NS-NNS contact is decided by the social and psychological distance between L2 learners and the target language group. This social psychological distance is generally regarded as the result of a number of predetermined social attributes such as domination versus subordination, size and attitude, as well as the various affective factors that concern the learner as an individual (McLaughlin, 1987). However, in current second language acquisition research, little attention has been given to the possibility of changes in L2 learners' perception of the social and psychological distance as an influence from the dynamic process of the NS-NNS interaction itself. The connection of the acquisition theory to social psychological factors is made, but the changing nature of these factors is not emphasised. Much less has been done to investigate how L2 learners' L1 conceptual thinking affects their conversational involvement in NS-NNS interaction, which as a result, affects their self-confidence both as language learners and social beings.

The data for this study were collected on a longitudinal base through questionnaires, regular interviews and NS-NNS conversations recorded in naturalistic settings. Three Chinese advanced learners of English participated in this study. Analysing the interviews and the questionnaires suggests a possible connection between L2 learners' WTC and learner involvement in NS-NNS interaction. Conversation analysis on the other hand, provides the evidence that L2 learners' conversational topic knowledge, influenced by their L1 conceptual thinking, can affect L2 learners' conversational involvement. The analytical tools applied in the study include the quantification of the interactional features such as the number of turn-taking, the amount of talk in each turn, pauses between turns, and the qualitative analysis of adjacency pairs and topic initiating.

**Marita Ljungqvist**

***Le: A procedural marker in Mandarin Chinese***

The semantics of the particle *le* in Mandarin Chinese has been hotly debated in both Chinese and non-Chinese linguistic literature in particular during the past 25 years. *Le* is a post verbal particle, which also occurs in sentence final position. This syntactic flexibility and the fact that the presence of *le* seems to render distinct default readings depending on its syntactic position has given rise to the conventional treatment of *le* as a homophonic and homographic representation of two distinct morphemes with different semantic characteristics. The so called post verbal particle *le* is generally treated as a perfective marker (Li and Thompson (1981), Smith (1997)) while the so called sentence final particle *le* by most authors is defined as either a perfect marker (Li et al. (1982)), an inchoative/change-of-state marker (Chao (1968), Chan (1980) and Melchert (1980)) or a mood marker (Fang et al. (1992)). I aim to show that this distinction is unnecessary, that a unified treatment of *le* is possible, and that the view that *le* has semantic content should be discarded in favour of a view of *le* as a pragmatic particle. This proposal is primarily based upon empirical evidence of the interpretation of *le* in post verbal and sentence-final position in modern Chinese. Basing my arguments on the analysis of telephone conversations between native speakers of Mandarin Chinese (CallHome Mandarin Chinese speech corpus, Linguistic Data Consortium) I will show that post verbal *le* and sentence-final *le* contribute to similar readings, temporal as well as modal and that its interpretation is highly context dependent. The temporal interpretations of *le* are formally described within a Reichenbachian (1947) combined tense/aspect system, which defines the aspects time-relationally and not metaphorically (see also Klein (1994)). This paper presents a definition of *le* as a procedural marker (the relevance-theoretic notion of procedures – words that result in non-translational activation – is discussed in for example Carston (2002)) which activates the concept [boundary] but which contains no encoded semantic content.

**Virginia LoCastro & Gordon Tapper**

***Teaching effectiveness of ITAs: Pragmatic competence***

State-mandated programs in the United States for the training of international graduate students who have been awarded teaching assistantships comprise two dimensions: accent reduction and cross-cultural pedagogy. The emphasis of the state legislation is on comprehensibility. Many of the participants complete the program and become successful as international teaching assistants (ITAs) in their respective content areas, where “successful” is defined as their being able to speak English well enough so that their lectures and other learning interactions with mainly undergraduate students are comprehensible. Student evaluations and observations by supervisors in their major areas are the instruments frequently used in assessing the ITAs' success.

However, trainers involved in the mandated programs reflect on whether or not comprehensibility by undergraduates is sufficient to promote the level of learning expected by the learners themselves as well as by their departments. There may be a variety of pragmatic features that have a role to play. Specifically, the concern focuses on the perceived effectiveness of an ITA who accommodates to the pragmatic norms of the US academic environment where teacher-fronted classrooms are dispreferred in favor of the development of collaborative relationships in communities of practice, viewed as an important component of the learning environment. On this view, pedagogical pragmatic competence is a constituent of a more macro-analytic perspective, encompassing how ITAs construct themselves as participants in the learning context. Phonological intervention such as accent reduction may be necessary but not sufficient.

This paper reports on a project of the Academic Spoken English (ASE) Program of the University of Florida to study this concern about accommodation to pragmatic norms in the US academic context. The research questions guiding the study are: (1) what phonological features of the ITAs' spoken discourse limit their effectiveness as teachers? and (2) what pragmatic features of the ITAs' classroom practices limit their effectiveness as teachers?

An analysis has been carried out on both phonological and pragmatic dimensions of the teaching practices and behaviors of two ITAs of the same gender and ethnicity with comparable oral language



proficiency teaching the same content area. The lessons that were observed and videotaped by a trainer observer were taught on the same lesson content. Their speech and pedagogical behaviors were coded by a three-member panel of trained staff of the ASE. Then, two focus groups composed of undergraduate students majoring in the same subject area viewed the videos and participated in a discussion on the effectiveness of the two ITAs. The researcher used a set of guided, open-ended questions to elicit participation of the students; the sessions were audiotaped and a transcript produced for analysis.

The conclusions focus on the relative importance of phonological features and pragmatic competence features of the ITAs classroom presentation of themselves as teachers in creating more effective teaching, from the point of view of the trained coders of the ASE and of the undergraduates. It is possible the ITA who has accommodated to the pragmatic norms of a US teaching style may be perceived as the more effective teacher.

### **Leonor Lopes Fávero**

#### ***Conversations à trois participants: Roles interactionnels et gestion des échanges***

Le travail examine la conversation triadique, ayant le but de mettre en évidence la manière par laquelle les mécanismes mêlés dans ce type d'échange se traduisent dans les interactions et comment le cadre participatif s'est développé pendant la précédente. Les échanges verbaux effectués ci-dessus sont plus complexes que ceux des conversations avec deux participants, vu que un des participants peut être soit un destinataire privilégié, soit les deux sont destinataires de manière collective, soit un des interlocuteurs peut prendre la parole qui ne lui a pas été dirigée, violant ainsi le principe selon lequel la sélection du destinataire est faite par le locuteur.

Selon les propositions de Caplow (1984), Kerbrat-Orecchioni (1995) et Plantin (1995), l'analyse effectuée, dans un corps constitué de conversations spontanées et de débats télévisés, a permis d'énumérer et de définir les différents rôles pris en charge par les participants pour réaliser la gestion des tours, spécialement pour de troisième destinataire face aux locuteurs 1 et 2.

### **Clara Lorda Mur**

#### ***Pragmatic function of rhetorical anaphora in political interviews***

It is my aim to show that anaphora can have several complex roles in dialogue, such as functioning as a sort of enthymeme, legitimating one's reasoning, moving the feelings of the listener auditor or even hiding a fallacy. I will do so by presenting a special kind of dialogue: the political interview. This genre is structured, by definition, in dialogue format. However, it constitutes a prepared interaction lacking the features of a spontaneous interchange, since the questions are practically agreed upon prior to the interchange, as J.M. Cotteret (2000: 124) points out. A political interview, therefore, takes the theatrical aspect of discourse to an extreme degree.

The journalists are supposed to exercise the function of inquiry and control with respect to the elected politicians and, in some way, they stage a simulation "of direct democracy" (P. Charaudeau, 1997). They also must uncover the "hidden truth". The politicians have to persuade the viewers that they are reliable and that their politics (their ideas, their actions) are the most appropriate for each situation. But, they cannot say everything that they are thinking or everything they know. Therefore, they display complex discursive strategies in order to conciliate these, at times, incompatible goals and in order to be able to answer in a satisfactory manner.

Nevertheless, politicians in television interviews do not necessarily follow conversational norms nor respect the rules of good argumentation. The answers, often, are not suitable, the narrative of the argumentation is reduced, the vocabulary is simplified. The study of the discursive strategies of the politicians shows that a new audiovisual rhetoric is coming into sight. Among these strategies, there is anaphora.

This classical figure of speech is one of the cornerstones in persuasive discourse, as has been shown by Perelman & Olbrechts-Tyteca (1988). However, in current television rhetoric, this figure has a wider scope in the case of the political interviews. This will be illustrated by some samples from four interviews: Catalan, French and Spanish, in which Pascual Maragall, Jacques Chirac, Nicolas Sarkozy and José Maria Aznar were interviewed. This study has been realised in the frame of a research project conducted from a comparative perspective

### **Nuria Lorenzo-Dus**

#### ***Having one's say impolitely in public debates: Implications for one's identity***

This paper discusses the findings of an empirical study on identity and impoliteness within sequences of confrontation talk. Confrontation talk is analysed because of its association with face threat / impoliteness (e.g. Lakoff, 1989; Holmes, 1995) and, whilst inspired by politeness theory, the study moves beyond the traditional scope of this framework (Brown and Levinson, 1987) in two principal ways. Firstly, it examines the central role

of rapport and impression management within the discursive co-construction of identity. Secondly, it applies a Community of Practice (CofP) approach (Wenger, 1998) in which a priori views of what constitutes (im)polite impression and rapport management are rejected in favour of speakers' own assessments vis-à-vis the specific rules of engagement of the particular CofP in which they interact.

The analysis is based on a corpus of 50 hours of video-recordings of a popular Spanish television audience participation debate. Confrontation sequences represented 75 per cent of all interactions and typically included disagreements, challenges to others' views, constant interruptions and raised voices. Interestingly, however, this high percentage of confrontation talk did not produce a similarly high perception of impoliteness. In fact, speakers only assessed 10 per cent of these as impolite. At first sight, this finding appears to corroborate previous work on rapport management in Peninsular Spanish whereby, as members of a 'positive politeness culture', Spanish speakers are less sensitive to face intrusions than their 'negative politeness cultures' counterparts (cf. e.g. Vázquez Orta, 1995). Nevertheless, closer inspection suggests that the low percentage of perceived impoliteness vis-à-vis confrontation sequences in the corpus relates principally to the situational context of talk in which the members of this CofP operate: an essentially oppositional broadcasting genre that sees disagreements and challenges often encouraged by the programme producers and ritualistically enacted by most participants.

With regard to the relationship between impoliteness and identity in this study, instances of 'inappropriate' rapport management constituted two thirds of all impoliteness and were of two types:

(1) Deliberate attacks on aspects of other speakers' 'public' face by reference to their 'institutional' identities as host, lay participant or expert discussant. These represented 35 per cent of the total.

(2) Deliberate attacks on aspects of other speakers' 'private' face by reference to their 'real-life' identities as parents, friends, etc. These represented 65 per cent of the total.

As for instances of 'inappropriate' impression management, these constituted one third of all impoliteness and typically included overtly self-promotional talk that implicitly belittled the impression management of other speakers. This finding is in line with previous work on Spanish politeness, specifically views of speakers routinely enhancing their own positive face in interaction (e.g. Lorenzo-Dus, 2001). However, it also signals the importance in assessing the effects of such impression management of considering the CofP within which it occurs. Thus, within the CofP considered in this study, the likelihood of self-promotional talk being perceived by one's interactants as 'impolite' was very high and often triggered processes of confrontational identity co-construction.

## **Molly Losh**

### ***Language competence as a double edged sword?: Links between narrative competence, emotional understanding, and psychological well-being in autism and typical development***

Autism is a disorder that seriously disrupts communicative and emotional functioning. Even those highly intelligent individuals who develop functional language abilities and facility recognizing and expressing emotions demonstrate enduring difficulties with the more sophisticated linguistic and emotional practices that underpin fluent social interactions. Adopting a developmental psychopathological perspective, this study investigated interactions between language and emotional functioning among very high-functioning children with autism and their age- and IQ-matched typically developing counterparts to 1) illuminate the basis of autistic persons' vast difficulties within these realms; and 2) provide a window into relationships across linguistic and social-emotional domains that are often obscured when development proceeds normally.

Twenty-eight children with autism and 22 typically developing children participated in three studies examining how children's language practices, and use of narrative in particular, may serve as a resource for interpreting the emotional pigments of events, imprinting these encounters in memory, and helping to shape psychological states and dispositions. Examination of the interplay between narrative and emotional experience began with assessment of the content and discursive form of children's emotional memories and concluded with the mapping of interrelations among narrative, emotional understanding, and psychological well-being.

Narrative competence was determined by children's ability to produce coherent narratives in the course of a loosely structured conversational interaction. Conversations were transcribed verbatim and narratives were identified and coded for the total number of clauses and instances in which children evaluated temporally organized episodes in ways that causally integrated and coherently elaborated the narrative's theme were coded and used to create composite scores ranging from 1 -5, based on the proportion of clauses that integrated and elaborated the narrative's theme. Knowledge of emotional experience was examined by eliciting accounts of personal experiences with emotions through a procedure adapted from Seidner, Stipek, and Feshbach (1988). From a randomized list of 12 simple and complex emotions and two non-emotions (tired and sick) children were asked to relate a time they had experienced each. Accounts were transcribed and assessed for contextual accuracy degree of specificity, and whether children identified the causes of their emotions. Psychological well-

being was measured through children's responses to self-report measures of self-competence, depression, and anxiety. All measures were coded according to existing scoring systems.

Results indicated that the coherence of both autistic and typically developing children's memories for emotional experience was related to their narrative competence. This finding was consistent with the hypothesis that narrative activities are an important resource for interpreting affectively charged experiences and ingrain them in memory. Furthermore, among both groups, well-honed narrative abilities were associated with feelings of diminished self-competence and heightened feelings of depression and anxiety. Within the autistic group this latter relationship (i.e., between narrative and depression and anxiety) was mediated by emotional knowledge, suggesting that it may be the emotional awareness afforded by narrative, rather than narrative skill itself, that is associated with depressed and anxious feelings for children with autism. Findings will be evaluated and discussed in relation potential involvement of narrative activities in constructing emotional identities and world views.

## **Roger Lozon**

### ***When being polite means having to sacrifice one's language for the majority language***

Philosophically speaking, according to many francophone bilingual speakers in Ontario Canada, speaking French in presence of those who do not understand it is viewed as being impolite. However, what impact does this view of politeness have on minority language speakers' language and social practices and the reproduction of their language in various domains? In this paper we will analyse how francophone speakers in Ontario, living in a minority setting represent the plurilingual market in which they live, their language practices in the presence of speakers of the majority language and their use of their linguistic capital in various social spaces and the impact their practices may have on monolingual speakers. Inspired by works on politeness by key authors, we will examine how politeness is a key determinant in language practices of minority language speakers in Ontario. We will demonstrate through discourse analysis of various excerpts of interviews conducted in the year 2000 in a small bilingual community in Southwestern Ontario, how francophones' beliefs on what constitutes politeness can in fact hinder their use of the French language in various social domains as well as the reproduction of one of Canada's official languages in Ontario. Within this paper we will examine how the theoretical concepts of linguistic capital and market (Bourdieu, 1977,1982) linguistic insecurity (Labov, 1976), saving face (Goffman 1974) and politeness (Watts, 2003) are interrelated and play an important role in the complex social construction of language practices in bilingual settings and the underlying philosophical views of what behaviours are considered polite and those that are not. Data presented in this paper will derive from my doctoral thesis which examined the linguistic representations and feelings of francophones living in a minority setting in Ontario and the impact these may have on the reproduction of varieties of French spoken in Ontario.

## **Luisa Lugli & Marina Mizzau**

### ***Audience's hetero-repetition in story telling***

The analysis focuses on listener's verbal and no-verbal activity during story-telling in conversation. The audience's active role in conversation, particularly in story-telling, has already been outlined in previous researches (Goodwin 1981, 1986). Among all the audience's possible contributions, in our analyses the attention will focus on the audience's repetitions. We consider repetition like a intentional quote, through which the repeating show his intention to influence the activity in course. The words, gestures, intonation and wording will be count as repetition.

The analysis will focus on one particular type of repetition: hetero-repetition, i.e. on the occasions where the current speaker repeats a verbal, prosodic or gestual elements previously produces by the story-teller. We would examine the modalities of hetero-repetitions through which the audience display their alignment or misalignment to the teller's tendency to create a dramatic or humour effect. The specific interactional functions of hetero-repetitions (Bazzanella 1994,1999) and their sequential location will be analysed.

The data are taken from a corpus of 25 video-recordings of everyday life situations, such as family dinner and friend meetings, out of which we selected story-telling episodes. Most of them are dramatic or comic stories. The data have been transcribed in accordance with Gail Jefferson's transcription's conventions.

The analysis could display how the repetition's different modalities affect teller's production and the activity in course. During the study of narratives the hypothesis emerged is that listeners negotiate the story-telling and influence the final resolution by hetero-repetition.

## **Kang Kwong Luke**

### ***Turn construction unit revisited***

In Sacks, Schegloff and Jefferson (1974), a system was proposed to handle conversational turn-taking. As is well known, that system consists of two parts: a turn construction component and a turn allocation component. While the broad outline of the latter is fairly well understood and generally accepted, the former is fraught with difficulties mainly because of the lack of a satisfactory definition of the basic unit, turn constructional unit (TCU), or a robust procedure for its identification. In SSJ's original paper, TCUs were described intuitively as 'any word, phrase, clause, or sentence'. Realizing that this was a less than rigorous definition, SSJ appealed to linguists for help in a footnote: 'How projection of unit-types is accomplished ... is an important question on which linguists can make major contributions.' (p. 703) However, to date there has been little response from linguists to this invitation in spite of the venue of the paper's publication (*Language*) and its massive influence. The lack of progress on this matter has led some researchers to come back to this unresolved question in recent years, notably Schegloff (1996, 2000).

In this paper, I revisit this central issue and formulate an answer to the question. It is argued that the main thrust of the answer can be derived from Bloomfield's (1933) discussion of the definition and identification of sentences, once it is realized that the questions of sentence identity and TCU identity in fact run parallel to each other. According to Bloomfield, the sentence can be defined as a combination of a syntactic structure which is in 'absolute position' (as opposed to 'included position'), plus an intonation pattern. The fundamental importance of intonation is stressed in this connection: 'The pitch phonemes [i.e. intonation patterns] ... occur in every utterance, appearing even when a single word is uttered, such as John! John? John.' (Bloomfield 1933:116) Armed with this understanding and the accompanying notions of 'full sentence' and 'minor sentence', one is in a position to furnish Conversation Analysis with a principled way of distinguishing words or word-strings which are TCUs from ones which are merely parts of TCUs. This conclusion is illustrated and supported with ample evidence from Chinese and English conversational data.

**Steve Mackey**

### ***Public relations and pragmatics***

This paper enlists concepts from the Peircean and Pragmatics tradition to explore a more satisfactory theoretical understanding of how public relations initiatives impact on our thinking. The paper will compare pragmatics approaches to existing approaches in the theorisation of public relations in mainstream public relations textbooks. These are usually 'how to do' approaches such as: "In the words and form of a theoretical statement, if we implement these actions and communications, then we will achieve these outcomes with our publics, which should lead to accomplishing the program goal." (Cutlip, Center & Broom, 1994:357). Initial sections of this paper will deal briefly with public relations writers' four principal, conventional, approaches to theorising public relations activity: General systems theory; Grunig's 'four models of public relations'; the so called 'Relational' theory of public relations; and the more recent moves towards 'rhetorical theory'. These approaches will be argued to lack the intellectual wherewithal needed for analysing and understanding the important processes and social-political effects of contemporary public relations. The bulk of the paper will then harness the semiotics and pragmatics approaches of inter alia Peirce, Habermas and Klaus Bruhn Jensen in an attempt to explain the inadequacies of the current turn to rhetorical theory in this field (Heath 1992, 2001; Toth 1992, 2000; Skerlep 2001). More critical and usually European scholars of public relations theory have added sophistication by pointing to the importance of invoking the notion of semiotics when discussing contemporary notions of rhetoric (L'Etang 1996; Botan & Soto 1998). But nobody seems to have taken on board the point expressed in the 1930s by Charles Morris that: "Historically, rhetoric may be regarded as an early and restricted form of pragmatics..." (Morris, 1970:30). This paper will suggest that a depiction of rhetoric expanded into a notion of pragmatics is exactly what is needed to examine and explain the actions of public relations and associated phenomena. In outlining a project to re-theorise public relations the paper will explore Peirce's (1974) notion of abduction; Habermas's (1991) concept of universal pragmatics, Jensen's (1995) 'time in culture and time out culture'; and Verschuere/Bruner's (1995) suggestion that the pragmatic perspective is to do with: "...the meaningful function of language. i.e. ...the dynamic construction of meaning in language use... 'acts of meaning', cognitively mediated, and performed in a social and cultural environment." This paper will argue that public relations activities are fundamentally: "'acts of meaning', cognitively mediated, and performed in a social and cultural environment". These are acts of meaning such as: efforts to obtain sympathetic journalistic coverage; training the CEO in TV interview performance; the design, creation and targeted distribution of controlled publications to organisational stakeholders; the development, promotion and use of corporate web sites; careful formulation of corporate speeches; the commissioning of the firm's new logo and associated visual identity; and so on. These are all acts which are carefully planned within the political, social and cultural contexts and with close regard to the spoken, written and other symbolic languages of the audiences which are targeted

**Didier Maillat**

***A pragmatic model for spatial disambiguation***

In this paper, I will consider the interpretation of directional expressions, in order to shed new light on the interface between semantics and pragmatics. Specifically, I will address an issue raised by Levinson (2003) and propose a clear division of labour between the semantic and pragmatic processes triggered by a sentence like (1).

(1) The cat was sunbathing behind the 1954 Cadillac.

In this context the meaning of sentence (1) will be of great interest to us on two grounds. First of all, I will show that the well-known ambiguity between the *on the other side of* reading and the *towards the intrinsic back of* reading of sentence (1) results from a pragmatic process of parameterisation of the spatial reference frame. I will proceed to demonstrate that a descriptively adequate DRT model can be constructed that formally captures the interface relations between the semantic and pragmatic modules along the lines of the analysis that was originally suggested for the temporal reference frame (Kamp & Reyle 1993). Such a model relies on a single – pragmatically determined – parameter to fix the reference frame on which the semantics of directional expressions is anchored. One strength of this model lies in its cross-linguistic applicability.

Second, I will investigate the denotational range of the directional expression in (1). That is to say that I will discuss the actual region denoted by *behind X* on the basis of the empirical work carried out by Hayward & Tarr (1995), Logan & Sadler (1996), and myself (2003). Thus, I will argue that an appropriate semantics of directionals should be minimally constrained. This kind of underdetermined semantics will then be shown to interact with general pragmatic enrichment and disambiguation processes (see Levinson 2000) to yield the predicted meaning. Specifically, I will show that Generalised Conversational Implicatures can be invoked in order to disambiguate the kind of default semantics advocated for.

Finally, I will argue that the proposed model not only applies across-the-board to all types of directional expressions (e.g. cardinal directions), but that it is also well suited to tackle other spatial expressions (e.g. *to veer*, *around X*).

**Jenny Mandelbaum**

***Delicate matters: Embedded self-correction as a method for removing possibly available unwanted hearings***

This paper uses conversation analytic methods to examine how interactants may deal with possible ambiguity in their own talk that could be heard to yield an “unwanted” hearing. There are times when such unwanted hearings are targeted overtly by their speaker, who then offers a substitute item for the one that provides for the unwanted hearing. At other times, these replacements occur without the speaker calling attention to the activity of removing an unwanted hearing. Jefferson (1983) contrasts “exposed” and “embedded” other-corrections. Exposed other-corrections are done overtly. Embedded ones are done in a way that does not overtly display the repair operation. I first lay out the domain of self-correction in which speakers manage “unwanted” available hearings in an “exposed” fashion, and then contrast this with occasions on which a self-correction appears to be produced embeddedly, without mobilizing the conversational mechanisms of repair. The findings suggest that these “embedded” self-corrections may manage issues of delicacy that the possible unwanted hearing may make available. Embedded self-corrections appear to be implemented to manage three different delicate interactional occurrences. One is “lexical infelicity,” where a particular word-choice results in producing the appearance that the speaker has said something “silly.” Another environment in which these embedded self-corrections are produced is when a speaker has said something that produces an inappropriate impression of him or her. Third, they occur when the speaker has said something that could be heard to be offensive to the interlocutor. In each case, a self-initiated self-repair would not only correct the problem, but would also call attention to its occurrence. By mobilizing a method for embedded self-correction, the speaker corrects, but avoids making overt, the lexical infelicity, untoward impression of self, or offensive action toward the interlocutor. This study further extends our understanding of the interplay between repair and error, suggesting that it may be possible to correct error without engaging the usual mechanisms of conversational repair.

**Giuseppe Manno**

***Politeness and insistence in written discourse***

The present paper, which is part of a more comprehensive study of written directive texts in French (Manno forthcoming), proceeds to a comparative analysis of requests for payment and reminders, from the point of view of face work. The data consist of 100 authentic and incensed letters drawn from a corpus collected in commercial and institutional settings. We will apply the theoretical framework presented by Brown/Levinson

(1987), modified by Kerbrat-Orecchioni (1997) and developed for written discourse by Manno (1998, 1999, 2000).

The aim of the present work is to study the impact of the factor "insistance" over face work in written discourse. Contrary to what may be expected because of the violation by the addressee of contractual terms for not paying the bill, and in spite of the compulsory legal character of the claim, the passage from an initiative to an insistant directive genre does not generally imply a decrease of face work. Rather we notice frequently an increase of face work strategies (for instance, the sender presents the non-payment as an inadvertence or as a consequence of the addressee not being able to pay). Moreover, we find a high number of anticipated thanks, the formulation of the directive head act as if the sender incurred a debt, different kinds of internal modifiers and syntactic downgraders. We also observe a more cautious way of issuing the claim through modalisation, concessive constructions, and, globally, a more complex structure of the text than in requests for payment. How to explain these observations? In the first place, the sender is willing to preserve a longstanding (business) relationship. He therefore avoids a too aggressive and assertive tone. In the second place, these additional politeness strategies are supposed to compensate for the presence of time intensifiers and a somewhat straightforward realization of his claim. In other words, when the interactants are in conflict, the need for face redress is greater than in routine situation. In the third place, this choice must also be attributed to the double bind situation in which the sender finds himself: he must appeal for compliance, but in doing so, he risks making a reproach to the addressee who seems not to be able to fulfill his formal commitments. This would also represent a threat to the addressee's positive face, in addition to the threat to his negative face. The sender therefore tries to avoid presenting the addressee acting intentionally: the behaviour is reprehensible, but not its author.

Finally, this prudent attitude is also partly due to the spatial and temporal distance which separates the correspondents. Contrary to similar situations in face-to-face interaction, the sender does not know with certainty whether the addressee has maybe paid the bill in the meanwhile. In other words, the addressee has the benefit of the extenuating circumstances and some strategies are supposed to protect preemptively the sender's own face. The analysis of second and third reminders proves in fact that the sender becomes harsher, as soon as things are clearer.

## **Michel Marcoccia**

### ***Newsgroups as speech communities***

The main objective of this paper is the analysis of newsgroups as speech communities in order to establish a typology of discursive and conversational "community markers".

In the paradigm of Computer-Mediated Communication studies, many works deal with the question of virtual community and define the necessary characteristics of virtual communities (for example, Smith & Kollock 1999). In other terms, what are the criteria for considering an online discussion group as a virtual community? For example, identity, sociability and support are often seen as key concepts for the analysis of virtual communities (Wellman 2001).

In order to pass from theoretical criteria to empirical observation, this paper underlines the interest of concept of speech community (Gumperz 1968) as a useful research tool for the analysis of online communities.

Thus, this paper proposes a sociolinguistic approach to virtual community through two case studies: the analysis of two French-speaking newsgroups: fr.rec.boissons.vins (a usenet newsgroup devoted to discussions on wine) and forum Famili (a web online discussion group between pregnant women). The methodological frame is based on a multi-level analysis, inspired by the Computer-Mediated Discourse Analysis methodology elaborated by Herring (2004).

Theses case studies permit to describe various "community markers", which can be identified through seven distinct levels of analysis: specific use of semiotic material (smileys, acronyms, abbreviations, ...), markers of thematic or pragmatic coherence (community lexicon, stereotype and topoi), enunciative positioning (self-presentation, signature, terms of address), markers of interpersonal relationship (politeness, expression of emotions, ...), role-playing (host, joker,...), mechanisms of structuring messages and sequences (opening and closing, recalling the conversational history, standardization of speech acts, ...) and meta-communication (comments about netiquette, values of the community,...).

## **Danilo Marcondes**

### ***Speech act theory and critical philosophy***

Speech Act Theory such as initially formulated by J.L.Austin and later developed by J.R.Searle has come lately under heavy criticism from several different directions. I propose to examine some of the main objections raised against this theory, trying to show that it can, properly developed, deal adequately with them. I shall distinguish

between criticism internal to the theory from broader methodological and conceptual issues, starting with the internal questions.

The first objection is that Speech Act Theory is excessively centered on the speech act as the unity of analysis, thus lacking the adequate means for an analysis of linguistic interaction, dialogue and discursive practices considered in a broader way. This theory, at least in its initial versions, is too much focused on the production of the speech act, rather than on its interpretation by the hearer, the hearer reactions to it and its effects and consequences on the hearer. I don't see, however, any obstacles against a development of Speech Act Theory in this line, which in fact can already be found in authors such as Francis Jacques and Daniel Vanderveken. I shall then examine how this can be done.

It is also objected that recent formulations such as found in Searle and Vanderveken, as well as the appeal to the

Gricean model of communication maxims, often involve the intentions of the hearer as central for the production of speech acts, presupposing a conception of subjectivity and psychological intentions which analytic philosophy of language in its beginning, for instance with Wittgenstein and Ryle, denounced as highly problematic. I hope to show that the notion of speaker's intentions can be defined avoiding this objection.

A second set of objections of methodological nature will then be considered, starting with the contention that proposals such as found in Searle and Vanderveken, mentioned above, favor a formal analysis of speech acts and work towards establishing the semantic foundations of speech acts thus going against the pragmatic conception found in the initial stages of the theory. I shall try to show that these more recent proposals are not necessarily incompatible with a genuinely pragmatic view of speech acts, which I shall defend.

A more difficult challenge has to do with the need for a method of analysis of implicit elements operating especially in indirect speech acts, but in fact found in performatives in general. This kind of analysis cannot be purely descriptive, but must be reconstructive. It thus points to the need of a critical method of analysis, which, I propose, can be formulated based on theories such as Jurgen Habermas's Communicative Action and Karl Otto Apel's Universal Pragmatics. In this sense, Speech Act Theory would recover its relevance as a method of analysis in a philosophical perspective defended by Austin in the conclusion of *How to do things with words*.

## **Piera Margutti**

### ***When the answer is wrong: Pupils correcting other pupils in the classroom***

Literature on classroom interaction in general, and on teacher-led instructional sequences in particular, widely reports on the three-part sequence (The IRE model) as a regular feature of the interaction that takes place in this setting (Sinclair and Coulthard, 1975; McHoul, 1978; Mehan, 1979; Nassaji and Wells, 2000; Hellermann, 2003). The characterization of the pattern as embodying distinctive instructional aims has been generally explained with reference to (1) which party is entitled to perform each of the three moves in the sequence, since the teacher usually opens and closes the sequence while pupils respond to the first initiating move, and to (2) its being different from information sequences (Drew, 1981). However, from the inspection of a corpus of video-recorded lessons it has been found that, on a number of occasions, the manner in which instructional sequences progress does not adhere to this model; the pupils' speaking obligations and rights include a wider range of actions than those prospected by the IRE model.

This presentation reports on the results of the investigation that has been conducted on 10 instructional sequences in two 3rd-year Italian primary school classes (pupils aged 7-8). In particular, with reference to the third-turn receipt that follows the answer (the Evaluative move), it has been found that both the teacher and the pupils in the audience are entitled to acknowledge the answer, depending on its correctness. In case of 'incorrect' answers (wrong, missing, hesitant, etc.) the pupils in the audience feel entitled to assess it by initiating or actually doing repair, either as single speakers or as members of a collective party, acting in concert. This presentation proposes the investigation of a number of these sequences. First, by contrasting occurrences where answers are assessed as 'correct' and 'incorrect', the analysis will focus on features of turn design, prosody and sequential deployment of the third-turn receipt, showing how teacher and pupils negotiate who is entitled to provide feedback in each case. Second, considerations will be made with reference to the relevance of collective participation in the classroom and how this embodies the distinctive instructional aims of the interaction in this setting.

## **Janice Marinho**

### ***Evaluating discursive relations in Brazilians' advice-giving***

In this paper I intend to investigate how some participants of a reality show which featured on Brazilian television from January to April, 2004 produce and interpret discourse relationships. I will focus on the discursive relations among textual segments as well as on the pragmatic bonds between these segments and

implicit information, all of which often signaled by linguistic elements, such as discourse markers. These elements contribute to the co-construction of text meaning since they point to a specific meaning relation among whatever potential meanings conveyed by the discourse content (cf. Schiffrin, 1987). I will also consider different discourse dimensions (syntactic, semantic and discursive) in order to investigate the properties of such linguistic elements and their function in the production of advisive speech acts.

**Ivana Markova**

### ***Generating socially shared knowledge from themata***

A great deal of research on spoken discourse like conversation or focus groups centres on constructions of meaning in the discourse here-and-now, e.g. on 'what is said' and how talk is interactively managed, or on the analyst's redescription or interpretation of spoken discourse. I suggest that this practice is due to two main reasons. First, it is largely derived from 'data-driven' procedures which claim that 'empirical facts' come first, and that theory follows afterward. Second, it is the method that takes the precedence over the research problem. In other words, a researcher collects data either with a broadly outlined problem (e.g. the study of identity, discrimination of minorities, etc) or, prior to data collection, he or she decides on a particular method (e.g. conversation analysis) and defines the research problem on that basis. Such practices result in postulation of minitheories about how talk is organised moment by moment, how participants construct their opinion, how sensitive topics are avoided or managed, and so on. While not denying the importance of such techniques for some specific purposes, I argue that the study of socially shared knowledge, e.g. opinions, lay explanations and otherwise, requires focusing on theoretical and analytical presupposition underlying dialogue and polylogue prior to embarking on empirical research.

Social realities provide individuals and groups with different kinds of knowledge, languages and relationships that co-exist and are mutually interdependent. Such realities are organised, e.g. collective experience, habits and traditions and they are passed on by previous generations. The circulation of ideas and topics in dialogue is therefore not only a matter of constructions from the discourse here-and-now, but each dialogue is embedded in the past and is open to the future. Paraphrasing Michail Bakhtin we can say that while we speak and think in the present, our speech and thought always remembers the past. Therefore, the researcher needs to identify the participants' unquestioned premises from which their thinking and speech arise, leading to heterogeneous forms of thinking and language and different communicative genres.

While unquestioned premises for communication can be examined in a variety of ways, one possibility is to study forms of thematisation of relevant underlying dichotomic categories in common sense thinking (e.g. Holton, 1979; Moscovici and Vignaux, 1993; Marková, 2003). Such dichotomic categories or themata (e.g. edible/inedible, moral/immoral) are usually rooted in culture and transmitted from generation to generation through language, communication and common sense thinking. While themata may not be part of active consciousness, if socio-historical or political conditions obtain, they enter public discourse, become problematised and thematised, and start generating new forms of socially shared knowledge.

**Silvia Kaul de Marlangeon**

### ***La descortesía en contextos institucionales y no institucionales: Resumen***

La presente comunicación compara pautas de descortesía en contextos institucionales y no institucionales. Entre los primeros se escogen el del debate político cara a cara y el de la instrucción militar de reclutas. Entre los segundos se eligen el de la poética tanguera de la década de 1920 y uno de interacción de clase media baja del español rioplatense.

Las referencias para estos contextos son: Blas Arroyo (2001) para el primero; Culpeper (1996) para el segundo; Kaul de Marlangeon([1992] 1985-2003) y Kaul de Marlangeon (2004a en prensa) para el tercero; y Kaul de Marlangeon (2004b en prensa) para el cuarto.

En el corpus de Blas Arroyo (op.cit.) advertimos que la descortesía es pública y bidireccional; que depende sobremanera de la volición de cada sujeto interviniente y que constituye un juego histriónico tendiente a captar el favor de la audiencia.

Recalando en las categorías virtuales de autonomía y afiliación (Bravo 1996, 1999 y 2001), de contenido variable con la cultura de que se trate, y según las cuales el individuo se percibe a sí mismo y es percibido por los demás respectivamente como diferente del grupo o como miembro de él, transparentamos cómo cada interlocutor pugna por mostrar una mayor afiliación al grupo de la audiencia que la de su antagonista.

En el corpus de Culpeper (op. cit.) encontramos una descortesía pública, caracterizada por la complementariedad rígida y ejercida unidireccionalmente y sin réplica por el instructor, con el propósito de promover en el recluta una afiliación exacerbada al grupo que encomienda la instrucción militar.



En el corpus de Kaul de Marlangeon (op. cit.) para el tercer contexto, constatamos que la descortesía es ejercida unidireccionalmente en una esfera de vida privada, a través de comportamientos volitivos, conscientes y estratégicos, destinados a herir la imagen del interlocutor para responder a una situación de enfrentamiento o de desafío o con el propósito de entablarlos.

En correspondencia con las categorías de afiliación y de autonomía que el enfoque sociocultural de Bravo (op. cit.) reconoce para la cortesía, se aplican los conceptos de afiliación exacerbada y de refractariedad para la descortesía.

El corpus de Kaul de Marlangeon (op. cit.) para el cuarto contexto ilustra el caso de la descortesía intragrupal crónica en la interacción coloquial de cierta clase media baja del español rioplatense. Allí la descortesía depende sobremanera de la sucesión de situaciones adversas que ha padecido el hablante y está destinada a preservar su territorialidad, a mantener a raya al oyente. Hay en ella una multidireccionalidad, como suma de las múltiples instancias bidireccionales.

## **Sophia Marmaridou**

### ***A philosophical perspective on the discursive motivation of conceptions of pain***

The philosophical problem of defining the meaning of pain mainly lies in its dual nature as a private sensation and a public manifestation through language or paralinguistic means. Wittgenstein (1953[1984]), in his "private language argument", establishes a link between a word and the outward signs of this sensation, thereby adhering to a referential view of meaning. Wittgenstein's view, as part of his attempt to treat the problem of "following a rule" in the language game, is not intended to capture the fact, important as it may well be, that the meaning of pain for an individual also derives from various cultural practices which are instantiated by different discourse genres and thus shape conceptions of pain.

Drawing on experiential realism (Lakoff 1987) and a usage-based model of grammar (Langacker 2000), I argue for the discursive motivation of conceptions of pain in Greek as revealed in verbal, nominal and adjectival lexicalizations of this experiential domain. More specifically, on the basis of an extensive corpus of pain utterances from different discourse genres, I claim that (a) discourse genres systematically vary with respect to the distribution of verbal, nominal, and adjectival lexicalizations of pain and can be placed along a continuum characterized by the relative frequencies of these lexicalizations, which categorize discourse genres along a scale of "personal involvement", and (b) there is a correlation between type of lexicalization and relative frequencies of the physical or psychological modality of pain encoded in each discourse genre - which further supports the proposed categorization.

These findings corroborate evidence that Greek nominal configurations of pain in doctor-patient interviews are systematically structured by conceptual metaphors which are partly motivated discursively (Lascaratou & Marmaridou to appear). They also argue for the cultural grounding discourse genres inherit to the semantics and the conception of pain in Greek. Moreover, they argue for a discursive view of relativity (Lucy 1996) and, ultimately, for a systematic interaction between structure in the cultural environment and structure in the mind (Levinson 2003). Apparently, the language of pain constitutes a valid testing ground for philosophical, cognitive and linguistic views on language, the human mind, and culture.

## **Leyla Marti**

### ***Participant orientation and indirectness: Referential expressions in Turkish requests***

The main objective of this study is to discuss the relationship between different forms of reference or non-reference to potential participants and indirectness in requests. Requests collected from 92 Turkish informants by means of a Discourse Completion Test (DCT) are analysed. First, different forms of reference in Turkish requests are discussed in terms of speech act orientation, participant reference and implied participant reference. Pronouns constitute the most common forms of reference. However, requests with, for example, agentless passive constructions oriented to the general do also occur. Secondly, referential expressions are analysed and compared in 3 different situations given in the DCT. In the third part, I try to explain how reference to the participants (Weizman, 1985, 1993) may influence the directness of requests. To establish a systematic link between reference to the participants and directness seems to be a difficult task. Haverkate's (1988) model scale of directness which is based on the aspects: 'specification of the propositional act' and 'reference to the hearer' is reviewed. Although, it can be said that Haverkate's scale model is not a very comprehensive model, it is an attempt to bring the phenomenon of reference to the participants into the discussion of directness. This model scale seems to work only if reference to the hearer is made with the pronoun 'you'. The aim here is to show that there are other ways of referring to participants than merely with 'you', and, thus, touch upon the implied level of meaning of pronouns and their influence on indirectness.

## **Beatriz Martin del Campo & David Poveda** ***Gitano children joking in institutional and informal contexts***

In this paper we will analyze how Spanish Gypsy children use jokes in two very different contexts, one institutional and one informal. The aim of this comparison is to analyze how and why children insert a typically humorous genre, the joke, in a frame of institutional participation: interviews in school.

The data used in these analysis comes from two very different fields. The first, a peer group meeting in a park in a small mid-western Spanish city, where a researcher introduced himself as a participant observer and recorded informal conversations among peers. The children of this group resided in a set of public housing apartments in a new and growing neighborhood of this small city.

The second data corpus comes from a compensatory education classroom in a public primary school in a large Spanish city, in which the investigator spent two months as a participant observer. This classroom was composed for the most part by Gypsy children proceeding from a marginal shanty town of the southern part of the city, that suffers grave social problems (drug trafficking and consumption, economic marginalization, etc.). In the classroom context, the jokes arose in the course of individual semi-structured narrative interviews. The interviewer asked children for a personal narrative.

Our analysis shows that jokes in peer groups and informal conversation preserve typical features of this genre: they are told in rounds intersected with much laughter; whereas jokes told in classrooms undergo hybridization processes that make them difficult to understand unless we relate them to the institutional constraints where they are produced. Specifically, some of these jokes were inserted in a conversational sequences typical in the classroom: IRE sequence in which the evaluation move did not include laughter or assessed the impact of the joke, but considered the whether the joke was a token of the genre requested by the researcher (i.e. story or narrative).

Our discussion centers on the implications that these differences might have for an analytical integration of the notion of Genre within a Conversation Analytic framework for the study of talk-in-interaction.

## **Helena Martins** ***Understanding and explaining***

Pragmatically-oriented theories of language and cognition have always emphasized the situated nature of linguistic understanding. One way or another, they all seem to reject the traditional Lockean picture, in which verbal understanding is taken to happen when “a Man’s words excite the same Ideas in the Hearer which he makes them stand for in speaking” (Essay, Bk. III, chpt. II, §8). The comprehension of an utterance, they claim, cannot be correctly grasped along these classical lines, as something that happens in a vacuum, depending exclusively on a system of objective alignments between signifiers and signifieds – for context cannot be bracketed away as a peripheral factor. The extent to which the traditional Lockean picture is rejected – if completely or only partially – is not, however, uniform amongst theorists of a pragmatic persuasion. And the variation encountered here lies, of course, in the nerve of the debate around the semantics-pragmatics divide.

Complete rejection of the Lockean picture is the heart of a Wittgensteinian heritage to pragmatics, and so is the consequent dissolution of the semantics-pragmatics distinction. However, the actual and full implications of Wittgenstein’s radically anti-essentialist perspective for the field of language study still leave ground for investigation and invite revisitation.

In this paper I examine one specific aspect of Wittgenstein’s legacy whose consequences are yet to be explored in pragmatic theories of language and cognition, namely the alternative account of verbal understanding that he offers to replace the Lockean picture. Two interconnected and notoriously difficult features of this account are highlighted and discussed: the idea that linguistic understanding is not an event or a process, but an “abiding condition” (Philosophical Investigations, §143-84); and the idea that neither the meaning of a linguistic expression nor our understanding of it can ever go beyond our capacity of explaining it (Philosophical Investigations, §75). Implications of this non-psychological account of linguistic understanding to the empirical study of language are pointed out and discussed, with emphasis on the threat of epistemological skepticism that it may be (and often is) taken to invite. The case is made for a non-skeptical reading of Wittgenstein’s heritage in this respect, one which improves our chances of claiming it in a more fruitful and coherent manner.

## **Dolors Masats Viladoms** ***Language choice and learners' roles and identities***

Catalan has been the language of instruction at school for the past three decades but it is still not widely used by Spaniards in social interactions. This phenomenon is also observed in schools in “non-catalanophone”

communities. Literature on learners' talk, for example, reveals that while learners are carrying out group-work linguistic tasks in Catalan (Guasch 2001) students tend to use Catalan to execute the language tasks and Spanish to communicate to one another and to regulate the accomplishment of those tasks when groups are formed by at least one Spanish speaker. Today the presence of children of immigrant origin in Catalan schools offers a new dimension for the study of the polyglossic dynamics of language choice in this formal language learning milieu (Nussbaum 2003) and challenges the classical definition of code switching phenomena (Gumperz 1982), which implies the acceptance of the premise that speakers master at least one of the languages they use and the choice of one code or another depends on sociolinguistic and sociocommunicative factors.

The study I will present here is part of a broader research project whose aim is to relate the linguistic, discursive and sociocultural competences of children and adolescents which have recently been incorporated into the Catalan educational system with their sociolinguistic practices and how they view both the society and the school community that hosts them.

In the present paper I will examine the interaction of three dyads of immigrant-local ten-year-old children carrying out three communicative tasks -sharing information, categorising and scripting a role play- in English and will focus on the role Catalan and Spanish play in the accomplishment of the English tasks. I will try to illustrate that although code-switching from English into one of the other two languages taught at school could be explained as a strategy children adopt to be able to compensate their lack of mastery in the target language, their language preferences -the use of Catalan or Spanish- depend on the social identity they construct during the completion of the tasks (Masats and Unamuno 2001) and on ideological issues related to how students interpret both the tasks and the school norms. I will also argue that whereas ideology (Woolard 1998) does not evolve during the development of the different tasks in spite of being built through and during the interaction, the emergence of a given social identity or another depends on the nature of the tasks. Language choice in the case of the role play, for example, is particularly interesting because students are operating with two simultaneous social contexts -the social context in which the action is supposed to take place and the context of the group class (Nussbaum and Unamuno 2000).

## **Yael Maschler & Roi Estlein**

### ***The modal particle be'emet ('really, actually', lit. 'in truth') in Israeli Hebrew casual conversation***

The Hebrew word be'emet ('in truth') is comprised of the noun 'emet ('truth') preceded by the preposition be- ('in'), a common way of deriving adverbs from nouns in Hebrew (cf. bekitsur 'anyway', lit. 'in short', Maschler forthcoming). Two meanings are provided in the dictionary. The first is indeed adverbial and is found already in biblical Hebrew: 'honestly, in trustworthiness, wholeheartedly'. The second comes from a later period of the language (Talmudic period and the Dead-Sea scrolls): 'but, it is true that, in contrast to what was said before' (Even Shoshan 1986). Even Shoshan classifies be'emet as an adverb, regardless of which of the two meanings are concerned. However, a brief look at the second meaning reveals that it is more of a discourse marker than an adverb. This diachronic information alone provides support for recent grammaticization studies of discourse markers on the development of discourse markers from adverbs, a process involving subjectification and intersubjectification, paralleled by the movement of the adverb from within the clause to initial position (e.g. Traugott 1995, Traugott & Dasher 2002).

In this paper, we investigate the various uses of be'emet in casual Israeli Hebrew conversation. Our goal is to understand the functional itinerary this particular word has followed in Hebrew, through a close exploration of its synchronic uses in the contemporary spoken language. Since this particular adverb, derived from the noun 'emet ('truth'), is so profoundly tied in with the speaker's beliefs and attitudes towards his or her discourse, our journey takes us to consider issues of metalanguage, stance, and modality.

The study is based on the Haifa Corpus of Spoken Israeli Hebrew (Maschler 2004), comprising audio-recordings of 91 conversations between friends and family relatives constituting approximately 270 minutes of talk among 223 different speakers. The corpus was collected over the years 1994-2004 and transcribed following Chafe (1994). It manifests 70 be'emet tokens.

Approximately 24% of all be'emet tokens are shown to function referentially in the realm of the extralingual world as a manner adverb modifying the predicate of the clause. Far more tokens -- approximately 65% -- constitute discourse markers functioning modally in the realm of the interaction (Maschler 2002) to express amazement, reprimand, negating any possible doubt, or in order to ratify the validity of a participant's previous utterance. These functions are paralleled by a structural pattern: referential be'emet is found within the intonation unit, whereas modal be'emet is found intonation-unit initially, finally, or as a separate intonation unit.

The remaining approximately 11% of all tokens function in both realms -- the extralingual as well as the interactional -- simultaneously. These tokens are particularly illuminating for research on modal particles, as close examination of the contexts in which they occur suggests how a particular utterance might come to serve

both referential as well as modal functions. This study, then, explores the functional itinerary of Israeli Hebrew *be'emet*, thus contributing to cross-language studies of grammaticization of modal particles (e.g., Fleischman & Yaguello 1999, Traugott & Dasher 2002).

## **Per Maseide**

### ***Collaborative medical work and the multiplicity of medical discourses***

The empirical material for this paper comes from extensive fieldwork in a thoracic ward in a Norwegian university hospital. The project focused on collaborative and discursive aspects of medical problem solving. Observational data were recorded on audiotapes or as field notes.

The hospital is a medical expert system socially organized to promote distributed processes of problem solving. It is composed of various sub-systems that also conduct and rely on distributed processing. The working of such distributed professional systems requires written records and other kinds of cognitive artifacts. It also requires talk and exchange of expressive acts. Terms like 'institutional discourse' or 'institutional talk' have been used to describe these verbal elements of clinical work and several analysts have shown the vital and extensive role played by talk and discourse in medical practice.

Concepts like 'institutional discourse' or 'medical talk' may suggest that there are certain forms of talk or conversation, with specific and formal characteristics, which most adequately apply to institutionalized medical settings. They may also create the impression that 'medical problem solving' and 'medical discourse' refers to one generic form of activity, directed toward one generic kind of problems. However, observations of medical practice show that institutional discourses exist in multiple forms with many-sided functions, and they are related to a complex of different kinds of problems, activities and situations. All clinical problems dealt with in the hospital have medical, but also moral, social, organizational, legal and economical dimensions; and every medical case opens up for a wide variety of diverse but potentially relevant medical problems to scrutiny or pursue. Hence, participants in medical problem solving are facing a complex of inherent challenges.

A practical problem in medical work is to find an acceptable balance between how to constrain and yet make room for such complexities and multiplicities. Problems have to be attended to, others have to be ignored or rejected. The development of the problem complex has to be professionally managed and gradually turned into a process of restraint in order to make conclusions. External forces or principles are implemented to regulate the generation and formation of the medical problems. However, medical problems are met and dealt with as concrete situational tasks, in settings characterized by different participants, distributed knowledge, competence, responsibility and authority. These tasks exist in the form of persons, bodies, verbal reports or descriptions, or as cognitive artifacts. The problems or tasks have different manifestations in different situations.

Part of this complexity is managed by routines and fixed schedules. But the routines still have to be enacted and accomplished in each specific case with regard to each specific task. Routines are not enough. The practitioners have to solve the problem of complexity in the relation to the specific problem, hence, negotiations are necessary and conflicts occur. This paper deals with the discursive aspects of of problem restriction in problem solving situations.

## **Tomoko Matsui**

### ***Verbal communication and understanding of the speaker's epistemic stance: A developmental perspective***

There seems to be general consensus in the theory of mind research that being able to explicitly represent and monitor sources of belief is prerequisite to having explicit understanding of belief formation and evaluation of belief as end-product (Gopnik & Graf 1988). In Dienes & Perner's terms, if one has conscious access to one's own beliefs and can reflect on and verbalize them, those beliefs can be considered as 'explicit knowledge' (1999). Typically, such explicit knowledge is contrasted with 'implicit knowledge,' which is characterized as being inaccessible to consciousness, or being procedural (Clement & Perner 1994; Kamiloff-Smith 1992). Clearly, one of the most central issues of theory of mind research has been to determine when children acquire explicit understanding of beliefs, for which false-belief tests have played an essential role. By contrast, the question of how and when implicit understanding of beliefs develops has been neglected until quite recently (Ruffman 2000).

For researchers who are interested in communication, however, implicit, procedural, understanding of speaker's intentions has always been an important issue for both theoretical and developmental investigation (Carpenter et al. 1998; Sperber & Wilson 2002; Tomasello 2000). Verbal communication is generally acknowledged to be a highly unreliable source of knowledge, and a mechanism to deal with testimony (by checking coherence and evidential quality, for example) would appear to be a necessary element in our cognitive system (Perner 1991; Sperber 1996). Recent studies on children's suggestibility and ability to assess

speaker reliability provide evidence for involvement of implicit understanding. They have shown that children who do not appear to have explicit understanding of belief nonetheless are capable of deciding who to believe and who not to believe at the time of input (Koenig et al. to appear; Sabbagh & Baldwin 2001; Robinson & Whitcombe 2003). For example, it has been reported that 3-year-olds are not willing to learn a novel word from a clearly unreliable speaker.

In the current study, we attempt to investigate the issue, focusing on how young children who typically fail the standard false-belief tasks can make use of linguistic clues to assess a speaker's epistemic stance. Japanese-speaking children aged 3 to 7 were confronted with making choices based on conflicting input from speakers who varied in the degree of certainty and the quality of evidence they possessed for their opinions. Certainty and evidentiality are encoded in Japanese both in high-frequency, closed-class, procedurally indicative sentence-final particles and also in low-frequency, conceptually richer mental predicates. Our results suggest that children are able to make use of information encoded in the sentence-final particles earlier than information encoded in verbs; and understanding of speaker certainty precedes understanding of quality of evidence. Furthermore, although the results confirmed that children's overall understanding of epistemic vocabulary correlated with their understanding of false-belief, detailed analyses revealed that understanding of sentence-final particles on its own did not correlate with false-belief understanding. We argue that early understanding of sentence-final particles should be taken as an additional indication of children's implicit understanding of other's mental states.

### **Kazuko Matsumoto**

#### ***Transitivity and argument structure in Japanese discourse***

This paper investigates the transitivity and argument structure of clauses that speakers of Japanese use in ordinary conversation. The study thus builds on prior functional studies dealing with other languages such as Du Bois (1987, 2003), Du Bois et al. (2003), and Thompson and Hopper (2001).

The database for this study consists of 1,121 clauses from face-to-face two-party conversations in Japanese. The clauses contained 1,417 overt NP's. Of these overtly expressed NP's, 45% are core arguments, i.e. S, A, and O, and 43% are non-core oblique NP's, i.e. NP's contained in adverbials and predicate nominals.

First, it was found that the use of highly transitive clauses is uncommon in Japanese conversation. That is, Japanese conversation overwhelmingly consists of clauses with one-place predicates which are low in transitivity. The scarcity of transitive clauses in the data suggests that they play only a very minor role in everyday spontaneous conversation. On the other hand, the abundant use of one-place predicate clauses suggests that the role intransitive and nominal/adjectival predicate clauses play in ordinary conversation is remarkably important. The results further suggest that conversational language contains far more S role slots and that S roles are more important (if frequency can be equated with importance) and thus worthy of further study.

Second, it was found that the transitive subject, or A role, as opposed to S or O role, is constrained with respect to allowing new information and lexical noun phrases. That is, the way A patterns is distinct from the way S or O patterns in Japanese; A is far less likely than S or O to accommodate new and lexical mentions. Moreover, the specific way A's accomplish non-newness and non-lexicality in Japanese is by appearing as "zeros" (about 90% of A's are not overtly realized, take zero form).

Third, it was found that the core argument roles in Japanese conversation manifest a continuum in which S can be taken to pattern as a hybrid between A and O. That is, with respect to allowing new information and lexical noun phrases, A is most likely to be non-new and non-lexical, O is most likely to be new and lexical, and S lies intermediate between A and O. In addition, S and A, but not O, exhibit information-flow properties noticeably different from Oblique, that is, core subject roles contrast sharply with Oblique which tends strongly to be new and lexical, with O leaning toward the pattern for Oblique. The hybrid patterning of S that has emerged from this study can be considered as one of the language-specific ways the universal patterns of Preferred Argument Structure grammaticize in Japanese.

### **Yoshiko Matsumoto**

#### ***Bringing context into constructions: Examples from Japanese***

The importance of context is indisputable in linguistic approaches that examine language in use. It is not completely clear, however, what contextual factors are relevant and how they can be represented in grammatical constructions. In this paper, I discuss examples of grammatical constructions in Japanese that illustrate that the two types of "frames" proposed by Fillmore in his theory of Frame Semantics (e.g. 1977, 1982) are indeed crucial in incorporating relevant contextual information into a grammatical construction. The two 'frames' are: (1) what may be called a 'cognitive frame', which is evoked by lexical meanings and which contains cognitively profiled roles/elements, and (2) an 'interactional frame', which represents the conceptualization of the discourse

situation between the speaker and the addressee – from knowledge of deictic categories to knowledge of discourse genres. The first type of frames, the ‘cognitive frame’, has received more focus in frame semantics research, but I will argue that both are necessary in descriptions of constructions and that the interaction of the two types of frames is a crucial part of construal.

One of the Japanese examples that I focus on is the non-subject honorific construction. Variations in the use of a productive form of non-subject honorific construction, *o* - Verb (stem) – *suru*, have often been regarded as grammatical deviations produced by speakers who lack the appropriate linguistic and social training. Examining attested discourse data of nonsubject honorifics, I argue that the nonsubject honorific construction in Japanese is undergoing a change and is becoming an addressee honorific. This change reflects a cognitive reorganization from the elements of the sentence to the speech context. Building upon a previous argument that non-subject honorifics are subject to a pragmatic condition of benefit transfer between the subject and nonsubject referents (Matsumoto 1997), and on the observation that speakers tend to present their actions as benefiting the addressee (Tsujimura, 1992), I suggest that the targeted referents of nonsubject honorification are reorganized to the two participants of the discourse: the speaker and the addressee. The variations in the *o*-Verb (stem) - *suru* form, therefore, can be more systematically explained from the constructional and frame semantics perspectives.

Crucial to discovering a system in these seemingly deviant variations is the concepts of frames, especially the combination of ‘cognitive frames’ and ‘interactional frames’. The advantage of using both types of frames to describe the *o*-V-*suru* construction is the capability of illustrating the relation between the contextual participants and the event participants, and how these two interact. The diagrams may be formalized, but what is important is that notions available in Frame Semantics and Construction Grammar well accommodate a systematic account of contextually dependent constructions, such as honorifics, including their variations and change. The findings in this light support Ostman’s proposal (2000) to extend the notion of construction and patterns to the level of discourse. The observations in this paper suggest that Frame Semantics and Construction Grammar provide the solid basis for further research in grammar and variations, an area in which current research is greatly needed.

**Verena Mayer**

### *A new analysis of explicit performative utterances*

The topic of my talk is a new analysis of explicit performatives such as (1):

(1) I promise that p.

According to Harnish (2002), and Lewis (1970) the whole performative is the propositional content of an assertive act. By uttering (1) the speaker S is asserting that he is promising that p. In contrast, Austin (1962), and Grewendorf (2002) state that only the embedded proposition p is the content of the particular speech act.

Each of these accounts is faced with a number of well-known problems. For example, the so-called self-verification, the polysemy of the performative verbs, the treatment of adverbs such as ‘confidentially’ etc. (cf. Lycan, 1984). In my talk I will present a new analysis of explicit performatives which is able to handle these problems.

I treat explicit performatives in a similar way as (not performative) parentheticals. This entails that the proposition p in (1) corresponds to a main clause and can thus be performed with its own illocutionary force.

According to my account, a sentence like (1) can be split into two separate speech acts. The “explicit expressions”, such as ‘I assert that’, ‘I promise you that’ denotes a separate proposition which is always used with an assertive force. According to Davidson (1968) ‘that’ corresponds to a demonstrative and refers to the following act. For example, with ‘I promise you that’ the speaker S simply asserts that he is performing a commissive act with the utterance that follows. With ‘I promise you, I will go’ S describes by means of the assertion with the content S promises H that he uses the proposition denoted by ‘I will go’ with a commissive force. Therefore, the so-called explicit performatives are not performative (and thus not automatically true).

In addition, I will argue for the following truth conditions of “explicit utterances” such as ‘I assert, Jelineck is a writer’:

‘Jelineck is a writer’ is true iff Jelineck is in fact a writer. ‘I assert that’ is true, and is also asserted felicitously iff S is performing felicitously the assertive act with the content that Jelineck is a writer. If Jelineck is not a writer, then S, of course, does perform the assertive speech act with this particular content but does not perform this act felicitously (because an assertion has to be true).

Since “explicit expressions” such as ‘I promise’ denote a separate proposition, this analysis is able to solve the above-mentioned problems pointed out by Lycan, as I will show. The verbs are not polysemous and exhibit only the descriptive meaning. The same holds for the adverbs that modify them. In order to show this, I have implemented this analysis in a framework developed by Krifka (1999). Moreover, since I reduce every explicit performative to its particular implicit act, there is no need for a new classification (such as Searle’s declarations).

## **Cynthia McCollie-Lewis & Halima Toure**

### ***Examining the language of the Oakland School Board's 1991 Ebonics resolutions***

The 1991 Oakland School Board resolution stating that Ebonics is a Niger-Congo-based language variety and that Ebonics should be used as a bridge toward mastery of standard English addresses language policy issues directly and issues of who is positioned to make decisions on how and why children of African descent are educated. Wording in the first resolution about the “genetic” nature of Ebonics and claims that it was a language separate from English led to a rewritten, softer version. I will examine both versions of the resolution for evidence of the role of language in reflecting alignments of privilege, power and identity.

## **Bonnie McElhinny**

### ***Towards an unnatural history of discourse about the environment: Multivocality in debates about suburban sprawl around metropolitan Toronto***

Anthropologists Anna Tsing (2001) and Eric Poncelet (2001) have noted that increasingly the tasks for environmentalists has turned from establishing the importance of the environment in human affairs to understanding how the environment is interpreted and defined. Anthropologist Anna Tsing (2001) notes that though environmentalist rhetoric is widely used and accepted, no one agrees about what this rhetoric should do for humans and nature, and thus the struggle is on to bend environmental rhetoric to particular, contradictory purposes. What counts as "the environment"? How are "environments" created in debates about projects on climate change, sustainable development or urban sprawl? Not surprisingly, studies of language, discourse and narrative have assumed an increasingly central role in studies of the effects and effectiveness of environmental discourse (cf. Burges 1990, Cronon 1992, DuPuis and Vandegest 1996, Myerson and Rydin 1996).

In this paper I analyze the struggles of provincial and municipal politicians, environmentalists, urban planners, geologists, outdoor enthusiasts and journalists to define the significance of the Oak Ridge Moraine, a landform feature which is the source of groundwater for much of southern Ontario, and which has been used to draw a "natural" limit around suburban sprawl in metropolitan Toronto. The fight over the Oak Ridge Moraine has broader significance, since it has spawned the proliferation of what some observers have called "moraine discourse" as a way to challenge suburban sprawl, new highways and other developments throughout Ontario. I will, in particular, focus on the multivocality of discourse associated with three political and analytic challenges:

(1) Developing a landscape discourse for the Moraine. Historians of landscape have noted that landforms for which there were no established aesthetic may not even be seen, or once seen, may be forgotten or even lost (cf. 16th century accounts of the Grand Canyon). What role does language play in helping an aesthetic evolve for “seeing” a little-known landscape like a moraine? How do environmental activists “help turn a little known landform into one of southern Ontario's most controversial environmental issues”? Which aspects of environmental discourse are picked up, recirculated, recontextualized (Briggs and Bauman, Urban and Silverstein), and which remain mute?

(2) Multivocality in environmental debates. Whatever the strategies adopted by environmentalist advocates, they are not immune for adaptation or cooptation by opponents. Perspectives on place, as on other issues, are always polyphonic. Drawing on the rich literature on intertextuality and multivocality (Bakhtin, Fairclough Pujolar, Rampton), I analyze here the ways that a spokesperson for the Aggregate Producers of Ontario adapted environmental arguments, in a 2002 documentary about the Moraine, to argue that aggregate extraction had no impact on the environment.

(3) Environmental discourse as conservative discourse? The multivocality of conservative discourse became the explicit topic of discussion in raucous debates in the provincial legislature when a Tory provincial government introduced Bill 122, the Oak Ridges Moraine Conservation Act, which protected over 90% of the Moraine from development. I detail a number of discursive strategies by which Liberal and New Democratic politicians attempted to unravel the Tories' claims to environmental stewardship by arguing that this putatively "progressive" discourse was really neoliberal discourse in another guise (compare Fairclough 2000).

By analyzing these three moments, I hope to suggest how there is nothing "natural" about discourses about the environment, and the ways that tools previously developed for analysis of language and ideology in pragmatics research can be further developed as they are applied to debates about language and political ecology.

## **Peter Medway**

### ***Video diaries: Affordances and constraints of a new genre***

The availability of cheap and compact camcorders has resulted in the widespread popular production of 'video diaries' in which the soundtrack comprises an improvised spoken stream analogous to written diary entries, while the visuals are shots of the speaking subject taken by a remotely operated camcorder or else of scenes or situations, places, settings etc relevant to the commentary. (Alternatively, in undiarylike mode, entries may comprise filmed incidents.)

The video diary is an interestingly ambiguous genre. While often confessional and ruminative in tone, it may be created with an audience in mind, whether intimate friends or family or a wider public as in video diaries submitted for television broadcast. While employing the medium of speech, the video diary is writing-like in being monologic and extended--a form of composition, in fact. And while the language may make meaning more or less explicit, the relationship of words to images can put two or more meanings in tension.

The observations offered in this paper are based on an analysis of many hours of video diary that were recorded by two Afghani teenage boys, formerly asylum seekers, attending a Glasgow high school. They speak (both separately and together) of their current experience of school and Glasgow, but with many reminiscences of their lives in and escape from Afghanistan.

The analysis focuses on the following questions: What function is the video diary serving for its creators? How far is it a means of communication and how far of ideational discovery? To what extent does it provide a means for reflecting and understanding, in the way that is regularly claimed for writing in education? To what extent is the discourse shaped by an envisaged (Scottish) public audience? How do the authors handle the temporal relations between their past and present experience? Underlying these questions, finally, is the one that generally informs inquiry into genre, about what it is that the genre distinctively allows and compels its users to express--its affordances and constraints.

### **Barbara Meek**

#### ***The ecology of language shift: From endangerment to revitalization***

Several linguists, language planners and aboriginal communities are concerned with the extreme linguistic shifts affecting aboriginal languages and experienced by aboriginal communities. Much of the discourse about these rapid changes emphasizes the loss of (bio-)diversity that results, providing a way to connect with the more pervasive discourse of species endangerment. Some researchers have even gone so far as to suggest that language endangerment can be an index of more widespread "environmental distress" (Nettle and Romaine 2000:14). My paper situates language as part of the "distressed" environment and attends to the ways in which institutionalized ("expert") knowledge and local knowledge dialogically inform, antagonize, and articulate various discourses about aboriginal languages within particular environments, from being biologically at risk to being socially maintained (cf. Collins 1998). By examining the subtle ideological contrasts across these articulations the practices and recursive expectations they mediate also come into relief.

The data come from government documents and meetings, language revitalization workshops, preschool classes, and interviews, all of which were collected during my 2 1/2 years of fieldwork in the Yukon Territory, Canada. Predictably government officials and language planners present a dire prognosis for the Territory's aboriginal languages, especially if no intervention happens. Some of these experts also argue that language revitalization facilitates community healing, restoring a balanced ecological relationship between aboriginal languages, peoples and their environments. These discourses construct aboriginal languages as organic and essential to being aboriginal, epitomized by the slogan, "We are our language." To be "authentically" Kaska, then, one must know some Kaska. This sentiment legitimates aboriginal languages and de-legitimizes any (American Indian) English varieties, the most widely spoken varieties today.

Similar to this institutional stance, elders also talk about legitimation. However in this case the emphasis is on social/historical knowledge, i.e., elders' knowledge. For example, one elder with whom I worked noted, "Dene cho' de gudeji yagháde dene meyudiha (Elders tell stories so that a person can learn)." For her, language, aboriginal or otherwise, serves as a tool for instruction, important for understanding the past and the present. Authenticity revolves around knowing one's history rather than speaking one's ancestral language.

Emerging from these data is evidence that communities' discourses about language shift, and cultural preservation more generally, depict language as an historical archive, resulting in efforts to record, transcribe and translate the knowledge of elders rather than to create/re-create more speakers. On the other hand, the government and expert rhetorics privilege a more essential, biological conception of language, resulting in an emphasis on speaking a heritage language as a means for "authentically" performing ones' aboriginal ancestry. These ideological differences then affect the ways in which the "health" of the linguistic environment is gauged and evaluated and impact the method and process of language revitalization.

### **Salvio Martín Menéndez**

#### ***Pragmatic perspective, grammar and discourse analysis: The necessary relationships***



Pragmatic perspective (Verschueren 1995, 1999) has been defined not as a level or a component for analyzing language in use, but as a point of view (that is, at the same time a point of departure) that frames the possible analysis of the use of language.

In this paper we would to establish clearly that this perspective must be applied to pragmatic discourse analysis (Menéndez 1995, 1997, 1998) in which grammar and pragmatics can be put to work.

Discourse Analysis, in general, and Critical Discourse Analysis, in particular, have always affirm that a strong grammatic theory is necessary. Not always this statement has been proved. We would like to state that Systemic-Functional Grammar (Halliday 2003, Halliday and Mathiessen 2004) is an adequate theory to carry on a well sustained Discourse Analysis.

We will prove that there is a correlation between the three main characteristic of Pragmatic Perspective with grammar, discourse and discourse's interpretation to show the complement of these three analytical stages.

Therefore, we will affirm that variability is in relationship with a system of paradigmatic choices (the system) ; negociability with combining these choices as resources that speakers/writes combine in order to make discourse strategies possibly and adaptability with the possibility of making a critical interpretation of the uses of these strategies. Three layers are, thus, established through three disciplines in the following way:

Variability/Grammar/Description

Negociability/Pragmatics Discourse Analysis/Explanation

Adaptability/ Critical Discourse Analysis /Interpretation

We will prove our point with the analysis of different data taken from two different, but related discursive series that will serve us as example of our proposal. We call the first one "discourse of grammar", and the second one, "discourse of language and literature textbooks".

## **Giorgio Merola**

### ***Effects of multimodality of the teacher's communication on pupils' memory***

Multimodal communication has important effects in at least four domains of educational interaction: conversational interaction (Luccio, 1977), cognitive processes (McNeill 1992; Goldin- Meadow, et al. 1996); teacher's prejudice (Rosenthal & Jacobson, 1968); communicative distortions affecting relational aspects (Laing, 1974; Lumbelli, et al. 1977); referential information (Merola & Poggi, 2003).

This work presents two research studies aimed at investigating the effects of the quantity and quality of the teacher's multimodal communication affects some short-term and long-term aspects of school learning, like learning and memory of specific topics.

A first study investigated the elements of a Teacher's multimodal communication that distinguish her communicative style, while a second study tried to assess how different teachers' communicative styles affect the students' cognitive process, particularly memory of stories.

In the first study, fragments of multimodal communication of four Primary school teachers, in three 2nd grades (7 years old pupils), were videorecorded and their multimodal communicative style was assessed. For each teacher, two lectures about the same two topics were videorecorded and 10 minutes out of these were analysed through the "Musical score of multimodal communication" (Poggi & Magno Caldognetto, 1997) implemented in ANVIL (Kipp, 2001), to distinguish the different communicative styles of the four teachers. The occurrences of the teacher's gestures were computed and classified as to their typology (deictics, symbolic, iconics, batons and self-manipulations), their meanings (as bearing information on the World, on the Speakers Mind, and on the Speaker's Identity) and their relationship to the verbal signal (repetitive, additive, substitutive, contradictory). The results allowed to distinguish the teachers' communicative styles very clearly.

In the second study, the effects of the teacher's communication on cognitive processes of primary school students were tested. 10 years old students in three fifth grade classes (totally 25 students, 9, 9 and 7 respectively in the three classes) were first tested as to their memory for story retrieval through a sub-test of TEMA (Reynolds and Bifler, 1994). One week after, their respective teachers told them a brief story, and her multimodal communication was videorecorded. Immediately after, the students wrote a summary of the story.

The teachers' story telling was transcribed through the "Score", and their prosodic, face, gaze and gestural communicative behaviours were computed; further, both the discourse and video transcriptions of the teachers and the summaries written by the students were analysed in terms of a cognitive model of discourse that allows computing the number and quality of items of information contained (Castelfranchi & Parisi, 1980). Finally the cognitive analyses of the students' summaries were compared to the analyses of the story as told by their respective teachers.

The results allow to distinguish the three teachers as to their relative amount of expressivity, and to assess its effects on the pupils' memory.

The class whose teacher used facial expression most, but not the highest total number of non-verbal signals, showed a clear improvement in the story retrieval, considering the start conditions. This shows the importance of teachers' facial communication in enhancing students' attention and hence comprehension and memory.

## **Helle Metslang & Mati Ereht** *Imperative and directivity in everyday Estonian*

The paper deals with the use of imperative and the expression of directivity in everyday Estonian. Although the imperative mood and imperative sentence are the basic means of expressing directivity, there are a variety of other ways via which to express the various nuances of command. As a general rule, commands are usually softened so as to take the form of suggestions, proposals or requests, e.g.

- (1) sa pea-d tõesti tööta-makõvasti kodu-s ise  
you must-2SG really work-INF hard home-INCESS yourself  
'you really have to work hard at home yourself'
- (2) ega me ei saa enam nurise-da midagi=sin  
PTCL we NEG can more whine-INF anything=here  
'we really can't complain at all here anymore'
- (3a) tule-b töö-le haka-ta,  
have\_to-3SG work-ALL begin-INF  
'come to work, then you don't need to whine'
- (3b) siis pole vaja nurise-da  
then NEG:be need whine-INF  
'you have to get to work, then you don't need to whine'
- (4) võta-ks siis esimese-ks selle laulu vä  
take-COND then first-TRNSL this:GEN song:GEN QUEST  
'if we take that song first, or what'

The main strategies for softening commands are

- 1) to avoid straightforward directivity using modalised statements (1), (2), (3a, b), questions (4), conditional mood (4),
- 2) direct reference to the addressee of the command (subjectless sentences (3a, b), experiential sentences (3a), ambiguous personal forms (4), use of 'we' instead of 'you' (2).

As a result, some utterances remain ambiguous with respect to the communicative function of the utterance and the addressee.

The imperative may also be used to express an indirect command (although the Jussive or the Conditional could be used) or modal meaning (5), (6).

- (5) [ma olen selles kursuse listis, kus pidevalt keegi laterdab jälle sel teemal ja võetakse vastu jälle piparkoogipidu ja vuintergeims tuleb ja]  
[I'm on the list for that course where someone's always babbling on about that topic and they take up a gingerbread-party and "wintergames" is coming and]  
tul-ge jälle=ja  
come-IMP:2PL again=and  
'come again and...'

- (6) [kolm meest on valves, ei saa ust lahti see arilik see mis need lukud on. sõidame Sillamäele. snepper ei tööta.]  
[three men are on watch, can't get the door open, that ordinary, what are those locks, we're driving to Sillamäe, the Yale lock doesn't work.]

keera torutangi-de-ga see südamik jälle lahti=ja=sis=võta=tea-d  
twist:IMP pipetong-PL-COM this core again open=and=then=take=know-2SG  
'Twist that lock open again with pipetongs and then take you know'

Via lexicalisation and / or grammaticalisation, some formulae and particles are developed from the imperative forms: ära tee nalja ('don't joke'), vata~vaata ('look'), ota~oota ('wait'), anna ('give').

## **Bernd Meyer** *Receptive multilingualism in interpreter-mediated doctor-patient-communication*

The project 'Interpreting in Hospitals' investigates interpreter-mediated discourse in German hospitals. The languages under study are German, Turkish, and Portuguese. Interpreting in German hospitals is not a professional service offered. The interpreters are usually bilingual staff members or relatives of the patient, who

get drafted ad hoc without getting paid. Usually, the interpreters are second or third generation migrants. They speak their 'mother tongue' (Portuguese, Turkish) as L2 or as a second L1.

In many cases patients also have some command of German. Therefore, the constellation between doctor, patient, and interpreter may be called 'partially transparent', to use a term by Müller (1989). This allows both interpreters and patients to insert German constituents (quite often medical terms) into their Portuguese or Turkish utterances. In this paper I will present some quantitative data and then discuss how the specific bilingual constellation is reflected in these insertions. I will further analyze how insertional code-switching practiced by the interpreters affects the interaction between doctor and patient.

## **Johanna Miecznikowski & Carla Bazzanella**

### ***Conditional, context, and complexity***

Linguistic devices are multidimensional, i.e. they have functions with respect to different dimensions of context, and they are multifunctional to various degrees. These properties, which have been emphasised especially by research on discourse markers, rise the problem of understanding the interplay between different – micro and macro – contextual dimensions. This problem is relevant not only to the speaker's meaning, but also to the language system as part of a communicative competence shaped through use.

Our contribution tackles this problem with regard to the conditional form in French and Italian. It draws on an on-going study based, among others, on a French corpus of group meetings and on the Italian LIP and Lablita corpora. The study investigates the meanings of conditional in spoken discourse, in relation to its sequential environments and its co-occurrences with other markers. Here we focus on its modal uses and interactional functions; we take into account aspects such as topic management, politeness, and the accomplishment of interactional sequences as relevant contextual parameters, and make hypotheses about the impact of macro phenomena like socio-cultural setting or the relations among social actors.

The type of use under analysis can be illustrated by the following examples:

- (1) Est-ce que quelqu'un pourrait fermer les fenêtres?
- (2) Vorrei aggiungere anche una cosa.
- (3) Moi je vous proposerais de rester ici.
- (4) Sarebbe meglio tenerli al guinzaglio, però. (said to a lady going for a walk with her dogs)

In a pragmatic perspective on this type of use, politeness has been given particular attention, in continuity with its description as a marker of attenuation in traditional grammar. It has been observed that it is frequent as a modaliser of communicative acts such as requests (1), suggestions (3) and recommendations (4), whose face-threatening potential it mitigates, contributing thereby – on a more macro level – to the management of interpersonal relations.

Our findings suggest that the "attenuating conditional" is used to underline the interactive negotiability of attitudes towards future actions of the co-participants and towards the realisation of communicative actions in the on-going conversation (cf. example 2). This function does not necessarily imply a reduction of face-threat. It is related to the form's meaning (b), the – implicit – condition in question being the interlocutor's agreement. With regard to French, moreover, we have found that as an indicator of negotiability the conditional tends to be associated with newness in discourse, the opening of sequences and metacommunicative announcements (in which its use is highly conventionalised), performing thereby both a structuring and an interactional function. The context-oriented empirical approach adopted here reveals "synergies" of the conditional in French and Italian with various cotextual and contextual parameters. The tight interrelatedness of different interactional dimensions appears both with regard to particular types of use and across the entire range of the form's meanings, and points towards the complexity of the language system, difficult to reduce to a set of autonomous modules.

## **Dorien Van De Mieroop**

### ***An analysis of the discursive construction of the connection between audience and institutional identity***

As Fairclough argues, every 'social practice' involves the construction of identity (Fairclough, 2000: 168). The social practice under study here is that of professional speeches that I videotaped during business seminars on technical subjects in 2001 and 2002. In the morning, the speeches covered a theoretical or governmental angle, while in the afternoon case studies from companies were presented. In all, I gathered a corpus of forty speeches that were all given in Dutch by Belgian speakers.

In the 'social practice' of professional speeches the construction of identity is many-sided: both institutional and professional identity are prominently present, which characterizes this context as institutional

(Drew and Heritage, 1992: 25). I focused on the analysis of these two types of identity in previous papers (Van De Mieroop 2003, 2005).

However, in my corpus another type of identity is present, which is constructed around the audience. By directly addressing the audience in the presentation, the speaker talks its identity into being. In the context of my corpus, the members of the audience are presented as potential customers of the speaker's company and this identity is discursively interwoven and linked to markers of institutional identity.

On the basis of qualitative discourse analysis of the corpus, two speeches that had a marked presence of this type of identity construction were selected. Both speakers use very similar techniques for positioning the audience. They both focus on institutional identity first, starting with the presentation of their companies, clarifying the institutional referents and attributing positive characteristics to the company. On the other hand, the role of customer is projected very explicitly onto the audience. Gradually, a connection between the two identities is discursively constructed: first, the speaker stresses that customers, and by extension the audience, need a company that is in a position to meet their demands. For example, one speaker states that it is imperative for the audience to become a client of a company that has a long-standing tradition. Next, the speaker emphasizes that his own company is specialized in doing exactly that, i.e. tradition is presented as one of the core assets of the speaker's company. And finally, the speakers employ powerful discourse resources, such as metaphors and modality, that link the clients' needs to the services offered by their company. As such, the identity of the audience members as customers is immediately linked to the institutional identity of the company of the speaker.

## **Viola Miglio**

### ***Tense switching and reader response in the Icelandic sagas***

This paper analyzes the use of past and non-past tenses in three medieval Icelandic sagas. It is argued that tense switches fulfill a particular alerting role, preparing the text recipient (a contemporary audience of the orally performed text or later readers of the written version) to take a specific, active stance towards the narrative. It is further argued that the presence of such switches indicates a conscious manipulation of the text by an authorial hand, in agreement with currently accepted theories of the origin of these mostly anonymous texts.

Tense switching is not an uncommon feature of spoken discourse in many Indo-European languages (Weinrich 1964), and it has been characterized by Weinrich as signaling that the text recipient is expected to react to the information in a certain way. The study analyzes three sagas in depth (Hrafnkels saga freysgóða, Laxdaela saga and Njáls saga) in terms of narrative structure (Labov 1972, Schiffrin 1981) and of accepted theories of tense function in narrative texts (Weinrich 1964, Schiffrin 1981, Fleischman 1990, 1991).

A text that requires an attentive and critical attitude of the recipient towards its contents is defined by Weinrich as belonging to the "commented register," whereas a text providing descriptive background information belongs to the "narrated register". Each register has its specific set of characteristic tenses: non-past tenses typically belong to the commented register and past tenses to the narrated register. This classification creates certain expectations in the text recipient as to which tenses to expect in which part of the narrative.

This paper shows that consistent thwarting of such expectations in the Icelandic sagas, such as frequent "illogical" tense switches between past and non-past, jolts the text recipients into an active stance preparing them for upcoming crucial events after the intense tense-switching section. An example from Hrafnkel's saga, which deals with the vicissitudes of a wealthy and unjust landowner, punished for the gratuitous killing of his shepherd Einar, can illustrate this point. This passage leads up to the killing (my literal translation from Icelandic):

"Things go well for Einar during the whole summer, he never loses a sheep until midsummer, but then one night some thirty sheep went missing. Einar looks for them in all the pastures but doesn't find them. They were lost for about a week. It was one morning that Einar went out early and ...[the weather] has improved .... He takes the staff ... wades the Grjótteig river, which flowed past the shieling. On the flats by the river banks were [some of] his sheep ... He brought them home and goes looking for those that were still missing."

Tenses clearly do not simply encode temporal information here. Rather, the frequent tense switching alerts the reader of an impending momentous event, not unlike the use of ominous music in film. The present study of the sagas proves that tense switching signals the proximity of a climatic turning point.

Although tense switching in the other two sagas is not as consistent as in Hrafnkels saga, this originally oral discourse device is found in all of them and is skilfully used by the author to capture the attention of the audience.

## **Alessandra Miklavcic**

### ***Border games, alias card-playing among elderly in the Julian region***

The post World War II border resolutions which have divided Trieste from its hinterland have left deep wounds among Italians and Slovenes, families and generations. Both felt as a burden and as a resource, the border has become so much associated with the area that people on the Italo-Slovene borderland have found, as conceptualized by Flynn (1997), their “deep placement within the borderland.” Hence it is quite apt to view border people’s practices and agencies as metaphoric “border games.” One wonders whether the rules determine the border game, or if it is the border that creates the condition for “playing against the rules.” The concept of language games introduced by Wittgenstein shows how although there are many games and many sets of rules, language as such is determined by its use; by playing you learn the game.

Taking the border as privileged view point, this paper addresses card-playing among elderly people in Trieste and its surrounding area, framed within the context of family members getting together from opposite sides of the border. The paper will examine issues of turn-taking on two levels, within the card game itself, and in the interactions initiated by the game.

The leisure activity of card playing embodies a longstanding practice that brings cards, numbers, and various signs in a dialogic genre, intertwining issues of gender, aging, social suffering, and rehearsal of memories “around the table.” The interactive role of card-playing is performed in gestural silence, punctuated by comments that interlace various codes, passing through an archipelago of dialects from Italian to Slovenian. Players often share a common “structure of feeling” since they belong to the same generation, yet the “border resolutions” have shaped them into distinct governmented subjectivities. My findings challenge the idea that links card-playing to manhood (Herzfeld 1985, Stewart 1997). For indeed, elderly women show themselves to enjoy this game by often conforming to the male environment, or by initiating sexual jokes and allusions, and in so doing, by subverting gender roles (Apte 1985; Tannen 1984, Kotthoff 2000).

Ideally card games serve as protective social frames in which tensions and problems are set aside (Levy 1999). This paper suggests however, more often than not, such a playful modality enacts unexpected flows of narratives that cross code- and temporal- boundaries, moving from one language game to another. Therefore, the card game works as a mirror of everyday life and memories, in which “seriousness” and “playfulness” dwell concomitantly.

Using an interactional perspective on conversational analysis (Goodwin and Heritage 1990) combined with a semiotic approach, I will analyze three videotaped excerpts from sociolinguistic data I gathered during my fourteen-month fieldwork conducted in the Italo-Slovene border area around the city of Trieste.

**Vesna Mikolic**

### ***Truth-creation in tourist advertising discourse***

The paper focuses on the relationship between the premises of argument and truth in tourist advertising discourse. The attention is drawn to different ways of linguistic expression of illocutionary force that in tourist advertising discourse play a special role. In fact, in the argumentative process in tourist advertising (as in all kinds of advertisements) arguments are created primarily to convince potential user/visitor to use/visit the suggested service/place, regardless how much the argument is based on real tourist offer. The text in tourist advertising is basically to a great extent subjective. Nevertheless, the message is not long-term effective if the argument differs too much from the objective truth since it probably convinces a customer just once.

From the aspect of long-term effect of tourist advertising texts, the arguments based on objective truth or being close to it, are stronger than those which are very subjective. Therefore, tourist advertising texts nearly resemble expert texts, whose aim is above all to precisely determine the reception of the addressee e.g. to describe an object or explain its function in a way that gives the addressee a lifelike situation. On the other hand, without a subjective view on proposition contents, the tourist offer would become less attractive for the user and the tourist advertising text less effective. Bridging the »gap« between objective truth, that is real tourist offer, and subjectivity is possible by modification of arguments. It allows the formation of also more or less subjective arguments which are, however, relativised, so that they express an obvious or less obvious deviation from the objective truth.

A discourse analysis of tourist brochures in Slovene-Italian border area is used as the main method for monitoring argument modification in the present research, where we try to find out the frequency and the language means the arguments in tourist advertising texts are relativised with. We would like to know if the extent and type of argument modification depends on the kind of tourist offer, that is primary offer (natural and social tourist means) or secondary offer (accommodation, transport and sport facilities, services, social events, infrastructure, health facilities, entertainment etc.). Language means of argument modification are classified according to meaning and form. Also some intercultural differences in tourist advertising discourse from the aspect of argument modification are given.

**Sharon Millar**

***Vikings and Christians: Time as an argument in the construction of Danishness***

It is acknowledged that part of national or indeed pan-national identity construction involves the appeal to shared history, traditions and memories; in other words time would appear to be a crucial element in such identity creation. Working within a rhetorical framework, the paper examines the use of time (past and future) as an argumentative strategy in the construction of Danish identity in contexts where this identity is perceived to be under threat. Focus will be on the rhetorical concept of invention (creation of arguments) with its associated notions of enthymeme and topos, as well as stylistic devices, in particular lexical and syntactic choices.

The data will include letters to the editor in the national press at the time of the referendum on the Maastricht treaty in 1992, the website of the Danish People's Party (Dansk Folkeparti) at the time of the referendum on the Euro in 2000 and a current Danish online debate forum (<http://debat.sol.dk>) on issues relating to immigration and integration. In each of these contexts, Danishness is approached rhetorically in relation to the 'other', be this the EU (as is the case with the referendums) or the so-called 'new Dane' (nydansker), i.e. immigrant (as in the debate forum). So what occurs is a simultaneous construction of Danishness and these other identities, e.g. democratic Denmark vs undemocratic, dictatorial EU; Christian, law-abiding Danes brought up with religious tolerance vs. Islamic, intolerant, criminal 'new' Danes. Under negotiation is the idea of national identity as a fixed and unchanging inheritance to be protected for future generations, not open to realignment in supranational and multicultural contexts nor available for others to adopt.

**Ilka Mindt**

***Connecting context and appropriateness: A case study of the adjectives surprised and surprising***

This paper focuses on the connectedness of context and appropriateness within the syntactic structure 'adjective + that-clause'. The pragmatic meanings of the adjectives "surprised" and "surprising" will be analysed. Examples are:

- (1) I'm surprised that you have never remarried. (BNC H97 3497)
- (2) It is surprising that markets did not react sooner to this. (BNC ABJ 3486)

The data for this study are taken from the British National Corpus (BNC).

In a first step, I will consider different contextual factors. One contextual factor deals with the syntactic structures within the sentence. The adjective "surprised" is usually preceded by an intentional subject in the main clause (example 1). In contrast, the adjective "surprising" occurs with anticipatory "it" in subject position (example 2). Another contextual factor to be investigated relates to the text domain. Different text domains are associated with certain syntactic patterns, which points towards a relational understanding of context. The specific syntactic patterns themselves allow for diverse pragmatic intentions to be conveyed. This is where contextual factors can be described as dynamic.

The second step concentrates on considerations of appropriateness. The starting point is not the sentence but the intention of the speaker. In using the adjectives "surprised" and "surprising", speakers assess a presupposition presented in the "that"-clause. Depending on the choice of the adjective, the presupposition can be interpreted in two different ways. Either it can be considered as referring to a personal judgement, exemplified in example 1 by the use of the pronoun "I". Or the content of the "that"-clause is commented upon in the form of an assessment, which implies mutual agreement between speakers and hearers (example 2). The pragmatic meanings of the structures "surprised that" and "surprising that" will be considered in detail, both from a speaker as well as from a hearer point of view. It will be demonstrated in which ways the two adjectives are appropriate in a given speech situation and inappropriate in another.

In a third step, the contextual factors will be linked with the different notions of appropriateness. The aim is to show that the concepts of context and appropriateness are mutually dependent. Only when the two concepts are looked at together, a satisfactory interpretation of the structures "surprised that" and "surprising that" can be attained.

**Mirjana Miskovic**

***Determinate indeterminacy: The Serbian pragmatic cluster bas ono***

In the past decade or so, we witnessed a rapid growth in the study of what is now known as pragmatic or discourse markers and particles across languages. From a cognitively oriented perspective, these linguistic items were shown to mark the boundary between truth-conditional and non-truth-conditional meaning as well as between semantics and pragmatics. From a socially oriented perspective, interesting hypotheses about discourse structure and interactional constraints were put forward. More importantly, pragmatic markers came to be seen

as truly communicative devices, the study of which could significantly contribute to our understanding of the mechanisms of utterance interpretation.

On the other hand, accounts of combined expressions, clusters of pragmatic markers, have been scant. Apart from some general observations about the non-compositional nature of certain pragmatic markers, which might explain why they can be combined without bringing about redundancy or contradiction in utterance interpretation, we still do not fully understand how they are actually interpreted, as a whole or individually, in what order, and what the restrictions on their cooccurrence might be.

In this paper, I analyse the meaning of the Serbian pragmatic cluster 'baš ono' (probably Bosnian and Croatian as well) anchoring my investigation in the relevance-theoretic framework. The principal discussion evolves around two questions, first, the type of meaning this combined expression encodes – conceptual or procedural – and, second, the level of communication it affects – explicit or implicit (the two markers have separately been analysed elsewhere, see Mišković 2001 and Premilovac forthcoming). Taking as a starting point the relevance-theoretic notion of conceptual adjustment with literalness as the limiting case, the following rough taxonomy of relations between a lexical and a communicated concept might then be posited: less-than-literal resemblance with strengthening, loosening and overlapping (strengthening + loosening) and literal resemblance (where adjustment =  $\emptyset$ ). 'Baš' and 'ono', as individual markers, contribute to relevance by constraining the pragmatic process of explication construction through ad hoc concept formation: 'baš' ('truly', 'just', 'exactly', 'precisely') as a marker of literal resemblance and, in certain instances, of pragmatic strengthening, and 'ono' (demonstrative 'that') as a marker of loosening (corresponding to 'like').

Taking into account the opposite directions the encoded instructions of 'baš' and 'ono' signal in utterance interpretation, it is all the more cognitively interesting that the two markers should ever occur as components in the combined expression. Yet, they are frequently juxtaposed in informal discourse. Moreover, even though there is a certain preference for the 'baš ono'-order, the alternative order of occurrence is not uncommon. In this paper, it is claimed that 'baš' and 'ono' retain their procedural meanings in the cluster and that they affect utterance interpretation in the following ways: in 'baš ono'-utterances, 'baš' confirms the range delimited by 'ono' while in 'ono baš'-utterances, 'baš' strengthens the concept that forms part of the range of weakly communicated implicatures. The underlying component in both cases rests on the relevance-theoretic notion of mutually manifest assumptions.

## **Irene Mittelberg & Linda Waugh**

### ***Iconicity and indexicality, metaphor and metonymy in multimodal communication***

In this paper, we present an approach to multimodal communication that combines contemporary cognitive theories of metaphor and metonymy (Barcelona, Dirven, Johnson, Lakoff, Panther, Radden, Sweetser) with the older but still relevant approaches of Peirce's pragmaticist semiotics and Jakobson's theory of metaphor and metonymy that continue to provide rich perspectives for multimodal research.

Our rationale for combining these theoretical perspectives is the following: 1) Cognitive metaphor theory and Peirce's semiotic share central assumptions about the link between image-schematic structures and metaphorical projections, as well as habitual patterns of experience and interpretation (Danaher; Hiraga). 2) Peirce's definitions of icon and index and his subdivision of the icon into image, diagram and metaphor correlate with Jakobson's view of similarity (icon/metaphor) and contiguity (index/metonymy) as two fundamental cognitive strategies that structure both verbal and non-verbal messages (Dirven; Lodge; Waugh; Waugh & Newfield). 3) While iconicity and metaphor are central to the representation of concepts and their relations, indexicality and metonymy afford conceptual, spatial, and discursive coherence, and contexture (Jakobson). We argue that these cognitive/semiotic principles structure multimodal representations and communication and that the material properties of each medium determine the cross-modal distribution of semantic features and pragmatic functions (Kress & van Leeuwen; Kress et al.).

This approach is based on work with empirical usage data: Naturalistic academic discourse and accompanying gestures, videotaped during linguistics courses at two major American universities. The subject matter is grammar, e.g., abstract grammatical categories and morphological and syntactic structure. We found that the visual modes (gesture, written language, and diagrams) tend to convey iconically/metaphorically and indexically/metonymically spatial and hierarchical relations that are difficult to express verbally. Furthermore, the gesture modality, a living corporal medium, can reveal dynamic dimensions of basic embodied image and sensory-motor schemata not necessarily captured by speech (Bouvet; Cienki; McNeill; Mittelberg; Müller; Sweetser). The most salient patterns that emerge from the gesture data are: surface, object, containment, source-path-goal, part-whole, verticality, balance, scale, and process.

We further suggest that gesture is inherently indexical, i.e., contextualized, in terms of concurrent speech and the time and space of the speech event. Moreover, the interaction between iconicity and indexicality both within one mode (intra-semiotic) and across modes (inter-semiotic) will be demonstrated.

Finally, these findings can form the basis for expansion of this approach into other types of gesture usage and other uses of illustrations (Mittelberg) – and, indeed, into the relation between the verbal and visual domains more generally.

**Gabriella Modan**

### ***Depoliticizing diversity in US public discourse***

While analyses of diversity discourses in Western Europe have revealed an underlying ideology of homogeneity as a preferred societal organization (Blommaert and Verschueren 1998), diversity in the US context plays out differently. In the US, where ideologies of the ‘melting pot’ and the ‘immigrant nation’ play a strong role in the shaping of national identity, ethnic diversity is considered to be an integral fact of US life, and touted in many sites of public discourse as a national resource. This discourse does not necessarily work in the interests of marginalized groups, however. In the past 20 years, there has been a shift in the focus of diversity talk from equality and social justice to market-oriented capitalism, including selling products and creating ‘efficient’ workplaces.

Using a discourse historical approach (cf. Wodak 2001), this paper analyzes the shifts in discourses of diversity in a multi-ethnic neighborhood in Washington, DC, over the course of 10 years. I examine a variety of neighborhood texts – a grant proposal written by a coalition of community groups, exchanges on a local listserv, comments in casual conversations and sociolinguistic interviews, and material culture such as buttons and graffiti. Through these texts, community members mobilize discourses of diversity for different agendas. Both the discourses and the agendas have transformed radically over the last 10 years. I will show that these changes parallel first, demographic shifts in the neighborhood spurred by gentrification, and second, the changes in the use of ‘diversity’ as a theme in public discourse at the national level.

In the mid-1990s, diversity was a theme of larger community discourses that were about social justice and equal opportunity. These discourses were promoted by community members who had moved to or stayed in the neighborhood for political reasons. At this time many community members also framed diversity as a community resource. As the decade went on, diversity began to be talked about as a commodified resource. The commodification of diversity was a step towards the next shift in the discourse, the ‘political bleaching’ of diversity. In political bleaching, diversity loses its political drive and comes to be about providing an entertaining or stimulating cultural experience – again, a commodified diversity. This view of diversity goes hand-in-hand with local real estate endeavors that are pushing diversity as one of the neighborhood’s main selling points: a commodity to attract buyers to the houses that current residents are moving out of because they can no longer afford the rent. At the local level, discourses of diversity mirror shifts that have taken place nationally; a discourse of politics and equality has been subsumed by one that serves market-oriented interests, in a way that works against the maintenance of the very ethnic and economic diversity on which ‘diversity talk’ was originally founded.

**Jacques Moeschler**

### ***How functional or formal is pragmatics?***

During the last decades, linguistic theory has been divided into two main paradigms: the formal paradigm and the functional one (see Newmeyer 1998 for an extensive discussion). The formal paradigm, mainly based on Chomsky’s research program, claims that as far as meaning and use are concerned, syntax is autonomous; on the other hand, the functional paradigm claims that linguistic forms and constructions are connected to the functions and usages in communication. For instance, whereas topic is defined as a functional projection in the formal paradigm, it is defined by the (old/new) nature of the information conveyed (see the contribution by Ward & Birner, Gundel & Fretheim in Horn & Ward 2004).

In this paper I would like to answer the following question: how functional or formal is pragmatics? The starting point is the fact that a lot of work in pragmatics clearly belongs to the functional paradigm, mainly work on information flow in discourse. Some other, originated from formal semantics, seems to belong to the formal paradigm (see Asher & Lascarides 2003). I give 8 criteria which should help us diagnose any pragmatic framework as formal or functional:

1. Is the pragmatic framework (PF) based on principles? The possible answers are topoi, the principles of expressibility, quantity, informativity, coherence or relevance.
2. What is the role of context in PF? Context can be defined as the common ground, the speech situation, world knowledge or the cognitive environment.
3. What is the content of the interpretation of utterances? Content can be an illocutionary force, a proposition, a class of conclusions, a discourse relation.
4. Is PF formalized?



5. What type of model of communication is used in PF? Communication is defined either as a code model, or an augmented code model, or else as a code plus an inferential model.
6. Which part is assigned to the linguistic content and structure in the interpretation of utterances? Linguistic information is either a plain or a partial contribution to the interpretation of utterances.
7. What is the nature of the inferential process? Pragmatic inference can be inductive, argumentative, default, or deductive.
8. What is language used for in communication? Language can be used as an action (speech act), to give argumentative orientation to the utterance, to provide the right quantity of information compatible with the common ground, to produce coherent discourses or to communicate relevant information.

The answers to these criteria for each PF lead to the following conclusion: almost all PFs examined (speech act theory, theory of argumentation, theory of generalized conversational implicature, SDRT, relevance theory) are more functional than formal, the only formal approach being relevance theory. The issue of the classification is the following: how to combine functional and principled PF? How to explain the contextual import in functional PF? To what extent are functional explanations compatible with cognitive ones?

## **André Moine**

### ***Between family resemblances and invariant: The case of maintenant and alors***

In this presentation, the multiplicity of meanings of "maintenant" and of "alors" is apprehended through the notion of family resemblances. My findings are based on the analysis of 225 samples of "alors" and 83 samples of "maintenant" both found in interviews, dialogues and prose. This presentation is part of my research on the meanings of "maintenant" and "alors" and on discourse markers in general.

The analysis of discourse markers by Schiffrin (1987) essentially relies on a classical approach to the analysis of meaning. Such an approach tries to identify sufficient and necessary conditions to decide which category an item belongs to. However Schiffrin (1987: 246) recognizes "the fuzzy boundary between 'then' as adverb and 'then' as marker". Prototypical semantics can integrate in its model the fuzzy boundaries within categories. In this presentation, the prototypical semantics extended version (Kleiber: 1990), taking inspiration from the family resemblances theory (Wittgenstein: 1953), provides the framework for a new analysis of discourse markers.

The family resemblances theory does not imply the existence of a central entity in relation to which potential members of a category are evaluated. From one meaning to the other, a semantic shift takes place. The various meanings of "maintenant" and the various meanings of "alors" respectively follow one another like links on a chain. However, the pivotal moment when, along the chain, "maintenant" and "alors" become discourse markers seems to indicate that not all links are equally important.

In this presentation, the analysis departs from the theory on another point as well. An invariant is suggested for "maintenant" and "alors" respectively in spite of the fact that the family resemblances theory does not postulate one. The effort to identify an invariant boils down to looking for an Ariadne's clew throughout all the links of the chain. A successful effort in identifying an invariant would seem to indicate that the concatenation is not accidental.

## **Silvia Molina**

### ***English and Spanish phraseology in contrast: A pragmatic perspective***

This paper addresses some theoretical issues in cross-linguistic phraseology analysis and focuses on problems which arise in connection with finding pragmatic adequate equivalents which are lexical items of both source and target language which can be used in the same situations.

We claim that in general bilingual dictionaries of English-Spanish/ Spanish-English the question of functional equivalence has not been answered properly as it is hard to find parallel expressions which can be used equally in both cases. This paper tries to elaborate some principles of contrastive idiom analysis from a functional perspective through both the use of empirical data concerning the real usage of idioms (examples from the BNC) and a sound theoretical background. Relevant parameters of cross-linguistic comparison (Semantics, Syntax and Pragmatics) will be discussed with several examples trying to offer a typology of non-parallel features between L1 and L2 idioms and collocations. From a semantic perspective, the content plane of idioms consists of two components: (i) the figurative meaning and (ii) the mental image, being both the conceptual foundation for semantic re-interpretation. In order to describe idioms from a syntactic point of view, we are going to focus on types of non-equivalence, giving some examples.

Finally, the pragmatic differences between idioms can be explained in terms of:

- (i) differences in their stylistic properties;

- (ii) differences in the cultural component of their plane of content (Between the devil and the deep blue sea > estar entre la espada y la pared );
- (iii) differences with regard to their degree of familiarity and/or textual frequency;
- (iv) differences in their illocutionary function.

A typology of this kind that investigates all the factors which are responsible for differences in the real use of idioms can help to differentiate real cross-linguistic equivalents from pseudo-equivalents and improve in this way bilingual dictionaries. Idioms as examples of formulaic language are resistant to literal translation; the target language (TL) may not use lexical formulas that are directly equivalent to those used by the source language (SL) to express the same meanings, or at least not with the same frequency.

## **Lorenza Mondada**

### ***Multimodality and multiactivity in time: Some analytical consequences of the use of video data***

This paper will focus on the analytical consequences of taking into consideration multimodality when studying the organization of social interaction. We will argue that considering multimodal resources does not just deepen our understanding of the interactional order, but modifies our very conception of what interaction is, as well as the role of language and grammar within social action.

Systematic features of talk-in-interaction have been powerfully described by studies working on audio materials (with some pioneering exceptions such as Goodwin's, Schegloff's 1984, Heath's ones). The question we will ask in this paper concerns the analytical consequences of new research practices using video technologies for documenting interactional conducts.

More particularly, new opportunities created by these technologies will be questioned, such as:

- the possibility of describing, when adequate video is shot, action's sequential and temporal order as it is locally accomplished by participants using a range of contingent, locally available, situated resources, which are multimodal and whose relevance can emerge contextually and praxeologically.
- the possibility of studying various video and audio perspectives on action, allowed by multisource recordings (various interconnected cameras and microphones) ;
- the fact that when considered through video tapes, action cannot be reduced to talk but often appears as being articulated and distributed in various streams of parallel although intertwined actions ;
- the fact that the finely tuned coordination of multimodal resources in interaction does not only manifest consequential implicativeness and sequential relationships but also more complex arrangements of actions in space and time.

The very conceptions of temporal unfolding and of sequentiality, the notion of « resource » and its occasioned and situated character, are here at stake.

These questions will be discussed through empirical analysis based on video data taped in various settings : ordinary conversations among friends during meals, people talking while driving cars, surgeons operating on a patient. These activities are characterized by the fact - more widely observable than generally acknowledged - that they are constituted by various courses of action (such as chatting and exchanging dishes, talking and driving, operating, giving instructions to the surgical team and demonstrating the operation for teaching purposes...). A close look to these data will raise questions not only about recording modalities but also about the transcription and representation of video documents.

## **Chiara Monzoni**

### ***Complaining in (Italian) emergency calls***

Activities like complaints, accusations, disagreements and the like are frequently associated with preference organization – a system through which social solidarity is maintained and promoted. Previous research has demonstrated how some activities may be introduced by pre-sequences, so that social solidarity may be maximized; how certain activities may be produced in a marked fashion and thus are dispreferred; and how different responses to such actions may take different formats. For instance, accusations are most frequently followed by denials as a preferred response; and denials may take different formats which in turn have different sequential consequences on the continuation of the argument.

In this study we will describe, through a conversation analytic approach, how questions are used in direct complaints to recipients in Italian calls for medical help (emergency calls to the ambulance call-centre) made both by ordinary citizens and institutions' representatives such as policemen, doctors, nurses, etc.

We will focus on a specific resource to do complaining - yes/no questions - and we will analyse the sequential consequences such resources engender in relation to preference organization. It will be shown that, in such a context, affirmative interrogatives are usually employed to introduce the complainable matter by asking for

confirmation and only after a confirmation has been given, a complaint against recipient is produced in an unmarked fashion. By contrast, negative interrogatives – as it is the case in other institutional settings such as news interviews – are not oriented to by recipients as questions but as statements of a specific type. They are used to point out activities - which recipient should have done but has not undertaken - for which s/he is held accountable. Such negatively framed questions are interpreted by complainers as direct accusations. Nonetheless, the sequential consequences engendered by such a turn-format are very different from the activities we usually find after accusations done through statements. While accusations are usually responded to through denials, negative interrogatives are rebutted through admission of not having undertaken the action that was expected.

Such findings will be discussed in relation to preference organization. For instance, it will be shown that affirmative interrogatives are quite different from the kind of pre-sequences which display an orientation to preference organization as it emerged in previous studies (such as before invitations). Similarly, both negative interrogatives and the responses they get are produced in an unmarked fashion. Such results highlight the fact that preference organization is differentiated not only in relation to specific actions (in our case, complaints) but it is also strictly linked to the very resources participants use to design such activities.

**Leslie Moore & Mark Moritz**

### ***Dimensions of context in Koranic literacy socialization***

In their examination of the ways in which context has been conceived in studies of language use, Goodwin and Duranti (1992) specify four basic dimensions: setting, behavioral environment, language as context, and extrasituational context. Researchers working within the language socialization paradigm place context at the center of their analyses as they seek to understand language development as crucially situated – in codes, institutions, routine activities, and moment-to-moment interactions. In this paper, we examine and integrate these multiple dimension of context in order to understand how Fulbe children growing up in northern Cameroon are socialized into Koranic literacy.

Increasingly, researchers are investigating the development of literacy skills and other language-centered practices as changing participation in joint sociocultural activities. Discourse analytic methods have provided great insights into the myriad ways novices are apprenticed into the practices of their communities, but such analyses often focus on language to the (near) exclusion of other semiotic resources. Important features of setting and behavioral environment are often overlooked or under-examined by analysts, despite the fact that participants must attend to these dimensions of context in order to coordinate their communicative behaviors and engage in the activity successfully.

As in many Muslim communities, Fulbe children learn to recite and read the Koran “by rote”. Guided by their teachers, Fulbe children memorize Koranic texts and decode the Arabic script in which the texts are written. Comprehension of the lexico-semantic content of the Koran is not a goal during the first several years of instruction. A correct rendering of a Koranic text entails both accurate reproduction of the Arabic speech sounds modeled by the teacher and particular bodily displays of orientation to the written text and the teacher. Such a performance is regarded as evidence of a foundational layer of understanding of the Koran, its language, as well as core values and beliefs of the Fulbe/Muslim community.

We describe Fulbe children’s apprenticeship into Koranic literacy as a gradual transfer from expert to novice of responsibility for the vocal and embodied rendering of the text. Microanalysis of 17 hours of video recorded Koranic instruction in four schools revealed that to accomplish lessons, teachers and children used specific practices of body posture, pointing, and eye gaze in conjunction with the written text and utterances in Arabic and Fulfulde (the children’s first language). In interviews and playback sessions, participants described both vocal and non-vocal practices as crucial for the development, display, and maintenance of competence in Koranic literacy. In addition to expanding our understanding of Islamic literacy practices and their development, we seek to demonstrate the importance of integrating multiple dimensions of context in studies of language socialization.

**Immaculada Moreno Teva**

### ***Functions of formulaic language in L2 Spanish acquisition and use***

It is quite widespread the idea that the lexicon consists of a series of items of different size and internal complexity, from morphemes to polymorphemic words, collocations, phrases, clauses and whole texts (Pawley/Syder 1983, Howart 1998, Givón 1989, Sinclair 1987, Peters 1983, Cowie 1988, Nattinger/DeCarrico 1992, Wood 1986, Van Lancker 1987). Some of these units are fully fixed, while others are semi-fixed frames in which only the morphological details or the novel referential items need to be separately selected. The new item is to be chosen by entirely free choice or from a limited set. The aim of this contribution is to present the

results of a longitudinal study of analytic and holistic processes in conversations between natives of Spanish and Swedish learners of L2 Spanish in order to illustrate how the native speakers and the learners organize their lexicons working along a continuum of both large and small units of language which reflects the promotion of the speakers' interests in interaction. We will also see that formulaic sequences have processing and communicative functions that promote the acquisition and use of L2 Spanish in interaction.

Formulaic sequences (FSs), as defined by Wray (2002:9), are "continuous or discontinuous sequences of words or other elements, which are, or appear to be, prefabricated: that is, stored and retrieved whole from memory at the time of use, rather than being subject to generation or analysis by the language grammar". FSs challenge the traditional conception of L2 learning and use as an analytical process. Some authors like Bohn (1986) or Krashen and Scarcella (1987) say that the role of FSs in L2 learning is temporary, and that they are progressively replaced by syntactically flexible forms. It is quite clear that FSs are not just a short-term production strategy for those learners who lack structural knowledge, since it is also found in the speech of native speakers. To know a second language you must know not only the suitable rules to generate all the possible grammatical utterances; the language learner has to know which of those are idiomatic. As Pawley and Syder (1983) point out, this means that in order to know a language the L2 learner must know not only the language's individual words, but also how they fit together.

Sociocultural approaches to interaction situates L2 learning in the social world; the interactants are involved actively in their L2 learning with their participation in the conversation. Socioculturally oriented acquisition theories have a holistic view of discourse that coincides with a theoretical stance that puts formulaicity in the centre of language and discourse, in which synthetic processes are the default option and analytic processes the marked one. FSs in the interaction between native speakers (NSs) and non-native speakers (NNSs) are a dynamic set that changes constantly to meet the changing needs of the speakers, as Wray (2002) has pointed out.

### **Junko Mori & Kanae Nakamura**

#### ***Online processing of sequential, topical, and turn-constructive development: JSL speakers' management of opportunities to participate in interaction***

The recent development in interdisciplinary research among conversation analysts, functional linguists, and anthropological linguists (cf. Ochs, Schegloff, and Thompson, 1996), among others has renewed our appreciation of the reciprocated relationship between interaction and grammar. This domain of research conceptualizes grammar to be integral part of "turn-constructive units" or "building blocks," which enable interactants to organize their participation and to accomplish a range of social actions in talk-in-interaction. Namely, grammar, in this view, is not an entity that exists independently of social interaction, but it is what facilitates interaction, and at the same time what is acquired through the interaction.

The present paper incorporates this understanding of grammar-in-interaction and examines how Japanese-as-a-second language (JSL) speakers occasion their participation in multiparty interaction. In order to initiate a next turn at the precise moment when the current turn comes to a transitional relevance place (TRP) (Sacks, Schegloff, and Jefferson 1974), or even in slight overlap with the end of the current turn (e.g. Jefferson 1973; C. Goodwin and M.H. Goodwin, 1987, 1992), or to supply an anticipatory completion of the current turn (e.g., Lerner 1991, 1996; Lerner and Takagi 1999), the recipients of the current talk need to process the on-going development of the current turn and the sequence in which it is embedded and to project how the rest of turn may develop. As discussed by Schegloff (1996), Ford and Thompson (1996), Ford, et. al. (1996), Tanaka (1999, 2000), and Hayashi (2003), among others, various resources such as syntax, prosody, actions-in-progress, as well as accompanying non-vocal conduct, facilitate the recipients' projection of the current turn's development and anticipation of their opportunities, or obligations, to take a next turn. In other words, if one cannot manage such an online processing and therefore cannot anticipate an upcoming TRP, he or she may miss an opportunity to participate in interaction while another participant who can do so initiates a next turn. In addition to the ability to process the sequential and turn-constructive development, topics discussed in the current turn and their accessibility to the participants also regulate the participation framework and the selection of a next speaker (cf. Lerner 2003, Mori 2003). This study analyzes video-recorded casual interactions among JSL speakers/learners who were taking intermediate to advanced language courses at American universities at the time of recording. Special attention is paid to the ways in which these learners manage the transfer of their turns and utilizing, or not-fully utilizing, the aforementioned resources.

These JSL speakers/learners living in the US are socialized into a Japanese speaking community, which consists of their peers, instructors, and a limited number of Japanese natives living in the area. Therefore, the participation in peer interactions inside or outside of classroom becomes a critical opportunity to learn how to participate in talk-in-interaction. The close analysis of how these JSL speakers/learners construct turns-at-talk

and organize their participation in these interactions will be juxtaposed with the discussion of how they construct their identities as members of this local Japanese speaking community.

## **Ikuyo Morimoto**

### ***Addressing as a collaborative achievement in Japanese multiparty conversation***

This study seeks to reconsider the concept of addressing in relation to Japanese multiparty conversation, focusing particularly on the way a speaker can exploit grammatical practices to direct an utterance to a specific recipient.

Based on an analysis of English conversation, Lerner (2003) shows two forms of addressing. One is 'explicit addressing', such as directing one's gaze to a coparticipant and addressing by name or other address terms. The other is 'tacit addressing' that draws upon diverse features of the specific circumstances, content, and composition of a sequence-initiating action to make evident who is being addressed. Although the findings of this study support Lerner's results, they also reveal other characteristics of addressing in Japanese.

According to Lerner in English, the proterm 'you' can indicate that a speaker is addressing a single participant, but it does not reveal who that participant is. Lerner notes that 'you' is also used as a resource for addressing in conjunction with other tasks such as directing gaze. In Japanese conversation, however, 'you' is frequently omitted or substituted by the name of the addressee as illustrated below:

Mika-san           neko-ga           suki-nan-desu-ka  
Mika-Title-marker cat-Object-particle like-Verb-nominalizer-Coupla-Question-particle  
"Mika do (you) like cats?"

As the example shows, names can be used for both addressing and reference concurrently in Japanese, which is not the case in English. Through an analysis of data that consists of naturally occurring conversations among six people, I show that names as second person reference can be used as 'recipient designator' in Japanese conversation. Whereas this is arguably the strongest form of addressing, they are primarily used in contexts in which mutual gaze between speaker and recipient has not yet been achieved. Although there are some contexts in which naming is employed in conjunction with mutual gaze, these seemed to be employed when considerations beyond addressing are involved, such as eliciting a response or showing intimacy.

The presentation will also focus on the ways in which names can be used for third person reference. When the person being referred to is a participant in the conversation, these Japanese grammatical practices can present interactants with difficulty in recognizing which usage is currently being employed. I found that gaze direction may be used as a resource to distinguish between the two practices. Speakers usually direct their gaze to their intended recipient when names are used for third person reference.

However, my analysis shows that both gaze-directed recipients and participants referred to as third person by name can be a next speaker. Clark and Carlson (1982) indicated that it is unclear whether Daniel should be excluded from 'addressee' in the following example because he can be a next speaker: Father, to dog, in front of son, "Lassie, Daniel is about to take you for a walk."

In conclusion, I show that Japanese grammatical practices can be utilized for interactional purposes such as addressing, noting that addressing should be regarded not as a unilateral action by a speaker but as a collaborative achievement by both speakers and recipients.

## **Emi Morita**

### ***The local pragmatic work of segmented talk***

From the analysis of videotaped recordings of naturally occurring conversational data, it has been empirically established that speakers often insert small prosodically salient breaks within a turn, so as to break up their turn's talk into smaller units.

No longer understood to as the result of disfluency or as an idiosyncratic quirk of speech, this phenomenon has now been recognized by many analysts as being a valuable interactional resource. Goodwin (1981), for example, shows that such 'phrasal breaks' serve to attract the gaze of a recipient. Similarly, Fox, Hayashi and Jaspersen (1996) explain that Japanese speakers produce "relatively short phrasal units" in order that recipients may acknowledge the elements of a speaker's turn-in-progress without waiting to discover how the final product of that turn will be constructed.

Data that I have collected for my own work reveals that such breaks happen on the sub-phrasal level of discourse also, and that Japanese conversationalists will prosodically break up even a single semantic constituent with the insertion of an interactional particle, as illustrated below:

e, sono sa,  
INTJ that PRT  
Kankoku no otoofu tte iu hanashi wa=

Korean ATT tofu QUO say story TOP  
=uwasa o miminishita n da kedo  
rumor OBJ hear:PAST SE PRED but  
'e, that sa, rumor about the Korean tofu, I heard about but...'

In the above example, the adnoun sono plus NP: sono kankoku no tofu tte iu hanashi ('that rumor about the Korean tofu') – which together forms a semantically and syntactically tightly connected constituent – is divided into two units by the interactional particle sa. Breaking a phrase in such a phrase-medial position, would indeed be odd, were the function of segmentizing only to mark some stretch of ideational talk to which the recipient should pay attention.

Yet careful observation of the conversational environment of such segmentized talk shows that there is always some interactional concern that the speaker uses interactional particles to accomplish specifically at that moment. Here, for example, the speaker is changing a topic – a potentially problematic move at this juncture, given that the other interlocutor has already displayed her interest in the on-going topic (in the previous turn). But by highlighting adnoun sono ('that'), the speaker can foreground her interactional move of 'referring back to the previously mentioned item' at that moment, and by so doing can advance her problematic move in relation to the on-going talk.

In this paper I will show by using numerous examples how such practices of separating a segment of talk are not random, but are precisely embedded in the sequential organization of talk that participants co-create – providing opportunities for the participants to deal with local interactional concerns without changing the global level of the pragmatic work of the turn. The implication of the study also explains the extremely frequent 'back-channeling' phenomenon in Japanese conversation, and why recipients insert short response tokens frequently when whole turn is unfinished.

## **Jesse Mortelmans**

### ***The use of ledit in middle French prose texts: A pragmatic vs. semantic approach***

In Middle French — the period in the history of French extending from the 14th to the 15th century —, the anaphoric expression "ledit" [aforesaid] was a genuine determiner. Its use was not restricted to legal jargon (as was the case in Old French and is again the case today), and it actually occurred as a determiner in most Middle French prose texts. The purpose of my paper is to examine how the Middle French determiner "ledit" is related to the definite article "le" and to the different paradigms of the demonstrative determiner. The corpus of my research consists of 14th and 15th century French chronicle texts.

Indicating how "ledit" fits in into different reference theories, I will first outline the debate that opposes the proponents of a pragmatic (cognitive) approach to the distinction between the definite article and the demonstrative determiners on the one hand, and the proponents of a semantic approach to this distinction on the other. Consequently, I will show how the use of "ledit" cannot be accounted for in terms of distance and/or salience only, as is suggested by pragmatic analyses (Ariel, 2001), nor in terms of grammatical functions or syntactic levels (Kirsner, 1979).

Likewise, the proponents of the semantically based approach consider the definite article "le" to have an intrinsic sense of uniqueness, which has to be justified by a (presupposed) context (Kleiber, 1990, De Mulder, 2001), whereas the demonstrative determiner, in their view, entails a rupture with the ongoing context (Kleiber, 1990). Although this approach is called "semantic", the basic sense of the determiners remains tightly connected to their pragmatic effect in the immediate context such as topic-continuity, focus effect etc.. This contextual approach offers a suitable explanation for the use of "ledit".

Therefore, the analysis of "ledit" in my corpus texts will lead me to conclude that a) the use of "ledit", despite its explicitly anaphoric sense, exhibits aspects of both definite articles and demonstrative determiners; and b) the use of "ledit" appears to evolve in a way similar to the grammaticalisation process of demonstrative determiners into definite articles.

## **Tanja Mortelmans**

### ***Modal verbs in a usage-based perspective: The role of frequency***

The attempt to come up with a schematic basic meaning for the (English and German) modal verbs has been at the core of many studies on this theme (see Papafragou 2000 (within the framework of Relevance Theory) for the English modals, or Diewald 1999 for the German ones). Papafragou - following Groefsema 1995 and Klinge 1993, amongst others - strongly advocates a monosemic approach - it are pragmatic factors that determine the interpretation of the modals in specific contexts -, whereas Diewald's position in this matter is somewhat unclear. She claims that the German modals have two basically different meanings (a so-called non-deictic and a deictic

one, whereby deictic refers to epistemic), which however are to be seen as "je verschiedene Konkretisierungen einer gemeinsamen Basissemantik" [different instantiations of a common basic meaning] (p. 69).

Empirical evidence, however, shows that the acceptance of such general meanings for the English and German modal verbs is problematic - to say the least. Salkie (2002), for instance, shows that Papafragou's semantic description is too general to be able to distinguish between epistemic should and must or can and may. Similarly, Diewald's attempt to describe the meaning of the German modals in terms of only three parameters leads to practical difficulties (see Mortelmans forthc.).

In my contribution, I would like to go into the question of both the necessity and possibility to ascribe schematic meanings to the category of modal verbs. I will thereby advocate a strongly usage-based approach, which also takes the frequency of the various modal verbs tokens into account. Following Bybee (2003), it can be expected that the modals (being items with a relatively high token frequency) underlie processes of semantic bleaching or generalisation (the development of epistemic meanings has been described in such terms); at the same time, however, high token frequency has been shown to increase conservative tendencies as well - especially on the morphosyntactic level (which is taken to reflect some kind of semantic conservatism as well). The semantic range of the modals is therefore expected to be so complex that it cannot fit a meaning description in purely schematic terms.

## **Spiros Moschonas**

### ***On the performative character of language ideologies***

In this paper, the sociolinguistic question of whether and how language attitudes affect linguistic change is discussed in the light of a pragmatic theory that places emphasis on the performative character of ideologies. The performativeness of language ideologies, it is argued, cannot be very different from the performativeness of ideology in general (Eagleton 1991); language ideologies employ the "performative magic of all acts of institution" (Bourdieu 1991). Nevertheless, unlike political or racial ideologies, language ideologies should be seen as performing "speech acts" at a metalinguistic level. Their "direction of fit" is from a (meta-)language to a language or, alternatively, their perlocutionary effect is ultimately locutionary.

A theory of the performative character of language ideologies should meet at least three requirements. First, performative types at a metalinguistic level should be associated with mass-mediated discourses, with "text trajectories" (Blommaert 2001), "communicative chains" (Fairclough 1995), or particular genres, such as usage columns in the newspapers or editors' manuals (Cameron 1995). In other words, performative categories should not be uncritically carried over from the literature associating speech acts with specific utterance tokens. Second, a typology of language ideological performatives should try to comprehend linguistic practices rather than individual acts. Language ideologies manage to perform their magic only through collective practices such as standardization, linguistic purism, language learning and teaching, etc. Obviously, such "prescriptive" practices should be assigned irreducible "collective intentions" (Searle 1990). Finally, although a theory of the performativeness of language ideology should not fail to notice significant variation in the "speech acts" employed in language manufacturing, certain linguistic practices can be singled out as primal or more prototypical than others. In particular, corrective practices (associated, e.g., with pronunciation and phonological change, with writing and editing conventions, with language reform and language policy) are exemplary in several respects: almost invariably such practices are socially valued (i.e., they correlate to values, beliefs and attitudes within a particular linguistic community); their possible perlocutionary effects can be described in the very same intentional terms used to justify corrective action (i.e., corrective practices have straightforward "sincerity conditions"); and, as regards the issue of how linguistic change is effected, corrective practices can be felicitous or infelicitous under particular socio-cultural or institutional circumstances - just like speech acts are.

## **Maj-Britt Mosegaard Hansen & Richard Waltereit**

### ***GCI theory and language change***

It has become familiar to assume that a salient subset of semantic changes can be construed as the conventionalizations of conversational implicatures. In recent work, Traugott (1999) and Traugott and Dasher (2002) link this assumption to Levinson's (1995, 2000) theory of generalized conversational implicatures, suggesting that change proceeds from a particularized conversational implicature (PCI, utterance-token meaning) via a generalized conversational implicature (GCI, utterance-type meaning) to coded meaning (sentence meaning).

Upon closer scrutiny, however, it will turn out that this three-stage model of language change is far from universal. It is, in fact, much more typical for a PCI to convert directly into coded meaning, as is prominently the case with metaphorical extensions (e.g. mouse = "small rodent" > mouse = "computer device

whose shape is reminiscent of a small rodent”), where the two possible designata are incompatible, such that reference to one cannot, by definition, be a GCI of reference to the other.

Moreover, GCIs are, by definition, very general strategies of language understanding that should therefore be subject to actual semanticization only to a very low degree (e.g. if p, then q > “if and only if p, then q”). The notion that GCIs are an intermediate stage in the language change process is further weakened by the observation that GCIs are typically quantity and manner implicatures, whereas PCIs are typically quality and relation (relevance) implicatures. PCIs and GCIs differ therefore not only with respect to the degree of conventionalization, but also with respect to their content.

This does not, however, mean that GCIs are irrelevant to language change. In the process of a rise of idioms, a PCI turns into a GCI. Assuming that the idiomatic reading, as opposed to its literal interpretation, of an idiom like to kick the bucket is a GCI, this interpretation must have arisen from some speaker’s innovation, i.e. from a PCI. Furthermore, meaning extensions that proceed by so-called inductive generalization (cf. Geeraerts 1997) can plausibly be analyzed as semanticized GCIs (e.g. crawl = “to move on hands and knees” > crawl = “to move slowly”). Our goal is to provide a more differentiated picture of the division of labor between PCIs and GCIs in the process of language change.

## **Peter Muntigl**

### ***Reformulations in narrative therapy***

In psychotherapy sessions, therapists are confronted with clients’ ‘reasons’ for coming and clients’ (often competing if couples are involved) formulations of their own and others’ past behaviours (Edwards 1995). Once reasons or problems have been formulated by the client, an expectation is set up that the therapist, at some point, orients to the formulation. In this way, the therapist is not merely a passive recipient of clients’ formulations, but instead plays an active role by suggesting alternative versions of these formulations. One way in which therapists are able to transform, or elaborate on, clients’ utterances is by reformulating them. Research on reformulations has, for the most part, focused on their sequential organization (for example, Buttny, 1996; Davis, 1986). Somewhat surprisingly, scant attention has so far been given to the grammatical organization of client’s formulation and therapist’s reformulation; that is, what has not been highlighted are the grammatical aspects of a client’s utterance that the therapist elaborates on, and hence transforms.

This paper aims to expand on this prior work on therapist reformulations by not only showing how client formulation-therapist reformulation sequences - in this particular therapy – are interactionally organized; additionally, it will be shown what kinds of grammatical transformations clients’ formulations have undergone. The importance of examining grammatical transformations is that they realize a change in meaning. In this way, therapist reformulations help to reconstrue the way in which a client may have been construing the social world. Furthermore, it will be argued that the grammatical construction of a therapist’s reformulation will depend on the therapeutic activity. In the therapy sessions examined, reformulations during problem construction differed from those in which a problem was being effaced.

The data is taken from audio-taped recordings of six couples therapy sessions involving the same therapist and couple. The therapist’s approach during these sessions was narrative (White & Epston 1990). The approach used to analyze therapist reformulations consisted of both conversation analysis and systemic functional linguistics (e.g., Halliday 1994).

## **Kazuyo Murata**

### ***Laughter in cross-cultural interaction: An analysis from a politeness perspective***

This presentation will show cultural differences in laughter by analyzing the conversational data and that shared laughter plays an important role in building and maintaining human relationships.

The data is taken from the three groups (group A, B, and C). These English conversations lasted approximately 30 minutes. Each group conversation was audio and video recorded. Follow-up interviews were conducted immediately after the recordings for each participant. Group A consists of two Americans and two Japanese. Group B also consists of two Americans and two Japanese although the participants are different from those in Group A. Group C consists of two Japanese who are the same members as those in Group B and two Chinese.

The results of each group are as follows:

Group A: All the participants in this group said that they had a good impression of one another. The atmosphere during the conversation was good. These participants laughed the most among the three groups. The participants in this group laughed at the same topics shared in the discussion and their laughter was found in succession.

Group B: The American participants said that they had a bad impression of the Japanese participants. The Japanese participants said that they couldn’t fully understand what these Americans said. There were cases



where these Americans laughed at the topics understood only by them. In some circumstances, the Japanese laughed just after their own utterances but the Americans ignored them.

Group C: The participants said that they had a good impression of one another and enjoyed their conversation. The participants in this group laughed at the same topics shared in the discussion and again their laughter was found in succession. There were many cases where one participant laughed just after his own utterances and another participant responded with laughter as well.

From the results, great differences were found in laughter between the American participants and the others. In the data, the Americans laughed only at the topics that made people laugh. However, the Japanese and the Chinese participants laughed not only at these topics but also at the unlaughable utterances that included laughter after statements made.

Another observation is that whether the participants had a good impression of one another depends on whether the other participants in the same group shared laughter. In group A and C, laughter was shared by the members in the same group. In group B, on the other hand, laughter was not shared by all the members of the group. The Americans in this group didn't understand why the Japanese participants laughed at their own utterances and ignored them. These Japanese also didn't laugh when these Americans laughed because they couldn't listen to and understand what these Americans talked about.

It can be concluded from the data that regardless of cultural background shared laughter where the participants laugh together or successively makes a good atmosphere. This functions as a positive politeness strategy to build and maintain good relationships. On the other hand, non-shared laughter has the reverse effect.

### **Kumiko Murata**

#### ***A cross-cultural perspective to the analysis of news discourse: Questioning a critical stance of critical discourse analysis***

This paper attempts to illustrate how CDA could be partial without proper consideration for differing cultural contexts and values if it is defined as "discourse analysis with attitudes" (van Dijk 2003). This will be demonstrated by the case study of the discourse of whaling in the British and the Japanese press. The topic of whaling is particularly relevant to this investigation since it is a highly culturally charged topic, exemplifying different cultural values and assumptions.

A critical analysis of a news text on the basis of certain cultural assumptions and values could contradict another analysis of the same text from a different cultural perspective with different cultural values and assumptions. If CDA is to take a certain "stance" in its analysis (van Dijk 2003), and if, for example, in the case of whaling a CD analyst takes the stance of anti-whaling, the analysis of the news discourse of whaling in the Western press, whose stance is mostly anti-whaling (Murata 2001, 2003), could never truly be critical. That is to say, CDA on this issue in the Western press cannot achieve real "criticalness" since the practice will only be accepted as "critical" if pro-whaling discourse is analysed. The difficulty here is that the moral cause is not necessarily absolute and the analysis on the basis of a certain cause might not be convincing for the people with differing values and assumptions.

Thus, this paper argues that for CD analysts to be truly critical, they must equally be able to analyse the discourses of differing causes, taking different cultural values and assumptions into account. Otherwise they will fall into the danger of imposing their own values, assuming that they are always right. This is particularly true when CDA deals with cross-culturally conflicting issues since the judgment of what is absolute and "right" could vary among different cultures.

The paper attempts to illustrate this danger by introducing two opposing opinions in two different news discourses of whaling by analyzing them in a detailed manner and illustrating the ways in which certain opinions are formulated and put forward.

### **Yasumi Murata**

#### ***Intercultural experiences of the Japanese: Problems and solutions***

This presentation will examine the results of two surveys, conducted in 2003 and 2004 with the aim of elucidating problematic experiences Japanese subjects had when interacting in English with non-Japanese. The surveys were conducted as part of our study group's ongoing research on "politeness in Japanese and English communication", which was supported by Japanese Government grants in 2003 and 2004.

The subjects for the 2003 survey were an older age group of those in their late 30's and above, whilst those in the 2004 survey were university students. In total one hundred and sixty eight subjects responded. Both surveys included four identical questions inviting respondents to write about their experiences with non-Japanese. Although not specifically mentioned in the questionnaire, it revealed that the respondents were mostly using English at the time of the experiences, regardless of where they were. Discussion will particularly focus

on results for two questions which asked them to state; 1) experiences of being misunderstood by interactants and 2) unpleasant feelings about the interactants' behavior and/or speech.

The causes for these experiences are classified into five categories of "grammar / pronunciation / vocabulary", "pragmatic knowledge", "customs / culture", "history / prejudice" and "other". The first category refers to English language skills. The second refers to the way English is used and is primarily concerned with the tacit, and often unconscious, rules of speaking. The third category of "customs / culture" is based upon the culture-specific manners typically found in etiquette books or advice columns. The fourth and fifth categories are self-explanatory.

A very similar pattern of causes was observed for the first question of unpleasant experiences Japanese subjects had in both 2003 and 2004 surveys. The largest number of unpleasant experiences were caused by "customs / culture". The second largest cause was "pragmatic knowledge". "Grammar / pronunciation / vocabulary" causes were found to be negligible.

Regarding the second question about experiences of being misunderstood, somewhat different causal patterns were found between the surveys of the older respondents and those of the college students. The older respondents' experiences of being misunderstood, many of whom were current or retired company employees, were firstly caused by "customs / culture" (54.1%) and secondly by "pragmatic knowledge". The largest cause of college students being misunderstood, however, was caused by "grammar / pronunciation / vocabulary" (22.6%). This was closely followed by "pragmatic knowledge" (20.1%). The number one cause of being misunderstood for the older respondents, namely, "customs / culture" was not found to be a factor for college students.

One may interpret the results as to why there were differences in causal patterns between the older and the younger Japanese in various ways. What is obvious from the results, however, and may safely be claimed is that "pragmatic knowledge" should be one of the essential components in any language curriculum if the goal of teaching and learning a language is "successful communication involving a good interpersonal relationship". (485 words)

### **Bróna Murphy & Fiona Farr**

#### ***Religious references and taboo words: Findings from the Limerick Corpus of Irish English (L-CIE)***

The Polynesian word taboo is used to describe language and behaviour which is considered inappropriate for polite conversation and is an example of '...language as it is used by real, live people' (Mey, 1993: 5) '...engaging in intentional human action' (Green, 1996: 2). Taboo language merits serious research as it can provide insights into language in relation to society (Hudson, 1980: 53), for example, Tottie (2002: 195) highlights the fact that occasionally 'what is taboo in one culture or society is not necessarily taboo in another even if they share the same language'. This is certainly true of the English language, given its many varieties. Also, types of taboo language such as religious references involving blasphemy or profanity may be stronger in one culture than another. The kind of taboo language used by speakers can also be affected by certain variables ranging, for example, from the setting in which the language occurs to other, more sociolinguistic variables such as the age and gender of the speakers involved. Research in this field seems to grant gender most attention with few, if any, studies focusing on age and register in relation to taboo language. Coates (1993: 21) underscores the ubiquity of the idea that distinct male and female swear words exist, a notion which has been in generation since the 1920s when Jespersen (1922) claimed 'there can be no doubt that women exercise a great and universal influence on linguistic development through their instinctive shrinking from coarse and gross expressions and their preference for refined and (in certain spheres) veiled and indirect expressions'. Somewhat surprisingly little empirical work has been conducted on expletives despite their frequent use in spoken discourse (Stenström, 1996: 239). In the past, the explicit lack of spoken language data has been blamed for this deficiency in taboo language research (Coates, 1993; Stenström, 1996).

The increasing availability of computerised spoken corpora over the last decade now affords the opportunity to test past hypotheses using pragmatic frameworks with the added dimension of quantitative analyses. This study draws on a number of sub-corpora from the Limerick Corpus of Irish English (L-CIE), a one-million word database, to examine such language use in contemporary Irish society with specific attention given to register, age, and gender differentials. It presents findings from four registers; casual conversation, academic, office talk, and educational, and compares these across genders and four age groups; teenagers, speakers in their twenties, forties, and over sixties. Frequency and functional analyses show distinct patterns for each of these variables and highlight specific socio-cultural pragmatic factors at play.

## Lynne Murphy

### *Finding the semantics/pragmatics interface: The case of measure phrases*

The number of adjectives that occur with measure phrase (MP) specifiers in English is quite limited. Scalar semantic approaches to dimensional adjective meaning (Bierwisch 1989, Klein 1991, Faller 2000, Winter 2001) explain why certain adjectives (*\_tall\_*, *\_wide\_*, *\_early\_*, *\_old\_*) do allow MP modification and why certain others do not, usually by representing dimensional adjective meaning in terms of a scale with relative points, intervals, or vectors of measurement. Such accounts predict the acceptability of the neutral use of *\_tall\_* in (1) and the unacceptability of (2)–(4).

- (1) Xavier is five feet tall                      (3) \*It's  $-10^{\circ}$  warm/cool.  
(2) \*Xavier is five feet short.                (4) \*Martha is 9 feet gigantic.

Despite these successes, the scalar explanations predict that (5)–(8) are acceptable:

- (5) \*That book is thirty euros expensive.      (7) \*The barrel is thirty litres full/empty.  
(6) \*That suitcase is thirty pounds heavy.    (8) \*Water boils at 373.15 kelvins warm.

Seuren (1978) and Kennedy (2000) suggest a semantic solution for (5)–(6), by which the semantic scales for weight and costliness do not have the same sort of starting point as those for height, depth, age (etc.)—but counterexamples (such as (8), for which an absolute 0 point is available) and counterarguments remain—notably that such an explanation cannot explain the facts for other Germanic languages with MPs. For example, Swedish, unlike English, allows *\_30 kilo tung\_* ('heavy') and *\_300 hektar stor\_* ('big') (but still disallows equivalents of (5), (7) and (8), although it allows *\_30° varm/kall\_* ['warm/cold'] with a non-neutral interpretation). Murphy (1997) used a pragmatic approach, noting that dimensional adjectives in English only occur for one-dimensional space and time measures. Thus, these require disambiguation, since *\_three feet\_* could indicate height, width, or depth, and *\_three days\_* could indicate measure from an absolute starting point (*\_three days old\_*) or a mid-point (*\_three days early\_*) on a time scale. However, the phenomenon does not seem pragmatic, since the principles underlying MP+Adj combinations are not defeasible—context has only a limited effect. For example, (6) should be allowable in contexts where it's unclear whether weight or costliness is the topic at hand, since pound is ambiguous—but neither *\*\_30 pounds heavy\_* nor *\*\_30 pounds expensive\_* are found in English.

Using corpus data from British English and Swedish, this paper argues that a language's particular selection of MP+Adj constructions is constrained by semantic facts, but that the range of adjectives (and measurements) occurring in such constructions in a particular language is further influenced by pragmatic (disambiguation) and usage (establishment of semi-lexicalised constructions) concerns.

## Kanae Nakamura

### *An interactional process of turn-construction in Japanese talk-in-interaction*

Following Goodwin (1979)'s claim of turn-construction as a dynamic process, this paper examines the interactional aspects of turn-construction in Japanese from the perspective of conversation analysis. Particularly, the study explicates how a speaker constructs an ongoing turn while performing a certain social action – pursuing a hearer's response. This study collected data from two-party and three-party interactions among native speakers of Japanese and analyzed them with special attention to both verbal and nonverbal behaviors.

The analysis demonstrates two types of turn-construction processes in relevant to the lack of hearer's responses. In the first case, the speaker examines the hearer's reaction to the ongoing utterance as the turn proceeds, and modifies the trajectory of a turn constructional unit (TCU) (Sacks et al., 1974) in progress before the turn reaches a possible transition relevance place (TRP) (Sacks et al., 1974; Ford and Thompson, 1996). This case demonstrates the speaker's employment of the turn projection in the process of turn-construction, whereas the previous studies focused on the hearer's orientation to the turn projection to display his or her own understanding of the ongoing interaction (e.g., the studies of collaborative completion by Lerner, 1991; Lerner & Takagi, 1999; Fox, et al., 1995).

The second case shows how a speaker extends a once completed TCU by adding syntactically continuous components when the hearer's response is not provided at a possible TRP. A similar phenomenon in English interaction is discussed by Ford, et al. (2002) in the study of increment. While the added component as a syntactic continuation in English is the so-called "adjunct phrase" that elaborates the content of the preceding utterance, the added components in Japanese observed in this paper express the speaker's epistemic stance that mitigates the degree of the speaker's assertion within a single TCU. This type of TCU continuer is also used as a device to address multiple audiences to solicit the hearers' responses from different audiences within a single TCU.

The current paper also contributes to the inquiry about how grammar and interaction interrelate with each other. The cases observed in this study reveal that it is the particular Japanese syntactic structures –

predicate-final and the left-branching structures – that make it possible for the speaker to reshape the TCU under construction without abandoning the ongoing TCU, or to increment epistemic markers within a single TCU. At the same time, the particular interactional context in which the hearer's response is not provided at a possible TRP makes the subsequent actions relevant. Supporting the view that grammar not only shapes interaction but also is shaped by the fundamental features of talk-in-interaction as a sequential phenomenon and a social activity (Schegloff, 1996), the current study reconsiders grammar as it constitutes a TCU in Japanese talk-in-interaction.

**Momoko Nakamura**

***Language ideologies in sex-differentiating the Japanese nation: The Meiji period (1868-1912)***

This paper demonstrates that the sex-differentiated construction of language ideologies (Woolard and Schieffelin 1994) in the late 19th and early 20th centuries in Japan “recurred” (Gal & Irvine 1995) on three linguistic levels. In this period, Japan, in establishing a modern state, faced the need to nationalize people as “citizens.” As the roles of female citizens were restricted to those of wife and mother, the nationalization process was sex-differentiated. I argue that the construction of sex-differentiated language ideologies promoted sex-differentiated nationalization (cf. Inoue 2002).

The first level of sex-differentiation is observed between “women’s speech” and “national language.” I analyze women’s disciplinary books and moral textbooks to show that they taught women not to speak too much and to speak indirectly and politely, making “women’s speech” an object of control. On the other hand, to establish a unified state, the creation of “national language (Standard Japanese)” was an urgent issue. I analyze academic disputes, school readers, and grammar books to reveal that while they incorporated masculine linguistic features in their descriptions of Standard Japanese, feminine features were excluded. “National language” was conceptualized as “men’s national language,” constituted through the spoken style used by urban, middle-class men (Nakamura 2003b). Dealt with in academic, political discourses, “national language” was constructed as a goal vital to national unity and power.

Second, sex-differentiation is found between “schoolgirl language” and “schoolboy language.” I analyze the speech of student characters in novels and show that some linguistic features were differently distributed according to the sex of the character (Nakamura 2004a). The features used in fiction constituted what people termed “schoolgirl language” and “schoolboy language.” Although they were both speech styles of educated Tokyo residents, the alleged definition of Standard Japanese, they were treated quite differently. While “schoolgirl language” was severely criticized, “schoolboy language” was included as Standard Japanese in school readers and grammar books.

Third, sex-differentiation is observed on the level of linguistic features. I analyze grammar books and show that some linguistic features, including those of “schoolgirl language” and “schoolboy language,” were described as feminine or masculine features. These descriptions created indexical associations between gender and linguistic features.

In conclusion, language ideologies were sex-differentiated on the three levels of language category (“women’s speech” and “national language”), language category associated with a particular group (“schoolgirl language” and “schoolboy language”), and linguistic feature (feminine and masculine features) (Echeverria 2003). Writers of manner books, school readers, and grammar books played crucial roles in its construction.

These recursive language ideologies related to men connect the notion of “national language” to masculine linguistic features, including those of “schoolboy language,” creating the identity of men as “primary citizen.” In the case of women, the recursiveness connects the norms in “women’s speech” to feminine linguistic features, including those of “schoolgirl language,” constructing women’s speech as an object of control excluded from legitimate national language and, thus, creating the identity of women as “secondary citizen.” Sex-differentiated language ideologies, therefore, linguistically enhanced the political requirement of sex-differentiated nationalization.

**Hitoshi Nakata & Setsuko Arita**

***Lowering burden on conversation participants in social domains***

In the semantic and pragmatic field, polysemy of meaning is thought to be caused by the domains where meaning is interpreted. (Sweetser 1990, Fauconnier & Sweetser (eds.) 1996, Dinsmore 1991 etc. )

Expanding this idea, we propose 'social domains', where, just as in the other domains, the core meaning is elaborated and interpreted.

Also we feature a concept, 'burden', which is one of the social contexts; when A asks B to do something, A burdens B to greater or less degree, even if A is willing to do it. Speaker's usage of negative politeness in

asking (ex. Would you...? in English) lessens the burden of hearer in our design, while in the Brown and Levinson's politeness theory, the usage satisfies hearer's negative face.

To demonstrate how our design works, we sample a degree adverbial form denoting smallness of quality or quantity (ex. 'a little' in English). The adverb has in common among three languages, French, Korean and Japanese, a prototypical meaning of the smallness, such as in "The price is 'a little' expensive." Another meaning, when the adverb is used in an asking situation as in above mentioned, is common among the three languages: The adverb's behavior is to lessen hearer's burden to accept speaker's desire in asking or requesting situation, such as in "Can we talk 'a little'?"

However, French lacks the usage to lessen speaker's burden to comment on him/herself to hearer, while the other two share. The adverb in Korean and Japanese can be used as in "I bought a Mercedes 'a little'" when speaker does not want to be proud. Because to be prior to others is not a virtue in the collective society such of the two countries.

Korean language differs from Japanese. An example "It is 'a little' expensive" in Japanese means "I don't want you to be disappointed, but it's so expensive that you can't afford" (negative politeness), or "I don't want to be straight, but it's expensive" or "I don't want to be boastful, but it(=my car) is expensive." (Positive politeness). But Korean doesn't accept such interpretations. The negative politeness is attributed to the semantic fact that the adverb modifies and lowers speakers burden, not modifying quality or quantity. The positive politeness is attributed to the semantic fact that the adverb modifies and lowers hearer's burden, not modifying something in the content domain. These two interpretations are reflections of the metalanguage that the car is of price, so that I should, using 'a little', lower your burden to do something about it, say, to buy it and that the car is of price, so that I should, using 'a little', lower my burden to say that.

The adverb in Japanese behaves as quantifier in (a) content domain, (b) social domain where burden-oriented to hearer, (c) social domain where burden-oriented to speaker, or (d) social domain where burden-oriented to hearer/speaker, not in content domain. The interpretations of (a) and (d) are opposite, but our framework can capture all the phenomena.

## **Ayako Namba**

### ***The use of Japanese –TE form in joint story telling: An exploration of grammar and interaction***

The Japanese –TE form, a non-finite form that has no tense indication, serves the function of clause-chaining (Morita 2001; Iwasaki 1993; Myhill and Hibiya 1988). Traditionally, the –TE form has been said to occur in "clause 1 (C1) –TE + clause 2(C2)" construction and it has been said to have a temporal meaning as in C1 had taken place before C2 (Kuno 1973). This kind of analysis fails to account for the interactional dimension of the –TE form. The purpose of this study is to explore the interactional dimensions of the Japanese –TE form in joint story telling and to clarify the strategies or structures surrounding its use in this situation.

The data consist of 220 minutes of videotaped tasks in which 26 Japanese female dyads co-construct stories based on 15 cartoon cards. The data were collected at the Japan Women's University in Tokyo. In order to decrease the effect of gender, we chose only females as the participants. Two types of dyads were used: two university students who were friends or a teacher and university student who had not met previously. The participants were Japanese native speakers.

The results of the analysis show that 1) the –TE form contributes to turn-taking. That is, through the –TE form the current speaker invites a co-participant to take the next turn. As the sentence comprising the –TE form is not complete, the next speaker completes it. In turn, this co-construction of sentences can take either of two possibilities: one is a clause-final use of the –TE form and the other is a clause-initial use of the –TE form. 2) Alternatively, the current speaker uses –TE and the next speaker takes the turn, not to complete the sentence, but rather to echo the first speaker's utterance, thus animating the first speaker's voice (Goffman 1981).

This study has implications for the study of culture and language specifically as it applies to Japanese. According to the result (1), the co-construction of sentences including the –TE form indexes collaborative working between the participants. The result (2), the second participant's animating the first speaker's voice indicates "empathetic understanding" (Hayashi 2003) for the first participant's utterance. These two aspects show the way of Japanese socio-cultural behavior such as keeping harmony. Based on the observations above, it is found how the –TE form dynamically plays a constitutive part in making the micro-level social coordination possible.

## **Ritsuko Narita**

### ***Really?: Sequential organization of second-hand reports***

This paper uses a Conversation Analysis framework to investigate what sequential organization can be derived from second-hand reports in English and Japanese when the principal character in the story is not present at the original event. This paper reports on how a conversational teller claims entitlement (the right to talk) and how a recipient acknowledges a teller's second-hand reports. This paper argues that the concept of entitlement is as fundamental as the concept of turn-taking and demonstrates that entitlement as well as turn-taking depends upon shared conventions for defending or determining the right to speak.

Labov and Fanshel (1977) have categorized conversational events from psychotherapeutic interviews into five categories. One of these categories,

D-events, refers to events which are known to be disputable. Labov and Fanshel point out that assertion leads to a response. A teller's assertions about a D-event are heard as a request for a recipient to give an evaluation of that assertion. The recipient may then support the teller's second-hand reports by eliciting further information, or may challenge the teller by asking the source of the report. The present study found that this sequence was observed in both Japanese and English casual conversation.

The data consists of videotaped casual interactions between three dyads of female native speakers of English and three dyads of female native speakers of Japanese. Subject age range was from 18 to 22 years. The total duration of the discourse data was approximately 90 minutes in each language. Second-hand reports were extracted from these interactions.

Analysis of the data found the same sequential organization patterns in both English and Japanese. For example, a teller's second-hand report elicited a recipient's response, such as "really?" in English or "Hontoo?" in Japanese. This recipient response elicited two types of sequences: 1) further teller information or 2) teller withdrawal. In a further information response, the response "really?" triggered the teller's further elaboration of the report. In teller withdrawal, the response "really?" did not elicit further support and the teller backed away from responsibility for the truth of proposition of the second-hand report. Another possible pattern in teller withdrawal occurred when a recipient sought further clarification, and the teller was not able to respond due to lack of information. In this case, the teller avoided strong assertion by merely repeating what was heard from the third party. Thus, the teller used reported speech to retreat from strong assertion. In the same case, another sequence observed was teller use of multiple sources to establish authority. The teller used others' sources as a means for borrowing authority. By adding authoritative sources, the teller attempted to convince a skeptical recipient that there were good grounds for accepting the teller's version as correct.

The present study was able to confirm these same types of conversational sequences in both Japanese and English. Therefore, this type of analysis can be a powerful tool in understanding how sequences in second-hand reports are organized in actual conversation.

## **Heiko Narrog**

### ***Modality and grammaticalization in Japanese***

In the field of grammaticalization, change of modal markers has been presented as a paradigm example of unidirectional change in the direction predicted by the theory (e.g. Hopper and Traugott 1993, Diewald 1997). Grammaticalization theory has been intertwined with Cognitive Linguistics, and from a cognitive linguist point of view, deontic modal verbs in English acquiring epistemic meanings perfectly served to illustrate broader cognitive mechanisms accompanying language change, such as Leonard Talmy's force dynamics theory (Talmy 1988; Sweetser 1990). This line of research, however, has been inclined towards a bias towards viewing change of modal meaning purely as a problem of conceptualization apart from the actual context in which it occurred (somewhat counter-balanced by the pragmatic approach developed by Elizabeth Traugott and collaborators; e.g. Traugott and Dasher 2002). Moreover, it has produced a focus on change from deontic to epistemic as the prototypical change of modal meaning on the other hand. This kind of preoccupation with certain types and aspects of change was then also taken to the research on other languages than English.

However, for quite a number, if not the majority of languages (cf. the data in Bybee et al. 1994, chapter six), the change from deontic to epistemic meaning is of little if any relevance to their modal systems. Among the better-studied languages of the world, Japanese is one such language. The author of this presentation has previously attempted to analyze the polysemy and semantic change of what is probably the most polysemous modal marker in Japanese language history, *-besi*, by closely investigating the marker's contexts of usage (Narrog 2002). The results showed that the internal reconstruction of its semantic structure exhibited salient to the historical change of a modal verb in English which hasn't undergone the deontic to epistemic change either, namely *can*. In conclusion, it turns out that both from a Japanese and a cross-linguistic perspective it is not (or to a lesser degree) alleged conceptual mechanisms that comprehensively drive unidirectional change of modal markers, but rather it is a drift towards more speaker-orientation (or "subjectivity" in the sense of Traugott 2003). This presentation will argue for such a revised view of modal change using the examples of Japanese *besi* and English *can*, supported by data from cross-linguistic typological research.

**Natalya Naumova**

***Blendings in multimodal business English discourse***

Business English discourse (BED) increasingly takes on a form of multimodal representation mix, where electronic links are a powerful tool of communication: commercial talks include written discourse elements like graphs, figures and numbers, printed matters along with their discussion, a presentation is considered effective when supported with static/moving images, diagrams, visual or cyber aids. Signing an international contract often results from preliminary web-search, personal interaction at negotiation, followed by extensive business correspondence and videoconferences. Multimodal representation in BED caused new blending, where elements of two input spaces are projected into a third space, the blend, which thus contains the elements of both but is distinct from either one: telebanking, telebroking, telemarket, teleshopping, telecheck. Thus the application of the cognitive metaphor theory (Lakoff, Johnson), blending theory (Fauconnier, Turner, Langacker) and semantic primes (Wierzbicka) looks promising for thorough analysis of metaphoric multimodal representation of BED concepts.

The genres of both spoken and written BED are meaningfully supported by body language or non-verbal signaling decoded at the mental background of the epistemic thesaurus of the addressee. Blended words like break-even point, risk analysis, badge-product, community charge, laser card, red herring, red team, brain drain, middle market, mergermania are easily decoded as well as metaphor blending of colors and materials based on non-linguistic experience: black market, black economy, black list, to black goods, green audit, green car, greenbacking, greenlash, greenmail, greenmailer; grey economy, grey market; golden hello, golden goodbye, golden handcuffs, golden parachute, golden bullet, golden share, golden shareholder.

Linguistic messages and business texts are generated rather by users than native English speakers in the multicultural environment of modern BED that caused borrowing of at least one input space from other language, e.g. the element “preneur” of a French word “entrepreneur”, for new blendings like biopreneur, infopreneur, intrapreneur. Decoding of new blending activates ethnospecific scripts of conscience along with personal mental thesaurus. E.g. the utterance The proposal is the best what we can support you to increase your sales. Thus we'd like to make you a proposition... produced by a German businessman to his Ukrainian counterpart had no negative impact on parties to a deal. At the same time the communication went wrong when an American business woman, whose epistemic world rested on the strong feminist position, was addressed the words proposal and make you a proposition. Even the institutional context of the official business meeting didn't keep the addressee from wrong decoding of the message, as the elements of blending were marked as offensive metaphor in her mental thesaurus.

It is most reasonable to conclude that having obtained the “diamond” from a simple source-target representation of a metaphor, it is necessary to clarify semantic primes of both input spaces and the blend not to get lost inside its semantic boundaries to provide adequate decoding in the multicultural environment of multimodal business communication.

**Fumiko Nazikian**

***The interplay of style-selection and speaker's psychology in Japanese interview discourse***

This paper examines the role of psychological and social factors in Japanese formal discourse such as in a talk show interview and shows how speech style is selected to create a feeling of ‘friendliness’ or ‘deference’ between the speakers. Speech is examined according to differences in genders, age, role, social status. The study focuses on informal/ formal verbal endings (e.g., da vs. desu), the combination of honorific/ humble forms and informal/formal verbal endings, and incomplete sentence endings. Based on the theory of politeness by Brown and Levinson (1987), this study shows how speakers express ‘positive face’ (‘desire to be liked or accepted’) and ‘negative face’ (‘the dislike to be imposed on’) by shifting styles through an on-going interview interaction.

It is generally held that differences in style in Japanese are determined by various factors such as social variables (e.g., gender, social status/hierarchy, occupation, region, etc.), topic, occasions (e.g., formal/casual) and the distinction of uchi vs. soto ‘in-group’ vs. ‘out-group.’ However, such analysis fails to explain the reason for style shifting from formal to informal verbal endings by the same speaker through on-going interview interactions. Based on the notions of ‘positive face’ and ‘negative face’ developed by Brown and Levinson (1987), this study shows how differences in styles in formal interview interactions reflect the interlocutors’ positive/ negative face desire. Interview discourse is chosen for this study because such discourse exhibits characteristics such as clear roles of speaker’s (e.g., interviewer and interviewee) and high involvement/ interactions of speakers in the interview. This produces a distinctive interaction between the speakers, which is formal and yet intimate.

The organization of this study is as follows: Section 1 gives a brief discussion of the notion of style switching. Recognition of the interplay between style switching and the speaker's psychological distance is essential to understand the notion of politeness in Japanese. Section 3 summarizes major works on the linguistic phenomena of style switching in Japanese. Section 4 discusses how the speaker's recognition of his social relationship with the interlocutor affects his psychological closeness.

Some main findings of this study are: (1) the interviewer expresses her desire to be identified as an in-group member with the interlocutor by directly expressing her own inner thoughts or by addressing the interlocutor's inner thoughts (2) the interviewer achieves the desire not to impose on the interviewee (negative face desire) by eliciting information in incomplete sentence endings such as *-te* form (Japanese gerund form); the interviewer achieves his positive face desire by shifting the degree of politeness downward or upward (e.g., by use of vulgar expressions or of honorific expressions). What is interesting here is that the interviewer expresses both 'negative face' and 'positive face' desires by combining two conflicting linguistic markers such as the combination of honorific respectful (deference) and informal verbal ending 'da' (closeness); the combination of formal verbal ending 'masu' (polite/formal) and sentence final particle *ne* (empathy marker), etc.

## **Michael Nelson**

### ***When is an expression context-sensitive? The truth about true demonstratives***

Some pairs of utterances of the same sentence convey different pieces of information. Call this the basic phenomena. Sometimes this difference is due to the fact that the sentence's linguistic meaning requires and receives supplementation from extra-linguistic context. Clear cases involve the first-person pronoun. Different utterances of the sentence 'I ate cake', for example, convey different pieces of information, depending on the identity of the speaker, thanks to the linguistic meaning of 'I'. This is the phenomenon of context-sensitivity and it is a semantic phenomenon, in the sense that the relevant information is assigned to the utterance by the semantic theory. The information concerning me that is conveyed by my utterance is, in Grice's words, part of what the sentence says (on the relevant occasion of use).

Other cases of the basic phenomena are pretty clearly not to be given such a semantic explanation. The clearest cases involve what Grice called particularized conversational implicature. For example, an utterance 'Mr. Peters's penmanship is impeccable' in a letter of recommendation for a job in a philosophy department conveys the information that Mr. Peters is ill-suited for the position. But other utterances of that same sentence—for example, an utterance in response to a question about Mr. Peters's ability to take dictation—convey no such information. The information conveyed by the original utterance is not part of what's said. In such a case, the speaker says one thing and ultimately means another. Let's call this the phenomenon of pragmatic implicature. Not all instances of the phenomena need be explicable in terms of Grice's theory of conversational implicatures. Indeed, part of my thesis will be that they are not; that is, I shall argue that not all pragmatic implicatures are Gricean conversational implicatures.

When we find different utterances of the same sentence conveying different pieces of information, is it because the sentence uttered is context-sensitive or is it rather because one (or both) of those utterances is non-literal? To answer this question in a principled manner we need a general criterion for distinguishing pragmatic implicatures from context-sensitivity. According to the criterion I shall be peddling speaker intentions never determine semantic contents; dependence on speaker intentions is always a sign of pragmatic implicature. This is what I shall call the thesis of Semantic Sparsity. The information semantically encoded by an utterance is only dependent upon external factors of the communicative exchange (like the speaker, place, time, and world of utterance). Features of the communicative exchange like speaker and audience beliefs, intentions, and conversational goals are not themselves semantic parameters, nor do they play a role in determining semantically relevant parameters.

A sparse view of context-sensitivity requires an opulent pragmatic theory to take up the slack. Often what a speaker means is dependent upon internal features of the communicative exchange. Proponent of Semantic Sparsity must have a pragmatic theory capable of accounting for the generation of a pragmatic implicature in all such cases. I argue that Gricean conversational implicatures are ill-suited for this job. I develop a notion of pragmatic implicature I argue to be better suited. The important point of departure from Grice's notion of a conversational implicature is dropping Grice's calculability condition.

I apply Semantic Sparsity to the case of true demonstratives. In his epic 'Demonstratives', David Kaplan distinguishes pure indexicals from true demonstratives. The latter require not just a context but also a demonstration to determine a referent. The linguistic rule governing the use of a pure indexical does fully determine the referent in context. 'I' and 'today' are paradigm examples of a pure indexical and 'that' and 'she' are paradigm examples of true demonstratives.

Demonstrations, Kaplan thought in 'Afterthoughts' and I agree, are determined by the speakers's communicative intentions. It is because of my intention to refer, say, to Sally by my use of 'she' that I convey something to the effect that Sally is my friend by uttering the sentence 'She is my friend'. But this dependency



on speaker intentions, from the point of view of proponent of Semantic Sparsity, entails that this information is not semantically encoded by my utterance. In short, Kaplan's theory is great for pure indexicals, but not for true demonstratives.

A true demonstrative is a would-be directly referential singular term seeking a reference in context. But the context contains nothing to supply that value, as contexts are independent of speaker intentions, given our allegiance to Semantic Sparsity, and the reference sought depends upon speaker intention. So, a true demonstrative like 'that' in context receives a null value; it is, if you like, analogous to a free variable without an assignment. The sentence 'That is good' expresses, relative to every context whatsoever, the "structurally-challenged" proposition  $\langle \langle \rangle, \text{GOOD} \rangle$ , where the first element is the empty set. Same story for every other sentence  $\text{EF is } Y\langle \text{breve} \rangle$ , where F is a true demonstrative. Now, this content is not fit to be meant. So, any utterance of the sentence will standardly implicate a richer piece of information. In particular, the intended referent of 'that' will, through pragmatic mechanisms, take the place of the empty set and a singular proposition concerning that intended referent to the effect that it is good will be pragmatically implicated. I shall call this the process of fulfillment. Typically, when a structurally-challenged content is semantically encoded by an utterance, the process of fulfillment naturally and immediately, without any conscious triggering by the participants of the conversation, kicks in and delivers an enriched content.

Such a view of true demonstratives, I argue, has many advantages over any sort of Kaplan-inspired account that treats them as context-sensitive. Furthermore, what may seem like the most pressing problem facing a proponent of Semantic Sparsity—namely, how does one deal with true demonstratives once speaker intentions are banished from semantics—has been solved.

So, when is an expression context-sensitive? Only when it is a pure indexical.

## **François N mo**

### ***Unifying pragmatics: Speech space and attentional moves***

Pragmatics is a prosperous but balkanised industry. Such a balkanisation has in the past proved to be efficient, among other things because it allowed exploring the diverse regions and dimensions of speech in a systematic way. It seems however that even if this accumulation of knowledge is a sustainable way of growing, it is not true cumulativity.

My claim will be that it is both possible and necessary (Verschueren, 1980) to work toward a unification of pragmatics, by integrating the diverse dimensions of speech into a single space, and allowing dynamic considerations (i.e. dialogical, discursive and conversational) to be articulated with consistent models of utterance interpretation.

Following Verschueren (1980), I will assume that a unified pragmatic must minimally integrate the description of speech acts and implicitness, that it can be done by describing the semantic conditions of appropriateness-relevance-felicity of all types of utterances (speech acts), and that the Furberg's curse (1963) - according to which there is no way to combine a unitary definition of relevance with the existence of a diversity of speech acts - may indeed be overcome. Similarly, I will show that it is possible to integrate this first associative model of utterance-types into a larger model that articulates all the different constraints which any speech move has to deal with, and the dynamic dimension of speech (allowing the integration of utterance-token semantics considerations and conversational ones). I will then show that an attentional dimension must be added to this larger model to integrate simultaneously the Gricean contributonal level, Sperber & Wilson's ostensive-inferential theory, Ducrot's focus on social referencing within ostensive-inferential processes and the pragmatics of face. I will indeed show that these different frameworks should not be considered fundamentally as competing one with another, but as complementary approaches to a multi-faceted reality.

I will show that this synthetic model, despite integrating a large part of the insights of contemporary pragmatics, remain a simple, tractable and operative model, which may be applied to any utterance in any context, and allows to define pragmatic competence as the capacity to manage all these constraints simultaneously.

I will further show that this simplicity is not a miracle but the result of a non-linear approach to the question of interpretation according to which interpretation proceeds from the stable set of constraints which define the space in which speech occurs, and consists in interpreting the utterance produced in terms of each of these constraints, and thus as a speech move; and does not consist in a linear process with an input and an output. I will finally argue that balkanisation becomes a problem when it leads to the sole celebration of such and such constraint, and that if physics has managed to survive to the co-existence of different kind of physical forces, pragmatics should not view the co-existence of so many different constraints as a problem but as a challenge to our capacity to consider them together as part of a single reality, and to integrate the collective intelligence of contemporary pragmatics into a more unified pragmatics.

**Anja Neukom-Hermann**

***Quantifier-negotiation interaction in English: A corpus linguistic study***

Traditionally, quantifier-negation constructions have been studied by logicians and theoretical linguists. This paper is a first attempt at developing a more comprehensive picture by looking at the actual occurrence and interpretation of these constructions in real language data, i.e. written as well as spoken language from the British National Corpus. The relevant instances are of the form all (NP) verbn't // not in main as well as in subclauses. An example of these all...not constructions is sentence (1):

(1) All the boys didn't leave.

Sentence (1) has two different interpretations, which can be paraphrased as sentences (2) and (3), depending on whether the negator has wide or narrow scope:

(2) Not all the boys left. (wide scope = NEG-Q reading)

(3) None of the boys left. (narrow scope = NEG-V reading)

Taglicht (ND) found that there is also a third interpretation for sentences like (4):

(4) All the bills don't amount to \$50.

The third reading is collective and can be paraphrased as "The sum of all the bills doesn't amount to \$50".

This study aims to answer the following questions:

- a) how often do all...not constructions occur in natural language?
- b) are these constructions ambiguous in context?
- c) which interpretation is more frequent (NEG-Q or NEG-V)?
- d) are there any occurrences of the collective reading and how frequent are they?
- e) can any factors influencing the interpretation be uncovered?
- f) what are the differences between speech and writing?

Previous studies have examined how many informants chose which interpretation of sentence (1) out of context (Carden, 1973a), and how often each interpretation was rejected (Carden, 1973b, Heringer, 1970 and Stokes, 1974). Only Taglicht (ND) used corpora for his study and examined 21 instances of the construction in question. All these studies reach the conclusion that the NEG-Q reading is more wide-spread than the NEG-V reading.

In this study, I look at a much larger corpus (the BNC) than Taglicht did. Roughly 500 instances of the construction are analysed first out of context, then a second time with consideration of the surrounding context. These results are compared in order to assess the role of the context for the interpretation. The study also includes a comparison between speech and writing, since Taglicht found no instances of the construction in speech. This paper is a contribution to the study of quantifier-negation constructions in that it empirically confirms and challenges previous results or assumptions. It is a new approach to this topic because it relies on a large corpus of written as well as spoken language, and because it does not ignore the importance of the context. It also indicates which directions might be fruitful to pursue further.

**Maurice Neville**

***When airline pilots look at each other: Shifts in gaze and signaling the status of talk for managing attention in pilots' work***

In the airline cockpit, like control centers and some other sociotechnical workplaces, participants are physically co-present but may only on occasion actually talk 'face-to-face': this paper considers such occasions in microdetail. Both seating constraints and the practical demands of flight tasks direct pilots' attention towards the instrument panels or out the windows, however as they talk to conduct their flight sometimes one pilot turns to the other, or the pilots turn to face each other. This paper examines exactly when airline pilots look at one another, and the significance of these shifts in gaze for pilots' collaborative work. The paper joins concern in ethnomethodology and conversation analysis for the language and practices by which people produce and understand the situated order of work, for example how shifts in gaze can be closely attuned to the nature and structure of talk for speaker selection and sequencing turns. In the airline cockpit, however, gazing at the other pilot, either as speaker or recipient, can also signal and make visible momentary shifts in the focus of attention and possible disengagement from legitimate physical spaces and sites of activity in the cockpit i.e. to be not looking where one is supposed to be looking. These shifts can therefore signal and allow particular interpretations of the status of particular talk for its role (or otherwise) in the flow of pilots' work, and so contribute to pilots' development and demonstration of their moment-to-moment awareness of what they are doing as they fly their plane. From the experience of air accidents, especially one when the pilots became distracted and failed to notice that their plane was slowly descending, the commercial aviation industry considers pilots' ability to allocate and manage attention, both individually and jointly as members of a flight crew, to be a critical part of their professional competence. This paper explores how such a competence is

realized in situ as pilots coordinate their talk, gaze, and orientation to features and spaces of the cockpit as relevant modes for their routine communication. The paper will present as data video clips of pilots at work on actual passenger flights, and detailed transcriptions of talk and nontalk aspects of pilots' interaction.

**Enikő Németh**

***Verbal information transmission without communicative intention***

1. Theoretical background. Language use and communication cannot be entirely identified. First, there are situations when the partners communicate without using natural language, and, second, verbal communication is not the exclusive form of language use. According to some traditions in pragmatics, it has been argued that there are several other kinds of language use, e.g. the use of language to think, memorize, learn, in taking notes, playing, singing for fun or in psycholinguistic experiments (Bierwisch 1983; Kasher 1986; Nida 1990; Németh T. 1996). The present paper also tries to characterize a non-communicative form of language use.

2. Aims. The paper has three main aims: (i) To distinguish verbal information transmission, i.e. informative language use and verbal communication, i.e. communicative language use. (ii) To illustrate the informative language use with the help of several kinds of examples and their analyses. (iii) To characterize the informative language use and demonstrate what identities and differences the informative and communicative language uses have.

3. Results. Applying the definition of ostensive-inferential communication (Sperber–Wilson 1986/1995), information transmission and communication can and must be distinguished. There are two intentions in the definition: an informative and a communicative one. Having an informative intention, a person wants to inform another about something. One can have informative intention without having an intention to make it manifest to the other person, i.e. without communicative intention. Communicative intention presupposes informative intention. Communication always includes information transmission, but not all kinds of information transmission can be considered communication. Information transmission can operate without communicative intention. The distinction on the theoretical basis is supported by the analyses of examples such as cases of information transmission without “hidden” intentions (cf. Németh T. 1996), some kinds of manipulation (cf. Árvay 2004) and informative speech acts (cf. Clark–Carlson 1982). On the theoretical and empirical basis some identities and differences between the two forms of language use can be established. Some identities are the following: both forms are ostensive behavior; both are adequate for the explicit and implicit conveying of information; the same operations can be found in both forms, namely ostension/inference and encoding/decoding; the rationality and interpersonality principles are valid for both of them. Some differences are the following: verbal communication is more adaptive behavior with important evolutionary benefits; several kinds of linguistic expressions are not used in verbal information transmission at all. Informative language use is not dynamic, it is one-sided, there is no possibility to check the effectiveness of the information transmission. On the contrary, verbal communication is always dynamic; two- or more-sided, there are several possibilities to check the effectiveness such as typical answers, tag questions, speech acts and discourse markers of correction and self-correction. The distinction between these two forms of language use, first, has indisputable advantages in the explaining of the phenomena in language use, second, results in a more complete modeling of pragmatic competence and, third, highlights more the real nature of the relation between the knowledge of language and its use.

**Niels Moeller Nielsen**

***Missing elements in arguments and counterarguments***

The question of how to deal with missing elements in arguments is a common interest for anyone studying argumentation, regardless of whether one's approach is logico-philosophical, rhetorical, or dialectical. The missing elements are known by many names: implicit elements, missing elements, unexpressed elements, implied elements, implicated elements, the choice of name partly giving away your general outlook on argumentation. Arguably, one major advance in the field has been the Amsterdam school of Pragma-Dialectics which has been addressing the problem by reference to speech act theory and rule-based procedures for deriving indirect illocutions. One very good idea has been to understand missing elements as redundancies in the sense that hearers are supposed to work out the missing parts by reference to the Gricean maxims operating under the general cooperation principle. Over the years, it has also become increasingly clear that the conversational implicature approach to missing elements is not always adequate.

I am going to take this discussion a bit further and argue that missing elements in argumentation are in fact rarely real instances of implicature, even if the inferential procedure by which they are derived is similar to that of implicature inference. Apparently, the problem lies with implicatures being defined as speaker-intentional. When one approaches argumentation as an instance of interaction and substitutes the analyst's

master-interpretation with descriptions of the ad-hoc reconstructions and evaluations performed by the language users themselves (sometimes known as the 'naive' interpretation), it becomes clear that missing elements are really not 'elements' of arguments in any linguistically meaningful way, but rather, they are being derived strategically as parts of counterarguments in interaction. Language users take on roles as proponent and opponent, producing arguments and counterarguments, respectively. The inferentially derived elements are derived by opponents, and they are generally not intended by the proponent of the argument, in fact they often run directly against the train of thought that the proponent has been trying to establish. However, the procedure by which they seem to be derived is quite parallel to Gricean implicature derivation.

Further implications point towards addressing the definition of conversational implicature as a speaker-intentional activity entirely. When one takes a look at the 'Generalized Conversational Implicatures' (as recently treated by Levinson) it is fair to challenge the idea that these implicatures always represent speaker-intentions. One might switch the focus to the hearer and understand these phenomena as possible, legitimate inferences that the hearer is licensed to make in the light of what was said. The fact that the hearer may legitimately derive *q* on the basis of the speaker's saying *p*, is not necessarily indicative of the speaker having actually meant to convey *q* by his saying *p*. And missing argument-elements are good examples of that.

## **Mayumi Nishikawa** ***Secondary interjections in English***

For many years, it has been assumed that interjections, which are syntactically independent and represent certain mental states of the speakers, are mainly categorized into two groups: primary interjections (e.g. oh, ah, ouch) and secondary interjection (e.g. good, really, yes) (Sweet 1891, Jespersen 1924, Ameka 1992, Wierzbicka 1992 etc.). Primary interjections are interjections which cannot be used otherwise, while secondary interjections are ordinary words which have come to be used as interjections in some various processes (Sweet 1891:152). However, it is not obvious how ordinary words have come to be used as interjections, or how ordinary words are used as interjections in some circumstances. In this presentation, in the framework of cognitive pragmatics called relevance theory (Sperber and Wilson 1995), I will show the mechanism of the interpretation of secondary interjections in English, that is, how ordinary words can be interpreted by the hearer in some occasions.

I will make the following two claims. First, secondary interjections are originally full-fledged sentential utterances, and, through the processes such as prosiopesis or aposiopesis (Jespersen 1924), are shortened into the only one-words (the only one elements in the sentences) which can represent the current mental states of the speakers' in a moment. Jespersen, providing an example like 'Good morning' -> 'Morning', explains that prosiopesis occurs when "the speaker begins to articulate, or thinks he begins to articulate, but produces no audible sound till one or two syllables after the beginning of what he intended to say" (1924: 310). Also, he, giving an example like 'Beautiful, isn't it?' -> 'Beautiful!', explains that aposiopesis "is extremely frequent in exclamations where it is not necessary to tell the hearer what one is speaking about" (1924: 142). Therefore I will claim that secondary interjections are one-word utterances which are abbreviated from the full-fledged sentential utterances for the speakers to express current mental states of theirs in a very short moment.

Second, whether or not ordinary words are recognized as secondary interjections is a matter of interpretation of the hearer in certain context, and the one-word utterances are likely to be recognized as secondary interjections to the extent that the relevance of the one-word utterances lies in communicating implicatures or higher-level explicatures which represent certain mental states of the speakers'. Consider:

Tom: I got a job at last!

Mary: It's good!

In this case, Mary may sometimes convey the explicature like 'it's good that Tom got a job at last' or may convey both the explicature and some implicatures like 'Mary is happy' or 'Mary is relieved' in other times. And in a particular situation Mary may mainly communicate such implicatures. The same thing happens if Mary only says 'Good!' instead of 'It's good!' It is when these implicatures or higher-level explicatures about certain mental states of the speakers' are much more strongly communicated than any other assumptions that abbreviated one-words utterances can be regarded as secondary interjections.

## **Yukiko Nishimura** ***Unfriendly discourse in Japanese computer-mediated communication: Its implication on communicative styles among Japanese speakers***

Innovative language uses and informal friendly communication styles among young Japanese users of the Bulletin Board Service (BBS) of the Internet have begun to be studied (Nishimura (2003a, 2003b)), and such informal cooperative discourse in Computer-Mediated Communication (CMC) has been analyzed based on

certain types of web sites. At the same time, on other BBS web sites, users have disputes over a number of issues. However, the publicly observable language use in such hostile discourse has not been documented satisfactorily. This paper first clarifies the linguistic devices used in such a conflict discourse in BBS message exchanges and then proposes that the users' choice of cooperative/friendly or indifferent/hostile styles in the BBS communication is derived from their attitude toward the degree to which they expect to or need to maintain a relationship with their interlocutors.

In order to characterize unfriendly or quarrel communication in CMC, we make two types of comparisons. First, differences in the linguistic choices between friendly and unfriendly discourse in computer-mediated communication are examined, paying attention to the use of sentence final particles as well as nature of the BBS web sites where these two types of discourse can be observed. The BBS web sites studied include fan sites for cooperative /friendly discourse, and for indifferent/hostile web sites Channel 2 web site, <http://www.2ch.net/2ch.html> is examined. Second, differences between computer-mediated communication and face-to-face conversation in terms of conflict discourse are analyzed, with particular reference to the kinds of linguistic devices employed to signal disagreement in each medium of communication (cf. Sato and Okamoto, 1999), also focusing on the nature and context in which the commutative events take place.

Based on these comparisons, I would like to point out that while the Japanese discourse has very often been associated with cooperative and polite language full of sympathy to the addressee, the Internet enables us to find it also exhibits hostile and provocative discourse when the addressee is not visible or known. This may be the other side of the coin and might strengthen the rationale on the part of Japanese speakers that they choose to use polite language when the addressee is visible and need and wish to show their respect to the addressee, even to strangers. One important implication of this study is in assessing the way in which the nature of the medium over which the communication takes place affects the choices in language use.

## **Yuji Nishiyama & Koji Mineshima** ***Semantic constraints on free enrichment***

The linguistic underdeterminacy thesis (Carston 2002), the most important hypothesis of Relevance Theory (RT), states that the meaning encoded in the linguistic expressions used underdetermines the proposition expressed. According to RT, hearers have to undertake processes of pragmatic inference in order to work out not only what speakers are implicating (implicature), but also what speakers are explicitly expressing (explicature). There are four types of pragmatic processes used to determine explicatures: (i) disambiguation, (ii) saturation, (iii) ad hoc concept construction, and (iv) free enrichment (FE). In this paper, we claim that FE differs from the other three processes with respect to grammatical constraints on its applicability.

Interpretation of utterances of the following sentences would, in an appropriate context, include the bracketed element based on pragmatic grounds alone.

- (1) Everyone disappeared. [Every student in Chomsky's seminar]
- (2) John burnt a book. [a book Mary wrote]
- (3) It's raining. [in London]

Such interpretations are examples of FE. However, FE does not apply to the predicate nominal in (4).

- (4) John is a linguist. [a linguist who attended Chomsky's lecture]

There is no context where an utterance of (4) would be interpreted as including the bracketed phrase.

To claim this is not to deny that predicate nominals underdetermine the properties they predicate of an object. Pragmatic processes other than FE do apply to predicate nominals.

- (5) This is a bat. [a flittermouse] (disambiguation)
- (6) John is the chairman. [of this committee] (saturation)
- (7) This is a good knife. [for picking teeth] (saturation)
- (8) Mary is a bulldozer. [BULLDOZER\*] (ad hoc concept construction)

Considering this, we claim:

- (9) FE is blocked for predicate nominals.

This shows that there are important restrictions on where the linguistic underdeterminacy thesis applies.

On the surface, (10) might look like a counterexample to (9). An utterance of (10) in a proper context can be interpreted as including the bracketed phrase.

- (10) JOHN is the bank robber. [who was arrested at Leicester Square yesterday]

However, a sentence like (10) is not predicational but specificational. This is shown by the fact that (10) can be paraphrased as (11).

- (11) The bank robber is JOHN.

Thus, 'the bank robber' in (10) is not a predicate nominal at all. Another potential argument against (9) is the following: if (4) is uttered in a context where Lisa is talking about her old classmates, then her utterance would be understood as expressing the proposition in (12).

- (12) John is a linguist who is among Lisa's old classmates.

(12), however, is inferred from (4) by assuming that John is among Lisa's old classmates. Thus, (12) is not an explicature but a contextual implication. Therefore, this argument fails too.

We argue that such a crucial difference between FE and the other pragmatic processes regarding grammatical constraints on their applicability is based upon the semantics of predicational sentences, in particular the “non-referentiality” of a predicate nominal. Predicate nominals do not refer to objects in the world but express properties, and FE is sensitive to this contrast.

**Midori Nishizawa, Yuriko Kite & Donna Tatsuki**

***Telephone call behavior in film, television interviews and language textbooks***

Of all broadcast media, television interviews and talks shows are predominantly verbal events and therefore are among the most prodigious sources of live, unscripted conversations. According to Sherman (2003) the unscripted highly verbal nature of a TV interview are good for language learning because they focus on high interest topics, allow viewers to closely observe the linguistic and nonverbal behavior of people on display, offer numerous examples of features of spontaneous, unplanned talk, show the many variations possible in a question/answer format, they include the audience as ratified listeners and occasionally as call-in participants. Telephone call-ins were collected from 40 episodes of Larry King Live on CNN and compared to telephone sequences in a teacher/learner selected film corpus and 20 of the most popular Japanese Ministry of Education approved language textbooks. The areas of comparison were 1) overall sequence structure, 2) core sequences in telephone openings and, 3) presence or absence of closing sequences.

**Uwe Kjaer Nissen**

***Mind your eye!: A contrastive analysis of eye: Metonymies in Danish, English and Spanish***

Within the theory of conceptual metaphor, the claim has been put forward that metaphors and metonymies are grounded in bodily experience; hence the term embodiment (Lakoff and Johnson, 1980, Johnson, 1987). Yet, relatively few studies deal with the analysis of specific, individual body parts in relation to conceptual metaphors, and even more rare are contrastive studies that deal with different languages.

This paper intends to shed more light on these aspects by means of a cross-linguistic analysis of the semantic field of eye compared to their Spanish and Danish counterparts, ojo and øje, respectively.

The analysis shows that non-literal uses of eye are, indeed, linked with mappings of mind and body and these mappings appear to be related directly to the constitution, shape and function of this body part. The analysis is inspired by Pustejovsky's (1995) qualia roles, the data being divided into three main groups from which the semantic field of eye is envisaged: 1) the partitional, 2) the functional and, 3) the telic. Although the overall findings indicate similarities between the languages analysed, there are also clear inter-linguistic divergences - a fact that might indicate differences in conceptualizations of this semantic field.

The analysis supports Deignan and Potter's (2004) view that metonymy is a powerful tool for generating figurative expressions, but suggests a need to distinguish between metonyms that are (more) directly linked to the body (which I will call intrinsic body metonymies), e.g. Then he lifted his eyes from the glass and those that are less directly linked to the body (which I will call extrinsic body metonymies), e.g. The Prime minister has to lift his eyes from this matter in order to look into the future. It would seem that the languages examined differ as to their ability to permit the step from intrinsic to extrinsic metonymy.

**Nele Nivelde**

***Counterfactual conditionals in an argumentative judicial discourse***

In courtroom situations, evidence rarely exists exclusively or even principally of mere facts and strictly deductive reasoning. More often, lawyers and judges take a certain stand, and then argue for that stand, so as to make it as acceptable as possible for listener or reader. The latter is the case in counterfactual reasoning, in which a speaker or writer deduces the hypothetical consequences of a situation opposed to reality. This kind of reasoning typically crystallizes in the shape of counterfactual conditionals, briefly counterfactuals. Studies of counterfactuals in philosophical logic, linguistics, experimental psychology and sociology have contributed considerably to the understanding of the phenomenon of counterfactuals by exploring a variety of aspects and criteria, thus establishing the possibility of distinguishing various types and subtypes of counterfactuals.

The current paper presents a bottom-up corpus-based study of counterfactuals in lawyers' conclusions and in judgements from an interdisciplinary perspective and subsequently offers a typology of counterfactuals in the aforementioned types of argumentative judicial discourse. This typology seems to be based on a two-way structure that makes a distinction between a) counterfactuals in which antecedents refer to well-established facts

in a legal case, agreed on by all litigants, and b) counterfactuals in which antecedents refer to facts that are contested by one or more litigants in a trial. As a final step, the discursive usage of each of the established types of counterfactuals in argumentative judicial discourse will be described. Preliminary results indicate that lawyers and judges use counterfactuals principally for the purpose of a) demonstrating the undesirability of a particular situation or course of action and b) demonstrating the absurdity or impossibility of one of the litigants' stances.

**Coco Norén**

### ***Reported speech, argumentation by authority and polyphony***

In this paper I argue that all forms of speech, reported speech (X said (that) Y) as well as direct speech (Y), have the same polyphonic underlying structure and can be analysed as argumentation by authority. This leads to the conclusion that all utterance acts (fr. énonciations) are per se polyphonic, and thus polyphony must be considered an essential feature of language.

The French enunciative linguistics can roughly be divided in two traditions: the first one is inspired by Bakhtin, using dialogism as a basic notion (Rabatel ed. 2003, Bres et al. 1999), while the second one takes Ducrot's polyphony as a key concept (Ducrot et al. 1980, Ducrot 1984). This study is carried out within the framework of the ScaPoLinE, the Scandinavian Theory of Linguistic Polyphony (Nølke, Fløttum & Norén 2004), which is a formalised model of Ducrot's studies of multiple voices in discourse. In contrast to earlier studies of argumentation by authority in enunciative linguistics (Perrin 2000, Norén 2004), this paper focuses on its relation to reported speech.

Reported speech is generally schematised as X said (that) Y. Data derived from corpora of spoken French dialogues (Norén 1999) show that X often corresponds to the speaker (I said). Since the utterance I said (that) Y have the same polyphonic configuration as the utterance Y, reported speech can not be defined as an "alien speech" integrated in the speaker's discourse, but as a representation of the voice (fr. être discursif) responsible for Y. In some cases this can be a third person, and in others the speaker himself.

The canonical form of argumentation by authority is reported speech where X is an authority recognised by the doxa. I show that even when X is the speaker, the addressee or an unknown person, the utterance act has a rhetorical impact. This is the case even if X is not explicitly mentioned. Considering that all utterance acts presuppose a voice that takes responsibility for Y, all utterances can be analysed as forms of argumentation by authority. Thus all utterances are polyphonic whether it is argumentatively exploited or not.

**Kerstin Noren & Per Linell**

### ***Meaning potentials and their empirical substantiations***

The concept of meaning potential has been proposed within several approaches to linguistics semantics and the pragmatics of communication (e.g. Halliday, 1973; Rommetveit, 1974; Allwood, 2003). It has been suggested as a solution to the problem of accounting for polysemy in words and utterance types in actual usage, given that the lexical items have been semantically described in terms of common meanings (perhaps specified as bundles of semantic features), basic meanings (e.g. prototypes), etc. The idea behind the notion of meaning potential is that a lexical item, as a linguistic resource, does not have a fixed and stable meaning that is actualised in all usage events. Rather, the defining idea in the theory of meaning potentials is that there is an obligatory interaction between linguistic resources and contexts; the word has a potential to give rise to different situated (occasioned) meanings in different contexts, in an interplay with contextual factors.

However, the notion of meaning potential has so far remained mainly a theoretical proposal without much empirical substantiation. The aim of our research is to empirically explore the notion, as it is applied to lexical resources, in a series of case studies of words (of different kinds) and their situated use in Swedish. The ultimate goal of this research is to develop precise hypotheses about three aspects of the theory: (a) what is the structure of meaning potentials (we assume that they are not just unordered sets of memorised usages), (b) exactly what kinds of contexts are operative in different kinds of usage events (e.g. aspects of locally and globally co-occurring linguistic resources, knowledge of topic domains and communicative activity types), and (c) what kinds of operations on lexical meaning potentials occur in usage events (e.g. different kinds of foregrounding, backgrounding and cancellation operations).

We have so far pursued our explorations using basically three different methods. One is the analysis of meaning variation across texts in large multi-genre language corpora. A second method looks at words in coherent talk or text, in which the same word is used in different ways and with semantic glides. The third method is to look at how people actually negotiate meanings, and the appropriateness of specific words, in specific usage events. In this presentation, we shall report primarily on this last-mentioned method, a corpus

study which concerns the Swedish word *ny* 'new', as it is used in a certain kind of usage events involving the so-called *x-and-x* construction. A simple example is:

A: har du köpt ny bil? ('have you bought a new car')

B: ny å ny, den e sju år gammal ('it depends on what you mean new [lit.: 'new and new'], it's seven years old')

In such events, two or more interpretations of *ny* are negotiated. By studying about 130 instances of *x-and-x* events with *ny*, we can demonstrate the open meaning potential of this lexical item, as it is dynamically accommodated to different contexts and also semantically analysed by language users in real communication. By this we have to a certain extent made hypotheses a) and c) above more precise.

## Neal Norrick

### *The construction of multiple identities in stories by older narrators*

In my paper I will investigate how older narrators construct multiple identities simultaneously through storytelling. When teenagers tell stories, according to Bamberg (1997), they are probably only concerned with their current identity as, say, an oriental, heterosexual high school girl (see Eckert and McConnell-Ginet 1999 on constructing identity in a Community of Practice), but when older people tell stories, they may focus on any of their multiple identities across her life span, e.g. girl who had to work to help her family through the depression, army nurse in World War II, post-war bride and mother, career woman who returned to the workforce when the children were grown, grandmother, widow, active member of senior community. Older tellers construct their current identity largely through recontextualizing stories from the past, especially those constructing identity in younger years, e.g. salient experiences and "landmarks" through life stories. One obvious way to convey multiple identities is through telling stories about events and people from past life stages. According to Boden and Bielby (1986), older tellers also demonstrate a tendency to move between the past and the present, pointing out parallels and drawing distinctions, within a single storytelling. Finally, older narrators may introduce the attitudes or perspectives of others directly into their own stories, e.g. "my children didn't understand my career change at the time" or my husband "told that for years, he thought it was hysterical," as in the story below.

Ida so we made a date for the next night  
and he took me out.  
and he took me to a little bar  
thinking "oh boy, this is gonna be fun."  
and he said what would I want to drink.  
and I said "I really don't drink,  
but could I get a piece of apple pie?" {laughter}  
well he told people that for YEARS  
he thought this was hysterical. {laughter}  
he said "I'm trying to impress this gal.  
and what does she want-  
a piece of apple PIE" {laughing}

Here Ida ends her story with a repeat-coda consisting of additional evaluation by another participant in the action, but not present for the telling, as if the story were being co-narrated by a single teller, speaking for her deceased partner as well as for herself. Such a dual telling strategy allows the narrator to establish multiple identities in a single storytelling. Like evaluations from separate perspectives in a story, this strategy substantially enhances the tellability and the flexibility of the story for presentation in different contexts.

My paper explores stories from a range of contexts to demonstrate how older narrators recontextualize past experience to construct multiple identities in talk-in-interaction.

## Sigrid Norris

### *Performance of simultaneous actions: Simultaneous construction of several identity fragments*

This paper utilizes the notion of modal density, which is seen in Multimodal Interaction Analysis (Norris, 2004) as the interplay of an array of communicative modes, including spoken language, gesture, posture, gaze, as well as layout and object handling, which helps to delineate which level of attention/awareness (in relational terms) a participant places on a certain action while multiple actions are being performed.

This paper investigates the performance of simultaneous actions within complex configurations of action within a business setting. I rely on video data, which were collected as part of a four month long ethnographic study, investigating the identity construction of two female business partners owning a web design



company. Both women work back-to-back in the same office, interacting with clients via the phone or computer, visitors and each other on an ongoing basis. Once in a while, the women, who both have children, may bring their daughters to work.

The notion of modal density allows the illustration of how the women often perform simultaneous actions on various levels of their attention/awareness. As Scollon (1997) points out, every action that is performed also constructs a person's identity. While the simultaneous actions sometimes construct one and the same identity fragment (for example the identity fragment of a business owner), sometimes, the simultaneous actions also construct several different identity fragments at once (for example the identity fragment of business owner as well as the fragments of friend and mother).

When diverse identity fragments of one individual are co-constructed through several simultaneous actions on different levels of attention/awareness, such identity construction can have an adverse effect on the focused, as well as the less focused actions that the participant is performing. When, on the other hand, one and the same identity fragment is co-constructed through several simultaneous actions on different levels of attention/awareness, the participant performs their focused action, as well as their less focused ones, with ease. 'Adverse effect' and 'ease' of the performance of simultaneous actions can be determined by investigating the multiple modes that are utilized in order to perform the simultaneous actions.

Brief video clips and excerpts of multimodal transcripts illustrate the complexities of such interactions, by looking at an example in which diverse identity fragments of an individual are co-constructed through several simultaneous actions, and one example in which one and the same identity fragment is co-constructed through several simultaneous actions.

The analysis takes all communicative modes into consideration, and then utilizes the heuristic framework of a modal density foreground-background continuum of a person's levels of consciousness to demonstrate the simultaneously ongoing actions and identity constructions.

## **Elena Nuzzo**

### ***Developing pragmatic competence: Requests in Italian L2***

Studies investigating the development of pragmatic competence in interlanguages are rapidly growing. Yet this field of research is still largely unexplored, especially with reference to the acquisition of Italian as a second language.

This paper presents the results of a longitudinal study which examines the development of the realisation patterns of requests in 3 intermediate female learners of Italian (one from Perù, one from Ecuador and one from Germany), aged 22, 32 and 34.

The theoretical framework is based on speech acts theory and the principles of politeness. The data were collected at seven distinct points over a period of 5 months by means of interactive roleplays elicited with everyday-life situations. The same roleplays were interpreted by 15 native speakers of Italian.

The key-questions in this study are the following:

- How do learners approach the realisation patterns used by native speakers?
- What is the relationship between the development of pragmatic competence and the acquisition of the grammatical devices which allow its linguistic expression?
- How does L1 transfer work in this context?

The analysis focuses on the strategies and modifiers used to soften the face-threatening nature of requestive acts. As the subjects are adult intermediate learners, the following developmental pattern is hypothesised:

- Adult learners, who already have the concept of mitigation, try to mitigate face-threatening acts through grammatical devices; if these devices are not available in their interlanguage, they chose lexical or phrasal options to the same effect. Therefore, learners will show an increasing use of syntactic modifiers and a decrease of lexical and phrasal ones (Hypothesis 1).
- Primary functions of grammatical forms precede their pragmatic use; learners will therefore achieve control over forms that will be used in pragmatically effective ways only at a subsequent stage (Hypothesis 2).
- L1 can be a help or a hindrance in the task of working out the pragmatic meanings to which grammatical forms can be put; learners will show different paths of pragmatic use of grammatical forms depending on their L1 (Hypothesis 3).

Hypothesis 1 is confirmed by the data, which show that learners use gradually more syntactic devices in order to mitigate the imposition of requestive acts. With reference to hypothesis 2, the data do not allow for strong empirical evidence, given the difficulty of separating the primary function from the pragmatic meaning in a 'pure modal' form as the Italian *condizionale* — the most frequent grammatical mitigation device in native speakers' requests. On the other hand, learners never use negation as a modifier (as Italian participants frequently do) despite their perfect control on this grammatical feature in its primary function. Results fully

confirm hypothesis 3, as we can see in the German learner's overuse of the lexical modifier *forse* (negative transfer from L1) and in her early use of the *condizionale* as internal modifier (positive transfer from L1).

**Patricia O'Connor**

***Identity and abuse in life stories of female drug addicts***

From a larger set of data, in this paper I use ten life-story narratives audiotaped early in drug treatment and at the end of treatment inside U.S. recovery facilities for women substance abusers. I examine utterances that situate the speakers inside the context of treatment as well as within the larger contexts of factors contributing to drug abuse. The first section of this paper examines discourse that agentively claims or that distances the speakers as seeing themselves as "addicts" or "in recovery" or "in the Program." These examples of increasingly more specific semantic choices reveal the impact of what is called "12-step language" on the speaker. Likewise, therapeutic terms such as "setting boundaries" (limiting one's contact with people and circumstances that trigger relapse) or "minimizing" (a speaker under-values his/her own negative behavior's impact on causing a relapse) can indicate the speaker's incorporation of counseling talk into everyday discourse.

As well as establishing a continuum of recovery in the language of these life stories, this paper also situates the discourse of recovery within larger social contexts that include the addicts' recollections and articulations of factors in their past lives that have contributed to their drug use. In particular, this paper focuses on the incidence of childhood sexual abuse in the lives of female addicts. Disclosures of self-inflicting wounds ("cutting"), self-medicating with drugs, and performing self-demeaning acts are situated within contexts of discussions of raising self-esteem. This research yields a fruitful area for inquiry into identity formation as "victim" or "survivor" and suggests a range of options for addressing the aftermath of those acts of violence and violation. Results of the analysis indicate need for a holistic approach to treatment that moves beyond the necessary, but ultimately limited, approach of behavior modification alone. I also suggest that communities beyond the clinical settings become more involved in the recovery process as part of a social uptake in the larger narrative of recovery.

**Patrick O'Mahony**

***Towards a pragmatic sociology: Discourses of citizenship in public participation on GM foods in Britain and Ireland***

This paper aims to contribute to the development of a pragmatic sociology of cultural learning by reconstructing contemporary theoretical frameworks on citizenships and pragmatic action theory according to the insights of linguistically grounded analysis of discourse. It begins, firstly, with a brief introduction to the theme of citizenship as a communicative achievement, developing points raised in the panel outline. Specifically, this first section of the paper will show how the normatively inclined literature on risk and technological citizenship can be reconstructed in terms of empirical citizenship categories drawn from analysis of participatory discourse in relevant settings. These categories of governance, knowledge, risk/benefits and protest encompass discourses of citizenship ranging in various manifestations across the institutional cultures of state, industry, science, and civil society. The paper, secondly, moves on to outline how a pragmatic sociology of cultural learning can be used to comprehend the dynamics of innovation and institutionalization in categorically organized discourses of citizenship in participatory settings. Such a pragmatic sociology will also involve a reconstruction of the normative inclination of Habermas's pragmatics of communication in terms of an empirically nuanced pragmatics that retains the theoretical ambition of understanding societal learning processes. Thirdly, the paper outlines some of the central components of an empirical pragmatics of this kind, drawing from the pragmatic analysis of social action in writers such as van Leeuwen, Fairclough and others; from the ambit of conversation analysis oriented to membership categorization devices and self-other positioning; from the sociological adaptation of frame analysis; and from Halliday's functional linguistics. These different traditions contribute complementary dimensions of an empirical sociological treatment of discursive innovation and institutionalization that has theory-building capacity. In the concluding section, the paper uses the framework developed in providing a short illustrative analysis of citizenship discourse in participatory settings, the case of GM foods in Britain and Ireland.

**Nawaf Obiedat**

***The pragma-ideological implications of using reported speech in reporting incidents of killing resulting from Al-Aqsa Intifada***

From a systemic perspective, this paper investigates, via a critical discourse analysis, the newsreporters' purposes and intentions of using direct and/or indirect quotations (DQ's & IQ's, respectively) in news reporting.

By randomly selecting, and critically analysing, a number of news stories taken from two leading British and two leading American newspapers, reporting the same two incidents of killing resulting from Al-Aqsa Intifada, this study has revealed the following:

1. DQ's are used to show that what she/he reports is an unconvertible fact.
2. DQ's function as a distancing and a disowning device, i.e., absolving the journalist/the news reporter from the endorsement of what the source, e.g. the newsmaker, has said.
3. DQ's are used to add some flavour, vividness and a sense of immediacy and authority to the news story that can be manipulated in such a way to achieve a variety of certain socio-political ends, e.g. makes a mere view point seem and sound authoritative rather than an individual point of view (in our case, the newsmaker's), since it represents, more-or-less, his/her very words.

On the other hand, this study has also revealed the following, with regard to IQ's.:

1. They indicate the political bias and prejudice of the news reporter.
2. They show a subjective perspective of the news reporter, since she/he merely paraphrases and gives a summary of the content of what has been recorded, written or uttered by the newsmaker.
3. They, sometimes, present an ambiguous account of what has been recorded, written or uttered by the newsmaker, since the news reporter only presents an interpretation of it, as in the case of free direct and free indirect quotations (FDQ's & FIQ's, respectively).

However, both DQ's and IQ's can serve the news reporter by means of manipulating the metapragmatic functions of the reporting/projecting verbs, in assessing and evaluating both the socio-political stance and status of the newsmaker, in addition to exposing the political bias of the news reporter him-/herself.

## **Kyoko Ohara**

### ***On the rise of a concessive clause-linkage in Modern Japanese***

This paper discusses a case in which a certain grammatical construction requiring a specific context on its use has given rise to a distinct grammatical construction. It compares syntactic, semantic, and pragmatic functions of concessive bi-clausal sentences in Modern Japanese (1), with those of so-called internally headed relativization (IHR) sentences (2). Citing examples from diachronic corpora, it will be proposed that the IHR construction, which requires a specific context on its use, may have given rise to another construction, namely, the concessive construction.

Researchers disagree as to the nature of the concessive bi-clausal sentences (e.g. Kuroda 1999, Martin 1975, Mihara 1994). Although there are many attested examples of such sentences in corpora, the sequences \_no ga\_ and \_no o\_, underlined in (1), have not been generally recognized as clausal conjunctions yet, as can be seen from the fact that dictionaries do not list them as lemmas. It will be argued, however, that the concessive construction should be treated as distinct from the IHR construction on structural, semantic, and pragmatic grounds.

In IHR sentences, the case marking on the nominalized clause (S1 plus \_no\_) agrees with the case marking required by the main predicate for the role of the coreferenced NP. However, concessive sentences do not exhibit such "case-matching" phenomena. Second, while IHR sentences do not allow so-called contrastive \_wa\_ in the two clauses, concessive sentences do. It has been argued that IHR sentences function to advance a narrative within a sentence (Ohara 1996, *inter alia*). The unacceptability of the contrastive \_wa\_ in IHR sentences suggests that the discourse function of IHR sentences may not be compatible with the discourse function of emphasizing a contrast in propositions. That function, on the other hand, is congruent with the concessivity expressed by concessive sentences. Furthermore, the concessive meaning is conventionalized in IHR sentences. The fact that the contrastive \_wa\_ is allowed in concessive sentences does not, by itself, entail any such conventionalization. It may be argued that the concessivity found in them is just a \_conversational\_ implicature and that the contrastive \_wa\_, when it is used, strengthens such a reading. However, the concessive relation is not cancellable and thus is indeed conventionalized in concessive sentences.

It thus follows that if we define grammatical constructions as conventionalized pairs, then the concessive clause-linkage must be recognized as a grammatical construction that is distinct from the IHR construction. By comparing the two constructions' structural, semantic, and pragmatic properties, the paper proposes that the IHR construction, requiring a specific context on its use, may have given rise to the concessive construction.

Although the proposed change in Japanese seems parallel to the developments from the "adjoined" relative clause to the clausal conjunctions in Early Indo-European (Holland 1984) and to the developments from internal-head constructions to absolute constructions in Kiranti languages in Eastern Nepal (Bickel 1999), the Japanese case deserves attention since it seems to have specifically developed a construction which is dedicated to expressing concessivity rather than general topicality.

- (1) Concessive bi-clausal sentence  
a. [ rei-nen da to asa-yuu

every-year COP CONJ morning-evening  
 sukooru ga aru] \_no ga\_  
 squall NOM exist  
 kotosi wa hotondo ame ga huranai.  
 this-year TOP scarcely rain NOM fall-NEG  
 ‘Whereas every year we have a squall in the  
 morning and in the evening, this year it has scarcely  
 rained.’

[Asahi Newspaper]

- b. kare wa [kesseki sita hoo ga ii] \_no o\_  
 he TOP absent had.better.be  
 muri o sita.  
 pushed.oneself.too.hard  
 ‘Whereas he should have stayed home, he pushed  
 himself too hard.’

(Lê 1988:86, (66))

(2)

- IHR sentence
- a. [ [ringo ga teeburu no ue ni atta]S1  
 apple NOM table GEN above LOC existed  
 no ] ga otita.  
 NMLZ NOM fell  
 i. ‘[That there was an apple on the table] fell.’  
 ii. Lit. ‘There was an apple on the table, and (it) fell.’
- b. [ [ringo ga teeburu no ue ni atta]S1  
 apple NOM table GEN above LOC existed  
 no o midori wa totta.  
 NMLZ ACC Midori TOP took  
 i. ‘Midori picked up [that there was an apple on the  
 table].’  
 ii. Lit. ‘There was an apple on the table, and Midori  
 picked (it) up.’

## Yumiko Ohara

### *The linguistic construction of a national history and its ideological consequences: The treatment of World War II in Japanese history textbooks*

As the study of ways of thought, the field of Philosophy has been crucial to the construction of national identities and even civilizations. Eastern philosophies such as Buddhism and Shintoism, for example, have been assigned an important status in the identity of Japan as a nation state and the identity of the Japanese as a unified group of people. Although not necessarily prominent in the daily lives of the Japanese, these philosophies are often used to account for specific behaviors, and serve as explanations for perceived differences in the ways of thinking of people from Japan and western societies.

Critical discourse analysis (CDA), in contrast, does not assume that there exists a ‘natural’ philosophy that holds a nation or a group of people together. Instead, CDA endeavors to uncover the processes through which particular ways of thought come to be constructed and accepted as ‘natural’. Thus, a critical discourse analyst would not unquestioningly take as ‘fact’ the existence of a common way of thinking underlying and unifying a nation like Japan but would rather be more interested to find out what types of historical processes have resulted in the construction of Japan as particular type of nation.

This study adopts the perspective of CDA to explore construction of national history in Japan in relation to one major event, World War II. With Japan’s defeat in the war and with some of the wartime atrocities attributed to Japan, investigation of the remembrance of World War II can inform our understanding of how Japan is seen as a nation state. For data, the study employs descriptions of World War II in seven major junior high school textbooks in use in the late 1990’s and early 2000’s. Japanese history textbooks are chosen due to the influence of education on the ways that citizens come to view their own country.

The analysis will focus on three linguistic processes that are used in the textbooks to construct a particular view of Japan’s role in the war. The first process, termed ‘replacement’, refers to the use of certain lexical items, such as “shinshitsu” (‘advance’), instead of other similar items, like “shinryaku (‘invade’), that contain very different nuances. The second process, ‘redefinition’, highlights the use of language that alters the very definition of an item or an event, for example redefining Japan’s role in World War II as participating in a war of liberation rather than a war of aggression. The third process, ‘deletion’ refers to the repression of lexical

descriptors; one example is the non-usage of the term 'jugun ianfu' ("military sex slaves" or "comfort women") in all of the textbooks.

The collective effect of these three processes is a construction of a Japanese World War II history in which Japan is not responsible for 'invading' its neighbors and is likewise not liable for atrocities such as the murder of thousands of civilians and the forcing of women into sexual slavery. This study emphasizes that this 'way of thinking' about Japan's history, while often accepted as the 'true story', is not just a 'natural' depiction of the events but rather a constructed history that can and should be the object of more contestation in the future.

## **Etsuko Oishi**

### ***Austin's speech act theory and context***

Half a century ago, J.L. Austin presented a new analysis of meaning, where meaning is not explained through reduction. In reductive theories of meaning, complexities of meaning expressed by a sentence are reduced by a single criterion to something else. We can typically find this reductive explanation of meaning in Russell and Tarski. Modern truth-conditional semanticists who adopt the Russellian/Tarskian ideas correlate a sentence with a fact or a state of affairs as its meaning.

Austin, on the other hand, tried to describe 'the total speech act in the total speech situation'. By the concept of speech acts and the felicity conditions for performing them, Austin showed that to utter a performative sentence is to be evaluated in terms of what we might call conventionality, deicticity, and intentionality of uttering the sentence. Uttering a performative sentence is to be described in terms of

1. associated conventions which are valid, without which the purported act is disallowed: a violation of the felicity conditions A,
2. an actual, accurate utterance of the speaker in a spatiotemporal location, which induces an associated response from the hearer in the spatiotemporal location, without which the purported act is vitiated: a violation of the felicity conditions B, and
3. an associated intention of the speaker, without which the purported act is abused; a violation of the felicity conditions C.

That is, Austin showed that, when a sentence is uttered as an act, i.e., an illocutionary act, these elements are indicated, and an actual utterance is evaluated in terms of them. In the present talk we go further, as to say that these elements of context and types of them are marked in a sentence, and to utter the sentence is to indicate them as the present speech situation. For example, to utter a sentence 'I apologize' is to indicate, as the present speech situation, a type of situation where the speaker is to be blamed and asks the hearer for forgiveness, i.e., the present speaker does apologize to the present hearer, believing s/he did something for which s/he should be blamed and ask the hearer forgiveness. In this picture of meaning, the essential part of analysing meaning is to describe (i) what elements of context are marked in a sentence, (ii) how they are differentiated, and, furthermore, (iii) how an indicated type of context and the present speech situation interrelate with or without expressing a specific meaning.

The proposed interpretation and extension of Austin's speech act theory are in sharp contrast to speech act theories after Austin. As we will assert, Searle, Searle & Vanderveken, Schiffer, and Back & Harnish explain illocutionary acts in a narrow sense; how one type of illocutionary act differs from another in terms of intentionality or attitude. We, on the other hand, describe what type of context is marked in a sentence, and, by the utterance, how the present speech situation has become—or failed to become—the type of context.

## **Shigeko Okamoto**

### ***Quotative -tte in Japanese: Multifaceted functions and degrees of subordination***

Japanese has many grammatical morphemes used as markers of subordinate clauses--i.e. conjunctive particles (e.g. ba 'if', noni 'although', kara 'because') or complementizers (e.g. no, koto, tte). These morphemes may also be used as sentence/utterance-final particles, expressing various pragmatic meanings. It has been pointed out that the latter usage (i.e. utterance-final particles) has evolved from the former (i.e. subordinate clause markers) through the process of grammaticization, or functional reanalysis, that involves a shift of subordinate clauses to main clauses (e.g. Ohori 1995; Okamoto 1995; Suzuki 1999).

Focusing on the clause-final quotative -tte as a case in point, this study reconsiders the process of this reanalysis on the basis of contemporary data drawn from several conversations--both spontaneous conversations and conversations taken from T.V. dramas. It has been said that -tte functions as a complementizer, as in example (1), as well as an utterance-final particle, as in example (2) and that the -tte clause is a subordinate complement clause in the former, but a main clause in the latter (Okamoto 1995; Suzuki 1999).

- (1) koo yuu no ga ii to omoimasu tte yutte  
'(I) said tte something like this would be good'.

(2) okusan wa Nihon-jin nan desu tte.  
'(His) wife is Japanese-tte.'

A closer look at the data, however, reveals that the distinction between -tte as a complementizer and -tte as an utterance-final particle is not binary at all. Rather, there are many intermediate uses in which the -tte clause exhibits a different degree of subordination. Examples (3) and (4) illustrate some of the intermediate uses.

(3) Koo yuu n da, anta nanka suki ja naitte, sukina wake nai ja nai tte.  
'(she) says like this, (I) don't love you-tte, there's no way I love you-tte.'

(4) A: saisho no semesutaa da kara tte,  
'It's the first semester, so-tte'  
B: un.

'yeah'  
A: jibun o nagusamete.  
'(I) comforted myself.'

[Examples (1), (2), and (4) are from spontaneous conversations; example (3) is from a T.V. drama taken from Maynard (2001).]

In such intermediate uses, -tte behaves more or less like a complementizer, conjunctive particle, or final particle with differing degrees of subordination of the -tte clause, which can be characterized in terms of a number of criteria, including:

- phonological features, in particular, intonation
- presence of two clauses or only one clause
- location of the two clauses, when both are expressed
- specificity of the information source
- sense of completion or recoverability of the unexpressed clause/meaning
- semantic and pragmatic values (i.e. epistemic, temporal, concessive, various speech acts, such as reporting, asserting, questioning)
- groundedness of the information conveyed by each clause
- possibility of being followed by other sentence-final particle
- possibility of turn-taking after -tte

These analyses also show the increasingly interactional and subjective nature of -tte as the degree of subordination decreases. In sum, the contemporary data examined in this study demonstrate complex and creative uses of -tte in syntactic, semantic, and pragmatic contiguity between a complementizer and an utterance-final particle.

## **Florence Oloff & Lorenza Mondada**

### ***Overlap and multimodality: Rethinking overlap through video analysis***

This paper deals with « overlap » as a central category within the turn-taking machinery. It focusses on the possible redefinitions of this category invited by a multimodal approach of video recorded interactions.

Turn-taking organization is characterized by a fundamental distribution of opportunities to participate which is based on the speakers' orientation to a key feature : « one party talks at a time » (Sacks, Schegloff, Jefferson, 1974). Overlap is a major departure from this basic design feature, where « more than one party speaks at a time » — the other being silence, that is « fewer than one at a time » (Schegloff, 2000, 2). Literature dealing with this phenomenon has demonstrated its orderly, systematic, methodic character (see f.i. the work of Jefferson and Schegloff). This literature is mainly based on audio data (i.e. audio taped naturally occurring talk-in-interaction) defining overlap as « simultaneous speech ».

Video analysis allows to enlarge the range of multimodal phenomena to be considered when analyzing the sequential organization of interactional practices. What happens to « overlaps » when not only simultaneous speech is considered, but also gazes, gestures, and body movements ? In a way, a lot of multimodal events « overlap » with talk ; but not all multimodal events do contribute to the sequential organization of the turn / of the establishment of the speaker's rights and obligations (f.i., to her status as « incipient speaker »). The question of the relevance of multimodal resources for the turn organization will be tackled here.

In order to empirically deal with these questions, we will pay a special attention to a particular sequential position : to gestures, gazes, movements occurring before audible overlaps and contributing to the same sequential trajectory. One interesting case is what Jefferson calls pre-terminal « gearing up » practices using inbreath as signalling future self-selection : inbreath is an audible phenomenon, but can also be considered as a bodily movement, eventually associated with other gestures. We also will consider cases in which no simultaneous speech is involved — what we could call multimodal nonverbal overlaps.

We also will focus on the specific kind of accountability produced by these multimodal overlaps : certain gestures or body movements might be specific for exhibiting the problematic character of some overlaps, while others, on the contrary, might underline the collaborative dimension of the speakers' simultaneous actions.

The paper will be based on a corpus of video recorded ordinary conversations, as well as professional meetings.

### **Elite Olshtain & Irit Kupferberg** *Pragmatics in educational discourse*

In recent years processes of change, empowerment and evaluation have dominated the educational discourse. The reconstruction and reevaluation of the teaching profession has created a variety of contexts within which such processes are being discussed. The communicative interaction in such situations leads to deeper understanding of the issues at hand within the pragmatic context of the educational arena.

The present paper focuses on a large number of qualitative studies that have been carried out in a variety of educational context focusing on pragmatic features of discourse. The studies were grouped according to stages of professional development in the teaching profession: pre-service training, in-service training, training on the job, advanced professional development and discourse among the trainers.

The proposed presentation will focus on common pragmatic elements shared by the discourse presented in the various studies and will attempt to suggest a model for analyzing educational discourse in general. Speaker meaning in educational discourse is affected by the speaker's professional status, experience and age and first and foremost by his/her role in the interaction. The way in which the interaction affects the hearer is often related to the professional background and experience of the hearer. The Gricean Cooperative Principle will be discussed in relation to educational discourse.

### **Tsuyoshi Ono** *Re-examination of the main and subordinate distinction in Japanese conversation*

As early as the 80s, in their seminal paper Haiman and Thompson (1984) established a continuum nature of the distinction between main and subordinate clauses. More recently, Englebretson (2003) has described a language (Indonesian) where there is no grammatical distinction between the main clause and the complement clause (a type of subordinate clause). Japanese has long been characterized with a clear distinction between main and subordinate clauses, based on the finiteness of the predicates of the clauses, as shown in:

(1) John wa asa okite, kao o aratta  
morning get.up face wash:PAST

'John got up in the morning and washed his face.' (Kuno 1973:196)

The predicate of the first clause (okite 'get up') is not marked for tense while the one for the second clause (aratta 'washed') is; the first clause is a subordinate clause and the second the main clause. Though it looks clear-cut and non-problematic, the distinction has only been made based on inspections of examples constructed by the researchers. The present contribution challenges this distinction by examining actual use of language: everyday conversation. The following is a typical utterance from conversation, where A is talking about what her daughter's friends say about her:

- (2)
- 1 A: soosuruto musume no otomodachi tte iu no wa  
'Then my daughter's friends  
2 yukako no okaasan wa wakai kara ii yo ne tte iutte  
say "Yukako, it's good that your mother is young,  
3 gakkoo e kite mo  
even when (she) comes to school."  
4 B: haa  
'Uh huh.'  
5 A: uchi no okaasan babaa da kara ya da tte iutte no (how do you  
pick between yutte and iutte?)  
'(They) say "(I) don't like it because my mother is old."  
6 tondemo nai no  
'No way!'  
7 minna no okaasan no ga wakai no yo  
'Everyone else's mother is younger (than me).'

Several clauses in non-finite form (in bold in lines 2-5) are found to be strung together, which is called 'clause-chaining' in the literature. These clauses are not marked for tense so would be considered as subordinate, but functionally they seem to be advancing the story line, which is what main clauses have been said to do. One could insist on the traditional main-subordinate distinction by calling these clauses subordinate but then the use of these particular terms would lose their purpose; use of any two terms would do the job. Prosodically, utterances in lines 1-3 seem to form a complete sentence, and in fact B's backchannel response in line 4 suggests

that she recognizes the utterances as some kind of unit. However, under this analysis we would end up with a sentence without a main clause (clause marked with tense), instead consisting solely of subordinate clauses. Our investigation of Japanese thus suggests that the traditional main-subordinate distinction may not be useful to analyze clauses in the most fundamental form of language, conversation.

## **Noriko Onodera**

### ***From the self-directed to other-directed meanings: Evolution of na elements***

The Japanese sentence-final particle 'ne' is a unique element. Although it has neither grammatical or referential function, it still plays quite an important role in the unfolding of Japanese discourse. Conversation seems the site where culturally rigidly-defined interactional norms are highly valued, and hence, the speaker shows considerateness to observe such norms with various conversational strategies. In Japanese conversations, one such norm is 'to reach harmony (and maintain the harmonious conversation)'. Ne is used as a speaker's strategy which contributes to constructing and maintaining such 'harmony'.

In the earlier works (Onodera 2000, 2004), the diachronic analysis of Japanese data ranging from the 8th century through the present illustrated the historical change of na elements (ne, na, and their variants). This change involves pragmaticalization. If the broadest view of grammaticalization is taken, the change is also explained as a case of grammaticalization, and if the narrower view of grammaticalization is taken, the change shows a positional change. In this paper, the focus is rather on the functional change of na elements, with a special focus on subjectivity and intersubjectivity.

In the course of pragmaticalization of na elements, we recognize strengthening of both subjectivity and intersubjectivity. Specific cases of such strengthening, subjectification and intersubjectification, and the distinction between these two tendencies will be discussed.

There seems a few directions where subjectification and intersubjectification take place in the pragmaticalization of na elements. Earlier, the three directions were examined as cases of subjectification, but here the issue of subjectivity and intersubjectivity is revisited and the relationship among subjectification, intersubjectification and the rise of interpersonal meaning will be closely examined.

First, the functional shift toward more interpersonal meaning is recognized at the most extensive level, i.e. from the na group of sentence-final particles (SFPs) to the sentence-internal particles (SIPs) to the interjections. This is summarily explained as: the primary function of SFPs and SIPs is "exclamation", a self-directed function, while the primary function of the evolved expressions, interjections, is "summons", a basic other-directed function. There is a shift from the 'self-directed' to 'other-directed' meanings. Second, another case of shift to 'more interpersonal' is recognized in the evolution of na group of SFPs. The prime function of SFPs is exclamation throughout their history from the 8th century to the present. However, in the 17th century, tag-like functions "to seek affirmation" or "confirmation" appear. The tag-like uses are the speaker's other-directed strategies, quite different from the exclamation use. Third, another case of shift to 'more interpersonal' is seen in the evolution of the na group of interjections. Their prime function is summons, a "basic other-directed function" (Suzuki 1973: 170, etc.), while later functions include "announcement of upcoming new information" and "reinforcement", other-directed functions based on the speaker's more intricately interpersonal considerations. The three aspects of functional change, mentioned above, all entail the shift "to more other-directed meanings".

Written data of Present Day Japanese will be also analyzed, and the interrelationship of subjectivity and intersubjectivity will be further discussed in the paper.

## **Victoria Orange**

### ***Developing methods for teaching intercultural competence based on the job interview speech event***

This research project will look at two key areas. Firstly, an intercultural analysis of the 'job interview' speech event (JISE) will be carried out and then the data will be used to test and develop methods for teaching intercultural competence.

The project also intends to clarify the terminology related to this field, currently the term 'speech event' has been interpreted in several different ways and in the literature there are many different explanations of intercultural competence, which is also frequently called pragmatic competence, sociolinguistic competence and communicative competence.

This project intends to bring new knowledge to the field of intercultural communication as well as testing some methods that have already been put forward concerning the analysis of speech events and the teaching of intercultural competence. This is important because, as Diana Boxer puts it, "A shrinking planet necessitates harmonious interaction that comes only with pragmatic competence". (Boxer, 2003).



In the presentation I will outline the project objectives, the background, the methodology to be used and the ethical considerations.

## **Gloria Origgi**

### ***Interpreting minds and interpreting language: Some epistemic distinctions***

Interpreting other people's actions and intentions involves a mutual ascription of contentful mental states such that the understanding of the social world around us becomes coherent and intelligible. Interpretation is thus a metarepresentational ability that has been investigated at least in two distinct domains of research: Psychology and Linguistic Pragmatics. Although there is a rich body of literature today on how our metapsychological abilities interact with language comprehension and acquisition (see for example Bloom 2000), a more fine-grained analysis of the inferential patterns involved in the two cases of intentional attributions - i.e. metapsychological and communicational - has been rarely pursued (see D. Wilson 2000 for an exception). On one hand, metapsychological attributions allow us to interpret other people's behaviour by attributing them truth-conditional mental states with a semantic content. On the other hand, linguistic communication involves special case of intentional attribution, in which the intention that we reconstruct has been manifestly produced to be recognized. Communicative intentions are thus a very special class of intentions whose recognition is a mandatory step towards the reconstruction of the speaker's meaning. What I would like to do in my intervention is to explore further the specificity of these two kinds of intentional attributions and their mutual role in the overall process of understanding each other in conversational exchanges. A striking difference that I would like to stress in particular between metapsychological and metacommunicational attributions has to do with their sensitivity to the epistemic properties of the attributed intentions. Metapsychological attributions are a form of strategic thinking in which the evaluation of the truth value of the belief attributed is crucial for predicting the agent's behaviour. Communication is a cooperative activity in which a stance of trust to the relevance of what our interlocutor says is a precondition of the whole process of understanding, and thus of attribution of a speaker's meaning. It has been widely claimed that our metapsychological abilities underlie at least part of our pragmatic competence, both from an evolutionary and a developmental point of view. But if we compare these two abilities from an epistemic point of view, it seems that the recognition of overt, communicative intentions that is involved in communication is somewhat more "naïve" than the sophisticated, multi-layered intentional attribution of metapsychology. A child may reconstruct the communicative intention of an overt, communicative behaviour (linguistic and non-linguistic) even if she is not able to evaluate the "epistemic status" of the intention attributed and doesn't draw any inference from it. This suggests that the recognition of an overt act of communication may be, in some sense, epistemically "simpler" than a metapsychological attribution. I will try to put forward the contrast between these two processes of interpretation and draw some (speculative) conclusions about a possible alternative account of their interaction in evolution and cognitive development.

## **Viviane Orlandi Faria**

### ***On the relationship speaker-speech in the field of***

This work reflects upon the way speaker-speech relationship has been dealt with both in Linguistics and in the area of Speech Pathology/Therapy. One could state that in those fields speech plays a fundamental role, although, it cannot be denied, quite different roles (Lier-De Vitto, 2003). Rajagopalan (1997) pointed out that discussions originated in Philosophy have affected the area of language studies: the idea of "user" was, as he stated, specially affected. In this direction, the author explores the development of that notion through the strip of time going from the fall of the Logical Positivism (the behaviorist tradition) to the emergence of Pragmatics. According to the author, the above mentioned scientific transformations were strongly influenced by Austin's (1962) relevant critical comments concerning the formalist vision. As well known, Austin introduced and defined the concept of "speech act" and a particular notion "language user" is also advanced in his philosophical discussion. One could affirm that Austin deepened the reflection on subjectivity regarding language and influenced other linguistic perspectives: Discourse Analysis and various proposals comprised under the title "Interactionism". There were also some authors who have established a theoretical relationship between Pragmatics and Psychoanalysis. Nevertheless, the fruitful effects Austin's work produced in the field of Linguistics could not be seen or felt in the field of Speech Pathology/Therapy, i.e., the notion of speech as mere behavior and of speaker as a subject who can be tamed/taught in the clinical setting are deeply rooted in that field (Lier-De Vitto, 2003). I intend to both indicate some possible reasons underlying such steady assumptions and explore some of their inefficacious therapeutic consequences. I shall also propose an alternative way of articulating the speaker-speech pair. Austin's How to do things with words will be one of the theoretical sources guiding my discussion. Data from clinical sessions will be presented and discussed

## **Franca Orletti & Laura Mariottini**

### ***Identity construction and verbal expression of politeness/impoliteness in chats***

The aim of the analysis is to study politeness/unpoliteness in IRC, specifically the expression of attacks on the other users' identities in Italian and Spanish chats.

The underlying hypothesis is that the rise of the new forms of virtual socialization has enabled users to exploit the characteristics of Information Technology to experiment different ways of communication and to create otherwise impossible social relationships. The absence of well defined social codes, the shortage of encoded behavioural norms and the anonymity of the participants transform virtual space into a game field in which it is possible to try out different aspects of one's personality (Turkle 1996).

The theoretical framework used in this research is furnished by:

- Conversational Analysis, that stresses Identity as a co-constructed, flexible and modifiable entity,
- Membership Categorization Device Theory (Sacks 1972, 1974, 1992) for which the construction of Identity is sequential, through repeated interaction, and dialectical, through its impact on the on-going conversation itself (Orletti 2003).

The Corpus consists of recorded chats: 26.9 hours in Spanish and 36.5 hours in Italian, collected during the months of February and March 2004 at random times during the day.

The analysis purports to show:

- the most important linguistic devices used by speakers/writers in the two languages to manifest polite/impolite behaviour;
- the differences and similarities in the use of certain linguistic phenomena -- in particular, diminutives -- in Spanish and Italian chat groups;
- the apparent communicative aim of the use of such devices: win the favour of listeners/readers (Brown/Levinson 1987), establish a different degree of closeness to them (Koch/Oesterreicher 1990), etc.

## **Mami Otani**

### ***The interpretation of topic changes: A case study of Americans, Japanese and Chinese***

Who changes the topic of a conversation, or when and how a speaker changes it are significant issues from the perspective of pragmatics. The circumstances of the topic changes, however, are not always equivalent among different cultures, and the differences among cultures can cause misinterpretation between speakers from different cultures.

The purpose of the present study is to clarify the factors of misinterpretation of topic changes in cross-cultural interactions. For the purpose, the following three issues are analyzed; the differences of frequency of topic changes among different language speakers, the ways of topic changes (timing, use of meta language etc.), and the differences of the interpretation of the topic changes among speakers from the perspective of politeness.

The data analyzed in this study were two types of natural conversation data; conversations between native speakers of English (Americans) and non-native speakers of English (Japanese), and ones between non-native speakers (Japanese and Chinese). And follow-up interviews were also analyzed to reveal the interpretation of the topic changes in the conversations.

The most significant findings of the present study are clear differences of frequency of topic changes and the interpretation of them among Americans, Japanese, and Chinese. Americans frequently change topics in the conversations. On the other hand, Japanese and Chinese hesitate to change topics, and also try to continue talking about one topic on. The reason for the difference is, clearly from the analysis of the follow-up interviews, that their interpretations of topic changes are quite different from each other. Americans think that changing a topic is necessary and important in order to find the common topic that speakers can share. On the contrary, Japanese and Chinese, especially Japanese, believe that it might be rude to change the topic that the interlocutor offered, even though they wanted to change the topic.

These findings show that the different view of politeness the speakers have have great influence on the interpretation of topic changes. The differences of the interpretation of topic changes show that Americans attach much importance to sharing a common ground with the interlocutor. As a result, changing the topic works as a kind of positive politeness strategy in order to draw the interlocutor into the conversation and to share the common ground with him/her. On the other hand, Japanese and Chinese hesitate to have an initiative in the conversation and try not to change the topic on their own initiative. That is because they believe that it is important and polite to leave the option of the topic changes to the interlocutor. These politeness differences can cause the differences of topic changes among Americans, Japanese and Chinese.

## **María Jesús Nieto y Otero & Adriana Bolívar**

### ***La representación de la cortesía y la descortesía en el español de Venezuela***

Los estudios sobre la cortesía en Venezuela han proliferado en varias direcciones y se han analizado diversos contextos en la ciudad capital, Caracas, y otras regiones del país (Bolívar y Álvarez, 2004). No obstante, es necesario caracterizar los usos de la cortesía y la descortesía de manera sistemática desde cuatro perspectivas generales: 1) la representación que los hablantes tienen de lo que es cortés y descortés, 2) la construcción de la cortesía y la descortesía en las relaciones personales e institucionales, 3) los recursos lingüísticos (gramaticales, semánticos y pragmáticos) que emplean los hablantes en situaciones de habla concretas, y 4) el análisis crítico de la (des)cortesía en la dinámica social. Este trabajo se enfoca principalmente sobre el primer aspecto en relación con las siguientes preguntas ¿de qué manera representan los hablantes venezolanos la cortesía y la descortesía? ¿Cuáles son los valores asociados a lo cortés y a lo descortés? ¿cómo influye la afiliación de grupo en la toma de posición sobre el comportamiento de los venezolanos? Tomando como punto de partida trabajos similares sobre la percepción de la (des)cortesía (Watts, Ide, Ehlich, 1992; Eelen, 2001; Hernández Flores, 2002; Murillo Medrano, 2004; Bravo, 2004; Bolívar, 2004), se lleva a cabo un estudio sociolingüístico y crítico en el que se toman en cuenta las variables de: sexo, edad, nivel de educación, estrato social y afiliación política. Este último punto se considera importante para explicar estudios anteriores en los que un mismo acto ha sido aprobado y rechazado según la posición política adoptada (Bolívar, 2003, 2004). Las entrevistas y las encuestas realizadas permiten mostrar los valores estereotípicos de los hablantes, y también sus justificaciones para defender o rechazar comportamientos en el campo político y percepciones sobre la identidad cultural.

## **Takahiro Otsu**

### ***Semantic extension of after all: Concession and justification***

A concessive use of ‘after all’ has been conventionally associated with a different meaning from a justificatory use and the connection between them has not been sufficiently investigated. Typical examples are:

- (1) I had a cold and wanted to see my doctor, but I didn't get to see him after all.
- (2) Anna should get a promotion; after all, she has published two books.

A two-term account for the respective meaning of ‘after all’ has made the difference between the two uses more remarkable. A concessive ‘after all’ in (1), which indicates denial of expectations, is used in the situation where one thing is expected, but the opposite occurs (Schourup and Waida (1988)). This account is based on a contradictory relation between two assumptions: previous assumption and conclusion. On the other hand, some Relevance-theoretic literature (e.g. Blakemore (1987), Blakemore (1992), Rouchota (1998)) has an exclusive focus on a justificational ‘after all’ in (2). The Relevance-theoretic assumption that the proposition introduced by it is interpreted as evidence for the proposition in the preceding clause: such account is based upon another pair of two logical terms, conclusion and evidence.

This presentation attempts a unified account of the polysemous use of ‘after all’ based on the assumption that a concessive and a justificational use of the connective are both derived from the literal meaning ‘after all has been considered’ or ‘after all is said and done’, and that they are both interpreted in the schema involving three logical terms (previous assumption, conclusion, and evidence). The literal use of ‘after all’ is conceptual in that it can be predicted from the meaning of the words ‘after’ (‘temporal’ preposition) and ‘all’ (universal quantifier). The temporality inherent in this connective has gradually given way to causality or conditionality, presumably in parallel with a semantic shift of the preposition ‘after’.

It will be proposed here that the referent of “all which should be considered” and the way of accessing it in discourse motivate semantic extension from a concessive use to a justificational use, which is also characterized by Traugott (1995) as subjectification. In a concessive use (1), a universal quantifier ‘all’ is expected to refer to every piece of evidence for introducing a conclusion. However, the search for sufficient evidence does not succeed because the conclusion expressed indicates the result of an event or a final solution, which are both essentially irrelevant to the issue of whether evidence for the conclusion is available or not: in most cases, an unavoidable external factor is implicated. In a justificational use (2), in order for a personal, evaluative conclusion to be accepted, a specific piece of evidence should be inevitably made explicit. Accordingly, ‘after all’ seems to have become a means of locating, as a result of considering all the evidence, the relevant piece of evidence for supporting such a conclusion.

## **Emi Otsuji**

### ***Are we bastardising English and Japanese?: Translingual casual conversation between Japanese and Australians in a workplace situation***

This paper attempts to explore the relations between the globalisation process and its impact on language and identities. With globalisation, the geo-political, economic and national boundaries are seen to becoming less significant which is leading to a shift from understanding culture as unified and homogeneous to a plural and

heterogeneous global culture. Globalisation and the cultural hybridation process in turn impacts on language use and people's identities. Luke (2002) points out that due to globalization and the obfuscation of borders between cultures, discourse has become more unregulated, chaotic and accidental. Welsch (1999) notes that people have become cultural hybrids and hold multiple attachments and identities and that they are shifting away from monolithic cultural and national identities.

Within the linguistic studies, the languages in contact and language use in the global society are well documented in multi/bi-lingual studies. The majority of these studies look at code-switching and multi/bilingual identities and are predominantly based on the understanding that there are pre-given discrete language systems attached to ethnicities and nations. Pennycook (2004) proposes that we need to shift away from this foundational paradigm and conceive language as a sedimented product of performative acts and identities as dynamically constructed through linguistic performance.

This paper attempts to examine and assess Pennycook's claims and to explore the possibilities of understanding the current language phenomenon and identity issues in globalization beyond the foundational paradigm. The first part of the paper is theory driven in which the relations between language, identities, ethnicities and nations are scrutinised. The second part of the paper looks at the co-construction processes of language and identities of Japanese and Australians in a work context. The study reveals that participants' linguistic performative acts and identities are affected by both macro (socio-cultural and geo-political) factors and their sedimented socialisation histories.

**Yoko Otsuka**

### ***Cultural difference in using back-channels***

The purpose of this study is to examine how differently English, Japanese and Chinese speakers use back-channeling signals when they communicate in English. The data used for this study consist of three audio- and video-taped English conversations, which last approximately 30 minutes. Each conversation data will be referred to by a reference number, such as D1 (data 1). The participants in D1 are two Americans and two Japanese, those in D2 are also two Americans and two Japanese, but they are different people from the participants in D1. And the participants in D3 are two Japanese and two Chinese. The Japanese in D2 and D3 are the same.

Back-channels are substantial utterances which the listener produces. The listener informs the speaker that he or she is listening, and has understood what the speaker has said. In this study, the utterances such as "uh-huh," "mm-hmmm," "really?," and "oh, that's nice." are regarded as back-channels, but non-verbal behavior like head nods is not.

The back-channels in these three conversations were analyzed. The results are as follows:

It is usually said that the native speakers of Japanese use back-channels more frequently than the native speakers of English. In D1, one Japanese produced twice as many back-channels as the Americans, and the other Japanese produced as frequently as the Americans. The Japanese were good at speaking English and developed the conversation by using back-channels.

In D2, the Japanese were not used to speaking English. One Japanese used few back-channels, and the other used them as frequently as the Americans. The Americans talked more. The Japanese didn't inform the Americans that they were listening to the conversation developed by the Americans, and didn't participate in the conversation.

In D3, none of the participants was not used to speaking English, but they tried to understand each other and used many back-channel expressions. The use of back-channels produced by the participants prevented from stopping the conversation.

The results show that the using back-channels is very important to maintain smooth communication, even when the participants are not competent speakers of English.

**Jenny Öhman**

### ***Pragmatic translation strategies on corporate web sites: Computer companies and the environment***

Audience design is a key concept for companies wishing to reach new global markets. When translating a company web site, the translators are forced to make numerous pragmatic choices regarding contents and language, and the result depends on their knowledge of the target audience. Choosing what to preserve and what to add or omit in the target text is referred to as the pragmatic translation strategy of information change (see Chesterman 1997). By investigating pragmatic strategies employed in the different language versions of a web site, we learn how national and company cultures affect the translators' linguistic choices, resulting in culturally oriented audience design on the World Wide Web.

This paper presents a contrastive study of multinational computer companies, which sell products and services both in the United States and in Sweden. Focusing on the pragmatic strategy of information change, including the subcategories addition and omission (see Chesterman 1997), the study investigates how information on environmental issues is communicated to the visitors to the American and Swedish web sites. The concern is with the ways in which environmental issues are foregrounded, on the web site level through links and on the text level through explicit reference to company environmental policies. Since environmental issues are an increasingly important aspect of marketing and sales strategies, companies are expected to respond to this trend by presenting their environmental profile. The environment, however, tends to be given different weights in different countries, and since the Nordic countries by tradition stress environmental values, I expected to find a clear tendency towards environmental foregrounding on the Swedish pages, in comparison to the American web sites.

Results show that the individual companies employ different pragmatic strategies in relation to communicating environmental values to the visitors to the web site. Variations in audience design are found both in site-specific hierarchical foregrounding and in the linguistic form on the text level. The findings concerning the American and the Swedish web sites of the same company show that information on environmental policies has been given more visibility on the Swedish site. The exceptions to this pattern, however, indicate that there are far more complex problems of audience design, including company culture and costs of translation, which need to be addressed when designing a company web site.

The study contributes to our understanding of language use on the World Wide Web and how the target culture affects the translator's decisions. Moreover, it draws attention to the pragmatic strategies behind web site language, as regards global marketing in a new, electronic medium.

**Jan-Ola Östman**

### ***Ritual form in non-ritual context***

The interplay between form and function in institutional settings is traditionally conceived of in terms of the institutional setting constraining the form of the language used in that setting. This paper takes an opposite turn and discusses cases where formulaic language creates contexts. The general point is to show that form and function truly are equal partners in form-function constellations in the sense of Construction Grammar (CxG).

The paper shows that the mechanics and ideology of CxG in the spirit of Fried & Östman (2004) is well equipped to handle issues of contextual construal – something one would not expect a 'generative' grammar to be concerned about, let alone handle.

In particular, the paper shows that 'ritual form' is not a priori linked to ritual situations. Virtually all ordinary-language situations contain ritual elements that as constructions bring with them contexts that give the ordinary-language situation meanings in terms of evoked frames of reference, which can be exploited in the further development of a piece of discourse.

After an overview of the use of different kinds of sayings, like proverbs and Tom Swifties ("This must be an aerobics class", Tom worked out.), the study focuses on Wellerisms ("It all comes back to me now", said the Captain as he spat into the wind.).

A Wellerism consists of three parts: (i) a quoted utterance, which is itself often a saying; (ii) an identification of the person who has (originally) uttered the saying; and (iii) a specification of the situation in which the utterance was (originally) produced. Very often there is some mismatch between the quotation and the situation, which gives the Wellerism as a whole an ironic or humorous twist.

The material for the present study includes Wellerisms in Swedish and Finnish, but focuses on the form and function of Wellerisms in Solv, a dialect of Swedish in Finland.

The specific goal of the paper is to show how and why the study of formulaic language like Wellerisms is not trivial. Having shown that the form-meaning constellation of Wellerisms cannot satisfactorily be handled in any but a constructional manner, the paper then specifies the kinds of relations and contexts a Wellerism contrues as a set of values with respect to the pragmatic attributes Coherence, Politeness, and Involvement (cf. Östman 1986), respectively: "identity in the particular culture expressed narratively", "sequentially, a responsive chauvinistic/xenophobic act", and "affectively robust with humour and puns".

Ritual form in non-ritual situations is shown to be just as much a default as is any other type of talk-in-context: language works best when it goes back and forth between representing and construing. If these are not in opposition, but work together, we need both monological and dialogical approaches in analyzing language. The flexibility of CxG is shown to be able to accommodate and cater for both these approaches. In particular, many more aspects of context can be explicated through the formalism of CxG than we might at first think.

**Ulla Paatola**

### ***Contact, adaptation and life style: English in Finland***

Sociolinguists acknowledge that people accommodate their speech depending on their interlocutor. However, on a more general scale a person has an individual way of talking. Sociologists like Dahl (1997) suggest that a person's 'life style' has a remarkable influence on their behaviour in general. The aim of this paper is to investigate the influence of one's life style on the way one communicates, and more specifically how one's life style affects the amount of Anglo-American words in one's native language – in the present study Finnish – and in what way the Anglo-American words are adapted phonologically and morphologically in Finnish speakers' speech.

Dahl classifies people into four different life style groups. His model is based on the Danish MINERVA life style segmentation study, originally designed for marketing purposes. The model divides up society as well as consumers into four main segments according to modern vs. traditional, and pragmatic/materialistic vs. idealistic values. ([www.acnielsen.aim.dk/produkter/markedsbeskrivelse\\_forbrugermm/download/eng/MinervaSnapMonitorENG.PDF](http://www.acnielsen.aim.dk/produkter/markedsbeskrivelse_forbrugermm/download/eng/MinervaSnapMonitorENG.PDF)).

My aim is to describe the phonological and the morphological adaptation of English 'imports' (loan words) (e.g. chat, backstage, cool) into spoken Finnish after the Second World War depending on a speaker's life style. The material consists of forty interviews. I have used Dahl's segmentation criteria as the basis for choosing the interviewees. I have chosen ten informants from each of Dahl's four life style groups – i.e. ten people from modern/service-producing companies responsible for management and ten from modern/service-producing companies in non-managerial position, in addition to ten from traditional/goods-producing companies responsible for management and ten from traditional/goods-producing companies in non-managerial position. The demographic criteria of the study include the informants' native language and age: the interviewees speak Finnish as their L1 and they are between 25 to 45 years of age. The age of the import is also taken into consideration.

The purpose of the study is, first, to examine whether one's life style (membership and position in a company) affects how Anglo-American imports are accommodated and adapted in her/his speech, and secondly, in what way. The phonological variables in the study include, for example, the word-initial realisation of the English ch- (e.g. chat) and the word-final realisation of -g(e) (e.g. backstage). The morphological variables include, for example, the pluralisation of 'imported' (borrowed) adjectives (e.g. cool).

The results show that one's life style does affect the way one speaks. Thus, the study suggests that the concept of 'life style' is a valid sociolinguistic variable in the present-day society, and it may be more informative than traditional sociolinguistic variables like sex, especially as gender is not a highly differentiating factor in the Finnish society according to Finland's ranking in Hofstede's Dimension of Culture Scales ([www.cyborlink.com/besite/hofstede.htm#geert\\_hofstede\\_countries](http://www.cyborlink.com/besite/hofstede.htm#geert_hofstede_countries)).

## **Henrike Padmos, Harrie Mazeland & Hedwig te Molder** ***Citizen talk in participatory discourse on GMOs***

Only recently, the notion of citizenship is studied as an empirical phenomenon in studies of talk-in-interaction. The present study is part of a broader research project that aims at establishing the ways in which participants in interaction discursively work up a citizen identity and draw upon this identity to perform particular interactional work. In this paper, we focus on special instances of citizen talk in participatory discourse in which participants explicitly refer to the category label 'citizen'. Our data consist of debates and discussions between experts, politicians and the public on the subject of genetically modified food as part of a government sponsored public debate in the Netherlands (2001/2002).

We will show how participants who initially present themselves (or are presented) as an expert or politician may subsequently describe themselves 'as a citizen'. We illustrate how the category 'citizen' enables this type of speaker to distance himself from his official identity while at the same time preserving it. It is argued that referring to this category allows the speaker to formulate 'private' thoughts and feelings towards public issues, in such a way that the participant cannot be held accountable for them in terms of his "official" identity. At the same time, the citizen category is associated with the performance of 'psychological' activities, such as thinking and feeling, which enable the speaker to emphasise his personal and active involvement.

By introducing the citizen category, speakers suspend their official identity, thus creating interactional space in order to perform 'unofficial', 'personal', 'informal' business. In doing so, participants add a personal touch to a public issue, while excluding official accountability for their views. At the same time, they preserve their official identities by formulating the citizen category as a role (as a citizen) or as an alternative category in addition to others (also a citizen), thereby indicating that the subsequent interactional work is being done in a temporary or optional capacity. The device temporarily excludes the official and/or expert identity for doing this kind of informal business, thereby - retrospectively - defining it as interactionally unsuitable for displaying

personal commitment or concern. This type of citizen talk thus carefully preserves and controls the traditional boundary between professional assessments and private opinions.

In our presentation we will demonstrate this type of citizen talk as an identity-suspending device, discuss the interactional business this device performs and conclude with discussing the theoretical consequences of studying the notion of citizenship as an empirical phenomenon.

## **Renate Pajusalu**

### ***Pragmatics of quantifiers: The case of Estonian kõik all***

There is a large literature on quantifiers in work within formal semantics and analytic philosophy, connected mostly with logical form and the scope of quantifiers. These approaches deal almost exclusively with isolated sentences. There are also some classic pragmatic approaches to quantifiers, in which the implicatures licensed by quantifiers are studied, for example the well-known notion of scalar implicature investigated by Levinson (1983). Quantifiers have also been of interest in child language studies (e.g. Musolino et al. 2001, and Brooks et al. 2001, to mention just a few), and in other domains. A relatively independent framework in which some quantifiers have been studied is the core vocabulary approach (which also offers possibly the best known study of lexical primitives, as in Goddard and Wierzbicka eds. 2002). However, comparatively little work has been done on the pragmatic functions of quantifiers in conversation. The one notable exception is the grammaticalization of quantifier 'one' into an indefinite article in different languages (Lyons 1999; for Estonian data see Pajusalu 2000).

This paper deals with the functions of quantifier *kõik* 'all' in Estonian everyday conversations. The Data is based mainly on the Corpus of Spoken Estonian at the University of Tartu.

The main functions of *\_kõik\_* in everyday conversation are not these of the universal quantifier in predicate logic. Rather, this word fulfils the pragmatic functions listed below, which are in many ways similar to the functions of demonstratives:

1. As an independent NP *kõik* can be a 'first mention' pronoun (like a deictic demonstrative). In this function its referent is usually:
  - a) some group of agents, which usually has not been mentioned before and is inferred from the context, e.g. *Kõik hakkasid jooksuma* 'Everybody (literally: all) began to run';
  - b) some complex entity, e.g. *Ma räägin sulle kõik ära*. 'I'm going to tell you everything (literally: all)'.
2. In the attributive position as a part of an NP *\_kõik\_* signals the exhaustiveness of the phenomenon referred to by the NP, e.g. *Nad ravisid kõiki haigusi*. 'They were treating all diseases'.
3. *\_Kõik\_* is also a particle, e.g. *Tal oli kõik raha kaasa ja puha*. 'He had (all) money with him and everything'
4. As a complete utterance *\_Kõik!\_* can express an order to stop.

## **Gabriele Pallotti**

### ***Grammar in interaction and second language acquisition: Investigating systematic variation in interlanguage systems***

In recent years, there has been a growing interest for a set of issues that have come to be labeled under the term "grammar in interaction" (Ochs, Schegloff, Thompson 1996; Selting & Couper-Kuhlen 2001; Ford, Fox & Thompson 2002). Several studies have documented the complex interplay of factors shaping turns and sequences in spoken interaction in a variety of languages, showing how interactional features contribute to achieve particular linguistic and communicative outcomes. This investigation, far from being systematic or exhaustive, is still in the exploratory stage of hypotheses generation. A major issue is to determine whether and how it would be possible to provide accounts of systematic variation in this area, i.e. how particular discourse features are related to aspects of the communicative situation, be it conceived narrowly (the immediately preceding talk and actions) or more widely (participation framework, activity, relationships among participants). Another new area of investigation for the 'grammar in interaction' research program is its application to language development. The idea in itself is not new – one might even say that it was within language acquisition research that the tight relation between interaction and linguistic structures was first formulated. For example, Halliday (1975) and Bruner (1975) for first language acquisition, and Hatch (1978) for second language acquisition, argued that learners begin with simple mechanisms for constructing turns and interactional sequences, and that 'grammar' and 'language' emerge from them as specialized ways of solving interactional problems.

The present study aims at developing the grammar in interaction perspective in these two directions, applying a variationist and developmental perspective to the study of how grammar is deployed in conversation. Participants are four learners of Italian as a second language, aged 14-17, observed in a variety of social

situations, including interaction with peers and strangers, face-to-face and telephone conversations, and controlled interactional tasks, such as collaborative jigsaw puzzles and direction giving.

Results to be discussed in this presentation - which is part of a larger research project on interlanguage variation in different interactional and social settings - show how an evolving language system systematically varies according to features of the communicative situation. More specifically, turn construction strategies (analogous to Wong-Fillmore's 1976 "sentence producing tactics") are responsive to particular dimensions of the interactional exchange, including social distance, task complexity, mutual accessibility to visual information. Qualitative and quantitative analysis reveals systematic relationships between such dimensions and the 'interactional grammar' of turns and sequences, thus providing support for a variationist approach to grammar and interaction in developing linguistic and communicative systems.

The presentation will also sketch how a 'grammar in/for interaction' could be represented in probabilistic terms, following previous work in quantitative variationist sociolinguistics, especially as applied to developing systems like second languages (Bayley & Preston 1996). In other words, an attempt will be made to demonstrate that a notion like 'grammar in/for interaction', although not amenable to traditional formats like categorical rules, can nonetheless be characterized in explicit and generalizable terms.

## **Henk Pander Maat**

### ***The linguistic struggle between press release writers and newspaper journalists***

Jacobs (1999) has argued persuasively that press release writers aim for a style that requires a minimum of reworking by journalists. But besides this orientation on 'preformulation', other constraints need to be heeded as well in designing releases. For one thing, release writers primarily serve their own interests, not those of the press. Hence they try to enhance positive perceptions of the company as much as possible. This may explain why they use promotional stylistic devices (see Pander Maat in prep.), though journalists are often said to resent 'pushy' language. Moreover, the press is a heterogeneous audience, so preformulation can never serve all customers at the same time. For instance, release writers in companies with clipping departments are well aware of the fact that newspaper reports are usually much shorter than the releases they are based on; still, they keep producing long releases, perhaps because they also need to serve more specialist media. To sum up, we may expect that releases will not always meet the approval of their receivers. We need to examine empirically how the different institutional perspectives affect both the design of press releases and their use by journalists.

This study focuses on how Dutch newspaper journalists rework press releases, using a corpus of 50 press releases issued by industrial companies and the newspaper reports (often more than one) based on them by mostly economic journalists. It shows how journalists routinely transform releases. Based lists of transformations that we have made for all pairs of texts, it looks as if two maxims may be postulated as the orientations behind these changes:

1. Be shorter and more direct than the release
2. Adopt the perspective of the general public, not the company's viewpoint.

The second maxim seems to be subdivided in the following submaxims:

- Eliminate or tone down promotional elements
- Do not mention the name of the company, its departments or its products too often
- Focus on what the company will do, not on its reasons for doing so

The first, more general maxim may be behind many of the changes also covered by the second one, but the second maxim is clearly preferable because it generates more specific constraints on the reworking process. We will try to show that the actual evidence is in favour of the second maxim.

More generally, the picture emerging from this study is one of a continuous struggle between the professional enthusiasm of release writers and the professional distrust of newspaper journalists. This institutionalized conflict manifests itself both in the formulations proposed by release writers and their being routinely rejected by their natural adversaries.

## **Francesca Panzeri**

### ***Before and after***

It is a well-known fact (cf., e.g., Anscombe (1964) Before and after; Ogiwara (1995) Non-factual before and adverbs of quantification) that, even if before and after have closely related meanings, they also display different properties. They differ with respect to their veridical properties, inasmuch as a sentence of the form A after B entails the truth of B, whereas its before counterpart does not always warrant such an inference. More precisely, A before B may be (i) veridical (as John bought a Toyota before the prices went up) or (ii) non-veridical, that is (a) counterfactual (as Mozart died before he finished the Requiem, where the B-clause is presupposed to be false;



a corresponding counterfactual If A had not been the case, B might / would have been the case is implied to be true) or (b) non-committal (as John left before Mary arrived, where the B-clause is implied to be / have been likely, with the eventual outcome unknown).

Moreover, before and after differ also with respect to some other semantic-pragmatics properties: only the former license negative polarity items, and, in Romance languages, they require obligatorily Subjunctive mood marking in the before-clause, whereas the after-clause calls for the Indicative mood.

Beaver and Condoradvi ((2003) A uniform analysis of before and after) proposed an elegant, and uniform, analysis of before and after. Their idea is that A before / after B is true in a world *w* if and only if there is a time *t* in *w* that verifies A, and that time *t* precedes / follows the initial B time, if B is in fact instantiated (i.e., if it is factual). If B is non-factual, then the sentence will be defined only if it is possible to derive a set of alternative world-time pairs, defined *alt(w,t)*, in which B does hold; these worlds are maximally similar to the evaluation world *w* as long in their history as possible.

In Beaver and Condoradvi's analysis, then, after and before appear as converses; their different behaviour with respect to their veridicality properties are claimed to follow not from a lexical stipulation, but from the properties of the context of evaluation together with considerations on the branching nature of future events, but not of past events.

In the talk, I want to analyse the implications of such an analysis, because I believe that the notion of context of conversation needs some refinements for the analysis to be effectively able to derive the different non-factual readings associated to before sentences, and to ban unwanted non-factual interpretations for after-clauses. I will also focus on the mood marking opposition between before and after clauses, grounding the definitions on an independent semantic-pragmatic treatment of Subjunctive clauses (that will be licensed only on before-clauses) and on their negative polarity licensing properties, since these two features remained on the background of Beaver and Condoradvi's proposal.

## **Isabella Paoletti**

### ***Emotional work in calls to the medical emergency number***

Interrupted calls are not uncommon in communication in the control room, nor are cursing, rudeness and face attacks (Tracy & Tracy, 1998a; 1998b; Whalen & Zimmerman, 1998). Moreover, at times the call operator of the medical emergency control room is engaged in actual rescue activity via the phone, giving detailed instructions to family members or immediate helpers in order to provide first aid. In cases, for example, of heart attacks, choking, massive bleeding, it is the immediate helper who saves lives. Managing callers emotions is part of the operators' skills in carrying out their job.

The data analyzed in this chapter are part of a wider corpus collected in an ongoing research project "Work, technology and communication" carried out by the Sociology Department of the University of Trento, Italy. The transcripts reported in this chapter are taken from the tape recordings of the calls to and from the control room. The data are inspected through a detailed conversation and analysis within an ethnomethodological framework (Garfinkel, 1967; Sacks, 1992) in order to highlight specific communication problems and in particular the call operators' work in managing callers emotions.

Tracy (1997, 316) points out a problem of framing in emergency calls, that is, callers ask for the provision of an ambulance in a "customer service frame", as they would ask for a taxi or a pizza, while the call taker needs to have details on the condition of the person in need of help in order to send the most appropriate means for assistance. The questioning sequence is often perceived by callers as inappropriate and a way of delaying assistance, producing often annoyance and anger in the caller. Call operators have often to struggle in order to get the caller cooperation.

The paper describes various instances of call operators' work in attempting to have the caller cooperating in carrying out the questioning sequence and in various first aid activities, highlighting ordinary communication problems that arise in emergency calls and instances of "good practice" in terms of call operators' skills in managing emotionally loaded communication. The paper shows that the call operators' ability in controlling their own emotions and managing those of callers are among the most important professional skill in this job.

## **Jaume Fitó Pardo**

### ***Spatial deixis and its non-verbal affiliate in plurilingual students***

The aim of this poster is to describe and analyse the spatial references —spatial deixis— in the informants' discourses. In the first place, I have located and counted the cases in which spatial deixis appeared during the interviews. Later, I describe and analyse the relationship between gesture and speech, having taken into consideration aspects such as synchronization between verbal and non-verbal aspects, their relationship in terms

of significance and time, or if some gestures seem to throw into relief any part of the discourse. The languages used in the investigation are Catalan and Spanish (the L1 and L2 of the informants).

I have also described and analysed the function of the gestures that go with speech, distinguishing between semantic redundancy gestures from discursive completion gestures. Finally, I have managed to make an approximation to an inventory of the most common gestures in spatial deixis.

This study is integrated in The VARCOM Project: Variation, Multimodal Communication and Plurilingualism. A Project on Discourse Styles and Language Ideologies, in which we have created a corpus of oral texts from interviews recorded in audio-visual format (we have recorded informants' faces and the complete scene of the informant and the interviewer). Informants are a group of 18 business students of the University of Barcelona, schooling during 1980s and 1990s. They have been selected to form 3 different groups, depending on their L1: Catalan (6), Spanish (6) or both languages (6). The data elicitation process consisted on different methods (experimental and experiencial) in order to induce the speaker to produce 5 text types: narration, description, exposition, argumentation and instruction. These texts were obtained in 3 sessions: in the first one, the subject spoke in her L1; in the second one, the used language was her L2; and the third session was in English (the L3 of all interviewed students).

### **Mihaela Pasat**

#### ***Le camp du drap d'or: De la promesse séductrice à la détresse réprobatrice***

Notre communication vise à reconsidérer le fonctionnement des actes de langage à l'intérieur du contexte précédant les prochaines élections présidentielles en Roumanie, situation où il s'avère que le vouloir convaincre manipulateur, présent dans le discours des candidats, se dissout le plus souvent dans l'océan de méfiance qui englutit le destinataire "échaudé" par ses expériences passées, par la trame d'un back-ground traumatisant, aux "attentes" trahies (tout en ayant sans cesse à l'esprit que le choix linguistique du locuteur est un choix à portée cognitive dans le champ d'expectation de l'interlocuteur).

La perspective interactionniste, qui renforce l'idée selon laquelle "parler c'est agir", ainsi que les acquis en communication interculturelle, notamment les études sur les valeurs, la distance hiérarchique, le contrôle de l'incertitude et l'individualisme/collectivisme, nous permettent de discuter quelques aspects théoriques de l'autorité (statut, stratégies), à partir des observations concernant les influences de nature diverse que les différents participants à l'échange communicatif exercent les uns sur les autres (ainsi, assistons-nous à un changement de position, l'acte de promesse rendant son locuteur vulnérable, donc "inférieur", tant que le "choix" appartient au destinataire).

Bien qu'on ait affaire à plus d'un candidat, on considère, à chaque fois, le locuteur comme unique, alors qu'il nous semble légitime de parler d'un destinataire "collectif", voire "plusieurs" destinataires, pour lesquels le message adressé peut recevoir des valeurs différentes, selon la perception. Les politiciens sont des membres d'une société, des individuels, qui parlent de valeurs qui transcendent l'individuel. Mais le statut de la promesse s'effiloche malgré les efforts destinés à fasciner, suite aux interprétations contraires du destinataire, chaque point de vue se fondant sur des présuppositions différentes. C'est ce qui permet de discuter comment l'argumentation (slogans, jeux verbaux, surprises linguistiques, etc.), qui a pour but de convaincre l'auditoire et de le déterminer à juger/agir positivement, éveille chez le public la peur du vide rhétorique, de l'opportunisme, semant en fait le doute, le désarroi, le malaise, l'inconfort, voire l'absentéisme, les gens refusant d'exercer leur droit de vote.

### **Esther Pascual**

#### ***Text for context, trial for trialogue: Studying legal discourse through following a persecutor around***

This paper explores the relation between text and context, or rather discourse and the social and communicative event in which it occurs. My basic assumption is that the production and interpretation of language is significantly modeled by the participants' conceptualization of its context of occurrence. The focus will be on legal discourse in criminal trials.

Litigators generally define the trial as "a search for the truth." There is however enough features of legal interaction and language use that do not fit this metaphor of discovery. I will first discuss two strikingly different definitions of what a trial is, i.e. "a search for the truth" and "a battle for sympathy." These were provided by a successful American prosecutor in different social settings: a criminal courtroom and a research interview on the one hand and a lecture to fellow prosecutors and an informal conversation with his legal team on the other hand. I will then use the latter definition as a contextualizing aid for the analysis of a particularly dramatic piece of a closing argument that this prosecutor delivered in a high-profile domestic violence murder trial. Using this piece of discourse as illustration, I will suggest a third definition of a trial, namely that of a trial as a fictive trialogue debate between: (i) the communicator who needs to convince (the prosecutor/defense

counsel); (ii) the evaluator to be convinced (the judge and/or the jury); and (iii) the opposed party to be refuted (the defense counsel/prosecutor) (Pascual 2002). This conceptualization of what a trial is will be argued to be translated in the content as well as internal interactional structure of legal monologues (preliminary statements and closing arguments) and dialogues (witness testimony).

The following points are postulated: (a) a trial is conceptualized by participants as a triadic war of words in which the evaluator's sympathy towards the victim and the defendant is negotiated; and more generally –and following Cicourel's work–, (b) in order to understand a particular verbal exchange fully, one needs to get some insight into the participants' conceptualization of the context within which this exchange is produced and interpreted; and (c) the analysis of institutional discourse needs to be supported by in-depth ethnographic data from language users in different social contexts.

## **Adriana Patiño**

### ***What future for youngsters?: Multicultural classrooms in the center of Madrid, Spain***

Metaphors are seen as a useful pedagogical resource at school. They help teachers exemplify and establish the ethical and moral principles of society that the educational system represents and reproduces. However the meaning of a metaphor will not be the same for all participants in this kind of communicative interaction if they do not share the same beliefs about life, experiences (Lakoff and Johnson, 1980) and social behavior, or culture.

Such is the case in a multicultural school in the center of Madrid, in which Latin American students and Spanish teachers who share the Spanish language - although not the same variety – have quite different expectations about the instructional process and the way in which teachers and students communicate within the classroom and throughout the school.

The interpretation of metaphors is just one of the communicative problems these kinds of schools have to face, problems that can lead to the belief that some children have academic deficiencies, or that they need not learn certain things which they will not find necessary in their uncertain futures.

Teachers' expectations of their students encourage or discourage them to motivate youngsters to learn and to complete basic compulsory schooling. In most cases, teachers' support, or lack thereof, either motivates young people to continue formal education or, conversely, provokes truancy and the speedy entrance of young people into the labor market.

Thus, the interpretation of metaphors about successful future life and the notion of 'correct' behavior can be difficult if they are constructed from an ethnocentric point of view, without taking into account the needs and expectations of newcomers within the society. Communicative differences, could be contributing to the establishment of social control and domination in society and denying full social access to foreign students (Bourdieu, 1977, 1998)

The study of a such a complex communicative situations requires an ethnographic approach in the classroom, in order to observe the situation, interview participants, record and transcribe data and make a detailed analysis that takes into account pragmatic aspects (contextual factors, the study of speech acts, relevance, politeness, implicitness, conversational implication etc.), and interactional sociolinguistic concepts (contextualization cues and markers, etc.) that permit us to understand the dynamics of the interaction.

Such analysis has let us draw certain conclusions about the schooling process in Spain and allowed us to attempt to put together some practical suggestions for the educational community that pay special attention to the use of language, as well as the differences between pedagogical practices in Latin America and Spain (teacher-student relationship, differences in curricular contents and processes of evaluation, amongst others).

## **Theodossia-Soula Pavlidou & Charakleia Kapellidi**

### ***Speaking subjects, gendered stances***

The topic of subjectivity seems to be gaining impetus in the last years and keeps recurring under various guises, for example: as \*point of view<sup>TM</sup> (e.g. Scheibmann 2002), \*epistemic stance<sup>TM</sup> (K,rkk,innen 2003), \*perspective<sup>TM</sup> (Graumann & Kallmeyer 2002), and so on. It has also become increasingly clear that subjectivity is a complex phenomenon in several respects. For example, it can not always be pinned down to single linguistic items «Subjectivity is a general notion that is not tied to one particular expression or category» Scheibmann (2002: 60). Moreover, epistemic expressions, which have been thought of as prototypical of subjectivity, like I think, have been shown to carry emotive meanings other besides expressing the speaker<sup>TM</sup>s uncertainty about the truth of the propositional content (e.g., Politis 2000, for Greek; K,rkk,innen 2003, for English).

In this paper, we take as our point of departure Lyons<sup>TM</sup> (1982: 102) quite encompassing delineation of \*subjectivity<sup>TM</sup>: «In so far as we are concerned with language, the term \*subjectivity<sup>TM</sup> refers to the way in which natural languages, in their structure and their normal manner of operation, provide for the locutionary

agent<sup>TM</sup>s expression of himself and of his own attitudes and beliefs». Such a broad definition can accommodate not only the traditionally acknowledged aspects of linguistic subjectivity (deictic, epistemic, etc.), but also emotive, evaluative, etc. components, in the constitution of \*the speaking subject<sup>TM</sup>.

We then examine the linguistic manifestations of these components in Greek, using audio data from classroom interaction of native classes on Modern Greek (15 teaching hours) and informal discussions (15) among non-dyadic groups of friends. It is argued that the linguistic manifestation of «self-expression», unavoidably bears the mark not only of the language itself, but also of the institutional/social/interactional context in which it occurs and through which the \*subject positions<sup>TM</sup> for the self are defined (cf. e.g. Fairclough 1995). More specifically, we show that the speaking subjects can be gendered in more ways than Lyons<sup>TM</sup> excerpt above might lead us to think. We thus opt for a notion of subjectivity at the crosscut of individuality and socio-historical/interactive constraints that can bring together the \*speaking<sup>TM</sup> and the \*social<sup>TM</sup> subject.

### **Simona Pekarek Doehler**

#### ***Left- and right dislocation as an interactional resource: The case of the advanced second language learner***

This paper investigates the syntactic organization of utterances in the light of the social and sequential organization of talk-in-interaction. It is specifically concerned with one type of grammatical shaping of utterances in advanced second language (L2) learners' interactions, namely left- and right- dislocations. The analysis presented here illustrates what an interactionist approach can contribute to our understanding of second language use, of second language acquisition and of the linguistic system under development.

Left- and right dislocations, such as Jean il n'est pas venu [Jean he did not come] and il n'est pas venu Jean [He did not come Jean] respectively, are generally considered to serve the structuring of information in discourse, being mainly used for topic-promotion (Lambrecht, 1996; Givón, 1995). Drawing from recent developments in interactional linguistics (Ochs, Schegloff & Thompson, 1996; Selting & Couper-Kuhlen, 2001; Ford, Fox & Thompson, 2002), I will challenge this view by arguing that the functioning of dislocated structures is based on the complex interaction between three dimensions of discourse:

- a) the possibilities offered by the linguistic system
- b) the communicative demands linked to the structuring of information in discourse
- c) the sequential and socio-interactive organization of the activities accomplished through discourse.

This also challenges recent L2 research which shows that dislocated constructions and the grammatical coding of referents pose, even for the advanced L2 learners, the problem of acquiring the adequate form-function mappings. Functions, thereby, are interpreted exclusively in terms of information structure, while interactional aspects remain unexplored.

As opposed to the dominant work on dislocations and utterance structure in L1 or L2 discourse, the analysis presented here is concerned with how linguistic forms allow the speaker to organize social interaction (to sequentially organize turns at talk, to manage participation structure and mutual positionings, etc.), and how social interaction in turn contributes to structuring the linguistic forms put to use. The paper presents a qualitative analysis of dislocated constructions in the face-to-face interactions of advanced 'school' learners of French whose L1 is German. The data consist of communicative classroom interactions and semi-directive interviews. Results show that the learners use dislocated structures for accomplishing a variety of interactional functions, such as managing preference organization, negotiating intercomprehension, organizing the closing of episodes, and signaling to each other their orientation to the ongoing activities and their sequential organization.

According to these results, the learners' use of dislocated structures reveals not only a certain mastery of the structuring of information; it also reveals subtle interactional competencies that are linked to the sequential organization of the reciprocal activities and to the organization of mutual positionings. This in turn underlines the inseparability of the linguistic, discursive and interactional dimensions of language competencies and their development.

### **Barry Pennock Speck**

#### ***The pragmatic effects of creaky voice***

There have been several important contributions to the study of voice quality, especially Laver & Trudgill 1979, Laver 1980, Graddol, & Swann 1989. Articles on the relevance of speech with regard to personal identity and voice styling, most notably Cameron (1985, 1995, 2001) have also centred on the physical medium of speech. However, nowhere in the literature that I have consulted has there been an attempt to put forward the idea that voice quality may have pragmatic effects. In order to show that voice quality, and more specifically, creaky voice, is pragmatically relevant, I have analyzed the voice of Reece Witherspoon in the film *Legally Blonde*. I

have selected several scenes from *Legally Blonde* in which Reece Witherspoon's character's voice can be heard sufficiently well to be analyzed using the Praat voice analysis programme. Using this programme I have found that creaky voice is found in two main contexts; the first involves the character speaking confidently in public and the second, in contexts in which she confides with close friends two seemingly very different types of situation but which I hope to prove are linked.

## **Hermine Penz**

### ***Metacommunication in international project work***

This paper analyses the function of metacommunicative comments in international project work using English as a lingua franca. It looks at the question of how metacommunicative comments are used to organize the process of group work. In intercultural communication this type of metacommunication is also crucial for creating a common understanding of what is going on in the interaction.

Comments such as : “we have identified now the uh..type of communication..for example with this staff member I think”; “all right now..do we want to know how the whole institution is organized?”; “I think we'd better..if you agree..move on now” function for example to sum up what has been done or achieved in group work so far, to suggest what direction(s) should be taken, when to move on to a different topic, activity, etc. and to negotiate the process of group work in general.

The examples are taken from a collection of data on intercultural project work collected over a period of three years. The interactions were audio-taped and analysed by using methods of discourse analysis.

## **Michael Perkins**

### ***Pragmatics as an emergent phenomenon: Evidence from communication impairment***

Many approaches to pragmatics fall either into the ‘modular’ camp, according to which pragmatics is seen as a self-contained component on a par with syntax or lexis or even (the product of) a discrete mental module (Sperber & Wilson, 2002), or the ‘perspective’ camp, according to which pragmatics is seen as different in kind from theoretical and/or cognitive entities like syntax and lexis, exists at a higher level of abstraction than linguistic phenomena and effectively constitutes a metacognitive stance (e.g. Verschueren, 1999). In this paper I will argue for an account of pragmatics which sees it neither as component nor perspective, but instead as the emergent outcome of interactions between cognitive, linguistic and sensorimotor processes during human interaction. My evidence for this approach comes from extensive attempts to characterize the nature of a wide variety of pragmatic impairments in individuals with communication disorders (Perkins, 2003). Modular accounts which restrict pragmatics to the operations of a single mental module such as Theory of Mind fail to take into account the critical contributions of other cognitive systems such as executive function, memory, emotion and attitude, and also of their interaction with linguistic processing and sensorimotor systems such as gesture and vision. Perspective definitions of pragmatics such as “a general cognitive, social, and cultural perspective on linguistic phenomena in relation to their usage in forms of behaviour” (Verschueren, 1999: 7) crucially require a perspective taker. If one interprets this definition as being of the study of pragmatics, then the beholder is the student. If one sees it instead as a definition of pragmatics itself – i.e. pragmatics as competence, process or behaviour – then the beholder can only be some kind of latter day ‘ghost in the machine’ or, as some psychologists have envisaged it, a metacognitive ‘central executive’ or ‘supervisory attentional system’.

The alternative ‘emergentist’ position proposed here downplays the significance of superordinate constructs such as pragmatic modules and metacognitive perspectives, arguing that they are an epiphenomenal consequence of lower level interactions (Perkins, 1998; in press). Such a ‘bottom-up’ account is better able to capture the fact that many of the behaviours we observe in impaired interaction do not map directly onto a specific cognitive, linguistic or sensorimotor deficit, but are in fact a consequence of attempting to compensate for the deficit and involve processing trade-offs within and between cognitive, linguistic, sensorimotor and interpersonal domains. Far from being exclusively linked to any single one of these processing areas, evidence from communicative impairments strongly suggests that pragmatics transcends them all.

## **Bernardo Pérez Álvarez**

### ***The category of person in discourse and its role in the construction of social identity***

Language is an important factor in the construction of social identity. Through language it is possible to make and confirm the sense of a we-group. This situation opens the possibility for a speaker to speak like an “us” and make a difference between “you” and “them”. This delimitation is used in speech acts to mark the difference between groups. The main question to be answered is: What is the relation between a pronoun “we” and a group? Or in a semantic perspective, what is the reference of “we” in specific uses of this personal pronoun?

This study takes as corpus discursive exchanges held in Spanish by the Mexican government and the Zapatista movement in March 2001 because of the discussion of a so called "Indian law". In these exchanges is clear the construction of social identities through the use of plural pronouns. In Spanish, person is expressed in pronouns, possessives and in the verb forms. The exploration searched these uses in order to determine what was the referent of every use of "we", "you", or "them". It was also important to see that the demarcation of a group was not made at once and forever. The use of "we" changes at every moment with the consideration of different aspects, for example in

1) Somos indígenas y somos mexicanos

The "we"-group is considered basically in relation to an ethnic consideration (to be "indígena").

In

2) Los pobres luchamos para que los ricos no nos hagan a un lado

the main demarcation is made between "poor" and "rich" people.

But, considering a group of discourses, in the end it is possible to establish the demarcation of a consistent social identity considering all the parameters detected in the discourse (a group with the same kind of marks, like "indígena", "campesino", "pobre", "analfabeto").

The result of this research makes clear that language plays an important role in the construction of social identity. It is possible to say that language builds social identity and gives cohesion to a group, not only in a general sense, as has been considered when comparing languages, but also in the use of the same language by different social groups.

### **Miguel Pérez Milans & Luisa Martín Rojo**

#### ***Analyzing cross-cultural interaction in educational context***

This paper focuses on significant pragmatic and sociolinguistic features of cross-cultural communication in Spanish multicultural schools. Our analysis would be framed within the debate between cultural approaches, which emphasize the role played by cultural differences in conversational dynamics, and those which emphasize the incidence of social asymmetries and social processes (exclusion, negotiation, and integration, among them).

In this paper we propose a multidimensional approach which explores how the linguistic, psychosocial and social dimensions interact in these communicative events. This approach shows the complex and bidirectional relation between the social order and structures, and cultural differences. According to it, the study of cross-cultural communication has to pay attention to the role played by communicative differences when social and cultural differences exist, but also to the perception of such differences and its influence on three processes: first, on process of speakers' identities construction (for instance, by enhancing stereotypes); second, on negotiation of social relationships process; third, on social exclusion and social closure processes.

Furthermore, the analysis of these kind of interactions in an institutional context, such as the educational context we study, show how these communicative differences are negotiated, and even imposed when deep social asymmetries exist among participants (class, status and gender).

Therefore, this paper will examine how cultural/communicative differences are used to establish asymmetries in Spanish classrooms' interactions by leaning on institutional norms and values. First it all, we will analyze an interaction between students participating in a cooperative activity in Primary school. Secondly, we will analyze interactions between students and teachers in Secondary schools. In both cases, interactions end up distributing different roles to participants according to participants' origins, and according the language skills, and linguistic uses (some participants are legitimated, some participants are non-legitimated in classroom activities).

### **Roberta Piazza**

#### ***If you could say it with words, there'd be no reason to paint: The visual/verbal interrelation in cinema***

In academic film studies, cinematic dialogue has never been considered a 'signifier in itself' (Kozloff, 2000:6). The disregard for the verbal has been explained variously, including in terms of an ideological attitude filtered through gender (ibid.): words are seen as female and therefore subordinate to the visual, which, centred on action, is associated with the male and perceived as superior. The verbal and visual have been interpreted in conflictual terms: the former has been expected to elucidate, confirm or anchor images, and in so doing it has been perceived as diminishing the power of the latter. Willemsen (1983), for instance, exemplifies a view that prioritises the verbal, in believing that 'language is the symbolic expression par excellence and all other systems of communication are derived from it and presume its existence' (p. 141).

Bearing in mind this theoretical debate, the paper develops previous work on the cinematic verbal/visual interface in order to propose a pragmatic approach to this relationship. Examining the word/image link in televised news, Meinhof (1990) lists three categories of such an interrelation: overlap, displacement and

dichotomy. Such categories are a useful starting point for analysing the verbal/visual interrelation. However, the additional categories of symbolic contiguity, conflictuality and interplay (proposed here) are needed to describe the intricate ways in which the two planes intersect in cinema.

Symbolic contiguity, which is illustrated by a key episode from Pasolini's *Decameron*, concerns cases where the verbal plane has apparently nothing in common with the images on the screen, while at the deeper level of symbolic significance the link between the two still exists. In the category of conflictuality, the verbal and visual enter an open clash, which involves their contrasting truth-values. In Archibugi's *Mignon è partita*, a woman is weeping over the cutting board while preparing the family supper. When asked by her daughter why she is crying, she explains that she is slicing some onions, although the camera shot reveals that she is actually cutting courgettes. The verbal and the visual establish a strange game each denying and contradicting the other, although it is the visual that refutes the verbal by requiring the viewers to establish on which presupposition they have to base their further interpretation of the narrative, either 'mother is not unhappy and has no reasons to cry', which the verbal encourages, or 'mother is unhappy and has reasons to cry', which underlies the visual. In the category of interplay fall cases of verbal/visual intersection, which add to the complexity of the resulting message. For example, in a scene from Linklater's *Before Sunset*, the verbal and the visual subtly intersect resulting in a narrative refocalisation from the viewpoint of an external character to that of an internal and central one. A switch, operated by the visual on to the verbal, occurs from 'reported speech' to 'free indirect speech'.

The paper establishes the need for these categories for the analysis of the verbal/visual interface and explores some manifestations of such interrelation.

### **Monica Pierfederici-Leifer, Judith Green & Jenny Cook-Gumperz** ***An analysis of teachers' talk in constructing students' multiple identities***

Traditionally, the concept of education has been that one of "cultural reproduction" where teachers teach and students learn. In recent years, studies have focused attention on the role of teachers' discourse in shaping opportunities for student learning. Language and the quality of teachers-student linguistic interaction has a major influence on the students' opportunities for learning, for making knowledge their own, and for developing particular identities. Rather than being a process of precise information transfer, discourse in educational setting is, instead, a collaborative activity in which speaker and listener respectively provide and make use of linguistic and paralinguistic cues in context in order to enable the listener to construct an interpretation of what he interprets to be the meaning intended by the speaker. Through their discourse, in a particular instructional context, teachers build a text that enhances students' active learning on a cognitive, social, and cultural level. To do that, teachers formulate and reformulate discourse choices that enhance students' active participation, and roles and identities development. However, an area not well examined yet is how teachers create a common understanding for actions to be taken up by different groups of students in team or small group settings.

The study examines the ways in which an intergenerational team was established, how the teachers constructed identities within the team for students of different ages, and how team, itself, was talked into being. This study is part of a larger ethnographic project in which three generations of students (4th, and 11th grade, and graduate students) worked as a team to document the experiences of teachers at a national Conference held in Santa Barbara. The goal of the project was to help the intergenerational team of students become the conference ethnographers.

This poster presents the analysis of teachers' discourse using an interactional sociolinguistic (Gumperz, 1986), and interactional ethnographic (Castanheira, Crawford, Green & Dixon, 2002) approach. These approaches provided a systematic approach to examining who could do what, when, where, under what conditions and with what outcomes, questions needed to explore the local and the situated nature of the negotiation of roles and relationships between and among students and teachers. Specifically, the study examines the ways in which the teachers' discourse choices and use of pronominal and intertextual references, led to the construction of literate practices, actions, and demands which in turn supported students in constructing roles as professional ethnographers, as well as team players, participant observers, and critical thinkers. Through these analyses, I examine the work of the teachers' discourse in shaping the opportunities for learning available to each age student, and how these opportunities led to the construction of local knowledge and situated identities.

### **Ahti-Veikko Pietarinen** ***Multimodality in diagrammatic logic and in cognition***

We suggest to tackle multimodality both from the perspectives of logic and from the perspectives of cognition in a combined fashion. To achieve this requires a diagrammatic (visual, heterogeneous) approach to logic that

takes assertions to be graphs, and uses varying surfaces, including colours and patterns, to express different modalities, including knowing, perception, feeling or intention. This approach yields a multimodal logic, but is at the same time cognitively realistic in actually incorporating different modes of perceiving and identifying (e.g. by seeing, touching, smelling) the objects.

In this paper, we present the system of diagrammatic logic of multiple modalities. First, we acknowledge the origins of such ideas that date back to the unpublished papers of C. S. Peirce and his work on “tinctured” version of existential graphs (1911). We show how a pragmatic interpretation to the expressions of the diagrammatic multimodal system can be laid out in terms of game-theoretic semantics, in which two parties collaborate in building the graph and then interpreting it.

We explain the use of the resulting diagrammatic multimodal logic in expressing patterns that are hard to capture in any linear format of a symbolic system such as natural language. In particular, tinctured diagrams appeal both to the visual system of the brain in terms of various colours and patterns, as well as to haptic system in terms of different contours of the sheets on which they are scribed. However, all this may be done in a strictly logical setting in the sense that agrees with the symbolic counterparts of multimodal logics. I argue that the former is nevertheless better suited, among others, for the representations of continuity of individuals in cross-modal context. As an example, the problem of intentional identity is presented and explicated in our framework. We can also represent cross-modal anaphoric discourse such as “Hob realised that a wolf visited the town. Nob saw what it (the same wolf) caused”, or “Bob feels that the object is a rose, but he does not visualise it (the same rose)” in terms of multimodal diagrammatic representations. Accordingly, the dual perspective to multimodal logic and multimodality in cognition is relevant in the light of the striking phenomena revealed by neurophysiological disorders of identifying an object by one mode of identification but not by another.

## **Ingrid Piller**

### ***Using English as an additional language in Sydney***

This paper examines how societal ideologies that de/valorize diversity, are reflected in the beliefs of ESL users in Sydney. The data for this paper come from a longitudinal ethnographic project with 45 ESL users from a variety of linguistic, national and ethnic backgrounds. I will mainly draw upon the individual and focus-group interviews in which their ESL learning experiences were explored. I will focus on the ways in which the ESL users conceptualize the ethnic and racial identity of Australian society. It emerges that those who see themselves as highly successful ESL learners draw upon discourses of multiculturalism and Australia as a diverse society to a significant extent. By contrast, those who see themselves as unsuccessful ESL learners, either did not know about such discourses or discarded them. Instead, they regard Australia as a White Anglo-Saxon society to which they do not have access. In the conclusion I will suggest that linguistic proficiency should be re-conceptualized to include ‘proficiency’ in the discourses of the target society.

## **Barbara Pizziconi**

### ***Metapragmatic comments and face concerns in Japanese TV talk-shows interactions***

Concern with the appropriate framing of an utterance at the interactional level is evidenced in Japanese by the use of semi-idiomatic expressions such as the following:

1. Honrai nara shikaru beki ningen ga onegai ni agaru beki nanodesuga...

Ideally this request should have come from the appropriate person but...

2. Konna kantanna memo dewa shitsurei desunode, aratamete seishikino bunshoo ni itashimasu.

This quick note is not adequate, so let me write it up properly for you.

Sugito (1983) proposes to view expressions like these as ‘commentary’ behaviour (chuushaku koodoo), or behaviour which provides a kind of ‘annotation’ on the relational level of the interaction, while the speaker gets on with the business at hand. He regards these utterances as expressive tools qualitatively akin to honorifics. Following a Hymesian scheme for the analysis of speech events, he notes that these expressions exploit the ‘comment’ on the topics, the physical or psychological context, the genre, the channel etc., in order to display the speaker’s regard toward others (be that the interlocutor or third parties) and hence share the same *raison d’être* of honorifics.

The main objective of Sugito’s work is to capture the shared functional orientation of such utterances, as well as to provide an analysis (mainly sentential) and systematization of a phenomenon often lost in the flow of the speech. We can build on his work and address the question of the discursive social or psychological motivation for the use of these metapragmatic comments.

My paper will therefore analyse contextualised occurrences, in search for the argumentative purpose (Eelen 2001) of such comments. Meta-pragmatic comments provide a relatively explicit indication of the social norm invoked by an individual in a certain context (by uttering, e.g. ‘Forgive me for interrupting’ we display an



upholding of a norm that sees interruptions as potentially hostile, antisocial behaviour). Systematic observation may well provide us with a rich repository of idealised social norms, but we must be weary of understanding norms derived in this way as an objective catalogue of the norms relevant to, and shared by, all members of a society. Rather, the precepts hinted at by a 'commentary' must be seen as purposive and ideological entities exploited for the achievement of an interactional stake, which can contradict actual behaviour, or even other norms invoked in other contexts (Eelen 2001:232). Individuals appear to draw differentially from the repository, depending on a) their knowledge of the repertoire (unequally distributed in society) b) the perceived fit of the repertoire to one's beliefs or self-image (based on other- and self-indexicality) and c) the interactional objective pursued in the specific event observed.

The stage for my analysis is constituted by Japanese talk shows broadcast on Japanese TV. This setting brings to the fore issues of self-presentation for public selves, and intensive work is requested on the part of the participants to co-construct mutually and publicly suitable lines. I explore the indexing purpose of the meta-comments in terms of speakers' face concerns - in the Goffmanian sense of the 'line' that interactants assume an individual has taken. My focus will not be confined to issues of social distance or power, but also deal with the affective stances mobilised by speakers to construct or claim such a line.

## **Maria Placencia**

### ***Pragmatic variation in service encounter exchanges in two varieties of Ecuadorian Spanish***

While there are an increasing number of studies explicitly or implicitly examining 'pragmatic variation' (Placencia, 1994; 1998) across 'national' language varieties such as Peninsular and Mexican Spanish (e.g. Bravo, 1998), there are very few investigations of variation within the same broad language variety. Additionally, most studies to date have been based on role-play or the discourse completion test, neither of which necessarily reflects actual language use. On the basis of recordings and field notes from observing naturally occurring interactions in corner shops in two towns in Ecuador, this paper examines variation in the making of requests for a product in two broad varieties of Ecuadorian Spanish: coastal (Manta) and Serrano (Quito) Spanish. Its aim is to contribute to the study of pragmatic variation in general as well as in (Ecuadorian) Spanish in particular.

In accordance with the framework established by Blum-Kulka et al. (1989), requests are analysed in terms of head acts and internal modification. With respect to similarities, the use of direct forms proves to predominate in both contexts, unlike many other studies of requests that show the prevalence of conventional indirectness (cf. Vázquez Orta, 1995; Le Pair, 1996; Hassall, 1999). On the other hand, the present study shows there to be a great deal of variation in terms of internal modification. Requests in Quito exhibit a range of mechanisms, including politeness formulas, diminutives and some types of hedging, that modify the force of the request (cf. Placencia, forthcoming), while requests in Manta are found to occur with little or no internal modification. Politeness formulas, for example, are employed in Manta not in the course of everyday service encounter exchanges, but only when a special request is being made. Other differences concern the presence of preambles or closing strategies at the end of the service exchange, both of which features are more common in Quiteño than in Manteño Spanish; there are also differences in the tempo with which requests are produced in both contexts, with Manteños employing a more rapid tempo compared to Quiteños. The differences encountered seem to be in line with the widely held perception in Ecuador that costeños are more direct than serranos in the sense that the latter habitually use more elaborate linguistic constructions. On the other hand, some of the differences seem to mirror differences that have already been described in the context of national varieties of Spanish such as Chilean and Peninsular Spanish (e.g. Puga Larraín, 1997). In this respect, the present paper highlights the need to examine variation within 'national' cultures, since differences found across national varieties might be encountered also within a particular national variety.

## **Isabella Poggi**

### ***Rhetorical figures in symbolic gestures***

Work on gestures (Wundt 1900, De Jorio 1832, Kendon 1988, Calbris 1990, Poggi & Magno 1997; Poggi 2002) and sign languages (Boyes Braem 1981, Webb 1998, PerrinWilcox 2004) has shown that rhetorical uses like metaphor or irony occur in gestural communication. This work provides a definition of rhetorical figures in terms of a goal and belief model of communication (Conte & Castelfranchi, 1995; Castelfranchi & Poggi, 1998), it outlines a number of rhetorical uses of Italian symbolic gestures, and proposes a representation of them aimed at implementing rhetorical uses of gestures in Animated Gestural Agents.

According to the model adopted, a rhetorical figure is a sub-type of non-literal use, which is defined as a case of "recitation": a case of unmasked deception, then not really deception. Recitation holds when a Sender S communicates to an Addressee A some signal whose literal meaning L is different from a non-literal meaning

NL which S actually believes, but at the same time communicates that S does not believe L and has the goal that A believe NL. If I clap hands as you inadvertently spill tomato sauce on my dress, I pretend to be praising you, but both you and I know that I am ironical, that actually I am blaming you. So, in a rhetorical use of a signal S performs a signal that literally means L while in fact meaning NL, but having the goal that the Addressee understand NL.

To understand a rhetorical use, the Addressee must:

1. realize that the literal meaning is implausible (contextually inappropriate), that is, find out some contradiction between the literal meaning and other beliefs taken from contextual knowledge or shared knowledge;
2. understand that the Sender must have the goal of letting A infer some other meaning;
3. understand what rhetorical device the Sender has used in order to “mask” meaning NL under meaning L;
4. infer meaning NL.

Rhetorical figures differ from each other for the specific manipulation performed by the Sender to generate meaning L from meaning NL (3.), and therefore, as to the specific inferences the Addressee A has to go through to draw meaning NL from meaning L (4.).

The work presents some rhetorical uses of some Italian symbolic gestures (metaphor, synecdoche, hyperbole, irony and others) and analyzes the specific devices exploited to construct the different rhetorical uses. To simulate their comprehension, a procedure is proposed that takes the literal meaning of a gesture (say, the meaning “praise” of the hand clap) as input and processes it by applying it, for each rhetorical figure, specific instructions to add, cancel or substitute some beliefs to the beliefs contained in the literal meaning, or to set links of cause-effect, class-example, whole-part, opposite-of, thus leading to the output rhetorical meaning (say, a “blame” performed through the figure or irony).

On the production side, a procedure is proposed to generate rhetorical uses starting from literal uses of gestures.

## **Periklis Politis & Maria Kakavoulia**

### ***Direct discourse in the Greek press: Between evidentiality and subjectivity***

Among the ways of discourse representation, direct quotation is the most explicit form of inclusion of a speech event in a discourse. Many researchers have reached the conclusion that Direct Discourse (DD) is the mode par excellence in news reports, and that its function is to ensure faithfulness to an original discourse. This paper explores the validity of these claims by comparing the forms and functions of DD in two Greek newspapers, namely "I Kathimerini" (K) and "Ta Nea" (N). We argue that a refined approach of DD: a) sheds new light in reported discourse forms, b) reveals a variety of functions of DD, and c) underlines the differences between the newspapers' registers. Our account relies upon a corpus-based approach to the study of DD forms and a qualitative analysis (in a number of news items) of a) the speech reporting verbs (Caldas-Coulthard 1994) and b) the functions of DD in the news reports.

We studied DD according to Maingueneau's typology of reported discourse (2000). In particular, we examined:

- directly reported discourse (DRD), free direct discourse (FDD), direct discourse segments (hybrid forms or "discours surmarque", Rosier 2002) and "autonymic modalisation"
- the speech reporting verbs (Caldas-Coulthard 1994)
- the textual functions of DD

Statistical information from the various forms of DD provided that, while DRD occurrences were equally represented in both newspapers, the rest of the DD forms appeared in very divergent frequencies. Concerning the functions of DD, we distinguished argumentation, dialogue that sets the scene of a conflict, interview reconstruction, evidence presentation, legitimization. Moreover, reporting verb selection and source indication brought out the reporter's manipulation of discourse representation.

Overall comparing of our data revealed a different register for each newspaper. (K) adheres to autonymic modalisation, thereby introducing polyphony as well as distancing of the reporter from the quoted discourse, whereas (N) shows a general tendency towards hybrid rather than "pure" forms, making an overmarking of the quoting work of the journalists. (K) keeps more closely to the professional standards of press writing, whereas (N) foregrounds the materiality of a speech event. DD's functions are not simply restricted to faithfulness but are further related to the reporter's personal involvement in selecting and processing what to report.

Depth analysis proved that DD forms and functions, speech reporting verbs and the kind of source cited formulate uniquely newspaper's register, ideological attitudes and perspectives.

**Gina Poncini**

***Ambiguity and shifting identities in dialogue: An examination of pronominal choice and evaluation at intercultural business meetings***

This paper examines the use of the personal pronouns we, you, and I at intercultural business meetings, linking their use to the negotiation of individual and group identity and the alignments participants take up with respect to themselves and others in dialogic interaction. The use of evaluation (Thompson and Hunston 2000) at the meetings is also analyzed, leading the way to an exploration of the effect of applying differing pragma-rhetorical approaches to the same dialogic data. The paper then gives attention to participation frameworks (Goffman, 1979/1981) and participant roles, discussing how using the different approaches can provide richer insights into dialogue in multiparty professional settings.

Unlike most studies on pronoun use, the present analysis draws attention to the issue of ambiguity by illustrating the complexity in determining referents for we. Giving close attention to ambiguity when analyzing referents is supported by Zupnik (1994) and De Fina (1995), who stress the importance of a detailed analysis of pronoun use and the need to consider shifts in frames or 'discourse spaces' (Zupnik 1994) and participant roles (De Fina 1995) to account for the way referents are assigned. Zupnik (1994) analyzes why resolution of vague first person pronouns (i.e. those with potentially more than two different referents) is not possible in certain cases and how this contributes to the potential persuasive functions of pronouns.

Data come from two different professional settings: First, business meetings held by an Italian company for its international distributors from 12-14 countries in Europe, Asia and North America. Transcribed data total six hours and 57 minutes, representing two half-day segments, one in 1997 and one in 1998, held mainly in English. Second, a visit to a winery involving interactants from Italy, the U.S. and Croatia, which was recorded during a three-day international wine industry event in northern Italy in 2004, during which mainly English and Italian were used.

Both quantitative and qualitative approaches are used to analyze pronominal choice, while evaluation is analyzed qualitatively. The quantitative pronoun analysis includes a category encompassing unresolved ambiguity, allowing a more in-depth analysis of possible consequences and functions of pronoun use. The paper also examines participation frameworks (Goffman, 1979/1981), and in doing so especially considers the findings obtained by each approach.

The analysis of data collected in the first setting shows there is a range of ambiguous referents for we as used by company speakers, going beyond ambiguity as to whether or not the group of distributors is included. Such uses of we are ambiguous not only for the analyst; they are open to different interpretations by different hearers at the meetings. Because of the role of hearers in interpreting ambiguity, ambiguity is strategic for the speaker. The analysis also shows how the main company speaker manages participation by initiating shifts in participant roles, and how the occurrence of such shifts and the use of positive and negative evaluation are interrelated. Company speakers are also seen to contribute to building relations, shifting between individual and collective identity. These findings are compared to those obtained by applying similar methodological approaches to data recorded at the second setting, the winery visit.

**Salvador Pons Borderia**

***Todavía = todavía no in Andean Spanish: Negation, aspectuality and context***

The Spanish temporal adverb todavía has been described as a durative phase adverb (García Fernández 1999), whose semantic effect on a predicate consists of showing a sequence of three phases: the first one is previous to the action denoted by the predicate; the action of the predicate is the second one and, finally, the third one is posterior to the one denoted by the predicate, as shown in (1) below:

- (1) Su hija todavía juega con muñecas  
Her daughter still plays with dolls  
(before: she played; now: she still plays; later: possibility that she does not play anymore)

Together with ya and with the negation operator no, todavía establishes an affirmative/ negative system, being todavía and ya mirror images of each other (Sánchez López 1999):

- (2) todavía p = ya no p  
ya p = todavía no p

While in these examples compositionality is respected, in Andean Spanish a dialectal use of todavía is attested, in which the phase adverb alone is equivalent to todavía no:

- (3) A: ¿Has acabado de comer?  
A: Have you finished eating?  
B: Todavía

B: Not yet

This usage shares some of the features discussed for other approximatives, like Chinese *chi yadar* (Li 1976), English *almost* (Ziegler 2000), Spanish *casi* (Schwenter 2002) or Portuguese *mal* (Amaral forthcoming): a situation which can change from the positive to the negative; an indication of proximity to one or the other state of affairs and a temporal expectation which can trigger the change. While previous works have focussed on the positive vs. negative character of the approximative (Pons and Schwenter 2005), this paper explores the role of the temporal component in a global characterization of this word class.

## **Mihaela Popa**

### ***What do contradictions communicate?***

Standard accounts of rationality cannot explain how contradictions are produced and resolved in communication, because they involve a static and consistency-based picture of human reasoning (Allott 2002). First, they simply ignore situations in which inconsistencies among beliefs and utterances are voluntarily generated. Second, they do not provide any criteria for deciding between two contradictory propositions. Using the framework of Relevance Theory (Sperber & Wilson 1986/95), this paper attempts to provide a cognitive pragmatic account of some procedures for resolving contradictions and for retrieving the content the speaker intends to communicate through their use. I will describe the processes and levels of representation typically involved in the interpretation of contradictions, both explicit and implicit, with particular attention to inconsistencies pertaining to presuppositions.

There are several pragmatic processes by means of which apparent contradictions may be resolved:

1. The construction of ad hoc concepts which contributes to the explicit (truth-conditional) content of utterances:

For example, an utterance of the contradictory ‘He was upset but he wasn’t upset’ might be resolved by pragmatically adjusting the two occurrences of the lexically encoded concept UPSET, so that two distinct concepts result: X WAS UPSET\* BUT X WAS NOT UPSET\*\* (from Carston 2002). This process may apply to a range of scalar terms; for instance, ‘it’s raining and it’s not raining’, which can be resolved by inferring that the speaker intends two different degrees or forces of ‘raining’. Something similar may apply when contradictory lexical predicates are attributed to a single subject, e.g. ‘I love my work and I hate it.’

2. An interpretation that involves some kind of metarepresentational enrichment of the proposition expressed, so that the two contradictory elements are no longer in direct conflict.

I will demonstrate this latter process as it applies to some examples from the Theatre of the Absurd, drawing an analogy between them and some well known cases of presupposition denial, which have been analysed as involving metalinguistic or echoic negation (Horn 1985, Carston 1996, Burton-Roberts 1999):

John hasn’t stopped smoking; he’s never smoked in his life.

The on-line interpretation of this typically involves two phases of pragmatic interpretation: on the first phase, the scope of negation is narrowed so that the presupposition is preserved, but this then leads to inconsistency with the second clause in each case. The subsequent reanalysis in order to resolve the contradiction involves widening the scope of the negation and metarepresenting the material in its scope. The result can be roughly paraphrased as ‘It’s not the case that “John has stopped smoking” is an appropriate utterance’; this is then perfectly consistent with the following correction clause.

I claim that the more cognitively disturbing contradictions that one finds in absurdist discourse share a number of properties with these cases, including two phases of pragmatic processing, the first of which results in inconsistency, and then a metarepresentational reinterpretation. Their garden-pathing effect, however, is much more prolonged and profound, since the contradiction seems unresolvable. As a result, when the contradiction is finally resolved (if it is), it should yield an array of cognitive effects commensurate with the processing effort required.

Here is an example:

“La vérité n’a que deux faces, mais son troisième côté vaut mieux”

(Truth has only two sides, but it is the third one that is worth most).

It follows from the first clause that truth does not have a third side, but the second clause carries a presupposition which directly contradicts this. The connective *mais*/but signals that the clause that follows should eliminate or override an inference from the first clause that contradicts it, but this is not possible here since the contradiction is at the level of entailment rather than implicature. My claim is that the interpretive clash is ultimately resolved by treating the first clause not as a descriptive claim but as a belief attributed to people in general, so that it can be paraphrased roughly as: People think that the truth has only two sides, but in my view the third one is best.

The question remains why the author has chosen to express this by use of a ‘deep’ contradiction on which a presupposition is at odds with an asserted proposition. I suggest that in order to offset the extra processing effort demanded by this deliberately paradoxical utterance, the reader is given access to a range of

unusual rhetorical effects, both of a humorous and corrective sort. The author may have no very specific intention as regards the content of these effects and the result is that the reader's own context can both extend and revise the meaning of the text, especially with respect to rhetorical conventions, the latter being thus placed within an epistemic space.

### **Charlene Pope**

#### ***When indexicals fail but implicature succeeds: The comparative analysis of talk in American monoracial and interracial health encounters***

Communication between White physicians and Black and White patients in American health encounters is linked to racial/ethnic disparities in decision making, trust, medical interventions, advice, and outcomes. Yet quantitative studies of medical records and post hoc evaluations of services by clinicians or patients cannot account for how these disparities occur during what health service researchers define as the interpersonal process of care. The science of health communication focuses on either health message transmission as content or subsequent affective evaluation of aspects of relationship building. Both approaches neglect the sociopragmatics of speakers as members of a racialized society engaged in social practice as well as a functional medical agenda. In the application of pragmatics as philosophy and as linguistic theory, talk appears as a dimension of social interaction in health services requiring closer study. Though part of a historically racialized nation, the American health professions rely on pedagogic codes of culture and altruism that neglect the potential for racial dynamics in the talk of health encounters.

Critical race theory offers an opportunity to interrogate social subjectivity in health services in ways neglected in the past, but may exclude resistance, non-response, and the multiplicity of social locations in talk. For members of speech communities still largely segregated in the US, historical and economic inequalities add to the traditional inequality of power between clinicians and patients. As a philosophical and linguistic approach, sociopragmatics can be used to examine nuances of cooperation and politeness that differ in participation frameworks when race varies and go undetected in traditional health communication research. When paired with ethnography of communication, specific communicative practices can be examined with the fullest points of view of the users of talk as well as the perspective of outside observers to identify when social dynamics produce differing process and outcomes by race. Unlike the view of Grice and Austen that interlocutors recognize each other's assumptions, engagement in the shared agenda of medical priorities in real-time may preclude immediate notice of the indexicals and implicatures represented by differing speech practices. The contrast of the clinician and client's separate reflection on recordings can furnish the social contexts that shaped their choices to speak or not to speak. As an alternative to narrow views of intentionality, Van Dijk's cognitive model of memory suggests how the underlying ideology of discourse in social situations may shift the participant frameworks Goffman describes as a co-construction.

Building on the work of Erickson and Shultz in educational sociolinguistics, this theoretical foundation will be used to present a proposed method of analysis as a model for institutional comparisons of social differences. Emerging from previous matched racial comparisons, a taxonomy of speech practices sensitive to social dynamics in health encounters will illustrate when differing speaking practices produce differing communicative outcomes. Specific examples will illustrate when speech partners failed to establish a common indexical ground, but proceeded with differing implicatures in the service of a medical agenda.

### **Andrei Popescu-Belis & Sandrine Zufferey**

#### ***Sociolinguistic biases and the automatic identification of discourse markers in dialogue***

This study analyses the impact of speakers' sociolinguistic background on the use of discourse markers (DM), based on a corpus of transcribed meeting dialogues. Within the more general framework of automatic DM identification, we propose two methods to assess the correlation of sociolinguistic features such as age, education or place of origin with the presence of DMs in spoken utterances.

Two highly ambiguous lexical items that can serve as DMs are investigated: 'like' and 'well'. 'Like' can be a verb, a noun, a preposition, an adverb, or a conjunction; when used as a DM, it can signal approximation or reported speech, among other things. 'Well' can serve as an adverb, or as a DM it can mark hesitation or topic change.

The identification of the lexical items that function as DMs is an arduous task, pertaining to computational pragmatics. For instance, the following example has two interpretations, and 'like' is a DM in only one of them: "This was like one of the first meetings I ever participated in."

Our study is based on the ICSI corpus of transcribed staff meetings, in English (Janin et al. 2003). It comprises 75 meetings, with about 800,000 words. While 52 speakers were recorded, the seven most frequent ones account for 62% of the corpus (ca. 500,000 words). We annotated manually the occurrences of 'like' and

'well' as DMs: 2052 'like' out of 4519 are DMs, and 2052 'well' out of 4136. Inter-annotator agreement for the disambiguation task is quite high, at kappa = 0.8 (Zufferey & Popescu-Belis 2004).

The first analysis is based on the sheer frequencies of DMs. It appears that the preferences for 'like' as a DM show much greater variability than the preferences for 'well', which seems more neutral. The proportion of DM uses is on average 45% for 'like', with a standard-deviation of 27%, whereas the proportion for 'well' is 88%, with 30% STD. These figures vary depending on the speakers' origins: for 'like', speakers from the US West produce 55% DMs vs. 31% for US East. A similar bias holds for the education level.

The second analysis uses a classification technique based on decision trees learned automatically from annotated data (cf. Zufferey & Popescu-Belis 2004). The classifiers can use various features: collocations (the best), position, prosody, and sociolinguistic features. The best classifiers reach kappa = 0.75 (89% correctly classified instances). Still, using only age, the following rule correctly classifies 75% of the DMs: consider 'like' as a DM only if age is under 30. This rule, constructed automatically, shows that younger speakers tend to over-use DM 'like'.

These analyses illustrate the connection between sociolinguistic features and the automatic identification of DMs. Such features can thus be used to tune automatic recognition. The classifier-learning method complements the purely quantitative measures for determining speaker biases in DM use.

## **Christel Portes & Roxane Bertrand**

### ***Fonction interactionnelle, contour intonatif et signaux back-channel en français***

Cette étude poursuit un double objectif : 1/ valider la fonction interactionnelle d'un contour intonatif du français (le contour montant, dit continuative) en montrant que ce contour est fréquemment ponctué d'un signal back-channel (BC) fondamentalement interactionnel, et 2/ renseigner par ce biais, sur le contexte d'apparition des BCs, lesquels seraient selon nous motivés par un faisceau d'indices. Nous montrerons, à la lumière de la théorie de la contextualisation (Gumperz, 1992), que la continuative constitue précisément un objet d'étude favorable à ce type d'interprétation.

1/ La continuative se présente comme l'un des contours intonatifs relativement incontestés du système intonatif du français et apparaît ainsi dans plusieurs modèles de référence (Delattre, Martin, Rossi). Cependant, ce contour est assez peu envisagé dans sa fonction structurelle (marquage de certaines étapes dans l'élaboration des discours) et encore moins dans sa fonction interactionnelle. Nous avons donc pour objectif premier de montrer qu'il comporte une valeur interactionnelle forte dans le sens où il attire/conditionne l'apparition de BCs plus que d'autres types de contours (de type conclusif, parenthèse, etc).

2/ Parmi les études qui ont cherché à rendre compte d'indices favorisant leur apparition (Koiso et al., 1998 ; Ward, 1999 ; Ward and Tsukahara, 2000), celle de Ward (1999) a montré qu'un point haut dans le discours permettait de prédire l'apparition d'un BC. Or, à l'examen de notre propre corpus (5 heures de conversation), nous n'avons pas pu rendre compte de l'ensemble des BCs sur la base de ce seul indice. Ceci confirme notre hypothèse initiale selon laquelle leur apparition est conditionnée par un faisceau d'indices relevant des divers niveaux syntaxique, sémantique, pragmatique et prosodique. Par ailleurs, plus que prédire, c'est plutôt comprendre les raisons de leur apparition qui nous intéresse. La nature même de la continuative permet d'apporter des éléments de réponse en ce sens. Notre explication s'inscrit dans le cadre de référence de la théorie de la contextualisation (Gumperz, 1992). Nous adhérons à l'idée que la prosodie, ici plus spécifiquement l'intonation, ne signifie pas en elle-même mais plutôt qualifie le contenu en ce sens qu'elle suggère des lignes d'inférence sans être porteuse d'information en tant que telle. A la suite d'auteurs tels que Selting (1992), Couper-Kuhlen et Selting (1996), nous considérons que l'intonation joue dans un dispositif de contextualisation : la signification qu'elle véhicule est de type relationnel, c'est-à-dire qu'elle émerge des relations qu'elle entretient notamment avec les autres niveaux linguistiques (Di Cristo et al, 2004). Dans le cas de la continuative, cette dernière se caractérise précisément par le fait que seule l'intonation signale que le locuteur n'en a pas terminé tandis que d'un point de vue syntaxique par exemple, l'énoncé est achevé. Ainsi l'interlocuteur qui produit un signal back-channel seul, montre qu'il a perçu un point d'achèvement potentiel (niveaux syntaxique, sémantique, etc) tout en ayant perçu (niveau intonatif) que le locuteur n'en avait pas terminé.

## **Jonathan Potter & Alexa Hepburn**

### ***Saying it twice: Transitions from open narrative telling to information seeking in calls to a child protection helpline***

The UK NSPCC (National Society for the Prevention of Cruelty to Children) fields more than 250,000 calls a year. Its primary focus is child protection, which involves taking calls reporting abuse to children and young people. The Child Protection Officers (CPOs) all have at least three years social work experience. The authors have been working on a corpus of more than 200 calls (see Hepburn, 2004; Potter & Hepburn, 2003).

The calls are highly heterogeneous in a number of dimensions: the type of call (abuse reporting calls, complaints about social services, offers to donate money, requests for counselling); the nature and severity of the reported abuse (from oblique evidence of possibility inappropriate activities through to graphic reports of ongoing violent incidents); the geographical situation of the caller (calls come from across the UK); the gender, class and ethnicity of the caller; the age of the caller (an important minority of callers are children reporting abuse).

Dealing with such heterogeneous calls can be demanding and complex. The current paper will focus on a particular element in these calls which is a move from an open narrative form of reporting, driven by the caller, to a question and answer form of reporting, driven by the CPO. Often the same material is described in different ways. This paper will attempt to explicate a number of features of these call elements as well as the transition between them.

The open narrative form appears early in the call and is characterised by descriptions of potential abuse that orient to issues of evidence, stake and stance as well as accounting for the timing of the call. This typically involves one or more narrative sequences. CPO actions are typically restricted to acknowledgement tokens and brief clarificatory questions. This is a form of reporting that manages important caller issues.

The question and answer form of reporting typically appears in the next section of the call. It displays a form of evidence gathering where the CPO asks for, or checks, specifics such as dates and times, ages, evidence and so on. The organization here reflects official categories and the building of evidence that could go into a social services referral. In addition, this evidence gathering can test out elements of the offered story. This testing can display the CPO's stance to the story and project potential actions (e.g. not making a referral). Callers can orient to this by providing further narrative details or resisting the implications of questions.

Transitions between the two forms of reporting are often preceded by the caller recycling material, signalling that no more is to come. CPOs mark this transition by using discourse markers and changing the question style from follow up to initiating.

The paper will offer interaction evidence for the existence of these forms as well as the transitions between them. It will develop broader observations about the institutional specificity of these transitions (compared to transitions from history taking in medical encounters, for example – Robinson & Stivers, 2001; Stivers & Heritage, 2001). It will also consider the role of narrative as an institutionally specific and sequentially embedded phenomenon.

## **Nausicaa Pouscoulous**

### ***Investigating scalar implicature in young children***

Implicatures are intentionally communicated assumptions which go beyond the explicit content of the utterance. We focus on a particular sub-class of implicatures: scalar implicatures. These occur when a speaker chooses to articulate a weaker word on a lexical scale of informativeness in such a way that the hearer believes that the speaker intended not to use a stronger one. For example, Some is a weaker quantifier than All and an utterance like Some children have teddy bears can be taken to imply that Not all children have teddy bears (likewise, or is a weaker term than and on the same semantic scale, and decent is weaker than excellent; so that in hearing 'John will go to Canada or Ireland' we understand he will not go in both countries, and if someone says 'The meal was decent' we understand she didn't find it excellent).

We present two developmental experiments investigating when children use scalar implicatures. These studies follow up on work carried out by Noveck (2001; also see Chierchia, Crain, Guasti, Gualmini and Meroni 2001; Papafragou 2003), who showed that children do not draw implicatures as readily as adults and tend to interpret a weaker word as compatible with its stronger equivalent (e.g., interpreting some to be consistent with all). Experiment 1 generalised the findings from Noveck by using a novel methodology to demonstrate the same trend. The participants were asked to say whether they agreed or disagreed with a puppet stating things about plastic animals and boxes displayed in front of them. The key sentence was 'some turtles are in the boxes' when all of them were. We found that, unlike adults who are equivocal, most children (92%) agreed with the puppet about this sentence thus showing that they didn't make the implicature.

Experiment 2 aimed to establish that the implicature production is not linked to a specific age, but rather to task complexity. We hypothesized that a simpler task which is more readily understandable would make the implicature production more likely. Experiment 2 made three procedural changes which we believed would reduce the effort necessary to perform the task, thus encouraging the pragmatic responses in children. First, rather than animals, we used a very simple design with boxes and tokens. Secondly, the French word for some was changed: we used quelques instead of certains (used in the first experiment), quelques being considered easier for children by schoolteachers. Lastly, participants were asked to act on the material to make it comply with the wishes of the puppet rather than saying if they agreed or not with sentences. The results showed that even very young children (e.g. 4 year olds) can make implicatures in tasks that minimise cognitive effort.

We discuss the results of our experiments in terms of Relevance Theory (e.g. Sperber & Wilson, 1986/95) and the neo-Gricean approach to implicatures (see Levinson, 2000).

**Loukia Prasinou**

***Online parents: Nicknames and parental identity in a virtual environment***

Computer-mediated communication opens up a uniquely interesting area for the study of identity construction. Individuals have multiple identities within different sociocultural contexts. An important new domain where identities are constructed through language are the virtual arenas of public discussion. Nicknames have a semantic, cultural and personal dimension, and function as an important means of presenting ourselves in online interaction (Bechar-Israeli, 1995). The selection of a nickname is an intentional, ritual act that enables the user to participate in a virtual environment (Crystal, 2001). However, the relationship between nicknames and identity has not been fully explored especially with regard to the construction of specific social identities. This paper focuses on the pragmatics of nicknames in a virtual environment. Using data from asynchronous message board discussions about parenthood, I show how users construct nicknames that index parental identity by analyzing linguistic features and applying the Gricean framework. The findings suggest that users make their parental identity very salient and provide additional information about other aspects of their identity. The paper draws the implication that nicknames are central to the construction of identity in a virtual environment and are an act of conformity to the central theme and goal of the virtual community they are used in.

**Christiane Preneron**

***Asking explanations: A way to reasoning***

Situated in a socio-interactionist approach (Vygotsky, 1985, Wertsch, 1991), our paper reports on an investigation of children and parental requests of explanation in family context. The pragmatic dimension is here conceived from an interactionist point of view, considering requests of explanation as a mean of questioning a point of view which leads the « author of the point of view » to justify oneself and then, in this aim, to reason. This study succeeds to a previous one (Préneron & Vasseur, 2004) which shows how young children explanations echo parental ones according to their linguistic style (direct/indirect, neutral/threatening...) but also to their social or cognitive orientation. Indeed, requests of explanation appear in a given context, which can be evenemential and/or discursive, and can take place in a conversational story, at least be anchored in a child/parents relational story. Thus their interpretation is not that of isolated utterances neither that of isolated speech acts but takes into account contextual parameters which can be characterized on a scale of cognitive orientation.

Data : The study deals with naturalistic data which have been gathered in a bilingual family composed of a British mother, a French father and two children : a girl aged from three years three to four years three and a boy aged once month at the beginning of the corpus. They are composed of video-recordings collected once a month around the children dinner time all along a five years period among which eight successive sessions have been chosen.

In this study, we wish to argue several points :

- first what makes a request of explanation more cognitive oriented than others and here we propose a typology of parental requests
- second evaluate the echoing in children requests of explanation, reflecting parental styles of formulating requests
- eventually, ask about a relation between the parental style of requests and the children possibility of asking ; the general hypothesis is that parental ways of asking suggest ways of reasoning which themselves configure ways of answering as well as ways of asking. Here will be presented a comparison between maternal and paternal styles and what can be interpreted as favouring or bothering the child's strategies of asking explanations to her parents.

This presentation wishes also to integrate the cultural dimension.

**Dennis Preston**

***Folk pragmatics***

When real people (i.e., nonlinguists) talk about language, they cover a wide range of topics. Niedzielski and Preston's *Folk Linguistics* (2000) has chapters and subsections on dialectology, sociolinguistics, first and second language acquisition, semantics, syntax, morphology, and phonetics/phonology as well as historical and applied linguistics. There are perhaps two reasons why it is not surprising that this comprehensive work on folk linguistics does not include a specific section on pragmatics.



1) Some areas of study are often classified outside the general domain of pragmatics, either as subfields of their own (e.g., conversation/discourse analysis) or as parts of other subfields (e.g., language attitude study as part of the social psychology of language or sociolinguistics).

2) Many pragmatic facts are hidden from folk consciousness (e.g., Silverstein 1980, Preston 1996). For example, although the breaking of the rules of conversational organization are certainly responded to by nonlinguists, the responses do not focus on such organization but often frame their reactions in terms which point to the personality of an interlocutor who has breached such rules.

Although folk discourses concerning pragmatic facts from 1) above may be investigated by simply relabeling the dominating field, there are concerns throughout folk linguistic interviews which show nonlinguist sensitivity to a wide range of pragmatic areas of interest, many which can be connected to the more deeply-embedded sorts of concerns suggested in 2).

In this presentation we will offer a preliminary outline of pragmatic areas which we have observed in extensive folk linguistic interviews and offer sample analyses of discourses which exemplify these concerns. We follow the outline of Mey (2001) in organizing these topics.

### **Laurent Prévot, Nicholas Maudet & Philippe Muller** ***Speech acts, discourse structure and public commitments***

This paper tries to bring closer two theories of human communication: Formal dialectics and Discourse semantics. One may ask why dialectical models are not enough to model human conversations. A speech turn is often made of several basic units. Under the assumption that the speaker obeys coherence principles (e.g. the so-called "right frontier" of discourse structure (Asher and Lascarides, 2003)), it is for instance possible to determine which discourse referents are available at a given point of the dialogue. This is crucial when facing the interpretation of follow-up utterances and dialogue turns. It is clear that current dialectical approaches fall short of being able to account for these aspects, as they are simply not equipped with notions allowing to deal with this level of analysis. On the other hand, the very same observations can be made at the level of dialogue turns, thus emphasizing the need to take into account dialogue structure.

We take speech acts as conversational basic units, consisting of a propositional content and an illocutionary force. Following proposals in SDRT (Asher and Lascarides, 2003), semantic content is represented as Discourse Representation Structure (Kamp and Reyle, 1993), and augmented by specifying the producer and the mood of the utterance. In SDRT, assuming the coherence of a discourse means that each utterance has to be related to the linguistic context with a rhetorical relation. Such relations are defined by their triggering conditions and their semantic effects. In discursive approaches, coherence is verified if an utterance can be successfully attached to the context. Likewise, coherence in conventional approaches of dialogue corresponds to the successful integration of a dialogue act in an authorized dialogue game.

In the paper, we consider how commitment evolves according to the speaker contributions and how it can be seen as an interpretation of coherence relations. The relation in question are both "monologic" relations or dialogic ones. With this objective we propose a set of updating rules for speech acts making use of discourse relations definitions.

### **Beatrice Priego-Valverde**

#### ***Non-cooperative aspects of humor: When a joke diverts the conversation to another topic***

In everyday speech, humor is an ambiguous speech act. On one hand, humor can be defined as a cooperative act, at least because it is a sign of complicity between the speakers and, with laughs it provokes, humor makes everyday speech a very convivial interaction. But on the other hand, humor can also be described as a non-cooperative act. Attardo (1993) – and others before him and quoted by him (Searle 1969; Bach and Harnish 1979) – showed that a joke can violate the four Grice's maxims (1975), i.e. the maxims of Quantity, Relevance, Manner and Quality.

In my presentation, I will examine another aspect of the non-cooperative side of humor in everyday speech. The various topics broached in a familiar interaction generally appear without explicit discussion by the participants (unlike in other types of discourse, say business meetings, where topics are introduced by a moderator) but they are connected, related to one another (i.e., relevant). This functioning gives to the conversation an informal appearance, an impression of fluidity and, of course, the impression that the themes are linked.

However humor can disrupt this equilibrium. Many examples from my data will show that humor can be considered by participants as a parasitic utterance which forces them to switch to a non-bona-fide communication (Raskin, 1985) when they do not want to do it and when they are speaking seriously (Hay, 1995). Moreover, I will show that sometimes, humorous utterance changes the topic of the interaction while the

speaker did not finish to say what he/she was saying. At that point, the speakers have two kinds of possibilities: the topic is definitively abandoned and the participants have to re-launch the conversation, or the topic is continued and humor then is only a sort of funny parenthesis in a serious talk.

In both cases, when a humorous utterance interrupts the topic of the conversation, it violates at least the maxim of Relevance. I will show, with many examples, how this violation is perceived by the participants and what are the consequences for the interaction itself. My data are constituted by everyday speech recorded during parties among friends and members of a same family. All the participants then, know each other very well. Because of the close relationships of the participants, humor is very frequent in this sort of conversation.

## **Tanja Pritzlaff**

### ***Perspectivity and judgement in concept application and political decision-making***

Informal decision-making practices and procedures in small group situations are still a widely neglected field of analysis in political science. But clearly, some of the most vital processes in political decision-making involve relatively few actors, engaged in face-to-face interactions in non-hierarchical contexts. These micro-level decision-making contexts are structured by the different perspectives and attitudes of the participants towards possible future actions.

Models of discursive practices based on Habermasian approaches tend to equate joint decision-making in these kinds of situations with a consensus-seeking process. These models, however, have three weaknesses. Firstly, they assume highly idealized conditions; secondly, they underestimate the persistence of differing attitudes and perspectives; thirdly, they overlook the innovative potential of those differences.

By emphasizing the differences between the participants and not assuming sameness, the model presented in this talk applies elements of Robert Brandom's perspectival theory of conceptual contents to face-to-face interaction in political contexts.

Starting from a definition of "decision" that focuses on judgement, it takes a closer look at Brandom's assumptions about the priority of propositional contentfulness, focusing on what the agent actually does in the act of judging.

In Brandom's model of discursive practice, the distinctness of perspectives in judging and acting is maintained and managed. The interlocutors see the world from the other's perspectives and co-ordinate the different perspectives that come into play through the expressive role of ascriptions. By taking a third-person scorekeeping attitude toward the other participants' and – hypothetically – also toward their own commitments and entitlements, the interlocutors manage to take into account as many different perspectives as possible from within the circle of participants. The symmetric I-thou construal of intersubjectivity ensures that no one perspective is privileged over any other when, as Brandom puts it, "the actual practice of sorting out who has the better reason in particular cases" starts.

The assumptions Brandom makes about the way judgements of correctness and incorrectness function for concept applications can be used to illuminate how judgements work within the context of joint actions in general. The symmetric I-thou construction of Brandom's theory and his definition of objectivity as a feature of the structure of discursive intersubjectivity are integrated into a model of joint decision-making showing how decisions can be explained entirely from within the participants' perspective while a maximum level of mutual criticizability is reached. The intersubjective structure of objectivity and the symmetry of perspectives lead to the conclusion that anyone (indeed everyone) in the linguistic community may be wrong about the facts concerning a particular object. Political decisions can only be made from within the participants' perspectives. Rather than trying to understand joint decision-making as a way of levelling their differences, the model presented here tries to show how a basis for decision can be created by making positive use of the perspectival differences.

## **Ming-Ming Pu & Weiya Liang**

### ***Processing strategies underlying Chinese relative clause production***

The present study investigates relative clause (RC) production in Chinese discourse from a cognitive-pragmatic perspective, and argues that what determines a speaker's choice of a particular RC construction among a few alternatives is the interaction of an array of factors such as cognitive constraints, discourse structure, and pragmatic and semantic motivations underlying discourse processing. Using narrative samples elicited from native speakers in both oral and written forms and text data culled from contemporary short stories, we have examined and analyzed the distributional patterns of relative clauses, and offered a number of cognitive and pragmatic explanations for the occurrence and distribution of various RC constructions in Chinese discourse.

The study has yielded several interesting and important findings. First, relative clauses occur much more frequently in written narratives than oral ones because the structural characteristics of Chinese RC put a tax on

our limited cognitive resources, which affect speakers more than writers. Second, classifiers which may theoretically appear in alternative positions with regard to head NP and its modifying RC are not placed indiscriminately. The overwhelming majority of classifiers occur in the structure of Classifier+RC+NP (instead of RC+Classifier+NP); they are used mainly to serve the discourse function of signaling the impending head NP, and avoid potential ambiguity. Third, the distribution of the four RC constructions examined in our study seems to be determined by a wide range of factors underlying discourse production. We have shown that, while cognitive, discourse, and pragmatic factors interact with one another to yield the preponderance of SS structure (subject RC modifying a subject NP), these factors counteract with one another to result in a marginal occurrence of SO structure (subject RC modifying an object NP). OS (object RC modifying a subject NP) and OO (object RC modifying an object NP) structures, on the other hand, enjoy moderate frequency distribution because they are either favored by the cognitive strategy or motivated by pragmatic and semantic functions. To summarize, by examining both oral and written data and exploring underlying factors, we have demonstrated that the syntactic coding of head NP and its modifying RC is an interactive process which is not only constrained by cognitive activities but also motivated by semantic, pragmatic and discourse considerations. We contend that a cognitive-functional approach, such as the one we have adopted in our study, to the analysis of syntactic structure and its coding is adequate, profitable, and explanatory in power because grammar is not autonomous, but rather shaped by various cognitive, pragmatic and discourse forces to guarantee coherent communication.

## **Liesbet Quaeghebeur**

### ***Challenging Searle on the intentionality of collective behavior***

The specificity of collective behavior has received extensive attention in the overall history of philosophy and has been rephrased as the problem of ‘collective intentionality’ by more recent philosophers of mind. John Searle identifies collective intentionality as a crucial feature for the understanding of conversation and as an essential building block of social reality in general. In his analysis of this phenomenon he brings forward a reconciliation of individualistic and collectivistic accounts: the collective “we-intention” is a basic analytical unit and is located in the mind of the individual only. The “we-intention” does not equal a sum of “I-intentions”. Rather, the singular intention is a derivative of the collective intention, and this derived singular intention often has a different content from the collective intention. Take, for instance, a ballet dancer whose specific contribution to a ballet movement consists of executing a pirouette. All the members of the ballet have as a part of their intention “we are performing a ballet movement”, while our dancer additionally has “I am executing a pirouette”. Searle proposes an analysis in which these different contents co-occur in a complex “by-means-of”-intention-in-action. The singular intention-in-action relates to the collective intention-in-action as a means to an end.

My paper will bring a critical discussion of Searle’s analysis of collective intentionality, departing from two fundamental objections:

- (1) The by-means-of relation indicates that the elements of the intention occur chronologically. However, the individual and the collective action occur simultaneously, because, in fact, they are one and the same action.
- (2) For Searle, the individual and the collective elements of the intention function as complementary components, and the representative content comprises both. However, to perceive the intentional object from the individual point of view (e.g. to perceive the action as performed by oneself) is to experience a certain aspect of this object. Likewise, to perceive the intentional object from the collective point of view (e.g. to perceive the action as performed by the collective) is to experience another aspect of the same object. Due to the intrinsic conception-dependent nature of the intention, the individual and the collective perspective constitute two distinct intentions pertaining to one and the same intentional object, and they do not, as Searle holds, constitute two elements of just one intention.

For these reasons, I will argue that Searle’s analysis is not tenable and I will question the overall usefulness of this notion of ‘collective intentionality’. Instead of ascribing to people engaging in joint action a specific kind of intentionality, I will identify cooperation to simply be a strategy for action that makes the actor also consider his actions from a point of view that includes the other members of the cooperation. If the intention is veridical, the other actors will have a similar intention amongst their intentions pertaining to the collective action. The ‘collective intention’, therefore, is not more than an intention likely to be shared.

## **Biljana Radic**

### ***How are emotions expressed in internet relay chat?***

IRC (Internet Relay Chat) is a relatively new form of communication, which lies in-between spoken and written language. The absence of face-to-face contact among participants restricts communication resources and,

consequently, affects the ways of expressing emotions. The participants feel this as highly limiting in this conversation-like written environment, and therefore use what is at their disposal, i.e. the keyboard, to convey more than the medium technically allows. The keyboard, with all that it offers, is exploited to the maximum, the result being a very innovative and creative language variety, consisting not only of words, but also of different ways of writing those words, of punctuation marks the use of which bears a lot of contextual meaning, and of simple and complex pictures made of only ASCII code signs used, among everything else, to schematically depict facial expressions.

Emotions in IRC stem either from the current topic of conversation or from the relationship between the participants. Sometimes the topic can cause a heated and passionate discussion during which participants can take sides, defend their positions, support others or attack the opposing parties. On the other hand, there may be conversations which bring a lot of humour, laughter and positive emotions in general, and it is not unusual that some cyber-romances develop in these kinds of environments, as well as many friendships.

This paper investigates how emotions are expressed both verbally (as through utterances, conversation formulae, etc.) and non-verbally (as through emoticons, punctuation marks, etc.) and how the electronic medium is exploited in the process. This is investigated in two languages with a very different status on the Internet with respect to the frequency of usage - English and Serbian. The contrastive analysis of utterances, conversation formulae, the use of emoticons, punctuation marks and the contexts in which they are used in these two languages shows whether the linguistic devices used in the two languages are the same, similar or different, and to what extent. The analysis is conducted on a corpus of 100 printed pages each of English and Serbian chatting, and it shows how the keyboard is exploited creatively, what verbal and non-verbal elements are used to express a wide range of positive and negative emotions, and how lexical devices relate to pragmatic ones.

## **John Rae**

### ***Achieving a therapeutic stance: Some resources for responding selectively to a client's talk***

This paper reports on some practices used by a psychotherapist in his talk and how these constitute psychotherapeutic resources. Much of the data examined here consist of a client producing multiunit turns that develop talk on a topic. This is done through a diversity of practices such as reporting on past events; reporting feelings and formulating self-examinations. Such turns thereby often consist of inter-connected, though quite diverse matters. This paper focuses on how such talk is responded to by the therapist. Whilst stories are one form of multiunit talk which has a recognizable trajectory such that recipients may respond to it when it reaches a recognizable conclusion; I show how the client's multiunit talk does not provide the kind of opportunities for participation which stories provide their hearers.

I present an analysis of how the therapist produces talk which is subsequent to the client's talk and which is visibly responsive to it, yet which responds to selective aspects of that talk. The therapist's talk recurrently contains two design features which show that this talk is responsive and which enable the therapist to be selectively responsive in an accountable way; they contain: (a) a reformulation of selected matters which the client has talked about and (b) a formulation of the therapist's feelings or thoughts as a consequence of that talk. Through these practices the therapist apparently demonstrates a careful understanding of the client's talk. However what makes the therapist's talk recognizably therapeutic is the nature of the second practice: the therapist's formulation of their reaction to the client's talk. Here the therapist may propose that the client has not addressed, or is not addressing, something. Such proposals may accomplish delicately produced challenges to what the client is saying; for example identifying a contradiction or tension between what the client said on the one hand and how the therapist judges they feel on the other. The therapist is thereby able to propose that the client readdress an issue which they have raised in a different way; and I examine how the client responds to the therapist's talk and how this is shaped by the design features which the therapist has used. The therapist's production of a formulation of their reaction to the client's talk thus accomplishes two things: (a) warranting a selective response to what the client has said and (b) challenging the client to reformulate or readdress what they have said.

## **Henrik Rahm**

### ***Conflicting forms of citizenship?: Corporative citizenship and direct citizenship in the Swedish GMO discourse***

The subject of this text is the discourse anchored around an application for deliberate release of GMO canola in Sweden. This discourse has been investigated in Sweden by the linguist Henrik Rahm (linguistics) and Matthias Baier (sociology of law) within the framework of the European research project PARADYS (Participation and the Dynamics of Social Positioning). The basis for this text are the results of the Swedish research report (Baier & Rahm 2004).

The work of Swedish authorities is regulated by the principle of openness, which means that not only the application itself but all other documents in the file at the Swedish Board of Agriculture (SBA) are public. These documents encompass the correspondence between the applying company and the Swedish Board of Agriculture (SBA) as well as the reactions upon the application from the organisations chosen as referees. My material not only consists of the SBA file, but also of interviews conducted with some of the main actors – SBA, the applying company, the Swedish Environmental Protection Agency and Swedish Society for Nature Conservation.

One aim is to uncover and analyse the relations between the authorities and the referees and their view on citizen participation in the discussions around GMO crops, what could be called the traditional Swedish corporative citizenship. The focus is on the one hand on the actors' views on the referring process, on the other hand on their opinions about citizen participation in the decision procedure.

Another aim is to compare this type of citizenship with e-mails from concerned Swedish citizens regarding GMO field trials to the Swedish Board of Agriculture. Of interest are the content and the structure of the utterances from on the one hand the referees and on the other hand the single citizens. How do the e-mails from the single citizens comply to what is considered relevant topics and suitable ways of expressing opinions? The methodological points of departure are Fairclough (1992, 1995) using methodological tools of intertextuality, intratextuality, recontextualisation as well as investigating the relations between the categories of contents, subjects, relations and textual structure. From a linguistic point of view, it is also of interest to examine wording, styles and argumentation strategies.

Finally: How can this be related to power structures, ideologies (more or less obvious), presuppositions and inferences?

## **Hannes Rakoczy**

### ***The role of experience and discourse in the development of understanding pretense***

I will present work that investigated the development of understanding pretend play actions from an early implicit understanding as revealed in action to a later explicit understanding revealed in language. The main focus of the work was on the role of two factors in the development of understanding pretense that have proved crucial in other domains of social cognitive development (e.g., Lohmann & Tomasello, 2003): specific contrastive experiences and different types of discourse to describe such experiences. Furthermore, this work presents the first systematic and well controlled training study which tests for influence of pretense experience and discourse on theory of mind development.

A first study revealed a long decalage between earlier implicit understanding of pretense as an intentional activity and a later more explicit understanding. Study 2 was a training study. It tested for two factors –systematic pretense experience and explicit pretense discourse- that might be important in development from early implicit to later explicit pretense understanding. Two training groups of 3.6 year-old children received the same pretense experiences involving systematic contrasts between pretending, really performing and trying to perform actions. In the Explicit group, these experiences were talked about with explicit “pretend to” and “pretend that” language. In the Implicit group no such discourse was used, but only implicit discourse in talking about pretense versus real actions. The two training groups were compared with a control group that received functional play experience. After training, only the Explicit group showed improvement in their explicit pretense understanding. In none of the groups was there any transfer to tasks tapping mental state understanding (false belief and appearance-reality).

The findings are discussed in the context of current theories about the developmental relations between pretense, discourse, and mental state understanding. Specifically, these findings are hard to reconcile with a strong syntactic determinism (deVilliers & deVilliers, 2000) which claims that “that”-complementation constructions are the sole driving motor of theory of mind development. If this theory was true, improvement on “pretend that” complementation, as it was shown in the Explicit training group, should have gone along with improved theory of mind performance. In this respect the present findings converge with a recent study by Perner et al. (2003) in which German three-year-olds could be shown to competently use “want that” complementation before using “believe that” complementation and before solving false belief tasks: both study indicate that “that” complementation as such –considered as a syntactic form- is not sufficient for theory of mind competence.

However, the current findings are compatible with weaker forms of linguistic determinism which claim that what is crucial in theory of mind development are semantically and pragmatically defined forms of “that”-complementation discourse (e.g., deVilliers, 2003), with construction-based approaches to developing propositional attitude discourse that stress the item-specific nature of early complementation (e.g., Diesel & Tomasello, 2000), and with conceptual advance theories that focus on the conceptual semantic differences between different propositional attitudes (e.g., Perner et al., 2003).

**Pirkko Raudaskoski**

***Multimodal discourse analysis, with a little help from ethnomethodology/conversation analysis***

In Multimodal Discourse Analysis, the gaze is lifted up from talk/text to recognise the visual or generally material features of 'discourse'. The approach normally acknowledges the importance of action (i.e. what is being done in the situation with various semiotic fields or tools as resources for doing that action). With this step, the focus changes from analysing the meaning potential of various 'texts' to analysing how people interpret them in different situations, in different activities. At this stage, ethnomethodology and conversation analysis (CA) can come to help, especially if copresent action and multimodality are the focus of attention. According to ethnomethodology/CA, the participants, through their embodied interaction, show to each other how they understand the situation, what is going on, what is their focus of attention -- that is, what out of the 'text's' material-semiotic potential is lifted up as relevant, what does it 'mean'. In my panel presentation I will address how multimodality concerns not just various semiotic aggregates (a combination of visuals, language, and so on) being relevant for situated interpretation, but also how the material-semiotic nature of language itself affects its situated interpretation.

**Geoffrey Raymond & Don Zimmerman**

***...There's a fire just starting at the corner of...: Displaying rights and responsibilities in the design of reason for call turns in emergency telephone calls***

This paper exploits a methodological advantage afforded by a large brush fire that rapidly attained a magnitude that made it widely visible, occasioning a large number of emergency (9-1-1) calls, which are the data of this study.. The fire formed a common (albeit differentiated) focus for callers and call-takers, and allowed examination of the projects of reporting the event and seeking information about it were domesticated by the interactional organization of such calls. Specifically, we address how "...the distribution of rights and responsibilities regarding what participants can accountably know, how they know it, whether they have rights to describe it, [and how these issues] are directly implicated in organized practices of speaking" (Heritage and Raymond, in press).

Callers face the recurrent problem of providing a service-appropriate reason for the call. i.e., a request for service from a person with a demonstrable warrant to press such a claim. Descriptions, reports, narratives and requests provide alternative methods for addressing the contingencies posed by this task. One practice for packaging the "reason for call" identifies a problem and a location, providing the minimum information necessary to dispatch assistance, e.g., "there's a fire just starting at thuh corner of One Twenty Five and S-andy Ca:nyon Roa::d" This simple, declarative utterance type flatly asserts the reality and location of the fire. The format is minimalist by design: there is an X at Y. However, it can be expanded, e.g., by formulating it as a "report" as in "I'm reporting a fire..." It can be further expanded expanded: "I wanna report" or "I'm trying to report" X. These expansions of the "there's an X at Y" format display callers orientation to their standing relative to the event as in some way problematic, needing to be addressed in the design of the "reason for the call" turn.

The reason for the call sequence can also be expanded by a "prior call query": "'I'm jus' calling to find out if anyone reported a fire..." Prior call queries anticipate the conduct of other callers and how that conduct might bear on the current call. In this way, callers make the report anticipated in their own call (and in this sense, the call itself) contingent on the absence of prior calls. In other cases, callers may reveal their attenuated access to the events they formulate through the use of epistemic markers such as "looks like" or "seems to be," etc.

Thus, the modification of the format [there is an X at Y] dosplays callers problematic relationship to the events being reported, or of the nature (purpose) of their call. We unpack the presupposed communicative forms that caller and call taker use to accomplish routine tasks and how they may be transformed or manipulated to accomplish actions not project by the deafault expectations of emergency services. The paper suggests methodological strategies for connecting grammatical and sequential forms to the institutional realities that are oriented to by participants and enacted and transformed through their conduct

**Anne Reboul**

***Post-Gricean pragmatics and semantic externalism: Is there an incompatibility?***

Grice (1957) introduced a distinction between natural meaning and non-natural meaning, defining the latter as the meaning of an utterance whose speaker intends to produce a given effect in her audience by means of the recognition, by the audience, of this intention. This is tantamount to making meaning and communication, or at

least some properly human varieties of both, conditional on the ability to entertain higher-order representations, a capacity which both speaker and hearer should share. Though some recent pragmatic approaches (e.g., Sperber and Wilson 1995) have widely modified this view of meaning, the notion of higher-order representation remains a central element in these approaches.

Yet pragmatics is a theory of language use and, as such, it has its place in a theory of action. On that point, it should be noted that the whole history of pragmatics since the first Austinian theory of speech acts to the present day can be seen as an endeavor to insert language use — i.e., the production and interpretation of utterances — in the more general issue of behavior interpretation (see Reboul in press). Thus, one expects pragmatics to take into account (and solve) the question known since Harnad (1990) as the symbol grounding problem. One apparently promising way of doing so is through semantic externalism (see, e.g., Putnam 1975, Burge 1979, Dretske 1995). On that view, meaning is not merely a question of internal conditions (a mental representation), but of external conditions (the nature of the external world as well as the rules operating in the linguistic community to which the speaker belongs). This raises a problem for approaches defining meaning as fundamentally linked to speaker's intention: it is far from obvious that semantic externalism is compatible with privileged access to one's own mental state (see Nuccetelli 2003).

I will try to show that higher-order approaches to meaning and communication are indeed compatible with semantic externalism through two types of arguments: first, the same thought experiments used to establish externalism have been used to show that illocutionary acts are fundamentally intentional (in the philosophical sense) and cannot be reduced to locutionary acts (see Davis 2001); second, some papers trying to show that there is no incompatibility between externalism and privileged access are based on semantic arguments (see Brown 2003, Ebbs 2003, Nuccetelli 2003, Goldberg 2003 and Steup 2003). Putting these two strands together will allow me to show the compatibility between externalism and pragmatics.

## **Gisela Redeker & Wendy Wagenaar** ***Gender and power in televised panel interviews***

In the past decades, women have gradually established a strong presence in the political and socio-economic leadership in Dutch society, but they are still underrepresented at the highest levels. We are investigating if and how gendered interactional strategies in public debates may be contributing to the continuing difficulties women experience in entering and succeeding in the highest ranks of the country's leadership.

Politicians and experts participating in panel interviews tend to compete fiercely for speaking time and for influence on the direction the discussion takes. Yet, the participants' behavior is constrained by the need to project a socially acceptable image. For interviewees on Dutch television this means showing respect for their interlocutors at all times, however angry they may get about the contents or manner of the opposition (as Clayman and Heritage 2002:334-6 note, this is not true for some US news shows). A long tradition of gender research suggests that men and women may differ in the interactional strategies they employ to manage power and politeness in such situations.

The data for this project come from panel interviews in the Dutch public television program *Buitenhof*. The selected discussions involve a male interviewer and three or four male and/or female politicians and experts in varying compositions, including all-male and all-female groups.

The main focus of the analysis is the occurrence of overlaps, continuers, assessments, and various kinds of interruptions as defined by Roger, Bull & Smith (1988; used in adapted form in Redeker & Maes 1996).

A pilot study has been conducted analyzing a 30-minute panel interview on public safety and criminal justice with two male professors and two female members of parliament, all specialized in questions of criminal justice. No differences were found between the male and female participants' speaking times, and there were no obvious 'winners' or 'losers' in this debate. The two women produced more interruptions than their male interlocutors, but they also received more interruptions from the interviewer. The two men produced more continuers and assessments, most of which occurred during a woman's or the interviewer's talk. The men also never interrupted each other and rarely produced continuers or assessments during each other's talk. It would be rash to conclude that this behavior is gender specific, as these results are based on a single discussion in which gender is confounded with the participants' role (politician vs. expert). Analyses of two more panel interviews are now in progress; they will allow a triangulation of the effects of gender, role, and individual differences.

## **Klaus Rehkämper** ***Is the visual representation of anger in comics culturally independent?***

Based on the theory of Lakoff and Johnson (1980; Kövecses 1986, 2000) Charles Forceville (to appear) showed, that the idealized cognitive model for anger ('anger is the heat of a fluid in a container') can not only be shown to be present in language, but also in pictorial forms of representation. As evidence he used the French comic

book "La Zizanie" (an Asterix-adventure) drawn by Albert Uderzo, written by Rene Goscinny. But the pictorial "language" or style used in comics is dependent on the time of their origin and the cultural background of the draughtsman (cf. McCloud 1993). US-comics from the 1940s or 50s are different from those produced today; and European comics differ significantly from those from Japan (Manga for example).

It is indeed important for the support of Lakoff and Johnson's theory that metaphors are primarily a matter of cognition to find evidence not only in language but also in other forms of representation. After all, just relying on language one can get the impression that the arguments in favor of the theory are running in a vicious circle: one can argue that the frequent use of metaphors in language give evidence to the idea that our thinking is also based on metaphors, but also that because we think metaphorically, we also speak metaphorically. Forceville's study of the visualization of an emotion presents evidence from a different, non-linguistic kind of representation. But Forceville's inquiry is just a first step; if L.& J.'s theory is correct, at least some similarities in visually representing emotions should be expected to be ubiquitous and be found independent of time and culture – visual thinking is prior to propositional thinking, and pictures are prior to words (historically and systematically) –, but there may also be history- or culture-dependent discrepancies.

Basically, Forceville's research usefully qualifies and extends L&J's project to a different mode of representation, but (as he indicates himself) the matter of cultural similarities and differences requires further investigation. Therefore, if Forceville's findings can be confirmed in another type of drawings, this will back up the theory here under discussion.

I will follow Forceville's idea (and methods) of examining the pictorial representation of the concept of anger, but I will use for this purpose drawings from a different context, a different cultural background; I will use drawings of a famous American comic-book hero who is well known for his bad temper: Donald Duck. Here I will concentrate on the Donald Duck drawn by the artist Carl Barks during the 40's, 50's and 60's; that means I will leave aside (for the moment) the Donald Duck comics drawn by other artists and the Donald from the Disney cartoon shorts (using motion for example adds more and new possibilities). Some similarities are immediately striking (cf. Fig. 1 & 2), but there will be differences as well. And the role of pragmatics must not be underestimated at this point. As mentioned above, the cultural background of the draughtsmen is different, but the 'context of usage' of American Donald Duck readers differs also from the one exploited by French (or European) Asterix fans. And almost as a 'byproduct' the various dependencies between language and pictures will come into focus as well.

All in all my investigation supports the cognitive theory of metaphors, but simultaneously leads to a refinement.

**Simonetta Resta & Silvia Coluzzi**

***Sincerity and credibility vs inconsistency and insincerity: Assertions and presuppositions at play in the 2004 American Presidential debates***

All kinds of felicitous communication are based on both sincerity and credibility. In pragmatic and discursive framework they lever on a speech action's presupposition and are therefore hardly referred to explicitly; they rather trigger a process of inferencing with regard to the speakers not having been sincere, credible or consistent with their prior utterances (Fetzer 2002). The pragmatics goal of this paper is to investigate the context-dependent meaning based on what is said and what is meant which occurs in a dynamic linguistic production, i.e. in political discourse.

We chose to analyse the three presidential debates in the final phase of the American political campaign where the nerve centres come in the open more clearly than in other speech genres and all the mechanics of canvassing and persuading as well as the true personalities and aims of the candidates surface; in fact, presuppositions may have not only informative uses but also persuasive aims, especially when ideology and politics are involved (Sbisà, 99). Such presuppositions are introduced by triggers that are not exclusively of a linguistic nature, as shown by evaluation theories (Hunston, Thompson 2000). A selected corpus of presidential utterances and stances will be taken into consideration with the aid of a corpus analysis software (Wordsmith 4.0), to investigate the rhetorical means the two candidates, representing the Democratic and the Republican Party, exploit to shed light on the presumed insincerity or inconsistency of the political adversary and to gain popularity and credibility from the audience.

A political debate is the result of a multi-layered participation framework, an interactionally organised encounter that follows some strict rules about speakers, interviewers and audience. Pragmatically, it is a complex structure to analyse as it entails a series of speech acts: a rather dense network of assertions and presuppositions is at play, working towards an overall coherence. As far as the candidates' delivery is concerned, not only spoken words but also gestures and face expressions have to be interpreted.



Following Grice's CP, in presidential debates participants are expected to be both persuasive and informative but also to be telling the truth (see Validity claims, Habermas, 87), especially in the American socio-cultural context. Particularly in political interaction the principle of rightness is heavily drawn upon.

All three debates are mediated and televised in front of a much larger audience than the one which is physically present in the studio: both candidates are presumably well aware of the fact that journalists, politicians and people of America, Europe and the rest of the world are watching and judging them and therefore they have to prove credible to all these "spectators". Reading between the lines, it sometimes even seems that in their common situation the two candidates join forces and behave more as insiders, allied and part of an elitist group in the political arena rather than real opponents: in fact, at intervals they both seem to contribute towards building consensus by leveraging on a series of similar presuppositions and entailments that after all unveil that terms such as liberal and conservative are not at odd anymore as they have come to have semantically and pragmatically a different meaning.

### **Jennifer Reynolds**

#### ***Buenos Días: The natural life history of coined ritual insults and verbal duels in Antonero Maya households***

Classic ethnographies of Mayas have examined how elaborate forms of verbal art (Gossen 1977) and ritual humor (Bricker 1973) make-up the fabric of community life and are consequential in shaping local forms of sociopolitical organization. However, these studies adopt the same adult-centric bias, reflecting locally salient theories of children as merely mimicking adult artistic forms and expressions. Recent scholarship in Mayan practices of language socialization and Maya children's play suggests that verbal art and other forms of verbal play are also inextricably part of early childhood development (Gaskins 1999; Maynard 2002; Rogoff 2003) and socialization into communicative competence (De Leon 2002; Reynolds 2002). In fact, children and youth contribute equally to intergenerational and cross-gender interactional exchanges especially in types of conflict talk. In this paper, I follow in the footsteps of interpretive approaches to the study of children's language socialization and peer talk; drawing from ethnographic research that I conducted in the highland Guatemala Kaqchikel Maya town of San Antonio Aguas Calientes, from March 1998- 1999. I discuss how Maya children's verbal arsenal of types of conflict talk: teasing, shaming, and nicknaming comprise some of the most powerful interactional practices in the everyday negotiation and co-construction of peer politics and sibling group social relationships. I specifically examine how children from two different households reinterpret high forms of verbal art and formulaic politeness rituals to tease and shame rival siblings, neighbors and peers. In the first case, a six year-old child adopts the language genre of palabras [verbal duels exchanged between the Christian and Moorish king in el desafío, a ritual public performance that enacts the Spanish re-conquest of the Iberian peninsula] to challenge a teenage peer in a verbal duel through the wall of a neighboring household in order to call into question the teen's behavior by highlighting the immorality of the acts committed. This elaborate duel is the first public airing of rumors that had been circulating between households and peer networks. The second case follows the birth, near death, and subsequent institutionalization of peers' practices of ritual insult. I pay particular attention to how one youth from a different household introduces a novel expression of insult that subverts inherent power asymmetries in ritual forms of greeting. This novel use of reciprocal greetings becomes institutionalized and elaborated over time only with the assistance of younger siblings and neighboring peers. In both of these different scenarios, peers' talk-in-interaction highlights how one's clever ways with words is paramount to being recognized as a competent speaker as well as a core part of how peers negotiate and define peer culture in a society that regards youths' and children's contribution to ritual forms of speech unremarkable and inconsequential.

### **Montserrat Ribas**

#### ***Women, discourses and identity experiences***

Background: Interestingly enough, something which characterizes contemporary global culture nowadays is the proliferation of social trends of concern around the concept of identity. It does therefore not come as a surprise that, from different disciplines, several studies emerge in an attempt to identify how we get to be the people we are; in other words, how we get to be produced inasmuch as we are subjects, and how we identify ourselves with certain descriptions of ourselves. The research I have carried out starts from this background and pursues a three-fold analysis: a) how do we as women think of ourselves (or represent ourselves) while talking about identity; b) how do culturally hegemonic discourses intervene in these self-representations, and c) what are the consequences that can be derived from these with what regards social practice.

While it is true that women identities and social roles have largely been studied within the fields of sociology, anthropology, philosophy and twentieth century linguistics, especially from feminist postulates, it is

also certain that in spite of its interest, research addressed to issues that are specifically related to women are still insufficient. Androcentrism may take on so many shapes that we would find it feminized rather than yielding its dominant social position. We need only turn to the discourse of "new masculinities", which has recurrently been recreated in most mass media of the EC. The same is not true for the new feminities: we women, on the contrary, still stay invisible...; if not so much so, at least excluded from identity reformulations which serve as means for culturally hegemonic discourse practice.

Starting proposition: I start from the assumption that language does not represent but rather constitute objects of reality. In other words, what we call "reality" does exist independently of the symbolic systems which interpret it. But it is also true that we may only access this reality through the discourse forms which articulate and make it intelligible to us.

Consequently, the discourses we women enact about ourselves do not only reveal the identifying features through which we constitute ourselves as sexual subjects, but they do also highlight the forms and the extent to which we have internalized the conventional meanings that patriarchal hegemonic discourses have widely extended so far. The analysis of our discourses around our own identity conveys therefore the unveiling of the way(s) we women inscribe ourselves in the world.

Theoretical framework: The study I have carried out is based on the theoretical framework underlying Critical Discourse Analysis (Fairclough, 1995; Van Dijk, 1998, 1999; Wodak & Meyer (2002), on some proposals made by Interactional Analysts (Antaki & Widdicombe, 1998), as well as on cognitive assumptions as put forward by Narrative Theory. It does obviously partake of gender studies (Butler, 1990, 1997), and falls back on the philosophical work of Foucault (Foucault, 1982) as well as on the cultural studies that keep discussion around "social identities" open (Giddens, 1991; Hall, 1992, 1996, 1998).

Corpora: My corpus comprises 30 dialogues and oral narratives produced in Catalan language by women living in Barcelona. The profile of the informants is as follows:

Women, aged 22 to 50, with university studies, from a varied professional background (lawyers, doctors, philologists, teachers, economists, veterinaries, business administrators, politicians, researchers, etc.); of different social and cultural origin, and having different sexual orientations.

Methodological approach: In order to trace how we as women inscribe ourselves in the world as subjects, I have analysed two discourse forms which are closely related: dialogue and narrative, produced in one and the same interactive situation. (The interactional activity has been audio-recorded)

a) the dialogue, which is about social identities, allows us for an insight into the cognitive frames in which the topic is placed, and into the "informational states" that are triggered off in the interactional process.

b) the narrative, which is about some event in which the informant has participated and of which she has especially vivid memories, will allow us to trace how the informant subjectively elaborates her world experience: ....Stories do not just emerge from events, they have to be constructed. Incidents have to be made into talk, by being appropriately prefaced, told and ended in conventional, rule-governed ways. Events have to be translated into speaking terms. Or, as Labov (1972) puts it, experience has to be transformed into narratives. (Stubbs, 1983:26).

Conclusions: The most striking results of the research make the generation gap among women more relevant a variable than their culture-specific traits or sexual orientation. It is also interesting to note that we women still foreground emotional and sensitive features to professional ones. In addition, what I find especially insightful in this research are the processes that could be traced, through which we women create meaning(s) about ourselves and the world.

## **Alexandre do Amaral Ribeiro**

### ***Contributions of Buddhist cultural tradition for language studies: Some other philosophical bases to think investigations in pragmatics***

Considering Pragmatics, as defined in the Handbook of Pragmatics, "as the cognitive, social and cultural study of language and communication" and the implications of such a definition to the studies of language, it is here assumed that language study must broaden its horizons and include, specially in pragmatics interests, not only the principles of a western philosophy but also some of the eastern one.

Although it seems not to be familiar among discussions in pragmatics, the buddhist theory brings an idea which is very important for pragmatics investigation: the idea of a non – unified cognitive being. The user who puts the language in use is a fundamentally fragmented/ non-unified subject.

But which are the implications of talking about it in the interior of science? For a previous attempt of building some answers for this question, it should be reminded that there is a tension between science and experience. That's why, at this research, it is proposed to question the presupposition present in the most of cognitive sciences (and its reflexes to linguistics) which is that cognition consists in the representation of a world which is independent of human cognitive and perceptive capacities and made by a cognitive system which is independent of this world. Different of that, this research investigates the possibilities of applying, in

the pragmatics field, the principles of an “acting theory” which concepts cognition as embodied action. In this sense, the individual and the world are not separable – the world projects the individual and the individual projects the world.

For a discussion on some other philosophical bases for pragmatics, these points seem to be significant for they affect the way of thinking the relation among subject (the person who speaks) the object (the reference) and the relation (speak/ use the language). In this sense the Buddhist Theory - proposed by the Madhyamika School - refuses the independent existence of the three terms. How could language, which is being used, be separated from the person who uses it? Does previously exist a person (consciously) who speaks? If not, how could be nonexistent the individual who seems to give origin to the act of speaking? And some other plenty of questions that could be formulated ...

Finally, it is important to make clear that among the objectives of this research it can be found the description, analysis and comparison of the main western and eastern philosophical principles about the subject/relation/object. Emerging of these objectives should be found the question: is it possible to apply some principles of buddhist cultural tradition in the analysis of language in the field of pragmatics? Why? How? Some preliminary bibliographic data point out to a hypothesis: the co-dependence generation of subject/relation/object.

## **Branca Ribeiro**

### ***Frame and narrative in a psychiatric interview***

How do stories emerge in psychiatric interviews? A psychiatric interview is a difficult speech event. It is troublesome for the psychiatrist who must follow a strict institutional agenda so as to probe in a principled way into the patient's problems. It is troublesome for the patient, who expects a listener to her many stories and is frequently interrupted by the doctor's requests. Things get even more complicated when the patient's talk gets progressively “off the track.”

This study investigates contextualization processes in a psychiatric interview with a thought disordered patient. Specifically, this paper analyses how different analytical tools – frame and narrative – work to clarify multiple contextual embeddings and story bits. Frame analysis (Goffman, 1974, 1981) provides a way of looking at local and larger social contexts in talk and interaction. Specifically it provides a way of understanding “what's going on here?” when participants have very different agendas for a given encounter. Creating and assessing a social context has definite implications for coherence in a psychiatric interview (Ribeiro, 1994). Narrative analysis provides a way of relating major topics and themes in an interview situation. It also provides a way for organizing personal experience (Labov, 1972, 1997; Bruner, 1986, 1990). Most of all, the unfolding of a key story has implications for understanding who the patient is and what she values most in that encounter (Ribeiro, 2000).

These two analytic frameworks also work to evidence what makes such interactions difficult to follow. From a frame perspective, the layering of context may be intricate (with multiple frame embeddings) as well as quite fragmented (with a series of incomplete frames or leaking frames). In examining the development of a story, key organizational components (for example, Labov's orientation) display fragmented information or may be absent altogether. Frame and narrative point to different types of communication breakdowns. Key to this investigation is analyzing how these two frameworks address different questions and may clarify different social and linguistic processes at play in the interview situation.

In taking a micro-analytic perspective to data analysis, this paper will also relate a local analysis to the broader social contexts of a psychiatric interview in an institutional setting.

## **Magdalena Roguska**

### ***Implicatures of exclamative clauses***

Exclamative clauses express an emotional attitude of the speaker towards the situation that they denote. For example: "What a silly boy you are!", "He is so cute!" etc. They show a wide range of syntactic structures, nevertheless have something in common.

I argue that their common feature is to be found on the pragmatic level and I analyse exclamatives as involving a scalar implicature. This means, I argue against a separate exclamative sentence mood.

According to common opinion the speaker of the exclamative clause expresses her emotion caused by some state of affairs. This expression contains positive or negative evaluation of this state of affairs. It assumes two things:

First: the speaker recognizes that state of affair as existent. Therefore it is maintained that exclamative clauses, contrary to other clause types (eg. declarative or interrogative) presuppose their propositional content (Portner/Zanuttini 2000, 2003; d'Avis 2001; Michaelis 2001). I defend the pragmatic analysis of presupposition in the sense of Stalnaker (2002) against the semantic analysis of Portner/Zanuttini (2000)

Second: The evaluation is feasible if there is a possibility to compare the proposition denoting the actual state of affairs (let's call it the "true proposition") with some other object (d'Avis 2001). This other object is the proposition that denotes the speaker's expectations according to that state of affairs (let's call it the "expected proposition"). The communicative function of exclamatives to express the speaker's surprise is to be explained with the difference between these two propositions.

So the utterance of the exclamative clause allows the hearer to carry out a pragmatic inference, that leads to the conclusion that the "true proposition" differs from the proposition denoting speaker's expectations. Thereby the hearer arrives at the implicature that the speaker is surprised .

In my talk I modify and elaborate the account of d'Avis (2001).

The relation between the two propositions is represented as scales ordering speaker's expectations. The "expected proposition" is assigned a lower value than the true proposition:

1.                                   How very tall she is!  
true proposition:               She is 180 cm tall.  
expected proposition:        She is less than 180 cm tall.

If the speaker expected that she is 180 cm tall or taller, then it would be inappropriate to utter sentence 1.

There are, however, other examples which show that the traditional concept of scales (Horn 1972; Gazdar 1979) ordered by the entailment relation are not sufficient for such an analysis:

2.                                   What you do to become famous!  
true proposition:               You strip in front of the camera.  
expected proposition:        You don't strip but rather write a book.

To account for these problems I have applied the theory of Hirschberg (1985). It defines a scale as a set of expressions ordered by some contextually salient relations (the entailment relation salient for the classical Horn scales can be a special case) or a set of alternate, distinctive, not ordered expressions. Hirschberg's scales depend not on semantic properties of language but rather on variable contexts.

The implicature status of the surprise effect is to be examined with the traditional implicature tests.

## **Cecilia Rojas-Nieto**

### ***Doing things with relative constructions in early Spanish acquisition***

This paper considers the discourse functions and syntactic form of relative constructions (RCs) in the early acquisition Spanish (from 2;4 – 4;0); it exposes what children do with RCs, and the coding properties associated to these doings.

In short terms, early RCs functions can be characterized in terms of reference elaboration (Croft 2001): RCs do by themselves, or are a piece in a constructional frame that does, either a presentational, a grounding or characterizing work (Fox & Thompson 1990; Lambrecht, 1988; 1994).

The coding of these functional doings argue against the syntactic complexity that abstract grammar credits to RCs (f.i. Brucart, 1999), on the following terms: i. Early characterizing RCs are infracentential: they tend to be attached to a noun in absolute position (la nena que está ahí 'the baby that is there', pointing towards a doll), or are headless relatives (la que se durmió 'the one that got sleep' pointing toward the same doll), also in an absolute position; not embedded or related to any predicate, but on dialogic–interactive terms (cf. Broncart 1999). ii. RCs relate to a reduced set of lexical verbs built in equally reduced constructional frames (mira 'look', ver 'see', hay/había 'there is/was' éste es 'this is': mira una cama que se moja 'look a bed that gets wet', ésta es una zorra que está muy bonita 'this is a fox that is very pretty', so that no general embedding processes are at work, but lexically specific constructional frames; iii. The internal gap that relative constructions are credited to have is not apparent in early relative constructions, given the dominance of subject-internal relatives, in a language like Spanish that allows for null subjects (la señora que me manda cartas 'the lady that sends letters to me'), and the presence of resumptive pronouns filling the internal position (otro pedazo que lo voy a pescar 'another piece (of meat) that I am going to fetch it') that the relative pronoun would be supposed to have.

Highly similar coding properties, and some parallel functions have previously been found by Diessel and Tomasello (2000) for English early RCs, and may well be more spread than expected across different languages (Tomasello pc.).

Discussion pay attention to the relevance of the infracentential and undercomplex character of early RCs, that runs together with their various discursive functions, suggesting that functional facts are the entrance door to grammaticalization processes (Givón 1979; Hopper 1998), and arguing for a view of discourse as the leading foundation of grammar (Du Bois, in press; Thompson 1990).

## **Ian Ross**

### ***A game theoretic approach to the said/implicated distinction***

Introduction: This paper examines new cancelation and reinforcement data of what have variously been called explicatures (Carston, 1988; Sperber and Wilson, 1986) and implicatures (Bach, 1994) in a game-theoretic framework and concludes that they do not contribute to what is said and therefore do not deserve the special status of explicatures or implicatures.

Background: Consider (1), the cancelation and reinforcement of which depends on its context. The standard neo-Gricean explanation is that (1) implicates (2) by the submaxim of Manner, Be orderly. After uttering (1), (2) can be explicitly reinforced by (3a), and can also be explicitly cancelled by (3b).

- (1) They got married and had a child.
- (2) They got married and then had a child.
- (3) a. ...in that order.
- b. ...but not necessarily in that order.

When these sorts of constructions are embedded, difficulty arises. The neo-Gricean account predicts that (4) implicates (5). Relevance theorists (and also Levinson (2000)) argue that (5) is part of what is said by (4), since (4) (by itself) taken on the level of what is said is a contradiction, but it is obviously not interpreted as such. Saul (2002) argues that this confuses Grice's speaker meaning with utterance interpretation, which results in an overly broad conception of what is said. When maxims are flouted, the content on the level of what is said is deficient in the same way as it is in (4).

- (4) It's better to get married and have a child than to have a child and get married.
- (5) It's better to get married and then have a child than to have a child and then get married.

Problem: If (4) is a quality flout that results in a manner implicature, why can't it be felicitously canceled or reinforced like (1) can? Following (4) with (6a) or (6b) is nearly incomprehensible. Similarly embedded quantity flouts (replace better with just as good) fare just as poorly. While quality flouts are false on the level of what is said, quantity flouts are merely tautological.

(6) a. ...more specifically, it's better to get married and then have a child than to have a child and then get married.

- b. ...but it's not better to get married and then have a child than to have a child and then get married.

Saul's argument is weakened by the fact that similar reinforcement and (especially)cancelation is not possible for embedded (suspected) quality and quantity flouts. The usual understanding is that what is said can neither be explicitly reinforced nor canceled and what is implicated can be both explicitly reinforced and canceled. On this understanding, (5) is part of what is said by uttering (4), contra Saul. Solution: Despite the puzzling cancelation and reinforcement data, the narrow conception of what is said can be salvaged and (4) can be defended as a flout. I present an explanation in the framework of Games of Partial Information (Parikh, 2001). In the case of (4), the reinforcement of (5) by the continuation (6a) is infelicitous because it is suboptimal — (5) could have been more easily reinforced by simply uttering (5) itself without (4) having come before, in the same way that (7a) is a better reinforcement than (7b) is.

- (7) a. Some but not all of the boys left.
- b. Some of the boys left...but not all of the boys left.

The cancelation of (5) by the continuation (6b) is infelicitous because by removing the implicature that arose from flouting the maxim of quality, (4) followed by (6b) is contradictory both on the level of what is said and on the level of what is implicated (because nothing is implicated since the usual implicature was explicitly canceled). Plain contradictions that don't generate implicatures that constructively alter their meanings are worse than uninformative — if the addressee recognizes them as such, they are irrational and if the addressee does not, they are deceptive. The case of quantity flouts parallels that of quality flouts. Reinforcement of this sort is suboptimal and therefore infelicitous and cancelation is not just suboptimal but worse, resulting in a contradiction or tautology with no implicature to save it from incomprehensibility. Conclusion: Although cancelation and reinforcement data (and the rule-based implicature heuristics that go along with them) at first seem to indicate that the implicatures in embedded constructions like (4) are actually part of what is said, a reanalysis of the data cast in terms of utility explains the failure of cancelation and reinforcement in such cases and show that such implicatures are not part of what is said.

## **Federico Rossano**

### ***When it's over is it really over?: On the effects of sustained gaze vs gaze withdrawal at sequence possible completion***

This paper will focus on the phenomenon of the sustaining/withdrawal of gaze at possible sequence boundaries. I will show that the use of gaze in this position is consequential for whether and how the sequence/activity continues. This study uses video recordings of naturally occurring ordinary face-to-face interactions in Italian, and relies on conversation analysis.

Relatively little work has examined the function of gaze in interaction. Previous research has mainly addressed issues such as next speaker selection (e.g. Lerner 2003) or engagement and disengagement in the conversation (Goodwin 1981), and has looked for gaze behavior in relation to the roles participants are enacting locally, (e.g., speaker or hearer) and in relation to the unit “turn” in the turn taking system (see Goodwin 1981, Kendon 1967). This paper proposes a different level of analysis for understanding the organization of gaze behavior in interaction: sequences of talk and sequences of actions. In particular, I will focus on what happens at possible sequential boundaries and show how sustained mutual gaze or even sustained gaze by one of the participants in the transition relevance place will display an orientation of the participant(s) towards the relevance of some more talk or general uptake by the other co-participant. On the other hand, gaze withdrawal at possible sequence completion displays an orientation towards the possibility of ending the sequence and entering a stretch of silence that will be taken as a lapse. This allows both participants to re-orient towards other ongoing activities as first in a local hierarchical structure of activities and marks what just preceded as a possible closure of the prior sequence(s) of talk and the prior course of action(s).

This paper furthers our understanding not only of gaze but also of sequence structure. Schegloff and Sacks (1973) have identified practices for closing “a state of continuously sustained talk”, that they contrast with “continuing states of incipient talk” also identified in that work and elaborated since (Schegloff in press), but that have been relatively understudied. Lapses are relatively common in the latter settings (e.g., families having dinner at home, workers who share offices, seatmates on an airplane, etc.). In this work I will show how gaze withdrawal and a shift in head orientation and body posture can signal the upcoming closing of a sequence (or more sequences) of talk and the entering of a lapse in the sequential environment of “continuing states of incipient talk.” This will therefore shed more light on the relationship between the development of the conversation and the occasion in which it occurs.

## **Mette Rudvin**

### ***Politeness strategies in cross-cultural settings: negotiating linguistic identities in interpreter-mediated communication for public services***

This paper explores ways in which identities are negotiated through politeness strategies in interpreter-mediated communication for public services. Drawing on data collected in public health and legal institutions in the Region of Emilia Romagna (Italy), the paper describes how each actor brings to the encounter socially and historically constructed identities and how these identities are manifested and negotiated through pragmatic and discourse features.

In cross-cultural public service encounters, as in any intercultural interaction, both migrant’s and service provider’s utterances and actions are governed by background (presupposed) knowledge. It is the task of the language mediator/interpreter to make transparent the pragmatic weight of the implicit and explicit communication strategies through which this presupposed cultural knowledge is expressed. In monolingual communication, identity and face-work are naturally closely linked, but in a bi-lingual cross-cultural encounter the complexities involved in such forms of self-representation are enormously enhanced for two reasons: primarily because the codified rules and strategies for face-work are – often vastly - different in different cultures and highly susceptible to culture-based misunderstandings, and secondly because of the participation of a third agent, the interpreter, who must not only mediate between the two cultures and communication systems but also inscribes her own private historic ‘self’ and group-based ethnic/cultural identity in the triadic negotiation process.

In so-called hierarchical and socio-centric ‘traditional’ cultures (represented in our data), the rules for face-work are even more strictly codified and complex than in most Western cultures.

Previous data from a therapeutic setting involving Kurdish refugee women has illustrated the complexity of such cross-cultural face-work, not only between service provider (Western therapist) and client (Kurdish migrant), but also between these two primary interlocutors and the interpreter. Face-saving strategies and explicit demonstrations of respect proved to be crucial in the relationship-building phase between the three interlocutors. Strategies governing social and professional role and hierarchy, the display of the status and kinship positioning of the interlocutors and the social distance or intimacy between them included forms of address and greeting, leave-taking rituals, cold reserve, histrionics, requesting favours, precedence in seating and eating arrangements and the acceptance or refusal of gifts and hospitality. Such data illustrate how the interpreter’s task is thus not only complex in terms of (cross-cultural) linguistic and pragmatic competence, but also creative in her function of establishing communication and facilitating reciprocal comprehension between the other interlocutors.

The communicative asymmetry embedded in these encounters reflects a clear power hierarchy in the migrant-institution relationship expressed also in politeness markers. In our data, we found that self-lowering strategies were particularly prone to cultural misunderstanding: for example, a witness or defendants’ avoidance

of eye-contact, lowered tone of voice, hedging strategies, indirect answers, reluctance to contradict the interlocutor by using the word 'no' directly, excessive acquiescence through repetition of the interlocutors' words, etc. seemed to be construed by the Italian legal representative as 'shiftiness' or even 'untruthfulness'. The consequences of such an interpretation - by judge, police officer or immigration officer - may be very grave indeed for a defendant, witness or asylum applicant.

## **Sükriye Ruhi & Hale Isik**

### ***Conceptualising face and facework in (im)politeness: Revelations from politeness lexemes and idioms in Turkish***

This paper proposes that scrutinising the politeness-related lexicon of languages can further our understanding of the emic and etic dimensions of (im)politeness. With a view of revealing the insights to be gained from such research, the paper examines two root lexemes in Turkish, 'yüz' (face) and 'gönül' (heart/mind), which emerge as the two key concepts to understanding the cultural conceptualisation of politeness in Turkish culture.

The paper first sketches the semantic networks of the lexemes by drawing the links between the words and idioms derived from the lexemes. It then describes the conceptual metaphors that underlie the usage of a selected number of these expressions in a variety of spoken and written Turkish discourse, illustrating their contextualisation in (1) conversational routines and evaluative metadiscursive comments in conversational data, and (2) written media language. This analysis reveals that while both concepts are strongly linked to showing consideration to alter in interaction, 'yüz' and idioms derived from it are closely related to evaluative judgements on moral values, socially valued attributes, and equity in dealings. The second term, 'gönül', on the other hand, maps more directly onto the interpersonal dimension of communication, and represents the manner in which interlocutors are 'given face' and dealt with consideration regarding their 'inner selves', intentions, and aspirations. These findings indicate that communicative events are conceptualised as arenas where interlocutors attend to not only face and communicative goals pertaining to the immediate social setting but also to 'inner selves' in the Turkish context. Within such a conceptualisation of face and the 'self-in-interaction' at the emic level, describing the relation between the personal and social self/identity, on the one hand, and the relation between the heart and mind, on the other hand, as dichotomies becomes hard to maintain for the description of face and facework in Turkish settings. At the etic level, the paper argues that conceptualising facework as being conducted within the context of the tensions between speaker claims to social worth, interactional goals, and inner sense of being, on the one hand, and those of the addressee/s, on the other, may provide a richer basis for investigating facework in (im)politeness.

The second part of the paper discusses the implications of this conceptualisation within current approaches to (im)politeness. In line with work in social psychology, it argues that face is inextricably related to people's identity claims (Tracy 1990). As a further contribution to this perspective, the paper maintains that the relation between self and identity needs to be kept as distinct but inter-related aspects of communication. To accommodate for the dimensions of face and facework delineated above, the paper situates facework within the Rapport Management model proposed in Spencer-Oatey (2000) and draws on Schwartz's (1995) personal value scales and the socio-pragmatic interactional principles proposed in Spencer-Oatey and Jiang (2003) to describe the content of the dimensions of facework. The paper concludes with illustrations of these dimensions from data on language use in complimenting and a number of service encounters in Turkish (Işık 2003; Ruhi 2004).

## **Andreas Runkel**

### ***Signalling illocutionarity in performatives***

1. The Problem. The major problem concerning „explicit performative utterances“ (Austin 1962) is this: How is it possible to perform a speech act by naming it? Why does the mere utterance of (1) constitute the act of promising, whereas (2) and (3) are only constative descriptions of the same act?

- (1) I promise that I will help you.
- (2) Yesterday, I promised that I will help you.
- (3) Peter promises Mary that he will help her.

#### 2. Previous Analyses

Austin (1962) and Searle (1969) regard the performative prefix as an “Illocutionary Force Indicating Device” (IFID) that constitutes the performative speech act.

Bach/Harnish (1979), Bach (1975), Harnish (2002) analyse performatives in accordance with their declarative sentence structure as constatives. The performative act is regarded as indirect, based on conversational inferences.

According to Searle (1989) and Recanati (1987), performative utterances are declarational acts, i.e., the prefix contributes to the whole proposition of the utterance and the constitution of the performative act is obtained by means of the speaker's special intention.

3. My Solution. In accordance with Austin (1962) and Searle (1969) I adhere to the intuition that explicit performative utterances serve for the direct performance of the speech act denoted by their matrix verb. My account does neither require conversational inferences as assumed by Bach/Harnish, nor does it stipulate a special illocutionary category for performatives as Searle (1989) and Recanati (1987) do.

Applying a contextualist perspective, I focus on the set of pragmatic universals (which I label "Commonplace Features") that are constitutive for the application of natural language, i.e., speaker, addressee, and illocutionary intention. Contrary to the "Performative Hypothesis" (Ross 1970), I assume that these features do not require structural representation, but are necessary conditions for every discourse and can be presupposed in any linguistic action. I propose to regard the performative prefix as a means for lexicalising these pragmatic universals, thereby allowing for the exact specification of the intended illocutionary act by "signalling" it, as opposed to "stating" it.

Accordingly, from the perspective of utterance production, a speaker is supposed to choose an explicit performative in situations where vagueness of illocutionary intent has to be avoided.

To account for the non-constative interpretation of performatives despite their declarative sentence pattern, I assume that the addressee processes the literal meaning of the lexical elements but that the exact matching of the prefix with the set of pragmatic "Commonplace Features" leads him directly to a performative interpretation, unless contextual clues prohibit such an interpretation and give rise to reportative understanding. Non-constative interpretation is additionally supported by epistemic opacity of the performative utterance for the addressee. Applying a Gricean framework of reflexive intentions, my analysis also shows that there cannot be a constative intention on the side of the speaker.

The correlation of performatives with the declarative sentence pattern is regarded as a mere reflex of this sentence type's predominant use for constative speech acts. Being the standard means for representative speech acts, the declarative pattern is predestined to serve for non-illocutionary representing as well, i.e., "signalling" an illocutionary intention.

**Elena Ruzickova**

### ***Las peticiones de los clientes en el español cubano: Patrones de realización y estrategias de cortesía en las situaciones de servicio***

La presente exposición de los patrones de realización de las peticiones en las situaciones de servicio complementa los estudios anteriores (cf. Blum-Kulka and House, 1989; García, 1989, 1992, 1993, 1996, 1999, 2002; Vázquez Orta, 1995; le Pair, 1996; Placencia, 1996; Curcó, 1998; de los Heros, 1998; Mulder, 1998; Márquez Reiter, 1997, 2000; Arellano 2000, Lorenzo-Dus and Bou-Franch, 2003, entre otros) con datos empíricos producidos por hablantes del español cubano con el propósito de mostrar cómo el comportamiento lingüístico de los hablantes, el que involucra las estrategias de cortesía, puede proporcionar información sobre las normas de las actividades de imagen social (facework) construidas y negociadas dentro de cada grupo cultural. Los datos (124 peticiones de clientes) extraídos de 32 horas de habla espontánea durante situaciones de servicio en La Habana, Cuba, indican que los pedidos cubanos se caracterizan por el predominio de las estrategias convencionalmente indirectas. Asimismo, una comparación cuantitativa de las frecuencias de uso de 360 manifestaciones lingüísticas de la cortesía de solidaridad y deferencia en las peticiones, revela que para un cliente cubano, la satisfacción de la imagen positiva es la estrategia de cortesía preferida. Esta se logra mayoritariamente por medio de apelaciones a la existencia de valores, deseos y metas compartidos con el interlocutor (el 48,33% de las estrategias de cortesía empleadas). El estudio también considera las diferentes funciones de los marcadores de cortesía, tales como la atenuación, la reparación y el realce de la imagen social que compiten entre sí (cf. Hernández Flores, 2004), así como el empleo de las peticiones directas frente a las convencionalmente indirectas por parte de los hombres y las mujeres y las preferencias masculinas y femeninas con respecto a la cortesía positiva y la negativa. Aunque la comparación de estas últimas no revela diferencias significativas (cf. Berk Seligson, 1988; García, 1993; García, 1996; de los Heros, 1998; Lorenzo-Dus and Bou-Franch, 2003); la distribución relativa de las peticiones directas frente a las convencionalmente indirectas sí es divergente: los hombres cubanos tienden a ser más indirectos que las mujeres. Mientras que los clientes cubanos utilizan las formulaciones convencionalmente indirectas casi dos veces más que las directas; la probabilidad de que una cliente cubana opte por una formulación directa (empleando la forma imperativa del verbo o una formulación de deseo o necesidad) es casi la misma que la probabilidad de que se sirva de una petición convencionalmente indirecta. Es de suponer, entonces, que las mujeres cubanas se sienten menos limitadas que los hablantes masculinos por la preocupación de ser percibidas como descorteses a la hora de emplear peticiones directas, observación que también testimonia una diferencia de las hablantes uruguayas, peruanas y méxico-



americanas, quienes emplean peticiones directas en menor medida que los hombres (Márquez Reiter, 2000; García, 1993) o presentan escasas diferencias frente a la conducta lingüística masculina (Arellano, 2000).

**John Rylander**

***Classroom pragmatics using video clips***

La presente exposición de los patrones de realización de las peticiones en las situaciones de servicio complementa los estudios anteriores (cf. Blum-Kulka and House, 1989; García, 1989, 1992, 1993, 1996, 1999, 2002; Vázquez Orta, 1995; le Pair, 1996; Placencia, 1996; Curcó, 1998; de los Heros, 1998; Mulder, 1998; Márquez Reiter, 1997, 2000; Arellano 2000, Lorenzo-Dus and Bou-Franch, 2003, entre otros) con datos empíricos producidos por hablantes del español cubano con el propósito de mostrar cómo el comportamiento lingüístico de los hablantes, el que involucra las estrategias de cortesía, puede proporcionar información sobre las normas de las actividades de imagen social (facework) construidas y negociadas dentro de cada grupo cultural. Los datos (124 peticiones de clientes) extraídos de 32 horas de habla espontánea durante situaciones de servicio en La Habana, Cuba, indican que los pedidos cubanos se caracterizan por el predominio de las estrategias convencionalmente indirectas. Asimismo, una comparación cuantitativa de las frecuencias de uso de 360 manifestaciones lingüísticas de la cortesía de solidaridad y deferencia en las peticiones, revela que para un cliente cubano, la satisfacción de la imagen positiva es la estrategia de cortesía preferida. Esta se logra mayoritariamente por medio de apelaciones a la existencia de valores, deseos y metas compartidos con el interlocutor (el 48,33% de las estrategias de cortesía empleadas). El estudio también considera las diferentes funciones de los marcadores de cortesía, tales como la atenuación, la reparación y el realce de la imagen social que compiten entre sí (cf. Hernández Flores, 2004), así como el empleo de las peticiones directas frente a las convencionalmente indirectas por parte de los hombres y las mujeres y las preferencias masculinas y femeninas con respecto a la cortesía positiva y la negativa. Aunque la comparación de estas últimas no revela diferencias significativas (cf. Berk Seligson, 1988; García, 1993; García, 1996; de los Heros, 1998; Lorenzo-Dus and Bou-Franch, 2003); la distribución relativa de las peticiones directas frente a las convencionalmente indirectas sí es divergente: los hombres cubanos tienden a ser más indirectos que las mujeres. Mientras que los clientes cubanos utilizan las formulaciones convencionalmente indirectas casi dos veces más que las directas; la probabilidad de que una cliente cubana opte por una formulación directa (empleando la forma imperativa del verbo o una formulación de deseo o necesidad) es casi la misma que la probabilidad de que se sirva de una petición convencionalmente indirecta. Es de suponer, entonces, que las mujeres cubanas se sienten menos limitadas que los hablantes masculinos por la preocupación de ser percibidas como descorteses a la hora de emplear peticiones directas, observación que también testimonia una diferencia de las hablantes uruguayas, peruanas y méxico-americanas, quienes emplean peticiones directas en menor medida que los hombres (Márquez Reiter, 2000; García, 1993) o presentan escasas diferencias frente a la conducta lingüística masculina (Arellano, 2000).

**Karolien Rys**

***The production of requests in the French interlanguage of Moroccan and Hispanic immigrant children in Belgium***

This paper is part of a Ph.D.-project studying the communicative competence of learners of French as a second language. More concretely, the project wants to arrive at a thorough analysis of the production of a number of speech acts (requests, apologies, information questions and complaints) by children of immigrants living in Brussels, by means of a comparison of role plays performed by three different groups of 10 to 14 year old speakers: bilingual French – Spanish children, bilingual French – Moroccan Arabic children and a control group of monolingual French children. The choice of the two groups of bilingual speakers is motivated on contrastive grounds: 1° the Spanish language system bears closer resemblance to the French language system than the Moroccan Arabic language system; 2° on a pragmatic and broader cultural level, the distance between the Moroccan and the monolingual French speaking community seems to be considerably greater than that between the latter and the Hispanic community. The aim of the study is to find out whether these different cultural and pragmalinguistic distances are also reflected in the realization patterns of speech acts by children of the three communities.

In this paper, I concentrate on the analysis of one specific part of my corpus, namely on the requests (8 role play situations) performed by the three types of speakers (50 informants per group). For each of the request situations, a content analysis is performed, which brings to the fore the recurrent thematic elements. Then, the absence/presence of each thematic element, as well as their relative order and internal organization are examined. Attention is further paid to the level of directness of the speech acts, their interaction with the conversational context and organization, and other formal peripheral elements, such as perspective and external and internal modifications. Other elements taken into account are the social parameters of status, distance and

degree of imposition that define the performed request situations. On each level of analysis, the behaviour of the three groups of informants is observed, in order to reveal existing similarities and differences.

The analysis of the selected role play situations shows that the similarities between the three groups of speakers are without any doubt much more important than the differences that can be observed. The similarities concern, among other things, the global scenarios of the request situations, the frequency of explicit greetings, and the presence of introducing elements. However, some quantitative and qualitative differences do exist. They seem to be related more to the general conversational organization and to internal and external modification patterns than to the level of directness of the speech act as such: more or less personalized and polarized conversation style, frequency of introducing elements, flexibility of justification schemes, etc. The results also confirm the hypothesis that the communicative behaviour of the Hispanic children is closer to that of the native French children than the communicative behaviour of the Moroccan children.

### **Katiuscia Sacco, Romina Angeleri, Ivan Enrici et al**

#### ***How do we understand simple and complex communicative acts: A developmental perspective***

The research aims to investigate the comprehension of simple and complex communicative acts – standard acts, deceptions and ironies – in the context of extralinguistic communication.

The distinction between simple and complex communicative acts has been proposed by Bara, Bosco and Bucciarelli (1999), on the basis of the Cognitive Pragmatics (Airenti, Bara & Colombetti, 1993). A major assumption of Cognitive Pragmatics is that communication requires behavioral cooperation between two agents, who act on the basis of a plan that is at least partially shared. The comprehension of a communicative act requires the comprehension of the game of which it is part: in order to understand the actor's communicative intentions, the partner has to find a meaningful connection between the actor's utterance and the behavioural game they are playing. In the case of simple speech acts there is an immediate correspondence between the utterance and the game, that is the utterance straightforwardly refers to the game. On the contrary, in the case of complex speech acts the comprehension of the link between the speech act and the game requires the partner to make longer inferential processes. The bigger the distance between the utterance and the communicative context shared by actor and partner, the more difficult the comprehension of the utterance itself. In sum, the difference in the difficulty of comprehension between simple and complex acts depends on the steps needed to refer the utterance to the game bid by the actor.

The difference between simple and complex acts has been demonstrated in the context of linguistic communication: children aged from 6;7 to 10 find it easier to comprehend simple speech acts rather than complex ones, within the same pragmatic phenomena, i.e. simple vs. complex standard acts, simple vs. complex deceptions, simple vs. complex ironies (Bosco & Bucciarelli, in press). The aim of the present research is to extend such findings to extralinguistic communication, i.e. those actions such as facial expressions, hand gestures and body movements when they are intentionally performed to share a communicative meaning. Indeed, if language and gestures are comparable ways of communication (Bara & Tirassa, 2000; Bucciarelli, Colle & Bara, 2003), then we should expect that the distinctions made in linguistic contexts also hold for extralinguistic communication.

To sum up, in the present experiment we expect that, within the same pragmatic category, comprehending a simple extralinguistic act requires an easier inferential chain than that required for a complex act. In order to test our hypothesis we used 12 videotaped scenes, showing two characters engaged in interactions performed only through gestures: 4 represented standard acts, 4 deceiving acts and 4 ironic acts. The protocol was administered individually to 300 children ranging from 6;6 to 8;6 years of age. The results confirmed our hypothesis: overall subjects, simple standard acts are easier to understand than complex ones (T Test:  $t=5.55$ ;  $p<.0001$ ); simple deceptions are easier than complex deceptions (T Test:  $t=10.19$ ;  $p<.0001$ ); simple ironies are easier than complex ironies (T Test:  $t=3.26$ ;  $p<.0001$ ).

### **Scott Saft**

#### ***A practice for terminating and avoiding arguments in Japanese: Implications for the study of culture and interaction***

In previous research on Japanese communication, culture has often been treated as a set of values and principles--such as *wa* ("harmony"), *omoiyari* ("empathy"), and *amae* ("dependency")-- which exist separately from interaction and which shape and constrain the use of language. In such a view, patterns of interaction are commonly treated as outcomes of cultural principles that are supposed to exist prior to the analysis. Accordingly, researchers have been able to study interaction but still reinforce dominant cultural ideologies about the Japanese and Japanese communication.

In contrast, in conversation analytic research, culture has been conceived of as the commonsense knowledge that emerges together with the practices employed in interaction (Moerman 1988; Sacks 1992). Thus, in research on the achievement of closings in interaction involving English speakers, including both mundane conversation (Schegloff and Sacks 1973) and argumentative discourse (Bilmes 1993; Vuchinich 1990), analysts have described the cultural practices used by participants to achieve closure without presupposing any underlying principles or values.

Adopting a conversation analytic approach, I present an analysis of a specific linguistic practice, namely, the item 'maa' ("well"), that is frequently used to avoid and terminate arguments in faculty meetings which occur in a Japanese university. Based on audio-recordings of 16 hours of naturally occurring faculty meeting interaction, the analysis describes how maa is used by participants to make a transition from one interactional activity, the expressing of opposition to one specific participant, to a different activity, the reporting of information to the entire set of participants. The schema below shows the role played by maa as a bridge between these two activities.

- 1 A: in the middle of making a report to all the participants
- 2 B: interjects talk into the report to express an opposition directly to A
- 3 A: 1) expresses a rebuttal directly to B 2) then employs maa 3) returns to making a report to all participants

It might be tempting to explain this move in line 3 away from opposition in terms of a pre-identified cultural concept such as harmony, and likewise, it might then be possible to draw a cultural contrast with argumentative tendencies of English speakers to pursue points of opposition. However, I maintain that this usage of 'maa' must be understood in terms of the participants' attempts to accomplish the activity of reporting information in the faculty meetings. Rather than accounting for this phenomenon in terms of underlying cultural forces, it is suggested that the employment of 'maa' to avoid arguments is best explained by examining the interactional work that is locally accomplished by the faculty member participants. Moreover, I argue that this usage of 'maa' should be regarded as cultural because it results from the interpretations of competent members who are trying to manage the local contingencies of the interaction.

Based on the analysis, I propose that the treatment of culture as practices that emerge from social interaction holds an important key to deepening our understanding of the diverse ways that language is used in Japanese interaction as well as the range of social competencies possessed by Japanese social actors.

## **Graham Sage**

### ***Disagreeing to agree: Conflict as a means of negotiating individual and group identities and consensus in a computer-mediated community***

Previous linguistic analysis of conflict has found that disagreement is often used as a tool for establishing and/or reinforcing alignment and agreement (as opposed to division) between participants (Eder, 1982 & 1993; Ong, 1981; Tannen, 1998). Many additional studies have noted the fact that identity is central to the process of negotiating disagreement (Basso, 1992; Bucholtz, 1999; Georgakopoulou, 2001; Goodwin & Goodwin, 1990; Maier, 2001; Schiffrin, 1990). In a computer-mediated setting, however, both identity formulation and conflict negotiation strategies are hampered by the limitations of the mediated environment. One example of this can be seen in prosodic markers which indicate face and can mark an action as impolite (Culpeper, Bousfield, and Wichmann, 2003). Since prosodic cues are not available in a computer-mediated setting, however, impoliteness and expectations for communicative norms (which are also markers of group identity) must be identified through other means.

Drawing on the theoretical framework of Brown and Levinson (1987), this interactional sociolinguistic study examines the interplay between personal identity and group identity within a computer-mediated community. The study not only explores the negotiation of group and individual identities, but also explores the impact of the computer medium on identity formulation and conflict negotiation (and how the two are intertwined in this mediated setting). Specifically, I examine the use of politeness markers used by participants in an e-mail conflict. The data is taken from a corpus of 56,649 email messages sent to ChurchList, a tightly-knit e-mail discussion list which provides a forum for the discussion of issues affecting the Episcopal Church. Analysis of the e-conflicts in this environment indicates that the negotiation and resolution of conflict is pivotal to the formation and continuation of a unified group identity. In this setting, questions of "face" bring group identity to the table and allow (perhaps force) community members to actively examine and revise (through the lens of conflict) the collective group identity. (Im)politeness, therefore, (and the resolution of conflicts which stem from expectations of politeness) functions as a tool for the negotiation of a solidified group identity and therefore occupies a pivotal role in the continuation of a unified e-community.

## **Tomoko Sakita**

### ***Discourse basis of grammatical patterns: Preferred argument structure in narrative***

Recent studies in discourse pragmatics have shown that information management in discourse plays a decisive role in syntactic distribution. Preferred Argument Structure (PAS) formulated by Du Bois (1987) demonstrates the “discourse basis” of grammatical patterns. It reveals that there is a relatively fixed nominal distribution patterns in terms of the number and type of arguments contained in a clause, that are motivated by the constraints on information flow (Givón 1975; Chafe 1994). Although PAS’s general applicability has been demonstrated across languages, its genre sensitivity is open to question. In addition, most studies have excluded the clausal objects of verbs of saying (e.g., say, go, tell), which are low-transitivity clauses, as a special kind of objects. This study explores whether the principles of PAS hold for the genre of American English conversational reporting discourse or the clausal objects of communication verbs affect the syntactic distribution. In two-hour conversational data full of reporting discourse, all noun phrases were coded for morphological types (full noun, pronoun), grammatical role types (core arguments, non-arguments), and information statuses (new, given, accessible). The verbs of saying are specially identified.

I first illustrate the information structure of intonation units in statistical and qualitative manners. IUs are categorized into three subtypes: IUs that constitute propositionally independent single-IU clauses; IUs that are constituents of multi-IU clauses; IUs that are detached phrasal IUs outside the clausal domain. The multi-IU clause is prominent in the present data, because the single-IU dialogue introducer constitutes majority of the dialogue introducers. Given NPs are extensively dominant in reporting discourse, and especially in the reporting clauses, NPs are always Given. This reinforces the prevalence of Given NPs in the whole narrative text.

Next, I raise grammatical and pragmatic tendencies observed. Each of the four constraints on information flow is tested and proven for the genre. In terms of a grammatical dimension: (1) speakers avoid expressing more than one lexical core argument in a clause; and (2) the fully lexicalized NPs rarely appear in a transitive subject A position. It is significantly noted that S (intransitive subject) patterns with A (transitive subject) rather than with O (transitive object), in contrary to the claim by Du Bois and others. It rather conforms to Kärkkäinen’s (1996) finding in American English. Thus, close patterning of S and A is unique to American English discourse. Rare instances of lexical NPs in the A position are shown as reasonable exceptions to the constraints rather than as violations. In terms of a pragmatic dimension: (3) speakers have no more than one piece of new information per clause; and (4) speakers avoid introducing new referents in the A position. Some examples for global discourse strategies to circumvent the limitations by the PAS constraints are raised like a left-dislocation and a repair. These results suggest that reporting discourse does not deform but rather even reinforces the relatively fixed syntactic distributional patterns proposed in terms of PAS. Moreover, reporting discourse with clausal objects of verbs of saying represents a typical argument structure of conversational American English.

## **Anne Salazar Orvig**

### ***The expression of dialogism in dialogue dynamics***

Dialogism (and/or dialogicality) is a multifaceted notion that concerns different aspects of human interaction. It is usually brought up to refer to the fundamental capacity of « the human mind to conceive, create and communicate about social realities in terms of the Alter » (Markova, 2003) or, more frequently, to the fact that a specific discourse has its roots in other discourses written or spoken in previous contexts. Quite surprisingly dialogism is less often brought up to refer to the dynamics of verbal interaction even though Bakhtin himself stressed on the fact that this phenomenon is a constitutive aspect of replies in real dialogue.

How does this fundamental characteristic of discourse displays in the dynamics of verbal interaction ? To what extent is this a different phenomenon from structural, interactional or interlocutive aspects of verbal interaction ?

At least three dimensions of dialogue dynamics have to be considered : firstly, the fact that far beyond the co-construction phenomena there is a close inter-linkage of discourses ; secondly, the multivoicedness that combines in this case the contribution of virtual and real voices to the dynamics of specific dialogues ; thirdly, the evolution and circulation of what has been said in the progression of dialogue, taking into account the fact that responsive comprehension implies in fine heterogeneity and change.

Through the study of these different aspects in a corpus of ordinary conversations and discussions this paper addresses the question of the theoretical and methodological consequences of studying verbal interaction from a dialogical stand point and its complementarity with other approaches.

**Ibrahim Sallo**

***Gender differences in the use of taboo expressions in Iraq: A sociolinguistic study***

This paper attempts to examine gender differences (henceforth GDs) in the use of 'taboo' expressions in Iraq. Unfortunately, this area has not received any attention from Arab and Iraqi sociolinguists.

In Iraq, male speakers swear more than female speakers. Moreover, both women and men swear more in the company of their own sex, but male usage of swear words drops automatically in mixed-sex conversation.

'Taboo' expressions related to sexual organs, sex and intercourse are socially and morally forbidden and they are never used by people in ordinary life except among teenagers or when illiterate women and men quarrel. So, it is expected to hear them commonly used where poor illiterate people live. It is very common to hear such dirty taboo items uttered by drivers, fitters, etc. As a matter of fact, the use of 'taboo' words is strongly correlated with literacy rather than sex.

The paper introduces the problem, hypotheses, purpose and objectives of the study, scope and limitation of the empirical research, definitions of related concepts, procedures of data collection, and recommendations and findings.

This study attempts to shed light on the phenomenon of GDs in the use of 'taboo' expressions in Iraq including its nature, causes, and sociolinguistic restrictions imposed on them and how, where and why they occur.

The study also highlights the role and impact of some sociolinguistic variables. Suggestions are advanced about when, how and why GDs occur, emphasizing the influence of sociolinguistic variables (i.e., setting, and participants including their age, sex, education, rural vs. urban and socioeconomic background) as well as psychological, academic and other non-linguistic constraints. This paper will focus on the daily language used in expressing the common speech acts.

It is hypothesized that women use their own lexical items and expressions that are different from men's in expressing these socially unacceptable expressions. The study aims at verifying that GDs are social and rejecting the notion of innate GDs. Moreover, it aims at proving that Iraqi speech community is not a homogeneous society with shared linguistic norms in the Chomskyan sense (i.e., the ideal speaker/hearer theory).

This empirical study is based on the analysis of data collected from 100 informants (50 Fs and 50 Ms) aged between 18 and 25 to answer whether (Fs or Ms or Fs and Ms) use them. Since the focus of this study is on GDs the third option (the use by both sexes), which implies similarity between the two sexes, was cancelled. Using a variety of ways, which include social participation, personal observation, interviews, and personal observation, questionnaires and utilising tapes where natural conversations could be approached. The results are reported in the analysis and discussion, which identify the language associated with the informants' sex.

Finally, some conclusions are drawn and some recommendations made for future GDs studies in Iraq as well as the other Arab countries. Among the outstanding questions to be addressed are: (i) whether GDs have universal linguistic and extra-linguistic constraints, (ii) whether they are related more to competence or to performance; (iii) and whether the speakers of Arabic have the same competence in the Standard and the Iraqi varieties (Sallo 1983, 1988: 78). The answers to such questions may profoundly reshape our views of Arabic language in Iraq, whether in geographic, academic, or professional settings all around the world.

To sum up, this paper does not claim that it covers the whole subject since the area of speech GDs is fresh and virgin especially in Iraq and there are many aspects which have not been investigated yet. Further studies, MA and Ph. D. dissertations depending on extended data, could be conducted on GDs in Mobile messages, Chat language and in other countries to have a comprehensive picture about this phenomenon. Courses of GDs in email writing style, mobile messages and chat language could be introduced similar to writing courses to enable students to keep pace with the rapid changes and challenges that are happening around us in the wake of globalization.

**Keith Sanders & Nancy Chang**

***Discourse context and real space in embodied construction grammar***

Both production and comprehension of linguistic structure are crucially guided by each speaker-hearer's understanding of his interlocutors' mental states. This implies that cognitive models of 'other minds', e.g. as conceived of in the theory of mental spaces (Fauconnier 1985), are central to linguistic competence and constructional representations. Our goal is to apply this notion of mental spaces to linguistic models of how discourse participants internally represent:

- \* their own understanding of the context and content of the discourse;
- \* their fellow participants' mental states with respect to that context and content;
- \* discourse-oriented constructions that manipulate those mental states.

We begin by reviewing the treatment of mental spaces within the framework of Embodied Construction Grammar (ECG), a formal model of cognitive and construction grammar first proposed in Bergen and Chang (in press). As discussed by Mok et al. (2004), mental spaces in ECG are domains of reference and predication, structured by embodied representations -- i.e. representations motivated by motor, perceptual and other bodily grounded structures. These structures include image schemas capturing perceptual relations; executing schemas (or X-schemas, Narayanan 1997) capturing motor actions and event structure; and culturally grounded structures similar to Fillmorean frames.

The modeling of discourse context starts with a special case of such mental spaces, namely a 'Real Space' similar to that discussed by Liddell (2003) and others for American Sign Language. Real Space corresponds to a given speaker-hearer's model of the literal discourse situation, and is characterized by the particular sorts of entities (e.g. human discourse participants), events (e.g. utterances and deictic pointing actions), and broader frames (e.g. turn-taking conventions and linguistic registers) that provide their structure. Of course, each speaker-hearer must also model the (narrative, explanatory, or other) Base Space that is the subject of the discourse, as well as her interlocutors' models of that Base Space. The body of our paper presents an ECG analysis of these various mental spaces, their internal structures, and the relations among them.

Our analysis provides the formal and conceptual basis for a cognitively plausible, monostratal, sign- and unification-based model of discourse-oriented constructions like pronouns, (in)definite determination constructions, and cleft and presentational constructions. In fact, as argued for decades in functionalist and usage-based theories, there are few if any linguistic constructions which do not have some grounding in the discourse situation. In our view, therefore, a formal model of each interlocutor's understanding of the discourse context is the core of any usage-based theory of linguistic structure.

### **José Santaemilia**

#### ***Sex(uality) and metaphor in everyday language (in English, Spanish and Catalan)***

We believe in the pervasively metaphorical nature of reality and in the metaphorical nature of cognition. As Lakoff and Johnson (1980) state, metaphor is “pervasive in everyday life, not just in language but in thought and action. Our ordinary conceptual system, in terms of which we both think and act, is fundamentally metaphorical in nature.” Metaphors help us to organize our ideas, our attitudes and our identities. Besides, everyday conversation relies heavily on sexual language. That means, quite often, that reality (or rather our experience of the real) is metaphorized as a pervasively sexual or erotic experience.

In this paper, we examine the phenomenon of sexual language (in English, Spanish and Catalan) from a double perspective: (a) those innumerable common words or phrases (usually of non-sexual origin) which – mainly in the guise of euphemisms or dysphemisms– are used to metaphorize sexuality (i.e. spank the monkey, pasar por la piedra, jugar al parxís); and (b) conversely, those very common sexual words and phrases which are used to express non-sexual meanings (I've fucked up, estar hasta el culo, tocar-se els collons). We are especially interested in the second perspective, as it is not systematically or sufficiently studied, at least in the languages mentioned.

As sexual or erotic language is a prime vehicle for expressing our most inner thoughts and attitudes, so too it is emotionally and ideologically loaded. It is not a neutral mechanism; rather, it is a privileged medium of expressing (or recognising or documenting) prejudices, misconceptions and stereotypes. Although the three languages we study belong to a common Western European context, each of them possesses at times different interactional and cultural rules for sexualising –or de-sexualising– reality; and each of them reveals different patterns of adaptation to the growing demands for gender equality and, consequently, each language has a different tempo in disactivating time-old gendered clichés of a sexual nature.

Three main sources of data are used here: informal and personal contributions from my university students; examples drawn from contemporary novels in the three languages; and a systematic dictionary search of the main sex-related lexemes. We believe that what we call the metapho(e)r(ot)ization of everyday language in English, Spanish and Catalan reveals deep-seated attitudes about identity construction and stereotyping, about how to categorize ourselves (and others) along gendered lines. It is as well one of the most graphic ways in which gender is (re)constructed, (re)negotiated and (re)presented through (and in) discourse.

### **Carmen Santamaria**

#### ***No as a state-of-knowledge response in the negotiation of agreement in casual conversation (English and Spanish)***

In this paper I will explore the functions of 'no' in the negotiation of agreement as a state-of-knowledge response in casual conversation in English and Spanish. A major function of 'no' in such negotiations is to indicate that the prior utterance conveys new or surprising information and is similar in function to other assertions of

ritualized disbelief, e.g., “I can’t believe it!”, “you’re kidding”, “really!”. However, a completely different and interesting function of 'no' is observed in Spanish to treat the information in prior turn’s talk as not news but just expected or already known information. It is similar in meaning to “Yes, I know”. This meaning is inferred from its sequential location. Different functions display different sequential features with implications in the development of talk. I will also consider the grammatical functions of 'no' when used as a state-of-knowledge response. My research is based on the analysis of natural conversation mainly contained in the following corpora: SBCEAE (Santa Barbara Corpus of Spoken American English), Corpus Oral de Referencia de la Lengua Española Contemporánea and UACSS (University of Alcalá Corpus of Spoken Spanish).

**Srikant Sarangi**

***Ad hoc categorisation as collaborative interpretation of professional action***

‘To breathe is to judge’ wrote John Dryden in 1660s which marked the distinctive nature of descriptive vis-à-vis legislative and theoretical criticism. If one were to substitute breathing with language, ‘no utterance can be put together without value judgement’ (Volosinov 1973). As applied discourse analysts operating in a consultative research paradigm our breathing-turned-interpretation can amount to pronouncing unwarranted judgements, which may have unintended consequences for the target participants. In this paper I revisit the tensions in interpreting the tacit levels of institutional interaction with particular reference to the healthcare site. I first reflect upon our interpretive practices by appealing to the legislative, theoretical and descriptive paradigms in the literary critical tradition. This leads me to suggest that an analytic preference for ‘members’ method’ comes closer to descriptive criticism, but without the element of self-reflection. The position that members’ method allows one to categorise events is no longer tenable, especially when the knowledge gap between analysts and participants increases, as is the case in new sites of medical discourse research such as genetic counselling, HIV/AIDS, chronic fatigue syndrome etc. There is also the issue of the meaning potential of a category being differently understood in collaborative interdisciplinary research. With the help of data examples from genetic counselling discourse, I illustrate the dynamics of ad hoc categorisation of professional action, supplemented by institutional ethnography and participants’ analytic insights.

**Christina Schäffner**

***Can metaphors disappear in translation?***

Research into metaphors on the basis of cognitive theories suggests that there appear to be both universal metaphors and cultural variation. For example, it has been found that the conceptual metaphors used for speaking about emotions (e.g. ANGER IS HEATED FLUID IN A CONTAINER, and THE BODY IS A CONTAINER FOR THE EMOTIONS) are very common in several languages and cultures due to identical bodily experience. Cultural differences, however, have also been observed, especially in the ways in which metaphors are used and structured linguistically. For example, some cultures show a preference for ‘locating’ particular emotions in specific parts of the body. More empirical research, using different methods of enquiry, can help to answer the question which metaphors are culture-specific, culture-overlapping, or universal.

One way of adding empirical research and contributing to this debate is the descriptive analysis of translated texts. The paper will discuss examples of authentic translations (mainly with reference to English, German, and French), describing how translators have handled metaphorical expressions, and focusing on the problem of culture-specificity vs universality of metaphors. Particular attention will be given to cases where translation strategies of ‘remetaphorisation’ or ‘demetaphorisation’ have been used, i.e. where a metaphorical expression in the original text (i) seems to have been replaced by another one in the translation (e.g., ‘Grundlagen schaffen [lay foundations]’ - ‘pave the way’; ‘ein neues Kapitel aufschlagen [open a new chapter]’ - ‘enter a new period’), or (ii) seems to have been turned into a non-metaphorical expression (e.g., ‘Aufbau (construction)’ - ‘development’). The paper will argue that a translation studies perspective can thus help to understand and explain how people think of and interpret metaphors, and how this is done in different languages and cultures.

**Mojca Schlamberger Brezar**

***The argumentative connective mails and its values in French TV-debates***

The paper presents a research conducted on 6 hours of French TV-debates, namely the emission Polémiques, recorder and transcribed for the purpose of the analysis. In that emission moderators present several speakers arguing about opinions concerning everyday situation in France.

The research was conducted on argumentative sequences of *Polémiques*. It is based on the postulates of argumentation in language, developed by O. Ducrot and J. C. Anscombe, according to which argumentation is expressed by operators, connectives and *topoi*. Our research was conducted on connective *mais* and its argumentative values in analysed discourse.

The connective *mais* (but) introducing concession or opposing was one of most common connectives in oral argumentation of analysed discourse. Its value is to reverse the argumentative orientation. Till now, at least 5 values of *mais* were discovered (O. Ducrot, J. M. Adam). Besides the value called argumentative which is the most common in written argumentation, another 4 values are quite common, each mobilising a different argumentation scheme: gradual *mais*, *mais* of refutation, concessive *mais* and phatic *mais* (discovered by Ducrot in *Occupe-toi d'Amélie*). Gradual *mais* links two explicit arguments oriented to the same conclusion. All the other are polyphonic: the most complex is argumentative *mais* with two explicit arguments and two usually implicit but always opposing conclusions. Concessive *mais* has only two coordinates: two arguments and one conclusion that can be inferred by negation of the first or the second argument. *Mais* of refutation is linking two opposite arguments and is underlining the opposition between them, not between conclusions that could be made. Phatic *mais* is the most common oral connective, appearing at the beginning of a speaker's turn and linking to previous utterances or just context. The argumentative scheme is quite reduced here, the value of opposing, arguing or conceding is implicit, given by the mere connective.

We would expect that in argumentative discourse argumentative *mais* would be the most common: this connective usually mobilises two different *topoi* that are gradual and puts them in opposition and is such the most complex *mais*. The result in oral discourse analysis was that the most common was phatic *mais* which represents a reduced argumentative scheme; it represented 75% of examples (compared to 1% of gradual *mais*, 4% of *mais* of refutation, 12% of *mais* of concession and 8% of argumentative *mais*). Phatic *mais* that speakers employed to argue was several coupled with modal adverbs marking evidence or judgment as for example *mais effectivement*, *mais justement*, *mais bien sur*.

The hypothesis from the beginning that the most commonly used connective in oral argumentative discourse would be argumentative *mais* has not been proven. It seems that in oral discourse it is more important to give a personal warrant than to represent the whole argumentative scheme. So argumentation in language is a part of interpersonal level in communication.

## **Stefan Schneider**

### ***Phrastic modalizers': French disons, Italian diciamo, and Spanish digamos***

The present paper is based on the results of a corpus-based study of "Reduced parenthetical clauses" (RPCs) in Romance and focuses on the use of French "disons", Italian "diciamo", and Spanish "digamos" in contemporary spoken language.

The functions of Fr. "disons" have been described by, among others, Authier-Revuz (1995) and Morel & Danon-Boileau (1998). These functions correspond closely to those Caffi (2001) and Hölker (2003) found for the Italian equivalent "diciamo". The Spanish counterpart "digamos" has received less attention. Some research, though, suggests several correspondences (see Schneider 2004).

In the paper, the pragmatic functions proposed so far are analyzed and documented with data from spoken corpora. The analysis paves the way for a comparison of the uses and frequencies of the three RPCs in their respective languages. According to the findings of the study, these RPCs are devices operating on the propositional content or, as Hare (1970) calls it, the "phrastic". Their frequency is highest in Italian and lowest in French.

Fr. "disons", It. "diciamo", and Sp. "digamos" affect the appropriateness or precision of the referring expressions in their scope. By marking a referring expression as explicitly vague and not completely appropriate, they also operate on the illocution of a statement and permit the speaker to reduce his or her commitment. They also remove responsibility, since the statement is presented as if it were not actually being made but as if it were just requested or called for. Furthermore, the RPCs include the addressee and enlarge the deictic origin of the utterance, thus sharing responsibility with the addressee.

However, Fr. "disons" and its Italian and Spanish equivalents not only mark the inappropriateness of a term. By saying that a referring expression is imperfect, they open up the possibility of re-formulating, expanding or correcting it. The re-formulation remains, though, a proposal and involves a reduced commitment by the speaker.

## **Scott Schwenter**

### ***What makes non-canonical negation non-canonical?***



Many languages present different formal options to their speakers for the realization of sentence negation, where one negative construction is considered the canonical (or “unmarked”) means of negating a sentence, while another construction(s) is taken to be the non-canonical (“marked”) sentence negator. Typically, these non-canonical negatives show greater formal complexity than the canonical form and, concerning their meaning/function, there is widespread agreement that what distinguishes non-canonical from canonical negatives is their emphatic nature (Jespersen 1917; Hopper 1991; Geurts 2000). Other authors note as well the greater presuppositionality of non-canonical negatives vis-à-vis their canonical counterparts (Cinque 1976; Schwegler 1990; Zanuttini 1997).

The goal of this paper is to demonstrate that neither emphasis nor greater presuppositionality are adequate for describing non-canonical negatives cross-linguistically; in fact, these concepts are neither necessary nor sufficient for such an account. Instead, in this paper I propose that non-canonical negatives are crucially sensitive to information structure, and particularly to the discourse accessibility of the proposition that is the target of the negation. Data is presented from non-canonical negatives in various languages/dialects (English and Romance) to illustrate that HOW a proposition enters into the ongoing discourse is a prime determinant of whether or not a given non-canonical construction can be utilized.

To take but one example, in colloquial spoken English there is a (wholly undescribed) use of the non-canonical not ... either construction that can be found in rejoinders, but only if the proposition being denied has been explicitly asserted by an interlocutor (normally in the immediately preceding turn). Notice the felicity of either in (1a), compared with its clear infelicity (indicated by #) in (1b):

- (1a) John: My professor is going to give me an A+.  
Mary: She's not either!
- (1b) John: I wonder if my professor is going to give me an A+.  
Mary: She's not (#either)!

The difference in felicity between the two examples is due to the asserted (1a) versus non-asserted (1b) proposition derivable from John's utterances. The non-canonical not ... either construction can only be used felicitously to deny asserted propositions as in (1a). Similarly, in Brazilian Portuguese, the difference between the “embracing” negation Não VP não and the strictly postverbal VP não is also sensitive to the discourse accessibility of the negated proposition: both of these non-canonical negatives can be employed to deny propositions that are explicitly accessible in the discourse, but only the embracing form can be used in denials of inferrable propositions. Such specific accessibility requirements set these two non-canonical forms apart from the canonical Não VP, which has no restrictions of this kind.

The results of this research have important consequences for conceptualizing the distinction between canonical and non-canonical negatives. What makes the latter non-canonical is not their emphatic or presuppositional nature, but rather the discourse-licensing conditions enabling their use, conditions not shared by canonical negatives. A broader implication of this study is that the concept of discourse accessibility and its relation to linguistic form needs to be extended beyond reference to entities/events to discourse-accessible propositions.

## **Ylva Hard af Segerstad** ***The pragmatics of SMS***

This paper presents some of the findings of a linguistic analysis of SMS messages written by Swedish users (Hård af Segerstad 2002). The introduction and popularity of mobile phones and mobile text messaging has come to evoke hype about the impacts that the new technology is likely to have, just as with many earlier communication technologies (Turkle 1995). Central to the hype are concerns about the way that standard varieties and conventional linguistic and communicative practices are affected (Thurlow 2003). Similar concerns and a ‘moral panic’ about language use and language change are found in the Swedish media. Compared to standard written language, language in SMS messages is often reduced in a number of ways. These reductions often reflect a speech-like quality.

Language use in SMS is influenced by several interrelated factors. Situational parameters such as relation between interlocutors, topic and goal of communication have an effect on language use. Parameters related to the medium, such as the technological settings of text input and limitations in messages size, also bear impact on language use (cf. Herring, under review). Compared to other modes of CMC, e.g. instant messaging and web chat, text communication via mobile phones is more constrained vis-à-vis production and perception conditions. Most commonly, messages are produced on the tiny keypad of the phone and are limited to 160 characters in length. Messages are read on the small screen of the phone, and must often be scrolled through to read the entire message.

Because most SMS communication is interpersonal communication between people who know each other, one may be brief when relying on pragmatic and shared background knowledge. The character limit of the messages themselves and the cumbersome text input makes this terse and otherwise rude behavior acceptable (cf.

Grinter and Eldridge 2001; Döring 2002; Hård af Segerstad 2002; Telia/Temo 2002; Ling 2003;). However, it seems that this view might be too general. Despite the supposed awkwardness of text input, people seem to be quite willing to invest time and effort in creating and tailoring their messages and sharing content.

Results of the present analysis of text messages written by Swedish users support previous findings of language use in SMS (cf. Thurlow 2003, Bodomo and Lee 2002 and Kasesniemi 2003). Examples of features that are characteristic to language in SMS, as well as various ways in which language is reduced are: shortenings, contractions and clippings, letter/number homophones, non-conventional spellings, accent stylizations, omission of punctuation and word spacing, excessive use of punctuation marks, emoticons, inflectional endings reduced. Creative, new abbreviations in analogy with unconventional abbreviations of English words were found, based on Swedish words. English words and phrases showed up in the middle of messages otherwise written in Swedish.

Whether SMS and CMC conventions in writing are spreading to other domains remains to be seen. A project investigating school children's texts in formal and informal settings is now in progress at the department of linguistics at Göteborg University in Sweden.

## **Gunter Senft**

### ***The case: The Trobriand Islanders versus H. Paul Grice: Kilivila and the Gricean maxims of quality and manner***

The Gricean maxim of quality "Try to make your contribution one that is true" and his maxim of manner "Be perspicuous", specifically "Avoid obscurity of expression" and "Avoid ambiguity" are not at all observed in Kilivila. Kilivila is the Austronesian language of the Trobriand Islanders of Papua New Guinea. The speakers of this language metalinguistically label and differentiate a number of "situational-intentional varieties". One of these varieties or registers is called "biga sopa". This label can be glossed as "joking or lying speech, indirect speech, speech which is not vouched for". The "biga sopa" is absolutely characteristic for the Trobriand Islanders' way of speaking - it constitutes the default register of Trobriand discourse, so to speak. If hearers signal that they may be insulted by a certain speech act, speakers can always recede from what they have said by labelling it as "sopa", as a joke or as something they did not really mean to say. Thus "sopa" represents the speakers' unmarked non-commitment to truth. Trobriand etiquette prescribes that hearers must not be offended at all by those utterances that were explicitly labelled as "sopa". This paper briefly describes the concept of "sopa", presents its features, and discusses and illustrates its functions and its use within Trobriand society. Having presented this "anti-Gricean" language variety which is so important for Trobriand interaction, the paper ends with a discussion of the relevance of Gricean maxims especially for non-Indoeuropean languages spoken in relative small speech communities.

## **Sorina Serbanescu**

### ***La cohérence thématique des constructions clivées***

Les constructions clivées, formes de l'emphase syntaxique, constituent le plus souvent un point de rupture dans la continuité discursive ou textuelle. Elles représentent des dispositifs de focalisation et de thématisation et elles introduisent un bloc référentiellement nouveau, ce qui rend souvent difficile le décèlement du fond commun (le thème ou la présupposition) de la nouvelle information du discours (le propos ou le foyer), ce qui peut engendrer des implicatures nonvéridictionnelles multiples.

Du point de vue syntaxique les clivées paraissent simples à interpréter et il n'y a en général que peu d'ambiguïté pour ce type de construction. Elles sont pourtant des constructions focalisantes dont on sait ou dont on peut faire l'hypothèse qu'elles dérivent de référents précédents, dans lesquelles on continue à pouvoir reconnaître une prédication d'identification combinée à quelque chose qui ressemble plus ou moins à une relativisation, mais avec des particularités qui imposent de reconnaître un type particulier de construction qui obéit à ses propres règles.

Deuxièmement, il existe des constructions clivées à dislocations qui, même si elles sont identifiables, posent encore plus de problèmes pour leur interprétation.

Si l'on peut dire que, de façon générale, les clivées sont plus faciles à interpréter que les disloquées, la simple analyse des constituants de chacune de ces constructions ainsi que leur position dans la structure syntaxique ne nous fournit pas suffisamment d'indications sur cette potentialité d'ambiguïté.

Il s'agit, en effet, de la densité des constituants syntaxiques qui permettent de quantifier l'information. Une densité d'information (P. Blache 2004) faible est associée à une variabilité interprétative plus grande.

La difficulté d'interprétation des constructions clivées nous a amené à adopter une approche similaire aux grammaires de construction qui proposaient (Fillmore 1993, Goldberg 1995) une vision d'analyse qui se veut mieux adaptée à la réalité des données langagières en recourant à une description exploitant en même

temps différentes informations provenant de différents domaines linguistiques : la pragmatique, la sémantique, psycholinguistique etc.

Repérables au niveau de la phrase, thèmes et propos s'enchaînent au fil du texte : les progressions thématiques contribuent à la cohésion textuelle.

Le thème d'un acte est en général issu du constituant qui le précède immédiatement. En partant de l'étude des clivées, on est amené à distinguer les relations interactives de thématisation, de cadre et de préparation, qui peuvent, combinées ou non à des expressions référentielles anaphoriques, guider l'identification du thème.

La présente étude insistera sur les fonctions de cohérence thématique des constructions clivées :

- signaler et/ou focaliser un constituant nominal ou appositionnel
- engendrer des rapports de propriété distante correspondante entre ses syntagmes (clitique et catégories disloquées)
- relever le choix du thème
- marquer le déplacement entre les thèmes – thème principal et thème secondaire
- opérer un effet de rupture et introduire un nouveau thème

Ce type d'analyse présente un triple intérêt descriptif, cognitif et computationnel car elle fournit des indications sur la complexité d'une construction tant par les relations syntaxiques que, notamment, par une évaluation de leur importance en ce qui concerne la cohérence de l'enchaînement thématique.

### **Samantha Sercovich & Vladimir Zegarac**

#### ***Self-presentation and power: The Wichi people of Argentina, a case in point***

Self-presentation in social (communicative) interaction is generally considered in the context of face and it is typically investigated from a social-descriptive perspective. The main aim of this paper is to show: (a) that a more descriptively adequate and fine-grained account of self-presentation should focus on the social dimension of power, and (b) that the dimension of power should be understood in the context of the modular view of the mind, in general, and social cognition, in particular (see Jackendoff 1993, Sperber 1996).

We argue that the integration of the dimension of power in the modular view of the mind provides the basis for a framework within which a given culture-specific characteristic of self-presentation can be naturally explained as a joint function of some universal features of human cognition and specific characteristics of the social environment.

On Fodor's (1983) view cognitive modules have a number of features including domain specificity and informational encapsulation. Sperber (1996) makes a case for the extending the term module to cognitive mechanisms which involve processing, rather than informational, encapsulation. He argues that the metarepresentational capacity, which plays a key role in explaining human communication and culture, is modular in the latter sense of the term. On this view, the metarepresentational module is characterized as a system of sub-modules which pass information to each other but each of which processes information in a specific domain. Social cognition and the self-identity can be seen as sub-modules of the metarepresentational module. In this paper we argue that the social cognition module's decisions about appropriate interactional behavior are crucially guided by information received from the power-relations module, and that this assumption makes it possible to predict the social origin and the cultural stability of specific patterns of self-presentation in intercultural contact.

We look at a range of relevant ethnographic data (collected by one of us in 2004) relating to the Wichi people of Argentina - a community which lives under complex social pressures and whose communicative behaviour reveals a complex pattern of self-presentation which, we argue, can be properly interpreted and explained in the context of our chosen framework. The paper concludes with a brief consideration of the implications of our approach and analysis for social planning.

### **Alexandre Sevigny**

#### ***Formal pragmatics: Can empiricism and social meaning meet?***

In this poster presentation we present iDIG (Implemented Discourse Information Grammar) which is an implementation of Discourse Information Grammar (DIG), a theoretical and practical model of natural language understanding. More specifically, we will examine the problem of coordination and simulate the processing of simple constative utterances in their discursive context. DIG is based on empirically defining and viewing language processing as primarily concerned with the reception and transmission of information accumulated in the temporal course of communication. It assumes that human language processing has much to do with auto-associative recall and pattern matching. This takes the focus of formal pragmatics away from the notion of simulating and predicting linguistic behaviour and places it on lexicon/encyclopedia construction and the time-based and information-based pattern matching algorithms.

Our research group has built a small natural language processing engine based on DIG. The main problem we faced when taking an information-based approach to building a DIG parser (called iDIG for “Implementation of DIG”) was coming to a detailed analysis of information deemed relevant by humans as it pertains to dynamic, time-linear language processing.

When we communicate, we indeed do more than send/receive words and structures even when we are merely “talking to ourselves”. Numerous other factors enter the picture, such as logical structure, discourse type, intention, on-the-fly dynamic monitoring and subsequent self-editing when necessary. On the receiving end, there are errors in anticipation, occasional confusion over deictic references, as well as perceived attitudes and implicit information. Given the complexity underlying the natural language understanding process, analyzing these processes too abstractly risks yielding only a partial perspective on what is happening in the mind. For instance, humans, in everyday life, subconsciously hold numerous implicit assumptions that lead them to gloss over remarkably complex details. Consequently, when discussing natural language processing phenomena they are likely to unwittingly gloss over many subtleties underlying natural language processing and its interface with social knowledge. For example, how can such errors of understanding as ‘faulty anticipation’, ‘topic derailment’, etc. be possible in non-pathological subjects? The answer to such questions requires that we look at the processing mechanisms of natural language understanding in great detail, beyond what we are normally conscious of. Implicit (viz. unsuspected) a priori assumptions can make it very difficult to judge what the exact object of study is when conducting empirical research.

In this poster presentation, we will present the functioning of our DIG implementation and also the importance of its results for linguistic pragmatics, and certain aspects of the linguistic underpinnings of the theory of artificial intelligence. In particular, we will examine fundamental aspects underlying Alan Turing’s behavioural framing of the question of whether machines can be intelligent. The results of our research appear to lend credence to and, at the same time, provide a unique formal framework for investigations in Relevance theory.

## **Benjamin Shaer**

### ***Discourse properties of topicalization and the syntax and semantics of fragments***

An open question in linguistics and philosophy concerns the status of fragments like ‘To the supermarket’ in answer to ‘Where are you going?’ or ‘From Germany!’ to indicate the origin of some product. The question is whether such fragments should be thought of as sentences, syntactically and semantically speaking, being as such the pronounced parts of structurally complete but otherwise unpronounced sentences; or simply as phrases, which a speaker can, however, use to make assertions (or perform other speech acts). One answer to this question has been offered by Merchant, who claims that fragments are indeed structurally complete sentences, in which the fragment has been moved from its canonical position to sentence-initial position. This would, it seems, make English fragments a form of topicalization structure (TOP), a standard instance of which is ‘John Mary saw’. The only difference between fragments and such standard instances of TOP would then be that the main part of the latter but not the former sentences is also pronounced. What I shall argue is that such an assimilation of fragments to TOP does not go through and that the former are more plausibly treated as phrases, as claimed by Stainton and others, basing my arguments on the discourse properties of these structures.

One prediction of this ‘TOP’ analysis is that the ‘fronted’ elements in fragments should have the same discourse properties as those in TOP. Intuitively, however, this seems incorrect, given that the fragment answer to the question above is equivalent to ‘I’m going to the supermarket’ and not to ‘To the supermarket I’m going’. As it happens, the infelicity of the TOP answer can be accounted for in terms of Birner and Ward’s requirement that the fronted element in TOP be a ‘link’, an expression whose referent is related to a set of entities already mentioned in or readily inferable from previous discourse, such a set evoked by a ‘trigger’ expression in previous discourse. In the following dialogue from Birner and Ward (1998), for example, ‘baseball’ is a ‘link’ to the set of spectator sports and ‘football’ the ‘trigger’ for this set: ‘A: Do you watch football? B: Yeah. Baseball I like a lot better.’

Now, since this (widely accepted) ‘link’ requirement on TOP is not one that fragments appear to obey, it seems fair to ask what underwrites this difference between fragments and standard instances of TOP. The purely ‘phonetic’ difference suggested by Merchant is not an obvious candidate, suggesting that fragments may not be a form of TOP after all. What I shall show is that fragments more closely resemble a different kind of ‘fronting’ structure — namely, the ‘hanging topic’ structure (HT) exemplified in ‘John, Mary saw him’ — which, like fragments, need not obey a ‘link’ requirement. Moreover, the ‘fronted’ element in HT is often claimed to be syntactically independent of its ‘host’ sentence — that is, to be an unembedded phrase, just as Stainton and others have analysed fragments.

**Wes Sharrock, Shirley Truckle, Tommaso Colombino et al**

***What changes? An analysis of modifications in the organization of talk over four sessions of child psychotherapy***

How do we know that a psychotherapy works? One way to test its efficacy is by means of randomized control trials (RCT) of outcome, such as those used to test the effectiveness of treatments in evidence based medicine (e.g. Sackett, 1996). It is, however, arguable that RCTs are insensitive to the specific features of particular kinds of therapeutic interventions (e.g. Elliot, 2001; cf. Fonagy et al, 2002) and that the objectification of what would count, in the therapy's own terms, as demonstrable effects of its treatment practices requires grounding in a careful description and analysis of specific interventions. It is here that conversation analysis (CA) can help, especially when it is carried jointly with practitioners. CA can be used to capture the complexity of the group interaction and develop a sensitive portrayal of the refinements and nuances of the therapist's sensibility to the changes in communicative conduct of clients. We demonstrate this with an instance of psychoanalytic child psychotherapy with children entering schools that is aimed to increase their emotional resilience. Our analysis captures (i) the differences in how the communicative conduct of individual children changes over the course of therapy, (ii) how the group interaction changes, as well as the therapeutically relevant meanings of the changes. In effect, our analysis allows us to understand how the psychotherapists evaluate the extent and nature of transformations occurring within and between group meetings and how these map onto formal conversational structures.

**Rebecca Shaw & Celia Kitzinger**

***Memory as an interactional achievement: Remembering callers and their problems in second calls to a home birth helpline***

This paper draws on a corpus of more than 70 audio-taped telephone conversations between call-taker and callers to a (UK) Home Birth help-line. This is a voluntary organisation, offering support and information for women who have encountered problems when planning a home birth. Around two-fifths of callers to the helpline make more than one call to the same call-taker – to report on progress and to seek further help. Conversation analysis is used to analyse these second (and subsequent) calls for what they show about the relationship between call-taker and caller, as it develops over time and as it is displayed through an orientation to the remembered details of the caller's life. In second (and subsequent) calls, both call-taker and caller must negotiate the issue of what can be taken for granted as remembered from an earlier conversation and what must be re-told. This paper explores how participants manage, display and negotiate their 'memory' of the previous conversations – including, for example, the caller's medical history, the reported attitudes of her health care providers, and aspects of her personal circumstances (number of previous pregnancies, support network, distance from the nearest hospital etc.). The findings focus on: how caller self-identifications orient to being part of a second (or subsequent) interaction; how caller and caller-taker formulate what the earlier conversation was 'about'; how the call-taker displays and claims remembering the caller and her problems; and instances of when memory fails e.g. requests from the call-taker for 'reminders', and callers' tellings 'for another first time' (thereby displaying their inference that the call-taker will not have remembered). These findings show how subsequent interactions depend upon and are built off earlier ones and illustrate the importance of memory in constructing relationships over time. The findings from the research are related to the conversation analytic and discursive psychological literatures on remembering and forgetting (Edwards and Potter, 1992; Goodwin, 1987; Locke and Edwards, 2003) and used to generate practical guidelines for dealing with second and subsequent calls on help-lines.

**Janet Shibamoto-Smith & Shigeko Okamoto**

***Constructing linguistic femininity in contemporary Japan: Scholarly and popular representations***

Linguists have recently come to recognize that the (vast) linguistic literature describing the distinct speech patterns of modern "Japanese women's language" does not constitute a neutral description of speaking practice for women throughout Japan but rather ideologically saturated descriptions of prescriptive norms linked to macro-level ideologies of femininity and to Standard Japanese. It is, however, yet unclear whether these norms, centered as they are on specific linguistic features in Standard Japanese, are in fact what ordinary Japanese understand as speech norms, or ideal speech patterns, for women. This study reexamines how gender norms for speech are constructed and disseminated in contemporary Japanese society. We investigate what kinds of speech styles have been treated as ideal in a variety of contemporary materials that contribute to societal norm

construction. Our data are drawn from the following sources: 1. linguists' "official" presentations of gendered speech patterns, 2. presentations of onna-rashisa 'womanliness', especially, linguistic femininity, in several popular how-to-books, and 3. representations of linguistic femininity three popular T.V. dramas which include characters who are speakers of regional dialects (e.g., Sendai dialect, Kyoto dialect) as well as Standard Japanese. We then consider the results of our analysis vis-à-vis the historically preceding gender and speech norms examined by the other papers on this panel.

The results of our analysis reveal similarities and differences between the representations of women's language by linguists and those in popular culture materials. They show that certain features, especially those related to general interactional styles (e.g. speak politely, speak gently, and in a refined manner), are included in both linguists' and non-linguists' representations and that they are precisely those features most akin to the gender and language norms that have been emphasized persistently from pre-modern times (cf. Inoue 2002). However, contemporary linguists' representations tend to include more explicit references to specific linguistic (especially, morphological and lexical) forms in Standard Japanese, a variety developed in the nation-building projects of Meiji Japan. Such references are absent or only made implicitly in non-linguists' representations. Further, popular culture materials show they can be sites for negotiation and contestation for the conception of linguistic femininity.

We then consider the implications for the role of linguists as the "authoritative voices" claiming a special speech style in Standard Japanese as women's language. Our study suggests that it is questionable whether gender norms based on linguists' understanding of Standard Japanese "Japanese women's language" are in fact fully recognized and accepted by speakers in general as ideal feminine speech patterns relevant to their own speech. We conclude that the "content" of gender norms conceived by real speakers cannot be taken for granted, and that it is important to investigate how real women and men understand and negotiate gender norms for speech, as they make use of a range of linguistic variables to index the various aspects of their personae in real interactions.

## **Yuka Shigemitsu**

### ***Different interpretations of pauses, Japanese, Chinese and Americans***

The purpose of this study is to clarify different interpretations of pauses by Japanese, Chinese and Americans and to see their different responses and reactions to pauses during natural conversations. Also this study is to see who pauses most during the conversation, how differently the three nationalities respond and react to each other's pauses, and how differently they interpret each other's pauses.

The data is taken from the three groups (group A, B, and C). Group A consists of two Americans and two Japanese. Group B also consists of two Americans and two Japanese although the participants are different from those in Group A. Group C consists of two Japanese who are the same members as those in Group B and two Chinese. In all data, the participants spoke in English. These English conversations are recorded approximately 30 minutes. Each group conversation was audio and video taped. Follow-up interviews were conducted immediately after the recordings for each participant.

In this presentation, group B and C are focused because they have the same controlled context. The findings of Group A are analyzed to support the findings of Group B and C.

The general findings are as follows. 1) Americans and Japanese/Chinese have different perspective on pauses. 2) Americans try to fill the gaps during the conversation and while they are talking, few pauses are found. 3) Chinese and Japanese do not mind long pause.

Therefore, different responses and reactions to the pauses are found from the participants with different background in the data.

The findings from Group B (two Japanese and two Americans): 1) The Japanese participants produce many and longer pauses than the Americans. 2) The Americans try to fill the gaps by raising new topics, adding more comments and so on while the Japanese participants feel that they are interrupted. 3) The Americans spoke too fast without pauses, Japanese cannot take turns for most of the part. 4) This different perspective of pauses causes uneasiness and uncomfortable during the conversation.

The findings from Group A (two Japanese and two Americans) support the findings from Group B. This conversation has more pauses and the first starters after the pauses are the Americans. They continue to talk compared with the Japanese participants.

The findings from Group C (two Japanese and two Chinese speaking in English): 1) The Japanese and Chinese participants have almost the same length and frequencies of pauses during the conversation. 2) The Japanese and Chinese participants do not mind long pauses (averaged 7 seconds). 3) They do not try to fill the pauses by saying something. 4) This similar perception of pauses creates the harmonious atmosphere and the interpersonal relationship among the participants confirms that everything goes well.

As this research shows, different nationalities (Japanese, Chinese and Americans in the study) react and respond differently to the pauses. Consequently, different perception of pauses will develop unsuccessful management of communication. The result will contribute to prevent this misperception

**Momoyo Shimazu & Reiko Nishikawa**

***Using interactional strategies in storytelling activities by learners of Japanese as a second language***

Telling a story requires, at the very least, a certain commonality (e.g. common language, knowledge, experience) shared by the participants of storytelling in order to exchange ideas on the story. This commonality is usually negotiated during the storytelling (Clark, 1996, etc.). In the case of learners of a second language who have just met in a new class, this requirement is not easily accomplished. Learners have to first assess each other's level of the second language and personal backgrounds, and find ways of performing as a competent narrator or listener in the target language.

In this regard, the present study examines interactional strategies used by learners of Japanese as a second language in storytelling activities which give them opportunities to experience and practice the above requirement. With a conversation analytical technique (cf. Kasper, in press), this study demonstrates how learners of Japanese had employed their own interactional strategies to accomplish these activities, and how their use of interactional strategies had contributed to establishing their commonality for understanding the story.

The data for this study were collected from audio and video recordings of learners' storytelling activities in an intermediate Japanese class. The participants were all undergraduate freshman students at a Japanese university. Storytelling activities were designed to take place in groups of four students. In each group, one student was assigned to take the narrator's role, while another was assigned to serve as the primary listener. The other two were present in storytelling as byplayers (Goodwin, M. 1997) who did not necessarily actively join the storytelling. However, one of them was required to take notes of the narrator's story for a subsequent assignment to type it up. Before his/her storytelling, the narrator was asked to choose a card on which the storytelling topic was written and required to tell a story based on the topic. The primary listener was instructed to be responsible for eliciting the narrator's story to make it understandable for all group members so that the note-taker could write out the story.

Qualitative analysis of interactions in learners' storytelling activities shows that they use interactive resources (Hall, 1995) available to them as tools for establishing and maintaining commonality between themselves, which is necessary to accomplish these activities. The narrator tried to use these resources to transfer his/her certain point of views on the story and elicit desired responses from the listener. However, these strategies often went beyond the control of the narrator. By applying the interactive resources into their locally-situated contexts, the listeners also actively engaged in co-constructing the story. In other words, learners demonstrated themselves as competent speakers of Japanese by using interactinal strategies and controlling conversational contexts, such as turn taking and changing of position in the participation framework (Goffman, 1981). Following the notion of L2 user (Cook, 2002), this study regards learners' use of interactional strategies in storytelling activities as social acts for becoming L2 speakers. Implications for L2 research and future studies are also discussed.

**Rumiko Shinzato**

***(Inter)subjectivity: Japanese syntax and grammaticalization***

Although rarely attended in mainstream linguistics, the significance of the notions of (inter)subjectivity has long been recognized in Japan by Haga (1954), and also independently by Benveniste (1971 [1958]). This paper argues for the centrality of the notions of subjectivity (the speaker's attitude towards the proposition) and intersubjectivity (the illocutionary force directed towards the addressee) in Japanese grammar, and the implicational relationship (intersubjectivity implies subjectivity) that exists between them. Specifically, it points out the relevance of such an implicational relationship to Japanese syntactic organization (predicate order), and diachronic change (unidirectionality in grammaticalization).

It is well recognized in Japanese linguistics that predicates are ordered in the linear order of increasing chinjutsu (roughly modality), in which subjective (juttei) elements come before intersubjective (dentatsu) elements, as in the latter embracing (or implying) the former. This order is NOT reversible.

(1)

[[[shibai -ga -hajimaru] ka] ne]  
[[[play -SUB -start] Wonder]Question]

[[[jojutsu 'proposition'(I)] + juttei 'subjectivity'(II)] + dentatsu 'intersubjectivity'(III)]

with I only	'The play will start.'
with I + II	'I wonder if the play will start.'
with I + II + III	'(I wonder, therefore ask) Is the play starting?'

This syntactic unidirectionality is in accordance with diachronic unidirectionality from subjectification to intersubjectification, as in Traugott (2002, 2003). Some studies which corroborate this unidirectional path are:

Traugott and Dasher (1987): mental verbs > speech act verbs  
Strauss and Sohn (1998): *te shimau* (affective marker > social dialect/camaraderie)  
Suzuki (1998): *wake* (speaker's inference > invited hearer's inference)

The match in unidirectionality in the synchronic and diachronic arenas is not accidental, but rather is cognitively motivated in the sense that mental processing is a prerequisite for speech acts (Nakau 1994, Leech 1983). Taking (1) for instance, we first wonder if the play is starting or not, then ask the hearer for clarification, not vice-versa.

## **Martha Shiro**

### ***Venezuelan children's use of epistemic modality in the construction of narrative stance***

In every utterance, speakers express their attitude towards its propositional content (Stubbs 1986), conveying personal beliefs and points of view, and indicating thus the degree to which they are committed to the truth of the propositions produced. These attitudes are encoded in the utterance by means of expressions related to epistemic modality (Palmer 1986). Modality, as defined in this study, is a pragmatic concept related to the speaker's communicative purpose. It can be expressed grammatically by means of mood selection, verb forms (modal verbs, verbs of cognition, etc.) or other constructions such as adverbs or clauses. Studying modality, then, is one way of revealing the intricate relations between form and meaning. Research in child language suggests that epistemic modality emerges in later stages of development (Day 2001). Given its evaluative function, the study of modality can also shed light on how narrative discourse is organized. This study focuses on children's developing ability to use epistemic modality in the construction of narrative point of view.

The research questions that guide this study are:

- What linguistic forms are used to express epistemic modality in Venezuelan children's narratives and how does this use vary with age, sex or socio-economic status?
- Do modal expressions vary with the different narrative (or discourse) types in which they are produced?
- In what ways do modal expressions contribute to the construction of narrative point of view?

The sample consists of 444 narratives produced by 113 Venezuelan school-age children administered in 4 narrative tasks eliciting personal and fictional stories. The prompts used to elicit the stories were of 2 types: i. open-ended prompts, which gave the child the opportunity to decide the topic of the story (e.g. Tell me about a time when you were scared or Tell me your favorite film), and ii. structured prompts, which served as a scaffold for the child (e.g. I was cutting bread in the kitchen and I cut my finger. Did anything similar happen to you? for personal narratives and a wordless film, *Picnic*, for fictional narratives). The interviews, in which at least 5 types of interaction can be identified (an initial warm-up conversation and 4 narrative tasks), were transcribed and all utterances were coded for epistemic modality. The coding scheme, adapted from Chafe (1986) and used in Shiro (1996), consists of 4 categories: expressions referring to source of knowledge (evidence, report, hypothesis), mode of knowing (belief, induction, hearsay, deduction), degree of certainty and hedging. The stories were subjected to quantitative and qualitative analyses. Results suggest that fourth graders (high SES in particular) use significantly more modal expressions than first graders. Moreover, children use modal expressions in qualitatively different ways in fictional and personal narratives, specifically in the use of these linguistic resources for the construction of narrative stance.

## **Hossein Shokouhi**

### ***A pragmatic-cognitive analysis of Persian deictics: A case in conversation language***

Deictic pronouns, as discussed by Fillmore (1975), Lyons (1979) and Levinson (1983), are known as pointing outwards to assign reference to an entity. In Persian, the referential devices 'in' and 'oun', 'this' and 'that' respectively are used both deictically and anaphorically. The two devices although known as denoting proximal and distal relationships, do not merely designate reference to a close or remote entity within a text. The grammatical explanation provided for these devices is only syntactic and on the surface. This paper argues that the use of these devices in ordinary casual conversation extends beyond the textual boundaries, although much less than in English as studied by Himmlmann (1996), and their interpretation is a pragmatic and cognitive one depending on the relationship between the speaker, the hearer, their state of knowledge in the discourse, and the



text in which they occur. The analysis of a big corpus of live conversational data has revealed that textual closeness between a demonstrative and its antecedent does not always reflect the cognitive closeness between the speaker and the entity under question. The data has further revealed that the distal demonstrative 'oun' in Persian has the inclination to refer to human referents whereas the proximal one more to inanimate ones.

**Maria Silva**

***Critical discourse analysis: A three-dimensional approach to the study of social relations of power in classroom discursive practices***

In recent years, new School Courses Guidelines have been introduced in Portuguese secondary schools to encourage constructivist reforms whose central claim is that learning is a constructive process, not a product. According to the guidelines, the fundamental aim of learning a foreign language is to foster communication skills. In order to meet the demand, the development of oral communicative ability has been targeted. Under these circumstances, conventional teacher-centred classroom practice cannot be the most effective context for promoting learner's development of communicative competence/ communicative strategies.

Given the central role of communication in the process of learning, Discourse Analysis is of immediate interest to language teachers because it offers them the opportunity to monitor the input students are exposed to and, consequently, the effectiveness of their teaching practice.

In this paper, we will concentrate on the verbal interaction between a teacher and students in real context of a classroom aiming at the study of negotiation and the presentation of social processes that characterise classroom discourse. In doing so, we will adopt a social perspective and follow Fairclough's model of Critical Discourse Analysis to describe discursive practice. Our objective is to show how discursive rights and duties are distributed and explain forms of control that characterise this genre. CDA provides a better understanding of social-cultural aspects of texts as it combines a linguistic text analysis with a social analysis. It concentrates on the processes by which power is reproduced or reinforced and roles are established through language.

Fairclough's paradigm entails three levels of analysis- text, discursive practice and sociocultural practice -which imply three stages of analysis. A descriptive stage, which consists of text analysis, deals with "analytical properties of texts connected to the interpersonal meanings" (Fairclough, 1992: 137). The interpretative stage, which consists of intertextual analysis, focuses on the processes of production and the processes of interpretation. The explicative stage, which consists of social analysis, aims at explaining the power relations that emerge from the discursive practice.

We will introduce a hybrid system of discourse analysis aimed at studying text properties, which uncovers the way interactional control is exercised. Starting with the study of the exchange structure, we will then use features from Sinclair and Coulthard's (1975) model of classroom discourse analysis, including some changes and adaptations proposed by Jamila Boulima (1999) and Roger Nunn (2001). This system, which allowed us to classify all the speech acts that occurred in the data, offers us the opportunity to determine what roles are attributed to both the teacher and the students.

We will contrast two types of discourses analysed, in order to present and explain power relationships that arise from these two different types of discourses. Taking a piece of example of classroom discourse as institutional discourse genre, we will draw our attention to how it contributes to the reproduction of the status quo and examine some pedagogical implications. We will also present and analyse a piece of an alternative type of discourse so as to support the idea that it is feasible, through emancipatory discourse, to empower students to collectively take part in the process of the construction of their meaning/learning.

We strongly believe that this work may change "the widespread underestimation of the significance of the language in the production, maintenance and change of social relation of power" (Fairclough, 1989:1).

**Elena Skapoulli**

***Easy man, easy...: Slang and English-Greek style shifting among teenagers in Cyprus***

The global dimension of locally situated linguistic practices has become an increasingly important issue within pragmatics and related fields (Coupland 2003). In particular, the ways that English is used by speakers of other languages provide a glimpse of this emerging social domain of language use (Kachru, 1997; Pennycook, 2003; Phillipson, 1999). Pennycook argues that detaching English from its traditional connections with nationality provides a more dynamic way of understanding its spread. This view of "global" English attends to the ways that the functions of particular linguistic resources can be reallocated in the diverse contexts in which they are embedded (Blommaert, 2003). In keeping with this argument, this paper suggests that English can be used by Greek-speaking teenagers to index their passage into adolescence. As Bucholtz (2001) points out, young people can position themselves as teenagers through the use of a generation-specific register, and particularly slang. In

this study I argue that English can be used as a form of slang that embodies coolness by virtue of its association with global youth culture. Thus, Greek-speaking adolescents perform the youth identity “teenager” – a social category in which kids aspire to participate -- by adopting English slang terms, and by using English itself as a form of slang.

Drawing on a corpus of data (recorded interactions, participant observations, and interviews) collected during a yearlong ethnographic study at a multiethnic middle school in Cyprus, this paper examines the ways in which Eastern European immigrant and native Cypriot students between 12-16 years old use English as slang to signal and claim an age-based identity. For example, in the following excerpt a 12-year-old girl uses English slang (marked in capitals) to admonish her 16-year-old peer when he threatens to hurt a mutual acquaintance out of jealousy:

Mark: Enna tou spaso ta moutra tou Timmy kamian imera tzi en na ginei/

(I'm gonna smash Timmy's face some day and we'll have/)

Gabriela: EASY MAN, EASY

Mark: Eipa tou shilies fores na men mashetai malakies tzai pale mashetai [...]

(I told him a million times not to act bullshit all the time and he still does. [...])

In this exchange, both the action and form of Gabriela's utterance index claims to a youth identity similar to Mark's. By offering advice and using English slang to do so Gabriela asserts comembership as a competent teenager despite being substantially younger than him. English thus becomes a fundamental stylistic resource in Gabriela's attempt to create a teenage self. Such brief exchanges form basic interactional rituals through which a “teen” identity is expressed and experienced.

In considering slang as an interactional practice for managing youth identity and by analyzing this distinctive population, this study contributes both to research on the spread of English, which has tended to draw attention to adult speakers, and to linguistic research on youth culture, which has primarily focused on Anglo-American contexts.

## **Karianne Skovholt & Jan Svennevig**

### ***The methodology of conversation analysis: Positivism or social constructivism?***

CA has become an increasingly influential approach, but has also attracted much critical debate about its methodological principles. There seems to be widespread confusion on what exactly is CA's position in current debates in the Philosophy of Science. CA has been characterized by certain scholars as “pure positivism” and by others as “radical constructivism”.

The methodological principles formulated within CA seem to point in both directions. Many of the explicit methodological remarks by Harvey Sacks (1984) seem to invoke a positivist position, relating CA to “primitive sciences” and defining its goal as finding the “machinery” of conversation and describing it “formally” in terms of “rules” constituting a “grammar”. On the other hand, the emphasis on “contingence”, “achievement” and “negotiation” in much of the central CA literature points in direction of a more constructivist perspective.

The methodology of CA is claimed to be inductive, based on “unmotivated looking”. However, on this point CA has justifiably been criticized for having a naïve conception of scientific enquiry. We argue that the practice of CA, by formulating rules and principles of interaction (eg. turn-taking, preference), necessarily involves an inferential step from observation of a surprising fact to an explanatory hypothesis. The regular patterns discovered in CA are explained in terms of general norms and rules. This practice is based on abduction rather than induction, according to the principles of scientific discovery described by Charles Peirce.

The formulation of “rules” in CA falls within a pragmatic theory of science, offering functional rather than nomothetic explanations. The rules are normative principles rather than general “laws” with predictive power, and as such, they motivate action in a functional rather than a determining way. In this respect CA resembles certain functionalist and pragmatic approaches to communication within linguistics and philosophy, where the norms are formulated as “felicity conditions”, “strategies” and “principles”. However, in contrast to these approaches, CA does not relate the normative structures to conventional or individual goals of interactants, and thus it does not seek an explanatory level beyond the procedural norms for the local production of contributions. This, we argue, creates certain problems for a coherent description of action, for instance in accounting for why disagreeing utterances are produced in a dispreferred format on some occasions, and in a preferred format on others. We argue that CA could benefit from taking into consideration conventional goals associated with typified activities (or genres) (eg party conversation vs. political debate) and social relationships (eg. acquaintances vs. family members).

In contrast to radical constructivist positions in certain versions of Ethnomethodology, many CA scholars seem to consider conversational actions and sequential procedures as conventional and recognizable to a certain extent (although this is seldom discussed explicitly). This allows CA to claim that certain actions are (attempted) performed even when the interlocutor does not respond to them. This opens for analysis of

“strategic” action (such as ignoring and interrupting the interlocutor), which is problematic for a radical constructivist position.

**Kim Sleurs**

***So when will this article appear in the press?: The influence of client expectations on the writing of press releases***

This paper reports on the results of ethnographic research into how press releases are written. Press releases have been shown to play an important role in the construction of the news (cf. Bell 1991). They are short texts which are issued to journalists by companies, organisations or private persons who hope their press releases will be reproduced in the media. Previous research has shown that press releases are heavily ‘preformulated’ i.e. they mimic typical features of newspaper articles to allow for easier copying (cf. Jacobs 1999).

Recently, researchers have stressed the need for ethnographic research into the complex relationships between writing and the social context in which that writing develops (Odell & Goswami 1985). Press releases are a good example of such complex writing: they are built up from multiple sources, written by multiple writers and aimed at multiple readers.

In this paper I focus on the data from my ethnographic research to describe the ways in which the different expectations of the parties involved have a serious influence on the writing process. Specifically, I will focus on the relationship between the “primary sources” of the press release, i.e. the company, organisation or institution that orders a press release, and the press officer or PR consultant actually drawing up and sending the press release. Despite often extensive briefings by press departments and PR agencies of how press communication is organised, clients tend to consider press releases as cheap advertising. They expect immediate output and talk in terms of ‘articles being published’ rather than ‘press releases being sent out’. In other words, when a press release is sent out, they expect not only that it will be picked up without question, but also that the text appears in the newspapers or magazines unchanged. While press officers and PR consultants are very much aware of the journalist’s gatekeeper role, clients mostly are not and this places the former in a very difficult position.

Based on data from participant observation at the press department of a large Belgian bank, and interviews with and the observation of two PR consultants, I aim to offer an insight into the influence of incorrect client expectations on the writing and sending out of press releases. For example, a common complaint by press officers or PR consultants in my data was that their clients (in the case of the press officers members of one of the company’s own departments) had a poor understanding of what a journalist might consider newsworthy. In addition, they had a predilection for business speak (‘best of breed’) and commercial language (‘this revolutionary new product’), precisely the kind of language that would make a journalist throw out a press release. Failure to understand why press officers and PR consultants insisted on objective and non-commercial language often led to serious delays and sometimes even resulted in press releases not being sent out at all. A better understanding of the concept of preformulation by the primary sources of press releases (i.e. companies, organisations, political parties, etc.) might therefore contribute to more successful press communication.

**Ute Smit**

***Negotiating meaning in a multilingual and multicultural educational setting: English as Lingua Franca as medium of instruction***

While applied and socio-pragmatic research on ELF (English as Lingua Franca) has steadily increased in recent years (e.g. House 2003; Knapp and Meierkord eds. 2000), education is one ELF setting which has not yet received due attention. It is the aim of the longitudinal research project reported on here to remedy the lack of knowledge on the use of ELF in this domain by describing and analysing the classroom interaction of a post-secondary, English-medium hotel management program offered by a college in Vienna, Austria. Based on the international reputation of the Austrian hospitality industry, this program is geared for, and also attended by, students from all over the world; the currently enrolled 28 students represent 15 different nations and speak 18 different home languages. Following a quasi-ethnographic approach, I accompany this student group for the whole duration of the program (2003-2005), regularly observing and taping their classroom interaction, and interviewing all the participants.

In the present paper I will concentrate on the first semester and describe and analyse the classroom interaction in this multilingual and multicultural educational setting with regard to the negotiation of meaning and how that changes as the group of students develops into a ‘community of practice’ (Wenger 1998). My analysis will show that meaning negotiation in terms of using clarification sequences, repair work and communication strategies (Schiffrin 1994) depends on a number of factors, such as type of interaction (whole-class vs. student-student); type of lesson; teacher’s attitude to the status of English; and the stage in the process

of group formation. The discussion of the data will point out that, with regard to the whole-class interaction, it is teachers who initiate most of the instances of meaning negotiation while students follow the EFL principles of 'let it pass' and 'make it normal' (Firth 1996), especially so at the beginning of the programme.

**Petra Sneijder, Sally Wiggins & Hedwig te Molder**  
***Managing weight accountability in online discussion groups***

Losing weight is a problematic activity. By proclaiming to be concerned with weight loss, individuals become accountable for their actions on both moral and social levels. To be in the position of losing weight – and especially for those involved in 'slimming groups' such as Weight Watchers – means that speakers must manage their own agency as simultaneously being in control, and not in control of their actions. On a moral level, they must deal with being positioned as 'overweight' and its implications for one's eating behaviour and lifestyle choices. On a social level, they must also manage the dilemma of asking for help/support from others whilst also conceding that their problem is an individual one. We consider how these issues and dilemmas are dealt with in internet discussion groups. The data are taken from online message boards on the 'Weight Watchers' website. Extracts were chosen where these related to individuals' accountability for being overweight or for 'needing to' lose weight. A discursive psychological approach is used to examine how accountability is managed and oriented to by participants. For example, eating practices are often constructed as being uncontrollable, as an addiction. The 'problem' may also be treated as being external to the individual (e.g. having a 'problem with food'), and responsibility is dealt with by removing agency from the self. The analysis details the ways in which accountability is constructed in the online messages, and also illustrates institutional features of weight talk in this setting: presenting oneself as a 'good enough' Weight Watcher, giving advice to others, and 'confessing' to eating that deviates from the Weight Watchers' programme. The findings highlight some of the practices by which one can manage accountability as someone who is claiming to want to lose weight. We conclude by referring to the discursive features surrounding weight talk in online discussions, and the implications of these for the participants, and for further research in this area.

**Ria Snellinx**  
***The Manhattan dating game or empowerment: Multimodal representations of the feminine in Sex and the City***

Since its first airing in 1998, the award-winning Sex and the City series has evolved into a cult phenomenon of international proportions. Far from restricting itself to giving a description of the antics of the four protagonists in search of Mr Big, the series simultaneously explores topics such as relationships, sexual or otherwise, male archetypes, single women, third-wave feminism and fashion. The images that make up the life and times of Carrie, Miranda, Charlotte and Samantha are regarded as a new departure for television comedy drama, but at the same time, they give an accurate description of all the aspects which are emblematic of an icon that I would like to call "the New Woman".

Basing myself on the six series I should like to explore how female speech and behaviour are depicted in Sex and the City. In order to give an encompassing description of the Sex and the City feminine, I shall concentrate on the analysis of both verbal and pictorial representations.

Discourse analysis of the actresses' and actors' lines will make up the first part of this paper. I shall investigate first of all in how far the female protagonists use "standard female language" as described by Lakoff, Coates and Tannen or if they employ different language patterns. In that case it will be interesting to see in which way the patterns differ and whether there is an evolution of the protagonists' language use throughout the series.

Secondly, I shall concentrate on non-verbal elements, such as gestures, body language, setting, music and sound, and last but not least, clothing, which happens to be another, full-fledged protagonist. I should like to find out whether, and if so, in how far, these elements contradict or reinforce the language patterns that the characters use.

The traditional works on discourse analysis, gender differences and gender differences in the pragmatics of discourse (Coates, Lakoff and Tannen), along with Forceville's and Kövecses' works on the metaphor and Sperber and Wilson's Relevance: Communication and Cognition will provide the theoretical background to this paper.

**Mikolaj Sobocinski**  
***A sidewalk with no side to walk: Verbal proxemics of a city street***

When we walk down a street we notice specific elements, some pieces of information, that guide us through the “city jungle”. We notice those ‘signs’ consciously as well as sub-consciously. In academic literature, much attention is paid to the issue by cultural studies, urban studies, architecture, etc. However, the street can still be approached by a linguist from another point of view, namely of verbal proxemics. A street, being a part of a district, a town, a region, a country, undoubtedly obeys some local and language specific organisation of space. This shaping of space by the use of language (in various written forms) creates bubbles, zones, which we go through, go past, go across, or go along. The use of language makes the trip smooth, surprising, disturbing, or sometimes impossible. Some of the zones welcome ‘the tourist’, others limit the choice of possible actions. Usually, we do not pay much attention to those forms of communication as we take them for granted, we know them by heart and obey; however, it is exactly those forms of communication – language used in a written codified way – that leads us from one place to another in towns. These messages create the proxemic relation between numerous places/message-senders and ‘tourists’/message-readers and interpreters.

In the presentation I would like to carry out a detailed linguistic investigation of a selected street (ul. Chelminska, Torun, Poland) from a strictly proxemic point of view, paying special attention to influences notices (may or should) have on passers-by. Generally speaking a few following issues will be considered: 1) form of the message (note, notice, board, road sign); 2) visual characteristics (font, size, colour, shape, form; images); 3) the issuing entity (shop owners, the police, the town hall, various organisations); 4) purpose (marketing, warning, informing, advertising); 5) intention (selling, prohibiting, surprising). The classification depends on numerous factors and hence may be altered; however, the general purpose so far is to investigate nature of zones/bubbles created ‘in’ a street by linguistic messages. In short, these zones may be open or closed, including or excluding, private or social, invading or protecting. Being different in character they ‘invade’ different personal distances/bubbles of ‘the tourist’. Moreover, the messages should not be dealt with individually, but rather in some clusters, as heterogeneous collection of pieces of information which we analyse holistically and simultaneously. Only when a particular message (and the zone/bubble it creates) interrupts our own bubbles do we consider them independently from other messages, or at least we make them more central in the holistic process of decoding and reading.

The final argument may again be analysed from a number of viewpoints, but only two are of prime importance here – the viewpoint of ‘the tourist to the street encountering new zones with every step’ and the viewpoint of ‘the street created in a particular zone pattern with aim to shape the tourist’s private bubbles and hence his/her actions’.

## **Alessia Solla & Franca Orletti**

### ***Telling the fear***

Our research is based on a corpus regarding a project called “Lo Spazio della Memoria”, organized by Comune di Roma, consisting in interviews at aged people about historical and social events from 1920’s to 1960’s (accessible in Mediateca Roma, Rome, Italy). It is important to remark that this corpus has never been analysed. Our approach regards the aspect of the membership categorization analysis and in particular of how people categorize event and its aspects in an emotional dimension regarding traumatic experiences referring to the past. Membership categories are ordinary descriptions and identifications of persons and collections of persons, which are used and applied by members on a commonplace and routine basis, in order to organize the social world in which they live. The use of membership categories is culturally methodic, i.e. membership categories are known and shared within a culture. Membership categories are features of the use of natural language, constituent features of ordinary language practices, i.e. culture

We will analyse the different structural components of the narratives in the talk regarding this corpus as well as two interviews at two survivors at the terrorist attacks against the World Trade Center in New York on September 11, 2001.

Thanks to this corpus we will analyze the role of the time in the categorization and in particular how categories change with the emotional distance from the event and how time influences the narrative.

## **Juyoung Song**

### ***Reexamining politeness universals: Self and face in bilingual children's code-switching***

Self is a product or construct of public negotiation between individuals, mostly through linguistic interaction. Face is an image of self defined in terms of approved social characteristics, and members of a society are socialized to use language in order to maintain face through everyday face-to-face interaction (Goffman, 1967). The notion of face, as a universal across cultures, was developed to distinguish between positive and negative face (Brown & Levinson, 1987).

Some researchers, however, question the universality of the concept of face and the social dynamics it implies, arguing that Brown & Levinson's notion of face is based mainly on Western cultures. The dialectic relationship between face and language varies crossculturally, since a particular type of environment, a culture, has distinctive patterns of linguistic interaction, themselves products of a "habitus", a system of dispositions which organize the way the members think and behave (Bourdieu, 1973). Bilinguals have two cultural affiliations, each accessible through the language in which specific cultural knowledge, including face, is learned and in which the notion of self is constructed. Thus, the negotiated process of self-construction and different concepts of face in two languages are especially visible while bilinguals code-switch between two languages.

This paper explores how bilingual children's code-switching displays and reflects culture-specific notions of self and face linguistically. It also examines how they negotiate different local ideologies of self and face in two languages, as they construct their own while switching between two languages.

This presentation documents culturally-embedded notions of self and face and related linguistic and cultural practices in two languages, based on the data from an ethnographic study of two seven year old Korean-English bilinguals who were born in the U.S. Interactions with peers at play and school and with parents at home reveal underlying ideologies of self and face in Korean and English, as well as how these different ideologies are negotiated through and in code-switching. In addition, the data show bilinguals' socialization into two communities as they manipulate two different concepts of face using culturally-appropriate linguistic politeness strategies in face-to-face interactions.

The findings of the study illuminate the role bilingualism plays in the social construction of self and the socialization process to culturally-specific notions of face and politeness in early childhood. In addition, results reinforce the claim that notions of self and face vary cross-culturally.

## **Helen Spencer-Oatey**

### ***Identity and the bases of face sensitivity: Insights from social psychology***

This paper discusses the insights that can be gained from social psychology for analysing the concept of face and the interconnection between face and identity. The paper focuses on the type of face that is "diffusely located in the flow of events" (Goffman 1967: 7) rather than the pan-situational type of face discussed by Ho (1994), and it unpackages this 'situation-specific' notion of face by drawing on recent social psychological research into identity and values. This deconstruction is important if we are to understand the various dynamic claims to face that people may make in social interaction and the challenges that interlocutors face in anticipating and managing them appropriately.

The paper starts with Goffman's (1967: 5) classic definition of face: "The term face may be defined as the positive social value a person effectively claims for himself by the line others assume he has taken during a particular contact. Face is an image of self delineated in terms of approved social attributes – albeit an image that others may share..." The paper focuses on two key elements of this definition, 'approved social attributes' and 'positive social value', and asks two questions: (1) what range of approved social attributes may people's self-images be delineated in terms of, and (2) what types of positive social values may people effectively claim for themselves? It then describes work in social psychology by Simon (e.g. 1997, 2004) and Schwartz (e.g. 1992, 2001) that can provide insights into these two questions.

Simon (2004) proposes a self-aspect model of identity, which maintains that self-interpretation involves a varying number of self-aspects, such as psychological traits (e.g. introverted), physical features (e.g. red hair), roles (e.g. mother), abilities (e.g. bilingual) and so on. He explains how people dynamically construct their individual and collective identities, arguing that these two types of identity are not based on different self-aspects, but rather on the relative social significance attributed to a given self-aspect in a particular context.

Schwartz (e.g. 1992, 2001) has developed a framework for exploring people's social values which has been empirically validated in over 44 different cultural groups. The framework incorporates independent and interdependent (Markus and Kitayama 1991) value constructs, and includes elements that are compatible with Brown and Levinson's (1987) notions of positive and negative face. However, the framework demonstrates that the values underlying positive face concerns are broader in scope than those underlying negative face concerns, and the paper illustrates how Schwartz's framework can provide a much richer set of constructs for understanding claims to face than Brown and Levinson's dual distinction.

The last part of the paper applies these perspectives to the analysis of a number of authentic face-threatening interactions between British and Chinese business people. It illustrates how valuable insights can be gained from applying these social psychological constructs to the analysis of face, but it also notes that there are elements that need some modification and adjustment.

## **Thiresia Spilioti**

### ***Managing closings and intimacy in text-messaging***

Since mobile communications technologies appeared in Greece, young people seem to have brought to the fore text-messaging (or short message service, SMS) as a new medium for communication. The aim of this paper is to explore the ways in which the management of closings in text-messaging connects with the participants' roles and identities. Despite the bounded space imposed by the system itself (160 characters appearing on a small screen), closings do occur in Greek text-messages. Keeping a record of the participants' interaction via SMS at regular time periods over a year, the study draws on a total sample of 243 text-messages, of which the main data set (200 messages) concerns the interaction between five female Athenian friends and the supplementary sample (43 messages) has been collected from a group of three male friends of the same age. Assuming that identities emerge in the sequentiality of discourse (Davies & Harré 1990), this paper examines how identity aspects of the participants are constructed in the closings of text-messages. Within a conversational analytic framework (Schegloff & Sacks 1973), it focuses on the sequential management of closing moves, and more specifically on the use of greetings, affective statements, allusions to further interactions and non-verbal features, such as emoticons and punctuation. The examination of the above aims to take into consideration contextual parameters such as the participants' gender and relationship and the systemic specificities of an asynchronous, technological medium (e.g. absence of physical co-presence). The interactional management of closing moves in text-messaging seems to intertwine with the participants' social roles and identities as friends sharing an interactional history. In line with previous research on Greek (Georgakopoulou, 1992; Pavlidou, 2002; Sifianou 1992; Tannen 1980), the data point to the Greek participants' concern about communicating intimacy and reaffirming solidarity.

## **Debra Spitulnik**

### ***Tracking the speaking subject: Epistemologies of the real self in talk***

Within poststructuralist and postmodernist philosophy, the concept of a unitary speaking subject has been roundly critiqued and replaced with more fluid and polyvalent models of subjectivity. A philosophical tradition dating back to Nietzsche and Heidegger continues to interrogate the degree to which people's voices and stances can be considered to be authentic and individually possessed versus temporarily inhabited and socially owned. Joining this philosophical tradition has been more recent work taking inspiration from Bakhtin's concepts of heteroglossia and dialogicality.

While numerous researchers within pragmatics, linguistic anthropology, and discourse analysis have built this skepticism over unitary selves into the heart of their research agendas, limited advances have been made to sharpen the ways that we track the emergence of multiple voices and stances within different kinds of discursive events and then move to synthetic conclusions. For example, Goffman's work on footing provides an invaluable model for disaggregating the multiple relations that agents may have to a stretch of discourse (cf. Levinson, Irvine, and Hill for later elaborations). Hill, in particular, offers a nuanced model for unpacking the multiple laminations of self that can occur within a narrative. Others have focused on the use of particular linguistic forms such as evidentials in conveying attachment to stances or the ways in which there are significant cross-cultural differences both in how subjectivity manifests in discourse and in the degree to which individual subjectivity matters within particular cultures (cf. Briggs, Duranti, and Haviland). While these various lines of analysis have been added to the discourse analysis toolkit (i.e. researchers are now better equipped to track multiple voices and stances), are there ways that they might also be used to develop new ways of theorizing the speaking subject? Do the data-driven studies of the emergence and fluidity of speaking selves inform philosophical theory or are they merely empirical demonstrations of philosophical positions?

This paper engages such questions and takes them further by investigating how the pragmatic dimensions of the discourse context itself shape the way that subjectivity emerges in discourse and how this impacts the types of synthetic conclusions that can be made. At the core of the paper is an analysis of the discourse emergence of speaking selves during recorded interviews (conducted in 2004-2005) on the subject of immigration history and multilingual language use among Zambia immigrants in Atlanta. The paper examines how contextual factors such as who is present, the discourse genre, who is viewed as the ultimate audience, how the discourse began (e.g. as an elicited interview, as a conversation) relate to the expression and the discovery of speaking subjects. Using a self-reflexive stance, I also ask how the researcher's perceptions of the discourse event and task at hand possibly guide conclusions about "the real" self in talk (cf. Briggs, Fabian). While such epistemological questions easily proliferate, this paper argues that finding ways to keep them at the forefront of both research and writing is perhaps the most productive way to examine the discourse emergence of speaking subjects within a postmodern philosophical climate.

## Janet Spreckels

### *Them and us: What narratives about others reveal about identity*

Identity research has agreed on the fact that self-identity and otherness are closely intertwined. In order to position oneself in a “community of practice” (Eckert & McConnell-Ginet 1992), in a larger group, or in the society at large, individuals tend to make comments and tell stories about “others”. Doing so, they reveal much concerning their own identity. Researchers in the field (Sebba & Wootton 1998; Duszak 2002; Zhou 2002), point to the fact that there cannot be a “we” without a “they”. Tajfel & Forgas (1981: 124), for example, express this crucial relation as follows: “We are what we are because they are not what we are.” Thus, identity, is constituted primarily “ex negativo” (cf. Schwitalla 1986). This tendency can be observed especially among adolescents, who are at a stage in life where questions of self-differentiation are particularly important.

While ethnographically studying a group of German adolescent girls for almost two years, I discovered that such strategy of opposition was central to the stories they told and that everyday narratives about others were a key site for their identity construction. I also found that the “others” whom the girls talked about in daily conversation were not only members of their immediate social surroundings (such as teachers, classmates, neighbours) but media personalities as well. Strikingly, the narratives told did not so much deal with individuals, but more with “social categories” (cf. Goffman 1963, Sacks 1992) into which the girls grouped those others. Frequently, such social categories were reduced to social stereotypes, such as “Fritten” (nerds), “Britneys” (a term they coined for a type of “girlies” drawing on Britney Spears), etc. and the stories through which the girls expressed their identity were critical or sometimes even slanderous towards the various out-groups involved. In some instances, the narratives reflected what Gee (1990) calls “capital-D-discourses”, i.e. pre-existing social ideologies. Yet in other instances, the girls clearly opposed the ideology of these larger cultural discourses and based their “evaluative description” (Bamberg, unpublished manuscript) of others on values that emerged in and through their community of practice. The narratives used as data for this paper are derived from a larger ethnographic discourse analytic study of a group of German high-school girls interactions outside the school framework that I conducted between 2001 and 2003.

Employing the concept of “identities-in-interaction” (cf. Antaki & Widdicombe 1998) I study both the kinds of categories used by the girls to negotiate their identity and the way they manage storytelling dynamics to position themselves vis-à-vis one another.

## Jiranthara Srioutai

### *Temporal defaults in Thai*

Thai is a tenseless and aspectless language. A sentence in Thai can characteristically be interpreted as describing a punctual or durative eventuality that occurred, occurs, or will occur, depending on the context in which it is uttered. This is as rightly observed by Diller (1993: 412): Temporal and aspectual interpretation in Thai is usually ‘a matter of contextual interpretation’. That is, temporal and aspectual information are typically pragmatically inferred rather than grammatically or lexically encoded in the language. However, a handful of words in Thai are commonly claimed to express time. The auxiliary *d1ai1II*, for example, is treated as a past tense marker in Supanvanich (1973) and Kanchanawan (1978). A glance at (1) may seem to confirm this position.

- (1)    *k1r3eml3in c1ap ng3u: d1ai1II*  
      Gremlin    catch    snake    *d1ai1II*  
      Gremlin managed to catch a snake.

Nevertheless, evidence strongly suggests that *d1ai1II* is not a tense marker but a modal marker expressing deontic, dynamic, or metaphysical modality. With or without *d1ai1II*, a sentence has past time reference, as in (1) and (2); but in its absence, as in (2), modal meaning, apparently conveyed by *d1ai1II*, is missing.

- (2)    *k1r3eml3in c1ap ng3u:*  
      Gremlin    catch    snake  
      Gremlin caught a snake.

In this paper, I support the view that *d1ai1II* and other so-called temporal expressions in Thai are not tense markers in the framework of Default Semantics (Jaszczolt, forthcoming), a neo-Gricean theory of meaning of acts of communication. In particular, I propose that the temporal meaning of *d1ai1II*, as in (1), is merely its default reading, which can be overridden by context. This is shown in (3), where the default past time reference of *d1ai1II* is cancelled by an explicit denial.

- (3)    *k1r3eml3in c1ap ng3u: d1ai1II t1ae:I m3ai1I c1ap*  
      Gremlin    catch    snake    *d1ai1II*    but    not    catch  
      Gremlin can catch a snake but does not.



I argue that the default reading of 'temporal expressions' in Thai are cognitive defaults, or default interpretations arising out of the properties of the mental states that underlie the process of linguistic communication. Mental states are intentional. Intentionality can be weaker or stronger, and the strongest intentionality is the norm, or default. As it is assumed that there are mental states that underlie utterances, utterances are intentional, too. Default mental states then correspond to default interpretations of utterances, reflecting the strongest referring or intending by corresponding utterances. For example, while the speaker of (1) refers to an eventuality of Gremlin managing to catch a snake before the utterance time, the speaker of (3) does not have any particular eventuality in mind, only the fact that Gremlin has an ability to catch a snake. That is, the communicative, informative and referential intentions, recognised in Default Semantics, of (1), is stronger than those of (3). The reading of (1) is thus its default interpretation.

I will also demonstrate how the representations of the truth-conditional content of utterances, called merger representations, may account for default interpretations of 'temporal expressions' in Thai.

### **Hanne-Pernille Stax, Lise Randrup Jensen & Charlotte Lönnberg**

#### ***Local interaction and professional competence in scripted practices: A study of meaningful diversions from the script in standardised interactions***

In scripted interactions, such as survey interviews and standardised tests, a pre-scripted schedule is used as a manuscript for the interaction. This is done in order to obtain reliable information, which can be meaningfully compared and communicated to third party. The professional party to a standardised interaction - who is responsible for the realisation of the script - may be found to diverge from this script. And such diversions can be characterised as e.g. 1) defective practice on the part of the professional participant, 2) as indications of specific defects in a specific script or 3) as indications of more fundamental and general mismatch between the rules of standardisation and the logic of social interaction.

In this study we analyse two types of standardised interactions: Audio data from questionnaire-based telephone interviews in social research and video data from standardised logopedic tests of people with aphasia. We approach both types of data with the hypothesis, that systematic diversions from the script may constitute orderly and meaningful action on the part of the professional participant. In this study we apply sequential microanalysis (Conversation Analysis) to recordings of authentic standardised interactions. And in the case of logopedic testing we also integrate insights from post-view interviews with logopedic testers about their reasoning behind their own scripted practices.

Preliminary findings from the Conversation Analytic studies of both types of data indicate, that systematic diversions from the script may not only be characterised as meaningful and methodologically defensible. Recurrently systematic diversions from the script can be characterised as necessary adaptations of the script, to make it make sense in local interaction. In this function diversions from the script can be characterised as manifestations of essential professional competences.

Thus essential professional competence is manifested in the local interaction, when the experienced tester or interviewer manages to bridge 1) The overall professional purpose of the interaction, 2) Prespecified rules of standardised interaction, 3) Tacit knowledge about social interaction and 4) Local requirements and circumstances of the person being tested or interviewed.

In the case of standardised interviewing, being professional is not simply a question of following prespecified rules and scripts. Likewise in the case of logopedic testing, professional competence is not just enacted in the selection of relevant tests and in the following scoring and interpretation of the responses. In both types of standardised interaction specific and essential professional competence is manifested in the way experienced professionals adapt scripted plans into situated action. Insight into how this is done is a valuable input to improving the design of schedules for scripted practices as well as to improving the education of testers, interviewers and other professionals, involved in scripted practices.

### **Dieter Stein**

#### ***New or old genres in the new medium?***

This paper will raise some general theoretical issues with respect to the notion of genre in general and to the effect of the Internet on genres.

The Internet is the most technical of all language media, - it has the highest degree of technicity intercalated on the way from expressive intention, via inscription, to comprehension, processing and perlocution or perlocutionary effect. It is arguably the medium with the greatest "distance" between producer and recipient. We expect technological mediation to have an effect on language and language use. It would be most surprising if this fact would not raise a couple of theoretical questions with respect to the status of genres in the new medium and their relationship to genres in the traditional language media.

The main issues to be discussed in the paper appear to be the following:

1. Are there really entirely new genres in the new technical medium?
2. While it has long been clear that genres can display a great amount of internal variation (e.g. the “letter”), there appears to be no single parameter a change of which will automatically define a new genre. Is a change of medium such a parameter?
3. Is there no continuity of genre across medial boundaries?

The paper will briefly look at a couple of candidates as case studies for testing the issue of continuity or change of genre and use them as cases to highlight the issues. Is the blog a diary? Is the Internet novel a novel? Is the chat “conversation”? Is a change in any of the pragmatic parameters discussed in the panel papers enough to define a new genre? Are the different “scenarios” or types of chats different genres or are they different phenotypical manifestations of the same genre? A lot will depend on the notion of genre and which definitional parameters will be the criterial ones in defining the genre, much like in prototype theory. A notion like activity type or social action (Levinson) will probably make for positing more continuity across media, a more surface, texttype-oriented one will probably make for more new ones.

### **Anna-Brita Stenström**

#### ***A matter of politeness?: A contrastive study of phatic talk in teenage conversation***

This paper explores English and Spanish teenagers' use of phatic expressions as a politeness device. The starting-point for the study is the maxim of politeness that Leech (1983: 141-142) suggests as an addition to the four maxims constituting Grice's Cooperative Principle, and which he refers to as the 'Phatic Maxim'. To my mind, the formulation of the maxim, 'avoid silence' or 'keep talking'. allows scope for a wide range of applications - from loose talk with no informative value, such as talk about the weather, to verbal fillers, which help the speaker go on speaking (cf Gibbon 1997). And as suggested by Mateo & Yus (2000), even taboo words can have a phatic function in the interaction. The paper is based on data from two corpora of teenage language, The Bergen Corpus of London Teenage Language (COLT) and Corpus de Lenguaje Adolexcente de Madrid (COLAm).

### **Maija Stenvall**

#### ***On evoked and provoked appraisal values in news agency reports***

Aiming at objectivity and factuality, news agency journalists try to background or obscure their own ‘voice’; in other words, they adopt the conventions of what White (1998) calls ‘reporter voice’. White draws on the APPRAISAL (see e.g. <http://www.grammatics.com/appraisal/>), and divides contemporary broadsheet journalism into three voices: reporter, correspondent and commentator voice. Reporter voice is typically associated with ‘hard news’ stories, such as most news agency reports are. Patterns of APPRAISAL values vary across the three voices; for example, reporter-voice texts include values of AFFECT; i.e. they often resort to a certain type of emotional language, whereas these texts, in unattributed contexts, exclude the values of inscribed JUDGEMENT. The APPRAISAL framework offers tools for analyzing both inscribed (explicit) and evoked (implicit) evaluation in texts. Furthermore, values of ATTITUDE - those of JUDGEMENT, in particular, - can be ‘provoked’ by other APPRAISAL values.

Let us consider two examples from news agency wires. An AP news analysis on the effect of the Beslan school tragedy on the Kremlin policy begins: “The images of charred bodies, of innocent faces contorted by fear...” (AP 11.09.2004). And a Reuters news agency journalist writes on the first anniversary of the September 11 attacks: “Under a clear blue sky similar to the day two hijacked planes were slammed into the twin 110-story towers and caused their catastrophic collapse...” (Reuters 11.09.2002). In the AP example, AFFECT is both inscribed (“contorted by fear”) and evoked by the horrible “images”, but the contrast between the strong emotion of fear and the adjective “innocent” can be argued to provoke JUDGEMENT, too. In the Reuters example, the reference to “a clear blue sky”, as a contrast to the catastrophe that followed, evokes the value of AFFECT (feelings of anger, sadness, pity, and so on, depending on the reader).

In this paper, I examine evoked and provoked APPRAISAL values in the reports of AP and Reuters. These two global news agencies are “leading news suppliers” (cf. Tunstall 1999: 191). In their editorial policy statements both stress the aims of being “accurate” and “balanced”; in addition, Reuters says that it is “committed to reporting the facts”, and AP refers to “objectivity”. However, as media researchers have shown, such ideals as ‘factuality’ or ‘objectivity’ simply cannot be achieved, for various reasons. Reporter voice, according to White (1998: 280), “can be understood as a rhetorical strategy for backgrounding the ideologically determined nature of the conventions of news coverage and the necessary subjectivity of the authorial voice in implementing these conventions”.

The analysis of evoked and provoked APPRAISAL values is one way of looking at the 'hidden' subjectivity, which, as I show, undermines the 'factuality' of news agency reports.

**Christiane Stephens**

***The phenomenology of trauma: Using Charles Peirce's semiotic theory to examine the residential school experiences of Canadian First Nations Peoples***

For over a century, residential and industrial boarding schools functioned as bureaucratic mechanisms for assimilating First Nations peoples in Canada. Acculturation through Western education and spirituality was enforced through the repression of Native languages and culture, and the regimentalized control and subordination of indigenous bodies in the "total institutions" of the residential school system. Although residential schools were phased out after 1969, the neglect and abuse experienced by many who attended these institutions continues to affect Aboriginal Canadians in the form of repressed memories, unresolved trauma and symptoms that are similar to those exhibited by individuals suffering from post-traumatic stress disorder.

Native communities have used storytelling and the documentation of personal narratives as a way of effecting healing in former residential school survivors. Although much has been written about the legacy of residential schools in Canada and the need for co-ordinating mechanisms to address, facilitate and deliver healing to respective Native communities, little attention has been given to the discourse of residential school narratives and how these stories reflect the processes and conditions in which traumatic memories are evoked and "reconstructed", and how past experiences and recollections contribute to the formation of the subjectivity, identity and 'personhood' of those who attended these institutions.

This paper is based on a corpus of residential school narratives collected during ethnographic fieldwork conducted in a First Nations community in Southwestern Ontario, Canada. It explores how theoretical insights from the fields of linguistics and philosophy can be used to enrich anthropological studies of transculturation, cultural trauma, violence and embodiment. Specifically, this paper discusses the utility of Charles Peirce's phenomenology as a valuable theoretical framework for interpreting residential school narratives, and represents a move away from focusing on the syntax of discourse, to a broader view of the complex ways in which personhood is both embedded and 'embodied' in trauma discourse.

As a theory of both lived experience and consciousness, Peirce's model is founded on the distinction of three fundamental ontological categories which serve to designate all the possible ways that things (in the external world) appear to the observer. Peirce referred to these phenomenological modes as "Firstness", "Secondness" and "Thirdness". These categories include the being of qualitative possibility, the being of actual fact, and the being of law that will govern facts in the future. By framing specific residential school experiences (such as feelings of hunger, neglect and abandonment, and episodes of violence experienced as emotional, physical and sexual abuse) within these categories of 'being', we are able to observe the tenuous balance that exists between the abstract and the concrete, the logical and translogical, and emotion and cognition, while at the same time deconstructing how social, political and cultural forces shape the diverse actions and interactions that come to form human experience. The application of Peircian phenomenology to the analysis of trauma reveals how people come to know, feel and interpret past experiences, while also illustrating how the degree of mediation between past experiences of "Firstness",

"Secondness" and "Thirdness" is reflective of the "progress" made by former students in their journey toward healing.

**Laura Sterponi**

***Reading and meditation in the Middle Ages: Lectio Divina and Book of Hours***

Reading as situated practice is ephemeral and dynamic; it is not entirely inscribed in the text and leaves poor traces behind. This conception constitutes the foundation as well as the challenge for any exploration of reading practices in historical epochs far from ours. We are faced with the task of reconstructing the variations that differentiate the 'readable space' (i.e. the texts in their material and discursive forms) and those that characterize the circumstances of their 'actualization' (i.e. reading as activity embedded in broader cultural practices) (de Certeau, 1984). This paper takes up this challenge and examines a predominant reading activity in the Medieval Christian tradition: the reading of the book of hours within the practice of Lectio Divina.

Different socio-cultural dimensions define the proposed investigation:

- Analysis of text, deciphered in its form and content. The textual forms, often organized in multi-semiotic configurations, contribute to shaping the involvement of the reader and the modes of text apprehension.
- Norms, conventions and ideologies of reading, defining the legitimate uses of text, the reading modalities, the procedures of interpretations, and the scope of the reading activity for each community of readers.

The investigation opens with the analysis of Medieval pedagogical treatises, which instructed in the use of sacred manuscripts. These texts can help us understand how medieval readers approached the book, and what they were expected to do with it. Through these treatises, the devotional practice of *Lectio Divina*, is presented. *Lectio divina* was a fundamental activity for believers' self-transformation and re-formation, designed for cultivating virtue and for guiding to spiritual illumination. In the *Lectio Divina* reading is interweaved with meditation and prayer, namely with memorizing and remembering as objective ways of learning about God and a subjective way of experiencing God.

The second part of the investigation focuses on a specific kind of medieval manuscript, the book of hours. It is shown how their textual and illustrational features reflect and foster an ideology and practice of reading as meditative experience. In the book of hours many different temporal and narrative frames are being super-imposed: on one hand, each section of the text corresponds to an hour in a single day; then, the large miniatures expand the temporal framework to the entire life of the Virgin; and moreover the marginal images project further temporal planes, the unraveling of time and its embedding an eternity, and the existential time of one's individual life. The reader is thus solicited to meditate on his/her own moral journey through life, to read also his/her own book of conscience and to compare all those texts.

The act of reading of the book of hours is both actual and metaphorical as while reading the text, and recalling other texts, the reader is also constantly reading in the book of his/her own conscience. All these operations parallel the steps of the practice of the *Lectio Divina* and show that in Medieval Christian tradition, reading was primarily a spiritual activity and meditation encoded reading.

**Andrei Stoevsky**

### ***The perfect: Some implications of the displaced mode***

In his discussion of the relation between consciousness and language Wallace Chafe (1996:9-10) makes "a distinction between experiences derived from the immediate environment of the experiencer and those that are displaced: products of remembering and/or imagining. ... On this basis it is possible to say that both consciousness and language are sometimes in the immediate, sometimes in the displaced mode". Where is the position the perfect in this binary distinction? Historically the perfect is a stative, but through evolution it has largely acquired the characteristics of a resultative. This means that the perfect seems to operate in two different modes at the same time in that it is concerned with the immediate situation at the point of reference (R in Reichenbach's notation), and yet it may also involve distal consciousness by linking the current situation to a preceding event. In what follows we briefly review some of the more philosophical aspects of the perfect before dealing in some detail with the relation between perfectuality and evidentiality using data mainly from Bulgarian. The structure of the paper is connected to two variable properties of consciousness as given by Chafe (p.3), viz. the contrast between (1) immediate vs. displaced, and (2) factual vs. fictional.

By functioning as a conduit between experiences at two points in time (hence the displaced mode), the perfect is laden with all sorts of implications - some of these are of a more linguistic nature, while others are more logico-philosophical. As may be expected, the duality of the perfect presents a problem of categorization making it "impossible for linguists to agree as to whether the perfect is a tense, an aspect, or something else" (Slobin 1994:124). The more philosophical implications stemming from the displaced mode, which is part of the semantics of the perfect, concern presupposition, causality, numerical identity and relevance. Problems of reference failure have come to the attention of linguists and analytical philosophers largely through discussions of a language-specific feature of the English Present Perfect, viz., "that the perfect requires that its subject denotatum to be extant at the time of speech" (Michaelis 1998:273)(see Chomsky 1972:111). Discussions of causality, as well as relevance, have been motivated by the fact that truth-conditionally the Perfect, in some of its uses, is indistinguishable from the Past tense, since in both cases the narrative event precedes the moment of speech (E – S). Finally, questions of numerical identity arise because of the intermittent nature of object-tracking by human consciousness (e.g., The monastery has been destroyed many times over the centuries ). Some of the questions mentioned so far have been examined in my own research (Stoevsky 1989, 1999, 2000).

Now we would like to turn our attention to the question of the relationship between perfectuality and evidentiality, and more specifically to the expression of inferential meanings by the Bulgarian Perfect. What is particularly interesting about the perfect as a conduit is that it allows movement in both directions. Current states may be seen as resulting from events in the past; equally, anterior events may be reconstructed using evidence available at some subsequent point of reference. A comparison of the forms of the perfect, the renarrative and the inferential ("conclusive" according to Kutsarov 1994) reveals an almost total overlap of the paradigms. All three categories are periphrastic consisting of forms of the auxiliary *съм* 'be' plus a past active participle. This should suggest also a great deal functional-semantic similarity. What all three seem to have in common is 'distal consciousness'. Formally, the renarrative is distinguished from the rest in the 3p.sg. and pl. where the auxiliary is omitted. What distinguishes the inferential from the perfect is the use of the imperfective past active participle, rather than the aoristic participle. While we may not be totally convinced that this formal

distinction justifies the identification of a separate inferential category, it is nevertheless interesting to examine the interrelations between the markers in the form.

Toj e čel pismoto. 'He has read the letter'.

He be 3SGPr read AorPart. the letter

Toj e četjal pismoto. 'He must have been reading

He be3SGPr read ImpP the letter the letter

Both forms contain the combination of the present aux. and the –l marker for the past, suggesting the link between two temporal points. Yet, while the aoristic participle in the first example favours a perfective interpretation whereby the result from the action in the past is carried over to the present (but does not exclude a processual interpretation), in the second example the imperfective participle clearly anchors the activity at a point in the past, thus bringing the focus to the past rather than to the present.

## **Dolores Straker**

### ***Assimilation/integration texts in teh United States***

The whole matter [The 1954 US Supreme Court *Brown vs. Topeka Board of Education* decision] revolves around the self-respect of my people. How much satisfaction can I get from a court order for somebody to associate with me who does not wish me near them?

...I regard the ruling of the United States Supreme Court as insulting rather than honoring my race. (Zora Neale Hurston, from the forward to *Spunk*)

Zora Neale Hurston's comment about the 1954 Supreme Court decision surfaces assumptions about tensions in forcing African and European Americans together in public schools. Our national dialogue positions people of African descent as seekers of assimilation/integration. Historically, citizens of European descent have resisted assimilation/integration with Blacks. Resistance has been manifested in "keep-them-in-an-identifiable-place" practices ranging from overt terrorism to legalized separatism to economic separatism to benign neglect. For some European Americans assimilation/integration is an inherent threat to their presumed normative status. This presenter will examine speaker/writer positioning in responses to the DNA evidence that Thomas Jefferson fathered children with Sally Hemming, his slave mistress; the 1954 Court decision reversing the 1896 *Plessy versus Ferguson* separate but equal decision; and responses generated during the 2004 50th anniversary celebrations of the 1954 Supreme Court decision.

## **Sofia Stratilaki, Lucile Cadet & Mariella Causa**

### ***Plurilingual resources for language learning: A pragmatic perspective***

Drawing on the rich tradition of investigations into bilingual education, the present paper examines the issue of language contact and focuses on the relationship between social representations of languages and plurilingual competence in French-German bilingual learners. The present research seeks to ascertain whether the learners' social representations of languages shape the processes and strategies they develop for the acquisition of plurilingual competence. Few characteristics of plurilingualism have inspired as much academic research as the conceptual notion of plurilingual competence and its role and function in language learning and use. The Common European Framework of Reference for Languages (Council of Europe, 2001) proposes explicit referential levels for identifying degrees of cultural and (meta-)linguistic abilities of bi-/plurilingual learners based on the recognition that linguistic competence and language learning are associated with learners' representations of interactions between languages, namely their perception of structural similarities and differences in languages. The working hypothesis developed for this investigation assumes that there is an important place for focusing on the language learning strategies of different groups of learners—namely the role of linguistic distance and proximity in language use, in code-switching and cross-linguistic influence. This hypothesis raises the following basic questions:

a) How do learners define what could be referred to as 'plurilingual competence'? b) What is the influence of their representations of plurilingualism on the specific strategies that learners use in language learning? c) How do learners use the languages they already know in order to acquire other languages? This will entail both identifying the social representations of plurilingual competence of French-German learners and attempting to link the linguistic variable of code-switching to social representations of plurilingual competence in order to explain the significance of language choice in communication. The findings support that the development of plurilingual competence, as suggested by Coste, Moore, Zarate (1997), is intertwined with the students' awareness of intersections of languages, their strategic skills to combine knowledge across languages and the school's ability to leverage such skills. Significant differences were found in learners' representations of languages in interaction and their respective operation in the construction of linguistic knowledge and skills. The study is based on a qualitative and quantitative analysis of written and oral data elicited in the form of

questionnaire and sociolinguistic interviews between the researchers and 60 French-German learners aged between 15 and 17 years. Implications are drawn for language education policies and the effects of teaching practices on the formation of social representations about languages.

**Ilse Strobbe**

***News agencies and the distribution of electronic press releases***

It has been shown that the use of the Internet has created new perspectives for news agencies (Strobbe & Jacobs 2004): while news agencies traditionally supply the media with news agency copy written up by the agencies' editorial staff they have recently started to also distribute the electronic press releases of government departments, private companies, etc.. The Belgian news agency Belga, for example, has developed a new portal on the Belga website, viz. Belga direct, which forwards government and corporate press releases to Belga's media contacts as well as posting them on the Belga website and on partner websites such as Tiscali and Skynet together with Belga's own news agency copy.

For this paper we will present the results of a preliminary ethnography (combining participant observation and interviews – cf. Agar 1996) in which we investigate if and to what extent these recent developments have any impact on the writing and rewriting practices of the news agencies' editorial staff. Drawing from fieldwork at the Belga news agency, we will try to find out how Belga's editors process incoming press releases before they are forwarded to the media (e.g. in what ways they deal with preformulated features of press releases – see Jacobs 1999). In addition, we will show how these rewriting practices for press releases can be linked up with how Belga's editorial staff write up their own news agency copy.

It is concluded that the Internet is creating a new location for press releases to play their mediating role in, with news agencies conducting a difficult juggling act between providing their corporate and government customers the maximum visibility they promised them for their press releases and continuing to meet the conflicting requirements of their long-standing shareholders, the media. The results of the present study will guide the writing process analysis (cf. Sleurs et al 2003) which we are planning to do next.

**Magda Stroinska & Vikki Cecchetto**

***The rhetoric of threat and insecurity: Speech act theory and linguistic mechanisms of populist rhetoric***

The European Union integration of new member states in Eastern Europe provides an interesting example of how national languages and traditions can be used in order to influence people's attitudes towards the idea of European unity. New member states have a long history of aspirations to "return to Europe" after a period of forced isolation. In this contexts, it is puzzling that, for example in Poland, arguably the most pro-European nation in Eastern Europe, some 80% of votes in the 2004 elections to the European Parliament went to political parties openly hostile to the idea of European integration.

This paper analyses the corpus of contemporary public political debates in Poland (published parliamentary discussions, political speeches and media discourse on recent developments). It demonstrates how language is used by two populist parties, the extreme left ('Self-Defense') and the extreme right ('League of Polish Families'), initially regarded as marginal but recently rapidly growing in popularity. Both groups use similar linguistic tools, reminiscent of communist and fascist propaganda, but adapted to the new political context of European integration.

I focus on two specific types of speech acts, threats and promises and demonstrate how, in a highly individualistic and divided society, populist ideologies win support by resorting to feelings such as fear or insecurity and how these anxieties can be transformed, using linguistic tools, into hostility towards those who are perceived as potential causes of threatening actions. I am particularly interested in the linguistic properties of threats attributed to agents other than the speaker. In my corpus of data, it is typically not the speaker who is making the explicit threat but the threat is being attributed to a third party whose potential or actual actions are allegedly endangering the audience. At the same time, political discourse of the groups in question is also characterized by a high frequency of speech acts that take the form of promises but act as "parasitic threats", i.e. are intended to be interpreted as threats directed at those in the audience who do not support the speaker. I am borrowing the term parasitic speech act from discussions by Austin, Searle, Derrida and Halion.

The resulting style of political discourse is highly aggressive. Colloquialisms, slang, or even vulgarisms are used intentionally in order to give the populist politicians more appeal. Interestingly, the style made famous in the 1980s and 90s by the Solidarity icon Lech Walesa, himself a skillful and effective populist speaker, was also colloquial and simple. What distinguished it from the current wave of populism was its orientation towards building solidarity within and beyond the post-communist society. The political elites that the new extreme parties are attempting to promote gain popularity in an environment dominated by anxiety,

anger, envy and fear. In the Western world paralyzed by the omnipresent threat of terrorism, it may be instructive to analyze how language can be used to heighten social anxiety.

### **Juliane Stude**

#### ***The acquisition of metapragmatic abilities: A study of German-speaking preschool children***

Linguistic and communicative competence do not consist in the abilities of language production and comprehension alone. An additional dimension of linguistic and pragmatic competence involves the ability to focus on language itself and its use. Viewed in the light of the specifically human *faculté de langage*, this dimension appears to be an especially salient aspect of human communication, since language use for humans is not merely an instrument of communication comparable to signaling systems in non-humans. Rather, language use itself can become the focus of attention and of reflection in some cases. Consequently, insight into the early acquisition of the ability to focus on language and its use should shed light on the specific nature of human linguistic and pragmatic competence.

This contribution presents the results of a study on the acquisition of metapragmatic abilities in children aged 3 to 6 years. Since we are interested not only in the sequence of acquisition, but also in the underlying mechanisms of acquisition, we focus on the supportive functions of adult-child-interaction. In other words, we ask if and in what way adult conversational activities can be reconstructed as part of the explanation of children's acquisition of metapragmatic abilities.

Based on spontaneous speech data recorded in interactive routines in a kindergarten with German-speaking children, our analyses consider the following questions:

- o What kind of metapragmatic utterances can be found in adult-child- interaction with 3– to 6 year olds?
- o Under which conditions do metapragmatic utterances occur?
- o What kinds of communicative functions do they perform?
- o How do adults establish a contextual frame for referring to and reflecting on the actual discourse?
- o To what extent can the successful embedding of metapragmatic sequences be described as a joint achievement of both child and adult?
- o What is the acquisitional effect of the adult-child-patterns in metapragmatic discourse?

### **Francisca Suau**

#### ***Metadiscourse in research and popular science articles or how to please the audience: A cross-generic and intra-generic analysis in search for a common metadiscursive core***

Background: My paper gives account of an empirical research carried out in an attempt to bridge the gap between research articles (RAs) and popular science articles (PSAs) from the viewpoint of metadiscourse. Both hedges in RAs and phatic, conative and poetic elements in popular science articles are two faces of metadiscourse, tightly linked to Halliday's tenor (Halliday, 1978), alluding to the interpersonal macro-function of language. Therefore, metadiscourse can be viewed as an essential aspect in the pragmatic handling of the two above mentioned genres. A view of these genres as social constructs is, therefore, central to my study (Gazdar, 1981; Swales, 1990; Fairclough, 1992, 1995). RAs and PSAs, although differing in their generic macrostructure, share part of their communicative goal: they must please their audience. RAs aim entails persuading and convincing their scientific communities, whereas PSAs purpose is to inform, entertain and persuade an audience partly made of lay public.

Aim of the research: Towards that end, I have compared the use of hedges in RAs and of phatic, conative and poetic elements in PSAs, as the major and most prototypical devices that integrate their metadiscourse. The aim has been to trace the linguistic resources displayed in both genres, seeking some homogeneity or difference that can provide a sound account of their common metadiscursive core, thus depicting the nature of the relational pressure from their respective tenors.

Method: A cross-generic and an intra-generic comparison have been conducted. On the one hand, hedges have been analysed in RAs, following Salager-Meyer's (1994) and Hyland's (1998a, 1998b) classification proposals, attempting thus to establish their specific representational choice. On the other hand, following the tenets of Jakobson's language functions, I have searched and described the linguistic encoding of phatic, conative and poetic functions (Jakobson, 1971, 1985), analysing PSAs morfosyntactic, lexico-semantic and stylistic levels. An English language corpus has been collected, with 15 texts for each genre, making a total of 30.

Results and conclusions: Results have shown that RAs display a quantitatively greater use of metadiscursive resources than PSAs, epistemic and auxiliary verbal forms accounting for the most representative choices made through the hedging phenomenon. This would indicate that the relational pressure

with the tenor in RAs suggests a rich and powerful metadiscourse, mainly achieved through politeness strategies that cater for the required self-concealment and objectivity. PSAs metadiscourse analysis evidences a quantitatively lower number of devices and relies mainly on pronominal forms of self-reference which provide a strong discourse subjectivity, meeting in this way the tenor's requirement for persuasiveness.

**Kyung-Hee Suh & Kyu-Hyun Kim**

***An analysis of the distal demonstrative ku in Korean conversation***

From a conversation-analytic perspective (Sacks, Schegloff, & Jefferson 1974), this paper examines the interactional functions of the Korean 'distal' demonstrative form *ku* ('that, near the addressee') in spontaneous conversation with reference to both its anaphoric referential uses and its use as a prospective indexical (Goodwin 1996). As a prospective indexical or as a filler, *ku* projects or points to a target referent in such a way that it enacts a context in which the interlocutor is invited to identify the target referent (*ku-ke iss-cianah-yo*. "That thing, you know. The sale."). This intersubjective nature of *ku*, whose upshot often lies in evoking a shared domain of knowledge (cf. Lakoff 1974), is further explicated in terms of its import for topic organization and for various ways in which the interlocutor's uptake is solicited (e.g., *Minswu hanthey ku pilli-ess-eyo? chayk?* "Have you borrowed that from Minsu, the book?") (Kim 2001). This feature of *ku* is shown to contrast with that of *ce*, the other distal demonstrative in Korean meaning 'that, far from both the speaker and the addressee,' which, used as a prospective indexical, tends to project a referent to be identified by the speaker himself/herself (Kim & Suh 2002).

A high degree of interlocutor involvement enacted by *ku* is also observed in the context in which *ku* is used as a turn-tying device by which the speaker builds the current turn on the prior turn (e.g., by using a connective containing *ku*, *kule-nikka* 'so, I mean', for formulating the interlocutor's point as the speaker's own (A: *kulem ka-myen an toy-keyss-ta*. "Then, we should not go." B: *kule-nikka* "That's exactly what I mean.")). We also analyze the *ku*-marked modifier *kulen* 'that kind of' in the context of referring to the immediately preceding modifying clause (i.e., before the noun phrase being modified). In such a context, the speaker indexes a negotiatory stance and provides the sense of soliciting the interlocutor's understanding/agreement by way of mitigating the assertive force of the current action, i.e., by reformulating the content of the previous modifying clause as being only 'typical', rather than 'exact' (*nwukwu-nka po-ko-sip-un mwe incey kulen nukkim-i-ya*. "It's a feeling that you want to see someone, well, it's that kind of feeling.")). As an expression of approximation, *kulen* is aligned to turn-taking organization in such a way that it projects imminent completion of the turn, presumably on the basis of the achieved sense of intersubjectivity. This feature of *kulen* is demonstrably oriented to by the interlocutor, who often produces an acknowledgment token and/or starts his/her turn in overlap just after the modifier *kulen*. The findings further suggest that the explication of the functions of *ku* has a bearing upon the analysis the collocational use of various discourse markers or fillers such as *mwe* 'what', *way* 'why', and *incey* 'now', and sentence-ending modal suffixes such as *-cianha* (committal), which all support in one way or another the referential practice involving *ku* by way of providing the resource for grounding the target referent on the interlocutor's shared knowledge.

**Ali Asghar Sultani**

***A discourse analysis of the socio-political changes of the Islamic Revolution 1979-2003***

To answer the question how the power behind a discourse reproduces in a society, this paper presupposes the hypothesis that the discursive power reproduces in the society through fore/backgrounding. To evaluate the hypothesis, the semantic conflicts between the Reformists and the Conservatives – the two outstanding Iranian political discourses – and the representation of the conflicts in the Iranian press have been analyzed in the framework of Laclau and Mouffe's discourse theory due to its capabilities for providing macro-level explanations. However, we assume that macro-level explanations have to be substantiated by micro-level textual analyses, otherwise the researcher may be misled. Thus, text analysis tools provided by Halliday have been added to Laclau and Mouffe's discourse theory to fill the gap. To move smoothly from macro analyses to micro analyses, a generalized conception of fore/backgrounding has been proposed to link macro theory to micro theory.

Fore/backgrounding is a widespread linguistic and non-linguistic process. Passivization, transitivization, nominalization, word selection etc. are fore/backgrounding mechanisms at sentence level and above the sentence. Not only do we constantly fore/background reality in our language, but also we do it in our actions by voting or not voting, providing or not providing economic support, etc. The root of the phenomenon is in Lacan's theory of subject, which has also been incorporated into Laclau and Mouffe's discourse theory. When the subject internalizes the images received from the outside, she feels that she does not quite fit them. As a result of this conflict between the internal and the external, the subject foregrounds things in line with her



internal feelings and backgrounds things in opposition with her internal feelings both in her language and actions. In this way, we can analyze the language and the actions of the subject, and discourses in general, in terms of fore/backgrounding.

Based on such a theoretical framework, we analyzed the interactions between the Reformists and the Conservatives, bringing into consideration the way they fore/backgrounded reality as realized in their linguistic and non-linguistic activities.

In sum, this study had two major results. With respect to the case of the study, we could provide a general explanation of the formation of the Islamic Revolution and how it gradually divided into the Reformists and the Conservatives from 1979 to 1997. The study showed that the reason why the Reformists overcame in 1997 presidential election was the crystallization of the semantic system of the Conservatives' at that time. The Reformists, too, lost their hegemony, as the parliamentary election in 2003 showed, due to the gradual crystallization of their semantic system from 1997 to 2003.

Regarding theoretical considerations, this study showed that adding Halliday's text analysis tools to Laclau and Mouffe's discourse theory by means of the new conception of fore/backgrounding can provide us with a theory by means of which we can perform a unified macro-level and micro-level analysis simultaneously.

## **Hao Sun**

### ***Exploring forms and functions in telephone conversation closings***

The study of telephone communication constitutes an important aspect of pragmatics and cultural studies. Research on telephone conversation conducted in different languages have reported cultural variations (e.g. Houtkoop-Steenstra 1991; Lindstrom 1994; Pavlidou 1994; Sifianou 1989; Sun 2002, 2004). However, most of the research has focused on the opening phase of telephone calls, with the exception of a few studies (e.g. Pavlidou 1998; Sun, 1998, 2004b). Ordinary as they may seem to be, closings are a delicate matter both technically and socially, as pointed out by Levinson (1983).

The purpose of this study is to provide a descriptive account of how female native speakers of Chinese bring telephone calls (between familiar parties) to an end linguistically, structurally, and interactively; it also intends to uncover pragmatic and cultural conventions constitutive of such verbal behavior. The research questions are the following: How do native speakers of Chinese complete telephone closings in non-institutional settings? Specifically, what linguistic forms are used to indicate one's intention to close? How are closings accomplished interactively?

Data base of this study consists of thirty-nine audio-taped naturalistic telephone calls recorded by six Chinese women residing in China. The choice of female participants was intentional to reduce potential variables as much as possible in light of reported gender differences in language use. Results from follow-up interviews with participants are also incorporated. In addition, for comparative purposes, the presenter draws on analyses of fifty-seven comparable naturalistic calls recorded by native speakers of American English.

Observed patterns render the following findings: First, initiation of closing in Chinese is often realized through a type of matter-of-fact statement, which explicitly conveys one's intention to end the call. Secondly, verbalized thanking occurs between familiar parties but not between very close relations (e.g. in mother-daughter conversations). Thirdly, the archetype of closing (a four-turn exchange) proposed by Button (1987) does not form a dominant pattern in Chinese telephone conversation closings between familiar parties. In addition, in most of the calls, leave-taking is not accomplished in the form of an adjacency pair as is the case in English, presenting evidence of cross-cultural variation. Lastly, overlap and repetition is the norm rather than the exception.

Incorporating a functional perspective to the examination of conversational interaction, the presenter provides descriptions and analyses of how conversation partners successfully accomplish ideational, interpersonal, and textual functions (Halliday 1973) through the use of linguistic devices and interactional strategies, exploring the interrelation between forms (linguistic and structural) and functions. Issues of politeness will also be addressed.

In conclusion, ideational, interpersonal, and textual functions of language reflect fundamental characteristics and meanings of language in different cultures; yet how these functions are accomplished linguistically, pragmatically, and interactively can be culture-specific.

## **Eija Suomela-Salmi**

### ***Je blogue, tu blogues, nous bloguons...: Weblogs and genres***

There exists a certain consensus as to attributing the coining of the term weblog to John Barger in 1997. Very soon, in 1999, a shorter version blog was coined by Peter Merholz (en.Wikipedia.org). This is the term that has also been adopted to French, first in its English form and subsequently in its francised version yielding blogue

and the corresponding derivations: the verb *bloguer* and the verbal noun *bloguer*. A more rarely used variant for *blog* or *blogue* is *joueb* corresponding to *weblog* in English.

Blogs have been defined in very simplistic terms stating that they are frequently updated Internet “journals” containing shorter or longer texts with relevant hypertext links and an invitation to interaction in the form of comments. Yet, the very first blog was a journalistic one, published on the site 24 hours of democracy by Dave Winner in 1997 (Broudoux 2002). The notion of “journal” should thus not be taken only in the traditional sense of private journal. Or at best we could say that in a sense it is a private journal that is not meant to be private.

Weblogs as a genre (in English) have been described by Herring et al. (2004). They point out that blogs show “intermediate characteristics”, which makes them attractive to users. It is, however, not evident whether blogs constitute one single emergent genre, a range of subgenres of some traditional genre or a set of blends. The concern of this paper is with the relevant criteria for characterizing French weblogs in generic terms. The analysis of a large number of semi-private and semi-public blogs shows that several different pragmatic parameters varying in weight account for the construction of weblogs as genre(s). The data consist of French ‘private’ journals (still dominant in the French ‘blogosphere’; cf. also the results of Herring & al. (2004) for English blogs) and blogs by politicians, the first of which in France go back only to the spring of 2004.

Users classify blogs in everyday terms according to their topic (music, art, politics, everyday-life, websites...). In pragmatic terms blogs can be classified on a continuum ranging from private to public sphere: at the private end we have individuals writing to their peers or potential peers connected by similar interest, intellectuals and journalists writing in their capacity as citizens etc. At the public end there are politicians, political parties, associations, commercial enterprises and corporations keeping blogs. In interactional terms blogs can be defined either as mono- or polygenerated (i.e. produced by one or several authors) revealing different degrees of community (between authors and their readers and horizontally, between listed favourite links and blogs of other people).

The study has implications for our understanding of weblogs as a nexus of traditional (related offline genres) and emergent genres within CMC. In disclosing different weightings given to central pragmatic parameters it adds to our knowledge of the (sub)genres.

### **Malgorzata Suszczynska**

#### ***Repair work in close and intimate relationships: Apologizing to colleagues and spouses after a verbal argument***

The paper presents some of the findings of the research in Repair Work (RW) strategies of Hungarian adults, 50 males and 52 females, who as EFL teachers participated in the MA program offered by the University of Szeged, Hungary. The data were collected with the help of a written discourse completion test (DCT), adapted to contain contexts relevant for that professional and age group, like conflicts with colleagues at work and arguments with spouses. Although the majority of apology and RW studies use the CCSARP model, the present paper follows and develops Meier's approach, organizing RW strategies into four orientations: the S>>H orientation, where S uses strategies oriented towards restoring harmony with H, like apologetic routine formulae or appeals for peaceful negotiation, the S>H orientation, where S accepts his/her role as the offender and H's role as the victim in need of redress, and admits violation, performs self-blame, offers restitution or even declares love towards H, the S<H orientation, where S attempts to present S's side of the situation and provides excuses, appeals to H's understanding or jokes, and finally the non-RW S<>H orientation, where S openly reproaches H, makes malicious remarks or decides to opt out of communication. The findings demonstrate that the nature of the S-H relationship and the participants' gender influenced the participants' choices both on the level of orientations and individual strategies. Thus, all participants used more routine formulae towards colleagues, females exceeding males, than towards spouses, there were fewer S<>H strategies used towards colleagues, males definitely exceeding females, than towards spouses, where all participants used more S<>H strategies with some interesting gender differences: only males made malicious remarks, but mostly females expressed open disagreement with their partners. Also, males twice as often as females declared they would opt out of communication and wait till things calm down by themselves.

The analysis of RW among friends and colleagues has revealed that RW and apology ('polite' behavior) cannot be properly understood without accounting for non-RW strategies ('impolite' behavior), which regularly accompany RW and play an important role in the RW process for both men and women. While supporting many earlier generalizations concerning gender differences in apologizing my paper also shows that gender enactment is a highly context-sensitive process.

**Kana Suzuki**

***The participation of a third party in other-initiated repair in Japanese conversation: Collaboration and local alliance among participants***

An ongoing project on the organisation of other-initiated self-repair in Japanese conversation has revealed its striking similarities to that in English (Schegloff, Jefferson, and Sacks 1977; Schegloff 2000), despite the linguistic dissimilarity of these languages. One of the common features is that this type of repair is accomplished by two participants. That is, the recipient of some talk first claims to have trouble in hearing and understanding the talk and initiates repair on it. The trouble is then resolved by its original speaker. In two-party conversations, those roles are distributed amongst each of the participants, one becoming the trouble-source speaker and the other the repair-initiating party. When more than two participants are involved in conversation, a third party often takes as active a part in the activity as the other two “main characters,” rather than detaching themselves from the business as a mere witness of the occasion. They may, for example, take over the role of the repair executor or support the repair-initiating party by claiming to have the same problem themselves.

This paper explores the participation of a third party in other-initiated self-repair activity in such contexts. A conversation analytic framework is employed to examine cases taken from multi-party conversations in Japanese. It is found that, even though only one of the participants initially raises a problem, the others also attend to it as their “own” problem, which should be solved in collaboration. The orientation and the efforts toward the joint solution of the problem are observed in the ways in which each participant produces the repair solution or a response to it. At the same time, the third party’s alignment to either of the main characters may invoke an epistemic issue as to who knows the matter-at-hand best and who is most eligible to know it. Especially when problems of understanding are at issue, the moves participants make within the activity display their knowledge or limit of knowledge about the matter. How the participants present their considerations of this epistemic imbalance and deal with the issue in the process of the repair that they are engaged in is shown. Participants’ collaboration, on the one hand, and their local alliance, on the other, are both consequential for the achievement of the goal of the repair activity, i.e., the solution of troubles.

**Ryoko Suzuki**

***Intersubjectification in the development of quotatives in Japanese conversation***

Japanese is known to have a rich variety of morphemes available to express the speaker’s attitude towards the utterance and towards the interaction. These forms typically occur at the “edge” of a clause, i.e. at the beginning or the end of an utterance. This study focuses on pragmatics at the clause-final position in Japanese. Specifically, it investigates the patterns of development of intersubjective uses observed in some quotative forms (TTE and related forms) in colloquial Japanese.

The data are taken from the conversational portions of novels stretching from the 1780s to the 1980s, as well as the conversational transcripts of the 1990s. According to the data, TTE, the representative quotative form in conversation today, and the main target of this paper, first occurs in the 1830s’. Over the ensuing period of just under 200 years, TTE has shown an interesting tendency in terms of the development of discourse functions: it started as the quotative, and later developed uses related to intersubjectivity. Especially curious is the development of uses as an utterance-final pragmatic particle associated with communicative actions by the speaker of insistence, joking, the expression of adversity, hearsay reporting, giving directives to the addressee, and so on.

The analysis of the diachronic data clearly shows that the quotative TTE, which originally occurred before the main verb (i.e. a verb of saying) of a clause, has been gradually reanalyzed to an utterance-final pragmatic particle in some contexts, following an independent clause. Syntactic reanalysis from a quotative complementizer in the middle of a clause to a pragmatic marker at the edge of a clause became possible because of the frequent co-occurrence of the quotative TTE in front of a verb of saying, typically, the verb IU. In other words, speech act types, such as insisting, joking, expressing surprise/disagreement, hearsay reporting, directing others to do something, and so forth, have been conventionalized and have come to participate in the meaning of TTE, while the main verb of saying has come to be unexpressed. The evolution of TTE as an utterance-final pragmatic particle thus supports the view that reanalysis is an inevitable process for pragmaticalization.

The observed development suggests that the process of change is unidirectional, following the powerful tendency of meaning change attested cross-linguistically: from less to more expressive, from less to more interaction-oriented hence more intersubjective. Through using diachronic conversational data, this study presents a new perspective in the way we look at quotatives – away from a type of evidential, used to mark an indirect source of information, to a tool that allows a speaker to involve the addressee in an interactive context.

<Examples>

(1) Quotative use

Tanomi tte nan desu, densan.

‘What do you mean by “favor”, Densan?’

(2) Final particle use: Insistence

iya sonna koto nai tte.

‘No, (I repeat,) that's not so TTE.’

(3) Final particle use: Joking

ikkai itta kara doraibu niwa jishin mo tsuiteru shi tte? <Laugh>

‘Since (I) drove (all the way to San Francisco) once, I have confidence in my driving also, (just kidding) TTE.’

## Satoko Suzuki

### *Metalinguistic function of quotative markers in Japanese*

Various utterance-final quotative expressions in Japanese are known to provide evaluative or emotive commentary to the preceding utterance. For example, datte (a copula da plus a quotative particle tte) has been described as a marker of sarcasm (Adachi 1996) or unexpectedness of information as well as negative evaluation (Suzuki 1999). Toka itte (lit. ‘saying something like’) functions to invalidate the preceding utterance and produces the tone of self-mockery much like ‘just kidding’ in English (Suzuki 2000). The quotative particle tte at an utterance-final position produces a wide range of emotive effects such as surprise and disbelief (Itani 1994), emphasis and hesitation (Maynard 1997), and playfulness (Suzuki 1998). This is compatible with Ono and Suzuki’s (1992) observation that Japanese morphemes that express pragmatic meanings tend to occur clause-finally.

In this paper, however, I would like to show that even in a clause-medial position certain pragmatic meanings are expressed. As shown in (1) tte may be used in a clause-medial position. Tte marks what the addressee has just said.

(1) A: Hito ga ii n da kara, okaasan wa.  
‘You are (lit. mother is) such a good person.’

B: Hito ga ii tte, fuufu de, hito ga ii mo warui mo  
aru mon desu ka.

‘A good person [marked by tte]!? There is no such thing as being a good or bad person between a married couple.’

In the above examples what follows tte is a metalinguistic commentary about what is marked by tte. In (1) speaker B does not think it is appropriate to use the phrase hito ga ii ‘being a good person’ in that particular context and makes a comment on it. By repeating back the addressee’s words, the speaker signals that there are some problems with them. This use exemplifies the metalinguistic function of tte.

I would argue even when tte is not used to echo what the addressee has said, tte retains this metalinguistic nature. When not repeating the addressee’s words, tte is used to mark a topic which is redefined from a new (or rediscovered) perspective as in (2).

(2) Soreni tsure no sekai tte daigaku no taiiku-kai mitai ni  
nenkoo joretsu na n desu yo.

‘And the world of fishing [marked by tte] is hierarchical in terms of seniority like athletic clubs in universities.’

The speaker of (2) is an expert in fishing. She is redefining the topic (the world of fishing) for the sake of the addressee. By using tte, which is associated with repeating the words and indicating inappropriateness of them, the speaker signals to the addressee that there are some problems with the preconceived, conventional ideas about the topic and that the topic needs to be redefined.

Emotive effects of various utterance-final expressions discussed in the first paragraph can also be analyzed in terms of the metalinguistic function. By using expressions that are associated with indicating inappropriateness, the speaker expresses the sense of detachment, which may be interpreted as sarcasm, surprise, or playfulness.

## Takashi Suzuki & Mayumi Usami

### *Co-constructions in English and Japanese revisited: A quantitative approach to cross-linguistic comparison*

Japanese conversation has often been characterized as highly collaborative, especially compared to English. Mizutani (1988) claimed that a high frequency of co-constructions is one such characteristic of conversational Japanese. There have been studies, however, which reported that few co-constructions were found in Japanese conversational data (Ono & Yoshida 1996). Ono & Yoshida (1996) further concluded that co-constructions are “rare” in Japanese, attributing the reason to a pragmatic constraint regarding the “private territory” of information. Hayashi and Mori (1998), on the other hand, questioned the validity of cross-linguistic

comparisons of the frequency of co-constructions, arguing that "the basis of comparison cannot be established clearly" (1998:89).

In the present study, co-construction is defined as "a syntactic sentence constructed by two or more speakers." For example:

Speaker A: 'So they left....'

Speaker B: 'on Sunday.'

The aim of the research was to compare the frequency at which co-constructions occurred in English and Japanese conversation. To this end, we analyzed approximately six hours of Japanese and English conversational data, a large portion of which was recorded under comparable conditions (e.g. the number and gender of, and the relationship between speakers). We also used two different standards for comparison, firstly, frequency based on time, and secondly, that based on the number of "discourse sentences" (Usami 2002), for the purpose of triangulation. We found that under comparable conditions in our data, co-constructions do occur more frequently in Japanese than in English both in terms of time and the number of discourse sentences. We also found that even within one language, the frequency of co-constructions differs depending on the relationship of the speakers. We found no evidence that the 'territory of information' restricts the occurrence of co-constructions in Japanese.

Our study demonstrates that by using data obtained under comparable conditions and multiple standards of comparison, a meaningful comparison can be made regarding the frequency of interactional phenomena such as co-constructions. Although the result of such comparisons must be interpreted with caution (Hayashi & Mori 1998; Schegloff 1993), the present study confirms Mizutani's (1988) impressionistic claim that the high frequency of co-constructions is a characteristic of Japanese conversation. The difference in frequency depending on the relationship of the speakers suggests that a cross-linguistic comparison of interactional phenomena must take social contexts into consideration.

## **Jan Svennevig**

### ***Two preferences in the choice of repair initiators in conversation***

Repair initiators have been claimed to have a "natural ordering" in terms of preference (Schegloff, Jefferson & Sacks 1977). In testing this claim, I find that repair initiators can be classified according to two dimensions. The first is their capacity to locate the problem source: some just indicate that there is a problem ("huh?"), others locate the problem ("you went where?"), and others again propose a solution ("you mean Manhattan?"). The other is the nature of the problem, as hearing, understanding or acceptance. Empirical analysis of ordinary conversation as well as institutional interaction shows that speakers display a preference for "strong" initiators along the first dimension, that is, they give priority to initiators that locate the problem or suggest a solution to it (as suggested by Schegloff et al.). Along the second dimension, however, they show a preference for "weak" initiators (they prioritize treating the problem as a hearing problem rather than a problem of understanding or acceptability). Evidence for this preference can be found in the ordering of initiation formats in cases of multiple repair initiation: it can be observed that hearing repair generally comes before understanding repair, such as here (data from native/non-native institutional interaction):

Trouble source turn: B: bakerjob is that good or no?

Hearing repair initiation (hearing check) A: bakerjob?

Hearing repair (confirmation) B: yeah

Understanding repair initiation A: yeah bake bread, is that what you mean?

Understanding repair B: mh: baker in: it's at Hasle.

In addition, there is evidence from the frequency of the initiation formats and in patterns of self-repair. The preference for hearing repair can be explained as a resource for backgrounding and avoiding the potentially more delicate issues involved in initiating repair of understanding and acceptance (possibly implying a lack of competence in the former case and disaffiliation in the latter, cf. Sacks 1992, vol. 2:413). They thus seem to orient to a principle of "try[ing] the least complicated and costly remedy first" (Pomerantz 1984:156).

Hearing repair initiators give the original speakers the possibility of inspecting their own utterance not only for potential problems of identifying the linguistic form of the utterance, but also for problems of comprehensibility and acceptability. In cases where they detect a potential problem at these levels, they have the opportunity of providing (self-initiated) repair of these aspects as well in their next (repair) turn. This practice is observed in the data:

Trouble source turn: B: but I d- don't like to work that without the papers,  
I have- like to work with the papers.

Hearing repair initiation (hearing check): A: with paper?

Hearing repair (conf.) + understanding repair: B: yeah but uh: with taxes and everything right?

After an initiation of hearing repair, the repair itself deals with aspects of understandability. This practice thus allows the parties do deal with problems of understanding and acceptance without explicitly addressing them as such.

Finally, the paper deals with the interaction of the two preferences and conflicts between them.

## **Zoltan Szabo**

### ***Non-coreference***

Consider (1) and (2):

(1) Bertrand shaves him.

(2) He is happy when Bertrand shaves.

The preferred readings of these sentences strongly suggest that the pronouns refer to someone other than Bertrand. Part of this is explained by the Binding Theory: Principle B excludes the indexing in (1a), and Principle C the indexing in (2a). Assuming the standard interpretation of indices, this guarantees that the pronouns do not refer to Bertrand as a matter of semantics. In addition we need a story about how the difference of indices in (1b) and (2b) carries the pragmatic implication of non-coreference.

(1a) \* Bertrand<sub>1</sub> shaves him<sub>1</sub>.

(1b) Bertrand<sub>1</sub> shaves him<sub>2</sub>.

(2a) \* He<sub>1</sub> is happy when Bertrand<sub>1</sub> shaves.

(2b) He<sub>1</sub> is happy when Bertrand<sub>2</sub> shaves.

Standard pragmatic explanations of non-coreference are contrastive and broadly Gricean. The key idea is that when they intend coreference, speakers avoid (1) – (2) in favor of (1') – (2'):

(1') Bertrand shaves himself.

(2') Bertrand is happy when he shaves.

They do so in order to be more explicit. So, if a speaker chooses (1) or (2) in favor of (1') or (2'), the hearer can conclude that (assuming she is cooperative) the speaker does not intend coreference. (This explanation comes in many versions; cf. Reinhart (1983), Fiengo and May (1994), Levinson (2000).)

Now, (1) is ambiguous in a way (1') is not. But it is hard to see in what sense (2) is supposed to be more perspicuous or informative than (2'). And to articulate a sense in which (3) is more explicit than (3') seems impossible.

(3) ?? I shave me.

(3') I shave myself.

The moral is that contrastive explanations are stuck with an unexplained preference for co-indexing. This fact is acknowledged in Grodzinsky and Reinhart (1993), but they simply stipulate the missing ingredient of the explanation.

I argue that we can do better. I appeal to a framework of mental files and to general principles of filing. Neither is invented to account for this particular problem: the framework goes back to Heim (1982), the principles are from Szabó (2000), where they were introduced to explain how the uniqueness implications of definite descriptions and the non-uniqueness implications of indefinite descriptions arise. Ultimately, non-coreference is a matter of the economy of the filing process.

## **Polly Szatrowski**

### ***Emotion/assessment in Japanese conversations between college women***

Although previous research on emotion/assessment in Japanese has focused on grammatical forms (Nishio 1972, Teramura 1982, Yatabe 1986, and others) and verbal expression of emotion/assessment in conversation (Mori 1999, Maynard 2000, 2001), little attention has been paid to how verbal and nonverbal behavior are integrated in the development of emotion/assessment in conversational interaction. In this paper I will examine the dynamic development of Japanese emotions/assessments in two 20-minute Japanese conversations between two pairs of college women. I address the following questions: 1) What are some typical patterns in the development of emotion/assessments in the interaction, and 2) How do participants use verbal/nonverbal behavior to negotiate emotion/assessments.

Research on evaluation (Labov 1972) and involvement (Chafe 1982, Tannen 1984, 1987) has focused on topic, pacing, narrative strategies and various linguistic and paralinguistic devices. C. Goodwin's (1986) and C. Goodwin & M. Goodwin's (1987) research on assessments (expressions that evaluate a person or event) shows how speakers use verbal and nonverbal behavior to express and get others to feel an experience, thus creating "congruent understanding". Assessment is not limited to the "assessment signal," i.e., specific segmental unit such as the adjective "beautiful," but emerges through the "assessment activity" as the speaker monitors recipients' reactions and redesigns his/her assessment over time. M. Goodwin & C. Goodwin (2001)

also demonstrate how emotion is an embodied performance, involving intonation, gesture, body posture and timing. Karatsu (2004) shows how Japanese story tellers use evaluative devices and nonverbal behavior to design the storytelling for their recipients.

I identified sections which involved emotion/assessment in my data by the presence of an "assessment signal" related to *kai* 'pleasure' or *hukai* 'displeasure' (Nakamura 1979:13), and analyzed the sequential organization of each section. Results showed that after an explicit expression of emotion/assessment, the recipient either agreed/empathized or did not. In the former case, the speaker often used verbal/nonverbal behavior to pursue/upgrade the response, while in the latter they tended to diminish their expression. In other cases, where the emotion/assessment was created without explicit mention from the start, participants joined together to co-create shared events, followed by explicit mention of the emotion/assessment.

The expression of emotion/evaluation emerged as speakers monitored and designed their verbal/nonverbal behavior to accommodate their recipients' reactions over time. Speakers' explicit announcement of their emotion/assessment was often met by the recipient's laughter. Subsequently, speakers pursued their recipient's response using 1) narration from a past perspective, 2) onomatopoeic utterances, 3) metaphoric and iconic gestures (McNeill 1992), 4) facial expressions, 5) prosodic lengthening, and 6) dramatic quotation. Recipients responded with 1) *aizuti* 'back channel,' 2) prosodic lengthening and pitch change, 3) laughter, 4) connectives, 5) imitation of voice quality and body movements, and 6) comments. In contexts where both participants shared the emotion/assessment from the start, they 1) overlapped and repeated each other's utterances, 2) used deictic gestures where they pointed at one another, and 3) concluded with an explicit expression of the emotion/assessment. This research contributes to the growing body of research on the embodied performance of emotion/assessment in situated interaction.

**Margaret Szymanski, Paul Aoki, Luke Plurkowski et al**

### ***Organizing multi-party talk: Orienting to multiple simultaneous conversations***

Multi-party conversational interaction often results in multiple simultaneous conversations. Groups of four or more participants have methods for schisming (Sacks, Schegloff, and Jefferson, 1974), transforming one conversation into two simultaneous conversations that are visible by the operation of two turn-taking systems; the greater the group size, the greater the number of conversational floors possible. Egbert (1993) described how participants induce schisming through the production of turns designed to break away from an already ongoing conversation, and how participants resolve schisming resulting in the continuation of either the pre-existing or the break-away conversation. What happens in between? When a group of friends gather and simultaneous conversations co-occur, how do they manage their involvement in these multiple conversations? What methods, aside from sequence completion, enable a participant to change the trajectory of his current conversation to induce schism resolution?

This study describes how members of close-knit social groups manage their involvement in multi-party conversational interaction. Specifically it examines the ways in which speakers engaged in conversation orient to another co-occurring conversation, implicating a schism-resolution for their own conversational floor and the opportunity to re-join the other floor. One way participants orient their action to two simultaneous conversations is through the use of pivot turns. A pivot turn is produced within the constraints of one's own conversational turn-taking system and is sensitive to the turn-taking organization of the other co-occurring conversation. Pivot turns are produced in a transition relevance space of the other co-occurring conversation. These turns are designed to be understood within the context of the other co-occurring conversation because of the use of deictic terms, for example, "I want to see that too." While pivot turns create the opportunity for the speakers to re-join the other co-occurring conversation, next actions by either the other participant in one's own conversation or participants in the co-occurring conversation determine the degree to which the pivot turn changes the trajectory of either conversational floor.

The data corpus consists of seven hours of audio recordings of mundane, copresent, multi-party (8-10 people) conversational interaction. The participants were friends or acquaintances ranging from 14 to 24 years old. First, the data were coded to signal the initiation and subsequent lapse of a conversational floor; many floors occurred in overlap. Then, spates of talk containing turns that oriented to multiple floors were collected and analyzed using conversation analytic methods.

**Irma Taavitsainen**

### ***Negotiating social roles in sixteenth-century medical dialogues: Constructing identities through speech acts***

Roles contrasting generations, experience and learning, i.e. an expert and a novice, a teacher and a learner, a wise old man and a foolish youngster, are created through dialogue in some sixteenth-century medical dialogues

that cut across the borders of fiction and professional writing. The basic pattern of questions and answers is elaborated by speech acts in negotiating interpersonal relations, to emphasise or to mitigate the claims, and to provide a social decorum. I shall analyse the unfolding dialogue in terms of speech acts and politeness in constructing social roles and identities, paying attention to linguistic features like first- and second-person pronouns, address terms, direct and indirect requests, pleas, compliments and apologies. My method of analysis is mainly qualitative, but I shall also use corpus linguistic methods to verify the patterns.

My material comes from the Corpus of Early English Medical Writing (CEEM; forthcoming, see [http://www.eng.helsinki.fi/varieng/team4/1\\_4\\_4\\_3\\_p-corpus.htm](http://www.eng.helsinki.fi/varieng/team4/1_4_4_3_p-corpus.htm)), including e.g. William Bullein's Governayle of Health (1558/9), Bullein's Bullwork (1562) and The Fever Pestilence (1564/95).

## **Izumi Tahara**

### ***L'interprétation pragmatique de l'usage temporel du plus-que-parfait***

Notre étude sera consacrée à une analyse pragmatique de l'usage temporel du plus-que-parfait.

Le plus-que-parfait du français est souvent décrit, dans la plupart des descriptions grammaticales, comme exprimant une éventualité antérieure à une autre éventualité du passé, autrement dit comme indiquant le passé dans le passé. Dans le système proposé par Reichenbach (1947), à savoir en recourant aux coordonnées S (point de parole), E (point d'événement) et R (point de référence), le plus-que-parfait est expliqué comme suit : R est antérieur à S et postérieur à E. La notion de R est introduite par Reichenbach dans le but d'expliquer le plus-que-parfait, qui exige que l'éventualité soit appréhendée via un moment situé entre E et S. Dans cette communication, nous nous pencherons sur quelques phénomènes qui ne peuvent pas être expliqués dans l'explication grammaticale et celle de Reichenbach qui considèrent donc l'usage temporel du plus-que-parfait comme exprimant l'antériorité d'une éventualité par rapport à une autre éventualité passée introduite dans le contexte.

Nous étudierons d'abord la relation temporelle qu'un énoncé au plus-que-parfait peut entretenir avec d'autres énoncés dans le contexte. En montrant plusieurs exemples attestés, nous signalerons que la régression temporelle ne peut pas être considérée comme une propriété valable dans tous les cas, car la relation temporelle qu'entretient un énoncé au plus-que-parfait avec un autre énoncé peut varier selon le contexte. De plus, nous nous intéresserons à l'effet de flash-back que le plus-que-parfait peut provoquer dans la fiction. C'est un effet contextuel particulier qui permet au lecteur de suivre un courant de temps secondaire qui se situe antérieurement au courant de temps principal d'un récit. D'après nous, une séquence des énoncés du plus-que-parfait produisant un effet de flash-back introduit plusieurs R secondaires (R'), qui constituent un courant de temps secondaire de l'histoire. C'est l'introduction de plusieurs R' qui entraîne la progression temporelle. De plus, il faut suffisamment d'informations contextuelles et aussi des connaissances encyclopédiques du lecteur afin que la lecture de flash-back d'une séquence des énoncés au plus-que-parfait soit confirmée.

Ensuite, nous aborderons encore quelques problèmes liés à l'interprétation du plus-que-parfait dans le discours de fiction. Nous nous intéresserons notamment au plus-que-parfait du style indirect libre et au plus-que-parfait de rupture. Afin de rendre compte de ces deux usages, nous introduisons la notion de sujet de conscience (C). Plus précisément, ce sont les usages du plus-que-parfait qui nécessitent de s'interpréter à travers un C distinct de l'auteur ou du narrateur pour produire une lecture pertinente. La valeur de C varie en fonction d'éléments pragmatiques comme les informations contextuelles ou les connaissances encyclopédiques du destinataire. D'après nous, dans le cas de du plus-que-parfait, le recourt à C est motivé par l'absence d'un R pertinent dans l'environnement cognitif du destinataire.

En fin de cette communication, nous présenterons un modèle pragmatique du processus interprétatif de l'usage temporel du plus-que-parfait suivi par le destinataire. Ce faisant, nous montrerons comment le destinataire parvient à l'interprétation la plus pertinente d'un énoncé au plus-que-parfait parmi plusieurs possibilités.

## **Akira Takada**

### ***Interplay between gestures and deictic: An analysis of indexical expressions among the San of the Central Kalahari***

This paper examines an aspect of the navigation practices of the San, who once lived a nomadic life in the Kalahari Desert. The San possess a vast folk knowledge relating to their arid environment. Analysis of their conversation shows that their distinct communication style forms the basis for activating this knowledge. This paper demonstrates how an experienced navigator displays directional markers through the use of various semiotic resources, looking at gestures and verbal deictic, in particular.

The following classification is adopted in this paper. A "depicting gesture" is one in which the relationship between the signifié and significant is based on a similarity between the body movement and the



shape of the referent, whereas in a “deictic gesture”, the referent is indicated by spatiotemporal adjacency. A “proximal demonstrative” refers to a person/thing near the speaker, whereas a “distal demonstrative” is distant from the speaker. When interacting, distinctions between these demonstratives reflect the background knowledge that the speaker supposes the recipient to have (Hanks, 1992).

There is a systematic interplay between depicting/deictic gestures and proximal/distal demonstratives in the navigation practices of the San. The following example is from a conversation recorded during a hunt in their “traditional” living area. We had parked our vehicle near the campsite and walked for several hours, in order to hunt springhares.

1 Author: kone-si    maa-da    haa  
                 vehicle-SFX INT-SFX    be

Where is the vehicle? ((Following this utterance, both K and G looked backwards and pointed far away by their right hands))

2 K: [nee se cie]  
         DEM PRO stop  
         [Here it stops]

3 G: [nee nee aa kone-si e]  
         DEM DEM PRO vehicle-SFX PTC  
         [Here, here is that vehicle]

Abbreviations: DEM; demonstrative, INT; interrogative, PRO; pronoun, PTC; particle, SFX; suffix

Following the author’s question in line 1, K and G immediately pointed in the same direction. With this deictic gesture, they simultaneously gave the same proximal demonstrative, “[nee]”. Before this conversation, the author was unsure of his bearings. By contrast, K and G had located themselves in the environment accurately, and recognized our route. Therefore, they were able to use a deictic gesture immediately. Note that K and G used the proximal demonstrative to point to the vehicle, although it was some distance away and trees prevented us from seeing it. In doing so, they indicated that the vehicle was nearby and that its location was obvious to them. This suggests that the space they claim as their own is much broader than that for non-San.

This example demonstrates that navigation practices constitute a promising research domain for developing an action theory that examines both language use and the structure of the environment in which the action occurs (Goodwin, 2000). I postulate that the experienced navigator is accustomed to placing his/her body within a huge living area, and that s/he continuously un-packages information presented there. In other words, appropriate movement is expedited by embodied thinking. Moreover, s/he often supposes that others share this vast personal space, a supposition that shapes their distinct communication style.

## **Tomoyo Takagi, Aug Nishizaka & Michie Kawashima** ***Instructional talk in obstetrical and gynecological settings in Japan***

We examine various kinds of instructional talk provided by medical experts to their clients at obstetrical and gynecological clinics, using the Conversation Analytic technique, based on videotaped consultations, ultrasound diagnoses, and various examinations. We focus on various activities embedded in the process in which decisions about what kinds of medical treatments should be provided are being sought. In particular, we will attempt to demonstrate the following:

1) In the examination of the patient’s basal body temperature chart, the doctor’s evaluative comments on this chart demonstrate to the patient how to “read” this artifact. The doctor may move on to a proposal for a future treatment, which contributes to the elaboration of the demonstration, or those comments may occasion a request for clarification and explanation from the patient. The conditions of the patient are not pre-given and waiting to be discovered, but negotiated through action sequencing in interaction.

2) The doctor is often confronted simultaneously with the task of explaining their proposed treatment and the task of explaining the nature of the client’s “discovered” problem. Especially when the client is supposedly ignorant of both the treatment and the nature of the problem, the doctor may attempt to explain the latter through the explanation of the former, and vice versa. This “reflexivity” of explanations may be facilitated by “enacting” the treatment in front of the patient in a way subtly fitted to the development of interaction.

3) The doctor and the client at a gynecological counseling session collaboratively establish what aspects of the client’s personality and experience are relevant or irrelevant to the menopausal problems presented by the client herself and therefore to the treatment for them. The doctor introduces aspects of other clients’ behaviors or experiences comparable to what the client is claiming to be relevant. Interestingly, in some cases the juxtaposition of such a comparable event that happened to the other clients can lead to the reinforcement of the relevancy of the client’s own disposition or experience just topicalized, while in the other cases it serves to normalize the topicalized disposition or experience and thus attenuates its relevancy as a possible cause of the problems. In this presentation we will explore how these different trajectories that the

doctor's juxtaposing action takes are accomplished by the participants' collaborative organization of a counseling activity.

### **Kimie Takahashi**

#### ***English as an Akogare commodity: Critical ethnography on Japanese women in Sydney, Australia***

On this panel, I report on my critical ethnographic study on Japanese women's akogare – desire – for appropriating the West and consuming English as an “international” language (EIL).

Consumption of English education in Japan has followed a gendered pattern (Kobayashi, 2002). However, there is little critical investigation into this phenomenon, more precisely, into how Japanese female learners of English are socially, culturally, and sexually positioned in the power relations to the idealized Western male native speakers of English within the range of glorifying discourses of EIL such as “English empowers Japanese women”.

In this paper, I investigate the ideology of Japanese women's akogare for learning English from macro and micro perspectives. Firstly, we look at the ways in which Japanese media and the ELT industry in Japan powerfully function to produce the gendered/sexualized ELT by visiting the phenomenon of renai (love) English and ikemen (good-looking) Western male teachers of English (see Piller & Takahashi, forthcoming). A range of examples, such as ELT materials, women's magazines, manga, and ryugaku (study overseas) guidebooks will be presented to highlight the discursive nature of this akogare construction.

Secondly, drawing on my critical ethnographic data, I discuss the impact of the gendered and sexualized ideology on Japanese women and their short- and long-term approach to learning English. The majority of Japanese women in my study, ages ranging from mid 20s to late 30s, reported having had tremendous akogare for the West and the English language since their childhood. Into their puberty to adulthood, such akogare began to become intricately entangled with romantic desire for White Western men, making the learning of English a highly gendered and sexualized practice. What emerged in data that I collected from “hanging out” with the participants in various social spaces in Sydney, Australia, include (1) the prevalence of the discourse of White Western native speaker men as an avenue into language learning, (2) a constant play of sexual and power politics between Western men and Japanese women in social interaction, and (3) their agency in producing counterdiscourses to the akogare discourse of English, the West, and White Western native speakers of English.

In conclusion, while acknowledging the possibility for power inequality produced within the occidental akogare discourse, my study challenges the dichotomies between Japanese women as “desirer” and Western men as “desired”, and non-native speakers as “powerless” and native speakers as “powerful”. Through our discussion, I hope to show that politics of identities in the context of second language learning are far more complex than previously painted. Thanks to an emerging number of critical Japanese scholars (see Tsuda, 2000, Kobayashi, 2002), gender specialists, (e.g. Pavlenko & Piller, 2001, Kelsky, 2001) and grassroots organizations (see McMahill, 2001), we are beginning to ask more relevant and useful questions – who says English is good for us?

### **Makiko Takekuro**

#### ***Attunement sequences of Japanese honorific use***

Previous studies have claimed that either certain properties of macrosociological context (e.g. formality of the speech situation, interlocutors' social status or group membership, or the lack of intimacy among interlocutors) determine honorific use or that the individual speaker determines the use or non-use of honorifics based on their linguistic ideologies. Against these accounts, this study provides an alternative account of Japanese honorific use, based on conversations among Japanese speakers in their 20s and 30s in service-encounters, the office, and peer-group gatherings. I found that interlocutors engaged in actual interaction do not always show expected uses of honorifics. I propose “attunement” as a phenomenon operating in unexpected uses of honorifics. By “attunement,” I mean that interlocutors make use of others' speech through repetition or alignment on the level of morphemes, words, or registers. Interlocutors use or do not use honorifics in order to attune to others' use or non-use of honorifics in their interaction. I argue that the phenomenon of attunement reveals dynamic aspects of Japanese honorific use emergent in the ongoing process of interaction. By incorporating Goffman's (1981) notion of participation framework into the analysis of honorific use in Japanese, I also explore the extent to which honorific use depends on modes of co-engagement among participants such as speakers, addressees, audience, and by-standers. I conclude that the speaker's use of honorifics is not an individual act but a social and collaborative construct, arising out of on-going social relations.

In actual interaction, I found that: 1) customers in service-encounters use addressee honorifics to clerks who speak to them in addressee honorifics, while the same customers in the same service-encounters do not use addressee honorifics to different clerks who do not speak to them in addressee honorifics; 2) it is common among peers that, when one speaker uses an honorific form, subsequent speakers continue using honorifics one after another; and 3) speakers who know prescriptive rules of honorific use still use respectful forms of referent honorifics to refer to them in the sequences of referent honorific use. To these speakers, honorifics are expressions of humor and solidarity as well as deference. These examples demonstrate that current interlocutors' use or non-use of honorifics is not dependent on the macrosociological factors as traditionally considered. It is motivated by previous interlocutors' use or non-use of honorifics, while influencing subsequent interlocutors' use and non-use of honorifics. Attuned uses of honorifics emerge only in the course of interaction.

Attunement is prevalent not only in honorific use but also in interaction, in general. In attunement sequences, the presence of audience and by-standers also plays a significant role. The speaker and addressee enter into relationships with audience and by-standers who remain silent and construct themselves so as to negotiate their use or non-use of honorifics. Participants co-adapt themselves to newly developed social relations and further them at each moment, through the use of honorifics and other linguistic resources as a result of their co-engagement in communications.

**Miyuki Takenoya**

***Speech act of commenting in the media discourse: Sequencing of commentary sentences and organization of newspaper column articles***

'Comment' is one of the verbs denoting illocutionary acts (Searle 1969, p. 23). The present study investigated how speech act of 'commenting' was accomplished in the media discourse. This study was based on the text data taken from newspaper column articles entitled 'Koe (voices),' posted in Asahi Shimbun, which was one of the major nation-wide newspapers in Japan. The data was composed of approximately 70 column articles collected during the months of September and October of 2004. These column articles were written by newspaper readers to express their thoughts and opinions regarding their daily and social life.

According to Maynard (1997), column articles were composed of two types of sentences: commentary sentences, which were the opinions expressed, and non-commentary sentences, which were the descriptions of facts and situations. Maynard reported that the commentary sentences in the Japanese column articles appeared toward the end of each article (80-90% of cases) and, thus, followed the Japanese traditional rhetorical organization of Ki-Sho-Ten-Ketsu (introduction - development - turn - conclusion), which was originally the four-part-structure of Chinese poetry.

The research questions which guided the present study were: how commentary sentences were distributed in the articles, and how speech act of 'commenting' was accomplished. In analyzing the data, first, all the sentences in column articles were identified as either commentary or non-commentary, using the criteria proposed in Maynard (1997). Then, the sequence of commentary sentences was analyzed and the organization of the column articles was examined.

Preliminary analysis revealed that column articles contained more than one commentary sentence and these sentences appeared throughout the article rather than did in one particular location at certain part of the article. Although the act of commenting was completed at the end of the article, various commentary expressions appeared throughout the article to help the article accomplish the act at the end. One of such cases can be seen in the column article, 'Why don't you connect services of bullet trains in Tokyo?' as the following:

- (1) Watashi wa shinkansen o riyoo shiteiru tachiba kara yooboo ga aru.  
(Paragraph 1--I have a request as a passenger of bullet trains.)
- (2) Soogo noriire dekinai ka to iukotoda.  
(Paragraph 2--I wonder how extension of services at both parties is impossible.)
- (3) Donna shoogai ga aruno daroo ka.  
(Paragraph 2--I wonder what obstacles there will be.)
- (4) Riyoosha niwa zutto fuben na hazuda.  
(Paragraph 3--I am sure this is far inconvenient for the passengers.)
- (5) Konna teian mo zehi kentooshite hoshii.  
(Paragraph 5--I'd like to have this kind of request truly considered).

Commentary sentences (1) through (4) were all related to the ending commentary (5), and each of them established a crucial step for the following commentary sentences. This showed how the act of commenting could achieve as a whole, not at the ending only. The study further discussed the sequencing of commentary sentences related to the organization of column articles.

**Kazuhiro Takeuchi, Katsuya Takanashi, Ikuyo Morimoto & Hitoshi Isahara**  
***Success of explanation: Analyzing global level intentions of speaker in explanatory monologue***

Although a monologue seems to be just a speaker's sequence of utterances to deliver "information" to a listener, it must be understood as an interaction between the speaker and listeners. In this presentation, we argue that constructing the mutual assumption of "evaluation" to the topic is essential for a speaker to succeed in his/her explanation in a monologue.

As we can make requests, ask questions, and give orders in a dialogue, some performances of each utterance in a dialogue can be analyzed in terms of speaker's intention or purpose. In dialogue analysis, such an "intention" has been arranged into a certain set of labels named "speech acts" for each utterance. Those labels have been useful as a tool for explaining "acts" that achieve each result after the corresponding utterance. Grosz and Sidner (GS) proposed a generalized model to the relation between discourse structure and intention recognition, in which each of intention could be organized in a hierarchical structure. The GS model enables us to assume more general intentions to explain the role of the utterance instead of the immediate (local) intention that had been explained only by the relationship between the utterance and its adjacent utterances.

To examine the problems of extending the GS model to more general intentions (global intentions) where we cannot observe their achievement directly, we gathered 25 explanatory speeches in which we asked the speaker of each speech to explain her/his experience for about 15 minutes. To analyze those speeches, each of us played a role as an attentive listener, who infers how the speaker planned to convey the evaluation that she/he had discovered in the mentioning topic. Those analyses were described using abstract nouns (such as interest, conclusion and reason) that are rarely used by a speaker to mention his/her experience in a straightforward manner, but are suitable to abstract a speaker's perspective of a certain sequence of utterances. In consequence of an exhaustive analysis of the variety of such extracted abstract nouns, we argue that a variety of explanation is constrained by which axis of a mentioning object the speaker selected to evaluate. For example, if a speaker is proud of his expensive watch, the explanation to achieve his boastful intention in a monologue should be based on which axis (of value) the speaker is proud of (how much he paid for it, which of its features are quite rare compared with other watches).

Subsequent discussion is which utterance is a trigger to motivate the listener to construct such mutual assumption.

Our assumption is that some utterances have at least two functions:

- 1) To introduce a keyword related to the topic to the listeners
- 2) To make the listeners anticipate introducing speaker's evaluation of the topic

To assess this assumption we present the varieties of the types of those triggers by showing the concrete examples extracted from our data.

**Junko Tanaka & Kazuhito Yoshioka**  
***Comprehension of conversation implicature in ESL and individual differences***

It has been reported that second language (L2) learners often have difficulty in producing L2 appropriately in accordance with the L2 pragmatics (see Rose & Kasper, 2001). Not only can the L2 learners not produce the L2 pragmatics appropriately but also they may not be able to comprehend L2 pragmatic distinctions such as conversational implicature, or indirectly conveyed messages. Unlike L2 pragmatic features that can be realized in L2 surface linguistic features such as morphosyntax and vocabulary choices (e.g., 'tu' and 'vous' distinction in French), conversational implicature cannot be readily associated with L2 surface linguistic features.

Comprehension of conversational implicature would require L2 learners to go beyond mere understanding of the literal meaning of L2. Therefore L2 learners need to possess orientation to notice and to decipher things that occur around the learners, and motivation to search meanings of L2 expressions that are beyond their literal meaning. In this study, we investigate the following two questions: (1) whether L2 learners can comprehend conversational implicature in an L2; and (2) whether personal attributes, such as orientation to notice and understand diversity and L2 learning motivation, are associated with understanding of L2 conversational implicature. To answer the first question, Bouton's implicature test comprised of 20 questions (1988) was administered to Japanese learners of English as a second language (ESL). The test takes the format of multiple-choice questions following dialogues. To answer the second question, two questionnaires were administered to the participants in addition to the test. One was the motivation questionnaire developed by Dörnyei (2000). The original questionnaire developed for adult learners of English in Hungary was translated and adjusted to suit local participants. The other questionnaire is designed to measure "orientation toward critical thinking," which is individuals' tendency to engage in critical thinking (Hirooka et al., 2001).

Undergraduate students taking ESL in Japan were asked to take the implicature test (Bouton, 1988)

followed by the questionnaire for "orientation toward critical thinking" (Hirooka et al., 2001) and the motivation questionnaire (Dörnyei, 2000). Data have been collected and are now under statistical analyses. Obtained data from motivation questionnaire underwent a factor analysis and the Cronbach alpha was calculated to confirm its factors and internal consistency. Correlation coefficient was calculated between the test score and the questionnaires. Correlation coefficients are also being compared between the integrative-motivation factor and the other motivation factors and between the social factor and the other factors of critical thinking. Our prediction regarding language-learning motivation is that integrative motivation will be related to performance on the implicature test and even more so than the other factors of motivation possibly because motivation of integrative nature may facilitate the gathering and/or learning of information of a target language (e.g., watching television in L2). Investigation of the relationship between implicature comprehension and cognitive orientation is exploratory in nature but we hypothesized that social cognition would relate more strongly to the test score than non-social factors since comprehension of conversational implicature depends partly on interpretation of the given social context.

## **Noriko Tanaka**

### ***Roles in interaction: The effects on mother-daughter telephone conversation***

When we interact, we play various kinds of roles. Because the roles of the participants in interaction affect the way they communicate, we should pay serious attention to such roles. In Tanaka (2001), I considered what kind of roles the participants adopt in my TV interview data, and discussed what categories we need in order to examine the interaction. Based on the categorization of 'social role' and 'discourse role' by Thomas (1986), I proposed the sub-categorization of the former: 'societal role' 'personal relationship role' and 'activity role'.

'Societal role' is defined as a role that the individual occupies in society, regardless of the relationship with another interactant in the current interaction. For example, if the interviewee is a comedian by occupation, s/he may be treated as a 'comedian' by the interviewer, which is likely to affect their topic choice. 'Personal relationship role' refers to the personal relationship obtaining between one interactant and another in society. If the interviewer is a friend of the interviewee, their relation may extend to the interview and may affect their interaction. On the other hand, when we focus on a specific setting and the roles there such as 'interviewer' and 'interviewee', we may categorize them as 'activity role', which strongly constrains the way of their talk.

In this paper, I apply these categories to a different type of interaction. The data come from the private telephone conversations between a mother (73 years old) and her daughter (50 years old), which were recorded from June 2003 to September 2004. Focusing on some examples from the data, I would like to show how their 'societal role' 'personal relationship role' and 'activity role' affect their topic choice, the discourse structure, and their politeness behaviors. We can see how each interactant highlights one of their roles in order to attain her goals, such as showing consideration for the other person's health, persuading the other person to do something. The analysis will reveal that behind their casual talk, there are some 'subtle friendly power balance' in their roles.

In order to deal with this particular type of interaction, some revisions will be made on my previous categorization, and further sub-categorization and development will be proposed. Although the analysis of other types of interaction will require other categories, I hope that my work will offer an example which is useful for other researchers in considering their own categories for analysis.

## **Sanna-Kaisa Tanskanen**

### ***Fear of flaming: Metapragmatic utterances in computer-mediated interaction***

For participants in a computer-mediated discussion, the communication setting can be a challenge; messages are written and thus more permanent than speech, the spontaneity of which can nevertheless be one of the aims of the participants. Furthermore, the interaction does not take place in a physical space, but a virtual one, without auditory or visual contact between the participants. Communicative failures, which may culminate in the conduct known as flaming (i.e. aggressive behaviour towards other participants), have been widely discussed in studies of computer-mediated interaction (see, for example, Avgerinakou 2003; Kolko & Reid 1998). In order to facilitate communication and avoid such failure, participants in electronic discussions may use various strategies: for instance, Hancock & Dunham (2001) note that metacommunicative signals (such as still there?, questions?) are used to help avoid breakdown in communication.

The research reported on in this paper concentrates on metapragmatic utterances in computer-mediated discussions, i.e. utterances which are not concerned with the topic of discussion but comment on the communicative act itself. The material comes from discussions on mailing lists and message boards. For illustration, let us consider the following sequence from a message-board discussion:

(a) I don't want to get in an argument on this board...but...

(b) I don't really think this is an argument I think it's more of seeing both sides of the fence.  
(c) I just wanted to also remind you I'm not trying to argue just having a friendly debate/discussion.

In (a), before commenting on the on-going discussion on the board, the writer offers a prospective metacomment, i.e. a disclaimer, fearing that the comment may otherwise be misunderstood or perhaps even construed as flaming. In (b), another participant reassures the writer of (a) that there is no need for anxiety, while (c) comes from the end of a message by a third participant and shows concern similar to (a).

The first metapragmatic utterance (a) changes the direction of the existing discussion and creates a new one, which is then carried out parallel to the original discussion. The topic of the "new" discussion is the appropriateness of the messages, assessed by the writers themselves (as in a and c) or a fellow-participant (b). The paper suggests that sequences such as the above serve a collaborative purpose: although they may disturb the coherence of the original discussion, they create coherence at a higher level and thus help maintain the communication process.

## **Maria Tarantino**

### ***Pragmatic and cognitive presuppositions: Staple of discourse spheres***

The paper suggests that pragmatic and cognitive presuppositions feed the chain of meanings which differentiate discourse domains. Thus, their identification and study may lend insight into the different forms of imagination, experience and intellectual inquiry which contribute to the development of a variety of knowledge, understanding and speech genres. In turn, this awareness could yield better descriptions of the factors governing the coding and decoding of meaningful texts.

The discussion briefly recalls traditional treatment of presuppositions mainly concerned with the definition of the semantic and pragmatic features of lexical items or expressions from everyday speech. It emphasises the multidisciplinary strands of the concept of presupposition, framed as: "...what the speaker assumes is true or known by the hearer..." (Yule 1996:132), and suggests that the truth and knowledge fuelling communication may involve schemata, actions and language feebly related to ordinary speech patterns.

The analysis then focuses on the cognitive and pragmatic assumptions differentiating scientific and literary realms of discourse. In particular, it delineates the presuppositions couched in J. Joyce's "Three quarks for Muster Mark" in parallel with the assumptions built in the expression three quarks in high-energy particle physics. In the literary piece, the author creates a fictional context and construes a situation drawing on imagination and on a keen sensitivity to words nurtured on humanistic studies. In this cultural sphere, the term quark is charged with allusive reference. The reader can appreciate the meaning of the piece according to his/her evocative abilities, familiarity with the legendary dramatic persona jested in the piece as well as with the rituals and raillery of drinking scenarios. The truth and knowledge supposed by the writer have literary, historic and social roots. The artistic value of the literary piece can be appreciated through commentaries, but no addition or expansion to the original text can be made. Joyce's three quarks will remain fixed in time and space.

M. Gell-Mann introduced the term quark in the discourse of high-energy particle physics to name three 'queer' particles which could explain the arrangement and behaviour of the forces regulating the sub-nuclear world. The singular entities hypothesised by the scientist were required to justify the stability of the atomic nucleus and to define interactions between its components. They were conceived by drawing on imagination nurtured both on humanistic studies and on mathematical and deductive procedures. The definition of the particles follows reasoning and investigating patterns proper of the disciplinary branch. The reader can appreciate the concept and theory underlying the linguistic forms owing to familiarity with the disciplinary models, discussions and verification techniques on which the proposal and argumentation are grounded. In turn, the reader may contribute direct and/or indirect experimental demonstrations to verify the concept and to apply it for advancing knowledge of the sub-nuclear world.

Hence, it is suggested that better understanding of presuppositions underlying the different discourse universes could lead to a deeper comprehension of the rules which govern both metaphors and anaphoric, cataphoric and exophoric references woven into literary and scientific texts.

## **Sergei Tatevosov & Xenia Kisseleva**

### ***Free variables and semantics-pragmatics in interface: Derivational attenuatives cross-linguistically***

Problem. This paper aims at exploring one type of grammatical polysemy that emerges at the semantics-pragmatics interface when the pragmatic information is invoked to fix a value of a free variable introduced in the semantic representation.

More specifically, this paper proposes a strategy of treating (apparent) grammatical polysemy demonstrated by (1) from Chuvash (Altaic, Turkic):

- (1) vashcha uj-a suxala-kala-r-e.  
 Vasja field-DA plow-KALA-PFV-3SG  
 a. Vasja plowed a field making pauses <discontinuative>  
 b. Vasja plowed a field partially <partitive>  
 c. Vasja plowed a field slowly <lentitive>  
 d. Vasja plowed a field not thoroughly <attenuative proper>  
 e. ....

Chuvash, as well as dozens of other genetically unrelated languages, possesses a special grammatical morpheme (hereafter the attenuative morpheme) indicating that a situation occurs rarely, has short duration, is interrupted, does not involve the whole of the participant, etc. (In this paper we will provide first-hand cross-linguistic data from Turkic, Finno-Ugric, and Samoyedic languages.) The problem, then is how to capture all available interpretations and explain the observed variability.

The proposed strategy is the following. Assume that semantically, morphemes of this type are not ambiguous, that is, they have a single general coded meaning. Yet, their semantic representation contains free variables that are fixed pragmatically, given contextual information and conventionalized knowledge of the world.

Analysis. Intuitively, the solution to the puzzle exemplified by (1) begins to emerge on a view that every event predicate can be associated with a variety of gradable properties, such as CONTINUITY, DURATION, etc. Attenuative morphemes indicate that the degree to which an event that falls under a particular event description possesses a certain gradable property is less than the expectation value *dstnd*.

Technically, we suggest that attenuatives can be uniformly analyzed in terms of degree restriction (see Kennedy & McNally 2002, Picon (to appear) for recent proposals about semantics of degrees):

(2)  $ATT \sim \lambda y \lambda e \lambda d [S(d)(y)(e) \ \& \ d < \text{dstnd}]$

The semantic representation of the verb modified by the attenuative morpheme from (1) is (3):

(3)  $[ATT \ [ \text{Deg-v} \ [ \text{plow} ] ] ] \sim \lambda y \lambda e \lambda d [Fc([ \text{plow}(e) \ \& \ \text{Theme}(y)(e) ]) = d) \ \& \ d < \text{dstnd}]$

(3) contains two instances of free variables: *Fc* and *dstnd*.

*Fc* is a free variable ranging over degree functions that measure the extent to which an event *e* with its participant *y* (*e* and *y* stand in the relation *R*) possesses a certain gradable property. Given an appropriate context, *Fc* can be identified as *FCONTINUITY* (a function that provides measure against the CONTINUITY scale), *FSPEED* (SPEED scale), *FDURATION* (DURATION scale), and as whatever other scale compatible pragmatically with a particular event description. This correctly captures the fact that (1) does not involve an exhaustive list of possible meanings, but introduces a sort of semantic template that can be filled freely provided that general interpretability requirements are met.

For *dstnd*, two options are available:

(4) For closed scales (e.g. CONTINUITY) *dstnd* is set to 1, for open scales (e.g. SPEED) it is set to *CS*, where *CS* is a contextually fixed average degree for a particular event type.

(4) predicts, correctly, that different readings of (1) have different properties. While, e.g., the discontinuative reading merely indicates that the degree of continuity of the event is less than maximal (that is, there are temporal gaps in the running time of the event), the lentitive reading establishes a context-dependent measure: what counts as slow movement can be different in different circumstances, but what counts as continuous movement is always the same.

Summary. The paper offers a possible strategy of accounting for the grammatical polysemy which is not semantic by nature but emerges at the interface level. Also, it provides a unified analysis of apparently unrelated uses of attenuatives in terms of degree modification. Essentially, this analysis assumes a free variable over degree functions, the value for this variable being fixed pragmatically.

## **Donna Tatsuki & Yuriko Kite**

### ***Film as data to focus on remedial interactions***

This study is the second of a series of projects to examine the linguistic properties and pragmatic features of teacher /learner selected popular films. The results of an earlier study in this project on compliment behavior yielded similar results to that of Rose (2001), pointing to the robustness of film as a consistent model of pragmalinguistic behavior but not of sociopragmatic behavior. Rose found that film data correspond closely with naturally occurring speech data in terms of syntactic formula, compliment topic and compliment response strategy but that gender distribution and compliment response strategy diverged significantly from the naturally occurring speech data cited in pragmatics research.

Kumagai on the other hand compared the remedial interactions depicted in Japanese and American films according to gender, relationship, gravity of the offense and strategy use with no explicit concern over the representativeness of such data. However, like the Rose study, the results indicated that sociolinguistic aspects

such as gender distribution and compliment response strategy diverged significantly from the naturally occurring speech data cited extensively in pragmatics research.

This study replicates the Kumagai study focusing only on American film data in order to ascertain how robust film data is vis a vis remedial interactions. It uses a dialogue corpus of 40 films compiled from a survey of 302 language teachers and learners regarding the films that they use for language teaching/learning. This research is one of the first to use internet-based survey data as a tool to select a corpus for linguistic analysis in second language pedagogy, focusing on popular film.

## **Alessandro Tavano**

### ***Profiles of grammar/pragmatics interaction in the oral narratives of language impaired Italian children aged 4 to 10: Results of a preliminary study***

Aims: 1) To study the grammar/pragmatics interface in the oral narratives of normally and language impaired Italian children.

2) To define a set of profiles of normal and atypical development in oral narratives.

Background: Cross-linguistic investigation has shown that children younger than 4 have major difficulties in retelling a fictional story (Berman & Slobin, 1994) in that they display considerable linguistic resources but lack the fundamental elements of the plotline (Berman & Slobin, 1994: 49-50). Besides, up to 7 years of age children seem to have problems in providing the hearer with pragmatically coherent information on reference assignment (Karmiloff-Smith, 1980; Orsolini et al. 1996; Ariel, 1990; Tavano, 2003). Fictional stories require a complex interplay among cognitive, communicative and linguistic abilities usually available after age 4 years and adult-like at around 9 years of age (Berman & Slobin, 1994).

The study of populations with atypical development may provide insights into such complex interplay. Liles, Duffy, Merritt, & Purcell (1995) studied narrative structure and linguistic factors in children with Developmental Language Disorders (DLD), who have normal intellectual abilities but have a marked impairment at acquiring normal grammatical and lexical abilities: they found deficits at discourse (coherence) and clause levels (subject-verb agreement, subordination) which might have determined poor narrative content. DLD children may recover their language difficulties to a considerable extent but often remain impaired in verbal pragmatic abilities, such as the selection and production of relevant information or the comprehension of implicit meaning (Verhoeven & van Balkom, 2004).

What is still lacking is a profile of oral narrative abilities in DLD children, to determine the types of interaction between grammar and pragmatics among the different subclasses of DLD (especially production vs. comprehension) and their changes through time as formal language abilities gradually recover.

Materials and methods: Participants: 42 Italian DLD children aged 4 to 10 participated in the study. They were grouped along two dimensions: 1) subclass of clinically defined DLD, production (P) or comprehension (C); 2) chronological age (3 groups, 4/5, 7/8, 9/10 years of age). Six age/DLD subclass groups were thus obtained. 8 age-matched normally developing participants were selected for each chronological age group.

Procedures: Narratives were elicited from a six-picture wordless book describing a story the child was to tell. Results were coded following the guidelines of the CHILDES program (MacWhinney 1995) and the coding grid provided in Tavano, De Fabritiis and Fabbro (in press). Three domains of investigation were selected: narrative fluency (words per minute and content units per utterance); sentential complexity (clause complexity and morphosyntactic errors); and discourse reference, (types and number of coherent instances of discourse reference, see Ariel, 1990).

Results: 1) The profiles resulting from the three domains of inquiry significantly distinguish: a) normally developing children from the atypically developing children considered as a whole; 2) The DLD-production group from the DLD comprehension-group. 2) DLD-comprehension children present with a weaker increase in developmental trend in profile through age groups and with more problems in narrative fluency and discourse reference domains with respect to DLD-production children.

## **James Taylor & Elizabeth Van Every**

### ***Pragmatics and the constitution of organization***

We address three questions: (1) What is an organization? (2) How is it constituted? (3) How does the pragmatic dimension of language mediate this constitution?

Organization as Object

Law (2003 [2000]: 1) observes that "an object is an effect of an array of relations, the effect, in short, of a network. And that it holds together, it is an object, while those relations hold together and don't change their shape."



The network of relations defines a space: ordinary, or Cartesian space, to begin with. But objects also exist within a "syntactical or semiotic" space (Law, p. 5). The object—or organization—"moves only within Cartesian space. By contrast, it is immobile within network space" (p. 5). Organizations are thus what Latour (1990) called immutable mobiles. McDonald's has the same internal network configuration in Beijing as it has in Kansas City.

#### Communication and the Constitution of Organization

The network of relations is constituted by a "chaining of agencies" (Cooren, 2005). Agency, in turn, is constituted by the welding of three dimensions of relationship to form a unit of knowledge, action and social structure. The first of these is epistemic: the object must be known (sensemaking). The second is deontic: the object must be dealt with (practice). The third of these is taxemic: the knowing-doing links must be co-oriented (communication). Stabilization of the unit (co-orientation) generates agency, the building block of organization. Language as Mediation Between Real and Conceptual Spaces

The third component of our interrogation is inspired by Paul Thibault's (1997) re-interpretation of Saussure. Saussure demonstrated the connotational basis of language, as an internally structured system of relationships, syntagmatic and paradigmatic. Thibault's innovation consists in emphasizing the systemic implications of Saussure's theory. Thibault explains the Cartesian-semiotic inter-space dynamic postulated by Law in this way: "Parole is the interface between language form and its material-phenomenal environments. In this sense, parole 'faces two ways' in the process of cross-coupling the individual body-brain complex with the higher-order social semiological system" (Thibault, 1997: 184). Thibault explains: "Language is a resource for construing, acting on and intervening in the material world. In so doing, we adapt and modify it in socially and culturally specific ways in a given ecosocial environment" (p. 184). Language, he insists, is itself a dynamic system and it too, and its conceptual foundations, are in continual evolution.

Studying Organization. The focus of our research is on the constitution of agency, mediated by language use in communication. We document how the dimensions of knowledge, practice and social relationship are co-oriented, or fail to be co-oriented, in contexts of organizational adaptation to new technologies, in two milieux, medical practice and policing. Our analysis emphasizes the interferences that arise when previously distinct material-conceptual spaces interact: how they reconstruct chains of agency in response to pressures to change. We document how, as they do, actors construct accounts to (1) express their knowledge, (2) exhibit their understanding of the network of social relationships in which they are embedded, and (3) sustain and justify their practices in dealing with a material world.

### **Hedwig te Molder & Jonathan Potter**

#### ***Doing cognition: Managing knowledge and belief states in interaction***

The issue of how (if at all), or in what way, cognition figures in interaction is a live and complex one with important implications for how analysis can be done and what might be possible. Unlike conversation analysis and ethnomethodology, discursive psychology has developed largely within (social) psychology and has addressed the issue of cognition and more generally psychological themes, from the start. The general theoretical and analytic framework shares many features with conversation analysis and ethnomethodology. What makes it discursive psychology is that psychological topics are considered through the way talk and texts are used in action. Psychology is here a topic in people's talk, and a resource for that talk. This involves studying the way psychology is formulated (described, named, invoked or more indirectly oriented to) in interaction, as well as studying psychological categories and notions (such as mentalistic terms and metaphors) as tools for performing actions.

In this paper, we examine how issues that would traditionally be understood as cognitive are 'cognition' is interactionally managed and oriented to by participants themselves. The data are derived from two sources: online conversations on food pleasure and telephone calls to an NSPCC (National Society for the Prevention of Cruelty to Children) helpline. The analysis focuses in particular on sequences in which 'knowledge' and 'belief states' are made available and countered indirectly, namely through descriptions of actions, events, persons or objects that look like, or are constructed as, mere representation.

First we examine how participants in an online discussion forum construct specific entitlements to knowledge and experience relating to the domain of food enjoyment. More specifically, we focus on the discursive procedures that speakers use to present their assessments as being 'independently arrived at' (cf. Heritage & Raymond, 2002). Participants in second assessment position for example construct their food evaluations as grounded in objective reality ('Salad Nicoise is delicious') instead of 'simply' agreeing with the first assessment, thereby providing for their independent knowledge of and experience with the evaluated referent.

We also show how 'shared knowledge' in interactions between Child Protection Officers and callers is something accomplished actively and practically rather than being simply a consequence of the overlap of putative underlying 'knowledge' or 'belief states'. Callers for example orient to what happened in terms of an

‘incident’, thereby allowing the exact status of the incident to be established interactionally. The description of the event is a move in the business of doing orderly reporting of child abuse, occasioned by that business, rather than a trace of an actual mental state or perception.

Overall, then, the paper shows that there is no easy way of separating ‘knowledge’ or ‘belief’ from its linguistic construction and sequential position. It concludes by discussing the implications of this perspective for the role of cognition in interaction research.

**Jan ten Thije**

***Institutional key words in receptive multilingualism: A pilot study in a German-Dutch international organisation***

The shift of focus from reconstruction misunderstanding to understanding intercultural communication has had important theoretical and methodological consequences. According to theories on code switching and multilingualism, one should no longer assume that the monolingual speaker in a homogeneous speech community is the unmarked case, but replace this additive conception with the idea of an integrated bi- or multilingual competency (ten Thije 2003 a,b). Consequently, this paper takes the bilingual interlocutor in intercultural discourse as its starting point.

Receptive multilingualism has become a specific mode of speaking in international cooperation and professional teamwork in multinational organizations (Braunmüller / Zeevaert 2001). Employees profit from their receptive linguistic competencies in second and foreign languages in order to increase their (intercultural) communication (Clyne 2003).

This paper discusses the results from a pilot study of German-Dutch intercultural communication in an international organisation. The study reveals the institutional constellations that make receptive multilingualism possible. Subsequently, the study reconstructs how colleagues with different L1 competencies cooperate successfully by making use of this language mode. In fact, the study shows how institutional speech action patterns, like interactive planning and reporting, are realised in a receptive multilingual mode. This paper focuses especially on the function of institutional key words as a guarantee for attaining the institutional purposes. From a language political perspective this study argues that receptive multilingualism is a successful solution for language contact where English as lingua franca is not an adequate means for communication.

**Marina Terkourafi**

***On de-limiting context***

One of the most interesting consequences of Speech Act theory is the abolishing of a hard-and-fast distinction between physical and social facts. Cross-cutting this distinction, and of interest in the present context, is another, less problematised distinction, that between linguistic and extra-linguistic context, and the interface between the two. Language is of course uttered in a physical and social context at once, yet appeals to context for meaning resolution tend to focus on linguistic context alone, as if linguistic context can be clearly demarcated from extra-linguistic context, and accessed independently of it.

Although the advent of Gestalt psychology, and the ethnomethodological tradition which followed, represent a challenge to the assumed autonomy (or, more weakly, priority) of linguistic context, yet, in linguistic orthodoxy, when extra-linguistic context (encompassing both physical and social dimensions) is taken into account, this is usually done in a naive, theory-neutral way, and as a kind of last resort to resolve truth-conditional meaning (as in dynamic semantic approaches, e.g. Heim 1988), or as a necessary step toward capturing additional, non-truth-conditional aspects of meaning (cf. Tannen 1993).

Contrary to this perception, experimental work in phonetics has shown that ‘extra-linguistic’ information (concerning, e.g., the gender of the speaker, visually given or even imagined) can influence the resolution of phonetically ambiguous stimuli (Johnson et al. 1999), suggesting a much earlier integration of multi-modal information, already at the decoding phase of the interpretation process. In this case, extra-linguistic context would seem to be constitutive of meaning rather than an optional add-on.

Construction Grammar, which views language as an inventory of constructions at increasing levels of abstraction, is particularly well-suited for capturing this insight. Analysing spoken corpus data from Cypriot Greek annotated with information about extra-linguistic attributes of participants, it is suggested that constructions may well begin life as part of holistically perceived situations encompassing both linguistic and extra-linguistic information. The ‘seeds’ of the constructional meaning and future constructional development of an expression, then, lie in its function in this situation, i.e. its demonstrable outcome on the surrounding environment, or the subjective, internal experience it gives rise to. Replication of this outcome/experience on other occasions leads to the perception (or, construction) of similarities across situations both at the linguistic and extra-linguistic levels. Linguistic schemata (cf. Fillmore’s 1977 frames) and extra-linguistic schemata (cf.

Fillmore's 1977 scenes) thus co-emerge, giving rise, at higher levels of abstraction, to linguistic constructions and extra-linguistic categories such as gender, age, social class, setting, which can then be appealed to as variables in the analysis of extra-linguistic context. What is important is that neither linguistic constructions, nor extra-linguistic categories pre-date each other, and that both arise out of the holistic processing of information from various modalities. On this view, to start the analysis at the linguistic end, and only widen the scope to take into account extra-linguistic context at a later stage, is to put to cart before the horse. Only by incorporating extra-linguistic context into our analyses from the outset can we account for how constructional meaning emerges, and the constitutive role of extra-linguistic context therein.

## **Paul Thibault**

### ***Body dynamics and the multimodal integration of meaning across space-time scales***

A theory of situated meaning-making needs to account for both linguistic systems and their modes of deployment along with the ways in which other non-linguistic resource systems are co-deployed in concert with language. The metafunctional basis of systemic theory and its more recent extensions into other semiotic modalities are an ideal starting point for the purposes of this workshop. The focus will be on the ways in which language and other semiotic resources together constitute the structured activity sequences and interactive units whereby participants selectively orient to each other as well as to the material world in contextually relevant ways. In particular, the emphasis will be on the body as a semiotic resource and how it is used in jointly enacted and created activity sequences.

Although from a theoretical, developmental, and evolutionary point of view dynamic multimodal communication as in face-to-face interaction and video media are fundamental, I will also consider static presentational media that integrate language with graphical visual semiotic resources. The use of such media, in their production and interpretation, is also a dynamical process with multiple timescales, and it is important to consider such genre in relation to their functions in integrating social activity for groups across both timescales of social processes and across events in distant times and places.

Transcription practices and the resulting transcriptions in many traditions of discourse analysis that focus on spoken discourse tend to privilege the linguistic dimension of a text's meaning-making resources and to consider other resources such as gesture, phonological prosodies, gaze, movement, and so on as 'paralinguistic' rather than as full-fledged semiotic resources in their own right, with which language is co-deployed.

I will explore the thesis that meaning-making is centrally concerned with the cross-coupling and matching of bodily dynamics with the world in the course of jointly enacted and time-bound discursive activity. This means that the participants in time-bound discursive activity must reduce the degrees of freedom of both the external world and their bodily dynamics so as to achieve a fit between the two. However, this fit is best seen as a flexible, dynamic and adaptive process whereby heterogeneous elements and resources self-organize in the ecosocial space-time in which interaction occurs. The emphasis is on the changes that occur in a dynamic occasion of discourse as it unfolds in time. The following issues will be considered:

1. the need to re-think the expression stratum of semiosis in relation to bodily dynamics and their role in meaning-making;
2. the modelling of the cross-coupling dynamics that link both the material world and the bodies of interactants to the semiotic resources deployed; intra- and inter-semiotic cross-couplings and the text-context relationship;
3. the 'topological and typological' (Lemke) dimensions of meaning-making and their dynamical relations across the different scales of meaning-making implicated in texts.

## **Sandra Thompson & Jean Mulder**

### ***The grammaticization of but as a final particle***

In contemporary Australian fiction, dialogues can be found in which BUT ends a turn. Here are two examples:

(1) O'Fear. (Peter Corris (1991:100))

Bradley slapped the tops of his thighs. "Mine accident," he said. "Both legs bugged for good. Compo's coming through, but."

I nodded. "No hope?" I said. "Physio? Operation?"

"Stuffed," he said. "Mind you, I miss the fishing more than the bloody work."

(2) Murder in Montparnasse (Kerry Greenwood (2002:244))

'...Got a few mates who play jazz. Not my kind of music, but. And them musos drink like wharfies, a man can't hardly keep up with them. I'll come round about lunchtime tomorrow, all right? Today, I mean,' said Bert, noting that the church clock said half past twelve.

Fascinated to know to what extent this might reflect spoken conversation, and whether it might not be restricted to Australia, we began making a collection of examples from spoken American, Australian and New Zealand conversation and from internet newsgroups. The following example is from two teenage Australian girls:

- (3) A: We've had new people join our [group].  
B: [yeh]  
A: Kylie,  
she was a bit of a bitch but.  
B: um.

From these data emerge two hypotheses.

1. In contemporary spoken English (and written Australian dialogue), the behavior of BUT can be modeled as a continuum from a prosodic-unit-initial conjunction to a prosodic-unit-final discourse particle in a way that suggests a grammaticization process in progress.

The continuum that emerges from our data can be schematized like this:

- (3) front BUT [P.U.-initial 'conjunction'] >  
Janus-faced but >  
final BUT [P.U.-final 'discourse marker']

2. In terms of spoken interaction, the final BUT is a marker of concession in assessment sequences. As is characteristic of the Concessive relation, single-speaker use is derivable from dyadic use, and the concessive move which is signaled by the final BUT is a distillation of a larger, more diffuse discourse chunk.

To argue for these claims, we draw on contemporary data, looking at prosody, turn and sequence, with further support from similar phenomena in unrelated languages.

## **Joanna Thornborrow**

### ***Children's knowledge claims in classroom/peer group interaction***

Claiming to 'know' something can be a risky action for a child in a classroom, since knowledge claims are open to challenge by both teachers and/or peers. This paper looks at how children manage and negotiate claims to knowledge in whole class as well as small group interaction in a school setting. What are the local, contextual actions involved in claiming to know, what kind of discursive strategies are involved in making knowledge claims, and what kind of responses do such claims produce?

This paper is based on data collected for a research project on 10-11 year old children's interaction in school, both in classroom and outside, in school related activities. During the course of this research it became evident that children display an awareness that there are certain risks involved in claiming to 'know' something, and develop context sensitive strategies for downgrading or mitigating their claims in certain cases.

Through a conversation analytic approach to this data, I examine this particular - institutional - aspect of the organisation of talk in the classroom, and the implications for children's social/classroom competence.

## **Eva-Maria Thüne & Simona Leonardi**

### ***Foreward organizers, flashbacks and metaphors in the Israel-corpus***

Our research work is based on the Israel Corpus (partly accessible under <http://www.ids-mannheim.de/ksgd/agd/service/korpora/isserv/>), which consists of 145 dialogues with Jewish immigrants of German origin who went to Israel in the 1920s and 1930s. This corpus – originally assembled with the intention of documenting the degree of language preservation in a speech community implanted in a foreign land- was put together between 1989 and 1995 under the direction of the linguist Anne Betten (University of Salzburg, Austria) and has already been analysed on more than one occasion (cfr. Betten 1995 e Betten/Du-nour 2000).

Our approach starts from the assumption that the structure of the individual narrations in the Israel Corpus is the result of a complex process of elaboration in the memory where the material is manipulated in different ways so as to maximise cohesion between the various events. The narrations display a range of metalinguistic elements whose function is to direct attention to various key parts of the content. An important role is also played by metaphors, which are at one and the same time condensed expressions of cultural knowledge, and also individual creativity, as well as providing cognitive orientation that has a constraining effect on what happens later in the text.

In our presentation we want to concentrate on the organisation of the individual narrations, particularly on the structure of the introductions, especially as concerns the use of foreward organizers and similar elements (p.ex. "jetzt frage ich mich, welcher von den verschiedenen Strängen äähm ich jetzt anfassen muss?", Betty Chumah Kolath, 1.V.91, p. 12). Here too metaphors play a very important role, but more important still are the

strategies which the narrator uses to elaborate the main story and the secondary lines - how foreground and background are linguistically built up.

## **Christopher Tindale** *Sophisms and fallacies*

Reflecting on the possible relations between truth and argumentation brings into focus the ends of argumentation as conceived by theorists. Clearly, truth is considered an important goal by many. But is it the only goal, and is it even the most important? Moreover, is it even a viable one?

This paper addresses issues underlying these questions by looking at Aristotle and his competitors, namely, the Sophists. For Aristotle, truth (as he understood it) was the goal of philosophy in general and his entire epistemology is structured around this. Argumentation can be judged good (valid) or bad (fallacious) in relation to how it promotes this goal and conforms to the ideals of the philosophical enterprise. A fitting foil to this enterprise, for Aristotle's purposes, is Sophistic argument, broadly conceived. Its goals fall far short of the Aristotelian ideal; its refutations have only the appearance of refutation.

In fact, it is from this antagonism that the history of fallacy and the so-called 'standard' conception of false argument (fallacy) as one that seems to be valid but is not, emerge. This is crucial for our purposes: theorists have long worked with a conception of fallacy rooted in a particular philosophical orientation and, arguably, a product of an ancient debate. Where theorists have challenged that conception (as they have recently been doing in greater numbers), it is largely with respect to how this 'standard' view fails to meet modern appreciations of fallacious reasoning. This paper goes back to the original debate in order to examine something of what is at stake there with the competing notions of good and bad arguments, looking both at the model that emerged to dominate the tradition and also, briefly, at the path not (explicitly) taken and what that can contribute to our contemporary treatments of true and false arguments.

## **Vera Tobin** *Bias and the joint activities of narration: Detective fiction, clue-puzzles, and illusory intentions*

Although people are in general good at taking other minds into account, we often overestimate the transparency of our intentions in communication. Though we are accustomed to thinking of this as a kind of trap impeding successful communication, it is also an important ingredient in creating and interpreting sophisticated literary and humorous effects.

Because an author can pose as an author, a speaker and a narrator, writers and readers of narrative texts must establish some understanding of both the general organization of multiple layers of narration and the level(s) to which individual utterances within that configuration should be attributed. I will argue that cognitive biases such as the illusion of transparency (Keysar 1994) and the fundamental attribution error (Jones & Harris 1967) play an important role in the conceptual structure involved in reasoning about attribution in narratives.

This analysis focuses on detective fiction, a genre in which navigating levels of represented discourse and intention is particularly visible because of the ways in which it is incorporated into explicit puzzles for the reader. The presentation of clues in classic "puzzle-plot" mysteries involves two competing constraints for the author, which act as something of a special case of Horn's (1984) Q and R principles:

- (1) Mystification: The ideal reader mustn't guess clues' importance too easily.
- (2) Fair play: "The reader must have equal opportunity with the detective for solving the mystery. All clues must be plainly stated and described." (Van Dyne 1928)

The implied author's apparent intentions and implicatures calculated with respect to those intentions provide a major impetus for the practiced reader of detective stories to recognize an element as a clue or a red herring, rather than "mere" scenery. Meanwhile, other narrative levels can compete to obscure or complement those inferences.

Simple layer-based models of the discourse and conceptual structure of narrative, irony, and related phenomena (e.g. Clark 1996, Booth 1961) do important work in illuminating the kinds of conceptualization required for participating in these complex communicative activities. But the question of how language users make choices of attribution within that framework is still open. Analysis of these examples will show the importance of incorporating known cognitive biases into these models, and points toward an explanation of why some attested and even common narrative strategies nonetheless seem transgressive, experimental, or otherwise marked.

**Danièle Torck**

***Raising issues of responsibility and legitimacy around journalist quoting practices: The case of short partial quotes***

Forms and functions of reported speech and quotes have been described in oral and written interactions. In all situations, to report someone else's words involves the following questions: Should/May I quote? What/How much can or should be quoted? How to quote? As shown by studies in anthropological linguistics or social-psychology, the answer to the first question is often related to the position of the quoting speaker in the interaction (Cf. Shuman 1993), to notion such as entitlement and authority. Who is entitled to report discourse will often depend on the situation (participants and objectives).

In journalistic/media practices, questions raised about reporting/quoting will mostly be limited to the legal character of the quoting (is this an authorized quote, or were the words said 'off the record?') and to the reliability of the quote (is the quote faithful to the original speech in meaning?). The legitimacy of quoting is related to the functional uses of quoting. The quote can constitute the event or the issue, the quote can illustrate the event or the issue, or can function as a style addition as quotes make texts livelier and more interesting. Quotes are also said to emphasize the objectivity and the authority of the journalistic text. This authority refers on the one hand to the journalist's access to information sources and on the other, to his/her entitlement to re-contextualize and to reformulate speech.

This paper first describes mixed forms of reported speech, indirect speech or narrative report of speech acts with abbreviated quotes. This form of quoting is frequent in news articles, especially about politics (Torck 1999, 2002). partial quotes have been described as having an evaluative function (Weizman 1984, Gruber 1993), and they can lend themselves to a 'partial or slanted representation' of the original discourse (Geis 1987). Short partial quotes limited to a word or two, which have a priori neutral or positive meaning have a tendency to (re) activate connotations, common knowledge and stereotypes around the quoted speaker. In the second place, the paper reflects on the discrepancy between the frequency of this quoting strategy and the scarce attention given to it in journalism curriculum. Examples will be given from French, Dutch and British journalistic discourse.

**Lucia Tovena & Mari Alda**

***An additive and scalar particle: The case of neppure***

"Neppure" is an adnominal or adverbial marker belonging to the negative concord system of Italian that has additive (1) and scalar (2) interpretations. We offer a unified account of the item that also explains contextual restrictions on the reading distribution.

(1) Ma Tremonti «non si tocca», e neppure il suo superministro. (8-6-04) / But Tremonti cannot be touched, neither can his super-ministry

(2) Non ha mangiato neppure il caviale / He didn't eat even the caviar

"Neppure" does not affect the truth conditions of the hosting sentence, like "even" (cf. Bennett 1982 inter al.), except in preverbal position (negative concord reasons). But it always affects the felicity of an utterance by imposing constraints on the focussed element and on the context. In both interpretations "neppure" i) focusses on an element that is understood as a member of a class/series, cf. the standard additive meaning but also the

existential implicature of "even" (Karttunen & Peters 1979), and ii) it signals that the negative fact asserted of this element licenses inferences about related negative facts so that knowledge relative to the class is considered complete with respect to a certain state of speaker's knowledge. Differences are due to ways of satisfying some constraints.

Different contextual conditions trigger the interpretations. Additive "neppure" requires an overt antecedent (3), cf. (Zeevat 1991), with no need of overt negation ('hate/dislike' vs. 'not like'), cf. (Rullmann 2003). The hosting sentence must satisfy negative concord requirements, cf. (4) and (1).

(3) #Non ha mangiato neppure la pera / He didn't eat [even/\*also] the pear

(4) Detesta mele, pere e [non gli piace/\*detesta] neppure l'uva / He hates apples, pears and grapes too

The scalar interpretation requires no antecedent. The focussed value is associated with an order (where it is the strongest), hence it forces considering at least another element (minimal requirement for a scale).

The antecedent introduces an unordered set and the sentence conveys a contingent statement. The absence of antecedent leads to projecting an ordered set and the sentence has a predictive value. But whenever antecedent and focussed value are perceived as ordered by cultural (5) or lexical information (6), the scalar reading emerges. Flouting perceived orderings causes infelicity (7). Thus there is a general correlation between overt antecedent and additive interpretation and a mandatory one between scalar interpretation and no antecedent.

(5) Non ha votato per le amministrative e neppure per le politiche / He didn't vote in local elections and not even in the general ones

(6) Non ha studiato questo capitolo, e non l'ha neppure guardato / He didn't study this chapter and he did not even look at it

(7) #Non ha votato per le politiche e neppure per le amministrative / They didn't vote in the general elections and even in the local ones

In both readings "neppure" introduces an assessment in the information status relative to a class of individuals or actions, by temporarily closing the class. This epistemic statement results i) from overtly crossing out all the members (additive reading), i.e. the set is closed by the extensional enumeration; Or ii) by stating a criterion under which none of the members is retained (scalar reading). Here the focussed value provides the criterion to retrieve the other members (given its contextual, cultural or lexical properties), and provides the extreme value by virtue of being the focus.

Finally, the presupposition that the property predicated by the focussed constituent applies to at least another salient entity cannot be assumed to be known information. The price for accommodating it is paid by tightening the condition on the set from unordered to ordered, and by 'upgrading' such property to provide an intensional criterion for membership. This tighter condition can be enforced also via an overt antecedent, cf. (5) and (6).

## **Taija Townsend**

### ***Politeness in media discourse: Running as the First Lady or as a senate candidate***

This paper is part of a more extensive study on gender, discourse and politeness in written text where one of my aims is to investigate politeness in terms of forms of reference and examine the role of these forms in the characterization of female candidates running for statewide office in the United States. The study focuses on political discourse within the print media and on how candidates are being referred to in news reports.

Traditionally, the linguistic notion of politeness has underscored the strategies people make use of to promote and advance their objectives without threatening the status and dignity of others nor of themselves. For the purpose of this study, I use the notion of politeness and impoliteness as discourse strategies by which certain images can be created of political candidates. Thus, politeness has political implications on statewide elections and consequently on national politics in general.

My material consists of American newspaper articles chosen from the Major Paper section of Lexis-Nexis. The news reports cover the last six months of the New York Senate race 2000 in which the Democratic candidate Hillary Clinton was running against the Republican contender Rick Lazio. In this paper, "being polite" pertains to the use of terms of reference that portray Hillary Clinton as a Senate candidate (Hillary Clinton, Clinton) whereas "being impolite" relates to gender bias which takes the form of gender stereotypes. In the data, gender stereotypes primarily make reference to Hillary Clinton's private life (Mrs. Clinton, the First Lady, her husband, his wife).

The findings indicate that such polite and impolite discourse strategies coexist in the characterization of Hillary Clinton. In addition, the significance of politeness and impoliteness is closely connected to the make up of a news story. The headline is one of the most important parts in a news report as it is often the only part of a news report that is read. Headlines turn out to be particularly important as the study shows that gender bias occurs more noticeably in headlines.

## **Anna Trosborg**

### ***Legal speech acts in statutes, contracts and arbitration law***

This paper is concerned with the language used in legal speech acts in legislative texts in English Contract law, in simple contracts within the field of English Contract Law, and in the laying down of the law in international and domestic arbitration (UNCITRAL vs. Chinese Law). Interest centres on regulative and constitutive functions, and an analysis of realisation patterns of regulative (directive) acts is reported. The focus is on the linguistic realisation patterns of obligation, prohibition, and permission in terms of modal verbs and constitutive rules.

The findings show that the language of the law characteristically select patterns of directives which are specific to the legal domain. Face redress typically used in everyday communication as well as business interaction is not a device used in laying down the law. Moreover, the linguistic devices employed differ as regards different parts of the law. Modal verbs are typically applied for action rules, whereas constitutive rules are mainly reserved for stipulation rules and definition rules.

The analysis offers a comparison of Unicitral Model Law on International Commercial Arbitration and Arbitration Law of the People's Republic of China. Attention is paid to the adequacy of the chosen linguistic realisation patterns as regards simplification/easification of legal expressions. The results are then compared and discussed relative to those obtained in my previous studies of Contract Law.

**Stavroula Tsiplakou, Yanna-Maria Panayi & Yolanda Pandeli**

***Code-switching in computer-mediated communication and electronic performativity: The case of Greek email users***

The purpose of this paper is to examine the practice of code-switching between Greek and English in email communication among monolingual Greek speakers. By now there is a substantial body of literature on linguistic practices in computer-mediated communication (Daner & Hering 2003), in which it emerges persuasively that concomitant aspects of linguistic performance relate to the construction of particular sociolinguistic identities relevant to the medium (Herring 1996), or, to adopt a less radical perspective, that sociolinguistic identities typical of face-to-face interaction are mediated and transformed in virtue of the social/communicative practices and norms relevant to the medium. Code-switching from the speakers' first language to English features prominently among the mechanisms for constructing such novel linguistic/social-performative identities.

While the phenomenon has been studied exhaustively for speakers of L1s varying from Arabic to Mandarin (Su 2003; Nishimura 2003; Warschauer, el Said & Zohry 2002), there is hardly any research on the practices of native Greek speakers, apart from the work on transliteration practices by Androutsopoulos (1999, 2004), who has shown that the modes of transliteration of Greek adopted reflect user attitudes towards standardization and normativity.

In this context, the present research examines the performance of a group of ten university-educated native speakers of Greek, seven men and three women. The corpus consisted of five email messages from each user, i.e. a total of fifty email messages; the tenor of all the messages is informal/friendly.

The quantitative analysis revealed extensive code-switching, both inter- and intra-sentential, with English covering around 50% of the total of words used. The qualitative analysis showed that expressions of affect and evaluative comments as well as jokes and teasing were mostly in English, as were fillers, while openings and closings were either in English or in Greek. English was used as the language of 'negotiation' when asking favors, expressing disagreement etc., while Greek was reserved for the transmission of factual information.

Crucially, it can be shown that this type of code-switching is the vehicle for the effective double-voicedness inherent (i) in the emerging sociolinguistic identity of the email user and (ii) in the emerging genre(s) specific to computer-mediated communication. While used to carry out an array of communicative acts similar to those occurring in face-to-face or in written interaction, these novel genre(s) also display an extra layer of 'electronic performativity' which consciously enhances and transforms such communicative acts to suit the new medium and to construct novel mechanisms for acting them out; the use of alternative codes and 'voices' features prominently among these mechanisms.

**Aoi Tsuda**

***A pragmatic perspective of multicultural wedding receptions in Japan***

This paper is a pragmatic and sociolinguistic analysis of two wedding receptions in Japan. Both receptions under investigation took place after intercultural wedding ceremonies. In the first case, a Japanese woman married an American man, and in the second case, a Japanese woman married an Italian man. This research was conducted in order to investigate the possible influence by non-Japanese participants on congratulatory speeches at a traditional Japanese ceremony conducted in Japan.

The topics I will cover include both physical and linguistic factors used to construct the events. After a brief explanation of these features, I will analyze and draw conclusions about the pragmatic and sociolinguistic characteristics of the event. Finally, I will present some current statistical trends in intercultural marriages in Japan and discuss possible influences these may have on this type of formal ceremony. Following is a brief outline of the research topics addressed:

1) The physical arrangement of the reception. This includes how the tables are arranged to reflect the status and relationship between guests and dignitaries and the newly married couple. This is relevant to our discussion because this arrangement indicates the participants' place in the social hierarchy of the event. This information is a key factor in determining linguistic choices.

2) The formal procedures followed by the participants. The Master of Ceremonies (MC) makes an opening statement. The Matchmaker introduces both partners. The main guest from the bride and groom's sides present



congratulatory speeches followed by a toast (kampai). Attendants are then invited to enjoy a meal and conversation together at their tables. The bride leaves to change her clothes and returns to her original seat. Friends and colleagues then continue with congratulatory speeches.

3) Analyses of speech in terms of content and form. This includes speeches given by the MC, attendees and special guests. The structure of the speeches is organized according to formulaic patterns and in some cases involves code-switching.

4) Rhetorical Devices. This includes the use of formulaic and conventional terms, metaphor, quotation from Holy Scriptures and personification.

5) Conclusion and Analysis. (1) There is no distinction found between male and female speech patterns. (2) Only standard speech patterns are employed for the speeches - there is no dialect variation. (3) Register variation in MC's speech is evident. (4) H variety is also used among attendees at some tables, even where we would normally find L variety.

6) Multicultural influences in the future. My findings reveal that even though the receptions are multicultural in appearance, e.g. there are foreign guests speaking their native languages and the physical attributes of the locations look 'western', the reception follows a typical Japanese orientation. In light of current statistics which show a growing number of intercultural relationships/marriages, I am interested in how foreign influence may become evident at future receptions. Some questions in this vein that I will address in my talk are whether the structure and function of these events will be:

Static or Dynamic?

Traditional or Innovative?

Conventional or Creative?

## **Sanae Tsuda**

### ***Clarification questions and follow-up questions***

This paper shows how differently speakers of other languages and culture use clarification when they speak to each other in English in their first encounters. The data used for the analysis are three 30-minute video and audio taped conversations among the following speakers:

A: Two Americans (A1, A2) and two Japanese (J1, J2): a male and a female university student for each speaker

B: Two Americans (A4, A5) and two Japanese (J4, J5): an American military officer and three professors

C: Two Chinese (C1, C2) and two Japanese (J4, J5): two Chinese graduate students and two Japanese professors  
In these conversations, two kinds of clarifications are observed; a clarification question (CQ), a question asked by a listener to clarify the content or vocabulary in the preceding statement, and a follow-up question (FQ), a modified or rephrased question asked by a speaker to facilitate the listener's understanding of the speaker's previous utterance.

In A, the Japanese students are competent in English, and successfully carry on conversation with the American students who are new to Japan. They are asked to make a party plan to welcome overseas students, and one of the Japanese students takes a leader role in finalizing their plan, asking 70 % of the whole CQ's asked by the group.

In B, the two Japanese professors are not used to speaking in English even though they read, write or translate English academic documents. The two Americans do not often speak with non-native English speakers because they work in a military base in Japan. CQ's are much less used in their conversation than in A. The Americans talk to each other for a long time with the Japanese being left out. In the follow-up interview, J4 and J5 answer they felt happy when A4 asked FQ's to invite them to join the conversation in spite of such situations. When J4 finds a chance to ask a CQ to find out what A4 or A5 are talking about, J4 and J5 are able to participate in the conversation when the explanation is given. It shows that CQ's and FQ's facilitate the members to participate in a conversation.

In C, J4 and J5, who are not very successful communicators in conversation B, behave very differently. They try to hard to understand the Chinese speakers by asking FQ's and CQ's. Especially when C2 speaks, the other participants have to ask several questions to understand what he means. Even though exchanged information is limited in their conversation, mutual rapport is kept by asking questions whenever necessary. They make every effort to figure out what others want to say by utilizing their limited English ability.

These analyses show that clarification plays an important role not only in enhancing understanding of information, but also in maintaining rapport among the participants. From cross-cultural point of view, it is necessary for both native speakers of English and of other languages to realize how important it is to ask CQ's and FQ's to communicate successfully.

## **Lubov Tsurikova**

### ***Cognitive aspects of pragmatic transfers in cross-cultural communication***

Research into culturally determined language behaviour and problems of cross-cultural communication has demonstrated that even fairly advanced speakers of a foreign language may fail to convey or comprehend the intended illocutionary force or politeness value of speech acts when communicating with the native speakers of this language. Contrary to the early expectations of contrastive analysis, such problems are more likely to take place between close or related language cultures than between cultures that are widely different. The seeming cultural closeness or “similarity” between the source and the target languages can be misleading for the native and non-native speakers of these languages and sometimes cause more misunderstanding and communication failures than in the case of more obvious or striking differences between language cultures of which the interlocutors are well aware or which they can easily feel.

To study the link between conceptual and linguistic representations, the speech acts of advising and offering were contrastively analysed in Russian and English language cultures as well as their performance by the Russian and English native speakers when they speak each others’ language without obvious phonetic, lexical or grammatical mistakes.

It has been established that both speech acts have similar semantic and situational-contextual structures in both languages whereas the linguistic strategies and socio-cultural norms of their realisation slightly differ. Speakers of the two languages perceive such differences as minor and unimportant. However, when they use communication strategies based on their native system of assumptions to advise and offer in the target language, their intentions may often be misinterpreted by the native speakers of this language. Thus, when they persistently choose modals of necessity and imperatives for giving advice or repeat their offer up to five times, Russian speakers of English may sound abrupt, straightforward, imposing and even aggressive to the native English speaker’s ear. On the other hand, native English speakers who avoid giving advice without being asked and use questions to represent the idea of performing the action, and seldom repeat their offer more than twice, might be perceived by Russian speakers as cautious, too polite, evasive and manipulative.

The occurring strategic transfers could be classified as pragmalinguistic or sociopragmatic and explained by the fact that the sets of similar constitutive factors and variables relevant for the speech acts of advice and offer are differently arranged in their conceptual representations in the two cultures. The constitutive speech act factors such as who will perform the predicated action, who will benefit from this action, at whose cost the action will be carried out and who decides whether to perform the action have different values in the Russian and Anglo-Saxon cultures and their importance is often interpreted as opposite by the native speakers. Such culture-specific hierarchies of values representing the domain of socially shared non-linguistic general knowledge in the knowledge schemata that underlie the speech acts influence their representation structures in the two cultures and determine the difference, whatever small, in the repertoires of conventional linguistic means employed in the two languages for performing advice and offer. The speakers, usually unaware of such a difference in their structures of expectation, subconsciously base their strategic choices on the native hierarchy of beliefs and assumptions when code switching which might result in a communication conflict and even culture clash.

## **Takeshi Tsurusaki**

### ***Bach-Peters sentences, quantification, and mental-space principles***

This paper aims to defend our long-standing claim that Bach-Peters sentences such as (1a-c) always involve two different modes of pronominal anaphora, viz. coreference and bound (variable) anaphora, even in the context of quantification:

(1)

- a. The boy who deserved it got the prize he wanted.
- b. The pilot who shot at it hit the Mig that chased him.
- c. Every man who loved her kissed the woman who wrote to him.

Bach-Peters sentences (BPSs) characteristically involve forward and backward anaphora and, in our view, the forward anaphora in a BPS is bound anaphora and the backward anaphora therein is coreference. This claim, however, appears to be incompatible with the fact that quantified BPSs allow a co-varying interpretation for the pronoun involved in the backward anaphora. For instance, a typical quantified BPS (1c) allows reading (2b) as well as reading (2a):

(2)

a.

For all  $x$  such that  $x$  is a man who loved  $y$ ,  $x$  kissed the woman who wrote to  $x$  (where the woman who wrote to  $x$  is the same woman for all  $x$ , and  $y$  is a free variable mapped to this woman).

b.

For all  $x$  such that  $x$  is a man who loved the woman who wrote to  $x$ ,  $x$  kissed the woman who wrote to  $x$  (where it is to be understood that it could be the case that a different woman wrote to each man  $x$ ).

In (2b), the value of the woman could co-vary with the value of the man, which appears to falsify our claim that the backward anaphora in a BPS is an instance of coreference, because referential pronouns are generally assumed to have fixed real-world or possible-world entities as their referents.

A careful investigation of relevant data reveals, however, that even referential pronouns sometimes allow co-varying interpretations, and for the purpose of accounting for this puzzling fact, we propose to draw on the formal mechanisms of mental space theory proposed by Fauconnier (1985, 1994, 1998, etc.), a dynamic theory of meaning construction in discourse.

According to the theory of mental spaces, (i) so-called referential expressions do not actually refer to entities in the external/possible world but point to elements set up in cognitive domains called mental spaces, (ii) an anaphoric pronoun points to a mental-space element set up by its antecedent, and (iii) depending on the properties of the relevant mental space, the value of the mental-space element can vary in a systematic way. These assumptions enable us to defend our claim that the backward anaphora in a BPS, whether it is quantified or not, is always an instance of coreference (in the mental-space-theoretic sense of this term).

It is concluded that our approach to BPSs need not be abandoned nor be substantially revised for the purpose of accounting for the availability of (2b)-type readings for quantified BPSs.

## **Ken Turner**

### ***Making conditionals pragmatic***

The ‘standard’ semantic analyses of indicative and counterfactual conditionals all encounter serious difficulties very quickly.

(a) The truth-functional analysis, defended by, among others, Grice (1989), Jackson (1987) and Lewis (1976) does not extend from indicative conditionals to counterfactuals and anyway relies on (i) an obscure generalised conversational implicature – the ‘indirectness condition’ or (ii) an opaque, and if not opaque then empirically inadequate, notion of robustness.

(b) The possible worlds analysis, defended by, among others, Lewis (1973), Nolan (2003) and Stalnaker (1999, 2003), either requires a truth-functional account of indicatives, as in the case of Lewis, or, if a uniform account of indicatives and counterfactuals is attempted, as in the case of Nolan and Stalnaker, makes appeal to a vague notion of similarity.

(c) The event analysis, recently defended by Lycan (2001), depends upon a battery of pragmatic concepts – relevance, conversational poise, real and rational possibility – that are barely discussed and which, anyway, fails to establish, as it intends to, that the ‘even’ in ‘even if’ is a universal quantifier.

These semantic approaches all assume that indicative and counterfactual conditionals express propositions and therefore have identifiable truth-conditions. This assumption misconstrues the nature of indicative and counterfactual conditionals and so analyses that employ it go wrong at the very first step.

I wish to argue that indicative and counterfactual conditionals reveal, instead, rational decisions (Jeffrey 1983, Resnik 1987, Skyrms 2000). Their analysis should not be undertaken with truth-conditions, because they are not a part of fact-stating discourse, but instead with subjective conditional probabilities (Jeffrey 2004) because conditionals are a part of ‘anticipatory discourse’. This alternative assumption allows analyses to avoid the kinds of difficulties that semantic analyses encounter and permits a uniform, and intuitively satisfying, account of indicative and counterfactual conditionals.

This pragmatic analysis

(a) separates zero conditionals and past tense interpretations of second conditionals and concentrates on (i) first, (ii) ‘remote’ future second and (iii) third conditionals. These conditionals all have in common that they are about a future, relative to a point in time which need not be the point of speech;

(b) shows how the antecedents of these future oriented conditionals can be given a belief or decision weighting such that that weighting epistemically enables the outcome signalled by the consequent; and

(c) formalises the dynamics of these weightings in a probabilistic metalanguage.

The upshot of this analysis is that we are forced to recognise, this time with one of the semanticist’s most studied constructions, that “different parts of our language have meaning in different ways” (Kneale 1949, 89) and that in this case at least indicative and counterfactual conditionals are thoroughly pragmatic in nature.

## **Angeliki Tzanne & Elly Ifantidou**

### ***Publicising the Olympic Games on Greek television: A multimodal event***

This paper is concerned with a multimodal communicative event, the commercial promotion of the ‘Athens 2004 Olympic Games’ broadcast on National Hellenic television. The paper draws on Kress and van Leeuwen’s (2001) multimodal theory of communication, according to which multimodal texts make meaning in multiple articulations. The series of commercials related to the Olympic Games 2004 is discussed in terms of the

principle of experiential meaning potential, i.e. the idea that signifiers have a meaning potential deriving from “our ability to extend our practical experience metaphorically, and to grasp similar extensions made by others” (Kress and van Leeuwen, 2001:10). Our aim is to show that the Olympic Games were portrayed as an invitation to ‘celebrate and party with our in-groups’, thus promoting the cultivation of relations of closeness and familiarity between spectators and athletes. It is argued that this particular design is congruent with the Greeks’ preference for relations of ingroupness and solidarity (Sifianou, 1992; Tzanne, 2001 and 2002).

In addition, the paper addresses the pragmatic and cognitive benefits of the specific multimedia event by discussing its design and effects in terms of Sperber and Wilson’s (1986/1995; 2004) Relevance Theory. Precisely because the commercials in question appear to build on intra-cultural assumptions of solidarity and festive hospitality, the effects are not expected to be merely a wide range of weak implicatures (see Forceville 1996), but specific, strongly implicated assumptions, and a variety of weak implicatures that viewers may retrieve or not. Experimentally, it would be interesting to examine native and non-native audiences’ reactions to the TV commercials under examination and assess the explanatory power of Relevance Theory vis-à-vis the findings. Overall, the two types of reactions are expected to vary in terms of fewer, strongly communicated implicatures retrieved by native audiences vs. a wider range of weakly communicated implicatures retrieved by non-native audiences.

### **Eduardo Urios-Aparisi**

#### ***On multimodal communication and metaphor in advertising***

This paper intends to study the phenomenon of pictorial metaphor (Forceville 1996) in order to shed light on the cognitive mechanism underlying the creation and interpretation of metaphor. The main tenets are that a pictorial metaphor is a multimodal phenomenon (Forceville 2000) and that it can be subsumed within the concept of iconicity. Iconicity, defined by Peirce in his semiotic view of the sign, has been applied to literary metaphor (Henle 1958, Ricoeur 1977, Haley 1988, and Hiraga 1994). In this paper iconicity is considered a dynamic process through which the admaker invites the audience to find a motivation in the use of the metaphors and search for analogies.

The interaction of verbal and visual language in advertising contributes to the creation of meaning, and as such it requires a degree of metapragmatic reflexivity (the reflection of language on language itself and its use, Verschueren 1999, Urios-Aparisi 2004) as the audience’s attention is stirred to find mappings between the metaphorical domains and the different modes. The data come from a corpus of a selection of 1800 Spanish television advertisements from 1996 until 2003, and I focus on the linguistic as well as visual elements of the advertising although references will be made to other musical and graphic elements.

I will show how metaphorical representations in advertising are to be situated within the dynamic context which embraces different strata and discourses (Kress and van Leeuwen 2001, Verschueren 1999). Iconicity is a cognitive strategy (Dirven 2002) and replaces Stern’s (2000) explanation of metaphor as a process of indexicality. Iconicity both conveys indexicality and relates the domains connected in a metaphor by means of a process of searching for similarity or analogy. The socio-cultural context of the production of these advertisements will be considered so as to identify and contrast them in a longitudinal analysis.

### **Katia Valério**

#### ***Building alliances in a reality show: Power and solidarity in advise speech act sequences***

In this paper we will report a study of some situated advise speech act sequences produced by participants of Big Brother Brasil IV, a reality show which featured on Brazilian television in 2004, as they attempted to establish rapport or exercise control upon their peers. Taking into account the strategies used for the performance of the head acts as well as the illocutionary force modification employed, we will focus on the participants’ concern with face and the management of power among them.

### **Marianna Vallana, Francesca Bosco & Monica Bucciarelli**

#### ***Children’s comprehension of standard, ironic and deceitful metaphors***

This study focuses on children’s ability to attribute a speaker a communicative intention, depending on the context within which the speech act is proffered. In particular, we deal with comprehension of the same metaphor in contexts within which the speaker has reasons either to be sincere, or to deceive, or to be ironic. Following the tenets of Cognitive Pragmatics theory (Airenti et al., 1993), we make a series of assumptions on the complexity of the mental representations and processes involved in speech acts’ comprehension. On these bases, we derive the prediction that there exists a trend in difficulty of comprehension of speech acts of different

sort. From the easiest to comprehend, to the most difficult: sincere, deceitful, and ironic communicative acts (Bucciarelli et al., 2003).

We extend the assumptions of Cognitive Pragmatics theory to account for difference in difficulty of comprehension of metaphors proffered with different communicative intentions. In particular, expect to find out that a metaphor proffered with the intention to be sincere is easier to comprehend than the same metaphor proffered with the intention to deceive, that, on its behalf, is easier to comprehend than the same metaphor proffered with ironic intentions. Consider, the metaphor “John’s heart is broken”. By proffering the metaphor the speaker may intend to share with the hearer his private belief, namely that John is suffering for a love pain. Alternatively, the speaker may intend to share with the hearer a belief (John is suffering), while he does not privately entertain such a belief (the speaker believes that John is not suffering). Finally, the speaker may intend to share with the hearer his private belief that John does not suffer at all.

We validate our predictions through an experiment on 108 children balanced by gender and belonging to the following age groups: 7-7;6; 8;6-9, and 10-10;6 years.

The experimental material consists of 6 metaphors. Each metaphor can acquire 3 different communicative meanings depending on the contexts for a total of 18 brief written stories. Each of the story is presented to the child in double format, in both a audio recorded and a written version. At the end of each story the experimenter asks to the child: “Why the speaker says: [METAPHOR]?”. If the child repeats the metaphor the Experimenter asks: “What could have said the speaker in place of: [METAPHOR]?”.

The results confirm our predictions. Considering participants both overall both split into single age groups, to comprehend a metaphor proffered with sincere purposes is easier than to comprehend the metaphor when it is proffered with the purpose to deceive, which in turn is easier than to comprehend the metaphor when it is proffered with the intention to be ironic (PageL test: L ranging from 161,5 to 803;  $p < .0001$ ).

## **Fleur van der Houwen**

### ***The court of common sense: A discourse analysis of decision-making on Judge Judy***

According to a survey by The National Center for State Courts (1999), 40.5% of respondents indicated that they rely ‘sometimes’ or ‘regularly’ on televised small claims courts for information about the U.S. legal system. These percentages show that such productions serve not only to entertain, but may also provide an important role molding lay views of institutionalized dispute resolution. The focus of this study is therefore not on the show as a phenomenon of popular culture but as propagator of lay views of the judicial system. The TV court show Judge Judy, presided over by Sheindlin, a former family court judge, has been criticized both in the popular press and by some from the legal community (Lynch 1999, Dershowitz 2000, Lovel Banks 2003) to misrepresent the proceedings in regular small claims courts and portraying itself as a ‘court of common sense’ (Lynch (1999-5). This study analyzes how litigants’ stories are transformed and decisions are reached. It finds that Sheindlin, reframes the legal dispute as a moral dispute through various types of ‘formulation.’ In addition to some of the types found by Watson and Heritage (1979); Heritage (1985); and Gafaranga & Britten (2004), it finds forms of formulation suited to accomplish the interactional tasks in this court setting: ‘legal formulation’ and ‘bridging formulation’. Through formulations Sheindlin transforms the two opposing stories and imposes a moral frame. It is argued that, using Lakoff’s term, a ‘strict father morality’ forms the ethics for the way in which Sheindlin transforms litigants’ stories. This, in turn, can explain why Sheindlin’s judicial approach varies depending on the type of case (e.g. money loan, child support) and the relation between plaintiff and defendant (e.g. landlord-tenant, family), unlike the small claims court judges studied by Conley and O’Barr (1990), whose judicial approach they categorized as, for example, a ‘lawmaker’, a mediator, or an authoritative judge. Finally, it appears that many litigants share Sheindlin’s morality, and those who don’t are not seen contesting the transformation of their story successfully, even if it is detrimental to their case, thereby enacting and reinforcing a form of ‘common sense’ on this televised public legal forum and portraying small claims court justice as a forum for deciding moral right and wrong.

## **Tine Van Hecke**

### ***Restoring the balance from West to East: Apologies across French, Italian and Romanian***

The most frequent apology formulas in French, Italian and Romanian can be ranged in the three following categories put forward by Fraser (1981) and Cohen & Olshtain (1981):

I) Request for forgiveness :

Fr : “Excusez-moi ; Pardonnez-moi ; Je vous demande pardon”. It : “Mi scusi ; Mi perdoni ; Chiedo scusa”.

Rom : “Scuzati-ma ; Iertati-ma, Imi cer scuze”.

II) Offer of apology :

Fr : “Je m’excuse”. It : “Mi scuso”. Rom: “Scuze”.

III) Expression of regret :

Fr : “(Je suis) désolé ; Je regrette”. It : “Mi dispiace ; Spiacente”. Rom : “Imi pare rau ; Regret”.

Although some of these formulas seem to translate literally from one language into another, sensible differences can be observed in their frequency and conditions of use. Investigation into an extensive corpus composed of apologies drawn from the databases Frantext (CNRS of France) and “Lessico di frequenza dell’Italiano Parlato” (De Mauro et al. 1993), Internet documents and novels translated from one of the three languages into the others (Saint-Exupéry, Simenon, Calvino, Pasolini, Istrati, etc.), allows to focus on at least two differences, and to introduce at the same time two parameters which are rarely if ever used in earlier contrastive studies on apologies.

(a) S’s responsibility for p.

According to Searle & Vanderveken (1985 :211), the first preparatory condition of the speech act of apologizing is that the speaker is responsible for the thing he/she apologizes for (p). A multiple refinement of this condition, i.e. a further specification of the notion of responsibility (+ conscious / unconscious, + voluntary / involuntary, etc.) yields a substantial contribution to the outlining of ‘use-scripts’ (Van Hecke 2003:248) for the abovementioned formulas.

(b) Cumulation of functions

Businaro (2002) defines certain Italian apology formulas as discourse markers. The tendency to evolve into a discourse marker, as well as the disposition to fulfil other functions than that of a mere IFID of apology (expression of irony, introducing other illocutionary acts such as requests, reproaches, etc.), will be used as a second parameter in order to determine conditions of use for some formulas across the three languages.

It will be argued that the differences pointed out by means of the parameters (a) and (b) support the claim that apologies reflect cultural values and attitudes (cf. o.a. Wierzbicka (1985-1996), Sbisà (1999), Suszczynska (1999)).

**Carel van Wijk & Hanny den Ouden**

***Strategic wording in advertisements: Effects of register and word origin on reader evaluations***

The language of advertising offers ample opportunities to make strategic choices between stylistic features, that is, to make, without affecting its propositional content, changes in an ad’s wording with the intent to boost its effectiveness. For example, it’s a well-known practice to avoid word repetitions and to juice up the text with synonyms (Oversteegen & van Wijk, 2003). Two other strategies popular in Dutch advertisements concern the register and the origin of the words used. For example, adolescents seem to be sensitive to register. They prefer youth-like words such as ‘far out’, ‘to chill’, and ‘weird’ over their common, adult-like alternatives: ‘good’, ‘to rest’, and ‘special’. People in general seem to be sensitive to origin. They favour exotic foreign words like ‘in shape’, ‘repetitief’, and ‘significant’ over their rather dull native equivalents: ‘in vorm’, ‘herhaald’, and ‘belangrijk’. By using words from a specific register or a foreign origin, copy writers try to increase the attractiveness of their advertisements. Both strategies, however, have their draw-back. When uttered by someone who is not a member of the subgroup, words from a register might be conceived as intrusive and inappropriate; words with a foreign origin might be hard to understand and considered far-fetched. These negative (side-)effects could annihilate the gain in attractiveness and in the end they may even hinder the acceptance of the message.

To evaluate these stylistic strategies for their effects on text appreciation and persuasiveness, two field experiments have been conducted. The register-study included 361 secondary school students aged 15 to 17. Two ads, one for a music DVD and the other for a hairstyling gel, were presented in three versions containing terms as used by journalists, advertisers, and youths, respectively. The origin-study included 168 adult participants, evenly distributed over gender and two age-groups, under and over 30 years old. Two ads, one for a fruit drink and the other for a bodycreme, were presented either with familiar Dutch words, with familiar foreign words, or with unfamiliar foreign words.

The results of the two studies showed negative effects of the manipulations of register and origin, respectively. When youth-like terms or foreign terms were used, the advertisements were judged less appropriate and less intelligible. Contrary to what was expected, the attractiveness of the ads decreased and their persuasiveness as well. Creative copy writers should beware of ‘playing’ with register and origin in order to improve an ads’ effectiveness. They might just attain the opposite.

**Iiona Vandergriff**

***Constructing conditionality in German***

Conditionals set up a “mental space” (Fauconnier 1985), typically with the help of an ‘if’-clause acting a “space builder”. In cooperation with other formal features (e.g. morphological and syntactic forms) such “space-builders” provide the hearer with clues which help narrow the range of possible semantic and pragmatic interpretations (Dancygier 1998; Dancygier & Sweetser 1996; Sweetser 1990; following Fauconnier 1985).

The present study examines aspects of linguistic form in German that contribute to the meaning of conditionals. Specifically, the syntactic relation between the clauses and its role in constructing meaning is analyzed. Spoken German syntax, unlike English, avails speakers of a marker in the main clause which signals the dependency between clauses.

(1) Wenn sie im Lotto gewinnt, kauft sie einen Porsche.

If-she-in-the-lottery-wins-buys-she-a-Porsche.

‘If she wins the lottery she’ll buy a Porsche.’

Occasionally, however, German ‘if’-clauses are not syntactically integrated. Instead, the main clause will have the verb position of an independent main clause.

(2) Wenn Sie mich fragen, es regnet morgen.

If-you-me-ask-it-rains-tomorrow.

‘If you ask me it’ll rain tomorrow.’

Suggesting an iconic relationship between syntactic and conceptual dependency, content conditionals such as (1) with their real-world relationship between the clauses are generally described with integrative word order, whereas speech-act conditionals like sentence (2) are taken to signal their looser conceptual dependency via non-integrative word order (Gohl 2002; Auer 1996, 2000; Pasch 2003; König & van der Auwera 1988). However, Vandergriff’s (1995) corpus-based analysis calls into question the simple correlation of syntactic ordering and pragmatic domain as conditionals in both domains regularly occur with nonprescribed orderings (Vandergriff 1995). Few studies (notably König & van der Auwera 1988, Köpcke & Panther 1989) have investigated the nonprescribed orderings. Köpcke and Panther, for example, hypothesize that pragmatic meaning other than cognitive domain is encoded by the variant orderings. I hope to show that viewing syntactic ordering as an aspect of constructional meaning can help explain and motivate the variation encountered in the data.

The paper considers formal aspects of conditional sentences in German within the framework of Construction Grammar (Fillmore 1986, 1988, 1990a, 1990b; Fillmore & Kay 1994; Fillmore, Kay & O’Connor 1988; Goldberg 1994; Shibatani & Thompson 1996). From this perspective, conditional sentences are examples of a construction, which Dancygier (1998: 5) defines as “a conventional pattern of linguistic structure which is paired with features of interpretation” (p.5). The study will identify “parameters of constructional meaning” (p. 140) such as syntactic integration, verb forms, prosodic features and connectors or other mental space builders linguistic features of German conditionals and uncover patterns of co-occurrence in mapping form-meaning correlations. A description of the construction in German will illuminate how parameters of constructional meaning map onto aspects of interpretation. Alongside contextual implications these aspects of form play a crucial role in discourse understanding as they help guide the hearer toward an understanding of the utterance by constraining the number of possible interpretations the hearer needs to consider to an “optimally relevant” interpretation (Rouchouta 1998; Sperber & Wilson 1986, 1993).

## **Cecilia Varcasia & Stefania Ferrari**

### ***Formulating requests: Grammar in interaction in Italian L2***

The present work focuses on request formulations and on the organization of request turns in the talk between native and non-native speakers of Italian, with a special concern for the interplay of linguistic and interactional factors in the shaping of turn constructional units (TCUs).

TCUs (Sacks, Schegloff and Jefferson, 1974) constitute basic units in turns of talk and can be made of syntactic and intonational units: words phrases, sentences, etc., “instances of the unit-types so usable allow a projection of the unit-type under way, and what, roughly, it will take for an instance of what unit-type to be completed” (SSJ, 1974:702). In recent years the TCU has been subjected to deeper scrutiny, and its properties have been defined in more detail, also by making reference to the set of grammatical resources available to speakers of a given language. Work by Ford and Thompson (1996), Ford, Fox, Thompson (1996, 2002, 2003), Selting (1996), Schegloff (1996), have shown how turn units are built through a complex set of features, including syntax, prosody, pragmatics, gaze and body posture, and that their construction is also dependent on recipient’s behaviour.

Telephone and face-to-face encounters were video- and audio- recorded, involving 14-17 year old Non-Native Speakers of Italian interacting with Italian peers and with strangers, most of them working in offices and shops. The data analyzed here are part of a larger project on situational variability in interlanguage use.

The following research questions were asked:

- How do NNS adolescents organize and formulate requests?
- Are there any differences between their requesting strategies and those employed by native speakers?

- What is the grammar of the TCUs in their request turns?
- How does the interlanguage system vary according to the different features of the communicative context?
- What is the recipient's role while the request is being made? Does s/he co-operate to the construction of the request? And to what extent?

Qualitative and quantitative analysis shows that the interlanguage system varies according to situational context. More specifically, NS and NNS use different requesting strategies, and different strategies are also employed when talking to a friend and when speaking with a stranger.

Furthermore, it will be shown that face-to-face requests differ from those made over the telephone. Monitoring the hearer's understanding and attention through gaze and gesture helps in the production of more fluent speech, and such local management of turns (Schegloff, 1979, Ono & Thompson, 1996) plays an important role in NNS talk.

Finally, results will show how the grammar that constitutes the request turns varies depending on the different contexts in which the conversation takes place, and different TCU and TCU combinations will be discussed.

## **Alexandra Vasilopoulou**

### ***Greek grammar and interaction: Investigating the projectability of verbs in conversation***

This paper aims at making some initial observations about the interconnection of social interaction and word order in the Greek language. In particular, it addresses the position of verbs early on in conversational turns and their implications for projectability in Greek conversation. Projectability is the property of a turn to gradually prefigure what is going to occur within the turn and when it will be possibly completed (Sacks, Schegloff and Jefferson, 1974). It allows co-participants to prepare the onset of their next turn and the type of turn that they will produce as next speakers; projectability is therefore central for turn-taking in conversation. The projecting properties of Greek language and the position of the verb in particular, casts another angle on the stereotype that Greeks 'talk at the same time' and 'constantly interrupt each other'.

Although the implications of word order in conversation have not been addressed in Greek so far, there has been considerable progress in other languages. The 'canonical' SVO structure in English has implications for relatively 'early' projectability in English conversation; on the other hand, there is 'delayed' projectability in Japanese, stemming from the basic SOV structure (Tanaka, 1999). While Modern Greek language is characterised by flexible order of constituents in the clause (Holton et al., 1997), the VSO structure can be seen as the basic word order (Philippaki-Warbuton, 1985). Indeed, the current study shows that the Greek verb often occurs at the outset of conversational turns. This can point to the argument of very early projectability in Modern Greek, where the thrust of the turn, the turn shape and the action within it are predictable from the start. Even when the verb does not appear in the very beginning of the turn, it still enables early projectability, due to the information typically coded in it (information about the action expressed by the verb and the speakers' involvement can be available through inflection). How do participants regulate talk and make turn-transitions through verb projection? What implications does the early position and projection of the verb have for turn-taking in Greek conversation? What initial observations can we make about the stereotype of Greek turn-taking in the light of these findings?

This study attempts to answer the above questions by employing the approach of conversation analysis (CA). It investigates the projectability of the Greek verb in overlaps (Sacks, Schegloff and Jefferson, 1974) and collaborative constructions (Lerner, 1991) within a corpus of Greek naturally occurring talk.

## **Sanna Vehviläinen**

### ***Topicalizing the patient's action in psychoanalytic interaction***

This paper examines instances where the psychoanalyst topicalizes the patient's action in the here-and-now of the psychoanalytic hour. Using conversation analysis, I look into the sequential context and the interactional consequences of such topicalizations. The paper is an offspring of research on psychoanalytic interpretations. In our Finnish corpus of classical psychoanalysis, interpreting takes place through a stepwise movement we call 'the interpretative trajectory' (Peräkylä 2004; Vehviläinen 2003a). The analyst listens to the patient's associations as revelations of the unconscious, and shows this in his interpretations. The analyst also does particular preparatory work to create an interactional 'slot' for the interpretation and, thus, co-constructs it with the patient. The analyst problematizes some aspect in the patient's talk, presenting it as noteworthy and contradictory. The psychoanalytic interpretations that follow, typically attend to these puzzles. They provide explanations that draw on the materials the patient has provided, but add to them something new – something the patient 'has not been aware of'.



Within the interpretative trajectory, analysts usually ground their interventions on the patients' associations, i.e. the patients' own reports of their experience. At times, however, analysts may draw the attention to the way the patient presently behaves. This behavior, then, becomes the focus of the talk. In interaction that follows, this aspect of behaviour is treated as revealing something of the patient's unconscious.

Elsewhere, I have examined how references to the patient's current emotion are used in this way (Vehviläinen 2003b). This paper, on its part, focuses on references to the patient's action, either naming the action ('now you are defending your mother') or characterizing the manner of talking ('you talk in an official manner'). The interactional consequences of such topicalizations are much like those of topicalizing emotion:

- 1) The analyst shifts the focus of the talk and makes the patient accountable for her/his actions;
- 2) In some cases, the analyst thereby 'creates a puzzle' leads to an interpretation -- often one that identifies unconscious resistance;
- 3) More typically, the analyst treats descriptions of the patient's behavior as evidence of an earlier interpretation, thus, the analyst supports his/her interpretation by characterizing the patient's prior actions.

The paper also discusses argumentative sequences where the analyst identifies unconscious resistance and the patient persistently resists this resistance-interpretation. The analyst uses various references to the patient's behavior (emotion or action) to back up his interpretation. These devices are viewed as analysts' argumentative tools to overcome patients' interactional resistance while convincing them that the resistance has unconscious origin. Thus, the paper contributes to the line of research that analyses therapeutic practice as an art of persuasion.

**Edy Veneziano, Christian Hudelot, Anne Salazar Orvig et al**

***The role of scaffolding on the expression of explanatory relations among events in the narratives of 4 to 11 yrs-old normally-developing and 6 to 11 yrs-old SLI children***

Is it possible to improve the expression of explanatory relations among events in children's narratives of an image-constrained story, through the use of a child-centered, Piagetian kind "clinical" scaffolding?

This paper presents preliminary results of a larger research project in which 80 normally developing children and 30 SLI children, in the 4-6 to 11 years range, are first requested to tell the experimenter the story they have understood after having looked at a set of images presented sequentially on a computer's screen (when the images have faded out); then, starting from what the children have said, the experimenter tries to direct their attention on particular elements of the story, asking questions that solicit their verbal expression of specific features, in particular the reasons for certain events; finally, children are asked to recount once more the story with the instruction to tell everything they have now understood, either to the same interlocutor (who shares knowledge of the story with the child) or to another interlocutor who is supposed not know the story nor to have seen the images. In the final part of the interview, children are asked to recount once more the story to another interlocutor (either the one who knows, or the one who doesn't know the story, according to what happened in the previous phase). The interviews have been audio-registered digitally and transcribed verbatim so as to preserve hesitations, false starts, and most phonological details of children's productions.

The story considered here (the "stone" story) is built around a misunderstanding about the reasons that make one character stumble over another. Children's abilities to explicitly express the existence of false beliefs about others' intentions attributing them to the characters, is one of the main focus of the present paper.

The analyses will bear on a) children's initial narratives and, in particular, on the expression of explanatory relations among the narrated story events; b) the margin of improvement between the initial and the subsequent narratives, given the scaffolding, the time elapsed and the repetition of the story; c) the interaction between the effect of scaffolding and of the interlocutor's state of knowledge: to what extent does the interlocutor's state of knowledge, and thus children's adaptation to this characteristics, interferes with the repetition of the narrative, both for aspects already produced in the initial narrative and for those appearing anew in the subsequent productions?

These analyses will be treated developmentally in the 4 to 11 years range, as well comparatively for typically-developing and SLI children, matched first on chronological age and then on verbal comprehension abilities (measured with the ECOSSE test).

Results will be discussed within the framework of social interaction learning theories. Moreover, since key explanations of the "stone" story deal with beliefs and intentions, they will be discussed also within the framework of theories of mind.

**Eline Versluys**

***Il faut se faire comprendre: Pragmatism as language attitude among young people in suburban Dakar***

The present findings are based on a two month ethnolinguistic fieldwork period in Yoff, a suburban neighbourhood of the Senegalese capital Dakar. 14 young inhabitants of the neighbourhood, between the age of 18 and 30, constituted the main group of informants. Fieldwork consisted of participant observation, informal talks, individual interviews, free association games and group discussions. The geographical setting of Yoff is particular in that the fishermen's village that came to be one of Dakar's suburbs has kept its village atmosphere and traditions.

The research essentially focuses on language attitudes in a postcolonial, urban context. In performing a detailed case study, I have tried to examine how young urban dwellers construct language attitudes and how this relates to their composed identities, which are characteristic of urban life. Some of the research questions I formulated were the following: Which attitudes do these young citizens have towards language use in different daily contexts? Which is the social status of the various language types, namely the exoglossic language French, the endoglossic languages such as Wolof and - according to Adebija's terminology - the endoexoglossic variety formed by the mixed code French-Wolof (Adebija, 2000)? How do identity and language attitudes interact in the specific context of a peripheral neighbourhood in Dakar?

The conclusion I would like to come to regarding this field research - all in realising the potential danger of generalising subtle realities - is that pragmatism may well be seen as an important characteristic of the language attitudes manifested by the informants. If we consider the distinction made in many language attitude studies between sentimental and instrumental tendencies (Hofman & Cais, 1984; van Hout & Münstermann, 1988), we could state that in the case of these young Dakar citizens instrumental attitudes predominate. We could even go one step further by confirming what Adebija already made clear, namely that because of their daily preoccupations West Africans have often an attitude of indifference towards language use (Adebija, 2000).

During my field research attitudes to European languages revealed to be clearly instrumental. Feelings towards French were not downright negative, nor was the language associated with a particular prestige (which on the contrary may be the case among higher social classes). This confirms the 'pragmatic acceptance' Bamgbose talks about in his analysis of West African attitudes towards the former colonial languages (Bamgbose, 2000). Although there are clearer signs of affection towards the indigenous languages, overall attitudes concerning the latter remain pragmatic. According to my informants these languages are only to be used for situations in which they prove their usefulness. The variant to which attitudes are least markedly pragmatic is the mixed code French-Wolof. Here sentimentalist orientations show up in assertions like "c'est mauvais, parce que ça fait disparaître le Wolof pur" (field notes, 2004). In the end though pragmatism sneaks in here as well, because all informants confirm that they wouldn't be able to communicate in an efficient way without mixing the two languages.

## **Jacqueline Visconti**

### ***Speech acts and modality in English and Italian legal language***

This paper presents the preliminary results of an interdisciplinary project currently carried out at the University of Genoa and concerning a cross-linguistic analysis of speech acts and modality in Italian vs English legal language (Visconti forthcoming). The starting point of the analysis is the thorough analysis of legal speech acts in English Contract Law provided by Trosborg (1995). This paper provides a parallel analysis for an Italian corpus of contracts (section 1) and discusses the findings in a comparative perspective (section 2). The focus is on the linguistic devices employed in the two languages to express the speech acts characteristics of this subset of legal language: directives and commissives. Both lexical devices (verbs such as promise, vow, pledge) and syntactic means (such as the future vs present tense opposition) are considered. The differences identified at the linguistic level (e.g. English find vs Italian accertare, or English hold vs Italian ritenere, interpretare, decidere) are examined in the light of the differences in the underlying legal systems (viz. common vs civil law).

## **Doris Martinez Vizcarrondo**

### ***The discursive reconstruction of identity: The case of 10 Latin-American immigrants in Los Angeles zone***

The adaptation process endured by immigrants both maximizes and takes to the critical point, the process of redefining representations and their discursive articulation. Immigrants immerse themselves in new experiences, in situations which cause imbalance and conflict and which may push them towards isolation or the wish to integrate. Both cases are dominated by a personal memory redefining process (resulting from the new situation). This is a process to redefine the immigrant's mental models, his or her representations of reality and the discursive and argumentative strategies used to rearticulate and materialize that redefinition process, which involves rebuilding the immigrant's identity and is the main focus of this work.

In terms of methodology, this study has 10 subjects with ages ranging between 19 and 24. The subjects are men who have lived in the Los Angeles area for between 4 and 8 years. The communication situation takes place in a work or rest situation in which only they take part. The postulates of Critical Discourse Analysis were used as a theoretical framework. The discursive, representation and argumentative strategies used by speakers to rebuild their identity and that of the groups in which they live were studied.

**Olga Volckaert-Legrier & Josie Bernicot**

***Is electronic mail a new language register? A study on French-speaking adolescents***

The twentieth century was marked by the development of new ICTs (Information and Communication Technologies), which rapidly spread from the press to the internet. Among these new tools is electronic mail, now in full expansion. Yet the characteristics of the messages produced with these tools and the cognitive processes underlying their use are still poorly understood.

Electronic mail or e-mail, like postal correspondence, is a written mode of communication. It is a form of computer-mediated communication (CMC) that is asynchronous, like postal mail, but its fast transmission speed gives us the illusion of synchronicity. We contend that e-mail occupies a key position between spoken and written language. We attempt to show that it is a mixture of some of the characteristics of speech (e.g. spontaneity and breach of certain formal rules), certain features of writing (e.g. planning), and other properties found in neither one (e.g. smileys). E-mail, as a new communication channel, is hypothesized to be a language register if its own, defined by the use of a unique combination of linguistic markers derived from the traditional oral and written modes, along with new CMC-generated modes. It also appears to abide by the conventional rules of pragmatics, such as gearing one's message to the addressee.

The present study attempts to verify this hypothesis on 80 French-speaking adolescents between the ages of 11 and 15. Adolescents, who represent a large portion of the e-mail users, readily adopt this means of communication. The study took into account the social class of the parents (middle class) and the oral and written language skills of the participants (assessed by their teachers). All of the adolescents tested were familiar with e-mailing. Their task was to relate an event that took place in school (a theft, a fight, or peer rejection of a student). In order to create a "natural" setting for communication, each participant was put in touch with a same-age correspondent and a teacher correspondent before carrying out the task. Event narrations in four communication modes were compared: e-mail, traditional writing sent by fax, videoconferencing, and telephone.

Peer-addressed narrations were compared to teacher-addressed narrations. The results showed that with e-mail, the adolescents failed to apply some of the structural rules of traditional writing. In particular, there were many misspelled words, 50% of which were homophonic (e.g. in French "Kdo" for "cadeau", in English "CU" for "see you"); this type of deviation was not found in the faxes. The e-mails also exhibited addressee tuning: the adolescents used the familiar form of "you" ("tu") with a peer and the formal form ("vous") with the teacher, whereas in fax mode, they used the impersonal pronoun "on" (one). Formal greetings and salutations were more common in e-mails than in faxes.

These preliminary results suggest that language use in e-mails constitutes a new linguistic register that is likely to evolve and merits further research, especially from the pragmatic standpoint.

**Manuela Wagner and Ruxandra Sireteanu**

***Parental fine-tuning of communicative repertoire in interaction with their very young infants***

A number of studies have shown that adults make pragmatic adjustments to their infants' and children's language level (e.g., Dore, 1977; Gelman & Shatz, 1973; Pan et al., 1996; Rollins, 2003). Facilitation of early communication by mothers is thought to scaffold the child's participation in early interaction and therefore his/her entry into language (Bruner, 1975, 1983; Ninio & Bruner, 1978; Ninio & Snow, 1996; Pan et al., 1996). For example, mothers have been shown to mainly focus on the here-and-now to facilitate interaction with their children (e.g., Harris, Jones, & Grant, 1983; Nino & Snow 1996; Pan et al., 1996) and to adhere to form-function mapping (Ninio, 1992). Previous studies using the Inventory of Communicative Acts Abridged (INCA-A) Coding Scheme (Ninio et al., 1994) revealed that mothers are more directive with infants 14 months of age than with 52-month-olds (Pan et al., 1996).

The present study further investigates the question of how mothers fine-tune their communicative repertoire to their very young infants aged 6 to 24 months growing up in Germany. 64 15-minute cross-sectional caregiver-infant/child interactions in six age groups from 6 to 24 months were videotaped and transcribed according to the guidelines of CHILDES (MacWhinney, 2000). The transcripts were coded for communicative intents with the INCA-A Coding Scheme and linked to the video files using TALKBANK (MacWhinney, 2000).

Our hypothesis was that mothers fine-tune their pragmatic input in interaction with their very young infants. Furthermore, we expected a higher use of directives with younger infants than with older ones because very young infants might require a more highly scaffolded interaction.

Results showed that caregivers 1) used a higher number of speech acts and showed higher pragmatic flexibility with children aged 18 months and older than with infants in the younger age groups, 2) used significantly more questions with children's growing ages (cross-sectionally), 3) showed more attentiveness with younger infants than with older children, 4) suggested more actions with younger infants than with older children, i.e. the proportion of talk used for scaffolding the conversation partner's activities was higher in the youngest age group, and 5) gradually asked more for clarification of communication with children's growing age. Moreover, mothers were shown to engage in a more child-centered style discussing joint focus of attention significantly more than in the younger groups. As hypothesized, mothers used a significantly higher number of directing the hearer's attention with infants aged six to eight months than with children aged nine to 24 months. However, many times the directive was used to attract the infant's attention in order to achieve a joint focus of attention thereby facilitating their young interlocutors' participation. Finally, analyses revealed that mothers not only scaffolded their infants' behavior communicatively but also perceptually by making objects more easily recognizable to the infants (e.g., moving them in the infants' line of gaze).

Studies investigating pragmatic input of different groups of caregivers in different cultures with very young infants might shed more light on the influence of pragmatic input on the child's communicative development.

**Gareth Walker & John Local**

### ***Claiming an attitude in everyday conversation***

Attitude is widely acknowledged as making an important contribution to the meanings which can be attributed to utterances. Linguists have a long-standing interest in the expression of attitude and their analyses regularly make appeal to speaker attitude in determining the meaning of utterances. For instance, in pragmatics claims about particular pragmatic practices and stylistic effects (e.g. epistemic markers, facticity, irony, politeness, reported speech, sarcasm) and the intended force of utterances are routinely linked to speaker attitude. Within intonation studies, too, there is a continuing tradition of employing lay attitudinal categories (e.g. 'challenging', 'surprised', 'sad', 'involved', 'uncertain') in trying to account for the distribution and meaning of intonation contours.

To date, most of the systematic work on the phonetic correlates of attitude has come from linguistic and social-psychological research into affectual states. Although this work has afforded a number of insights into the phonetic correlates of speaker attitude and the affectual aspects of speech, it has relied on a variety of experimental methodologies. Importantly, the categories mobilised in dealing with data produced in experimental contexts are not warranted in, or excavated from, the behaviour of participants in everyday conversation. Even in those cases where attention has been directed at corpora of naturally occurring speech, researchers have relied on external lay raters in order to identify or characterise the attitudinal affectual content rather than investigating the behaviour of the participants engaged in those interactions in any direct fashion, or investigating the interactional ends to which the expression of attitude might be being put. As a result, it is not at all clear whether the findings of such research can be legitimately or usefully applied to the everyday conversational talk of ordinary people.

We report on an investigation of sequences of talk-in-interaction in which speakers' lexical choices offer either a self-attribution of attitude (e.g. 'I'm so tired', 'I feel so sad'), or an other-attribution of attitude (e.g. 'you sound happy', 'you sound a bit preoccupied'). We show that

1. such lexical formulations of attitude are a systematically deployed interactional resource and are used recurrently in the service of particular interactional goals;
2. there is no simple mapping between the phonetic design of a speaker's talk and a co-participant's attribution of a current attitude.

A speaker may make an other-attribution of attitude (e.g. sounding 'happy' or 'bored') in the absence of any particularly noticeable phonetic design features. Moreover, a co-participant may not remark on audibly present features of talk from another which might lead to assumptions about the talker being physically unwell (e.g. noticeably strained breathing, aggressively disturbed phonation). We suggest that claimed attitude sequences are a resource which speakers use to undertake some interactional work other than the simple attribution of attitude.

**Ian Walkinshaw**

### ***Pragmatic Enryo: The influence of social distance on negative speech acts by Japanese learners of English***

Japanese learners of English (JLEs) have traditionally been well-represented in New Zealand English language schools. In their daily interactions with New Zealanders, Japanese students experience sociopragmatic and pragmalinguistic behaviour which differs significantly from that in Japanese society. In particular, interpreting negatively affective speech acts such as disagreement, and expressing them in an appropriately polite manner, poses problems.

This paper, which is based on my recent Ph.D research, addresses three research questions:

1. How do JLEs manage politeness when involved in situations of negatively affective disagreement with native speakers of New Zealand English?
2. What is the ability of newly-arrived JLEs in accurately interpreting and expressing disagreement speech acts?
3. How does their ability to manage politeness alter over a short period of language study and immersion in the host culture?

The participants in this study were 32 JLEs who were studying at language schools in Christchurch, New Zealand. Their ability to interpret disagreement speech acts was measured over a ten-week period through a video judgment task, and their production ability was measured through a discourse completion task and a role-play task.

Both production and interpretation data indicated that over ten weeks, the JLEs became more adept at managing and interpreting situations in which they had no established relationship with their interlocutor. Their disagreeing responses suggested a greater degree of confidence, and they used more complex and newly-learned linguistic items. Moreover, their interpretations of disagreement situations to which they were exposed became less cautious and closer to NS estimations.

Significantly, though, the responses from low social distance interactions – with friends, colleagues etc - continued to be indirect, uncomplicated and cautious. Interpretations of disagreement-oriented conversations continued to be guarded.

The JLEs did not conform to Brown and Levinson's (1987) notion that indirectness and degree of politeness increases proportionally with social distance. Rather, they corresponded to Wolfson's (1988) 'bulge' theory, in which people may be direct and brusque with intimates and with strangers, but indirect and polite with people in the middle of the spectrum such as colleagues and friends.

The paper concludes that the JLEs were exhibiting a behavioural pattern known as *enryo* (Doi 1981), which means 'restraint' or 'holding back'. In Japanese society, one may be constrained to indirectness in situations of low social distance because of the necessity to interact with that person again. Conversely, in high social distance situations directness is permissible because there is less likelihood of meeting an interlocutor a second time. The JLEs participating in the study seemed to transfer this mechanism to their interactions with NSs.

## **Richard Waltereit**

### ***On distinguishing modal particles and discourse particles***

The function of modal particles, and pragmatically analogous means, is considered here as the invocation of a fictitious context in order to accommodate the host utterance to the communicative intentions of the speaker, i.e., in order to put it into perspective. As suggested by Hansen (1998), modal particles are rightfully termed "modal" insofar as they belong to the continuous negotiation of perspective that characterizes speaker-hearer-interaction, if one adopts a communicative approach to modality as suggested in Givón (1995, ch. 4). Modal particles are not discourse particles, given that discourse particles make reference to the structure of the discourse or to the speaker-hearer-relationship itself (Fischer 2000). Even though some particles (e.g., Spanish *ahora* 'now') may have a modal particle use AND a discourse particle use, I contend that it is possible to distinguish modal and discourse particles on the basis of their respective function. The peculiarity of modal particles is that they sit "in between" propositional content and interaction-related functions of language. I will illustrate this distinction with respect to particles from various languages, and I will address the question as to why discourse particles seem to be a near-universal whereas modal particles are restricted to specific languages.

## **Amy Wang**

### ***Vagueness as a court strategy: A corpus-assisted approach to vagueness in British and Taiwanese courtrooms***

It is often suggested that legal language, especially that used by legal professionals, is more precise, or less vague, than language used in other contexts (e.g. Solan, 1993). Yet vagueness is a natural part of language (cf. Channell, 1994), and some linguists and philosophers (e.g. Williamson, 1994) even consider vagueness to be an intrinsic feature prevailing in language itself. This paper briefly outlines the philosophical and linguistic

controversies surrounding vagueness, then empirically examines use of vagueness in two corpora of criminal courtroom interactions between legal professionals and “lay” people. My interpretation of vagueness, like that of Janney (2002) and Jucker et al (2003), treats it as a pragmatic, interactive concept; however, I focus on vagueness from both the speaker’s and the hearer’s perspectives, and the interaction between the two. I operationalize these distinctions with respect to the exploitation (or manipulation) of vagueness in corpora of British and Taiwanese criminal court proceedings. It is found that (i) the utterances perceived by the hearer as vague or inadequate in the courtroom setting are related to the perceived significance to the entire case of the reference (e.g. person, time, place) in question; (ii) the utterances indicated by the speakers as vague or uncertain are used for modifying the illocutionary force (e.g. weakening the force of a contradiction); (iii) other key functions of vagueness markers in court include self-protection by participants, compensating for lack of more precise information, and marking the information focus in the utterance. Finally, I attempt to correlate the use of vagueness in a criminal case in the Taiwanese court with the final verdict, in order to see how far the use of vagueness may influence the outcome of the trial.

## **Muriel Warga**

### ***Are Austrians more polite than Germans?: The speech act of request in German as a pluricentric language***

The present study deals with the request patterns found in two variants of German and thus adds to the scarce body of literature on variational pragmatics. The small number of studies carried out into the pragmatics of German as a pluricentric language has yielded some evidence that Germans are more direct in their verbal behaviour than Austrians (Muhr 1994: 142). However, the range of speech acts studied has been very limited. Therefore, the present study aims at examining this assumption by comparing the requests of 20 Austrian and 25 German high school students who were administered a discourse completion task. The data were analysed using an adapted version of the coding scheme of the Cross Cultural Speech Act Realization Project (Blum-Kulka/House/Kasper 1989). Directness was operationalized as (1) the degree of directness of the Head Act, (2) the amount of supportive moves contained in the requestive act, and (3) the amount of internal (lexical, morphological and syntactic) modification.

Based on a corpus of 214 requests, it was found that, on a macro-level, the requesting behaviour in Austria is very similar to that in Germany. For instance, as far as the degree of directness of the Head Act is concerned, in both the Austrian and German variant the query preparatory and the combined hedged performative are by far the most frequent strategies. Moreover, the amount of grounders and disarmers, the most important supportive moves, is very similar in the Austrian and German data.

Closer examination, however, reveals important differences between the two variants. It was found that the Austrian students differ considerably from their German counterparts in their way of introducing requests: while Germans “come to the point very quickly”, the results reveal that Austrians “prepare” their requests more extensively using anticipatory repairs and preparators. In addition, the Austrian students were shown to downgrade their requests significantly more often by conditionals than the German students.

The results of this study clearly suggest that, although there are important parallels between the Austrian and German requesting behaviour, the two groups differ considerably in terms of use of conditional forms and in terms of the composition of the introduction.

## **Hansun Waring**

### ***Yeah Yeah Yeah as a state-of-knowledge responses***

Past research on minimal response tokens such as “yeah,” “mhm,” “okay,” and “oh” has generated important insights into their forms, functions, and distributions (e.g., Beach, 1993; Drummond & Hopper, 1993; Guthrie, 1997; Heritage, 1984; Jefferson, 1993; McCarthy, 2003; Pillet-Shore, 2003; Schegloff, 1982; Wong, 2000). The focus has typically been placed upon the use of single, rather than combined, tokens. In this paper, I examine one specific sort of combined tokens—that of “yeah yeah yeah,” considering, in particular, its role in signaling the speaker’s state of knowledge vis a vis what a co-participant has just said in the immediately prior turn. While making the general claim that “yeah yeah yeah” treats prior talk as non-news, I detail exactly what sort of non-news is dealt with, thereby what specific interactional tasks are accomplished, by this particular response in its particular sequential positions.

Data for this study, which have been transcribed in detail based on the system developed by Gail Jefferson, include a variety of audio- and video-taped talk found in graduate seminars, tutoring sessions as well as ordinary conversations.

Using a conversation analytic framework, I show that while treating prior talk as non-news, “yeah yeah yeah” can be specifically deployed to block a co-participant’s elaboration. As such, “yeah yeah yeah” is typically

found in two sequential environments. In the first environment, "yeah yeah yeah" is produced when a co-participant who has responded to a prior turn proceeds to elaborate upon that response after it has already been received as adequate. In the second environment, "yeah yeah yeah" is produced when a co-participant of some sort of initiating action (e.g., proposal) launches an elaboration after that action has already received a preferred response (Pomerantz, 1984; Sacks, 1987). In both environments, "yeah yeah yeah" tends to be placed interruptively and unfolds simultaneously with the co-participant's elaboration. Such designedly simultaneous talk undercuts the "hearability" of what the other is saying, and in so doing, sequentially deletes the latter. In both environments, "yeah yeah yeah" treats the talk-so-far as more than sufficient and any further talk beyond the current point as interactionally dispensable. It does the job of an "elaboration stopper."

## **Rumi Washi**

### ***The construction of Standard Japanese women's language from 1920's to 1945***

In this paper, I examine the construction of the institutional discourses about norms of women's language in Standard Japanese, which is based on Tokyo dialect, during the war period, from the 1920's to 1945. I take Foucault's archaeological approach to this subject. Therefore, I also investigate the relations between these discourses and nondiscursive domains such as institutions, political events and social movements.

From the 1920's to 1945, the issue of what form of speech women should adopt came up repeatedly in debates among linguists, scholars and commentators in public discourse. First, analyzing papers and essays by linguists, I demonstrate that their discourses had a strong effect on the consensus about the ideal women's language. The linguists studied *nyooboo kotoba* '(pre-modern) court women's language' and concluded that it symbolized the upper class and femininity. Furthermore they suggested through the media that women should speak politely and femininely in the same manner as *nyooboo kotoba*.

Secondly, I show that attempts were even made to propagate Standard Japanese women's speech to the public through the media and education. In 1941 the Ministry of Education released the *Reehoo yookoo* 'Essentials of etiquette.' It explicitly prescribed gendered forms of standardized speech and directed women to speak more politely than men. In the same year, Standard Japanese women's speech was introduced into elementary schools as part of the national language curriculum.

Thirdly, I examine how women leaders played an important role in the construction of women's language. Half of the committee for the Essentials of etiquette in the Ministry of Education consisted of female teachers in secondary schools. Some women activists for equal rights joined a language planning organization supported by the government, and took part in the attempt to propagate ideal women's speech together with linguists. The State policy on women's speech was accepted by these women leaders because they considered that the authorities had admitted the value of women's language and, thus, women themselves as Japanese subjects.

Fourthly, I provide an analysis of discourses in one of the most popular magazines at that time for young women, *Shoojo no tomo* 'The friend of girls,' which was in publication from the 1920's to 1945. Compositions and letters written to editors by young women, who were taught Standard Japanese women's language by female teachers, show that they assessed low class speech, that is, the speech of young factory workers, as bad because it was similar to men's speech. In the stories in the magazine, young, educated, middle-class women characters spoke the ideal women's language of Standard Japanese. On the other hand, young housekeepers, who came from all parts of the country, spoke one dialect. My analysis shows that Standard Japanese women's speech was regarded as an index of not only femininity but also high status and authority, compared with non-standard women's speech.

During the war period, elite women themselves took part in constructing Japanese women's language, and helped to lay the foundation for educating the public about the ideology of women's speech after the war.

## **Kyoko Watanabe**

### ***A contrastive study of German and Japanese intercultural business discourse: Focusing on opening and ending phrases of turns***

This paper claims that Japanese people's turn openings are frequently accompanied by metacommunicative remarks when taking the floor, which serve to pave the way for the content they intend to convey. The study generally supports Maynard (1989) and Yamada (1992) in that metacommunicative remarks occur in topic openings and serve the expectation of nonconfrontation. This paper argues that these remarks also reflect the Japanese perception of meetings as being an ongoing aggregate and contents are expected only after the context is ready to accommodate them as a part of the aggregate. Therefore they have to pave the way to set up the right context. The contrast in the way both groups opened and ended turns could be understood as a manifestation of different expectations. What became salient from this study was how they perceived the meeting itself. Japanese

managers perceived it as an ongoing aggregate without too clear boundaries between speakers/topics/opinions, supporting their collectivistic view. German managers' view was that meetings should be compartmentalized and boundaries should be clearly delineated, which reflected their individualistic approach.

Data: The data is a 102-minute long audio-recorded management meeting conducted by a Japanese manufacturer that had formed a strategic alliance with a German-based multinational company. The eight male participants in this meeting included four Japanese, three Germans, and one French. This paper specifically focuses on discourse interactions of Japanese and German managers in comparable positions. Simultaneous interpretation was provided between English and Japanese. All German managers spoke in English, while Japanese managers had a choice of language. Due to the procedural restriction in interaction, one turn tends to become relatively longer with fewer overlaps than what is seen in naturally occurring discourse. Rather than focusing on how they took turns, this paper focuses on what participants said at the first and the last line of their turns, which were transcribed and classified for further analysis.

Findings:

1. Out of a total of 167 turns, 76 of them qualified as data for analysis. Of 38 turns by Japanese managers, 30 were floor-taking turns, in which 11 (36.6%) turns employed metacommunicative remarks that specifically referred to a statement/topic/speaker that had appeared earlier. An opening such as "My comment may be somehow related to Mr.X's comment earlier..." shows a clear connection with the aggregate. As Yamada (1992) maintains, it functions to pad topic openings for a gradual and eased entry for nonconfrontation. It also works to demonstrate the connection to the existing aggregate by setting the stage. In contrast, metacommunicative remarks never appeared in any of the German turn openings.

2. Frequent use of discourse markers was another noteworthy feature of Japanese turn openings. In fact, nearly all of the floor-taking openings were accompanied by a discourse marker.

3. On the other hand, turn openings of German managers were direct. They either immediately responded to the topic in question with a clear statement showing their stance or asked clarifying questions. The appearance of such direct responses was as frequent as 33 out of 38 turns (87%).

### **Yoko Watanabe, Shota Yoshihara & Chizuko Suzuki**

#### ***Characterizing Japanese learners' interaction with students overseas based on corpus analysis***

The aim of our presentation is: first, to show how and in what way Japanese college students' communication style has changed by exchanging their thoughts and opinions on assigned topics or on current issues that they are interested in on the BBS or mailing list with their counterparts in Asian countries such as Korea and Taiwan; second, to analyze the corpus accumulated over five years and to investigate what characteristics are found in the students' interaction in respective countries; third, to clarify what viable communication strategy students need to learn for improving their exchanges; and, finally, to demonstrate the process of developing intellectual and cultural awareness through collaborative interaction. The order of our research procedure was as follows: 1) to construct a message extraction system to search how and how many special items of words are used in English sentences, 2) to analyze the corpus including 10,148 messages accumulated since January, 1999 up until today by WordSmith in quantitative and qualitative ways; in particular, students' messages stored for 2 months from May to the end of June, 2003 for the joint project between Nagasaki Junshin Catholic University in Japan and Hannam University in Korea, and students' messages picked up on the mailing list between Nagasaki Junshin Catholic University and Shih Hsin University in Taiwan from December, 2003 to March, 2004 were chosen. 3) to classify these collected data into three groups such as meaning, structure, and function which show a tendency of miscommunication in students' interaction, 4) to trace the flow of actual interactions according to each topic arranged in chronological order. The findings of how and what students learned from interacting with their peers will be verified in detail in the presentation.

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### **Richard Watts & Miriam Locher**

#### ***Politeness as relational work: The discursive approach to polite behaviour***

A postmodernist approach to linguistic politeness starts from the assumption that perceptions of politeness lie within the individual as a social being and not that politeness is a quality of verbal interaction somehow lying outside or beyond instances of interaction themselves. Through discourse in social interaction we create common worlds, the most significant of these being our interpersonal relationships with others. The interactional negotiation of these relationships has been referred to as relational work (Locher 2004; Locher and Watts 2005), and it involves us in social praxis. A discursive approach to polite behaviour sees it as part of the



relational work carried out in any socio-communicative verbal interaction, which encompasses the entire continuum of verbal behaviour. Individual participants may sense instances of verbal interaction to be in line with the norms established in previous interactions, such that a great deal of the relational work in any interaction will be unmarked and will go unnoticed. It will be politic (cf. Watts 2003; Locher and Watts 2005). Marked behaviour, however, can be noticed in two different ways. It may be perceived as negative either if it is open to an interpretation as impolite (or as down-right rude), or if it is perceived as over-polite. Both kinds of negatively marked non-politic behaviour tend towards similar kinds of affective reaction on the part of co-participants. Positively marked politic behaviour, however, is open to an overt interpretation as polite. For some speakers the range of politeness along the spectrum of politic behaviour might be much greater than for others. It may even be the case that polite behaviour is evaluated as being unnecessary and offensive. In this paper we will propose that, if we take a discursive approach to politeness and relational work, only a relatively small subsection of politic behaviour is likely to be explicitly evaluated by participants as 'polite'. We will illustrate this using concrete examples from our data.

**Tilo Weber**

***Participants' metapragmatic orientation to discourse strategies in conversation: The case of nodding and smiling***

As far back as Garfinkel's *Studies in Ethnomethodology* (1967), it has been observed that, frequently, participants in social interaction are prepared to accept a certain degree of vagueness and even unclarity in the contributions of their coparticipants. In those cases, they seem to consider maintaining the flow of the ongoing interaction more important than achieving a detailed understanding of a certain problematic utterance. They wait and see whether their local problem of understanding will either be dissolved by or remain without major consequences in the further course of the exchange.

In the proposed talk, I will investigate a variant of this kind of behavior to be characterized as nodding and smiling. By this term, I refer to continuers (Schegloff 1982) of a particular type, i.e. a backchannel behavior by which participants signal to the speaker that they are currently following his/her talk without major interpretational trouble and without being interested in taking the turn at the present point.

From the perspective of metapragmatics it is pointed out that participants, besides employing behavior of this kind in a strategic manner to cover up (partial) non-understanding, are also capable of reflecting on this strategy and on the conditions under which pursuing it is or is not acceptable. I will substantiate this claim by presenting a sequence from everyday conversation and analyzing it as a metapragmatic sidesequence focusing on the exchange immediately preceding it. In this sequence, four participants, by way of mocking or ironically commenting on each other's previous contributions and by trying to account for their own ones, negotiate the manner in which nodding and smiling is accomplished, in what manner it is usually interpreted, what conditions have to hold to make it seem conversationally acceptable, and whether these conditions were fulfilled in the preceding talk.

My conversational analyses on nodding and smiling from the participants' point of view are supplemented and corroborated by observations from two different data sources: Max Frisch's play *Andorra* and a newspaper report on an appearance of George W. and Laura Bush in *Larry King Live*, one of the most popular talk shows in the United States.

**Timothy Wharton**

***Lexical acquisition, theory of mind and pragmatics***

Recent work into lexical acquisition (Bloom, P. 2000) has called into question traditional associationist accounts of children's word learning. It appears there is more to lexical acquisition than the ability to make a simple association between words and objects. Acquiring the meanings of words is largely a matter of working out—using natural, non-verbal cues—what it is that people are referring to when they use them. Acquisition is therefore an exercise of theory of mind abilities, rather than associationist ones.

The aim of this paper is to look at these abilities in more detail. Firstly, I consider the extent to which lexical acquisition might be an exercise of a specifically pragmatic ability, rather than general theory of mind. Here I follow Sperber & Wilson (2002), who have argued that there is more to verbal comprehension than general mind-reading abilities of the kind typically discussed in the theory of mind literature. Such accounts rationally reconstruct the comprehension process in the form of conscious, reflective inferences about others' mental states. According to Sperber & Wilson, theory of mind inferences central to the interpretive process are unconscious and fast, governed by a comprehension procedure which can be seen as a 'fast and frugal heuristic' (Gigerenzer & Todd 1999). I suggest that lexical acquisition is an exercise of the same specifically pragmatic

abilities. Indeed, the way children acquire words may provide them with clues as to how they are used. I present arguments and experimental evidence from studies into individuals with autism to support this claim.

Secondly, I look at what light can be shed on theory of mind by considering in more detail the natural, non-verbal cues implicated in both adult comprehension and lexical acquisition. Based on a distinction made in Hauser (1996), Wharton (2003) proposes that such cues fall into two classes: signals and signs. In the first class there are those natural behaviours that have a signalling function: the reason they have propagated in our species is that they convey information (Ekman 1999). In this class I include smiles and other facial expressions. In the second class there are phenomena that do not have a signalling function: signs. Consider gaze direction: the fact that someone's gaze is directed to a particular object lets others know what he is seeing; however, this is not its function but merely a by-product of the way the human visual system works. Although signs do not have a communicative function, they can be put to use in intentional communication. Indeed, natural signs and natural signals may be deliberately shown to an audience to provide evidence of an intention to inform.

These observations raise new questions about the nature of theory of mind, and suggests possible directions in which future research into the pragmatics of lexical acquisition might proceed. Can the ability to interpret natural signals be impaired independently of other parts of the mind-reading ability? Does the fact that a natural cue is used ostensively or non-ostensively make any difference in a word-learning task?

## **Anne Wichmann**

### ***Sorry in casual conversation: Prosodic evidence for grammaticalisation***

This paper aims to make a contribution to the study of grammaticalisation by presenting a corpus-based prosodic analysis of the word sorry. It highlights the importance of frequency-based models of diachronic change and also supports the principle of layering: the co-existence synchronically of items at different stages of grammaticalisation.

The process of grammaticalisation is said to display certain properties including shortening of forms (e.g. shan't) or the coalescence of forms (e.g. wanna). There has so far been little analysis, however, of phonetic or prosodic features that are not captured in the written language. Wichmann (2004) showed that, for example, the word please, existing as a full verb alongside its function as a request marker, is realised prosodically in different ways that correlate with its semantic or pragmatic function. In this paper I will examine the phonetic and prosodic realisations of the word sorry and provide corpus evidence to show that sorry is undergoing, or has undergone, grammaticalisation through a process of semantic to pragmatic change.

The word sorry is known to have a number of different functions in casual conversation, including apologies, indicating repair sequences, requests for clarification, and acknowledgement of communication difficulties. Using the spoken part of the International Corpus of British English (ICE GB) as data, approximately 400,000 words of transcribed speech, a lexical search was used to identify all occurrences of sorry in the transcript, whether isolates that constitute a complete utterance, or as part of longer utterances. Based on analysis of both co-text and context, the sorry-utterances were categorised according to their syntactic structure (e.g. initial or final position) and their pragmatic function. The sound files were then analysed auditorily and each utterance was transcribed segmentally and prosodically (accentual status and intonation contours). The segmental and prosodic characteristics were identified for each utterance and related to the functional categories already established.

A close relationship appears to hold between both prosodic and segmental characteristics and pragmatic function. The sorry of an apology is realised very differently from the sorry indicating communication difficulties. There is evidence that the latter has undergone semantic 'bleaching' and phonetic reduction (segmental and prosodic) to become a pragmatic marker. I attempt to account for some of the observed differences in terms of models of intonational meaning, referring both to phonological models (e.g. Pierrehumbert and Hirschberg 1990) and accounts of global phonetic realisation (e.g. the 'Biological Codes' presented by Gussenhoven, 2002).

## **Sue Widdicombe**

### ***Accomplishing problem (re)formulation in psychotherapy***

The process of problem formulation has been described as a crucial part of psychotherapy; moreover, it is a product of interaction between client and therapist in which the meaning and significance of the client's experiences are negotiated. In this talk, I examine how the nature of one client's presenting problem was transformed in a therapeutic intervention, making the source of her problems internal feelings in line with therapeutic protocol. Extracts are presented from what was classified as an unsuccessful 8-session psychodynamic-interpersonal therapy of a female client presenting with depression. Using conversation analysis, I examine several sequences of problem formulation and reformulation, identifying in particular

devices used to transform the meaning of client's experiences. For example, I show how this is accomplished through topic shifts which construct and make relevant a common feature of the client's experiences, gists and upshots, and by mobilising particular identities. The implications of conversation analytic work for therapeutic practice are explored.

## **Camilla Wide**

### ***Analyzing contextual features from the point of view of CxG and interaction***

One of the main problems within Construction Grammar for linguists interested in interactional features of grammatical structures is how to formalize contextual features in terms of attributes and values. This paper explores how contextual features can be described within the CxG framework – without compromising the basic assumptions made within CA-inspired interactional linguistics. In his early work on Construction Grammar, Fillmore stressed the importance of considering communicative purposes and interactional features when describing grammatical constructions (1989). In recent years Construction Grammar has become increasingly more formalistic and abstract – radically so in some versions of the model, but a general tendency can also be seen. A consequence of this development is that interactional linguists like myself who are in principle in favour of Construction Grammar (see Wide 2002) now find it difficult to relate their results to the framework.

In my paper I will analyze the demonstrative pronoun *den* ‘the, that’ in Swedish from both a Construction Grammar and an interactional point of view. I will pay special attention to the use of *den* in Swedish dialects in Eastern Nyland in Finland where the grammaticalization of *den* toward a definite article, supplementing the normal *-(e)n/-et* definite article suffix, seems to have gone further than in standard varieties of Swedish. As the following examples show, the form *de* ‘the/that’ can be used together with noun phrases that lack modifiers but include suffixes of definiteness – even when referring to unique referents such as ‘the time’:  
*gee hii de book-in* ‘give here the book-the’  
*va mån de klåkk-an ska vara?* ‘what may the klock-the [= time] be?’

In standard Swedish *den* is used as a definite article only in noun phrases including modifiers, cf. *bil-en* ‘the car’, *den röda bil-en* ‘the red car-the’. Thus the Eastern Nyland use of *den* in noun phrases without modifiers, as above, has traditionally been analyzed as a case of double definiteness. However, the use of *den* in Eastern Nyland is closely connected to assumptions about common ground of a certain kind. Since *den* is a deictic pronoun, contextual information plays a crucial role in the use, interpretation and description of structures that include *den*. When analyzed more closely, the Eastern Nyland structures with *den* seem to be licensed by a construction which draws primarily on contextual information. In order to formalize this construction, tools for describing various aspects of contextual information are needed. The paper suggests a solution in which these tools are developed in terms of meaning potentials, in this case the potential of *den* as a (discourse) focus marker and rhetorical device.

## **Sally Wiggins & Alexa Hepburn**

### ***Weight as a delicate issue in family and parenting talk***

Weight or body size talk is a potentially delicate issue for speakers, particularly when the talk concerns a third party. This can be exacerbated when weight is made relevant to talk about, or within, parenting practices. In this paper, we examine how weight talk is interactionally organised within such settings. The data come from two sources: telephone calls to an NSPCC (National Society for the Prevention of Cruelty to Children) helpline and family mealtime interaction. Calls to the helpline involve claims about possible neglect or mistreatment of children; thus the parenting skills of other individuals are often called into question. In the mealtime talk, the families are involved in the business of eating, and talk about body weight takes on a particular significance in this context. The analysis focuses on extracts where speakers (helpline callers or family members) describe or make relevant the body size or weight of another person, where this person is either present or absent from the current interaction. Conversation analysis is used to examine the sequential and intonational patterns of weight descriptions, specifically detailing how expressions pertaining to large or small body sizes are constructed. We also examine the way in which weight talk is oriented to or managed by other speakers. The analysis will demonstrate how constructions of ‘large’ weight are often marked in ways that attend to, and construct, their status as delicate objects. Comparisons between the two data sets reveal how weight talk is also embedded within institutional practices, such as encouraging children to eat (within family mealtimes) and making claims about neglectful childcare (within NSPCC helpline calls). The paper concludes by discussing implications for both theory and practice.

## **Gillian Wigglesworth & Lynda Yates**

### ***Getting things done in the workplace: The challenge for non-native users***

Although there have been several studies of requests in Australian English (e.g. Achiba, 2002, Blum-Kulka & House, 1989, Yates, 2000), there has been little attention to the way in which complex requests are negotiated in workplace situations. Such negotiations are, however, commonplace, and research indicates that the management of these encounters is problematic for adult second language learners entering the work force in Australia, both linguistically and culturally (de Riva O'Phelan & Schafer 2004), since the pragmalinguistic forms used and the sociopragmatic values which underpin their use are not always salient for language users who have been socialised into another first language and culture. In the Australian context, role plays of such negotiations are also used as assessment tasks in the vocationally and educationally oriented government-sponsored national English language program.

In this study, we used role plays conducted by native speakers interacting with both native speakers (NS) and non native speakers (NNS). The situations required participants to negotiate complex requests between a subordinate and an employer in a workplace context. Two different requests were collected. The first required the participant to negotiate a change of time for an interview, and the second required the participant to negotiate a period of leave at a difficult time for the employer. In each, the role of the employer was taken by one of three female NS interviewers, and the role of subordinate was taken by 30 NS and 30 NNS participants, half female and half male, yielding 60 role plays for each situation.

The principal request in each role play was identified and coded for level of directness, and the use of syntactic, propositional and lexical mitigation in each dialogue was coded and analysed. This allowed both a quantitative and qualitative comparison of the ways in which NS and NNS, not only made the request itself, but made use of different strategies to prepare and support their request. The findings revealed considerable pragmalinguistic and sociopragmatic differences in how the two groups negotiated their requests. While NS and NNS did not always use different levels of directness in formulating their principal requests, there were substantial differences in the way they used syntactic, propositional and lexical mitigation to soften its impact. NNS used only a limited range of such devices, even though many were well within their level of grammatical competence. It appeared, rather, that they had not acquired an understanding of their pragmalinguistic function. On a sociopragmatic level, the way in which requests were approached and realised by the NNS appeared to draw on very different understandings of the roles and obligations of the different parties, and of approaches to communication in the workplace.

We conclude by suggesting a taxonomy of mitigating devices which could be used as a basis for teaching about the pragmalinguistic devices used in requests, and discussing some communicative values which appear to underpin workplace communication in an Australian context.

**Yorick Wilks**

### ***What would a Wittgensteinian linguistics be like?***

One can perhaps hear a lexicographer's answer in Hanks' claim that a dictionary could be written consisting only of use citations; we suspect that is radically false, but it does contain the authentic Wittgensteinian demand to look at language data, though not at all in the same way as a linguist who demanded that would want us to: he would want us to form generalizations from such data.

In this paper we want (1) to remind ourselves what the core of his later doctrine on the nature of language was; (2) what movements in modern computational language processing are closer to and farther from that doctrine; and (3) why we may still be in need of his arguments and insights. The body of the paper will draw concrete parallels and oppositions between his work and a range of modern developments in modern computational semantics and pragmatics.

This paper will not be about scholarly claims of Wittgenstein's direct influence for there are probably few to be found. Margaret Masterman and the present author are possibly the only NLP researchers who acknowledged his influence and refer to him often. But one also thinks here of Graeme Hirst's immortal remark "Most AI programs are in Wittgenstein and only the degree of implementation varies".

It used to be conventional to distinguish an earlier from a later Wittgenstein: the earlier wrote the *Tractatus* and believed in formalisms and a world of discrete facts; the later, and wiser, man wrote the *Investigations* and questioned all his earlier beliefs. Without endorsing this over-simple view, we shall restrict ourselves in this paper largely to connections between NLP and the later Wittgenstein, if only because the connections between the logic-orientated earlier phase and the growth of the formalisms that led to much of modern AI and linguistics are all too clear.

However, one little noticed connection to the earlier Wittgenstein is the clear link between his metaphor of pictures as facts (the so-called Picture Theory of Truth) and the stick picture situations in Richards and Gibson's language teaching books, which were used for decades to teach languages without meta-explanations, using stick pictures as unambiguous situations, each expressing a simple proposition. Richards was much influenced by Wittgenstein at Cambridge, and later Masterman later made much of the link, and used

stick pictures from Richards as a grounding for a notion of sameness of meaning. Interestingly, the stick picture technique is very similar to the illustrations used by Barwise and Perry to explain their influential *Situation Semantics*, a book in which, curiously, no reference to Wittgenstein appears.

469

One very broad characterisation of his later views would be a rejection of all metadescriptions of words, i.e. by entities that are not words; which led the present author in 1970 to formulate the principle “Meaning is other words”, a notion which is crucially not the same as giving definitions, but which is close to the principle underlying modern statistical language processing, formulated by Sparck Jones as “taking words as they stand”.

## **Robert Williams**

### ***Material anchors and conceptual blends in instructional discourse***

In examining instruction, we want to understand how a teacher’s utterances, gestures, and actions shape the learner’s construction of meaning. A step in this direction is to apply cognitive semantic theory to the analysis of instructional discourse. The theory of mental spaces and conceptual integration networks (Fauconnier 1994, 1997; Fauconnier & Turner 1998, 2002) provides a useful framework for relating discourse acts to conceptual operations involved in meaning-making. Hutchins’ recent work on material anchors for conceptual blends (in press) is especially germane. Hutchins analyzes several cognitive artifacts and shows how they function by using structure in the material world to anchor a conceptual blend. The material anchor maintains the conceptual relations while inferences are being generated. If this is so, then how does each new generation learn to instantiate such blends? Part of the answer seems to lie in instruction. In my research, I investigate instructional discourse from the perspective of cognitive semantics, analyzing how anchored blends and their associated conceptual integration networks get constructed, elaborated, and used to generate task-relevant inferences. These studies of discourse also play an important role in refining cognitive semantic theory because they shift the focus from structure (the form of conceptual integration networks) to process (how such networks get built, if indeed they do).

The data I present here come from a cognitive ethnography of time-telling instruction. Time-telling is a domain that relies upon interpreting states of physical artifacts. In instruction, teachers use specially constructed teaching clocks annotated by gestures and speech to shape how students interpret specific clock states. In these lessons, teachers do two important things: (1) they control the sequence of actions involved in building a conventional time reading, and (2) they use their actions, gestures, and speech to systematically guide the students’ construction of meaning, a process I call “guided conceptualization.” Using the theoretical constructs of conceptual integration theory—mental spaces, cross-space mappings, blended spaces, material anchors, and so on—I detail how the teacher’s speech, gestures, and manipulations of material artifacts systematically construct anchored blended spaces and then elaborate these spaces and their associated networks to generate inferences specific to time-telling. In so doing, I emphasize both the multimodal nature of discourse and the usefulness of cognitive semantics to understanding discourse processes, especially as they pertain to instruction.

## **Rodney Williamson**

### ***Mixed quotation, narrator stance and distancing in news articles: A comparative study of English and Spanish-language newspapers***

In common parlance “selective quotation” is often used as a derogatory term, denoting the abusive practice of distorting people’s statements by quoting them “out of context”. As we know from pragmatics, this in fact involves re-contextualizing them, and re-contextualization is a major process in constructing meaning, as Linell has shown (see Linell 1998, and Sternberg 1982 specifically for re-contextualization and quotation). Such practice has not generally been associated with purportedly objective forms of discourse, such as news reporting. Yet journalists quite regularly resort to a form of selective quotation which we will call, following Fonte 2002, mixed quotation. This consists in selected direct quotation of words and phrases of the quoted source in the framework of indirect quotation (“So and so said that....”) or narrative summary by the reporter. Fonte identifies this as a present-day practice, which begs the question as to its origins, functions and frequency across different languages and countries. This paper will concentrate on one of its most notable functions: the definition of a particular narrative stance by the reporter in distancing him/herself from the quoted source within a framework which he/she has clearly set up. The reporter is thus able to simultaneously indicate respect for authority (only authoritative sources get quoted directly), irony (distance between the words of the other and one’s own can imply non-alignment and disagreement) and “objectivity” (distance means a lack of subjective involvement). After a brief comparative overview of our ongoing study of English and Spanish-language national newspapers in the Americas (Canada, USA, Mexico, Chile), we will look at some specific cases to

reveal the use of mixed quotation as a rhetorical device. Far from being objective, mixed quotation does in fact serve to define by implication the particular stance of the reporter in particularly problematic or sensitive situations, as for instance ideological conflict or turbulence, or views apparently not in accord with the philosophy of the newspaper. As such, it is an interesting part of the dynamics of news reporting.

### **Caroline Willners**

#### ***Negation and polarity: An experiment on Swedish data***

Antonymy and negation are phenomena that can be studied from many perspectives. In the literature, antonymy is recognized as the most robust of the lexico-semantic relations, important to both the mental organization of the vocabulary and the organization of coherent discourse (Cruse 1986, Fellbaum 1998, Murphy 2003, Willners 2001 and Jones 2002). "Depending on whom you ask, negation may be a logical operator or a type of speech act, a basic element of semantic representations or a pragmatically loaded form of communicative interaction" (Israel 2004: 701). In other words, negation is commonly used as an expression of oppositeness as well as a hedging device in discourse, e.g. I don't know, but I think it's a good idea to... (Giora 2004, Tottie 1991, Tottie & Paradis 1982).

This experiment investigates the interpretation of ten Swedish scalar antonym pairs and their negated equivalents. Our hypothesis is that the not in the context of scalar adjectives is not interpreted as a logical operator in natural language, but rather as a degree modifier of the antonym of the adjective modified by not. That is, not narrow is by and large the same as 'fairly wide' and not wide approximately equals 'fairly narrow'. The experiment is designed as follows using E-prime as experiment software. There are 40 test sentences and 40 distracters and. The adjectives studied are ljus-mörk (light-dark), kort-lång (short-long), smal-bred (narrow-wide), låg-hög (low-high), lätt-tung (light-heavy), lätt-svår (easy-difficult), varm-kall (warm-cold), glad-ledsen (happy-sad) and vacker-ful (beautiful-ugly). Each test item is presented with and without negation in a fixed context. The informants are asked to grade their interpretation of an expression on a given scale, e.g. Vägen längs kusten är smal (The road along the coast is narrow) on the scale 'stig-motorväg' (path-motorway).

The results of the study showed that there was consensus across the informants concerning the interpretation of the expressions included in the test, and the above hypothesis was confirmed for all antonym pairs. The response times for the negated expressions were significantly longer than for the non-negated items, which indicate that they are more difficult to process.

### **Deirdre Wilson**

#### ***Pragmatic processes and mind-reading abilities***

There is some evidence for a correlation between different orders of mind-reading ability and success in performing different types of pragmatic task. For example, the ability to understand verbal irony appears to correlate with the ability to pass second-order false belief tasks, while metaphor understanding has been claimed to correlate with the ability to pass first-order false belief tasks (Happé 1993; Langdon, Davies & Coltheart 2002). This discrepancy is not explained by standard Gricean accounts of figurative language, but is predicted by the analysis of irony as involving the expression of a dissociative attitude to an attributed thought (Sperber & Wilson 1981, 1986, 1998a; Wilson & Sperber 1992).

The aim of this paper is to consider how the available evidence of correlations between different orders of mind-reading ability and successful performance of different types of pragmatic task might be explained within existing pragmatic frameworks. For example, it is sometimes claimed that, just as irony understanding requires a higher order of mind-reading ability than metaphor understanding, metaphor understanding itself requires a higher order of mind-reading ability than disambiguation, reference resolution and regular 'literal' interpretation (e.g. the interpretation of similes, cf. Happé 1993). How convincing is this evidence, and how does it square with recent critiques of the 'literal/figurative' distinction (e.g. Sperber & Wilson 1998b; 2002; Carston 2002, Recanati 2004; Wilson & Sperber 2002) which argue that literal uses, approximations and metaphors all involve the same pragmatic processes and are understood in the same way? More generally, how is pragmatic interpretation possible for very young children and others who lack the ability to pass even first-order false belief tasks? I will consider a variety of possible answers to these questions and discuss how they might be approached within a relevance-theoretic framework (cf. Sperber 1994, Wilson 2003).

### **Ruth Wodak**

#### ***Discourses in European Union Organizations: Aspects of access, participation and exclusion***

The aim of this paper is to make discursive processes of co-constructing, negotiating, defining, changing, legitimizing and justifying inclusion/exclusion in EU organizations transparent, both on a structural and on a discursive level. In this attempt, I will use research on European Union organizations and on national organizations as illustrative examples (see Muntigl, Weiss, Wodak 2000). Language data stem from fieldwork in small EU-committees (tape-recordings and transcriptions), as well as from written policy papers, semi-standardized interviews and from debate forums from the EU website (<http://www.europa.eu.int>) which were analyzed in detail using argumentation theories, linguistic pragmatics as well as Hallidayan Functional Systemic Linguistics (see Reisigl and Wodak 2001, Wodak and Wright 2004).

As much criticism and discontent with the European Union has been noticed in the past years concerning “intransparency of decision making” (not enough possibilities for participation for “European citizens”; see White Paper of European Governance 2001), an interdisciplinary approach investigating inclusion and exclusion in the EU organizations lends itself to elaborate on the complexity of organizational discourses. Hence, I attempt to establish a discourse-theoretical framework, which relates different discursive and structural forms of inclusion and exclusion to each other. Phenomena, which have traditionally been evaluated with different theories, could be understood and explained as issues of inclusion and exclusion on various grounds. Moreover, I assume that many contradictions come into play, while shifts in inclusion and exclusion are decided upon. These contradictions imply - inter alia - value conflicts (conflicts between values of tolerance, democracy etc.), conflicts of ideologies and beliefs, and power conflicts (in small committees as well as in other public domains).

Another theoretical assumption implies that managing “inclusion” and “exclusion” is a question of “grading” and “scales”, ranging from explicit legal and economic restrictions to implicit discursive negotiations and processes of decision-making.

On the level of methodologies, I assume that a multi-methodical approach is needed, including both structural and symbolic-discursive aspects, much influenced by A. Cicourel's notions of “triangulation” and “context”, as well as by his both ethnographic and discourse-analytic (cognitive) approaches to studying organizations. Thus, both “Lebenswelt” and “System” need to be considered, synchronically and historically, while analyzing organizational discourses in the context of transnational organizations, such as the EU.

## **Robin Wooffitt**

### ***Articulating consciousness: The social organisation of reports of mental states in parapsychology experiments***

In recent years parapsychologists have made considerable efforts to identify experimental procedures which seem able to offer repeatable demonstrations of anomalous or extrasensorimotor communication. In particular ‘ganzfeld’ ESP experiments have consistently reported significant results. The ganzfeld is an ESP experimental procedure in which subjects are in a relaxed state, in an environment which minimises sensory input. A sender tries mentally to project a target: a static or moving video clip from a large database chosen randomly by specifically modified software. The subject is then shown the target video clip and three others, and has to identify which is the correct target on the basis of the images he or she received during the sending phase.

There are two phases of the ganzfeld in which psychological and (para)psychological states become a topic of the discourse between experimenter and subject. During the sending phase, subjects are required to describe whatever images appear in consciousness (this is called the mentation). Thus subject has to rely on their everyday communicative skills to convey the sensations and images she is experiencing. Later, during the mentation review, the experimenter and subject discuss the subject’s prior report. This phase of interaction is thus explicitly concerned with the subject’s description of her consciousness in an earlier phase of the experiment. Consequently, the discourse of ganzfeld parapsychology experiments provides rich ground for discursive psychological research, as it is replete with the use of a cognitive vocabulary, and the reference to or invocation of the relevance of (ostensibly controversial) mental states. And this (para)psychological work is managed through everyday interactional practices - descriptions and categorisation, turn-taking, the production of questions and answers, the management of repair - which are mobilised with respect to the requirements of particular contingencies of activities in parapsychology laboratories.

This chapter reports on a conversation analytic study of the discourse in ganzfeld mentations and mentation reviews. Specifically: the analysis will describe three interactional phenomena through which both experimenter and subject display an orientation to the potential parapsychological significance of conscious experience as part of the routine work of conducting the experiment. These are: stepwise topical progression in the mentation review; experimenter departure from institutional tasks/roles; and subjects’ formulation of their stance towards their own conscious experience. These empirical observations provide the basis for a discussion of how the methodological approach of conversation analysis and discursive psychology cast laboratory-based parapsychological practices in a new light, while at the same time making a direct contribution to parapsychology’s core substantive concerns.

## **Margarita Wulftange**

### ***Growing beyond biased and racist discourse: Using critical discourse analysis to chart student teachers' ideological change over time***

The discourse student teachers (ST) use as they learn about multicultural education (MCE) develops over time. Using Critical Discourse Analysis (CDA) this study follows changes in ST discourse during conversations with other ST and their supervisor about MCE and their student teaching placements. These changes are being followed to understand how to support ST using and/or changing their language to provide equitable education that does not use biased or racist comments while teaching. The purpose of the study is to find ways that ST change or do not change over time in their language and to chart what were some examples of how this change occurred.

Student teachers involved in this study attend a Teacher Education Program (TEP) that infuses MCE throughout program coursework. Five ST were followed during their student teaching year. A Student Teaching Practicum course is the focus of this study. Part of this course involves weekly small group meetings in which student teachers submit written assignments to their supervisor and engage in dialogue regarding their student teaching placements. STs' use of MCE and development as multicultural educators was charted using CDA (Blommaert & Verschueren, 1998; Van Dijk, 2003; Weiss & Wodak, 2003).

In the analysis examples of STs' racist speech, casting students as the "other" through the use of pronouns or not knowing students' names, and generalizations about groups of students or their cultural backgrounds were looked for, found and compared over the school year. Assignments for the course (journal entries, lesson plans), as well as the transcribed conversations during small group seminar were used to conduct this analysis. Examples of not using MCE and discourse, which do not reflect MCE ideology, were compared to examples of ST use of oral and written language, which do reflect an approaching understanding of the core concepts of MCE. For example, ST began using the Multiple Perspectives model (Sleeter & Grant, 2003) for teaching content, as well as using students' background knowledge as a resource.

Some findings are (1) ST who build a comfortable, respectful community speak plainly with little hesitation about being politically correct. Often when an ST did say something that another ST found to be belittling of students or groups, the ST themselves would question what had just been said. (2) Repeated modeling of language that is less biased or racist supports the ST beginning to use similarly inclusive vocabulary and using less biased and racist language. (3) ST that receive feedback on their language use as being biased or racist from colleagues and supervisor begin using language that communicates their ideas in less biased and racist ways.

The findings have implications for how to support ST acting as bridges between themselves and their culturally diverse student populations. The use of CDA makes specific the ways that ST are capable of changing over time. CDA can be used to track ideological change over the school year. Discourse analysis, particularly CDA, gives educators tools to track ideological changes that speakers undergo over time.

## **Eva Wyss & Evelyn Ziegler**

### ***The construction of relationships in note writing practices of adolescents***

Passing notes during school lessons is much more than only an indirect mode of communication. As several studies indicate (cf. Canaan 1990, Cahill 2002) this writing practice is a typical type of activity among young people, representing a central means for (a) constructing group identity and (b) for strengthening exclusive social ties.

This subversive communication gains its meaning and significance from being situated in a classroom context and being marked as secret among the pupils and forbidden in the classroom. Compared to writing practices during childhood, where same-sex communication is most important, communication among adolescents is more concerned with mixed-sex communication.

Nevertheless, writing and passing notes also represents a continuation of the important act of same-sex communication, which has been established already in groups of younger children.

Our project draws on empirical data from adolescents living in different German speaking regions, i.e. Zürich (Switzerland) and Eichstätt (Germany). Using quantitative as well as qualitative methods we compare phonological, morphological, syntactic and discursive structures and discuss their role in the construction of identity and relationship. Special attention is paid to gender performance, to the construction of friendship, and to various modes and phases of intimate communication.

## **Hua Xiang**

### ***A contrastive analysis of apology strategies: Chinese and British***



The speech act of apologizing aims at maintaining, restoring and enhancing interpersonal relationships. This study attempted to explore the use, interpretation, and assessment of apology strategies of both native and non-native speakers of Mandarin Chinese and British English, namely both native speakers of Chinese and English as well as the language learners of these two languages. Due to limited research on Chinese apology strategies, the current study would contribute to a better understanding of realization patterns of Chinese apologies as well as deep cultural values underpin these patterns. In addition, the current study also offers pedagogical implications for the growing field of teaching Chinese as a foreign or second language in UK.

The data were collected via video-taped open role plays in UK and in Mainland China. Follow up evaluation questionnaires as well as group and individual interviews were carried out with the participants.

The findings revealed that similarities and differences existing in apology strategies produced by the groups. New categories of apology strategies were identified (based on the CCSARP coding manual). Some differences were found both in linguistic and culture components of the groups. The interactive nature of the open role play data as well as the advantages of the video data demonstrated a rather different picture of apology strategies used by the participants compared to non-interactive data. Cultural specific nonverbal behaviours were also identified within the data. The study also raised a range of methodological and analytical implications, which could be contributed to the field of interlanguage and cross-cultural pragmatics.

### **Malcah Yaeger-dror, Shoji Takano & Tania Granadillo**

#### ***Parameters of negative-prominence: Gender, language, region and dominance***

Previous studies have pointed to the importance of 'new' information to the morphological and prosodic prominence of negation: e.g., O'Shaughnessy and Allen (1983) and Banuazizi (2003) found that not-negatives which presented 'new' information were significantly more likely to be pitch prominent than those which did not.

Yaeger-Dror et al (2003) found that social situation is a critical factor in the analysis of the use of not-negation: negatives used in American English political debates were significantly more likely to be both morphologically and prosodically prominent than negatives in friendly conversations, although not-negatives are even less likely to provide so-called 'new' information in debates; prosodic prominence is least likely to occur on negatives in supportive situations, even if they convey new information. Yaeger-Dror (2002) showed that despite a 'popular' understanding that in prominent negatives, and confrontational discussion would be more likely to occur in French, in actuality, the likelihood of prominent negations in different social situations in French did not differ all that greatly from the pattern of influences found for English. In contrast, Granadillo (2003) showed that in Spanish, negatives on the news, which carry 'new' information are equally likely to be prominent, but negatives used in friendly conversations are much less likely to do so, and much less likely to be presented prominently than negatives in English; it is also known that speakers from different regions have different social expectations in this regard as well (Edstrom 2004, Granadillo 2003, Yaeger-Dror et al 2003). Not surprising, in the light of Yamada (2004), Takano (2003) showed that the results for Japanese are much more complicated, and that there are many factors involved, which perhaps would also benefit the analysis of negation and prominence in English and Spanish.

This paper will use data from large corpora of spoken American English with parallel corpora from Britain, Latin America, Canada and Japan to determine the relative importance of three factors to the prominence of not-negation: Neutral ['informative'] situations, like the news, will be compared with CallFriend phone conversations between good friends and between relatives. The results demonstrate that while situation is the most important influence on variation in these cultures, some social variables inevitably are more important in one than in another, and it is obvious that there is a purely linguistic component as well. It is also clear that second language learners who will actually be working with speakers of other languages should benefit from a more accurate understanding of how strategies differ in these different languages and cultures. The results will be discussed relative to pragmatic theory as well as relative to the importance of intercultural pragmatics in the classroom and in the business world. [word count: 442 words]

### **Toshiko Yamaguchi & Magnus Petursson**

#### ***Perfect of emotion in Icelandic***

There is a general consensus that the English present perfect does not co-occur with expressions referring to the past event (e.g. 'yesterday' or 'Einstein'). The reason for this is that the present perfect links the past situation with the present, or more precisely, it expresses 'current relevance'. The Icelandic perfect, as shown in the newspaper extract below, can be used with expressions clearly pointing to the past event.

Þegar þjóðveldisbærinn að Stöng var  
when settlement.farm.house.the.NOM in Stöng was

byggður á árunum 1974-1977 var  
 build.PP.MASC.SING in year.the.DAT.PL was  
 leitað til pabba og er óhætt að segja  
 charge.PP father.GEN and is without.doubt to say  
 að stórvirki hafi verið á þeim tíma að  
 that great work have.PRS be.PP on that time to  
 endurbyggja svona stórt hús.  
 reconstruct.INF so big house.ACC  
 (Morgunblaðið Blað B, 23 July 2000: 2)

‘When the settlement farm house in Stöng was built in the years between 1974 and 1977, my father was in charge of it (= reconstructing a house); it can safely be said that the reconstruction of such a big house was (has been) a great piece of work at that time.’

What deserves special attention is the fact that the person who is using the perfect (an Icelandic carpenter called Gunnar who is being interviewed by a newspaper) is expressing his emotion through the use of the perfect. We call this subcategory of the perfect in Icelandic the ‘perfect of emotion’. Since it is characterised by its ability to express the speaker’s/writer’s emotional voices with regard to past episodes at the time of speaking/writing, it can also be seen to fall under ‘current relevance’. The perfect of emotion differs from the ordinary perfect in that the evidence on which this interpretation is based is not the resultant state available to the speaker/writer but the emotion of the speaker/writer. In the extract above, the perfect encodes Gunnar’s passion for carpentry in the context of his late father’s work. What is intriguing is that emotion is evoked only when the perfect is preceded by another linguistic device that serves to prepare the resolution of emotion. As a piece of evidence, Gunnar’s appreciation would not be resolved without the presence of *er óhætt að segja* ‘[it] can be said without doubt’. Neither would this resolution be possible if the perfect were replaced by the preterit or present. The lineal arrangement of two linguistic devices reminds us of Labov’s narrative schema (1972) where resolution brings the sequence of actions to an end. This resemblance underpins the point that dynamic meaning is generated from sequential patterns in a discourse. In this paper, we demonstrate six such cases taken from newspaper articles in which the journalist uses a different linguistic device immediately before the perfect to lead the reader to expect the occurrence of resolution. These devices are (i) *vera* ‘be’-perfect, (ii) *hafa* ‘have’-perfect, (iii) present tense, (iv) future tense, (v) speech act predicate and (vi) an adverbial *þá* ‘then’. It seems that emotions are evoked based on the journalist’s knowledge or belief with respect to what is reported in a given discourse.

### **Tsukasa Yamanaka & Yuji Suzuki**

#### ***Space for communication dynamics in Japanese education: A new paradigm for communication dynamics to Japanese education***

This study attempts to theorize a dynamic form of communication and, based on the theory, develop space for communication, both on-line and off-line, in elementary and secondary education in Japan. The communicative space should stimulate those activities that have been neglected in current scenes of classrooms. Classrooms at any stage of elementary and secondary education do not encourage pupils and students to communicate subject matters other than those authorized by teachers.

Bernstein (1971) attempted to promote the so-called “elaborated-code” into the classroom assuming that its use would enhance students’ creativity and intelligence. However, as Labov (1972) pointed out, Bernstein did not realize that what he called “restricted-code” was in fact a, not restricted, but very effective and creative means of communication. The other aspect that Bernstein missed was the fact that school accounts for only part of students’ daily lives. Children in general learn more when they are off school than they are at school. Evaluating their school activities alone do not reflect their communicative competence.

Students have their own favorite codes as their own identity in their communication outside school and at the same time a formal code imposed on them in school. The former drastically differ from the latter: The former disregard social strata and enable speakers to speak to communicate their ideas freely while the latter does not allow the inferior (students) to speak freely to the superior (teachers). The traditional Japanese education harbors the latter to keep students under control, and thus discourage students from expressing their own ideas. Communication dynamism cannot be found at any level of Japanese compulsory education. Space for communication we have designed for a group of students provides the students the opportunity to freely communicate in their own codes with only a limited amount of supervision and guidance. These students have developed a number of projects related to their own interests.

The following is the some of the examples:

Let’s exchange ideas in our own languages

- Cuiba Shoka Univ. with The University of Manchester 2003

- (Coordinated by Yamanaka)  
 - Takaehana Junior High School with Mid Pacific Institute 2003  
 (Coordinated by Yamanaka)  
 - Shonandai Elementary School with Mid Pacific Institute 2003  
 (Coordinated by Yamanaka)

(<http://www.yslab.sfc.keio.ac.jp>)

Based on the observation of the dynamic communication exchanged among this group of students, we have been attempting to describe and account for the mechanism underlining the codes used by these students.

If modified and remodeled in a positive sense, we have found, ‘pidginization’ and ‘creolization’ introduced in those classical works such as ---- are very effective concept to account for some of the phenomena found in these students’ utterances. The paper presents the concrete data from activities in a project titled Space for Communication Dynamics in Japanese Education, and theorizes an effective communication-code as the continuum of a series of codes in actual communication. This study proposes a new methodology of effective communication which traditional Japanese education lacks.

### **Masatsugu Yamazaki**

#### ***From person marker to affect marker: The grammaticization of the Japanese 2nd person singular pronoun omae in conflict talk***

This paper suggests that some instances of the Japanese 2nd person singular pronoun omae as observed in conflict talk may be better explained as quasi final particles (or QFPs) that have undergone the process of grammaticization to achieve expressive purposes (cf. Traugott, 1995) such as indexing the speaker’s anger. Grammaticization is here understood as involving “a reanalysis of a pattern in the domain of language use as a pattern in the domain of language structure” (Du Bois, cited in Thompson and Mulac, 1991). In this paper evidence is presented suggesting that phrase-final omae is also a case of this reanalysis realized as {content + omae}, with omae inheriting its “insulting” (Kodansha, 1995) connotation from the pronoun use.

Two sets of data are drawn upon to support this view. The first comes from a 50-minute audio-taped interaction in which a native speaker couple continually, and often quite severely, blame each other. A total of 125 relevant omae tokens were observed in this data set, 63 (50.4%) of which, however, were not like what we may normally associate with a 2nd person “pronoun” as addressee-designator. Consider the following (lines indicate intonation units; M = Man):

- 1 M: da=kara hikyoo da ttsuten da yo.  
 that’s-why unfair COP saying COP FP  
 ‘That’s why I’m calling you unfair.’
- 2 puran o tateru- shiyoo to suru ki mo nai noni ome=,  
 plan ACC make do-VOL QT try intention even (exist-)NEG despite  
 ‘Even though you don’t even think about trying to make plans’
- 3 hito ga oma chotto sooyuu huu ni ome=,  
 other-people NOM a-little such way in  
 4 dekinakatta kara te ome,  
 failed-to-happen because QT  
 ‘((lines 3 & 4)) just because I couldn’t make it work that way’
- 5 sooyuu koto wa ichiichi gatagata oma(e), (CONTINUES)  
 such thing TOP each-and-every (onomatopoeia)  
 ‘(You complain about) such small things (CONTINUES)’

Note that: (A) all these omae instances involve phonological reduction and are prosodically fused with their respective preceding elements; (B) all are deployed phrase-finally (syntactic reformulation); (C) all co-occur with the speaker’s emotive tone of voice, i.e., anger (pragmatic strengthening); and (D) (possibly except for the first token in line 2) they do not seem to be used to “refer” to the addressee, as there do not seem to be any clearly associable predicates (semantic bleaching). Therefore, following standard accounts of grammaticization (e.g., Hopper & Traugott, 1993), it seems more appropriate to consider these omae tokens as grammaticized QFPs. In support of this analysis, a second data set is presented from a popular Japanese TV comedy show that is replete with ‘scripted’ anger marked by QFP omae.

This paper thus argues that the recognized {content + omae} phrase may be an established pattern in conflict discourse that expresses the speaker’s negative feelings towards the addressee, with omae serving more as AFFECT marker (QFP) than as PERSON marker (pronoun). This claim is in line with Fujiwara’s (1982-1986) important observation that so-called personal pronouns in Japanese are among those that are constantly recruited for the creation of sentence-final expressions.

**Jie Yang**

***Text messaging: Discourse, technology and political activism during the Spring 2003 Sars outbreak in Beijing***

One in five Chinese citizens were cell phone users making China the country with the largest cell phone penetration in the world. Text messaging, or SMS (Short-Message-Service), allows users to send and receive short messages from handheld, digital mobile phones or from a computer to a mobile phone, giving almost instant access to others so connected. Text messaging, *duanxin* as the Chinese call it, has been one of the most popular and cheapest methods for everyday communication in China's urban areas. During the spring 2003 SARS outbreak in Beijing, when ordinary, face-to-face conversation was minimized by the threat of the then-unknown SARS virus, text-messaging surged. Consequentially, the "thumb economy" *muzhi jingji* (so called because thumbs are used to type text messages) boomed while other industries were suffering at historically low records. In addition to market expansion and exponential profits of the high technology industries involved in the text-message revolution, text messaging has also fostered openness and freedom of speech, and ushered in potential changes towards democracy in this one-party state. As information can be sent anonymously and instantly to numerous mobile phone users, this technologically-mediated discourse provides an open, democratic medium to critique the "always positive" press reportage, the government's initial ignorance on the containment of SARS. Having considered the storm of "reactionary" text messages to be potentially as harmful as SARS, China's information management apparatus has intended to regulate text-messaging servers by filtering short message entries. But it was unlikely to prevent or trace those spontaneously composed messages, which often attracted immediate public interest and spread widely among cell phone users.

This paper examines those spontaneously created SARS-related text messages circulated into my own cell phone and my informants' in the working-class community in which I was doing fieldwork in Beijing during the SARS outbreak. The paper combines ethnographic research with discourse analysis to explore how technology, by defamiliarizing face-to-face conversation and shifting the site of discursive production, constitutes an unpredictable force for freedom of expression in a previously totalitarian society. The analysis focuses on those oppositional text messages that either demystify the rhetoric and intended goals of the government or that target at the sensitive topics overlooked by the press. The paper argues that, compared with the traditional methods of workers' protest such as posters, slogans, vandalisms, and demonstration, text messaging, with liberating effects on traditional Chinese mentality, has been an effective political tool for the masses to challenge official views, and has heralded a new wave of technology-motivated political activism in China.

**Li Yang**

***Dynamic model: A computer-aided approach in improving Chinese EFL students' pragmatic competence***

Due to the increasing opportunities of direct communication with native English speakers opened up to Chinese English learners, improving learners' pragmatic competence is receiving more and more attention from the field of English education; in the mean time, with the application of information technology in education, computer-assisted language learning is becoming the trend in foreign language teaching. The literature of past research in improving learners' pragmatic competence and computer-assisted language learning usually confine themselves to their own domain.

This thesis presents a tentative computer-aided English teaching model to improve Chinese learners' pragmatic competence by linking these two fields. It serves as a combination of improving learners' pragmatic competence and computer-assisted language learning. To improve learners' pragmatic competence many methods have been put forward by language educators, among whom Byram attracts lot of attention due to his exploration in integrating cultural knowledge into English teaching. Based on Byram's model which attempts at improving learners' pragmatic competence by linking culture, language and communication in traditional language teaching classroom, the initiative presented realizes his model in the field of CALL by using a combination of technologies: Internet resources, multimedia software, and films.

First, this thesis analyzes pragmatic competence and pragmatic failure from a theoretical perspective. It goes on to investigate reasons for the comparatively low pragmatic competence on the part of Chinese English learners focusing on two major points: the contradiction in current English teaching and Chinese learners' lack of cultural knowledge. Current conducts of cultural teaching are then presented and their advantages and disadvantages are discussed. It is concluded that the combination of language, culture, and communication contributes to the promotion of learners' pragmatic competence.

Then the author turns to the field of CALL. By tracing back the history and analyzing the advantages of CALL, the author hypothesizes that the realization of Byram's model in the field of CALL can improve

learners' pragmatic competence. This teaching initiative is termed as Dynamic Model, following the name of the multimedia software DynEd adopted in the teaching process.

Based on this multimedia software, an experiment is carried out mainly to investigate: 1) the effectiveness of Dynamic Model in improving learners' pragmatic awareness and pragmatic competence; 2) the relationship between language proficiency and pragmatic competence.

Using a pretest-posttest control group design, the experiment provides experimental group with a semester of special training focused on improving learners' pragmatic competence. Responses from students are also collected and analyzed after each lesson. Data collected from pre-test and post-test indicates that given the same language learning software, the teaching pattern combining cultural comparison, language training and exposing the learners to more real life communication examples is more effective in improving learners' pragmatic competence.

Responses from students of experimental group indicate a greater awareness in culture learning and increased confidence in language production.

Comparison of results from students belonging to the bottom and top quarters of the proficiency range reveals that learners' language proficiency has some influence on their posttest results. Thus it is concluded that language pragmatic competence is positively correlated with language proficiency.

### **Li-chiung Yang**

#### ***Dimensions of meaning: The analysis of the discourse marker Oh in Mandarin conversation***

In natural conversation, complex topic relationships and ongoing dynamic interactions contribute to a unique rapidly changing mix of patterns that are signaled by discourse markers at key junctures ((Schiffrin, 1987). Prosody plays a critical role in conveying contextual meaning and the salience of information in spoken language, and a characterization of how prosody and discourse markers act to decode meaning and information states would considerably advance our understanding of the cognitive forces shaping language.

In this paper we report on our research on prosody and discourse markers, with a special focus on the prosody and discourse functions of the marker oh. Our approach is productive in that we take an integrated approach of combining discourse analysis with a corpus-based approach, utilizing both acoustic and discourse data. The data consists of 2 sets of digitized spontaneous conversations in Mandarin. The acoustic measurements of pitch, amplitude and duration were correlated with the specific characteristics of the extracted tokens of oh and examined within the larger discourse context.

Analysis of our data shows that one principle function of oh is as an expression of cognitive reorientation when unexpected elements enter the conversation. The cognitive reorientations expressed by oh can range from acknowledgement, acceptance, to questioning, doubt, and disbelief. Such cognitively based reactions are an important part of the interactive signals in discourse, as participants frequently use oh to signal alertness to new information or to indicate that the conversational exchange is proceeding smoothly. Moreover, upon encountering new information, participants often have both a cognitive reaction as well as an emotional response to the content of the information. The specific prosodic shape of oh is highly expressive in providing such types of information in an immediate transparent way.

Examination of our prosodic-acoustic data shows that in general, shorter duration forms of oh reflect markers of acknowledgement, alertness, or sudden registering of new information, and pitch shape and height reflect the different degrees of these reactions. Acknowledgement is commonly associated with a short falling pitch, while as a marker of increased alertness to new information, oh's tend to be higher in pitch, with a short rise and fall. Sharp rising pitch slopes with a large pitch range often correlate with a high degree of uncertainty, whereas dawning realization occurs as a more gradual extended arch shape. It is the differences in shape, height, and duration that communicate the degree of uncertainty or certainty with respect to the speaker's knowledge state and cognitive status.

Results of our study suggest that the prosody and discourse functions of the marker oh presents a discourse prosodic system in a crystalline and compact form, containing the essential elements of topic coherence, cognitive state, and emotional expressiveness that prosody brings to an entire discourse. We conclude that the ability of prosody to simultaneously signal both the cognitive degree of uncertainty and a specific emotional reaction to new information within the short time-scale of discourse markers such as oh is convincing evidence of the powerful expressive role of prosody in interactive discourse.

### **Jon Yasin**

#### ***Conversational aspects of hip hop lyrics***

While de facto school segregation has increased since the 1954 Supreme Court Decision, much of hip hop culture has been appropriated by the larger society. Elements of hip hop culture--taggin' [graffiti art], deejaying', emceeing' [rappin'], b boyin'/b girlin' [dancin'] are pervasive. The over-sized clothing from the b boyin'/girlin' traditions has been appropriated by the fashion industry. And during a campaign speech, one-time presidential hopeful Howard Dean had graffiti artists "taggin'" on the backdrop of a stage in Battery Park in New York City. Our national conversations simultaneously appropriate and reject hip hop culture--appropriate it because of its profit potential; reject it because of its association with violence and misogyny. This presenter explores the tri-directional conversational aspects of some hip hop lyrics. Some rappers take on the mainstream hypocrisy with in-your-face confrontational lyrics and style. Rappers may also 'converse' about issues ranging from personal to international concerns in shared conversations with audiences who see themselves as members of or participants in hip hop culture. Thirdly, rappers often respond to messages or challenges they have received personally.

### **Simeon Yates, Sara Mills, Eleanor Lockley & Kathy Doherty** ***Gender, face management and mediated interaction***

This paper explores the role of mediating technologies, in specific the mobile phone, in the management and mediation of 'face' in interaction. The paper focuses on the dual role of mediated technologies (including the mobile phone, SMS, e-mail and Instant Messaging) in the management of face in everyday life. The paper uses data from four studies conducted over the past two years which focused primarily upon the mobile phone as both a cultural object and as a communications medium. The four studies collected data on the spectrum of other day-to-day interactional technologies that were also used by participants. The paper explores three perspectives on the question of technologically mediated and/or performed face and identity. First, the phenomenological significance of mobile phone and other mediated technology use and ownership in contemporary identity management. Second the ethno methodological significance of the discursive practices employed in face and identity management via mediating technologies. Third, the main communicative affordances provided to face management by the technologies.

The analyses are underpinned by four areas of research and theory: 1] existing studies of mobile phone use; 2] studies of computer-mediated communication; 3] contemporary theories of identity; 4] contemporary theories of interaction with and through technologies. The studies employed a set of six data collection methods: 1] diaries of participants use of their mobile phone, SMS and other CMC systems; 2] background questionnaires covering demographics, mobile phone ownership and attitudes to mobile use; 3] mobile phone, SMS and CMC interaction recordings and logs; 4] a sample of media coverage of mobile phone use; 5] focus group discussions of the use of mobile phones and CMC in identity and relationship work; 6] observations of mobile phone use in public.

Discourse analytic methods have been applied to all five types of textual data: CMC messages, SMS interactions, recordings of phone interactions, focus groups and media texts. The analysis focuses on gender differences in, and relationship 'play' via, SMS, mobile phone and other media interactions. An early finding from the analysis of the SMS data indicated that gender identity performance and play formed a key feature of this data. The paper explores how interaction via the mobile phone pragmatically functions, in relation to other mediating technologies, in the actors' construction of themselves as men or women, as feminine or masculine, or as straight or gay/bi/lesbian. These issues are made additionally relevant by the gendering of the mobile phone through both design and advertising but also through gendered communicative practices.

### **Ke Yi-shan**

#### ***Linguistic markers and sentence types in Taiwanese requests***

In this study, a quantitative research on the relative politeness rankings for different sentence types in Taiwanese requests was conducted, in order to find out the contribution from different syntactic forms and some certain linguistic markers to the degree of politeness judged by the addressee. The statistics was based on the ratings for different sentence types of requests done by fifty Taiwanese subjects. The sentence types of request used for rating were collected from a Discourse Completion Test for six scenarios of request. The corpus was collected from the discourse of thirty native Taiwanese speakers for six daily request occasions. Their utterances were transcribed and categorized into several prevalent forms and sentence types.

It has been proposed in some researches that the chief motivation for using indirect forms is politeness (i.e. Brown and Levinson, 1978; Searle, 1979). For example, according to the tact maxim (Leech, 1983), the speakers may increase the degree of politeness by using a more and more indirect kind of illocution. However, there are also studies arguing that indirectness and politeness are different dimensions. Blum-Kulka (1987) examined in a series of experiments designed to tap native speakers' perception of politeness and indirectness in requests in Hebrew and English and found that indirectness does not necessarily imply politeness. The results of

this study supports the notion proposed in Blum-Kulka (1987): indirectness does not play a crucial role for politeness. According to our data, the presence of some certain linguistic markers in Taiwanese plays a more important role than the factor of indirectness. Finally, whether the linguistic politeness can be independent of the context in which a request is uttered is also discussed.

### **Rachel Yifat & Sara Zadunaisky-Ehrlich** ***Forms and functions of revoicing moves in adult-child interactions***

Reported speech is considered to be a type of linguistic reflexivity (Lucy, 1993). The present study views this phenomenon as a revoicing move (O'Connor and Michaels, 1996) enclosed within a theory of polyphony, with the latter representing the diverse ways in which different voices may be present in discourse when someone else's speech is quoted, reported or alluded to (Bakhtin, 1973).

The most common instances of reported speech in the literature are manifested mainly through (1) Direct quotation – reproducing a speech event, claiming to convey it as it actually occurred (2) Indirect quotation – adapting the perspective of the reported speech, that is, the representation of the speech or part of it, and (3) Narratized speech - characterization of the speech without overtly representing it (Ely et al, 1996; Hickmann, 1993). These forms may serve various functions, for example, to indicate the viewpoint of the speaker's original utterance, to indicate contrast or distance from the reporter, and so forth.

This study broadens the classification described above by searching for additional revoicing move functions within the framework of adult-child conversation. Verbal interactions between 20 early childhood education teachers from different kindergartens and 20 groups of preschool children, 10 groups each of 3-4 and 5-6 year olds, (an average of 10 children per group) were tape-recorded and analyzed. The verbal interactions were transcribed onto computer and coded to capture instances of revoicing moves. Utterance boundaries were based primarily on intonation contour, and secondarily on pause duration. Contextual information needed to understand the interaction was included in the transcripts. Quantitative and qualitative analysis were performed, with the purpose of:

- Broadening the classification of reported speech
- Defining the different functions fulfilled by revoicing moves
- Evaluating whether revoicing moves differ with children's age

Three subcategories were identified: Context embedded "immediate-exact" reported speech, "immediate-reformulated" reported speech, and prompting reported speech.

Revoicing moves were found to have various functions: increasing awareness of a specific observation expressed verbally by a participant, comparing positions of oppositional utterances, treating language as the subject of talk and clarifying or confirming the existence of the utterance.

While similar functions are frequent in both age groups (such as "immediateexact" reported speech, confirming the existence of the previous utterance) others are related specifically to the children's age. For example, "prompting reported speech" was found to be the most typical discourse practice within the younger group.

We conclude that the different functions signal not only the appropriate course of action expected during the interaction, but also implicit agreements about the nature of communication in a specific conversational setting or participant framework (Goffman, 1981).

### **Ian Ying** ***L2 learners' interpretation of operator-variable binding in VP ellipsis: A relevance theory perspective***

L2 Learners' Interpretation of Operator-Variable Binding in VP Ellipsis: A Relevance Theory Perspective

The operator-variable binding in VP ellipsis is interesting in that it gives rise to ambiguity of antecedence that does not exist in the absence of ellipsis. It allows "sloppy reading" (1) in which the reflexive "himself" in the elided VP co-refers with Bill and "strict reading" (2) in which the pronoun "him" in the elided VP co-refers with John.

(1) Johni defended himselfi and Billj did [defend himselfj] too. (i.e., Bill)

(2) Johni defended himselfi and Billj did [defend himi] too. (i.e., John)

Although fairly well studied in linguistics (e.g., Fiengo and May 1994), this "strict-sloppy" ambiguity has not been studied in an L2 context. Further, no recent L2 studies on reflexive binding have examined this ambiguity from the perspective of Relevance Theory (Sperber & Wilson 1986/1995). This study intends to bridge the gap, further exploring the grammar cognition interface.

Twenty-two intermediate and twenty-two advanced Chinese-speaking learners of English (the experimental groups) and twenty-two native speakers of American English (the control group) participated in a

study that investigated how L2 learners interpret the operator-variable binding in VP ellipsis using a judgment task that has potentially four ways in which the participants could respond to sentences like (3).

(3) John defended himself and "Bill did too".

"Bill did too" means

(a) Bill defended Bill Agree Disagree

(b) Bill defended John Agree Disagree

The results (Table 1 below) indicate that the relevance-theoretic comprehension procedure (Carston, 2000, 2002; Sperber and Wilson, 2002; Wilson, 2000) constrained the L2 learners' interpretation of the operator-variable binding in VP-ellipsis. Instead of making comparisons among different interpretations, the L2 learners interpreted the reflexive sloppily, following a path of least effort in computing cognitive effects. The finding suggests "a relevance-based comprehension module" (Sperber, 2000), which appears to be hardwired, domain-specific and information encapsulated.

Table 1 Performance on the 17 VP-elliptical sentences by the Chinese-speaking learners of English and native speakers of English (NSs).

	C- 1 (Intermediate) (n=22)	C-2 (Advanced) (n =22)	US (NSs) (n=22)
Lower Subject	89.3%	78.6%	81.1%
Higher Subject	0.8%	1.9%	0.5%
Either	9.9%	19.5%	18.4%
Neither	0	0	0

## David Young

### *Encoding and lexical pragmatics*

For Relevance Theory (RT), communication involves the inferential enrichment of 'encoded' linguistic meaning (Wilson 1998). I claim that 'encoding' can be understood in two distinct and contradictory senses (cf. Burton-Roberts forthcoming). On one sense, if a sentence S 'encodes' a conceptual-logical property P, then P is a semantic property of S. This is 'C(onstitutive)-encoding': S is constituted by the properties that it C-encodes. On the other sense, a distinction is drawn between properties of the encoder and properties it encodes. Conceptual-logical properties are located only in the Language of Thought on this understanding. These properties P are encoded by S, but it does not follow that S is constituted by P. This is 'R(elational)-encoding': it emphasises the relation between S and P, and their disjoint properties. RT's fundamental distinction between 'linguistic' and 'real' semantics can be interpreted as an argument that S does not have the conceptual-logical properties it encodes. This is consistent with 'R-encoding'. Despite this, RT in general—and Carston in particular—typically operate with C-encoding. I explore the ambiguity and tension between these two senses which can be seen clearly in Carston's account of pragmatic effects on word meaning (2002, Ch. 5).

There Carston addresses the subtle differences in meaning of the English verb 'open':

- (1) Mary opened the door
- (2) The Queen opened the art gallery
- (3) He opened the discussion

The claim is that the incredibly vague 'concept schema' (C-)encoded by 'open' is in each case pragmatically narrowed down to deliver a more specific concept which features in the explicature. However, concept schemas are problematic: they are never communicated; they play no other part in cognition; and they don't have a role in language acquisition.

These problems lead Carston to make a radical suggestion: words such as 'open' may not C-encode concepts at all. Rather, they may act as 'pointers' to a 'conceptual space' (2002:360). This suggestion is inconsistent with C-encoding; it amounts to a claim that words R-encode concepts. On this view the problems associated with concept schemas disappear; the word 'open' does not constitute some highly schematic concept. Rather it acts as a pointer to many distinct, specific concepts which resemble each other. Carston's worries persist, however, because she fails to acknowledge that this is a radically different sense of encoding, one which is inconsistent with the standard RT desire to attribute conceptual-logical properties to the encoder.

This R-encoding solution is consistent with the Representational Hypothesis (RH) (Burton-Roberts 2000). The RH claims that utterances are produced in aid of conventionally representing thoughts. This has wider implications for RT, particularly for semantic underdeterminacy issues. From the RH, the task is (i) to show how wide the representational scope of words like 'open' is; (ii) to show how other languages represent the same conceptual space in significantly different ways; (iii) to develop an account of communication based



on a notion of representational optimality. This framework is broadly consistent with central RT principles and wider RT goals, I claim.

### **Ming-chung Yu**

#### ***An empirically based analysis of speech acts in a second language: A cross-cultural study of Chinese and American English***

Speech act behavior has been a central concern for researchers in the field of cross-cultural pragmatics. This paper investigated the interlanguage behavior of adult Chinese learners of American English, focusing on the ways in which they performed the speech act of “compliments” in a second language (L2). By comparing Chinese English-as-a-second-language (ESL) learners’ compliment behavior with that of both native Chinese and English speakers in naturally occurring contexts, this study was designed to detect the pragmalinguistic and sociopragmatic difficulties that distinguished these learners’ behavior from that of native English speakers and to see if these difficulties could be related to features of their native language (L1). The specific research questions explored are whether, and, if so, how Chinese ESL learners’ complimenting behavior in English observed in naturally occurring contexts approaches that of the target language speakers in terms of (i) strategies, (ii) positive semantic carriers, and (iii) syntactic formulaic patterns (iv) supportive moves and/or small talk, and whether, and, if so, how these learners’ behavior is affected by their native language and culture.

Chinese and English are pragmatically and culturally very different. There are two reasons why complimenting in English may be difficult for Chinese. First, compliments occur in a much wider variety of situations for Americans than for Chinese; thus Americans give praise in some situations where complimenting is considered inappropriate or impolite by Chinese (Yang, 1987). Second, Chinese traditionally encourage a social convention of modesty; in many situations where they respond to praise, they prefer routinized denials (e.g., ‘I’m not’), rather than appreciation tokens (e.g., ‘Thank you’). From the Western view, such routinized denials might be considered impolite or even rude (Yang, 1987; Chen, 1993).

Since there appears to be great divergence between Chinese and American rules of speaking and social conventions and since speech act behavior is closely related to speakers’ linguistic and cultural norms (e.g., Blum-Kulka, House, & Kasper, 1989), the compliment performance of native Chinese speakers should show substantial differences from that of native English speakers. On the other hand, as all interlanguage studies with L1 control data find at least some L1 transfer that results in cross-cultural misunderstandings (e.g., Kasper & Blum-Kulka, 1993), the linguistic options and strategies employed by Chinese L2 learners should be related to those used by Chinese speakers in their L1. However, because L2 studies of communicative competence have indicated that increased cultural experience of the target language norm and increased exposure to its speakers may reduce the possibility of L1 transfer and support the acquisition of more “native-like” L2 compliment response styles (e.g., Brown, 2000), it seems reasonable to hypothesize that the compliment behavior of Chinese ESL learners, compared to Chinese L1 control data, should be much similar to that of Americans.

The present study used an experimental paradigm to generate data through eliciting compliments under conditions in which the participants are not aware that the object of study is their conversational contribution. In other words, the corpus of compliments was collected in contexts that are controlled from the investigator’s perspective, but spontaneous and natural from the participants’ perspective. The data gathered were, thus, representative of the types of compliments that naturally take place in everyday occurrence. To the best of the investigator’s knowledge, no research in interlanguage studies thus far has tried to collect data this way. It is hoped that the way data were collected in the present study can contribute to the concern about the appropriateness of data collection method for cross-cultural research of authentic language use in this field (e.g., Golato, 2003).

The results showed that the native Chinese speakers are much less inclined to offer compliments than the native English speakers. In addition, surprisingly, contrary to what seems to be suggested in scholarly literature, this tendency is also visible in the L2 of the Chinese ESL speakers. Further, although there were some similarities between the learners and the target language speakers, the performance of the former, in terms of the use of strategies, positive semantic carriers, syntactic formulaic patterns, and supportive moves and/or small talk, could be seen to reflect L1 communicative styles and transfer L1 sociocultural strategies in L2 behavior.

This study extended the scope of interlanguage studies to the compliment behavior of Chinese L2 learners, which had never been specifically examined in naturally occurring contexts in cross-cultural pragmatics. In addition, the findings contributed substantially to a better understanding of what role sociocultural factors could play in the acquisition of L2 pragmatic behavior; more importantly, these findings had practical implications for L2 teaching and learning.

### **Francisco Yus**

#### ***Ad hoc concepts and visual metaphor?: Towards relevant ad hoc pointers***

This paper is an application of the relevance-related theory of ad hoc concepts to visual metaphors. Within this account of metaphorical utterance interpretation, it is claimed that the metaphor provides a new ad hoc concept for the proposition expressed by the utterance (instead of favouring the derivation of implicatures) (Pilkington, 2000: 95-96). They are ad hoc "because they are not linguistically given, but are constructed online in response to specific expectations of relevance raised in specific contexts. There is a difference then between ad hoc concepts, accessed by a spontaneous process of pragmatic inference, and lexicalized concepts, which are context-invariant" (Carston, 2002: 322).

I believe that this framework can be applied in the same way to visual metaphors found in the cartoons of the press. We are not dealing with mental concepts here, but with images which somehow tend to convey a metaphorical meaning.

My analysis will start off with my proposal of a three-layered model of the comprehension of images, that is, the claim that we store three types of information for "prototypical referents" of iconic images:

(1) There is a first layer of mere visual adscription of the referent of the iconic image.

(2) Comprehension also checks the adequacy of the image to what I call "prototypical visual syntax" of the image. That is, in the perception of pictures we expect certain elements of the image to occur in specific scenarios or surrounded by certain related images, and with a restricted number of possible combinations with other images. This level is essential for visual metaphors, since it is often an anomaly in the "visual syntax" of the image that triggers the identification of the metaphor (Forceville, 1996).

(3) A third level, labelled "of socio-pragmatic use" enables the observer to isolate typical activities or qualities of the referent which can be potential candidates for the mapping of metaphors from the coded iconic image to the target domain.

The analysis of visual metaphors will be intended to replace the notion of ad hoc concept with the notion of "ad hoc visual pointers". The observer of a visual metaphor will go through steps 1-3 above: (1) identify the referent; (2) come across some anomaly in the visual syntax, which triggers further inferencing towards (3) the isolation of a number of socio-pragmatic qualities of the referents of the image, which then point to parallel and related concepts in the observer's mind. These pointers are also ad hoc since not all of these socio-pragmatic qualities of the image will be activated in the observer's mind and hence metaphorically processed, but only those which are relevant enough in the current context of the processing of the visual metaphor.

## **Yisa Yusuf**

### ***Women, proverbs and the speech act theory***

As a theory of meaning, the Speech Act theory has been variously criticised. For instance, the theory is criticised for suggesting that all sentences of a language are many-ways ambiguous. However, the proposed paper intends to demonstrate the adequacy of the Speech Act theory for the analysis of women-related English proverbs and corresponding ones from the Yoruba language of southwestern Nigeria. The paper does this by showing how citing a proverb about women can engender simultaneously communicating disparate messages to more than one set of addressees. This is done from the background of the fact that proverbs are used to state, commit, evaluate, exonerate, denigrate, elevate, motivate, dissuade, entertain, educate and create or stabilise particular norms and behaviour in specific societies. It is also done from the background of the developments of the Speech Act theory with respect to, among others, Searle's notion of indirect speech acts, Sadock's 'ambiguity thesis', Clark and Carlson's Informative Analysis, and Schwingruber's 'reflexive speech acts'.

## **Mara Sophia Zanotto & Tania Regina Barreira Rodrigues**

### ***The ontological metaphor in discourse and the construction of ideology***

Intense research on metaphor, carried out during the last thirty years, has described metaphor as a fundamental cognitive phenomenon. While the cognitive aspect has been the focus of attention since Lakoff & Johnson's work, the role that metaphor plays in human interaction has received much less attention. Bearing that in mind, the aim of this paper is to investigate the role that metaphors have probably played in the interaction of Martin Luther King with his audience when he presented his famous speech "I have a dream".

Analysis has shown that the author used metaphors when he had to address negative facts, aiming at attenuating their possible effects on the addressees. One special case was constituted by ontological metaphors, which permeate the whole discourse. As a cognitive phenomenon, ontological metaphor "serves a very limited range of purposes" (Lakoff & Johnson, 1980:27), but since it fulfills interactional goals, it can constitute a subtle impersonality fiction, or a politeness strategy off record (Brown & Levinson, 1978; 1987) serving a pacifist ideology (Kitis & Milapides, 1997).

This functioning mode for the ontological metaphor in the M. Luther King's speech reveals subtle though intriguing aspects, by identifying negative qualities as entities and, by this means, dissociating individuals from their, i.e., it is a mode that represents important implications for interaction situations in different contexts.

Focusing on metaphor in use – found in M. Luther King's speech – has provided evidence both of the explaining capacity of the Conceptual Metaphor Theory (CMT), and its limitations when one has to analyze the role of metaphor in interaction. This fact leads us to point to the need of a healthy theoretical pluralism – which results from an interdisciplinary approach – so as to understand metaphor in use.

This theoretical pluralism could provoke a rather productive dialogue between areas such as CMT, Pragmatics, Discourse Analysis and Applied Linguistics, for example. Besides, a dialogue of this kind could show both the explaining capacity and the limitations of CMT. It could also allow CMT to review some concepts, such as, for example, the one that states that ontological metaphor, as a cognitive phenomenon, 'serves a very limited range of purposes'. On this matter, we have found in our analysis that entifying certain qualities or actions of the human being, dissociating them from the person, brings about a powerful effect for the interpersonal dynamics; just as in the person's interaction with him/herself in therapeutic processes, as argued by White & Epston (1980).

**Olga Zayts**

### ***Semantics and pragmatics of tautologies and pleonasms***

This paper is aimed at finding differentiating criteria between tautologies and pleonasms and other expressions with similar syntactic, semantic and pragmatic properties through examining a corpus of 1000 examples in English, German and Russian. It is argued that although in logical theories tautologies were considered redundant and non-informative (Wittgenstein, Carnap, Frege, Russell), their wide usage in various discourses and multiple syntactic types suggest their meaningfulness in most cases. From the semantic viewpoint, tautologies and pleonasm of the prototypic structure A1 (to be) A2 are defined as explicative expressions, in which components A1 and A2 are related as a concept and its attribute. The analyzed data shows that the denotative meaning of components A1 and A2 is identical in tautologies, and partially identical in pleonasms. The meaningfulness of these expressions is explained by the variations in the connotative meaning of A1 and A2. Two differentiating semantic criteria for explicitly redundant expressions are suggested in this paper. As my literature review shows, the most commonly analyzed syntactic type of tautologies and pleonasm is A1 (to be) A2 (Seibicke, Wierzbicka). As a result of semantic analysis, several other frequented syntactic types of tautologies and pleonasms are singled out, such as attributive tautologies (academic scholar), predicative tautologies (boys will be boys), tautological or pleonastic parataxis (she's she, and I'm I) and hypotaxis, which is in its turn is divided into further subtypes depending on the type of the dependant clause (e.g. conditional clauses: if I must, I must). The pragmatic analysis focuses on the illocutionary functions of the expression. It is demonstrated that tautologies and pleonasms can be used in different types of speech acts and have different illocutionary force. Intrasubjective and extrasubjective factors, determining the choice of tautologies and pleonasms by the speaker, are analyzed. Such factors include the observance/flouting of the principle of politeness, shared background knowledge, language incompetence, and affective state. It is proposed that in similar situations speakers tend to use similar expressions. Some situational factors determining the choice of tautologies and pleonasm are described. It is suggested that tautologies and pleonasm are used redundantly only in predicative structures, when their function is limited by the expression of the grammatical categories of tense and aspect (they kissed a long tender kiss).

**Vladimir Zegarac**

### ***Enrichment, presupposition and entailment: Believe in X: A case in point***

The following examples present several interesting problems for the semantics-pragmatics interface which - I argue - receive a natural explanation within the framework of Relevance theory (Sperber and Wilson 1986/95):

(1) ?I do not believe in the Loch Ness monster, but I believe that the Loch Ness monster exists.

(2) I do not believe in aspirin, but I believe that aspirin exists.

Most people find (1) contradictory. This suggests that 'believe in X' entails 'X exists'. Intuitively, (2) is not a contradiction, although it is somewhat odd, presumably, because the first conjunct denies the causal effectiveness of aspirin, rather than its existence. This suggests that 'believe in X' in (2) presupposes (rather than merely entails) 'X exists'. These examples raise questions about the linguistically-encoded meaning of the 'believe in X' predicate, the relation between the proposition expressed by an utterance and its linguistically

encoded meaning, and the nature of the distinction between entailment and presupposition in utterances like (1) and (2).

I argue that these issues can be addressed fruitfully within the framework of Relevance theory, especially in terms of relevance-theoretic assumptions about the role of context in utterance interpretation in general, and its role in determining the explicit content of the utterance, in particular. On this approach, pragmatic inference plays a major role in deriving the descriptive (i.e. truth-conditional) content of the utterance in context (see Carston 2002). I argue that the linguistic meaning of 'believe in X' is vague (e.g. it does not encode either 'X is causally efficacious' or 'X exists') and that it is pragmatically narrowed down in the process of interpreting the utterance for relevance in context. Central to explaining the contrast between (1) and (2) is the availability of specific contextual assumptions. An optimally relevant interpretation of (1) is not readily available to most people because their encyclopaedic knowledge does not include beliefs about the causal powers of the Loch Ness monster, whereas there is a well known running dispute about its existence. Hence, the first conjunct in (1) is optimally relevant only if taken to express the belief in the non-existence of the Loch Ness monster, which is explicitly contradicted by the second conjunct. Intuitively, (2) is optimally relevant on the understanding that the speaker denies that aspirin has a particular type of causal power, rather than its (evidently undisputable) existence. The existential presupposition in (2) is an entailment which is mutually manifestly held at maximal strength by the interlocutors. The corresponding entailment in the positive counterpart of first conjunct in (1) (I believe in the Loch Ness monster entails The Loch Ness monster exists) is not held at maximal strength and it cannot be felicitously introduced as background common knowledge.

Therefore, it is not readily presumed to be presupposed. An account along these lines predicts the existence of utterances which are likely to be interpreted like (1) by some hearers, and like (2) by others:

(3) I do not believe in God, although I believe that God exists.

**Yanyin Zhang & Yan Yan Wang**

### ***Culture input, proficiency and grammatical knowledge: Do they play an equal role in L2 pragmatic comprehension?***

Compared to the research in the L2 pragmatic production and metapragmatic knowledge of second language learners, L2 pragmatic comprehension has received relatively little research attention (but see Koike (1996) and Cook and Liddicoat (2002)). The relationship between L2 proficiency and the level of pragmatic comprehension, and the connection between the learner's L2 grammatical knowledge of L2 and their understanding of the pragmatic information encoded in the L2 grammar, have not been extensively explored. The present study is aimed at investigating these two areas of pragmatics in second language acquisition, with a special focus on the role of classroom input in the development of learner's pragmatic comprehension skills. We hypothesize that proficiency alone does not guarantee a higher level of L2 pragmatic comprehension. Classroom input, however, will contribute to the improvement of such a skill.

The subjects of the present study consist of English-speaking university students learning Chinese as a foreign language at intermediate and upper-intermediate proficiency levels, as well as native speakers of Chinese and English. The test materials are 14 situations recorded on an audio tape as well as written on paper. A pretest for all the subjects was carried out at the beginning of the semester and a posttest for the intermediate group will be carried out at the end of the semester. Brief (about 10-15 minutes) Chinese everyday culture information has been provided to the intermediate group every week.

At the moment, the research is still underway and we are expecting to complete the data collection as soon as teaching is over.

**Lin Zhou**

### ***The Constraints of Discourse Connectives “但 / 但是 / 可是 / 不过 / 然而” in Utterance Production and Interpretation: A relevance-theoretic approach***

It is generally agreed in Chinese grammar that conjunctions have a function of connection. But what do they connect? They do not always connect what is explicitly expressed. Relevance Theory developed by Wilson and Sperber(1986/952) suggests that discourse connectives are not only linking devices of lexical items but devices to reflect inferential processes.

The paper aims to analyze Chinese connectives “但 / 但是 / 可是 / 不过 / 然而” within the framework of Relevance Theory as cognitive pragmatics.

First, the paper introduces some important concepts such as the principle of relevance, contextual effects and procedural meaning. Second, it discusses the restrictive effect connectives “但 / 但是 / 可是 / 不过 / 然而” in language comprehension in terms of those relevance-theoretic concepts.

The paper leads to the following conclusions:

1. Connectives have a leading and facilitating effect for the listener to search the optimal relevance of utterances and make semantic constraints on relevance.
2. Connectives “但 / 但是 / 可是 / 不过 / 然而” instructs the hearer to process new information in such contexts that eventually derive one of the contextual effects, contradiction and elimination of the existing assumptions.
3. Connectives “但 / 但是 / 可是 / 不过 / 然而” encodes procedural meaning, which increases the salience of a particular kind of inferential computation, that is, contradiction.
4. From the viewpoint of the principle of relevance, the listener can reasonably infer the information of the second part even when it is not explicitly said.

Thus, Relevance Theory gives a new explanation to Chinese connectives from a different viewpoint from the traditional one.

## **Stefania Ziccolella**

### ***Confrontation in Italian courtroom interaction***

This paper concerns ‘confrontations’ in Italian courtroom interaction. ‘Confrontations’ are a special feature of Italian courtroom testimony. Through this special feature the Court tries to establish which of the two opponents is telling the truth, an aspect which has implications on the final verdict. The legal procedure for confrontation is to have the two opponents (a witness and a defendant or two witnesses) confront each other one in front of the other (situation which is per se unusual in the courtroom) on a piece of evidence. The professional questioning (either the judge or the prosecution attorney) presents the opponents with a confrontation between their incompatible positions which are pre-allocated and introduced as mutually contradictory. The judge or the prosecution attorney questions one witness at a time keeping a neutral position. Notwithstanding that courtroom interaction is highly constrained into question-answer sequences in confrontations, the direct talk between the opponents is admitted and even elicited by the professional. In courtroom confrontation the interaction turns from a two-party interaction between the professional and one of the opponents into a two-party interaction between the two opponents when the not-addressed and non-authorized opponent intervenes. These interventions are not censured nor sanctioned by the professional questioning.

The paper presents findings from a conversation analysis of the construction of the professional’s turns as selecting the not-addressed and non-authorized opponent to intervene. The analysis focuses on specific elements in the professional’s question design:

- personal deixis as poles of the opposite versions
- reported versions of a piece of evidence presented as ‘not accepted’ hence as denials.

Through the analysis of specific elements in the professional’s turn design it emerges that professionals keep control on the ongoing interaction also when direct confrontation between opponents occurs and that this also displays what their line of questioning is on a specific point and also in their whole examination.

## **Najma Al Zidjaly**

### ***Technology and disability in Oman***

There is a great deal of literature pointing to the beneficial role that new media technology plays in the lives of the disabled. Few of these, however, provide a detailed analysis of specific computer-related actions that are allegedly fruitful. This paper addresses the relationship between technology and disability by exploring how one quadriplegic man in Oman, named Bel, exercises agency through creating ‘animated music videos’ via Microsoft PowerPoint software. The examination of five ‘animated music videos,’ representative of Bel’s practice, illustrates the role that technology plays in simultaneously alleviating and creating disability.

Art is a means for healing one’s damaged self (Ainsworth-Vaughn 1998). In addition to constructing Bel as resourceful and as a survivor, the music videos Bel makes alleviate disability by enabling him to make sense of his new reality as a quadriplegic individual through providing him a medium for self-expression: Offering a glimpse of how Bel views himself and his fears, aspirations and needs. The videos Bel makes also present a view of the society he lives in through which he defies the orthodox discourses surrounding disability in Oman, which equate disability with “death, with a life deprived of sexuality or any meaningful work” (Lewis 2000:94-95). In doing so, I argue that technology mediates the existing discrepancy between Bel’s ‘real social identity’ (that of a quadriplegic man living in Oman) and his ‘virtual social identity’ (that of an independent social actor). This discrepancy, according to Goffman (1963), is the main plight of the stigmatized. That is, through allowing self-expression and providing a medium for imparting his own subtle critique of his society’s beliefs regarding him as a disabled individual, the computer acts as Bel’s wise, his confidante which, unlike his own family, assists him in surpassing his limitations as a physically bounded. Besides alleviating disability,

technology creates disability through constructing social isolation. Bel's extensive engagement with the computer, for instance, has disconnected him from his family and the reality he lives in. Bel's music videos in which he expresses taboo wishes and reflects on his society's role in creating disability have also enraged certain conservative members of his family on numerous occasions due to their interpretation of such artistic expression as defying their core beliefs, constructing him as a 'bad-boy' (Robillard 1999: 37).

This paper contributes to disability studies, and the study of agency and mediated discourse theory by illustrating that disability is socially constructed. The paper also cautions against taking a simplistic view of human action by demonstrating how actions in practice are carried out through a collaborative process of co-construction. Additionally, this paper extends Goffman's (1963) concept of 'the wise,' which Goffman reserved to family, friends and health workers, to inanimate objects, thus blurring the existing boundaries between agents and mediational means as conceptualized in mediated action theory and mediated discourse analysis.

## **Debra Ziegeler**

### ***Modality, scales, and proximatives***

The present use of the proximative adverb, almost, has been demonstrated to express both proximity and negative polarity due to the operation of counterfactual scalar implicatures (Quantity 1, or Horn's (1984) Q-based inferences), which may be seen to gain in strength with the increase in information density of the context in which they are found (Ziegeler 2000). Loss of information density (e.g. in unbounded, imperfective environments) results in a weakening of the counterfactual inferences and hence the negative polarity, and this has been demonstrated in the tendency for native speakers to grade uses of almost with imperfective complements as less negative polarised than those with perfective or bounded complements. Under such a scalar interpretation, a reduction in negative polarity is therefore indicative of the precedence of Quantity 2 implicatures, or Horn's R-based inferences, over Quantity 1 or Q-based ones. The same question of the precedence of complementary inferences has been investigated in an onomasiological study of the development of past ability modality in English (Ziegeler 2001), and it would appear therefore that, in English examples, the fluidity of polar orientation is a consequence of changes in the strength of the counterfactual implicatures due primarily to the aspectual variation of the complement. Whether or not such changes effect the same result in other languages is now a matter for investigation.

## **Monica Zoppi Fontana**

### ***Notre ville, notre maison, notre jardin***

Ce travail présente une analyse des processus d'identification collective qui son à l'origine des identités instables et contradictoires des sujets urbains par rapport à l'espace publique de la ville qu'ils habitent. Le corpus est constitué de différents types de texte véhiculés dans la presse au Brésil et en Argentine: articles (avec des images photographiques dont ils sont accompagnés); chroniques journalistiques; lettres de lecteurs.

Nous considérons la presse comme un lieu de forte efficacité idéologique pour la construction de consensus social. Elle met en circulation des énoncés que categorisent la ville et ses espaces, produisant la légitimation de certaines interprétations. On y voit l'ordre du politique, du juridique, de l'urbanistique et de l'administratif traverser les différentes catégorisations de l'espace urbain et du quotidien des sujets dans leur inscription dans la ville.

Les analyses portent sur le fonctionnement des processus de désignation qui mettent en scène des dispositifs de individualisation intervenant dans la construction des identités sociales. On focalise l'analyse sur des processus métaphoriques qui représentent la ville comme "notre maison"; "notre jardin". Spéciale attention y est donnée à la description et interprétation du fonctionnement des adjectifs possessifs dans ces désignations. Nous démontrons comment ces catégorisations produisent des découpages dans l'interprétation de l'espace urbain qui excluent ceux que l'ordonnancement juridico-administrativo-urbanistique de la ville n'incorpore pas dans la continuité universelle-individuelle qui définit le droit à la ville et les identités urbaines par rapport au pair citoyen/citoyen.

En particulier, nous intéressent comprendre les effets d'effacement du politique dans la définition des espaces publics et ses conséquences dans la construction des identités collectives qui se caractérisent par leurs pratiques politiques et sociales de résistance, par exemple: les "piqueteros" en Argentine; les "camelôs" au Brésil.

## **Sandrine Zufferey**

### ***Lexical pragmatics and theory of mind: The case of the French connective parce que***

In this paper I will focus on lexical pragmatics from a relevance-theoretic perspective (Wilson forthcoming) and show that the ability to construct ad hoc concepts online during communication is closely related to the ability to mind-read, in other words, to the possession of a theory of mind (ToM). In order to illustrate this claim, I will focus on the French connective “parce que” (in English “because”). Consider the following examples:

1. John cried, because Sally had pushed him.

2. John is coming, because I have just seen him.

On one hand, in (1) the speaker is making a purely descriptive claim about the reason why John is crying. On the other hand, in (2), the speaker communicates that the reason for her to say (or think) that John is coming is that she has just seen him. Thus, in order to understand (2), the hearer must construct a metarepresentation along the following lines:

3. She says / thinks John is coming because she has just seen him.

The hearer will also have to hold that belief as being part of the speaker’s meaning. In short, (2) requires a level of metarepresentation corresponding to a first degree of ToM. In order to assess this claim empirically, we have turned to two populations who do not pass the standard false-belief (F-B) task, commonly used to assess first order ToM, namely autistic subjects and young children under the age of four. We have studied the production of “parce que” by 5 normally developing children from the CHILDES database (recorded several times a month during 2 years) and 5 autistic children: 4 recorded during a TV show and 1 while interacting with a speech therapist (2 hours each).

Our results show that normally developing children start to use the connective “parce que” around age 2;6. However, they produce their first utterance containing a metarepresentational “parce que” considerably later (3;4). Another point of interest is that children master this use of “parce que” before their fourth birthday, even though they are not yet able to pass the F-B task. We will argue that this result confirms the relevance-theoretic view about cognition, namely that children are able to use their ToM abilities earlier for verbal communication, indicating the presence of a specialized sub-module of ToM dedicated to verbal communication (Sperber & Wilson 2002). Results for autistic children are more difficult to interpret due to the common presence of other language-related deficits in this population and to the scarcity of data. Nevertheless, as predicted, our corpora contained no occurrence of metarepresentational “parce que”. Besides, a brief review of the literature written by autistic subjects confirms problems with lexical pragmatics in general.

In conclusion, our study is a first attempt to show that ToM is of paramount importance to use ad hoc concepts online during communication.

## PANEL OVERVIEWS

**Warning:** The overviews below were originally written before the proposals were reviewed. Some of them were revised recently, others have not been adapted to new situations such as some participants' inability to attend the conference; and a few still take the form of the call for papers with which the contributions were sought. In some cases, there is a mismatch between the list of contributors to be found in the accompanying program booklet and the papers referred to in the abstract.

***FOR THE LIST OF CONTRIBUTORS TO EACH OF THE PANELS, CHECK THE PROGRAM BOOKLET!***

**Charles Antaki, Ivan Leudar and Sanna Vehviläinen**

***Formulating Troubles: Conversation Analysis of Psychotherapeutic Practice***

We propose a panel, consisting of three sessions of four papers each, on the theme of the contribution of Conversation Analysis (CA) to the study of the practices of psychotherapy, especially the practice of interpreting, or formulating, clients' troubles.

CA's contribution to the understanding of institutional talk in general has seen a rapid acceleration since Drew and Heritage's seminal *Talk at Work* (1992). Its contribution to the understanding of therapy, while rooted in Sacks's original lectures, has been intermittent until recently; but now, a number of CA and CA-influenced teams and individual researchers, in Europe and North America, are developing exciting programmatic work.

This panel has a core of established CA researchers, and will bring on to the scene emerging new voices. We shall also feature work from investigators who are both CA analysts and also experienced in therapy itself, adding a welcome 'user's view' to the scholarly account.

### Background

Conversation Analysis is the study of social action as achieved through the medium of talk in interaction. Its genesis was in the dissatisfaction of some sociologists in the late 1960s with the then dominant quantitative methodologies of their discipline, which were silent on the active construction of the social world; in the forty years since then, it has attracted enormous attention and flowered into a multidisciplinary enterprise attracting sociologists, linguists and psychologists, among others. Its signal characteristics are a reliance on recorded data which can be minutely inspected; and an openness to the way the participants in a scene display their own understandings of what they are doing and saying, as evidenced in the exact organisation of their talk. The original sociological promise of CA to illuminate the way social structure is embodied in the detail of social action has been eminently fulfilled in a large number of both 'basic' and 'applied' research programmes.

The result is that the researcher interested in the way social participants conduct, in real time, their business with each other, now has a powerful armoury of concepts and insights with which to approach their chosen topic. 'Basic' CA research has been applied productively to a variety of institutional activities previously accessible only in retrospect (by interviews with participants) or in simulation, or through comparatively coarse contemporary observation (for a general account of institutional dialogue, see Drew and Sorjonen, 1997). Thus CA research on how talk in interaction achieves business meetings (Boden, 1994), educational testing (Maynard and Marlaire, 1992) and survey interviewing (Houtkoop-Steenstra, 2000), to take a few notable examples, has yielded impressive returns.

The intention of this project is to display the CA contribution to the genre of the one-to-one psychotherapeutic interview. This kind of interview has been eminently susceptible to a CA analysis, being as it is based explicitly on the foundation of talk as a medium of diagnosis and change, making CA's armoury of insights specially applicable. It is also the case that psychotherapy is a powerful cultural institution in the West, so the understanding of its practices will shed light on something significant in our cultures.

**Salvatore Attardo**

***Non-cooperation, the cases of lying and joking.***



This panel presents a discussion of non-cooperation, a topic that has received surprisingly little attention, within pragmatics, given that it should theoretically be as interesting as cooperation, which of course has become one of the central topics of pragmatics under the influence of Grice's cooperative principle (CP). Needless to say, the cooperative nature of conversation and communication at large has not gone unquestioned and this has led some critics of Grice to dismiss his CP on the grounds of empirical falsification. Other scholars have approached the problem of non-cooperative exchanges claiming that the CP was either suspended or replaced by other principles. In this panel, we approach the issue of non-cooperation from the angle of humor (joking) and lying, two of the clearest cases of (partially) non-cooperative acts.

Based on a more-or-less shared background of research, the papers in the panel range fairly widely, on the domain of non-cooperative linguistic exchanges, while retaining numerous points in common, since, as we have seen, there is a significant core of common assumptions that all authors more or less share. This leads us to believe that we can arrive at a coherent vision of non-cooperation. For example, all the papers introduce considerations of aggression, power, gender, and other contextual variables in the equation, which leads us to conclude that these factors should figure significantly in any account of non-cooperation. Moreover, data range broadly from abstract "armchair" examples, to internet discussion lists, courtroom discourse, medical discourse, everyday conversations, and experimental diaries. Summing up, the panel will provide a coherent and yet multifaceted approach to non-cooperation.

### **Anne Barron and Klaus P. Schneider**

#### ***Variational pragmatics: cross-cultural approaches***

Cross-cultural pragmatics has long been concerned with the study of inter-lingual pragmatic variation. By contrast, variational pragmatics investigates intra-lingual pragmatic variation across geographical and social varieties of a particular language (cf. Barron/Schneider in press; Schneider/Barron forthcoming). As such variational pragmatics, at the interface of pragmatics and dialectology, addresses a research gap in need of attention (cf. Schlieben-Lange/Weydt 1978; Márquez Reiter 2002, 2003).

The focus of this panel is on cross-cultural approaches to intra-lingual regional variation since it is only by contrasting different varieties of a particular language that that which is distinctive about the polite language conventions of a particular culture can be established. The panel aims to bring together scholars from different language backgrounds to advance the study of variation in pragmatics by finding mutual points of interest across languages and proposing recommendations for future research in the field of variational pragmatics.

Schneider Barron launch the panel with a paper in which they outline the research area and identify the parameters relevant to the study of intra-lingual pragmatic variation based on an in-depth analysis of the findings of previous research on such pragmatic variation. They then put forward a discourse model designed to integrate these and other potential parameters of intra-lingual variation. This paper sets the scene for the contributions to come by explicitly relating each contribution to this proposed framework.

### **Susan Berk-Seligson**

#### ***Forensic Linguistics: Language and Law***

This panel deals with the intersection of language and law. It focuses on language in pre-trial phases of the judicial process—specifically, law enforcement (Berk-Seligson and Linfoot-Ham)—as well as language in trialwork and therefore the courtroom proper (Ehrlich, Gaines, Wang). Data are presented from cases originating in Canada, Britain, Taiwan, and the USA. Theoretical approaches represented in the panel include the analysis of rhetoric, Gricean interpretation of utterances and conversational implicature, and interactional sociolinguistics.

Linfoot-Ham's paper examines adherence to or violations of Grice's (1964) Cooperative Maxims by suspects and witnesses in encounters with law enforcement, as well as other theories of pragmatics with a view to discovering how the intuitions of law enforcement (specifically, the 'gut-feelings' of distrust and suspicion) are conceived. Linfoot-Ham finds that when interacting with citizens, experienced officers will often infer that a person is lying to them. They will not, however, be able to explain to anyone just *how* this intuition was formed. Linguistic/pragmatic reasons are hypothesized as accounting for these intuitions.

Berk-Seligson looks at manifestations of stance-taking (Biber and Finegan 1989, Halliday 1994, Johnstone 2004) on the part of a police detective who succeeded in coercing a confession of murder from a suspect in his custody. A key contextual element in the speech situation is that the suspect did not speak the language of the law (English), and that the police detective interrogated him in Spanish, without the presence of a third Spanish-speaking party. An analysis of affidavits, pretrial and trial testimony reveal linguistic and extralinguistic evidence of police coercion and the likelihood of a false confession.

Ehrlich's paper provides a pragmatic account of the defence of 'implied consent,' as it manifests itself in a recent Canadian sexual assault judicial decision. In particular, she considers the kinds of inferences or implicatures that would need to be drawn for an interlocutor to reasonably infer sexual consent and the kinds of shared and readily accessible cultural assumptions that such inferences would necessarily rely upon. Specifically, in a ruling that a woman who is 'frozen by a fear of force' implies sexual consent, the judge is relying upon culturally-biased assumptions regarding women's lack of agency and passivity in the course of 'normal' sex.

Wang, using a corpus-assisted approach to the study of vagueness in the courtroom, interprets vagueness in the manner of Janney (2002) and Jucker et al. (2003), namely, as a pragmatic, interactive concept. However, she focuses on vagueness from both the speaker's and the hearer's perspective, and on the interaction between the two. She operationalizes these distinctions with respect to the exploitation (or manipulation) of vagueness in a corpus of British and Taiwanese criminal court proceedings.

Gaines' paper focuses on the linguistic practices of attorneys, with special emphasis on rhetorical structure. His database includes a range of textual domains associated with trial practice: trial manuals, attorney apologies for the adversary system, case preparation, and attorney discourse in the courtroom. Gaines uncovers the overarching rhetorical nature of all trial practice.

## **Jack Bilmes**

### ***State-of-knowledge responses***

The response to an immediately prior utterance often indicates whether the speaker found that prior utterance to contain new or already-known information. In his now classic 1984 article on "oh" responses, John Heritage noted that a major function of "oh" is as a "change-of-state" token. There are, of course, many other possible responses that indicate change of state, that is, that indicate that the prior utterance conveyed new and perhaps surprising, important, or interesting information. It is equally possible to respond in a way that asserts or suggests that the information offered is not news, that it is expected or already known. Responses of both types are referred to here as state-of-knowledge responses.

This panel will be devoted to the data-based investigation of such state-of-knowledge responses. One interesting question is why participants so often choose to respond to informative utterances with an indication of their own state of knowledge. The papers in this panel will help to answer this question by showing the conversational functions of such state-of-knowledge responses. Other questions addressed by this panel: How are state-of-knowledge responses formatted and delivered? How are they placed in conversation and what consequences do they have for further talk?

Although the subject of state-of-knowledge responses can be investigated through various analytical traditions, the papers in this panel are unified by a common analytical approach—they all employ the techniques of conversation analysis.

## **Alfons Bora and Heiko Hausendorf**

### ***Citizenship as a communicative achievement: Social positioning in Participatory Discourse***

In the last decades, 'participation' has become one of the dazzling key words whenever the democratic deficit of modern societies is moaned about. It refers to various efforts undertaken to let and to make citizens take part in politically and socially contested decision-making processes (concerning the controlling and regulation of, for instance, the application of new and 'risky' technologies, environmental policies or serious changes at urban/regional/national/transnational levels). Participatory discourse emerges when the decision making process in one way or another accounts for the 'public' to be included. It aims at 'citizenship' as a mode of including people in the political system that goes beyond the formal mechanisms of representative democracy in favour of 'good governance'. Participatory discourse comprises a broad variety of communicative events: oral arenas of debating between experts, politicians and the public as well as written objections and/or letters by concerned citizens as well as question-answer pairs on governmental websites, face-to-face interaction as well as mass media communication, formal as well as informal gatherings, singularly occurring local meetings as well as regularly occurring gatherings of focus groups.

Up to now, the issue of participation, citizenship and governance has been almost exclusively dealt with in social and political sciences, mostly at a normative and/or abstract level of political theory. Many books have been written about the relationship between persons and society, many different versions of citizenship have accordingly been proposed (take, for instance, Marshall's 'Citizenship and Social Class', Barber's notion of 'Strong Democracy', Philip Frankenfeld's concept of 'technological citizenship' or, more recently, Philippe Schmitter's concept of different positions or 'holders'). Apart from its prominent role in political theory,

citizenship also came into focus at the level of practical reflection about the improving of policy strategies in the sense of 'good governance' (take, for instance, the EU white papers on governance and citizenship).

Given this actual relevance of the issue in social and political sciences, it is striking that citizenship has scarcely become a topic of research in linguistics and pragmatics concerned with the relationship between discourse and society. Accordingly, there is some kind of empirical deficit in research about citizenship: Compared with its relevance in terms of political norms and values, the concrete communication of citizenship in actual communication processes appears to be more or less neglected. This exactly makes the point where linguistic and pragmatics can step in: What does it mean to be treated as and to act as a citizen? Which are the category-specific activities connected with the social category or the social position of citizen? Which are the images of selves and others that are communicated within citizenship talk and citizenship semantics? These questions already indicate that and how citizenship can become a topic for linguistics and pragmatics: namely, by asking if and how citizenship is actually communicated as a relevant social concept by participants themselves. Citizenship then emerges as a communicative achievement depending on verbal means and forms.

The socio-linguistic and pragmatic know how about social positioning, identity construction and membership categorization that has been successfully developed particularly in the last decade by Conversation Analysis (putting forward Sack's early studies in membership categorization devices), Critical Discourse Analysis (Fairclough, van Dijk, Wodak and others), and Discursive Psychology (Harré, Edwards, Potter and others) - to name only a few important strands of analysis - makes it easy to meet the methodological and methodic challenges of citizenship as a communicative achievement. Focusing on empirical manifestations of social positions in participatory discourse, these approaches promise to give insight into the communicative emerging of citizenship in terms of concrete communication structures. Particularly the focus on participatory discourse and its communicative appearances as the most prominent area of citizenship (s. above) allows to show that and how micro-analytical linguistic approaches can contribute to a better understanding of the chances and the boundaries of participation.

The proposed panel is meant to bring together results from studies that

- use linguistic methods (from different strands of pragmatics and discourse analysis) to
- look at the communicative emerging of social positions which are connected to citizenship and
- are based on empirical data from participatory discourse (no matter which kind of thematic issue is concerned).

The idea of the panel goes back to an interdisciplinary EU research consortium of British, Dutch, German, Hungarian, Irish, Italian and Swedish scholars from linguistics, sociology and political science who have conducted a comparative study on participatory discourse in the context of modern biotechnology applications ("Participation and the Dynamics of Social Positioning" (PARADYS)). It is assumed that members of this research consortium will submit papers to be presented on the panel. Nevertheless, the panel is in no way meant to be exclusive for members of this project but is open for all kinds of papers that contribute to the issue of social positioning in participatory discourse.

## **Diana Bravo**

### ***EDICE: Estudios del discurso de cortesía en español***

El Programa EDICE (Estudios del discurso de cortesía en español) reúne hoy 79 investigadores/as en temas de cortesía en español. Uno de los objetivos de este programa -que está organizado como una red de proyectos- es el de crear un espacio internacional para estas investigaciones. El estudio de la cortesía lingüística implica una perspectiva pragmática del uso de la lengua, donde la figura del usuario real inmerso en su situación social es relevante. Este punto de partida permite relacionar distintos marcos sociales y situacionales con diferencias en el modo en el cual los/as hablantes perciben la relación interpersonal. En consecuencia, el/la investigador/a se enfrenta a la necesidad de explicar la variación en cuanto a expresiones e interpretaciones por parte de los/as hablantes y de sus destinatarios/as en el discurso.

El interés por desarrollar marcos teóricos y metodológicos aptos para el estudio del español ha llevado a una tarea de revisión crítica de los conceptos con mayor consenso en esta área de estudios, los cuales tienen como referente un usuario ideal y anglófono; en especial el modelo propuesto por Brown Levinson (1987). Los trabajos que se reúnen en este panel reflejan la preocupación de los/as autores/as de los mismos por explicar aspectos de la cortesía que no han sido discutidos por las teorías o que se muestran insuficientes para describir las manifestaciones de cortesía presentes en sus corpus.

Con esta intención se discute: la validez de considerar a las actividades de imagen como actividades de cortesía, tipos de actividades de cortesía que no han sido consideradas o que han merecido escasa atención, la importancia de recursos expresivos como el de las señales no verbales, de particular importancia para la percepción e interpretación de cortesía y de descortesía; categorizaciones que, si bien relacionadas con la cortesía, debieran encontrar un lugar propio, la relación entre los roles de los participantes y las interpretaciones

de intenciones de cortesía en contextos de habla, así como también la estrecha relación entre la caracterización sociocultural de la imagen `face) y el efecto social de cortesía en un evento comunicativo determinado.

## **Charles Briggs**

### ***The pragmatics of institutional discourse: A panel honouring the work of Aaron V. Cicourel***

Pragmatics is only one of the fields that has been significantly influenced by the scholarship of Aaron V. Cicourel. His work is characterized by its scope, having affected research on education, medicine, criminology and other fields, productive transgression of disciplinary boundaries, success in pioneering new perspectives (such as cognitive sociology), and international impact. His work anticipated by several decades a central focus of contemporary study, the pragmatics of discourse in institutional settings. Cicourel has demonstrated a remarkable ability to open up questions that other researchers had “black boxed,” that is, turned into mechanical operations that were not subjected to critical scrutiny. For example, he positioned pragmatics as a key perspective from which to explore interview and survey techniques that are commonly used in the social sciences and in a host of institutional and other contexts. His provocative analyses revealed the limited state of our knowledge of these widely disseminated discourse practices and the pervasiveness of ideological constructions of them that bear little relationship to their pragmatic contours.

## **Wolfram Bublitz and Axel Huebler**

### ***Metapragmatics***

Our reading of the term metapragmatics will deviate from what seems to have become commonly associated with it, namely a methodological reflection on the theory of pragmatics (a definition that is based on one meaning of meta- which indicates a theoretical viewpoint on whatever concept it is prefixed to). The panel, however, will not address the theory of pragmatics, i.e. theoretical issues related to the central concerns, concepts, methods, terminology and consistency of such a theory. Nor do we want to address systematic aspects of reflexivity inherent in language and language use, as far as they serve to secure comprehension of the propositional, entailed, presupposed and inferred content, the illocutionary force or the textual organization (including means of discourse deictics and references to turn taking) of current talk. We also discourage contributions to systematic aspects of single theories of language and meta-language in general (e.g. related to the nature of discourse/text data, to questions of expressibility/inexpressibility, language change/decay).

Instead, we would like to have the emphasis put on aspects of use, i.e. on actual, concrete meta-utterances as discourse data which are used for specific communicative purposes. This perspective embraces two – partly connected – lines of investigation.

Firstly, we encourage the discussion of meta-linguistic comments on the interactional (not cognitive) frame into which a given utterance is embedded. Such frames do not primarily concern the propositional content, immediate illocutionary force or textual place of an utterance but, on a ‘higher’ level of communication, superordinate speech acts such as ARGUING, CHALLENGING, DISPUTING, SUPPORTING, as well as interpersonal, evaluative and face-related activities such as INSULTING, JOKING, TEASING. Here, metapragmatic language is related to the ‘conversational game’ interactants are actually playing. It is a vehicle that enables speakers to assess, edit, gloss or label their fellowspeakers’ (or third parties’) establishment of or deviation from a specific interactional frame and thus reflects their view of the appropriate or inappropriate use of language to create and maintain acceptable social relations. Metapragmatic utterances can be used retrospectively (He didn’t insult me in so many words but the tone of everything he said was extremely rude) or (as topic interruptions) in mid-conversation (Don’t go back on your word! or Why are you shouting?) and even prospectively (e.g. as a disclaimer: Now don’t get mad at me but ...). These evaluative parentheses are coherence-disturbing in that they change (temporarily) the direction of the conversation, whose different streaks (on all levels of communication) had been in total syntony until then. Metapragmatic use of language in this sense is not simply talking about but changing the direction of and thus creating new discourse.

Secondly, such metapragmatic comments can be discussed as means of referring to utterances (of the speaker him-/herself, the listener or a third party) and reporting on them (in forms ranging from direct quotations via indirect speech to global references to speech acts (He insulted her) and speech act sequences (They had a vivid discussion)). As a line of investigation on its own, this could contribute to the general philosophical orientation of the conference, for instance with aspects concerning truth and sincerity conditions (compare He said he would come and He promised he would come), but may have to be characterized differently along related parameters such as ‘fictitious – documentary’; ‘attitudinal identification – distance’; ‘losses – gains in terms of propositional and non-propositional meaning’.

The data sources may range from ordinary conversations, talks shows or internet chats to reviews and reports, and from argumentation to psychotherapy; the selection may be restricted to one type (e.g., political debate) or varied and thus open for comparative treatment (e.g., the use of direct quotations in narratives and news reports).

### **Filomena Capucho**

#### ***Power in the classroom: perspectives in Philosophy and Discourse Analysis***

Classroom discourse appears as one of the specific types of institutional talk, performing and revealing conceptions and beliefs that are inscribed in the Orders of Discourse, thus in Social Orders (cf. Foucault, 1969, 1971). Therefore, the way interaction is negotiated and developed during the classroom reveals the deep social structures and ideologies that underlie pedagogical systems and the consequent methodological choices. In this context, Discourse Analysis becomes a precious tool to approach the verbal and social reality, allowing the researcher to observe how power relations are reproduced, re-invented or subverted by both teacher and pupils. In this panel, we would like to start by a general theoretical introduction to the topic "Language and Power". Eric Grillo will thus present new insights to this problematic, showing that Power relations are not compulsorily built on Domination schemes, but, in dialogical frames of interpersonal interaction (cf. Jacques, 79, 85 ; Linell 98 ; Grillo, 2000), it is possible to find a space for common empowerment.

Under those principles, the papers that will be presented will show how different models of Discourse Analysis may contribute to highlight power issues in classroom talk.

### **Jenny Cook-Gumperz**

#### ***Pragmatics through the Life Cycle: issues of age and identity***

Different cultures have ways of naming or talking about the passage through life. Anthropologists use the term "rites of passage" (Van Gennep 1912/1960) for the social and symbolically inscribed rituals, routines and ceremonies that mark human growth from birth to old age as a progress that is not merely biological but essentially cultural. This progression is regarded as a life cycle by psychologists depending on an underlying metaphor of cyclical renewal of a species rather than a passage or non-renewable life trajectory of a single individual.

The concept of life cycle has played an important role in early psychological theories of age and identity such as those developed by Erik Erickson (1959), and was given new impetus when Carol Gilligan refocused it as a gendered matter of the development of different moral understandings through the life cycle of men and women. In her study "In a Different Voice" she stated that 'the life cycle itself arises from the alternation between the world of women and that of men' p23, (1982). While this original work has been criticized as suggesting a view of separately gendered worlds, she did reintroduce the importance of the interplay of identity and age throughout the life cycle. However all these theories see the idea of 'life cycle' as an analyst's construction that researchers can identify in others' social and psychological processes.

In this session we will argue that the idea of a 'lifecycle' can be seen to enter into the everyday construction of ordinary peoples' lives, actions and worldviews and that by studying linguistic practices we can determine how speakers and listeners perceive and recognize the passage of age. Our point of view focuses on details of language, stylistically, syntactically and strategically as they reflect the intertwining of age and identity in culturally specific settings. Along with Susan Gal we are concerned with showing how detailed speaking practices are nested within broader concerns with language ideologies as when she comments: "social constructions of language, gender and power shape men's and women's ideas and ideals about their own linguistic practices. Students of everyday talk have often neglected this symbolic side of interaction... But power is more than an authoritative voice in decision making; its strongest form may well be the ability to define social reality, to impose visions of the world. Such visions are inscribed in language and enacted in interaction." (1991 :p196-197)

We begin the session with the years of early language acquisition and the demonstration of conversational competence by three and four year olds. We then go to look at teenagers creating an identity for themselves in a changing world and their use of style and language shifting. Then we turn to mid life crisis and middle-aged women's narrative representations of career change and change in life style. Finally we focus on the elderly, their sense of self how this is reflected in interaction with their peers, and how they deal with both the present and past. At each point our papers ask a number of questions about how a sense of identity is closely or loosely tied with an idea of age. How expectations are shaped by our own and others' perceptions and the ability to be involved in different projects of actions and how these are symbolically contained in linguistic styles and choices.

## **François Cooren**

### ***Pragmatics and Semiotics***

Although pragmatics and semiotics can be said to represent two different theoretical traditions – the first being mostly focused on the functioning of signs, while the second highlights the practical effects of language use – there is a very interesting body of research that currently explores the intersection of these two approaches. Arguably, this intersection finds its source in the work of a scholar who has been identified as the founder of these two theoretical movements, namely Charles Sanders Peirce. Far from being incompatible, semiotics and pragmatics have much to say to each other, as evidenced by the work of renowned scholars such as Enrico Carontini (1984), Hermann Parret (1983), and especially Marina Sbisà (1983, 1984, 1985, 1989, 1992, 2001), as well as through some events organized to make these two traditions dialogue with each other (for instance, see Deledalle, 1989)

As Carontini (1984) notes, semiotics consists of studying the sign's action, i.e., what Peirce calls "semiosis," which immediately parallels the pragmatic project of studying language from an actional perspective. For instance, Morris (1938) notes that pragmatics, which he defines as a one of the three branches of semiosis, can be identified as the study of the relation between signs and their interpreters, i.e., "that branch of semiotic which studies the origin, the uses and the effects of signs" (Morris, 1938, p. 365). However, many differences can also be highlighted between the two disciplines. In terms of object, semioticians do not hesitate to study images, traces or narratives, while pragmaticians tend to focus primarily on utterances and their meanings in given face to face contexts. In other words, everything happens as though pragmaticians had co-opted the study of language use as it takes place between two or more interlocutors, while semioticians had decided to focus primarily on the functioning of relatively inert objects like tales, paintings, or pictures, outside any specific communicational situation.

In terms of approach, one could also note that semioticians tend to hold an immanentist perspective, i.e., the idea that the semiotic functioning of an object has to be found in the object itself (paralleling the Saussurian project, as taken up and elaborated by Hjelmslev), while pragmaticians will, on the contrary, insist on the importance of having recourse to extra-linguistic factors to account for utterances meanings and their effects on interpreters. Paradoxically, semioticians can therefore be said to be closer, in their approach, to traditional linguistics (see, for instance, Greimas, 1983, 1987, 1988; Greimas Courtés, 1982; Greimas Fontanille, 1993), while pragmaticians' work usually implicitly questions the immanentist doctrine (see, for instance, Mey, 1988, 1993).

In this panel, we propose to explore further this intersection through four presentations that, in their own way, will deconstruct this opposition.

## **Rosana Dolón**

### ***The discursive construction of identities: when discourse practice conveys identity exclusion***

Discourse research necessarily needs to take into account the social, psychological and philosophical reality behind any discourse activity, especially when we look into the construction of identity and subjectivity in discourse practice. Pragmatic linguistics reveals itself, in this sense, as an insightful research paradigm, inasmuch as it bridges the social, psychological and philosophical with the linguistic component of human behaviour. The work of Goffman (e.g. 1959; 1967) on face-work, Brown Levinson's (1987) study on politeness, or Gumperz's (1982) work on social identities, are some examples of seminal research that has gone into the study of identity and subjectivity. Pragmatic concepts such as presupposition, directness vs. indirectness in meaning, propositional attitudes, utterance meaning, necessarily intervene in the analysis of discourse, and we understand that any discourse research into personal and collective identities necessarily falls back on these.

The contributions to the panel embrace three topic-related lectures. These correspond to individual research carried out by their corresponding authors. We are a group of four scholars sharing an interest in the discursive construction of identities. More specifically, our concern lies in unveiling the sources of power, dominance, inequality and bias that affect this identity construction. The three studies comprising the panel share a set of assumptions and presuppositions around the notion of identity: We start from a relational view of self-conception (see e.g. Gergen 1994), one that views self-conception not as an individual's personal and private cognitive structure but as discourse about the self. Construction of discourse, we understand, implies active selection: by giving an account, language users 'construct' reality. As stated by Davies Harré (1990), the discursive practice refers to all the ways in which we actively produce social and psychological realities. As Goffman suggests through his concept of footing, discourse practices may fragment, multiply and decentre the self.

Likewise, we relate identity to the construction of subjectivity, to the production of social actors and to self-presentation activity. We share, as well, a conception of identity understood as a set of culturally available performances, which are sanctioned through power relations (see e.g. Wetherell 2001). The poststructuralist Foucauldian influence places the focus on the connections between knowledge, power and social relations. The three studies also put special emphasis on the importance of self-narratives, story-telling and personal accounts, as cultural resources, the means by which individuals make themselves intelligible, by which people know who they are and communicate their identities to others. They are relational, oriented to others, dialogical, worked up in contexts and designed pragmatically. We understand that they are means by which we live out our relationships with ourselves and the world.

While sharing a concern for unveiling the sources of power and dominance that involve identity construction, the panel contributions represent three distinct studies, inasmuch as they address specific issues around the notion of identity. While being differentiated studies, they revolve around the concept of identity exclusion.

Our research starts from the methodological postulates of Pragmatics and does specifically rely on the framework of Critical Discourse Analysis (CDA) to account for and be able to explain how processes of dominance, oppression, power abuse and internalization processes of stereotypes are discursively constructed (see e.g. Fairclough 1989). For each paper the authors specify the underlying tools, categories and approaches from related research they have fallen back on to prove their respective research question(s) or hypothesis. (e.g. Halliday's transitivity system; conceptual metaphor theory as put forward by Lakoff and Johnson; the postulates of Social Psychology, as considered e.g. by Billig 2001, Gergen 1994, Goffman 1959; specific proposals made by Interactional Analysts like Antaki Widdicombe 1998, cognitive assumptions put forward by Narrative Theory; gender studies as developed by e.g. Butler 1990; and cultural studies that look into the notion of social identity, like the work of Giddens 1991).

## **Derek Edwards**

### ***Calling for help***

The aim of this panel is to bring together a range of current conversation-analytical (CA) research on requesting help. Much of this work analyses telephone helpline talk, which itself varies across a wide range of settings and participants' concerns. Yet the pragmatics and interactional contingencies of asking/calling for help are much broader still, with relevance to speech acts and their felicity conditions, and to everyday conversational interaction in which various kinds of assistance might be offered and sought. One of the interests in analysing calls for help, therefore, is to explore the ways in which the nature of help, of requesting it, and of fulfilling the conditions and prerequisites for it, are matters that participants handle and manage in (and as) the accomplishment of actual social interactions. Rather than specifying or defining the characteristics of 'calling for help' in advance, whether from theory or on the basis of semantic/pragmatic intuition, the aim is to approach them as participants' practical, actively managed concerns, within contexts of recorded, everyday practices of talking.

Calling or asking for help may occur in virtually any setting of everyday interaction. Indeed, everyday, mundane conversation provides a baseline environment for studying it, particularly where there is no institutionally provided arrangement for help-provision in place. In such cases, all of the contingencies for asking for and receiving help must be made relevant and produced by participants in their talk. However, most of the work on asking or calling for help has been (and is being) done in the domain of special institutional arrangements such as telephone helplines, and calls to customer services departments or to the emergency services. Indeed, there has been a huge recent expansion in the provision of such services, often replacing face-to-face interactions where complaints, crime and accident reports, faulty goods, various forms of counselling, or other kinds of trouble-shooting are done. Interestingly, in these environments, it is not simply the case that the participants' business of calling for help is simply institutionally provided for. People still have to produce and manage what is a reasonable request, an appropriate person/agency to ask it of, a proper, serious enough (etc.) problem or matter for discussion and action, appropriate kinds of help, and so on. The various papers invited for this panel (and any that are appropriately assigned) will deal with interactional contingencies of that kind, and how they are managed.

CA has a long-standing interest in calls for help, and in what are now called helplines. Harvey Sacks's early work focused on telephone calls by potentially suicidal people to a psychiatric service. His 1966 thesis "The search for help: No one to turn to" used membership categorization analysis to explore the rational basis of accounts for killing oneself, and/or of having to resort to seeking help from strangers on a phone line. Calling for help is an accountable matter, and so is providing it. It requires 'good reasons' for asking, and various ways of building its seriousness and legitimacy.

The analysis of calls for help, their general features and their interactional production and contingency, provides a tightly focused theme for a range of current research. Papers invited for this panel include studies of

routine and emergency calls to the doctor, ambulance services, the police, fire services, calls to child abuse helplines and to a birth crisis helpline, to neighbour dispute mediation services and technical helplines for people having problems with software. Analytical themes are left for panellists to choose, and for their particular data sets to determine. But topics are likely to focus on structural and sequential features of how calling for help is interactionally managed. Themes in current work, that are likely to cut across several papers, include (but these are not exhaustive):

How and when are problem descriptions produced, and for what kinds of activities are they designed?

How are callers' problem descriptions produced, and produced interactionally, and aligned (or not) with the kind of help on offer?

How and when are any preconditions for requesting help broached and dealt with?

How is asking for institutional help grounded in, or different from, how 'reasons for calling' are generally provided in mundane talk?

How is 'requesting' actually done in these settings, if and when it is done – e.g., do people overtly ask for help, or is that an implicit feature of problem definition, or of the talk's institutional setting?

What kinds of 'indirect' ways are used for soliciting help, and/or for directing people toward solutions they may not have sought?

How does the asymmetrical, non-reciprocal, talking-to-strangers nature of institutional help differ from mundane settings involving family and friends?

How are role and identity issues managed between requester and helper/call-taker?

How are the widely different kinds of 'help' on offer (technical information, guidance, emotional support) interactionally provided for?

How are 'psychological' and related matters (epistemic, motivational, emotional, dispositional, etc.) made relevant, handled and managed, at what junctures, and in the performance of what kinds of actions?

"Asking for help" is best considered a preliminary gloss on the range of activities that will be analysed.

What conversational participants are specifically doing, under what kind of descriptive gloss (whether asking for help, seeking information, reporting trouble, or just wanting to talk, etc.) is essentially their business, and will be contingently, interactionally, and indexically accomplished. So, rather than pre-defining what 'help' is, or what 'requesting' is, or what 'requesting help' should logically require, the panel's approach will, for the most part, be an empirically grounded, close-grained CA interest in how any such matters are produced and managed in the performance of actual social interactions.

## **Anita Fetzer**

### ***Context and appropriateness: micro meets macro***

Context and appropriateness imply interpersonal realities and thus are key to a pragmatic theory of language and language use. While context is generally seen as a common frame of reference anchored to a commonly shared system of symbols, appropriateness refers to the pragmatic well-formedness of the linguistic realization of a coparticipant's communicative intention in linguistic and sociocultural contexts.

Context is omnipresent in pragmatics, discourse analysis and ethnomethodology. To employ Heritage's terminology, "the production of talk is doubly contextual" (Heritage 1984:242). An utterance relies upon the existing context for its production and interpretation, and it is, in its own right, an event that shapes a new context for the action that will follow. In spite of its status as a fundamental premise in pragmatics and discourse analysis, the concept of context has remained fuzzy and seems almost impossible to come to terms with. There is, however, one core meaning which is found in all of its usages, namely the gestalt-psychological distinction between a figure or a focal event and its ground or background. In order to be felicitously integrated into pragmatic theory, however, that extremely general definition of context requires some delimitation.

Appropriateness supplements and refines the notion of pragmatic meaning by the accommodation of a sociocultural-context perspective. In discourse, pragmatic meaning is not only inferred with regard to its illocutionary goal and force, but also with regard to the connectedness between coparticipants, social status, interpersonal relationship and communicative setting. Against this background, the frames of reference of pragmatic meaning and appropriateness go beyond an individual contribution. Appropriateness is anchored to the dyad of (minimally) a speaker and a hearer seen from both I-we (Searle 1995) and I-thou perspectives (Brandom 1994), thus representing a dialogical concept par excellence (Linell 1998).

Appropriateness and context are represented by dynamic and relational concepts. They are manifest in the micro domain of language use, and they manifest themselves as pillars against which the validity and well-formedness of linguistic and communicative acts are evaluated and measured. Like context and appropriateness, micro and macro have an interactive potential and are also dynamic and relational, but they represent different levels of empirical reality. Micro refers to a face-to-face encounter while macro is seen as a communicative configuration in which a direct interaction between the coparticipants is not a necessary condition. Yet macro



structures are indispensable prerequisites of communicative action, and presupposition is seen as one device which is assigned a bridging function between micro and macro.

The panel Context and appropriateness: micro meets macro investigates the nature of the connectedness between context and appropriateness, and between micro and macro in order to further our understanding of the complex processes involved in producing and interpreting language in context from the perspectives of both analyst and coparticipant. The first session of the panel investigates bridging problems between micro and macro and pays particular attention to the connectedness between intersubjectivity and perspectivity, between sequentiality and contextual parameters, and between co-textual and contextual implications, and local and global topics. The second session examines bridging problems between context and appropriateness with respect to the connectedness between appropriateness and default, between the linguistic realization of addressee-specific actions, between deixis and sociocultural context, and between text domain, intention and presupposition.

### **Anna De Fina and Alexandra Georgakopoulou** *Narratives and/in context: From texts to practices*

This panel's point of departure is the recent shift within (discourse and pragmatic) narrative analysis from a longstanding conception of (oral, cf. natural, non-literary) narrative as a well-defined and delineated genre with an identifiable structure towards the exploration of the multiplicity, fragmentation and irreducible situatedness of its forms and functions in a wide range of social arenas. In brief, we focus on the shift from texts to (social) practices, based on the key-concept of context. Although there is arguably a longstanding tradition of contextualized studies of narrative (e.g. since Hymes', 1981, and others' ethnography of communication studies), there are distinct elements of this latest shift that qualify it as a "new" turn to narrative and/in context:

- a) An increasing acceptance of narrative as talk-in-interaction informed by conversation analysis and ethnomethodology. This has profound implications for the definition of narrative, its exigencies, and for the analytical tools deemed appropriate for its investigation (e.g. papers in Quasthoff Baker 2004, Schegloff 1997);
- b) An emphasis, derived from recent theories of context and genre, not just on the contextualized but also on the contextualizing aspects of narrative;
- c) An increasing commitment to social theory (mainly within the framework of cultural studies). This is particularly evident in proliferating work on narrative and identities (e.g. De Fina 2003; Georgakopoulou 2002; Schiffrin, De Fina Bamberg, forthcoming) that has variously problematized or added nuance to the widely held view that narrative is a privileged communication mode for making sense of self.

This panel's aim is to critically reflect on and assess this "new" turn to narrative and/in context; to address the controversies and implications for the received analytic vocabulary of narrative within socially minded linguistics (e.g. pragmatics, sociolinguistics, discourse analysis); finally, to chart ways forward.

Among the questions that the papers are hoped to raise are the following:

- What have we learned from the numerous studies on narrative structure and genres that can usefully inform current analyses? How do received models, such as the one proposed by Labov and Waletzky (1967/1997), fare at the moment, and what are the ways, if any, of applying them to narratives that develop in contexts other than the sociolinguistic interview?
- To what extent and in what ways can narratives that depart from the more or less established "canon" of research interview narrative be accommodated in the analysis? What are the issues involved in making "small" stories (i.e. fragmented, with multiple tellers, heavily embedded in their surroundings, see Bamberg 2004; Georgakopoulou 2003; Ochs and Capps 2001) part of focal concerns? What would the implications be for narrative as a point of entry into identities?
- What kinds of theoretical constructs allow us to take context into account in the description and analysis of narratives? Does work on narrative warrant any revised assumptions and tools? Is there a case for narrative-specific conceptualisations of context?
- Given the intense interest in narrative as a tool for work with a critical and political focus, how do narratives contribute to create and reshape contexts? In what ways do they impact on personal and social rights and relations, on institutions and events? To what extent do they give voice to individual agents as opposed to or in parallel with interweaving collective and institutional voices? (Briggs, 1997)
- What kinds of interdisciplinary perspectives are emerging and/or needed for the analysis of narrative and/in context?

Finally, there is the perennial, but also as timely as ever, question of how we can reconcile micro-analytic interactional approaches to narrative with other pragmatic perspectives that are more interested in macro-accounts. A matter of debate in this respect concerns the methodological validity and the analytical ways of abstracting a larger, across-contexts story (often described as a master narrative) from the moment-by-moment contingencies of narrative (re)tellings in local contexts (Georgakopoulou, 2004).

In addressing these questions, the papers of this panel will argue for an analytic vocabulary that fully takes into account issues of co-construction, embeddedness, intertextuality and recontextualization, while bringing in new perspectives to “core” narrative analysis concepts, such as evaluation-tellability-performance. At the same time, they will scrutinize “context” from a variety of vantage points: by problematizing the normative expectations associated with research interviews as one of the main contexts of narrative production; by looking at telling cases where the researchers have to actively (re)create social context for the researched narratives; by documenting how context-specificity shapes narratives and equally how narrative consistency and coherence may emerge across contexts; finally, by opting for multi-layered analyses that do justice to the complexities of narrative events.

**Kerstin Fischer and Karin Aijmer**  
***Approaches to Modal Particles***

Modal particles are difficult to define grammatically and they occur only in some of the languages of the world. They have a variety of functions ranging from modal functions to pragmatic and discourse uses. There are several issues that need to be addressed in order to get a better picture of modal particles. Are modal particles a word class which can be defined formally and functionally? Modal particles have ‘homonyms’ in other word classes. Does that mean that their specific usage as modal particles has to be worked out on the basis of a shared core meaning? To what extent does the interpretation of modal particles interact strongly with other linguistic subsystems, such as prosody? Finally, it is unclear how the functions of modal particles are expressed in languages that lack modal particles. How are they for instance related to discourse markers?

In this panel, we want to take a cross-linguistic perspective on modal particles. We particularly invite corpus-based contributions that study modal particles from a comparative point of view and theoretical and methodological papers addressing the issues mentioned above.

**Charles Forceville and Eduardo Urios-Aparisi**  
***The pragmatics of multimodal representations***

Increasingly communication takes on multimodal forms. Linguistic messages and texts are often complemented, or even superseded, by information provided in other sign systems. Printed material (advertisements, manuals, instruction books, maps, graphics, cartoons, etc.) usually combine verbal and pictorial information, while most films and TV programmes moreover draw on music and non-verbal sound. Spoken language is often accompanied by gestures, while modern product design involves not only what products look like, but also how they sound (e.g., cars’ motors, their closing doors) or even smell.

Numerous studies provide theories explaining how language communicates, but scholarly work on non-verbal and multimodal communication that goes beyond mere description is scarce (film narratology is an exception). Humanities scholars must pay serious attention to this area of research, both to develop instruments for analysing and evaluating multimodal representations, and to contribute insights to cognition studies as practised in the (social) sciences. A focus on pragmatics is indispensable: what multimodal representations (can) mean is resolvable only if their communicative aims and contexts of use are taken into account.

The panel “the pragmatics of multimodal representations,” which has a strongly cognitivist slant, seeks paper proposals that conform to the following criteria: the paper

(1) contributes insights to applicable theories of multimodal representations, i.e., representations that combine two or more of the following: written/spoken language, static/moving images, music, non-verbal sound, gesture, smell, touch;

(2) applies one or more theoretical concepts systematically to a number of case studies. The application of the theory must yield insights that should not be obtainable (or at least not to the same extent) without this application. Moreover, the concepts should be partly or wholly applicable to other multimodal representations than those discussed in the paper;

(3) addresses issues pertaining to the context of use, potentially including genre/institutional context.

We strongly encourage prospective participants to end their proposals with (a) hypotheses that can be verified/falsified in future applications; and/or (b) fairly precise suggestions how the findings can be empirically tested. (If participants can report their own experimental results, this is even better.)

We have no preference for a specific theoretical model, as long as its usability can be demonstrated. We ourselves consider the following models and approaches fruitful or promising: Cognitive Metaphor Theory (e.g., Lakoff and Johnson 1999; Kövecses 2002); Relevance Theory (e.g., Sperber and Wilson 1995; Wilson and Sperber 2004, Yus Ramos 1998; Forceville 1996: chapter 5, forthcoming; see also Gibbs 1999); Blending Theory (Fauconnier and Turner 2002); Genre theory (e.g., Altman 1999; see also Forceville 1999a); film narratology (e.g., Bordwell 1985; Branigan 1992); Visual design theory (e.g., Teng Sun 2002, Engelhardt 2002).

Some recent work in semiotics also strikes us as pertinent (Kress and Van Leeuwen 1996; but cf. Forceville 1999b). We are specifically interested in pictorial and multimodal metaphor, and eagerly await proposals on this topic (see for references the bibliography in Forceville 2002; also Müller 2004, Thoreau (forthcoming)).

### **Frances Giampapa and Ingrid Piller**

#### ***Second language learning in context: ideologies and identities***

Second language learning studies have recently experienced a social turn (Block 2003). A number of researchers (e.g., Norton 2000) have moved away from the traditional focus on the learner as an essentialized container in which language learning happens. Instead, poststructuralist approaches to language and identity have led to a new focus on the social contexts in which language learning takes place (Norton Toohey 2004).

Nowhere is the politics of language more clearly seen than through the second language learning context. As Bourdieu (1977) notes language is both a tool of power and a symbolic resource that is exploited by individuals to gain access to and control of the production and distribution of resources within economic, political and institutional arenas. Linguistic knowledge and linguistic practices become an important way in which participants are socialized and identified within the dominant linguistic and cultural world. However, the power lies within learning the "right" language, which has real life consequences for students in terms of their identity investments and access to social positions. In many contexts, language and culture has become a commodity, which, in the context of globalization, is often 'sold' as a representation of authenticity. The continued spread of English is of particular relevance in this context and it is not surprising that most of the papers in this panel will deal with the learning of English as an additional language.

This panel brings together case studies of contexts of second language learning from around the world with a special focus on: (a) ideologies of what language learning is supposed to be like; (b) ideologies of what it is that is being learned; (c) ideologies about who does the learning; and (d) how this is framed within the broader context of globalization.

### **Rachel Giora**

#### ***Negation***

The session presents recent works on negation from multiple disciplines such as linguistics, corpus studies, discourse analysis, and psycholinguistics.

### **Charles Goodwin**

#### ***Object, Gesture and Talk: Rethinking Multimodality***

A primordial site for the constitution of human action, cognition and social organization consists of a situation in which multiple parties are carrying out courses of action together while attending to each other, the details of language use, the activities in progress and consequential structure in the environment. Rather than being constituted within a single semiotic modality, human action is built through the co-articulation of different kinds of signs in different media which mutually elaborate each other. These include language, category systems, prosody, the body as a resource for both gesture and displays of orientation, and structure in the environment such as hopscotch grids, bureaucratic forms, maps, Munsell charts, computer displays, etc., as well as resources provided by specific activities, such as the unfolding structure of a jazz improvisation and string quartets. Strips of talk and embodied activity gain their power as social action via their placement within larger sequential structures, encompassing activities, and participation frameworks constituted through orientation displays of the actors' bodies and embodied sign systems such as gesture. Simultaneously they frequently invoke, utilize and formulate structure in the surround. The papers in this panel will focus upon the mutual contextualization of language, the body, gesture, and structure in the environment within emerging courses of action in a variety of settings, including mundane interaction, surgery, musical performances and the apprenticeship of professional vision in photography, and on the analytic consequences of using video data for the analysis of human action and language use.

### **Jean Goodwin and Igor Žagar**

#### ***Argumentation and Truth***

The contemporary study of argumentation grows in part out of a concern to extend the successes of logic to deal with reason-giving as it occurs in practice, in and through argumentative talk. It therefore inherits demands both from logic and pragmatics—demands which, in the case of argumentation and truth, seem to pull the study in different directions.

In the view inherited from logic, the demands of truth and truthfulness are quite insistent. Logic is the study of forms of reasoning which are truth-preserving; it requires truth as the "input" of argument, and guarantees truth as the "output." The problem, of course, is that ordinary argumentative talk is unruly; what counts as an adequate premise or conclusion in one context will often fail the tests for truth that prevail in another.

The opposite extreme is often (although we believe wrongly) associated with rhetoric. In this view, truth is irrelevant to argumentative talk; demanded instead is effectiveness in a given context. Argumentation draws on commonly held beliefs, assumptions or even prejudices as its "input," and leads to persuasion as its "output." The problem, of course, is that arguers in practice demand more than this of themselves and their interlocutors; truth and truthfulness are in fact frequently invoked as norms of argumentation.

This panel aims to develop ways of understanding the relationship of practical argument to truth both more sophisticated theoretically and more grounded empirically. We aim to emulate the path Grice took in *Logic and Conversation*, examining the ways that discourse mediates between the restrictions of logic and the practical desire to get things done. Our two sessions collect theoretical work on the conceptions of truth appropriate to the study of argumentation and empirical work on the function of truth in specific forms of argument.

**Marjorie H. Goodwin and Amy Kyratzis**

***Children Socializing Children through Language: Cultural Production, Participation and Authoritative Discourse in Peer Play Interaction***

While Malinowski (1923/1973) remarked on the importance of children's peer groups in their socialization, anthropological and ethnographic studies of childhood have frequently ignored the role of children socializing children (Scheper-Hughes and Sargent 1998:13), and, most importantly, the ways in which children emerge as agents in their everyday interactions. In contrast, recent work on children's peer language socialization from developmental pragmatics, linguistic anthropology, and sociology has begun to examine how children build their own cultural worlds through language (Berentzen, 1984; Cook-Gumperz, Corsaro, Streeck 1986; Corsaro 1985, 1997; Eder 1995; Ervin-Tripp Mitchell-Kernan 1977; Ewaldsson and Corsaro 1998; Goodwin 1990, 2002; Kyratzis 2004; Reynolds 2002). Children make use of linguistic resources from the adult culture (e.g., control act forms they observe adult speakers in authoritative roles use – e.g., Ervin-Tripp, Guo, Lampert 1990), accounts, person descriptors, assessments as well as genres such as greetings and "palabras" (types of verbal dueling), and forms of parallel language structures. Children provide their own rendering of these practices to organize the social and moral order of their own peer groups. The role of children in socializing children is particularly critical in understanding how identities are socialized in the increasingly multicultural and multilingual postcolonial or global societies where children grow up today.

Using longitudinal, ethnographic techniques involving videotaping and following children in naturally occurring friendship and sibling groupings over periods lasting several months, years, or, in one case, decades, the papers in this panel examine the linguistic and embodied negotiation and conflict resolution practices, and practices of enacting power, sanctioning, and exclusion, used among children in their naturally occurring friendship and peer groups. Studies of Western Russian children, Mayan Chol children of Chiapas, Mexico, highland Mayan Guatemalan children, Kurdish-Finish, Romani, and Bosnian immigrant children in Sweden, and North American children (including first generation immigrant children, multi-cultural, multi-class children and children with autism) ranging in age from preschool through to preadolescence, are spanned by the papers in the panel. The analyses demonstrate that children use a range of cultural and linguistic resources, including speech acts associated with different roles and social category designations, to negotiate their social positions and accomplish the social organization of their own peer group. They teach one another linguistic and embodied practices for standing up for themselves, holding one another accountable for moral action, and subverting age-graded hierarchy. Through language practices such as accounts, person descriptors, assessments, and humorous interchanges involving laughing at and subverting established social order, they index appropriate and inappropriate behavior for the peer group (Ewaldsson 2002). In addition, they make use of practices that can marginalize certain members. As second-language learners interacting together, children rely on a range of embodied practices and demonstrations as well as minimal language resources (deictic pronouns) to socialize one another and hold one another accountable to their local understandings of rules. In interactions with autistic children, non-autistic age-mates make use of a repertoire of interactional resources (both gestural as well as verbal) to secure the autistic peer's participation in an activity. In addition to countering gender stereotypes (views of girls' "cooperative" language), these papers point to new methodologies for understanding affect, embodiment, and conceptions of social and communicative competence, as well of socialization, made visible through close observations of children in their own peer interactions.

## **Mitchell Green**

### ***Speech acts and dynamic semantics***

Aside from being applied in various ways to the interpretation of literature, legal discourse, and political discourse, speech act theory has not advanced theoretically in dramatic ways in the last decade. On the other hand "dynamic semantics" has been developing considerable momentum among semanticists concerned with relatively pragmatic aspects of meaning such as presupposition, the interpretation of particles, modals and even attitude clauses.

Some theorists have proposed an elucidation of at least some kinds of illocution in dynamic terms; however, this approach is by no means dominant. At the same time, the dynamic semantics approach to traditionally pragmatic problems shows considerable promise but has not (yet) become dominant.

The aim of this panel shall be to assess the possibility of a mutual enrichment of speech act theory and dynamic semantics. Our questions will include: Can speech acts be fruitfully conceptualized in dynamic terms, for instance in terms of their role in conversational updating and/or context change? Can the tools of dynamic semantics be used enhance this conceptualization? Can that enhancement be employed in turn to aid dynamic semantics to overcome some of its open problems?

## **Eric Hauser**

### ***Instructional Talk in Institutional Settings***

Talk in which participants orient to an asymmetry in the possession of knowledge or skill related to a particular area of expertise, and in which the expert participant(s) uses speech to ostensibly instruct or teach the novice participant(s), can be understood as instructional talk. Such talk may be found both in settings which are and which are not generally regarded as educational. In addition, while instructional talk may be found outside institutional settings, when it occurs inside an institutional setting, it is likely to be related to the accomplishment of institutional tasks and the achievement of institutional goals. Finally, understanding talk as instruction may be one means by which participants in interaction attribute meaning to their behavior.

The papers in this panel investigate instructional talk in different institutional settings. These investigations are conducted within the theoretical and analytic framework of conversation analysis. Each paper concerns an institutional setting in Japan. Two papers investigate interaction conducted primarily in English and two investigate interaction conducted in Japanese. The former two papers investigate instructional talk within recognizably educational institutions, namely, within English language classrooms at the elementary school level and at the university level. One of the latter two papers investigates instructional talk during a training session between a scientist and a technician. This may also be considered to be an educational setting, but it is a more peripheral exemplar of this category. The fourth paper, moving away from institutional settings which are recognizably educational, investigates instructional talk during interaction between doctors and clients. The different papers investigate various aspects of instructional talk, such as the organization of turn-taking, including ways in which the turn-taking organization of instructional talk is different from and similar to the turn-taking organization of non-instructional talk, the collaborative construction of talk as instructional, participants' orientations to asymmetrical possession of knowledge or skill, participants' orientations to roles as expert and novice, the ways in which instructional talk is related to the accomplishment of institutional tasks and the achievement of institutional goals, and aspects of a Wittgensteinian conceptual relationship between teaching and learning in relation to an empirical analysis of these concepts.

The web of relationships among instructional talk, institutional settings, participant orientations, the concepts of learning and teaching, and the organization of interaction are complex and multi-faceted. Each of the four papers in this panel investigates instructional talk from a somewhat different perspective, while maintaining the rigorous attention to the details of the situated, real-time production of interaction that is characteristic of work in conversation analysis. Through the analysis of different aspects of instructional talk in diverse institutional settings, these papers contribute to untangling the complex and multi-faceted web of relationships within which instructional talk exists. This, in turn, contributes to an understanding of how language may be used as a resource by participants to ostensibly impart knowledge or skills to another. Instruction is often conceptualized in cognitive or mentalist terms as the transfer of knowledge or skill from the mind of an expert to the mind of a novice, or as the reproduction in the mind of the novice of knowledge or skill possessed by the expert. However, from a non-mentalist perspective, such as the analytic perspective of conversation analysis, this sort of conceptualization is problematic. Indeed, the shape of the participants' knowledge can be demonstrated as their joint accomplishment in the real-time development of interaction, rather than any pre-given entity in each individual. Through the analysis of instructional talk as a particular kind of language use, the papers in this panel demonstrate how instruction may be understood in non-cognitive or non-

mentalist terms. In addition, they demonstrate how participants in interaction may make sense of and attribute meaning to their behavior by understanding it as the provision or reception of instruction.

## **Motoko Hori**

### ***Discoursal Problems in Cross-Cultural Conversations***

The aim of this multi-paper presentation is two folds: one is to find problems in the cross-cultural conversations from the politeness point of view and the other is to see their causes and effect in theory and reality. The first part is based on the data of interactions exchanged between the Japanese and the Americans and between the Japanese and the Chinese, both being carried in English. These data are shared by most of the discussants whose talks are on the discoursal elements. The second part will focus on the fact that language and culture are deeply intertwined. Some examples of mishaps and misunderstandings in cross-cultural settings will be shown.

Since all of us believe Brown and Levinson's politeness theory to be universal, though a little modification may be necessary on some minor points, we have been engaged in analyzing several cross-cultural conversational data based on their politeness strategies. We have thus far found that interactants unconsciously carry over their own cultural style of speaking even when talking with people from other cultural background, and that it is such an unconscious behaviour which sometimes widens sentimental distance and causes emotional uneasiness between speakers with different cultural background. In this panel, we will give some examples of such cultural inconsistencies.

## **Sachiko Ide and Scott Saft**

### ***Exploring the relationship among culture, language and interaction: Cross-linguistic perspectives***

The relationship among culture, interaction and language continues to receive attention from a variety of analytic perspectives. For some scholars, finding a relationship between culture and interaction has meant searching for links between interactional patterns and underlying cultural values. Such an analytic move has made it possible to explain why people from cultures with divergent value systems have problems understanding each other (Gumperz 1982; Goddard and Wierzbicka 1997). Other researchers, for example Sacks (1992) and Moerman (1988), have suggested that the best way to understand a culture is through microanalytic investigations of social actions as they are accomplished in interaction.

In this panel, we aim to shed new light on the relationship among culture, interaction and language by describing and comparing data across different lingua-cultural settings, specifically Japanese, Korean, American English, Yucatec (Mexico) and |Gui (South Africa). Of these languages, Japanese and American English have already served as a particularly rich and provocative basis of comparative research (e.g., Yamada 1992, 1997). Not only have stark differences been noted in the Japanese and English grammars but cultural contrasts have also been drawn between the emphasis on interdependence and social hierarchy in Japanese society and the individualistic tendencies of people from English speaking countries. However, there is still little consensus concerning the degree to which connections can be made between the surface level of language use and underlying cultural principles. Questions that remain include: To what extent does culture influence language use and the organization of social interaction? How does the grammar of a language, in return, affect cultural practices and ideals? In what ways can detailed microanalytic investigations of language use enhance our knowledge of the surrounding cultural context? Conversely, how far must analysts delve into the cultural background of a language user in order to explain interactional phenomena? These are some of the leading questions that this panel attempts to speak to.

By including languages such as Yucatec and |Gui, our panel promises to go beyond prior comparative research. As non-European languages that have received relatively little attention in the literature, they present great potential not only for taking us past east vs. west dichotomies in cross-linguistic research but also for furthering our understanding of the intersection of language, culture and interaction. In order to explore our topic in as much detail as possible, each presenter will focus on specific linguistic features and/or interactional practices and provide in-depth accounts of the ways in which those features and practices are employed in social interaction. The aspects of language to be examined include deictic expressions, demonstrative pronouns, gerundive verb forms, hedges, honorifics, sentence-final particles, and spatial expressions. Among the linguistic practices focused on are co-construction in storytelling, consensus making, direction giving, expressions of opposition, overlapping, and topic shifting. Moreover, the panel also considers the utility of a number of analytic approaches to our topic, especially cognitive typology, conversation analysis, linguistic anthropology, and linguistic modality.

With the participants adopting different approaches, one striking feature of this panel is that the presenters will not always agree in their results and conclusions. For example, while one presenter will suggest

that some aspects of Yucatec language use are unique to the extent that they need to be explained by reference to specific features of the Yucatec cultural context, the presentation on |Gui will find correspondences with other languages and will even posit some universal aspects of conversation. Similarly, whereas the presentation comparing Japanese and Korean, two languages thought to be closely related, will identify subtle differences in interactional practices that may be linked to variances in cultural ideologies, one of the papers considering Japanese and American English, languages considered widely divergent, notes similarities in the interactional means used to avoid and terminate arguments.

The different interpretations advanced by the presenters will be crucial to enhancing understanding of our main topic. One central goal of the panel is to further the debates about the relationship among culture, interaction and language, and we will do so by including 11 presentations and 2 discussants. By adopting a cross-linguistic perspective to explore a variety of linguistic items and interactional practices, the panel will enable us to gain valuable insights concerning similarities and differences in the way that interaction is organized across cultures and to bring fresh perspectives on issues that have long been on the minds of linguists, communication theorists, and anthropologists.

## **Cornelia Ilie**

### ***Dialogue at the pragmatics-rhetoric interface***

The panel will focus on methodological/theoretical dialogue-related issues and on empirical frameworks of dialogue analysis. Its main purpose is to encourage interdisciplinary participation and to problematise central aspects of pragmatic, rhetorical and pragma-rhetorical approaches to the study of dialogue. The theme of the panel is meant to stimulate a wider discussion about empirical aspects of dialogue analysis, on the one hand, and about theoretical issues concerning pragmatic and rhetorical approaches to dialogue, on the other.

The panel aims at exploring recent and current developments in the pragmatics and rhetoric of dialogue studies, with particular reference to their respective constraints and possibilities of converging. The major programmatic question is the following: How can we use and/or develop appropriate empirical analytical methods and theoretical approaches in pragmatics and rhetoric to grasp the complex notion and process of dialogue?

Dialogue, as defined in the Bakhtinian tradition, is the conscious cooperative exchange of information and knowledge in the process of social interaction. This view assumes dialogue to be a particular epistemological form of communication that allows people to move on from old to new, or from familiar to less familiar perspectives on a topic. Dialogue, according to Jakobson (1953), is a more fundamental form of speech than monologue. It enables shifts in topic/subtopic, in focus and in emphasis. Forms of dialogic interaction depend on communicative practices (based on discursive conventions and cooperation principles) and on rhetorical traditions (based on beliefs, ideologies and cultural values).

Philosophers and rhetoricians, ever since Plato and Aristotle, have eloquently pointed out the pervasive role of dialogue in human communication. In modern times the contributions of philosophers (Grice 1975, Jacques 1989, Searle 1985, 2001) have had an important impact on the development of the linguistic pragmatics of dialogue. The theory of linguistic polyphony (Ducrot 1980, 1984, Roulet 1995, 1996) has been widely used by French-speaking pragmatists, whereas the theory of rhetorical argumentation (Toulmin 1952, Walton 1989, 1995) has had considerable influence on Anglo-Saxon pragmatics.

An essential step towards an integrated pragma-rhetorical approach is to develop a better theoretically and empirically backed understanding of the multi-level processes and forms of dialogue during which shifts in the participants' knowledge and beliefs, as well as interpersonal relations, are being articulated. It is critical to decide what can be taken as analytical starting points in the study of dialogue: the discursive turn-taking sequence, the pattern of interactional dynamics (emergence of disagreement and attempts of resolution), the interpersonal relations that evolve between dialogue participants, the rhetorical structure of dialogic argumentation (reason-claim links, the chain of supporting elements for a given view, counterarguments and refutation).

Rhetoric is traditionally oriented towards mapping the mechanisms of effective dialogic action both prospectively and retrospectively, whereas pragmatics is oriented particularly towards the retrospective uncovering of the socio-linguistic and psycholinguistic strategies of dialogue.

Pragmatics works mostly inductively by examining explicit discursive units and analysing implicit meanings in interaction, whereas rhetoric works both deductively, by focusing on the overall structure of the interaction, and inductively, by scrutinising intentional meanings and observable effects.

As dialogue participants, language users are engaged in an ongoing process of creating and transforming meaning. Confrontation of ideas/beliefs and critical questioning is an important aspect of dialogic interaction in institutional, semi-institutional and non-institutional settings. One of the main challenges that faces dialogue scholars is to find ways of using the appropriate models of analysis offered by both pragmatic

and rhetorical theories in order to better understand and explain the mechanisms of dialogic action, interaction and argumentation.

**Geert Jacobs and Henk Pander Maat**  
*Institutional perspectives on press releases*

While press releases have recently started to attract quite some interest, both in media and communication studies and within the broad field of linguistic pragmatics, so far little or no attention has been paid to the wide-ranging institutional contexts in which they are being used. For the first time then this panel proposes to bring together various perspectives on how these institutional contexts can be linked up with the language of press releases. In particular, the following institutional contexts can broadly be distinguished:

- (1) the organizations issuing press releases: including businesses (which have been the dominant focus in the analysis of press releases), government agencies and scientific communities
- (2) those who distribute press releases: international news agencies and specialized subscription-based press release distribution services
- (3) the media using press releases in writing up their own reports: from quality newspapers and tabloids to special interest magazines and internet newsletters

Some of the areas that are focused on include issues of self-reference, pseudo-quotations, the use of promotional language, structure (headlines, lead paragraph, boilerplate, etc.). One of our objectives is to help unravel to what extent these different institutional contexts can be linked up with the central concept of preformulation, which means that press releases are typically written in such a style that they need little or no reworking on the part of journalists. Equally, in exploring some of the institutionalized forces dominating today's newsmaking practices, we would also like to examine the limits of the concept of preformulation and to find out if there are any other constraints that impact on the writing and rewriting of press releases.

All contributions to the panel are based on empirical analyses of press releases, news reports and the institutional contexts in which they are used. The scope of analytical approaches and methods will enable us to address questions concerning methods of inquiry and investigation as well as reaching a deeper understanding of the complex discursive practices that lie at the heart of the news production process.

**Katarzyna Jaszczolt**  
*Expressions of Time in the Semantics/Pragmatics Interface*

Time can be expressed by a variety of means, including tense, aspect, mood, modal expressions, temporal adverbials, temporal connectives, particles, and a variety of other types of markers. This panel focuses on the relation between grammatical and lexical devices used to express temporality of events, states and processes and the content communicated by the speaker. The main purpose of this panel is to propose and assess theoretical accounts of the addressee's interpretation of expressions as temporal while the propositional content based on the logical form of the sentence provides very limited access to such interpretations. In other words, temporality is considered as a case for testing the adequacy of current proposals of the semantics/pragmatics interface, including the issue of semantic ambiguity, underspecification, and defaults. It is expected that the unity of the research question that underlies the contributions, as well as the unity of the framework broadly understood as post-Gricean, intention-based pragmatics, will generate a fruitful discussion on the interpretation of utterances that contain such problematic expressions of temporality.

For example, tense can be used as a device to signal the degree of the speaker's commitment to the conveyed proposition (see the abstract on Spanish Imperfecto, coercion and the nature of quotative readings). The signalling of evidentiality through tense results in a quotative reading of declarative sentences with Imperfecto. The paper on the Feature TENSE and the Simple Present in truth-conditional pragmatics addresses the interaction between the grammatical tense and the inferential input in producing utterance meaning. It focuses on the status of pragmatic inference in compositional, truth-conditional representation of utterance meaning as conceived of in truth-conditional pragmatics. A neo-Gricean, intention-based analysis is also provided for temporal expressions in Thai, a tenseless and aspectless language that relies heavily on pragmatic inference and default interpretations in recovering utterance meaning (see abstract 'Temporal defaults in Thai'). Next, the paper 'Promises and predictions: deriving deontic commitment from epistemic possibility' argues for the advantages of the speech-act analysis of expressions with future-time reference will with strong deontic commitment.

The additional strength of the panel is its cross-linguistic, and in the case of some contributions, also contrastive perspective (see e.g. the abstracts 'Temporal and non-temporal dimensions of the discourse relation ACCOMPANYING CIRCUMSTANCE' on Norwegian, English and German, and 'Semantic/pragmatic



constraints on temporality -- a comparative study between English and Korean'). The panel combines theoretical arguments concerning the semantics/pragmatics interface with a wide range of cross-linguistic exemplifications. Time can be expressed by a variety of means, including tense, aspect, mood, modal expressions, temporal adverbials, temporal connectives, particles, and a variety of other types of markers. This panel focuses on the relation between grammatical and lexical devices used to express temporality of events, states and processes and the content communicated by the speaker. The main purpose of this panel is to propose and assess theoretical accounts of the addressee's interpretation of expressions as temporal while the propositional content based on the logical form of the sentence provides very limited access to such interpretations. In other words, temporality is considered as a case for testing the adequacy of current proposals of the semantics/pragmatics interface, including the issue of semantic ambiguity, underspecification, and defaults. It is expected that the unity of the research question that underlies the contributions, as well as the unity of the framework broadly understood as post-Gricean, intention-based pragmatics, will generate a fruitful discussion on the interpretation of utterances that contain such problematic expressions of temporality.

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## **Gabriele Kasper**

### ***Politeness in Interaction***

Although previous theories of politeness differ in some important respects, the most influential proposals, those of Brown and Levinson (1987) and Leech (1983), rest on one or more of the following assumptions. 1. Politeness is grounded either in a set of social maxims or the social psychological construct of face. Either way, the theories adopt a rational actor model of politeness, focusing on speakers' goals and social motivations. 2. Social acts are understood as endowed with inherent relational properties and hence categorized as "face threatening" and "face supportive", or as "competitive", "convivial", "conflictive", and "collaborative", in abstracto, outside of activities in natural settings. 3. Likewise, the linguistic resources serving to "encode" politeness are seen as having fixed relational values. Nonverbal and nonvocal resources are not examined. 4. Social context, viewed as configurations of social variables, is the determining force in speakers' selection of politeness strategies. 5. Context factors assumed to have a bearing on politeness are prespecified and static. Typically such factors are confined to power relations, social distance, and the culturally variable degree of "imposition" inherent in a social act. 6. Politeness results from an actor's internal assessment of context variables in relation to the social act she or he is planning to perform. In other words, politeness as a form of linguistic behavior is conceptualized as a dependent variable, determined by the values of the context factors as independent variables.

Such thoroughly structuralist and speaker-centered theories of politeness have significant research methodological consequences. To a large extent though by no means exclusively, data-based studies have tended to be based on various forms of elicited data, such as discourse completion tests, roleplays, and forced responses to isolated language samples in rating scale or multiple choice formats. The rationale for these methodological options is that they generate research outcomes with external validity, i.e., their findings are generalizable to the social world outside of the laboratory, the world being seen as sufficiently stable and predictable to warrant such extensions.

Much of the previous critique of politeness theory, notably of the best articulated and most influential proposal, that of Brown and Levinson, has taken issue with the theory's claims to universality. Specifically, counter proposals have been offered that contend to be better suited to "non-Western" cultural contexts (e.g., Ide, 1989; Ide Yoshida, 1999; Mao, 1994; Matsumoto, 1989; Nwoye, 1992). This critique however does not get to

the more fundamental problem, viz. the static, deterministic relationship of context, linguistic resources, and politeness, and the notion of actors with little agency. A more radical critique invites reconsideration of the various theoretical accounts of politeness, including those designed to ameliorate the “Western” cultural bias. More recently, views of politeness as dynamically emerging from the interplay of social context, action, and linguistic resources have been offered, for instance by H.K. Cook (1996), Pizziconi (2003) and Okamoto (1999) for Japanese.

Poststructuralist and constructivist theories hold promise for alternative approaches to politeness that transcend the limitations of the rational actor model and the deterministic notion of context. Rather than viewing social contexts as static givens and politeness as residing in actions and linguistic resources as a stable property, poststructuralist perspectives emphasize the mutually constitutive roles of agency and social structure in situated, concrete activities. From this perspective, social identities (both claimed and ascribed), relationships, and contexts are seen as emergent, co-constructed and renegotiable in interaction through discursive strategies and linguistic resources. Theory and research adopting a view of politeness as interactionally emergent include associations of face and interactional structure from the perspectives of conversation analysis (Lerner, 1996), the dialectical view of conversation and social structure in social psychological pragmatics (Muntigl Turnbull, 1998), the “co-constituting model of communication” (Arundale, 1999), and the practice-theoretical “social model of politeness” (Watts, 2003).

Adopting different versions of poststructuralist theory, the papers in this panel reanalyze such central politeness-theoretical notions as ‘face’ and ‘discernment’, and bring their reconceptualizations to bear on a variety of authentic interactions and texts, including ordinary conversation, computer-mediated interaction, academic consultations, language proficiency interviews, and medieval literary texts. As the studies will report on English, French, German, Italian, and Japanese data, language-specific indexical resources with politeness-implicative import will be considered as well.

## **Napoleon Katsos**

### ***Experimental Pragmatics: the acquisition and processing of scalar terms***

This session will focus on how the acquisition and processing of aspects of speaker meaning can be investigated empirically, through methodologies developed in psycholinguistics and reasoning studies. The findings are informative for linguistic theories that claim psychological as well as philosophical validity (Chierchia forthcoming, Levinson 2000, Sperber Wilson 1995 i.a.) and demonstrate the feasibility of experimental approaches on traditional issues on the semantics/pragmatics interface.

More specifically, given a question «Was the exam easy?», an utterance like «Some of the students failed» can communicate that:

- (1) at least one student failed
- (2a) not all the students failed
- (2b) the exam was not easy

Part of Grice's (1989) revisionist strategy was to show that although a meaning component like (2a) seemed intuitively, to be on a par with other securely conventional components like (1), it may not be conventional at all. Grice's proposal was that such non-conventionally derived aspects of content could arise in the same way as the implication (2b) - that is, as a nonce inference premised on assumptions such as that the speaker is being co-operative, and on more specific contextual assumptions. There are of course differences between (2a) and (2b) that concern the phenomenology of the inference in (2a) and their ubiquity. On the one hand, the example in (2a) seems to lack the «indirectness» of (2b). On the other hand, the inference suggested in (2a), although conversational, appears to follow without much conversational context at all. Grice labelled implicatures which display signs like (2a) «generalised conversational implicatures», GCIs, and implicatures like (2b) «particularised conversational implicatures», PCIs.

One critical issue in the current literature of pragmatics revolves around the distinction between GCIs and PCIs and the similarities of GCIs to conventional aspects of meaning: the Neo-Griceans consider GCIs to be a distinct type of conversational meaning, different from PCIs (Gazdar 1979, Horn 1992, Levinson 2000 i.a.); other researchers suggest that GCIs may be in fact generated by the grammar, similar in a way to aspects of conventional meaning (Chierchia forthcoming); and others, following Grice, consider GCIs to be a proper species of pragmatic inference generated by the same principle that generate PCIs (Carston 1998, Sperber Wilson 1995). The first two approaches can be grouped together as the «default approach», since GCIs are generated by a system of default rules, perhaps grammar-like, and are qualitatively different from PCIs. The third view can be called the «contextual approach» since a single system of pragmatic inferencing that is sensitive to contextual assumptions accounts for both GCIs and PCIs. Theorists from the approaches mentioned above claim psycholinguistic as well as philosophical validity and have recently called for experimental confirmation of their predictions.

Research on implicatures has lately become central to various other fields, including language acquisition, sentence processing and reasoning studies. Questions in these fields include, among others, at what stage children can acquire implicatures (Gualmini 2003, Noveck 2000, Papafragou Musolino 2003, Pouscoulous Noveck 2004), at what stage children become sensitive to related structural factors (Crain, Gualmini Meroni 2003, Chierchia, Crain, Guasti, Gualmini Meroni 2001), whether implicatures are generated automatically, on-line, during sentence processing or whether the generation of implicatures must be further constrained (Bezuidenhout Cutting 2002, Breheny, Katsos Williams submitted, Katsos Breheny 2004, Storto Tanenhaus in preparation), whether reasoning fallacies can be attributed to pragmatic rather than purely logical thinking, and whether generating implicatures is an effortless or a resource consuming process (Noveck Posada 2003, Bott Noveck in press). Such research addresses key issues in psycholinguistics but can also provide empirical evidence for the linguistic-philosophical debate on the default generation of implicatures.

The proposed panel will draw together researchers with an interest in the semantics/pragmatics interface from areas such as language acquisition, sentence processing and reasoning. Each contribution will demonstrate how it is possible to extract testable psycholinguistic predictions from theoretical linguistic approaches, and will empirically address questions that have a bearing on the debate of default generation of GCIs. Issues include:

- \* When do children acquire the ability for pragmatic inferencing and at what stage do they become sensitive to relevant structural and/or contextual factors
- \* Are GCIs and PCIs acquired at the same stage, and how do they compare with the acquisition of conventional aspects of meaning
- \* Are there idiosyncratic differences among kinds of expressions that are considered implicature triggers (e.g. numerals vs abstract quantifiers)
- \* Are there structural and/or other types of constraints that guide online implicature generation
- \* Are GCIs and PCIs processed on-line in the same way
- \* What is the time course of generating implicatures and what psychological factors constrain it

## **Ritva Laury and Eeva-Leena Seppänen** ***The pragmatics of clause combining***

Several recent studies have challenged the traditional distinction between main and subordinate clauses. Thompson (2002) argues against analyzing English object complements as subordinate clauses, while Englebretson (2003) challenges the universality of complementation, which had been assumed by, among others, Noonan (1985). Likewise, several studies have indicated that clause types ordinarily analyzed as main clauses which include a complement-taking predicate, such as *I think*, have developed into epistemic phrases or discourse particles, thus making analysis of the associated complement clause as a subordinate clause impossible (Thompson 2002, Keevallik 2003, Kärkkäinen 1998, to appear, and Scheibman 2000). A similar, parallel issue concerns conjunctions which, in addition to functioning as complementizers or other types of clause-linking devices, also have other functions as sentence-initial and sentence-final particles (Keevallik 1999, 2000, Seppänen Laury to appear). In fact, elements ordinarily classified as conjunctions may be considerably more multifunctional than has been suspected. All of these issues lead us to question received conceptions of patterns of clause combining, the distinction between conjunctions and particles, and, to some extent, even the binary distinction between clauses and phrases.

This panel addresses a variety of issues connected with these broad questions in a number of languages (English, Estonian, Indonesian, Spanish, Finnish, and Japanese). Some of the questions we ask are:

- (1) What is the nature of the distinction between conjunctions and particles? Is one a subclass of the other? Is the distinction binary, or is it by nature a continuum?
- (2) And, related to the foregoing, what is the overall nature of
  - (a) the distinction between main clauses and subordinate clauses (e.g. main clauses as opposed to complement and relative clauses), and
  - (b) the distinction between clauses in general and lower-level syntactic phrases (e.g. clauses as opposed to epistemic adverbial phrases or noun phrases)Are these distinctions categorical, or are they a continuum?
- (3) In terms of syntax, semantics, discourse and pragmatics, how are clauses containing particles different from or similar to clauses containing conjunctions?
- (4) More generally, what is the possible range of grammatical use types that elements functioning as conjunctions may have, and how do the different use types link up with pragmatic functions? And
- (5) What are the grammaticalization paths involved in the development of conjunctions to particles, or vice versa?

Our crosslinguistic investigations of the relationship between structure and pragmatics indicate that the traditional distinction between conjunctions and particles, as well as the traditional distinction between main and

subordinate clauses, might in fact be more profitably viewed as continua. It also appears that, given that (many) particles and conjunctions are historically related, various uses of related forms are often indications of an ongoing change, and, finally, that structural distinctions can be shown to serve discourse-related and pragmatic ends in the interactional context of ongoing talk. In fact, through cross-linguistics studies of language in actual context, we have been able to discover that grammatical markers are actually markers for pragmatic meanings and functions.

**Maria Francisca Lier-De Vitto**

***Revisiting Austin and Grice: a critical account of pragmatic-informed approaches to communication and interaction in language acquisition, language pathology and speech therapy***

It could be stated that Pragmatics has become a common source of investigation for language acquisition and language pathology researchers, as well as for clinicians. The reason for such a theoretical-descriptive option or convergence could be attributed to the fact that Pragmatics has been traditionally concerned with communication principles and with the nature of specific social interactions. Therefore, the focus of that field of studies is directed to both the language users' intentions to convey meaning and the addressee's ability to grasp them, i.e., to interpretation skills. This panel session aims at examining whether pragmatic theoretical and methodological models have been consistently incorporated and applied in the above-mentioned areas. In fact, the papers to be presented in this panel assume, on the one hand, that the way approaches were adopted raises particular issues- more specifically, those related to clinical interaction/ communication. In order to develop critical arguments, Austin's concept of language as "speech act" will be revisited and carefully examined, as well as Grice's theory of conversational implicature. On the other hand, it is assumed that both children's language and symptomatic speech raise particular questions regarding subjectivity and the very nature of the speaker's utterances. It seems that accounting for the functioning of language is outside the scope of Pragmatics. Therefore, the discussion to be developed in this panel sessions aims at proposing an alternative way of dealing with both communication/ interaction and symptomatic speech, taking into consideration a linguistically-based theoretical approach to the functioning of language, which does not imply the subject speaker as an epistemic one (Saussure 1916; Jakobson 1954, 1916; Milner, J-C 1989; de Lemos, 1992, 2002).

**Tomoko Matsui**

***Pragmatics and Theory of mind***

In Gricean pragmatics, utterance interpretation is considered as essentially inferential reconstruction of speaker intentions on the part of the hearer. Typically, such inferential reconstruction of speaker intentions is constrained by various linguistic and non-linguistic clues provided by the speaker. The linguistic (and para-linguistic) clues include the words, the style and the prosodic features of the utterance. The non-linguistic clues include facial expressions, gestures, and other perceptual clues as well as aspects of background knowledge which are highly accessible at the time of utterance comprehension. Inferential reconstruction of the speaker's intentions is thus very much like 'mind-reading' in the sense used in the study of theory of mind, i.e. inferential reconstruction of the mental states behind someone else's action, constrained by behavioral and other perceptual clues.

It is widely agreed both in pragmatics and the study of theory of mind that attribution of mental states involves metarepresentation. In the research on development of theory of mind, passing 'false-belief' tests, typically between ages 4 and 5, is considered to be a developmental milestone, as it indicates truly representational (or explicit, conscious) understanding of mental states (Perner 1991). Here, having truly representational understanding is equivalent to being capable of understanding at least first-order metarepresentation, as in 'Peter believes that the marble is in the red box'. Issues concerning children's metarepresentational ability are also highly important in pragmatics (Sperber 1994; Sperber Wilson 2002; Wilson 2000). For example, understanding metaphors and ironies involves higher-order metarepresentations, and experimental evidence suggests that it typically takes 6 years or so before a child shows good understanding of metaphors, and for ironies, even longer. Pragmatically speaking then, passing false-belief tests around 4 years of age is just one of many stepping stones in the development of the ability to understand utterances. For this reason, pragmaticists are also interested in looking at younger children who can participate in communication quite capably, but who fail to pass false-belief tests. These younger children have been largely neglected in mainstream theory of mind research, but in terms of their communicative capability, they are potentially at the most interesting stage of development.

Furthermore, there are much more fundamental differences between mind-reading in the domain of communication and theory of mind in the behavioral domain. For example, Sperber Wilson (2002) argue that understanding of the mental states behind someone else's action involves different procedures or mechanisms

from understanding speaker intentions. Moreover, in communication, the hearer and the speaker are able to mutually recognize the speaker's intention, but inferring the mental states behind the non-communicative behavior of others crucially lacks such mutuality.

Thus, the proposed panel has two aims: (a) to clarify similarities and differences between the general mind-reading ability and the ability to understand utterances; and (b) to shed new light on central issues in theory of mind research from the viewpoint of pragmatics.

### **Bonnie McElhinny**

#### ***Language, Place and Political Ecology***

The anthropologist Scott Brosius has argued that “[o]ne of the more urgent tasks in the analysis of contemporary environmentalism is to understand the ways in which particular topologies—constructions of actual and metaphorical space—are discursively produced and reproduced” (1999:281). In response to this urgency, there has been an explosion of studies recently in the field some have dubbed "ecolinguistics" (Fill and Muhlhausler 2001, Bang and Door). Some scholars draw on the tools of critical discourse analysis, conversation analysis and interactional sociolinguistics to analyze the discourse of environmental debates, offering insights into how environmental issues such as acid rain and the privatization of water are covered in the mass media and discussed in legislatures, and how corporations and non-profits have seized upon “green” advertising strategies to promote their products (Alexander 1993, Gerbig 1993, Halliday 1992, Harre, Brockmeier and Muhlhausler 1999, Howlett and Raglon 2001, Jeffries 1993, Killingsworth and Palmer 1992, Liebert 2001, Myerson and Rydin 1996, Pardoe 1993, Richardson, Sherman and Gismondi 1993, Sidnell 2004). Others adopt a more ethnographic approach, to analyzing narratives, conversations and songs to offer nuanced accounts of people's understandings of land, nature, water and landscape. These works challenge anthropologists' deployment of landscape as a framing convention for discussions of other matters, and instead investigate place-making itself as a cultural activity, one in which language takes a central role (Basso 1996, Carbaugh 2001, Feld 1982, 1996, Feld, and Basso 1996, Frake 1996). These scholars use linguistic and semiotic analysis to explore the ways in which, as Raymond Williams put it, “the idea of nature contains, though often unnoticed, an extraordinary amount of human history” (1980:67). A third important strand of research issues considers metaphorical and actual parallels between language death and environmental devastation, and considers what knowledge about nature might be lost when languages are lost (Hill 1996, Fill and Muhlhausler 2001).

This panel pulls together scholars working in all three of these analytic traditions to consider how and why people in different institutions, at certain political and economic moments, choose or are constrained to choose certain discursive strategies in talking about environmental issues. All of the papers consider language and political ecology, with political ecology defined as the study of the manifold articulations of history and biology and the discursive and cultural mediations through which such articulations are necessarily established (see Escobar 1999:3), but the panel will also allow us, in the best tradition of the IPRA conference, to consider some of the important gaps in the international literature on ecolinguistics, to explore and discuss fruitful directions for future scholarship, and synthesize some of the existing, complementary approaches, many of them shaped by different national traditions for pragmatic analysis. The focus on both how and why environmental issues are framed as they are will allow the recent fruitful focus on language, ideology and hegemony with work in political ecology. Finally, we hope that the panel will prove pragmatic, in two key senses of the word: in considering a variety of strategies for analysis of these debates informed by pragmatics, but also in considering some of the uses to which such analyses can be put.

### **Sharon Millar**

#### ***The Discursive Construction of Identity***

The session examines the discursive construction of identity from a variety of theoretical and methodological perspectives, that of CDA, discourse analysis, linguistics, sociolinguistics, corpus linguistics, rhetoric and re-constructive social science, and from a variety of national and cultural contexts, e.g. Poland, Slovakia, Austria, Germany, France, Czech Republic, Northern Ireland, Israel, Denmark, England, USA. Diverse too are the identities being investigated, e.g. ethnic, national, supranational, gender, age, social and individual, and the data used, e.g. elicited and spontaneous spoken and written texts and interactions, institutionalised discourse (eg of history, politics, tourism, medicine). There is, however, a common theme to the session, that of time. By this is understood identity construction across the lifespan or across generations; historical perspectives on identity construction; the use of memory and history in the process of identity construction; changes in specific identities over time. It is hoped that the temporal focus will reveal the role played by age in the nature of discourse production, the role played by memories and history in the construction of identity and the extent of continuity

or change in not only the process of identity construction across time, but also the substance of identities across time.

### **Hedwig te Molder**

#### ***Conversation and cognition***

This panel brings together the latest developments in the debate on the status of cognition in the empirical study of text and talk. A cognitive understanding of human conduct has become the taken for granted background for much of modern science. With their emphasis on social action, conversation analysts and discursive psychologists have developed a different route to the understanding of human action. The success of these approaches has provided a context for a confident critical examination of what was traditionally understood as the relation between cognition and social interaction. The panel does not provide a unitary story of how (and if) cognition is related to discourse but offers a thought-provoking discussion of different approaches to this foundational issue.

The panel will consist of three presentations, followed by comments of two discussants and a general discussion between the audience and the panel members (including the discussants).

### **Sigrid Norris and Laurent Filliettaz**

#### ***Multimodal Discourse Analysis: Research from Different Approaches***

In this panel, we propose to bring together a number of scholars, who employ different approaches (as for instance Conversation Analysis and Ethnomethodology, Mediated Discourse Analysis, Modular Discourse Analysis, and Multimodal Interaction Analysis) to grapple with the complexities of human communication, analyzing language within and/or as a part of complex actions. Researchers in this panel have set out to understand how people communicate in varieties of settings while drawing on a multiplicity of modes, and as a result, incorporate nonverbal behavior and the material world into their studies of communicative action. For such incorporation of multiple modes to be possible, these researchers rely on video recording and computer programs to aid in data collection, transcription and analysis. While coming from different perspectives, all researchers in this panel have in common their quest for a better understanding of the complexities of human communication, building a multimodal approach that can be called Multimodal Discourse Analysis. The unity of the method of data collection and the diversity of approaches to multimodal discourse analysis demonstrates the breadth of this new direction of research.

### **Todd Oakley and Anders Hougaard**

#### ***Mental Spaces Approaches to Discourse and Interaction***

The theory of mental spaces and conceptual integration, elaborated by Gilles Fauconnier and Mark Turner (2002) is a decade-old enterprise that presently unfolds in academic circles on many levels of reflection and research. One important area of application is in the pragmatics of written and spoken discourse and interaction. In fact, one of the most attractive features of mental spaces theory is the programmatic significance it gives of local context and social interaction to cognition. Furthermore, the study of mental space construction within these domains may, we believe, contribute substantially to the development of the theory. Yet, mental spaces theory has not fully incorporate these issues into its investigations of meaning construction in natural language. This panel aims at further developing and critically examining mental spaces as a theory of (online) meaning construction in discourse and interaction.

### **Patricia O'Connor**

#### ***Investigations into Personal Agency and Identity Formation: Applications***

The papers in this panel address the productive intersections of discourse about the self in settings and situations that address rehabilitative or constitutive moments in a life. We will examine subject positions in the broad sense of seeing a self within personal and social frames of reference. Data analyzed will include elicited life story narratives, interviews, on-line postings and other contextualizing material that inform the understanding of the discourse. The panel will open with a short introduction of critical discourse perspectives that suggest that researchers apply linguistic analysis to help solve social problems. All members of the panel will briefly situate their research within the several disciplines that overlap as well as interrogate a rich study of discourse. Then the individual papers will demonstrate the critical stances through applications to the data from a variety of therapeutic settings.

The papers in this panel will look closely at words, speakers, and collocations in which semantics and pragmatics build upon each other in performances of identity that are situated in therapeutic settings where narrative resources are accessed as therapeutic discourse. After the contributors have each presented their work, we will open the panel for discussion. We are interested in having a closing round of discussion that not only interrogates the particular papers, but that also examines the philosophical underpinnings of these pragmatic approaches to discourse analysis. In particular we hope to open up discussion on Austin's legacy in showing how certain ways of "doing things with words" achieves compliance in therapeutic environments. We also wish to gain audience input on the ways that Vygotsky's social construction of concept formation and Wittgenstein's claim that "language gets its meaning in use" can be both affirmed and interrogated in these diverse data.

**Shigeko Okamoto and Janet S. Shibamoto Smith**

***The Construction of Japanese Women's Language: A Historical Perspective***

While recent research on Japanese language and gender has started paying more attention to diversity among women's and men's speech (Okamoto and Shibamoto Smith 2004), the field has long been dominated by essentialism, which characterizes "the Japanese woman" and her language—or jousego 'women's language'—in terms of a number of stereotypical linguistic features in Standard Japanese which are assumed to be distinct from those of danshego 'men's language'. This is, the panel argues, part of a larger issue in sociolinguistics and linguistic anthropology, where the focus of research interest has been on the "authentic" speaker, whether that speaker is held to authentically represent an ethnic group, a social class, or a sex/gender identity. Arguing that this focus on authenticity has led to projects of essentialism (e.g., "the" Japanese woman), Bucholtz (2003: 407) suggests that "[r]ather than attempt to track down authentic speakers, sociolinguists might instead devote more time to figuring out how such individuals and groups have come to be viewed as authentic in the first place and by whom" (emphasis added). Further we need to consider what bearings such "authenticity" have to real speakers as social agents. In short, we need to problematize what Bucholtz calls "ideologies of authenticity" aiming at clarifying both speakers' and linguists' relationship to the authentic.

This panel proposes to do precisely that, for the case of Japanese women's language. It offers a new look at (normative) Japanese women's language as a discourse which constructs social relations and knowledge rather than emerging from pre-existing (and "natural") social identities. Taking (ideal) Japanese women's language as historically constituted, the papers critically examine the process of constructing "authentic" women's language, or norms for linguistic femininity in Japanese through time. This includes a reexamination of the role of linguists themselves in this process. Research on Japanese women's language has mostly focused on its contemporary aspects. However, it is extremely important to historicize Japanese women's language in order to fully understand the implications for both linguistic practice and analysis. There have been only a few studies published in English on this topic (e.g., Inoue 2002, 2004), and there is a real need for more studies based on careful examinations of primary data that represent and/or discuss women's language from a historical perspective.

The panel consists of papers that investigate different historical periods, including both pre- and post-modern Japan: the pre-modern period, or before 1868; the Meiji and Taisho periods, or 1868-1912; interwar and WWII; and contemporary Japan. Examining a variety of primary data (e.g. metapragmatic discourses about women's speech in manner books and other historical documents; representations of women's speech in novels and other media), the panel investigates how norms for linguistic femininity have been constructed in specific historical contexts, and considers their ramifications for the linguistic practice of contemporary Japanese women. More specifically, the panel addresses several inter-related issues:

(1) The panel investigates the various agents responsible for the societal norm construction for women's speech at each historical juncture. It attempts to disentangle the roles played by groups, such as language planners, popular writers, and linguists/scholars themselves in this process.

(2) The panel also examines the question of what kind of language was regarded as an ideal women's language in each historical context and why. Special attention is given to the ideological underpinnings of the indexical process involved in linking femininity to general pragmatic meanings (e.g. speak politely, gently, and in a refined manner) as well as to specific linguistic forms (e.g. reference /address terms and sentence-final particles in Standard Japanese). As part of this examination, papers demonstrate the symbolic role played by particular speech varieties, such as nyooboo kotoba 'court women's language' and yamanote kotoba 'the speech of upper/middle class women in Tokyo'.

(3) In relation to the 2nd point above, the panel addresses the relation of Standard Japanese to normative linguistic femininity. Whereas general characteristics such as speaking politely, gently, etc. have been considered to constitute linguistic femininity across time, linguists' characterizations of Japanese women's language have tended to place more emphasis on specific forms in terms of Standard Japanese (e.g. sentence-final particles in SJ). The panel discusses this ideological bias and its relevance to the conceptions of linguistic femininity held by real speakers, the majority of whom are speakers of regional dialects.

(4) As a corollary of the third point, the panel interrogates the continuity and/or discontinuity between modern and pre-modern (ideal) Japanese women's language. Today's SJ-based variety identified by linguists as Japanese women's language has been claimed as a result of the State-led modernizing project of the early 20s century Japan to sever the tie from the pre-modern (e.g. Inoue 2002). Some of the papers reexamine this issue and argue that the relationship between modern and pre-modern (ideal) women's language is much more complex than can be captured by the continuity vs. discontinuity measure, and requires us to consider carefully who is regarding what as an ideal women's language, and how it may relate to the conception of linguistic femininity by real speakers, including speakers of regional dialects.

Throughout, it will be a contention of the panel that only a fine-grained analysis of the relation between the discourses of women's language at particular points in time, the prevailing social relations between relevant groups of women and men, and the ideologies which legitimate such relations will disclose the discursive practices that embody concrete relationships of power and influence as they manipulate the linguistic categories with which we think and act, and which act upon us.

### **Noriko O. Onodera and Ryoko Suzuki**

#### ***Historical Changes in Japanese: With a Special Focus on Subjectivity and Intersubjectivity***

Recent years have witnessed converging evidence on semantic-pragmatic factors leading to grammaticalization and lexicalization, prominent among which are subjectivity and intersubjectivity (e.g. Traugott and Dasher 2002, Traugott 2003). Inspired by this recent development in historical pragmatics, in this panel we will show some cases of historical changes in the Japanese language illustrating how subjectivity and intersubjectivity are operative in these changes. The presentations and discussions presented in this panel are expected to contribute to the clarification of the interrelations among subjectivity, intersubjectivity and historical language changes in general.

Previous works on historical changes in Japanese (e.g. Matsumoto 1988, Suzuki 1999, Onodera 2004) have uncovered pragmaticalization processes differing from those discussed in previous literature. For instance, Matsumoto (1988) and Onodera (1995) illustrated that a certain group of Japanese connectives such as *dakara* and *demo* have evolved from the clause-final connecting devices to free utterance-initial discourse markers. This evolution involves "scope increase" which violates a long-examined criterial feature of grammaticalization, "scope decrease". However, more recent works on the development of English discourse markers such as 'indeed' and 'in fact' (Traugott 1995, Tabor and Traugott 1998) resulted in the exclusion of "scope decrease" in favor of "scope increase", based on the analyses of the evolution of both English and Japanese discourse markers. (Brinton (2001) also shows "scope increase" as a new parameter.) Thus, case studies from Japanese may contribute to our understanding of the mechanisms of pragmaticalization, and even to the enhancement and construction of grammaticalization theory.

The focal notions of this panel, subjectification and intersubjectification, constitute the essential aspects of pragmaticalization. Subjectification is "the mechanism whereby meanings come over time to encode or externalise the SP/W's perspectives and attitudes as constrained by the communicative world of the speech event, rather than by the so-called 'real-world' characteristics of the event or situation referred to" (Traugott 2003: 126). Intersubjectification is "the semasiological process whereby meanings come over time to encode or externalise implicatures regarding SP/W's attention to the 'self' of AD/R in both an epistemic and a social sense" (Ibid.: 129-130).

All the papers in this panel take the interactive perspective toward language. We hold the view that language changes occur through interactions where culturally rigidly-defined norms are highly valued, hence, the speakers show their considerateness to their interlocutors with the use of various conversational strategies. Du Bois' (1985: 363) statement "grammars code best what speakers do most" would be an appropriate slogan for this panel.

As summarized here, this panel illuminates phenomena that have not received much attention in the study of semantic-pragmatic changes, and makes a new contribution to the on-going discussion on the universal theory of historical language changes.

### **Franca Orletti and Alessandra Fasulo**

#### ***Narrating in conversation***

The study of narrative covers a broad area in all social sciences, in fact it has been one of the most studied discourse genre from different perspectives from the first philosophical investigations to the most recent works on Discourse Analysis. Nevertheless, its potential for understanding the intersection between language and society needs further study and theoretical investigation.



Recent developments in Interactional Sociolinguistics and the rebirth of past approaches (such as Membership Categorization Analysis in Ethnomethodology) indicate that oral narrative is still a promising field in the area of social and human studies.

The panel proposed here gathers analysis of oral narratives taken from different languages (German, Italian, Spanish) and cultures (Chile, Italy, Israel, U.S.A.). These data come out from both scripted practices (interviews, talk shows, and so forth) and spontaneous interaction, studied from different perspectives:

- relationship between formal features (syntax, lexicon, prosody, discourse structure and sequentiality) and participation frameworks, types of activity, categorization practices;
- temporality. Starting from Labov and Waletzky's analysis, temporality has been considered a central feature of the narrative experience; the panel will focus on the relationship between external time and internal time;
- point of view and the formal structure of narratives (backgrounding/foregrounding devices, prosodic, phonological, lexical, morphosyntactic and discursive devices);
- categorization and time: ways of categorizing events, people and objects of past experiences can vary according to proximity and distance in time of the event being told;
- textual devices (cohesion and coherence, backgrounding/foregrounding devices);
- telling stories and context: narration is a contextualized and contextualizing activity. Narratives are interwoven with macro and micro contexts and also create future scenarios by enacting possible worlds; story-tellers and audience interact with the setting around them and its artefacts;
- co-construction and narratives: narratives can be jointly constructed by participants in interactions;
- narratives as a means to co-construct and share knowledge.

### **Jan-Ola Östman and Mirjam Fried** ***Context in Construction Grammar***

Over the last twenty years, there has been increasing interest in constructional approaches to language, where the notion of "construction" has gained general acceptance as a fruitful basis for building a usage-based model of how language functions cognitively and interactively. Research within this field has gone in several directions, ranging from explicitly formalized approaches in HPSG terms to the usability of the notion of construction within Conversation Analysis and Interactional Linguistics, covering areas of child language acquisition and grammaticization, semantics, discourse analysis, cognitive linguistics and pragmatics.

At the heart of all these studies are Construction Grammar (CxG) and its sister model Frame Semantics, as developed by Charles Fillmore and his colleagues at UC Berkeley.

This panel takes the original Fillmorean views as a starting point and suggests ways of how different aspects of what we informally talk about as "context" can be, should be, and need to be taken into account in CxG. The primary question is not how constructions are put to use in context or how context influences the acceptability of language as constructs, but how specific aspects of context can be systematically talked about and potentially formalized (even in terms of attributes and values), thereby creating tools that will lead to greater precision and explicitness in describing, accounting for, and ultimately simulating and explaining what goes on in language use. On a general level, the panel will also provide ways or directions for how to talk explicitly about contextual and general-pragmatic notions like inferencing, implicature, presupposition, and deixis.

The panel is introduced by an overview by the organizers, followed by eleven papers on eight different languages (both in speech and writing) that address context and constructions from different perspectives. One group of papers is more grammatically oriented (Bergs, Cappelle, Boogaart Janssen), showing how context needs to be incorporated in an adequate analysis of grammatical items; others are interactionally and dialogically oriented (Linell, Wide). Two papers (Deulofeu Debaisieux, Ohara) deal with concessives and how they have developed differently in various languages, due to various contexts. Three papers deal with emergence and frames (Terkourafi, Fried, Matsumoto) and show the importance of context in language change. The final paper (Östman) shows how constructions not only reflect context, but also construe contexts.

All the studies are empirically based and give an overview of the kinds of issues that are at stake in different cultures, and how these get realized in language. The papers also give concrete suggestions of what aspects of context need to be taken into account, and how.

### **Gabriele Pallotti and Simona Pekarek Doehler** ***Grammar-in-interaction and language acquisition***

The relation between grammar and interaction has attracted much attention in recent years, giving rise to a new line of research called interactional linguistics (e.g. Ochs, Schegloff, Thompson 1996; Selting Couper-Kuhlen 2001; Ford, Fox and Thompson 2002). Drawing from both Conversation Analysis and functional discourse perspective, this line of research argues that grammar cannot be seen as an a priori, independent system, which is

simply 'put to use' in everyday verbal interactions, but that it emerges from such interactions and is shaped by their organization. It has substantially changed the description of the linguistic system, while deconstructing some basic notions of more classical approaches to grammar. The central unit of analysis is not the 'sentence', as defined in traditional grammars, but the 'utterance' and the 'turn', which, before being considered as linguistic units, are seen as sequentially organized and mutually coordinated interactional moves. Grammar is thus an "emergent" system (cf. Hopper 1988), and is continuously created and re-created throughout courses of ordinary interactions.

This shift of perspective has far-ranging theoretical and methodological consequences. From a theoretical viewpoint, traditional descriptions of grammar as a set of 'rules' for combining morphosyntactic units, give way to a complex picture according to which grammar is "distributed" (Fox 1994) across turns, participants, contexts. The grammatical configuration of utterances needs to be accounted for by taking into consideration a multitude of dimensions: their actual shape may depend on turn-taking dynamics – which in turn is related to the "participation framework" (Goffman 1981) of the on-going encounter –, on the sequential organization of adjacency pairs (such as question-answer sequences), on speakers' orientation to the ongoing activities and on their mutual positionings. This radically challenges classic understandings of the linguistic system which assume the predictability of form-function pairings and a stable relationship between text and context. Instead, the grammar-in-interaction perspective underlines the situatedness of grammar: it explores the way linguistic forms are used by participants as a resource for organizing their interactions and how, in turn, social-interactional organization structures the linguistic resources put to work.

This panel discusses grammar-in-interaction in first and second language acquisition. The basic assumption is that grammar is not acquired previously and independently of the ability to interact, but that it develops from the verbal exchanges learners are engaged in even before they can articulate linguistic units. While this point has been clearly argued since the seminal work of Halliday (1975) for first language acquisition and Hatch (1978) for second language acquisition, the concrete inter-relation between interaction and grammar still remains a marginal theme in language acquisition research. Today, the grammar-in-interaction approach opens new possibilities for investigating the social and sequential organization of interaction as a constitutive dimension of (developing) grammars, showing that grammar and interaction need to be studied and explained together, not as separable and separate units.

Such an approach calls for an ecological perspective on language acquisition (Leather and van Dam 2002): language evolves in social contexts and its development can be understood only in relation to such contexts. This extends Bronfenbrenner's (1979) idea that all aspects of human development should be seen as dependent on, and related to, particular contexts, from the micro-level of the interactional move to the macro-level of group dynamics and institutional organization. A first set of questions to be addressed in the panel is thus the following: how does grammar develop in particular contexts and situations? how is it shaped by social and interactional features? how does it respond to the needs of participants?

A second set of questions relates to the perspective known as language socialization (Schieffelin and Ochs 1986; Kramsch 2002). Central to this domain of investigation is the issue of how "children and other novices are socialized through language" (Ochs 1996: 408), i.e. how they develop language skills while at the same time becoming members of a social group. Grammar acquisition can in this sense be seen as a case of situated learning, i.e. learning social practices while being gradually accepted as legitimate participant to these practices (Lave and Wenger 1991). The central question here is the following: what imprints do these socialization/participation processes leave on the language system under development?

Relating grammar to social interaction, from the immediately preceding move to 'culture' as a set of practices for organizing social life, makes the very concept of 'grammar' increasingly complex. Participants to the panel are invited to reflect on how traditional notions such as 'grammar', 'language', 'linguistic structures/units', 'rules' can be defined, operationalized, and described systematically from a perspective that sees them as inextricably linked to interactional practices. Papers are thus welcome which problematize such relationships in the field of language acquisition, proposing conceptualizations that allow for sound empirical research to be carried out in this field.

## **Theodossia-Soula Pavlidou**

### ***Subjectivity, identity and related topics in the pragmatics of the Greek language***

Linguistic work on Modern Greek is still characterized by a strong orientation to issues of syntax. However, in the last decade there is a growing number of linguists adopting a pragmatic perspective in their study of the Greek language. The purpose of the panel is to present recent pragmatic work using the Modern Greek language as its data source and examine how this evidence fits current pragmatic debates and aligns (or mis-aligns) with relevant theoretical approaches. The nine papers in the panel variously raise issues of subjectivity, gender, identity, etc., but also discuss the role of the medium of communication and the type/genre of speech.

Three papers in the panel focus on subjectivity from different points of view: in Athanasiadou,,s \*On the subjectivity of intensifiers in Greek,, two intensifiers of the maximizing group, entelos and teleios are examined in the light of Langacker,,s approach to subjectivity; using conversational data from classroom interaction, informal discussions, etc., Pavlidou Kappellidi (\*Speaking subjects, gendered stances,,) adopt a more comprehensive notion subjectivity and examine its interplay with gendered self presentation in discourse; finally, Politis Kakavoulia (\*Direct discourse in the Greek press: between evidentiality and subjectivity,,), on the basis of newspaper data, argue that direct discourse does not just ensure faithfulness to the original source, but is also related to the reporter,,s involvement in selecting the news and processing it. The issue of gender is taken up in the next two papers as well: in \*Indexing non-hegemonic masculinities in Greek,, Canakis, using linguistic data from various sources, isolates aspects in the construction of gendered subjects as emblematic of two polar gay masculinities; Georgalidou (\*Studying gender differences in the discourse of Greek children,,s play-groups,,), based on ethnographic observation, argues that differences between girls and boys in control acts are related to expertise and one,,s achieved position of relative power.

Further aspects of identity construction are taken up in the following three papers: in \*Constructing identities via humor: evidence from Greek conversational data,, Archakis Tsakona, using narratives from same gender groups of young Greeks, show how self-targeted humor helps legitimize the speaker and his/her actions; Spilioti in her paper \*Managing closings and intimacy in text-messaging,, explores how the interactional management of SMS closings intertwine with the interactants,, social roles and identities; the last paper in this group, Tsiplakou, Panayi Pandeli,,s \*Code-switching in computer-mediated communication and \*electronic performativity,, the case of Greek email users,, turns also to an asynchronous medium of electronic communication, and examines code-switching in relation to the construction of the particular sociolinguistic identity relevant to this medium. Finally, the notion of performativity, in its traditional manifestations, is taken up in Kitis,, \*Performatives and dia-lectics,, where the author, giving evidence from Modern Greek, underscores the intersubjective aspects of a class of verbs ordinarily used in the performative mode, thus providing ways out of the impasse in the debate on the nature of performative utterances.

Leading questions to be considered in the overall discussion include:

- a) What can Greek data contribute to our understanding of subjectivity, identity, gender, etc?
- b) Are the findings presented in the panel specific to the Greek linguistic system?
- c) To what extent are these results related to cultural aspects of the Greek society and/or the requirements of the communicative event?
- d) Is it possible to draw any kind of coherent picture of the \*pragmatics of the Greek language?

## **Salvador Pons Borderia**

### ***Approximatives***

This session tries to shed light on the nature of the pragmatic word class called "approximatives" (being "almost" the most prototypical example) by focusing on two aspects of their meaning: first, the relationship established between their "proximal" and their "polar" meaning components (Horn 2000).

Second, the exploration of cases in which a semantic change is triggered. This change leads approximatives to express not only proximity to a limit (e.g., almost, expressing ~p but also the probability that p can be reached "He almost succeeded"), but to cross the border between positive and negative (e.g., Sp. casi: "Casi sí", lit. "Almost yes", meaning "Yes". Schwenter 2002).

This kind of semantic changes affects other elements (like the so-called expletive negation –Pons Schwenter, forth.) or domains (especially, the temporal domain).

The papers in this session will all explore aspects of these problems, which purport, in a very definite line, to the gricean heritage.

## **Sükriye Ruhi and Helen Spencer-Oatey**

### ***Identity and the Study of Face and (Im)Politeness***

Face and (im)politeness are widely discussed and debated in the pragmatics literature. This panel aims to enrich our understanding of these concepts by examining them from the perspective of identity (including self-presentation). It draws together research into different types of identities, including role identities (such as leaders, mentors, TV hosts) and group membership identities (such as Pakeha, British, HK Chinese, Episcopalean), and examines how these identities impact upon the (mis)management of face/ (im)politeness. In addition, it considers the conceptual insights into identity and self-presentation that different (sub-)disciplines can offer face and politeness theory. Papers from different (sub-) disciplines (such as sociolinguistics, cognitive linguistics, social pragmatics and social psychology) are included in order to promote the cross-fertilisation of ideas. It is expected that the panel will not only stimulate debate and discussion on the topic, but will promote

the development of effective new ways of conceptualising and analysing face and (im)politeness in relation to identity, and will encourage more interdisciplinary work in exploring the links between social and cognitive approaches to pragmatic phenomena in social interaction.

**Jennifer Saul / Emma Borg**

***Pragmatics in the Philosophy of Paul Grice***

Paul Grice's work has been of enormous importance to both philosophy and pragmatics. This session is devoted to exploring some of the implications of this work. The papers in the session all begin with Grice as their starting place, but then they proceed in very different directions.

Wayne Davis and Emma Borg's papers focus on Grice's theory of implicature. Davis's paper discusses the relationship between speaker meaning and conversational implicature, arguing against Mitchell Green and Jennifer Saul that conversational implicature must be understood as a kind of speaker meaning. Borg pursues the psychological implications of conventional and generalised conversational implicatures. In particular, she explores their implications for modularity hypotheses in philosophy of mind.

Michael Nelson and Jennifer Saul focus on Grice's distinction between saying and otherwise conveying. Saul discusses the relevance of this distinction to distinctions for which many have claimed moral significance: those between lying and misleading, and between lying and accidentally saying something false. She argues that Grice's own version of saying (rather than others more recently proposed) best captures our intuitions about these very natural distinctions. Nelson takes Grice as his starting place, but argues for a new way of distinguishing saying from implicating. He then explores the implications of this view for demonstratives like 'that' or 'she'. According to Nelson, these terms fail to contribute anything to what is said by sentences (in contexts) containing them. Instead, he argues, their contributions should be understood solely in terms of implicatures.

The papers in this session form a diverse group. But together they show the breadth of impact of Grice's work in pragmatics on philosophy— not only on philosophy of language, but also on philosophy of mind and ethics. In addition, they demonstrate the ways that considerations from these areas of philosophy can aid in interpreting and building on Grice's work in pragmatics.

**Petra Sneijder and Sally Wiggins**

***The analysis of weight talk***

Weight and body size issues are increasingly the topic of social sciences research and media debate within western societies. However, much research in this area overlooks the interactional and discursive features of 'weight'; how it is constructed, negotiated, and bound up with identity, subjectivity, and so on. This panel addresses this issue head on. It brings together researchers working broadly within discursive and conversation analytic frameworks to examine the everyday pragmatics of 'weight talk'. Data are taken from everyday interaction between teenage girls and professional women, mixed-sex conversations in Japanese, family mealtimes, NSPCC helpline calls, and internet discussion groups. The analyses of these data reveal the complexity of how weight issues are embedded within everyday concerns and practices, and will demonstrate the importance of applying discursive and pragmatic approaches to this topic area. We hope to stimulate discussion around the potential – and the limitations – of such approaches, and to make connections with other topics where similar issues might arise. For instance, weight talk often raises issues of accountability, agency, identity and subjectivity; all of which are central to many linguistic concerns.

**Robert Stainton**

***The Semantics-Pragmatics Boundary from the Perspective of Cognitive Science***

The topic of the panel is the use of techniques and results from the cognitive sciences in attempting to trace the divide between semantics and pragmatics. The general methodological issue of whether and how such data can be relevant will be addressed. There will also be several examples of specific questions about where the boundary lies (e.g., Is there a semantic aspect to metaphor? Are there pragmatically supplied unarticulated constituents in the literal truth conditions of utterances?), and specific data from the cognitive sciences that seeming bear on the question.

**Laura Sterponi**

***The Spirit of Reading: Practices of reading sacred texts***

Starting from the assumption that reading is a situated activity historically contingent, ideologically grounded and culturally organized, the proposed panel offers an analysis of different practices of reading sacred texts. The panel embraces a multidimensional and interdisciplinary approach. The presenters' analyses go beyond textual exegeses by considering: (1) the materiality of sacred text as cultural artifacts, (2) community's meaning and scope of the practice of reading sacred texts, (3) participation roles and reading modalities.

Reading as situated practice is ephemeral and dynamic; it is not entirely inscribed in the text and leaves poor traces behind (de Certeau, 1984). This conception constitutes the foundation as well as the challenge for the proposed panel: We are faced with the task of capturing the variations that differentiate the 'readable space' – i.e. the texts in their material and discursive forms – and those that characterize the circumstances of their 'actualization' – i.e. reading as activity embedded in broader cultural/religious practices, the reading modalities being employed and the configurations of participation in the focal events. Thus, different dimensions – usually separate domains of inquiry, investigated by different research traditions – define the matrix of the investigation: analysis of texts, deciphered in their forms and contents, structures and themes. Attention focuses on the semiotic resources (e.g. words, images, musical notations) being employed and their interplay in drawing readers into sensori-motor, interpretive and emotional involvement with the sacred text. In Medieval Christian tradition, for instance, books of hours, typically relatively small in size and richly illuminated, have been instrumental in the diffusion of individual devotional and reformation practices. Individual reading spread even to those believers who had only a rudimentary reading ability and in a moment in time when reading was overwhelmingly a collective practice. The juxtaposition of excerpts of biblical text, referring back to broader narratives, and illuminations, usually indexing other texts and external sources, scaffolds the practice of reflection and memory exercised upon the focal text. In this manner, the multi-semiotic configuration of the book of hours afforded a kind of reading intimately interconnected with memorizing and remembering. Moreover, it prompted an interpretive procedure that was concurrently literal and metaphorical. Ultimately it projected the devout reader into meditation and embodiment of virtuous life (Huot, 1996).

In contemporary Spanish-based religious classes (*doctrina*) among Mexican immigrant children in California choral reading and reciting of prayers, led by the teacher, preludes to teacher-student question-answer exchanges. While designed to consolidate students' memorization, these dyadic exchanges scaffold children's interpretive involvement, outlining preferred readings of religious texts (Baquedano-Lopez, 1999).

In different historical epochs and religious communities reading praxis has assumed different meanings and scopes. It is thus crucial to investigate reading ideologies and their manifestations and reproduction through norms and conventions defining the legitimate uses of texts, the reading modalities, and the procedures of interpretations for each community of readers. Although devotional reading constitutes a fundamental practice in Christianity, Judaism and Islam, "reading" has in each of these traditions different meanings. In some communities, it refers to the ability to decode the written text into the correct sounds without necessarily understanding their meaning. This is the case in reading the Koran in Muslim communities (Moore, 2004) and in ritualistic reading of the Zohar in contemporary Southern Moroccan Jewish communities (Bonfil, 1995; Goldberg, 1990). Reading as a practice of devotion and a means of moral and spiritual growth, is not primarily an intellectual exercise but, rather, it prioritizes an involvement deeply rooted in the intertwining of the emotional and sensori-motor experiencing of the text. Religious literacy has also constituted a form of cultural resistance: In sixteenth-century Castile and Aragon, Muslim communities forcibly converted to Christianity continued to practice Islam clandestinely primarily through literacy practices of texts' reproduction and communal reading in Arabic script (Barletta, 2003).

In the early Rabbinic tradition, embodiment constituted the primary manifestation of sacred texts, the medium of textual transmission as well as the display of textual apprehension: In the late antiquity until the Middle Ages, the texts of Rabbinic teachings were transmitted orally, vocally delivered in face-to-face encounters between sages and disciples (Jaffee, 1999, 2001). While written versions of those Rabbinic texts existed, they were not regarded as authoritative source nor used for pedagogical purposes. The primacy of the voice over the page needs to be contextualized within a particular system of social relationships – that of Rabbinic discipleship – and linked with a religious ideology – centered around the figure of the Rabbinic sage, who had internalized the Rabbinic texts and had become their human embodiment. The apprentices had thus to learn to read the sacred texts embodied in the master's acts and, ultimately, to become themselves living texts (Jaffee, 2004).

In conclusion the panel offers original insights into practices of reading sacred texts. In so doing it shows that the "spirit" of reading is not ethereal but rather intricately structured by historically rooted social conventions and cultural ideologies. In this sense, reading positions one in a web of socio-culturally stipulated relations between bodies, minds, and texts as artifacts and symbols.

**Donna Tatsuki**

***Film and television speech data in language teaching and research***

Although film and broadcast media use in language teaching is strongly encouraged, there has been little written about the use of these media for the teaching and research of pragmatics. With the exception of Rose (2001) on compliments, and Kumagai (1993) on remedial interactions, there are virtually no pragmatic analyses of film dialogue whereas, television interviews and news programs have been well studied using conversation analytic or discursive approaches to investigate a number of issues of pragmatic interest. The papers in this multiple paper presentation include: 1) research on the linguistic properties and pragmatic features of teacher /learner selected popular films, 2) comparisons between film, broadcast media, natural data and government sponsored language textbooks of speech act realizations and conversational events, 3) an illustration of how a corpus concordance /search tool can be used to compare and evaluate formulaic/lexical chunked expressions in films and textbooks, and 4) a practical demonstration of how films sequences can be used for the teaching of such pragmatic speech acts as apologies, complements, invitations, requests, and offers to university-level students. The session will close with comments from a discussant who will outline some of the future directions for this area of research and pedagogy..

**Alessandro Tavano and Paola De Fabritiis**

***Development of Verbal Pragmatic Abilities in Children: Empirical Studies***

**Aim:** The primary aim of the contributions to this panel will be to provide systematic empirical data on the developmental trends of pragmatic verbal skills in Italian preschool and school-age children, both with typical and atypical language development. Particular attention will be given to some key aspects of pragmatic competence, e.g. adjustment to the informational needs of the partner, comprehension of non-literal language, and alternative communicative strategies to convey one single meaning.

**Background:** In the last 30 years, the development of pragmatic abilities in children has become a topic of central interest in psychology and linguistics. Conceiving of pragmatics as appropriate context-related use of language, many specific topics have been investigated over the years, from prelinguistic communicative skills as a prerequisite for language acquisition (Bates, Camaioni Volterra, 1979) to the role of interactive input in structuring children's grammar (Slobin, Gerhardt, Kyratzis Guo, 1996). Psychological studies of the development of referential communication have employed complex tasks in which the child is to compute the degree of perceptual availability of the target to both speaker and hearer, in a given environment, and to select and convey the most relevant features for the target to be effectively individuated by the hearer. It seems that only at age 6 do children show evidence of the necessary interplay of different information sources needed for completing a referential communication task (Di Sano Colla 2001). Such results are closely linked with research on other verbal pragmatic abilities which also require the computation of the relevance of an information for a hearer in a context. In this perspective, particular interest has been shown for the study of implicit meaning and a great deal of experimental work has derived from a reconsideration of H. P. Grice's (1989) definitions of inferential meaning and figurative language, with special reference to the development of metaphor, idiom and irony understanding (Wimmer, Rosenstiel Gardner, 1976; Evans Gamble, 1988; Levorato Cacciari, 1994; Nippold Taylor, 2002). The application of Relevance Theory (Sperber Wilson, 1986/1995) to the development of pragmatic abilities has also provided theoretically consistent results on how children gradually become able to manage implicit meaning comprehension, with special reference to implicatures (Papafragou Musolino, 2003).

However, at present systematic data on the development of verbal pragmatic skills in preschool and school-age children are still lacking. We argue that theoretically sound systematic data are needed in order to better understand the developmental trends of different verbal pragmatic abilities (from referential abilities to metaphor comprehension).

We further assume that knowledge of the psychological processes underlying pragmatic skills in children can be gathered also by comparing the performance of normally developing children with that of children who present with neurogenic communication disorders. This neuropsychological perspective may allow a better understanding of the psychological processes underlying the differential development of specific verbal pragmatic abilities.

Actually, neuropsychological research suggests that children with Developmental Language Disorders (DLD) may present with a specific and long-lasting impairment in the processing of implicit meaning and/or in producing coherent discourse (Bishop Adams, 1989). Children who are impaired in interhemispheric callosal transfer due to agenesis of the corpus callosum (ACC), a structure of the brain that allows for hemispheric communication, do seem to show pragmatic deficits with respect to implicit meaning and prosody comprehension (Dennis, 1981; Brown Paul, 2000). Furthermore, Brown and Paul (2000) described cases of ACC who exhibited a peculiar narrative style, characterised by a marked omission of mentalistic terms. Finally, it has been widely shown that autistic children present with a constellation of pragmatic deficits ranging from interaction to implicit meaning, which may be attributed to the child's failure to understand the relevance of other people's inner states such as beliefs and desires (Happé, 1996).

Methods: The contributions to this panel present systematic data on the development of some of the major verbal pragmatic skills in Italian children with normal development and children with atypical development. However the panel is open to contributions from languages other than Italian. Results from both formal and ecological assessment procedures are illustrated.

Results: The contributions to this panel will illustrate the developmental trends of some major verbal pragmatic abilities. In particular, it will concentrate on how children gradually learn to: a) apply strategies to solve referential problems; b) understand others' intentions; c) understand metaphors, idioms and prosody; d) use both grammar and pragmatics in telling an effective narrative.

By combining data on normal development with data on atypical development, this panel is meant to provide up to date insights into the cognitive and linguistic processes underlying verbal pragmatic skills.

## **Jan ten Thije**

### ***Receptive multilingualism and intercultural communication***

As a consequence of immigration, mobility and internationalisation various new forms of multilingualism have emerged in Europe. One of the more recent multilingual developments concerns a very interesting phenomenon that is conceived in different ways: for instance, as 'pluri-lingual discourse' (Clyne 2003), 'semi-communication' or 'receptive multilingualism' (Braunmüller / Zeevaert 2001).

Receptive multilingualism can be defined as passive competence in a foreign language, and it is based on minimal linguistic knowledge of the similarities between the foreign language and the mother tongue. It concerns a speaker-focused accommodation that can be successful due to its substantial 'face keeping potential' (Braunmüller / Zeevaert 2001). The hearer accommodates the speaker to such an extent that the latter is permitted to use the more elaborated speech action repertoire of his/her first language; whereas the former has to understand him/her from his/her more constrained (second) language competence. Since both interlocutors are confronted with the same (dis) advantages, they have equal access to the intercultural understanding. Therefore, receptive multilingualism can be considered as a sophisticated form of intercultural discourse (ten Thije 2003 a,b).

For a long-time, receptive multilingualism has been found in bilingual families and multilingual day-care centres all over the world. Children and adults interact in different languages simultaneously. Furthermore, in Scandinavia, Switzerland and other European countries receptive multilingualism has been studied in various institutional settings. Moreover, it can be found in border regions as a form of language contact between closely related languages. It can also be found in interpreting situations in which the participants have some command in the languages involved, so that receptive multilingualism becomes an alternative for the achievement of communicative purposes next to interpreting. Recently, receptive multilingualism has also become a way of speaking in international business communication and professional teamwork in multinational organizations. Employees try to profit from their receptive linguistic competencies in various foreign languages in order to increase their intercultural understanding. This kind of pluri-lingual face-to-face collaboration also becomes increasingly important in the academic world, due to the rapid development of international networks. Subsequently, one observes an increase of e-mail exchanges that use two languages next to each other successfully. Moreover, academic conference presentations and discussions use often an multi- and receptive multilingual mode.

## **Ken Turner**

### ***Making semantics pragmatic***

This panel aims to explore the nature of the semantics-pragmatics interface by examining the extent to which the analysis of certain expressions or constructions may be pragmaticized. This interface has typically been conceived in the following terms:

If one makes the ... assumption that it is more generally feasible to strengthen one's meaning by achieving a superimposed implicature, than to make a relaxed use of an expression (and I don't know how this assumption would be justified), then Modified Occam's Razor would bring in its train the principle that one should suppose a word to have a less restrictive rather than a more restrictive meaning, where choice is possible. (Grice 1989, 48).

The panel takes its cue from the following recent observation:

There is every reason ... to try and reconstrue the interaction between semantics and pragmatics as the intimate interlocking of distinct processes, rather than, as traditionally, in terms of output of the one being the input of the other ... Current work on semantic generality and underspecification is generally conservative, modifying and relaxing older logical formalisms and sense-representations in the direction of more open structures. But we cannot rule out the possibility that much more radical rethinkings of the concepts of semantic representation are

in order. These are surely among the most important current questions in the theory of meaning. (Levinson 2000, 242 and 376-7).

Some generally conservative applications of the strategy that Levinson hints at have recently been attempted. Thus, Borg (2004) makes the case for a framework that employs a weak truth-conditional semantics and an intrusive pragmatics. Barker (2004) attempts to displace the Fregean foundation of much traditional and current semantic theory and to reconstruct a formal pragmatics on the basis of speech acts. Gibson (2004) reconstructs the proposition on a pragmatic foundation by arguing for its contextual nature. Hanna and Harrison (2004) re-orient much of the philosophy of language into a later-Wittgenstein direction and Atlas (2005) refines the initial Gricean strategy with a partial semantics that is supplemented in various contexts with a variety of pragmatic inferences.

This panel intends to exploit some of this current momentum and to provide a platform for theoretically oriented papers and empirically motivated analyses that make a case for pragmaticisation. It is anticipated that not all parts of a linguistic system will yield to a pragmatic treatment, however. Although the title of the panel implicates that the theoretical and descriptive burden will move from semantics to pragmatics, the possibility remains that certain expressions or constructions are more economically and elegantly treated in semantic terms. Thus, this panel also welcomes papers that address the topic of 'Making pragmatics semantic'. The conjunction of these perspectives should increase resolution on the semantics-pragmatics interface.

### **Eduardo Urios-Aparisi and Elisa Baena** ***Metaphor and Figurative Language***

Any theory on meaning and language nowadays needs to define metaphor and figurative language within its theoretical parameters. Figurative language has been considered a deviant use of language, which belonged to literary texts. Figures or tropes such as metaphor, metonymy, simile, irony, hyperbole, repetition, were the topics of rhetoric and literary criticism. As the research on pragmatics and cognitive science has established itself, figurative language has found a central position in the discussions on questions such as the relationship between language and thought, emotions or literal and non-literal meaning.

Some of the main pragmatic theories (Grice 1989 [1968], Searle 1996 [1979] and Sperber and Wilson 1995 [1989]) explain the processing of figurative language as part of the strategies or cognitive processes of nonfigurative language. In cognitive linguistics, metaphor in particular has had a central role. Lakoff and Johnson (1980) consider that this figure is a mental process which determines the way we conceptualize our experiences. New theories focus on cognitive processes such as blending theory and the theory of mental spaces (Fauconnier 1994 and Turner M. and G. Fauconnier 1995). Psycholinguistics, linguistic anthropology, translation studies, metaphor in visual language and semiotics have approached this topic and have made significant contributions.

In sum, figurative language is essentially a multidisciplinary topic of research. Although research has approached the relationship between the cognitive and discourse sides of the phenomenon of figurative language or the different figures (see Goatly 1997, Goossens et al. 1995, Cameron and Low, 1999, Dirven, ed., 2002), there is a tendency to compartmentalize the individual figures while the connections and overlapping tend to be minimized, and metaphor in particular tends to be considered either as an exclusively cognitive phenomenon which has a secondary linguistic manifestation or as a linguistic phenomenon with a cognitive side which is situated within a particular discourse.

The differences between the approaches on this topic are at a theoretical and methodological level. For instance, according to the exclusively cognitive approach, metaphor is a matter of thought and not language, and it generally favors an empirical methodology. Therefore, metaphor is a cognitive mechanism which underlies how our cognition functions, or how it can influence our views of the world (see Santa Ana, 2002). According to the other view which could be called a discourse approach, it tends to stress its socio-cultural basis and its presence and use in discourse (see Cameron 2003, Urios-Aparisi, 2004). To connect and to set the stage of the discussion between different views on this topic is necessary in the vein of recent publications in order to understand the complexity of the phenomenon (for instance, see Cameron 2003).

Consequently, this panel is a perfect opportunity to set the stage to further the relationship and associations between these approaches. It will give the participants the opportunity to draw the connecting lines between them and, thus, to advance our understanding on the common topics and intersecting questions.

### **Tuija Virtanen, Dieter Stein and Susan Herring** ***The Pragmatics of Computer-Mediated Communication***

Although various aspects of computer-mediated communication (CMC) have already been given attention by scholars from a number of disciplines, including a panel on the mediated status of language in CMC relative to



spoken and written language at IPrA Toronto, pragmatic dimensions have not been fully accounted for as yet. There are indications that the technical medium in combination with the external pragmatics of the communication situation result in significant modifications and adaptations to a number of pragmatic dimensions of CMC, ranging from pragmatic in the narrower sense of speech act conditions to sociopragmatic aspects such as politeness and genre.

In this panel we bring together an international and interdisciplinary group of scholars to present current research that addresses computer-mediated communication from pragmatic perspectives. The topics covered include the various ways in which the technical constraints and communicative conditions of Internet communication and SMS determine what kinds of structural slots occur and when the absence and modification of traditional structural slots, such as greetings, openings and closings, counts as polite or impolite. They also determine the ways in which interactional coherence is manifested under the specific conditions of the medium.

Other papers address the issue of new genres. What are general properties of new genres and how do new computer-mediated genres relate to neighbouring genres in spoken and written media? The newest genre addressed in the proposed panel is the weblog; other genres analysed include Instant Messaging, SMS, email, and various types of documents on the World Wide Web. The genres discussed here offer innovative ways of constructing identities, such as via nicknames, as well as different “grammars” of abbreviations and shortenings.

An interesting pragmatic dimension that is studied in several papers is the way in which analogous external, technical factors may lead to culture-specific effects. The papers in the panel describe CMC produced in different languages and different cultural contexts, including English in the UK and the US, French, German, Italian, Spanish, Swedish and Turkish. The importance of cultural factors emerges especially in the studies dealing with aspects of politeness as well as in the analysis of the way different cultural presuppositions affect how discourse is constructed in terms of audience design.

Our goal in organizing this panel is to bring together cutting-edge research on the pragmatics of CMC in order to advance knowledge about this relatively new, increasingly popular, and dynamically-evolving means of communication. In so doing, we hope to forge ties with existing pragmatic theory as regards speech acts, performativity, coherence, politeness, genre, and culture, as well as to advance theoretical understanding of pragmatics through integrating technological mediation as an explanatory variable for language use.

**Jacqueline Visconti and Daniel Collins**

***Speech Acts in Legal Discourse: A Comparative Perspective***

As Trosborg (1995: 1) observes, "With a few exceptions... the study of pragmatic functions of legal discourse has been almost totally neglected, and an analysis of features of legal language at the discourse level has hardly begun." To redress this lacuna, Trosborg suggests that one of the goals of future research should be "the comparison of aspects of legal discourse across languages and cultures" (ibid.: 5). While the work suggested by Trosborg ten years ago is now well under way, much remains to be done, particularly in the area of cross-linguistic, cross-cultural comparison. The goal of the panel "Speech Acts in Legal Discourse: A Comparative Perspective" is to address these research gaps by bringing together scholars investigating the interaction between pragmatic force and social factors in legal discourse, in both written and oral form. The panelists will examine speech acts in legal institutions from a variety of traditions and cultures and from different time periods. Four crucial questions will be addressed in the papers and in the group discussions: (i) which linguistic patterns can be chosen to realize comparable speech acts in different types (genres) of legal discourse; (ii) how different linguistic realizations of pragmatic force across languages reflect differences in the corresponding legal systems and institutions (e.g., in common vs. civil law discourse); (iii) how the power inequalities of legal institutions are reflected on the locutionary level; and (iv) how fine-grained analyses of legal discourse can benefit from the most recent research on speech acts, including 'new' categories such as 'overruling' (Charnock forthcoming).