

Studies in Comparative Pragmatics

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Edited by

Hartmut E. H. Lenk,
Juhani Härmä,
Begoña Sanromán
and Elina Suomela-Härmä

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PREFACE

CURRENT ISSUES IN COMPARATIVE PRAGMATICS: INSIGHTS INTO LINGUISTIC AND CULTURAL ENCOUNTERS

JUHANI HÄRMÄ, HARTMUT E. H. LENK,
BEGOÑA SANROMÁN VILAS
& ELINA SUOMELA-HÄRMÄ

As a fairly recent¹ branch of study, pragmatics has rapidly established its position as one of the most fertile and dynamic fields of linguistics, along with another burgeoning field, discourse analysis (also sometimes referred to as text linguistics). Both domains examine communication and interaction, one of the differences being the expanding interest of pragmatics for communication between speakers with different linguistic backgrounds and representing different cultures. This does not necessarily involve the use of two or more languages, since communication can take place through one lingua franca, which emphasizes the social aspects of human interaction by pointing out the preference for a certain language as the basis of a vehicular language. The two mentioned disciplines, pragmatics and discourse analysis, complete each other and their interplay can lead to excellent results, as seen in the contributions of the present volume.

Not only linguistic but also social aspects are present in the situations described in the contributions of the present volume, which is centred on

¹ The first linguistic handbooks or introductions containing the word “pragmatics” seem to have been published in the 1970s, which is also the case for discourse studies.

the comparison of different types of language usage in two or more languages. The term “comparative pragmatics” is to be understood broadly, “comparative” referring to linguistic as well as to cultural contexts or situations and, thus, being more extensive than e.g. the term “contrastive” would suggest. In current pragmatic discourse, multi-perspective/multimodal methods can be seen as one of the best ways to understand language use in context. This is also reflected in this volume, which adopts an interdisciplinary approach to pragmatics and focuses on the comparison of a wide selection of languages, including English, Estonian, Finnish, French, German, Japanese, Persian, Polish and Swedish. Indeed, the fact that these articles have been written in more than one language properly reveals the spirit of present-day communication, that is, that language knowledge cannot be confined to just one major language that should be adopted everywhere.

This volume is one of the very rare publications in this area, in which every topic is analysed by comparing its use in at least two different languages, or by contrasting the use made by native and/or non-native speakers—for instance, learners of foreign languages or speakers of a lingua franca. The two or three languages may be genetically related, but may also belong to totally different language families. This ensures entirely new points of view and approaches. Pragmatics will be the main connecting factor, but not the only one. Other central keywords or concepts linking the articles are culture, discourse, interaction, language use in the media and sociolinguistics. Both oral and written materials are objects of study, which properly reflects again the multifaceted approaches which tie the contributions together.

The articles deal with, among others, grammatical expressions, prosody, text types, conversation strategies, politeness and speech acts, which occur in different social interactions as well as in multicultural environments, including e. g. foreign language acquisition. Foreign language teaching and acquisition are of course, as could be expected, one of the major recurrent themes in this volume.

Elizabeth Couper-Kuhlen’s contribution, “Comparing language use in social interaction”, brings to the fore the scope and validity of the results obtained by comparing language use within an interactional linguistic framework, as well as methodological questions. The chapter presents two studies comparing English and Finnish. The former analyses a form-oriented investigation of division-of-labour structures. The latter is an action-oriented research comparing the practices for implementing a directive action and its repetition. The outcomes show that, even if in both languages similar formats are used for the same action of division-of-

labour and an analogous directive action is materialized with similar expressions, the two languages do not completely overlap. As a consequence, language-specific collateral effects are generated that raise further questions which deserve attention.

Patricia von Münchow investigates how German and French school-history textbooks deal with National Socialism and World War II. In the first part of her paper, she presents the basic concepts of her cross-cultural discourse analysis—a model that is located at the crossroads of French discourse analysis, text linguistics and cross-cultural studies. A special focus lies on the detection and interpretation of the unsaid. In her analysis, she shows that textbook authors are more or less caught up in a network of discursive rules on what to say, what not to say and how to say or not to say it. But this network is developing, and the rules and “memory regimes” in both countries and discourse communities are changing. Some facts and presentations, which used to be dominant in the official historical discourse, have become less prominent, but might still appear in the textbooks. Statements that were almost banned from the mainstream public discourse are now accepted, but still need to be presented with caution. Others are still very sensitive but may be expressed by other means, like photos or maps.

Jean Bazantay and Chantal Claudel compare manifestations of empathy in formulaic expressions of consolation and encouragement in Japanese and French. In discussing the concepts of routine and ritual, the authors conclude that French expressions could be considered as routines, whereas in Japanese politeness is expressed by ritual *aisatsus*. The authors then examine the expression of empathy in emails. Even if formulaic expressions appear in both languages, where they tend to lose their initial semantic value, Japanese emails show a greater concern for the addressee and a stronger valorisation of empathy than the corresponding French messages.

Mari Wiklund’s and Martti Vainio’s paper presents and analyses different subjectively salient, prosodically characteristic speech types occurring in mildly autistic preadolescents’ speech. Autistic people often have deviant prosodic features in their speech, and the paper focuses on the following types: 1) flat (monotonous) pitch; 2) large pitch excursions; and 3) bouncing pitch. In addition to the phonetic descriptions of the phenomena, the paper discusses the other participants’ possible reactions to these prosodic features, and occurrences of the features are studied in a larger context from an interactional point of view. The data come from authentic group therapy sessions during which 11- to 13-year-old Finnish-

speaking boys (n = 7) and French-speaking boys (n = 4) talked to each other and their two therapists.

So-called “Gesprächswörter” as German words with the function of discourse markers and/or particles are the subject of Jörg Kilian’s paper written in German. His contribution includes the perspective of historical lexicography and grammar as well as aspects of didactics of language acquisition, especially of foreign or second language learning. Kilian shows that these words were part of dictionaries and grammars already from the 17th century, which offers possibilities for ambitious and thus motivating tasks in language courses for both native speakers and second-language learners of German. The analysis of historical texts in the classroom puts school students with different backgrounds on a similar level. However, existing German textbooks unfortunately fail to present useful exercises in this regard, as the analysis of some examples shows.

Marge Käsper examines the means that French has at its disposal to express the effects of discursive complicity, which is created in Estonian by the particle *ju*. The analysis of this particle brings together evidentiality and epistemic modality, orality and argumentative rhetorics, as well as German and Swedish equivalents. The study of academic texts (human and social sciences) belonging to the parallel French-Estonian corpus CoPEF reveals that in order to render the nuances pertaining to *ju*, French resorts to various connectors (*car, en effet*). As to translations from French to Estonian, *ju* is used when the French text contains modalisations and rhetorical questions.

When looking for minor pragmatic differences, in several cases the utterance in French tends to give instructions for interpretation to the reader, while in the Estonian text the interpretation sources (indirect reported speech, for instance) and results (agreement with the utterance) tend to be presumed.

Magdalena Adamczyk’s paper, “Polish non-nominal *coś* in a cross-linguistic perspective: Insights from translation material”, examines the different meanings of the Polish expression *coś* when employed as a particle. The research uses qualitative methods based on translation material. Accordingly, the author compiles a collection of the uses of the particle and asks a group of qualified professionals for their translation into English. Adamczyk analyses the results identifying all the English equivalents and classifying them according to their different meanings and the function they express. The outcomes of the study show that *coś* is a context-dependent expression, by means of which the speaker can communicate notions of uncertainty, imprecise knowledge or even small quantities of abstract entities, among others.

Maryam Mohammadi exploits the pragmatic potential of speech act conditionals (SACs) used as responses to polar questions. The author shows that an answer such as *If you want to take the train, the next one leaves in 20 minutes* to the question *Has the train to Berlin left yet?* provides more detailed information than a simple *yes*. Based on the fact that English and Persian behave similarly in this respect, Mohammadi designs an experiment separately involving American and Persian informants with a set of pre-elaborated dialogues to validate the acceptability of SACs as adequate responses in a conversation. Results indicate that informants in both languages accept SACs as indirect answers without significant differences, although Persian informants display more varied opinions than Americans.

Outi Toropainen and Sinikka Lahtinen examine language learners' pragmatic competence by focusing on explicit apologies in a text-based communicative writing task written in Finnish and in Finland Swedish. The produced texts were assessed according to the Common European Frame of Reference (CEFR) scale and compared with native speakers' productions. Although language proficiency has a certain effect on the forms of apologies and the results show a lack of contextualised teaching, variants of *sorry* appear on all levels, including native speakers. This can be explained by the generalisation of colloquial youth language influenced by English.

Vicent Beltrán-Palanques's contribution to the volume, "Multimodal pragmatics in FL interactions: The case of complaints and responses to complaints", uses a multimodal conversation analysis approach to study the interlanguage pragmatics of Spanish learners of English. In particular, the study examines audio-visual recordings of one complaint-response to complaint sequence elicited by two Spanish learners of English. The object of the study is to explore how learners construct talk in a role-play task, which involves a complaint situation, using different linguistic and extra-linguistics resources such as head movement, gaze, gestures, etc. Among the outcomes, the study shows the pragmalinguistic resources that learners are able to display at a particular proficiency level. Moreover, the task helps learners to be more aware of the interaction between different semiotic resources to convey meaning in face-to-face interaction.

Katharina Beuter's article deals with repair in English as a Lingua Franca (ELF) in different types of interaction between Tanzanian and German school students. Even if ELF interactions are considered quite unproblematic in spite of high linguacultural diversity, Beuter's study demonstrates a variety of repair mechanisms at work in adolescent ELF interactions used for negotiating meaning and including some relational

implications. These exchanges constitute a formally diverse and functionally versatile cooperative achievement and they are open to other-involvement in repair, often avoided by adults for reasons of politeness.

The editors wish to thank the authors and the anonymous reviewers for their engagement with this volume. We also thank Cambridge Scholars Publishing for their ready cooperation. Our special thanks are due to Eva Havu who has participated in the editorial work in an extraordinary way. Our thanks extend also to Enrico Garavelli, and to the steering committee of the CoCoLaC² research community at the University of Helsinki.

² CoCoLaC stands for *Contrasting and Comparing Languages and Cultures*, see <https://www.helsinki.fi/en/researchgroups/comparing-and-contrasting-languages-and-cultures>.

PART I:

**DISCOURSE PROCEDURES,
SOCIAL PRACTICES, AND PATTERNS
OF INTERACTION**

CHAPTER ONE

COMPARING LANGUAGE USE IN SOCIAL INTERACTION

ELIZABETH COUPER-KUHLEN

1. The comparative program of Interactional Linguistics

The framework for this chapter is **Interactional Linguistics**, the conversation-analysis or CA-informed study of language as used in social interaction (Couper-Kuhlen & Selting 2018). There have been two prior edited collections of CA papers dealing with comparative approaches to talk in interaction: Haakana et al (eds) 2009 and Sidnell (ed) 2009. As Haakana et al (2009) point out, CA is “a comparative approach at heart” (p. 16): interactional phenomena are identified and analyzed through comparing and contrasting instances in a data set of relevant data. But above and beyond the comparison of practices *within* a data set, we also find comparison *across* data sets in CA. The data sets being compared can be composed of talk from different types of interaction and in different settings (e.g., ordinary vs. institutional talk; telephone vs. face-to-face interaction; or dyadic vs. multi-party conversation). Or the data sets being compared can be based on different types of participants (women vs. men, adults vs. children, native vs. non-native speakers, ‘normal’ speakers vs. those with communication disorders). Finally, talk in interaction can be compared across languages and cultures in CA (Haakana et al 2009). It is this latter type of comparison that I will be dealing with here.

Conversation Analysis provides a framework for the comparison of languages and cultures because it assumes that there are **generic** interactional problems that participants must deal with when they interact with one another, regardless of what language they are speaking or which culture their interaction is embedded in. Different languages and social systems provide **local** resources which are mobilized for solving these problems (Sidnell 2009). What are the generic problems needing resolution in social interaction? Schegloff (2006) enumerates these as follows:

1. How to determine who talks next and when
2. How to shape turns at talk for the implementation of actions
3. How to sequence actions so as to form coherent courses of action
4. How to deal with trouble in speaking, hearing, and understanding
5. How to formulate talk in a way designed for a particular recipient
6. How to structure an interactional encounter overall

As Schegloff explains, for each of these concerns there are systems of organizational practice designed to handle them—i.e., turn taking and turn construction, action formation, sequence organization, repair, conversational opening and closing routines—and generic principles such as *recipient design*¹ to guide them. What differs across languages and cultures are the specific resources and practices for implementing these organizational systems, their “local inflections” (Sidnell 2007; Couper-Kuhlen & Selting 2018, 549).

In this chapter the focus will lie primarily on the second and third problems listed above: How to shape turns at talk for the implementation of actions, and how to sequence actions so as to form coherent courses of action. That is, I will explore different ways of using language to carry out specific actions in turns and sequences of turns at talk. I will refer to the recurrent use of particular linguistic forms for the implementation of specific actions as *practices*. At issue will be the relation between resources, practices, and actions in different languages and cultures, specifically here in English and Finnish.

In exploring the relation between resources, practices, and actions, there are two approaches that can be taken:

- a) We can start with a particular linguistic resource and ask what actions that resource serves as a practice for implementing (*form-driven approach*); or
- b) We can start with a particular action and ask which resources different languages mobilize as practices for the implementation of that action (*action-driven approach*).

In what follows I will use two examples from my own research, one taking the first, the other taking the second of these approaches. The discussion

¹ ‘Recipient design’ refers to the fact that the actions a speaker undertakes and the linguistic resources a speaker mobilizes to implement these actions are “selected and configured for who that other is...and shaped by reference to who the recipient relevantly is at that moment, for this speaker, at this juncture of this interaction” (Schegloff 2006: 89).

will deal with the insights that can be gained from comparing the way English and Finnish speakers manage the interactional tasks involved. But first I address some of the methodological problems involved in a research agenda such as the one outlined above.

2. Methodological problems in comparing language use in interaction

Each approach to cross-linguistic comparison of language use in interaction brings with it specific methodological problems.

2.1 Form-driven approaches to comparing language use in interaction

If we take a form-driven approach to a comparative study of language use in interaction, one of the first problems we encounter is determining which forms in different languages should be considered equivalent (on the assumption that these categories are relevant for interactants in the first place: see Ford et al 2013). What counts as the ‘same’ or equivalent grammatical or phonological category in two different languages? The grammatical category of *clause*, for instance, might be thought to exist in most, if not all languages. But a clause in English is not the same as a clause in Finnish: *lause* in Finnish is always finite, but *clause* in English can be finite or non-finite. Things become even more complicated when we look further afield, e.g., at Japanese. In this language, clauses (verb phrases together with the elements that accompany them, i.e., their complements or arguments) do not appear to play a prominent role in conversation at all; instead, ‘complete’ utterances tend to be simple predicates: arguments are not necessary (Laury et al, frthc).

As for phonology, languages have different phoneme inventories and they make different use of tonal distinctions. Is it at all meaningful to make cross-linguistic phonetic and prosodic comparisons if the phonological units of the languages concerned are not commensurate? This is a significant challenge. Yet Dingemanse et al (2013) have shown that it can be done at an appropriate level of granularity. They have identified the sound sequence *huh?* as a universal practice for the other-initiation of repair across a range of widely diverse languages. In the ten unrelated languages investigated, the initiation of repair by other was always done monosyllabically with an unrounded vowel sound located in the low front region of the vowel space; if there was a consonantal onset, it always approximated one of the glottal phonemes in the language’s inventory; and

the intonation was invariably calibrated to the local norms for interrogative prosody. That is, at an appropriate level of generalization, the authors were able to identify a common phonetic-prosodic substance for what they claim is a universal ‘word’.

A second problem with the form-driven comparison of language use in interaction is how to deal with divergent frequencies. Even if we can identify roughly equivalent linguistic structures across languages, their frequency of use may differ radically in different cultures. For instance, most, if not all languages have a grammatical structure equivalent to what we call ‘imperative’ in English (Aikhenvald 2010). This structure serves in a wide variety of languages as a resource for the action of requesting, or recruiting, another to do something which will benefit oneself. Yet if we look at how often imperatives are used to make requests in everyday interaction, we find surprising differences. According to Zinken & Ogiermann (2013), imperatives are vanishingly rare in British English requests, but they are the standard form for mundane requests in Polish. As the authors point out, the frequency with which requests are made in ordinary conversation in the two cultures can hardly be expected to differ significantly; instead what seems to differ is how speakers perceive, or conceptualize, the situations in question. The authors argue that by choosing polar question formats when making a request, British English speakers are displaying a respect for the other person’s autonomy, while in choosing imperative formats Polish speakers are orienting to a perceived sharing of concerns, commitments, and motivations with the other. They argue that such values are “part of the fabric of social life across communities” (p. 275).

There are thus methodological problems involved in trying to compare the way linguistic forms are used for interactional purposes across languages and cultures. However, the difficulties are not insurmountable if caution and care are exercised: categories must be chosen advisedly and the level of granularity adjusted accordingly. The possibility of divergent frequencies must be reckoned with and accounted for.

2.2 Action-driven approaches to comparing language use in interaction

A different set of problems arises if we take an action-driven approach to comparing language use in interaction. Although there is good reason to assume that the infrastructure of conversation is universal across widely divergent languages and cultures (Levinson 2006), the devil lies in the detail. Can we really assume that social actions are equivalent across cultures? Our action terminology is highly Anglocentric: for instance, as

Wierzbicka (2012) points out, what we call ‘advice’ in English corresponds only imperfectly to its equivalent in Russian. Moreover, the associated ‘cultural scripts’, ways of thinking about particular actions including the norms and values associated with them, can differ significantly from culture to culture. While ‘advice’ in English, in particular when it is unsolicited, is commonly perceived as indirect criticism, in Russian thinking it is perceived as an affiliative display of care and concern for the other (p. 318).

A further problem arises through so-called ‘collateral effects’ associated with the means particular languages use to carry out a given action. A good example of this has been identified by Sidnell & Enfield (2012) with respect to the action of agreeing with a prior assessment from a position of greater epistemic authority (that is, laying a claim to knowing more, or knowing better, about an object or state of affairs that the other has just evaluated, although basically agreeing with their evaluation). Sidnell & Enfield compare the means used to do this in Caribbean English Creole, where speakers rely on ‘if’-prefaced repetition; in Finnish, where verb repetition with an overt pronominal subject is used; and in Lao, where a factive perfective particle is common. The authors argue that the different resources mobilized influence the way the action is carried out in each language. Each of these devices has its own affordances and is used in the respective language for other purposes as well; these other affordances and uses ‘seep’ into and color the action’s implementation in language-specific ways. They bring ‘collateral effects’ into the way the same action is accomplished in different linguistic communities and have potentially differing implications for what happens next in the interaction (see also Couper-Kuhlen & Selting 2018, 550f).

In sum, we cannot always be sure we are talking about the ‘same’ action across languages and cultures, and second, different forms implementing the ‘same’ action cross-linguistically will invariably bring in their own colorings based on what else these forms are used to do. Yet this does not necessarily mean that we should throw up our hands in despair and not make any attempt at cross-linguistic comparison at all. Instead we should proceed with caution, being aware of the pitfalls we may encounter in doing so.

I turn now to two concrete cases of cross-linguistic comparison in my own research, one of which could be said to be form-oriented in approach, the other action-oriented. In both cases the two languages being compared are English and Finnish. These studies were carried out jointly with Marja Etelämäki, who analyzed the Finnish data and contributed significantly to the findings. What follows is heavily indebted to her input.

3. Case study 1: Division-of-labor formats in English and Finnish

It was an observation made on the following data extract that led to the discovery of a partially sedimented form called the ‘division of labor’ format (Couper-Kuhlen & Etelämäki 2014, 2017):

(1) “Barbara” (nb025-3)

(Emma’s husband Bud has left her after a quarrel. Now Emma is trying to enlist her grown daughter Barbara’s help in persuading Bud to come down to their beach condo for Thanksgiving dinner.)

```

1 Emm: nYeah, .t.h W[ILL YOU HELP M]E OU:T OF [THI:S:,]
2→Bar:      [O k a y .   ]      [Yeah ↑I]’ll call
3→   him to|ni:ght,hh
4      (0.2)
5⇒Bar: [And you can] call] [me]
6 Emm: [A:LRIGHT  ] DEA:]R[.h][h.hh]
7⇒Bar:      [↑You] call me at n:nine tomorrow
8⇒   ↓mo[rning.
9 Emm:      [.t Alright darling I APPRECIATE *I[T.
10 Bar: :      [Oka:y,
```

The division-of-labor format found here involves two clauses, the first of which makes a commitment on the part of the speaker to carry out a particular action (*I’ll call him tonight*, lines 2–3) and the second of which directs the interlocutor to carry out a coordinated action (*you can call me* (line 5) revised to *you call me at nine tomorrow morning*, lines 7–8). The two clauses are conjoined with the additive conjunction *and* (beginning of line 5).

As it turns out, this is a robust pattern in English: *I’ll do X and you do Y*—or with the reverse order: *You do X and I’ll do Y*. The interlocutor is instructed to do one thing, and the speaker commits to doing something related; together the two actions divide the labor involved in what is construed as a joint venture.

Interestingly, a similar division-of-labor format is also found in Finnish conversation. Here is an example:

(2) “Kahvi” (Sg94_B01)

(Sepe has called his friend Simppa’s house in order to check whether Sepe and his partner can come over for coffee. It turns out that Simppa is not at home.)

- 1 Sepe: =me 'ltiin tulos kahville
1PL be-PST-PAS-4 coming-INE coffee-ALL
we were coming for coffee
- 2 sinnepäin mut tota noin ni (.)
DEM3.LOC.about PRT PRT PRT PRT
there but
- 3 täytyy nyt oottaa ku se Simp:pa
Ø have.to-3 PRT wait-INF when DEM3 Simppa
Ø needs to wait now until Simppa
- 4 tulee sieltä takasi.
come-3 DEM3.LOC back
comes back from there
- 5 Vera: nii tulkaa e illemmalla.
PRT come-IMP.2PL evening-COMP-ADE
yes come later in the evening
- 6 (0.6)
- 7→Sepe: mno [↑soit:]tele< t (.) tännepäin sitte ku<
PRT call-FRE-IMP DEM1.LOC.about then when
well give us a call here when
- 8 Vera: [(vai)]
(or)
- 9 (.)
- 10 Vera: joo:
PRT
yeah
- 11→Sepe: =ku se on ö paikalla ni m: (.) [me tul]laan.
when DEM3 be place-ADE PRT 1PL come-PAS-4
when he's back and w- (.) we'll come
- 12 Vera: [joo:]
PRT
yeah
- 13 Sepe: [↑.jeh]
yeah
- 14 Vera: [>selvä<,
okay
- 15 Sepe: ↑tehään näin.
let's do it that way.

In this case the action that the interlocutor is to carry out is mentioned first (*↑soit:jtele< t (.) tännepäin sitte_ku =ku se on ö paikalla* ‘give us a call here when- when he’s back’, lines 7+11), while the related action that the speaker commits to is mentioned second (*me tullaan* ‘we’ll come’, line 11). That is, the order here is first a ‘you’ clause and then a ‘me’ clause. However, this structure can be said to be equivalent to the one shown in (1): in both cases, the actions are mentioned in their ‘natural’ chronological order.

Marja Etelämäki and I have found numerous examples of the division-of-labor format in English and Finnish, and in both languages it appears to be used in similar sequential environments for the same purpose: to distribute the work involved in making a request or offer, or in complying with one. In Extract (1) Emma has requested Barbara to call Bud; Barbara uses the format in complying with her request. In Extract (2) Vera has offered to host Sepe and his partner later that evening; Sepe uses the format in accepting her offer.

Moreover, the two languages make use of similar forms for dividing the labor, in that one of the clauses refers to second person and the other to first person. However, there is more morpho-syntactic variation in the way the clauses are built in Finnish compared to English. In English we find, for instance, for the ‘you-me’ order:

‘You’ clause	Connective	‘Me’ clause
<i>You</i> IMP X	<i>and</i>	<i>I’ll</i> Y
IMP X		
<i>Why don’t you</i> X		

But in Finnish we find (in somewhat simplified form):

‘You’ clause	Connective	‘Me’ clause	
IMP X ‘do X’	<i>ni</i> ‘then’	1 PASS Y ‘we’ll Y’	
DECL-2 X ‘you do X’		DECL-1 Y ‘I’ll Y’	
DECL-3 X ‘∅ does X’		1 DECL-1 Y ‘I’ll Y’	
<i>jos</i> DECL-2 X ‘if you do X’		1 DECL- COND-1	‘I’d Y’
<i>jos</i> DECL- COND-2 X ‘if you’d do X’			

Compared to English, there are more morpho-syntactic choices in Finnish. This is partly due to the fact that a zero-person form (Laitinen 2006) can

be used in the first clause and a passive form with first-person plural meaning (Shore 1988) in the second clause.

However, there are also forms that represent morpho-syntactic possibilities in both languages, yet are used in only one of the languages. This is the case for the negative interrogative + *why* in English (*Why don't you X*) and for the conditional clause combination *jos...ni* ('if...then') in Finnish. Like English, Finnish has negative interrogatives with the equivalent of 'why', but they are not used in division-of-labor constructions. Like Finnish, English has conditional clauses linked with the equivalent of *jos ... ni*, but they are not used for divisions of labor in our materials. This study thus shows that two languages can have the same resources but deploy them differently as practices.

Moreover, the study raises the possibility of there being collateral effects associated with the different means for realizing a division-of-labor proposal. The collateral effects come about because other uses to which the same forms are put color their use. For instance, with conditional clause constructions (and conditional verb inflections) in Finnish, divisions of labor may come across as more tentative and negotiable by comparison with English, given that these forms are also used in other contexts to bring contingency to the fore. In the latter language, divisions of labor can appear in contrast to be achieved by *fiat*.

To sum up: This was initially a *form-oriented* investigation of division-of-labor formats in English and Finnish. These formats are used for the same action in the two languages: distributing or sharing deontic rights and responsibilities in request and offer sequences. In the course of the investigation it emerged that the formal means for implementing this action in the two languages do not fully overlap. Each language has its own peculiarities. For instance, there are resources that are present in one language but are absent in the other: this is the case with zero-person declaratives, passive forms for first-person plural reference, and conditional verb inflections, all of which are present in Finnish but absent in English. However, even when the resources are the same or equivalent in the two languages (negative interrogatives with a question word asking for a reason and bi-clausal conditional constructions), these resources can be deployed differently as practices. Finally, there are collateral effects detectable with the use of conditional clauses and conditional markings on the verb in Finnish which are absent in English.

4. Case study 2: Insisting on imperatively formatted directives in Finnish and English

I turn now to an *action-oriented* study comparing the practices in two different languages for implementing the ‘same’ action (Etelämäki & Couper-Kuhlen 2017). This study began with an observation from the following directive sequence in Finnish conversation:

(3) ”Sää tulet tänne näin” [SG 355]

((Jaana and Jaska have invited Mirja and Mikko over to their house to celebrate *pikkujoulu* ‘little Christmas’. As Mirja comes into the living room to join Jaana and Jaska, Jaska sits down in one of the two armchairs.))

- 1 Jaana: käykää istumaa ny,
step-IMP.2PL sit-INF-ILL PRT
sit down now ((to everyone))
- 2 -> älä sää siihe parhaasee tuali[i (mene),
NEG.IMP[2SG] 2SG DEM3.SG-ILL best-ILL chair-ILL (go)
don’t you [sit] on the best chair ((to Jaska))
- 3 Jaska: [>totta kai<,
sure I will
- 4 [mää oon isäntä °tä^s°,
1SG be-1SG host here
I am the host here
- 5 Jaana: => [e:i ku et,]
NEG PRT NEG-2SG
no but don’t [you]
- 6 => sää tulet tänne näi,
2SG come[IND]-2SG DEM1.LOC.ALL
you come right here
- 7 (0.2)
- 8 Jaana: [tänne sohvalle,
DEM1.LOC.ALL couch-ALL
here on the couch
- 9 Mirja: [kyä mää mee tänne sohvalle,
PRT 1SG go.1SG DEM1.LOC.ALL couch-ALL
indeed I will go here on the couch
- 10 Jaana: ei [ku Mikko ja Mirja is-
no but Mikko and Mirja si-
- 11 Jaska: [em mää tu, EM mää me siihe,=
NEG-1SG 1SG come NEG-1SG 1SG go DEM3.SG.ILL
I won’t come I won’t go there

In line 2 Jaana directs her husband Jaska not to sit in the best armchair, which she would like to reserve for her guests (actually Jaska is already sitting there). When he resists this directive on the grounds that he is the host, Jaana now insists that he move over to the couch (lines 5–6 + 8). Noteworthy is that while Jaana's first directive is done with an imperative form (*älä...mene* 'don't go', line 2), she shifts for the second version of her directive to declarative present-tense forms inflected for second person: *et* 'you don't' (line 5) and *tulet* 'you go' (line 6). In line 6 she also uses an explicit subject pronoun, which is stressed: *sää* 'you'.

What we find happening in (3) is a robust pattern in Finnish directive sequences: when imperatively formatted directives encounter resistance, they get re-done as second-person present-tense declaratives. The shift to a declarative form incorporates an explicit reference to the addressee, who is thus targeted as the intended agent of the action being forwarded. (With an imperative form the intended agent remains implicit.)

Interestingly, the same type of action—an insistent second version of an imperatively formatted directive—is found in English directive sequences as well. Here is a case in point:

(4) “One couple too many” (SBL 028: 2)

((Claire is hosting a bridge party to which Sara and her husband have been invited. But when Sara learns that a neighboring couple has backed out, she declares that she and her husband will stay home, since a table of four is required for bridge and there would be one couple too many if they were to come. Claire now insists that they should come anyway.))

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1 Sar: Well listen then=
2-> Cla: =*u[h: but] plea:se come=
3 Sar: [Dwayne]'n
4 Cla: =becuz I had planned on[you] a : ] nd uh]
5 Sar: [ I ]~know] I kno]w hon but no^: now
6   bezuz it'll mean one couple too many. hh
7   °Listen my (.) boss° man is just coming back=
8 Cla: =Ah hgh[ah WE:LL]just uh ^that's a:[l^right, ]
9 Sar: [I've got] [NO LISTEN]NOW e-please
10  if we don't show you'll know that we ~under~stand.
11  Cl[aire it's] nothing that you ~have to ~d*o w*ith i*t.°
12 Cla: [O h : : ]
13   (0.2)
14 Cla: Oh: (.) ^da:RN i[t I]: no I w:ant you to come:
15 Sar: [Yah]
16 Cla: with A:nn an:d ^Sa[~: A]:*AM.]
17 Sar: [Well]I kno][w b u t]
18 Cla: [ 'n IT was] already pla~*:nned
   n*ow.~=
19 Sar: =[I kno-]

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20=> Cla: =[GOODBY]E 'N YOU ~C:OME.
21 Sar: NO well listen no: cuz there'd be one too cuh ( ) many
22   coup~les.

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Here too, a directive initially formatted with an imperative form (*come*, line 2) gets re-done at a later stage in the sequence with an explicit reference to the intended agent who is to implement the action in question (*you come*, line 20). Intriguingly, however, *you come* is not a declarative form here: instead, this is the imperative *come* with an overt subject pronoun *you*. The present-tense declarative in second person and the imperative with overt ‘you’ are isomorphous in the case of *come*. But *you come* as a declarative has habitual meaning: e.g., *you usually come* or *you always come*. This interpretation is inappropriate in the given context. Thus, although the second-person present-tense declarative form and the imperative form of *come* are identical, native speakers of English hear *you come* in line 20 as an imperative. Further evidence for this interpretation will be seen if we substitute the verb *be* for the verb *come*. Now the appropriate form is *you be*, e.g., *you be our guest*. This is further evidence that *you come* in line 20 is an imperative with overt expression of the subject ‘you’.

What do we learn from comparing English and Finnish imperatively formatted directive sequences that meet with resistance? For one, they have a similar trajectory in the two languages and cultures: the initial directive meets with resistance, whereupon the directive speaker produces a second version, insisting on the directive by making the intended agent explicit. But the means of achieving such an insistent action are different. While Finnish uses a form of the *declarative* in present tense with second-person reference, English uses a form of the *imperative* with an overt second-person subject. Here too we could speak of ‘collateral effects’: the Finnish present-tense declarative, because it is also used to describe ongoing situations, has the added effect of construing the future action as already underway, thus treating it as a *fait accompli*. There is no such effect with the imperative + overt subject in English, where the action being forwarded is understood to be located wholly in the future.

5. Discussion and conclusion

A comparison of language use in Finnish and English conversation is meaningful because there is a common infrastructure for interaction across languages and cultures. In both languages, linguistic resources are mobilized as practices for the implementation of social actions, and in both languages social actions are sequenced into meaningful courses of action.

I have discussed two comparative studies, one taking a form-based approach, the other taking an action-based approach. In the form-based study, I argued that there is a bi-clausal construction that can be used in negotiating requests and offers: the speaker instructs the interlocutor to execute a future action in one clause and with the other clause, commits to undertaking a related future action him/herself. This construction serves to divide the labor in what is construed as a joint venture. The practices for implementing such a division-of-labor proposal are partially equivalent in the two languages. In the instruction clause we find imperatives and occasionally overt second-person references; in the commitment clause we find dynamic verbs referring to future time and first-person references. However, there are also language-specific aspects. Finnish allows for conditional forms in both clauses; as a coordinator, it uses the word (*ni*), which also marks a consequent clause in bi-clausal conditional constructions (*jos...ni* 'if... then'). Finnish also permits zero-person reference in the instruction clause. English allows for the semi-fixed expression *why don't you* in the instruction clause. Thus, there are distinct practices for the 'same' action, which bring in language-specific collateral effects.

In the action-based study I have discussed, the focus has been on Finnish and English directive sequences in which an initial directive is formatted with the imperative and encounters resistance in subsequent talk. I have argued that in both languages there is a practice for insisting on the directive by introducing an explicit reference to the intended agent (i.e., to the interlocutor). But whereas the English practice involves a repetition of the imperative, now with an overt second-person subject, the Finnish practice makes use of present-tense declarative forms inflected for second person. This introduces as a collateral effect in Finnish that the future action is now implied to be a *fait accompli*.

The two studies I have reported on also raise a number of questions:

1. The first study took English as its point of departure and looked for comparable structures in Finnish. The second study took Finnish as its point of departure and searched for comparable actions in English. Does it matter which language we start from? Starting from a language with more overt lexical and/or morpho-syntactic distinctions can draw our attention to aspects that are only covert in another language, but it can also make it more difficult to arrive at generalizations that hold across widely divergent languages.

2. In both studies we encountered collateral effects: Are they simply the product of the way the language works, or do they reflect more fundamental cultural scripts? Do Finnish speakers think of divisions of labor as

basically negotiable? Answers to such questions may go beyond what can be discovered with interactional linguistic methods.

Nevertheless, without wishing to deny the challenges of comparative research, I hope that this chapter has shown that insights **can** be gained by looking at language use within an interactional linguistic framework.

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CHAPTER TWO

NATIONAL SOCIALISM AND WORLD WAR II IN GERMAN AND FRENCH HISTORY TEXTBOOKS: LEARNING THROUGH WORDS AND THROUGH SILENCE

PATRICIA VON MÜNCHOW

1. Introduction

“National Socialism and the Holocaust” are identified as one of the most relevant “pasts” in “today’s dominant discourses” in the recent *Palgrave Handbook of Textbook Studies* (Fuchs and Bock 2018, 7). One can conclude from this assessment that the era in question can or should be investigated by various disciplines other than history, such as memory studies, textbook research, discourse analysis, etc. It is from a discursive perspective that this contribution deals with the comparison of the chapters on National Socialism and World War II (including the Holocaust, of course) in French and German history textbooks. Discourse studies can be considered one of the branches of pragmatics in a broad sense. Kecskes (2014, 12) refers to it as “pragma-discourse”, which entails that we are looking at what we consider a more or less “organized set of utterances” (ibid.) and that “issues concerning single utterances are explained by global discursive or social constraints” (Kecskes 2014, 10).

Insights from disciplines other than discourse analysis are, naturally, taken into account, but in an overall discursive perspective. Thus, it is not in order to contribute to textbook research per se¹ that textbooks are the media of choice for this study, but rather because they are one of the most

¹ For a review of theories and methods of textbook studies, see Bock (2018). Foster and Karayianni (2018) present a meta-analysis of 37 recent textbook studies concentrating on National Socialism and the Holocaust. As for a review of textbook studies using discourse analytical methods, see Guichard (2018, 319-21).

important tools for school, which is in turn one of the major epistemic as well as discursive institutions in many societies (van Dijk 2014, 321). Similarly, the concept of memory will be used in as far as it is linked to discourse, which “presupposes a form of collective memory, all the while contributing to its construction” (Moirand 2007, 10–11).² Rather than bringing to light a “history of memory” (see Rouso 2016, 20) or “post-memory” (Hirsch 2012),³ the aim of this study is to observe, as a linguist, how, in discourse and by means of what is said as well as what remains unsaid, a series of representations that can be considered shared memory are revealed or constructed and how they face other representations. In other words, I will endeavor to answer two main questions:

- How are French and German history textbooks—and more precisely what they are saying and not saying about National Socialism and World War II and how they are (not) saying it—affected by what I call their respective “discursive cultures” (see 2.1) and how do they affect these discursive cultures in return?
- What are “the material or linguistic modes of existence [and of construction] of collective memory in the order of discourses” (Courtine 1994, 10)?

2. Theoretical and methodological framework

2.1 Cross-Cultural Discourse Analysis

The theoretical framework of my research is what I call Cross-Cultural Discourse Analysis (CCDA), at the crossroads of French Discourse Analysis (see Pêcheux 1990; Maingueneau 1995, 2014; Moirand 2006), text linguistics (see Adam 2005; Adamzik 2010) and cross-cultural studies (see Kerbrat-Orecchioni 1994, 2005; Béal 2010; Fix, Habscheid and Klein [2001] 2007; von Münchow 2010).⁴ CCDA’s long-term aim is to come to an understanding of “discursive cultures”, which can be defined by means of the discursive manifestations as well as the discursive construction of social representations⁵ that are circulating within communities concerning

² All translations in the contribution are mine.

³ See Kansteiner (2006, 11-26, 318-27) for a brief presentation of memory studies.

⁴ For a detailed presentation of CCDA, see von Münchow ([2004] 2009, 2010).

⁵ Unlike social psychologists (see Guimelli 1999, 63, for example), I define social representations as being the beliefs, the knowledge and the opinions members of a group know about and are able to use (in discourse and in practice) without necessarily producing or sharing them.

social objects, on the one hand, and the discourse to be held about these objects on the other hand (that is, what must, can and cannot be said about them and how it can and cannot be said). Textbooks are indeed “objects of social construction and artefacts that can only be understood with regard to their historical, political, and socio-economic contexts” (Guichard 2018, 322), but they are also agents of social construction as well as objects and agents of discursive construction (which is related to social construction without coinciding with it).

From a methodological point of view, CCDA involves identifying linguistic traces of discursive operations in data belonging to a specific discourse genre and inferring hypotheses on social representations underlying the discursive operations as well as arising from them. More precisely, the description of linguistic markers via translanguaging categories leads to hypotheses on “discursive representations” or “images shown” by author(s) (Grize 1996, 63), which, in turn, lead to interpretive insights regarding the author’s (or authors’) mental representations—or the images “in their minds” (ibid.)—concerning social representations and, finally, to hypotheses on social (or cultural) representations themselves prevailing in the community in question.⁶

2.2 *Detecting and interpreting the unsaid*

But the relationship between linguistic markers and representations is highly complex since one need not only grasp what exactly is said and how, but also what remains unsaid. Yet silence⁷ can only be observed indirectly. I have recently worked on how to conceive and to detect *discursively* relevant silences (von Münchow 2016a, 2018a, b),⁸ drawing on Critical Discourse Analysis (CDA) and in particular on the French Discourse Analytical tradition. Within the field of CDA, van Dijk’s studies (e.g. 2009, 2014) reveal the cognitive and pragmatic reasons why what is said in discourse is only the tip of the iceberg (2014, 306–14) compared to

⁶ The intermediate level of individual authors (or speakers) is necessary because what can be revealed in discourse is never a social context per se, but the way an author interprets it. As van Dijk (2009, 4) provocatively puts it, “*contexts—defined as the relevant properties of social situations—do not influence discourse at all*”, meaning they do not directly influence it.

⁷ The terms “silence”, “absence” and “the unsaid” are used synonymously in this contribution.

⁸ My approach puts the focus on the “discursive unsaid” in the sense that it remains unsaid for socio-discursive (rather than interactional or pedagogical) reasons, i.e. for reasons due to the discursive culture at stake.

what remains unsaid and why communication is possible in spite of silence. Also within a CDA framework, Schröter (2013) presents a complex typology of silences distinguishing, among others, between voluntary and involuntary silence. This typology needs to be completed, though, by the forms of silence highlighted by Orlandi in her important [1994] 1996 publication. From a French discourse-analytical point of view she distinguishes “silencing” from “the silence of the already said” ([1994] 1996, 73) and points out the necessity of silencing “the meanings we want to avoid” in order to “draw up the boundaries of discursive formations and therefore determine the boundaries of what can be said” ([1994] 1996, 62). In other words, she explains why communication is impossible without silence.

In the early version of French Discourse Analysis, Henry and Pêcheux created the concept of “the preconstructed”, which Pêcheux defines as “what points to an anterior, exterior and in any case independent construction, as opposed to what is ‘constructed’ by the utterance” ([1975] 1990, 193). Pêcheux himself (1981) as well as Sériot (1982), among others, present a list of linguistic markers helping to detect the “preconstructed”, which is not made (completely) explicit in discourse. A variety of studies inspired by Bakhtin’s concept of dialogism (e.g. Brès 1998, 1999) as well as Authier-Revuz’s work on enunciative heterogeneity (e.g. 1984) also address linguistic markers pointing to what is said “elsewhere” but remains unsaid or “little said” in the utterance itself. More recently, Paveau’s book on “prediscourses” (2006), which she considers related to but not synonymous with the preconstructed and defines as “collective prediscursive frames (knowledge, beliefs, practices) which give instructions for the production and the interpretation of meaning in discourse” (2006, 118), also contains an inventory of markers helping to observe what is otherwise immaterial and tacit.

It seemed to me that the tools developed by these authors needed to be reviewed and completed by new procedures capable of detecting a bigger variety of absences as well as silence that is not signalled in discourse by any kind of specific absence marker. I went beyond searching for the preconstructed and “calls for prediscourses” in order to:

1. access the most widely shared and thus “obvious” social representations within a community,
2. distinguish different kinds and degrees of silence and thus reach a better understanding of the relationship(s) between what is said and what is unsaid.

In the table below (old and new) analytical procedures—some of which will be illustrated throughout the contribution—are linked to various levels of presence and absence in discourse, which are in turn linked to different levels of consensus or dissensus on representations. Analyzing by means of the table what is said and not said, what is “little said” and what is, on the contrary, strongly stated helps to understand on-going socio-discursive change, and in the case of this study, ongoing changes in collective memory.

Table 2-1. Types of social representations, linguistic marking and analytical procedures (updated version of von Münchow 2018a, 225)⁹

		types of representations (status within the community)		marking	analytical procedures to access representations
U N S A I D	1	obvious		no markers	searching for associated actors and for instabilities within a data set, comparison
	2	dominant		(assertion), indexation	all types of analyses (compositional procedures, syntax, semantics, enunciation, sequential types, argumentation, presupposition, “the preconstructed”, “calls for pre-discourses”, incompleteness, category 1 procedures...)
S A I D	3	on their way to becoming dominant	declining	assertion = object of a(n) (meta- discursive) utterance	content analysis
	4	emerging	widely challenged	indexation	all types (see cat. 2)
U N S A I D	5	still un- acceptable	having become unacceptable	no markers	see cat. 1, reported speech
	6	non-existent		no markers	comparison

⁹ The dashed lines in the table stand for blurred limits between categories. The relationship between types of representations and marking also depends on the discourse genre.

It is in this perspective that I examined how National Socialism and World War II are dealt with in French and German history textbooks. After a quick presentation of the data, this contribution will thus focus on what is “little said”, what is strongly asserted and, on the contrary, what remains completely unsaid in the textbooks. I will, on the one hand, be insisting on the precise discursive procedures involved and, on the other hand, be presenting hypotheses on what these different levels of absence and presence teach the student in terms of the status of the representations that are being conveyed and/or constructed. It is this last aspect that will serve as an organizing principle for the chapter.

3. Data

The data set on which this study is based consists of four French and five German textbooks:

- Arias, Stéphan and Eric Chaudron, ed. 2012. *Histoire Géographie 3^e*. Paris: Belin. [Belin]¹⁰
- Azzouz, Rachid and Marie-Laure Gache, ed. 2012. *Histoire Géographie 3^e*. Paris: Magnard. [Magnard]
- Hazard-Tourillon, Anne-Marie and Armelle Fellahi, ed. 2012. *Histoire Géographie 3^e*. Paris: Nathan. [Nathan]
- Ivernel, Martin and Benjamin Villemagne, ed. 2012. *Histoire Géographie 3^e*. Paris: Hatier. [Hatier]
- Christoffer, Sven, Michaela Dominik, Guiskard Eck, Helmut Heimbach, Klaus Leinen, Harald-Matthias Neumann and Antonius Wollschläger. 2013. *Mitmischen 3*. Stuttgart/Leipzig: Ernst Klett Verlag. [MM]
- Lenzian, Hans-Jürgen and Wolfgang Mattes, ed. 2006. *Zeiten und Menschen 4*. Paderborn: Schöningh. [ZM]
- Regenhardt, Hans-Otto and Claudia Tatsch, ed. 2009. *Forum Geschichte. Band 4: Vom Ersten Weltkrieg bis heute*. Berlin: Cornelsen. [FG]
- Sauer, Michael, ed. 2011. *Geschichte und Geschehen 6*. Stuttgart/Leipzig: Ernst Klett Verlag. [GG]
- Simianer, Norbert, ed. 2006. *Von... bis 3. Geschichtsbuch für Realschulen*. Paderborn: Schöningh. [VB]

¹⁰ The elements in brackets correspond to the references used for the textbooks throughout the contribution.

All of them are more or less recent books from major publishers and are still in use. The French textbooks are all for the ninth grade whereas the German publications can be used in either the ninth or the tenth grade, depending on the Land. All school types that exist in Germany at this level (Gymnasium, Realschule, Hauptschule, Gesamtschule or Gemeinschaftsschule) as well as several *Länder* are represented in the data set.

4. The “already-said”

Many utterances in German as well as French textbooks point to what is “already said”—not in the text books themselves, but in the respective community—and does not need to be said or explained again. The already-said leaves a discursive trace though. It is “little said” rather than absent altogether. It is indeed often indexed by definite determination of a noun referring to an event, a place or an object that has not been mentioned before. As the following excerpts show, students are supposed to already know that deportations, ghettos, concentration and extermination camps as well as genocide existed or happened and what they entailed. In effect, these “social objects” are not only introduced by definite determination, but there is no immediately subsequent explanation pertaining to them either:¹¹

1. /.../ Vom ersten Tag an waren die Juden schlimmsten Repressionen ausgesetzt; ihre Ausgrenzung und Verfolgung mündete letztlich *im organisierten Massenmord in den Todesfabriken*. [GG 36]

[/.../ From the very first day Jews were exposed to the worst repression; their isolation and persecution finally resulted in *the organized mass murder in the death factories*.]¹²

2. Im Herbst 1941 begannen die Nationalsozialisten mit den ersten Deportationen aus dem alten Reichsgebiet in *die Gettos und Konzentrationslager* im Osten. [VB 172]

¹¹ Whereas the genocide is extensively described further on in all textbooks, authors mostly do not consider it necessary to explain what exactly a concentration camp is.

¹² All translations cling as much as possible to the German or French original utterance, which, of course, often results in a lack of idiomaticity in English. Whereas bold characters are the textbook authors', the italics in all excerpts are mine—unless otherwise specified—and point out elements that are particularly important for the analysis.

[In the fall of 1941 the National Socialists started the first deportations from the territory of the old Reich towards *the ghettos and concentration camps* in the East.]

It is noteworthy, in excerpt 1, that the student is supposed to already be familiar not only with extermination camps as such, but also with the use of the metaphor “death factories” (“Todesfabriken”) to refer to them. The following excerpt from a French textbook can be analyzed in the same way:

3. Dès 1940, les Juifs de Pologne sont regroupés dans des ghettos. À partir de juin 1941, commencent *les massacres de masse* en URSS. La politique d’extermination s’amplifie en 1942 avec l’ouverture *des camps de la mort* où Juifs et Tziganes, raflés à travers toute l’Europe, sont éliminés dans des chambres à gaz. [Belin 72]

[In 1940 already the Jews of Poland are gathered in ghettos. In June 1941 *the mass massacres* in the USSR start. The politics of extermination increases in 1942 with the opening of *the death camps* where Jews and gypsies, who are rounded up in all of Europe, are eliminated in gas chambers.]

What the students learn through the “already-said” is that there are some events that are part of a common heritage going well beyond a secondary school curriculum. By means of the textbook discourse they learn (more) about these events and at the same time they understand the dominant or even obvious status of the knowledge about these events.

5. The “to-be-said”

In particular topics such as the war, war crimes and the genocide of the Jews lead to characterizations and evaluations that constitute what could be called mandatory discourse. Students learn how to produce this discourse mainly through presuppositions. These presuppositions are “little said” in the sense that although the information they convey is spelled out in detail it is not rhematized—the focus is elsewhere. The following utterance is extracted from a section in which the students are asked to “assess [their] acquired skills” (“J’évalue mes acquis”):

4. Je suis capable de démontrer que la Seconde Guerre mondiale est une guerre idéologique qui oppose la dictature à la démocratie. [Nathan 92]

[I am able to show that World War II is an ideological war between dictatorship and democracy.]

The categorization of World War II as an ideological war cannot be questioned here since it is presupposed. The discursive constraint to produce this categorization seems to be so strong that the authors impose it even though it clearly contradicts their earlier depiction of the Soviet regime as being totalitarian. One could ask if the “to-be-said” really covers a dominant representation here or if it should be considered a mere discursive routine. The incoherence, at any rate, is not surprising: incompatible representations may well cohabitate in the same textbook (see von Münchow 2013, 2016b) because discourse always contains a variety of layers—often from different periods of time—which cannot be “synchronized” easily (Blommaert 2005, 130–31, 142; also see Kansteiner 2006, 184–311 on shifting “paradigms of memory politics”). There can also be a discrepancy between representations of a social object as such and representations of what to say about the same social object.

In the following utterance the presupposition appears in an instruction:

5. Begründe, warum die Vernichtung der europäischen Juden ein einzigartiges, mit nichts zu vergleichendes Verbrechen darstellt. [GG (6) 48]

[Give reasons why the extermination of the European Jews represents a unique crime which cannot be compared to anything.]

The student receives an unquestionable piece of information on what the Holocaust represents and thus on how to characterize it. Interestingly, the “to-be-said” also conveys what is not to be said here. Within the presupposition, the speech act “comparison” is specified as being prohibited.

This kind of task is very common throughout all chapters in French textbooks, but not typical for German books which generally leave historical events more open for discussion (for World War I, for example, see von Münchow 2013). It is likely that the Holocaust forms an exception to this didactic procedure. It is indeed clearly indicated to the student that what is to be said about this part of history is not to be discussed. The legacy the Holocaust constitutes thus manifests itself even in local discursive procedures.

The “to-be-said” seems to be designed to reinforce dominant representations. Rather than being obvious, it is about the construction of obviousness (especially in a pedagogical context). It rules on the matter of how to characterize certain events especially if these characterizations have not always been agreed upon in history or by all parts of society¹³ and thus reflects a (not necessarily recent) evolution in representations.

¹³ Kansteiner (2006, 45–47) on the singularity of the Holocaust in the 1986 Historians’ Debate in the Federal Republic of Germany.

6. The “hidden” or “not-too-loudly-said”

On the contrary, other assessments or even information cannot easily be given. They appear in the textbooks in a somewhat hidden way, without being completely absent though. “Not-saying-things-out-too-loud” or “saying without saying” may be achieved through a variety of discursive procedures which will be highlighted in the following pages.¹⁴

6.1 *Backgrounding, suppression or exclusion of social actors or actions*

A frequent form of concealment in discourse is what van Leeuwen (2008) calls “backgrounding” or “suppression” of social actors.¹⁵ Textbook authors use it in particular when dealing with war crimes and the Holocaust. Indeed, although these historical phenomena are never victims of silence in textbooks anymore, there is a form of silence in their presentation. The actions pertaining to them are clearly mentioned, but the agents are often backgrounded. This becomes obvious when one compares the presentation of war actions to the presentation of war crimes. Both in German and French textbooks Germany is shown as an agent in war descriptions by the use of national toponyms, demonyms and demonymic adjectives. When war crimes are reported, though, the agents (who tend to be backgrounded in circumstantials) are not “Germans” but “the Nazis”, “the SS”, “the Einsatzgruppen”. More often even, various discursive procedures—and in particular the use of the passive or the reflexive voice—make the appearance of an (human) agent unnecessary altogether.

6. Am 1. September 1939 griffen *deutsche Truppen* Polen an. /.../ Frankreich und Großbritannien erklärten /.../ am 3. September *Deutschland* den Krieg /.../. Nach der raschen Niederlage Polens Anfang Oktober *wurde unter Federführung der SS* ein Besatzungsregiment *errichtet*, das alle Regeln des Völkerrechts missachtete. Viele Polen *wurden zur Zwangsarbeit verschleppt* und *die systematische Ermordung* von Juden, aber auch von nicht-

¹⁴ What I call “not-saying-things-out-too-loud” can but mostly does not correspond to intentional concealment, which entails “discourag[ing] recipients from figuring out [this] intention” (Schröter 2013, 27).

¹⁵ For van Leeuwen (2008, 29), “backgrounding” entails that “the excluded social actors may not be mentioned in relation to a given action, but they are mentioned elsewhere in the text, and we can infer with reasonable (though never total) certainty who they are”. “Suppression” is a more radical form of exclusion from the text. See Loitfellner (2008) on these methods of analysis concerning war crimes in particular.

judischen Polen – Adeligen, Geistlichen, Wissenschaftlern – *begann*. Die gesamte polnische Elite *sollte vernichtet werden*. [GG (6) 44]

[On September 1, 1939 *German troops* attacked Poland. /.../ France and Great Britain declared war on *Germany* on September 3 /.../. After Poland's quick defeat in the beginning of October an occupation rule disregarding all rules of international law *was put in place under the leadership of the SS*. Many Poles *were deported* for forced labor and *the systematic murder* of Jews, but also of non-Jewish Poles—aristocrats, clergymen, scientists—*began*. The complete Polish elite *was supposed to be destroyed*.]

7. En Europe, après l'invasion de la Pologne en 1939, l'Allemagne occupe de nombreux pays. /.../.

Le 22 juin 1941, l'Allemagne attaque l'URSS (plan Barbarossa). Jusqu'en 1942, *les Allemands* multiplient les succès militaires contre une armée soviétique désorganisée. [Magnard 70]

[In Europe, after the invasion of Poland in 1939, Germany occupies numerous countries. /.../.

On June 22, Germany attacks the USSR (operation Barbarossa). Until 1942, *the Germans* have built military success upon success against a disorganized Soviet army.].

8. Comment se manifeste la *violence nazie* pendant la Seconde Guerre mondiale ?

En 1940, *le transfert* des populations juives dans les **ghettos** *s'amplifie*. Au printemps 1941 /.../ *sont mises sur pied* des « unités mobiles de tuerie » (les *Einsatzgruppen* [italics in the textbook]) *chargées d'assassiner* les responsables communistes et les juifs. Selon l'historien Raul Hilberg, 800 000 personnes seraient mortes dans les ghettos et 1 300 000 aurait [sic] été assassinées par les *Einsatzgruppen* [italics in the textbook]. [Magnard 72]

[How does *Nazi violence* manifest itself during World War II?

In 1940 *the transfers* of Jewish populations towards the **ghettos** *increase*. In the spring of 1941 /.../ “mobile killing units” (the *Einsatzgruppen* [italics in the textbook]) *are put in place*, which *are in charge of the assassination* of communist leaders and Jews. According to historian Raul Hilberg, 800 000 people died in the ghettos and 1 300 000 were assassinated by the *Einsatzgruppen* [italics in the textbook].]

Germans probably do not wish to think of their fellow countrymen in general as perpetrators of war crimes. As for French textbook authors, it is likely that they prefer to leave the participation of Germans and not just

Nazis in mass murder politely unmentioned. Moreover, in countries other than Germany, hardly mentioning any specific agents at all could be part of what seems to have become a common discursive practice recently, namely denationalizing the Holocaust in order to be able to use it as a common European reference and even heritage (see Rousso 2016, 229–64 on the Holocaust as the “negative memory of Europe”).

Not wanting to offend neighboring countries is probably also one of the reasons why agents of crimes are never mentioned when German authors address the subject of flight and expulsion of Germans from the Eastern territories that became Poland and Czechoslovakia after the war. It now seems to have become possible to depict Germans as victims again (see Moeller 2005 as well as Kansteiner 2006, 196–213, 303–306, 329–331 on the evolution of the “Germans-as-victims discourse” since 1945), but rather than of human perpetrators they are shown as victims of actions themselves, circumstances (in which weapons act) and emotions:

9. Viele blieben erschöpft im Schnee liegen oder *starben im Feuer der Geschütze und Panzer*. Andere wurden *Opfer von Raub, Mord und Vergewaltigung*. [MM 72]

[Many just laid down in the snow out of exhaustion or *died in the fire of guns and tanks*. Others were *victims of theft, murder and rape*.]

10. Nach Kriegsende begann vor allem in Polen und der Tschechoslowakei eine Massenvertreibung der deutschen Bevölkerung – *angetrieben von Hass und Rache* gegen die ehemaligen deutschen Besatzer. [GG 137]

[After the end of the war a mass expulsion of the German population started in particular in Poland and in Tchechoslovakia—*driven by hatred and revenge* on the former German occupants.]

Not only agents are backgrounded or suppressed, but also their actions, as in this picture caption:

11. **Deutsche werden vertrieben.** Häufig *blieb es nicht nur bei* Demütigungen wie die Kennzeichnung mit Hakenkreuzen. (Foto, 1945) [MM 87]

[**Germans are expelled.** Often *there were not only* humiliations such as the marking with swastikas. (Photo, 1945)]

The unsaid leaves a trace in the incomplete syntactic structure here. “Nicht nur” normally calls for “sondern auch” (“not only... but also”) in order for the double conjunction to be complete. The redundant marking of incompleteness (which is at least inelegant, if not simply incorrect) by means of the verb “bei etwas bleiben” and the negated restriction “nicht nur” especially

emphasizes that something is missing here. The authors prefer to not say what happened, but by marking incompleteness not once but twice they show a strong desire to communicate (indexically, without asserting it) that they “cannot say” without breaking the rules of their discursive culture. Rather than saying what should remain unsaid, they are (not too loudly) saying that they are not saying. The discursive procedure at stake could be considered an elliptical version of the rhetorical device called “apophasis”. Indeed, while an apophasis involves “saying that one is not saying while saying”, our procedure simply consists of “(indirectly) saying that one is not saying”.

The following excerpt from a French text book also contains what could be called a figure of incompleteness. Only in this case, it is the sequential structure (see Adam 1992) that is incomplete:

12. La reddition de l’armée allemande

En février 1943, 95000 soldats allemands se rendent. *Seuls* 5000 survivront. [Hatier 87]

[The surrender of the German army

In February 1943, 95000 German soldiers surrender. *Only* 5000 survive.]

“*Seuls*” (“*Only*”) is a quantifier marking a quantity that is inferior to the expected one. Quite naturally, one wonders why the amount of survivors is so small. “*Seuls*” points to a problematic situation that needs an explanation, but no explanation follows. The explicative sequence remains extremely incomplete, containing only the fact to be explained. Apparently, the authors think they can report how many of the German soldiers who surrendered survived, but should not “say out loud” how many died and not say at all what or who caused their death.

6.2 *Compositional procedures*

As I have shown in the previous section, “not (really) saying” is not necessarily about not wanting to say. It can also correspond to not wanting to take the risk to be marginalized because one is not conveying dominant—or even acceptable—representations within a discursive culture. One way for textbook authors to convey non-dominant representations without taking too big a risk is to ban them from the main text (perceived as their own discourse) and “relegate” them to sub-genres such as testimonies, photos, maps, picture captions or student instructions. It is as if this compositional compromise were another way of saying something without saying it too loudly.

One of the most sensitive topics in French textbooks is the “Résistance”. The “Résistance” still has a very high status, but textbook authors now mostly insist on its importance for France’s reconstruction. The “Résistance” having played a major role for the outcome of the war seems to be a strongly declining representation, which cannot be conveyed in the author’s own text anymore, but only in testimonies by members of the “Résistance” (e.g. Magnard 167).

Other events probably cannot yet be said “out loud” in history text books. The post-liberation shaving and public shaming of women who were accused of having had sexual relations with German soldiers, for example, is only addressed in one of the four French textbooks (Hatier 189) in a photo and its picture caption, which is about as basic as a text can get in the data set.

It can be difficult to clearly state certain facts not only when dealing with what was done by one’s own fellow citizens but also when talking about others. In German textbooks it does not seem to be acceptable to openly accuse the Allies of war crimes. The compositional “trick” authors use is to start off a section by generalization, then put forth an example of a German war crime with a foregrounded agent (van Leeuwen 2008, 33), followed by an Allied crime with a backgrounded agent and without any kind of assessment:

13. Städte in Schutt und Asche

Die Zerstörung europäischer Städte im Bombenkrieg kostete vielen Menschen das Leben. Am 15. November 1940 *hatten die Deutschen* in einem Nachtangriff die mittelenglische Stadt Coventry *angegriffen* und dabei auch die berühmte Kathedrale zerstört. /.../ Insgesamt starben in Großbritannien etwa 43 000 Menschen durch deutsche Luftangriffe. Die meisten Bombenopfer waren in London zu beklagen (ca. 30 000). *Durch Luftangriffe der Alliierten* auf deutsche Städte kamen ca. 500 000 Zivilisten ums Leben, darunter eine sehr hohe Anzahl von Frauen und Kindern. Allein *beim britischen Angriff* auf Dresden 1945 schätzt man die Zahl der Opfer auf 35 000 bis 250 000. Man weiß nicht genau, wie viele Flüchtlinge sich zum Zeitpunkt des Angriffs in Dresden befanden, das fast völlig zerstört wurde. [VB 210]

[Completely destroyed cities

The destruction of European cities in the bomb war cost many lives. On November 15, 1940 *the Germans had attacked* the Central England town of Coventry in a night raid and destroyed the famous cathedral, among others. /.../ All in all approximately 43 000 people died in Great Britain through German air raids. The highest number of bomb victims were reported in London (about 30 000). *Through Allied air raids* on German cities approximately 500 000 civilians lost their lives, among which a very

high number of women and children. The number of victims *during the 1945 British attack* on Dresden alone is estimated to be 35 000 to 250 000. We do not know exactly how many refugees were in Dresden, which was almost completely destroyed, at the time of the attack.]

This excerpt meets the necessary conditions to talk about Allied bombings in general and the bombing of Dresden in particular. But the fact that the information on the—significantly different—number of victims in Great Britain and in Germany, on the one hand, and in London and in Dresden, on the other hand, follow each other directly suggests an argumentative conclusion that remains unsaid: “the bombing of Dresden is to be condemned” or maybe even “the bombing was a war crime”.¹⁶ But of course, if confronted with this interpretation the authors could perfectly deny they ever intended to convey it. The unsaid could well operate on two different levels here depending on the reader: 1) to counteract private discourse which tends to be very much focused on German suffering at the end of the war without taking into account the suffering inflicted by Germans beforehand (see Welzer et alii 2002, 81–104); 2) to help the discourse on the destruction of German cities re-emerge in public and become legitimate. Indeed this discourse is certainly not unknown for anyone in Germany, but used to be, starting from the 1970s and until the beginning of the 2000s, extremely controversial and thus hardly acceptable in mainstream media.

6.3 Enunciative procedures

A particularly powerful tool to present non-dominant or even highly unaccepted discourse is reported speech, which is an enunciative procedure. Reported speech is a form of metadiscourse, meaning that it is not so much “saying” as “saying that someone else is saying”. It can thus be used to present a discourse the authors do not endorse at all. In the following excerpt, different types of interdiscourse—and representations from different categories—interact with each other in a quite complex way:

14. Massenverführung und Überwältigung

„Aber die vielen Feiern“ – „die herrlichen KdF-Reisen“ – „die Gemeinschaft auf den Parteitagen“. *Viele Menschen* verbanden *nach 1945* auch positive Erinnerungen mit der NS-Zeit, *obwohl* nicht bestritten werden konnte, dass die Herrschenden ihr System auf Unterdrückung, Verfolgung und Terror gegründet hatten. [FG 100]

¹⁶ The insistence on the German victims being “civilians” (“Zivilisten”), “women” (“Frauen”) and “children” (“Kindern”) supports this conclusion.

[Mass seduction and overpowering

“*But* all the celebrations”—“the wonderful KdF trips”—“the communion on the party conventions”. *Many people also* associated positive memories to the Nazi era *after 1945, although* it could not be denied that the rulers had based their system on oppression, persecution and terror.]

The first sentence of this passage contains three juxtaposed elements of reported speech. More precisely, we are dealing with direct speech bounded by quotation marks but without an introductory utterance. The next sentence provides a postponed introductory utterance, which remains quite vague as for the reported speaker (“Viele Menschen”; Engl. “Many people”), but contains an essential piece of information on the time of the reported utterance. Indeed, assessing National Socialist politics in a (partially) positive way after 1945 is highly problematic. This discourse is probably represented in direct speech in order for the authors to appear as distant as possible from it and it is reported in an allusive way because it was widely spread in the post-war decades, but only in the private sphere, and is even more unacceptable in the public sphere today than it was shortly after the war.

What is not allusive, but almost silent, is the discourse against which the reported utterances argue. This discourse represents the dominant point of view that the National Socialist regime was utterly criminal and thus needs to be seen in an exclusively negative light. It is absent as such—albeit leaving a trace in the adversative conjunction “Aber” (“But”)—because it does not need to be present. Indeed, everybody is familiar with this discourse as well as with its dominant status. However, the authors cannot include the account of those who “also” have positive memories from the Nazi era without explicit contradiction—they add what “needs to be said”. In a metadiscursive utterance they not only teach students what the correct representation is (“the rulers had based their system on oppression, persecution and terror”; Ger. “die Herrschenden ihr System auf Unterdrückung, Verfolgung und Terror gegründet hatten”), but also that this representation cannot be argued against (“obwohl nicht bestritten werden konnte”; Engl. “although it could not be denied”). However metadiscursive utterances are not a typical marker for a discourse so obvious that no one questions it—a fact no one denies does not need to be called “undeniable.” Instead they point to representations that may be dominant, but need to be reinforced in an educational setting.

The excerpt as a whole is a puzzle of “little-said”, unsaid, strongly-said, “to-be-said” and “not-to-be-said” elements. All of these are rather easily detectable, though, and none of them could be considered completely absent. What is absent, is the representation of outright (post-war) Nazi

discourse. It is acceptable to account for the fact that some people “also” had good memories about the Nazi era “although” the whole system was fundamentally criminal; authors can report within their own discourse—and argue against it—the discourse of those who did not (fully) understand the extent to which the Nazi regime was a criminal one. What cannot be represented within the author’s discourse is the discourse of those who, after the war and even today, still regret the National Socialist period altogether (without “also” and “although”).

Whereas dominant discourse can be located in the center of a society and can or even must be adopted by the authors, unacceptable discourse lies on the fringes (i.e. in the non-dominant parts) of a society and can only be quoted by the authors under certain conditions and in order to teach students what not to say. Not understanding or doubting that oppression, persecution and terror were absolutely everywhere does not conform, is not acceptable, but it can be “repaired” within the society because it is rectifiable through argumentation. As for approving of oppression, persecution and terror, it is so highly unacceptable that it can only be considered pathological. It defies the obvious and whoever engages in it can only be excluded from the community. Post-war Nazi discourse thus cannot be represented by textbook authors at all, except if it is the phenomenon under scrutiny. On the other hand, it is not made explicit that oppression, persecution and terror are utterly wrong because the core values of a society lose their force if they have to be expressed.

7. The “strongly-asserted” as a marker of discursive evolution

As we have just seen, strong assertions are often designed to make sure students grasp which representations are mandatory in their society. But they can also be a sign of discursive evolution. In order to gain yet wider acceptance, representations on their way to becoming dominant probably have to be strongly asserted at one point. Both German and French textbooks feature a recurring procedure to do so, identified by Brès (1999, §39) as being a dialogic marker which he calls “renchérissement” and which could be translated by “taking it one step further”. Brès describes it as the “[...not only x, (but also) y] type”. This procedure is systematically used to introduce the genocide of the Sinti and Roma, as in the following examples:

15. *Nicht nur die Juden, auch viele andere Menschen* wurden von den Nazis verfolgt und ermordet. [followed by a section on the genocide of the Sinti and Roma] [VB 178]

[*Not only the Jews but also many other people* were persecuted by the Nazis and murdered. [followed by a section on the genocide of the Sinti and Roma]]

16. In vielen Ländern Europas wurden *vor allem Juden, aber auch Sinti und Roma* in Güterzüge gepfercht und in tagelangen Fahrten in den Osten transportiert. [MM 61]

[In many European countries *Jews above all, but also Sinti and Roma* were crammed in freight trains and transported to the East, which took several days.]

As Brès specifies for another, very comparable category, one could say that “y [that is, in our case, the genocide of the Sinti and Roma] is of superior rhemacity than x [the genocide of the Jews]” because x is “already-said” (§36). What is negated is not x but “x’s exceptive assertion”; what is refuted is “only” (§41). In other words, authors acknowledge a dominant or even obvious representation (or common knowledge), but add more recently emerging representations. In the case of the genocide of the Roma and Sinti, it is clearly not the facts themselves that are emerging, but the necessity to make them (systematically) present in discourse. Indeed, in all textbooks, this kind of relationship is established between the genocide of the Sinti and Roma and the genocide of the Jews, which is the (referential) base from which to measure the newly mentioned crime.¹⁷ Depending on the utterance, the base is considered more or less superior in importance to the compared term, but the genocide of the Sinti and Roma is always discursively modeled on the Holocaust (not only in the authors’ discourse, but also in the way testimonies are treated).

The rather well marked dialogic relationship is characteristic of German publications, whereas the French textbooks generally simply “add” the genocide of the Sinti and Roma to the genocide of the Jews, letting the reader decide if the utterance is to be considered dialogic or not. In other words, the reader may or may not construe the meaning: “In the past decades we have only (or mostly) be talking about the Holocaust, but we now must also report the genocide of the Sinti and Roma”, named “gypsies” (“Tziganes”) in the following excerpt.

17. En décembre 1941 et en 1942, les SS ouvrent des camps d’extermination dans la partie polonaise du Grand Reich /.../. Ils y déportent par trains *les Juifs* des ghettos polonais et d’autres régions *ainsi que des Tziganes*. [Hatier 96]

¹⁷ Rouso (2016, 268) insists on the memorial “matrix form” of the Holocaust.

[In December of 1941 and in 1942, the SS open concentration camps in the Polish part of the Big Reich /.../. By train they deport *the Jews* from the Polish ghettos and from other areas there, *as well as gypsies*.]

The same discursive procedure is implemented for other subjects, such as the existence of resistance movements in Germany alongside mass enthusiasm for national socialism, Russian responsibility for the Katyn massacre, Allied bombings, etc. As for the participation of not only the *Einsatzgruppen*, but also the *Wehrmacht* in war crimes in general and in the genocides in particular, it could well be precisely its tendency to be backgrounded (see 6.1) that encourages authors to “strongly say” it, which shows, once again, that what is “strongly-said” is precisely not what is already considered obvious within a society:

18. Verantwortlich für die millionenfachen Morde „im Hinterland“, also in den von Deutschland eroberten Gebieten, waren *die SS und der Polizeiapparat, aber auch reguläre Einheiten der Wehrmacht*. [GG (6) 45]

[It was *the SS and the police, but also regular army units* that were responsible for the millions of murders in the “back country”, meaning in the territories that had been conquered by Germany.]

The fact that the same information can be backgrounded and “strongly-said” in the same textbook points to two “memory phases” competing with each other. The myth of an army of honorable soldiers as opposed to the criminal “*Einsatzgruppen*” persisted in German public discourse until the famous 1995 “Crimes of the *Wehrmacht*” exhibit, which linked the Holocaust and other mass crimes to the war. In recent history textbooks, one can find an explicit “post-1995” discourse in which the implication of the army in war crimes is stressed, but also a much less explicit “pre-1995” discourse in which the army’s responsibilities are restricted to having fought in the war whereas the *Einsatzgruppen* are shown as having committed the Holocaust.

8. The unsaid

Finally, numerous (parts of) events or facts are not only backgrounded but radically excluded from history textbooks and can only be brought to light by means of comparison. The contrastive approach implemented in this study shows that while Germany and German actors are ubiquitous in the French part of the data set, France as an actor in the war and even in the immediate after-war period is more or less radically excluded from German history books. What is particularly surprising, though, is its suppres-

sion from the French publications as well. In three out of four textbooks France barely appears in the chapters on the war itself or even not at all, as the following utterance shows:

19. En Europe, après l'invasion de la Pologne en 1939, l'Allemagne occupe de nombreux pays. Malgré de violents bombardements sur les villes anglaises, le Royaume-Uni refuse de capituler /.../ [Magnard 70]

[In Europe, after the invasion of Poland in 1939, Germany occupies numerous countries. In spite of violent bombings on British towns the United Kingdom refuses to capitulate /.../]

This exclusion makes it possible to avoid mentioning the defeat, which, even in the chapters dealing with France, is systematically called “*effondrement*” (“collapse”). Instead of being “passivated” (van Leeuwen 2008, 33) in a military defeat inflicted on it by a stronger opponent, France thus gains agency of its own misfortune, which is treated in a national rather than an international context.

Other subjects are completely or mostly non-existent in one part of the data set only, probably because they are simply not (very) relevant for the respective country and thus not part of collective representations. For example, the late-war and after-war conferences as well as the situation in Germany immediately after the war are entirely absent from Belin’s and Nathan’s textbooks. On the other hand, the Vichy regime is not even mentioned in any of the German books.

A different kind of comparison, namely of excerpts from a source as they appear in textbooks to the original source in its entirety, helps to bring about another type of complete absence in discourse. Almost all German textbooks display excerpts from the iconic speech pronounced on March 23, 1933 by Social Democratic representative Otto Wels concerning the “enabling act” (“*Ermächtigungsgesetz*”), which allowed Hitler to establish a strong dictatorship. As the last opposition voice to be heard in the Reichstag and a speaker for the only party that voted against the infamous enabling act, Wels is presented like a hero, defending “eternal” values such as freedom, tolerance and democracy. The choice of excerpts varies from one textbook to another—some show the partisan aspects of the speech, for example,¹⁸ others omit it. Some parts of the original speech are always left out though. Indeed, in the beginning of the speech Wels declares his agreement with Hitler concerning the necessity to demand fair treatment for the German nation on an international level and to condemn

¹⁸ That is the case in VB 161.

the “lie” making Germany responsible for World War I. Wels’ massive critique of the Versailles treaty, which he links to the rise of the National Socialists, is also systematically left out of what is reproduced in the textbooks. Comparison thus shows precisely which parts of Wels’ speech are still acceptable today and even “to-be-said” (since they establish his heroic status) and what, on the other hand, cannot be reported in a German textbook in the 2000s because it is too far from dominant discourse on legitimate claims of the pre-war era.

9. Conclusion and perspectives

Confronting what is present to what is absent in discourse is particularly relevant for the study of how French and German history textbooks deal with National Socialism and World War II. Indeed, textbook authors seem to be caught in a net of discursive rules on what to say, what not to say and how to say or not to say it. But these constraints are evolving quite rapidly and the textbooks obey to several “memorial regimes” (“régimes mémoriels”, Roussio 2016, 21) at once. Some representations used to be dominant, but are not anymore, which does not immediately erase them from the textbooks, while other representations that used to be more or less banned from mainstream public expression have since become accepted, but still need to be presented with caution. Others are still very sensitive, but may be conveyed through photos or maps.

Naturally, students learn about National Socialism and World War II on numerous occasions and in particular by means of different media as well as through family discourse. This needs to be taken into account, but can also be built on. Compared to the chapters on World War I (see von Münchow 2016b, for example) it is particularly striking in both French and German textbooks to what extent authors juggle with what is already said in their discursive culture and thus, they think, already known by the students by the time they reach the ninth grade. As an educational media employed by an epistemic institution, however, textbooks are particularly predisposed to not only convey representations themselves but also their status within their discursive cultures. Through a variety of discursive procedures students learn not only what they are expected to already know, what they need to learn and what they should think or not think about an event, but also if and how they can talk about it.

Textbooks in both countries indeed sometimes impose what is to be said in a quite coercive way. Yet, what is not unusual in French publications in general—students learn what is to be said about events other than National Socialism and World War II as well (see von Münchow 2013

concerning World War I)—is surprising in the German books, which generally encourage readers to form their own educated judgment (*ibid.*). One can see how presenting mandatory discourse about a rather recent period of time to a student who is not used to this kind of lecturing could be rejected.

Well beyond mandatory discourse, the resemblance between the two sets of textbooks is striking, even in very local discursive or linguistic procedures. To a certain degree World War II and National Socialism seem to have become a common European heritage (see Rouso 2016, 229–264; Kansteiner 2006, 328–333).¹⁹ But one can also find differences between the French and the German subset of the data. Through discursive tools such as dialogic markers, German textbooks tend to mark diachronic heterogeneity in representations more clearly than French history books and to even address it as such on occasion, especially when “the unsaid” or rather “non-saying” itself becomes a learning objective.²⁰ Authors refer in particular to the silence about war crimes and the Holocaust during the war (e.g. GG 37) and in the first two decades after the war (e.g. MM 89, GG 35), to the silence about the army’s participation in the Holocaust (GG 64), but also to the decades of (relative) public silence about Germans fleeing from the Russian army and being expelled from their homes after the war (e.g. FG 141). Indeed, silence about history can become the object of historiography and, subsequently, of history didactics. The fact that history changes over time, since “every society has its regime of truth” (Foucault 2001 [1994], 158), seems to be more openly acknowledged both in what is said and in how it is said in German textbooks, which could be an effect of a more openly interactional and interdiscursive didactic culture (see von Münchow 2013) as well as of a multiperspectival teaching methodology (Bergmann 1979, 2000). The overall approach has a “meta-historical” aspect which the French textbooks do not display, maybe because “processing” the era in question remains a tremendous challenge in Germany.

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¹⁹ Kansteiner considers the “Holocaust-centered European mnemonic community” mostly an elite construction though (2006, 331).

²⁰ That is the case in three out of five German textbooks.

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CHAPTER THREE

PITCH-RELATED FEATURES IN THE SPEECH OF FINNISH- AND FRENCH-SPEAKING BOYS WITH AUTISM IN DATA COMING FROM GROUP THERAPY SESSIONS

MARI WIKLUND & MARTTI VAINIO

1. Introduction

It is often said that the *manner* in which we speak conveys as much meaning as the words we use (Couper-Kuhlen 2000, 2). It is also well known that prosodic features constitute a large part of this *manner*. In phonetics, *prosody* encompasses phenomena related to speech rhythm, melody, stress, phrasing and voice quality. These are related to duration (timing), pitch (voice fundamental frequency), loudness (intensity) and speech rate (Crystal 1969, 1980). Prosodic phenomena are suprasegmental; that is, they typically involve units of at least one syllable in length.

1.1 Previous studies concerning autistic persons' prosody

Autistic people often have deviant prosodic features in their speech. For example, they may have a limited range of intonation, their speech can be overly fast, 'jerky' or loud, or it can be characterized by large pitch excursions, a quiet voice, an inconsistent pause structure, deviant word stress and/or by a creaky or nasal voice (Baltaxe and Simmons 1985, 1992; Fay and Schuler 1980; Ghaziuddin and Gerstein 1996; Lehtinen 2010; Paul et al. 2005a; Paul et al. 2005b; Shriberg et al. 2001; Provonost et al. 1966; Rutter and Lockyer 1967; Ornitz and Ritvo 1976; Tager-Flusberg 1981; Paul 1987; McPartland and Klin 2006; Tager-Flusberg 2000; Thorson et al. 2016).

According to Thorson et al. (2016), who studied spontaneous productions of minimally verbal children and adolescents with autism, average pitch and pitch range vary as a function of verbal ability. That is, average pitch and pitch range both decrease as the number of lexical items uttered increase. When Thorson et al. (2016) compared their own data to previous data from Diehl et al. (2009), the data together formed a linear trend, with greater pitch ranges found for the least verbal group.

Baltaxe (1984) compared the speech of children (aged 4–12) with autism spectrum disorder (ASD) with the speech of children with language impairment, as well as a control group. Their results showed that the group with ASD and the control group exhibited wider fundamental frequency (f_0) ranges than the group of children with language impairment. Fosnot and Jun (1999), in turn, have found that children with ASD also show a greater f_0 variation and range than age-matched typical controls.

According to Peppé et al. (2007), children with ASD perform less well than typically developing children and normal adult controls in receptive and expressive prosody tasks. Fine et al. (1991) have, however, reported that ASD subjects are able to employ useful prosodic patterns for communication. Producing appropriate stress patterns can, nevertheless, be difficult for them (Paul et al. 2005a, 2005b). Shriberg et al. (2001) report that people with ASD have notable difficulties with the pragmatic and affective use of prosody, but they do not have difficulties with the grammatical functions of prosody. The same study shows that ASD people also have more disfluencies in their speech than neurotypical speakers (for disfluencies in autistic persons' speech, see also Wiklund and Laakso, forthcoming).

Olivati et al. (2017) analysed prosodic elements of speech segments of students with ASD and compared them with those of a control group. They found significant differences for the variables *tessitura*, melodic amplitude of tonic vowel, melodic amplitude of pretonic vowel, maximum intensity, minimum intensity, tonic vowel duration, pretonic vowel duration and phrase duration.

Deviant prosodic features of speech do not, however, concern every individual with autism (Simmons and Baltaxe 1975; Paul et al. 2005b). Nevertheless, when these features occur, they constitute a significant obstacle to social acceptance of the individual (Paul et al. 2005a: 205). Indeed, deviant prosodic features may create an immediate impression of “oddness” (Van Bourgondien and Woods 1992), and they affect autistic speakers' ratings of social and communicative competence (Paul et al. 2005b).

1.2 Objectives of this study

The aim of this paper is to present and analyse different subjectively salient, prosodically characteristic speech types occurring in mildly autistic preadolescents' speech. The paper focuses on the following types: 1) flat (monotonous) pitch, 2) large pitch excursions, and 3) bouncing pitch. In addition to the phonetic descriptions of the phenomena, the paper discusses the other participants' possible reactions to these prosodic features, and occurrences of the features are studied in a larger context from an interactional point of view.

1.3 Data and methods

The data comes from authentic group therapy sessions during which 11 to 13-year-old Finnish-speaking boys ($n = 7$) and French-speaking boys ($n = 4$) talked to each other and their two therapists. The Finnish data was recorded in Helsinki (Finland) and the French data in Geneva (Switzerland). The total duration of the recording is three hours.

Phonetic analyses were carried out for pitch (voice fundamental frequency, f_0). We measured means, standard deviations (in Hz) and aggregate pitch movement (semitones/second) (Vainio et al. 2012). These (taken together) should give us measures for overall liveliness of the speech prosody.

Interactional analyses concerning the contexts in which the prosodic features occurred were carried out using Conversation Analysis (e.g. Hutchby and Wooffitt 2008).

2. Analyses

2.1 Flat pitch

A machine-like intonation and deficits in the use of pitch were noted as prosodic characteristics of individuals with ASD in early observational reports (McPartland and Klin 2006; Paul et al. 2005a; Shriberg et al. 2001; Tager-Flusberg 2000). This feature does not, however, concern all individuals with ASD. In our data, only one Finnish-speaking and one French-speaking informant had a flat, machine-like, pitch. If the phenomenon occurs, it is a general feature of the informant's speech, occurring all the time (and not only in certain types of contexts). Both informants who have a flat pitch also speak very little and with a very quiet voice. The first example presents a brief extract from the speech of the French-speaking informant. A list of transcription conventions used in the examples is giv-

en at the end of the article. The names of the participants have been changed.

In this extract, the session has just started, and the group is talking about how everyone is feeling that day. The therapist says to Alexandre that he looks tired (line 01), and the boy replies (line 02). This launches a discussion about going to bed too late and being tired in the morning.

Example (1)

- 01 Therapist: (--) Alexandre (0.2) tu m'as l'air fatigué toi.
Alexandre you look tired to me
- 02 Alexandre: oui je suis fatigué (et content),
yes I am tired (and happy)
- 03 Therapist: pourquoi t'es fatigué,
why are you tired
- 04 Alexandre: parce que: je me suis couché à dix heures,
because I went to bed at ten o'clock
- 05 Therapist: comment ça >se fait que tu t'es couché< aussi tard,
how come you went to bed so late
- 06 Marcus: mais dix heures c'est pas /tard,
but ten o'clock is not late
- 07 Therapist: mais pour /lui c'est /tard,
but for him it's late
- 08 Marcus: di- dix heures,
te- ten o'clock
- 09 Alexandre: [que chaque fois],
that every time
- 10 Michel: [dix heures] c'est quand on se lève.
ten o'clock it's when you get up
- 11 Therapist: à vingt-deux heures (0.2) °dix heures du soir°
quais,
at ten p.m. ten in the evening yeah
- 12 Alexandre: parce que chaque /fois (évidemment) je me (2.0) je
me réveille
because every time (obviously) I wake up
- 13 mail- (0.2) mal pendant le matin,
bad- badly in the morning
- 14 Therapist: c'est dur de se réveiller le /matin? (0.4) et
t'arrives pas à te
*is it hard to wake up in the morning and
you don't manage to*
- 15 coucher plus tôt?

go to bed earlier

16 Alexandre: (-) (tard),
(late)

17 Therapist: t'arrives pas à te coucher un peu plus /tôt?
you don't manage to go to bed a bit earlier

18 (0.2) pour être plus en forme?
in order to be in better shape

19 Alexandre: si j'essaye,
yes I try

20 Therapist: ouais.
yeah

The participant (Alexandre) speaks with remarkably flat pitch in all the turns that he produces in this extract (lines 02, 04, 09, 12, 16 and 19). The flatness does not, however, seem to make it difficult to understand him or elicit unusual reactions from the other participants in the conversation. First (line 02), Alexandre produces a turn, *oui je suis fatigué et content* ('yes I am tired and happy'), which is a reaction to the therapist's preceding turn (line 01): *Alexandre tu m'as l'air fatigué toi* ('Alexandre you look tired to me'). It is noteworthy that the boy is able to react to the therapist's turn, even though it is not a direct question. The therapist reacts to this turn by a direct question, *pourquoi t'es fatigué* ('why are you tired', line 03), and Alexandre answers the question by saying *parce que: je me suis couché à dix heures* ('because I went to bed at ten o'clock', line 04). The therapist reacts immediately to his answer by a new question: *comment ça se fait que tu t'es couché aussi tard* ('how come you went to bed so late', line 05). One of the other boys, Marcus, reacts to this by a comment, *mais dix heures c'est pas tard* ('but ten o'clock is not late', line 06), to which the therapist immediately replies *mais pour lui c'est tard* ('but for him it's late', line 07). After that (line 08), Marcus continues with a brief turn that he interrupts: *di- dix heures* ('te- ten o'clock'). Alexandre and a third boy, Michel, then start to talk at the same time: Alexandre starts a turn (*que chaque fois*, 'that every time', line 09) but interrupts it, and Michel says *dix heures c'est quand on se lève* ('ten o'clock it's when you get up', line 10). The therapist reacts to this with an outright correction: *à vingt-deux heures dix heures du soir ouais* ('at ten p.m. ten in the evening yeah', line 11), because Michel has clearly misunderstood.

After the therapist's turn, Alexandre takes the floor again (lines 12–13) and starts to explain why he is tired (*parce que chaque fois évidemment je me je me réveille mail- mal pendant le matin*, 'because every time obviously I wake up 'baid- badly in the morning'). The boy is however not really answering the therapist's original question, *comment ça se fait que*

tu t'es couché aussi tard ('how come you went to bed so late', line 05). Indeed, autistic children have a tendency to respond in a non-contingent (i.e. off-topic) manner in conversation (Hale and Tager-Flusberg 2005; Lehtinen 2012; Wiklund 2016). The therapist reacts to this by asking Alexandre *c'est dur de se réveiller le matin* ('is it hard to wake up in the morning', line 14). The boy does not react to this immediately. Consequently, the therapist adds a new question to her turn (lines 14–15): *et t'arrives pas à te coucher plus tôt*, 'and you don't manage to go to bed earlier'. Alexandre's answer is not clear (line 16). Therefore the therapist repeats the question (*t'arrives pas à te coucher un peu plus tôt*, 'you don't manage to go to bed a bit earlier', line 17). As the boy does not answer immediately, the therapist adds a new element to her question: *pour être plus en forme?* ('in order to be in better shape', line 18). Alexandre then answers the question adequately: *si j'essaye* ('yes I try', line 18), and the therapist reacts to this with the particle *ouais* ('yeah', line 20).

The extract shows that the flatness of the pitch does not affect the fluidity of the interaction in any way. As it is a feature that occurs all the time in this informant's speech, the interlocutors do not seem to pay attention to it.

Figure 3-1 below gives the pitch (f_0) curve illustrating the flat pitch occurring in one of the informant's turns (line 04) in Example 1.

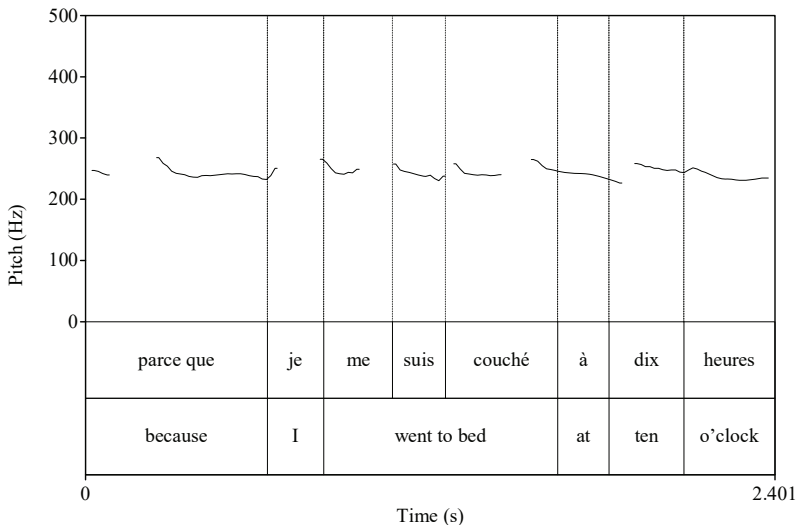


Fig. 3-1: Pitch curve illustrating a flat speech in the speech of a French-speaking informant

The f_0 mean in this extract is 227.8 Hz, which corresponds to a normal value for a preadolescent boy. The standard deviation of the f_0 is 21.1 Hz (2.6 semitones). This corresponds to a ‘small range’ as a typical utterance would have twice the value. The pitch movement value is 18.2 st/sec, which is uncharacteristically low and corresponds to a small movement-range ratio.

2.2 Large pitch excursions

The intonation of people with ASD can also be marked with large pitch excursions. Indeed, Fosnot and Jun (1999) have found that children with ASD show a greater f_0 variation and range than age-matched typical controls (see also Baltaxe 1984; Thorson et al. 2016; Diehl et al. 2009). In our data, three Finnish-speaking informants have salient pitch excursions in their speech. The phenomenon does not occur in the French data. The phenomenon can take different forms when it appears, and it does not necessarily occur all the time in the speech of the informant in question. The following sound sample illustrates an ‘extreme case’ in which the pitch excursions are so large that it sounds almost as if the speaker was singing. This particular feature does not occur in the informant’s speech all the time, but only in this type of context where the speaker is telling a story or describing something.¹

In this extract, the session has just started, and the female therapist asks the group what they will start with (line 01).

Example (2)²

01 FT: mm-h? (1.0) millä me aloitamme,
mm-h what do we start with

02 Toni: kuulumisilla?
catching up

03 FT: joo
yes

04 MT: mm.
mm

05 (2.0)

¹ In the transcriptions of the Finnish data, ‘FT’ refers to the female therapist, and ‘MT’ refers to the male therapist.

² The same extract has already been analysed from another point of view in Wiklund and Laakso (forthcoming).

- 06 FT: kuka aloittaa. ((katselee ympärilleen))
who starts ((looks around))
- 07 Jaakko: ((viittaa)) >mää voin mul on ainakin<
 ((raises his hand)) I can I have at least
 ((raises his hand)) I can at least
- 08 kolmen viikos jotain tapahtu, (.) mää
 three-(GEN) weeks-(INE) something has happened I
there are things that have happened to me of three weeks
- 09 ko- ää onks se (.) †viime viikon sitä
 ko- er is-(CLI) it last week's it
ko- er is it last week's
- 10 edellisel viikolla: mul mää jouduin
 previous week I-(ALL) I-(NOM) got into
preceding week I I got into
- 11 kahteen (.) kouluonnettomuuteen?
 two school accidents
two school accidents
- 12 MT: mm? ((nyökkää))
mm ((nods))
- 13 Jaakko: eka oli luistelul¶la mää kaaduin ja
 the first one was on skating-(ADE) I fell and
the first one happened on skating I fell and
- 14 mun #polve (.) ja: polvi vähän (.) ää no#
my kne- and the knee got a little er well
- 15 (.) venähti eh¶kä mä en osaa sanoo.
trained maybe I can't tell
- 16 MT: mm-m, ?
mm-m

Toni answers the female therapist's question by saying that they start *kuulumisilla* (with 'catching up', line 02), and the therapists accept the answer (lines 3–4). After that, the female therapist asks who wants to start (line 06). Jaakko volunteers to start (line 07), and he starts immediately to tell his latest news. The beginning of the turn is hard to understand because Jaakko speaks fast and his articulation is unclear. In the segment appearing on line 07, the speech rate is seven syllables per second. Following that (line 08), there is a wrong case ending: the boy says *kolmen viikos*, where the first word ('three') is in the genitive case, and the second word ('weeks') is in the inessive case. Both words should be in the inessive case to form a grammatically correct proposition with congruent case endings.

Kolmessa viikossa ‘within three weeks’, both words in inessive, would also better fit the utterance. After that (lines 08–09) is a disfluent sequence, where Jaakko has difficulties finding words. Further, the expression *viime viikon sitä edellisellä viikolla* (‘last week’s at preceding week’) (lines 09–10) is a bit clumsy, even if it is more or less comprehensible.

The turn is remarkably disfluent (see also Wiklund and Laakso, forthcoming). The impression of disfluency here is created most of all by prosodic features, such as changes in pitch, intensity and speech rate, as well as by incoherent and/or disconnected syntactic structures. Disconnectedness is also enhanced by Jaakko’s frequent self-repairing: for example, he cuts off and changes the morphosyntactic form of his utterance from *mul* (‘I-ALL’, projecting *I had X*) to *mää* (‘I-NOM’) (line 10) and from *polve* (‘knee-CASE’) to *polvi* (‘knee-NOM’). The end of the turn (*mää jouduin kahteen kouluonnettomuuteen*, ‘I got into two school accidents’, lines 10–11) is, however, rather fluent. Indeed, the therapist does not make a repair initiation, but he reacts to Jaakko’s turn with the discourse particle *mm* (line 12), which indicates that he is listening (ISK 2004: § 798). The rising pitch at the end of the particle implies that the therapist is expecting Jaakko to continue his story. Jaakko correctly interprets the interactional meaning of the discourse particle and continues speaking.

The beginning of Jaakko’s second turn contains a wrong case ending: the boy says *eka oli luistelulla* (line 13), where the word *luistelu* (‘skating’) is in the adessive case instead of the inessive case, which would be the right form here. After this, the turn continues fluently. The prosody of the turn is however unusual: the pitch goes up and down almost as if the speaker is singing. During the production of the word *luistelulla* (‘skating’), the pitch level increases 10.7 semitones between the first and the last syllable, and during the production of the word *kaaduin* (‘I fell’), the pitch rises 8.2 semitones. The therapist reacts to this turn by producing the discourse particle *mm-m* with a rising pitch (line 16). This minimal response signals that the therapist is still listening and expects Jaakko to continue speaking (ISK 2004: § 798). Jaakko again correctly interprets the interactional meaning of the minimal response and continues speaking. The turn that he produces is coherent and does not include any salient prosodic features.

Figure 3-2 below presents an extract of Jaakko’s second turn (lines 13–15), which includes large pitch excursions.

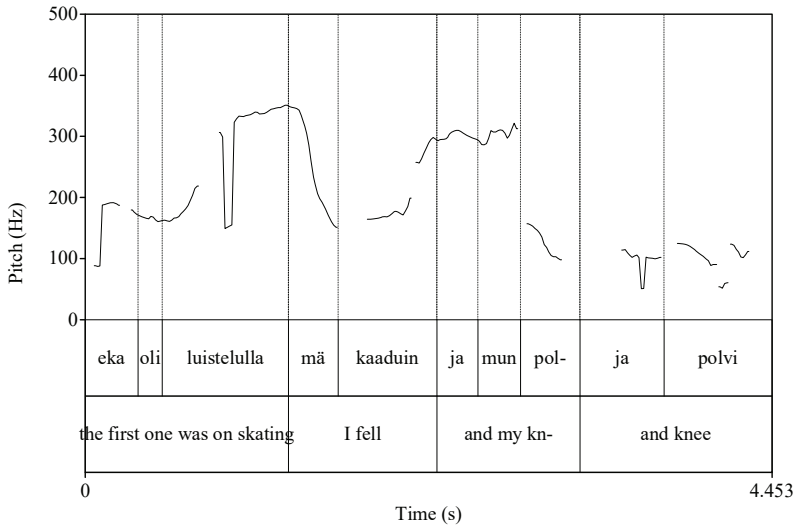


Fig. 3-2: Pitch curve illustrating large pitch excursions in the speech of a Finnish-speaking informant

The f_0 mean in this speech sample is 242.3 Hz which is a normal value for a preadolescent boy. The standard deviation of the f_0 is 76.0 Hz (that is, 7.7 st), which corresponds to a large range (the absolute range being almost two octaves, or over 20 st). The pitch movement value is 36.6 st/sec, which corresponds to a large movement-range ratio.

2.3 Bouncing pitch

Use of aberrant stress patterns is another prosodic characteristic of autistic people's speech noted in early observational reports (Paul et al. 2005a; Shriberg et al. 2001). An example of a salient stress pattern in our Finnish data is a repetitive strong stress that creates an impression of 'bouncing' speech. Note also that the Finnish informants often produce a pitch peak on the unstressed syllable of a word (in Finnish the lexical stress is on the first syllable of the word and typically the peaks occur there). Three of the seven Finnish-speaking informants have salient features related to stress. These features occur all the time in their speech, but there are moments when the features are particularly salient and other moments when the features are milder. The following speech sample illustrates the 'bouncing pitch' phenomenon in the speech of one of the Finnish-speaking informants. The phenomenon cannot be found as such in the French data.

In this extract, the session has just begun, and the group is about to start sharing news. One of the therapists has just asked who wants to be the first one to share his news, and Harri volunteers.

Example (3)

- 01 Harri: -minä voin alot^otaa^o. ((kohottaa kulmia))
I can start ((raises eyebrows))
- 02 MT: no -kerro vähän kuulumi^osia^o.
well tell us some news
- 03 FT: ^o-mm^o
mm
- (.)
- 04 Harri: jaa: ^ˉniin t'ta:ʔ (.) hhhh (0.6) -hy-vin ^ˉom
 PRT PRT PRT well is
well yeah er it has gone well
- 05 mennyk koulussa ja::, (.) >ollu< tota: (.) on
 gone at school and has been PRT is
at school and it has er there is
- 06 yks kaveri jota mä en oot tavannup pitkä^oa aikaan
 one friend that I not have seen long time
a friend that I have not seen for a long time
- 07 nii: (.) se -vihdoinkip pääs tänä viikoloppuna
 PRT he finally could come this weekend
so he finally could come this weekend
- 08 tapaa tuli meil^ole: (0.4) hh ja: (.) pelattii (.)
 to meet came to our place and we played
to meet me he came to our place and we played
- 09 >p'la-< #p'lattii# hyvii pele:j ja oli iha: (.)
 pla- played good games and was quite
pla- played good games and we had quite
- 10 kivaa keskenää?
 fun together
fun together (0.8)
- 11 MT: mm m? ((katsoo Harria, nyökkää))
mm ((looks at Harri and nods))
- 12 FT: ^okiva:ʔ ((katsoo Harria))
 nice ((looks at Harri))
that's nice

(.)

13 Harri: >tai< se:, (.) >se on sellanen -kaveri jota mä
or it it is that kind of friend that I

14 en oo< tavannum melkei yhteen -kuu[~]kautee koska
 not have met almost one month because
have not met for almost one month because

15 sillä o ollu niim paljon menoja.
 he has had so many things to do
he has been so busy

16 (0.6)

17 MT: mm m? .nsss ((katsoo Harria ja nyökkää))
mm ((looks at Harri and nods))

In this extract, Harri's pitch is bouncing all the time when he is speaking. This does not, however, make it difficult to understand him or elicit particular unusual reactions from the other participants in the conversation. In his first turn (line 01) Harri volunteers to start (*minä voin alottaa*, 'I can start'). The male therapist reacts to this immediately by saying *no kerro vähän kuulumisia* ('well tell us some news', line 02). The female therapist reacts to Harri's turn with the discourse particle *mm* (line 03), which indicates that she is listening (ISK 2004: § 798). After that, Harri produces a rather long turn in which he tells his latest news (lines 04–10). In addition to a bouncing pitch, this turn includes several fillers and sound prolongations, as well as repetition and a false start. It is not, however, difficult to understand him: the male therapist reacts to his turn with the discourse particle *mm m* (line 11) which indicates, here too, that he is listening (ISK 2004: § 798). The rising pitch at the end of the particle implies that the therapist is expecting Harri to continue his story. The female therapist produces a lexical turn in which she says *kiva* ('that's nice', line 12), which also implies that she has understood what has been said and expects Harri to continue. Harri interprets these interactional cues correctly and continues speaking (line 13). His turn (lines 13–15) has a bouncing pitch and includes one prolongation, but is otherwise fluent. The male therapist reacts to this turn, too, by the discourse particle *mm m* with a rising pitch (line 17), positioning himself as a listener. Thus, despite the bouncing pitch, this turn is not difficult to understand either.

Figure 3-3 below presents an extract from Harri's second turn (lines 04–10), which has a bouncing pitch.

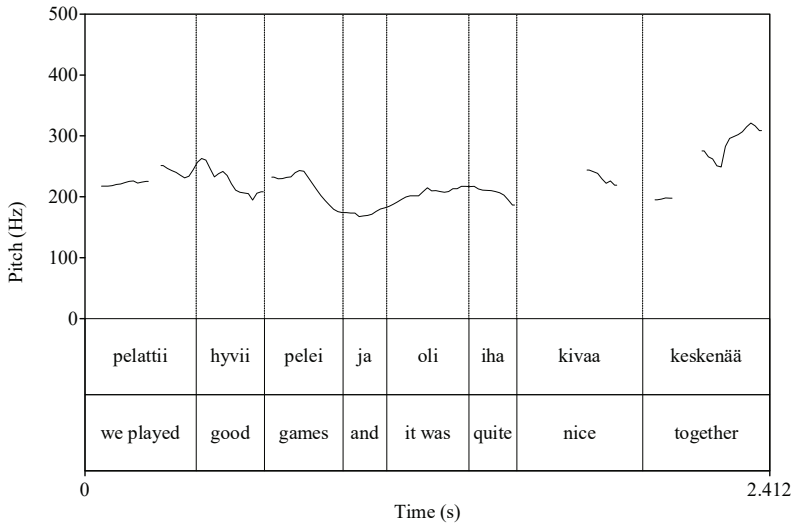


Fig. 3-3: Pitch curve illustrating a bouncing pitch in the speech of a Finnish-speaking informant

In this extract, the f_0 mean is 223.9 Hz, which is a normal value for a pre-adolescent boy. The standard deviation of the f_0 is 42.3 Hz (that is, 3.1 st), which indicates a moderate range. The pitch movement value is 30.6 st/sec, which indicates a large movement-range ratio. Thus, as the standard deviation value is moderate but the movement value is large, these values indicate that this prosodic pattern is different from the two previous ones. That is, there is a relatively high level of movement with respect to time in a moderate range, causing the bouncing pattern characterizing the speech.

3. Conclusions

This paper has focussed on three salient prosodic features in the speech of autistic preadolescents: 1) flat pitch, 2) large pitch excursions, and 3) bouncing pitch. The occurrences of these phenomena show that prosodic extremes are typical of preadolescents with ASD. However, it is noteworthy that in our data, only one Finnish-speaking and one French-speaking informant had a flat machine-like pitch, which is often said to be typical of people with autism (McPartland and Klin 2006; Paul et al. 2005a; Shriberg et al. 2001; Tager-Flusberg 2000).

Fosnot and Jun (1999) found that children with ASD show a greater f_0 variation and range than age-matched typical controls (see also Baltaxe 1984; Thorson et al. 2016; Dichl et al. 2009). In our data, three Finnish-speaking informants have salient pitch excursions in their speech. The phenomenon does not occur in the French data. Thus, our study suggests that this phenomenon is at least to some extent a language-specific feature. A larger data corpus would however be needed to confirm this hypothesis.

Use of aberrant stress patterns is another well-known prosodic characteristic of autistic people (Paul et al. 2005a; Shriberg et al. 2001). We have described a prosodic phenomenon typical of our Finnish data: repetitive strong stress that creates an impression of bouncing speech. It is also noteworthy that the Finnish informants often produce a pitch peak on the unstressed syllable of a word. Three of the seven Finnish-speaking informants have salient features related to stress. As stress is a language-specific feature, prosodic phenomena related to stress are also language-specific. However, it can be stated that the bouncing pitch phenomenon, found in the Finnish data, cannot be found as such in the French data.

One new aspect of the current study was to investigate the prosodic phenomena under consideration in the contexts in which they occur. Our interactional analyses show that typically these phenomena do not make understanding difficult (but see Wiklund 2016 for occurrences of these phenomena in trouble-source turns), and that the other participants in the conversation do not typically react to them. Our interactional analyses also confirm previous findings (Wiklund 2012) that preadolescents with ASD are able to correctly interpret interactional meanings of combinations of discourse particles and pitch movements.

In the future, we plan to study these prosodic features in a larger data corpus in order to find out if similar prosodic shapes can be found in larger datasets. We also plan to compare these prosodic features and phonetic values statistically with the ones found in our control group data, and to statistically compare the Finnish and the French data. In addition, we plan to carry out perception tests that will allow us to find out if neurotypical (that is, non-autistic) people find these features salient, and, if so, to what extent.

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Transcription Conventions

.	strongly falling pitch at the end of a prosodic unit
;	slightly falling pitch at the end of a prosodic unit
,	flat pitch at the end of a prosodic unit
,?	slightly rising pitch at the end of a prosodic unit
?	strongly rising pitch at the end of a prosodic unit
↓	segment produced on a lower pitch level than the surrounding speech
↑	segment produced on a higher pitch level than the surrounding speech
sika	prominent stress
>tosi<	accelerated speech rate
<paitsi>	slowed speech rate
joo:	lengthened vowel
MITÄ	increased level of loudness
.hhh	clearly audible inhalation (one 'h' corresponds to 0.1 sec)
hhh	clearly audible exhalation (one 'h' corresponds to 0.1 sec)
.joo	word produced with an inhalation
@just@	marked voice
k(h)iva	word produced laughingly
ɸniimpäɸ	word produced smilingly
·nii·	word produced more quietly than the surrounding speech
[overlap of speech begins
]	overlap of speech ends
(.)	micropause (duration of less than 0.2 sec)
(0.6)	pause (duration measured in seconds)
(lapset)	unclear speech
st	semitone
PRT	particle

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CHAPTER FOUR

MANIFESTER DE L'EMPATHIE EN FRANÇAIS ET EN JAPONAIS DANS DES FORMULES DE RECONFORT ET D'ENCOURAGEMENT

JEAN BAZANTAY & CHANTAL CLAUDEL

1. Introduction

Les travaux sur la politesse impliquant le français témoignent de l'existence de comportements variés (cf. notamment Béal 2010, Claudel 2015, Holttinen 2017, Kerbrat-Orecchioni 2001, 2002, Mulo Farenkia 2017, Traverso 2000, 2006). Il en va de même des recherches sur le japonais dans le monde anglo-saxon qui placent cette langue-culture en regard de l'anglais (cf. notamment Cook 2006, Ehlich *et al.* 2005, Fukushima 2003, Geyer 2008, Ide *et al.* 1992, Kádár *et al.* 2011). Les positionnements adoptés dans ces études, à l'écart pour certains des travaux inspirés de Brown et Levinson (1987), ont permis d'introduire de nouveaux concepts comme ceux de *wakimae* ou discernement (Ide 1989, 1992) et de *on* ou dette (Lebra 1969), à moins qu'ils n'aient entraîné la remise en cause de certains autres comme celui de face (Matsumoto 1988, Pizziconi 2003). Ils ont également mis l'accent sur le rôle central de la position du locuteur vis-à-vis de l'allocutaire sur les axes horizontal¹ et vertical des relations interpersonnelles. L'attention portée à l'analyse située de la politesse et la prise en compte du contexte interactionnel sont également à l'origine de nouvelles recherches² (Geyer *op. cit.* 6, Davies, Haugh, Merrison 2011). La description d'activités verbales ordinaires a ainsi donné lieu à l'étude d'entretiens en contexte académique entre enseignants et étudiants (Cook 2006) ; de scénarios d'une série télévisée (Barke 2011) ; de conversations

¹ Cet axe va déterminer les contours du groupe d'appartenance (*uchi*) et l'extérieur (*soto*).

² Pour une revue de la littérature plus développée, voir Claudel (2015, 128–131).

entre personnes ne se connaissant pas (Usami 2002) ; de dialogues provoqués en situation asymétrique (Okamoto 2011) ; ou encore, de discours institutionnels (Geyer 2008). D'autres études se sont attachées à la description du passage entre formes neutre (*ta/da*) et polie (*masu/desu*) dans des échanges co-construits (Cook 2006), à l'examen des honorifiques d'adresse (Barke 2011 ; Okamoto 2011) ou à celui de certains actes de langage (désaccord, moquerie, discussions sur ses problèmes) (Geyer 2008).

Cependant, à notre connaissance, aucune étude n'a traité de l'empathie sous l'angle de la comparaison entre le français et le japonais, et notamment de la façon dont ce comportement se réalise linguistiquement dans les deux communautés à l'étude. On se propose ici de mettre au jour les pratiques privilégiées à travers l'examen d'un corpus constitué de 411 courriels à caractère personnel (soit envoyés d'un individu à un autre) en français et en japonais et regroupés selon des critères d'âge et de relation (proches / distants ; hiérarchiques / égaux).

Ainsi, après avoir cerné ce que recouvrent les notions de routine, de rituel et de *aisatsu*, on présentera la façon dont les communautés française et japonaise traitent de l'empathie, avant d'entreprendre l'examen des pratiques verbales qui y renvoient dans des emails. Il s'agira de dégager les points de rencontre et les divergences dans les formules employées pour exprimer des encouragements et du réconfort, afin de rendre compte des comportements attendus eu égard au cadre situationnel.

2. Des rituels, routines et *aisatsu* aux formules d'empathie

Cette partie traite de la distinction opérée entre rituel de politesse et routine et introduit la notion japonaise de *aisatsu* qui, comme on va le voir, a une acception plus large que le terme français « salutations ». Il s'en suit la présentation des pratiques verbales par lesquelles se réalise l'empathie en français et en japonais.

2.1 *Rituels de politesse, routines et aisatsu*

L'intérêt porté aux formules empathiques, et plus spécifiquement aux expressions utilisées pour témoigner du réconfort rend nécessaire une réflexion sur les habitudes sociales/les manières d'agir (rituels ou routines) auxquelles elles se rapportent. On se demandera si l'on a affaire à des comportements linguistiques attribuables à des rituels de politesse ou à des routines.

Ces deux entrées sont proches ; toutefois, à la différence des énoncés routinisés « dont la fonction principale n'est pas *a priori* la politesse (par

exemple, l'échange à l'interphone) » (Béal 2010, 183), le rituel est porteur d'une dimension symbolique (Traverso 2006, 139) : il renvoie au ménagement des faces (Béal *ibid.*) et sert à la construction et au maintien de la relation. Cette spécificité va dans le sens que lui confère Picard (2014).

Les rituels de politesse linguistique répondent donc à des attentes sociales en prises avec le moment de la rencontre (entrée en contact, prise de congé) et/ou liées à des conduites spécifiques (don, requête, etc.). Ils impliquent le recours à des formules ou à des échanges brefs plus ou moins stéréotypés. En conséquence, ils se réalisent dans des formules préalablement définies (Béal *ibid.*, 184) qui expliquent leur caractère quasi-automatique³.

À la lumière de cette distinction, il semblerait que les formules françaises, à la différence de tournures japonaises comme *go-kurōsama* ou *otsukaresama* – plus formelles et incontournables –, renvoient plutôt à des routines qu'à des rituels. En effet, des formules de réconfort comme *Ne t'en fais pas, ça va aller* ; *Tu as bien travaillé !* ; etc., s'écartent de comportements codifiés par la politesse. Ce sont plutôt des marques d'approbation. En ce sens, ce sont des routines plus dépendantes du bon vouloir du locuteur que de comportements régis par la civilité (cf. Claudel 2015, 130–131). Les formats sont également plus libres que ceux qui caractérisent les rituels.

En japonais⁴, les marques de reconnaissance que sont le réconfort et les encouragements relèvent de rituels de politesse communément appelés *aisatsu*. Ide les définit comme suit :

[...] in addition to the notions of 'greeting' and 'farewell', *aisatsu* contains a wider range of pragmatic acts such as 'thanking', 'apologizing', 'introducing on [sic] self', 'making congratulatory remarks', 'giving speeches', and so on. Generally speaking, *aisatsu* refers to a wide variety of fixed verbal and nonverbal formulae as well as ritual conducts that mark

³ En opérant une partition entre *rituel* et *routine*, on s'écarte de la position de Coulmas qui inclut dans les routines conversationnelles, les expressions de politesse ou "politeness routines" (1981, 8). Plus précisément, ce dernier rapporte les routines à « des expressions toutes faites hautement conventionnelles dont la manifestation est liée à des situations de communication plus ou moins standardisées. » [notre traduction] (*ibid.*, 2–3) et le terme *routine* est compris comme un hyperonyme de *rituels* de politesse et de *routines*. Or, en français du moins, *routine* a une acception moins valorisée que le terme *rituel* bien qu'un regard porté sur son étymologie révèle un déplacement de sens de ce mot qui tend à avoir perdu la dimension péjorative qu'il avait jusqu'à la première moitié du XX^e s. (cf. Rey (dir.) 1993, 1843).

⁴ Le système Hepburn modifié a été utilisé pour la transcription japonaise.

various contexts from the everyday to the ceremonial [sic]. (Ide R. 2009, 18)

Le terme de *aisatsu* réfère donc à des comportements langagiers très variés. Dans un célèbre article, Martin (1964, 407–408) souligne l'importance quantitative des formules rituelles dans les échanges en japonais. La notion de *manyūra keigo* est également apparue pour qualifier une langue commerciale constituée de formules routinisées.

2.2 Une manifestation de l'empathie en japonais : le *negirai*

Certains rituels ont pour fonction de manifester de l'empathie. C'est notamment le cas du *negirai* que nous allons d'abord situer dans un panorama général des formules d'empathie avant d'en présenter les deux formules les plus représentatives.

2.2.1 *Omoiyari* ou l'empathie en japonais

La traduction japonaise la plus courante du mot *empathie* est *omoiyari*, terme qui ne recouvre qu'approximativement la notion occidentale d'*empathie* (Lebra 1969). Le terme d'*omoiyari* fait en effet écho aux notions bouddhiques de *nasake* (sentiments humains), *dōjō* (compassion), *jīhi* (miséricorde, amour compassionnel), *awaremi* (pitié), *jin* (amour altruiste), etc. Dans une dimension sociale, il renvoie également au *ninjō* (générosité du cœur) qui a fortement inspiré la culture populaire.

Selon Lebra (1976, 123), l'expression linguistique du *omoiyari* est un style communicationnel prévalant dans la société japonaise qu'elle nomme « *anticipatory communication* ».

Ego does not express his wish but expects Alter or a third person to anticipate his wish. The burden of communication falls not on the message sender but on the message receiver. Instead of Ego's having to tell or ask for what he wants, others around him guess and accommodate his needs, sparing him embarrassment.

Et d'ajouter :

omoiyari, loosely, as an ability to “read other people's minds” and a willingness to respond to other people's unspoken feelings, wants, and needs. (*ibid.*)

Cette « communication anticipatoire » place au cœur de la rencontre la dimension intersubjective et la capacité à déceler les attentes d'autrui. Elle rend compte d'une préoccupation constante du maintien de bonnes rela-

tions et se traduit par l'emploi de nombreuses tournures dites de « prévenance » *hairyo hyōgen* (voir notamment Yamaoka 2001). Parmi celles-ci, on citera par exemple le recours à des mots dits « adoucisseurs » (ou littéralement « mots coussins » *kusshon kotoba*) permettant de se concilier la coopération de l'interlocuteur avant une demande, un refus, etc. La communication anticipatoire se manifeste aussi par le recours à des énoncés elliptiques ou détournés (formes d'euphémismes) permettant de ménager la face de l'interlocuteur susceptible d'être mise à mal par des paroles explicites (refus, etc.). La structure discursive de la phrase japonaise en strates successives présentant en périphérie (début et fin de phrase) des marqueurs énonciatifs qui se répondent sous forme de collocations (Minami 1993) facilite ce mode de communication. En prenant l'exemple des collocations adverbiales Tanaka (2001) montre, par exemple, comment il est possible d'anticiper, dès l'apparition de l'adverbe en début d'énoncé, la forme du prédicat final et lève en partie le voile sur la supposée communication télépathique (*ishin denshin*). Cette attention aux sentiments d'autrui prend les formes suivantes :

1. Prise de nouvelle (s'enquérir de l'état de santé) : *o-genki desu ka*. Comment allez-vous ?
2. Sympathie-compassion (*omoiyari, dōjō*) : *o-ki no doku*. Mon pauvre !
3. *negirai* (voir *infra*).
4. Encouragement (*hagemi*) : *gambatte kudasai*. Bon courage !
5. Réconfort (*nagusame*) : *go shūshō sama desu*. Je vous présente toutes mes condoléances.
6. Appel à prendre soin de soi/ de sa santé : *o-ki o tsukete*. Prenez soin de vous !

2.2.2 Présentation de deux rituels relevant du *negirai*

On s'intéressera dorénavant à la sous-catégorie du *negirai* qui nécessite d'abord quelques éclaircissements contrairement aux autres catégories. La définition lexicographique du verbe *negirau* ci-dessous va permettre de cerner les actes effectués au travers du *negirai* :

Action d'exprimer un sentiment de gratitude vis-à-vis des efforts de l'autre.

Réconforter de la peine. Remercier des efforts.
(*Dictionnaire Kōjien*, 5^e édition, Iwanami)

Le *negirai* est donc l'expression (le plus souvent verbale) par laquelle le locuteur reconnaît un labeur, une peine ou un effort effectué par l'allocutaire. La transcription idéographique courante de ce mot avec le caractère 勞 renvoie d'ailleurs de manière quasi iconique au labeur⁵. En termes d'actes de langage, les expressions relevant du *negirai* sont mobilisées dans l'intention de remercier, de soutenir (encourager), voire parfois de s'excuser d'une peine que l'on a occasionnée. En mettant au premier plan les efforts de l'allocutaire, les rituels langagiers relevant du *negirai* constituent une forme de travail de la face positive de l'allocutaire caractéristique de la reconnaissance. Cette attention à l'autre contribue également à soutenir la cohésion du groupe.

Il existe différents procédés pour exprimer le *negirai*. Dans cette étude, on se limitera aux deux formules ci-dessous très largement prévalentes dans les échanges.

Type	Traduction littérale	Exemples de situations d'emploi	Fonctions
<i>go-kurōsama</i>	<i>Vous vous êtes donné (vous vous donnez) de la peine.</i>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> – Entrée en contact ou prise de congé avec un livreur à domicile ; – Salutation échangée lorsque l'on croise un employé municipal, un travailleur sur un chantier, etc. ; – Adresse à un subalterne qui a terminé un travail. 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> « Compatir » « Saluer » « Remercier » « Encourager »
<i>o-tsukaresama</i>	<i>Vous êtes bien fatigué/e.</i>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> – Formule d'accueil prononcée à l'égard d'un collègue qui a terminé un travail. – Réponse à un collègue qui salue au moment de partir. 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> « Compatir » « Saluer » « Réconforter »

⁵ Une autre transcription 犒う évoque davantage la reconnaissance ou le réconfort (exprimer de la reconnaissance aux soldats ayant acheminé des vivres).

Ces expressions trouvent différentes réalisations plus ou moins formelles ou relâchées⁶. Les tournures soutenues peuvent elles-mêmes avoir deux réalisations aspectuelles (accompli et inaccompli). Les formes accomplies en *deshita* signalent clairement que le procès de référence est achevé au moment où elles sont prononcées (fin de journée, achèvement d'un travail, rappel d'un acte passé, etc.). Les formes inaccomplies font quant à elles référence à une action en cours, inachevée. Elles sont notamment employées en guise de salutation lorsque l'on croise quelqu'un d'affairé à une tâche. En ce sens, outre l'expression de l'empathie, du remerciement (en cas de rapport hiérarchique) ou de la reconnaissance, elles prennent aussi une dimension d'encouragement pour la poursuite du travail. On peut alors rapprocher ces tournures avec l'expression française « Bon courage ! ».

Du point de vue de la position relative des participants à l'échange sur les axes horizontal (appartenance au groupe ou non) et vertical (voir *supra*), les contraintes de ces tournures sont les suivantes :

Go-kurōsama s'emploie vis-à-vis de personnes de statut égal ou inférieur au sien (cf. Miller 2011, 224) pour manifester la reconnaissance à l'égard d'un travail accompli impliquant une fatigue physique. Il s'agit en général d'une tâche effectuée à la demande du locuteur. Pour cette raison, cette tournure est parfois considérée comme porteuse d'une forme de paternalisme ou d'un sentiment de supériorité de celui qui l'énonce. Il s'agit principalement de situations dans lesquelles le locuteur est le bénéficiaire d'un travail effectué par l'allocutaire (livraison à domicile, réparation, jardinage, course, etc.).

Les expressions convoquant *o-tsukaresama* relèvent quant à elles d'une sociabilité amicale. Elles traduisent le sentiment d'appartenance à un même groupe (amis, collègues, membres d'un club sportif, etc.) dans lequel chacun est sur un pied d'égalité vis-à-vis de l'autre et donc susceptible de comprendre ses efforts.

⁶ Les tournures relâchées se caractérisent par l'élimination du suffixe honorifique *-sama* (« *go-kurō* » et « *o-tsukare* ») et, à l'opposé, les plus formelles sont suivies du marqueur de politesse *desu* (« *go-kurōsama desu* » et « *o-tsukaresama desu* ») ou, plus rarement, de son équivalent honorifique *de irasshaimasu*. Entre les deux, les tournures « *go-kurōsama* » et « *o-tsukaresama* » qui font pourtant intervenir le suffixe honorifique *sama* relèvent du langage ordinaire. Ce phénomène est connu sous le nom de Principe d'érosion de la déférence (*keiiteigen no hōsoku* 敬意遜(低減)の法則).

2.3 *Manifester de l'empathie en français par des encouragements et du réconfort*

En Europe occidentale, le terme d'empathie émerge en tant que concept relevant de la philosophie et de psychologie (Rey (dir.) 1993, 681). Différentes sources (Lagane 2008, Rey (dir.) *ibid.*) signalent également que ce concept a été forgé en 1903 par Theodor Lipps. Présenté comme issu de la psychologie, il tire ses origines de l'allemand *Einfühlung*. Toutefois, pour Jorland et Thirioux (2008, § 2), on le doit plutôt à Robert Vischer qui l'a développé dans le champ de l'esthétique dès 1872 (cf. également Brunel et Cosnier 2012, 9–10). En sciences humaines, le concept émerge dans les années 1960 avec le développement des travaux se réclamant de l'interactionnisme (*ibid.*, 11).

Ainsi, l'empathie renvoie à l'aptitude d'*ego* à éprouver les sensations d'autrui.

Pacherie (2004) de son côté souligne la distinction généralement opérée entre deux conceptions de l'empathie : l'une consistant à l'appréhender « comme un mode de perception directe des émotions de l'autre », l'autre insistant « sur le rôle de l'imagination et de la simulation projective » (*ibid.*, § 12). Le positionnement de Jorland et Thirioux permet d'articuler ces deux perspectives sur la base de l'interrelation entre le sujet et l'appropriation qu'il se fait des perceptions d'autrui – un processus qui conduit à faire émerger « ni tout à fait [le] sentiment de l'*alter ego*, ni [le] sentiment propre originaire, mais [...] un sentiment créé par le rapport des deux. » (2008, § 35) La portée intersubjective de l'empathie est ainsi clairement posée.

La faculté de se mettre à la place de l'autre explique que puissent être retenus, parmi les comportements relevant de l'empathie, l'encouragement, le réconfort et la reconnaissance dont la portée va être définie à travers un détour par leur étymologie.

2.3.1 Un acte à portée sociale : l'encouragement

Dans une de ses acceptions les plus répandues, l'encouragement est une « manifestation stimulante de solidarité morale dans l'effort ». Cet acte renvoie à la catégorie japonaise du *hagemi* ou encouragements mais aussi, par sa portée pragmatique, à certains traits du *negirai* (voir *supra* § 2.2.2). Cependant, les rituels mobilisés dans ce cadre en japonais ont pour but de soutenir autrui dans un contexte plus restreint qu'en français, à savoir celui de l'effort dans le travail. La définition française laisse entrevoir un éventail de situations plus large (lors d'épreuves difficiles), de même que

des comportements verbaux qui s'étendent jusqu'aux proverbes (*Après la pluie, le beau temps*).

2.3.2 Un acte à dimension morale : le réconfort

L'empathie peut également se manifester dans le réconfort que le *Nouveau Petit Robert* définit comme un « soutien ou renforcement moral qui redonne courage et espoir ».

Le recours à des formules de réconfort suppose une situation plus ou moins difficile à surmonter. Dans des circonstances tragiques (deuil, maladie, rupture) les paroles sont un moyen, si ce n'est de pallier la souffrance, du moins de montrer à autrui qu'on comprend sa douleur. De nombreuses formules rituelles – prêtes à l'emploi – existent pour permettre de transmettre sa sympathie. Lors d'une séparation des tournures comme *Ne t'en fais pas* ; etc. ou d'une maladie (*Bon rétablissement* ; *Repose-toi bien* ; etc.) sont à la disposition du locuteur ou du scripteur. Mais réconforter quelqu'un peut aussi l'être dans les petites épreuves de la vie quotidienne (au travail, dans les études, etc.) comme vont l'illustrer les exemples du corpus. Ces expressions font écho à certaines tournures japonaises relevant du *negirai* (par exemple *omachidôsama* à quelqu'un qui a attendu, ou *goshûshôsama* pour présenter des condoléances, litt. : « Vous devez être bien peiné ») dans lesquelles le locuteur se place du point de vue de l'allocutaire.

2.3.3 Un acte de construction identitaire : la reconnaissance

Le *Nouveau Petit Robert* (2002) définit la reconnaissance comme le « fait de reconnaître, d'identifier un objet, un objet comme tel ». En ce sens, c'est donc le contraire du déni.

Sur la base du concept philosophique de *reconnaissance* proposé par Hegel et des travaux en psychologie sociale, Honneth (1996) présente une théorie de la reconnaissance à trois niveaux : privé, juridico-politique et social. Dans chacune de ces sphères, être reconnu par autrui est posé comme constitutif d'un rapport positif à soi nécessaire à la réalisation personnelle ou sociale. La reconnaissance s'exprime chez chaque individu par un besoin de reconnaissance et un sentiment de reconnaissance. Une des manifestations de l'empathie consiste à deviner ce besoin et à le satisfaire par l'expression de formules telles que *Tu dois être fatigué* ou encore, *Tu as bien travaillé*.

Par sa dimension valorisante et intégrante, la reconnaissance de l'autre, de son travail ou de sa peine, qui repose sur la capacité à les percevoir

(empathie), peut donc être considérée comme une attention à la face positive et son expression active comme une forme de travail de cette face positive telle qu'elle est définie par Brown et Levinson (1978).

2.4 Éléments de synthèse

Il se dégage de ces définitions plusieurs positionnements distincts. L'encouragement comporte une valeur sociale qui se réalise dans l'aide et la récompense. Le réconfort véhicule une valeur morale qui passe par le soutien et la consolation. La reconnaissance comporte une dimension émotionnelle constitutive de l'identité sociale. Cette distinction laisse entrevoir les lieux/les moments de réalisation des actes de langage qui correspondent à ces différentes orientations.

En français, les encouragements peuvent s'accomplir dans des actes votifs ou dans « l'exhortation à faire preuve de courage » que Mulo Farenkia (2017, 46) attribue au réconfort, comme l'illustrent des formules comme : *Courage ; Ne t'en fais pas, ça va aller ; Haut les cœurs ! ; etc.*

Le réconfort peut, quant à lui, se rencontrer dans des actes de compassion. Pour Mulo Farenkia, la compassion est un macro-acte qui inclut des actes comme « l'expression de la sympathie, l'offre d'aide, l'exhortation, le conseil, la question, l'exclamation, entre autres ». (2017, 44)

Quant à la reconnaissance, elle se traduit par des expressions du type *Tu t'es donné bien de la peine* qui, en définitive, semblent circuler plus largement dans la communauté japonaise. Si tout le monde a besoin d'être reconnu dans son travail, on remarque que, là où en français des remerciements, des encouragements ou encore du réconfort seront exprimés, ce sont d'autres tournures empathiques comme la reconnaissance qui sont plus souvent mobilisées en japonais.

Finalement, comme on l'a indiqué plus haut, les expressions japonaises du *negirai* intègrent ces différentes dimensions de l'encouragement, du réconfort ou de la reconnaissance ce qui explique pourquoi il est difficile d'en trouver une traduction satisfaisante en français.

3. Observations en contexte situé

Les tournures considérées en elles-mêmes, ainsi que la prise en compte de leur portée sociale mettent en avant l'importance accordée à l'attention à l'autre dans les sociétés à l'étude. Toutefois, cette forme de bienveillance semble occuper une place prépondérante au Japon. Son degré de ritualisation témoigne d'un emploi plus contraint qu'en français. Mais qu'en est-il précisément en contexte situé ? C'est ce que l'on se propose de cerner à

travers l'analyse des pratiques à l'œuvre dans un corpus de messages électroniques à caractère personnel en français et en japonais dont le mode de constitution va d'abord être introduit.

3.1 Principes méthodologiques ayant présidé à la constitution du corpus

L'examen entrepris l'a été sur un corpus de messages en français et en japonais qui ne se suivent pas nécessairement. Il a été recueilli auprès de personnes de notre connaissance et a été constitué essentiellement sur la base de critères relationnels et générationnels (cf. Claudel 2010, 37 ; 2012, 84 ; 2015, 133).

Les principes méthodologiques adoptés pour la constitution du corpus ont permis d'assurer la comparabilité des données à partir des critères de pertinence, de représentativité, d'homogénéité et d'exhaustivité de Greimas (1966, 142–145).

Le critère de pertinence s'accorde aux objectifs de recherche qui portent sur les pratiques discursives françaises et japonaises et justifie le recueil de messages provenant de scripteurs aux profils sociologiques différents mais comparables entre les communautés à l'étude. Le critère de représentativité des données explique l'échantillonnage retenu, lequel comprend des messages échangés entre ami/e/s, collègues, membres de la famille et professeur/e et étudiant/e. Ceux-ci sont quantitativement équivalents dans les deux corpus et proviennent de trois tranches d'âge : 16–25 ans, 30–50 ans et plus de 50 ans. Le paramètre relatif au genre a été écarté en raison de difficultés liées au recueil du corpus. Le critère d'homogénéité a conduit à ne retenir que des messages échangés d'un individu à un autre. En outre, le format "message" obéit à des critères de longueur du point de vue du nombre d'énoncés par courriel, comparables entre communautés. Finalement, le critère d'exhaustivité, qui consiste à prendre en compte tous les phénomènes, même les plus discutables, a été respecté : les messages retenus n'ont fait l'objet d'aucune sélection en dehors des principaux critères déjà mentionnés : tranche d'âge et profil relationnel.

L'analyse des pratiques privilégiées va tenir compte de ces différents aspects.

3.2 Place des formules en contexte électronique : les pratiques en français

Dans le corpus français, les formules d'ouverture de messages témoignent de la part des cyber-scripteurs, de leur « capacité à se mettre à la place de l'autre pour comprendre ses sentiments et ses émotions » (Decety 2004,

53). Ils renvoient ponctuellement aux actes de langage *rassurer* ou *se réjouir pour autrui*. Bien que très présents, d'autres actes permettant de *s'enquérir de la santé du destinataire* (Claudel 2012) ou de *prendre de ses nouvelles* (Claudel 2015) ont un rôle à part comme on va le voir.

3.2.1 Rassurer ou se réjouir pour autrui

En cyber-situation, rassurer son correspondant peut conduire à l'emploi de la tournure injonctive : *ne vous inquiétez pas*. C'est d'ailleurs la seule expression rencontrée dans le corpus. Les messages concernés ont été échangés en situation formelle – entre collègues de travail ou entre un enseignant et son étudiante⁷ –, ce qui explique le recours au pronom de deuxième personne « vous » qui témoigne d'un niveau de relation polie :

1. *Ne vous inquiétez pas si il y a des changements de dernière minute. On peut fixer le 24 mars si ça va, sinon le 27.*
2. *Ne vous inquiétez pas. J'ai bien au [sic] votre travail et je l'ai corrigé, mais tout le monde ne m'a pas rendu les synthèses à temps [...]*

Aucun équivalent de ce procédé n'a été trouvé dans le corpus en japonais.

Par ailleurs, *se réjouir pour autrui* peut engendrer le recours au mot « bravo ». Il traduit le contentement éprouvé suite à l'annonce d'un événement heureux advenu à son correspondant. Il s'appuie par conséquent sur un épisode de la vie du cyber-correspondant déjà réalisé au moment de la rédaction du message et dont l'achèvement est l'objet de satisfaction. Dans le corpus, cet acte met en scène le rapport interlocutoire à travers le recours au pronom d'adresse (*votre*) (ex. 3) ou le sémantisme d'un terme comme « collaboratif » (ex. 4) :

3. *Sinon ravi de vous avoir rencontré, d'avoir fait cette nouvelle expérience avec vous et **bravo** pour **votre** travail !*
4. ***Bravo** pour ce travail **collaboratif** qui me semble extrêmement nécessaire.*
5. ***Bravo, bravo** pour la médaille...*

Ces énoncés à valeur relationnelle ont une portée empathique dans la mesure où ils permettent de valoriser le destinataire du message. Ils sont

⁷ Les messages sont reproduits dans leur orthographe originale.

également un moyen pour le cyber-scripteur de manifester son soutien. Et si dans le corpus japonais, ce genre de configurations trouve un écho dans une formule comme *gambatte* qui relève de l'encouragement (*hagemi*) (cf. *infra*), aucune formulation proche des expressions françaises comme *ki ni shinai de* (ne vous en faites pas) ou encore, *yokatta desu ne* (très bien/tant mieux), n'a été rencontrée. Seule l'occurrence 6, comportant une formule votive (*omedetō gozaimasu*) apparentée en discours à un « bravo », a été relevée. Mais ce n'est sans doute là qu'un idiosyncrasisme :

6. *komyūta naottan desu tte ? omedetō gozaimasu.*
(*Tu dis que*) ton ordinateur est réparé ? Félicitations.

3.2.2 Prendre des nouvelles du destinataire

Par ailleurs, *prendre des nouvelles du destinataire* est l'un des actes d'ouverture les mieux représentés dans le corpus. Étant tournées vers autrui, les formules rencontrées sont à la forme interrogative et/ou comportent un pronom d'adresse :

7. *alors comment va tu ? ca va pas trop dur ? je suppose que tu as déjà fini ton année ?!!*
8. *Salut jack, Alors comment se passe ta vie à Strasbourg !*

Le souci de l'autre peut également se manifester dans des tournures du type : « j'espère que tu/vous + aller bien ». Mais en ce cas, a-t-on réellement affaire à une expression d'empathie ? La question se pose en effet, dès lors que son lieu d'apparition

– en tête de message – lui confère le statut d'«assertion de salutation» (Kerbrat-Orecchioni 2001, 55), [et] ce, d'autant plus que cette manière d'entrer en relation, qui consiste à présumer que le récepteur se porte bien, n'appelle aucune réponse. [Cet agissement peut être mis] en relation avec le fait qu'à une exception près, l'utilisation de la formule est privilégiée en contexte professionnel. On y voit donc plus une simple stratégie de politesse qu'une réelle préoccupation à l'égard de l'état de santé de l'interlocuteur. (Caudel 2012, 91)

Ce constat conduit à considérer la formule comme relevant difficilement d'une manifestation d'attention vis-à-vis d'autrui. C'est pourquoi, bien que très présente également dans les courriels en japonais, la demande de nouvelles n'a pas été traitée dans la section qui suit, consacrée aux comportements privilégiés dans cette langue et culture.

3.3 Place des formules en contexte électronique : les pratiques en japonais

L'examen du corpus japonais a montré que l'attention à l'autre se manifestait dans des tournures différentes selon son lieu de réalisation. Il a également permis de mettre en évidence l'absence d'emploi de certains actes relevés *supra*. C'est le cas des manifestations de sympathie-compassion (*omoiyari*, *dōjō*) et de réconfort (*nagusame*). Sans doute est-ce dû à la spécificité des événements à l'origine du déclenchement de ces actes (deuil, maladie, situation d'examen...), moins mobilisés que d'autres en situation électronique en raison de leur rattachement à des faits ponctuels et à la préférence accordée à d'autres moyens de communication⁸ pour y réagir.

En dehors de la prise de nouvelle qui ne sera pas considérée ici pour les raisons exposées *supra*, les procédés relevant de l'empathie que sont le *negirai* et l'encouragement (*hagemi*) se présentent dans des formules bien circonscrites.

3.3.1 Le *negirai*

En ouverture de messages, outre la requête sur l'état de santé du destinataire à travers la tournure *o-genki* (*comment ça va ?*) – laquelle est considérée comme une « expression de bienveillance de la part de celui qui l'émet » (Claudel 2012, 90), on note la présence de tournures relevant du *negirai* sous la forme : *o-tsukare sama* :

9. ***o-tsukare desu. kyō wa chō tenki ii kedo, kitto soto wa kimochi ii n darō ne—.***

Bonjour (litt. : Tu es fatiguée.). Aujourd'hui, il fait super beau et ce doit être agréable d'être dehors.

10. **[patronyme] san, kyō wa honto ni ***o-tsukare sama deshita*** ~.**

Chère [patronyme], Tu t'es vraiment donnée beaucoup de peine (fatigue) aujourd'hui.

11. ***S san + senshū wa o-tsukare sama deshita.***

Chère S. Tu t'es donnée beaucoup de peine la semaine dernière.

⁸ Comme le signale Rouvillois « [...] dans les circonstances importantes de la vie [...], naissance, baptême, mariage, décès, décoration, ou encore, lorsqu'il s'agit de remercier après une grande soirée, un week-end ou des vacances, il reste d'usage d'écrire une lettre ou une carte (mais jamais un e-mail) [...] » (2008, 550).

Dans l'exemple 9, l'emploi en début de message ne correspond pas à l'usage canonique de cette salutation, qui voudrait qu'elle soit plutôt mobilisée après l'accomplissement d'une tâche, comme dans les exemples 10 et 11 où la thématization des indicateurs temporels *kyō wa* (aujourd'hui) et *senshū wa* (la semaine dernière) renvoie aux moments concernés. Avec Kuramochi (2008), on peut donc considérer l'occurrence 10 comme relevant d'une extension d'usage dans le contexte d'une entrée en relation. Néanmoins, en rappelant dans sa forme un événement passé, cette salutation inscrit le message dans le cadre d'une relation durable et contribue à consolider les liens de groupe. Parce qu'elle peut également être interprétée comme une expression de gratitude de la part du scripteur, elle est conforme au code de la politesse japonaise qui prescrit que l'on commence toujours par remercier autrui lors de la première rencontre (prise de contact) après que l'on a bénéficié d'une faveur (et ce quelle que soit la durée écoulée entre les deux contacts)⁹.

Par ailleurs, dans le corpus analysé, aucun exemple ne comporte *go-kurōsama*. Ce constat est peut-être à mettre en lien avec une évolution des comportements et le fait qu'il s'agisse d'échanges amicaux. En effet, les règles interpersonnelles régissant l'emploi de cette formule souffrent d'un certain flou parmi les locuteurs japonais eux-mêmes, comme l'attestent les variations d'usage et les nombreuses questions posées à ce sujet sur les forums. Les jeunes générations semblent notamment avoir quelques réticences à utiliser *go-kurōsama* de crainte de paraître paternalistes ou arrogants.

Au contraire *o-tsukaresama* fait l'objet d'un engouement au sein de ces jeunes générations. Dans le cadre professionnel, on notera les emplois suivants, qui s'accompagnent d'une désémantisation progressive :

- Salutation de séparation échangée en fin d'une journée ;
- Salutation prononcée lorsque l'on croise un collègue dans un couloir ;
- Salutation prononcée en préambule à une conversation téléphonique ;
- Salutation de début de journée.

Malgré cette perte de sens qualifiée en japonais de *blanchiment hyōhaku-ka*, ce recours à des tournures flattant la face positive d'autrui et renforçant le sentiment d'appartenance ou de cohésion du groupe n'est probablement pas anodin.

⁹ Cf. l'utilisation routinisée de « *itsumo o-sewa ni natte imasu* » (merci de votre aide (patronage) constante) dans la correspondance commerciale.

3.3.2 Inviter à la persévérance

La prise de congé peut donner lieu à l'emploi de formules d'encouragement qui, dans les courriels, se réalisent à travers la tournure *gambatte*. Cette expression – peu répandue dans le corpus – est notamment destinée à soutenir le destinataire dans son travail en l'invitant à persévérer comme le proposent les exemples ci-dessous échangés entre amis ou collègues.

12. *shigoto gambatte !*

Courage dans ton travail !

13. *dewa ato 4 ka getsu, gambatte ne !!!*

Encore 4 mois à tenir, alors courage, hein !!!

L'âge des cyber-scripteurs (16–50 ans) ne permet aucune conclusion significative quant à l'utilisation de la formule qui, dans sa traduction en français, s'apparente plutôt à une formule votive.

4. Conclusion

La distinction opérée entre rituel et routine a permis de mettre en évidence la portée plus contrainte des tournures mobilisées pour exprimer de l'empathie en japonais à travers les *aisatsu*, qu'en français. De même que l'approche a montré que, bien que la tendance aille vers un affaiblissement de la mobilisation des formules s'y rapportant et/ou à leur désémantisation, l'attention à autrui demeure importante dans les échanges en japonais. Il en résulte la mise à disposition du locuteur/scripteur d'expressions formelles pouvant se rencontrer dans des contextes variés. Il en va de même en français où toutes sortes de formules prêtes à être employées à différents moments et en différentes circonstances sont disponibles : en cas de maladie ou de deuil, à l'occasion d'un événement particulier (examen, concours, entretien professionnel, compétition sportive...), ou encore lors d'un effort à fournir ou d'une difficulté rencontrée (obstacle à franchir...). Cependant, l'existence de tournures dédiées, dans la culture japonaise, témoigne d'une plus grande valorisation des notions d'effort et d'empathie. C'est en effet un moyen de renforcer les liens du groupe par l'expression d'une forme de solidarité dans l'effort.

Articulés à l'analyse des pratiques discursives à l'œuvre dans des courriels, cet état des lieux a conduit au constat selon lequel bien qu'ils y occupent une place de moindre importance, il existe en français des actes proches du *negirai* japonais. Mais compte tenu de la nature du corpus –

qui relève d'un dispositif spécifique, l'échange électronique – et du nombre limité d'occurrences qu'il renferme, on ne saurait généraliser les résultats des analyses. La démarche apporte néanmoins un éclairage sur les procédés discursifs privilégiés par les cyber-scripteurs et sur la façon dont ces derniers marquent leur rapport à l'autre dans les communautés à l'étude.

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PART II:

**CONTRASTING THE USE OF
LEXICOGRAMMATICAL MEANS
ACROSS DISCOURSE AND GENRES**

CHAPTER FIVE

GESPRÄCHSWÖRTER.
EIN PLÄDOYER FÜR DIE
(WIEDER-)ENTDECKUNG LEXIKALISCH
GEBUNDENER DIALOGISCHER
HANDLUNGSMITTEL AUS HISTORISCHER
UND SPRACHDIDAKTISCHER PERSPEKTIVE

JÖRG KILIAN

1. Zur Einführung

Die linguistische Gesprächsforschung ist in den letzten fünfzig Jahren sehr weit vorangekommen und hat zahlreiche Befunde über gesprochene Sprache im Gespräch zutage gebracht. Die Forschungsliteratur ist bibliographisch relativ gut erschlossen, und auch zum Gesprächswort gibt es eine Reihe an Publikationen (oft unter dem Terminus „Diskursmarker“, vgl. z.B. Blühdorn, Foolen und Loureda 2017). Bei der Erforschung von Gesprächswörtern, wie sie hier weiterhin genannt sein sollen, da sie eine besondere Gruppe innerhalb der Diskursmarker bilden (s.u.), werden historische, sprachenvergleichende und sprachdidaktische Aspekte jedoch nur selten thematisiert. Die Einnahme dieser Perspektiven ist bei der Erforschung von Gesprächswörtern gleichwohl sehr einträglich, und zwar auch für die Beschreibung und Erklärung von Erscheinungsformen in Gesprächen der Gegenwart sowie für den Erwerb von Gesprächswörtern.

Ein Blick in historische Grammatiken zeigt rasch, dass auch der Sprachforschung früherer Jahrhunderte Gesprächswörter durchaus bekannt waren und zum Teil bereits mit kontrastiver und kommunikativ-pragmatischer Weitsicht in Wörterbüchern und Grammatiken beschrieben wurden. Diese Beschreibung erfolgte zumindest mittelbar auch aus sprachdidaktischer Perspektive – während der aktuellen Erst-, Zweit- und Fremdsprachendidaktik verschiedener Sprachen die Gesprächswörter

weniger bedeutsam zu sein scheinen. Der sprachdidaktische Forschungsstand ist jedenfalls überschaubar (vgl. z.B. Stein 2013; Montag 2014); ebenso überschaubar sind die Berücksichtigung von Gesprächswörtern in Schulgrammatiken (vgl. Hennig 2013) und das Angebot an wissenschaftlich fundierten Lehr-Lern-Materialien.

Die folgenden Erkundungen sollen für die Berücksichtigung der historischen Perspektive bei der linguistischen Beschreibung, aber auch (und darauf sei hier ein besonderer Blick geworfen) bei der sprachdidaktischen Modellierung der Behandlung von Gesprächswörtern werben. Im Erstspracherwerb werden Gesprächswörter, zumal mundartlich geprägte, unbewusst in das mentale Lexikon aufgenommen und werden auch im Deutschunterricht nur selten aus dem prozeduralen Wissen ins Bewusstsein gehoben. Die Beschäftigung mit historischen Erscheinungsformen von Gesprächswörtern zwingt zur Distanz vom prozeduralen sprachlichen Wissen, zur Distanz vom vermeintlich Vertrauten. Beim Erwerb einer Fremd- oder Zweitsprache kann diese Distanznahme auch auf anderem Wege, etwa durch kontrastive Spracharbeit im Bereich der Gesprächswörter der beteiligten Gegenwartssprachen stattfinden. Die Geschichte der Gesprächswörter kann aber auch hier zu zusätzlichen Erkenntnissen über ihre gegenwartssprachlichen Funktionen führen. Vor diesem Hintergrund werden im Folgenden Aspekte der Erforschung von Gesprächswörtern aus historischer und sprachdidaktischer Sicht fokussiert. Die Erkundungen konzentrieren sich auf die deutsche Sprache als Erst-, Zweit- und Fremdsprache.

2. Zur Linguistik des Gesprächswortes

Gesprächswörter wurden Ende der 1970er Jahre als besondere Gruppe der Partikeln ausgewiesen (vgl. Henne 1978; Burkhardt 1982) und sind seitdem im Rahmen der Partikelforschung und im Rahmen der Wortartenlehre mehr oder weniger als eigene Partikelgruppe anerkannt (vgl. z.B. die jüngste Auflage der Dudengrammatik aus dem Jahr 2016, §§ 880–886). Sie haben gleichwohl noch keinen eigenen, lexikologisch zweifelsfrei definierten Platz im System der Partikeln, geschweige denn im System der deutschen Wortarten, gefunden (vgl. z.B. das „Handbuch der deutschen Wortarten“ [Hoffmann 2009], in dem die Gesprächswörter im Wesentlichen im Beitrag „Interjektion und Responsiv“ [Ehlich 2009] mit behandelt werden).

Der Umstand, dass das Wort *Gesprächswort* ein Terminus der Sprachwissenschaft des 20. Jahrhunderts ist, weist darauf hin, dass erst die linguistische Erforschung der gesprochenen Sprache und die linguistische Gesprächsfor-

sung die Erscheinungsformen und Funktionen dieser lexikalischen Einheiten entdeckt haben. Helmut Henne (1978, 46) hat den Terminus *Gesprächswort* definiert als Bezeichnung für eine lexikalische Einheit, die a) nicht flektierbar ist, b) ohne Satzgliedwert, aber potenziell satzwertig ist und c) unabhängig vom Satzzusammenhang (nicht satzintegriert) in Erscheinung tritt. Er unterscheidet sodann drei Funktionsklassen: 1. Gliederungspartikeln (sprecherseitig), 2. Rückmeldungspartikeln (hörerseitig) und 3. Interjektionen. Die Dudengrammatik beschreibt die „Gesprächspartikeln“ funktional und unterscheidet Gliederungspartikeln (z.B. *also, na ja, ne?*), Sprechersignale (z.B. *äh, hm, so*), Hörsersignale (z.B. *aha, hmhm, klar*) und Responsivpartikeln (z.B. *ja, doch, nein*) (Duden 2016, §§ 880–886). Die Gruppen weisen große Überschneidungen im lexikalischen Bestand auf.

Schon der hoch- und schriftsprachlich orientierten Sprachforschung früherer Jahrhunderte waren Gesprächswörter bekannt. Sie wurden in Wörterbüchern und Grammatiken gemeinhin unter der Bezeichnung „Interiectiones“ beschrieben bzw. unter den Bezeichnungen „Bewegwörter“ (Wolfgang Ratke 1630), „Zwischenwörter“ (Justus Georg Schottelius 1663), „Triebwörter“ (Kaspar Stieler 1691), „Empfindungswörter“ (Johann Christoph Adelung 1782) oder „Ausrufungswörter“ (Johachim Heinrich Campe 1801) geführt. Jede Lektüre, insbesondere aber jede Übersetzung, die der Funktion eines konkreten Gesprächsworts in einem überlieferten Gesprächsexemplar nachspürt, ist auf die historischen Wörterbücher und Grammatiken angewiesen insofern, als diese Sekundärquellen die historischen Subklassifizierungen dieser Wortart und die konventionellen zeitgenössischen semantisch-pragmatischen Kommentare zu den einzelnen historischen Gesprächswörtern bereithalten. Eine Aufgabe der historischen Gesprächsforschung – aber im Grunde auch jedes Übersetzers und jeder Übersetzerin – ist es dann, die historisch besonderen Funktionen der Gesprächswörter zu rekonstruieren. Die Sprachdidaktik wiederum ist gut beraten, das didaktische Potenzial der historischen und kontrastiven Betrachtung von Gesprächswörtern zu nutzen, das u.a. darin besteht, soziale Sprachhandlungsformen der Gegenwart in ihrem jeweils historisch und kulturell geprägten Gewordensein zu erkennen. Das gilt für Gesprächswörter aller Sprachen. Für die deutsche Sprache seien einige Beispiele aus ihrer Geschichte zusammengestellt.

3. Zur Geschichte des Gesprächsworts in der deutschen Sprache

Die deutschen Grammatiker und Lexikographen des 17. Jahrhunderts haben sich im Zuge ihrer Bestrebungen, die deutsche Sprache in den Rang

einer „HauptSprache“ (Schottelius) zu erheben, auch der Beschreibung der Gesprächswörter zugewandt. Als Termini zur Bezeichnung dieser Wortart dienten u.a. „Bewegwort“, „Zwischenwort“ oder „Triebwort“.

Wolfgang Ratke führt in seiner „Sprachkunst“ aus den Jahren 1612–1615 sowie in seiner „WortschickungsLehr“ (um 1630) Listen mit „Bewegwörtern“ an, z.B.:

„BEWEGVNG. Was ist die Bewegung?

Ein wort das vnbiegig, vnd allein die Bewegung des gemüthes bedeutet, oder das für sich selbst das gemüth des zuhörers, In der rede erfüllet.

Wie mannigerley sein der Bewegungen? Mannigerley:

1. Frewige, alß: Jo, Jauch, hoschaho etc.
2. Trawrige, alß: ach ach, o wee, wee, o Gott etc.
3. Lachige, alß: ha ha ha etc.
4. Weinige, alß: hey, hoy hoy etc.
5. Verwundrige, alß: wanne! hilff Gott! behüte gott! etc.
6. Bespottige, alß: pfuy, pfuy dich, schäme dich etc.
7. Wunschige, alß: o wolte Gott, ach das Gott gebe etc.
8. Verachtige, alß: pack dich, an den galgen etc.
9. Bewährige, alß: da da, da recht, eben recht etc.
10. Fürchtige, alß: wat, hey.
11. Liebkosige, alß: lieber, ey lieber, mein liebster etc.
12. Vndültige, alß: och och etc.
13. Anreizige, alß: nu doch, Jch bitte dich, ey doch etc.
14. Trawige, alß: wee dir, wee ihm, wee Euch etc.
15. Ruffige, alß: hör, hör hier, hör doch, horch, hörstu etc.
16. Antwortige, alß: werda, was da, hie bin Jch etc.
17. Außruffige, alß: awee, zeter, mordio, fewer etc.
18. Stillige, alß: st, still, schi etc.
19. Anzeigige, als: sihe, sihe da, sihe doch etc.
20. Schwerige, alß: warlich, auff mein trew. etc.“

(Ratke 1612–1615 [1959], 21)

Die semantisch-pragmatischen Interpretationen der historischen Gesprächswörter, die Ratke hier bietet, folgen den zeitgenössischen Sprachhandlungsbegriffen (vgl. auch Schottelius 1663, 666f., der eine ähnliche Liste bietet). Zugleich eröffnen sie, zumal in sprachdidaktischem Kontext, Zugänge zur historisch-vergleichenden Betrachtung: Das vieldeutige *ach* kann auch im 21. Jahrhundert zum Ausdruck einer „traurigen Bewegung“ dienen, während das *ey* in „ey lieber“ offenbar eine Veränderung erfahren hat. In Kaspar Stielers Wörterbuch wird *ey* wie folgt beschrieben:

„Ai / ay / & ey / interj. increp. obtest. & dolent.

Hem, hei, age, ohe. Ey / was tuhstu hier? Hem quid agis? Ey / ey / das ist es! atat, hoc illud est! Ey / ey / das geht mir nahe! Ohe, qvàm doleo vicem tuam! Ey / ich bitte dich drum / age fodes!

Eya / qvasi sit ab ey / & ja / interj. exult. & congratul. eja, euge. Eya / ietzt bin ich braf. Euge, jam lepidus vocor. Eya / wären wir da / utinam istic essemus. (Stieler 1691, 30)“

Ey und *eya* erscheinen in den Belegen jeweils gesprächsschritteinleitend, also turn-initial. Das kann auch bei *ey* in der deutschen Gegenwartssprache beobachtet werden (vgl. Paul 1992, 246f.; Kilian 2012) – und doch wird der historische Wandel deutlich, denn redupliziertes *ey* mit offenem Diphthongansatz /aI/ wird selten ‚aufmunternd‘, auch ‚tadelnd‘ (beide: „increp. [itans?]“) gebraucht, wohl auch kaum ‚bittend‘, ‚beschwörend‘ („obtest. [or]“), mitunter wohl aber noch ‚[an]klagend‘ („dolent [is]“).

Festgehalten werden kann, dass die Grammatiken und Wörterbücher des 17. und 18. Jahrhunderts ausweisen, dass die zeitgenössische Sprachforschung der modernen Bestimmung des Gesprächsworts und seiner Funktion als Dialogstrukturpartikel sehr nahe kommt (vgl. Kilian 2002, 84–90, mit Hinweisen auf weitere Quellen). Auch die dialogstrukturierenden Funktionen als Gliederungspartikel sind bereits erkannt. Joachim Heinrich Campe hat in seinem berühmten Jugendbuch „Robinson der Jüngere“ die Form des Gesprächs als Darstellungsmittel gewählt; in seinem „Deutschen Wörterbuch“, das auf der Grundlage von Adelungs Wörterbuch erarbeitet wurde, führt er zu zahlreichen Gesprächswörtern auch die dialogstrukturierenden Funktionen an, z.B. zu *nun*:

„Oft dient es nur in der vertraulichen Sprechart, eine Frage zu begleiten, wo es immer voran stehet. Nun, was sagen Sie dazu? Nun, fragen Sie doch, wie es mit der Sache ging? Besonders wenn man eine Antwort etc. zu erwarten berechtigt ist, z.B. nun, wie lange soll ich warten? oder auch, wenn gewisser Maßen ein Warten vorangegangen ist, z.B. wenn einer den andern sprechen wollte, dieser aber nicht gleich anhören konnte und nachher fragt: nun, was haben Sie mir denn zu sagen?“ (Campe 1807–1811, Bd. 3, 523)

Einer wollte „sprechen“, der andere sollte „anhören“ und beginnt sodann seinen Gesprächsschritt mit einer Gliederungspartikel, die hier lediglich nicht terminologisch, sondern gleichsam operational gefasst wird.

Im 19. Jahrhundert werden Gesprächswörter überwiegend abwertend als „Füllwörter“, „Flickwörter“, „Würzwörter“ bezeichnet und in Grammatiken verpönt. Johann Christian August Heyse etwa notiert in der „Deutschen Schulgrammatik“, die „meisten Interjectionen, namentlich die

Schallnachahmungen, gehören mehr der Volks= und Kindersprache, als der gebildeten Schrift= und Umgangssprache an“ (Heyse 1868, 247). Derselbe Heyse formuliert in seiner theoretisch-praktischen Grammatik im Abschnitt über die „Wortlehre“ etwas moderater. Er spricht hier von „Naturlauten“, „die einer Gefühlssprache angehören, die außerhalb des Gebietes der eigentlichen menschlichen Vernunftsprache“ liegen, und er unterscheidet dabei zwischen „Empfindungslauten“ zum Ausdruck „der Freude, des Schmerzes, der Furcht, des Schreckens, der Verwunderung und der mannigfaltigen andern Gefühle“, wie zum Beispiel *o, ach, ha, ei*; „Schallnachahmungen, kindisch spielende Nachbildungen vernommener Schälle“, wie zum Beispiel *krach, puff, husch*; und „Lautgeberden, welche statt sichtbarer Geberden dem Andern eine Willensäußerung andeuten sollen“, wie zum Beispiel *st, sch* „als Aufforderung zum Schweigen“ (Heyse, Bd. 1, 1838, 273). Später, im Kapitel über die „Interjection“, widmet er diesen „Naturlauten“ aber doch relativ ausführliche Aufmerksamkeit und kommt dabei dem modernen Begriff des Gesprächsworts wieder sehr nahe. Eine Gruppe, nämlich die „Lautgeberde“, wird von ihrer dialogischen Funktion her beschrieben:

„Die Lautgeberde unterscheidet sich von den andern Interjectionen dadurch, daß sie nicht bloß eine subjective Gefühls=Äußerung, sondern an einen Hörenden gerichtet ist, welchem sie etwas sagen oder mittheilen will, jedoch nicht in der Form des logisch und grammatisch entwickelten Gedanken=Ausdrucks, sondern durch einen bloß andeutenden Empfindungslaut.“ (Heyse Bd. 1, 1838, 914)

Und er gibt dem Leser unter anderen folgende Normen für den Gebrauch der „Interjection“ mit auf den Weg: Der Gebildete gebrauche sie weniger als der Ungebildete, der Städter weniger als der Mensch im „Naturzustande“. Doch: Sie seien in Darstellungen „geduldet, die ein treues Bild des Volkslebens und der Volkssitte geben sollen; wie auch in Dichtungen die für das Volk oder doch im Volkstone abgefasst sind.“ (Heyse Bd. 1, 1838, 916) Zu solchen Dichtungen gehört Wilhelm Raabes „Pfisters Mühle“ (1884) eher nicht, wengleich Raabe durchaus den „Volkston“ trifft. Stellvertretend für die zahlreichen Gesprächswörter in diesem „Sommerferienheft“ sei eines etwas heller beleuchtet, nämlich die Gliederungspartikel *ne*. Beim Weihnachtsfest in der Mühle erblickt Adam Asche den Poeten Dr. Lippoldes:

„[...] der erste Anblick des Poeten aber tat wahrlich nichts, die Lust des Schalks am Spiel mit der Welt zu dämpfen. Im Gegenteil, nachdem er alle übrigen in seiner Weise begrüßt und sich von der Christine einen Rippen-

stoß und die Weisung geholt hatte: 'Gehn Sie weiter, Nichtsnutz!' schien er fernerhin sich ganz dem Dichter widmen zu wollen.

'Ne, wie Sie mich freuen, Lippoldes!', rief er. 'Sie hat mir das Christkind ganz speziell unter den Baum gelegt [...].'" (84)

Die satzeinleitende Gliederungspartikel *ne* /ne:/ fasst vieles, was sonst gesagt werden müsste, zusammen, vor allem natürlich, dass der Sprecher nicht erwartet hat, den Angesprochenen hier zu sehen, und er seine Verwunderung darüber zum Ausdruck bringt. Die Gliederungspartikel *nein* hat einen immensen Funktionsreichtum als Gesprächswort entwickelt, an dem schon Rudolf Hildebrand im 13. Band des Deutschen Wörterbuchs von Jacob Grimm und Wilhelm Grimm aus dem Jahre 1889 gescheitert ist: „die nhd. verwendung ist unerschöpflich; die bedeutungsmodification ergibt sich leicht aus dem zusammenhange“ – nämlich der dann folgenden Belege. Raabe hat diese Polyfunktionalität der Gliederungspartikel *nein* genutzt und die niederdeutsch geprägte umgangssprachliche Version *ne* zu literarischen Ehren gebracht.

Im letzten Drittel des 20. Jahrhunderts wurde das Gesprächswort, wie oben erwähnt, linguistisch (wieder)entdeckt. Im Zuge der Entwicklung und Verbreitung neuer Kommunikationstechnologien (der sog. neuen Medien) eroberte das Gesprächswort auch die formal dialogische geschriebene Umgangssprache u.a. in Chats, SMS, Tweets, WhatsApp-Texten (vgl. Kilian 2001; 2011). Das „Deutsche Wörterbuch“ von Hermann Paul hat sich in besonderer Weise der lexikographischen Beschreibung der deutschen Gesprächswörter angenommen. Das Sachregister der bislang letzten Auflage aus dem Jahr 2002 führt unter dem Oberbegriff „Gesprächswort“ die folgenden Untergruppen und Stichwörter auf (vgl. Paul 2002: Sachregister):

Abtönungspartikel

aber, allerdings, auc, bloß, da, denn, doch, dreist, eben, eigentlich, einfach, einmal, erst, etwa, fein, gefälligst, gleich, halt, hübsch, immerhin, irgendwie, ja, je, jetzt, langsam, mal, man, nicht, noch, nochmal, nur, ruhig, schlicht, schließlich, schon, schön, so, überhaupt, übrigens, vielleicht, wohl

Empfindungswort

ach, ah, äh, aha, au, bah, bäh, buh, da, eh, ei, gitt, ha, haha, hallo, he, hei, heisa, herrje, hm, hu, huch, hui, hurra, i, jemine, juchhe, juppheidi, mmh, nebbich, o, oha, oh là là, oho, pah, pfui, potz, puh, sapperlot, sapperment, ts, uff, uh, weh

Gliederungspartikel

ach, äh, also, apropos, ei, gelt, gut, he, hm, i, ja, je, kurz, kurzum, na, nein, nicht, nun, oder, okay, pardon, richtig, so, tja, übrigens, und, was, wie, wohl

Interjektion

ah, ahoi, alaaf, ätsch, baff, bäh, basta, bauz, bim, bravo, brr, bum(m), bums, halleluja, hatschi, hau ruck, hei, heidi, helau, hm, ho, hopp, hoppla, hops, hopsa, horrido, Hört! Hört!, hott, hu, hü, hui, hurra, je, juchhe, juchhei, juchheisa, killekille, kladderadatsch, klapp, klatsch, klick, knack, kotz, potz, kusch, lala, Menschenskind, nebbich, paff, papperlapapp, patsch, peng, piep, plumps, puff, puh, ratsch, rums, schnapp, schnaps, schwapp, schwupp, st, uppsala, wumm, zack, zeter

Rückmeldungspartikel

ach, aha, bitte, eben, gelt, genau, gut, he, hm, ja, na, nein, nicht, nun, schon, so, und, was, wie, wirklich

Sprechhandlungspartikel

ach, ade, aha, amen, auch, basta, bitte, bravo, da, dalli, danke, denn, doch, eben, geh, gelt, gewiß, gut, hallo, he, hm, hopp, huhu, hui, husch, immerhin, ja, los, mordio, na, nee, nein, ob wohl, oha, okay, pardon, prost, pst, richtig, roger, schon, schön, servus, so, st, toi toi toi, topp, tschau, tschüß, wehe, wohl

Es wird auf den ersten Blick ersichtlich, dass sich diese Liste von der Ratkes unterscheidet. Unterschiede gibt es auch in der Art der Beschreibung, die nun im Wörterbuch des 21. Jahrhunderts die Sprachhandlungsbegriffe viel differenzierter pragmatisch-semantic erfasst. Der ausführliche Artikel zum Lemma *ei* etwa führt folgende Gliederungspunkte (die Ziffern im Original in Fettsatz): „1 Empfindungswort“, „1.1 bei der Anrede [...] *Ey, Vater, sieh den Hut*“, „1.2 ebenso beim Imp[erativ]. [...] *Ey denkt doch!*“, „1.3 im emphatischen Ausruf in Frageform [...] *ey schämest du dich nicht!*“, „1.4 ähnlich in Wunschsätzen: *Ei, wär' das Geld nur da*“, „1.5 als Ausdruck von Erstaunen, Freude, emphatischer Anteilnahme und Zustimmung [...] *ei, wie schön und fein!*“, „1.6 bei Ablehnung und Widerspruch [...] *Ey ey bey Leibe nicht!*“, „1.8 beim Ausdruck von Ärger o. Bedenken [...] *Ey, du ungeschickter Mensch!*“, „1.9 als Ausdruck von Neugier und Interesse: *Ey, ich muß es wissen, wer du bist*“, „1.10 zur Verstärkung von Ironie und Spott [...] *Ei, seht doch den klugen Herrn*“, „1.11

zur Verstärkung einer Klage o. flehentlichen Bitte“, „2 als Ausdruck von Zärtlichkeit“, „3 Glied.part. [...] *Ei, sagen Sie mir doch*“ (Paul 2002, 247).

4. Zur Didaktik der Gesprächswörter

Die Bildungsstandards im Fach Deutsch für die Allgemeine Hochschulreife in Deutschland führen in der Präambel aus:

„Im Deutschunterricht erfahren die Schülerinnen und Schüler Alterität in vielfältiger Gestalt: in Texten und Sprachformen, die durch historische Distanz bestimmt sind, in Texten der Gegenwart, die offen oder verschlüsselt unterschiedliche kulturelle Perspektiven thematisieren oder durch Verfremdung Identifikation verhindern.“ (KMK 2012, 10)

Die Stichwörter „Alterität“, „historische Distanz“ und „unterschiedliche kulturelle Perspektiven“ und „Verfremdung“ lassen sich nutzen, um das sprachdidaktische Potenzial der sprachhistorischen und sprachenvergleichenden Wortschatzarbeit im Bereich des Gesprächsworts abzustecken.

Gesprächswörter gibt es in allen Sprachen (was z.B. für Abtönungspartikeln i.e.S. nicht gilt). Sie bilden einen Gegenstand des Erwerbs und des Lernens einer Sprache, sei sie nun Erst-, Zweit- oder Fremdsprache. Die germanistische Sprachdidaktik hat die Gesprächswörter allerdings bislang noch nicht als Lehr- und Lerngegenstand entdeckt. Dies mag damit zusammenhängen, dass die Wortschatzdidaktik lange Zeit ohnedies vernachlässigt wurde; es mag aber auch damit zusammenhängen, dass zum Erwerb von Gesprächswörtern bislang kaum belastbare Forschungsergebnisse vorliegen (vgl. Kauschke 2012, 61–64; Fries [2005, 654f.], gibt an, im Erstspracherwerb erfolge das Erlernen von Interjektionen „insbesondere bei gesprächsgliedernden Interjektionen relativ spät, etwa ab dem 5. Lebensjahr“). Die jüngere Sprachdidaktik, die nicht mehr allein der geschriebenen Sprache Aufmerksamkeit zollt, sondern sich auch der gesprochenen Sprache zuwendet, beispielsweise auch der konzeptionellen Mündlichkeit in geschriebener Sprache in privaten Chats, WhatsApp-Texten und E-Mails, wird den Gesprächswörtern künftig mehr Aufmerksamkeit zu widmen haben (vgl. auch Kilian 2006; Montag 2014).

Während die Bedeutung und Funktion autosemantischer Einheiten kontextuell erschlossen und fixiert werden kann, sind die Funktionen von Gesprächswörtern nur im Gespräch oder eben am Beispiel von Gesprächen lehr- und lernbar (vgl. Busse 1992; Hoffmann [2016, 425–440] gibt zu Abtönungspartikeln linguistische und didaktische Hinweise). Dazu können zum Beispiel literarische Texte herangezogen werden, authentische Ausschnitte aus Chat-Protokollen oder audio-visuelle Lehr-Lern-

Mittel (vgl. z.B. Kilian 2005; Biebighäuser und Marques-Schäfer 2017). Im Fremd- und Zweitsprachenunterricht eröffnen diese Medien einen didaktisch geschützten Raum, in dem diese Scharniere der dialogisch gesprochenen Sprache erkundet und geübt werden können. Im inklusiven Unterricht bieten sich historische Texte, Grammatiken, Wörterbücher an, da diese für alle Schülerinnen und Schüler annähernd gleiche Lernausgangslagen schaffen, „unterschiedliche kulturelle Perspektiven“ nicht sogleich wieder ausschließlich auf die in der Lerngruppe vertretenen Sprachen beschränkt werden – und zugleich deutlich machen, dass die Gegenwart eine Geschichte hat.

In einigen aktuellen Lehrwerken werden Gesprächswörter bereits berücksichtigt. In Lehrwerken für Deutsch als Erstsprache erfolgt dies allerdings selten und, sofern überhaupt, zumeist nicht im Rahmen der Gesprächserziehung, sondern im Rahmen der Wortartenlehre, und dann in den höheren Klassenstufen. Das Lehrwerk P.A.U.L. D. zum Beispiel führt im Buch der 7. Jahrgangsstufe eine kurze Einheit zur „Interjektion“ mit der Aufgabe: „Übertrage das folgende Gespräch in dein Heft und setze diese Wörter ein: igitt, Mensch, Hallo, oh, hm, Papperlapapp, o.k., au ja, ach, ach was“ (Diekhans und Fuchs 2014, 357). Die genannten Wörter können bis auf wenige Ausnahmen je nach Kontext an unterschiedlichen Stellen eingesetzt werden, was am Beispiel der ersten beiden Gesprächsschritte beispielartig veranschaulicht sei:

„Felix: _____, Janina! Wir haben morgen ja wieder Deutsch.
_____, hatten wir da nicht eine Hausaufgabe?“

Janina: _____, das habe ich ganz vergessen! Worum ging es noch einmal?“

Mit exemplarischer Füllung einer Lücke:

Felix: Mensch, Janina! Wir haben morgen ja wieder Deutsch.“ (Zum Beispiel als Ausdruck der erstaunten Erinnerung und des Erschreckens über die noch nicht erledigte Hausaufgabe.)

„Hallo, Janina! Wir haben morgen ja wieder Deutsch.“ (Zum Beispiel als Ausdruck der Freude darüber, einander morgen wieder zu sehen und zugleich als Angebot, gemeinsam die Hausaufgabe zu erledigen.)

„Ach, Janina! Wir haben morgen ja wieder Deutsch.“ (Zum Beispiel als Ausdruck der Freude darüber, einander morgen wieder zu sehen und zugleich als Angebot, gemeinsam die Hausaufgabe zu erledigen – oder aber [seufzend] als Ausdruck der Verzweiflung.)

Gesprächswörter erhalten ihre Funktion im Gespräch, das wiederum in einer Situation der Lebenswelt der Sprechenden angesiedelt ist und diese Situation und Lebenswelt sprachlich mit konstruiert. Daher ist dieser dekontextualisierte Mini-Dialog grundsätzlich mehrdeutig und eröffnet mehrere Möglichkeiten, die Gesprächswörter einzusetzen. Lediglich *papperlapapp* und *ach was* sind prototypisch reaktive Gesprächswörter und daher Janinas Gesprächsschritt vorbehalten – doch passen gerade diese beiden dialogsemantisch und -pragmatisch nicht sehr gut. Da dies so ist, wird die zweite Aufgabe schwierig zu beantworten: „Wie wirkt der Text mit den eingesetzten Wörtern auf dich? Welche Funktion haben die Einschübe?“; die dritte Aufgabe lautet: „Die Jugendsprache kennt noch viel mehr solcher eingestreuten Ausrufe und Gefühlsäußerungen. Welche benutzt ihr im Gespräch?“

Eine systematische Lehrwerkkritik könnte hier einige sprachdidaktische Potenziale feststellen, hätte aber auch manches zu beanstanden. Das kann hier nicht im Detail geleistet werden. Diese Übung setzt dazu an, das prozedural Gekonnte abzurufen, ohne es jedoch explizit bewusst zu machen und die Verwendungsweisen der Gesprächswörter funktional zu erklären. Wer die möglichen Verwendungsweisen der Gesprächswörter nicht kennt, kann Aufgabe eins im Grunde allenfalls ratend bearbeiten. Auffällig ist des Weiteren, dass trotz eines Informationskastens zur „Interjektion“ dieser Terminus in den Aufgaben kein einziges Mal erwähnt wird. Stattdessen ist von „Einschüben“, „eingestreuten Ausrufen“ und „Gefühlsäußerungen“ die Rede. Man greift wohl nicht zu weit, wenn man annimmt, dass eine Wortschatzarbeit, die diese funktionale Einordnung als „Gefühlsäußerung“ aufgriff und mit Ratkes „Bewegwörtern“ zusammenführte, kognitiv aktivierender ist als eine Lückentextübung. Denn der historische Text lässt keine rein auf prozeduralem Wissen der Gegenwartssprache beruhende Bearbeitung zu. Er fordert vielmehr dazu auf, vom prozedural Gewussten Abstand zu nehmen, um das historische Gesprächswort als solches und in seinen möglichen Funktionen zu erarbeiten und die Befunde dann mit dem prozedural über Gesprächswörter der Gegenwart Gewussten zu vergleichen – und dabei diese bewusst zur Kenntnis zu nehmen (zur weiteren Begründung vgl. Kilian 2008).

Auch in Lehr-Lern-Materialien für den DaF- und DaZ-Unterricht lassen sich didaktisch-methodisch modellierte Angebote zur Behandlung von Gesprächswörtern finden. Mehr noch als in Materialien für den erstsprachlichen Deutschunterricht wird die Funktion dieser Wörter in der dialogischen Interaktion fokussiert (weniger das deklarative Wissen über eine Wortart), doch auch hier bleibt es den Lernenden selbst überlassen, aus dem Kontext der Musterlösungen konkrete Informationen über die Funk-

tionen der Gesprächswörter und ihr semantisch-pragmatisches Potenzial abzuleiten. Als Beispiel sei das Lehrwerk „Mittelpunkt“ angeführt, das – allerdings im „Zusatzmaterial“ für „fortgeschrittene Deutsch-Lerner“ – „Interjektionen“ thematisiert (Mittelpunkt 2007). Das gewählte Lehr-Lern-Verfahren ist dem in P.A.U.L.D 7 ähnlich. So gibt es ebenfalls Lückentexte (allerdings zu Hörverstehensübungen mit Hilfe einer CD), z.B.:

„Es gibt auch Interjektionen, die nur einem gedehnten Vokal entsprechen (Aah!, Ooh!, Iih!). Ergänzen Sie die drei Minidialoge mit „Aah“, „Ooh“ oder „Iih“.

Anschließend können Sie Ihr Ergebnis mithilfe der Tonaufnahme korrigieren (Track 6).

1. Peter: Kuck mal, eine Spinne!

Lene: _____!

2. Peter: Schau mal, ich habe dir einen Blumenstrauß mitgebracht!

Lene: _____, wie schön! Rosen! Das sind meine Lieblingsblumen.

3. Lene: Mir ist so kalt.

Peter: Hier hast du meinen warmen Pullover.

Lene: _____, danke! Das ist nett von dir.“ (Mittelpunkt 2007, 5)

Als Musterlösung wird in diesem Lernmedium angeboten:

„Track 6

1. Peter: Guck mal, eine Spinne!

Lene: Iih!

2. Peter: Schau mal, ich habe dir einen Blumenstrauß mitgebracht!

Lene: Ooh, wie schön! Rosen! Das sind meine Lieblingsblumen.

3. Lene: Mir ist so kalt.

Peter: Hier hast du meinen warmen Pullover.

Lene: Aah, danke! Das ist nett von dir.

Bedeutungserklärung:

1. Iih (Ausruf des Ekels)

2. Ooh (Ausruf der positiven Überraschung)

3. Aah (Ausruf des Wohlbehagens)“ (Mittelpunkt 2007, 12)

Die „Bedeutungserklärung“ gibt zwar Hinweise auf prototypische Verwendungen der drei genannten Gesprächswörter, die zugleich assoziativ-semantische Stereotype ausweisen (etwa ‚Ekel‘ zum Lexem *Spinne*), doch sind diese „Bedeutungserklärungen“ insgesamt unzureichend. So kann „ooh“ mit nur geringer Veränderung der Tonlage auch ein Ausruf negativer Überraschung sein (vgl. Paul 2002, 718), „aah“ auch ein „Ausdruck des Bedauerns“ (Paul 2002, 51). Und auch wenn Spinnen vielen Menschen ekelig erscheinen mögen, bedürfte es auch im DaF-/ DaZ-Unterricht zumindest einer kurzen Erklärung, weshalb beim Anblick einer Spinne nicht auch ein „Ausruf der positiven Überraschung“ möglich sein soll – oder aber eine Erklärung, dass im deutschen Sprachraum Spinnen eher Ausrufe des Ekels hervorrufen.

5. Schluss

Für die Didaktik des Deutschen als Erstsprache folgt die Behandlung von Gesprächswörtern dem Anspruch an einen Kompetenzerwerb im Bereich der sprachlichen Bildung. Da die Schülerinnen und Schüler in der Regel einen Großteil der Gesprächswörter im ungesteuerten Erstspracherwerb erworben haben, ist es nicht vordringliche Aufgabe des erstsprachlichen Deutschunterrichts, dieselben zum Gegenstand des sprachlichen Lernens zu machen. Vielmehr ist es seine Aufgabe, über die metasprachliche Bildung den bewussten Gebrauch – produktiv und rezeptiv – und das Sprachekennen zu fundieren. Für den zweit- und fremdsprachlichen Deutschunterricht ist das sprachliche Lernen mit Blick auf das Sprachekönnen vorrangig. Für beide Kompetenzdimensionen bieten sich (zumal im inklusiven Deutschunterricht) kontrastive Verfahren an, historisch-kontrastive (zum Beispiel auf der Grundlage der angeführten historischen Grammatiken und Wörterbücher) sowie sprachvergleichend-kontrastive. Für die historisch-kontrastive wie für die vergleichend-kontrastive Wortschatzarbeit zu Gesprächswörtern ist bislang noch keine systematische didaktisch-methodische Modellierung erarbeitet worden. Hier liegt noch ein weites Feld für die Wortschatzdidaktik. *Ach!*

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CHAPTER SIX

UNE PARTICULE EVIDENTIELLE DIALOGALE ET LES DISCOURS ACADEMIQUES

MARGE KÄSPER

1. Introduction

Il y a un petit mot en estonien, la particule *ju*, qui mérite une attention particulière, tant en ce qui concerne les moyens langagiers de le rendre en français qu'en ce qui concerne sa portée discursive dans les argumentations en estonien. Ce double enjeu se traduit dans les objectifs de cet article. Nous cherchons à savoir, à la base d'un corpus parallèle bilingue, le *CoPEF* (<http://corpus.estfra.ee/>), comment les effets créés par ce mot estonien se traduisent en français, où il n'y a pas d'équivalent direct pour l'exprimer. D'autre part, l'examen des traductions fournies peut aussi donner des indications sur les manières d'interpréter la particule en estonien et contribuer ainsi à son analyse.

Pour la langue, la particule en question est un « marqueur pragmatique » (Keevallik 2003, 27 ; Hennoste 2000, 1352), dont le sens est « fortement dépendant du contexte » (Kärk 2010, 123). Dans l'usage, elle sert en général à l'oral, mais aussi à l'écrit, à souligner ou à rappeler quelque chose. Selon le Dictionnaire explicatif de l'estonien EKSS (2009), *ju* « renforce légèrement la portée de l'énoncé (parfois parce que le dit est considéré comme évident ou connu) »¹. Vu cette dernière précision, la sémantique de ce mot se situe à la croisée d'une *modalité* épistémique et de l'évidentialité, d'une part, et d'une rhétorique jouant des « appels à l'évidence » dans les argumentations, d'autre part. La question est alors de savoir comment, dans les exemples relevés dans les deux sens de traductions, se présentent ces *effets de sens* linguistiques et discursifs.

¹ EKSS (2009) : *ju* - 1. *rõhutab kergelt lauses esitatut (vahel seetõttu, et öeldut peetakse endastmõistetavaks v. tuntuks).*

Notons pour commencer que l'usage de la particule *ju* en estonien a été décrit surtout à l'oral : dans l'ensemble des caractéristiques de l'oral (Henno 2000), dans des textes oraux écrits (pièces de théâtre, Kärk 2010) ou historiques (textes religieux, Kärk 2012). Son emploi à l'écrit, et surtout dans les registres académiques, a attiré moins d'attention. Dans Käsper (2017), nous en avons cependant constaté un usage considérable dans les comptes rendus de lecture dans plusieurs disciplines représentant les sciences humaines et sociales. C'est pourquoi nous nous concentrerons ici sur ce mot dans un corpus élargi et différent tout en maintenant l'accent sur le registre académique. Sans ambitionner à décrire la totalité des occurrences de *ju* dans le corpus *CoPEF*, nous allons nous limiter ainsi, plus particulièrement, à ses occurrences dans les sous-corpus de textes de sciences humaines et sociales. Toujours est-il qu'en plus des arguments évidentiels, *on y retrouvera une dimension dialogale* comme le suggère déjà le titre quelque peu paradoxal de notre étude.

2. Evidentialité, modalité et particules comme objets d'étude

2.1 Particules dans différentes langues et dans le discours

Il convient de présenter d'abord le statut formel de *ju* comme objet d'étude.

Non seulement comme une curiosité de départ mais comme contexte utile, on remarque qu'il existe un mot homographe, de fonctionnement fort semblable, également en suédois (cf. ci-dessous). La source commune pour cette langue scandinave germanique et la langue finno-ougrienne qu'est l'estonien peut être le bas allemand historique, auquel l'estonien du moins aurait emprunté les modèles d'emploi pour certaines particules, sans forcément en emprunter les formes (Kärk 2012). Décrite dans ses emplois en estonien, la particule *ju* se rapproche ainsi des *ja* et *doch* allemands (Kärk 2010), dont on trouve une présentation conséquente en français par Modicom (2014).

La catégorisation de ce mot comme *particule*, tout aussi comme *marqueur pragmatique*, ne semble de fait pas aller de soi. La catégorie de marqueur pragmatique n'est pas toujours utilisée par les linguistes, elle est « variable et reste à définir » (Keevallik 2003, 27). Mais la dénomination de *particule*, pour ce qui auparavant avait été un type d'adverbe, peut étonner encore en 2018 en suédois (Blomqvist 2018). C'est ainsi que le dictionnaire estonien EKSS (2009) catégorise *ju* (comme tout mot invariable) toujours comme adverbe. Le manuel de référence EKK (2007)

précise cependant que si antérieurement la notion de particule englobait (en estonien) tous les types de mots invariables (dont les adverbes), sa portée s'est précisée, pour ne marquer aujourd'hui que les mots invariables qui n'ont que peu de sens lexical (dont toutefois entre autres les conjonctions qui nous intéresseront en français). Dans ce contexte, si Jaakola (2012) présente une étude autrement intéressante pour notre propos sur une « particule évidentielle » en étudiant les adverbes *teatavasti* en estonien et *tiettävasti* en finnois, c'est donc encore dans l'ancienne acception du terme.

Hennoste (2000) a fourni une description détaillée des types de particules utilisées à l'oral en estonien en se basant sur le comportement syntaxique de celles-ci. En modifiant légèrement le système décrivant le finnois élaboré par Auli Hakulinen, Hennoste distingue comme catégories à part les « particules libres », douées toutes seules de la fonction de communication mais n'ayant comme fonction que de l'assurer (*ahah, jah*, etc.) et les « particules d'ajustement » qui sont celles de reprise ou de reformulation (*noh, ah, tähendab* 'ben, bah, c'est-à-dire'). La catégorie centrale, désignée comme celle des « particules textuelles », englobe (a) des particules se présentant au début ou à la fin des énoncés (particules frontières) et (b) des particules libres de se déplacer au sein de l'énoncé et à modifier ou nuancer ainsi sa portée. Parmi ces dernières, la distinction est faite entre particules de démodulation (*värvingupartiklid* 'particules de coloration'), particules modales, particules de focus et particules d'intensification. Alors que selon Kärk (2010, 122), dans des classifications allemandes traditionnelles les particules de démodulation et les particules modales ne sont pas distinguées (ce sont des *Modalpartikeln* ou des *Abtönungspartikeln*), Hennoste (2000, 1804) les distingue pour des raisons de prosodie, en expliquant que les particules de démodulation ne sont jamais accentuées en soi mais accentuent toujours un mot qu'elles renforcent. Hennoste (2000, 1803) admet cependant que toutes les particules textuelles peuvent bien se trouver également dans des textes écrits et que leur statut spécial, distinct des adverbes par exemple, reste à préciser.

Quant au français et au terme de particule, on parle surtout des *particules énonciatives* (Fernandez 1994). Surtout dans le langage parlé, ce sont généralement des mots qui permettent de nuancer un énoncé, de le « ponctuer » ou d'exprimer une émotion (*ben, bof*, etc.). Manifestement davantage dotés de sens, les petits mots invariables à l'écrit – telles que les conjonctions – seraient en français plutôt des « connecteurs », « articulateurs logiques » ou autres « mots du discours » qui donnent des instructions pour interpréter le sens (Ducrot 1980) ou structurer le texte. En allemand on parle surtout de « particules modales » (*Modalpartikeln*, cf. Modicom

2014) ou encore de « particules de démodulation » (*Abtönungspartikeln*, cf. Schoonjans 2014). Quant à ces dernières, alors que plusieurs auteurs ont des doutes, Schoonjans (2014) plaide pour l'avis qu'il serait erroné de croire qu'il n'y ait pas de particules de démodulation en français. En étudiant, dans de gros corpus littéraires bilingues, le comportement syntaxique des éléments dans le discours dont la fonction principale est « d'ajouter à l'énoncé une nuance subjective ou intersubjective », il relève en français comme d'éventuelles particules de démodulation aussi bien des adverbes (*bonnement, seulement, simplement*) que des articulateurs logiques (*donc, quand même, tout de même*).

Selon la définition adoptée, les formes en question peuvent donc varier et être regroupées dans des catégories plus ou moins précises, mais ce qui nous importe le plus dans notre analyse, c'est leur fonction et l'effet créé dans les usages. C'est pourquoi une analyse centrée sur les outils d'élaboration de discours par Bouchard (2002) offre une approche intéressante pour notre propos. Bouchard (2002) étudie le fonctionnement des particules énonciatives et/ou des connecteurs les plus fréquents en français *alors* et *donc* de manière transversale : sans fixer ces mots dans une catégorie ou une autre, cette approche montre plutôt leur polyfonctionnalité dans l'énonciation et dans la construction textuelle, que le texte soit écrit ou oral, et décrit leur rôle

- dans le discours oral monologal comme facilitateurs de formulation mais aussi comme une sorte d'outil pour un « appel à la connivence »,
- dans le discours dialogal polygéré comme « mots-outils » pour structurer la conversation, et
- dans le discours oral/écrit plus ou moins spécialisé comme « facilitateurs d'inférence, permettant de le guider vers l'interprétation désirée ».

Ces trois types de rôles nous semblent tous caractériser également les facettes variées de la particule estonienne *ju*, que l'on trouvera finalement toutes présentes dans le discours académique (voir ci-dessous). Mais il faut d'abord cadrer aussi les questions posées par la sémantique de cette particule estonienne.

2.2 Sens évidentiel et/ou modal et la fonction rhétorique de l'évidence dans le discours

Quand on parle du sens évidentiel en linguistique, il faut savoir que dans un sens restreint, la notion d'évidentialité concerne uniquement l'indication par le locuteur de la *source* de l'information véhiculée par son énoncé (cf. Dendale & Tasmowski 1994 ; 2001). L'évidentialité peut être *directe*, correspondant à ce que le locuteur a perçu lui-même, ou *indirecte*, soit *reportative*, c'est-à-dire reprise d'autrui (ouï-dire, information de seconde main, folklore), soit inférentielle (résultat d'un raisonnement fondé sur les faits ou signes indices d'information). Dans les acceptions plus larges de la notion d'évidentialité, l'indication de la source d'information s'imbrique, d'autre part, à l'*évaluation* de la vérité de l'information dans l'énonciation. Or si l'énoncé porte des marques de jugement de l'énonciateur quant à la vérité de son énoncé, il est question de la *modalité épistémique* (cf. Dendale & Van Bogaert 2012) ; Van der Auwera & Plungian 1998 ; Vetter 2012). Ainsi, selon Barbet et Saussure (2012),

[c]omme la modalité épistémique indique le jugement du locuteur sur la possibilité ou la nécessité que quelque chose soit le cas, ou son degré de certitude à l'égard d'un fait, elle a toutes les chances de croiser l'évidentialité inférentielle dans certains morphèmes.

Pour Barbet et Saussure (2012), alors que la modalité – et en particulier les verbes modaux – aurait fait l'objet d'une littérature abondante en français², l'évidentialité (ou *médiation*) y serait moins étudiée et ses moyens de marquage se discutent toujours, surtout en comparaison avec les nombreux travaux sur l'évidentialité et sur ses connexions avec la modalité dans d'autres langues, notamment germaniques, et surtout dans les langues non indo-européennes qui ont des marqueurs évidentiels grammaticaux. En comparaison, le défi est relevé par Dendale et Izquierdo (2014), qui présentent toute une bibliographie d'études variées au sujet des marqueurs évidentiels ou médiatifs en français.

En ce qui concerne le marquage grammatical de l'évidentialité en estonien, une langue notoirement non-indo-européenne, il y a en effet un morphème *-vat*, qui peut exprimer dans les verbes estoniens le sens reportatif (cf. Ereht 2002). La particule *ju*, si elle renforce ce qui est « parfois [...] *considéré comme*³ évident ou connu » (EKSS 2009), implique donc éga-

² Parmi ces travaux, pour des analyses francophones des correspondances estoniennes des verbes *pouvoir* (Käsper 2015) et *devoir* (Treikelder et Amon 2018), et un numéro thématique en estonien (Treikelder, Laanemets, Tenjes 2016).

³ Notre mise en italique.

lement l'énonciateur et se situe ainsi sans doute dans une acception plus large de l'évidentialité. Vu une interprétation suggérée par le titre même d'un ouvrage faisant appel au mot homographe considéré en suédois « *Ju* ». *Ifrågasätta självklarheter [...]* ('Mettre en doute ce qui va de soi pour le suédois, l'anglais et toutes les autres langues en Suède') par Josephson (2004)⁴, on dirait qu'elle se prête bien aussi à des usages (parfois) rhétoriques de ce qui a été décrit pour le français comme des « appels à l'évidence » dans le discours (Paveau 2006 ; Grossmann 2017).

Dans un sens rhétorique, où on passe de « l'évidence du monde » à la « manière dont le monde se donne à voir à l'homme » (Dross 2013, 269),

[l]'évidence [...] peut également être mise en scène plus directement à travers le discours, l'auteur scientifique considérant comme plus ou moins « évidents » tel fait ou telle proposition, soit qu'il assume cette évidence en son nom, soit qu'il la prête à autrui. Ce qui saute aux yeux n'a plus alors besoin d'être montré : les *postulats d'évidence*, présentés ou non comme partagés, peuvent suivant leur fonction argumentative, être infirmés ou confirmés. (Grossmann : 2017)

En analysant ci-dessous des extraits d'argumentation, on verra en effet que la particule *ju* est un outil avant tout pour la *justification* de l'information communiquée (Guentchéva 2004, 13–14), les postulats d'évidence servent d'outils dans une telle rhétorique.

On verra que la justification peut se faire par des arguments concrets et sources visibles tout aussi comme par des arguments qui ne sont évoqués qu'en référence à un savoir commun. Pour mieux comprendre ce continuum, mais faute de sources descriptives estoniennes, voyons une explication de l'articulation de ces dimensions par la *Grammaire de l'Académie Suédoise* (IV, 114–115), dont les exemples et commentaires fournis pour le suédois valent tout aussi bien pour l'usage de la particule *ju* en estonien⁵ :

Le sens principal de *ju* est censé être l'indication de la source à laquelle l'interlocuteur aussi a l'accès, afin de pouvoir s'assurer de la vérité de l'énoncé également par d'autres voies que d'écouter le locuteur.

⁴ « *Ju* ». *Ifrågasätta självklarheter om svenskan, engelskan och alla andra språk i Sverige* ('Mettre en doute ce qui va de soi pour le suédois, l'anglais et toutes les autres langues en Suède'), par Olle Josephson (2004), discute des idées assumées d'évidence (le « discours *ju* » comme dit l'auteur) en ce qui concerne les langues parlées en Suède.

⁵ L'explication en suédois est résumée par l'auteure du présent article, d'après une traduction estonienne préparatoire par Maiu Elken.

Där står *ju* paraplyet. // Il y a [*ju*] un parapluie. // [*Ju* suggère à l'interlocuteur qu'il peut bien vérifier lui-même, en jetant un coup d'œil, pour s'assurer du bien-fondé de l'énoncé]

La source la plus commune à laquelle se réfère le locuteur est son expérience antérieure. Cela signifie que l'emploi de *ju* suggère que le locuteur prend compte (ou prétend le faire) de ce que l'interlocuteur (ou les gens en général) savent ou peuvent s'imaginer, pour s'accorder à la vérité d'un commentaire suggérant 'comme nous savons et vous aussi'. La phrase avec *ju* actualise donc normalement ce qui est évident ou vraisemblablement connu pour l'interlocuteur.

De la même manière, quant à un correspondant à *ju* que nous avons signalé en allemand – *ja* – Modicom (2014) souligne que celui-ci « marque de l'avis général non seulement que p est connu des deux participants, mais que cette connaissance réciproque est elle-même connue ». Dans le cadre d'une Théorie d'Ajustement Intersubjective (Abraham et Leiss 2012, cité par Modicom 2014, 61), les calculs de la vérité signalés par cette particule sont alors clairement englobés dans une « macrocatégorie de modalité » où

derrière l'assignation à une proposition du statut de contenu objectivement valide, il y a le calcul de l'attitude épistémique de deux instances : une « première personne » et une « deuxième », une sorte de partenaire de pensée sans la reconnaissance duquel le contenu n'est que subjectivement valide. La modalité est vue comme une macro-catégorie, incluant l'évidentialité et cette négociation épistémique intersubjective. (Modicom 2014)

Autrement dit, et pour résumer, nous proposons qu'une caractéristique importante de la particule *ju* est d'introduire un effet de *convivence* entre l'énonciateur et son public. La question sera de savoir comment plus précisément se construit cet effet, comment et dans quelle mesure s'y articulent les évidences dans les exemples concrets.

3. Etude des correspondances dans le corpus parallèle

3.1 Le corpus et les types de correspondances identifiés

Le corpus parallèle franco-estonien *CoPEF* comporte en tout 65 millions de mots, recensés dans des originaux et des traductions alignées dans les deux sens de traductions. Il y a des textes littéraires, des textes du Parlement européen, des extraits de la Bible, et enfin une section qui comporte des textes variés représentant les sciences humaines et sociales (dans les domaines tels que l'histoire, l'anthropologie, la psychologie, etc.). Dans le sens estonien-français, ce dernier sous-corpus n'est malheureusement pas

énorme : un ensemble de 132 000 mots ne peut fournir que 15 occurrences de la particule *ju* analysable dans les textes traduits en français. Un ensemble plus consistant dans le sens inverse (990 000 mots) atteste de 221 occurrences de l'apparition de la particule dans les traductions estoniennes.

Les deux sous-corpus confondus, les trois cas de figure principaux correspondant aux occurrences de *ju* en estonien se présentent comme suit :

- une série d'articulateurs logiques (ou connecteurs) qui servent à confirmer mais aussi à infirmer une vérité : *en effet, car, puisque, mais, toutefois, tout de même, pourtant* et autres ;
- nombreuses occurrences de *bien* dont on verra qu'il sert de particule de modalisation ;
- des questions rhétoriques.

Dans les traductions de l'estonien en français et du français en estonien, on relève encore de nombreux cas où le *ju* estonien ne semble pas avoir un élément correspondant clair en français. Faute d'espace, ces cas ne seront pas traités ici, mais il y aurait certainement des nuances plus implicites à analyser dans ces cas quant aux adverbes, aux focalisations ou autres moyens ou procédés langagiers.

Comme solution la plus fréquente, c'est le premier cas de figure (les connecteurs) dont témoignent surtout les traductions vers le français. Nous allons commencer alors par le peu de solutions qui se répètent dans les traductions françaises des originaux en estonien, alors que les deux autres cas de figure, attestés dans le sous-corpus de traductions en sens inverse, aident à élargir la perspective et à comprendre ce que la particule estonienne comporte de plus qu'un connecteur pur et simple, et complètent ainsi l'enquête.

3.2 Connecteurs pour raisonner ou évoquer les justifications

Si, dans les textes spécialisés, les particules / connecteurs *alors* et *donc* se décrivent, selon Bouchard (2002), avant tout comme des « facilitateurs d'inférence, permettant de le guider vers l'interprétation désirée », cela semble bien être le cas également pour la particule *ju* traduite en français. Les textes académiques étant censés être avant tout argumentatifs, il semble même que dès qu'il est possible d'explicitier des rapports d'argumentation entre les énoncés, la traduction vers le français le fait. Dans la petite section des textes estoniens traduits en français, la solution qui se répète chez les trois traducteurs différents est l'usage de connecteurs dont

les plus fréquents sont *car* et *en effet* (trois occurrences chacun sur 15 *ju* traduits en tout dans ce sous-corpus).

Les trois *en effet* accompagnent des évocations d'évènements (1) ou de cadres historiques (2) auxquels on fait appel pour justifier un jugement d'évaluation avancé :

- (1) igal juhul pidi ülestdusnute sõjaline jõud olema märkimisväärne. Põõrdusid **ju** Harju-Viru vasallid abipalvega Ordu Liivimaa haru kui tugevaima Vana-Liivimaa sõjalise jõu poole, sõandamata loota iseenda jõule või Taani keskviimu abile.

Quoi qu'il en soit, les forces militaires des rebelles devaient être considérables. Les vassaux des régions de Harju et de Viru demandèrent **en effet** de l'aide à l'Ordre, principale puissance militaire de l'Ancienne Livonie, car ils n'osaient pas compter sur leurs propres forces ni sur l'aide du pouvoir danois.

- (2) [Après l'accession d'Innocent III à la papauté, l'année où Albert devenait évêque de Livonie, la politique de la curie romaine en Livonie se fit bien plus active. [...]]

Küsimus polnud **ju** mitte pelgalt Vana-Liivimaa valitsemises, vaid ülemvõimus kogu Läänemere-piirkonnas.

Il ne s'agissait **en effet** plus seulement de l'administration de l'Ancienne Livonie, mais de la suprématie dans toute la région baltique.

Le premier des exemples présente un raisonnement à partir d'un fait (demande d'aide), dans le deuxième le jugement avancé se justifie par un raisonnement basé sur une indication géographique soulignée (*toute la région*).

L'information et le raisonnement sont clairs dans les deux langues, mais une légère différence réside dans le fait que la fonction discursive de l'articulateur *en effet* est de *construire* ces raisonnements dans l'énonciation, en indiquant les arguments-rappels pour le lecteur alors que l'effet créé dans l'extrait estonien par la particule *ju* est dans (1) plutôt un ouï-dire suggérant une connivence professionnelle 'nous les historiens nous savons ; on connaît bien ce fait et vous les lecteurs historiens le savez évidemment aussi'. Dans (2), l'interprétation peut être la même ('nous les historiens ...'), mais étant donné le caractère également oral de *ju* et le mode impersonnel de l'énoncé qui ne précise pas l'énonciateur, une interprétation possible serait d'imaginer aussi qu'il s'agit d'un discours rapporté fictif qui représente le raisonnement justifiant les actants en question (la curie romaine).

Des effets semblables s’observent dans les traductions par *car* sur une échelle d’arguments plus génériques. Dans (3), l’énoncé comportant le *ju* se présente en estonien comme un élément de discours rapporté indirect et fait l’effet d’un typique témoignage oral – la particule *ju* suggère une représentation qui implique qu’on connaît et qu’on rapporte la manière dont les sujets concernés argumentent d’habitude. En français, l’énoncé est tout simplement assertif et généralise la description (*la plupart arrivaient*) dans une articulation logique explicative où c’est la conjonction *car* qui donne l’instruction qu’il faut interpréter cet énoncé comme un fait généralement connu.

- (3) [les réfugiés ne firent pas l’effort d’apprendre la langue du pays d’accueil],

laste ja lastelaste abil saadi **ju** üldiselt hakkama

car la plupart arrivaient à se débrouiller avec l’aide de leurs enfants et de leurs petits-enfants.

L’extrait (4), enfin, peut se décrire comme un cas représentant l’usage d’une évidence rhétorique générique, qui signale un savoir commun présumé connu de tous (il y a partout des traîtres). Mais notons que l’évidence est dès le départ plus affirmée en français (*il se trouve toujours*) alors que l’énoncé estonien commence par une particule énonciative concessive et comporte le verbe de la modalité d’éventualité *võima* (*‘pouvoir’*). Ce qui justifie une traduction plus affirmative, c’est justement la particule *ju*, qui renforce le sens de la précision adverbiale *iga rahvuse hulgast* (*‘au sein de chaque peuple’*) de sorte que le tout peut en effet être rendu en français par une formule générique d’un oui-dire.

- (4) eks üksikuid reetureid ja kaasajooksikuid võib leida ju iga rahvuse hulgast.

‘ben certains traîtres et collaborateurs peuvent se trouver [ju] au sein de chaque peuple’

car il se trouve toujours au sein d’un peuple des traîtres et des collaborateurs.

Les types d’arguments varient certes dans les textes, et les connecteurs français sont variés pour bien servir à interpréter ces nuances, mais au moins à partir de ces quelques exemples, on note dans les traductions françaises une certaine généralisation descriptive, ou une mise en évidence plus active des arguments par le locuteur qui prend en charge l’énoncé,

alors que les énoncés estoniens semblent impliquer davantage l'interlocuteur ou plutôt encore un espace générique indéfini où l'information *peut* se repérer dans les sources, savoirs ou expériences communs.

Le fait que *ju* renforce la portée des éléments (arguments) introduits peut certes favoriser une telle interprétation. Les traductions étant peut-être toujours un peu plus explicites que les originaux, considérons les effets et les écarts qui s'observent dans les traductions en sens inverse.

3.3 Raisonnements modalisés en bien

Ce que nous avons identifié comme un dialogue implicite de voix rapportées de manière très indirecte se confirme dans un registre plus explicitement dialogique. Nous avons écarté de notre analyse les extraits de dialogues littéraires, mais une sorte de discours dialogal indirect se présente néanmoins dans l'ensemble des cas où la particule *ju* apparaît pour traduire un *bien* dans la fonction de particule énonciative. Il s'agit d'un dialogue fictif de l'auteur avec son lecteur où, pour mener à bien son raisonnement, l'auteur met en évidence les arguments pour ou contre possibles. Comme il s'agit d'évaluer le poids de ces arguments, ces énoncés comportent presque toujours des verbes modaux (portant sur ou accompagnant des verbes d'évaluation) et relèvent donc clairement de la modalité épistémique (cf. Dendale et al. sous presse).

Dans (5) on voit cet espace de dialogue possible construit en français avec un articulateur logique ayant une portée épistémique (*sans doute*), alors qu'en estonien apparaît le verbe modal *võima* (*pouvoir*). Le plus souvent le verbe modal se présente dans toutes les deux langues (6) et (7) :

- (5) On objectera sans doute, pour parler

Võib **ju** ka vastu vaielda ning väita

'on peut [ju], certes, objecter et prétendre'

- (6) **Il se peut bien** qu'on ait retiré aux adultes et aux enfants eux-mêmes une certaine manière d'en parler ; et qu'on l'ait disqualifiée comme directe, crue, grossière.

Võib ju olla, et nii täiskasvanutelt kui ka lastelt endilt võeti ära teatud seksist rääkimise viis ning et see hüljati kui liiga otsene, toores ja jämedakoeline.

- (7) Si on écrit l'histoire de la sexualité en termes de répression, et qu'on réfère cette répression à l'utilisation de la force de travail, **il faut bien**

supposer que les contrôles sexuels ont été d'autant plus intenses et plus soigneux qu'ils s'adressaient aux classes pauvres ;

Kui kirjutada seksuaalsuse ajalugu repressiooniideest lähtuvalt, ja kui seostada seda repressiooni tööjõu kasutamisega, siis **tuleks ju eeldada**, et seksuaalsust kontrolliti seda intensiivsemalt ja hoolikamalt, et kontrolli objektiks olid vaesemad ühiskonnaklassid.

Ce qui distingue les extraits ci-dessus du discours dialogal proprement dit est certes le fait que tous ces énoncés se présentent sous forme de mode impersonnel, on ne suggère qu'un *espace* possible de dialogue. Toujours est-il que le *ju* crée une impression de chercher l'accord du lecteur interlocuteur et contribue ainsi à un effet de connivence.

3.4 Questions rhétoriques – imposer ou présumer un accord

L'effet de connivence est évoqué dans la typologie de Bouchard (2002) avant tout dans la caractérisation du type de discours « que l'on pourrait qualifier de monologique, d'autocentré sur l'énonciateur ». Quant aux outils discursifs que sont les *donc* et *alors* qui permettent au locuteur « aux prises avec la difficile tâche de faire progresser son discours » et de « rebondir plus ou moins heureusement de formulation en formulation », il constate que dans certains contextes, ces *donc* et ces *alors* peuvent être remplacés par des *n'est-ce pas*, des *d'accord*.

Cette (possibilité de) substitution montre qu'ils sont alors les marques d'une tentative de structuration plus dialogique. Il s'agit pour l'énonciateur de tenter de sortir de sa solitude de sujet énonçant pour impliquer son énonciataire, s'appuyer sur celui-ci, pour l'utiliser comme caution de la normalité sinon de la qualité du discours en train de se faire ou plutôt de l'événement langagier en train de se dérouler. On retrouve le même phénomène d'appel à la connivence du destinataire dans des marqueurs de reformulation comme *disons* ou des particules énonciatives comme *tu vois*, *tu sais*. (Bouchard 2002)

Nous avons analysé les traductions par *ju* des extraits qui en français comportaient des *bien* énonciatifs comme dialogue fictif. Cette analyse vaut tout aussi bien pour les types d'emplois considérés ci-dessus. Or une forme discursive qui traduit un *n'est-ce pas* lexical est la question rhétorique, largement représentée dans notre corpus. (S'il n'y a pas de formulations explicites en ces termes parmi nos exemples, c'est parce que la partie littéraire du corpus, où de telles occurrences sont nombreuses, a été omise de l'analyse).

Dans nos exemples, il faut signaler par contre une différence formelle qui n'altère certes pas le sens global ni la fonction argumentative des extraits traduits (il s'agit toujours de justifications apportées à un énoncé antérieur), mais une légère différence entre les deux langues se marque peut-être ainsi dans la conceptualisation de ces argumentations. C'est que les énoncés en forme de question rhétorique construits sur la réfutation de la négation en français se présentent en estonien sous forme affirmative, sans besoin d'impliquer la négation.

- (8) Oui, Luther aurait dû mourir avant d'assister à de tels spectacles : n'avait-il pas dit tout ce qu'il avait à dire ?

Jah, Luther oleks pidanud surema enne, kui ta seda vaatepilti nägi – oli ta **ju** öelnud juba kõik, mis tal öelda oli.

- (9) [Dieu bénit l'amour entre les êtres]

N'existe-t-il pas dans toute la nature, joignant les animaux aux animaux, les plantes aux plantes, les pierres mêmes et les minerais entre eux ?

On see **ju** olemas kõikjal looduses ning ühendab loomi loomadega, taimi taimedega, isegi kive ja mineraale üksteisega.

Une interprétation que suggère cette différence de forme serait que les questions rhétoriques françaises s'adressent au lecteur interlocuteur et *demandent* son accord, les énoncés affirmatifs en estonien l'assument déjà. Certes, Léard (1996) par exemple décrit les éléments de langage *Hein ? et n'est-ce pas ?* en français aussi comme des outils qui « *imposent*⁶ à l'allocataire le devoir de répondre ou de réagir positivement à ce qui n'est pas une véritable question », mais même dans cette interprétation, comme dans le cas des connecteurs « instructionnels », les énoncés français sont un peu davantage « constructeurs » de cette interprétation, alors que la forme estonienne fait directement appel à des évidences présumées partagées : dans (8) on rappelle (soit on met sous les yeux du lecteur dans le discours) d'autres dires (ce que Luther avait dit), dans (9) on invoque des faits du monde certes génériques mais du moins comme source possible de raisonnement.

⁶ Nos italiques.

4. Conclusion

Cet article s'est concentré sur les manières d'interpréter en français un marqueur pragmatique, la particule estonienne *ju*, qui s'associe, d'une part, à l'évidence mais, d'autre part, caractérise avant tout le discours oral. Nous l'avons analysée dans des textes écrits de sciences humaines et sociales dans un corpus parallèle franco-estonien, le *CoPEF*. Dans cette analyse, c'est notamment la nature dialogale de ce mot, conjuguée à un effet d'évidence, qui s'est avérée expliquer son fonctionnement dans les textes estoniens entre autres comme un outil de connivence discursive. En effet, si les analyses linguistiques du marquage de l'évidentialité dans les langues tendent à préférer l'emploi du terme d'évidentialité plutôt dans un sens restreint d'indication de la source d'information (Barbet et Saussure 2012), la définition même du marqueur estonien analysé invoque non seulement un jugement de la part de l'énonciateur, analysable en termes de modalité d'énonciation épistémique, mais aussi un espace de savoir partagé, où la rhétorique de raisonnements peut se référer à des expériences, savoirs ou dires antérieurs comme arguments connus de tous.

Après un cadrage par des éléments comparables dans des langues germaniques (suédois et allemand), les emplois de la particule estonienne ont été analysés dans le corpus franco-estonien pour savoir par quels moyens et avec quels écarts éventuelles dans les interprétations la particule est rendue en français ou dans quels cas elle apparaît dans les traductions estoniennes du français. Les corpus peuvent donner des indications intéressantes sur la perception de la portée pragmatique d'un mot dont le sens est fort dépendant du contexte, vu qu'ils englobent les interprétations des emplois de ce mot dans différents contextes par des professionnels analysant constamment les effets pragmatiques des ensembles de mots, à savoir les traducteurs professionnels.

Voici les contextes textuels en français qui ont été relevés comme correspondant le plus souvent aux emplois de la particule estonienne dans les textes écrits académiques du corpus :

- justification de l'argumentation par des articulateurs logiques (*car, en effet*) ;
- création d'un espace de dialogue, suggérée en français par la particule énonciative *bien* ;
- suggestion de dialogue sous forme de question rhétorique.

Comme moyen le plus employé dans les traductions françaises des originaux en estonien s'avère dans l'analyse l'emploi des articulateurs

logiques. Les autres cas de figures témoignent de facettes d'emplois de *ju* qui ne se signalent pas dans les occurrences relativement peu nombreuses disponibles dans les originaux estoniens, mais se montrent fréquentes dans les traductions estoniennes à partir des originaux disponibles en français.

L'intérêt d'une analyse contrastive étant de signaler des écarts dans les interprétations, l'on note que les extraits en français se montrent dans plusieurs exemples plus explicitement constructeurs des conclusions à tirer, alors que les effets d'un discours rapporté ou jouant d'une connivence évidentielle caractérisent davantage les extraits estoniens. Les articulateurs logiques exposent en effet les arguments justifiant un jugement avancé en estonien dans un énoncé comportant le *ju*, alors que les modalisations et les questions rhétoriques construisent en français cette connivence sous forme de dialogue suggérée avec le lecteur.

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CHAPTER SEVEN

POLISH NON-NOMINAL *COŚ* IN A CROSS-LINGUISTIC PERSPECTIVE: INSIGHTS FROM TRANSLATION MATERIAL¹

MAGDALENA ADAMCZYK

1. Introduction

In its typical, most recognised use the Polish lexeme *coś* ‘something/anything’ is an indefinite pronoun referring to an object, situation, fact or concept which the speaker cannot or does not want to name precisely. In casual speech, however, it can also function as a particle expressing the speaker’s uncertainty as to his/her evaluation of the presented events (or reasons why they happen) or surprise at them (see, for instance, dictionary entries in ISJP, NSPP, WSJP).² The present study deals solely with the latter use, which is illustrated below³:

- (1) *Coś się spóźnia ten autobus.* (NSPP; p. 287)
‘For some reason (?) this bus is delayed.’

¹ The author would like to thank the anonymous reviewers for their insightful comments and observations on an earlier version of this paper.

² For the sake of clarity, the former use will henceforth be referred to as “nominal” and the latter as “non-nominal”. In addition, the terms “particle” (used in most of the dictionaries consulted) and “(metatextual) operator” (as understood in Walusiak 2012: 70) will also be applied to the non-nominal *coś*.

³ Following Walusiak (2012: 64, f. 1), the use of *coś* as an approximator (as in: *Kinga zaprosiła coś koło 20 osób (...)*. (NKJP; 2005, IJPPAN_2004000000030, 67) ‘Kinga invited Ø about 20 people (...).’; throughout the paper the symbol Ø stands for the non-nominal *coś*, which defies direct translation into English) is treated as separate from its other non-nominal uses and does not fall within the scope of this study.

- (2) On ostatnio *coś* wychudł. (USJP; p. 483)
 ‘He *seems* (?) to have lost weight recently.’
- (3) *Coś* czuję, że dzisiejsza noc będzie przełomowa. (NKJP; 2002, 602, 176386)
 ‘I *kind of* (?) feel that today’s night will be critical.’⁴

The non-nominal use of *coś* is not a novel development; it is traced back at least to the 16th century, where it is found to function in a number of contexts (see SPXVI for details). Unlike its nominal counterpart, the non-nominal *coś* is an element of metatext (Walusiak 2012, 66) or, put differently, “a predicate referred to an entire sentence” rather than to its individual components (Grzegorzczkova 1995, 144). It is also characteristic of colloquial spoken language (e.g. ISJP, NSPP, USJP), where it is said to frequently collocate in a barely acceptable manner (Walusiak 2012, 65).

The particle *coś* has already been given some attention by scholars (principally Grzegorzczkova 1995 and Walusiak 2012), whose research provided considerable insight into its nature. This, however, seems to be more true of its grammar than semantics, the latter of which has hardly been looked into so far. The available sources, also lexicographic, do mention a number of meaning components (and synonyms) of the lexeme, but they provide no information on how its individual meanings are correlated with contexts, i.e. which meanings are characteristic of which contexts. The present study is an attempt to contribute to filling this lacuna in the literature by examining contextual niceties of the use of *coś* from the perspective of its English translations. Such a perspective is believed to produce promising results, as the lexeme does not (as already mentioned and indicated by question marks in examples 1–3 above) lend itself to straightforward translation into English, representing instead a complex, one-to-many kind of relationship between the original and the target language. Taking a closer look at the English equivalents of *coś* available in the collected material with a view to organising them into groups and, subsequently, correlating the individual groups with contexts peculiar to them is assumed to sharpen our understanding of how the particle functions in specific communicative situations.

⁴ Unless otherwise indicated, all translations of the examples cited are mine.

2. Background information on *coś*

In order to better understand the nature of *coś*, a number of its properties have to be taken a closer look at. One of them is its non-nominal character, which, according to Walusiak (2012, 65), manifests itself in the fact that the lexeme:⁵

- cannot be replaced with nouns or pronouns functioning like nouns (e.g. *on* ‘he’, *ten* ‘this’),⁶ as can be seen in example 4 below, where the substitution of *coś* for the noun *zdziwienie* ‘surprise’ results in a formally anomalous sentence:

- (4) a. *Coś* mi dzisiaj praca nie idzie.⁷
 Ø me.DAT today work.NOM.SG NEG go.3SG.PRS
 ‘For some reason (?) my work is not progressing today.’
- b. ! *Zdziwienie* mi dzisiaj praca nie idzie.⁸
 surprise.NOM.me.DAT today work.NOM. NEG go.3SG.PRS
 SG SG
 ‘Surprise my work is not progressing today.’

- does not admit the genitive form of an adjective in postposition, as shown in example 5:

- (5) a. *Coś* ciężko myślisz.
 Ø slowly think.2SG.PRS
 ‘For some reason (?) you are thinking slowly.’
- b. ! *Coś smutnego* ciężko myślisz.
 Ø sad.GEN.SG slowly think.2SG.PRS
 ‘Something sad you are thinking slowly.’

⁵ Importantly, the term “non-nominal” as used here has a narrower interpretation than elsewhere in the text, as it only describes one of a few grammatical characteristics of the investigated *coś* (namely, its inability to act like a noun) rather than serving as a convenient label for the particle use of the lexeme in general.

⁶ These pronouns (Pol. *zaimki rzeczowne*) are one of three types of inflectional pronouns in Polish, the other two being pronouns functioning like adjectives (Pol. *zaimki przymiotne*) and numerals (Pol. *zaimki liczebne*).

⁷ Examples 4–7 all come from Walusiak (2012, 64–65).

⁸ Following Walusiak (2012), the symbols “!” and “*” used in this paper are taken to represent formal and semantic deviation, respectively.

- is independent of the requirements imposed by a verb in the sense that it does not occupy the position opened by a verb; accordingly, in example 6 below it is only in sentence b (where the position opened by the verb *cierpnąć* ‘to go numb’ is already filled with the noun *ręka* ‘hand’) that *coś* can be interpreted as non-nominal:

- (6) a. *Coś* mi cierpnie.⁹
 something me.DAT go.numb.3SG.PRS
 ‘*Something/One of my body parts* is going numb.’
- b. *Coś* mi cierpnie ręka.
 Ø me.DAT go.numb.3SG.PRS hand.NOM.SG
 ‘*Somehow (?) my hand* is going numb.’

- does not react to the requirements imposed by the operator of negation, as illustrated in example 7, where, unlike the nominal *coś* (sentences a₁ and a₂), it proves unable to be substituted for *nic* ‘nothing’ (sentences b₁ and b₂):

- (7) a₁. *Coś* tam leży.
 something.NOM there.ADV lie.3SG.PRS
 ‘*Something* is lying there.’
- a₂. *Nic* tam nie leży.
 nothing.NOM there.ADV NEG lie.3SG.PRS
 ‘*Nothing* is lying there.’
- b₁. *Zimno* się *coś* zrobiło.
 cold.ADV REFL Ø become.3NSG.PST
 ‘*Unexpectedly (?)*, it has become cold.’
- b₂. ! *Zimno* się *nic* nie zrobiło.¹⁰
 cold.ADV REFL nothing.NOM/ACC NEG become.3NSG.PST

⁹ Walusiak’s (2012) rather firm conviction that *coś* in this sentence can only be given the nominal interpretation must be obtained from analysing the sentence in a contextual vacuum, as the moment some suitable prior context is added, one in which the body part is mentioned, *coś* becomes necessarily non-nominal (e.g. ~ *Co się dzieje z twoją ręką?* ‘What is going on with your hand?’ ~ *Coś mi cierpnie.* ‘For some reason (?) it is going numb.’).

¹⁰ Since the translation of this sentence, unlike that of the other formally deviant sentences discussed above, would not, due to structural differences between Polish and English, be able to illustrate the point at issue here, only a gloss line is provided in this example.

Another characteristic feature of *coś* is its connectivity, understood as the ability to enter into relations (not necessarily syntactic) with the elements it co-occurs with (Walusiak 2012, 66–67).¹¹ As Walusiak's (2012, 68–70) research demonstrates, the lexeme places no restrictions on the grammatical category of those elements, yet its relations with some of them seem to be more obvious than with others. In fact, the only unproblematic relations are those with verbs, adjectives and adverbs, which are illustrated in examples 8–10, respectively:

- (8) ~ Co z aparatem?¹²
 what.NOM with camera.INS.SG
 'What is going on with the camera?'
 ~ *Coś* [szwankuje]_V.
 Ø act.up.3SG.PRS
 'For some reason (?) it is acting up.'
- (9) ~ No i jak ona wygląda
 DM and how she.NOM look.3SG.PRS
 jako młoda żona?
 as young.NOM.SG wife.NOM.SG
 'And what does she look like as a young wife?'
 ~ *Coś* [blada]_{ADJ}.
 Ø pale.NOM.SG
 'Sort of (?) pale.'
- (10) ~ Jak jest na dworze?
 how be.3SG.PRS on outside.LOC.SG
 'What is the weather like?'
 ~ *Coś* [zimno]_{ADV}.
 Ø cold
 'Kind of (?) cold.'

Less immediately acceptable are combinations with other syntactic categories, such as nouns, numerals or prepositional phrases, demonstrated respectively in examples 11–13 below (see question marks next to sentences a). This, however, is argued to be attributable not to grammatical constraints, i.e. the type of the category itself, but rather to the fact that

¹¹ The inability of *coś* to stand on its own manifests itself in the fact that it can serve neither as an answer to a yes/no or a wh-question nor as a confirmatory response to an interlocutor's words (Walusiak 2012, 66–67).

¹² Examples 8–13 are cited in Walusiak (2012, 68–69).

such combinations do not sound probable, as *coś* is peculiar to contexts where some amount of uncertainty or doubt as to what is being said is expressed. Their probability, and therefore acceptability, can, however, be easily increased by setting them in the context which highlights the speaker's hesitation or consideration, not only by means of its semantics but also of a specific, question-like intonation contour (see sentences b both for content and graphic representation):

- (11) ~ Czym się zajmuje całe dnie?
 what.INS REFL be.occupied.3SG.PRS whole.ACC.PL day.ACC.PL
 'What is he/she occupied with the whole days?'
 a. ~? *Coś* [spaniem]_N.
 Ø sleep.GERUND.INS
 'I am not sure (?) sleeping.'
 b. ~ *Coś*... spaniem... czy leżeniem (?)
 Ø sleep.GERUND.INS or lie.GERUND.INS
 'I am not sure (?)... sleeping... or lying (?)'
- (12) ~ Ile Piotr miał żon?
 how.many.ACC Piotr.NOM.SG have.3MSG.PST wife.GEN.PL
 'How many wives did Piotr have?'
 a. ~? *Coś* [sześć]_{NUM}.
 Ø six.ACC
 'I am not sure (?) six.'
 b. ~ *Coś*... sześć... czy siedem (?)
 Ø six.ACC or seven.ACC
 'I am not sure (?)... six... or seven (?)'
- (13) ~ Dokąd wyjechał?
 where leave.3MSG.PST
 'Where did he leave?'
 a. ~? *Coś* [do Warszawy]_{PREPP}.
 Ø to Warsaw.GEN.SG
 'I am not sure (?) to Warsaw.'
 b. ~ *Coś*... do Warszawy... czy do Krakowa (?)
 Ø to Warsaw.GEN.SG or to Krakow.GEN.SG
 'I am not sure (?)... to Warsaw... or to Krakow (?)'

Walusiak (2012, 70) concludes that the ability of *coś* to enter into relations with all syntactic classes can only be seen once a whole range of contextual factors are taken into account, which include the intonation of the

utterances the lexeme appears in, the combined semantics of the elements of cotext, the intention of the speaker, and others.

As far as word order is concerned, *coś* is highly movable in a sentence, but it shows a clear preference for the initial position (Walusiak 2012, 74), as can be seen in most of the examples cited in the paper. Relative to the element it establishes relations with it can appear both in pre- and post-position. Interestingly, such an element, which is always rhematic, does not have to be immediately adjacent to *coś*, yet it needs to be the main accented item in a sentence (Walusiak 2012, 74).

Characteristic of *coś* is also the fact that it is disallowed in interrogative, imperative, conditional and non-factive (e.g. referring to future) sentences (see Grzegorzczkova 1995, 145 and Walusiak 2012, 74), as shown respectively in examples 14–17¹³:

(14) * Czy Jan *coś* zmizerniał ostatnio?
 QPART Jan.NOM.SG Ø pine.away.3MSG.PST recently¹⁴
 ‘Has Jan I’m not sure (?) pined away recently?’

(15) * *Coś* przestań pracować!
 Ø stop.2SG.IMP work.INF
 ‘For some reason (?) stop working!’

(16) * *Coś* schudłaby, gdyby chciała.
 Ø lose.weight.3FSG.COND if want.3FSG.PST
 ‘For some reason (?) she would lose weight, if she wanted.’

(17) * On *coś* będzie obrażony.
 he.NOM Ø be.3SG.FUT offend.PST.PTCP.NOM.SG
 ‘Somehow (?) he will be offended.’

As regards the sense that *coś* contributes to sentences it is incorporated into, in dictionaries of contemporary Polish and critical literature the operator is shown to be used in contexts in which the speaker wishes to express the following:

¹³ In Walusiak’s (2012, 74) opinion, sentences with *coś* represent “quasi-indicative” and “quasi-interrogative” mood.

¹⁴ Examples 14 and 17: Grzegorzczkova, p. 145; Examples 15 and 16: Walusiak, p. 74.

- uncertainty as to the reason why something happens or his/her evaluation of a given state of affairs (ISJP, Grzegorzczkova 1995, Walusiak 2012; briefly also in MSJP, NSPP, SJPSz, USJP, WSJP),
- surprise at what he/she is saying (USJP, WSJP, Grzegorzczkova 1995),
- inexactitude of or approximation in the description of a given event or characteristic (MSJP, NSPP, SJPSz, USJP, WSJP),
- partial awareness of the events he/she is presenting (SJPSz).

According to Walusiak (2012, 71–72), it is this specific sense structure of *coś*, which she describes briefly as concerned with the concept of knowledge,¹⁵ that is responsible for imposing some semantic constraints on the elements it enters into relations with (cf. lack of grammatical restrictions discussed earlier in this section). More specifically, the lexeme is argued to be intolerant of items which imply the knowledge of the speaker (example 18), inherently indeterminate expressions (example 19) and proper names used denotatively (unlike those used in material supposition) (example 20), as their presence leads to either a clash of senses or doubling them:

- (18) * *Coś* wiem, że małe jest
 Ø know.1SG.PRS that small.NOM.SG be.3SG.PRS
 to mieszkanie.
 this.NOM flat.NOM.SG
 ‘*Being unsure* (?) I know that this flat is small.’
- (19) * *Coś* kiedyś tam byłem.
 Ø once there be.1MSG.PST
 ‘*Kind of* (?) I was there once.’
- (20) ~ Kto ci o tym powiedział?
 who.NOM you.DAT.SG about it.LOC tell.3MSG.PST
 ‘Who told you about it?’
 ~ * *Coś*... Piotr... czy Paweł (?)
 Ø Piotr.NOM.SG or Paweł.NOM.SG
 ‘*Kind of* (?)... Piotr... or Paweł (?)’

¹⁵ The following formula is proposed to represent the structure: “I don’t know if about T one can say R”, where “T” and “R” stand for “theme” and “rheme”, respectively.

In Grzegorzczkova (1995, 146) this specific semantic makeup of *coś* is shown to be the reason why the lexeme is acceptable only in some types of factive sentences (as mentioned above, it is disallowed in all non-factive ones). For instance, its use seems illegitimate in contexts where a simple statement of fact is being made, one about which it is difficult to imagine someone having doubts, as in the sentence: *Jan wczoraj przyjechał do Warszawy*. ‘Jan came to Warsaw yesterday.’ The most natural environment for *coś* is the company of “various types of mental predicates describing human psychophysical states as well as phenomena whose emergence was not expected” (Grzegorzczkova 1995, 146).

Some of the lexicographic sources mentioned above provide also a number of expressions synonymous with *coś*, which include: *chyba* ‘probably’, *trochę* ‘a little’, *zdaje się* ‘it seems’ (MSJP, NSPP, SJPSz), *prawie* ‘almost’, *jak gdyby* ‘as if’ (MSJP, SJPSz) and *jakoś* ‘somehow’ (ISJP, SJPSz). While these are, of course, items which do not have to mean exactly the same as *coś*, and so may not be fully interchangeable with it, at least one of them, *chyba* ‘probably’, could be considered controversial in the light of Grzegorzczkova’s (1995, 146) comparison of it with *coś*. The author draws a clear distinction between the two lexemes, arguing that, whereas the presence of *chyba* cancels the factivity of an event referred to, the use of *coś* requires that such an event be a fact. This can be seen in the following pair of sentences: *Jan chyba zmizerniał*. ‘Jan has probably pined away.’ and *Jan coś zmizerniał*. ‘For some reason/To my surprise (?) Jan has pined away.’ (see example 14 for glosses), only in the latter of which is the proposition ‘Jan has pined away’ claimed to be asserted. It is hoped that the data examined in the present study will help to resolve this conundrum.

As for the treatment of *coś* in Polish-English dictionaries, not all of them provide information on its particle use. Of six bilingual dictionaries consulted for the purpose of this study, namely NSFK, PSAPPA, SPAC, PONS, WSPAL-U and WSPAS, only a half (the last three sources) turned out to have an entry for the non-nominal *coś*. The least informative entry is to be found in PONS, where the operator is simply said to translate as *seem to*. According to WSPAS, English equivalents of *coś* include, apart from *seem to*, also *somewhat* and *somehow*, while in WSPAL-U the lexeme is interpreted as corresponding to the latter two expressions as well as *a bit* and *for some reason*.

3. Materials, methods and aims

The study makes use of translation material. Despite many objections to translation-based cross-language research,¹⁶ it is believed here that the benefits which can be obtained from using translations as a source of linguistic data outweigh disadvantages, and therefore that renditions “provide a unique insight into the relationship that exists between two or more languages” (Ebeling and Ebeling 2013, 43).¹⁷ This is particularly true of research into expressions such as *coś*, which, due to their semantic indeterminacy and sensitivity to context, rarely have a single, exact match in a target language; rather, a variety of more or less closely corresponding equivalents are available for an individual operator, which can only be brought to the surface in translation (Altenberg and Granger 2002, 2; Aijmer and Simon-Vandenberg 2006, 6).

Due to lack of electronic parallel corpora suitable for the present purposes, the source of data for the study was a manually compiled collection of English translations of the examined lexeme. The examples of its use were retrieved mainly from the spoken part of the National Corpus of Polish (*Narodowy Korpus Języka Polskiego (NKJP)*), but a handful of them were also taken from the dictionaries consulted as well as the critical studies referred to above. The reasons for admitting to the analysis non-naturally occurring data from these sources had to do with the fact that a number of interesting uses of *coś* mentioned there were either not found in the corpus or appeared surrounded by many disfluency phenomena, which blurred the overall contextual picture of the operator.

The collected examples (altogether 50) of the particle use of the lexeme, amply contextualised (where possible), were given to a group of 6 professional translators (all native speakers of Polish), who were requested to render them into English. Since the translators were explicitly instructed to exercise special care when reproducing contextual niceties of the use of *coś* and informed that the translated material was going to be used for research purposes, the method employed here is not free from the observer’s paradox (see Egan 2012). This obvious shortcoming is, however, believed to be at least partly compensated for by the fact that the adopted procedure is likely to sensitise the translators to subtle,

¹⁶ See, for instance, Teubert (1996, 247), who states that “[t]ranslations, however good and near-perfect they may be (but rarely are), cannot but give a distorted picture of the language they represent [and so] [l]inguists should never rely on translations when they are describing the language”.

¹⁷ For a discussion of the pros and cons of using translation material in linguistic research see Ebeling and Ebeling (2013, 39–44) and Piazzoli (2015).

contextually motivated differences in the use of *coś*, which they could otherwise fail to notice or give little thought to, and, consequently, to enhance the overall quality of the translation solutions proposed.

The translators were not aware of the fact that the sentences, which appeared in random order, represented 5 distinct patterns of the use of the operator. The first three involved the most natural combinations of *coś* with syntactic categories, i.e. those with verbs, adjectives and adverbs, respectively (for illustration see examples 8–10). The fourth pattern was present in the sentences in which the lexeme entered into less intuitively obvious relations with syntactic classes, such as those with nouns, numerals or prepositional phrases (see examples 11–13). The final pattern, in turn, was exceptional in the sense that it was fairly common in speech, yet unrecognised in the literature on the subject, and so bordering on acceptability. It involved the use of *coś* in combination with verbs which the lexeme clearly modified (unlike in the first pattern, where modifying affected, as it seems, entire utterances), as illustrated in example 21 below:

- (21) Ty z Judytą *coś* [rozmawiał^{aś}]_v o
 you.NOM.SG with Judyta.INS.SG Ø talk.2FSG.PST about
 pieniążkach? (NKJP; 2009, 192, 33024)
 money.LOC.SG
 ‘Have you talked *a little* (?) with Judyta about ‘money?’

Groups of 10 sentences representing the individual five types of the use of *coś* are referred to hereafter as group 1, group 2, group 3, group 4 and group 5, respectively.

The study is predominantly qualitative in nature and its objective is to shed more light on the use of the lexeme *coś* by looking at its English equivalents. In order to achieve this goal an attempt is made to provide answers to the following research questions:

1. What English expressions serve as translation equivalents of the operator *coś*?
2. What different uses of the operator do these equivalents bring to the surface, helping to elucidate its nature?

4. Findings and discussion

The analysis of all the available renditions of *cos'* yielded 39 English equivalents of the operator, which made it possible to identify a number of its contextually distinct uses, as discussed below.¹⁸

One use of *cos'* that emerges from the study (found in 6 (=12%) out of all 50 examples) is brought to the surface by two types of translation equivalents, namely (1) expressions which communicate uncertainty or lack of knowledge as to the reason why something happens, i.e. the speaker's inability to explain a given state of affairs and (2) items which indicate that the speaker finds what he/she is talking about strange or surprising and does not know what to think about it. An inventory of those two types of equivalents (for short referred to as T1Es and T2Es, respectively), together with information on the number of their occurrences, is given in Table 7-1 below:

Table 7-1. Type 1 and type 2 translation equivalents of *cos'* and their numerical representation

TYPES	EXPRESSIONS	TOKENS	
T1Es (reason uncertain)	<i>for some (unexplained/ unknown) reason</i>	5	17 (51.5%)
	<i>somehow</i>	4	
	<i>I'm not sure why</i>	3	
	<i>I wonder why</i>	3	
	<i>I don't know why</i>	2	
T1E/T2E	<i>for some strange reason</i>	1 (3%)	
T2Es (strangeness/ surprise)	<i>it's strange/weird/odd/ bizarre but...</i>	5	15 (45.5%)
	<i>surprisingly</i>	4	
	<i>strangely</i>	3	
	<i>odd enough</i>	1	
	<i>strange to say</i>	1	
	<i>curiously</i>	1	

The reason why the two types of translation counterparts pointing to two meaning components of *cos'* are taken to represent a single use of the

¹⁸ For reasons of space this study disregards all zero correspondences of *cos'*, which, perhaps somewhat counterintuitively, might also be worth taking a closer look at.

operator is the fact that they are comparably frequent for the 6 sentences (n=17 for T1Es and n=15 for T2Es), and so neither category is under- or overrepresented, as well as fairly evenly distributed both among the sentences and translators. This, together with the very appearance of the in-between expression *for some strange reason*, which nicely straddles the two categories, best proves that the two meanings are closely related.

This translational pattern was observed only in sentences from group 1 (3 egs.), group 2 (1 eg.) and group 3 (2 egs.), such as those in examples 22 and 23 below:

- (22) Marcin (...) brał w poniedziałek pożyczkę
 Marcin.NOM.SG take.3MSG.PST in Monday.ACC.SG loan.ACC.SG
 w Belchatowie bo w Wieluniu (...) *coś* nie
 in Belchatów.LOC.SG because in Wieluń.LOC.SG Ø NEG
 chcieli mu dać (...) (NKJP; 2010, 507, 152247)
 want.3M-PERS. him.LOC give.INF
 PL.PST
 ‘On Monday Marcin was taking a loan in Belchatów because, *for some reason* (T3)/*somehow* (T4)/*surprisingly* (T2), in Wieluń they did not want to give it to him.’
- (23) Z tą Unią Europejską wygląda *coś*
 with this.INS European.Union.INS.SG look.3SG.PRS Ø
 specyficznje sytuacja. (NKJP; 2009, 2261)
 specific.ADV situation.NOM.SG
 ‘With this European Union the situation looks *strangely* (T4)/*somehow* (T1) specific.’

While in the 6 sentences mentioned it seems perfectly possible to use the equivalents expressing uncertainty as to reason, strangeness and surprise interchangeably, in one context the translators consistently opted for items communicating pure surprise. Such was the case when *coś* was used in sentences describing weather conditions, as shown in examples 24 and 25:

- (24) *Coś* się chmurzy. (NKJP; 2008, IJPPAN_k70A019)
 Ø REFL get.cloudy.3SG.PRS
 ‘To my surprise (T6)/*Surprisingly* (T5), it’s getting cloudy.’
- (25) Zimno *coś* na dworze... (ISJP; p. 204)
 cold.ADV Ø on outside.LOC.SG
 ‘It is *unexpectedly* (T1)/*unusually* (T2) cold outside...’

Such a choice seems to have been dictated by the fact that it is rather difficult to imagine someone wondering why it is cold or getting cloudy, as weather conditions are due to natural phenomena (see also Grzegorzczkowska 1995, 147). What the speakers attempt to express here is rather their surprise at the weather, which they expected to be different. The examined corpus includes 3 sentences of this type (one in each of the first three groups), in which *coś* is translated by means of the following 4 expressions:

Table 7-2. Surprise-communicating translation equivalents of *coś* and their numerical representation

TYPE	EXPRESSIONS	TOKENS	
T2Es (surprise)	<i>surprisingly</i>	6	17
	<i>unexpectedly</i>	5	
	<i>unusually</i>	4	
	<i>to my surprise</i>	2	

In the examined data there is also a relatively large class of sentences (5 in group 1 and 3, and 6 in group 2) whose translation equivalents proposed turn out to be problematic, as they point to two conflicting, as it seems, interpretations of the meaning of *coś* (cf. the interrelated T1Es and T2Es). The equivalents include the already discussed T1Es and T2Es, on the one hand, and a number of expressions listed below (for short referred to as T3Es), which communicate the speaker's impression as to what the facts are, on the other:

Table 7-3. Type 3 translation equivalents of *coś* and their numerical representation

TYPE	EXPRESSIONS	TOKENS	
T3Es (impression)	<i>seem (to/+adj)</i>	26	43
	<i>appear (to/+adj)</i>	13	
	<i>I have an impression that...</i>	4	

The translators' competing interpretations of the semantics of *coś* are illustrated in the following three examples:

- (26) Dyrektorka *coś* za bardzo strachliwa.¹⁹
 head.teacher.NOM.SG Ø too much.ADV fearful.NOM.SG
 ‘The head teacher *is somehow* (T2)/*seems to be* (T3) too fearful.’
- (27) Ostatnio *coś* przytyłaś. (WSJP; p. 118)
 recently Ø put.on.weight.2FSG.PST
 ‘You *somehow* (T1)/*seem to* (T5) have put on weight recently.’
- (28) Ona *coś* wyładniał(WSPA; p. 147)
 she.NOM Ø grow.pretty.3FSG.PST
 ‘*To my surprise* (T4)/*I have an impression that* (T6) she has grown prettier.’

The use of T1Es/T2Es is tantamount to interpreting *coś* as referring to asserted propositions, i.e. facts, whereas when T3Es appear, the lexeme is taken to be responsible for suspending assertions. To put it differently, in the former case the speaker is assumed to be sure *that* something happened and unsure *why* it did, while in the latter the very fact of an event taking place is thrown into doubt.

When taken at face value, the translators’ inconsistency in their interpretation of the meaning of *coś* should be seen as clear evidence that the operator can express the speaker’s attitude not only towards facts, as argued by Grzegorzczkova (1995, 146), who claims that *coś* cannot appear in non-factive sentences (see section 2 for more detail), but also towards knowledge, like regular evidentials do (see Chafe & Nichols 1986, 262). Extra support for such a conclusion comes from the fact that in the relevant group of sentences the ratio of T1Es/T2Es to T3Es was found to be roughly proportional (n=47 (52.2%) to n=43 (47.8%)) and the two types of equivalents pretty uniformly distributed among the individual sentences (though somewhat less so among the translators). However, a closer inspection of the problematic inconsistency, one that takes into account the peculiarity of translating items as semantically elusive as *coś*, may point to different conclusions. It may be the case that the translators (at least some of them) do sense the mismatch between the semantics of *coś* and that of evidentials (T3Es), but decide to use them anyway, as they (in fact only *seem* and *appear*) share two important characteristics with *coś*, namely (1) they, too, involve uncertainty and (2) they are similarly economical as means of expressing it, unlike most of the rather formally elaborate T1Es/T2Es (e.g. *for some reason*, *to my surprise*, *strange to*

¹⁹ NKJP; 2010, IJPPAN_k1245, 349.

say). Of course, the kind of uncertainty communicated by evidentials is different (it has to do with being unsure as to *whether* something happens, not *why* it does, as expressed by *coś*), but in both cases the overall impression one is left with is that the speaker is in doubt about something. If this conjecture is correct, the translators can be said to be ready to compromise part of the semantics of the operator for economy of expression. It is also highly likely that some translators opted for the evidentials *seem* and *appear* without giving the matter of their semantic adequacy much thought, and simply because the former is listed as one of translation equivalents of *coś* in bilingual dictionaries and the latter is its close, albeit somewhat more formal, synonym.

As regards sentences 27 and 28, which are structurally very similar, it is also interesting to notice that there was a tendency among the translators to render the former by means of T3Es (5 translators), which have the effect of suspending assertions of propositions in sentences, and the latter by means of T1Es/T2Es (4 translators), which do not affect assertions of this type at all. A plausible explanation for this preference may be the fact that T3Es, which, in short, express doubts as to *whether*, not *why*, something happens or is the case, have clearly a lot of mitigating potential, and hence they might be better suited for sentences in which the hearer is addressed directly to find out unpleasant things about him- or herself, such as the one in example 27. Following this line of thought, in example 28, where a favourable opinion about the appearance of a third party is voiced, no need for softening devices arises, which may explain why the use of T1Es/T2Es is the preferred option.

Closely related to evidentials, and sometimes treated as such (see Aijmer 2002, 175), are two more equivalents of *coś* present in the data, namely the hedges *sort of* and *kind of* (for short referred to as T4Es), whose distribution details are supplied in Table 7-4 below:

Table 7-4. Type 4 translation equivalents of *coś* and their numerical representation

TYPE	EXPRESSIONS	TOKENS	
T4Es (approximation)	<i>sort of</i>	9	15
	<i>kind of</i>	6	

The two vagueness markers serve to attenuate the literal sense of the words they accompany by indicating that a proposition expressed in the sentences in which they occur does not correspond exactly with an actual state of affairs. In other words, the function of *sort of/kind of* is essentially

that of signaling that the description of an event, action, quality, etc. involves some degree of approximation to reality rather than presenting actual facts. Accordingly, the problem that T4Es pose for the interpretation of *coś* is similar to the one presented by T3Es, as the use of *sort of/kind of*, too, suggests that the operator can refer to non-facts, which for instance in Grzegorzycykowa (1995, 146), the author who seems to have gained the deepest insight into the semantics of the lexeme so far, is, as already mentioned, clearly ruled out (see also section 2).

T4Es were found in groups 2 and 3 (in 2 sentences in each of the categories, with all but one of the translators (T5) proposing either *sort of* or *kind of* at least once), i.e. in the sentences in which *coś* entered into relations with adjectives and adverbs, as shown in examples 29 and 30 below:

(29) Ten składak był mi *coś* za
 this.NOM folding.bike.NOM.SG be.3MSG.PST me.DAT Ø too
 ciężki. (NKJP; 1962, PWN_200200000051, 95)
 heavy.NOM.SG
 ‘This folding bike was *sort of* (T6)/*kind of* (T1) too heavy for me.’

(30) Ja czuję się też *coś* nie
 I feel.1SG.PRS REFL also Ø NEG
 bardzo. (NKJP; 2005, PELCRA_forumowisko.pl_2876, 9)
 very.ADV
 ‘I also feel *sort of* (T2)/*kind of* (T3) under the weather.’

The fact that T4Es appear only in the two classes brings to mind the issue of scope, which has not been addressed so far, but deserves at least a passing mention. In the examples cited above some equivalents of *coś* modify entire utterances (have a global scope) (e.g. *surprisingly* in sentence 24) and others – their individual components (a local scope) (e.g. *unexpectedly* in sentence 25). In fact, in the entire body of data the latter type of modification by the equivalents discussed so far is found solely in groups 2 and 3, i.e. in the sentences where the operator might also be considered to act more locally than in those from group 1. This, taken together with a consistent use of *sort of/kind of* in the adjectival and adverbial groups, may be taken to be indicative of a syntactically different, less global, character of *coś* in these two sets of sentences. Of course, in order to arrive at any conclusive findings here a complex issue of scope has to be subjected to systematic scrutiny, which requires a separate, dedicated study based on non-translational data.

A separate category of English counterparts of the operator constitute those expressions which replace it in sentences from group 4, where the use of *coś* is peculiar to spoken language and the speaker's imprecise knowledge of the reality referred to expressed by presenting two versions of it, each (or neither) of which can be true. An inventory of those items (henceforth designated as T5Es), along with their frequency of occurrence, can be found in Table 7-5 below:

Table 7-5. Type 5 translation equivalents of *coś* and their numerical representation

TYPE	EXPRESSIONS	TOKENS	
T5Es (imprecise knowledge)	<i>I'm not sure</i>	9	55
	<i>I cannot be sure</i>	8	
	<i>as far as I know</i>	8	
	<i>I guess</i>	7	
	<i>I don't know precisely</i>	7	
	<i>something like (that)</i>	6	
	<i>I cannot be sure, but I think</i>	4	
	<i>what's the/his (exact) name</i>	4	
	<i>I don't know the precise name</i>	1	
	<i>how does it go now</i>	1	

In general terms, all T5Es can be said to communicate lack of complete knowledge of facts on the part of the speaker, making explicit his/her deliberation on them, and thus to indicate that imprecision is also part of the meaning potential of *coś*. Yet, the appearance of the last three equivalents listed in Table 7-5, which are found to replace the operator in two sentences, makes it possible to distinguish two types of this imprecision in presenting facts—one referring to entities themselves, where the speaker expresses his/her uncertainty about some extralinguistic reality, and the other one to names of those entities, where the uncertainty is concerned purely with signifiers rather than with what they denote (see also Walusiak 2012, 71). The two types are illustrated in examples 31 and 32, respectively:

- (31) ~ Co ona studiuje?
 what.ACC she. NOM study.3SG.PRS
 'What is she studying?'
 ~ *Coś*... filozofię... czy socjologię (?) (Walusiak 2012, 70)
 Ø philosophy.ACC.SG or sociology.ACC.SG
 'I'm not sure... (T2)/I guess... (T6) philosophy... or sociology (?)'

- (32) ~ Jak nazywa się ten facet,
 how.be.called.3SG.PRS REFL this.NOM guy.NOM.SG
 który ci o tym powiedział?
 who.NOM.SG you.DAT.SG about this.LOC tell.3MSG.PST
 ~ *Coś... Wiśniewski... czy Wiśniewski (?)*²⁰
 Ø Wiśniewski.NOM.SG or Wiśniewski.NOM.SG
 ‘I don’t know the precise name... (T4)/How does it go now... (T5)
 Wiśniewski... or Wiśniewski (?)’

One more, final, category of English counterparts of *coś* found in the examined data are the expressions which appear in sentences from group 5. Again, the sentences represent a novel use of the operator, unrecognised in critical literature on the subject, but fairly frequent in the spoken part of the *NKJP*. What is unique about *coś* here is that it (1) modifies the individual components of utterances (more precisely, specific verbs) rather than the utterances in their entirety and (2) is clearly non-nominal, and yet allowed in typically interrogative sentences, thus failing to satisfy one of the criteria for non-nominalness discussed in section 2 (see example 14). The equivalents of *coś* used in this context (for short referred to as T6Es) are listed in Table 7-6 below:

Table 7-6. Type 6 translation equivalents of *coś* and their numerical representation

TYPE	EXPRESSIONS	TOKENS	
T6Es (small amount)	<i>a bit</i>	25	53
	<i>somewhat</i>	17	
	<i>a little</i>	11	

T6Es clearly indicate that the Polish operator *can*, in specific environments, be interpreted as expressing a small or moderate amount of something. The data analysed for this study show that *coś* used in this way always refers to abstract notions, such as thinking or talking, as illustrated in examples 33 and 34:

- (33) A wy z Robertem myślicie już *coś*
 and you.NOM.PL with Robert.INS.SG think.2PL.PRS already Ø
 o mieszkaniu czy nie? (*NKJP*; 2000, 549, 160688)
 about flat.LOC.SG or not

²⁰ Walusiak 2012, 71.

‘And are you and Robert already thinking *a bit* (T2)/*a little* (T4) about a flat or not?’

- (34) W tej sprawie to²¹ Michnik z
 in this.LOC matter.LOC.SG PART Michnik.NOM.SG with
 Rywinem *coś* rozmawiał. (NKJP; 2003,
 Rywin.INS.SG Ø talk.3MSG.PST IPIPAN_7121003000027, 1)
 ‘Michnik talked *somewhat* (T1)/*a bit* (T5) with Rywin about this
 matter.’

5. Conclusions

The picture of the particle *coś* which emerges from the study is that of a semantically complex expression. The translation equivalents of the operator available in the collected material bring to the surface a number of its uses, whereby the speaker can communicate the following: uncertainty as to the reason why something happens (T1Es, e.g. *for some reason, I'm not sure why*), the fact of finding a given state of affairs surprising or strange (T2Es, e.g. *surprisingly, strangely*), impressions as to what the facts are (T3Es, e.g. *I have an impression that..., seem*), approximation to facts in the description of an event or property (T4Es, e.g. *sort of, kind of*), imprecise knowledge of the reality referred to, both of entities themselves and their exact names (T5Es, e.g. *I don't know precisely, something like*) as well as the fact that something abstract appears in small amounts (T6Es, e.g. *a little, somewhat*).

The most challenging of those types of equivalents seem to be T3Es and (to some extent at least) T4Es, as they give *coś* the kind of interpretation that is strictly disallowed in Grzegorzczkova (1995, 146), according to whom the operator is used legitimately only when it refers to actual facts. Of course, the presence of T3Es and T4Es in the data does not have to be automatically taken to mean that their signification is also part of the semantic makeup of *coś*; at least some of them can be chosen as translation solutions for the simple reason that they (or their close synonyms) are mentioned in bilingual dictionaries, or because they are economical means of expressing uncertainty, even if of a different kind than that communicated by *coś*. Be that as it may, the very appearance of such equivalents in the data brings to attention the fact that drawing conclusions about language phenomena based on analysing translation

²¹ *To* is used here as a particle which divides an utterance in such a way that it closes its topic and introduces new information on it (ISJP 2000, 831).

material has to be done with extra care, as, despite their general usefulness for research into language (proven by the present study as a whole), translations do not, as reproductions, offer first-hand linguistic evidence. Apart from bringing to the surface, and so helping to understand, various facets of the nature of *coś*, the study, which necessitated taking a very close look at its numerous original contexts, first to collect the data and then to examine them, allowed also for making a more general observation on the use of the operator, namely that in the majority of cases it refers to something unpleasant. This is plainly evident in the examples cited in this paper, where in fact only in sentence 28 is *coś* shown to be used in a pleasant context.²²

As already mentioned, not all Polish-English dictionaries acknowledge the particle use of *coś*, and this despite its high frequency in speech, which would appear to be a strong argument in favour of allowing a separate entry for it. In the dictionaries that do mention the operator, in turn, its treatment is by no means exhaustive, which is best proven by the fact that a substantial number of its equivalents found in this research are not listed there. It is hoped that the present study will go some way towards rectifying this situation in future.

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²² Naturally, the pleasantness criterion does not apply to all types of sentences with the operator; the sentences which cannot be interpreted according to it are specifically those from groups 4 and 5.

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CHAPTER EIGHT

A CONTRASTIVE ANALYSIS OF SPEECH ACT CONDITIONALS AS INDIRECT ANSWERS IN ENGLISH AND PERSIAN

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1. Introduction

Over the past few decades, linguists and philosophers have conducted a number of studies about a special type of if-clauses that have become famous after Austin's (1956) example (1). While canonical conditionals, as an example (2), specify a condition under which the consequent is true, so-called biscuit conditionals, example (1), point out the circumstances in which the consequent is discourse-relevant. Since the antecedent of a biscuit conditional expresses a pragmatic condition for informing the addressee about the consequent, they are also called *Speech Act Conditionals (SACs)*.

(1) There are biscuits on the sideboard if you want some.

(2) There are biscuits on the sideboard if John bought some.

SACs play different roles in pragmatics, and they have been studied mostly in English. The present study investigates this phenomenon in a contrastive study of a pair of languages, English and Persian, and aims to determine the usefulness of SACs as indirect answers. The results of this paper could be of interest in the development of dialogue systems which supply information related to questions by means of the discourse relations between the clauses in SACs. To help the reader understand the mechanism of SACs in the framework, a number of important characteristics and functions of SACs will be described by offering examples in both languages.

Swanson (2003) gives example (3) and states that SACs are sometimes used to gain the addressee's attention when the speaker is not sure if the addressee is interested in or aware of the context (watching a documentary):

(3) If you're interested, there's a good documentary on PBS tonight.

Example (4) in Persian directs the addressee's (a child's) attention to the consequent (the existence of some chocolates in the speaker's bag) in order to motivate her/him to bring the bag:

(4) agar kif-am rā biyāri, tuš šokolāt dāram.
 if bag-my ACC¹ bring, in chocolate have.
 'If you bring my bag, there are some chocolates in it.'

Canonical conditionals like (2) trigger the implicature that the speaker does not know whether the antecedent holds true. Thus, the implicatures can be cancelled in a discourse. For example, the speaker of (2) can continue by explicitly canceling the implicature, as in *There are biscuits on the sideboard if John bought some – Wait, John didn't go shopping*. However, DeRose and Grandy (1999) show that SACs do not trigger such an implicature, regardless of whether the antecedent is true. They note that because the consequent is unconditionally asserted (there is a documentary on PBS, there are some chocolates in the bag), the speaker not only implicates but also states the consequent, and her/his commitment to the assertion is thus uncancelable.

Franke (2007) shows that stating the SAC's consequent alone causes an incomplete (if not ill-formed) or infelicitous utterance, since the addressee might find the consequent irrelevant to the conversation. On the other hand, having the propositions in two separate sentences would not be coherent, and the implicature of the whole statement could not be generated (DeRose and Grandy 1999). SACs have received some attention in formal semantics and pragmatics (Siegel 2006; Fulda 2009; Csipak 2015) where they are interpreted in the same way as other types of conditionals. However, these studies did not consider the dialogical character of SACs that is examined here.

It is worth mentioning that SACs are also widely used in discourse coordination as communicative and politeness hedges (Franke, 2007; Swanson, 2003) in sentences like *It still works if I may say so* or *If I am being frank, you don't look good today*. This type of SAC is not of interest in this

¹ Accusative.

study since my focus is on the (epistemic) relevance between the propositions. Krzyzanowska, Collins, and Hahn (2017) explains that the epistemic relevance between the clauses in conditionals relates to the speaker's evaluation of the degree of confidence to which the consequent is related to the antecedent. This approach is utilized later in the empirical studies.

The relation between the propositions in SACs is conversational rather than conventional (conditional) and it serves to make an utterance felicitous and relevant to the discourse. SACs supply required information as indirect answers to questions where direct answers would be practically insufficient. Indirect answers are widely used in everyday conversation in order to fulfil the requirements of the addressee (regarding the question) or to offer information that the speaker assumes will be required subsequently.

Indirect answers can improve the quality of the conversation and also shorten dialogues by providing information for upcoming questions beforehand. Take the question, for instance, *Would you like a coffee?* The addressee could reply indirectly with the statement *With milk please*. This response doesn't just imply a positive answer to the question asked but also provides an answer to the anticipated question *With sugar or milk?* beforehand. Narrowing down the study, the paper focuses on polar questions where direct answers might literally answer the question but are not necessarily sufficient for the requirements underlying the question, whereas indirect answers could imply the direct answers and additionally supply information that satisfies the underlying requirements.

To get an intuitive sense of the SACs as indirect answers in natural language, imagine a scenario in which a passenger asks the question *Has the train to Berlin left yet?* at the information desk in a railway station. The employee might assume that the passenger wants to take the train or to find someone who was supposed to take the train. Among their options, the employee chooses the most probable reason motivating the question and replies as in (5), believing that the passenger will be able to derive a negative answer from the response:

(5) If you want to take the train, it is about to leave in 5 minutes.

If the train to Berlin had already left, the yes answer might be sufficient on a literal level but fail practically to fulfil the passenger's requirement (to go to Berlin). Thus, the employee could respond indirectly:

(6) If you want to take the train, the next one leaves in 20 minutes.

The SAC in answer (6) conveys that the answer is yes and suggests an alternative means of carrying out the requirement, which would be to take the next train in 20 minutes. Csipak (2015) calls these kinds of examples “problem-solving” SACs because they indicate that the assertion of the consequent is in some way discourse-relevant, and the antecedent expresses the presumed requirement for the information given in the consequent.

SAC examples like the train scenario are expressed similarly in Persian, and it is of interest in this study to test the pragmatic adequacy of SACs as indirect answers in both languages. The acceptability of SACs as indirect answers will be examined in order to see if the speakers of both languages accept them as coherent responses in a dialogue and if they also derive the implied yes/no answers. This study will then examine the discrepancies in detail if any significant differences are found.

The findings of this paper could be relevant in a variety of fields, for example, in natural language processing. If SACs are an acceptable means of offering indirect answers, computational linguistic studies can use them as an alternative structure in dialogue systems (Hesse *et al.* 2018), and a contrastive analysis could offer additional value for bilingual systems. The next section is concerned with the online experiments and the methodology used for this study. The result section analyses the data from the experiments and the last section gives a brief summary of the study and presents the findings of the paper.

2. Empirical Grounding

In order to gain insight into the pragmatics of SACs as indirect answers, a dialogue with a sequence of questions and answers in an apartment sales context was designed to be tested through online questionnaires. The study is concerned with the acceptability of SACs as indirect answers. A dialogue was designed between a customer who asks questions about an apartment and a real estate agent who replies either directly with yes/no or indirectly with a SAC answer.

The questionnaires were designed with Testable (testable.org), which is a platform for researchers to make experimental designs for lab-based and online studies. The link for the English language experiment was distributed via Amazon Mechanical Turk (MTurk) and limited to US-based IP addresses. Unfortunately, for Persian participants MTurk could not be used since Amazon is not officially accessible in Iran. Therefore, I contacted the heads of a company, a factory, and a university and asked them to send the experiment’s Testable link via email to their employees or students. To have comparable random samples, the email’s text and

template for Persian subjects was exactly the same as the call submitted to MTurk for the English test. None of the subjects were informed about the linguistic goals of the questionnaire, and they were as blind as the American subjects to the experiment. Apart from this, the Persian subjects were totally free to participate just like the MTurk workers.

I gave the MTurk HIT access to 250 Amazon workers and sent the email to a large number of Persian subjects, from whom the first 250 results were collected (the experiment's link was deactivated after the first 250 responses). Among 250 participants for each language, 241 Americans and 238 Persian subjects successfully completed the experimental tasks. There were 98 females and 143 males in the English test while it was 142 females and 96 males in the Persian test. The average age of American and Persian participants was 35.98 years (varying between 19 and 70) and 33.51 years (varying between 17 and 74), respectively.

In order to investigate the perspectives of both interlocutors in the dialogue scenario, participants were divided into customer and real estate agent groups. On the first page of the questionnaire, each group of participants was instructed to imagine themselves as either a customer or a realtor, read the question and answer pairs, and then rate the acceptability of the answers. Participants received a small compensation for their work.

I provided five questionnaires with the same 30 questions for which different kinds of answers (either direct or indirect) are provided randomly. On each page, participants were presented with one question–answer pair and a rating slider to judge the (un)acceptability of the answer on a scale from 0 to 100. 15 questions were designed as control and filler questions to check the participants' attention and to distract them from the purpose of the experiment, respectively. Control questions asked subjects to choose an exact answer (e.g. “unacceptable”) and filler questions offered simple sentences (without an if-clause) that prompted either obviously acceptable or unacceptable feedback. Participants who answered more than three filler or control questions incorrectly were not included in the results.

All of the questions in the dialogue were designed in polar question patterns, such as *Does the apartment have X?* or *Is there any X near the apartment?* where *X* is an attribute related to the context like a balcony, parking, a metro station, etc. A comparison between direct yes/no answers and positive/negative SACs was made in both languages. Subjects were presented, for example, with a question like *Are there any restaurants near the apartment?* and one of the following answers:

- 1) Yes, there is one nearby.
- 2) No, there are not.
- 3) If you enjoy eating out, there is an Italian restaurant nearby. (PSAC)
- 4) If you enjoy eating out, there are a few restaurants and fast food chains nearby. (ASAC)
- 5) If you enjoy eating out, there is a fast food chain nearby. (NSAC)

The answers in (1) and (2) are direct responses to the question. While in (3) the positive SAC (PSAC) just shares the assumed requirement of the question, the answer in (4) offers more information related to the question. They will be called alternative SACs (ASACs), since they contain an alternative option besides the specific property that is being asked about.

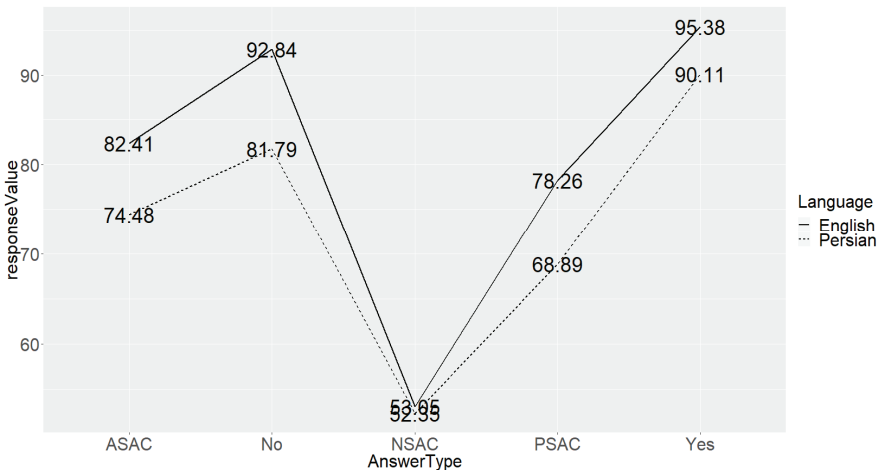


Fig. 8-1: Acceptability of all types of answers, comparing English and Persian

Finally, in answer (5) the apartment does not have the attribute, so a negative SAC (NSAC) suggests another property the realtor considers an equivalent option for the missing attribute, given the assumed requirement, i.e., a fast food chain could be as functional as a restaurant if the requirement is for a place to eat.

It is worth mentioning that the dialogues were first designed in English and then translated into Persian. During the translation, some sociocultural conflicts in certain questions arose. Taking, for instance, the question *Is there any café near the apartment?*: The presence of a café is not of inter-

est, generally speaking, in a conversation about buying an apartment for Iranians, who would more likely ask about a bakery nearby. However, it is an important question for Americans where the daily practice of drinking takeaway coffee is more prevalent. Thus, there are minor differences between the Persian and English questions which concern the differing cultural backgrounds. Therefore, an attempt was made to use pragmatically equivalent questions rather than exact translations. Figure 8-1 presents the experimental data on the average acceptability ratings of various answer types.

The one-way ANOVA tests yielded $F(4, 2405): 217.3$, $F(4, 2385): 93.39$, $P < 0.01$ for the English and Persian results respectively. The result reflects a significant difference between the answers for each language individually, but not between languages. This indicates that in both languages direct answers were rated as more acceptable in comparison with indirect answers, although none of the SAC answers were rejected. Post hoc comparisons using the Tukey HSD test indicated that the mean scores for the direct answers were not significantly different from the PSAC and ASAC answers. However, the NSACs significantly differ from the rest.

Interestingly, a comparison of the customer and realtor groups reveals that there was no significant difference between them in both languages. Figure 8-1 shows that subjects of both languages gave a very similar acceptability rating to all types of answers. This was anticipated since NSACs provide an attribute to compensate for a missing attribute of the apartment, customers would be more satisfied and thus these answers would be considered more functional and acceptable by participants. However, contrary to the study expectations, positive SACs in both languages received higher ratings. Further studies are required to determine the precise differences between positive and negative SACs.

Although the results of both languages were similar, the answers are differently distributed (Fig. 8-2 and 8-3).

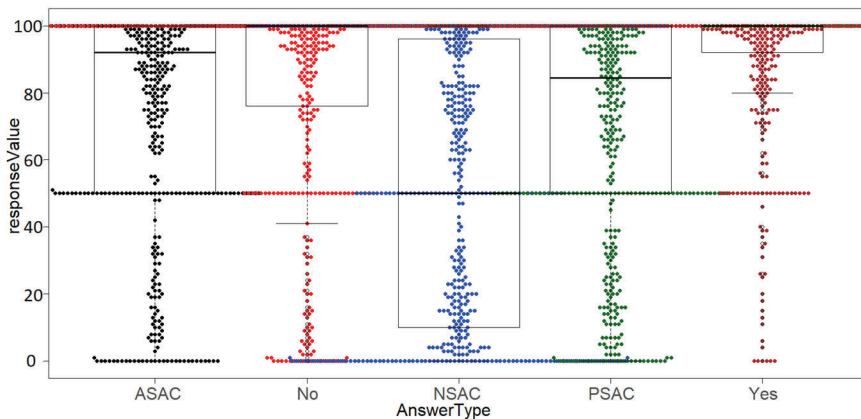


Fig. 8-2: Scatter plot of Persian Speakers

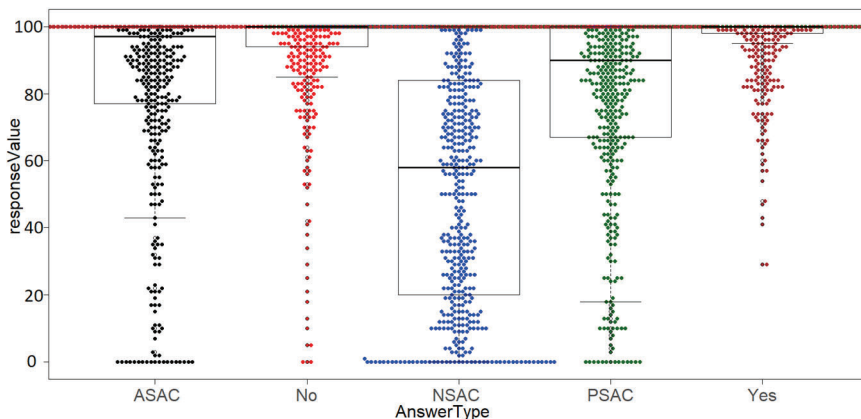


Fig. 8-3: Scatter plot of English Speakers

From the scatter plots above we can see that the attitudes of English and Persian speakers differ. More Persian subjects gave lower ratings to direct yes/no answers than English subjects, who appear more comfortable with direct answers. The plots of PSACs and ASACs also show the same patterns within each language, but these patterns differ between languages. There are more Persian participants who gave scores below 50 to positive

SACs while the bulk of acceptability scores for positive SACs among English speakers is closer to 100.

Moreover, the distribution of NSAC ratings by English speakers is more moderate than that of the Persian speakers. In the other words, English speakers' rating for NSACs is more evenly distributed across the scale, while Persian participants show more agreement on the extremes, and the distribution is denser near both ends.

3. Results

By means of speech act conditionals, one can share new information that is conversationally related to the context without taking the conditional relation between the propositions into account. This attitude could be used to provide indirect answers in dialogue systems where the answers should supply information related to the requirement behind the questions. Thus, the potential of SACs as indirect answers was investigated in a contrastive study between English and Persian to see if the speakers of both languages accept SACs as indirect answers to polar questions. The aim was to determine if there are any language-specific differences between English and Persian speakers when they are presented with SACs as answers in a dialogue.

The results of the empirical studies show that there is no significant difference between the English and Persian language groups for any type of SAC, either as positive or negative answers. Participants of both languages assign the same level of acceptability to the responses, though their attitudes towards the answers differed.

Considering the Persian data specifically, there were more unacceptable scores for all types of answers (both direct and indirect), and there was a tendency to select scores at both ends of the acceptability rating scale for SACs. On the other hand, English speakers tended to have more agreement on the rating values, and acceptability scores were higher on average. Taken together, SACs are acceptable as indirect answers when they offer an (alternative) answer related to the underlying requirement of the question.

4. Conclusion

Speech act conditionals (SACs) are conditional sentences in which the antecedent is conversationally related to the consequent rather than contingently. The present study was undertaken to evaluate the acceptability of SACs as indirect answers in English and Persian. An online experiment

was designed by covering constructed conversations between a customer and a real estate agent in which the customer's questions about an apartment were answered either directly with yes/no answers or indirectly with SACs.

The experiments were run in English and Persian and it was attempted to provide as similar a setting and framework as possible for both groups of participants. However, because of cultural and functional differences related to the questions for the subjects in each language group, I had to adopt the questionnaires to these differences, focussing on pragmatic rather than literal equivalence.

In general, Persian speakers assigned ca. 7% lower scores to all answer types (except for NSACs, which have the same average value in both languages). Although the difference is not significant, it might be explained by the comments of the subjects of the Persian pilot study. They indicated that since no numbers were displayed under the slider, they believed moving the marker toward the edges was enough to assign a rating, and they did not take note of the exact position of the marker. Thus, while Persian participants were not MTurk members and might have been assigning ratings in this particular way for the first time, American subjects were experienced workers in MTurk, and they were familiar with this type of control. More research using the same method of collecting participants is needed to ensure that all subjects have comparable experience in dealing with the experiment's materials. The second major finding was that the distribution analysis shows more varied opinions among Persian participants than among Americans.

Overall, there is no significant difference in any type of answer between languages, and SACs are generally considered acceptable as long as there is a coherent (epistemic) relation between the clauses. These findings have significant implications for natural language processing systems which could benefit from the pragmatics of SACs when generating answers in dialogue systems. Offering SACs instead of yes/no answers could reduce the robotic impression that dialogue systems tend to give and enrich the conversation by offering required information beforehand.

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PART III:

**PRAGMATICS IN FOREIGN LANGUAGE
LEARNING AND LINGUA FRANCA
INTERACTIONS**

CHAPTER NINE

APOLOGISING IN FINNISH AND IN SWEDISH AS LEARNER LANGUAGES

OUTI TOROPAINEN & SINIKKA LAHTINEN

1. Introduction

The aim of this article is to better understand language learners' pragmatic competence in apologising. Our focus is on learners' explicit apologies at different levels of language proficiency. We are thus interested in learners' use of expressions or words to convey apology in a text-based communicative writing task, such as *anteeksi* (Finnish, 'I'm sorry') or *förlåt* (Swedish, 'I'm sorry'). The analysed texts were assessed according to the Common European Frame of Reference (CEFR) scale, which makes it possible to study the expected development of the pragmatic skill of apologising.

Language learners need more than correct linguistic forms and structures to communicate effectively in various contexts. The effect of the produced utterances or expressions depends on how appropriate they are socially and functionally in any given context (e.g. CEFR 2001; Fraser 2010; Sickinger and Schneider 2014). In several studies, learners' pragmatic skills have been studied in oral contexts and with the help of written questionnaires (discourse completion task, DCT), even on social media and in online interactions (e.g. Kasper and Rose 2002; Taguchi and Sykes 2013; Bardovi-Harlig 2018). In these studies, the focus has often been on various pragmatic skills in English, which is the most commonly studied learner language. In contrast, studies focusing on learner language pragmatics in written communication and on learner languages other than English seem to be less common.

In our study, the studied learner languages were Finnish and Swedish in Finland. Finnish is the majority language, spoken by 87.9% of inhabitants in Finland, and Swedish is a minority language, spoken by 5.2% of inhabitants (Statistics Finland, Population Structure, 31.12. 2017). Both

Finnish and Swedish are official languages in Finland. Finnish and Swedish represent morphologically different languages. Swedish is a Germanic language, more specifically a Scandinavian language, whereas Finnish is a Uralic language, more specifically a Baltic Finnic language.

Learners of Finnish as a second language (L2) in our study had various first languages (L1), whereas the learners of Swedish as a foreign language (FL) all had Finnish as their L1. Both languages, Finnish as L2 and Swedish as FL, are also taught as subjects in basic and upper secondary education, and Finnish is also the language of education for the studied learners. Thus, the learning environment of Finnish and Swedish was different for these two learner groups, and it also differed from that of earlier studies, which have focused on language learners' pragmatic development, sometimes in a study-abroad context (Bardovi-Harlig 2013). In the present study, immigrant pupils with various L1s learned Finnish both in formal and informal settings. The Finnish speaking learners studied Swedish at school and learned it primarily in formal contexts, although Finland is legally a bilingual country.

The article is structured as follows: We first give the theoretical background for this study. In the section following this background, we present the aim of the study, our data and our methods, after which we move on to the results of the analysis. In the final section, we discuss the main results and present implications for future research.

2. Background

We are interested in the learners' pragmalinguistic competence, as well as the effect of learners' level of language proficiency and of the learning environment (L2/FL) on this competence. We define 'pragmalinguistic competence' as the language learners' ability to choose appropriate forms, expressions and words for what the learner wants to express (e.g. Kasper and Rose 1999). The appropriateness of the apology in either of the learner languages has been preliminarily ascertained by native speakers and secondarily by comparative data from native speakers of the same age.

In the present study, the focus is only on explicit apologies. We define 'apology' as an explicit realisation of an apology, which is in Searle's words (1969, 64) an illocutionary force indicating device (IFID). The Searlean IFID is included in Olshtain and Cohen's (1983) study of apology speech acts, in which they present five strategies for apologising: (1) an IFID ('I'm sorry'), (2) an explanation of the cause ('The bus was late'), (3) an expression of responsibility ('It's my fault'), (4) an offer of repair ('I'll pay for the damage') and (5) a promise of forbearance ('That will never

happen again'). In the present study, we focused only on IFIDs. An explicit apology is often a routinised, formulaic expression, with or without intensifiers or downgraders, and it fulfils the function of signalling regret (Blum-Kulka, House, and Kasper 1989, 19–20). Limberg (2015, 277) exemplifies explicit apologies as follows: regret ('I'm sorry'), apology ('I apologise') and request for forgiveness ('Forgive me'). In our study regret and apology are central, and which we have treated as one category.

We are also interested in sociopragmatic competence (i.e., the learners' improving ability to choose contextually and socially appropriate forms, expressions and words to apologise) expressed via email (e.g. Kasper and Rose 1999; Kasper 2001; Usó-Juan 2010). It has been shown in several studies that language learners' pragmatic and lexical skills develop in line with their overall proficiency level (Kasper and Rose 2002). However, some studies indicate that higher language skills do not necessarily lead to socially appropriate expressions (e.g. Göy, Zeyrek, and Otcu 2012). We examine how the expressions of an apology change according to proficiency levels in CEFR, which is a fresh perspective, and brings new information about the written interlanguage pragmatics.

The results of previous research indicate that even when L2 learners have pragmatic skills in their L1, they may lack pragmalinguistic competence in the target language (Bardovi-Harlig 2012; Barron 2003; Håkansson and Norrby 2010). Living or spending time in a country where the target language is spoken has been found to have an effect on learners' pragmatic competence (e.g. Barron 2003). Håkansson and Norrby (2010) explored the influence of the learning environment on the acquisition of L2 Swedish. They compared the development of pragmatics in two different learner groups: university students studying Swedish in Malmö, Sweden and in Melbourne, Australia. The results showed inter alia that the learners in Australia used fewer pragmatic formulas such as *Tar ni kort* ('Do you take cards?') than the learners in Sweden. The pragmatic and lexical differences found between the groups were explained by differences in target language exposure. Hence, the effects of the learning environment are also explored in the present study.

The use of language and the selection and realisation of different speech acts by language learners have been examined since the early 1980s (Blum-Kulka, House, and Kasper 1989, 9). Apology is among the speech acts that have been in focus most since then (e.g., Cohen and Ohlstein 1981; Ohlstein and Cohen 1983; Trosborg 1987; Bardovi-Harlig and Vellenga 2012). Learners have been found to struggle in choosing contextually and socially appropriate expressions of apology. For example,

learners of English express problems in choosing between ‘excuse me’ and ‘I am sorry’ (e.g., Trosborg 1987; Olshtain and Cohen 1990.)

In the Finnish context, there seem to be few studies on interlanguage pragmatics. Apologies and requests in Finnish as a learner language (LL) have been investigated by Muikku-Werner (1997) as part of the international Cross-Cultural Speech Act Realization Project (CCSARP, cf. Blum-Kulka, House, and Kasper 1989). To the best of our knowledge, studies in interlanguage pragmatics in L2 Swedish are also scarce, and none of them focus on apology. Green-Vänttinen and Rosenberg-Wolff (2008, 63) found in their study of texts extracted from matriculation examinations that Finnish learners of Swedish used the expression *förlåt* (‘I’m sorry/I apologise’) in linguistic contexts where the use of *tyvärr* (‘unfortunately’) and *ledsen* (‘I’m sorry’) are more native and appropriate. These gaps in the research field of Finnish and Swedish, make the actual study important, especially as the effects of learning environment are explored.

The arrangement of the present study is pedagogical in that the emails were not written in the context of real-life interactions between a language learner and a native speaker. The learners were given a communicative prompt to simulate a real email interaction. This provides an opportunity to analyse how learners with highly similar educational backgrounds apologise in the given context (cf. Barón and Ortega 2018). The results may also have explicit pedagogical implications concerning what aspects of various expressions of apology need to be taught in language classrooms. Tanner (2012) showed in her study that the dialogues presented in various textbooks in Finnish L2 differed from corresponding authentic, real-life dialogues. Although a learner’s use of contextually inappropriate formulas or expressions can be explained by effects of said learner’s L1 (i.e. pragmatic transfer, Barron 2003), explicit and contextualised teaching (e.g. about how to apologise) is also an important factor (Bardovi-Harlig and Vellenga 2012; Limberg 2015).

3. Methodology

3.1 Data

The written texts were collected from 2010 to 2013 in the research project Paths in Second Language Acquisition (for more about the project, see Topling) at the University of Jyväskylä in Finland. The total number of texts was 601, and they were written in either Swedish or Finnish by language learners. These texts were the primary material in the study. In addition, 128 texts of equivalent material written by native speakers (NS)

of the same age in both languages were used as reference materials. All the texts were handwritten on a paper, although they simulated an email (example 1). Only emails written by language learners were assessed according to the CEFR scale (in ascending order A1–A2–B1–B2–C1–C2; see more in Alanen, Huhta, and Tarnanen 2010; Huhta *et al.* 2014).

(1) The communicative writing task.

Email

You have agreed to meet with your friend at a café. Something came up, and you have other things to do.

Send an email to your friend to

- explain why you can't meet your friend and
- suggest another time and place.

As example 1 shows, the participants were instructed to write an email to a friend of the same age. The writers were mainly from basic education grades 7–9 and upper secondary education (age range: 13–19 years). In addition, in the Swedish learner group, there were also some university students (age range: 19–23) who majored in Swedish.

Table 9-1 summarises the number of emails and extracted explicit expressions of apology according to the CEFR scale and language. The total number of emails in Swedish LL was 402, and the total number of expressions of apology was 205. The corresponding amounts in Finnish LL consisted of 202 emails and 166 expressions of apology. The emails on level C1 are not analysed due to the small amount. Although emails on level A1 do not exist in Finnish LL data, corresponding emails are included in analysis in LL Swedish to show the progression.

Table 9-1: Numbers of emails and expressions of apology according to CEFR and language (LL=learner language).

		A1	A2	B1	B2	C1	Total
Swedish as LL	Emails (N)	166	190	25	18	3	402
	Expressions (N)	42	112	20	16	4	194
Swedish as L1	Emails (N)						31
	Expressions (N)						29
Finnish as LL	Emails (N)	-	74	78	48	2	202
	Expressions (N)	-	56	72	35	3	166
Finnish as L1	Emails (N)						97
	Expressions (N)						48

As shown in table 9-1, the majority of the emails written in Swedish LL were rated at the lowest levels, A1 and A2, whereas two thirds of the emails written in Finnish LL were at the higher levels (B1 and B2). Table 9-1 also shows that not all emails included an explicit expression of apology. The frequency of explicit expressions increased with increasing proficiency level (except in emails at level B2 in Finnish).

3.2 Research Questions and Procedure

Our study was a cross-sectional analysis of explicit expressions of apology across proficiency levels. The expressions were extracted from the rated emails and studied both quantitatively and qualitatively. The aims of the study are concretised in the following research questions:

RQ1: What kind of explicit expressions of apology do learners of Finnish and Swedish use in emails?

RQ2: How does the proficiency level of the learner affect the use of these expressions?

RQ3: How do these two learner groups differ in their use of these expressions?

We mainly used qualitative methods in the analysis of our data. In our analysis, we initially identified and extracted the expressions used in the emails to apologise in both learner languages (RQ1). These expressions were also extracted in L1 texts written by pupils of the same age in the reference material. The expressions in LL data were then analysed in reference to the ones the native speakers used. In the next phase, the use of the identified expressions was studied according to the CEFR level (RQ2) in order to determine the expected development of the pragmatic skill of apologising. Finally, in order to answer the third question (RQ3), we compared the use of the expressions between the two learner groups and considered the effects of differences in the language learning setting on the use of the expressions.

4. Explicit expressions of apology

As stated earlier, the number of explicit expressions of apology increased with increasing language proficiency (see table 9-2). In table 9-2, the expressions used by language learners and native speakers are presented without any reference to frequency. The table shows an interesting difference between the two learner groups: All the expressions of apology used

by learners of Finnish are also found in emails written by Finnish NSs. In contrast, the language learners of Swedish used some expressions that were not used by Swedish NSs.

Table 9-2: Variety of apology expressions in analysed emails (LL = language learner, NS = native speaker).

English	Finnish LL	Finnish NS	Swedish LL	Swedish NS
sorry	<i>sorry, sory, sorri, sori, sori :(</i>	<i>sori, sorry, sryy :/, sry <3</i>	<i>Sorry, sori, sry</i>	<i>sorry</i>
sorry, forgive me	<i>Anteeksi! :(, Anteeks, anteks, anteks, anteksi, pyydän anteeksi</i>	<i>anteeksi</i>	<i>Förlåt Förlot, förlota, förlätt,</i>	<i>förlåt</i>
excuse me			<i>Ursäkta Ursekta, Hursekta</i>	
unfortunately, sadly I regret, I'm sorry	<i>valitettavasti, olen pahoillani, oon paholani, pahoittelen, pahoittelut</i>	<i>valitettavasti, olen pahoillani, oon pahoillani</i>	<i>tyvärr ledsen</i>	<i>tyvärr (jag är) ledsen tråkigt nog</i>
use of emoji		<i>Mää en pääsekkää =(</i>	<i>⊗Jag kan inte komma⊗</i>	<i>Jag hinner inte fika idag ⊗</i>
It's a pity		<i>... harmi kun en pääse</i>	<i>synd</i>	
Other (sadly, comfortable)			<i>Det är tråkigt, Jag är inte bekväm</i>	

The expressions found in Finnish learner data can be divided into three groups: (1) expressions that were based on and included the English adjective 'sorry' and expressed regret or penitence, (2) expressions based on the Finnish word *anteeksi* ('sorry, forgive me') and (3) expressions that included a formal sequence *olen pahoillani* ('I regret') or *valitettavasti* ('unfortunately'). NSs of Finnish expressed the apology in highly similar expressions and words as the learners do.

Learners and native speakers of Finnish differed in their spelling of the apology and in the fact that half of the native speakers also used implicit methods of apology (see table 9-1). As can be expected, learners' spelling varied (see table 9-1), whereas native speakers used established or even playful spelling with an emoji (e.g., *Sryy* :(). Spelling variants included both established (e.g., *anteeks* versus *anteeksi*) and unestablished (e.g., *anteks*) versions. Established forms of spelling included both colloquial (e.g., *anteeks*) and grammatical spelling (e.g., *anteeksi*). Unestablished spelling can thus in some cases be interpreted as incorrect. When learners used more formal sequences corresponding to 'unfortunately' and 'I regret', the spelling showed only established forms, including colloquial spellings.

The explicit expressions for apology and regret used by learners showed more variation in the Swedish data than in the Finnish data. In the texts, the learners used *förlåt* ('sorry/forgive me') with several spelling variants, *sorry*, *sori* (colloquial 'sorry' in Finnish), *sry* (playful spelling), *ursäkta* ('excuse me') with several spelling variants, *synd* ('it's a pity'), *tyvärr* ('unfortunately'), *ledsen* ('I'm sorry'), emojis and other expressions (e.g., *jag är inte bekväm*, literally 'I'm not comfortable' and *det är tråkig*, 'sadly'). As stated before and shown in table 9-1, not all the expressions used by the learners were found in the texts written by native speakers.

To discuss the level of formality and the appropriateness of the different expressions in Finnish and Swedish learner data, the communicative context of the emails must be considered. As shown in example 1, the addressee of the email is a friend of the same age as the sender. Hence, we are dealing with a group of language learners and native speakers who are young, mostly teenagers. Therefore, the use of the English adjective 'sorry' with varying orthographies, with or without emojis, is appropriate, and this method of apology was found in emails written by both learners and native speakers.

In the Swedish data, the expression *förlåt* ('sorry') used by learners is also found in the emails written by native speakers, but with a somewhat different meaning (Lahtinen and Toropainen 2017). *Förlåt* ('sorry') implies that the speaker has done something wrong. In most cases in our data, however, the account or explanation of the situation suggests that the cancellation was due to something the writer was not able to influence, such as a sudden illness or a work shift.

Interestingly, the various orthographies of 'sorry' were used by all groups except the Swedish native speakers. It is possible that the equivalence between sound and letter in Finnish is also the cause of the variation in Swedish learner data. When 'sorry' is pronounced in English,

it sounds to a Finnish speaker like ‘sori’. Because of this, the spelling *sory* can be seen as a good compromise between English and Finnish. The use of an emoji with ‘sorry’ only emphasises the articulated apology.

The translation equivalent to ‘sorry’ is *anteeksi* in Finnish, which was also used both by language learners and native speakers. This is a neutral Finnish word to express apology (equivalent to ‘sorry’, ‘forgive me’ or ‘excuse me’). The Finnish expressions that correspond to ‘I regret’ and ‘unfortunately’ appear to be more formal expressions than *sory/i*. The grade of formality in *olla pahoillaan* (‘I regret’) can be regulated somewhat by the spelling of the verb *olla* (to be). The form *olen* (‘I am’) is grammatically correct, and the form *oon* (‘I’m’) represents the colloquial spelling. By choosing the latter spelling, the language users indicate familiarity and nearness to the addressee. This spelling is presumably learned as chunk and not been deliberately chosen. In contrast, the expression *valitettavasti* (‘unfortunately’) does not offer similar opportunities to adjust the apology to be more familiar. According to Muikku-Werner (1997), the expression *valitettavasti* has an official tone.

The learners of Finnish and the native speakers also used different intensifiers in their expressions of apology, which is less common in the Swedish data. The Finnish intensifiers appear together with all words and at all levels in learner data: *oon/olen tosi/todella/hyvin pahoillani* (‘I am really sorry’), *anteeksi kauheesti* (‘terribly sorry’) and *sory ihan hirveesti* (‘just awfully sorry’). The familiarity and colloquiality of intensifiers vary, and some of them are very familiar (e.g., *ihan hirveesti*, ‘just awfully’ and *kauheesti*, ‘terribly’), whereas some are more formal (e.g., *todella* and *hyvin*, ‘really’ and ‘very’). In contrast, the Swedish data includes only five expressions with an intensifier (e.g., *grymt/litten ledsen*, ‘grimly/a bit’, *jätte ursäkta/ledsen*, ‘terrific excuse me/sorry’). This might be due to the lower proficiency levels of Swedish learners on average and the lower amount of Swedish native speaker data in comparison to Finnish native speaker data.

In this section, we have discussed spelling and formality variations in the expressions used. In the following section, we focus on language development, which is defined and categorised using the CEFR proficiency levels.

5. The development of the pragmatic skill of apologising

As stated previously, all the analysed emails written by language learners were assessed according to the CEFR scale during the research project

Topling. The rating scale used was based on several criteria, none of which explicitly focused on pragmatics (see Huhta *et al.* 2014).

Figures 9-1 and 9-2 illustrate the use of apologies by language learners at different proficiency levels and by native speakers. The colours of the columns stand for different expressions. The columns, in turn, stand for different CEFR levels (A1 to B2) and native speakers (NS). Because the emails and expressions of apology at the highest CEFR level (level C1, see table 9-1) were so scarce, they have been excluded. For the Finnish data, figure 9-1 shows the percentages for the four most frequently used expressions, with a corresponding English expression in brackets. In the Swedish data, the four most frequently used expressions include emojis, and their distribution is illustrated in figure 9-2.

Before taking a closer look at the Finnish data, it is important to note that in the Finnish data, there are no emails or expressions at the lowest CEFR level (A1) (figure 9-1), whereas the A1 level is well represented in the Swedish data.

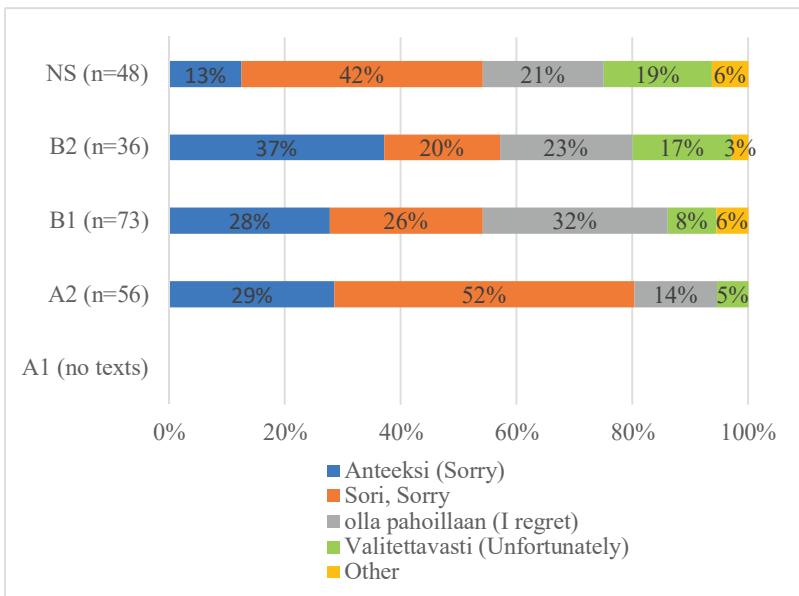


Fig. 9-1: The distribution of expressions of apology used by learners of Finnish at different CEFR levels and by native speakers (NS).

As shown in Figure 9-1, the expression *anteeksi* ('sorry') was used by learners at all levels and by native speakers, although it was less frequently used by native speakers. Interestingly, the informal expression *sorry* (with varying spellings) was also used at all levels, most frequently at the A2 level (52%) and by native speakers (42%). Possible explanations might be that the level A2 language learners do not know any other expressions, whereas the native speakers use the expression because of its appropriateness in this context (i.e., an email to a friend of the same age). The more formal expression *pahoillani* ('I regret') appears surprisingly often used, especially at level B1 (32%) given that the addressee is a friend of the same age. Only every fourth (6 of 24 in total) expression including *pahoillaan* in Finnish learner data showed the familiar and colloquial verb form *oon* ('I'm') instead of *olen* ('I am'). All six of these expressions also included the colloquial form of the first person singular personal pronoun *mä(ä)* (I) instead of either omitting it or using the spelling *minä* (I). The use of *mä(ä)* emphasises the informality of the originally more formal expression. The more formal expression *valitettavasti* was used at all levels, but it was most commonly used at the highest level (B2) (17%), and by native speakers (19%). It was very rarely used at level A2 (5%), which might imply its appropriateness in this social context and its connection to higher level language skills. The category 'other' in Finnish data includes expressions like *en pääse(kään)* ('I can't go along'), *on ikävää* ('it's a pity') and *on harmi* ('what a shame').

In contrast, in the Swedish learner data, there seems to be a clear difference between the expressions used at the lower CEFR levels (A1–B1) and those used at the highest level (B2) and by NSs (Figure 9-2). The expression *förlåt* ('sorry') was used at all levels from A1 to B1, but it was used most frequently at level B1, and it was very rarely used by native speakers. When it was used by native speakers, the meaning was slightly different, as discussed in the previous section. *Ursäkta* ('excuse me') was not used by the native speakers at all, which implies its inappropriateness in this context. The expression *tyvärr* ('unfortunately') was frequently used by NSs of Swedish, which is somewhat surprising considering the situation (i.e., an email to a friend of the same age). In the learner data, there were some instances of *tyvärr* at the lowest proficiency level (A1) but its frequency increases with increasing CEFR level and reaches 63% at level B2.

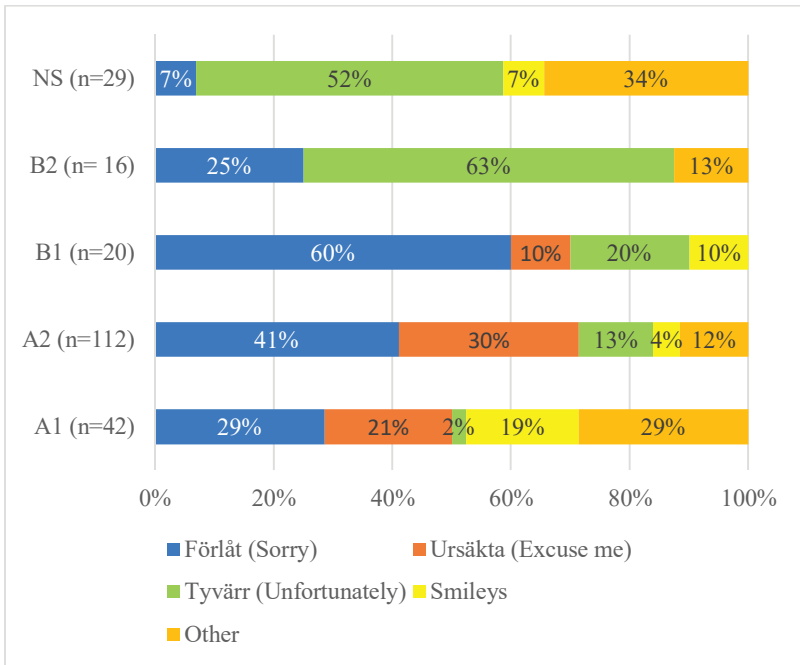


Fig. 9-2: The distribution of expressions of apology used by learners of Swedish at different CEFR levels and by native speakers (NS).

In addition to the expressions *förlåt*, *tyvärr*, *ursäkta* and emojis, there is an ‘other’ category in Figure 9-2. This category includes *ledsen* (‘I’m sorry’), which was frequently used by NSs (17%) but was rare in the learner data (4%). Other expressions included in the category ‘other’ are *Sorry/Sori, synd* (‘It’s a pity’), and *tråkigt nog* (‘sadly’). The learners at the lowest level (A1) preferred emojis and variations of *sorry*, in addition to sequences communicated entirely in English (*I’m sorry*) presumably because of their limited vocabulary in Swedish. Our findings corroborate those of Green-Vänttinen and Rosenberg-Wolff (2008, 63), according to which Finnish learners of Swedish seem unfamiliar with the more native expression of regret *ledsen* (‘I’m sorry’) and prefer *förlåt*.

Finally, the effects of the learning context on the differing levels of pragmatic apology skill between these two learner groups are discussed in the following section.

6. The effect of environment

According to the previous analysis focusing on CEFR levels and apology expressions, the language learning environment and exposure to the language seem to have an effect on learners' pragmalinguistic competence. Although some of the expressions used by learners of Swedish were incorrect (e.g. *ursäkta*, 'excuse me') in the social context drawn up in the communicative writing task, all the expressions found in the Finnish learner data also occurred in native speaker texts. The learners of Finnish, however, tended to use more formal expressions (e.g., *pahoillani*) in the same context. The analysis shows well the difference in the LL Swedish data between the expressions used at the levels A1–B1 and those used at the level B2 and by native speakers, whereas the differences in Finnish learners' productions are less marked.

Because the learners of Swedish studied the language as an FL and only in formal settings, their difficulties in language use are different from those experienced by Finnish learners, who are surrounded by the target language both in formal and informal contexts. The Finnish learners adopt both the language and the use of language in social (oral) contexts with native speakers. In other words, the social use of the language is daily for Finnish learners, whereas the Swedish learners struggle with the proper use of expressions (e.g. use of *ursäkta* versus *förlåt*) and limited linguistic resources (e.g. use of *ledsen* by native speakers but very rarely by learners).

The Finnish learners struggled with spelling and also seemed to have trouble adjusting their formality to the social context (e.g., as in their use of *pahoillani*). The learners of Swedish in this study also had difficulty choosing a correct explicit expression due to transfer from their L1: the Finnish word *anteeksi* ('I'm sorry') can be translated either to *förlåt* or *ursäkta*. Furthermore, *sorry* and its variants were used by Finnish native speakers, which might be a possible explanation for the frequent use of *förlåt* (Swedish LL) and *anteeksi* (Finnish LL) by the learners. The expressions become more native in both languages at the higher CEFR levels and include use of established spelling. This language development supports the findings of other studies (e.g. Kasper and Rose 2002).

7. Discussion

We can conclude that the learning environment has an effect on the pragmatic skill of apologising (cf. year-abroad studies, Håkansson and Norrby 2010). The more exposure to the language and the more possibilities to use

it, the better. In the present study, the learners of Finnish adopted the language in a real-life setting with friends and as a language of education, whereas the learners of Swedish were primarily exposed to Swedish via formal language education in a classroom setting.

In the present study, we also examined how expressed apologies varied across language proficiency levels (i.e., CEFR levels). In summary, we can see that language proficiency does have an effect on the forms of apologies. When one's language proficiency is limited (as at level A1), the only possibility to express an apology may be an emoji, as we see in the Swedish learner data, or the 'finglish' *sory/i* at the A2 level in Finnish (but also in Swedish). Surprisingly, *sory/i* was often also used by native speakers in Finnish and *sorry* by native speakers of Swedish. Thus, the explanation for its use by the learners is probably not limited language skills but may rather be the familiar and colloquial global youth language used also by natives and heavily influenced by English. Therefore here, we may see more input from English as a lingua franca than simply transfer from learners' first languages, especially with learners of Finnish as their L1 are not known to us.

The formality of the expressions seemed to also cause some problems: The learners of Finnish at level B1 tended to use the more formal expression *olen pahoillani* ('I regret'), and only some (6 of 24 in total) included a colloquial and familiar form of the verb 'I am' (*oon* instead of *olen*). The use of *tyvärr/valitettavasti* ('unfortunately') increased with increasing language proficiency by the learners in both languages, and the use of *tyvärr* by native speakers in Swedish was common. The native speakers and learners of Finnish showed approximately equal percentage of the expressions *valitettavasti* ('unfortunately') and *olla pahoillaan* ('I regret') (cf. Fig. 9-1).

Since language use is constantly changing as new words arise, and old words take on new meaning, it is important to study language use from a sociopragmatic perspective especially in young native speakers and learners. The English language is seen as the most important influence on youth language. Therefore, the potential influence of English, combined with emojis, could be regarded as the first step toward a new language (e.g., as in the use of *sorry/sory/sori* in the present data). If the improvement of language proficiency ends at the described emoji level and none of the other, more formal ways to express apology are also learned and adopted, the learner is probably not able to use the language in a playful way, as native speakers of the same age do in Finnish when apologising (i.e., *sry* <3). The intended playfulness of the learners may be interpreted as limited language proficiency.

According to our experience, email is no longer the most common form of communication among teenagers, and this could be viewed as a limitation of the present study. Various online communication applications have replaced email over the last few years. Therefore, to analyse the pragmatic language skills of young language learners and native speakers in the future, data should be gathered via applications that teenagers use. Thus, the context for the study would fulfil the criteria of real-time and real-life communication. Another area of interest is of course the effects of instruction on pragmatic language skills, more precisely the teaching material used in language classrooms. This is important because, as stated earlier, there has not been much research examining the teaching of pragmatics in a Finnish context. Across most themes in language use and learning, teenagers and young language learners are an understudied group.

Explicit apologies are conversational routines that can be learned as pragmatic routines, even in language classrooms. Nevertheless, they must “be stored in long-term memory and retrieved for integration into syntax” (Bardovi-Harlig and Stringer 2017, 62). The results of the present study indicate that this kind of deep learning has not occurred for the learners of Swedish as an FL (e.g., as demonstrated by their use of *ursäkta* or *förlåt* instead of *tyvärr/ledsen*). Maybe the lack of contextualised teaching and teaching material in language classrooms could also be one reason for fluctuating in learners’ pragma-linguistic competence. Therefore, more attention should be paid to teaching when the environment does not support the language learning, but also when the input from the environment is mostly limited to e.g. youth language.

The examination of whole speech acts in Finnish and Swedish as second languages in various communicative contexts and media also presents possibilities to deepen our understanding of pragmatic skills in learner language. For example, an examination of the influence of English in youth language and the effects of other learned languages on learner languages, together with an exploration of the multimodality of modern communication, could yield interesting insights into the pragmatic aspect of language learning.

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CHAPTER TEN

MULTIMODAL PRAGMATICS IN FL INTERACTIONS: THE CASE OF COMPLAINTS AND RESPONSES TO COMPLAINTS

VICENT BELTRÁN-PALANQUES

1. Introduction

The study of interlanguage pragmatics (ILP) from an interactive perspective requires the adoption of a conversation analysis (CA) approach (Kasper 2006), which provides researchers with tools to explore the organisation of talk-in-interaction (Sacks, Schegloff, and Jefferson 1974; Heritage 2004). In recent years, considering that communication is inherently multimodal, CA seems to have extended beyond the study of talk-in-interaction, traditionally based on speech, in order to adopt a new perspective that serves to address and explore the interplay of semiotic modes (Goodwin 2000; Heath, Hindmarsh, and Luff 2010; Mondada 2017, 2018). This particular approach is of special interest for the study of face-to-face interaction, which is multimodal by nature since speakers have at their disposal a variety of semiotic resources that can contribute to the construction and deconstruction of talk-in-interaction (Beltrán-Palanques and Querol-Julián 2018). The interplay of linguistic and extra-linguistic resources such as gestures, facial expressions, gaze or body movements is constant in face-to-face interaction and this phenomenon should not be overlooked, but instead it should be explored in order to explain how the different modes shape interaction (e.g. Stam and Tellier 2017; Beltrán-Palanques and Querol-Julián 2018).

Although multimodal CA is typically used to explore naturally occurring data, it may be applied to the study of ILP data in order to explore learners' performance from a wider perspective. Bearing in mind those

aspects, this study attempts to explore the construction and deconstruction of complaints and responses to complaints from a multimodal CA approach. Particularly, this study examines one complaint–response to complaint sequence elicited by Spanish learners of English as a foreign language (EFL). On this basis it attempts to explain and discuss how participants elaborate a complaint sequence both linguistically and extralinguistically. As shown, the study reveals how participants employ various semiotic resources during the construction and deconstruction of face-to-face interaction, specifically, spoken language, gestures, head movement, facial expressions and gaze. Moreover, the approach adopted to analyse data provides evidence of the emotional dimension of the situation, which involves a face-threatening act. The example used in this study is taken from a video corpus consisting of learners' interlanguage complaints at different proficiency levels (Beltrán-Palancas 2016).

2. Background

Crystal (2008) defines pragmatics as “the study of language from the point of view of the users, especially of the choices they make, the constraints they encounter in using language in social interaction, and the effects their use of language has on the other participants in an act of communication” (p. 379). Accordingly, pragmatics focuses on the perspective of users in social interaction, considers the various choices and limitations users may face in communicative situations and acknowledges the effects users' performance may have. This particular definition seems to align pragmatics (in social interaction) to discursive pragmatics and CA (see Kasper 2006). In addition to this, it should be noted that Leech (1983) and Thomas (1983) identify two different types of knowledge within pragmatics, namely, *pragmalinguistics*, referring to the linguistic resources speakers have at their disposal to perform communicative functions, and *sociopragmatics*, involving the different social conditions that constrain and govern the performance of communicative functions. Therefore, in order to produce appropriate utterances, speakers are expected to draw on these two knowledge dimensions, which may become more challenging in situations involving speakers of English as a second language (SL) or FL.

In the area of SL/FL pedagogy, pragmatics has also been widely discussed, for example, as part of the communicative construct. Following Hymes' (1972) communicative competence, several authors have proposed an array of communicative models addressing the nature of pragmatic competence. Pragmatics, as an independent competence, was first identified in the model proposed by Bachman (1990). Other models, how-

ever, included pragmatic competence within other competences. For example, Canale and Swain (1980) included pragmatics as part of sociolinguistic competence; later on, Celce-Murcia, Dörnyei, and Thurrell (1995) placed it as part of sociocultural competence and actional competence; and more recently, Celce-Murcia (2007) included it as part of sociocultural competence and interactional competence. Pragmatic competence, as reported by Celce-Murcia and Olshtain (2000, 19), refers to “a set of internalised rules of how to use language in socio-culturally appropriate ways, taking into account the participants in a communicative interaction and features of the context within which the interaction takes place”. Pragmatic competence is a fundamental competence of the communicative construct that SL/FL learners are expected to develop in order to use language appropriately in specific contexts and succeed in communication.

In any kind of communication, whether written or spoken, pragmatic knowledge is necessary to achieve communicative purposes. In face-to-face conversation, which is commonly associated to, for example, spontaneity, lack of planning and grammatical elaboration (e.g. Halliday 1985; Miller 2006), being pragmatically appropriate may be quite challenging for language learners. Communication, especially in face-to-face interaction, implies, among other things, more than word choice and the appropriate use of pragmatic functions. Communication is multimodal and therefore it involves the performance of several semiotic modes. From an interactional perspective, speakers employ a variety of both linguistic and extra-linguistic semiotic modes to convey pragmatic meaning, produce and interpret turns, interrupt and repair problems, among others. The different semiotic modes speakers can deploy, in addition to the linguistic mode, would fall into some of the following categories: kinesics (body movements), proxemics (use of space), haptics (touching) and vocalics (paralanguage).

The multimodal nature of communication has attracted the attention of several researchers, which, especially in recent years, is gaining relevance within the area of linguistics (Jewitt, Bezemer, and O’Halloran 2016). In the field of pragmatics, however, multimodality seems to be still quite emergent. Nevertheless, as O’Halloran, Tan, and López (2014) claim, the aims of multimodal studies and pragmatic studies are quite close, since both involve a context-based approach that attempts to explore how language is used to research communicative purposes. In the field of pragmatics, various researchers have explored interaction from a multimodal perspective (e.g. Kendon 1995, 2017; Mondada 2016, 2018; Li 2014; O’Halloran, Tan, and López 2014). To the best of my knowledge and focusing particularly on speech acts, which is the aspect explored in this

study, insights into requests have been addressed, for instance, in Drew and Couper-Kuhlen's volume (2014) and in Rossi (2018). Huang's (2017) study has also explored the production of various types of speech acts from a multimodal perspective. These studies have explored situations involving authentic language rather than language elicited, for example, by means of role-plays, which is the research instrument employed in this study and the one commonly used in ILP. In this regard, in the field of ILP, few contributions have been identified in the literature. Of these, Gass and Houck's (1999) study explores the speech act of refusals and Beltrán-Palanques' (2016) and Beltrán-Palanques and Querol-Julián's (2018) studies centre on complaints and responses to complaints. In the context of language learning, the study of multimodality has also caught the interest of researchers. This can be observed, for example, in the special issue edited by Crawford and Campoy-Cubillo (2018), which focuses on pedagogical implications, multimodality and multimodal literacy in the context of English language teaching in higher education. In addition to this, focusing particularly on a specific mode, gesture has received great attention in SL/FL language contexts (see Stam 2013, 2018 for a review). Some issues addressed include the role of gestures in language acquisition and teaching (Gullberg 1998, 2008; Gullberg, de Bot, and Volterra 2008; McCafferty and Stam 2008), gestures and bilingualism (Gullberg 2010), and gestures and speaking (Negueruela, Lantolf, Jordan, and Gelabert 2004; Stam 2018).

In this study, I attempt to focus on multimodal pragmatics in the language learning context, which has not been widely examined, in order to explore how speakers and listeners construct and deconstruct pragmatic meaning in face-to-face interaction. To do so, my concern is to explore data elicited by learners of English as an FL. In so doing, I examine learners' interplay of linguistic and extra-linguistic resources in a situation involving complaint–response to complaint sequences. To exemplify the microanalysis of the data, in what follows, various excerpts are presented.

3. The study

The pragmatic aspect examined in this study is complaint–response to complaint sequences. Complaints are regarded as face-threatening acts that speakers usually perform when an offence is committed (Olshtain and Weinbach 1993) and they are commonly based on a dissatisfactory event or experience. Performing complaints and responses to complaints is rather complex since there is no prototypical set of strategies to guide their realisation (Geluikens and Kraft 2008; Laforest 2002) and, likewise, there

is no common adjacency pairs structure, but instead extended sequences (Drew and Walker 2009). Considering the face-threatening nature of complaints, the emotional dimension involved and their pragmatically complex realisation, especially in face-to-face interaction, a multimodal approach is necessary in order to unveil how speakers construct and deconstruct pragmatic meaning. Hence, adopting a multimodal CA perspective may be useful to provide a wider description of how pragmatic meaning, in this case complaints and responses to complaints, is constructed and deconstructed by means of linguistic and extra-linguistic semiotic modes (Beltrán-Palanques 2016; Beltrán-Palanques and Querol-Julián 2018).

The data examined in this study are taken from a multimodal spoken corpus consisting of interlanguage complaints and responses to complaints (Beltrán-Palanques 2016). Participants involved in the study were 64 learners of English as an FL enrolled in a Spanish university. By means of the DIALANG Language Assessment System,¹ the participants were divided into two different proficiency levels, specifically, B1 and B2 according to the Common European Framework of Reference for Languages (2001). Spoken data were elicited by means of a role-play task, which was constructed using an exemplary generation task and a likelihood questionnaire. The former was administered in order to obtain authentic examples of situations involving complaints. Particularly, in this task participants were asked to include examples involving similar status and indicate the level of familiarity between speakers, the level of offence and how they felt in the situation. Drawing on the results obtained, the second instrument was administered in order to measure the likelihood of occurrence of a set of selected situations. On the basis of the results obtained in the likelihood questionnaire, two situations were selected, one of them being chosen for use in this study, which was classified as a serious offence due to the fictitious relationship (two friends) between the participants and the damage caused. Once the role-play task had been designed, it was administered to the participants in the study, who were asked to interact in a natural way and to use as many turns as necessary to accomplish the communicative goals. Moreover, the participants were encouraged to decide the role they wanted to perform and who would start the conversation. No time restrictions were imposed. There were no constraints as regards opening and closing, number of turns or the choice of communicative strategies.

Beltrán-Palanques' (2016) study showed that the macrostructure of complaint sequences seems to involve three different obligatory moves, namely, pre-complaint, topic negotiation and post-complaint. Additionally,

¹ <https://dialangweb.lancaster.ac.uk/>

opening and closing moves were also found in the data, but were optional moves rather than part of the complaint itself. Besides the role-play instrument, retrospective verbal reports were also administered immediately after the task in order to gain further insights into participants' performance. The retrospective verbal report served to yield information about their pragmatic behaviour, among other aspects.

Drawing on Beltrán-Palanques (2016) and Beltrán-Palanques and Querol-Julián (2018), the analysis presented here involves exploring a complaint–response to complaint sequence from a multimodal CA approach focusing particularly on the following semiotic modes: spoken language, facial expression, gesture, head movement, gaze and gesture.

4. Analysis

Formulating a complaint may be rather face-threatening since the complainer (speaker) is expected to address the complaineé (listener) in order to show that an offence has been committed (Olshtain and Weinbach 1993). To do so, the complainer should draw on his/her pragmatic knowledge and produce utterances that are acceptable and appropriate for the specific context in which the interaction occurs. Similarly, the complaineé is expected to provide responses that are acceptable and appropriate for the given context.

In this section, I present a multimodal microanalysis of complaints and responses to complaints. To do so, in what follows, I provide an example consisting of two male participants whose proficiency level was B2. This particular pair elaborated the following moves: opening, pre-complaint, topic negotiation and post-complaint. In this analysis, however, the opening move is excluded as it is not part of the complaint itself. Due to space constraints, a selection of complaint sequences is carried out to illustrate participants' performance.

Approaching the complaineé in a polite manner is necessary in order to discuss the topic, try to solve the problem and avoid negative effects that may damage the relationship between the participants (Olshtain and Weinbach 1993). Hence, the complainer needs to make decisions as regards the way the complaint is expressed so that it avoids damaging the complaineé's face and both can reach a mutual understanding.

Excerpt 1 shows how the complainer approaches the complaineé in order to anticipate a face-threatening act. Please note that each number corresponds to a turn. Appendix I provides information as regards transcription conventions.

Excerpt 1. Pre-complaint

1 complainer I wanted to talk to you
 complaine <okay>
 complainer and
 complaine <yeah>



Fig. 10-1



Fig. 10-2

complainer er I heard you just er organised a big //big// party a:nd
 complaine <oh yeah that party yeah>
 complainer er yeah
 complaine <yeah>

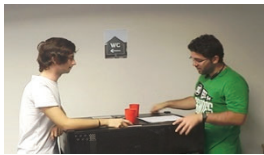


Fig. 10-3

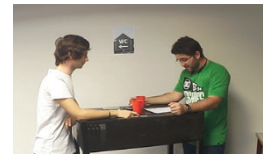


Fig. 10-4



Fig. 10-5



Fig. 10-6

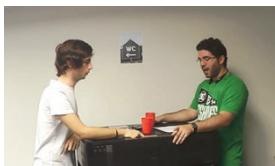


Fig. 10-7



Fig. 10-8

complainer and I know that er one group that I personally love
 complaine <yeah>
 complainer has been invited as well
 complaine <yeah>
 complainer and you haven't invited me, you know we've been friends for

	such a long time and you
complainee	<hmm>
complainer	haven't invited me—why?

In this turn, the complainer (on the right) approaches the complainee directly in order to show him that there is something he wants them to talk about. The utterance produced by the complainer, “I wanted to talk to you” (Fig. 10-1), is co-expressed by means of a facial expression that consists of lips slightly pressed together and a fixed gaze directed towards the interlocutor without smiling, thereby revealing a serious facial expression. The complainer, performing various semiotic resources (spoken language, facial expression and gaze) seems to show interpersonal attitudes towards the interlocutor and the situation he is going through (Argyle, Ingham, Alkema, and McCallin 1981), which is somewhat tense and uncomfortable for him. The complainee’s knowledge about the content of the task and the complainer’s multimodal performance provides him with sufficient information to understand that the complainer is attempting to address an issue that may potentially result in a face-threatening act. Being aware of this situation, as observed in Fig. 10-2, the complainee produces a response that is constructed by means of spoken language (“okay” and “yeah”) and other semiotic modes, including head movement showing agreement, smiling and an adaptor gesture, which involves speakers touching a part of his/her own body and which has an affective function, for example, revealing emotional content (Ekman and Friesen 1969). In this case, the complainee performs an adaptor gesture by approaching his hand to his own body and touching it subtly. This embodied action is accompanied by lowering his head and changing gaze direction, which is immediately modified in order to address his attention towards the complainer.

The complainer then explicitly refers to the offence, making the complainee responsible for such situation, i.e. “I heard you just er organised a big //big// party a::nd <oh yeah that party yeah>” (Figs. 10-3 to 10-7). The utterance performed by the complainer is co-expressed with different semiotic modes, specifically, gaze, face, head movement and gesture. When he utters “I heard you just er” the complainer looks down (started in Fig. 10-2 and continued in Fig. 10-3) and rests his hands on the table and this bodily position is modified when he continues his speech. Particularly, Fig. 10-4 shows the moment when he utters “just”, in which he performs a beat gesture (McNeill 1992), closing his fists and resting his arms on the table. As he continues his speech, other bodily modifications are observed when uttering “organised”; specifically, he changes gaze direction, allowing him to keep eye contact with the complainee, and raises his eyebrows. This is then followed by a beat gesture (with open palm and performing a

fine head movement), which results in him resting his arms on the table while uttering “a big //big// party” (Fig. 10-5). As shown in Figs. 10-4 and 10-5, the complainer performs beat gestures concurrently when saying “just” and “a big //big// party”, thus reflecting not only the rhythm of the discourse but also the importance of what is said verbally, which in this case also coincides with a change in prosody, as in “big //big//” (McNeill, Levy, and Duncan 2015).

Meanwhile, the complaine, during the first part of the complainer’s speech, seems to be smiling (Fig. 10-2) when the complainer begins to state “I heard you just er organised”. However, smiling is modified in order to maintain a neutral position of his lips and he looks down and away as if he were thinking about the situation while the complainer continues with his speech. The body position of the complaine remains constant in terms of gestures and head position; he keeps a similar position to that adopted at the beginning of the turn (Fig. 10-2) when he agrees to talk to the interlocutor, that is, resting an arm on the table and performing an adaptor (Figs. 10-3 to 10-6), and this particular body position is changed only slightly when he utters “oh yeah that party yeah” (Fig. 10-7). This particular verbal production exhibited by the complaine not only serves to contribute to the content of the conversation by showing agreement and acknowledging the topic but also as a sign of assumption of responsibility, comprehension and stance towards the situation. From a multimodal perspective, various shifts in his gaze direction are observed while performing this particular utterance, specifically, looking away and looking down. Furthermore, he seems to reinforce the adaptor placed on his body by touching it. The combination of various modes and the content of the utterance produced by the complaine could be understood as a reaction towards the situation itself, in which an offence is made and he seems to acknowledge that responsibility. As they continue conversing (Fig. 10-8), the complainer utters “er yeah” raising his eyebrow, raising his head and looking at the complaine, while he seems to be smiling and changes his gaze direction to look down while uttering “yeah”. In so doing, the complaine appears to be showing that he is responsible for that particular situation.

Excerpt 2 focuses on the topic negotiation, which is the core move of a complaint. To exemplify this, two turns are shown.

Excerpt 2. Topic negotiation

- 2 complaine yeah, you know it was like, it’s not like my house—it’s my parents’ house and they were like very strict with everyone and they didn’t want me to invite like two hundred people



Fig. 10-9



Fig. 10-10



Fig. 10-11



Fig. 10-12

3 complainer
complainee
complainer

yeah but //but// you invited //you invited// many //many//
people and people you //you//
<okay yeah I>
know for less time than me



Fig. 10-13

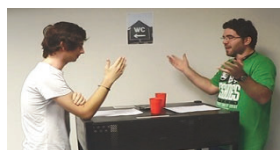


Fig. 10-14



Fig. 10-15



Fig. 10-16

complainee
complainer
complainee
complainer
complainee
complainer

<hmm>
and people who are
<yeah>
I thought they were less friends to you than me and //and//
you invited them
<yeah I'm //I'm//>
and I'm here left alone

The complainee takes the turn in an attempt to provide a justification (Fig. 10-9 to 10-12). In so doing, he draws on various extra-linguistic resources, along with the spoken mode, particularly gaze, head movement and ges-

tures. As observed in Fig. 10-9, the complaine, avoiding eye contact (i.e. looking away, then closing his eyes and finally looking away again) and keeping his head slightly lowered, places his hands on his forehead and eyes while performing “it was like”. This particular gesture, classified as an adaptor, and head position and gaze direction may be related to what the situation itself evokes in the speaker in terms of emotions, since he is pointed at as being responsible for a particular damage. Thus, the variety of multimodal resources may reveal interpersonal attitudes towards the situation. As he continues the turn (Fig. 10-10 and 10-11) (“it’s not like my house it’s my parents’ house and they were like very strict with everyone”), he modifies his body position, for example, showing a neutral position of the head, keeping eye contact with the interlocutor, although he mostly looks away, and performing beat gestures that serve to accompany the rhythm of the speech. Also, as shown in Fig. 10-12, looking away, he performs an iconic gesture while uttering “two hundred people”, matching the semantic content of the speech (McNeill 1992). As shown here, the complainer exploits different semiotic modes together with the spoken mode when elaborating his response to the specific offence he is pointed at as being responsible for. Some of the modes identified here, such as an adaptor and modifications of gaze direction, should be understood under the specific circumstances of the situation. That is, they should be interpreted taking into consideration the face-threatening nature of a complaint and the complexity of providing a response to a given offence in face-to-face interaction, which, among other aspects, can be seen as emotionally charged.

Meanwhile, as shown in Figs. 10-9 to 10-12, the complainer constantly keeps eye contact with the complaine. Furthermore, he places his hand on his chin, which can be understood as an adaptor gesture, and slightly lowers his head, showing both stance towards the content of the utterance and signals of active listenership. When the complaine is finishing his speech (“they didn’t want me to invite like two hundred people”), as shown in Fig. 10-12, the complainer performs a subtle head movement and a change of his arm position. This particular bodily shift is performed just before he initiates his turn (Fig. 10-13), (“yeah but //but// you invited //you invited// many //many// people and people you //you// know for less time than me”), and this is then followed by a series of arm gestures and modifications in gaze direction. Particularly, he first performs a metaphoric gesture (palm of the hand up and then down) to provide a visual representation of an idea (McNeill 1992)—looking down—while uttering “yeah but //but// you invited //you invited//” (Fig. 10-13). Then, straightaway, as he continues his speech, he performs an iconic gesture (palms of the hands facing

upwards and moving them up and down) to show referential meaning, closing his eyes at some point, when saying “many //many// people and people” (Fig. 10-14). Finally, he produces a beat gesture that serves as a means for him to organise the discourse—both looking at the complainees and downwards—when uttering “and people you //you// know for less time than me” (Fig. 10-15), which culminates in him resting his hands on the table (Fig. 10-16). All these bodily movements have implications, as they may be the result of his emotional state towards the response provided by the complainees, which does not seem to fully satisfy the complainer’s needs.

The co-expression of linguistic turns with extra-linguistic resources is also identified in the post-complaint, which is the move devoted to trying to repair the situation and restoring harmony between the interlocutors. The role of the complainees is quite relevant in this move since he/she is expected to repair the damage caused. Excerpt 3 shows a short fragment in which the complainees try to solve the problem.

Excerpt 3. Post-complaint

- | | | |
|---|-------------|---|
| 4 | complainees | <well I think //I think//> we can still solve this like I can |
| | complainer | <how?> |
| | complainees | //I can I can I can I can// do something |
| | complainer | <I can’t //I can’t//> |
| | complainees | maybe I can |
| 5 | complainer | <I don’t> trust you anymore you know |



Fig. 10-17



Fig. 10-18



Fig. 10-19

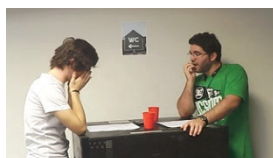


Fig. 10-20

- | | |
|-------------|---------------------------|
| complainees | <bah> |
| complainer | what do I do now with you |
| complainees | <come on> |
| complainer | man we’ve been friends |

complainee <well yeah>
 complainer for so much time and

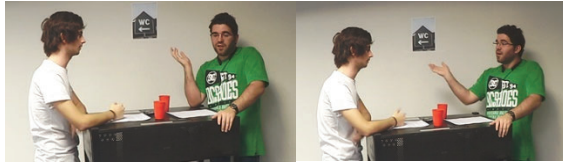


Fig. 10-21

Fig 10-22



Fig. 10-23

Fig. 10-24

6 complainee <we can> still solve this we were friends we can still solve this

In this case, the complainee overlaps the complainer and takes the floor in order to project his turn, “<well I think //I think//>”. The complainee keeps his head lowered, again avoiding eye contact with the complainer and with arms crossed resting on the table (Fig. 10-17). This particular bodily position is modified as he continues elaborating the turn, performing an adaptor by touching his body, probably showing an affective function indicating emotional content (Fig. 10-18). Meanwhile, as shown in Fig. 10-17, the complainer remains in a neutral position resting his arms on the table and with eyebrows raised while paying attention to his interlocutor. However, this bodily position is modified in order to perform an adaptor, touching his face (Fig. 10-18); this is done just before he overlaps the complainee (<how?>).

While uttering, “//I can I can I can I can// do something <I can’t //I can’t//> maybe I can”, the complainee (Fig. 10-19, Fig. 10-20), little by little, moves his hands towards his face performing another adaptor gesture and slightly lowering his head and closing his eyes, which results in avoiding a neutral position towards the complainer and eye contact. This particular performance can be related both to the complexity of the situation in which the participant attempts to make amends in order to restore harmony, as well as to a signal of emotions associated with shame or guilt (see Lhommet and Marsella 2014). Fig. 10-18 and 10-19 also show the moment in which the complainer takes the floor and utters “<I don’t> trust you anymore”. In so doing, he raises his eyebrows and performs a meta-

phoric gesture (palm of the hand up and then down), which may be seen as a visual representation of the specific idea he is conveying. When completing this turn “you know” (Fig. 10-20), he stares at his interlocutor with a serious face performing an adaptor (placing his hand on his mouth), which could be associated with negative emotional response towards the situation.

The content of this particular turn triggers a response by the complaine (Fig. 10-21), who changes his head position, stares at his interlocutor, quickly rests his arms on the table and utters <bah>, showing disagreement. As the complainer continues his turn by uttering “what do I do now with you <come on> man”, he performs a metaphoric gesture moving his arm from one side to the other with the palm open and moving his head occasionally, accompanying the speech and the gesture (Fig. 10-22). The complaine (Fig. 10-22), affected by the turn elicited by the complainer, responds by reinforcing the adaptor by moving his arm towards his body. As the complainer carries on with his speech (“we’ve been friends <well yeah> for so much time and”), various modes other than the spoken one are observed. Specifically, he performs another metaphoric gesture, representing an abstract idea, with an arm and with the palm of his hand open, that ends in him resting his arms on the table, raising his head and keeping eye contact with the interlocutor (Fig. 10-23 and 10-24). Meanwhile, the complaine (Fig. 10-23 and 10-24) remains in a neutral position, keeping eye contact with the complainer, thereby showing features of active listenership. He then performs a metaphoric gesture with the palm of the hand open while uttering <well yeah>, just before he manages to overlap the complainer and takes the floor again in order to encourage the interlocutor to solve the problem.

As shown in these excerpts, the complainer uses various semiotic modes to convey his message, which, as a whole, influences the behaviour of the complaine, who does not remain unaffected. Instead, he reacts and builds responses that, in turn, affect the complainer. The (linguistic and extra-linguistic) performance of the complainer triggers the production of a set of (linguistic and extra-linguistic) responses on the part of the complaine, and vice-versa. Therefore, throughout the conversation, both participants contribute to the flow of the interaction (linguistically and extra-linguistically) and to the construction and deconstruction of pragmatic meaning, which is unfolded in the course of the interaction. The participants, drawing on their sociopragmatic knowledge (mainly participants’ interpersonal relationship and the damage caused), employ a variety of pragmalinguistic resources, which depend on their linguistic knowledge, as well as other modes in order to accomplish the communicative goals.

That is, the participants jointly construct and deconstruct complaint sequences using a variety of semiotic modes that serve to co-express utterances, support the content of the utterances, show signals of active listenership and take the floor, as well as to exhibit features of interpersonal communication.

Albeit not addressed in detail here, this particular microanalysis may be useful to illustrate emotional content, which is determined by the social context of the communicative event. In these particular excerpts this is observed, for example, in the use of adaptors, which are quite recurrent in the case of the complainee, probably because he is pointed at as being responsible for a particular offence. It should also be noted that all the modes the participants employed in this situation are to be understood within this specific context, since they all contribute to the construction and deconstruction of pragmatic meaning, and this is carried out according to specific sociopragmatic rules and the interpersonal communication that the participants establish.

After performing the task, retrospective verbal reports were conducted in order to obtain further information as regards participants' performance. In one of the items discussed during this interview, both participants revealed that in a similar real situation they would have exhibited a similar behaviour due to the relationship between the participants and the damage caused. Hence, the way they acted in the role-play could resemble what they would do in a similar real life situation, provided that the sociopragmatic conditions and interpersonal relationship were similar. The situations developed to elicit data were created drawing on participants' real experiences rather than on researchers' intuition in order to, for example, facilitate participants' engagement in authentic scenarios that would be close to their everyday interactions. Interestingly, this particular qualitative result also serves to support the methodology followed to design the instrument of the study.

5. Final remarks

In this particular study, I have focused specifically on complaints and responses to complaints, which is a rather complex face-threatening act that allows for extended responses that contribute to the construction of the whole communicative event. By means of a microanalysis of different excerpts, my concern here was to illustrate how participants projected, constructed and deconstructed pragmatic meaning in face-to-face interaction by means of multimodal resources. This chapter has shown that following a multimodal CA approach for the analysis of interlanguage com-

plaints allows participants' performance to be explored from a holistic perspective, which serves to unveil insights into participants' linguistic and extra-linguistic performance. As shown in the short excerpts, participants employed a variety of semiotic modes that contributed to the construction and deconstruction of pragmatic meaning, which was unfolded over the different turns. Participants, drawing on multiple semiotic resources, created, expressed and supported action, showed signals of active listenership, reacted towards the other interlocutor, initiated new turns, and overlapped and established interpersonal relationships. In line with this, it should be noted that this study shows that using multimodal data allows for a holistic analysis that the verbatim transcription itself may not offer. Although it would depend on the purposes of each study, limiting the data analysis to a monomodal perspective (verbatim transcription) would constrain the understanding of the pragmatic meaning conveyed by the participants, thereby offering a partial (rather than a holistic) view of the interaction.

The multimodal resources that the participants deployed in the examples are in fact quite frequent in authentic interaction and are necessary to accomplish communicative goals in specific situations. Considering this, the results of this particular study should be transferred to the SL/FL teaching context. Learners of SL/FL are expected, among other things, to develop pragmatic competence in order to, for example, know how to co-construct pragmatic meaning, perform acts that are appropriate for a specific context, initiate and close topics, show signals of active listenership, as well as perform interactional features of conversation that help to shape interaction. This study helps to gain a deeper understanding of how learners establish interpersonal communication throughout the conversation and how this is shaped not only by the pragmalinguistic resources learners have at their disposal at a particular proficiency level or the sociopragmatic rules governing the situation, but also by different semiotic modes, other than spoken language, which all contribute to shape overall meaning. This is relevant for language learners, as they need to become aware of the importance of the different semiotic resources they have at their disposal and how they can contribute to the construction and deconstruction of meaning in face-to-face interaction. Hence, in order to promote pragmatic and multimodal awareness in the SL/FL, language teachers should consider exploiting interaction from a multimodal and socially-oriented perspective in order to better understand pragmatics at the level of discourse and how speakers and listeners create an interpersonal relationship by drawing on multiple resources.

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Appendix: Transcription conventions

<x>	Overlap
//x//	Repetition
::	Stretched sound

CHAPTER ELEVEN

REPAIR IN ENGLISH LINGUA FRANCA INTERACTIONS BETWEEN TANZANIAN AND GERMAN SCHOOL STUDENTS: A QUALITATIVE APPROACH

KATHARINA BEUTER

1. Introduction

A close analysis of pragmatics in lingua franca interactions reveals that a comparative perspective is far from exhaustive. Intercultural encounters create transcultural spaces where meanings are negotiated and co-constructed between individual participants (cf. Baker 2018). Pragmatic choices and interpretations in the lingua franca are influenced not only, and potentially not even mainly, by underlying collective national linguacultures, but just as much by contextual and idiosyncratic factors, such as the interlocutors' age, power constellations and conversational aims (cf. Spencer-Oatey 2005; Kraft and Geluykens 2007; Kecskes 2017).

The qualitative study presented explores how adolescents in a German-Tanzanian student encounter employ repair mechanisms in the transcultural space of English as a lingua franca (ELF), which in the given context is used naturally as a shared medium of communication. Within the fast growing field of ELF research (cf. Cogo and House 2018, 221), the framing chosen contributes to filling a demographic, geographic and milieu-related gap: While ELF research has so far concentrated on adult language use, predominantly in Asian and European academic or business frameworks (cf. Jenkins 2018, 596), the present study will focus on adolescent ELF in an African-European school context.

In a conversation analytic approach, the paper will explore forms and functions of repair mechanisms employed by senior secondary school students in an African-European ELF setting. Contrastive influences from

interlocutors' underlying linguacultures, potentially generating difficulties in mutual understanding, are expected to show most clearly in this inter-continental exchange situation. The study will investigate in how far adolescents employ repair to counter this threat to intersubjective understanding. Mechanisms and patterns found are analysed against the backdrop of relational and identity issues in the age group in question.

After giving an outline of underlying theories and introducing the research design, the paper will qualitatively analyse conversational data to explore forms and functions of repair in ELF. The subsequent discussion will summarize the results, interpret the findings in the light of adolescent learner identities and project an outlook to further research.

2. Theoretical background

ELF communication has been found to suffer surprisingly few breakdowns. While earlier ELF accounts ascribe this mainly to 'let-it-pass'-strategies (cf. Firth 1996; House 2010; Murray 2012), which leave difficulties in understanding unsolved for the sake of smooth interaction and good rapport, more recent studies have challenged this view, pointing to an abundance of collaborative pre-empting and negotiation strategies at work to secure intersubjective understanding (cf. Cogo and House 2018; Couper-Kuhlen and Selting 2018). The use of these repair strategies as employed in ELF conversation will be the focus of the present study.

Repair as a pragmatic phenomenon covers all "practices for dealing with problems or troubles in speaking, hearing, and understanding the talk in conversation" (Schegloff 2000, 207). In temporarily halting the progression of content, it is not only used for the correction of errors, but also for "fine-tuning" particular elements or making things more explicit (cf. Kaur 2011).

Repair can either be initiated by the producer of the repairable, or by the receiver of the turn containing the source of trouble. In parallel fashion, the repair itself can be accomplished by either party. This renders a four-fold matrix of the following kind:

Table 11-1: Forms of repair (cf. Clift 2016, 236)

		repair initiator	
		self	other
repairer	self	self-initiated self-repair (SISR)	other-initiated self-repair (OISR)
	other	self-initiated other-repair (SIOR)	other-initiated other-repair (OIOR)

Due to mechanisms of conversation organization, especially aspects of turn-taking, and politeness principles, SISR poses by far the most dominant repair category to be found in natural interaction (cf. Schegloff *et al.* 1977). As will be seen, the present data do not constitute an exception, either. Other-involvement in repair, on the other hand, is generally dispreferred, with OIOR being especially rare (cf. Huensch 2017), which can be attributed to the fact that other-involvement in repair may be associated with non-alignment or even open criticism (cf. Kitzinger 2013).

Somewhat surprisingly, repeated instances of other-repair were encountered in my ELF data from German-Tanzanian school exchanges (see section 3 on data collection and research design) and deserve closer investigation. While ELF research has so far largely focused on BELF (Business ELF) and ELFA (ELF in academic contexts) (cf. Cogo and House 2018; Jenkins 2018), there is a lack of studies into adolescents' ELF interaction, and it is this gap that this study attempts to close.

Researchers have drawn attention to the fact that repair operations can serve a range of functions going beyond the mere negotiation of meanings. Explicit links to relational functions, however, have been scarce so far (cf. Mauranen 2018; Huensch 2017). Drawing on excerpts from authentic lingua franca dialogues, I will analyse how repair, especially other-repair, employed by adolescents in ELF interaction intertwines with aspects of rapport and questions of identity.

Analyses will draw on Brown and Levinson's (1987) work on politeness, evolving around the central assumption that speakers employ conversational strategies so as to save their own and their interlocutor's face. Building on Goffman's (1967) concept of face, Brown and Levinson differentiate between positive and negative face, with the former one refer-

ring to a longing for appreciation and affiliation, and the latter expressing a desire for personal freedom and privacy. In her rapport management theory, Spencer-Oatey (2005) broadens the base of relationships to include not only face wants, but also a consideration of societal rights and obligations and of interactional goals. If any of these areas is threatened, relational problems may result.

The communicative strategies employed – including repair or the conscious renunciation of repair – can only take relational effects in the social constitution of conversations. Arundale (2010, 140 and 155) promotes a non-summative conceptualization of relationships as constructs emerging from interaction. This makes a dialogic approach to the pragmatic phenomenon of repair mandatory (cf. Kecskes 2016). Conversation analysis with its fine-grained examination of talk-in-interaction can make informative contributions within these paradigms.

3. Research design

The data analysed present extracts from a corpus of audio-recorded dialogues between 30 Tanzanian and German school students (15 each) aged 15 to 19 who met during a one-week encounter at a secondary school in Tanzania. Using ELF for communicative necessities, students got together daily for roughly half an hour in 15 consistent binational dialogue pairs to discuss topics of interest which the students had been involved in putting together beforehand so as to make the conversations truly meaningful for them. All pairs worked on the assignment to design pages for a collective so-called *dialog|book*, which documented the main results of conversations combined with selected photos. The students recorded their own dialogues in the researcher's absence so as to keep the observer's paradox down (cf. Labov 1972, 209). Trained staff transcribed the resulting 26 hours of audio data by help of the transcription software f4, applying Jefferson's and VOICE transcription conventions (cf. Jefferson 2004; VOICE 2007) to render a corpus of more than 240,000 words.

A conversation analytic (CA) approach was chosen to firmly place the interactional ELF data in the centre. An inductive proceeding revealed repair to be among the most salient conversational processes, and certainly one to be studied qualitatively in more detail. To that end, the present paper closely analyses sequences of talk, addressing the fundamental question of conversation analysis: "Why this, in this way, right now?" (Seedhouse 2008, 251). Following an ethnomethodological approach, the recordings were triangulated by questionnaires on the sociolinguistic background of participants, observer's field notes and semi-structured

interviews¹ for a sound interpretation of the conversational data (ibid. 260; Starfield 2013, 55f). The interviews, which were conducted retrospectively with individual students as well as one group of students, focused on dealing with communication problems, rapport building, politeness and metalinguistic awareness.

4. Formal-functional analysis of repair in adolescents' ELF

Repair in ELF constitutes a formally diverse and functionally versatile cooperative achievement. This section analyses conversational data to explore how adolescent ELF speakers employ repair mechanisms for different communicative purposes.

4.1 Achieving understanding through repair

In accordance with Schegloff's seminal explication of repair (cf. 2.), students primarily initiate repair to negotiate meanings and secure intersubjective understanding. Example 1 introduces a range of repair mechanisms at work, which are employed for the negotiation of understanding. The excerpt is taken from a dialogue in which a German and a Tanzanian speaker compare and contrast cultural issues in their home countries.

Extract 1: Muezzin

Dialogue pair *Chiwa*², day 1, 290–297

CG: German, male, 18 years; CT: Tanzanian, female, 17 years

- 290 CG: what i really though- when i first came here (.) at the hotel (.) er the (.) <pvc> muezzin <ipa> 'muɛtsi:n </ipa> </pvc> (.) called and (.) i (.) thought er oh. (0.5) it (.) was (.) in germany we only know the bells if they're ringing (.) (at) the church towers? (.) and here it's the <pvc> muezzin </pvc> and i think it's (1.5) it's <Llde> irgendwie {somehow} </Llde> (1) i think it's (.) great how he sings and so i think it's
- 291 CT: who is that?
- 292 CG: erm the <pvc> muezzin </pvc>. erm the one who is in the (1) the (0.5) the church where muslims go

¹ Reference to interview data will be marked *Int* + a shorthand indicating the speaker or group interviewed.

² For reasons of confidentiality, dialogue pairs were attributed random names of oasis towns post hoc.

- to how it's [called]
- 293 CT: [oh] the mosque.
- 294 CG: **yea.** (.) and [on the]=
- 295 CT: [ah]
- 296 CG: =**mosque** there is >er in germany we call it< <Llde> minarett <ipa> 'mInaʁɛt </ipa> </Llde> s- it's the tower? (.) and on that (.) the (.) muezzin (.) calls and so <sing> ah:: </sing> and so (.) calls er. (.) to pray.
- 297 CT: **aouh.** (0.5) the er yea:. (.) it's different.

From the very beginning (line 290), we see the German speaker making extensive use of self-initiated self-repair (SISR). He frequently cuts himself off, hesitates, uses fillers such as *er*, *erm*, *oh* or *I think*, also draws on L1 resources (cf. *irgendwie* meaning *somehow*), then repeats himself, starts anew and inserts passages. He does not realize, however, that one of the central lexical items he uses to carry his message, namely *muezzin*, poses a trouble source for his addressee, probably for phonetic, but potentially also for lexical reasons. The addressee, on the other hand, follows a 'let-it-pass'-strategy for quite some time. As the Tanzanian speaker, however, seems to realize that the item in question will neither become clearer in the course of the interaction nor turn out to be irrelevant, she decides to initiate repair (line 291). Note that her question interrupts the German speaker in mid-turn, a conversationally highly dispreferred position (cf. Clift 2016, 247f) underlining the arisen urgency of her question. As she uses the category-specific question word *who* to elicit the subject, she manages to turn the German speaker's attention directly to the repairable, despite its distance. The German student first repeats the repairable, then paraphrases and provides additional context for the word *muezzin* (line 292).

This paraphrase, however, produces a new trouble source, as the German speaker cannot think of the word *mosque*. He hesitates and initiates repair by help of a paraphrase and the metalinguistic concession of not knowing the lexical item. Upon this, the Tanzanian speaker steps in immediately and operates self-initiated other-repair (SIOR) by supplying the word searched for (line 293). In the following turn (lines 294 and 296), the German speaker, now aware of further potential problems, pre-emptly the critical item *minaret* by paraphrasing it and finally closes the first frame by returning to the previous repairable *muezzin*, explaining it in further detail, while also drawing on creative means such as using sounds rather than words. The Tanzanian speaker finally signals understanding, although it appears that she has still not activated the English lexical item for the

word looked for (line 297). With her final statement, she signals that the conversation can now move on.

4.2 Jeopardizing rapport through repair

While successful repair facilitates meaning making processes, failed repair on the other hand does not only impede mutual understanding, but may also have significant relational effects. The following two excerpts show examples of failed repair, which will be analysed against the backdrop of rapport management.

In extract 2, the Tanzanian student lists a number of natural resources to be found in her home country, which triggers the following repair sequence.

Extract 2: Unicorn

Dialogue pair *Jotwata*, day 2, 81–90

JT: Tanzanian, female, 18 years; JG: German, male, 18 years

- 81 JT: **also** (.) there is minerals (.) like (.) diamond
copper (.) gold gypsum magnetite
- 82 JG: [mhm]
- 83 JT: [**there**]'s some iron (.) and the unique one which
is tanzanite
- 84 JG: ↑**ah**
- 85 JT: [**yes**]
- 86 JG: [**the**] unicorn?
- 87 JT: (.) **it's** found in Tanzania only
- 88 JG: **ah** okay?
- 89 JT: **yea**.
- 90 JG: a::nd (.) what can you say about your society?

In the course of the conversation, the German speaker mainly uses the discourse marker *mhm* as a default backchannel item (e. g. line 82). By using a higher pitch *ah* (line 84), thus deviating from his standard pattern, he signals some sort of surprise, which the Tanzanian student, however, does not receive as a repair initiation³ and therefore simply answers with a confirmative *yes* (line 85). Consequently, the German speaker turns to a stronger repair initiator and repeats the assumed repairable (*unicorn*; line 86), exposing to the analyst the source of trouble. The Tanzanian student now recognizes the need for repair and offers a paraphrase of *unique* (line

³ For a categorisation of repair initiators, cf. Clift (2016, 251).

87). This, however, does not solve the problem for the German speaker, who simply responds by the last weak attempt *ah okay?* (line 88), probably hoping to receive some more clues. When these are not offered, he decides to employ the ‘let-it-pass’-strategy and initiates an abrupt topic change (line 90).

Students commented in retrospective interviews that, when faced with understanding difficulties, they would generally ask for clarification no more than twice, feeling further requests to be impolite and embarrassing (cf. *IntGall*). In essence, then, positive rapport here outranks the management of understanding and causes students to leave repair incomplete.

4.3 *Creating solidarity through repair*

The present data show that failed repair and rapport, however, can also take a contrary turn. Extract 3 appears similar at the surface to extract 2, as repair attempts also fail, but as will be seen the relational outcome differs notably.

Students here exchange details about school life in their countries and are in the process of writing some aspects down for their so-called *dia|log|book* (cf. section 3.).

Extract 3: Time concepts

Dialogue pair *Agadem*, day 3, 431–463

AT: Tanzanian, female, 18 years; AG: German, female, 17 years

- 431 **AT:** «**writing**» school in germany? (9) school in tanzania it's erm:: let's say:: er::
- 432 **AG:** **maybe** starts at?=
 433 **AT:** =starts at (.) yeah. «**writing**» starts at (2) seven 30? is it PM? or [AM?(.)@@]
- 434 **AG:** [**AM** (.)] AM @@
 435 **AT:** «**writing**» seven 30 AM an:d ends at (3) ends at (2) erm: two 30? (2) 30? (2) AM? we have (even) a-afternoon classes?=
 436 **AG:** =ya. (2)
 437 **AT:** **we** call them remedial classes? (2) «**writing**» classes (2) classes (4) a::t (1) erm:: (.) we start afternoon classes at s- at one?
- 438 **AG:** **okay**. (1)
 439 **AT:** **it's** two hours? one (.) one hour each subject? [so we]
 440 **AG:** [mhm?]
 441 **AT:** **study** two subjects (.) in the afternoon.

- 442 AG: okay.
- 443 AT: erm::? «writing» one PM to:: (4)
- 444 AG: i think it's AM (1)
- 445 AT: er?
- 446 AG: yah it's AM because (.) it's (.) after: (.)
lunchtime.
- 447 AT: an:d before lunchtime?
- 448 AG: it's AM (.) er:: it's PM (.) wa- wa- wait.
- 449 AT: @@ let's (.) [use this.]
- 450 AG: [no well] well.
- 451 AT: erm:=
- 452 AG: =no (.) it is b- (2) before 12 o'clock it's PM?
an::d
- 453 AT: @
- 454 AG: after 12 o'clock [it's]
- 455 AT: [okay.] (2)
- 456 AG: isn't it? ah:: (1) i'm not su::re? (1) but i think
(.) well it doesn't matter.
- 457 AT: @ @@
- 458 AG: we just (.) yeah. just yeah.
- 459 AT: we are [not sure.]
- 460 AG: [it's fine.]
- 461 AT: she'll understand.
- 462 AG: @ [@@@@@@@]
- 463 AT: [@ @]

Due to deviant conceptualisations of day times⁴, both students have problems with the English time concept and manage to increase confusion as they go along rather than truly correct each other. What is particularly interesting here is the final sequence: The students admit that they do not have a solution, but they do not see this as a problem, either (lines 459–461: *We are not sure. It's fine. She'll understand.*), even commenting that *it doesn't matter* (line 456). The reason behind seems to be that intersubjective understanding is secured in spite of the lack of a concrete solution.

From their shared lack of knowledge, the speakers appear to draw solidarity and further construct their co-identity as non-native speakers of English. This is expressed by the change of pronouns from first person

⁴ In Swahili, counting the hours of the day starts with sunrise rather than midnight so that 7 am in English corresponds to 1 o'clock in Swahili, 8 am to 2 o'clock, and 1 pm (l. 443) to 7 o'clock respectively. In German, more often than in English, people would draw on a 24-hour-system in timetable contexts, and would use 13 o'clock rather than 1 pm in corresponding situations.

singular *I* to an inclusive and shared first person plural *we* (lines 456ff), which is further strengthened by a demarcation from a third person (*she* – referring to the researcher; line 461). The speakers confirm the positive effect of this unsolved repair sequence on their relationship by extensively laughing together (lines 462f) before finally turning to something else.

Tellingly, this repair sequence starts off (line 444) with the otherwise conversationally very rare case of OIOR (cf. Clift 2016, 247), which is normally strongly avoided for fear of face-loss. It seems unproblematic here particularly *because of* the positive relationship that has been established during the course of the previous interaction, which enables the speakers to openly negotiate meanings together. This again is made possible as both speakers mark the subjectivity and tentativeness of their contributions (*I think* (line 444), *maybe*, rising intonation (line 432)), do not insist on their version as the only correct one and encourage each other to contribute, for instance by frequent confirmative backchanneling (*ya, okay* (e.g. lines 436 and 438)).

4.4 Multifunctionality of repair

Building rapport and enhancing clarity can go hand in hand if repair is successfully brought about, as the final example illustrates. Two female interlocutors talk about some worries they have in this extract.

Extract 4: Carbon dioxide

Dialogue pair *Agadem*, day 2, 429–442

AT: Tanzanian, female, 18 years; AG: German, female, 17 years

- 429 AT: =in germany?
 430 AG: erm: (.) well the global warming (.) of course
 erm (1) well (.) i think in germany (.) in the
 moment we have many fears about the CO (.)<pvc>
 two <ipa> tju: </ipa> </pvc> you know it the CO
 <pvc> two </pvc>(1) well erm: when you drive a car
 what they (.) come out of the car and (.) think
 many people in germany: fear the erm: results they
 will (think) [-cause of this.]
 431 AT: [oh you can write] this. (1)
 432 AG: erm: :
 433 AT: in germany? (8)
 434 AG: <<writing>> results (3) of (1) CO you write it like
 this=
 435 AT: =oh carbon dioxide.
 436 AG: yeah [@@ @]

- 437 AT: [@@@]
 438 AG: **that's** what i mean @@@
 439 AT: @@@
 440 AG: i don't have chemistry so: @ i don't (.) just know
 (.) this [@@@]
 441 AT: [@@@]
 442 AG: @ **okay**.

The trouble source, which contains a phonetic rather than a lexical deviation from native speaker norms (*two* being pronounced as [tju:]), is marked by the speaker straightaway through hesitation and rising intonation (line 430). In a self-initiation repair process, the AG inserts a metalinguistic question including a repetition of the repairable (*Do you know it, the CO₂?*) to make sure her interlocutor understands her message. Due to a lack of verbal reaction, indicated in the transcript by a one-second pause, the producer of the source of trouble comes up with an explanation, which, however, still fails to help the addressee understand. Whether consciously or unconsciously, the Tanzanian speaker now comes up with the decisive problem solving strategy by asking her German dialogue partner to *write* it down (line 431). In what follows, both speakers see this strategy work, and the German speaker explicitly accepts the repair offered by her dialogue partner by the confirmative particle *yeah* (line 436) and the metalinguistic comment *That's what I mean* (line 438). She attaches an apology (line 440), which serves as a face-saving strategy to counter the potential face-threat that other correction brings about. As can be seen in the final sequence, however, the relationship between the dialogue partners does not seem to have suffered at all. Both speakers express their shared joy in the face of this collaboratively achieved success in the negotiation of meaning through extensively laughing together (lines 440–442) and thus assure each other that their relationship is sound, safe and solid.

5. Discussion and outlook

The study has explored the polymorphism and multifunctional use of repair in adolescent ELF, which is mainly employed for the negotiation of meaning, but has relational implications at the same time. Particularly noticeable is the finding that ELF interaction between adolescents is conspicuously open to other-involvement in repair, which in adult interaction is often avoided for reasons of politeness (cf. 2.). It is suggested that these findings are attributable to identity issues of the age group in question, affective factors (cf. Spencer-Oatey 2005) and relational matters in the following ways:

- Being a learner constitutes a vital and cross-culturally linking part of the adolescents' identity. In a retrospective interview, speaker FG put it the following way: "Wir sind ja trotzdem alle Schüler – alle Teenager {We are all students after all – all teenagers}" (*IntFG*). Student adolescents appear more likely to accept help offered from their interlocutors, especially their peers, than adults in spoken interaction. Their learner identity will also help students to accept that some problems do not have easy solutions.
- Lingua franca speakers have been found in general to exhibit "a strong motivation for mutual understanding" (Mustajoki 2017, 70). The fact that the students who took part in the present exchange invested a lot of time and money to make this exchange happen⁵ suggests that they had a genuine interest in their interlocutors' lives and ideas. This is bound to have increased their willingness to engage in extended collaborative repair, in order to make meanings as clear as possible and to guarantee intersubjective understanding.
- The task orientation (here, the assignment to jointly create a book) is almost certain to have increased the students' efforts to attain high levels of clarity and assumed 'correctness'.
- Participants repeatedly emphasised their exchange partner's openness, easy rapport building and an overall sound relationship they experienced in interacting with their dialogue partners (cf. *IntET*, *IntFG*, *IntHT*). It may seem contradictory at first that such an abundance of repair processes as assessed above should operate against the backdrop of a concordantly experienced very positive and open atmosphere during the exchange. Although repeated halts in progressivity may obstruct good rapport building, I would argue reversely that it is the positive peer-to-peer-relationship which makes the extensive involvement of the other in repair possible in the various manifestations encountered here. As has been shown, the common achievement of repair solutions can boost solidarity and facilitate even stronger bonds between interlocutors. So bridging the intercultural gap by negotiating a transcultural space seems directly linked to both the management of meaning and rapport.

Further analyses of the present data concerning for instance the potential role of gender in repair (cf. *IntFG*) and diachronic changes of repair mech-

⁵ Students had prepared for their encounter for more than a year, collecting information, preparing presentations, and casually working to collect money.

anisms accompanying relational changes in the course of the week (cf. *IntGall*) remain to be undertaken.

It is hoped that the present findings will enrich interactional approaches in foreign language teaching through emphasizing the mutual dependency of rapport and meaning negotiation processes. Strategies for interacting successfully, both in terms of relations and contents, need to be communicated to and practiced by students of all ages through the analyses of and engagement in meaningful authentic interaction.

It is evident that further comparative studies are necessary to qualify the claims advanced here. In particular, there is a need for further studies of adolescent student interaction from diverse cultural backgrounds where English as a lingua franca is naturally adopted by all participants. What has already become obvious, however, is the fact that by jointly engaging in repair of various kinds, students in intercultural encounters move beyond a comparative perspective to co-constructing their transcultural world together.

Notes

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Transcription key

(.)	short pause
(2)	pause (in seconds)
:	elongation
?	rising intonation
.	falling intonation
↑↓	substantial movements in pitch
<u>word</u>	emphasis
wor-	unfinished utterance
(word)	uncertain transcription
(xx)	unintelligible speech

< >	talk speeded up
> <	talk slowed down
@	laughter
=	latching
[]	overlapping speech
<L1>	non-English speech
<pvc>	pronunciation variation/coinage
<ipa>	phonetic representation
<word>	mode of talking; here: singing
{word}	translation
«word»	contextual information

Abbreviations used

BELF	Business English as a lingua franca
CA	Conversation analysis
ELF	English as a lingua franca
ELFA	English as a lingua franca in academic contexts
OIOR	Other-initiated other-repair
OISR	Other-initiated self-repair
SIOR	Self-initiated other-repair
SISR	Self-initiated self-repair
VOICE	Vienna-Oxford International Corpus of English

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