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PRAGMATICS
OF DISCOURSE

Pragmatics of Discourse
HoPs 3

Handbooks of Pragmatics

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Volume 3

De Gruyter Mouton

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Preface to the handbook series

Wolfram Bublitz, Andreas H. Jucker and Klaus P. Schneider

The series *Handbooks of Pragmatics*, which comprises nine self-contained volumes, provides a comprehensive overview of the entire field of pragmatics. It is meant to reflect the substantial and wide-ranging significance of pragmatics as a genuinely multi- and transdisciplinary field for nearly all areas of language description, and also to account for its remarkable and continuously rising popularity in linguistics and adjoining disciplines.

All nine handbooks share the same wide understanding of pragmatics as the scientific study of all aspects of linguistic behaviour. Its purview includes patterns of linguistic actions, language functions, types of inferences, principles of communication, frames of knowledge, attitude and belief, as well as organisational principles of text and discourse. Pragmatics deals with meaning-in-context, which for analytical purposes can be viewed from different perspectives (that of the speaker, the recipient, the analyst, etc.). It bridges the gap between the system side of language and the use side, and relates both of them at the same time. Unlike syntax, semantics, sociolinguistics and other linguistic disciplines, pragmatics is defined by its *point of view* more than by its objects of investigation. The former precedes (actually creates) the latter. Researchers in pragmatics work in all areas of linguistics (and beyond), but from a distinctive perspective that makes their work *pragmatic* and leads to new findings and to reinterpretations of old findings. The focal point of pragmatics (from the Greek *prāgma* 'act') is linguistic action (and inter-action): it is the hub around which all accounts in these handbooks revolve. Despite its roots in philosophy, classical rhetorical tradition and stylistics, pragmatics is a relatively recent discipline within linguistics. C.S. Peirce and C. Morris introduced pragmatics into semiotics early in the twentieth century. But it was not until the late 1960s and early 1970s that linguists took note of the term and began referring to performance phenomena and, subsequently, to ideas developed and advanced by Wittgenstein, Ryle, Austin and other ordinary language philosophers. Since the ensuing *pragmatic turn*, pragmatics has developed more rapidly and diversely than any other linguistic discipline.

The series is characterised by two general objectives. Firstly, it sets out to reflect the field by presenting in-depth articles covering the central and multifarious theories and methodological approaches as well as core concepts and topics characteristic of pragmatics as the analysis of language use in social contexts. All articles are both state of the art reviews and critical evaluations of their topic in the light of recent developments. Secondly, while we accept its extraordinary complexity and diversity (which we consider a decided asset), we suggest a definite structure, which gives coherence to the entire field of pragmatics and provides

orientation to the user of these handbooks. The series specifically pursues the following aims:

– it operates with a wide conception of pragmatics, dealing with approaches that are traditional and contemporary, linguistic and philosophical, social and cultural, text- and context-based, as well as diachronic and synchronic;
– it views pragmatics from both theoretical and applied perspectives;
– it reflects the state of the art in a comprehensive and coherent way, providing a systematic overview of past, present and possible future developments;
– it describes theoretical paradigms, methodological accounts and a large number and variety of topical areas comprehensively yet concisely;
– it is organised in a principled fashion reflecting our understanding of the structure of the field, with entries appearing in conceptually related groups;
– it serves as a comprehensive, reliable, authoritative guide to the central issues in pragmatics;
– it is internationally oriented, meeting the needs of the international pragmatic community;
– it is interdisciplinary, including pragmatically relevant entries from adjacent fields such as philosophy, anthropology and sociology, neuroscience and psychology, semantics, grammar and discourse analysis;
– it provides reliable orientational overviews useful both to students and more advanced scholars and teachers.

The nine volumes are arranged according to the following principles. The first three volumes are dedicated to the foundations of pragmatics with a focus on micro and macro units: *Foundations* must be at the beginning (volume 1), followed by the core concepts in pragmatics, *speech actions* (micro level in volume 2) and *discourse* (macro level in volume 3). The following three volumes provide *cognitive* (volume 4), *societal* (volume 5) and *interactional* (volume 6) *perspectives*. The remaining three volumes discuss *variability* from a *cultural and contrastive* (volume 7), a *diachronic* (volume 8) and a *medial* perspective (volume 9):

1. *Foundations of pragmatics*
   Wolfram Bublitz and Neal R. Norrick
2. *Pragmatics of speech actions*
   Marina Sbisà and Ken Turner
3. *Pragmatics of discourse*
   Klaus P. Schneider and Anne Barron
4. *Cognitive pragmatics*
   Hans-Jörg Schmid
5. *Pragmatics of society*
   Gisle Andersen and Karin Aijmer

Acknowledgements

Table of contents

Part II: Discourse structures

Part III: Discourse types and domains

1. Discourse pragmatics: signposting a vast field

Anne Barron and Klaus P. Schneider

1. The focus of the present volume and the underlying notion of discourse

The present handbook is one of nine volumes in the series *Handbooks of Pragmatics*. This series, the most comprehensive of the series of handbooks of pragmatics to date, is thematically organised and includes contributions exclusively written for this series. Each handbook is a stand-alone volume with its own specific place in the series. A certain degree of overlap between volumes is also explicitly endeavoured. This third volume belongs to the set of the first three handbooks which cover the most fundamental areas in pragmatics as it is defined for this handbook series (cf. the series editors' preface at the beginning of this volume). Volume one deals with the historical, theoretical and methodological foundations of the entire field of pragmatics (Bublitz and Norrick 2011). Following this, the next two volumes deal with two central areas, namely speech actions (the topic of volume two, Sbisà and Turner 2013), and discourse, the topic of the present third volume. Needless to say, this distinction between speech actions and discourse is purely analytical, and also reflects the beginnings of pragmatics in language studies, and specifically the impact of speech act theory on linguistics. In the conception of the series, the study of discourse, and especially of the pragmatics of discourse, is conceived not as outside the scope of pragmatics as a discipline, but rather as an integral part of it. Thus, the pragmatics of discourse and the pragmatics of utterances are two complementary levels of analysis, respectively highlighting more global and more local aspects of human communication. The latter perspective involves investigating speech acts, defined by Searle (1969: 16) as the basic unit of communication, whereas the former involves investigating, among several other phenomena, how speech acts combine into larger units such as speech act sequences (cf., e.g., Félix-Brasdefer, this volume) or complete speech events. These two complementary levels of pragmatic analysis, which can be labelled the actional and the interactional levels respectively (cf. Schneider and Barron 2008: 20), have also been termed micropragmatics and macropragmatics (cf. Schneider 2003: 63–69; for a detailed discussion of these two terms, cf. Cap 2011).

The term "discourse" (and accordingly discourse analysis) can be understood in a broad or narrow sense, depending on the research tradition in which this term is used and also the underlying conceptualisation. Discourse in a narrow sense is restricted to spoken language alone, i.e. to talk. In this understanding, discourse is the opposite of text, text being viewed as a unit of written language only (corresponding

to a folk notion or everyday understanding of "text") (cf., e.g., Titscher et al. 2000). In another, more technical use, discourse refers to the totality of a social interaction, and text, by contrast, only to its linguistic components (cf., e.g., Fairclough 2003). Often, however, the two terms, discourse and text, are used interchangeably. Further conceptualisations include discourse as a unit of language use (in the sense of Saussurean "parole", or Chomskyan "performance"; Saussure 1916/1974, Chomsky 1965),[1] which contrasts with text as a unit of the language system (in the sense of "langue", or "competence"). In this view, text is at the same level of abstraction as sentence, morpheme and phoneme, while discourse would be at the same concrete and material level as utterance, morph and phone (a more detailed discussion of the specific conceptualisations of discourse in different research traditions is found in Fetzer, this volume). In the present volume, discourse is generally understood as a unit of language use. This reading is consistent with the definition of pragmatics as the study of language use in action and interaction, i.e. the definition which is adopted in this handbook series and based on the literal meaning of the term "pragmatics" (derived from the Greek word for "act" or "action"). Furthermore, the term "discourse" is employed as a cover term for "talk" and "text", i.e. for spoken as well as written discourse (cf. also, e.g., Johnstone 2008), and hence, both areas are covered in the present volume, and additionally multimodal discourse (cf. especially O'Halloran, Tan and E, this volume; also Locher, this volume; and Simon-Vandenbergen, this volume). Needless to say, in the contributions to this handbook, the use of the term "discourse" may differ from the general understanding outlined here, varying in accordance with the tradition of the respective approach adopted.

Discourse analysis, like the term "discourse", can be interpreted in a number of different ways and can consequently also be carried out in various fashions. It is truly an interdisciplinary field. Indeed, recently, in an effort to highlight the fact that the field is not only concerned with "analysis" but also with a broad range of theories and applications, the term "discourse studies" has been put forward to replace "discourse analysis" as the superordinate term for the field (cf., e.g., Flowerdew 2013: 1–2). At the same time, although overall discourse studies is an interdisciplinary field, it may sometimes be useful or necessary to adopt a more disciplinary perspective and concentrate on discourse linguistics or discourse psychology for particular purposes. In the present handbook, special attention is paid to linguistic aspects, given in particular the division of labour between the volumes in this handbook series, with cognitive issues dealt with in volume four (Schmid 2012), societal issues dealt with in volume five (Andersen and Aijmer 2011), and interpersonal pragmatics dealt with in volume six (Locher and Graham 2010).

Generally speaking, discourse as a complex linguistic phenomenon can be analysed from a range of different angles. The focus may be on grammatical features, which are dealt with in discourse grammar, or it may be on aspects of semantic meaning, dealt with in discourse semantics. If, however, the focus is on interactional issues, then this is the realm of discourse pragmatics. Therefore, cohesion

and coherence, for example, are not among the phenomena with which the contributions to this handbook are primarily concerned. What they concentrate on first and foremost are communicative functions, linguistic action and participant practices in social situations.

The contributions to the present volume cover major approaches, central concepts, and representative topics in discourse pragmatics. Some chapters highlight in particular its roots and origins, and historical developments in specific areas. Other chapters examine recent trends and their potential for future research. It is to an overview of the organisation of this volume and to an outline of the individual chapters to which we turn below (cf. sections 2 and 3).

2.   The overall organisation of this volume

The present handbook comprises a total of twenty-one chapters. The present introduction is followed by a second chapter of general concern which provides a detailed discussion of a range of competing, overlapping or contrasting definitions of the term "discourse" in different fields of inquiry and also of the respective conceptualisations underlying these definitions. These two introductory chapters preface the three central parts of the handbook, labelled "Approaches to discourse", "Discourse structures", and "Discourse types and domains" respectively. Parts II and III, "Discourse structures" and "Discourse types and domains", each consist of six chapters; Part I, "Approaches to discourse", comprises seven chapters.

The chapters in Part I, "Approaches to discourse", examine the role of pragmatics in major approaches to discourse studies and also discuss cross-fertilisation of concepts and approaches between these individual fields and discourse pragmatics. Specifically, these chapters cover linguistic discourse analysis, conversation analysis, systemic-functional approaches, genre analysis, critical discourse analysis, corpus-linguistic approaches, and the analysis of multimodality in discourse. The discussions show that these different approaches, each providing a specific view of language use and social practices, do not develop in isolation, but complement and influence each other.

Part II, entitled "Discourse structures", does not deal with structures in any narrow grammatical sense of this term, but with a variety of phenomena of differing complexity and status which can be characterised as functional features or elements, each structuring discourse in a specific way. In particular, these phenomena are discourse markers, stance, speech act sequences, phases in discourse, move structure and silence. This heterogeneous collection of phenomena has been studied in a range of different approaches and research traditions, with some phenomena more closely associated with a particular approach than others. Move structure, for instance, has been investigated especially in genre analysis, while discourse markers have been investigated in several approaches.

Finally, Part III, "Discourse types and domains", highlights the involvement of discourse in the lives of individuals, in their encounters with the world and in their interactions with others. It begins with an overview of classifications and taxonomies of discourse types. This chapter demonstrates that the term "discourse type" sometimes refers to abstract subdivisions of a very general kind based, e.g., on Bühler's three or Jakobson's six language functions (Bühler 1934; Jakobson 1960). In other frameworks, however, this term may be used for much more concrete subdivisions, which are referred to as "genres" in yet other traditions. While discourse types are generally defined through functional and structural features, discourse domains, on the other hand, are typically defined through general content features and contextual features, such as discourse community. In this view, that is also adopted in the present volume, a discourse domain includes all discourse types or genres used in a given discourse community (cf. also Jucker and Taavitsainen 2012: 302, and Jucker and Taavitsainen 2010: Part VII). Four such domains are dealt with in Part III of this handbook, namely the domains of classroom, medical, legal and electronic discourse. The final chapter in Part III focuses on press releases as an example of a discourse type situated at the interface of two domains, namely media discourse and professional discourse. These chapters on individual domains also illustrate some of the approaches to discourse discussed in Part I at work.

In the design of all parts of this handbook, it was necessary to be selective. This applies in particular to Part III. Needless to say, several further domains can be distinguished, and the number of discourse types and genres is high, or even extremely high, depending on the level of specificity. Further examples of discourse domains include political discourse and workplace discourse, both of which are, however, dealt with in volume 6 of this handbook series, albeit from a different perspective (cf. Blas Arroyo 2010 on political discourse, Vine 2010 on workplace discourse). Also, further discourse features and phenomena could be added to those examined in Part II. Possible candidates could include humour or politeness. Both are examined elsewhere in this handbook series (on humour, cf. Schnurr 2010; on politeness, cf. Nevala 2010, Culpeper 2011, and Locher and Graham 2010). Finally, while the dominant approaches to discourse are covered in Part I, additional approaches could be considered, including, for instance, the ethnography of speaking or interactional linguistics, itself related to conversation analysis. For a broader picture, the reader is referred to handbooks of discourse analysis which may have made different choices, e.g. regarding discourse types and domains, and/or which may be broader in scope due either to not being focused specifically on discourse pragmatics or not being part of a handbook series with its characteristic division of labour (cf. especially Schiffrin, Tannen and Hamilton 2003; Gee and Handford 2012; and Hyland and Paltridge 2013). Also, the reader is referred to Zienkowski, Östman and Verschueren (2011), volume 8 of the ten-volume series *Handbook of Pragmatics Highlights*, itself based on the alphabetically organised

encyclopaedia *Handbook of Pragmatics*, published and continually updated by Benjamins since 1995.

3.   The contributions

As mentioned in section 2, the present handbook volume comprises a total of twenty-one chapters. These include the present introduction and twenty articles authored by experts from eleven countries. Each article gives an overview of the area and then provides illustrative examples of current empirical research in this area. These articles are summarised in the following.

In her article entitled "Conceptualising discourse", Anita Fetzer surveys different interpretations and uses of the term "discourse". Initially she observes that although this term occurs in a range of different contexts and with diverging meanings, it is rarely defined explicitly. Fetzer points out that the only single common denominator shared by uses of the term is an understanding of discourse as a language phenomenon above the level of the sentence. However, at the same time, such a purely quantitative definition is shown to be rather vague and generally unhelpful. After discussing some everyday notions of discourse as reflected in dictionary definitions based on qualitative rather than quantitative criteria, the author calls for a more complex and dynamic concept of discourse. Against this background, she starts her analysis of the term "discourse" as it is understood in four different research paradigms, and specifically in conversation analysis (CA), critical discourse analysis (CDA), dialogue analysis and discourse grammar. Particular emphasis is placed on paradigm-specific conceptualisations of discourse and its constitutive elements as well as on the relation between discourse and society. Fetzer demonstrates that discourse in CA is conceptualised as talk-in-interaction and as a collaborative achievement of the participants, using constructions in turns-at-talk in a strategic way (cf. Clift, this volume). CDA, on the other hand, is shown to focus on the creation of social structure, power and ideology on the micro- and macro-levels of discourse, and thus to link discourse to the broader context of social reality (cf. Bloor and Bloor, this volume). In the heterogeneous field of dialogue analysis, so the author points out, discourse is conceptualised as dialogue which can be studied in all kinds of spoken and written, everyday and institutional discourse, including literary texts. Fetzer explains that monological categories such as speaker intentions are rejected in this field, and that discourse as dialogue is defined more comprehensively in both social and cognitive terms. Finally, Fetzer notes that discourse in discourse grammar is conceptualised as a hierarchical structure, focusing in particular on the interconnectedness of its component parts. Following this discussion, the author examines two specific phenomena termed context-importation and context-invocation. She emphasises that discourse is not only embedded in context, but that it may also include context as a consti-

tutive part. In this case, linguistic, cognitive or social context can be either imported or invoked. At the end of the chapter, Fetzer highlights the dynamic nature of discourse which in her view requires an interdisciplinary perspective for the analysis of the communicative functions and social practices in spoken, written and visual communication.

The chapter "The emergence of discourse analysis as a disciplinary field: philosophical, pedagogic and linguistic approaches" opens part one of the present volume, which deals with "Approaches to discourse". In this opening chapter, Willis J. Edmondson outlines the early development of discourse analysis as a discipline in language studies, concentrating on its roots in particular traditions in philosophy, pedagogy and linguistics, before presenting his own synthesis from these approaches and demonstrating its relevance to applications in educational contexts (cf. also the contribution by Yang and Walsh on classroom discourse in the third part of this volume).[2] Initially, Edmondson defines discourse analysis broadly as "the analysis of interactive language use in social contexts". It is pointed out that its focus on use distinguishes discourse analysis from what the author terms "text grammar", while its focus on interaction, rather than action, distinguishes it from speech act analysis. "Suprasentential", as a further defining feature, is reminiscent of Widdowson's conceptualisation of discourse as the unit "above the sentence" (Widdowson 2004: 3), and also of Fetzer's starting point for her chapter on different conceptualisations of discourse (cf. above). In his own discussion of conceptual issues, Edmondson emphasises two points: first, that not only verbal, but also non-verbal aspects of discourse (including silence, cf. Ephratt's chapter in the second part of this volume) may be relevant in the analysis as well as aspects of language delivery. His second point is that not only dialogue, but also monologue is, as a rule interactive, and that the same applies, at least potentially, to written communication. This chapter is, however, focused on "two-party face-to-face spoken discourse". The author's critical survey of the emergence of discourse analysis as a discipline and specifically of the approaches contributing to this development (and their limitations) begins with language philosophy. Here Edmondson discusses not only Austin's and Searle's speech act theory (cf. Austin 1962; Searle 1969), but also the works of 18th century philosopher Thomas Reid (cf, e.g. Stewart's edition of Reid's work, Stewart 1822), and also Bühler as a forerunner of speech act theory (cf. Bühler 1934). In his critique of speech act theory, Edmondson highlights in particular Austin's failure to convincingly deal with perlocutionary consequence and Searle's interest in universal but not language and culture specific aspects of communication as well as his exclusive focus on potentially performative acts. Following this, attention turns to Flanders' contribution to discourse analysis, Flanders (1970), who, for very practical pedagogical purposes, developed a system for observing and analysing classroom behaviour as interaction. As the prototypical sequence, he identified "teacher stimulus" – "learner response" – "teacher feedback", which is characteristic of traditional teaching styles. The overall purpose of

empirically employing this system was to improve learning outcomes. Edmondson shows how Sinclair and Coulthard (1975), building on Flanders' work, developed a less intuitive and more comprehensive categorical system, in which discourse functions are explicitly correlated with the grammatical forms which are used to realise these functions. Sinclair and Coulthard further conceptualise discourse as a hierarchy of units (similar to Halliday's ranks, cf. Simon-Vandenbergen's contribution, this volume). Although their data material also consists of classroom discourse, Sinclair and Coulthard were not concerned with practical pedagogical issues; rather their primary concern was linguistic. They can therefore be credited with launching discourse analysis in linguistics. Addressing some points of criticism made earlier, Edmondson then presents his own model of analysis, which not only combines Sinclair and Coulthard's approach with speech act analysis, but also draws on conversation analysis (cf. Clift's contribution to this volume). When introducing his analytical apparatus, which also includes the notions of interactional strategies and discourse worlds, Edmondson stresses that in his view the central aim of discourse analysis is to specify discourse outcomes, i.e. the "results" the participants arrive at. The chapter closes with Edmondson illustrating his approach and also its practical relevance in an analysis of foreign language classroom interaction.

Rebecca Clift provides a concise overview of the fundamental tenets of conversation analysis (CA), arguably the most dominant approach to spoken discourse today. Initially, the author points out that conversation analysis is, in fact, a misnomer which has become the established term for an area more properly characterised as the study of talk-in-interaction, and whose main concern is the co-ordination of action in any kind of talk, not just in everyday conversation. After situating CA in the context of pragmatics and distinguishing it from related disciplines such as sociolinguistics and anthropology, the author summarises its origins and development in empirical sociology and discusses some basic methodological principles. She then demonstrates how the method of CA supports the analysis of talk-in-interaction. To illustrate this, she takes the example of turn-taking organisation, and highlights the importance of transcription and the conventions used in CA for this purpose. In the next section, Clift deals with two major aspects of the structural organisation of talk, namely the organisation of sequence and the organisation of repair. Turning first to sequence organisation, the author first highlights that the analysis of sequence organisation is the examination of coherence in interaction. Emphasising the central position of the sequence, Clift discusses the adjacency pair as the minimal coherent unit in talk and the most basic type of sequence. Furthermore, she discusses preference organisation in adjacency pairs, describing the typical features of preferred and dispreferred second turns-at-talk, before defining three types of sequences which may occur before (pre-sequences), after (post-sequences) or inside (insertion sequences) a basic adjacency pair, thus expanding this pair. In her discussion of repair organisation, the author underlines

that this phenomenon, while aimed at the management of communication problems, must not be equated with the straightforward correction of errors. She then introduces, illustrates and discusses the four basic types of self- or other-initiated self- or other-repair and emphasises the importance of the sequence position in which repair is initiated vis-à-vis the position of the "trouble-source". In the final part of the chapter, Clift focuses on participant practices and surveys studies of such familiar actions as greetings, requests and complaints, while at the same time stressing that the findings of the specific treatment of such actions in CA, may be at odds with the intuitions of language users. She also surveys literature on practices for which no common meta-communicative term exists, such as agreeing by repeating what the interlocutor has said before. How this is accomplished and which linguistic resources are used for this purpose is exemplified in some detail. Finally, an overview is presented of (a) the linguistic resources which have been analysed in CA, (b) the languages which have been studied, and (c) the clinical areas to which a CA approach has been applied (cf. also Martin's chapter on medical discourse in the third part of the present volume).

Systemic-functional approaches to discourse are discussed by Anne-Marie Simon-Vandenbergen. Simon-Vandenbergen emphasises the origins of these approaches in Systemic-Functional Linguistics (SFL), based on Halliday's model of language (cf., e.g., Halliday 1978), and outlines the different perspectives from which discourse has been analysed in this particular tradition. At the beginning of her chapter, the author shows how Hallidayan theory is focused on language for communication in real life contexts and its functions in society. She introduces Halliday's three metafunctions – the ideational, interpersonal and textual function – and demonstrates how they are related to the structure of the language system. She points out that language in this tradition is always analysed through texts and that SFL text analysis is grounded in lexicogrammatical analysis, based on the assumption that the function which a text serves in a particular context is reflected in the grammatical choices in the text. This approach is illustrated in the analysis of several text passages. The author further highlights the fact that language in SFL is seen as embedded in the context of situation and the broader context of culture, and that language is related to the former through the concept of register, while it is related to the latter through the concept of genre. These two central concepts are dealt with in separate sections. Simon-Vandenbergen starts her discussion of register by introducing the analysis of the situational context in terms of the Hallidayan notions of field, tenor and mode, i.e. the so-called register variables, which correlate with the three metafunctions. This type of analysis is then demonstrated. It is shown that the register variables and their values can be used in a classification of text types. In her discussion of genre, the author highlights different uses of this term. She refers to work on generic structures, and specifically to models which add the analysis of genre to register analysis. She then examines Appraisal Theory as a more recent development in SFL (cf. Martin and White 2005) which deals with

interpersonal meaning in discourse beyond the lexicogrammatical level of analysis, an approach crucially concerned with attitudes and evaluations. Following this, the SFL-specific notion of discourse types is discussed. Examples are taken from scientific discourse, media discourse and historical discourse – three domains which have received considerable attention in SFL. With a focus on educational linguistics, Simon-Vandenbergen then underlines and illustrates the social commitment of discourse analysis in the SFL tradition and the contribution of research to resolving social inequalities. This aim and commitment is shared by critical discourse analysis (CDA), briefly discussed at the end of the chapter as an approach overlapping and collaborating with SFL approaches to discourse (cf. Bloor and Bloor, this volume). Finally, multimodal discourse analysis is mentioned as a recent development inspired by systemic-functional linguistics (cf. O'Halloran, Tan and E, this volume).

Genre analysis is the next approach to discourse discussed. Christine Tardy and John Swales open this chapter with a juxtaposition of the fields of pragmatics and genre analysis. They point out that despite very different paths of historical development and a long-term association of pragmatics with small-scale spoken interactions and of genre analysis with written genres, these fields are gradually moving closer to each other, both fields interested in how individuals accomplish actions and tasks through language, both focused on communicative functions and their realisations and both now increasingly concerned with spoken and written discourse. The authors view genre analysis as a tool for discourse pragmatic research. Following this opening discussion, Tardy and Swales then proceed to sketch the theoretical and historical background of genre analysis, highlighting the focus of genre analysis on the rhetorical and social nature of genre-based communication. They point out that genres shape and are shaped by their users, that genres are intertextually linked to other genres and discourses and that genre knowledge may play a role in gatekeeping, excluding users lacking knowledge of the conventionalised norms associated with a particular genre. The article then turns to methods of genre analysis. Here, genre analysis is not presented as a single method of discourse analysis, but rather as a repertoire of methods and tools for understanding genres, their users, and their uses. These include text analysis (supported by corpus-based analysis), move structure analysis (cf. also Samraj, this volume), comparative genre analysis (comparing linguistic, national, professional or disciplinary affiliations), diachronic genre analysis, genre system analysis (focused on genres as clusters or networks), critical genre analysis and also recent methods such as multimodal/visual genre analysis and the study of genre and identity. Each of these methods is presented in some detail and in the final section of the chapter, Tardy and Swales apply a selection of these methods to an empirical analysis of sixty texts belonging to the genre of biographical data statements (bio-statements).

Critical discourse analysis (CDA) is the approach to discourse examined by Meriel and Thomas Bloor. The focus of this chapter is on the links which exist

between CDA and pragmatics and also on the diverse nature of research in the field of CDA. The paper begins by outlining the starting points in the development of research in CDA and by drawing attention to the commonalities and shared interests of both pragmatics and CDA and indeed this discussion of the interface of pragmatics and CDA is one which continues throughout the paper. Focus then turns to the objectives, methods (focused on those most relevant to pragmatics) and targets of critique of CDA. Following this, the chapter moves to the role of CDA in investigating the construction and maintenance of identity and then to CDA research in the area of ecology and the construction of place. The subsequent section on politeness, power and knowledge focuses on hedging. Here Brown and Levinson's (1978, 1987) pragmatic analysis of the universality of hedging is contrasted with a study of hedging conducted within the framework of CDA. The authors highlight the focus of the latter on the role of hedging in the construction of scientific knowledge and on the necessity of adherence to such communicative norms of showing social deference to avoid exclusion from academic publications. Focus then turns to discourse historical approaches and socio-cultural approaches to CDA, two recent approaches which deal not only with text and discourse but also to a large extent with context. The discourse historical approach dealt with goes beyond the text to relate texts to analyses of historical events and sociocultural practices. The socio-cultural approach discussed is the branch of mediated discourse analysis, an approach which is concerned with analysing, interpreting and explaining social action but which sees discourse as just one form of social action among others (including, e.g., displays of physical action, attitudes and views aired in focus groups). The role of cognitive linguistics in CDA (and indeed also pragmatics) is then discussed with particular emphasis on the contribution of Lakoff's (1987) theory of cognitive frames and also Chilton's (2004) work on frames as bundles of cultural knowledge, work which involves several pragmatic concepts. The article closes by highlighting some recent trends and areas for further analysis.

Michaela Mahlberg surveys corpus-linguistic approaches to the study of discourse. She emphasises that corpus linguistics is not merely a research methodology but also an approach which may lead to a revision of theoretical positions and existing concepts. In this context, a distinction is made between (deductive) corpus-based approaches and (inductive) corpus-driven approaches. For the purposes of this chapter, discourse analysis is defined broadly as "the analysis of language in use", and corpora, as large machine-readable collections of texts, which are seen as data sources providing naturally occurring examples of language in use for analysis. Texts, which in the author's view may be written or spoken, are considered part of social interaction. The author observes that the analysis of such texts has been largely qualitative, whereas corpus linguistics offers an additional quantitative dimension. Thus, corpora help to identify recurrent patterns, which shape people's perceptions and discourse production. Mahlberg advocates a corpus-theoretical

approach which may serve not only as a framework for the description, but also for the interpretation and evaluation of corpus findings. This approach rests on three assumptions, namely that language is a social phenomenon, that meaning and form are linked, and that corpus-linguistic description is primarily focused on lexis. These three assumptions are then illustrated with corpus material. The author demonstrates, for instance, that even straightforward frequency information can reveal aspects of how people use language to interact in social contexts and construct social reality. Thus, she argues, corpora can be seen as sources of cultural information about societies. Patterns which emerge from concordance data are a further example. These patterns show what is repeatedly talked about and which expressions are used for these purposes. The author also highlights the significance of so-called lexical bundles (i.e. sequences of frequently co-occurring words) which may fulfill a range of discourse functions, e.g. expressing stance or organising discourse. Reference is also made to work identifying "cultural key words" such as *feminism*, *unemployment* or *sustainable development*, and representations of social groups which reveal attitudes and evaluations towards these groups. The author then discusses how corpora can be used or created to study phenomena across different types of discourse, including speech and writing, different institutional contexts and different thematic areas. Referring to a range of studies, she exemplifies possible sampling criteria. In the third section of this chapter, work in the related fields of corpus-assisted discourse studies and corpus-based critical discourse analysis (CDA), which has been focused predominantly on language use in politics and in the media to uncover hidden meanings and ideologies, is introduced (cf. Bloor and Bloor, this volume). The concept of semantic prosody and its role in the interpretation of corpus findings is also discussed in this context. In the final section, Mahlberg examines corpus-linguistic methods which can be employed to investigate textual units and discourse structures, focusing in particular on the cohesive functions and distributions of textual patterns in and across discourse segments.

Finally, the concluding paper in part one, "Approaches to discourse", is entitled "Multimodal Pragmatics". In this paper, Kay O'Halloran, Sabine Tan and Marissa Kwan Lin E examine the increasingly important role of visual, actional and audio resources (e.g. images, facial expressions, gesture and embodied action, proxemics, movement, sound) in contemporary communication. The authors begin by juxtaposing the goals of multi-modal studies and of pragmatics. They draw attention to the fact that both multi-modal studies and pragmatics have similar goals, both dealing with how communicative purposes are realised in particular contexts. The focus of research in pragmatics is predominantly on language; that in multimodal studies on multimodal resources and on multimodal resources in combination with language choices. A brief overview of multimodal studies then follows, touching on the use of Forceville and Urios-Aparisi's (2009) cognitive approach and Scollon's (2001) mediated and situated discourse analysis in multimodal analysis. The focus, however, is on the role of Halliday's (1978) social semiotic theory as a the-

oretical basis for multimodal research (cf. also Simon-Vandenbergen, this volume). The next section turns to the specific topic of multimodal pragmatics. Here O'Halloran, Tan and E outline prominent studies in pragmatics which have incorporated multimodal resources in the areas of embodied and material action in talk-in-interaction and in interactions with new media tools and technologies. However, the authors point out that the functions of language in relation to multimodal resources in such existing pragmatic research are not conceptualised using a common underlying theoretical framework. Taking up this deficit, O'Halloran, Tan and E put forward an approach to multimodal pragmatics which addresses this, an approach influenced by the work of Eggins and Slade (1997), Martin and Rose (2007) and Sinclair and Coulthard (1975) and also informed by Halliday's systemic functional theory (Halliday 1978; Halliday and Matthiessen 2004). This approach is illustrated via an analysis of how a formal learning task was carried out in the context of collaborative computer mediated communication using language (informal online conversation), visual resources and action. Focus is first on interpersonal meaning and the enactment of social relations in exchanging information and services. Five hierarchically organised categories of analysis are identified, namely the *generic stage*, *sub-phase*, *turn*, *function* and *move*. The analysis reveals that a limited set of on-task moves were realised using visual and actional resources, moves which were crucial for the completion of tasks. These included moves, such as call to attention, emotion, self-check, monitor, acceptance/agreement, concession, rejection and distraction in the task-oriented stage. The second step of the analysis then gives an overview of the number of annotations and justifications entered per number of on-task chat entries. In this way, more and less efficient groups at the annotation task are identified for each of the three schools investigated. The use of the most and least efficient group's linguistic, visual and actional resources in each of the three schools are then analysed. Findings reveal that multi-tasking, planning and dexterity help in using linguistic, visual and actional resources in the context of collaborative online communication. The authors point out, however, that these resources may also be misused. The chapter closes claiming that the study of language use demands a multimodal approach given the interdependence of language and other multimodal resources.

Part two of the present handbook deals with "Discourse structures". The first topic is that of discourse markers. Kerstin Fischer addresses this topic by first pointing out the vast array of terms (e.g. discourse markers, pragmatic markers, response tokens, discourse structuring devices, etc.) which abound in the area. The chapter then takes up the question as to whether the array of discourse markers can be grouped together or whether they are better viewed separately. Fischer considers the reasons why the object of study might comprise a single class, discussing firstly the structural characteristics of discourse markers and how they contribute to defining the class, and secondly the functional spectrum which discourse markers may fulfil. The discussion of the structural characteristics

closes by highlighting the non-exclusivity of the formal criteria discussed; rather a prototype approach is considered appropriate, with discourse markers seen as a broad category with fuzzy boundaries. Similarly, the discussion of function concludes that discourse markers do not share a common function. On the other hand, however, discourse markers are shown to be polyfunctional. Indeed, it is this polyfunctionality and interrelatedness among functions and that which it teaches about individual discourse markers and the class of discourse markers which makes Fischer claim that the functional spectrum of discourse markers should not be torn apart, but rather assumed to be a single class. This belief in the need to leave the category of discourse markers broad so as to facilitate understanding of all possible features of discourse markers and also of the relationship between individual items is supported by an overview of the historical development of discourse markers which illustrates the variable ways in which discourse markers emerge. Having argued for an inclusive heterogeneous class, Fischer then goes a step further and proposes a set of dimensions designed to produce some order. These allow her to identify clusters of highly interrelated groups in the broad class of discourse markers.

Similar to discourse markers, stance, the topic of the second chapter in this part of the handbook, is also a term without unanimous definition, being understood and employed by different researchers in different ways. It is a term which has enjoyed an increase in popularity in recent years. Tiina Keisanen and Elise Kärkkäinen point out that the term is used variously to replace such concepts as modality, evaluation, attitude, affect and subjectivity. The authors begin the chapter by tracing back the use of the term "stance". In this context, they point out that the original use of the term related to the notion of subjectivity in language. Such early studies, particularly prevalent in the 1980s, and primarily discourse-functional and linguistic-anthropological in nature, viewed stance as subjectivity. Stance in these traditions was seen to be located in grammatical or lexical forms (e.g. modal verbs, adverbials, adjectives, nouns). They viewed stance as the representation of the attitudes and beliefs of a single speaker with regard to a particular event or state of affairs using a particular linguistic form. In contrast, later research on stance, primarily stemming from insights from the field of linguistic anthropology, sees stance, so the authors explain, as also located primarily in form but not as the product of an individual speaker but rather constructed in dialogue over consecutive turns and longer segments of conversation. Stance in this tradition is thus viewed as a dialogic and intersubjective construct, i.e. as a dialogue involving individuals' engagement with other subjectivities. Further approaches to stance in conversational analysis add a sequential and interactional view to this intersubjective view of stance, considering stance-taking within the practices of social interaction. Following this overview, Keisanen and Kärkkäinen advocate a further perspective on stance which focuses on complementing the study of language in stance-taking with an analysis of embodied actions (e.g. intonation, gazes, nods, body position,

facial expressions) (cf. also O'Halloran, Tan and E, this volume on multimodal pragmatics). They illustrate this approach exemplarily by means of a multimodal analysis of an interaction in which bad news is relayed and received. The article closes by endorsing the need for a future synthesis of the approaches discussed to enhance our understanding of the pragmatic study of stance and to move to an understanding of stance not as tied to linguistic forms but rather as a product of on-going activity, sequential position, language and the body.

Speech act sequences are addressed by César Félix-Brasdefer. In this article, he describes the foundations and beginnings of research on speech act sequences and also presents an overview of the structure and function of speech act sequences in a range of approaches to discourse in different social settings. Félix-Brasdefer begins the chapter by first examining the contribution of speech act theory to analyses of speech act sequences. Here he draws attention to the speaker-centered nature of speech act theory while at the same time pointing out that speech act theory paved the way for the analysis of speech act sequences with the introduction of concepts such as uptake, illocutionary force, conventionality, felicity conditions and indirectness, concepts which would later prove productive for analyses of speech act sequences. Attention then turns to the contribution made by anthropology (Hymes) and sociology (Goffman) to the study of speech act sequences, above all via concepts such as that of speech event (Hymes 1974) and interchange (Goffman 1971). In contrast to speech act theory, Félix-Brasdefer underlines, both of these approaches took the social context and also speaker-addressee negotiation of meaning into account and so motivated our understanding of the function and structure of speech act sequences. The author then examines how speech act sequences are conceptualised in a range of approaches to discourse focusing on social action and interaction (e.g. in linguistic approaches to discourse analysis, conversation analysis, interactional sociolinguistics, critical discourse analysis, computer-mediated discourse analysis, cross-cultural and interlanguage pragmatics), and across a range of discourse domains (e.g. classroom, media). In this context, he points out that depending on the approach to discourse, speech act sequences are referred to using a range of different terms, including macro-speech act, exchange, interactional move exchange, interchange, joint action, speech event, conversational sequences, macrosegments or entries. The chapter closes with a general call for an increase in empirical analyses of speech act sequences in a range of discourse settings and also for prosodic features and non-verbal actions to be incorporated in future analyses of speech act sequences.

Closely related to the study of speech act sequences is the study of phases in discourse, the latter understood as a series of sequences through which particular activities are realised. Phases in discourse is the topic of the chapter by Theodossia-Soula Pavlidou. Pavlidou begins her chapter by introducing the three major phases into which discourse is commonly split, namely the opening phase, the medial/core phase and the closing phase. She begins by providing a brief overview

of a number of analyses of these three phases conducted by individual authors, such as Laver (1975) and Henne and Rehbock (1979), but then goes on to situate her discussion of phases, and of the different sub-phases of which these may be split, within the conversational analytic (CA) approach to discourse (cf. also Clift, this volume). This she does arguing the need to discuss both the internal structure of phases and also the transitions from one phase to another within the same theoretical framework. Moving on from this point, she then provides an overview of some of the tenets of conversation analysis, and focuses individually on the structure of the opening phase, the closing phase and the medial phase respectively and also transitions from one phase to the next. Each phase is shown to consist of a series of sequences, with the structure of the opening and closing phases more standard and routine than that of the medial phase. The overview of phase structure centres on the discourse of non-institutional landline telephone calls in the first instance, a discourse type which has played a key role in CA work. In addition, variation in the phase structure of each phase is examined as a function of cultural, technological and institutional variation, non-institutional land-line telephone calls being contrasted with mobile phone calls and institutional calls as well as with non-institutional land-line telephone calls carried out in different languages. The chapter closes with an illustrative analysis of the phases of a single phone call taken from the Corpus of Spoken Greek.

In contrast to the concentration of analyses of speech act sequences and indeed also of phase structure on spoken discourse, the concept of move structure is predominantly used in analyses of written texts within the context of genre analysis (cf. also Tardy and Swales, this volume). In her chapter focusing on move structure, Betty Samraj begins by adopting Swales' (2004: 228–229) definition of a move as a "discoursal or rhetorical unit that performs a coherent communicative function". The article then illustrates how this unit of analysis is employed to reveal the rhetorical structure of texts as used in social contexts and how it may explain how a particular text fulfils its overriding communicative purpose. Samraj continues by taking up the contentious question of move identification and also the question of how moves may be delineated from each other. She also considers issues pertinent to the linear and hierarchical ordering of moves and their constituent steps as well as the status of moves as obligatory or optional and highlights the importance of such issues for move structure analysis. After sketching the essential foci of move structure analysis, Samraj proceeds to look at the role of such macrostructural analysis with regard to questions of genre relatedness and variation particularly across disciplines or language, the latter focus introducing research in the area of contrastive rhetoric. The application of move structure analyses to pedagogical contexts is then taken up, with particular reference to applications in the contexts of English for Academic Purposes (EAP) and English for Research Purposes (ERP). Finally, an original analysis of moves in abstracts accompanying master's theses in three disciplines is presented which sheds light on some of the

complexities of the analysis of global structure analysis discussed. The chapter concludes by highlighting a research desideratum above all in the area of comparative studies.

Silence as a discourse phenomenon is discussed by Michal Ephratt. In the introduction to her chapter, she makes an emphatic plea for an integrated and differentiated treatment of silence, criticising all work exclusively examining either verbal or non-verbal communication, and also all work presenting silence as a monolithic category. In Ephratt's view, paralanguage, including silence, should be dealt with as co-occurring with spoken language. Furthermore, different types and functions of silence need to be distinguished. The first part of her chapter provides a detailed survey of the research literature on silence divided into two sections. In the first section, an overview is given of approaches examining silence in the context of non-verbal communication. All researchers in this area have classified silence as a paralinguistic phenomenon, together with voice qualities and vocalisations, such as loudness and pitch, or laughter and sneezes, but the status of silence differs considerably across classifications. The second section reviews in greater detail literature dealing with silence as an object in its own right. Here the focus is on the different forms and functions of silence in communication. The author's critical comparison of studies and approaches shows radically diverging perspectives. While some scholars consider "socio-cultural silences" as, for instance, "the minute's silence to commemorate the dead" at public events, other scholars concern themselves only with such local silences as "gaps", "lapses" and "pauses" in everyday conversation. Several authors define silence relative to speech, or attempt to locate it in a more comprehensive context, emphasising the communicative functions of silence, conceptualising some types of silence as an equivalent or replacement of a speech act. At the beginning of the second part of her chapter, Ephratt underlines the heterogeneous nature of silence and the incompatibility of the various conceptualisations of silence emerging from the literature review. She considers it necessary to distinguish between communicative and non-communicative silences, and she is for situating communicative silences in the broader context of communication, and differentiating between different modes of speech as well as of silence. Against this background, the author postulates three basic types of silence, each conceptualised as a different type of communicative sign (in a semiotic sense) and located on a different level of communication (where a distinction is made between the paralinguistic, the linguistic and the extralinguistic level). Paralinguistic silence is classified as index. Certain types of unfilled pauses belong to this category. Linguistic silence (as Ephratt calls it), on the other hand, is classified as symbol. One example is silence when talk is expected, especially a particular type of talk. In this context, the author takes a closer look at types of linguistic silence serving the six functions specified in Jakobson's model of communication. The third basic type (on the extralinguistic level) is silence as an icon. Here the author suggests two subtypes, namely the unsaid and empty talk. Strategic silence

in political discourse is mentioned as an example of the former subtype. The latter subtype of empty talk is characterised as disjoining noise and distinguished from small talk which serves Jakobson's phatic function of connecting people. The chapter ends with a model of silence in interaction summarising Ephratt's semiotic types of silence and their subtypes.

Jürgen Esser's chapter, entitled "Taxonomies of discourse types" opens part three of this volume, focusing on "Discourse types and domains". In his chapter, Esser provides a detailed survey of a range of taxonomies of discourse types, tracing their historical roots and especially discussing developments during the twentieth century and into the twenty-first century, with an outlook on potential future classifications. Initially, the author refers to the broad distinction between vulgar and elevated, i.e. everyday and literary, language made in ancient rhetoric and poetics, and also to the medieval controversy between "realism", assuming universal meanings of linguistic signs, and "nominalism", whose assumption of user-based meanings is immediately relevant to attempts at classifying discourse types. After briefly mentioning (realist) Saussure's notion of "parole" (Saussure 1916/1974), the author turns to the work of authors who can be considered forerunners of later taxonomic approaches. Here, (nominalist) Morris' definition of "discourse types" is quoted as well as the parameters he used for classifying them, which resulted in sixteen major types of discourse (Morris 1971). Further, Malinowski's emphasis on the context of situation is referred to (Malinowski 1923/1949), also Firth's classification of language functions, which seems to foreshadow speech act taxonomies (Firth 1957), and Skalička's elaboration of Saussurean "parole" (Skalička 1948). The main focus of this chapter is, however, on a range of classifications developed in the traditions of the Prague School and British contextualism and taxonomies of notional discourse types, and specifically on the various criteria on which these classifications are based. Taking Bühler's organon model and his three fundamental language functions as a starting point (Bühler 1934), the author first considers Jakobson's extended model of communication, in which six language functions correspond to the six constitutive factors of speech events which Jakobson had identified (Jakobson 1960). Then taxonomic approaches in functional stylistics are discussed, notably Havránek's notions of language functions, stylistic devices and functional dialects and their correlations (Havránek 1964), and Doležel's properties of text classes (e.g. Doležel 1968). Regarding typologies developed in the tradition of British contextualism, the discussion concentrates on the central concepts of register and genre, drawing on work by Gregory (e.g. 1967) and Halliday (e.g. 1978), and by Biber (e.g. 1989), Swales (1990) and Bhatia (2004) respectively. Finally, the author introduces four approaches which go beyond language functions and the communication situation and which take the cognitive dimension into consideration, resulting in notional classifications of discourse types. These four approaches are: (1) Werlich's text grammar, in which text types are correlated with cognitive processes (Werlich

1976), (2) Longacre's criteria contingent succession, agent orientation and projection (Longacre 1983), (3) Virtanen's two-level taxonomy distinguishing between discourse types and text types which may realise discourse types (Virtanen 1992), and (4) van Dijk's concept of superstructures as recurrent abstract schemata of conventionalised text types (van Dijk 1980). At the end of his chapter, Esser provides a metatheoretical classification of all taxonomies discussed in a matrix which integrates the parameters and criteria on which these taxonomies are based. This matrix, the author argues, can be used to assess other taxonomies which have been or will be proposed.

Classroom discourse is the first domain dealt with in this part of the handbook. Shanru Yang and Steve Walsh present a very comprehensive overview, with particular emphasis paid to spoken communication in the second language classroom. The paper begins by sketching the institutional context of classroom discourse and considering the unique characteristics of discourse which result from this (teachers' control of patterns of communication, questioning, repair and modifying speech to learners). The authors then turn to the reasons for studying classroom discourse, namely the centrality of classroom discourse in both promoting and understanding learning processes, the need for teachers to understand classroom discourse in order to exploit and create opportunities for learning and finally, the need for a commonly accepted metalanguage of classroom discourse to promote understanding and communication. The main approaches which have been employed to study classroom discourse are then presented, namely interaction analysis, Sinclair and Coulthard's (1975) approach to discourse analysis and also conversation analysis (cf. Edmondson, this volume; Clift, this volume). Yang and Walsh describe how these approaches have been applied to the classroom context, highlighting their strengths and weaknesses. They then go on to propose a variable and dynamic approach to classroom discourse, an approach which, in contrast to other approaches, recognises the existence of many different classroom contexts, some more or less appropriate for particular pedagogic goals. The chapter closes with a discussion of future research directions. The authors point out in this context that the recent growth in popularity of content and language integrated learning (CLIL) poses a challenge for research in educational discourse, particularly with regard to the role of scaffolding, signalling switches between language-focused and content-focused discourse and also code-switching. Secondly, Yang and Walsh point out that the increasingly accepted insight that interaction with speakers of a range of backgrounds is a more adequate goal than appropriate individual productions has led to the concept of classroom interactional competence. This is proposed to offer future research potential to reveal interactional features which may impact positively on learning. Finally, the advent of corpus linguistic methods has changed and is changing research on classroom discourse (cf. Mahlberg, this volume). The authors advocate a combined conversation analytic/corpus linguistic approach for the analysis of classroom discourse.

Medical discourse is the second domain dealt with in the present volume. In this contribution, Gillian Martin considers how pragmatics as a method of inquiry contributes to our knowledge and understanding of the complexities of communication in healthcare settings. Similar to the preceding chapter, Martin focuses primarily on spoken communication, and in particular on patient–healthcare provider interactions. The chapter first provides an overview of the methodological approaches which have been taken to medical discourse. A broad differentiation is made here between process analysis and microanalysis, the former involving, e.g. Interaction Process Analysis and the Roter Interaction Analysis System, the later encompassing studies of the institutional order in the tradition of critical discourse analysis and also studies focussing on the interaction order in the tradition of conversation analysis (cf. Bloor and Bloor, this volume; Clift, this volume). Following this, Martin addresses the place of pragmatics as a method of inquiry in medical discourse research, also pointing out the difficulties of defining clear boundaries between approaches. The article then turns to the domain of medical discourse itself, drawing in particular on pragmatic research. The primary structural and linguistic features are discussed along four main headings, namely asymmetry, routines, misalignment and indirectness/ directness. Here Martin highlights the gulf that frequently exists between the medical voice of the healthcare provider and the non-professional voice of patients, a gulf the result of differing assumptions and differing categories of interpretation due to differences in institutional, professional, lay and also national cultural identities. As such, patient–provider interactions within a single culture may be conceptualised as a form of intercultural communication with each party bringing a different set of sociopragmatic and pragmalinguistic expectations to interactions, such as with regard to who can utter which speech act in what context and at what stage in the discourse and also with regard to what way this speech act should be realised. Martin focuses initially on the single-culture context and then later examines medical discourse in the intercultural context, pointing out that the dangers of sociopragmatic and pragmalinguistic failure in intercultural contexts of patient–provider discourse are all the greater in such settings. The chapter closes with a discussion of future directions. Here Martin points out that previous research has focused predominantly on front-stage encounters between patients and providers. However, given a growing focus on treatment by multi-disciplinary teams, research on backstage encounters between providers themselves is of increasing importance. In addition, increased international mobility means that research in an intercultural and lingua franca context is growing in importance. Finally, the question as to the impact of new technologies and the resultant ease of access to medical information on patient–provider discourse remains ripe for research.

In Alison Johnson's chapter "Legal discourse: processes of making evidence in specialised legal corpora" the focus is on the domain of institutional legal discourse in general and on two types of institutional legal discourse in particular,

namely police interviews and courtroom interaction, both discourse types involving institutional professionals such as police officers, lawyers and judges on the one hand, and lay participants such as suspects, defendants and witnesses on the other hand. In her analysis of these two discourse types, the author examines the practices employed to accept or deny verbal facts and the actions used to construct and negotiate evidence. These actions include such institutional activities as arguing, stance taking, doubting and rejecting. The author concentrates in particular on question design and the deployment of reported speech and quoting in legal contexts. Her investigations are based on large specialised corpora of recorded material from police interrogations and courtroom trials. At the beginning of her chapter, Johnson demonstrates how the words uttered in the courtroom by a defendant or a witness are not only legally relevant in the institutional context, but can be quoted and requoted, contextualised and recontextualised in the media and thus become also socially significant. She then characterises the two discourse types under inspection, i.e. police interviews and courtroom interaction, as complex genres with their specific rules, conventions and goals. After advocating forensic linguistics as a field of applied discourse analysis and providing an overview of the work done and the issues addressed in this field to date, the author turns to the pragmatics of questioning in legal institutions and outlines the interactional sociolinguistic approach she adopts in her corpus-based analysis. The findings of this analysis are presented in the second half of the chapter, which is focused on a detailed discussion of a range of specific patterns which include a form of the verb SAY identified in police interviews and in trials. In such contexts, these patterns are used strategically in making evidence, as shown in extensive samples of corpus material of these two types of legal discourse. In her conclusion, the author underlines that quoting is a key activity employed in institutional legal interaction by the professional participants as a means of appropriating the words of lay participants (who thus lose control over their own voice and identity). Quoting, in other words, transforms that which is personal into a professional, i.e. legal, entity, which may then, through the media, become public, for social and moral evaluation.

In her contribution on "Electronic Discourse", Miriam Locher concentrates especially on Web 2.0.[3] Initially, the author considers the terminology which has been suggested for the object of study and also discusses the motivation of the various terms, which include "electronic discourse", "digital discourse", "e-communication" and "keyboard-to-screen communication". Locher opts for "computer-mediated communication" (CMC), which is still the best known and most widely used term in the field, despite the fact that today not only computers but also new media such as smartphones or tablets are used for this type of communication. Locher regards CMC as a specific subtype of electronic discourse. In the next section of her chapter, the author examines the dynamic development of CMC since the early 1990s, starting with email messages and information websites and arriving at a higher degree of participation and multimodality. This is essentially the develop-

ment from Web 1.0 to Web 2.0, in which a range of new types of CMC has emerged, including chats, blogs, wikis, instant messaging, texting, virtual worlds and social network sites. The author emphasises the high speed with which such types appear or vanish and their uses, styles and practices change. Furthermore, she points out that the speed of this process, which is often increased by new technical options, makes it difficult to compare studies of CMC language and practices across relatively short periods of time. This discussion is followed by a literature review in which the author surveys linguistic research on CMC from the past two decades. In particular, she reviews several research strands which include the development of theoretical frameworks for the description of CMC language use and work on the distinctive features of particular CMC modes and genres such as emailing, listserv and interactive online games, to name only three. Other research has focused on pragmatic phenomena and interactive practices familiar from research into face-to-face offline communication. In the second half of her chapter, Locher provides an in-depth study of Facebook, based on her own recent research, for illustrating a number of multi-modal practices typical of communication in Web 2.0. Examples are microblogging (as in Facebook status updates), the use of messaging options and chat windows, and the uploading of pictures, photos and short videos. A special focus in this discussion is on acts of positioning and identity construction by employing the multimodal options offered in Facebook (cf. also O'Halloran, Tan and E, this volume).

The final chapter in this section on discourse types and domains focuses on press releases. Press releases represent a form of communication, written by organisations but drawn on and taken up by journalists. As such, they represent a discourse type situated at the interface of two discourse domains, that of media discourse and professional discourse. Their inclusion highlights the fuzzy boundaries between domains and also the analytical difficulties involved. Indeed, Geert Jacobs explains the fact that press releases have received limited attention in discourse studies to date with reference to their insular position occupied at this boundary. The chapter first addresses the position of press releases at the periphery of media discourse and professional discourse and the repercussions of this for their status as a genre. It then goes on to describe press releases as a type of projected discourse and highlights the role of preformulation, and the concepts of intertextuality and entextualisation, for this discourse type. Following this, three metapragmatic features of press releases are discussed, namely third-person self-reference, pseudo-quotation and the use of explicit semi-performatives, and their importance for an understanding of press releases is clearly illustrated. The final part of the paper is devoted to recent and future developments in research on press releases. The first concerns the influence of technological advances, in particular the internet and newly emerged methods of internet PR and online distribution, on the language of press releases. Jacobs draws our attention in this context to e-releases, a new hybridised discourse type which uses less preformulation and more personalised direct discourse. The

second area of increasing interest concerns the way in which press releases are taken up by journalists in the media. Scholarship in this area investigates to what extent the texts of press releases find their way into the media. Research involves contrasting the texts of press releases with those of published newspaper texts but also increasingly adopting an ethnographic perspective to investigate how press releases are drawn on by journalists. Finally, Jacobs turns to multi-modality (cf. also O'Halloran, Tan and E, this volume) and highlights the need to extend the analysis of press releases to include a range of multi-modal interactions, such as online press conferences and video news releases.

4.   Perspectives

The contributions to this volume reflect several emerging trends in discourse pragmatics. Firstly, corpora are playing an increasingly dominant role in discourse pragmatics (cf. Mahlberg, this volume). To date, work in discourse analysis has been predominantly qualitative (but cf., e.g., Johnson, this volume). However, with the availability of more, larger and different corpora and more sophisticated search tools, using corpora and corpus-linguistic methods will continue to increasingly complement qualitative work with quantitative studies (cf. also Jaworski and Coupland 1999: 36). Initially, corpora (in the specific corpus-linguistic sense of large machine-readable collections of language data) included written language exclusively (e.g. the Brown Corpus). Also, more recent corpora, while containing both written and spoken samples, were still heavily biased towards written language. The written part of the British National Corpus (BNC), for instance, a corpus totalling 100 million words, amounts to ninety per cent of the total corpus, the spoken part, accordingly, to only ten per cent. Corpora of spoken language alone, such as the Santa Barbara Corpus of Spoken American English (SBCSAE), tend to be relatively small (in this case 249,000 words). Furthermore, if spoken language is included in a corpus, it is usually included in a transcribed, i.e. written, version, with notational conventions only insufficiently making up for the loss of prosodic and paralinguistic etc. features. The SBCSAE is, in fact, a rare exception in this regard as it comprises the sound files along with the transcripts of the recorded material. Encouragingly, the British component of the International Corpus of English (ICE) has very recently followed the lead of the SBCSAE and released 300 audio recordings of the corpus which may be played aligned with the relevant transcriptions. Further releases of transcripts linked to audio files would make corpora more accessible for pragmatic analyses. Another exceptional feature of the SBCSAE concerns the fact that it provides systematically detailed demographic data on all speakers recorded, including not only age and sex, but also where speakers were born, where they live and what their occupation is, etc. It would be desirable if detailed information of this kind was available in all corpora, since this is a prerequi-

site for correlating language patterns and pragmatic phenomena in discourse with the socio-cultural characteristics of the participants.

A further desideratum concerns the subdivisions made in corpora beyond the basic distinction between spoken and written language. Examples from the Corpus of Contemporary American English (COCA) include "ACADEMIC", "FICTION", "MAGAZINE" and "NEWSPAPER", with subcategories such as "Education", "History" and "Medicine", which refer to domains rather than to discourse type or genre. While attempts have been made to use more elaborate classification systems (e.g. in the BNC), the categories generally used in corpora appear to be, by and large, relatively broad, intuitive and not very consistent; as a rule, they are not clearly defined and not easily comparable across corpora. Yet, systematic classifications and subcategorisations are needed to make better and more differentiated use of corpora in investigating the pragmatics of discourse types and genres and in establishing specific patterns and practices (cf. Lee 2008: 95; Esser, this volume; Tardy and Swales, this volume).

Finally, what is lacking for a more fruitful and efficient use of corpora in discourse studies is an annotation system for discourse tagging. While many corpora are tagged for grammatical features, only few corpora are tagged for pragmatic features (cf., e.g. Weisser forthcoming; cf. also McEnery, Xiao and Tono 2006: 34; 40–41), a fact which makes form-based searches the rule. Consequently, analysts face the difficulties of precision and recall (cf., Jucker 2009), precision referring to the predicament that searches generate many more concordances than those of interest to the researcher; recall referring to the difficulty that many speech act realisations, such as, for example, less formulaic speech acts, are irretrievable. One of the rare exceptions to this general lack of functional annotation in larger corpora is SPICE-Ireland, based on the spoken part of ICE-Ireland, i.e. the Irish component of the International Corpus of English (ICE) (cf. Weisser forthcoming for a more comprehensive overview). SPICE-Ireland is annotated for pragmatic features such as, for instance, discourse markers and illocutionary types as well as partly for prosodic information (cf. Kallen and Kirk 2012; Kirk 2013). Many more corpora of this kind are needed and much more work is required on systems for the pragmatic annotation of discourse in order to overcome the restrictions of form-based searches of pragmatic phenomena in corpora and make function-based searches possible.

Considering the growing interest in multimodality (highlighted in the present volume not only by O'Halloran, Tan and E, but also in other contributions, e.g. by Keisanen and Kärkkäinen, and Jacobs; cf. also Bhatia, Flowerdew and Jones 2008: 9–10), what is needed are not only more and larger corpora of written and particularly spoken language, but also multimodal corpora. Hence, what is required to facilitate multimodal discourse analysis and specifically multimodal pragmatics are corpora comprising transcripts and audio files as well as video files. Given today's general standards of computer technology available not only to professionals and

researchers but also to students, the technical prerequisites of compiling such corpora should be relatively unproblematic although, as Lee (2008: 96) points out, collection, storage and analysis will be more complex and corpora will necessarily be smaller in size relative to current mega-corpora.

Multimodality is also a key topic in the analysis of electronic discourse or computer-mediated communication (CMC) (cf. Locher, this volume, also for a discussion of terminology). The pragmatics of CMC in general represents a burgeoning and thriving field (cf. Herring, Stein and Virtanen 2013). Among the many fascinating aspects meriting research in this area is the on-going and rapid change in language use and interactional practices, involving the birth, development and sometimes death of a fairly large number of discourse types and genres and also ways of communicating. Since the advent of Web 2.0, multimodality is playing an increasingly important role in CMC and the new media as a variety of multimodal features and resources are integrated into social networking sites, such as Facebook, or virtual worlds, such as Second Life.

Another major trend in the study of discourse pragmatics is the increasing influence of critical discourse analysis (CDA). Apart from the article specifically dealing with this approach in the current handbook (Bloor and Bloor, this volume), further articles emphasise the shared interests and commitments of CDA and other approaches to discourse (cf. Simon-Vandenbergen, this volume; Mahlberg, this volume; Tardy and Swales, this volume). This trend points to a growing desire among some researchers in discourse studies to make their work immediately relevant also outside of academia and to directly contribute to the solution of social problems in society by uncovering and exposing power relations, ideologies and manipulation (cf. also, e.g., Wodak 2011).

All innovations and new trends should not blind us to the fact that there is still a lot of work to be done in more traditional areas within the paradigm of discourse pragmatics, areas which could be referred to as "normal science", to use Thomas Kuhn's term (Kuhn 1962). For instance, as van Dijk (2006: xvii) notes, "dozens of genres have been systematically analysed for their overall organisation, their moves, style, lexicon and social functions, but there are many hundreds if not thousands of genres, in many different cultures, still waiting for such systematic description", and indeed even in such well-researched languages as English there are still doubtlessly countless genres awaiting analysis. Moreover, such detailed descriptions of individual genres can be used and are used in a number of applied contexts. Descriptions of a range of discourse types continue to be used, for instance, in (foreign) language teaching and communication training, and indeed on a general level, education constitutes an important field of application for discourse studies, as demonstrated by Yang and Walsh, Edmondson, and Simon-Vandenbergen (all this volume). However, such discourse type descriptions also have applications outside of the educational arena contrary to what is sometimes suggested by those focusing more on the social and psychological side of discourse

(cf., e.g. Coupland 2000: 5). Indeed, descriptions of discourse types may serve as models in other areas of application such as computer studies and research into artificial intelligence provided the relevant genre conventions have been analysed with sufficient delicacy. An early example of this type of application is the attempt to use a book-length treatment of phatic discourse (Schneider 1988) as a starting point for developing a computational model of small talk as a component of the "communicative competence" of so-called relational agents, i.e. artificially intelligent avatars on computers interacting with human users (cf., e.g., Bickmore 1999 and 2003; also Bickmore and Cassell 2005). This project, originally carried out at the Massachusetts Institute of Technology (MIT), has shown the potential, but also the difficulties of this kind of application. For instance, it became clear that very detailed descriptions of linguistic and interactive patterns derived from larger data bases were needed, as well as generalisations about these. Such research continues to represent a research desideratum.

Returning to van Dijk's remark (2006: xvii) about the numerous genres in many different cultures still awaiting systematic description, it is worth noting that research comparing genres across cultures also represents a research gap. Early work in "contrastive rhetoric" was speculative rather than descriptive. Even though Kaplan (1966) based his famous study on a relatively large collection of student essays, he was not really interested in this particular genre. He merely used these essays, which had been written in non-native English by students from various language backgrounds at American universities, to postulate abstract "cultural thought patterns". In the late 1970s and 1980s, contrastive discourse analysis developed as an extension of the levels of analysis in the then still popular original version of contrastive linguistics (cf., e.g., Sajavaara and Lehtonen 1980). In the 1990s, some contrastive work emerged in the context of language for specific purposes (LSP) and specifically English for academic purposes (EAP), employing the framework of Swalesian genre analysis (cf. Tardy and Swales, this volume), known as contrastive genre analysis. A typical example is Oldenburg (1992) comparing the closing sections of research articles written in English and German. The twenty-first century has seen a renewed interest in contrastive linguistics and a new wave of empirical studies. These are, as a rule, corpus-based and use corpus-linguistic methods. While often the focus is on contrastive grammar, there is also some work in contrastive discourse analysis (cf., e.g., Taboada, Doval Suárez and González Álvarez 2013, in which, among other phenomena, some pragmatic features are compared across a number of European languages). An example of a large-scale in-depth study in this area of contrastive analysis is Barron (2012), a book-length comparison of the genre (and subgenres) of public information messages in Ireland and Germany (e.g. of anti-smoking campaigns). This comparison involves both written and spoken language, in print, audio and visual media. Indeed, considering the range of features examined, topics covered and the relation to social context, this type of study goes well beyond a purely linguistic compari-

son and may be more aptly characterised cross-cultural (rather than merely con-trastive) genre analysis.

Contrastive and cross-cultural discourse analysis is concerned with contrasting genres across languages. Such analyses are, in other words, inter-lingual. Discourse variation does, however, also occur within languages, so to speak, i.e. across (native speaker) varieties of the same language. Yet, this is a largely under-researched area, as is more generally the area of intra-lingual pragmatic variation, not just in macropragmatics, but also in micropragmatics. In recent years, this research gap has been addressed in variational pragmatics, a field of research at the interface of pragmatics with dialectology and sociolinguistics (cf., e.g., Schneider and Barron 2008; Barron and Schneider 2009; Schneider 2010; Barron in press, forthcoming). However, of the five levels of pragmatic analysis distinguished in the framework of variational pragmatics, only two have received substantial attention. These are the formal and the actional levels, i.e. the levels on which respectively discourse markers and speech acts are examined (cf., e.g., a recent volume by Aijmer 2013 on discourse markers). Studies on levels above the speech act, on which interac-tional sequences, topic management and discourse organisation can be investi-gated, remain scarce (cf. Schneider 2012 for a summary). One of the few macro-pragmatic studies in variational pragmatics is Schneider (2008), comparing small talk in the English, Irish and U.S.-American varieties of English. These levels remain ripe for further research. Similarly, a broadening of the current focus of variational pragmatic research on regional variation, and particularly on national variation, to include macro-social factors, such as ethnic identity, age, gender and socio-economic class, represents a desideratum.

5.   Conclusion

In conclusion then, this handbook represents an attempt to bring together some of the central approaches to discourse pragmatics and to highlight recent, current and future developments in the field. As has become apparent above, the various ap-proaches to discourse are in continual flux. The influence of external developments, such as the recent technological developments, is one force of change responsible, for instance, for the advent of corpus-linguistic approaches to the study of dis-course and also for the development of multi-modal pragmatics. On another level, such external developments introduce new genres and communication patterns which themselves challenge established approaches and trigger developments within these in turn. Other developments in discourse pragmatics may involve the emergence of new approaches from traditional approaches. We need only think in this regard of the emergence of mediated discourse analysis from CDA. Similarly, it has to be recognised that no approach exists in a vacuum but is rather continually influencing and being influenced and impacted on in a process of cross-fertilisation.

The advent of critical genre analysis, the social commitment of discourse analysis in SFL to resolving social inequalities and also the emergence of corpus-based critical discourse analysis underlines this trend. The current handbook encourages readers to embrace the many approaches within discourse pragmatics to continue this cross-fertilisation of ideas.

Notes

1. The differences between Saussure's concepts "langue" and "parole" on the one hand and Chomsky's concepts "competence" and "performance" are not relevant in the present context.
2. Edmondson's contribution was among the first chapters commissioned for this handbook. It turned out to be the final paper which he completed. Willis J. Edmondson died in December 2009. The editors of this volume, both of whom had the pleasure to work with Willis Edmondson, are grateful to Juliane House for revising this chapter, in which the features typical of Edmondson's sharp wit and critical intellect have been retained.
3. Web 1.0 is extensively covered in volume 9 of this handbook series on the "Pragmatics of Computer-Mediated Communication" (2013), edited by Herring, Stein and Virtanen. Locher (this volume) includes a brief overview of the areas covered in that volume.

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2.   Conceptualising discourse

Anita Fetzer

1.   Introduction

Discourse is one of the terms that are frequently used in all kinds of context, but hardly ever made explicit or delimited. It occurs in numerous titles of research monographs and academic journals across various research disciplines, referring to different, if not diverging concepts. Discourse may be used synonymously with text, denoting longer stretches of written or spoken language, it may refer to the semantic representation of some connected sentences, or it may refer to diverse communications about a particular issue, e.g. human rights discourse or discourse of the Holy Father.

The diversity of domains of research and application is also reflected in domain-specific and application-specific conceptualisations of discourse, which tend to share one particular feature, namely "the study of language patterns above the sentence" (Widdowson 2004: 3). The very general and thus rather indeterminate feature "above the sentence" assigns discourse analysis the status of a research domain in its own right, separating it both from traditional linguistics and its unit of investigation, the sentence, and from pragmatics and its domain of analysis, context-dependent meaning. While there are no real delimitation problems between discourse analysis and traditional linguistics, pragmatics and discourse analysis are closely connected and tend to overlap. This is because the investigation of pragmatic meaning, that is meaning beyond what has been said, such as deixis, indirect speech act and conversational implicature, requires the explicit accommodation of linguistic context, social context and cognitive context, and they are also constitutive parts of discourse. This is also made explicit by Mey (2001), who connects pragmatics and discourse analysis with metapragmatics, which "reflects on the discursive context of the users and examines how it is active in the production of human language acts; it regards the latter as conditioned by this context, inasmuch as they are, in essence *pragmatic acts*" (Mey 2001: 190). Against this background, discourse is "taken as a *metapragmatic* condition which not only refers to the immediately perceived context (…); it also comprises the hidden conditions that govern such situations of language use" (Mey 2001: 190).

The quantitative definition of discourse as "language patterns above the sentence" has become common ground in linguistics, pragmatics and discourse analysis. However, the labels used to refer to the patterns differ substantially. Conversation analysis bases their investigations on the turn-taking mechanism and its unit "turn", which is composed of turn-constructional units. Critical discourse analysis

anchors their analyses to the semantics of representation, considering social processes and social practices within the grammar-based units of sentence or utterance and/or within the pragmatics-based unit of speech act. This also holds for discourse grammars and their units of investigation, e.g., sentence and utterance, discourse move, or discourse function and discourse relation, and for dialogue analysis and their units of investigation, e.g., dialogue act and dialogic action game.

Linguistics and discourse analysis share the grammar-based units of sentence and utterance, and pragmatics and discourse analysis share the functional-based units of speech act and utterance. For this reason, the two research paradigms require the explicit accommodation of context: linguistic context or co-text is a constitutive part of discourse analysis, and is represented by adjacent sentences or utterances. Cognitive context is a constitutive part of both pragmatics and discourse analysis, and is represented by mental representations and cognitive prototypes; both are necessary for the construal of coherence. Social context is a constitutive part of pragmatics and discourse analysis, and is represented by the non-linguistic surroundings of speech acts, utterances and discourse.

The rather general definition of discourse as "language patterns above the sentence" has been qualified by a number of prominent researchers in discourse analysis and pragmatics. According to Widdowson (2004), this definition "would seem to imply that discourse is sentence writ large: quantitatively different but qualitatively the same phenomenon. It would follow, too, of course, that you cannot have discourse *below* the sentence" (Widdowson 2004: 3). And there is another fallacy in the purely quantity-based definition, namely if "the difference between sentence and discourse is not a matter of kind but only of degree, then they are presumably assumed to signal the same kind of meaning. If sentence meaning is intrinsically encoded, that is to say, a semantic property of the language itself, then so is discourse meaning" (Widdowson 2004: 3).

To avoid that flaw, a felicitous analysis of discourse and discourse meaning needs to go beyond the code model of language and accommodate the premise that the whole, that is discourse, is more than the sum of its parts, e.g. sentences. This also holds for the meaning of the whole, which is more than the sum of the meanings of its constitutive sentences or utterances. Against this background, discourse analysis "has to do not with what texts mean, but with what might be meant by them, and what they are taken to mean. In this view there is no 'understanding' of texts as a semantic process, separate from, and prior to, a pragmatic 'evaluation' which brings context into play" (Widdowson 2004: 35). Hence, discourse is "the pragmatic process of meaning negotiation. Text is its product" (Widdowson 2004: 8). While Widdowson stresses the constitutive factor of negotiation of meaning, Mey (2001) highlights its context-dependence: "Discourse is different from *text* in that it embodies more than just a collection of sentences; discourse is what makes the text, and what makes it context-bound" (Mey 2001: 190).

As a common-sense notion, discourse may denote both an "interchange of ideas" as well as an instance of such an interchange (cf. Webster 1971). It may also refer to "a talk or piece of writing that teaches or explains something" and just to "spoken or written communication" (cf. Collins Cobuild 1990). More recently, the term "discourse" has undergone some specification and is now used to refer to "a serious speech or piece of writing on a particular subject", "a serious conversation or discussion between people" and to "the language used in particular types of speech or writing" (cf. Longman DCE 2003). The term is used to refer to "the act, power, or faculty of thinking consecutively and logically: the process of proceeding from one judgment to another in logical sequence: the reasoning faculty" (cf. Webster 1971). The inherent evaluation of discourse as argumentative and coherent has been partially inherited to its more recent definition as "serious" and "particularised". Discourse in its everyday meaning does not concentrate on its quantitative aspects but rather on its qualitative ones, namely an interchange of ideas using spoken or written language with a particular purpose or on a particular discourse topic. However, discourse as a common-sense notion neither includes its multifaceted nature and embeddedness in society and other discourses, nor its parts-whole configuration.

Discourse is fundamentally concerned with the nature of the connectedness between parts and wholes, and therefore requires the accommodation of both bottom-up and top-down perspectives. Moreover, discourse is a dynamic concept and is both process and product. To capture the dynamics of discourse, the discursive function of anaphoric, cataphoric and exophoric reference and their context-change potentials need to be connected explicitly with the particular part of the discourse they are anchored to and with the discourse as a whole. Hence, discourse analysis needs to account explicitly for this sort of dynamic accommodation, through which information is stored, updated and possibly changed in the communicators' (socio)cognitive construct of discourse (or dialogue) common ground (Fetzer 2004), conversational record (Thomason 1992) or personal common ground (Clark 1996). Furthermore, the question whether discourse constitutes communicative action can neither be avoided any longer. Not only Widdowson argues for an affirmative answer to this question by saying that he identifies "a text not by its linguistic extent but by its social intent" (Widdowson 2004: 8). This is because the "meaning of words in texts is always subordinated to a discourse purpose: we read into them what we want to get out of them. […] The very social nature of communication is bound to be based on an assumption of co-operation whereby the focus of attention on meaning will be regulated" (Widdowson 2004: 86). So, what are the necessary conditions for a piece of language to count as discourse, what conditions are necessary to make a piece of language count as *sort of* discourse and what conditions are necessary to make a piece of discourse count as discourse *par excellence*?

In the following, the scholarly concept of discourse is analysed and contextualized in some of the most prominent research paradigms concerned with "the

study of language patterns above the sentence", examining their paradigm-specific conceptualisations as well as their explicit and implicit premises and presuppositions.

2.   Discourse in context

Discourse and context denote rather abstract and general concepts, and at the same time they can be used to refer to particular, concrete instances of discourse and context. The two notions are closely connected and in their particularized readings, context contains discourse, that is to say discourse is performed in a particular context, and discourse contains context, that is to say particular contexts are imported, invoked and construed in discourse (Gumperz 1992; Levinson 2003; Thibault 2003). Hence, a felicitous conceptualisation of discourse requires the explicit accommodation of context, namely linguistic context, cognitive context and social context (Fetzer 2004). Discourse is composed of linguistic context (or co-text) and it is anchored to cognitive context as regards discourse processing, grounding, anaphora resolution, discourse connectives, information structure and information management, to name but the most prominent candidates for the construal of discourse coherence. If the focus is on the connectedness between text and society, discourse is conceived of along the lines of critical discourse analysis, accounting for ideology, discourse production and reception, and speakers and hearers. In ethnomethodological, interaction-based paradigms discourse is referred to as conversation, and in dialogue studies, discourse is referred to as dialogue including both internal and external dialogic configurations.

Discourse needs to be delimited from context and context needs to be delimited from discourse. Depending on research perspective and methodology, the delimiting frame may be a communicative genre as in interactional sociolinguistics and sociology (Gumperz 1992, 1996; Luckmann 1995), a discourse genre as in discourse studies and critical linguistics (Fairclough 2003), an activity type or language game as in pragmatics and in the philosophy of language (Wittgenstein 1958; Levinson 1979; Lewis 1979; Brandom 1994), a communicative activity type as in sociopragmatics (Sarangi 2000), and a communicative project or dialogic action game as in dialogism (Linell 1998; Weigand 2000). Analogously to the parts-whole conception of context, discourse may be decomposed in its constitutive parts, for instance opening, closing and topical-sequence sections, in its coordinating and subordinating rhetorical functions (Mann and Thompson 1988; Asher and Lascarides 2003) or in its discursive styles, e.g. narrative, argumentative, descriptive or instructional (Werlich 1975).

In the following, the relational and dynamic concept of discourse is examined in the research paradigms of conversation analysis, (critical) discourse analysis, dialogue analysis and discourse grammar. Particular attention is given to their

paradigm-specific conceptualisations of discourse and its constitutive parts, and to the connectedness between discourse and society.

2.1. Discourse as conversation

Conversation analysis is concerned with the investigation of talk and with various factors that enter it, considering their structure and function. Talk can be examined in its own right, as is done primarily in linguistics and discourse grammar. It can also be examined as an interactional achievement with regard to its function in sustaining reality considering its connectedness with social structure and social organization, as is done in ethnomethodology and ethnomethodological conversation analysis (Heritage 1984; Garfinkel 1994; Schegloff 2007; cf. Clift, this volume).

Ethnomethodologists examine "the production and interpretation of everyday action as skilled accomplishments of social factors, and they are interested in conversation as one particularly pervasive instance of skilled social action" (Wardhaugh 1996: 248). Discourse as conversation hence includes the analysis of both its linguistic structure and its function in the construction and reconstruction of social context. While the former is based on the traditional linguistic units of investigation, namely sentence or utterance and their constitutive parts of phrase or construction, as well as on the conversation-analytic unit of turn and its constitutive part of turn-constructional unit, the latter is based on the premise of indexicality of communicative action (Gumperz 1992) and the indexicality of social action (Garfinkel 1994), connecting linguistic structure with communicative function, social action and social context.

The most prominent goal of conversation analysis is the examination of sequence organization in interaction. It "concerns the relative positioning of utterances or actions" (Schegloff 2007: 2), and its "scope is the organization of courses of action enacted through turns-at-talk – coherent, orderly, meaningful successions or 'sequences' of actions or 'moves'. Sequences are the vehicle for getting some activity accomplished" (Schegloff 2007: 2). The standard unit of investigation in conversation analysis is the turn, and turn taking is assigned the status of an organizing principle on the plane of discourse. In conversation analysis, turns are defined from a quantity-anchored perspective. That is to say, a turn refers to the amount of language (including other semiotic devices) produced by one speaker before another takes the floor and begins with the production of her/his turn. In principle, a turn can be of any length as the amount of linguistic devices and other semiotic resources, e.g. gaze and posture, is not constrained. In other words, a turn is only constrained and delimited by directly adjacent turns. In practice, however, turn taking occurs in context, and it is both local and global contexts which constrain the length of a turn, its appropriate second parts and the appropriate use of language and other semiotic devices. A constitutive part of local context is the fundamental concept of adjacency and the conversation-analytic unit of adjacency pair.

The minimal unexpanded form of adjacency pair is a constitutive part of sequence construction and sequence organisation. It is composed of (1) two turns which are (2) produced by different speakers. They are (3) adjacently placed, and (4) the two turns are relatively ordered. That is, they are differentiated into *first pair parts* and *second pair parts*. The second pair parts are (5) pair-type related, that is not every second pair part can properly follow any first pair part. Adjacency pairs form pair types, such as greeting–greeting, question–answer or offer–accept/decline (cf. Schegloff 2007: 13).

In the domain of preference organization, adjacency pairs are further categorized according to their preferred and dispreferred seconds (Pomerantz 1984). This is based on the premise that "not all of potential second parts of adjacency pairs are of equal standing: there is a ranking operating over the alternatives such that there is at least one **preferred** and one **dispreferred** category of response" (Levinson 1983: 307; original emphasis). In that context, preference does not refer to the psychological dispositions of the participants. Rather, it denotes a structure- and distribution-based category: preferred second parts occur as structurally simpler turns, while dispreferred second parts "are **marked** by various kinds of structural complexity. Thus dispreferred seconds are typically delivered: (a) after some significant delay; (b) with some preface marking their dispreferred status, often the particle *well*; (c) with some account of why the preferred second cannot be performed" (Levinson 1983: 307; original emphasis). The most important adjacency pairs and their preferred and dispreferred seconds are "request" with its preferred second of "acceptance" and its dispreferred second of "refusal", "offer/invite" with its preferred second of "acceptance" and its dispreferred second of "refusal", and "assessment" with its preferred second of "agreement" and its dispreferred second of "disagreement".

Adjacency does not only denote a structure-based concept but also implies semantic connectedness. That is, structural adjacency entails discursive nextness, discursive contiguity and discursive progressivity, accounting for "why that now?" (Schegloff and Sacks 1973: 299; Schegloff 2007: 14–16). Structural and semantic adjacency are of great importance on the local plane of discourse with respect to the unit of adjacency pair and its typing in the domain of preference organization, and they are of relevance on the more remote plane of expansion. Expansion may be anchored to the unit of adjacency pair accommodating pre-invitations, pre-requests or pre-assessments, to name but the most prominent ones. It may also refer to insert expansion, that is expansion in the domain of topicality, which may occur as pre- or post-expansion. Not only is the conversation as such of relevance, but so are its openings and closings, and its sequence openings and sequence closings, initiating and terminating local and global joint action thus giving shape and coherence to discourse.

One of the prime goals of conversation analysis is to investigate discourse with respect to a context-sensitive employment of the turn-taking system regarding the

use of formulations and reformulations, discourse markers, overlaps and inter-ruptions, and joint production, co-construction and collaboration. Hence, turns are no discrete units of investigation: they are joint productions by all of the participants involved in a communicative exchange. In their production of language, speakers do not only accommodate their communicative intent but also the recipients' back channels and other verbal and non-verbal cues produced and displayed by talking listeners (Gardner 2001). As explicated above, turns are no discrete categories and for this reason, they tend to overlap to some extent. However, turns are no analytic primes. They are further subdivided into their constitutive parts of turn-constructional units.

Turn-constructional units are defined with regard to phonological, syntactic and semantic features. They comprise tone units, lexical expressions, grammatical constructions, phrases, clauses, information units and idea units. Moreover, each unit has a projectable completion point, i.e. a transition-relevance place, at which turn taking and speaker change may occur:

> The components of which turns-at-talk are composed we have in the past […] termed 'turn constructional units'. By 'turn constructional unit' […] we meant to register that these units *can* constitute possibly complete turns; on their possible completion, transition to a next speaker becomes *relevant* (although not necessarily accom-plished).
> […] The (or one) key unit to language organization for talk-in-interaction is the turn constructional unit; its natural habitat is the turn-at-talk. (Schegloff 1996: 55)

Turn-constructional units are the building blocks of turns, which are building blocks of sequences, which are building blocks of conversation. The relational con-ception of turn, turn-constructional unit and sequence as well as their embeddedness assigns conversation the status of process and product. Against this background, turn-constructional units are not linguistic units. They can be analysed with the help of linguistic units, such as sentence, utterance, phrase or construction, as is done in discourse-based grammar or construction grammar (Ochs, Schegloff and Thompson 1996; Östman and Fried 2005). However, it is not language as a rule-governed system and its pillars of grammaticality and linguistic well-formedness which is at the heart of conversation analysis but rather the function and strategic use of utterances, phrases and constructions. Thus, discourse as conversation or talk-in-interaction is intrinsically connected with participants and with what they do with utterances, phrases and constructions in context. Language use is not an-chored to an individual speaker or hearer and their production and interpretation of a particular piece of language. Rather, language use, or discourse as a more general analytic category, is an interactional achievement by definition, and is for this rea-son a dialogic endeavour. A necessary consequence of that extension of frame is, as Schegloff (1995: 187) argues for, the accommodation of modified premises and modified categories:

> Among the most robust traditional anchors for the analysis of language beyond the level of syntax are orientations to information and truth. This position needs to be reconsidered. It is critical that the analysis of discourse incorporate attention not only to propositional content and information distribution of discourse units, but also of the *actions* they are doing. Especially (but not exclusively) in conversation, talk is constructed and attended by its recipients for the action or actions it may be doing.

This does not only apply to the shift from information and truth to action, but also to a shift in perspective from monological participants and discrete categories, e.g. sentence or clause, and speaker and hearer, to conversational participants, that is active speakers and active listeners, and interactional categories, e.g. turns and turn-constructional units. Thus, conversation as discourse is a meta-construction which "involves not just action, but action in interaction and the consequential eventfulness of its absence" (Schegloff 1995: 202).

In the following the conceptualisation of discourse within the rather diverse field of critical discourse analysis is analysed.

2.2.   Discourse as critical discourse

Critical discourse analysis – like conversation analysis – has become a prominent research paradigm for those researchers in language studies, communication studies and social studies who concentrate on the functional aspects of language, discourse and communication, opting for an interdisciplinary perspective on their goals of investigation (cf. also Bloor and Bloor, this volume). Hence, language and language use, and discourse and discursive practices are seen as interactive concepts which are connected dialectically. While conversation analysis developed within the research paradigm of sociology opposing the then prevailing focus on macrosociology and social structure by stressing the relevance of the microdomains of society and social context, critical discourse analysis is related closely to the theory and practice of critical theory as well as to the Frankfurt School (Habermas, Horkheimer and Adorno), post-structuralism and post-modernity (e.g., Bourdieu, Butler, Foucault).

Discourse analysis in general and critical discourse analysis in particular stress the interdisciplinary nature of their frames of reference, which are informed by the early ideas in functional linguistics, linguistic philosophy and anthropology (e.g., Malinowski 1944; Wittgenstein 1958; Austin 1971; Grice 1975; for an overview see Jaworski and Coupland 1999), basing discourse on language, meaning and context. This very general outlook on discourse has the advantage of being able to account for almost all relevant features which have an impact on its form and function. The disadvantage, however, is that the holistic frame of reference makes it almost impossible to delimit discourse analysis from interactional sociolinguistics and the ethnography of communication, from narrative analysis and discursive psychology, and from sociolinguistics and pragmatics.

Conversation analysis and discourse analysis have argued "for more tentativeness, more context-relatedness, more contingency and more tolerance of ambiguity" (Jaworski and Coupland 1999: 31), demonstrating in their theories that discourse analysis "is a committedly *qualitative* orientation to linguistic and social understanding" (Jaworski and Coupland 1999: 30). Against this background, it is crucial to distinguish between different layers and different types of meaning, namely linguistic meaning, discursive meaning and social meaning on the one hand, and on the other between meanings inferred, interpreted or decoded by the observer and those inferred, interpreted or decoded by the participants, including the participants' goals and intentions. For instance, the linguistic meaning of "is Peter there?" is a transformation and reformulation of the statement "Peter is here", which encodes the definite description "Peter", presupposing its existence, and predicates that this definite description is at some location, which is referred to with the indexical "here", to a yes/no-question. The discursive meaning of the yes/no-question is a request through which the speaker asks the hearer, who is not Peter or who is not identified as Peter, to call the discourse identity Peter and ask him to come to the telephone since a particular speaker wishes to speak to him. The social meaning of the yes/no-question goes beyond the discursive one, particularising the social-context conditions, that is to say the speaker has a higher status than the hearer as s/he does not need to add the appropriate politeness formula "please".

Encoded and decoded meaning is allocated to linguistic meaning and is generally based on the assumption that meaning which is exchanged, that is the encoded and decoded meaning, is identical. As regards inferred meaning, this depends strongly on the linguistic context and social context. For instance, the location referred to by the indexical "here" cannot be fully determinate: it may refer to the actual spot the hearer is standing on, it may refer to the house or apartment in which the hearer is and where Peter is supposed to be as well, or it may refer to the country or continent on which the landline is positioned. Interpreted meaning goes beyond inferred meaning, accommodating also the relevant social-context information explicated above. The situation is even more complex, if the addressed and non-addressed participants are included in the analysis. For a non-addressed participant overhearing the telephone conversation, the social status of the addressee may be conceived as someone who takes orders, or as someone who may deliberately misinterpret the utterance and answer "yes" but not get Peter to the phone. A necessary consequence of the distinction between encoded and decoded meaning, and inferred and interpreted meaning is that meaning is neither a static construct situated in the text nor is it context-independent and given. Rather, meaning is dynamic and context-dependent: it is encoded and produced, and inferred, interpreted and decoded by the participants, as is mirrored by the discourse-analytic concepts of *acts of meaning making* and *acts of construction*. This does not only hold for the micro domain but also for power and ideology, which are seen as enacted in social practice (Van Dijk 2009).

As regards methodology, critical discourse analysis has more recently adapted a variety of tools departing from purely linguistic and speech-act based examinations to the consideration of other semiotic resources, e.g. colour, typography or images pertaining to written communication, and posture, gaze and setting referring to spoken communication, to name but the most prominent ones. The extension of frame from mono-modal language to multimodal semiotic representation allows for an explicit account of the orchestration of multivoicedness and heteroglossia in discourse (cf. also O'Halloran et al., this volume). To capture the diversity of society and culture, discourse analysis does not only focus on the investigation of discourse and discursive practice as delimited processes and products. Instead, these realisations are connected within a wider frame of reference regarding possible forms and functions of intertextuality and interdiscursivity.

Discourse is connected intrinsically with knowledge and knowledge-making processes. It plays a constitutive part in the constitution and distribution of knowledge, and therefore is of great importance to the processes of social inclusion and social exclusion, as is the case with understanding the news or in understanding relevant leaflets and websites in bureaucratic discourse, for instance. Against this background, the selection of appropriate discursive practice based on context-dependent and addressee-specific linguistic standards is of immense importance, for instance the accommodation of appropriate social, regional, ethnic and gendered varieties. The critical stance towards discourse and society is reflected in discourse-analytic research examining diversity, discrimination and social exclusion in the domains of institutional discourse, especially in bureaucratic encounters, medical interactions, courtroom interactions and police interrogations, considering racism and racist practices, as well as feminism and queer theory, to name but the most prominent ones (e.g. Butler 1990, 1997; Sarangi and Slembrouk 1996; Sarangi and Coulthard 2000; Reisigl and Wodak 2001).

Despite their similar points of departure in opposing traditional methodologies and research goals, conversation analysis and critical discourse analysis differ quite substantially in their goals and methodologies. While critical discourse analysis examines the nature of the connectedness between discourse and society, and between discursive representation and social representation, conversation analysis bases their research on the premises of indexicality of social action and on talk-in-interaction, considering mundane everyday talk as the unmarked type of default, and institutional, pre-structured talk as the marked type, employing a strictly empirical and anti-mentalist frame of investigation. Critical discourse analysis, by contrast, favours an integrated or eclectic frame of reference, taking into account cognition and social cognition, linguistic and discursive representation with respect to form and function, as well as empirical approaches accounting for the distribution of particular linguistic and other semiotic forms and their generalised and particularised functions across genres and contexts.

Conversation analysis and discourse analysis attend both to language use. While the former seems to favour a construction-based outlook on language (Ochs, Schegloff and Thompson 1996), critical discourse analysis is anchored firmly to functional grammar (cf. Simon-Vandenbergen, this volume). It employs an integrated approach based on Systemic Functional Grammar (Halliday 1994), linguistic pragmatics and conversation analysis, and views meaning-making and sense-making as contextual processes, as is stated explicitly by Jaworski and Coupland: "Construing language as discourse involves orienting to language as a form of social action, as a functioning form of social action embedded in the totality of social processes" (1999: 41). Thus, language and language use are of prime importance to their analyses of discourse, as is stressed by one of its most prominent founding parents Norman Fairclough (2003: 2):

> My approach to discourse analysis (a version of 'critical discourse analysis') is based upon the assumption that language is an irreducible part of social life, dialectically interconnected with other elements of social life, so that social analysis and research always has to take account of language. [...] This is not a matter of reducing social life to language, saying that everything is discourse, it isn't. Rather, it's one analytical strategy amongst many, and often it makes sense to use discourse analysis in conjunction with other forms of analysis, for instance ethnography or forms of institutional analysis.

In critical discourse analysis, discourse is connected intrinsically to the construction of identity, social structure, power, reality and ideology. Within the diverse field of critical discourse analysis, a number of perspectives towards the nature of the connectedness between social reality and discourse prevail. There is positivism and its scientific orientation to language behaviour. The empiricist framework concentrates on the study of the frequency, distribution and patterning of observable phenomena, which are described in law-like general terms. Furthermore, there is relativism. For relativists, reality is not a fixed entity which is independent of their perceptions of it. In this frame of reference, perceptions depend on and are relative to the concepts and theories analysts work with whenever they are observing. Participants invariably have some preconceived notions of what they may expect to be there and of what is there to be seen, and that affects what they actually see. In the social sciences, relativism addresses the role of language in shaping an actor's social reality, as opposed to merely reflecting or expressing some pre-existent, non-linguistic order. Mild relativism fosters the view that there are empowerment relationships between interaction and social reality.

The construction of identity, social structure and social reality manifests itself on different layers of discourse and in discursive practice, above all in social practices: "First, it figures as part of the social activity within a practice. [...] Second, discourse figures in representations. Social actors within any practice produce representations of other practices, as well as ('reflexive') representations of their own practices, in the course of their activity within a practice" (Fairclough 2003: 206). A necessary consequence of the dialectical perspective is that society can no longer

be conceived of as a stable construct. Since it is constructed, reconstructed and possibly deconstructed, as well as contextualised, recontextualised and decontextualised in and through the process of communication, it needs to be conceptualised as some kind of fluid and dynamic construct, which undergoes multifarious transformation. Consequently, "[r]epresentation is a process of social construction of practices, including reflexive self-construction – representations enter and shape social processes and practices. Third, discourse figures in ways of being, in the constitution of identities" (Fairclough 2003: 206).

The use of language and other semiotic resources is fundamental to discourse, and discourses are produced and interpreted in accordance with discursive practices. Against this background, different discourses display "different *ways* of representing" (Fairclough 2003: 124), thus showing "a degree of repetition, commonality in the sense that they [discourses, A.F.] are shared by groups of people, and stability over time" (Fairclough 2003: 124). As regards the nature of the connectedness between language, discourse and society, most of critical-discourse research is based on the premise that there is no direct link between discourse and society, and between discourse and culture but that the connectedness is of a mediated nature (Van Dijk 2009), that is mediated by communicative genre, communicative activity type or communicative project on the one hand, and context models and cultural scripts on the other (Van Dijk 2008). Because of this mediated link, the nature of the connectedness is an indirect one. For this reason, it can never be mono-causal.

The dual status of discourse as process and product as well as its intrinsic dialectic connectedness with language use as discursive activity and with society, assign communicative genres the status of constructed, reconstructed and deconstructed frames of reference: "Discourse as part of social activity constitutes genres. Genres are diverse ways of acting, of producing social life, in the semiotic mode" (Fairclough 2003: 206). However, genres are neither stable nor normative. Rather, "genres are types. But they are types in a rather peculiar way. Genres do not specify the lexicogrammatical resources of word, phrase, clause, and so on. Instead, they specify the **typical** ways in which these are combined and deployed so as to enact the typical semiotic action formations of a given community" (Thibault 2003: 44; original emphasis).

Discourse as critical discourse constitutes a multifaceted and complex field of research which accommodates both micro and macro levels of analysis, considering micro phenomena, such as linguistic and semiotic constructions, semantic and discursive representations, discourse markers, stress and intonation, as well as macro phenomena, such as sequentiality, opening, closing and topical sections. Furthermore, it has transcription conventions for spoken and written language, and for other semiotic resources, such as body language and typography. As regards participants, discursive analyses account for identity and subjectivity, style and styling, intimacy, involvement and detachment, as well as the exercise and enactment of power and ideology, spelling out its inherent multimodal and multi-voiced discourses.

2.3.   Discourse as dialogue

Dialogues can be described as a macro sequence which itself is composed of a (finite) number of micro sequences (Fetzer 2002). Depending on research paradigm and methodology, the micro sequences are called dialogue acts, discourse representation structures, sentences, propositions, utterances, speech acts or turns. Accordingly, they are defined with regard to frame-of-investigation specific constraints and requirements, and purposes. Micro sequences may express semantic content, they may express communicative function, and they may express both semantic content and communicative function. Furthermore, they may change the context by adding propositional content. In text linguistics, dialogues and texts are composed of sentences and propositions. In sociopragmatics, dialogues are constructed of utterances which are employed intentionally and strategically, thus realising communicative acts in context (Sarangi and Slembrouck 1996; Mey 2001; Fetzer 2004). In conversation analysis, dialogues are constructed of turn-constructional units, turns and sequences. Irrespective of the different goals and purposes, dialogue is commonly seen as jointly produced by minimally one speaker and one addressee, representing an instance of collaborative action (Clark 1996).

In the heterogeneous field of dialogism, discourse is conceptualised as dialogue. Dialogism comprises psycholinguistic and cognitive, and social and sociocultural perspectives on diverse types of communication, ranging from everyday interaction to institutional discourse, from written and spoken interactions to literary and non-literary types of discourse. It is connected closely with the French and Russian traditions of polyphony and heteroglossia (Bakhtin 1981; Anscombe and Ducrot 1983), with the systemic-functional-grammar distinction between monoglossic and heteroglossic discourse (White 2003) and with the conversation-analytic concept of stance and stance-taking (Englebretson 2007). The dialogic perspective on discourse concentrates on the examination of internal dialogues, as is reflected in epistemic modality and represented discourse, for instance, and on the negotiation of intersubjective meaning, as is reflected in face-to-face interaction or in constructivism-based theories of reading. By analogy to (critical) discourse analysis, scholars in dialogism favour an integrated or eclectic frame of investigation based on the combination of different methodologies. What unifies the diverse field of research and the diverse methodologies is the object of investigation: language- and other semiotic-codes-based performance.

Scholars in the dialogic tradition (e.g., Marková, Graumann and Foppa 1995; Linell 1998) distinguish between dialogism and monologism, rejecting accounts of human communication and of language use that attempt to explain interaction by reduction to the cognitive processes and/or the actions of individual speakers and recipients. These monologic accounts hold to the line that there is an abstract language system that determines sequence and meaning, that individual speakers are sovereign sources of intention, and that language use is secondary to and con-

tingent on these features of language. Dialogue is thus both cognitive and social, performance and competence are connected dialectically, and internal dialogues reflected in inductive, deductive and practical reasoning interact with external dialogues manifest in spoken, written and mediated interaction. The dual status of dialogue as cognitive and social, and its consequences for the actual production and interpretation of utterances in context is succinctly formulated by Levinson (1995: 238):

> Linguistic communication is fundamentally parasitic on the kind of reasoning about others' intentions that Schelling and Grice have drawn attention to: no-one says what they mean, and indeed they couldn't – the specificity and detail of ordinary communicated contents lies beyond the capabilities of the linguistic channel: speech is a much too slow and semantically undifferentiated medium to fill that role alone. But the study of linguistic pragmatics reveals that there are detailed ways in which such specific content can be suggested – by relying on some simple heuristics about the 'normal way of putting things' on the one hand, and the feedback potential and sequential constraints of conversational exchange on the other.

Dialogism requires the explicit accommodation of context, that is linguistic context or co-text, cognitive context, and social context. It requires linguistic context to account for the question of how things are "normally put", differentiating between marked and unmarked representations; it requires cognitive context to account for reasoning processes as well as distributed cognition, and it requires social context as co-participants do not normally communicate in a void but anchor the production and interpretation of their contributions to the local context as well as to more remote layers of context. However, there is more to dialogism-based analyses of communication than performance, the co-presence of minimally two participants, namely speaker and hearer, and context, as is put quite distinctly by Arundale and Good (2002: 134; original emphases):

> Contrary to the assumptions in encoding/decoding models, the dyadic model makes evident that conversational participants do *not* generate their utterances independently of one another, and that whole utterances are *not* the units out of which conversations are made. The CA research that grounds the dyadic model makes apparent that accounts of conversation as speech act sequences are *not* adequate, and that conversant's meanings are *not* fixed or determinate, whether in designing or interpreting utterances.

In dialogism, speaker, hearer and other possible participants are no longer conceptualised as individualised, isolated monads, which mutually represent each other and their conversational actions as a summative sequence of individual cognitive activities and/or actions. Instead, human interaction, and more specifically conversational activity, is dialogic in nature. Consequently, dialogue and its conversational sequences can only be nonsummative – or put differently, the whole (here: dialogue) is always more than the sum of its parts (here: contributions and sequences). Against this background, monologue-based categories, such as speaker-anchored speech acts, intentions, presuppositions, and speaker-anchored common ground and co-

herence are re-conceptualised as dialogic categories, namely dialogue act, we-intention, which Searle (1992: 400) spells out as follows: "Collective intentional behavior is a primitive phenomenon that cannot be analyzed as just the summation of individual intentional behavior; and collective intentions expressed in the form 'we intend to do such-and-such' or 'we are doing such-and-such' are also primitive phenomena and cannot be analyzed in terms of individual intentions expressed in the form 'I intend to do such-and-such' or 'I am doing such-and-such'". Searle points out that we-intentionality is connected intrinsically with the fundamental dialogue-anchored premise of cooperation, which provides the "reason that we-intentions cannot be reduced to I-intentions, even I-intentions supplemented with beliefs and beliefs about mutual beliefs, can be stated quite generally. The notion of a we-intention of collective intentionality, implies the notion of *cooperation*" (Searle 1992: 406; original emphasis).

Dialogism requires further modifications, namely the explicit accommodation of co-supposition, dialogue common ground and collective discourse coherence (cf. Fetzer 2004), as well as the dialogue principle of cooperation, as is postulated in the Gricean cooperative principle (Grice 1975), and its operationalisation as dovetailedness (Fetzer 2002), the principle of justification (Clark 1996), the principle of mutual responsibility (Clark and Wilkes-Gibbs 1992), and the Janus Principle (Arundale and Good 2002: 134):

> on the basis of both our model and the evidence on which it rests that such foresight and hindsight are fundamental to the interactional achievement of conversation, and we refer to the simultaneous and dyadic operation of foresight and hindsight as the 'Janus Principle'. The Principle is evident not only in comprehending utterances, but also in producing them, and blurs the traditional distinction between these two processes.

In a dialogic frame of reference, unilateral speech acts, individual I-intentions, individual presuppositions and individual sense-making no longer represent appropriate tools for analysis. Rather, an investigation of dialogue requires both bottom-up and top-down perspectives in order to account for the dynamics of dialogue manifest in intersubjective negotiation of meaning and in the dialogic conception of anticipatory interactive planning (AIP): "Both through inner speech, which is the sort of dialogue with ourselves […], and through our close attention to conversational partners, spoken language seems to have constructed a dialogue template for social cognition. In inner speech and in conversation, dialogue and the dyad are built into human cognition. […] AIP moves constantly back and forth between modelling and strategic action" (Goody 1995: 12).

Dialogic interaction and intersubjective meaning are interdependent on social antecedents and social consequences, and require, for that reason, the dialogic principles of coordination and cooperation. Felicitous communication is only possible if they are acted in accordance with, as is argued for persuasively in philosophy-based conceptions of discourse.

A holism-anchored conceptualisation of dialogue as a game of giving and asking for reasons is presented by Brandom (1994: 479; original emphases): "Holism about inferential significances has different theoretical consequences depending on whether one thinks of communication in terms of *sharing* a relation to one and the same *thing* (grasping a common meaning) or in terms of *cooperating* in a joint *activity* (coordinating social perspectives by keeping deontic score according to common practices)". The differentiation between "*sharing* a relation to one and the same *thing*", as may be the case in distributed cognition and other instances of internal dialogues, and "*cooperating* in a joint activity" requires the dialogue concepts of we-intention and collective we-intention to be refined by the accommodation of the more basic category of *I-thou* sociality:

> The social distinction between the fundamental deontic attitudes of undertaking and attributing is essential to the institution of deontic statuses and the conferral of propositional contents. This is, […] an *I-thou* sociality rather than an *I-we* sociality. Its basic building block is the relation between an audience that is attributing commitments and thereby keeping score and a speaker who is undertaking commitments, on whom score is being kept. The notion of a discursive *community* – a we – is to be built up out of these *communicating* components. (Brandom 1994: 508; original emphases)

Dialogism does not only account for intrapersonal and interpersonal perspectives on communication but rather on the nature of their connectedness. For this reason, it requires the accommodation of a holistic outlook on discourse as well as its necessary, extension-of-frame related refined categories and principles.

In the following, a conceptualisation of discourse as grammar is presented, which differs from the one examined above. Unlike the conceptualisations of discourse in the research paradigms of conversation analysis, critical discourse analysis and dialogism, which are primarily qualitative in nature, accounting for top-down and bottom-up perspectives, discourse grammar focuses on the nature of the connectedness between its constitutive parts.

2.4.   Discourse as grammar

Discourse as grammar or discourse grammar departs from the premise that discourse is hierarchical as regards its structural configuration and underlying constraints. The premise is reflected in discourse representation theory, for instance, where discourse is constructed of discourse representation structures, and in dynamic interpretation theory, where dialogue is constructed of dialogue acts, which have semantic contents and communicative functions (Kamp and Reyle 1993; Benz and Kühnlein 2008). Conceptualising discourse along these lines aims at the identification and ranking of discursive constraints which are necessary to assign a delimited stretch of text or talk the status of well-formed discourse. Well-formedness in that context is functionally equivalent to textual coherence, which refers to a state when the world and time a text evokes are internally consistent and generally

accord with accepted human knowledge. This also applies to stories and storylines contained in discourse. Hence, textually coherent, well-formed discourse is a dialogic concept embracing discourse-internal configurations regarding time, place, participants and story as well as discourse-external configurations regarding producer(s) and recipient(s). As discourse is a multifaceted construct, the constitutive parts of time, place, participants, story and storyline may be complex and multifaceted constructs, embedding other participants and their multiple identities, other stories and their storylines, other places and individual and collective attitudes towards them, and other times with diverse individual and collective degrees of involvement or detachment, as well as coding time, receiving time and story time.

The production and formulation of well-formed and coherent discourse requires its parts to compose a well-formed whole, and it is the well-formed whole which is construed by the recipients thereby assigning a stretch of discourse the status of well-formed discourse. Conceptualising discourse as grammar accounts for both the contextualisation and interpretation of parts and the nature of their connectedness with discourse as a whole. This is generally performed through inference and inference triggers, through conventional and conversational implicatures, and getting in a generalised or particularised conversational implicature (Grice 1975; Gumperz 1992; Levinson 2000), and through encoding and decoding processes, assigning speakers and recipients the roles of sense-making and sense-attributing agents who employ their cognitive and linguistic systems accordingly, as is formulated by Ariel (2008: 60): "Being a cooperative speaker involves more than following grammatical rules and pragmatic maxims. One also needs to abide by recurrent discourse patterns".

Discourse as grammar requires a holistic frame of reference in which the connectedness between parts and wholes is examined with respect to the constitutive parts of discourse. This is of particular relevance to the analysis of discursive meaning, a particularised field in which the traditional distinction between semantics and pragmatics does no longer obtain. A holistic framework is further indispensable for the field of phonology, in particular for prosody and intonation, which cannot be examined independent of speaker intentions and speaker-intended meaning (Pierrehumbert and Hirschberg 1992; Schiffrin, Tannen and Hamilton 2001). For intonation, the phonological system provides the constitutive parts of prominence, tone, key and termination. In accordance with their communicative intent, participants select prominent and non-prominent syllables; they select tones configured as rise-fall, fall, rise, fall-rise and level; they select high, mid and low keys, and they select high, mid or low terminations.

Discourse as grammar or rather a grammar of discourse cannot be restricted to the examination of isolated parts, that is sentences, utterances, contributions or turns, but needs to consider their connectedness with other parts on the local level of discourse, as well as their connectedness with discourse as a whole. It examines the necessary and sufficient conditions for the production and interpretation of

parts, e.g., grammatical sentences and grammatical constructions. In addition to the generalized outlook on discourse, discourse as grammar accommodates particularised configurations, such as constraints for spoken and written discourse. This is captured by Ariel's differentiation between discourse function and discourse profile. In her words, discourse functions "identify all and only the necessary discoursal conditions obtaining when a certain linguistic expression occurs" (Ariel 2008: 53), and prototypical discourse profiles "also include nonobligatory discourse conditions obtaining when a certain linguistic expression occurs, provided these conditions repeat themselves consistently enough. The rationale behind this method is that specific discourse functions predict specific contexts where the form would be useful" (Ariel 2008: 54).

What makes a conceptualisation of discourse as grammar so complex and multifaceted is the inherent open-endedness of discourse, which is not functionally equivalent to discourse being unpredictable. While written discourse is delimited by more or less clear-cut beginnings and ends, spoken discourse is a more open-ended endeavour. As regards contents, however, both modes of discourse realisation are prone to diverging degrees of topic drift and topic shift, and to different degrees of inexplicitness manifest in ellipsis and substitution, deixis and reference, discourse connectives, backchannels, and other cohesive devices playing an important role in the construal of texture. Furthermore, thematic structure and information structure contribute to the well-formedness of discourse, guiding the dynamic interplay between theme and rheme, topic and comment, and given and new, as is accounted for explicitly in functional grammar and systemic functional grammar (Halliday 1994; Lambrecht 1994). While discourse as a theoretical construct may be bounded, discourse use "creates formal hybrids, because it juggles a variety of motivations, which it may package together even in the absence of cognitive coherence behind the packaging" (Ariel 2008: 173).

Conceptualising discourse as grammar also involves the differentiation between a transactional use of language and its interactional use (Brown and Yule 1983). While the former deals with the informational content which is exchanged in communication, the latter is assigned the function of a dialogue manager, regarding interaction management, sequential organisation, interpersonal requirements and repair, to name but the most prominent ones. Discourse as grammar is both performance-based and social as well as competence-based and cognitive, because discourse (as a whole) is not a purely additive endeavour: a whole is always more than the sum of its parts. The parts-whole perspective on discourse has also relevant consequences for the status of semantics, which has often been restricted to lexical semantics and propositional semantics. Discourse semantics does not only require the accommodation of the semantics of parts, namely lexical units and propositions, but also for the nature of the connectedness between the individual parts and between the parts and the whole, as is done within rhetorical structure theory (Mann and Thompson 1988) and logics of conversation (Asher and Lascarides

2003). While the former examines the relation between nucleus and satellite, distinguishing between the semantics-based concept of subject matter and the pragmatics-based notion of presentational, the latter examines different types of coordinating and subordinating discourse relations, such as narration, background, result, continuation, parallel and contrast on the one hand, and elaboration, instance, explanation, precondition and commentary on the other.

Discourse as grammar is based on the premise that discourse is a hierarchically structured construct. To capture its complexity and multifaceted nature, a conceptualisation needs to accommodate discursive performance on the one hand, considering prototypical profiles as scalar concepts with best examples and more peripheral examples, and discursive competence on the other, taking into account discourse type and discourse function. To capture the dynamics and open-endedness of discourse, competence and performance need to be conceived of as interacting systems, allowing for more particularized or more context-dependent configurations and constraints, and for default or more generalized configurations and constraints.

In the following, contexts in discourse are examined, considering explicitly context-importation as well as context-invocation.

3.   Contexts in discourse

An analysis of discourse is connected intrinsically with an analysis of context: context is a constitutive part of discourse, and discourse is embedded in context. In pragmatics-based terminology, context is presupposed or imported, and co-constructed or invocated (Levinson 2003), and in interactional-sociolinguistic terms, context is brought into discourse and context is brought out in discourse (Gumperz 1992). Because of their multifaceted nature and inherent complexity, both discourse and context can no longer be considered analytic primes but rather are seen from a parts-whole perspective as entities containing sub-entities and as entities contained in super-entities.

In discourse, context is imported through conventional means and through particularized context-dependent means. Prototypical representatives of context importation are person deixis, time deixis, place deixis, discourse deixis and social deixis. Person deixis is concerned with discourse-internal and discourse-external participants. Time deixis deals with discourse-internal and discourse-external time, for instance coding time and receiving time, and metalinguistic tense and language tense. Place deixis is concerned with discourse-internal and discourse-external location and the corresponding personal, social and cultural attitudes connected with location. Discourse deixis considers the structure and sequential organization of discourse as well as discourse coherence, e.g. discourse markers and other cohesive devices. Social deixis is concerned with social relations, e.g.,

terms of endearment and honorifics. Naturally, these deictic devises are context-dependent and dynamic, which is why the domains of references for time, location and person change in accordance with their local and global contexts of use. This is particularly true for the discourse-internal and discourse-external participants' footings (Goffman 1981), their typed social identities and roles (Van Dijk 2009), and their social and interpersonal relations. The concept of footing deals with the nature of involvement and participation in interaction, which is not a simple either/or affair in which one party speaks, while the other party listens. There are varying degrees of participation: speakers may take up different footings in relation to their own remarks, which may be variously described as *animator*, *author* and *principal*. Thus, whereas the animator is the person who actually utters the words, the author is seen as the "author of the words that are heard, i.e. someone who has selected the sentiments that are being expressed and the words in which they are encoded" (Goffman 1981: 144). The principal is "someone whose position is established by the words spoken, someone whose beliefs have been told, someone who is committed to what the words say" (Goffman 1981: 144). Prototypical representatives of non-conventional means are contextualisation cues, namely indexical tokens whose context-dependent meaning, including the contexts imported and invoked through them, is calculated against the background of their co-occurrence with other semiotic and linguistic devices.

Contextualisation has been assigned the status of a basic premise in natural-language communication (Gumperz 1992, 1996; Levinson 2003) and there also is a basic premise for discourse, enriching inexplicit forms and contents by assigning values to indexical tokens. This is usually done through conversational inference (Grice 1975; Levinson 1995; Gumperz 1996). Discourse analysis, interactional sociolinguistics and sociopragmatics differentiate between the (socio)cognitive operation of global inference anchored to discourse genre or activity type (Levinson 1979; Prevignano and di Luzio 2003) and local inference as described by the Gricean conversational implicature. Against this background, Heritage's groundbreaking observation stating that the production of talk is "doubly contextual" (Heritage 1984: 242), that is an utterance relies upon the existing context for its production and interpretation, and it is, in its own right, an event that shapes a new context for the action that will follow, is also of great importance to discourse analysis. This is because discourse contains context and is at the same time contained in context. But what kind of context does the observation above refer to?

The multilayered outlook on context invites for an integrated or eclectic frame of investigation while at the same time carrying the risk of messy methodology. This also holds for discourse analysis, a field of research, which is almost impossible to assign clear-cut boundaries, as is also stated by Blommaert (2005: 17): "Perhaps the most crucial problem in our field is that which defines our tradition: the relationship between linguistic forms – 'text' – and *context*". Against this background, the most appropriate delimitation is a functional one: context is conceived as a frame of ref-

erence whose job it is to frame content by delimiting the content while at the same time being framed and delimited by less immediate adjacent frames. This also holds for discourse whose job it is to frame content by delimiting the content while at the same time being framed and delimited by less immediate discourse, as is demonstrated quite persuasively by critical-discourse-analytic concepts of interdiscursivity, genre chains and chains of texts (Fairclough 2003). The nature of the connectedness between the different frames in both context and discourse is a structured whole composed of interconnected frames (Goffman 1986). The gestalt-psychological *figure-ground* scenario prevails in psychological perspectives on context, and it also holds for discourse analysed within a parts-whole scenario. A further classification of context is anchored to a holistic conception of context embedding its constitutive parts of model user, conversational contribution, surroundings and their presuppositions, namely cognitive context, linguistic context and social context (Fetzer 2002, 2004, 2012). This can also felicitously be applied to discourse.

Linguistic context comprises language use and is delimited by the constraints and requirements of genre, which is a discourse-analytic concept and frame of investigation par excellence (cf. also Tardy and Swales, this volume). Language is composed of linguistic constructions (or parts) embedded in adjacent linguistic constructions (further parts), composing a whole clause, sentence, utterance, turn or text. Linguistic context is functionally synonymous to co-text (Widdowson 2004), denoting a relational construct composed of local and global adjacency relations.

Cognitive context is the foundation on which inference and other forms of reasoning are based, and thus is indispensable for the interpretation of language and other semiotic codes. Constitutive elements of cognitive context are mental representations, propositions, contextual assumptions and factual assumptions. Since cognitive contexts are anchored to an individual but are also required for a cognitively based outlook on discourse and communication, they need to contain assumptions about mutual cognitive environments. Thus, cognitive context is not only defined by representations but also by meta-representations. In the social-psychological paradigm, cognitive context is conceptualised along the lines of the gestalt-psychological distinction between figure and ground and the related meta-communicative concepts of frame and framing (Bateson 1972; Goffman 1986). Frame is seen as a delimiting device, which "is (or delimits) a class or set of messages (or meaningful actions)" (Bateson 1972: 187). Because of its delimiting function, "psychological frames are exclusive, i.e. by including certain messages (or meaningful actions) within a frame, certain other messages are excluded" and they are "inclusive, i.e. by excluding certain messages certain others are included" (Bateson 1972: 187). This also holds for context and discourse which, analogously to frame, are also structured and meta-communicative.

Social context comprises the context of a communicative exchange and is defined by deducting linguistic context and cognitive context from a holistic conception of context. Constituents of social context are, for instance, users, the immedi-

ate concrete, physical surroundings including time and location, and the macro-contextual institutional and non-institutional domains.

Because of their multifaceted nature and complexity, context and discourse can no longer be looked upon as analytic primes but rather need to be seen as a multi-layered parts-whole configuration. That is, context contains sub-contexts and discourse contains sub-discourses, and sub-contexts instantiate context and sub-discourses instantiate discourse. To capture the interactive and dynamic nature of context and discourse, an integrated approach informed by linguistics, psychology, sociology and cultural studies is required. Only then is it possible to cross and transcend disciplinary boundaries and account for the inherently unbounded theoretical constructs, which may become bounded when instantiated.

4.   Outlook

A conceptualisation of discourse within a clearly delimited frame of reference seems to be an almost impossible endeavour. This is not only due to its inherent dynamism and complex, multi-faceted nature. It is also due to its parts – whole configuration and the often-repeated truism that a whole is more than the sum of its parts. For discourse this means that there are an almost infinite number of options available to order the constitutive parts of discourse, e.g. contributions, utterances, sentences or turns – or on a higher level, opening and closing sections and topical sections – to compose a whole. Moreover, discourse is more than a structural configuration composed of individual parts. It is also the ordering of the individual parts and their semantics, which contribute to the richness and diversity of discourse. In general, the number of constitutive parts is delimited by the frame of genre, but the sequencing of the parts leaves space for manoeuvring.

Discourse is a theoretical concept which underlies abstract rules and regularities, and it is a concrete construct performed in actual contexts. The fruitful interplay between theory and practice is reflected in the application of discourse analysis to political, social and institutional domains within different social contexts, enriching and refining conceptualisations of discourse while at the same time optimising performance. The methodological tools employed in discourse analysis have been used very frequently and with good success in the heterogeneous field of education and in the health service, in business communication and in the legal context, and in intercultural communication (cf., e.g., Yang and Walsh; Martin; Johnson, this volume). Furthermore, it has been applied to media discourse and political discourse. The linguistic turn and the performative turn in the social sciences have made discourse analysis an invaluable tool for the examination of identity, identity construction and embodiment, e.g. gender, ethnicity or age, of power, symbolic power, ideology and control, as well as of conversational style and computer-mediated communication (cf., e.g., Locher, this volume).

Discourse analysis has its roots in a combination of critical-dialectical and phe-
nomenological-hermeneutic approaches. It provides a versatile frame of reference
without methodological rigidity, allowing for the explicit accommodation of a
multitude of features as well as for their possible interactions. The deliberate inter-
disciplinary perspective on discourse makes it possible to reflect on the manifold
functions, communicative and social practices of communication as well as on the
analysis of verbal, written and visual communication. Because of its dialectical
connectedness with culture and society, and because of ever-changing social and
cultural contexts, discourse analysis is an open-ended endeavour, prone to hybrid-
ity and other cultural artefacts.

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Part I
Approaches to discourse

3. The emergence of discourse analysis as a disciplinary field: philosophical, pedagogic and linguistic approaches*

Willis J. Edmondson

This introductory chapter will reconstruct some aspects of the development of what we now call discourse analysis by viewing and contrasting philosophical, pedagogic and linguistic analyses of language behaviours which have contributed in different ways to the field as we now know it. The focus will be on developments which occurred roughly in the nineteen seventies, when, we might say, discourse analysis began to expand enormously in terms of research, study, publications and teaching programmes.

The term "discourse analysis" will be used initially in a very broad sense to designate the analysis of interactive language use in social contexts. This definition will be made more precise in the following exposition. A simplistic comparison with the analysis of other aspects of language is shown in Table 1.

Table 1. Approaches to the study of language

Linguistic grammar [– suprasentential], [–use], [–language as action]
Text grammars [+suprasentential], [–use], [–language as action]
Speech-act analysis [– suprasentential] [+use], [+ language as action]
Discourse analysis [+ suprasentential], [+use], [+ language as *inter*action]
(Adapted from Edmondson 1981: 4–5).

It is conceded that these category assignments are rather simplistic, and somewhat forced as binary choices. In particular, the descriptive contrast [+/–suprasentential] might be adequate to distinguish between a linguistic grammar and a text grammar in the period under scrutiny, but the use of this variable to distinguish between the analysis of speech acts and the analysis of discourse is less appropriate, as an identifiable discourse unit is not necessarily longer than a sentence – take the familiar case in which an exchange in the classroom consists of two elements: the first is the utterance "Quiet!" and the second is the cessation of talk on the part of the addressed pupils. This seems quite clearly an instance of language interaction, but can scarcely be called a suprasentential stretch of language. Therefore "other than the sentence" is to be preferred to the phrase "suprasentential". However, it is suggested that essential differences between different linguistic agendas before and during the spread of discourse analysis in the 1970s are captured in Table 1.

1.   What is discourse? Conceptual aspects

From this table we can then derive a view of discourse as interaction, whereby structure and use both play a role. It is however true, of course, that the number of definitions of discourse analysis on offer is in between times legion (cf. also Fetzer, this volume). The parameters I have just outlined tend however to re-occur. Let me take just one example. The model of language proposed by Martin and Rose 2003 is, we read, concerned with "the semantics of discourse" (Martin and Rose 2003: 3), a rather odd concatenation in itself, and covers grammar, discourse and social context as language "levels", while social context – the last listed level – functions to "enact our relationships", "represent our experience", and "organise discourse as meaningful text". For my purposes in this paper this characterisation is in principle compatible with the discourse perspective to be developed here, save that discourse as a "level" which is "organised" to become meaningful via social context seems a slightly bizarre formulation from my perspective. As far as I am concerned, without such organisation the discourse cannot be said to exist. The perspectives in this model seem appropriate, the packaging idiosyncratic. However, essentially, the model proposed by Martin and Rose is compatible with the view of discourse proposed here. Some necessary, if obvious, consequences can be proposed already.

It sometimes needs stressing that in order to analyse what occurs inside a discourse, issues and happenings additional to the actual linguistic items expressed may well be relevant. For example, aspects of language performance such as confidence in voicing, speed of delivery, spoken accent or accents, and so on may be relevant to the interpretation of that which is said, and non-linguistic behaviours too may necessarily be invoked in the analyses – behaviours ranging from a smile, a bow of the head, a grimace, silence (as in the classroom example above), to the handing over of cash or the thrust of a dagger. The focus in this paper will be on *spoken* as opposed to written discourse, and this generally means that more than one participant is involved in the construction of that discourse. Hence in Table 1 above it is claimed that discourse analysis is not simply a view of language as "action", but a view of language as "interaction". Indeed, even in the case of for example a lecture, where usually members of the audience do not actively contribute to that event verbally, and in this sense do not participate in the discourse, the event itself is clearly interactive, in the sense that the lecturer addresses his or her audience on the basis of a set of beliefs about their beliefs. The discourse is built up interactively, even if only one speaker is engaged in discourse production. Indeed, we may in this sense still have a form of spoken interaction, without the physical presence of the audience, as when a lecturer practises his or her oratory in front of a mirror, or records himself or herself on video for transmission to a conference at which this video will be displayed. This is still interactional behaviour in that it is being rehearsed or recorded or "practised" as an interactional event.

The example of a lecturer addressing himself or herself in front of a mirror leads further to a view of *writing* as a potentially interactive activity too, as the writer also has the task of anticipating the reaction of the reader, and editing his or her own text accordingly. Indeed this writer is now struggling to put across an idea in writing, and anticipating possible misunderstanding by trying to remove or at least reduce a certain lack of clarity in his or her formulations. Thus, of course, at this point in time, I do not know whether the text I am now writing will in fact remain in this form in this paper. So the process of writing is essentially a process of indirect discoursal communication.[1] It follows too that you – the reader – are (one hopes) reading with a purpose, and constructing sense on the basis of what you derive from this text in the light of that purpose, considering too the book in which this article is published, your interest in and familiarity with the topic, and so on. The term "discourse analysis" therefore refers to a mode of *analysis* rather than to a type of linguistic object, which is to be understood as a discourse.[2] The critical issue is not really what you analyse, but how you go about it.

The inclusion of written discourse as a potential subject for discourse analysis (whether from the author's or the reader's perspective, or from both) is not meant to suggest that there are not fundamental differences between spoken and written language behaviour. There are, of course. This is reflected for example in the fact that we are all native-speakers of at least one language, but none of us is a "native-writer" of any language, as there is no such thing as a basic "competence" in written language, and it is in fact of course only quite recently that humans have developed this habit of writing. Indeed, there are still many spoken languages for which there is no written form. Despite these differences between spoken and written language use, it can be claimed that discourse coherence in the written mode is essentially structured by the same mechanisms which govern spoken discourse interaction.[3] Indeed it is really rather difficult to see how this could be otherwise. This exposition will however focus on two-party face-to-face spoken discourse.

My title refers to philosophical, pedagogic and linguistic analyses of language behaviour, and I have already suggested in a rather subjective mode that the decade 1970 to 1980 was the period in which discourse analysis emerged strongly via developments inside these disciplines – I shall refer in fact quite specifically to the work of Austin and Searle inside linguistic philosophy, Flanders as an analyst of teacher and learner language behaviour in the classroom, and to Sinclair and Coulthard, who developed a more strictly linguistically-based discourse analytic system (the authors prefer to describe their work as sociolinguistic[4]), based in part on a Hallidayan model of linguistic structure. The focus in this paper will then be on developments in the late sixties and in the seventies – venturing into the eighties too with respect to some aspects of Edmondson (1981) in particular – implying that roughly inside these ten years or so there were these three initially to a large extent distinct and separate developments which were adapted, combined or recreated in different ways, contributing to the development of what we now understand as dis-

course analysis. This is not to imply that there is now total consensus as to what the term "discourse analysis" actually denotes, but simply that the term is very commonly and broadly used, and the relevant variables are those I have mentioned.[5]

The inclusion of early work on classroom discourse may require justification. Apart from the author's own interest in this domain, there are two reasons for considering the analysis of language use in the school classroom within this period in this particular study. Firstly, the analysis of classroom discourse was in fact widely pursued in the period under scrutiny quite independently of the work of linguistic philosophers such as Searle or early text/discourse linguists such as Halliday and Sinclair (see section 3 below). In fact Sinclair and Coulthard themselves note (1975: 15) that analytic systems based on the work of Flanders (the authors refer to Flanders 1965) had at that time already been used in "literally hundreds of independent studies". Indeed, as we shall see, it can be argued that compared with the Flanders system, speech act theory, which was embraced so enthusiastically inside some strands of language teaching research in the seventies and eighties was in fact a step *backwards*, compared with systems based on Flanders, as the focus in speech act theory was clearly on the analysis of isolated speech acts, independently of any communicative, interactive, or pedagogic purpose. However the system of Flanders did seek to analyse classroom interaction, and was based on the hypothesis that the nature of the interaction that goes on in the classroom strongly influences learning outcomes.

A further reason for focussing on the use of language in the classroom is that the linguistically-based discourse analysis system of Sinclair and Coulthard (1975) – which we shall also look at in some detail – in fact analyses classroom data, even though the authors had no research goals specific to that social situation. Their clear goal was to develop as far as possible a linguistically-based descriptive system for the analysis of talk. The focus on classroom discourse was purely facultative: "With these and many other problems inherent in conversation we decided it would be more productive to begin again with a more simple type of spoken discourse, one which has much more overt structure, where one participant has acknowledged responsibility for the direction of the discourse, for deciding who shall speak when, and for introducing and ending topics" (Sinclair and Coulthard 1975: 6). Well, we know who that is, don't we! Ergo: the classroom! Two interesting questions arise: whether and to what extent the analytic model developed by Sinclair and Coulthard for classroom discourse is in fact descriptively insightful for this specific discourse type, and whether and how far the model is descriptively appropriate for other types of discourse also. In general, the answer has to be "not really" in both instances.

2.   Illocutionary acts and discourse analysis

As stated above, the work of Austin and Searle will be reviewed in terms of its contribution to the development of discourse analysis. The traditional notion of language from a philosophical view was, we may say, that nouns designate objects, ideas or some such interesting theoretical construct, while sentences designate, portray, represent, constitute (some other verb might be appropriate) propositions, truth values, or some other variable inside a philosophical system. We celebrate the work of Austin and Searle in that they broke out of this framework, and recognised that some sentences (we would rather say utterances) do not describe or designate facts, but manufacture them – they are performative utterances or "speech acts".

However, Austin and Searle were by no means the first linguistic philosophers to view speech activity as a way of achieving facts, rather than simply reporting them – a way of "doing things with words". For example, Thomas Reid in the chapter "On the Structure of Speech" in his *Brief Account of Aristotle's Logic*, a work first published in 1774, remarks of Aristotle that he observes justly that "besides that kind of speech called a *proposition*, which is always either true or false, there are other kinds which are neither true nor false, such as a prayer or a wish; to which we may add, a question, a command, a promise, a contract, and many others" (Stewart 1822, vol. 1: 92).

Reid did not develop a systematic theory of speech acts, but references to what closely resemble speech act categories such as *question*, *acceptance*, *testimony*, *promise, command, contracting*, *threatening*, *supplicating*, *bargaining*, *declaring*, etc. abound in his extensive writings, and these activities are sometimes called "social operations", and on other occasions "social acts". We discover in his collected essays on the *Active Power of the Human Mind* a rather striking example of doing things with words: "The command of a mighty prince, what is it, but the sound of his breath, codified by his organ of speech? But it may have great consequences; it may raise armies, equip fleets, and spread war and desolation over a great part of the earth" (Stewart 1822, vol. 3: 38). We also read that "The expression of a question, of a command, or of a promise, is as capable of being analyzed as a proposition is; but we do not find that this has been attempted" (Stewart 1822, vol. 2: 384).[6] Indeed, we apparently had to wait nearly 200 years before an attempt to do so was made, which received academic acclaim outside philosophy. For example, a much more recent parallel to the work of Austin on speech acts was the work of Karl Bühler (e.g. Bühler 1934). This volume is replete with the terms *Sprechhandlung* and *Sprachtheorie*: the table of contents even contains the category *Theorie der Sprechakte*.

In other words, we may say that speech act theory was in the air, waiting to be developed, as it were. It was not new with Austin, and even less so with Searle. What some future historian will doubtless explore is the question why in the period

which I focus on here, developments in the social, discursive and interactional use of language were so intensively pursued, when the insights supporting such a development were already so to speak available, and readily accessible.

2.1.   Doing things with John Austin

Austin initially distinguished between performative sentences or utterances and propositional ones, whereby the performatives consisted of the act of saying (the locutionary act), the act of performing a speech activity (the illocutionary act), and the act of achieving an intended effect associated with that performative act (the perlocutionary act). Two important developments followed. Firstly, he soon realized that all utterances constitute speech acts, having locutionary, illocutionary and perlocutionary values – the performative speech acts are simply special instances of a general phenomenon. The second implicit development was that speech acts are in fact interactive achievements. This follows from Austin's attempt to associate the perlocutionary consequence with the illocutionary act. In fact, this did not really work satisfactorily on either a theoretical or a descriptive level in Austin's work, as perlocutionary effect and perlocutionary intent were conflated, such that perlocutionary intention is indistinct from illocutionary intent, and the perlocutionary effect of an utterance cannot be claimed to be part of that speech activity, though Austin sought to view it as such. However, this wrestling with perlocutionary consequence meant that the theory of speech acts behind his work proposed at least implicitly that speech acts be seen as interactive events, and not merely speaker-related illocutionary happenings.

His perception of the perlocution as part of the speech act led to Austin's worrying over dialogic sequences in which the addressee responds by refuting or denying the acceptability of the proposed perlocutionary effect, most obviously (in Austin's terms) by refuting a presupposition behind the alleged explicit performative:

(1) Imagine children setting up sides in a street game:
    A: I pick George
    B: Not playing!
(2) A: I bet you 10 dollars
    B: No chance.
(3) X: Do you, A, take B to be your lawfully married wife?
    A: I do
    X: And do you, B, take A to be your lawfully married husband?
    Y: No I do not – only came here to annoy him!
(The first two examples are from Austin 1976: 238: the third is fabricated on the basis of the discussion in Edmondson 1981: 27).

It can be argued that speaker A in (1) does in fact select George – this "speech act" in Austinian terms is not invalidated by the fact that B does not cooperate. If how-

ever A says "I pick George", unaware of the fact that George is not present, and is not able to play on that day, then one could rightly say that the illocutionary act has failed to materialize. In (2) and (3) A's allegedly performative utterances do not work simply because placing a bet or entering into a marriage commonly require cooperation from at least one other social member, and in most cultures at least this cooperation has to be verbal. The point of interest here is that Austin wrestled with such cases, in which quite obviously the isolated notion of the speech act does not and cannot be accredited with what it is supposed to achieve, as social interaction is not built into the speech act system as Austin conceived it.

Two final points regarding Austin's work – he made no serious attempt to classify speech acts, and relied heavily on the English verb system to identify members of this category, suggesting in fact that over a thousand verbs of English denote illocutionary acts (Austin 1962: 149)! Secondly, he saw quite clearly that cognitive states are irrelevant for the determination of illocutionary force: "[…] the one thing we must not suppose is that what is needed in addition to the saying of the words in such cases is the performance of some internal spiritual act, of which the words then are to be the report" (Austin 1970: 236).

2.2.   Speech acting with John Searle

This practical perspective contrasts with the elaborate argument Searle pursues regarding the relevance of sincerity in the execution of speech activity. What, he asks, are the necessary and sufficient conditions for the act of promising to be achieved through the performance of a particular utterance? In fact, Searle distinguishes between a "sincere" promise (S intends to do P) and the non-sincere case in which the speaker "takes responsibility for having the intention" to do A, but may not actually have that intention (Searle 1969: 57–64). So he eventually does not require that the promise is given with sincerity, but that the speaker is prepared to be held responsible for having such sincerity. In fact, this does not help overcome the objection of Austin mentioned above to the effect that mental states (or indeed spiritual acts) are essentially irrelevant, as "taking responsibility" is not all that distant from the spiritual act that Austin scoffs. There is in fact an interplay between the interactive location of a performatively adequate "promise", and the resulting discourse outcome, which may or may not contain the content of that promise. Thus, if I drop something valuable belonging to a friend, and immediately apologise, and promise to replace the damaged item via an utterance of the form "I promise I will do P", the illocution is rather an offer than a promise, in that the addressee may emphatically reject the "promise". This seems to confuse illocution with performative uptake and the exchange may well finish without any type of behavioural commitment or "promise" emerging.

However, Searle pursues the task of identifying and classifying illocutionary acts with considerable precision, though in fact his categories rely heavily on those

proposed by Austin. There is, writes Searle, "a rather limited number of basic things we can do with language: we tell people how things are, we try to get them to do things, we commit ourselves to doing things, we express our feelings and attitudes, and we bring about changes through our utterances" (Searle 1976: 22–3). In fact, in this broad categorisation Searle is restricting himself to potentially per-formative cases – he makes no attempt of course to test out the adequacy of these broad categories with regard to how in fact speech acts are carried out. This focus on illocutions executed by so-called performative utterances containing so-called performative verbs means for the purposes of discourse analysis that the range of language behaviours covered by Searle's categories is highly selective. For example, ritualised expressions such as "not at all", "don't mention it", or "my pleasure", which would seem on the face of it to be clear examples of fixed expres-sions which carry out specific speech functions escape Searlian categories, essen-tially because there is no speech act verb available in English to describe such speech activities.

The reason is not hard to find. Searle is not seeking to develop a system for the analysis of spoken discourse, he is seeking to categorise a set of phenomena in lan-guage which clearly extend beyond traditional notions such as stating truthhoods. It is moreover not the case that Searle is concerned to capture all possible speech acts that may be performed in the English language. He is interested in speech acts as language, not as categories which in combination will enable the description of a particular language: "Illocutions are a part of language as opposed to a particular language", we read – inside "linguistic philosophy" one is "concerned only inci-dentally with particular elements in a particular language" (Searle 1979: 2).

This explains why ritualised speech acts in English such as the ones I men-tioned above are of no interest for Searle[7], and why his focus is on speech acts for which a performative verb exists, though I know of no studies which investigate how far performative verbs like the ones Searle investigates for English are in fact available in all other languages.

One theory distinguishing universal and language/culture-specific aspects of discourse interaction is tentatively developed in Edmondson (1990). The theory puts forward four levels which it is claimed underpin any instance of discourse. Level 1 is biological, and focusses on the deep-seated tension between individual and social drives. Noli me tangere and Come together! Self versus Other as opposed to Self via Other. At this level, some basic interactional structures can be posited, as they can be discovered in many other animal species, and in other semiotic sys-tems than language. The tied-pair of ethnomethodological infamy is the most sim-plistic example. Level 2 was named sociolinguistic. Here we have the assumption that language, a unique characteristic of the species we belong to, has been devel-oped – amongst other things, possibly – to serve and reconcile the biological drives operating at level 1. An important fact at this second universal level is that we can talk about talk. At this broad sociolinguistic level, the claim is not that things like

Suggestions, Offers, Requests, Apologies and so on are universal categories of "speech acts" or speaker meanings, but that speaker meanings derived from universal perceptual distinctions, fulfilling biologically-based needs, will be of interactional significance in any speech community. The third level is interactional. At this level very broadly-based constraints on human interaction operate. Roughly, the idea is that level 1 gives us biological constraints and goals. Level two gives us some requisite discourse outcomes, together with some communicative categories needed in order to reach them, while level 3 concerns general rules which operate when these outcomes are sought. It is a question of performance. This is then the level at which Conversational Maxims, theories of Politeness or a theory of Relevance operate. It is very broadly-based, and concerns essentially the ways in which the universally-relevant categories and/or outcomes at level 2 can be realised linguistically (or indeed by other communicative means). Finally, at level 4 we arrive at culturally institutionalised speech activity. Just as different discourse conventions hold in different institutionalised contexts inside one culture, whether national, linguistic or professional, so do discourse conventions vary between cultures. It is all too often at this level that universals are implicitly or explicitly proposed, when they in fact do not operate. At this level too changes over time may occur. For example in Edmondson (1981) it was claimed that there is no speech-act verb in English to cover the case in which the speaker draws attention to good things he or she has achieved in the past, and commendable aspects of his or her personality and behaviour. I suggested Boasting or Self-praise, in order to capture the intended sense, and suggested that such behaviour was not socially licensed and clearly flouted a *hearer-support/speaker-underplay* maxim. If this ever was the case, however, at the time it was suggested, it seems not to be the case now. For example, the opposite seems to be de rigueur in job applications. Verbal self-display rituals are quite common in many cultures, too, and common in non-human animal kingdoms also. Further, I suggest too that some conventions holding for verbal and written *internet* communication are specific to this communication mode, and would be assigned to level 4 inside this model.

The issue raised here relates also to the question of translatability – it seems obvious that the translator faces real problems regarding the translation of level 4 phenomena, problems which perhaps require an explanatory footnote in the case of an overt translation, or a quite radical change of text via additions or deletions in the case of a covert translation.[8]

From the perspective of discourse analysis, therefore, the limitations of Searle's approach to speech acts are its limited descriptive adequacy, pragmatic breadth, and empirical support. Other criticisms mentioned above are the isolation of individual speech behaviours with little or no contextual adjustment[9], no theoretical account as to why some segments of language behaviour are labelled as speech acts while others are not, and – a critical point for the view of discourse suggested above – in general a lack of consideration of reactive or responsive behaviours.

It should be recognised however that Searle has expanded the views developed in Searle (1979), discussing his own theory of speech acts in the context of conversation, for example: "Why can't we have an account of conversation that parallels our account of other linguistic phenomena, such as the grammatical structure of sentences or the intentional structure of speech acts?", he asks (Searle 1992: 137). He does not provide an answer, but puts forward the interesting idea of "collective intentionality", which I understand as implying some universals underpinning the nature and structure of interactive discourse (Searle 1992: 137–138). The notion of interactional structure inside a turn at talk is also touched on via the suggestion that an illocution "can itself be made up of subsidiary illocutionary acts" (Searle 1992: 140).

3.   Feedback with Flanders

Sinclair and Coulthard suggest that Flanders (1970) is focussed on "what teachers say inside the classroom and the consequences for pupil achievement and involvement" (Sinclair and Coulthard 1975: 15). This is in part true, but unlike the more philosophical approaches to speech activity discussed so far, Flanders developed a system for analysing classroom behaviour as interaction – the *focus* may be on what teachers say, but what *pupils* say is also recorded inside the system. If there are more interactional categories for teachers, and if teacher activities dominate the data, this apparently reflects the way classroom interaction occurred at the time the system was developed, and the view of classroom interaction and desirable teaching methodology then held.

The underlying assumption behind the system for the analysis of classroom interaction is essentially behaviouristic: teachers pose questions (the stimuli), to which pupils provide answers (they give responses), which the teacher then designates as correct or incorrect (this move constitutes feedback), and this interactional sequence (S-R-F) underpins the learning opportunities offered in the classroom environment. However, other moves or activities are also charted in Flanders' system – clearly (and rather trivially) teachers can for example simply provide Information without Stimulus-Response antecedents. Moreover Praise, Criticism and various kinds of affective teaching behaviours are recorded also.[10]

However the structured S-R-F units and the affective categories do not cohere inside the analytic system. Thus members of the S-R-F triad are identified through their *structural* function, to which didactic functions are assigned, while affective didactic behaviours are presented as sui generis, with no structural identification. Thus "asking questions" is a category in itself, but it is specified that the question will be about "content or procedures, based on teacher ideas, with the intent that the pupil will answer". Other possible teacher questions are not mentioned. It is therefore difficult to see where other types of teacher query or question can be located inside this categorial system. For example, if the teacher "accepts feeling",

"praises or encourages", and even "accepts or uses ideas of pupils" (these are categories 1, 2, and 3 in Flanders' system), it is more than plausible that elicitations or questions would surface in such types of teacher behaviour, showing acceptance, praise or encouragement ("Really, what happened next?", "What did you do?", "Really! When did this happen?"). Requestive teacher behaviour might also occur, designed to elicit more information ("Tell us more").

One important feature of Flanders' system is that it was meant to be used – i.e. classroom behaviours were empirically observed, and the system was so conceived that records could be constructed in situ using it. The observational system was time-based, i.e. classroom teaching is broken down into a sequence of behaviours observed let us say every three seconds (the observers did in fact carry appropriate timing devices). The behaviours observed were noted on prepared charts such that typical interactional sequences emerged. Trainee teachers, students, and teachers were apparently enabled via practice and notes on usage to overcome categorisation problems with little difficulty. The goal was to assess which types of interaction in this sense are most conducive to effective classroom learning. How this was to be calculated is uncertain.

Clearly, the categories in this observational system are themselves based on an implicit theory of language acquisition and of classroom interaction, while the inclusion of emotive categories such as the teacher offering Praise or Encouragement or the exercise of Teacher Authority implicitly suggest such affective aspects of classroom interaction may affect learning.

The behaviour of the learners is however seen as almost purely reactive, and the interactive slots they may occupy most commonly derive directly from teacher behaviours. Of the ten major types of classroom behaviour seven are assigned to the teacher, and two to the pupils (whereby one of these is strictly reactive: "Freedom to express own ideas is limited"). Thus we have just one category for pupil content initiatives – pupils express their own ideas, initiate a new topic, or "ask thoughtful questions going beyond the existing structure". It is incidentally interesting that the system contains no teacher initiation which is intended to *elicit* such pupil behaviours. Category 10 bears the title "Silence or confusion" – an indirect tribute to the trials of empirical work, perhaps.

A final criticism of this system is that for the purposes of empirical analysis, the users had to be "trained" beforehand – which could well be taken to mean that the system's own interpretation of classroom behaviours had to be acquired and imposed, such that essentially the system itself pre-determines modes of teacher behaviour, and thereby predetermines which results can be arrived at.

Two highly positive facts about this discourse analytic system should however also be stressed. Firstly, it was intended to be empirically used, and practically useful, which the extent of its use suggests was in fact the case. Secondly, the observational categories sought to combine linguistic categories, content categories, speaker categories, and affective dimensions of interaction too.

4.   Moving towards discourse analysis with Sinclair and Coulthard

Sinclair and Coulthard gently comment on the system of Flanders by saying that for them it was "not sufficiently consistent". They themselves aspire to develop a system inside which the categories used "have a direct grammatical realisation and discourse function" (Sinclair and Coulthard 1975: 15).

Their primary concern is therefore linguistic, and they are concerned to relate grammatical forms and discourse functions as explicitly as possible. Indeed they felt it was necessary at that time to justify the use of a non-linguistic category – the Act I thought it was intended to be a linguistic category – as a unit of discourse analysis, and to justify thereby the notion of a distinctive *discourse* perception of language – why cannot discourse be described as a hierarchical system of clauses and other grammatical categories? Eventually, however, they set up a hierarchy composed of Acts, Moves, Exchanges and Transactions, which combine into lessons. The descriptive system is a hierarchical rank-system à la Halliday, such that Acts combine to form different Moves which in combination build different types of Exchanges, which build up Transactions, of which Lessons are composed. For the lesson, however, the authors simply posit an open structure made up of a series of Transactions. They concede however that even inside the domain of classroom discourse different "styles of discourse" may be found, such that descriptive categories are not necessarily appropriate and relevant for all data. We read "it is possible in theory for two discourse types to contain no common category" (Sinclair and Coulthard 1975: 123). The authors do however manage to a large extent to deal successfully with the rather hidebound instances of classroom interaction in this study, even if some of the categories proposed are not totally convincing, as I shall seek to illustrate.[11]

The major achievement of the authors is however that this linguistic focus is retained, in that at each Rank in the hierarchical system elements of Structure are proposed, which eventually lead in many cases at least to specific syntactic patterns, or indeed more or less fixed linguistic expressions. Leaving out the top Rank of the Lesson, we arrive at the level of Transactions. A Transaction consists of a Preliminary exchange, one or more Medial exchanges, and, optionally, a concluding Terminal exchange. The link with the next Rank (the Exchange) is mediated through Classes of Exchange. The Preliminary and Terminal structures are realized via Boundary exchanges, the Medial element (or elements) via Teaching exchanges. All this can be understood as saying that the teacher conducting a lesson phase will introduce it, carry it out, and then possibly explicitly say it is finished. Moving down to Rank 3, two Moves are possible for the Boundary Exchange – Framing and Focussing, and these terms also describe the Moves used to realize these structures. The Teaching Exchange is essentially a S-R-F structure, where the terms Initiation (realised by an Opening Move), Response (an optional Answering move) and Feedback (realised by an optional Follow-up move) substitute for the

behaviouristic terms. A teaching exchange can thus consist simply of an Initiation, of an Initiation followed by an Answering move, an Initiation followed by a Follow-up, or an Initiation followed by both an Answering and a Follow-up move – this last option matches the Stimulus-Response-Feedback sequence, of course. At the rank of Moves, the categories multiply in number. For example, the Follow-up may be realised by any ordered combination of acts of Acceptance, Evaluation and Comment, while the Opening Move may be made up of a Marker, a Starter, a new system operating as Head of the Opening move, which may be an Elicitation, a Directive, an Informative or a Check, after which a further choice operates for the Post-head – Prompt and Cue are its members – and finally a Select Exchange is embedded, whereby an optional Nomination may be preceded by a pupil Bid, which itself may be elicited by a Teacher Cue. Of all these classes of Act composing the opening Move, only a member of the class of Head acts is obligatory. Another system is embedded here, embracing a choice between Elicitation, Directive, Informative, and Check. The Check is a special case, whereby the teacher checks individuals (or the class) to ascertain whether they have difficulties, or are ready to proceed, and the like.

These categories and the structures posited will be readily interpretable to those familiar with classroom discourse. The purpose of this truncated exposition is to illustrate the relative complexity of the system, but to show further how closely the behavioural categories used match everyday pedagogic/didactic terms and functions.

What is original is the detailed exposition, and the fact that as far as possible all classroom activity is analysed, and indeed analysed linguistically: many Acts are realized by a closed set of linguistic forms – for example the authors claim that Elicitations are always realised by questions, Directives by commands, and Informatives by statements, but go on to observe that these three syntactic categories may be used for the realisation of other acts – for example a pupil Reply is often formulated as a question. Replies can also be realized by statements and non-verbals such as grunts and nods of the head. Here the attempt to describe categories of illocution and/or discourse linguistically (i.e. in this case syntactically) is clear. The function of a Reply we read (p. 42) is to "provide a linguistic response which is appropriate to the elicitation", which seems an odd formulation. It obviously (and trivially) excludes the Reply "Yes" in response to the Elicitation "Who wrote Lord of the Flies?", but does not help us understand why elicitations might evoke statements in one instance and questions in another. Intuitively it seems clear that the rising intonation in a pupil response (whether this is decisive in distinguishing a question from a statement is a question we can leave aside here) makes the responsive move also initiating – the learner is at the same time offering an answer, and requesting teacher feedback. The main problem here is in fact that the S-R-F phenomenon is accommodated inside the descriptive system with no special features or markings. It is as though we were to set up a sentence structure NP V (NP) (NP),

to cover intransitive and transitive verbs, and in the latter case, verbs that require both direct and indirect objects, with no accompanying semantic analysis of the relationships inside these syntactic structures.

On page 93 the teacher utterance "Yes. You're shouting out though" is classified as a Follow-up move, the Feedback element in a Teaching Exchange. This is not easy to understand. The acts available for a Follow-up move are Accept, Evaluate and Comment, all realised as statements, and all may co-occur in this order. Let us assume that the utterance "Yes" counts as an Accept. Therefore "You're shouting out though" is either an Evaluate or a Comment. However, the realisation possibilities for these (pp. 42–43) scarcely seem to fit the utterance "You're shouting out though". The Evaluate and the Comment are designed to address some pupil answer or verbal contribution to the class. Neither fits the teacher comment on shouting. Teachers seldom if ever for example simply offer a Comment on pupil shouting. The obvious interpretation is that the observation is a Directive inside the Sinclair and Coulthard's system. Indeed, by way of contrast, on page 94, the teacher utterance "Somebody's shouting out at the back", which again occurs immediately after the Follow-up of another Teaching Exchange, is analysed as the Opening of a further Teaching Exchange, is enacted as a Directive, and followed by a non-verbal Reaction on the part of the class. Presumably, one would think, if the second teacher utterance here is Directive, then the first is also. Such problems arise I suggest because there is a switch in these teacher turns from the content of the lesson to classroom behaviour. The analytic problem for Sinclair and Coulthard in these examples is, we might say, that the teacher shifts from one to the other inside one turn and (possibly) inside one move. One way of viewing the problem here is to accept that a teacher has different roles to play, the teacher performs in different discourse worlds, as it were. Shouting out in the classroom is essentially the same kind of event as an interruption by another teacher, students fainting or fighting, or engaging in any behaviour which the teacher thinks calls for disciplinary action. There are several similar problems of categorisation which emerge from the different roles teachers carry out simultaneously.

To summarise, the authors devote great attention to linking the structurally-related acts they develop with linguistic formulations ("realized by a closed set of items", "realized by statement, question, command, or moodless item" [Sinclair and Coulthard 1975: 41]). Their analysis of classroom behaviours as discourse is, however, open to criticism. It is ironic that the authors chose to analyse *classroom* discourse on the assumption that it was and is "a more simple type of spoken discourse", as cited above. In fact, I will suggest in the following section that this is in one sense true – teachers tend to dominate, there seem to be some fixed interactional sequences – but in another sense it is not at all true, as some discourse structures in the classroom are specific to this context, while other interactional structures found in classroom discourse are not. Sinclair and Coulthard collapse all

Teaching Exchanges under one head, allowing essentially pedagogic test questions (the infamous S of the S-R-F collocation) to be categorised (at the level of Teaching Exchange) with lecturing-style informing by the teacher, other informatory input the teacher might well choose to disclose, Directives, and Checks. Each has essentially different outcomes, and these could very well be viewed as elements in very different kinds of discourse event. Indeed, I shall suggest in the following section of this paper that Sinclair and Coulthard do not in fact analyse *discourse*, but discourse *interaction*, the reason being that their analyses do not distinguish between quite different kinds of classroom interaction, and do not always arrive at discourse outcomes.

However, in their chapter entitled "Recent Developments" the authors show themselves very open to further developments in the field, and are in part self-critical. In fact, they come to the conclusion that "the drift of our evidence is still against the likelihood of a useful concept of well-formedness in discourse, above the smallest units" (Sinclair and Coulthard 1975: 120). Despite this pessimism, the authors also take a step in the direction of suggesting interactional structures buried in single-source narratives. They specifically suggest that in broadcast interviews, in which individual guest speakers often take extensive turns, such "monologues"[12] often seem "in some way to parallel the structural features of the interaction" (Sinclair and Coulthard 1975: 118). This parallelism can of course be taken further to include many kinds of written language also.

5.   Discourse strategies and worlds

The present section of this introductory paper will summarise aspects of discourse which have been raised in the above discussion, and in doing so sketch extensions of the approaches discussed so far, specifically via the notions of discourse strategy and discourse worlds. The starting-point for this discussion will be aspects of Edmondson (1981), which attempted to detail a model of discourse analysis, based to a certain degree on a combination of speech act theory, and interaction structures of the kind developed in Sinclair and Coulthard's model.

5.1.   Discourse analysis: desiderata

A note first of all on the general goal or purpose of discourse analysis. I simply wish to suggest that a discourse analysis should specify discourse outcomes, however difficult it might be to meet this requirement. In other words, what, we might ask informally, emerges from the observed interaction? Thus we require an explicit description of interactional structure, which shows how interactional acts "fit together", and what emerges therefrom.[13] If we refer to the units of discourse behaviour such as those handled in speech act theory as *illocutionary acts*, and the dis-

course elements which combine as in Sinclair and Coulthard's system as *inter-actional acts*, what we need is I suggest both perspectives.

It is conceded that empirically it is all too often rather unclear as to what is actually happening in everyday talk, and what has been achieved when a conversational unit – maybe a total discourse – is over. My point is however that the analytic system has then to be able to make this uncertainty explicit, as it were. There are two main reasons for stressing this goal. Firstly, a theory of discourse that simply concerns itself with interactional structure is like a theory of grammar that embraces syntax but excludes semantics. Secondly, the central purpose of discourse is outcome: we engage in this activity under the illusion that important things may happen thereby – it is called communication. We assume that what we say matters – in personal relationships, in business transactions, and in legal, political and financial affairs of moment. Of course a discourse analyst cannot decide whether and how the discourse participants themselves actually interpret a piece of discourse, and whether and if so in precisely which sense what is said is meant (cf. the quotation from Austin 1970: 236 given above).

Restricting ourselves to spoken discourse with at least two participants, let us now define a discourse as a social event composed of illocutionary acts occurring in complex interactional structures inside one or more discourse worlds. The notion of a discourse world and the concept of discourse strategy will be briefly discussed in the following section, after which I shall finally try to illustrate them by some analyses of foreign language classroom discourse.

Let me however first of all briefly establish my own terms. To attempt to demonstrate the relative complexity of the system in Edmondson (1981) would be totally inappropriate here, but a brief outline of that model is useful for later purposes of exposition. Thus a communicative act is both an Interactional act and an Illocutionary act. Interactional acts relate to each other by definitions of interactional structures, to a certain extent as in Sinclair and Coulthard (Acts, Moves, Exchanges, Phases and Encounters build up in structural combinations). Exchange units are further so defined that they produce Outcome, and at higher levels of analysis (Phase, Encounter) exchange Outcomes are also related to one another. Thus the Outcome of a later Exchange may qualify a previous Outcome, or indeed annul it. Exchanges may be embedded one in another, and a single Exchange may continue over lengthy periods of time as the two interactants argue or negotiate some issue from different perspectives, before reaching agreement, agreeing to differ, or simply discontinuing. Such extensive discussion can however often be described in terms of quite simple linearly-related exchanges, whose outcomes are added to or modified via interaction.

The basic elements which are to be found in the structure of an Exchange are Proffer, Contra, Counter, and Satisfy, which may combine in various ways. Take for example the following three exchange structures between two interactants A and B:

(a)

Proffer	Satisfy
A	B

(b)

Proffer	Contra	Satisfy
A	B	A

(c)

Proffer	Counter	Satisfy	Satisfy
A	B	A	B
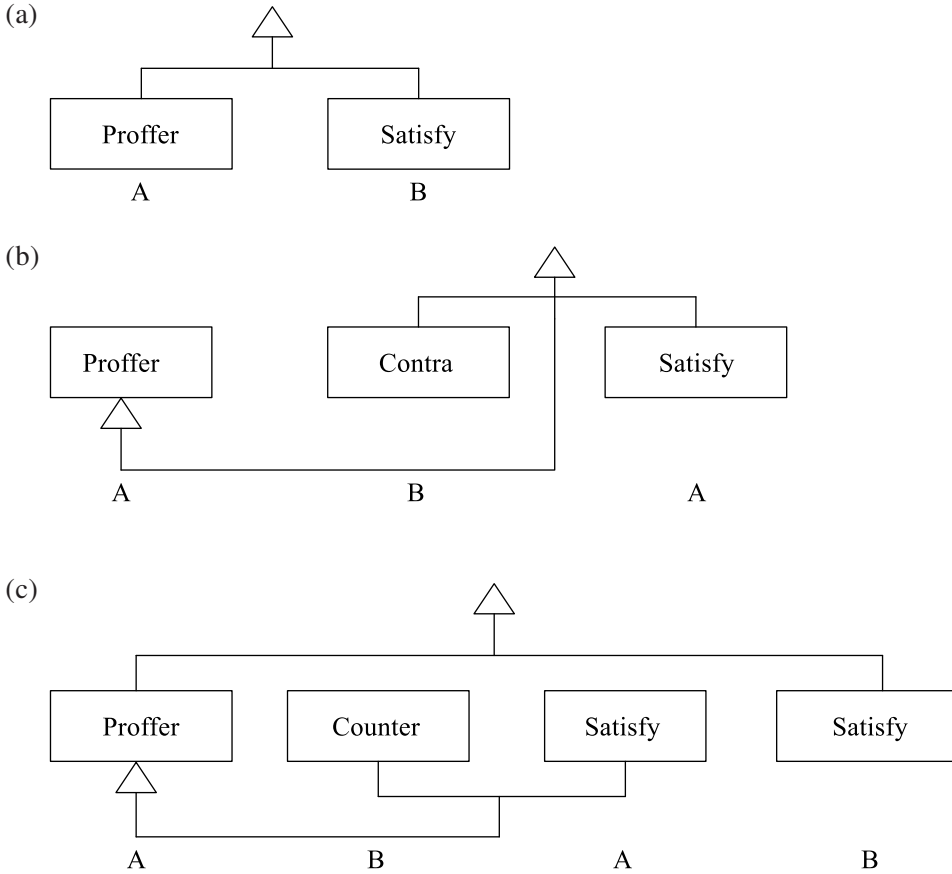
Sequence (a) is harmonious, and leads to a positive outcome. In Sequence (b) A in accepting B's Contra withdraws the original Proffer. There is no other outcome. In (c) an interactive Counter move occurs: it differs from a Contra purely in terms of its structural consequences. It may set conditions or qualifications on the initial Proffer, for example. If A accepts these, a successful outcome is already arrived at, and may be confirmed by B's following Satisfy, which in the above example links with the original Proffer, to which the content of the Satisfied Counter is added. There are many further different interactive sequences involving just these four interactive moves, and exchanges made up of these elements may be embedded in one another, chained in a sequence, and linked in other ways. The following examples respectively illustrate the three exchange structures in (a), (b) and (c).[14]

(1) A: Like to come to a party at my place tonight?
    B: Love to, thanks.

(2) A: Like to come to my party tomorrow night?
    B: Can't, I'm afraid. I've got something else on.
    A: Oh never mind. Some other time perhaps.

(3) A: Like to come to my party tomorrow night?
    B: What time is that?
    A: Eleven.
    B: Sure. Great. Thanks.

5.2.   Interactional strategies and discourse worlds

Two concepts which are central to human communication, and which also add to the complexity of discourse analytic procedures are the notions of interactional strategy, and discourse worlds. Both are of crucial importance, I will suggest in the following section, for the analysis of what goes on in foreign language classroom contexts.

The distinction between conversational rules and conversational strategies, between what interactants "know" and what they "do", between communicative and social competence is familiar (cf. Edmondson 1981: 7, and references therein). The definition of strategy being used here is interactive, and differs from the use of the term to refer to the degree of explicitness in the performance of a particular illocutionary act. Kim and Bresnahan (1994), for example, use the terms tactic and strategy interchangeably, and illustrate their notion of strategy by referring to different degrees of explicitness regarding the illocutionary purpose of the utterance, such that in fact *every* illocutionary act becomes "strategic". The view of interactional strategy adopted here is much more restricted, and concerns solely tactics which affect interactional structure. Furthermore, the notion of "strategy" suggests that the purpose pursued is not transparent to the hearer.

One consequence of interactive strategy use is then that the significance of a discourse contribution may be changed several times during the ensuing strategic negotiation, by either or indeed both discourse participants. Such strategic behaviours can be inserted turn-internally, and as the reader will doubtless agree, this can be done in writing also. Again, what may well turn out to be a "Precursive" Exchange offers a considerable strategic challenge to the reactive speaker, as it is difficult to react protectively when one does not yet know what might follow such a "precursor":

– I wonder if you have a couple of minutes?
– I'm told you speak Swahili, is that really true.
– I enjoyed your lecture enormously! Could I ask you for your opinion on a related issue?

The experienced university teacher for example may have learnt appropriate defensive reactive strategies to adopt against such approaches, or may of course accept

that accepting such strategic interactive preliminaries is a necessary part of the job. Consider too the Socratic method, essentially a strategy designed to force the interactant to explore and possibly revise his or her originally expressed viewpoint. It is also part of argumentative strategy that allegedly parallel cases are introduced and then dismissed, and this dismissal is then transferred to the original issue. The interactive result might well be a series of Counter arguments put forward to "counteract" the interlocutor's original thesis.

It is largely because of conversational strategy that interactional structures in a descriptive system have to be potentially complex and expandable. Descriptively, however, the use of such interactional strategies should not offer insuperable problems for the system, as the analyst knows so to speak what the eventual outcomes are, and is therefore not placed in the position of the on-line interactants.

The occurrence of different discourse worlds inside spoken discourse behaviours leads to even greater descriptive complexity. Jokes often rely on world-switching to achieve the unexpected punch-line. It is on another social level perfectly possible for some people both to seem to pay respect to an interlocutor, while also ridiculing this person. The addressed person may not notice such hidden or disguised ridicule, the speaker's co-present friends almost certainly will. Behaviours such as ritual insults in sounding or "swathing" may be perceived as in fact insulting, such that the insulted participant loses the game precisely by switching worlds and reacting to verbal contents as insulting (Labov 1973).

Consider too the case of public prayer, in which a religious leader and an attendant body of followers together achieve what is in part a ritualised performance. World-switching can be perceived at different levels. On the one hand, a signal such as "Let us pray" clearly signals a world switch. On the other hand, the leader is often addressing both the nominal addressee and the attendant public, and may use the first person plural pronoun essentially to refer to the attendant listeners, thus both indirectly addressing them and speaking on their behalf ("We ask you to forgive our wrongdoings"). Another example (taken from Candlin, Leather and Bruton 1976) would be a doctor in surgery treating a young child. The doctor may at the same time seek to console the child, inform the parents, and instruct the present nursing help inside one turn at talk.

Finally consider data such as the following:

A: Your hair looks marvellous – amazing what a hairdresser can do nowadays isn't it!
B: Why thank you! Equally amazing how bitchy your friends can be at times, isn't it!

One way to analyse such data is to suggest two juxtaposed discourse worlds are operating, inside each of which a short exchange occurs: the two discourse worlds in this instance also relate to each other by way of contrast, both inside each turn at

talk, and also with regard to the interactional outcomes – it is of course a social fact that the "happy outcome" of the sequence "Your hair looks marvellous" – "Thank you" is socially relatively insignificant, compared with what follows, but this is a reflection of social reality. The complex interaction here would not fit into the categories proposed in Edmondson (1981), but these might be extended, for example as in Figure 2.
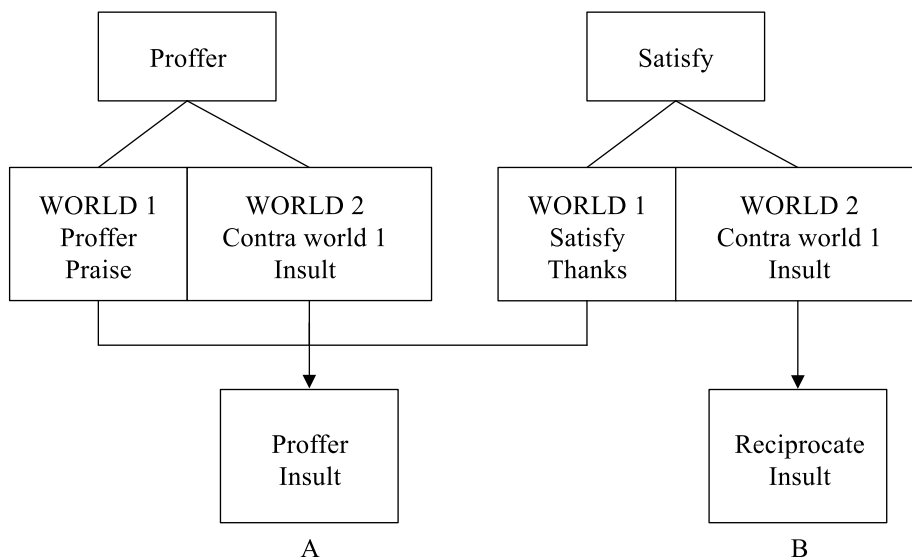
Admittedly, the solution is rather ad hoc, but this seems a relatively uncomplicated procedure for seeking to arrive at an explicit analysis of data of this kind. If all goes well in the fabricated situation above, of course, both participants will laugh, harmony will be restored inside world 1. Let us turn now to the foreign language classroom to review these notions of interactional strategy and discourse worlds in more detail.

6.   The strange world of foreign language classroom interaction

As detailed above, there is a problem in the analytic system of Sinclair and Coulthard (1975) regarding the characterisation and identification of the acts found at the lowest level of analysis, as they are scarcely identified beyond their locational, interactive function, and often their linguistic realisation. Thus a Reply serves to "provide a linguistic response which is appropriate to the elicitation". An Evaluate, however, as the head of a Follow-up move (which, we recall, can follow either an Initiation or a Response in exchange structure) comments on the quality of the "reply, react, or initiation", i.e. can occur in three illocutionary slots, and can be

negative or positive. What emerges from these alternatives in terms of interactional sequencing, and in terms of discourse outcomes is not explicitly addressed. The critical issue here is that the system does not really analyse *discourse*, it is a system for the analysis of discourse *structure*: moves and acts are defined in terms of where they occur, and their "function" is indicated in discourse sequential terms "shows that the initiation has been understood", and so on. We therefore gain no insight into why some elicitations stand on their own interactionally, some are followed only by a response, others only by feedback, and rather more by a response followed by feedback, resulting in the dreaded didactic triad. We note too that the elements making up the S-R-F sequence are not specific to it – we can therefore gain no insight into what is happening in such exchanges that is different.

The difficult issue of S-R-F sequences in classrooms has to be broached at this point. I know of no totally convincing *discourse* analysis of this behavioural sequence (Edmondson 1981 incidentally does not even mention it). Let us however start with the rather meagre group of categories proposed therein to characterise S-R-F illocutions. Well, a first promising illocutionary category for the teacher "question" might be "Request for a specific type of illocutionary act". A pupil response (i.e. the relevant illocutionary act) might – given the categories available – now be viewed as an Opine, the teacher feedback can now (inside the schemata offered in Edmondson's non-pedagogic system) be viewed as a Claim, which is simply defined as "S wishes H to believe that the information contained in the locution by means of which the Claim is made is true". Here we have then a rudimentary possibility of characterising some aspects of the S-R-F sequence in illocutionary terms. The "stimulus" is thus realized via a Request for an illocutionary act, the "response" via an Opine, and the Feedback via a Claim. In a totally informal way, these characterisations are not totally implausible. More critical is the question as to the illocutionary structure to be assigned to these illocutionary stances.

As it so happens, the model in Edmondson (1981) contains an alternative to a Proffer as an exchange-initiating move. It is called a Prime, and in Satisfying the Prime, a speaker also executes some other illocutionary act – for example a Proffer. The necessity for Priming moves in discourse is simply the fact that we can talk about talk outside of the language classroom too, and thus communicative acts can be "requested", "offered", "criticized", and so on. Thus an utterance such as "What do you as a reader think about Priming moves?" hopefully elicits (i.e. is Satisfied by) some contribution from the addressee which itself has some other status – for example one of Initiating – than that of Satisfying the query as to his or her opinion, i.e. the Prime. It is not just language learners who talk about talk. As in Satisfying a Prime a speaker produces an illocutionary act with its own interactional function, the display system in Edmondson (1981) is as follows:

Prime	Satisfy	= Proffer
A		B
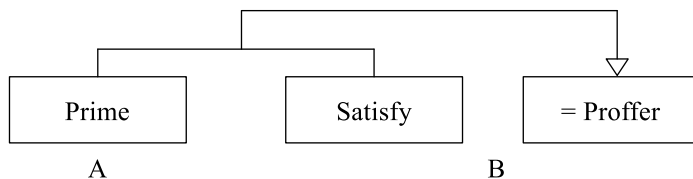
The Prime seems then an acceptable interactional category here to describe the first teacher move, and the thereby elicited student Claim may now be met by for example a Satisfy or a Contra on the part of the teacher, i.e. the pupil response to the teacher question may be accepted or rejected. The Prime may not be Satisfied of course, it may be followed by a Counter (realised by a relevant "question" regarding the content or purpose of the Prime), or by a Contra, or possibly a move to be called the Rejection (realized by an utterance such as "I don't know" or more commonly by silence, and avoidance of eye-contact). It seems therefore that the analytic system developed in Edmondson (1981) can be applied to the Stimulus-Response-Feedback sequence so prevalent in Sinclair and Coulthard's data, given the inclusion of the Priming move. The central and obvious interactional point here is that the S-R sequence serves only to elicit a unit of pupil behaviour which is an Initiate for following classroom activity.

In addition to the occurrence of such Priming moves, commonly stimulating S-R-F interactional structures, the foreign language classroom commonly features language switching. Let me here quickly gloss over the case in which inside an utterance language switching occurs. This may happen for at least two quite different reasons. In the one case, an item in language X (this would usually be the language to be learnt) is referred to in the context of for example a Request of some kind ("What's the meaning of *borracho*?"). In the other case, a pupil inserts an L1 expression into an L2 utterance – for example in a role-play situation – in order to compensate for ignorance, and to avoid interrupting the role-play activity. In this second instance, there may be in fact no world-switching occurring: highly competent bilinguals, for example, also switch languages inside clausal units, albeit for different reasons. Ironically, though, the switch could be construed as an instance of world-switching with language learners if for example there is no reason to suppose that the personage whose role is being enacted in L2 is in fact bilingual, and not a native-speaker of for example Spanish. But I wish to leave aside such cases. We will instead look in rather more detail at some circumstances in which world-switching occurs from one discourse act to the next, and in which language switching may, but need not, occur also.

The following three teacher turns exemplify relatively simple instances of code-switching accompanying world-switching, and are taken from French lessons conducted by student teachers in a UK context[15]:

DATA SET 1
(1) Teacher: Nick! Chewing gum in the bin … *ok on va faire*
(2) Teacher: *Jo qu'est-ce qu'elle a dit, Jo? qu'est-ce qu'elle a dit, pardon*
              OK stop playing with the dice.
(3) Teacher: *Regardez les deux feuilles … vous devez donner tous les*
              Renseignements … toute l'information … vous avez compris? …
              you've got to give all the information to your partner that's on
              the sheet … ok? … and talk only in French … *bon, allez …*
              commencez.

The teacher (male) is the same person in all three extracts. In (1) and (2) world-switching between institutional and instructional roles is marked by code-switching, initiated by the Marker "Okay", and by language switching. In (3), the teacher feels it is necessary to resort to English in order to tell the class to speak only French during a group task, which from one world view seems paradoxical, but from another discourse world perspective is perfectly logical. This teacher appears to be convinced that his own use of French is beneficial from an *acquisitional* perspective, but that from a managerial perspective, understanding is imperative, and therefore the use of the common language is warranted (see the discussion in Macaro 2001). However, the teacher then switches back to French (*Bon, allez, commencez*), although the function of this sequence is also clearly managerial. This switch may be motivated by the subconscious wish to reduce the apparent paradox of requiring French in English, and to anticipate the appropriate language switch (and world-switch) announced in the utterance. Or again, if the instructions are repeated in English solely to ensure comprehension of what had been said in French, then the discourse marker "Okay" now signals that this explanatory episode is terminated, allowing a reversal to the pedagogically preferred code. It is of interest that the marker "Okay" marks a switch to classroom work and to French in unit (1), but a switch to a managerial instruction in (2). In (3) it seems that "Okay" was initially intended to mark a switch away from instructional English, but the speaker then had an afterthought, following which the marker "bon" is used instead.

DATA SET 2
1 Red: hello Christine
2 Blue: hello
3 Red: erm ∧ you have shotten two goals (turns round to teacher)
4 Teacher: (sotto voce) shoot
5 Red: (continues to look at T, apparently confused) ∧∧
6 Teacher: shoot∧ shot shot
7 Red: (turns to Blue) shot two goals∧ was that very (turns to T) *schwer*?
8 Teacher: (sotto voce) difficult

9   Red: difficult?
10 Blue: No∧ because Christine passed the ball to me and then I ∧∧

Data Set 2 consists of a small section from a role-play activity. The two pupils Red
and Blue are conducting a rehearsed interview between a reporter and a hockey
player, which takes place in front of the whole class, with the teacher standing next
to and slightly behind the two actants. Clearly the interactions between the Teacher
and Red are not part of the role-play situation – it is a different discourse world.
There is however clear interaction between the two worlds in that outcomes from
Teacher-Red interactions then feed into the Red-Blue interaction. The pupil Red
switches worlds largely via re-directed eye-contact, and tries to retain a rising
question intonation in the interactive role-play – from the video-recording it is
plausible to suggest that the rising intonation in line 7 was a consequence of the
query directed at Blue, and not the indirect query directed at the teacher. The
teacher tries to play down her role via light articulation – the theory behind this
being one imagines that her addressee is the pupil Red, and not the rest of the class,
who are being addressed by Red and Blue as actants, and not as learners of English.
We note however that the teacher we might say neglects her role as dramatic direc-
tor in favour of her role as linguistic director in lines 4 and 6, as she supplies the in-
finitive form *shoot* to Red in line 4 and initially in line 6, though it seems clear that
the learner's problem is not a lexical one, but one of inflection.

DATA SET 3
1   Pi: Was the game∧ difficult?
2   Fi: Yes, the game was
                (further question/answer sequences follow)
3   Pi: how did you feel *jetzt*
4   Fi: good
5   Pi: (Establishes eye-contact with teacher) how DO you feel *je[tzt*
6   Teacher: now]
7   Pi: now?
8   Fi: I feel very good *jetzt*

Interesting in Data set 3 is the fact that the student Pi, apparently noticing herself
that her previous utterance was ill-formed, establishes eye-contact with the
teacher, plausibly to signal that she had herself noticed a tense infelicity – thus we
might say that the eye-contact signals a world-switch, which then justifies or ac-
counts for the repetition in line 5 of the content of line 3. Indeed Pi reinforces this
superimposition of worlds by putting heavy verbal stress on her own self-correc-
tion, switching worlds, and thereby telling the teacher that she knows a self-cor-
rection is called for. The teacher as far as one can tell plays no role in this revision,
but responds (apparently) to the eye-contact initiated by Pi with a different correc-

tion/superimposition, which we notice this time Pi repeats with a rising intonation as would have been appropriate in line 5. The student Fi has possibly been following her own agenda meanwhile, and now responds to the content of line 5 with a Tell Satisfying the original Request for a Tell, but discounting the language and world-switching that has since occurred.

The final brief example of the complexity of classroom discourse in terms of ascribing a discourse system to it, taking account of the language switching that occurs, the different discourse worlds that co-exist, and the rather important issue that learning is allegedly taking place via the discourse conducted in this setting, involves somewhat older learners, taught by a teacher who in general conducts the whole of her English teaching with this class in English[16]:

DATA SET 4
Class 10 in a German Gymnasium. A written text with attached questions had been distributed for homework. The convention in this classroom – at least in this lesson – was that the student who tackled a current question read out the next one, and nominated another pupil to address it – in other words, acted at least in part as teacher for this transition.

1   Pupil X: (Apparently reading out the question) .. what is it that er∧ economic progress
      going in that region at the beginning of the nineteenth century?
2   Teacher: You wanna take somebody?
3   Pupils: (Offers, i.e. raised hands)
4   X: erm. Martin
5   Martin: (speaks very slowly) the strategic position is good ∧ (Raises gaze, smiles)
6   Teacher: [(Non-interpretable comment)
7   Class: (Laughter]
8   Martin: also {English pronunciation} ∧ there are the five Great Lakes∧ surrounding the region
9   Teacher: the Lakes surround the region
10   Martin: OR∧ this region is ∧ positioned by the five Great Lakes and the Mississipi isgoing round there
11   Teacher: is going? You mean erm it's actual action of the Mississipi?
12   Martin: No∧youunderstand∧no∧theMississipi∧∧∧(Circularhandmovements, smiles, eye-contact with teacher)
13   Teacher: (quietly) tense
14   Martin: *Ach so*∧∧ THE …
15   Teacher: a river is not GOING ∧ on ∧ what is the..
16   Two Ps: flow
17   Martin: flow ∧ the river flows
18   Teacher: or goes∧ay∧ but not GOing

19 Martin: *JA*∧
20 Teacher: complete the sentence
21 Martin: *ich bin fertig*∧
22 Class: [(Laughter)]
23 Martin: *jetzt weiss ich] nicht mehr*∧ *was ich sagen*‥ the Mississipi∧∧
            scheisse∧ *ja*∧ *tut mir leid*‥

In general one might suggest that in this excerpt there is some ambiguity regarding the teacher's role in the proceedings, in that what are essentially corrective Contras in the context of instructional discourse appear to function inside the world of American economic development as simple Checks. We note first of all that the original verbal Request raised by X in line 1 is scarcely intelligible, and, interestingly enough, seems to be unclear regarding its time orientation. We may postulate some verbal form such as *made* or *caused*, though no such item was discernible orally by the two researchers present. Furthermore this Request for information contains an -ING form that can most plausibly be reconstructed as belonging to a continuous tense inflection (i.e. "[…] economic progress that was going on in that region […]," is the most obvious grammaticalisation of this utterance). This expression is indirectly sanctioned by teacher silence.

Thus the world-switching and discourse strategies employed by the teacher with Martin from line 11 onwards seem to contrast with the total absence of any verbal Response to X's initial posing of the topic. We note for example that the teacher intervention in line 9 seems unwarranted – it was perhaps unclear to Martin (as to the observing researchers) whether an Uptake or a Recast was intended.[17] Furthermore, Martin, in his attempt to Satisfy this teacher intervention in line 9, tries to reveal his own linguistic skills by putting forward another formulation instead of producing what might have been didactically targeted (presumably: "Also the five Great Lakes surround the region"). However, his new formulation is again responded to with a Contra regarding its linguistic form, and is not accepted. The teacher possibly thinks that her own authority is being challenged under the mask of Martin's discourse world alignment. Possibly Martin too is trying to save his own face in front of the rest of the class and indeed in front of two visitors with a camera. We note too that after the teacher begins to use didactic word stress strategies (lines 16, 19), Martin reacts by doing the same, speaking German, and eventually breaking out of the discourse world in which he was supposed to be operating altogether. The critical swap-over occurs in line 14, where he uses a German gambit ("ach so"), which contrasts nicely with his previous use of an English gambit ("you understand") in line 12. In a footnote regarding this small data-extract we might note that the other class members join in in line 13 and offer a *semantic* intervention, not a grammatical one. It is, in other words, possible that they have misunderstood the teacher's indirect interventions in lines 11, 13 and 15, and sought to help Martin by offering a lexical switch rather than a switch of tense.

7.   Conclusion

This introductory paper has outlined, compared and attempted to evaluate the classic work of Austin, Searle, Flanders, Sinclair and Coulthard, and Edmondson as in their different ways dominant figures during the early years of the intense pursuit of discourse analytic systems, theories, and descriptions. A focal point of discussion has been the relationship between interactional structure and illocutionary value inside a discourse system, and how to capture descriptively the notion of discourse outcomes. Two further central points might be raised here. Firstly, how far is it a useful and indeed a feasible goal to seek to link linguistic forms and discourse functions? Secondly, how can a discourse system or model help us to differentiate between discourse analysis and subjective discourse interpretation? The likelihood that there will ever be an analytic system that can meet the strict requirements for discourse analysis put forward in this introductory paper without the interpretative assistance of a researcher is remarkably remote, and likely to remain so. The question remains, therefore, how we can distinguish between an analysis of specific discourse units which is in principle non-interpretive, but may be used to assist and inform an individual appraisal of the pieces of discourse under scrutiny (the desirable case, I would strongly like to assert), and the case in which an individual essentially subjective interpretation of specific pieces of discourse is in principle warranted or justified by the selected use to this end of a discourse analytic system.

Notes

*   Edmondson's contribution was among the first chapters commissioned for this handbook. It turned out to be the final paper which he completed. Willis J. Edmondson died in December 2009. The editors of this volume, both of whom had the pleasure to work with Willis Edmondson, are grateful to Juliane House for revising this chapter, in which the features typical of Edmondson's sharp wit and critical intellect have been retained.
1. I say "essentially" here, anticipating that the reader may think of cases in which this seems to be untrue. Private diary accounts, or private poetry are possible examples, though in fact there is a good argument which says that in such cases the written text is addressed to the author, whose identity as reader and writer converge, but are not identical.
2. The term "discourse analysis" justifies an article in itself. Deborah Schiffrin (1994) distinguishes in part II between speech act theory, interactional sociolinguistics, the ethnography of communication, pragmatics, conversational analysis, and variation analysis. She concludes the book then by referring to "language as social interaction", i.e. "a view of language as an interactive activity mediating linguistic and sociocultural knowledge" (Schiffrin 1994: 415). This seems to be precisely what most people mean by discourse analysis.

3. See for example Edmondson (1981: 196–201); Lautamattia (1982); Bublitz, Lenk and Ventola (1997).

4. "We see our work as primarily socio-linguistic, although it differs markedly from most other work in sociolinguistics" (Sinclair and Coulthard 1975: 9).

5. Regarding the spread of the term "discourse", the following are two small examples of many that might be mentioned. In the University of Amsterdam, there is currently (according to the internet – this is written in March 2009) a Professorship of "Discourse and Argumentative Studies", whatever that may mean. The phenomenon of updating is also quite common. The journal *Text* was founded in 1981, but now bears the title *Text & Talk*, and carries the modest subtitle *An International Journal of Language, Discourse and Communication Studies*. Indeed, there have been cases in which the second edition of a book on a linguistic topic has been given a new title embracing the phrase "discourse" (I refrain from giving an example).

6. I have been unable to trace all the original texts of Thomas Reid, though the internet is helpful. My indirect source for some of these quotations is Schuhmann and Smith (1990). [Reference is made in the text above now to Dugald Stewart's edition of Thomas Reid's works, published in 1822; the volume editors.]

7. Habermas claims that the speech acts he sets up are universal, but specifically exempts institutionalised speech acts as culture-specific (Habermas 1972: 214–216).

8. See here for example House (1997, 2009); Koller (2002).

9. The introduction to Searle, Kiefer and Bierwisch (1980: vii/viii) makes the remarkable claim that "In the sequence of utterances 'Please leave the room', 'You will leave the room', and 'Will you leave the room?' the same proposition, that you will leave the room is expressed in the performance of three different illocutionary acts, one a request, one a prediction, and one a question". The observation is remarkable because the utterances given (it is not clear from the formulation whether or not they are to be viewed as a sequence or not – I assume they are simply a sequence in the text, and not meant to be viewed as a sequence in ongoing talk) are given different illocutionary values purely on the basis of their different linguistic forms.

10. Terms used inside Flanders' system will be capitalised inside this section of the paper. Similarly, in section 4 following the technical terms used by Sinclair and Coulthard will be capitalised, and this convention will be continued for newly introduced terms in section 5.

11. The difficulties of embracing "discourse" inside one categorial system will be discussed in 4. below, and are exemplified all too clearly in the following definition of an "exchange": "An exchange comprises an initiation, where the possibilities are open-ended, followed by utterances which are pre-classified and therefore increasingly restricted. If the possibilities are opened up again, this marks either a new exchange, or at least a bound exchange. Alternatively, the exchange may be regarded as an information unit, the propositional frame being defined by the initiation. Any utterances which complete the proposition, by, for example, giving a value to a variable, form part of the same exchange […]," (Stubbs 1983: 109).

12. The term "monologue" seems inappropriate nowadays, save in the sense that one can talk to oneself privately.

13. Cf. Ellis's distinction between classroom research based on interaction analysis systems, and more theoretically-informed approaches (Ellis 2005: 1–2). Ellis however does not attempt to show developments inside classroom discourse analysis systems, but

rather developments regarding the different data sources that have been used to interpret classroom interaction.

14. At this point, Edmondson's manuscript included the meta-comment "We really do need examples here." The volume editors took the liberty of providing them. The first two examples are simplified versions of excerpts from role play transcripts found in Edmondson & House (1981: 39), the third example is fabricated as no suitable material was found in said source.

15. Data from Macaro (2001: 539–540).

16. This episode is discussed in general terms in Edmondson (2000).

17. If the teacher *is* switching worlds here, the Recast should in principle be focussed grammatically on the existential syntactic structure ("There are the five Great […],"), and not on the use of "surrounding" as opposed to "surround", as the use of the -ING form here is not related to the use of the present continuous tense, as can be seen for example from the fact that stative verbs such as "weigh", which cannot normally be used with a continuous inflection in utterances such as "I have lost weight, and am now *weighing 150 pounds", but can freely occur in structures such as "He stepped into the ring, weighing one hundred and fifty pounds".

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4. Conversation analysis

Rebecca Clift

1. Introduction

In his highly influential, pioneering textbook *Pragmatics*, Stephen Levinson referred to *conversation analysis* (henceforth CA) as "the outstanding empirical tradition in pragmatics" (1983: 285) and declared it to be the most promising avenue for work in this domain. The years since then have, if anything, consolidated his claim: the range and depth of findings in CA have provided pragmatics with an unparalleled insight into language use, and, increasingly, non-linguistic face-to-face interaction.

The term "conversation analysis" has come to be the recognized term for the study of talk-in-interaction (henceforth simply "talk"). To that extent, it is somewhat of a misnomer, for its focus is not uniquely what we might regard as ordinary conversation or chit-chat, but potentially any context in which talk is a part: interviews of various kinds, doctor-patient interactions, calls to the emergency services, interactions involving people with communication difficulties, and so forth – literally, talk-in-interaction (see Schegloff 1991: 152). As such scope suggests, CA is *sui generis*: its method and assumptions do not belong wholly to a single domain of enquiry. However, its findings have illuminated work in not only linguistics and its own disciplinary forebear, sociology, but also in, amongst others, psychology, anthropology, and both general and clinical communication. As we shall see, it has afforded unparalleled insights into the mechanisms of talk, enhanced our understanding of the means by which a wide range of actions are accomplished, and even identified actions we did not know existed.

The central concern of CA is with the co-ordination of action. In this alone we see at once that its focus is distinct from even those cognate disciplines (sociolinguistics, anthropology and discourse analysis, to name but three) which apparently share its attention to recorded and transcribed material. To understand how this focus on action developed, I trace in the first instance its emergence from sociology and show how this makes it distinctive from linguistic approaches. Since CA is, perhaps more than any other approach to language and interaction, grounded in its method, I then show how its methods of transcription are designed to capture the temporal production of actions in utterances and make them available for analysis. I subsequently examine some of the main findings that such methods have made possible, before going on to consider the implications of CA work for linguistic pragmatics.

2.   Origins and methodological preliminaries

Pragmatics as a recognizable field of enquiry emerged from linguistic philosophy, and in particular the work of Morris (1938, 1946) and Carnap (1938, 1955); it is consequently distinctly "top-down" in its methodological orientation. In contrast, pioneering work in CA has its origins in the highly empirical sociological investigations of Harvey Sacks at the University of California in the early 1960s (see Schegloff 1992a, 1992b for an account of the background to this early work). Sacks's concerns were not specifically linguistic, let alone conversational, at all; what we would recognize as the first conversation-analytic observations were made on the materials available to him at the time: a corpus of phone calls to a helpline operated by The Los Angeles Suicide Prevention Center. Sacks approached this corpus influenced by two early associations: one with Harold Garfinkel, whose concern with members' methods of practical reasoning formed the basis of ethnomethodology (see, e.g. Garfinkel 1957), and also with Erving Goffman, who was establishing the study of face-to-face interaction as an object of inquiry in its own right (see, e.g. 1955, 1963, 1964). The primary attraction of the corpus lay in the fact that it was naturally-occurring, recorded interaction, which made it, in Sacks's words, "repeatedly inspectable" for transcription, analysis, and, potentially, reanalysis. This in itself would not distinguish him from any other researcher investigating a recorded corpus of spoken material. What was distinct in Sacks's treatment was his observation that:

> Recurrently, what stands as a solution to some problem emerges from unmotivated examination of some piece of data, where, had we started out with a specific interest in the problem, it would not have been supposed, in the first instance that this piece of data was a resource with which to consider, and come up with a solution for, that particular problem. (Sacks 1984: 27)

"Unmotivated looking" was thus the guiding principle of Sacks's examination of the data, and the view that the analyst was identifying speakers' solutions to interactional problems. It is a perspective which starts from identifying the solutions in the data and works back from them to discover what the problems are, rather than assuming we know what the problems are in the first place. The analysis is overwhelmingly data-driven, rather than analyst-driven – the analyst's guiding concerns, shaped by assumptions about the data or ideology are here set aside. This bottom-up, data-driven approach is, more than anything else, what sets CA apart from other treatments of interactional data, such as discourse analysis (DA) (see Schegloff 1998a, 1999a, 1999b for a clear exposition of the distinctions between CA and DA). A simple early example of a "solution" identified by Sacks in his data was his observation about a phone call in his suicide helpline corpus which, as Schegloff notes:

… began something like this:

A: This is Mr. Smith, may I help you.
B: I can't hear you.
A: This is Mr. Smith.
B: Smith.

After which Mr. Smith goes on, without getting the caller's name. And later, when Mr. Smith asks for the caller's name, the caller resists giving it. On the one hand, Sacks noted, it appears that if the name is not forthcoming at the start it may prove problematic to get. On the other hand, overt requests for it may be resisted. Then he remarked: Is it possible that the caller's declared problem in hearing is a methodical way of avoiding giving one's name in response to the other's having done so? Could talk be organized at that level of detail? And in so designed a manner? (Schegloff 1992a: xvi–xvii)

Sacks's "unmotivated looking" had thus led to his initial observation about "the caller's declared problem in hearing". To regard "I can't hear you" as a solution led him to speculate about what the problem might be. The common-sense observation that there are places where things get done (such as giving one's name at the be-ginning of a conversation) and that, out of these places, "it may prove problematic" in turn led him to the possibility that in fact "I can't hear you" was the deft solution to the problem of having to avoid giving one's name in response to the proffering of another's while not being seen to avoid doing so.

The possibility that "I can't hear you" in such contexts is a methodical prac-tice – a systematic solution to an interactional problem, irrespective of the personal characteristics, desires or beliefs of the participants involved – can only be estab-lished empirically, and this is, as we shall see, a central component of CA method: the assembling of collections of similar cases across varieties of interactional data. Through his collaboration with Emanuel Schegloff and Gail Jefferson, Sacks supplemented the original corpus with calls of so-called *mundane conversation*. It is this – the identification of recurrent instances – which ultimately makes possible the identification of generic practices and which is the source of CA's analytical strength.

3.   How method serves analysis: transcription and turn-taking

The core transcription conventions for CA were developed by Gail Jefferson with the aim of capturing visually what the transcriber was hearing on the tape (1978, 1983a, 1983b, 1985, 1996) for the purposes of analysis – and, in the interests of methodological transparency, any potential re-analysis. The phenomena captured in this way alongside the production of speech – aspects of speech delivery, such as inhalation and exhalation, laughter, and prosody, or aspects of sequencing, such as overlaps, micropauses, and timed silences, amongst others – shows the extent to which the scope of CA goes beyond the strictly linguistic. And, indeed, as CA in-

creasingly turns to the analysis of face-to-face interaction, the transcription conventions continue to evolve. The import of what might initially seem dense and distracting detail should be understood in the context of what the pioneering work in CA set out to establish.

The groundbreaking work in this regard is the model proposed for the organization of turn-taking for conversation (Sacks, Schegloff and Jefferson 1974), which sets out to identify how speakers manage to coordinate their talk such that, overwhelmingly, "one party talks at a time", with little overlap, alongside a number of other "grossly apparent facts" about conversation (1974: 700). The most radical implication of this model is that it places the participant, and what the participant does, at the center of the analysis; it is, as they put it, "locally managed, party-administered, interactionally controlled, and sensitive to recipient design" (1974: 696). It recognizes that speakers may, but do not necessarily, speak in clauses, or sentences (which would be analyst-imposed categories) but take *turns-at-talk*, which may, for instance, consist of a single word. So, in (1) below, line 3 is neither sentence nor clause; but given that Mother's turn comes right after it with no pause, we have evidence that she heard transparently that the other's turn was complete at the conclusion of "At?":

(1)   (from Jones and Beach, 1995; also in Schegloff, 1996b. T=Therapist, M=Mother)

```
1T     What kind of work do you do?
2M     Ah food service.
3T→    At?
4M     (Uh)/(A) post office cafeteria downtown ...
```

It is thus *Mother's* analysis of line 3, as revealed in her next turn, that is criterial. "Next turn" is the crucial resource for the analyst, making available what the speaker figured the prior turn to be. According to the "locally-managed, party-administered" proposal, the Therapist's line 3, "At?", thus constitutes a *turn-constructional unit* (TCU) – in this case, a word. The other turns in the exchange show TCUs in their other possible instantiations: phrases, clauses and sentences. The completion of a TCU is a place at which speaker change may, but need not, occur: a *transition-relevance place* (TRP). Speakers are thus committed to the careful monitoring of each others' turns for points at which they might be possibly complete – committed, in other words, to grammatical parsing. The participant-centered nature of the turn-taking system is here nowhere more evident, providing an inherent motivation for listening. The current speaker may select a next speaker, in which case that speaker is obliged to speak at the completion of the turn. We can see this in operation at lines 1–2 above; the Therapist's question in line 1 selects Mother to speak next, and she duly does at the first TRP, producing her response at line 2. We might contrast what Mother does in example (1) with what happens at line 2 below:

(2)   (from Boden and Molotch, 1994:266)

```
1A     Would you like to meet now?
2→     (0.6)
3A     [Or late-
4B     [Well, perhaps not now. Maybe in 'bout five minutes?
```

A's invitation in line 1 selects B to speak next at the next TRP, but, as line 2 shows, that invitation does not secure a response. What the transcription shows us at line 2 is the silence that meets A's invitation in line 1; a silence that is then a resource for A to formulate what she says next. As anyone who has had an invitation met with silence knows, and CA has shown (e.g. Pomerantz 1984), it is the recognizability of a delayed response as adumbrating a refusal that enables A in line 3 to start to re-formulate that invitation in such a way as to receive an acceptance – a reformulation that, as it happens, coincides with the response from B. What the transcript above shows, then, amongst other things, are two features rendering the production of utterances with respect to each other. The silence in line 2 and the overlap in lines 3 and 4 are seen to have interactional consequences – the former, for what A subsequently says in line 3; the latter, for A pulling up short after launching her re-formulation in line 3 as she hears B starting to produce the delayed response to line 1. No other form of transcription, then, seeks to capture so precisely the temporal production of utterances in their turns-at-talk and make such phenomena available for analysis: this is what places turn-taking at the center of an organizational model for conversation and reveals talk as essentially the coordination of action.

4.   The machinery of interaction

Research into the structural organization of talk encompasses both the mechanisms through which talk is accomplished – the machinery of interaction – and the actions and activities prosecuted by means of the talk itself. We shall in due course look at some of the actions and activities identified by CA work, but in this section we examine a few of these basic building blocks of interaction by examining two major areas of investigation: sequence organization and repair.

4.1.   Sequence organization

How does one turn follow another, such that it makes sense, or is coherent? The source of coherence in interaction is the sequence. In the most comprehensive account yet of sequence organization, Schegloff (2007a) shows how successive turns are formed up to be coherent with some prior turn, and how turns-at-talk are ordered and combined to launch actions. The most basic coherent unit of this kind is the *adjacency pair*. We can see adjacency pairs launched at line 1 of both examples

(1) and (2), in the first, "What kind of work do you do?", in the second, "Would you like to meet now?" The first utterance is a question; the second, an invitation. Each of these *first pair parts* at line 1 makes a specific set of next utterances immediately *conditionally relevant* next as *second pair parts* in response; in the first, an answer; in the second, an acceptance or declination. So adjacency pairs are typed: a greeting as a first pair part makes a return greeting conditionally relevant; an offer makes an acceptance or declination conditionally relevant. Whatever follows the first pair part will be immediately monitored for how it constitutes a response; so in (1), "Ah food service" is clearly an appropriate answer to the question "What kind of work do you do?" – in structural terms, the first pair part (the question) has received its appropriate second (an answer). In (2), by contrast, the first pair part does *not* get an immediate second, but silence. It is then that the normative character of the adjacency pair relationship comes into play. In the first instance, motivational inferences can be drawn if the second pair part is not immediately forthcoming. So the lack of a return greeting may prompt a variety of inferences relating to, amongst other things, rudeness, deafness, non-recognizability, and so on. The question "do you like my new haircut?" makes a positive answer conditionally relevant – lack of one, in the form of silence, or a response which is not an answer – say, "looks like it's going to rain" – will, because of the strong normative constraint of conditional relevance, give rise to negative inferences. So, to return to example (2), the silence at line 2, because it is not an immediate acceptance of the invitation at line 1, clearly prompts A to reformulate the invitation in terms which makes an acceptance more likely. The negative response to the first pair part is a *dispreferred* response, in contrast to the *preferred* response displayed in the answer to the question in example (1). This notion of *preference* does not refer to the personal psychological preferences of speakers but to the alternative ways in which any first pair part may be met by a second; for the first pair part of each adjacency pair type there exists a preferred and dispreferred second. So invitations prefer acceptances and disprefer declinations; requests prefer grantings and disprefer refusals; "yes-no" questions prefer "yes" and disprefer "no". This form of structural preference, in other words, is built into the sequence, not something that participants bring to the interaction. And CA research has shown that speakers, irrespective of their own dispositions, cognitions and motivations, produce preferred and dispreferred second pair parts in systematically distinct ways, with the dispreferred seconds displaying some or all of the following features: turn-initial particles (e.g. "well …", see Lerner and Schegloff 2009), disfluency, accounts, indirectness, but in the first instance, delay, as indeed is displayed in example (2), line 2. Preferred seconds, in contrast, are produced with little or no delay or disfluency, and are characteristically direct. So in example (2), A is able to use the silence at line 2, suggesting that a dispreferred response is in the works, to revise the original first pair part in an attempt to achieve a preferred response (for more extensive treatments of preference, see Davidson 1984; Pomerantz 1984; Schegloff 1988, 2007a). The prefer-

ence organization that operates over types of adjacency pair, like conditional relevance, thus reveals the inferential properties that attach to speakers' moves in interaction.

Another aspect of the normative character of adjacency is also manifest in those instances where, say, a question is met by another question; so "Can I see you about something?" may be met by "How long do you need?" The response to that second question – "Two minutes" – then again provides for the continued relevance of a response to the initial question. Such *insertion sequences*, as they are known, display the continued relevance of a second pair part once a first pair part is produced; Schegloff (1990) analyzes a sequence in which a first pair part at line 9 of a transcript eventually gets its second at line 90.

Insertion sequences are one means by which a basic adjacency pair sequence may be expanded. A sequence may also be subject to *post-expansion* beyond the second pair part, for example by means of a sequence-closing third, such as "oh" (Heritage 1984) or "okay" (Beach 1993). But sequence expansion is at its most varied in its range of *pre-expansions*, and specifically *presequences*. A presequence is built to be preliminary to a specific action, such as an invitation, a request, or an announcement – all of which, of course, are now identifiable as first pair parts. The pre-announcement "guess what" standardly receives the response "what" – a "go-ahead" to tell – and not, as might be predicted from its form, a guess. In the same way, "have you got a moment" routinely adumbrates some kind of claim on our time; and similarly:

(3)   (from Schegloff, 2006: 31; Ju=Judy; Jo=John)

```
1Ju    Hi John.
2Jo    Ha you doin-<say what 'r you doing.
3Ju→   Well, we're going out. Why.
4Jo    Oh, I was just gonna say come out and come over here and talk
5      this evening, [but if you're going out you can't very well do=
6Ju                  ["Talk", you mean get drunk, don't you?
7Jo    =that.
```

(4)   (from Terasaki, 1976 [2004]: 28; D=Deliverer; R=Recipient)

```
1D     Didju hear the terrible news?
2R→    No. What.
3D     Y'know your Grandpa Bill's brother Dan?
4R     He died.
6D     Yeah.
```

Following the response to the question in each case, the speaker at the arrowed turn clearly orients to what the first turn had projected, in (3) with "Why" at line 3, and in (4) with "What" at line 2. What the first turn had projected is of course a further contingent action: an invitation in (3) (where John's report of what it was

going to be endorses Judy's understanding of line 2 as indeed its foreshadowing), and a news announcement in (4). Participants' responses to "guess what", "have you got a moment", "what are you doing", and "did you hear the terrible/wonderful news …" and their variants thus systematically display their understandings of these utterances as having a prefatory status: they are not treated, in and of themselves, as accomplishing the actions (announcements, requests, invitations, etc.) to which they are preliminaries. Such presequences demonstrate in a straightforward way how the CA investigation of sequences, rather than the one-off, isolated utterance, captures a basic feature of language use: its action projection.

4.2.   Repair

In their foundational work on repair in talk, Schegloff, Jefferson and Sacks state that "an adequate theory of the organization of natural language will need to depict how a natural language handles its intrinsic troubles. Such a theory will, then, need an account of the organization of repair" (1977: 381). The organization of repair is addressed to the management of "problems in speaking, hearing and understanding" (Schegloff, Jefferson and Sacks 1977: 361), and it is the means by which speakers defend and maintain intersubjectivity – the tacit assumption of a shared world.

It is important to distinguish the term "repair" from what might at first appear to be simply a matter of correcting errors or mistakes. In the first place, it is the case that not all errors in talk are corrected – they may be (and often are) overlooked by recipients who, error apart, grasp the gist of what has been said. Secondly, not all talk subject to repair is a mistake: a passing plane, say, may drown out what's been said and so necessitate its repetition. So repair is "neither contingent upon error, nor limited to replacement" and "nothing is, in principle, excludable from the class 'repairable'" (Schegloff, Jefferson and Sacks 1977: 363). A brief overview of the basic operations of repair will give some sense of the organization of this extraordinary "self-righting mechanism" (Schegloff, Jefferson and Sacks 1977: 381) for language use.

Initially there are two major distinctions to be made in the organization of repair. The first is in the stages of the repair itself. The initiation of a repair must be distinguished from its completion. The second distinction is between *who* undertakes that initiation and/or completion: the speaker of the trouble-source ("self") or another party ("other"). So, for example, a self-repair may issue from self- or other-initiation; an other-repair may issue from self- or other-initiation. The following illustrate some possibilities:

(5)   Self-initiated self-repair
       (from Schegloff, Jefferson and Sacks 1977: 364)

```
1Vic   En- it nevuh happen. Now I could of wen' up there an' told the
2→     parents myself but then the ma- the husbin' liable tuh come
3      t'd'doh ...
```

(6)   Other-initiated self-repair
       (from Schegloff, Jefferson and Sacks 1977: 364)

```
1Ken   Is Al here today?
2Dan   Yeah.
3      (2.0)
4Rog→  He is? hh eh heh
5Dan→  Well he was.
```

(7)   Self-initiated other-repair
       (from Schegloff, Jefferson and Sacks 1977: 364)

```
1B→    He had dis uh Mistuh W- whatever k- I can't think of his first
2      name, Watts on, the one thet wrote[
3A→                                      [Dan Watts.
```

(8)   Other-initiated other-repair
       (from Schegloff, Jefferson and Sacks 1977: 365)

```
1B     Where didju play ba:sk[etbaw.
2A     (The) gy:m.
3B     In the gy:m?
4A     Yea:h. Like grou(h)p therapy. Yuh know=
5B     =[Oh::.
6A     =[half the group thet we had la:s' term wz there en we jus'
7 →    playing arou:nd.
8B→    Uh- fooling around.
9A     Eh- yeah ...
```

Given the distinctions between the initiation and completion of repair, and repair by self or other, it is observably the case that there are a number of positions in which repair can be initiated. The first opportunity for repair is, of course, by the speaker in his or her own turn; this is displayed in (5), where Vic repairs "the ma-", disrupting the forward progress of the turn by means of a cut-off in the middle of what is audibly going to be "man", and replaces it by repeating the prior word "the" and substituting "husbin". It turns out that, just as the second pair parts of adjacency pairs are subject to preference organization, so too are forms of repair; and this opportunity – self-initiated self-repair in same turn – is observably predominant in talk, followed by self-initiated self-repair to be undertaken at a TRP:

(9)   Self-initiated self-repair at a TRP
         (from Schegloff, Jefferson and Sacks 1977: 366)

```
1L     An' 'en but all of the doors 'n things were taped up=
2→     =I mean y'know they put up y'know that kinda paper 'r stuff,
3      the brown paper.
```

Both of these repair options are preferred over types of other-repair: the third and fourth opportunities. The third opportunity is illustrated in the following extract:

(10)   (from Schegloff 1992c: 1303; Ann=press officer in Civil Defense Head-
         quarters; Zeb=Chief Engineer)

```
1Ann   Which one::s are closed, an' which ones are open.
2Zeb   Most of 'em. This, this, [this, this (pointing)
3Ann→                           [I 'on't mean on the
4      shelters, I mean on the roads.
5Zeb   Oh!
6      (8)
7Zeb   Closed, those're the ones you wanna know about,
8Ann   Mm[hm
9Zeb     [Broadway ...
```

Here, the speaker repairs in third position (line 3), addressing a problem with her first position utterance (line 1) as revealed in the understanding of it conveyed by the recipient's utterance in second position (line 2). So third position repairs are typically produced by the speaker of the first position utterance. It is at this point important to note that the *position* in which repair is initiated relative to the trouble-source is distinct from the *turn* in which it is initiated. In contrast with the third-position repair shown in (10), the following self-initiated self-repair is in third *turn* (for more on third turn repair, see Schegloff 1997a):

(11)   (from Schegloff, Jefferson and Sacks 1977: 366; Han=Hannah; Bea=Bea-
         trice)

```
1Han   And he's going to make his own paintings.
2Bea   Mm hm,
3Han→  And- or I mean his own frames
4Bea   Yeah,
```

The fourth opportunity, fourth position repair, is, like third position repair, other-initiated, and may be illustrated by the following exchange, with the repair under-taken by Loes in the fourth turn:

(12)   (from Schegloff, 1992c: 1321; M= Marty; L=Loes)

```
1M    Loes, do you have a calendar
2L    Yeah  (reaches for her desk calendar)
3M    Do you have one that hangs on the wall?
4L→   Oh, you want one.
5M    Yeah.
```

In line 2 Loes apparently understands Marty, in line 1 (what turns out to be the trouble source) to be asking to borrow a calendar; Marty's subsequent line 3 prompts Loes's reanalysis of his original first turn, "do you have a calendar", as now a request to have a calendar, rather than to borrow one, as proposed by her line 4 "Oh, you want one". While repair initiation happens to take place here in the fourth turn, as well as fourth position, another example of fourth position repair may make clear the distinction between fourth turn and fourth position. The positions are marked in the following on the right-hand side:

(13)   (from Schegloff 1992c: 1322; Ph=Phil; J=Josh)

```
1Ph   Hello?
2J    Phil!                       [POSITION 1]
3Ph   Yeh.                        [POSITION 2]
4J    Josh Lehroff.
5Ph   Yeh.
6J    Ah:: what've you gotten so far. Any requests to dispatch
7     any trucks in any areas,   [POSITION 3]
8Ph→  Oh you want my daddy.       [POSITION 4]
9J    Yeah, Phi[l,
10Ph           [Well he's outta town at a convention.
```

The fourth position repair here occurs in what is in fact serially the seventh turn (line 8): "Oh you want my daddy". The summons, in first position (line 2), is answered in second position (line 3) by "Phil" – the truck driver's son, who understands himself to have been identified. The caller then self-identifies at line 4 and this is registered at line 5 by the answerer. The mutual identifications complete (or so it seems), the caller moves to first topic in lines 6–7, and it is this move, in third position, that reveals to the answerer that the caller is proceeding on the basis of a misidentification – something which he makes apparent in line 8, in fourth position.

In identifying third and fourth position repair, Schegloff notes that together they provide "the last structurally-provided defense of intersubjectivity in conversation" (1992c: 1325) – in other words, that these two positions, relative to any turn, are the last systematic positions in which a participant may identify that a misunderstanding has taken place and attempt to re-establish mutual understanding. Beyond this fourth position, it is sheer happenstance that any misunderstand-

ing will be retrieved and dealt with. Thus stated, the implications of not being able to retrieve misunderstandings are, of course, profound. The very maintenance of intersubjectivity is at stake, and "in providing for the management of intersubjectivity in talk, provision is made as well for the management of intersubjectivity regarding whatever can enter into the talk" (Schegloff 1992c: 1340).

Such a brief overview cannot do more than sketch out the basics of the repair mechanism and indicate its intricate organization, but there is a substantial body of work on how repair is managed (see, for example, Jefferson 1974, 1987; Schegloff 1979, 1992c, 1997b; Drew 1997) and what repair may itself be used to do (Schegloff 1987, 1997b; Lerner and Kitzinger 2007). Alongside sequence organization, repair thus stands as a fundamental part of what Schegloff (1992c: 1338) calls part of the "procedural infrastructure of interaction" – the mechanics of talk.

5.   Actions and implications

The identification of this "procedural infrastructure" has made it possible simultaneously to identify the uses to which it is put; in other words, the actions implemented in interaction. While pragmatic approaches to language use such as Speech Act Theory, introduced by Austin (1962, 1970) and developed by Searle (1969, 1976) have assumed the centrality of action, CA starts from the assumption that "vernacular familiarity" (Schegloff 1996a: 166) with recognizable action may in fact be an obstacle to accounts of it:

> The same commonsense knowledge of the culture, and the semiotics, pragmatics, and discourse structure of a language that helps to constitute our cultural and linguistic competence blinds us and impedes our capacity to get at the constitution of action *technically*. (Schegloff 1996a: 166; emphasis in original)

In seeking empirically-grounded accounts of action, CA may thus arrive at analyses which are at odds with our intuitions. To take a simple example, it may be supposed intuitively that the distinction between a speaker producing "Hello" and "Hi" on answering the phone lies in formality, such that "Hi" is the more casual, relaxed, informal version of "Hello": intuitively, they are "doing the same thing". Not so, it turns out: as Schegloff observes, "Hi" is used in contexts where there is "super-confidence in the identity of the caller" (1986: 121), as in situations where a call has been interrupted, and a caller is phoning back to resume the conversation; "Hi" is thus a contextually-specified variant, not of "Hello" here, but "yeah". It is unlikely, to say the least, that intuition could have yielded such a finding; it is no substitute in such cases for observation.

This focus on action has produced accounts of actions which are vernacularly familiar, such as greetings (Schegloff 1986), requests (Schegloff 2007a), agreements and disagreements (Pomerantz 1984; Heritage 2002), invitations (Drew

1984) compliments and their responses (Pomerantz 1978), teases (Drew 1987), questions (Raymond 2003; Koshik 2005) and complaints (Drew and Holt 1988; Drew 1998; Schegloff 2005; Drew and Walker 2008). However, it has also identified practices which had gone undescribed. Some of these may be recognizable by their users, but are till now unnamed; so Lerner's (1996) study of anticipatory completions shows how a turn launched by one speaker may be completed by another, Local and Walker's (2004) work on abrupt-joins describes a practice for continuing a turn past a point of possible completion, and Walker's (2007) work on pivots examines those structures which form the end of one TCU and the beginning of another. Yet others are recognizable practices which implement hitherto unidentified actions. Thus Schegloff (1996a) reports the practice of agreeing with another by repeating what they have just said, and shows this to constitute the action of confirming an allusion: confirming both its content as well as confirming its prior inexplicit conveyance. Heritage and Raymond (2005) show how speakers use the linguistic resources at their disposal to index epistemic authority or subordination relative to co-participants in conversation. The account of how this is accomplished shows particularly clearly the interdependence of grammatical resources and sequential position; a brief overview should give some sense of this relationship.

In the first place, Heritage and Raymond argue that the issue of who produces an assessment first, and who second – and thus who is agreeing with whom – tacitly encodes speakers' differential rights to assess referents. They propose that offering a first assessment, as at the turns arrowed below, makes a claim to primary rights to evaluate the matter assessed:

(14)   (from Heritage and Raymond 2005: 19)
         [SBL 2-2-3:5] Chloe (Ch) and Claire (Cl):

```
1Ch→  We:ll it was [fu:n Clai[re, ((smile voice))
2Cl                [hhh     [Yea::[:h,]
3Ch                               [°M]m°
```

Here, the first position assessment is produced as a simple declarative evaluation and receives an agreement in second position. However, it does not necessarily follow that a speaker proffering an assessment first (or second) will thereby claim primary (or secondary) rights to assess: in some cases, speakers offering first assessments may work to defeat an implication that they are claiming primary rights to evaluate the matter at hand. So the first position assessment may be modulated in specific ways in order to downgrade its claim to primary rights of assessment. In the following, Norma evidentially downgrades her assessment of a longtime acquaintance of Bea's with "seems", and she in turn receives a declaratively asserted agreement from Bea, "Awfully nice little person":

(15)   (from Heritage and Raymond 2005: 18)
        [SBL:2-1-8:5] Bea (B) and Norma (N)

```
1B      hh hhh We:ll,h I wz gla:d she c'd come too las'ni:ght=
2N→     =Sh[e seems such a n]ice little [l a dy]
3B        [(since you keh) ]           [dAwf'l]ly nice l*i'l
4       p*ers'n. t hhhh hhh We:ll, I[: j's]
5N                                   [I thin]k evryone enjoyed
6       jus ...
```

By the same token, speakers in the position of responding to an assessment may
work to defeat the implication that their rights to assess are secondary to the
speaker who in fact provided an assessment first. So a response such as "that's
right" to an assessment in effect claims priority in rights to assess. And a negative
interrogative in a second position assessment (as in the following, at line 10) can
attenuate its second position status by providing a putatively "new" question for
the previous speaker to respond to:

(16)   (from Heritage and Raymond 2005: 22)
        [NB VII:1-2] Emma (E) and Margy (M)

```
1E      =Oh honey that was a lovely luncheon I shoulda ca:lled
2       you s:soo[:ner but I:]l:[lo:ved it.Ih wz just=
3M               [((f)) Oh:::]  [*(      )
4E      =deli:ghtfu[: l.]
5M                 [Well] I wz gla[d   y o u ] (came).]
6E                                [' nd yer f:] friends] 'r so
7       da:rli:ng,=
8M      =Oh:::[: it wz:]
9E           [e-that P]a:t isn'she a do:[:ll?]
10M→                                    [iY e]h isn't she
11      pretty,
```

Margy's assessment of her friend is formatted as a negative interrogative which as-
serts her primacy in the right to assess someone who is, after all, her friend. Heri-
tage and Raymond examine a range of grammatical practices by which speakers
can thus index the relative primacy and subordination of their assessments; these
are summarized below:

Some practices for indexing relative primacy and subordination of assessments: a
summary of Heritage and Raymond (2005)

First position epistemic downgrading can be indexed by:
–   evidential weakening (e.g. "seems", "sounds")
–   tag questions (e.g. "aren't they")

Second position epistemic upgrading can be indexed by:
–   confirmation + agreement (e.g. "it is, yes")
–   *oh*-prefaced second assessments (e.g. "oh it's disgusting")
–   tag questions (e.g. "it is, isn't it")
–   negative interrogatives (e.g. "isn't it beautiful")

Since Heritage and Raymond's initial account, further such indexing practices have been identified, including modified repeats (Stivers 2005) and reported speech (Clift 2006). In showing how speakers may choose to subvert the epistemic rights proposed by sequential ordering – an ordering that is the inevitable outcome of the real-time exigencies of interaction – CA work has thus revealed very clearly how interactional demands and linguistic resources interact.

What such work reinforces is the diversity of linguistic forms used in actions implemented by speakers. So epistemic downgrading in English may be achieved in a particular sequential position by the choice of a verb, or a particular syntactic form; upgrading may be achieved by the use of a lexical item ("oh"), ordering of syntactic components ("it is, yes" vs. "yes, it is") or particular forms, such as modified repeats or reported speech. There is thus no necessary one-to-one mapping between traditional linguistic categories and the actions they perform. So while CA research has investigated lexical items such as *oh* (Heritage 1984, 1998, 2002), *well* (Lerner and Schegloff 2009), *actually* (Clift 2001), *so* (Raymond 2004; Local and Walker 2005; Bolden 2009), *okay* (Beach 1993), it has equally examined non-lexical responses such as *uh huh* (Schegloff 1981), *mm* (Gardner 1987), laughter (Jefferson 1984; Jefferson, Sacks and Schegloff 1987), and expressions of surprise (Wilkinson and Kitzinger 2006). It has also explored particular forms of language and the actions they are implicated in, such as figurative language (Drew and Holt 1988, 1998) and reported speech (Holt and Clift 2007). The focus, in other words, is on practices and actions, rather than linguistic categories *per se*. However, this focus has yielded findings of interest to the study of not only lexical semantics, as suggested above, but it has also illuminated the interface of pragmatics and phonetics (see, amongst others, French and Local 1983; Couper-Kuhlen and Selting 1996; Couper-Kuhlen 2001; Ogden 2001; Couper-Kuhlen and Ford 2004; Local 2004, 2005; Curl 2005; Curl, Local and Walker 2006). It has similarly investigated the workings of syntax in interaction (Schegloff 1979, 1996b; Goodwin 1981; Lerner 1996; Ochs, Schegloff and Thompson 1996; Ford, Fox and Thompson 2002; Hakulinen and Selting 2005; Curl 2006). But from the earliest work on telephone helpline calls, CA has engaged with preoccupations beyond the realm of the solely linguistic, as evidenced by the work on membership categorization (see, e.g. Kitzinger 2005; Raymond and Heritage 2006; Schegloff 2007b).

What is not readily apparent from the references above is the extent to which languages other than English are increasingly the focus of CA work. While the dominance of English as the medium of, and focus for, CA research, is a reflection of its

origins, collections such as Couper-Kuhlen and Selting (1996, 2001) present work on Finnish, Japanese, German, Dutch, Danish, Turkish and Korean; Sidnell (2009) includes work on Tzeltal, Mayan and Russian; and Ono and Couper-Kuhlen (2007) includes accounts of Navajo and Mandarin, amongst others. In addition there are individual studies of an increasing diversity of languages. Among the numerous accounts available are those of German (see, amongst many others, Selting 2000, 2007; Egbert 2004), Finnish (Ogden 2001, 2004; Sorjonen 2001, 2002), Mandarin (Wu 2004; Luke and Zhang 2007), Dutch (Mazeland and Huiskes 2001; Mazeland 2007), Swedish (Lindström 1994, 2005), Thai (Moerman 1988), French (Chevalier and Clift 2008), Korean (Park 1998, 1999; Kim 1999; Oh 2007), Japanese (Hayashi 1999; Lerner and Takagi 1999; Tanaka 1999, 2005, 2008; Hayashi, Mori and Takagi 2002), Russian (Bolden 2004), and Hebrew (Hacohen and Schegloff 2006).

The range of CA work on languages other than English is matched in the increasing use of CA methodology to analyze interactions in institutional settings. From Sacks's earliest work on the helpline calls, so-called "institutional" talk has been a major line of conversation-analytic investigation, and we now have accounts of, amongst other contexts, calls to the emergency services (Zimmerman 1998; Whalen and Zimmerman 2005), medical interaction (Robinson 2003; Heritage and Maynard 2006; Stivers 2007), psychotherapy (Peräkylä, Antaki, Vehviläinen and Leudar 2010), broadcast news interviews (Clayman and Heritage 2002), law courts (Atkinson and Drew 1979; Maynard 1984); for an overview, see Drew and Heritage (1992) and Heritage and Clayman (2010).

This CA focus on interactions that adapt, in various ways, the turn-taking conventions of so-called mundane conversation has also led to an important strand of research examining interactions where one party has limited capacity for speech. So Goodwin (1995) examines the interactions of a speaker who, as a result of a stroke, can only produce "yes", "no" and "and", but who nevertheless manages to convey what he needs to by embedding his talk in sequences of action co-constructed with his interlocutors. There is a growing body of work on CA and communication disorders such as aphasia (see the collection in Goodwin 2003; Wilkinson 2007), autism (Stribling, Rae and Dickerson 2007) cerebral palsy (Clarke and Wilkinson 2009) and other forms of dysarthria (Bloch and Wilkinson 2009). What is clear from such interactions is the extent to which the participants rely on visual and gestural information. While telephone interaction, lacking as it does the visual channel, was ideal for the early work in CA, video and DVD materials have since made it possible to identify how, in face-to-face interaction, speech and non-vocal activities create contexts for each other. Since Goodwin's account of the interactive construction of a sentence in conversation (1979, 1981), showing the pivotal role of eye-gaze in the production of a sentence, there has been increasing interest in the intersection of speech with gaze, posture and gesture (see, for example, Schegloff 1998b; Stivers 2008; Streeck 2009). The analytic power of CA to reveal participants' interactional capabilities in this regard is nowhere more incisively

demonstrated than in Schegloff (1999c) – the account of a commisurotomy patient in whom the robust operation of the pragmatic and discourse components of the language faculty is impaired and who "(according to the results of formal testing procedures) […] 'did not perform well on commands relating to indirect requests'" (Schegloff 1999c: 424). What Schegloff shows, by examining bodily posture and non-verbal actions, is that in actual fact the patient demonstrates "robust and exquisitely detailed attention to compliance with an indirect request" (Schegloff 1999c: 424). This expansion of CA methodology into the field of the visual has continued to furnish insights, not only into the integration of the verbal and non-verbal, but also into the world of the non-verbal alone; see, in this connection, Lerner and Zimmerman (2003), Kidwell (2005), and Kidwell and Zimmerman (2006, 2007) on the interactions of pre-linguistic children.

6.   Conclusion

It may seem ironic to end this survey of conversation analysis by pointing to the wealth of current CA work going beyond the strictly linguistic. It is fitting, however, because it shows just how far beyond its disciplinary origins CA's relevance extends. In its aim of studying the machinery of interaction and what that machinery can be used to do, its analytical reach goes way beyond its sociological beginnings, and should be of interest to anyone curious about the uniquely human qualities of interaction.

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Transcription conventions

The transcripts are notated according to the system developed by Gail Jefferson, with the following conventions (adapted from Ochs, Schegloff and Thompson 1996: 461–465):

[[	Separate left square brackets, one above the other on two successive lines with utterances by different speakers, indicates a point of overlap onset

```
3A [Or late-
4B [Well, perhaps not now. Maybe in 'bout five minutes?
```

]]	Separate right square brackets, one above the other on two successive lines with utterances by different speakers indicates a point at which two overlapping utterances both end, where one ends while the other continues, or simultaneous moments in overlaps which continue.
=	Equal signs ordinarily come in pairs – one at the end of a line and another at the start of the next line or one shortly thereafter. They are used to indicate two things:

(1) If the two lines of transcription connected by the signs are by the same speaker, then there was a single, continuous utterance with no break or pause, which was broken up in order to accommodate the placement of overlapping talk:

```
4Jo   Oh, I was just gonna say come out and come over here and talk
5     this evening, [but if you're going out you can't very well do=
6Ju              ["Talk", you mean get drunk, don't you?
7Jo   =that
```

(2) If the lines connected by the signs are by different speakers, then the second followed the first with no discernable silence between them, or was 'latched' to it.

```
1L    An' 'en but all of the doors 'n things were taped up=
2→    =I mean y'know they put up y'know that kinda paper 'r stuff,
```

(0.5)	Numbers in parentheses indicate silence, represented in tenths of a second. Silences may be marked either within turns or between them.
(.)	A dot in parentheses indicates a 'micropause', ordinarily less than 2/10ths of a second.

These options are represented below:

```
1A    Would you like to meet now?
2→    (0.6)
```

.?,	The punctuation marks indicate intonation. The period indicates a falling, or final intonation contour, not necessarily the end of a sentence. A question mark indicates a rising intonation, not necessarily a question, and a comma indicates 'continuing' intonation, not necessarily a clause boundary.
:::	Colons are used to indicate prolongation or stretching of the sound preceding them. The more colons, the longer the stretching.
–	A hyphen after a word or part of a word indicates a cut-off or self-interruptions, often done with a glottal or dental stop.
<u>word</u>	Underlining is used to indicate some form of stress or emphasis, either by increased loudness or higher pitch.
WORD	Especially loud talk relative to that which surrounds it may be indicated by upper case.
°word°	The degree signs indicate that the talk between them is markedly softer than the talk around them.
↑↓	The up or down arrows mark particularly emphatic rises or falls in pitch.
>word<	The combination of 'more than' and 'less than' symbols indicates that the talk between them is compressed or rushed.
hh	Hearable aspiration is shown where it occurs in the talk by the letter 'h': the more 'h's, the more aspiration.
.hh	If the aspiration is an inhalation it is preceded by a dot.
(---)	Words unclear and so untranscribable
(word)	Best guess at unclear words

5. Systemic-functional approaches to discourse

Anne-Marie Simon-Vandenbergen

1. Introduction

This chapter discusses major strands in research on discourse which has been conducted within Systemic-Functional Linguistics (SFL). It does not attempt to give a complete survey either of the literature or of the different schools. The plural form "approaches" in the title does not refer to different "dialects" within the theory but rather to the various angles from which discourse has been approached within the model as it has been used over the years. The focus is on showing how discourse analysis is deeply embedded in the SFL conception of language and its organisation and on looking at how this conception originated and developed, including present-day trends.

The sections in this chapter deal with aspects which are crucial to an understanding of SFL theorizing and discourse analysis. Section 2 places text at the centre of the theory and grammar at the centre of text analysis. It argues that from its beginnings SFL has considered it essential to look upon language as embedded in the context of situation and beyond this in the context of culture. This has generated very early work on specific types of language uses in relation to the context of situation. The goal of explaining language as it functions in context has led to the recognition of three metafunctions (ideational, interpersonal and textual) as central to an account of the linguistic system itself. Section 2 demonstrates how these metafunctions are realised in the clause and how in SFL text analysis is grounded in grammatical analysis. Section 3 focuses on the relationship between text and the context of situation. The concept of register links the context of situation to lexicogrammatical choices through the situational variables of field, tenor and mode, which are systematically related to the three metafunctions. Having stated that language is to be studied through texts and that texts are to be studied through grammar the question arises how clauses and texts differ. This question is taken up in section 4, which deals with the structure of a text as a semantic unit. Section 4 brings in work which has set up structural formulas for specific text types and work showing how a text "hangs together" through detailed analysis of its cohesive ties. This brings us to the notion of genre, which is the topic of section 5. While the concept of register relates language to the context of situation, the concept of genre relates it to the context of culture. Section 5 looks at different approaches to genre within SFL. Section 6 takes a closer look at a fairly recent development within SFL, which is Appraisal Theory. This approach focuses on the interpersonal meanings in discourse and sets up a network of semantic options to

account for realisations of the speaker's or writer's intrusion in the message. It goes beyond the grammatical realisations of interpersonal meanings in the structure of the clause to deal with the semantics of evaluation. Section 7 gives examples of SFL studies of specific discourse types. It focuses on three domains which have received considerable attention within SFL: scientific discourse, media discourse and historical discourse. Section 8 takes up another important feature of SFL, which is its commitment to socially accountable research. Halliday not only refuses to accept an antithesis between theorizing and textual analysis (the topic of section 2), but also between theory and application. For him, linguistics has to be a mode of action. One very important domain of application is education, and section 8 takes a closer look at systemic-functional educational linguistics. Finally, section 9 reaches "outwards" in two ways: it shows how SFL has inspired other discourse approaches, in particular Critical Discourse Analysis, and it demonstrates how SFL has stimulated the crossing of boundaries between modalities in multimodal discourse analysis. The chapter rounds off with section 10, which draws attention to important SFL work which for lack of space could not be treated. One such omission is the development of alternative models outside Australia; another is theoretically and socially very fruitful work in various domains.

2.   The place of text in SFL: no grammar without text, no text analysis without grammar

> *"I do not think there is any antithesis between the*
> *'textual' and the 'theoretical' in the study of language"*
> (Halliday 1971, as quoted in Webster 2002b: 89)

An account of discourse as seen in SFL has to go back to early work by Michael Halliday, because from the beginning he gave a central position to language at work, i.e. language for communication in real life. The roots of SFL are to be found in an interest in the connection between language and society. The work of the anthropologist Malinowski published in 1935, in which he described the language of Trobriand Islanders as they used it in a fishing expedition, was referred to repeatedly by Halliday because it throws light on the way in which language serves crucial functions in all societies (e. g. Halliday 1970, in Webster 2002a: 173). The focus on language in context was also present in the writings of J. R. Firth, whose work was the starting-point and model for the development of Hallidayan linguistics (cf. Östman and Simon-Vandenbergen 1995). From the early 1970s onwards, Halliday saw the study of language in text and as text as the goal of his linguistic theory: how to explain language as it functions in different contexts. This led to the further insight that language should not just be described as serving external functions (such as those recognised by Bühler 1934) but that the functions

language has to serve shape the language and give it the specific features that it has. Halliday (1978: 48) explains the relation between his own functional framework and Bühler's as follows: Bühler "is not attempting to explain the nature *of the linguistic system* in functional terms". In contrast, Halliday himself aims to explain the structure of the system through the functions the language serves. These functions are hence to be related to the system in systematic ways.

The notion of three *metafunctions* as functional components of the semantic system was developed first (see e.g. Halliday 1979 for an early account) because it appeared that networks of lexicogrammatical phenomena partitioned themselves into three major groups, with many internal connections but relatively few connections between the groups[1]. In other words, the selections speakers make within a particular group determine or constrain the selections they make at some other point. For example, the choice of "probability" as a modal option is possible in the declarative but not in the imperative mood (*She is probably working hard* but not **Probably work hard*). This is because modality and mood both operate within the same component or group of options. On the other hand, the choice of modality is independent of choices in other groups such as process types: the speaker can always contribute his own judgement of probability to whatever configuration of process and participants (*He is probably working late; He's probably ill*). (see Halliday 1979: 200). Halliday claimed that these groups of options fulfil three different functions, called *metafunctions*.

The term "metafunctions" was coined by Halliday to signal that they are not uses of language but "functional components of the semantic system" (see e.g. Halliday 1978: 112). Halliday argues that there are three metafunctions, i.e. the expression of "content" or the reference to the world (ideational function), the regulation of social relations and the expression of social roles (interpersonal function), and the embedding of linguistic utterances in the context (textual function). It is clear that this third metafunction enables speakers to construct "text", i.e. to produce utterances which make sense in a context and which are hence not just a set of sentences but a discourse. What is interesting in Halliday's functional view of language is that these three metafunctions are realised in the linguistic structure at different levels, most notably at the level of the clause: "Hence the functional organization of meaning in language is built in to the core of the linguistic system as the most general organizing principle of the lexicogrammatical stratum" (Halliday 1978: 113). The following example is from Halliday (1979: 199):

(1) Cut us another slice!

This is a sentence from the Walrus and the Carpenter in *Alice Through the Looking-Glass.* Firstly, the ideational meaning is the representation of a process (cut) in which three participants are involved: the one who does the cutting, the thing that is cut and the one for whom it is cut. Secondly, the interpersonal meaning here is a demand for action: the imperative mood is chosen to realize this meaning. Thirdly,

this sentence has textual meaning: its relevance to the context is expressed through the organisation of the message, notably through placing the process (the action that is demanded) in focus and through the presupposition that at least one slice has already been cut (i.e. the sentence is embedded in a situational context). Any clause is a realisation of ideational, interpersonal and textual meanings.

Halliday further argues that it is only by studying the formal realisations in the lexico-grammar[2] and the phonology (particularly intonation) that we can talk about language in context in a systematic and verifiable way. For Halliday, grammatical analysis is essential to text analysis: whatever we can say about the functions a text serves in a particular context needs to be reflected in the form language takes in that context. Close linguistic analysis of the grammatical choices in the text is therefore crucial. Halliday (2004) says: "[W]e cannot explain why a text means what it does, with all the various readings and values that may be given to it, except by relating it to the linguistic system as a whole" (Halliday 2004: 3). In order to illustrate the SFL approach to text, let me first very briefly review the structural realisations of the metafunctions at clause level, and then apply them to a short extract.

The ideational metafunction includes the experiential and the logical functions. The former refers to the fact that we use language to represent experience (the representational function). Language has systems[3] of types of processes and participants (persons, objects and abstractions) associated with them. These processes and their participant roles, together with the circumstantial roles, form the transitivity system in the grammar. The sub-classifications of processes and their accompanying roles are based on systematic distinctions in the grammar. The three main process types are material (processes of doing and happening, e.g. *hit*, *bake*, *crash*), mental (processes of sensing, e.g. *love*, *understand*, *want*) and relational processes (processes of being and having, e.g. *be*, *have*, *seem*, *own*). Minor types are verbal (processes of saying, e.g. *say*, *praise*, *report*), behavioural (processes of typically human physiological and psychological behaviour, e.g. *look*, *laugh*, *breathe*) and existential (clauses representing that something exists or happens, e.g. *There was a storm*, *there is nothing here*). All of these processes have subtypes (for an overview see Halliday 2004: chapter 5). Complementary to the transitivity system is the ergativity system, which looks at the roles associated with the processes from a different point of view (see e.g. Halliday 1970, in Webster 2002a: 186ff.): whether one participant is involved (the "Affected" as it was called in Halliday 1970, the "Medium" as it was called later, e.g. Halliday 2004) or two (the "Causer" in Halliday 1970, the "Agent" in Halliday 2004). Choices from the ergativity system are choices between representing the action as involving only the affected participant or as caused by an external one. Apart from the experiential function, the ideational metafunction also includes the logical metafunction, which serves for "the expression of certain very general logical relations" (Halliday 2004: 310). The logical component defines complex clauses (relations of interdependency, logico-semantic relations and recursion) but also the structure of groups (relations of modification).

Let me now apply these categories in exploring the experiential meanings in the following passage, which is the opening paragraph of Nelson Mandela's autobiography *Long Walk to Freedom*:

(2) Apart from life, a strong constitution, and an abiding connection to the Thembu royal house, the only thing my father <u>bestowed</u> upon me at birth **was** a name, Rolihlahla. In Xhosa, Rolihlahla literally **means** "pulling the branch of a tree," but its colloquial meaning more accurately **would be** "troublemaker." I **do not believe** that names <u>are</u> destiny or that my father somehow <u>divined</u> my future, but in later years, friends and relatives **would ascribe** to my birth name the many storms I have both <u>caused</u> and <u>weathered</u>. My more familiar English or Christian name **was not given** to me until my first day of school. But I **am getting** ahead of myself. (Mandela 1994: 3).

The seven main verbs in this text are in bold. The first three verb phrases *was, means, would be* are relational processes, expressing an identity relation between two things. What is at stake is the author's name and its meaning. The phrase *I do not believe* expresses a mental process (cognitive) and contrasts the speaker's viewpoint with that of friends and relatives. The process *ascribe* is also a relational identifying process, but this time with a participant who has a sort of executive role, that of "Assigner". Again, however, the thing identified is the name. In the next sentence *give* is a material process, of which no "Actor" is mentioned but the "Goal" (the thing which is given) is again the name. The final sentence has a material process *get ahead*, which is used metaphorically for telling/writing (a verbal process). We can go further and look at the processes in the sub-clauses. These are underlined in the text. *Bestow* is material and a formal synonym of *give* which occurs later in the extract: both are processes of transaction in which the name is the thing which is given. In the next clause the verb *are* is again relational identifying, with *names* as the entity which is identified by or presented as equal with *destiny*. The verb *divined* is mental cognitive. The verbs *caused and weathered* stand out as expressing material processes in an embedded clause. They contrast with the reflective nature of the rest of the passage but project the readers into the future which they know. In summary, the text is characterised by a clear preponderance of identifying processes: the book starts by reflecting on the author's name and identity. The two mental processes are cognitive and have the author's father and himself as Sensers. Apart from his father and himself the only other human participants mentioned in the text are "friends and relatives". The material processes *bestow* and *give* both have the author's names as Goal, his Xhosa and his English one respectively. The former has an Actor (*my father*), the latter omits it, which depersonalises the process. The Time Adjuncts *in later years, until my first day of school* both contrast with the first one *at birth*. They occur in sentences which foreshadow the future, through mention of the "storms", and of school (as a confrontation with the outside world in which Xhosa children were given new names).

From the interpersonal point of view (the clause as exchange between speaker/writer and audience) a clause operates in terms of speech functions, the basic ones being statement, question, command and offer. Speech functions are expressed grammatically in the system of mood: declarative, interrogative, imperative, and exclamative sentences. At this level the notions of grammatical Subject and finite verb are central. Together with modal Adjuncts they form the hub around which the clause revolves (see Halliday 2004). The syntagm of Subject and finite verb thus expresses the communication role that the speaker adopts, such as informing, questioning, or commanding. The finite verb expresses tense, modality and polarity, e.g. *It* can't *be done.* Let us look at the extract from Mandela's autobiography from an interpersonal point of view.

(3) Apart from life, a strong constitution, and an abiding connection to the Thembu royal house, **the only thing <u>my father</u> bestowed upon me at birth** was a name, Rolihlahla. In Xhosa, **Rolihlahla** literally means "pulling the branch of a tree," but **its colloquial meaning** more accurately would be "troublemaker." **I** do not believe that <u>names</u> are destiny or that <u>my father</u> somehow divined my future, but in later years, **friends and relatives** would ascribe to my birth name the many storms <u>I</u> have both caused and weathered. **My more familiar English or Christian name** was not given to me until my first day of school. But **I** am getting ahead of myself. (Mandela 1994: 3).

All clauses are declarative; there are no interrogatives or imperatives. The Subjects of the main clauses are in bold; those of subordinate ones are underlined. The Subject is, in Halliday's terms, "the resting point" of the argument (Halliday 2004: 118), "something by reference to which the proposition can be affirmed or denied" (Halliday 2004: 117). The Subjects in the above text are primarily nominal groups referring to the name, as well as references to the writer, his father and friends and relatives. The first person pronoun occurs as the Subject (*I*) of three clauses and in the Subject (*my*) in three more (*my father* (twice), *my more familiar* […] *name*). The use of references to the writer by means of first person pronouns makes the text into a personal account from the start. The finite form of the verb "brings the proposition down to earth, so that it is something that can be argued about" (Halliday 2004: 115). The tense in the extract is mostly past, to refer to the early period in the author's life, except in comments. Tense shift marks a step aside from the narration to comment on or explicate aspects of the narrative. The author thus builds up two "threads": the narrative and a commentary on the narrative, distinguished by tense choice. There is also a flash-forward signalled by the tense shift *would ascribe* and by the temporal circumstance *in later years*. The clause "But I am getting ahead of myself" is a comment on the writing process itself, a metatextual comment. Two finite verbs are negative and these choices are significant. The first is *I do not believe*. Negation draws attention to the existence of the possibility of the opposite. In this case the preceding references to the meaning of the writer's name as well as

the following sentence, which explicitly mentions a contrary opinion, makes the negative *I do not believe* a strong rhetorical ploy, because it highlights the possibility that someone (potentially amongst the audience) might believe the opposite. The meaning of the author's name is taken as the starting point of the story of his life, which – as the reader knows – is one of "storms […] caused and weathered". The second negation is […] *was not given to me until* […]. There is a clear rhetorical advantage in using the negative instead of the positive […] *was given to me when* […]. The negative relegates the Christian name to the "outside world", not belonging to and away from his early childhood, to the author's encounter with Apartheid South Africa, in which schools gave western names and thus intruded on one's identity. The first extract in this way foreshadows a contrast between two worlds, the Xhosa one and the disruptive one created by Apartheid.

The textual metafunction structures the clause as message, taking into account the preceding text and the expectations of the hearer about where the discourse is going. The thematic structure divides the clause into a Theme (the starting-point of the message) and a Rheme (the rest of the clause, which carries the argument further). Thematic structure, which is lexicogrammatical, is closely linked to but different from information structure, which refers to the notions of Given and New. In English, information structure is expressed by intonation. Tonic prominence indicates new information. The following example is from Halliday (2004: 90):

(4) Now silver needs to have **love.**

With the tonic prominence on *love* this element is picked out as the new information and it is in the Rheme of the clause. The Theme is *now silver,* which is Given and taken as the starting point of the message. What gets to be Theme and what is Given or New depends on the surrounding text. Let us consider the thematic choices in Mandela's opening paragraph. They are in bold. The underlined elements are thematic choices following Adjuncts. Italics show Themes in subordinate clauses.

(5) **Apart from life, a strong constitution, and an abiding connection to the Thembu royal house,** the only thing my father bestowed upon me at birth was a name, Rolihlahla. **In Xhosa**, Rolihlahla literally means "pulling the branch of a tree," **but its colloquial meaning** more accurately would be "troublemaker." **I** do not believe *that names* are destiny *or that my father* somehow divined my future**, but in later years**, friends and relatives would ascribe to my birth name the many storms I have both caused and weathered. **My more familiar English or Christian name** was not given to me until my first day of school**. But I** am getting ahead of myself. (Mandela 1994: 3).

Starting with a long Adjunct is a marked choice. The opening of the book with the list of three things introduced by *apart from* calls for the reader's immediate attention because the preposition *apart from* raises expectations of "minor" things,

whereas "life, a strong constitution and an abiding connection to the Thembu royal house" are clearly extremely valuable gifts and considered as such by the writer. Following the Adjunct, however, there is a second marked thematic choice in the sentence: the underlined nominal group is the Subject of a special type of relational clause which Halliday calls a *thematic equative* "because it sets up the Theme + Rheme structure in the form of an equation, where Theme = Rheme" (2004: 69). In this way the thematic element is foregrounded as the starting point, while the rhematic element, *a name, Rolihlahla* is prominent as new information. This foreshadows that it is the element which will be picked up in the following discourse. Indeed, *Rolihlahla* is Theme in the next clause, the Rheme of which leads to the Theme in the following one, which takes the meaning as the starting point. We here see a logical thematic development in which Rhemes become Themes in the next clauses. The break comes with *My more familiar English or Christian name,* which is a new Theme not mentioned anywhere in the preceding text and is contrastive with the Xhosa name talked about up to that point. The break is structural and symbolical and is further highlighted as important by the metatextual comment starting with *But I*, which consists of the structural thematic element *but* and the topical one *I*. This Theme signals a change of direction in the discourse ("But") and – in the instantial pattern of the text so far – the fact that a comment on the narrative is coming up ("I"). It is interesting that "I" does not occur so far as Theme in narrative clauses (although it does in the next paragraph of the text, which starts with "I was born on the eighteenth of July, 1918, […],").

A great deal of SFL work on discourse has been carried out paying specific attention to the way in which particular texts have exploited the systems of transitivity, mood and theme. Transitivity has been looked at in literary discourse by for example Benson and Greaves (1987) in a comparison of process types in Poe's short story *The Fall of the House of Usher* and Melville's novel *Moby Dick.* The analysis was restricted to "I + verb" and the tokens were retrieved by a computer. The purpose of the exercise was to see how a preponderance of specific process types in (different sections of) the two works correlates with types of narration and developments in the plots. Probably the best known literary analysis from this perspective is Halliday's article on the language of William Golding's *The Inheritors* (1971). In this work Halliday shows how the world view of Neanderthal man, his limited understanding and inability to control the world, is reflected in the transitivity and ergativity choices. A comparison of three passages from this perspective brings to light the way in which Golding has managed to convey a picture of the evolution of man through the language in which he expresses our ancestors' construal of the environment. The broadening of man's horizon is expressed in the grammar of man's language at different stages. For example, in a passage which describes what the principal character Lok, a Neanderthal man, sees as he is watching a more advanced tribe, we get a preponderance of intransitive action clauses in which there is only one participant, such as *the bushes twitched again, Lok stea-*

died by the tree, a stick rose upright. The only participant involved in the processes is mostly the "affected" one. Halliday sums up the transitivity structure of the language of Neanderthal man as one in which there is no cause and effect. It is the grammar of powerlessness. This is a truly functional discourse analysis, linking grammar, culture and cognition. As Halliday formulates it pithily, "In *The Inheritors*, the syntax is part of the story" (Halliday 1971: 120).

The construal of a totally different world by means of metaphors is the topic in Simon-Vandenbergen's (1993) analysis of speech and music in George Orwell's picture of the totalitarian state in *Nineteen Eighty-Four*. These include lexical as well as grammatical metaphors, which in SFL are incongruent wordings, "the expression of a meaning through a lexico-grammatical form which originally evolved to express a different kind of meaning" (Thompson 1996: 165). See further section 7 on grammatical metaphor.

Texts can also be analysed from the interpersonal point of view, looking at mood choices. Eggins (1994) for example examines three texts on the same topic (crying babies) from the perspective of mood, and shows how mood classes (declarative, etc.), modality choices, categories of mood Adjuncts and types of Subjects reflect systematic differences between speech and writing on the one hand and between levels of formality, distance between writer and reader and the author's positioning on the other hand. The grammar of modality is also studied in Halliday's article on an extract from a committee discussion on a PhD defence, called "So you say 'pass' […] thank you three muchly" (1994). This is a detailed account of the modal choices reflecting the speakers' communicative goals and attitudes. Also, for a long time, there has been SFL interest in conversation (see e.g. Halliday 1985a), and in Halliday (2004) a dialogue between Nigel (aged 4;2) and his father is analysed for mood class, polarity, tense, modality and subject choices. Such an analysis shows how the dialogue proceeds as a series of exchanges. An excellent SFL monograph on conversation is Eggins and Slade (1997), in which one of the perspectives is the interpersonal grammar.

There are numerous discourse analyses from the point of view of the thematic choices. Ghadessy (1995) brings together a number of studies dealing with the emergence and development of the concept of Theme, with the practical implications of thematic development (such as in translation) and with thematic development in academic and non-academic (including literary) texts. Peter Fries in particular has devoted much of his research to the exploration of the textual metafunction. Fries (2002) discusses the flow of information in a written text on the basis of a detailed clause-by-clause analysis of the Theme and Rheme choices in a letter. Halliday (2004) illustrates with a biographical text how the thematic organisation of the clause is a significant factor in the development of a text. Forey and Thompson (2009) is a recent collection of articles devoted to textual resources that are used to construct text. Some of the contributions focus on the current understanding of the concept of Theme (such as Fries 2009; Thompson and

Thompson 2009), others deal with thematic choices in a range of text types (such as Corbett 2009; Gosden 2009).

What is clear in all the analyses is that in the SFL approach to discourse, the grammar is at the centre and there can be no text analysis without grammar: "all text is made of language, and the central processing unit of the linguistic system is the lexicogrammar" (Halliday 1985a, in Webster 2002a: 285). Grammatical analysis is closely linked to a functional approach to the text, in two senses: the meta-functions are reflected in the grammatical structure of the clause, and the specific choices in a text reflect the function of the text in the context. It is this second factor which is looked at in more detail in the next section.

3.   The contextual embedding of language: the notion of register

From its beginnings, Halliday's linguistic theory has insisted on the study of language in the context of situation. The relevant concepts were developed in the 1960s, especially in Halliday, McIntosh and Strevens (1964). The context of situation of the text is described in terms of field, tenor and mode. The "field" is what is going on, the nature of the social activity taking place. The "tenor" refers to the social relationships between the speaker/writer and reader/hearer, the mutual roles of the interactants. The "mode" is the channel through which communication takes place (primarily written vs. spoken) and the rhetorical function (see e.g. Halliday 1978). These three variables are called the register variables, and a description of the values for each of these variables in a specific instance of language use is a register description. For example, Halliday (1985) analyses a particular instance of a conversation in terms of register as follows: the field is what is being talked about (in his example "a general, imaginary problem of verbal behaviour: how to refer to a baby whose sex is unknown"); the tenor is the relationship between the speakers (in his example "adult and three children; adult interviewer; informal; speech roles: adult questioning, children suggesting"); the mode of the specific instance can be described as "informal spontaneous speech; dialogue; question-answer sequences; exploratory".

Let us illustrate register analysis by looking at a concrete example. The following text is the opening paragraph of *The Phonetics of English and Dutch* (1999) by Collins and Mees:

(6) Phonetics, the study of speech sound, can be investigated in many different ways. And today there is a vast amount of complex instrumentation available to help us gain more accurate information about the nature of speech. However, we can still get a very long way into some aspects of the subject just by using three very useful bits of apparatus which we all normally possess, namely, our mouths, our ears and our eyes. The emphasis in this book is going to be on

speaking, listening and – quite often – looking. This is because we believe that this forms the most useful introduction to phonetics for those who are learning the subject as a component of a foreign-language course, and who are going to be using their knowledge in part to improve their pronunciation performance. (Collins and Mees 1999: 1).

In the above passage the field is phonetics, the mode is written (to be read), and the tenor is that of specialists writing for students. How do we know this? Field is easily recognised from the content words, which in this case include: *phonetics, study, speech sounds, instrumentation, nature of speech, apparatus, subject, pronunciation.* Together they tell us that what is being talked about is phonetics. At the same time, words such as *introduction, learning, foreign-language course* point to the activity the writers are engaged in as "introducing the subject of phonetics to students". Mode is defined as the role language plays in the interaction. Crucial here is the distinction between written and spoken language situations. Linguistic forms which typically correlate with the written mode include: monologic organisation (rather than turn-taking), rhetorical (rather than interactive) staging, final draft (no spontaneity phenomena (based on Eggins 1994: 57). These are all self-explanatory. Other features need some exemplification. Written texts typically have a higher lexical density than spoken ones. This means that the proportion of lexical content words is higher. Consider for example the following clause from the above extract:

(7) to **help** us **gain** more **accurate information** about the **nature** of **speech**

This sub-clause has six content words (in bold) in a total of 12 words. Now a more typical spoken version would be:

(8) to **help** us get to **know** more about what it is we are **doing** when we are **speaking**

This version has four content words in a total of 18 words. Hence the lexical density of the actual clause in the extract is much higher and is reflective of the written mode. Another feature of the typical written mode is grammatical simplicity. This can also be illustrated with the same clause:

(9) gain more accurate information about the nature of speech

The above string consists of one clause. This clause has the structure: Predicator (*gain*) + Object (*more information about the nature of speech*). The clause itself is simple, while the complexity resides in the nominal group (*information about the nature of speech*). Let us compare this with our spoken version:

(10) get to know more about what it is we are doing when we are speaking

This string has the structure Predicator (*get to now*) + Object (*more*) + Adjunct (*about what it is we are doing when we are speaking*). The Adjunct in its turn contains a clause (*what it is we are doing when we are speaking*) which has the structure Object (*what it is*) + Subject (*we*) + Predicator (*are doing)* + Adjunct (*when we are speaking*). The Object (*what it is*) is a nominal relative clause. The last Adjunct (*when we are speaking*) is again a clause with the structure Conjunction + Subject + Predicator. In all, the spoken version has three clauses which function within the larger clause in different ways. This kind of grammatical intricacy is, Halliday (1985b) argues, not untypical of speech.

Tenor refers to "the social role relationships played by interactants" (Eggins 1994: 63). In this case the relationship is one of lecturers (specialists) addressing students. Crucial continuums here are those of power (equal – unequal), contact (frequent – occasional), and affective involvement (high – low) (see Eggins 1994: 64). We can draw a contrast between formal and informal situations, according to their typical tenor dimensions. A formal situation is characterised by unequal, hierarchic power, infrequent or one-off contact and low affective involvement (Eggins 1994: 65). The extract from Collins and Mees quoted above can be labelled "formal" in that sense. One obvious feature of formal situations is formal vocabulary. The following words from the text have informal counterparts (in brackets): *investigate* (*study*), *vast amount* (*a lot of*), *gain information* (*get information*), *apparatus* (*means*), *component* (*part*), *pronunciation performance* (*the way they speak*). On the other hand, the writers attempt to minimise the formality and the power distance by the use of the pronoun *we* and informal words such as *just*, *very useful bits*.

Now the crucial point is that the three components in which the semantic system is organised (the three metafunctions "ideational", "interpersonal" and "textual" discussed in section 2 above) not only generate different structural configurations as output, but are also systematically related to the components of the situation. Halliday (1979: 201) writes: "[…] by and large, the field […] determines the ideational meanings; the tenor […] determines the interpersonal meanings; while the mode […] determines the textual meanings". It should be noted that "determines" is perhaps a misleading term here because what is meant is that choices are constrained, that the probabilities are skewed (see further in this section). What we see at work here is the basic principle of the linguistic organisation in the Hallidayan model, i.e. the view of language as a stratal system and the relationship between the strata as one of realisation. The more abstract level of register is a semantic notion which realises features of the situation, and is itself realised in the lexicogrammatical choices. Butler (2003: 374) points out that the concept of register developed from the earlier more formal notion (a patterning of grammatical and lexical choices) into a semantic notion, and that this development "fits in with the shift towards a more semantically-based grammar which occurred in the 1970s".

Ghadessy ([ed.] 1988) is a collection of studies of written registers: the languages of newspapers and magazines, religion, business, compression and physical science. The contributions deal with grammatical, lexical and semantic choices which are related to contextual variables. It appears, however, that the "languages" discussed differ as to levels of generality or specificity and with regard to what the labels refer to. For example, "the language of religion", based on field, is a very different concept from "the language of compression", which has to do with mode and is found in poetry as well as in ads or in synopses. Much tighter analyses of register as a configuration of choices in field, tenor and mode are for example found in Halliday and Hasan (1985/1989), in which a variety of texts, ranging from a legal document to a radio talk and even one single sentence from a poem ("Or leave a kiss within a cup, and I'll not ask for wine" from the poem "To Celia" by Ben Jonson) are analysed in terms of field (experiential meanings), tenor (interpersonal meanings) and mode (textual meanings).

The principle of realisation of the variables of field, tenor and mode in choices from the experiential, interpersonal and textual systems respectively is subjected to critical discussion by Thompson (1998). While Thompson subscribes to the view that linguistic choices from the three metafunctional systems correlate with the three situational variables, he argues that a strict version of the *hook-up hypothesis*, which states that such correlations are exclusive, is untenable. Instead, Thompson proposes an approach "which does not necessarily restrict the links to a 'typical' set of pairings" (1998: 107). For example, his analysis of doctor-patient consultations shows that ellipsis and substitution, which are cohesive devices and hence according to the hook-up hypothesis textual choices determined by mode, equally correlate with tenor, as they reflect a particular role relationship of co-operation and a certain level of informality.

Register is seen as probabilistic choice: a setting of probabilities in the semantics (Halliday in Thibault 1987: 610). For example, the choice of process types and the relative frequency of specific types will vary according to the field. Halliday (1981) mentions a study by Melrose (1979), in which the latter distinguishes between factual, phenomenal and relational messages, deriving them from the material, mental and relational processes of the transitivity system.

It can be seen that texts can be classified into text types on the basis of the register variables which they instantiate. As such, texts can be classified according to field choices (e.g. medical discourse), interpersonal choices (equal power vs. hierarchical discourse) or mode choices (e.g. face-to-face interaction discourse) (see e.g. Eggins 1994: chapter 3, for a clear account of the concept of register in theory and in practice).

What is the relationship between register and the individual text? Halliday sees a text as an instance of a particular register, in the sense that it has the "generic" features characteristic of that register, but it also has a unique character (Halliday 1981). The specific character of the text is what distinguishes it from the other texts

which have the same register values, in other words the features which are not predictable from the contextual values. Every text is "sui generis" but some texts are more unique than others. This is specifically true for literary texts, and Halliday has analysed extracts from literary works in several of his publications (see e.g. Halliday 1982 on Priestley's *An Inspector Calls;* Halliday 1987 on Tennyson's *In Memoriam*). An important notion in the description of a specific text is foregrounding: the text creates its own norms in "its own unique selection from the resources of the system by which it is generated" (Halliday 1981: 230).

Martin (1992: chapter 7) gives a detailed account of his own views on register, genre and ideology, as well as a comparison of different models of context within SFL (see especially Martin 1992: 499). The chapter offers a rich discussion of how the notions of text, context and register are interpreted in several SFL works.

4.   The structure of texts as semantic units

Halliday has asked the question "How is a text like a clause?" and the answer is that the relation between them is one of realisation: text as a semantic unit is realised in clauses (Halliday 1981). However, a combination of clauses does not necessarily constitute a text. What distinguishes a text from a non-text is *texture*, a concept introduced in Halliday and Hasan (1979: 2). Texture is what makes a text into a unified whole, both externally and internally.

One consequence of the semantic nature of a text is that its structure is of a different kind from the structure of a clause. For example, the text structure can be defined as a configuration of functions. Halliday (1981) refers to a very early study by Mitchell (1957), who set up structures for the language of buying and selling in functional terms. Martin (1980) does the same when he gives the structural formula for persuasive texts: Set ground ^ State problem ^ Offer solution ^ Evaluate solution (^ Personalize solution). Other work of this type was done by Hasan (1984) on the nursery tale and by Ventola (1987) on service encounters. Eggins and Slade (1997) analyse the discourse structure of casual conversation in terms of a functional-semantic interpretation of interaction. The units of analysis are turns and moves, and speech function classes which are presented in system networks (Eggins and Slade 1997: chapter 5).

Another consequence of the semantic nature of a text is that it has coherence (Halliday 1981). Coherence has been approached by Halliday and Hasan (1976) through the system of cohesion, which is "a necessary but not a sufficient condition of coherence" (Halliday 1981: 223)[4]. Coherence refers to the way a text relates to the context, both cultural and situational. A text has situational coherence when it could occur in a particular situation, i.e. "when we can specify a field, mode and tenor for the entire collection of clauses" (Eggins 1994: 87). A text has generic coherence when it is recognisable as an instance of a particular genre (see section 5

below). Cohesion refers to the internal organisation of the text and implies that there are semantic ties between items in a text. Cohesive resources comprise lexical cohesion, reference, conjunction, ellipsis, and substitution (see Halliday and Hasan 1976). The study of cohesion in a text is an important aspect of its description. Examples of such studies are Halliday's (1992) detailed analysis of lexical cohesion in a fund-raising text, and Eggins' (1994: 99) illustration of reference chains in a narrative within a conversation.

5.   The concept of genre in SFL

Butler (2003: 380) points out that "[t]here is considerable fluidity, both inside and outside SFG [i.e. Systemic-functional grammar], in the ways in which the term 'genre' is used". As there is a separate chapter on genre in this volume, authored by Tardy and Swales, this concept will not be treated in any depth. Nevertheless it is important within a chapter on SFL discourse approaches to mention at least two important lines of approach to genre. One approach is Hasan's work on generic structure potential (e.g. Hasan 1978, 1984, 1985). The idea is that each genre has a generalised structural formula, which permits a range of structures. Each text is a realisation of a structure from such an array (Hasan 1978: 229). Hasan (1984) shows how for instance the nursery tale can be defined as a genre with a specific structural formula.

  The second approach is Martin's model (1992, 1999) which has been referred to as the *Sydney School*[5]. A recent account of this model is given in Martin and Rose (2008). In this model the stratal relationship between language and context is seen as follows: the context of culture is realised in the context of situation, which in its turn is realised in the text in context. In other words, each text realises patterns in a social situation (the register variables), and each situation realises patterns in a culture. Genre is an additional stratum of analysis beyond register. By placing genre beyond register variation the former can be seen as cutting across register variables: each genre involves a particular configuration, or set of alternative configurations, of field, tenor and mode values. For example, a narrative is a genre and can be about almost anything (field), it can be spoken or written (mode) and the producers and audience can be of any kind of relationship of intimacy or distance (tenor). The characterisation of the genre has to be achieved at the generic level itself. Genre itself is defined as "a recurrent configuration of meanings [which] enact the social practices of a given culture" (Martin and Rose 2008: 6). This view, which takes text very explicitly to the context of culture, and places register at the "lower" level of situation, differs from Halliday's as well as Hasan's views (see Butler 2003: 383–390 for a thorough comparison). Work on genre from this point of view can for instance be found in Christie and Martin (1997), Martin and Rose (2003/2007; 2008). Two important points need to be made in connection with this approach to genre.

First, as culture can be mapped as systems of genres it is important to describe not just individual genres but also relations between them. Martin and Rose (2008) distinguish between paradigmatic and syntagmatic relations between genres. Paradigmatic relations tell us how genres are similar to and different from each other. We need to answer such questions as how we can tell one genre from another and whether texts can instantiate a particular genre to varying degrees (Martin and Rose 2008: 235). The aim is then to set up a topology showing closeness and distance, centre and periphery of families of genres. Syntagmatic relations have to do with the combination of genres in one text and with the interpretation of chunks of discourse as steps in longer texts. For example, within the genre of story we may have a stretch of text which we first read as a simple anecdote but later re-interpret as an exemplum provoking judgement. So identifying genre becomes a matter of "contingent interpretation – attuned to unfolding discourse […]," (Martin and Rose 2008: 252).

The second point to be made is that Martin and Rose (2008) see genre as "system", from which speakers choose "to negotiate life as we know it" (Martin and Rose 2008: 258). As Martin and Rose put it: "[G]enre is not so much about imposing structure as offering choice – a menu with several courses of social purpose to choose" (2008: 258). However, in order to be able to choose one needs to have access to the system, and experience in life will be a determining factor here. Hence, education needs to make sure that all children, from whatever social background, are taught about genre so they have the freedom to choose from as large a repertoire as possible (Martin and Rose 2008: 232). The social concern is obvious here, as in all SFL discourse work (see further section 8 below).

6.   Discourse semantics and appraisal theory

The level of what is called *discourse semantics* by some systemicists is the stratum within language which is beyond the level of lexicogrammar, which in turn is beyond the level of phonology. We have a hierarchy of abstraction here, with phonology at the least abstract level. Outside language we have sounds at the lower end and the context of culture at the upper end. The account of how to deal with discourse semantics given here is based on Martin and Rose (2003/2007; 2008). Their analysis is organised around five major headings, which are connected with the three metafunctions: Appraisal (interpersonal meanings which realise variations in the tenor of a text), Ideation (ideational meanings which realise the field of a text), Conjunction (logical meanings which realise the logical subtype of ideational meanings), Identification (textual resources concerned with tracking participants in a text), and Periodicity (concerned with the rhythm of discourse, textual meanings which have to do with the flow of information distribution). Any text can be analysed from these five perspectives as the realisation of particular

choices from the systems concerned and as making the choices which are functional within the situation (register) and within the culture (genre). Discourse semantics comprises the semantic resources from which speakers/writers can choose and thus create specific texts. Let us now take a closer look at Appraisal, a "theory" developed in recent decades to deal with the interpersonal choices in discourse.

The most detailed description of Appraisal is given in Martin and White (2005). Appraisal as an interpersonal system at the level of discourse semantics was developed to complement two other interpersonal systems at this level: Negotiation (involving speech function and exchange structure) and Involvement (non-gradable resources especially for expressing solidarity, including swearing, address terms, technical language, secret scripts, etc.). Martin and White (2005: 35) give an overview of how these three discourse semantic systems realise tenor relations (especially of power and solidarity) and are realised in the lexicogrammar and the phonology. Appraisal as a discourse semantic system comprises three interacting domains: "attitude", "graduation" and "engagement". Attitude is concerned with the expression of feelings ("Affect"), evaluations of people and their behaviour ("Judgement") and evaluations of things ("Appreciation"). Within each of these subsystems there are positive and negative evaluative terms, and various subcategories which have been found to be relevant in discourse analysis but which do not form an exhaustive list (see Martin and White 2005 for tables with the subtypes). It is important to note that all of these attitudinal meanings can be either explicitly expressed in the text ("inscribed") or conveyed through ideational expressions ("invoked"). Let us look for evaluative choices in another extract from Mandela's *Long Walk to Freedom*, in which the author is describing the township of Alexandra:

(11) The township was **desperately overcrowded**; every square foot was occupied either by a **ramshackle** house or a tin-roofed **shack**. As so often happens in **desperately poor** places, the **worst** elements came to the fore. Life was **cheap**; the gun and the knife ruled at night. (Mandela 1994: 103).

All the evaluations in this extract are negative. The inscribed terms of appreciation (in bold) describe the township as lacking qualities such as balance and value. In addition there is evoked evaluation in these lines. The adjective *tin-roofed* describes a neutral characteristic and is by itself purely ideational. However, it becomes evaluative in combination with *shack* and in the context of the passage, through our background knowledge which tells us that such roofs do not insulate from either heat or cold. Similarly, the expression *the gun and knife ruled at night* does not contain explicitly evaluative terms and to some (the gangsters themselves for instance) it might not even be a negative state of affairs. However, in the context negative appreciation of the way of life in the township is invoked.

The following extract from *Long Walk to Freedom* illustrates the use of evaluation through affect choices:

(12) I nevertheless felt a great sense of **accomplishment** and **satisfaction**: I had been engaged in a just cause and had the strength to fight for it and win it. The campaign freed me from any lingering sense of **doubt** or **inferiority** I might still have felt; it liberated me from the feeling of being **overwhelmed** by the power and seeming invincibility of the white man and his institutions. (Mandela 1994: 192–193)

The terms in bold are explicitly evaluative and describe the feelings of the writer. The expression of positive feelings of satisfaction and security (*accomplishment*, *satisfaction*) are contrasted with earlier negative feelings of insecurity (*doubt*, *inferiority*, *overwhelmed*). The words *freed me* and *liberated me* evaluate the campaign as having had this positive impact.

Graduation comprises the systems for raising or lowering the force of one's utterance ("force") and for sharpening or blurring the focus ("focus"). These systems interact with attitude. For instance, *like, love, adore* increasingly raise the force of the positive affect expressed; *a kind of friend* has a blurred focus, while *a true friend* has a sharpened one.

The system of engagement provides the resources by means of which speakers position their utterances and themselves vis-à-vis other utterances, with which they express alignment or non-alignment. The system is based on the Bakhtinian (Bakhtin 1981) notion of heteroglossia: utterances can be either monoglossic (not explicitly recognising other voices) or heteroglossic. In the latter case they have a wide array of options ranging from the most dialogistically contractive ones (closing down the dialogic space) to the most expansive ones (opening up the space for dialogue). The engagement system, being semantic in nature, offers options which can take many lexicogrammatical realisations. The lexicogrammatical system of modal auxiliaries is for instance one of many options within engagement, and thus brought into relation with other possible choices. The crucial point is that modal and evidential choices are here seen as hearer-oriented, mainly made for rhetorical purposes, to achieve a specific aim such as persuasion. This view is in stark contrast with the traditional knowledge-centred and speaker-oriented view (as in Chafe 1986). White (2003: 261) points out that much of the literature on epistemic modality and evidentiality tends to assume that the only reason why speakers make use of such resources is to signal their "state of mind or knowledge", to indicate that they are uncertain or tentative. In contrast, White emphasises that these resources have a dialogic functionality. For example, a bare assertion is seen by Lyons (1977: 794) as "objective" or "factive" as against the subjectivity of modalised utterances. Martin and White's view on this is that bare assertions are "undialogised" or "monoglossic". For example, in "The banks have been greedy", the speaker/writer presents the proposition "as one which has no dialogic alternatives

which need to be recognised, or engaged with, in the current communicative context […],” (Martin and White 2005: 99), in contrast with for instance “I think the banks have been greedy”, which does not necessarily mean that the speaker is uncertain (this will depend on contextual factors) but it does signal that the speaker recognises explicitly the possibility of dialogic argument and disagreement.

The framework of appraisal has offered a systematic way of dealing with subjectivity in text and has been widely applied in the analysis of various genres. For example, White (1997) has focused on hard news reports, and has shown how such texts, notwithstanding the mandatory neutral stance of the reporter, nevertheless convey subjective meanings. News reports are also analysed for appraisal in Martin and White (2005). See further section 7 for more SFL work on media discourse[6].

In Martin and Rose (2003/2007), the five perspectives from which discourse can be analysed are applied in the study of different texts all produced and to be interpreted against the context of the processes of truth and reconciliation in post-apartheid South Africa. One text is a personal narrative of a young woman, one is an argumentative text (an extract from Desmond Tutu’s book *No Future without Forgiveness*), and a third one a legislative text (the parliamentary act establishing the Truth and Reconciliation Commission). These texts are analysed from the points of view of Appraisal (negotiating attitudes), Ideation (representing experience), Conjunction (connecting events), Identification (tracking participants) and Periodicity (information flow). This book is therefore a good introduction to the practical application of SFL tools to discourse analysis.

The interpersonal meaning in discourse has also been foregrounded in the work of Jay Lemke. For example, Lemke (1992) argues that ideational meanings can be “a mere tool or pretext for sustaining or altering, buttressing or contesting, a structure of social interests, values and points of view” (Lemke 1992: 87). He distinguishes what he refers to as “global value-orientational patterns in text”, and in this way is able to show very clearly how interpersonal meanings have a prosodic pattern in text (Halliday 1979). Halliday (1979: 205) talks about the “prosodic” realisation of interpersonal meanings because “[m]ood and modality, tone and key, intensity and other attitudinal meanings are typically realized through this kind of structural pattern”. Halliday’s example is the following:

(13) I wonder if perhaps it might be measles, might it d’you think?

The interpersonal meaning is “I consider it possible” together with “an invitation to the hearer to confirm the assessment” (1979: 205). Now the same modality is expressed a number of times in the above utterance and “the effect is cumulative” (1979: 205). The same applies to interpersonal patterns in longer stretches of discourse. Martin and Rose talk about attitudinal meanings “in the manner of a musical prosody” (2003: 54). For example, some texts such as Acts tend to have little attitude, graduation and heteroglossia, which makes for a discourse with a “mono-

vocal stance", in contrast with personal narratives, which tend to invite the sharing of feelings, bring in other voices and raise and lower the volume by means of graduation devices in order to keep the listener/reader interested (Martin and Rose 2003: 55).

7.   Discourse types: some examples

All of the tools mentioned in the preceding sections have been used within SFL approaches to specific discourse types. Studies of three such types are given here as illustrations: scientific discourse, discourse of the news media and historical discourse. In each of these some specific tools have been used more than others, which make these types interesting as examples of SFL discourse analyses.

The language of science has intrigued Halliday and other SFL analysts for a long time. Halliday's article *On the language of physical science* appeared in 1988. In this article Halliday looks at the historical evolution of scientific English starting from Chaucer through Newton and the 18th century into the 20th century. In a very illuminating way Halliday shows how what he refers to as "the prototypical syndrome of features that characterizes scientific English" evolved and why. The key to this syndrome is grammatical metaphor, in particular nominalisation and its accompanying features such as modification and the types of processes that are used. The essential result of these choices is that processes are represented as things, that the semantic weight is in the nouns, and that the verbs typically set up relations between processes, either external causation "a causes x to happen" or internal "b causes me to think y". Grammatical metaphor refers to the expression of meanings in non-congruent ways. For example, things are congruently represented by the grammatical class of nouns, processes by verbs, qualities by adjectives, circumstances by adverbs, and logical relations by conjunctions. Now if these meanings are represented by other word classes we have a metaphorical expression: the grammar is used in a new way. This is not to say that the congruent realisations are necessarily more frequent. Halliday (1985/1994: 342) emphasises that there may in fact be cases in which the metaphorical variant becomes the norm.

The functional perspective on "grammar as a theory of human experience" (Halliday 1998: 186) implies that grammatical metaphor is not just another way of saying the same thing. Through incongruent grammar we construe the world in a different way. Here is an example from Halliday (1998: 193):

(14) Rapid changes in the rate of evolution are caused by external events.

In the above clause (14) we have two nominal groups which are linked in a causal relationship by the process "are caused by". This type of heavily nominal style characterises the language of science and is – in Halliday's terms – metaphorical. A more congruent way of expressing the meaning would be:

(15) People and animals evolve more rapidly if things happen in the environment.

The above sentence (15) is my own "unpacking" of the metaphors. There are various ways in which this can be done, but the main differences with clause (14) are that (i) there are now two clauses which both have a verb, the verbs expressing processes; (ii) the processes have participants which have been omitted in the metaphors: "people and animals" and "things"; (iii) the logical relation of causality is expressed by a conjunction "if" in the congruent version and by a process "caused" in the metaphorical one.

Halliday and Martin's book *Writing Science: Literacy and discursive power* (1993) brings together major articles dealing with grammatical metaphor in scientific language, its origins, multiple manifestations in present-day scientific discourse, its usefulness as well as its alienating effect on schoolchildren who are confronted with science in the classroom. The grammar of scientific discourse is analysed in terms of the difficulties it creates for comprehension. Apart from grammatical metaphor, which is the major factor, there are other causes, including interlocking definitions, special expressions, technical taxonomies, lexical density, syntactic ambiguity and semantic discontinuity. The problems can thus be analysed at clause level and at textual level, looking at cohesion and coherence. The grammar of scientific English has been taken up in various later SFL studies. For example, Banks (2003) looks further into the evolution of grammatical metaphor in scientific writing from Chaucer to the second half of the 20th century, and this work is expanded in Banks (2008) to include analysis of voice, person and thematic structure as well as nominalisation. Thompson (2003) focuses on the elision of participants in scientific discourse, which thus reflects and creates an "uncommonsense construal" (Thompson 2003: 275). Apart from a detailed analysis of scientific prose passages Thompson raises theoretical questions: what are the motivations for this practice? How does understanding of such uncommonsense construals work? And thirdly, how much of what seems uncommonsense wording is actually grammatical metaphor?

In the volume *Reading Science: Critical and functional perspectives on discourses of science* (1998), Martin and Veel bring together papers focusing on science literacy in schools. Key themes are: recontextualisation (what happens when the discourse of the scientific community is recontextualised in the classroom?), semogenesis (semantic change and its relation to cultural change), intertextuality (with the interesting question of mixed texts and scientific discourse in relation to other discourses such as fiction and the languages of bureaucracy), and hegemony (the role of scientific discourse in Western culture as far as the distribution of discursive power is concerned). These issues are strongly linked to ideological concerns. Halliday (2001) analyses a text expounding military strategy, the "Airland battle concept" of the US Defence Department, in which he shows how

grammatical metaphor in that text reconstructs reality in what he refers to as "quite unreal forms" (2001 in Webster 2003: 282). The nominal grammar in this type of text, Halliday argues, is what we find "in a less exaggerated form in the registers of science and technology" (Halliday 2001 in Webster 2003: 282). Lemke (1998) deals with the visual as well as the verbal semiotics in a scientific text. It is an early account of multimedia genres.

A second domain in which a great deal of SFL work has been done is media discourse. Ghadessy ([ed.] 1988) contains three contributions on written media discourse: on the lexis and style of front pages of newspaper reports (Carter 1988), on sports commentaries (Ghadessy 1988), and on the language of press advertising (Toolan 1988).

More recently, appraisal theory has been used in the analysis of newspaper reports. Especially the work by Peter White (e.g. 1997, 2000, 2003, 2004, 2012) is innovative in this domain. The focus in this research has been on hard news reports, which are expected to maintain neutrality, in the sense that the writer's subjective attitudes towards the events are not to be expressed in the text. White's interest is therefore in exploring to what extent such texts are indeed devoid of subjectivity and completely stanceless. By examining the different appraisal categories and their instantiation in the texts White and Thomson (2008) are able to distinguish between two major types of journalistic voices in newspaper texts: the "reporter voice" (characterised by minimal inscribed judgement, unless attributed, no authorial affect, some observed affect, some inscribed authorial appreciation) and the "writer voice", of which there are two subtypes, i.e. the "correspondent voice" and the "commentator voice". The correspondent voice is more "subjective" in that it allows for inscribed authorial judgement which applies to social esteem, for instance judgements of capacity (in contrast with that which applies to social sanction, such as judgements of ethical code; see Martin and White 2005: 52–53 on this distinction). The most "relaxed" voice is the commentator's, for which there are no constraints on attitudinal values: all values of inscribed authorial judgement, affect and appreciation are allowed (White and Thomson 2008: 14). For example, in the broadsheets, attitudinal values of propriety ("it is (un)ethical") sanctioning behaviour are normally to be found only in commentaries. Judgements such as *It is unethical for the Western world to intervene in this way* are refrained from in the reporter and correspondent roles.

The appraisal framework is a useful tool to compare journalistic texts in different cultural contexts, and this is the focus of Thomson and White (2008), which collects case studies from a range of cultures, including European ones (France, Spain, Finland), Vietnam, Australia, Japan, Taiwan, and Argentina.

Several further studies have examined spoken media discourse within the Appraisal framework. Simon-Vandenbergen, White and Aijmer (2007) look at the system of engagement in mediated political discourse in Britain, Flanders (Belgium) and Sweden from the point of view of "taking-for-granted". The question

asked is to what extent political speakers use the rhetorical strategy of presenting information as shared, taken for granted, by inserting it in expressions of concurrence (such as *obviously, of course, as you/we know, it goes without saying*) and presupposition. The study shows for instance that a detailed analysis of the use of the concurrence marker *of course* reveals various strategic uses by political speakers, such as its use as a dialogic "put-down", to imply that the interlocutor is ignorant of what is commonly known, or its use to present the interlocutor's key argument as self-evident and hence not relevant to the discussion. Fetzer (2008) examines non-alignment in political interviews, supplementing SFL results with insights from conversation analysis. In a series of publications Miller (1999, 2002, 2004, 2007) has explored the role of evaluative language in political debate in the US and the UK.[7] White and Motoki (2006) have employed the engagement subsystem to develop a cross-linguistic comparison of the speaking styles of the the then British Prime Minister Tony Blair and the then Japanese Prime Minister Junichiroo Koizumi. Their focus is on formulations which signal that a proposition is contentious or dialogically problematic, and those in which the speaker lays claim to agreement with the putative addressee. They show that the model is a useful one for comparing political speaking styles. For example, the Japanese politician creates a greater social distance between himself and the journalistic questioners than his British counterpart, and assumptions of solidarity, frequent in Blair's discourse, are absent.

The third discourse type which has received considerable attention in recent SFL research is *historical discourse*. In Martin and Wodak's edited book *Re/reading the Past. Critical and functional perspectives on time and value* ([eds.] 2003) the discourse of history is approached from the complementary perspectives of SFL and CDA (Critical Discourse Analysis; cf. Bloor and Bloor, this volume). While both SFL and CDA share a commitment to a critical approach to (historical) texts, SFL – as always – contributes a grounding in detailed grammatical analysis. The term "historical discourse" as used in that work covers a range of discourses about the past, including discourses produced within the academic discipline of history, but also, e.g., personal recounts. It is therefore more appropriate to talk about "historical discourses" in the plural. The SFL interest is in the following issues. First, how is time construed in historical discourses? Second, how is subjective stance expressed in different subgenres of historical discourse? Third, how is the development of historical discourse connected with societal developments? The first question is approached through an analysis of time expressions in texts. For example, it is shown how time is expressed differently in oral history (the personal recount), in a written autobiographical recount and in an academic historical recount.

The second question is tackled with the tools provided by the appraisal framework. The issue of subjectivity is examined by looking at the extent to which different voices are present in different genres and the extent to which these voices

allow value judgements. This is parallel to what White and Thomson (2008) do in their study of journalistic discourse (see above). Parallel to the reporter – correspondent – commentator voices, which increasingly relax a ban on subjectivity in newspaper discourse, there are the voices of the recorder, the interpreter and the adjudicator, which again are increasingly subjective and which are found in different subgenres. There is typically no judgement in the recorder voice, judgements of social esteem in the interpreter voice, and moral judgements in the adjudicator voice. For example, in academic history, value judgements are normally elided and certainly the adjudicator voice is felt to be "unscholarly" and might put solidarity with the readership at risk (Martin 2003: 37–38).

The third question is that of the link between ways of writing history and societal developments. Here grammatical metaphor is used as a tool to show how in "modern" times events are presented through abstraction: instead of people acting on things or on other people, we get a construal of reality as abstractions causing other abstractions (see the discussion of grammatical metaphor in scientific discourse above). A further step is the "postmodern" development in which reality is construed as discursive reality, discourse acting on and producing more discourse. For example, Martin (2003: 49) shows how a long list of terms having to do with discourse (such as *accounting*, *discourse, interrogation*, *demand*, *revealed*, *discursive*, *recounting*, etc.) characterises one instance of a post-colonial historical text. Abstraction is demonstrated in the following example from the same text (my underlining), which includes grammatical metaphor and elision of participants:

(16) These <u>considerations</u> bring us to the second moment in the <u>interiorisation</u> of hierarchy prescribed by <u>confession</u> […] (Martin 2003: 49)

Martin (2003: 45) gives a topology of historical genres, which can be differentiated by means of interpersonal, ideational and textual criteria. In this book several types of historical discourse are described in case studies. The value of the approach outlined is that concrete and specific criteria are given by means of which we can differentiate between history genres such as the "historical recount" and the "historical account". The former records, the latter explains. These ideational differences ("what is going on") are accompanied by interpersonal ones such as where appraisal comes in and textual ones such as whether the unfolding is temporal (recount) or also causal (account).

Extensive research on historical discourse has been conducted by Caroline Coffin. Coffin (2006) focuses on discourses that occur in secondary school, both in textbooks and in the students' own writings. She sets up a topology (indicating degrees of nearness and distance and allowing for overlaps, in contrast with the categorical classifications in a typology) of historical genres, and links these to different stages in the curriculum development. The major "families" are recording, explaining and arguing genres, and these occur at successive stages in secondary education. They can be distinguished on the basis of linguistic criteria, and so can

the subgenres they comprise. For example, the family of recording genres comprises the autobiographical recount, the biographical recount, the historical recount and the historical account. The latter two are distinguishable from each other in that the latter not only presents events in a temporal sequence, but establishes causal links between them. Coffin points out that this distinction is revealed by detailed linguistic analysis, while teachers tend not to be aware of the difference and hence accounts are rarely explicitly taught (Coffin 2006: 58). Linguistic analysis focuses on the lexicogrammatical choices in the register variables of field (transitivity choices: processes, participants and circumstances), tenor (appraisal choices of affect, judgement and appreciation), and mode (organisation of the text in terms of thematic foregrounding patterns, with a particular focus on temporal and causal expressions). Also worth mentioning here is Gillian Moss's article (2010), which combines the study of ideology in historical discourse with educational concerns in her analysis of history textbook language in Colombia. Moss argues that the transitivity choices and grammatical metaphors "conspire" to present a perspective on history as independent of human agency, not affected by human action, and that this view leads to a deterministic view and fatalistic attitude. The following example (Moss's translation of the Spanish text) illustrates the relevant grammatical features:

(17) Technical transformations in agriculture and the use of better fertilizers give rise to high agricultural productivity and develop an export agriculture which satisfies England's domestic and foreign food market. (Moss 2010: 79)

Moss takes the position central to SFL that grammar is not innocent since "choice is the essence" (Moss 2010: 87) and hence that the recurrent grammatical choices are significant and not simply to be accepted as inevitable.

8.   Social commitment of SFL discourse analysis: educational linguistics

SFL has always had a strong commitment to socially accountable research, i.e. research that will somehow contribute to laying bare, raising awareness of, and trying to resolve social inequalities. Halliday (2001) asks the question whether the grammar and the grammarian are neutral, and his answer is that neither the grammar nor the grammarian are. For Halliday, doing linguistics has been "a highly political activity" (2001 in Webster 2003: 272) from the start, when he joined the Linguistics Group of the British Communist Party. Section 2 above begins with the quote in which Halliday denies any antithesis between the textual and the theoretical study of language. Nor is there for him any duality between the textual study and its applications. This means, Halliday claims, that we shall get a better grasp of language as a social semiotic "if we not only observe the text but also intrude in it" (Halliday 2001 in Webster 2003: 271). Hence, linguistics as a mode of action must

be interventionist. This section will focus on one area in which social commitment is particularly obvious: the link between language, social parameters and educational success.

It was pointed out above that the issue of literacy development was one reason for focusing attention on the grammar of scientific discourse. In more general terms, SFL has always had a great interest in the role of language in education. For example, the series of monographs edited by Frances Christie published by Oxford University Press was aimed to make teachers of all subjects aware of the fact that educating involves developing language abilities of some kind, and that the teachers' insights into language will help them become better teachers. Books in this series include Halliday (1985/1989), in which the differences between spoken and written language are focused on in illuminating ways. Hasan's study (1985/1989) in the same series shows how linguistic analysis reveals aspects in children's writing and in literature that would go unnoticed without such an analysis and provides analytical tools which teachers can use themselves. More recent work is brought together in Unsworth (2000), *Researching Language in Schools and Communities. Functional Linguistic Perspectives* and Foley (2004), *Language, Education and Discourse: Functional Approaches.*

Major strands in the research in educational linguistics include the analysis of genres in school disciplines and the analysis of classroom talk (cf. also Yang and Walsh, this volume). The former involves the description of the languages of science, mathematics, literature and history and how these are handled in the classroom, in school textbooks as well as in student writings. The other focus is on how children are initiated into educational discursive practices through activities and how discursive practices in the classroom favour some groups and disadvantage other groups of children. SFL work in this area has been inspired by the writings of the sociologist Basil Bernstein. To understand Bernstein's influence on SFL work it is essential to emphasise the important role that Bernstein attributes to language both in the shaping of an individual's world view and in the distribution of power in society. This view at the same time posits a strong link between language and thinking (the Whorfian view) and between language and the distribution of material goods in society (the Marxist view). As to the first view, Halliday has always very consistently defended Bernstein's views as in total agreement with his functional linguistics. In the well-known interview with Parret (1974), Halliday says this: "What interests me about Bernstein is that he is a theoretical sociologist who builds language into his theory not as an optional extra but as an essential component" (Parret 1974: 83). Since in a functional approach to language discourse is shaped by experience and at the same time shapes experience, such a theory which posits a dialectic relationship between language and society is attractive. Bernstein's theory holds that the lower working and the middle classes have different coding orientations as a result of how they are socialised and that discursive practices in education create barriers to those who are not familiar with the middle class

orientation. Further, schools exhibit social control in the transmission of power relations by deciding what kind of knowledge is made available and what kind of thinking is sanctioned (see especially Bernstein 1975/1977; 1990).

Two examples of relevant research are given here in which Bernstein's view is central. The first example is Christie's "Curriculum macrogenres as forms of initiation into a culture" (1997). In this article Christie shows how children in the very early years of schooling are expected to learn a certain type of behaviour which conforms to the expectations of the school. Christie analyses in detail the genre of "morning news", in which primary school children are expected to tell a short anecdote (something that happened to them) to the rest of the class. She shows how the teacher regulates the behaviour of the narrators and aims to construct a particular pedagogic subject. It also appears that not all children manage to meet the expectations, for example because they have problems finding an appropriate outside school activity which can be recontextualised in the classroom. Christie concludes that "schooling differentially rewards students" and that "this reflects the presence of different orientations in children" (1997: 147).

The second example is Hasan's (2004) study. Hasan examines teacher–children interaction in the kindergarten classroom, where the children were five to five and a half years old. The classroom activity involved looking at pictures which the children, prompted by the teacher's questions, had to interpret. Hasan's interest lies in the way types of thinking are sanctioned and others are ignored or disapproved of and thus suppressed. For some of the children, the researchers also had data on their everyday life experience at home, gathered in previous research conducted by Hasan (1989, 1992a, 1992b). The study shows how regulative discourse rather than instructional discourse (the transmission of content) shapes the pedagogic subject and in the process can easily "lose" some children on the way, resulting in educational failure. Hasan maintains that the teacher's discourse, though it can be heard by all pupils, is not necessarily interpreted in the same way by all of them. Interpretation depends on the children's social positioning, which is the result of their everyday experience, primarily in their home environment. In reading pictures children will respond in ways which are in line with their social positioning, and these are different in working-class and middle-class children. According to Hasan, the solution is to take into account the multiplicity of voices in the classroom. Hasan pleads for attention to the following urgent linguistic question: how can we design classroom interaction which benefits all? She argues that the focus in linguistics in recent decades has been on shared worlds, conversational implicatures and shared discourse axioms. It is now time, Hasan concludes, to address the question of how to deal with interaction when discourse axioms are not in agreement (Hasan 2004: 71).

9.   Crossing boundaries between approaches and modalities

It has been argued in the previous sections that a characterisation of the uniqueness of SFL approaches to text includes reference to the following features: its paradigmatic model of systems as options of meanings, its view of language structures as functional at all levels of analysis, its view of grammar as a means of construing experience, the recognition of three metafunctions, each with its own systems of options, its focus on the contexts of situation and of culture, its detailed analysis of the grammar of discourse, and its concern with socially relevant applications. This combination of features has led to fruitful collaboration with other approaches on the one hand and stimulated new directions in research on the other hand. Two instances of such developments are given here: the cross-fertilisation between Critical Discourse Analysis (CDA) and SFL, and the rapidly expanding domain of research into multimodality.

The social commitment of SFL means that there are shared interests with CDA (cf. Bloor and Bloor, this volume). Martin and Wodak (2003) discuss the points of overlap and the differences between the two approaches, which can be summed up as follows. Firstly, the "negative" orientation of CDA in analysing discourse as conflict and dominance is complemented by the SFL focus on positive developments, analysing discourses "which make the world a 'better' place". Martin proposes the term "Positive Discourse Analysis" (Martin and Wodak 2003: 4). Secondly, SFL provides the analytical tools by means of which CDA hypotheses and claims about power and ideology in the text can be given a firmer grounding in linguistic detail (Martin 2003: 8). Martin and Wodak's (2003) volume on historical discourse is the result of collaboration between the two approaches. The critical discourse research of van Leeuwen over the past few decades, brought together in his (2008) monograph, was to a great extent inspired by Halliday's linguistics (cf. the explicit recognition of indebtedness p. vii).

A pioneering work in the field of multimodal discourse analysis was Kress and van Leeuwen's *Reading Images. The Grammar of Visual Design* (1996). This work was very much inspired by the SFL social semiotic approach to language. The use of the term "grammar" in the subtitle refers to the way visual elements combine into structures which make sense as meaningful wholes. The SFL model has been applied in the description of various types of visual representations (such as charts, photographs, drawings, paintings, architecture). For example, meanings are described in terms of the metafunctions, options are represented in system networks, formal choices are described as realisations of meaning choices, and SFL terminology is consistently recruited to refer to non-linguistic communication. Further developments of their approach are found in Kress and van Leeuwen (2001). Kay O'Halloran has worked on multimodal texts in the domain of mathematics (e.g. O'Halloran 2005). Her edited volume (2004) offers an in-depth exploration of a variety of texts from a multimodal perspective. It focuses on research carried out at

the National University of Singapore, influenced by the theoretical work of Michael O'Toole (cf. also O'Halloran et al., this volume). O'Toole's own contribution (2004) uses the SFL concepts of the three metafunctions (ideational, interpersonal, textual) to understand architectural practices, more specifically as applied in the architecture of the Sydney Opera House. Unsworth (2008) focuses on multimodal texts in education, and is concerned with the teaching of literacy in a multimodal world. Bateman's (2008) book examines genres in multimodal documents. A recent collection of studies in multimodality is the volume edited by O'Halloran and Smith (2011). Intensive research in this area is currently also conducted at the University of Helsinki under the supervision of Eija Ventola[8].

10.   Final remarks

The survey of SFL approaches to discourse presented above has necessarily been sketchy and a great deal of valuable work has not been mentioned. Omissions include types of approaches (variant models) and domains of investigation. With regard to models, the account given here has focused on the Hallidayan/Australian approach. One alternative model in which interesting work on discourse is being done and which would have deserved more space is the Cardiff model. Numerous publications by members of the Cardiff research team, especially by Robin Fawcett and his colleagues, present a model of discourse which is oriented towards implementation in the computational generation system. For example, Fawcett, van der Mije and van Wissen (1988) present a model which is dynamic (using flowcharts) and aims to be predictive instead of being simply descriptive. Butler (2003: 390–395) gives a very clear illustration of how the model works by presenting a detailed analysis of one example exchange.

With regard to domains of investigation, SFL work on child language development has been extensive and fruitful. Painter (2009) is a recent discussion of some important research issues in this area. Major work has been carried out in particular by Ruqaiya Hasan (e.g. Hasan 1996), Jane Torr (e.g. Torr 1997) and Clare Painter (e.g. Painter 1999). Another domain is that of communication disorders. Armstrong (2009) explores how SFL tools have been useful in the field of clinical applications of the theory. Further, academic writing has received ample attention, especially in publications by Eija Ventola (e.g. Ventola and Mauranen 1996) and Louise J. Ravelli (e.g. Ravelli and Ellis 2004).

In spite of the condensed and superficial treatment of the issues it is hoped that this chapter has succeeded in presenting a picture of SFL as a linguistic model which has a lot to offer to discourse analysts.

Acknowledgements

Notes

1. I am grateful to Chris Butler for pointing this out to me (p.c.)
2. The term *lexico-grammar* is used in SFL to denote the unity between grammar and lexis, which are seen as two poles of a single cline or continuum, with grammar (closed systems) at one end and lexis (open sets) at the other end. *Lexico-grammar* is the stratum of "wording" (see Halliday 2004: 43).
3. The term *system* is a central one in SFL. It refers to the paradigmatic ordering in language. Any set of alternatives with its entry condition constitutes a system (Halliday 2004: 22). System is thus connected with the notion of choice: systems are sets of options from which speakers choose.
4. The necessity for cohesion in order to achieve coherence has been disputed by other authors, such as Morgan and Sellner (1980): for a discussion of the arguments on both sides, see Butler (2003: 339–340).
5. See Martin and Rose (2008: 20) on the origin of the term "Sydney school".
6. For a list of key publications and unpublished theses employing Appraisal: see the Appraisal website homepage (www.grammatics.com/appraisal).
7. I am grateful to Peter White for bringing Miller's work to my notice.
8. For information on work and events in this domain: see the homepage of MUST, Multisystemiotic talks (http://blogs.helsinki.fi/multisystemiotic-talks/).

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6.   Genre analysis

Christine M. Tardy and John M. Swales

1.   Pragmatics and genre analysis

At first sight, it might appear that the fields of pragmatics and genre analysis would have little in common, at least partly because of their very different historical developments. Pragmatics, in its origination, was largely the province of philosophers, while genre analysis was formerly a branch of literary studies, which then spread to anthropology and folklore studies, and then linguistics/discourse analysis. However, if we remember the well-known characterization of genre by systemic-functional linguist, Jim Martin, "Genres are how things get done, when language is used to accomplish them" (1985: 250), then we can see a connection with the famous book by the Oxford philosopher, J. L. Austin, *How to Do Things with Words* (1962). Another disconnect now has only historical resonance: Genre analysis, in its modern reincarnation as part of discourse analysis, was long associated with longer written texts, such as the research article, while pragmatics focused on small-scale spoken interactions, particularly those of a conversational nature. However, over the last two decades, genre analysts have become increasingly interested in characterizing spoken genres, while pragmatists have additionally turned their attention to written texts and longer spoken utterances, especially when those texts have explicitly persuasive motivations, such as sales letters and political speeches. One further sign of this growing interdisciplinary rapprochement is the fact that both fields recognize that discourses, both spoken and written, typically have beginnings, middles and ends and that such sections may well have different pragmatic and/or communicative functions and, concomitantly, draw upon different linguistic and rhetorical resources to realize those functions. Today, genre analysis is generally considered an important tool for research into the pragmatics of discourse. In this chapter, we provide an overview of a range of methods of genre analysis by describing the most common methods through illustrative examples.

2.   Theoretical/historical background

Over the past three decades, genre has become an important construct in the study of discourse in general and written discourse in particular. Following an influential article by Hyon (1996) entitled "Genre in Three Traditions", it has become traditional to view non-literary genre studies from three viewpoints. One is the New Rhetoric school as represented by Bazerman (1988), the second is the systemic-

functional or "Sydney" school as represented by Halliday and Martin (1993), while the third is that of the English for Specific Purposes school (Swales 1990). However, integrative and cross-over work over the last decade, especially by younger academics, has considerably blurred and complicated this tripartite division; as a result, it is not maintained in this chapter.

Further, there is a clear sense that all genre analysts have been influenced by Miller's seminal (1984) paper, in which she argued for a theoretical definition of genre that emphasized its rhetorical, rather than linguistic, nature, defining genres as "typified rhetorical actions based in recurrent situations" (1984: 159). She explained that "as action, it acquires meaning from situation and from the social context in which that situation arose" (163). Miller's insistence on defining genre as a social category is crucial in compelling us to consider not just the form of a genre but the relationship between form, context, rhetorical action, and function or purpose. Since the mid-1980s, a number of scholars have outlined theoretical principles that emphasize the rhetorical and social nature of generic communication (e.g., Bazerman 1988, Swales 1990, Bhatia 1993, Cope and Kalantzis 1993, Martin 1993, Freedman and Medway 1994, Hyon 1996, Johns 1997, Paltridge 1997, Devitt 2004, Swales 2004).

At their most basic level, *genres are formed in order to carry out actions and purposes*. Most definitions of genre, like Miller's (1984), emphasize that genres are used to carry out actions and purposes. Swales' (1990) similarly highlighted that genres have a communicative purpose, which may in fact serve as the key characteristic for placing discourses into generic categories. In addition, *genres are socially situated.* As a rhetorical category of discourse, genre cannot be distinct from social context. Genres arise within social contexts, carried out for social purposes ranging from the relatively simple (e.g., creating a list of items to buy at a grocery store) to the more complex (e.g., outlining the terms of a business transaction). By virtue of their social situatedness, genres are necessarily dynamic, always changing.

As a situated form of discourse, *genres both shape and are shaped by the communities and contexts in which they exist*. As communities of users – variously referred to by terms such as discourse communities, communities of practice, speech communities, or disciplines – develop and shape genres for their purposes, it follows that these forms of communication will reflect in some ways characteristics of the users. Such characteristics may include communities' values, beliefs, and epistemologies as well as shared knowledge and experience. Berkenkotter and Huckin (1995) point out that this, however, is a two-way, or structurated, relationship: genres also shape communities and their practices. Once a particular genre exists, for example, practices and beliefs are also influenced by the genres. The one-page business vita, for example, may have formed as a genre as a result of the need to highlight specific information very succinctly, but over time this genre has begun to shape how people who use this genre think about job-seeking, hiring, and perhaps even career-building.

As an action is repeatedly required in similar situations, users develop an effective way to carry out that action; over time, this approach becomes, in Miller's (1984: 159) words (cf. above), "typified" so that users recognize it as a common or conventional form. In other words, *genres are recognizable by users*. So, while genre is not limited to its form, form is indeed an important aspect of genre. Users – and in some cases, non-users – generally recognize a genre based on formal features like lexis, grammar, organizational patterns, topics, and even document format and associated visuals.

Genres are not isolated, but are instead intertextually linked to other genres and discourses. Bakhtin's (1986) definition of speech genres argues that all utterances are responses to prior utterances and anticipate subsequent utterances. More recent work in genre studies highlights the intertextual nature of genres. The linking of texts in chains, systems, or other networked relationships has been described and analyzed by Devitt (1991, 2004), Bazerman (1994), and Swales (2004) in investigations of how genres coordinate to carry out complex tasks for specific users. In other words, while a single genre may accomplish a simple task, most tasks or multi-task activities engage the use of multiple linked genres.

Finally, *as reflections of the social groups that use them, the power dynamics of those users are embedded in genres.* Such dynamics may be instantiated, for example, through gatekeeping practices, intertextuality, or privileged discursive forms. While genres are channels for carrying out communicative and social actions, they can at the same time exclude users who are unfamiliar with their normalized practices or even to those who do not bring the preferred forms of capital to the communicative context.

3.   Methods of genre analysis

As these various principles of genre illustrate, genres are far more than textual forms – they are forms that embody goals, actions, values, activities, histories, and politics. Methods for analyzing genres, therefore, variously aim to understand these multiple dimensions of genre. While a range of approaches are taken to genre analysis, a shared goal is to gain insight into the social function of language. Common methods of genre analysis are presented discretely below to familiarize readers with the goals and procedures for each form of analysis. In practice, however, many – if not most – analyses blend analytic methods. Such a multi-method approach allows for a more complex understanding of the genre, setting, users, and goals – and of how these elements both converge and structure one another.

3.1.   Text analysis

Text analysis identifies grammatical or phraseological patterns that are unique to or common within a particular genre. Today, text analysis is aided by computer concordancing programs, which can be used to count occurrences of lexical and grammatical features, identify common collocations of word clusters, or compare usages of words. These analyses can offer robust descriptions of a genre's textual features or can compare textual features across a genre's different user groups, such as academic disciplines. Text analysis can target a wide range of lexico-grammatical features, such as hedges (Hyland 2000), personal pronouns (Kuo 1999), nominalizations (Yeung 2007), or reporting verbs (Thompson and Ye 1991). In addition to single-word items like these, word clusters (also known as "lexical bundles") can be analyzed (e.g., Biber, Conrad, and Cortes 2004, Hyland 2008b). While text analysis may be used with small-scale corpora, technology also allows for relatively easy analysis of large-scale corpora containing over a million words. Text features may be analyzed using descriptive frequency counts or, for comparisons of larger corpora, inferential statistics.

3.2.   Move structure analysis

One of the most common methods of genre analysis is known as move structure analysis (or, simply, move analysis), a method first described by John Swales in 1981. The goal of this method is to identify the *rhetorical moves* of a text, or the parts of the text that carry out distinct rhetorical functions. Move analysis, like text analysis, analyzes a corpus of texts considered representative of the genre of interest (cf. also Samraj this volume). Researchers may begin by reading through the texts multiple times to identify a general pattern from which they develop initial move categories. The next stage is to determine the moves present in each individual text. At this point, researchers may determine which moves appear to be obligatory and which seem to be optional, as well as the possibilities for sequencing moves. Analysis of the presence and placement of moves within the texts may be qualitative or quantitative. More detailed move analysis may also consider what Swales referred to as *steps*, which make up sub-categories within each move. We give an extended illustration of how a simple move analysis might emerge in section 4.2 of this chapter. It is important to point out that moves (or communicative stages) are rhetorical categories, not grammatical ones; in consequence, moves may vary in size from a clause to a paragraph or upwards, or may even be realized through non-verbal means (see section 3.7.1 below). The identification of moves has been discussed in the literature, some analysts opting primarily for linguistic clues, such as a switch in tense, or the use of phrases such as "in this paper, we …"; others relying more on the content of the discourse (e.g. Paltridge 1994). However, the position we adopt here is an eclectic one – one that makes use of all types of

evidence to reinforce decisions about move boundaries. To gain an insider perspective to generic texts, move analysis is often augmented with other ethnographic methods such as interviews or observations. When used in combination, linguistic and ethnographic methods can provide a more robust understanding of the meaning that particular generic features hold for users or even of the ways in which moves influence readers' textual interpretations. So far, this paragraph may have given the impression that move analysis is a rather dry and technical process. However, this kind of investigation often has the underlying motive of gaining greater insight into the *rationale* of the genre under study. In this process, original, perhaps simplistic understandings of the purposes of the genre can become modified, or even subverted (for examples, see Askehave and Swales 2000).

3.3.   Comparative genre analysis

Text and move analysis are often used together to identify common formal and rhetorical features of a genre within a given community of users. In many cases, researchers develop corpora that include examples of a single genre as used by two or more communities. These communities may be defined, for example, by disciplinary, professional, national, or linguistic affiliations. Comparing the ways in which a similar genre is articulated by different communities illustrates the rhetorical and situated nature of generic texts.

One of the most common approaches to comparative analysis is to compare the rhetorical moves of a genre as used by different communities (cf. Samraj this volume). Samraj and Monk (2008), for example, compare the move structures of successful statement of purpose essays written for master's degree programs in linguistics, business administration, and electrical engineering. They find that the writers instantiate similar moves in different ways and suggest that this may be in part related to the distinct goals of the disciplinary programs. In a study of business email responses, van Mulken and van der Meer (2005) offer a four-way analysis between companies with long traditions versus relatively new traditions and between Dutch and American companies of both traditions. Through move analysis, they locate differences in the emphasis given to different moves by Dutch and American companies, though they find no differences between so-called Old and New companies.

Hyland's (1998) work is an excellent illustration of the insights that can be gained from a robust multi-method comparative analysis. Working with representative sample texts of a single genre across multiple academic disciplines, Hyland uses both text and move analysis to compare similarities and differences in generic form across user groups. To gain further insight into these texts, Hyland interviews experts in the fields he studies, allowing him not only to examine *what* differs across texts but also to consider *why* these differences occur.

3.4.   Diachronic genre analysis

While synchronic comparative analysis reveals ways in which communities of users shape genres to meet their particular needs, diachronic analysis can be carried out to examine changes in a genre over time. Such analysis can provide useful insight into the sociohistorical changes within a community of users, as generic changes result from (and even lead to) shifts in a community's practices and values – which themselves are often related to larger social or material influences. Diachronic genre analysis typically examines a single genre over an extended period that includes moments of important change, such as the formation of an organizational body, an epistemological shift, or the advent of a new technology (Atkinson 1999, Gross, Harmon, and Reidy 2002). By tracing the genre (and/or its new manifestations) through periods of its history, such analysis can demonstrate how genres change in response to evolving rhetorical contexts and can also lend valuable insight into the nature of the genre's users over time.

Bazerman's (1988) historical studies of scientific genres are some of the most well known examples of diachronic analysis. In one such study, Bazerman traces research articles in experimental psychology from the late-1800s to the mid-1960s, along with the establishment and subsequent revisions of the American Psychological Association (APA) documentation style manual from 1929 through the 1980s. Bazerman takes readers through an epistemological and textual history of experimental psychology, demonstrating a change from a genre more akin to a philosophical essay to today's fairly rigid experimental reports. More specifically, through an analysis of the APA style manuals, Bazerman finds increasing prescriptive specifications and a growing commitment to a positivist paradigm. Through this textual-historical analysis, Bazerman illustrates the manual's role in codifying a behaviorist rhetoric, which exerts a significant influence not only on experimental psychology but also on the human sciences more generally.

In a diachronic analysis of "short texts" that accompany research articles in the journal *Nature,* Ayers (2008) traces a change in these texts' structure over time. Through move structure and text analysis, Ayers demonstrates that the genre has "democratized" over time, including a greater presence of promotional features and definitions, and emphasizing contributions to the larger field. These changes coincide with the introduction of an e-version of the journal and a new "reader-friendly" journal policy. Other changes, such as the disappearance of a *methods* move are likely related to the increased complexity and specialization of methods and materials.

A major diachronic study in the area of business is the (1989) book by Joanne Yates entitled *Control through Communication*. Yates shows, for the period 1850 to 1920, how US corporations transformed their communicative practices through the development and proliferation of new genres often brought about by technological advances, such as the invention of the typewriter, carbon paper, and vertical filing systems. The memo was born!

3.5.   Genre system analysis

While early research in genre analysis focused on individual genres – especially those of high importance in academic or professional contexts – there has been more recent interest in analyzing genres as clusters or networks that work together in order to accomplish users' goals. One of the first approaches to this kind of intertextual genre analysis was carried out by Devitt in a (1991) study of tax accountants. Devitt collected multiple samples of all of the types of texts used at six major accounting firms, and then carried out interviews with members who held different ranks at the firms. Through the texts and interviews, Devitt was able to identify the repertoire of genres commonly recognized by tax accountants, and the functions of those genres. These users also provided insight into the ways in which the genres worked together to accomplish interacting tasks, from their own insider perspectives. Devitt found, for example, that genres may at times work together sequentially or dialogically, while in other cases, text from one genre may actually be incorporated into another (e.g., incorporating text from the Tax Codes and Regulations into a research memorandum). By examining the full set of texts that a community uses to carry out their tasks, Devitt was also able to understand how genres work together to meet the users' needs.

In her study of the paperwork of a pyschotherapist, Berkenkotter (2001) merges the framework of genre system with that of neo-Vygotskyan activity theory. Activity theory expands and animates the notion of *context* through the metaphor of an activity system, which integrates users, tools (such as genres), and objects together carrying out an act. Berkenkotter (2001: 330) argues that "the concept of genre systems enables the analyst to foreground the discursively salient component of human activity systems". Berkenkotter's genre/activity system analysis is carried out at micro and macro levels, through an ethnographic case study of a mental health practitioner that examines her texts and practices. The study uses participant-observation, text analysis, and discourse-based interviews to trace the therapist's patient interviews, assessments, treatment plans, notes, and termination summaries. Through such analysis, Berkenkotter is able to identify the recontextualization of texts as they resurface in new activities and new "social worlds" (2001: 338). Through her analysis, Berkenkotter identifies the *Diagnostic and Statistical Manual of Mental Disorders, 4*th *ed.* (*DSM-IV*) as an important "meta-genre" that organizes a range of professional activities and genres carried out by mental health practitioners. On a micro level, Berkenkotter demonstrates how the *DSM-IV* shapes the notes that a therapist takes during a client interview and the inferences that she draws as she forms her diagnosis. On a macro level, Berkenkotter illustrates how the *DSM-IV* standardizes practices in the mental health profession, building a common lexicon and even conceptual paradigm of mental health.

These two studies exemplify an important turn in genre analysis research, bridging linguistic analysis with ethnographic analyses of social settings and tak-

ing seriously the intertextual nature of genres. Methodology for genre system analysis is quite varied and includes, for example, interview and text analysis (Tardy 2003), survey research (Hyon and Chen 2004), citation analysis (Thompson 2005), intertextual analysis (Flowerdew and Wan 2006), ethnographic analysis (Scollon et al. 1999), textbook analysis (Bremner 2008), and corpus-based analysis (Swales 2004).

3.6.   Critical genre analysis

Despite a general recognition in genre theory that genres embody – and reinforce – the power dynamics of their community of users, genre analysis has, in general, not foregrounded the political dimension of genre. Instead, critical analysis of written texts – that is, an explicit analysis of social inequalities structured through discourse – has typically been carried out through critical discourse analysis (CDA) (see Bloor/Bloor this volume). Nevertheless, a growing number of studies have merged the tools and methods of critical discourse analysis and genre analysis.

Bhatia (2008) outlines a framework for critical genre analysis which integrates what he calls "text-internal factors" (e.g., lexicogrammatical features, rhetorical moves) with "text-external factors" (e.g., institutional discourses, actions, and voices). This framework brings together an analysis of text, genre, professional practice, and professional culture; Bhatia argues that all four of these layers must be integrated to carry out a comprehensive, critical analysis of genre. His approach is illustrated through a study of corporate disclosure texts and practices, which blends close textual analysis with discourse-based interviews and a broader social analysis of corporate practices. Bhatia analyzes the annual report genre – a required mode of disclosure – along these different levels and illustrates how the genre mixes the opposing discourses of accounting and public relations discourses.

Moving from the corporate world to the public space, Flowerdew (2004) uses critical genre analysis to analyze the discursive construction of Hong Kong. He describes the network of genres used by the government in its planning process to develop Hong Kong as a global city. Three genres used to consult with the public – a public consultation booklet, an annual yearbook, and a promotional video – are analyzed at linguistically and intertextually. Flowerdew illustrates how the texts, which are publicly said to be consulting with the public, in fact adopt an authoritative voice that imposes the government's goals onto the reading public. An analysis of the genres involved in the public policy process further demonstrates that the texts do not operate sequentially, as one might expect from texts used to consult with a group of readers, but rather exist as a *colony* imposed onto the public rather than in dialogue with them.

Other studies have used critical genre analysis in the study of news texts surrounding social issues. In an analysis of newspaper articles and editorials on homelessness, for example, Huckin (2002) brings CDA and genre analysis together to

identify textual silences – or the omission of relevant information from a text. His method for identifying such silences involves first using a corpus of target texts and scholarly literature to develop a fairly comprehensive list of relevant subtopics that could appear within the target genre, then analyzing the presence or absence of those topics in select texts. Tardy (2009) carries out critical genre analysis to study a genre system of news texts on language policy. This study uses CDA methods to analyze the discursive strategies that different genres rely on to express assimilationist ideologies, and it uses intertextual tracing to follow the uptake or dropping of ideological expressions across linked texts over time.

3.7. New directions in genre analysis

The approaches described above have remained valuable resources for understanding the social uses of language through generic form, but in the past decade new approaches have emerged, engaging the increasing role of technology in textual production and a growing interest in the imprint of individuals on generic communication.

3.7.1. *Multimodal/visual genre analysis*

With developing technology, increased attention has been given to the multimodal nature of texts, which often incorporate not just written text but also visual images and even oral text such as speech or music, Bateman (2008) providing an excellent introduction to work in this area. For some genres, these kinds of elements are so essential that it would be impossible to overlook them in an analysis. Professional presentations, for example, integrate verbal text, visual images of different sorts, and oral commentary. Rowley-Jolivet's extensive research on this genre provides one framework for analyzing multimodal genres. Rowley-Jolivet (2002) categorizes visuals as scriptural (i.e., text-based), graphical (e.g., graphs, diagrams, or maps), figurative (e.g., photographs), or numeric (e.g., equations or numeric tables). She further classifies scriptural and figurative visuals as polysemic (open to multiple semantic interpretations) and graphical and numerical visuals as monosemic (unambiguous in interpretation).This taxonomy allows for descriptive analysis of the multiple types of images, but it becomes a more robust tool when paired with systemic-functional analysis.

A systemic-functional approach, which aims to understand the multiple functions enacted by a single message, has been applied quite effectively in previous analyses of multimodal genres (e.g., Lemke 1998, Miller 1998, Rowley-Jolivet 2001, Lemke 2002, Kress 2003). Within this framework, Halliday (1994) identifies three functions of meaning-making that any message may play: *ideational*, *interpersonal*, and *textual*. The ideational function conveys meaning about states of affairs or events in the world, such as an experimental result. The interpersonal func-

tion conveys meaning about the attitudes and relations of the writers and readers, such as the authority and credibility or the writers or the finding. Finally, the textual function conveys meaning about the text, guiding the reader through the text's organization. While texts may simultaneously carry out multiple functions, Kress (2003) has illustrated how different modes (written, visual, oral) may be more or less effective at carrying out particular functions. Multimodal genre analysis offers a way to analyze what Kress calls the "affordances" of different modes.

3.7.2.   *Genre and identity*

While historically genre analysis has been used to understand trends among community uses of texts, more recently, interest has turned to individual writers and the ways in which they play within (and beyond) generic conventions, asserting identity within a text. This work acknowledges that writers do not merely operate within social systems but also as individuals. Research in this area is still relatively rare, but a few examples demonstrate the interesting directions that future work may take.

Hyon (2008) examines the relatively occluded genre of tenure and promotion reports, not for their typical move structures or textual features that carry out the genre's purpose of evaluating faculty but instead for the "playful strategies" that individual writers employ to entertain and show solidarity with readers. In her study, Hyon begins by describing the genre's conventions in terms of move structure, intertextual strategies, content, and tone. She then explores categories of "inventiveness" which are marked for their departure from these conventions; these categories include the use of hyperbole, irony or humor, and informal language (exclamations, fragments, and direct questions). After identifying instances of inventiveness in a corpus of 34 sample texts, Hyon goes on to analyze the functions of these inventive or playful strategies and the frequency of the strategies across groups of writers who hold different levels of status (interestingly, writers with higher levels of status appear to make less use of these playful strategies). Hyon's study provides an approach to examining the variation that individuals bring to generic conventions.

A handful of other studies have similarly explored exertions of individuality within generic conformity. Hyland (2008a), for instance, takes a corpus-based approach to analyzing self-representation in a corpus of John Swales' writings in comparison with a broader corpus of applied linguistics work. Hyland uses frequency, keyword, and concordancing strategies to reveal ways in which Swales' writing is distinct vis-à-vis larger disciplinary conventions. A study by Matsuda and Tardy (2007) analyzed individual voice within generic conventions from the perspectives of readers. Through a case study which simulated a blind peer review of an academic article, they found that the readers constructed author identity primarily through the ways in which generic expectations were carried out. In this

case, the writer's choice of references, omission of particular theoretical perspectives, and stylistic features led the readers to (accurately) construct the writer as a white male graduate student who was a relative newcomer to the discipline. While these studies do not analyze genres *per se*, they do suggest methodological approaches to understanding the role of individuals as both writers and consumers of genres.

4.   Sample analysis

In this section, we carry out an analysis of a short but common academic genre: the biographical data statement, commonly referred to as a biodata or a bio-statement. Academic bio-statements appear in venues as diverse as journals, conference programs, guest speaker announcements, and professional websites. A bio-statement summarizes certain characteristics of an author or speaker for the audience at hand, usually in a relatively brief text. On one level, the genre may serve to provide relevant background information that the audience will find relevant, useful, or interesting. At the same time, however, the bio-statement provides the writer with an opportunity to build his or her credibility and establish a particular identity or ethos.

In this study, we focused on bio-statements published in academic journals in conjunction with an author's published work. While this genre appears only rarely in journals dealing with science, it is relatively common in journals in the humanities and in some social sciences. We compiled a corpus made up of 30 bio-statements from the journal *Applied Linguistics* (*AL*) and 30 bio-statements from the *ELT Journal* (*ELTJ*). In each case, these were the first 30 bio-statements published in the year 2007 by the journal. Both journals address issues of language, language learning, and language teaching, yet they differ in their goals and genres. While *AL* is a research-focused journal, *ELTJ* is oriented toward practical issues in the teaching of English, and authors' bio-statements reflect these divergent goals. Though in many cases the same individuals may read these journals or write for both of these journals, they do so with different expectations and goals.

In their on-line submission guidelines, *AL* instructs authors to include with their manuscript submissions "a brief biodata of about 90 words listing main interests, recent publications, and a contact address." (Contact information was deleted from our corpus.) *ELT Journal* does not ask authors to include a bio-statement with an initial submission, but once a manuscript is accepted, the journal asks authors to submit "your bio-data, with email contact address if you wish this to be published" (personal communication, 20 March 2009). In our sample genre analysis, we analyze these statements using a range of genre analytic approaches to illustrate the insights gained through different methods.

4.1.   Textual features

Our corpus of bio-statements from *AL* totaled 2,093 words, while the corpus from *ELTJ* included 1,762 words in total. The bio-statements were similar in length, with the *AL* statements averaging 69.8 words and the *ELTJ* statements averaging 58.7 words. The shortest bio-statement in the corpus was only 22 words long, while the longest was 222 words, both of these examples coming from *AL*. These extremes indicate that both the authors in and the editors of *AL* interpret the request for a statement "of about 90 words" fairly liberally!

A simple search of the most frequently occurring content words (see Table 1) indicates the importance attached to institutional affiliation and degree names, demonstrated by the high frequency of the nouns *University, Language*, and *Education*. The much greater frequency of *research* in the *AL* corpus reveals a greater emphasis on the author's research interests or activity in comparison with *ELTJ*, likely related to the journals' different emphases on research in comparison with pedagogical practice respectively.

Table 1.   High frequency words in the *AL* and *ELTJ* bio-statement corpora

Applied Linguistics		*ELT Journal*	
University	41	Language/language	39
language	36	University	36
research	28	English	26
English	20	teaching	14
interests	17	research	11
professor	16	Education	10
teaching	15	teacher	10
Education	14	PhD	9
linguistics	12	published	9

One interesting lexico-grammatical feature of this genre is its use of the third person singular in reference to the author. In other words, although the author has written the statement about him or herself, the use of the first person *I* never appears. In most cases, authors refer to themselves first through their full name and then later through the pronoun *he* or *she*. While all of the bio-statements begin with the use of the full name, a few cases in the corpus deviate from the later use of pronouns. In *AL,* two Anglo male authors refer to themselves by their title (*Professor*) plus last name, while in *ELTJ* two Anglo female authors refer to themselves by their first name only. While these instances are certainly rare, they may hint at different values or practices of the communities in which these journals circulate. *AL* readers, for example, may be more firmly situated within an academic discourse that tends to value hierarchy, as reflected by the use of formal titles. In contrast, with its emphasis on practice, *ELT Journal* may reflect a greater tendency toward

familiarity and collegiality in the ESL teaching profession.While bio-statements may be considered a self-promotional genre, at least in part, they generally achieve this goal through their move structure (described in the next section) rather than through, for example, attitude markers or evaluative adjectives. There are few instances of overtly evaluative expressions in the corpus; however, a small number of evaluative adjectives and adverbs do appear in *AL*, emphasizing the authors' scholarly strengths:

> … he is also **well known** for his research into teaching and learning … Professor [Name] is a **prolific** writer and he has published twelve books …

> He is internationally **well known** for his research and publications in … He was director of a **major** international project … was co-editor of the **main** international journal in the field of language testing …

> … he has published **widely** in the leading Applied Linguistics, Language Teaching and Discourse Analysis journals …

An additional strategy for emphasizing the author's strengths is to quantify his or her experience or scholarship. As a result, lists, numbers and dates are fairly common in this genre, either emphasizing the author's publications or years of experience:

> He worked as a teacher educator in China from 1984 until 1996, and has taught in South Korea since the inception of primary level English teaching in 1997. [AL]

> [Name] began his ELT career in Fiji in the early 1960s, retiring from the directorship of the Centre for Applied Language Studies at the University of Reading in 2000 to work as a freelance. [ELTJ]

> [Name] has been teaching English in Japan for more than ten years. [ELTJ]

> He has taught in seven countries and published over 120 articles and 11 books on language teaching and academic writing. [AL]

While authors do have the opportunity to use quantification, evaluative language, and self-mention in ways that may establish their authority or credibility, the textual variations in this genre remain somewhat limited due to the very restricted text length. Instead of varying their textual choices significantly, writers tend to use rhetorical moves to represent themselves in more or coherent ways.

4.2.   Rhetorical moves

Despite an average text length of around 65 words, authors carry out several rhetorical moves in the bio-statement genre, as outlined in Table 2.

Table 2.   Common moves and steps in the bio-statement genre

Move	Steps
Describe position	• List current position held • List institutional affiliation • List city or country where position is located
Establish formal qualifications	• List degree(s) received • Identify institution from which degree was granted
Mention publications	• Make general reference to the fact that the author has published • List publication types and/or journal titles • List titles and publishers of books
Describe research areas	• List areas of research interest or projects
Describe professional activities	• Describe past or current job types or professional responsibilities • Describe specific professional projects carried out in the past or present • List past or current roles in professional organizations • List geographic locations where the author has lived and worked
Describe honors	• List awards, grants, or honors received

The first move, *describing position*, may include the author's job title, institutional affiliation, and/or city or country of employment. This information is typically included in the first sentence of the bio-statement, though it also occasionally appears at the end. Examples are:

> [Name] is a lecturer in linguistics in the Centre for Language and Communication at the Open University, UK. [AL]

> [Name] works at Victoria University of Wellington, New Zealand. [ELTJ]

In some cases, the author describes his or her position while also establishing formal qualifications; in other cases, authors include a separate sentence focusing solely on their qualifications:

> [Name] (PhD) is a Lecturer at the English Department of the Universidad Autónoma de Madrid. [ELTJ]

> [Name] holds a PhD in English and linguistics from the University of New South Wales, Sydney, Australia. [AL]

The *AL* guidelines specifically ask authors to include recent publications in their bio-statement, and this is in fact a common move in both journals. This move may be carried out simply as a somewhat vague reference to work published or it may take the form of a detailed list of publication titles and publisher information:

> He has published course books, teachers' handbooks, and articles, with a particular focus on the teaching of writing. [ELTJ]

> She has published articles in *Language Learning* (Vols 53 and 54) and *The Reading Matrix* (Vol. 4). [AL]

> Publications include *Critical Discourse Analysis and Language Cognition* (Edinburgh University Press, 2003), *Applying English Grammar: Functional and Corpus Approaches* (Hodder Arnold, 2004 with Coffin and Hewings) and *The Art of English: Literary Creativity* (Palgrave Macmillan, 2006 with Goodman). [AL]

In a few cases, as described in section 4.1, authors in the corpus quantified their publishing credentials:

> [Name] is a prolific writer and he has published twelve books and over 250 papers. [AL]

These three moves – *describing position*, *establishing formal qualifications*, and *mentioning publications* – illustrate that the author is formally qualified and is an active researcher holding a scholarly position.

Many authors also include a description of their research agenda, either as "interests" or areas in which they are actively carrying out projects. Commonly, this move is carried out through a list of relatively specific areas:

> His main research interests are in English teaching methodology and language learning strategies. [ELTJ]

> … she specializes in instructed second language acquisition and intersections between SLA and language testing. [AL]

In some cases, authors provide even more insight into their professional selves by describing professional activities that they engage in, including teaching, current or past research projects, or roles they have taken on in professional organizations. For example:

> In the UK he has recently worked as linguistic advisor to the Ministry of Education and QCA on English in the National Curriculum and the Adult ESOL Core Curriculum. [AL]

> [Name] is currently conducting a study to examine parents' perspectives and opinions concerning Young Learner ELT instruction including the use of materials written for native English speakers. [ELTJ]

> A Past President of TESOL Greece, she is currently President of the Australian Council of TESOL Associations. [ELTJ]

In some cases, experience living and working in various countries worldwide is included as an aspect of professional activity. It is not uncommon for authors, especially in *ELTJ,* to list the countries in which they have worked, thus drawing attention to their international experiences:

> … has taught EFL for 15 years in Spain and the Balkans …[ELTJ]

> … has experience teaching EFL in China and Japan. [AL]

> He has previously lived and worked in Singapore, Britain, Nigeria and France. [ELTJ]

Finally, a rare move but one that did appear in a handful of the *AL* bio-statements was to describe honors that the author has received. For instance:

> [Name] is a fellow of both the British Psychological Society and the American Psychological Association. [AL]

Bio-statements in the corpus we examined nearly always included the first move. In even the briefest bio-statements, this move was paired with at least one other move. In the *AL* corpus, most scaled-down statements typically described the author's position and listed his or her research areas:

> [Name] is assistant professor at the University of Illinois at Urbana-Champaign, where she specializes in instructed second language acquisition and intersections between SLA and language testing. [AL]

Whether authors use just two of these rhetorical moves, or combine all six (which some authors did), they do so in order to build their credibility as a published writer, illustrating their credentials as well as their experiences that they hope are valued in the field.

While the bio-statements in the *AL* and *ELTJ* corpora are largely similar in terms of the moves that they include, they do differ somewhat in the frequency with which some moves appear, as illustrated quantitatively in Table 3.

Table 3.   Presence of moves in the *AL* and *ELTJ* bio-statement corpora

	Applied Linguistics (n=30)	*ELT Journal (n=30)*
Describe position	93 %	100 %
Establish formal qualifications	33 %	33 %
Mention publications	53 %	50 %
Describe research areas	90 %	60 %
Describe professional activities	50 %	70 %
Current	20 %	30 %
Past	40 %	57 %
Professional roles	13 %	7 %
Geographic locations	10 %	27 %
Describe honors	10 %	0 %

Notable is the higher inclusion of the move describing the author's research areas in the *AL* bio-statements. On the one hand, increased attention to research may not be surprising, as the submission guidelines specifically ask authors to include "main interests" in their bio-statements. At the same time, this emphasis in *AL* likely also reflects the journal's research focus as opposed to ELTJ's orientation to-

ward classroom practice. In contrast is the higher presence in *ELTJ* of descriptions of the author's professional activities. Authors in *ELTJ* included this move more frequently overall and put a much greater emphasis both on past professional activities and on their experiences living and working in diverse geographic locations, aspects of their professional identities that are likely to be highly valued in this venue. Such experiences show the author to be an active practitioner and to potentially understand a range of contexts in which ESL/EFL instruction takes place.

4.3.   Identity

While the bio-statement has most certainly taken on a recognizable form within the constraints of its unique rhetorical context, authors do still have some room to negotiate the ways in which they represent themselves. By selecting which moves they include or exclude, or what order to include them in, authors may draw on what Hyland (2008a: 158) calls "the cultural resources their communities make available to them" in this genre. For example, an author who lacks a formal qualification and prior publications but who has many years of teaching experience in multiple countries has the option of foregrounding this practical experience. The *ELTJ* texts seem to provide particular flexibility in the type of information that authors may present about themselves. Within this journal, authors may highlight a teaching persona, a publishing persona, or a research persona (or a combination thereof), as evident from the following bio-statements, all from *ELTJ*:

> [Name] has been on the Faculty of the Central Institute of English and Foreign Languages, Hyderabad, India since 1979. At present she is Professor in the School of Distance Education, CIEFL, Hyderabad. She has produced teaching materials for English and non-English medium schools at the primary level and secondary levels as well as teacher education materials in the self access mode. She is involved in Resource Persons' Training and teacher training of English language teachers in India.

> [Name] is author of The Internet and ELT (Summertown Publishing) and co-author (with Scott Windeatt and David Hardisty) of The Internet (Oxford University Press). She teaches at the State College of Education in Vienna.

> [Name], EdD, is a professor of Educational Psychology at the University of Nevada, Reno. Her research interests are in the areas of cognitive and moral development.

Authors in this corpus also included small details about themselves that served to accentuate unique aspects of their authorly and professional selves. For example, one *ELTJ* author wrote, "She is especially interested in helping young learners develop a love for both fiction and non-fiction children's books," using emotional words and specific details that give readers a glimpse into the author's personal goals as an ELT professional. Another *ELTJ* author described himself as "a non-native teacher, teacher trainer, and researcher of ELT," listing the various professional labels that he ascribes to. And an author in *AL* included the information that

he "translate[s] contemporary literary works from Chinese into English," illustrating his own skills and interests beyond applied linguistics research.

4.4.   Critical analysis

Although the genre does allow for individuals to choose from available options in representing themselves in ways that favor their strengths, it must be noted that certain aspects of identity are privileged in this genre. Take, for example, the near-obligatory move of describing one's position. Particular positions, institutional affiliations, and even geographic locations of the institution are all assigned some symbolic value, depending on the publication venue and its community of readers. In *AL*, for example, positions of "professor," "director," or "senior lecturer" symbolize greater prestige and experience than, for example, "doctoral student" or "assistant professor," though readers may be equally impressed when newer scholars are published in the journal. Similarly, authors who can list their affiliation with well known research institutions or with programs that have a strong disciplinary reputation can accrue some additional symbolic capital by virtue of such connections.

What is perhaps the most important point to emphasize, then, is that in this brief genre, certain forms of capital are privileged: Position, pedigree, affiliation, publishing record, and experience are some clear examples. In privileging these aspects of a professional identity within this very brief genre, the bio-statement simultaneously reproduces the power structure that lends prestige to these characteristics.

4.5.   Summary

Even this brief analysis of the bio-statement genre reveals the range of strategies that writers use to carry out the genre's rhetorical goal of positive self-representation. Our textual analysis reveals the relatively predictable nature of the genre's textual form, while also showing that authors do find opportunities to build their ethos through evaluative language, quantification of strengths, or self-mention. Somewhat more revealing, our move analysis illustrates the different rhetorical strategies that writers employ to build their credibility. Our analysis reveals a relationship between these strategies and the focus of the publication venue, with *AL* authors emphasizing their research backgrounds and *ELTJ* authors placing more emphasis on their teaching experience and worldly backgrounds. This match may result from a conscious effort on the part of authors to emphasize the aspects of their person that they feel are most valued by the readers; alternatively, the match may be a result of similarities in the values of the authors who publish in these different venues. Finally, our analysis reveals that authors do find ways to individualize the genre, despite its very short length. However, as we have noted, the genre does impose a set of values, reproducing certain features of an academic persona as holding more capital than others.

Using a multi-method approach to genre analysis has allowed us to understand different dimensions of the genre. In a more in-depth analysis, interviews with authors and editors might shed further light on some of the considerations that authors take into account when writing their bio-statement – for example, striking a balance between self-promotion and boasting. Interviews with readers could further probe reactions to author's choices, such as the use of self-descriptive modifiers like "prolific." We might also investigate differences related to authors and readers' genders and the choices and interpretations made in this self-representational genre.

5.   Conclusion

As we hope to have illustrated here, genre analysis may be best thought of not as a single method of discourse analysis but as a set of methods for understanding genres, their users, and their uses. Our sample analysis also demonstrates how different methodological approaches shed light on different generic patterns and features, giving the genre analyst a repertoire of complementary tools from which to choose. In today's information-saturated world, teeming with global and local genres, the fields of genre analysis and pragmatics are increasingly aligned in their attempts to understand how people accomplish tasks though language. We imagine that genre analysis will continue to adopt and develop approaches that take into account the multiple modes and interlinked genres that people use to carry out these tasks.

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7.   Critical discourse analysis

Meriel Bloor and Thomas Bloor

1.   Introduction

Critical discourse analysis is not a unified field of study. It appears in many forms and has a variety of origins. Its practitioners come from literary studies and a number of social science disciplines, including linguistics, anthropology, sociology, and education. In recent years, some well established scholars have attempted to draw boundaries and set objectives for their research in order to define it as an academic discipline, but others have continued to encourage the cross-disciplinary nature of critical discourse studies. In this chapter, we attempt to give an account of the main principles underlying present day practice, as well as looking at the variety of critical projects undertaken. The focus, however, will be on the role of pragmatics in discourse studies in general and in critical discourse analysis in particular.

We begin by considering some of the common objectives of pragmatics and discourse analysis before addressing the development and objectives of *critical* work in the field.

2.   Starting out: discourse analysis and pragmatics

Early discourse analysts focused on the investigation of *language in use* with the primary objective of explaining how meaning is constructed, and, hence, how communication takes place. Sinclair (1966), in an early plea for the study of discourse, argued for the use of naturalistic data in linguistics, using recorded speech or "real" texts rather than native speaker intuition and also for the investigation of how language is used and how utterances *do* things. De Beaugrande and Dressler [1972] (1981: 31–33), in their influential introduction to text linguistics, similarly argue for *a procedural approach* where "all the levels of language are to be described in terms of their utilization." They object to the practice of relegating "the use of language to the domain of pragmatics" (1981:31), a practice which could remove the use of language from the attention of linguists. Instead they incorporate pragmatic concerns into text analysis by addressing the attitudes and intentions of the participants in linguistic exchanges in their communicative settings (de Beaugrande and Dressler: 113–137: 163–180).

Similarly, in his systemic functional model of lexicogrammar, Halliday (1978: 108) discusses what he termed at that time "a sociosemiotic theory of language", which extended the idea of *text* as the object of study to include contextual and so-

cial systems in the construal of meaning. He presents the linguistic system as encapsulating *meaning potential* while meaning itself is "actualised" (or enacted) within a co-text and a social setting. Thus, following Malinowski (1923) and Firth (1957: 181–183), Halliday argues that *meaning potential* is encapsulated in the linguistic system, and its *actualisation* takes place in the *context of situation,* "the environment in which text comes to life" (Halliday 1978:108). *Coming to life* is the creation of actual meaning that allows us *to do things* with language.

In Halliday and Hasan (1985: 6), such *language in action* is referred to as "very much pragmatic language" where "it is impossible to understand the message unless you know what is going on." Incidentally, the term *meaning potential* has been used in recent years by cognitive linguists and pragmaticists, such as Fauconnier (2004: 616), who begins his explanation with: "Meaning potential is the essentially unlimited number of ways in which an expression can prompt dynamic cognitive processes".

Halliday's objective has been to work towards some type of amalgamation of all work that supports further understanding of the relationship between language and meaning (see, for example, Halliday 2002: 173–216), and it is not surprising that many discourse analysts influenced by functional linguistics and sociolinguistics, have unhesitatingly looked to the discipline of pragmatics. Since the 1970s, they have drawn on pragmatic theory, incorporating references to philosophers, in particular on Grice (1975, 1989), who have been able to throw light on the missing links between the lexico-grammar of texts and the messages they carry.

To take specific examples from early work in discourse analysis, Sinclair and Coulthard (1975: 8–18) and Coulthard (1977: 11–29 and 93–115) draw on Austin (1962) and Searle (1969, 1971) in their interpretation of the illocutionary force of utterances in classroom discourse and discourse in general. De Beaugrande and Dressler (1981: 113–136), in their early overview of text and discourse studies, also use speech act theory and work with Grice's maxims in interpreting conversational implicature in a variety of short but authentic texts, with enlightening examples of the effect of the flouting and violation of the co-operative principle in conversations from literary texts. Brown and Yule (1983: 1), in their introduction to the field, claim that "any analytic approach in linguistics which involves contextual considerations, necessarily belongs to that area of language study called **pragmatics**" (original emphasis). They go further and add that "doing discourse analysis" is "primarily doing pragmatics".

Brown and Levinson (1987: 276–281 and elsewhere) argued that the use of identifiable interpersonal strategies of spoken discourse, such as those used to express politeness, are of crucial concern in pragmatics and sociolinguistics. Their expressed position was as follows:

> The special interest of sociolinguistics in our view is in the differential use of such pragmatic resources by different categories of speakers in different situations. It is in this way that we derive our slogan, 'Sociolinguistics should be applied pragmatics.'
>
> (Brown and Levinson 1987: 281)

This slogan seems to invite a discourse analytic approach with room for even more social input than discourse analysis had so far been able to accommodate.

Nevertheless, in 1983, Levinson (1983: 286–294) saw little in discourse analysis that could be of interest to pragmatics, although his account of the discourse field is misleading. He described discourse analysis as "a series of attempts to extend the techniques so successful in linguistics, beyond the unit of the sentence" (1983: 286). Additionally, he saw the field as being obsessed with questions of well-formed versus ill-formed sequences (for which view he provides no evidence or references). Even more surprisingly, in view of the contemporary use of authentic data and corpus-based studies, he claimed that discourse analysts tended to take as data "one (or a few) texts (often constructed by the analyst)", a situation that was, in fact, extremely rare and soon virtually to disappear.

On the other hand, some of those working in pragmatics have been consistently sympathetic to practices from discourse analysis. Mey (1993), for example, described pragmatics in similar terms to those that had been used by Brown and Yule (1983) ten years earlier to describe discourse analysis – although his definition of pragmatics ("Pragmatics is the science of language in relation to *its users*" [1993: 5]) expressed rather more interest in the participants and their intentions than that of Brown and Yule "The analysis of discourse is the analysis of language *in use*" (our emphasis). Mey (1993: 286–315), in fact, accepted that social rules are extra-linguistic evidence operating alongside linguistic rules in verbal communication and he argued for a pragmatics that would incorporate much of the empirical approach of discourse analysis with its focus on real language data. Moreover, he questions the validity of pragmatic universals and looks positively towards a "societal pragmatics" with more allowance for cultural presuppositions, social power, institutional controls and so on in the way we approach discourse, an attitude that made way for critical discourse analysis as we now know it.

Up to this point we have been discussing some of the common objectives of pragmatics and discourse analysis and some of the differences between them. The rest of this chapter focuses on *critical* discourse analysis.

3.   The nature of critical discourse analysis

3.1.   Objectives

What is essentially a manifesto for critical discourse analysis was written by the general linguist Dwight Bolinger (1980) in *Language the Loaded Weapon*. He demonstrates the need for the incorporation of social criticism into discourse studies and discusses how language can encourage – or resist – deception, prejudice and inequalities of power. He also addresses the question of the relationship of language and thought, a complex and highly controversial area, but he sees this

relationship as crucial for the way we see the world and construct meaning. In this, he moves toward the core of critical discourse analysis as we now know it: how to see through the limits of our own language use and how to engage with the barriers set up by the ideologies associated with the social groups of which we are a part. Bolinger does not engage in detailed discourse analysis here but gives an indication of the type of social issues that can be addressed. These include propaganda, politics, racism, sexism, and advertising, a list which includes many of the issues that still demand the attention of critical discourse analysts. Additionally, he discusses aspects of language use that can be seen as the standard tools of deception, such as naming as a means of concealment (as in "Ministry of Defence"), grammatical devices (for example, the use of the passive voice to conceal the agent of a specific deed or those ultimately responsible for atrocities), reification ("the materialising of abstractions", the way in which naming something can verify its reality), and, above all, metaphor, which can disguise the truth as easily as revealing it.

A quarter of a century later, Fairclough et al. (2004: 1) wrote: " … a reasonable tenet of a critical approach to discourse is that the analysis of text and talk are never an end in themselves". These words appear in the introduction to the first volume of the journal *Critical Discourse Studies* edited jointly by an international group consisting at that time of Norman Fairclough, Phil Graham, Jay Lemke and Ruth Wodak. Of course, no serious discourse analysis is an "end in itself" but what these authors mean is that critical discourse analysis is concerned with serious applications to social problems: "those aspects of the structure, organisation and functioning of human society that cause suffering, injustice, danger, inequality, insecurity and self-doubt" (Fairclough et al. 2004: 1). This list presupposes, one imagines, the discourses of politics and war, themes that had arguably attracted some of the most important work in critical discourse analysis.

Like Bolinger (1980), Fairclough et al. (2004: 1–6), take the view that while all discourse analysis is concerned with society in so far as it enlightens the relationship between linguistic form and social interaction, critical discourse analysis goes further to address the question of how unequal power is socially negotiated and how powerful institutions and social groups control discourses. They claim that "the critical objective is not only to identify and analyse the roots of social problems, but also to discern ways of alleviating or resolving them" (Fairclough et al. 2004: 1)

It has often been claimed that the power of the strongest in society depends on their ability to control the state and its institutions (civil service, police, armed forces, and so on). Fairclough (1989: 32–42 and elsewhere) writes that in a capitalist economy this power is exercised not only by capitalists themselves, but also by those whose interests are directly tied to capital. The discourse practices of the state institutions become *naturalized*, that is they become accepted as normal, as obvious, and hence as part of the known culture even though they are, in fact, open to change. They are seen as common sense, and tend to support the ideology of the power-holding groups.

A further objective of critical discourse analysis, discussed in detail in van Dijk (1998), is the investigation of how ideologies are inherent in discourse and how they pervade social interaction. He defined ideologies as "the basic social representations of social groups" (2001: 115). They represent the shared self-image of the members of the group, what they have in common, what they believe, what they do, and what they find normal. Discourse (being the shared interaction of members of social groups) can reinforce old ideologies or contribute to creating new ones. Thus, while an ideology can lead to in-group harmony and accord, it can also incite conflict with other social groups and support dominant prejudices, vicious or harsh behaviour, and unequal policies. Hence, one of the main objectives of critical analysis has been the investigation of how 'political and economic ideologies are framed in metaphorical terms' (Lakoff and Johnson 1980: 236).

3.2.   Methods

In discussing methods of critical discourse analysis, we focus on those that we consider most relevant to pragmatics. This means that we neglect important work in discourse studies that focuses on social theory or social practice.

The branch of critical discourse analysis that developed from critical linguistics (Kress and Hodge [1979], 1994, Fowler et al. 1979) has concerned itself largely with texts, where "text" is taken to mean any piece or corpus of writing or any record of spontaneous spoken interaction (such as conversations or service encounters) or prepared speech (such as lectures or political speeches). Analysts tend to focus on typical linguistic features of discourse that indicate individual stance or ideological positioning in text. These include the deconstruction of grammatical metaphor (Halliday and Matthiessen 2004: 592–616, Halliday and Matthiessen 2006: 227–296), the choice of agent/actor, use of passive voice to avoid the use of agent, prejudicial use of lexis, choice of Theme and Rheme and Given and New information, and the nominalization of verbal processes. For explanations of these terms, see Bloor and Bloor (2013) and for further examples of such analysis in use, see Bloor and Bloor (2007). Such work is often supplemented by the use of appraisal analysis (see Martin and White 2005) and corpus analysis, often applied jointly (see Hunston 2011).

A second branch of critical discourse analysis has paid attention to the ways in which a specific variety or genre can control the meaning potential of the lexico-grammatical features of the text. Genre analysis also encouraged further interest in rhetorical analysis and communicative purpose leading to a better understanding of the interplay between social institutions and actualization of meaning (see, for example, Sanchez-Macarro and Carter 1998 and Ventola and Mauranen 1996). This has been supplemented by the analysis of multimodal discourse, which embraces visual and audio information, including visual art, diagrams, signs, page layout, music, or, in fact, any semiotic system or mixture of systems. Van Leeuwen

(2005), for example, has looked at the social semiotics of toys as part of the cultural control of children's play.

The contribution of French discourse studies has arguably been philosophical and historical rather than linguistic (at least in the northern European sense). However, critical discourse analysts frequently acknowledge the contribution of French writers. Derrida (1967) is usually credited with the concept of "deconstructionism", the process of searching for the ways in which conflict and contradictions are displayed within a text. Although the use of the word has been somewhat adapted over the years, it is recognised as an important tool in critical discourse analysis, where deconstruction can result in the identification of presuppositions and forms of meaning. Intertextual analysis and interdiscursivity also owe something to French discourse studies, but their contribution has, in our view, been more concerned with concepts and theory than with method, and with social models rather than with detailed textual analysis. Foucault's work in general has been a key influence on the work of Fairclough, particularly with respect to institutional and political discourse. Fairclough (2003: 29) compares his own "three main ways in social practice" (*ways of acting, ways of representing, ways of being*) with Foucault's "three relations (*axis of knowledge, axis of power, axis of ethics*)" (Foucault 1994: 318). He also points out that Foucault (1972, 1984) is concerned with the rules that govern bodies of texts over historical time rather than with the detailed analysis of individual texts (Fairclough 2003: 123–124).

3.3.   Targets of critique

Since the stated aim of research in the field is to deal with 'real world issues', one consideration is how to identify the most pressing social problems of the day. A particular concern has been to direct research to the effect on people's lives of the development of global capitalism, means of global communication, international migration, refugees, and transnational institutions (see Fairclough 2003 and Chouliaraki 2006). McKenna (2004: 9) summed up the aims of the discipline more generally as serving what he called "foundation principles" of democracy, equality, fairness, and justice.

Targets of critical work are likely to change, of course, as society changes. In this section, we provide three examples, selected fairly randomly, of what we might call 'local studies' from published work in critical discourse analysis and pragmatics. Each of these reports is from a main area of interest in critical discourse analysis, but each is an independent study with its individual characteristics.

A close analysis of courtroom discourse by Hobbs (2008) demonstrated how an individual accused of murder failed to present his own case adequately without counsel, thus pointing to the power of institutional practice in the court system that can make it impossible for individuals to gain justice without employing profes-

sionals to act for them in the interplay of courtroom events. From the delicate issue of an individual's voice in his own defence, Hobbs is able to draw conclusions relating to a person's right to justice under the law and the use of discourse as an instrument of power. This is a contribution to an increasingly large body of critical and forensic work on discourse in legal settings (for example, the edited volumes by Coulthard and Johnson 2007, 2013, Gibbons 1994).

In a study of medical consultations in South West Nigeria, Odebunmi (2006) reports on differences between doctor-doctor interaction and doctor-patient interaction. Although we might expect that technical medical terms would define the expert-expert interaction, findings indicated a more complex situation where a doctor's sensitivity to a number of local social and environmental issues influence lexical selection and comprehension, pointing to the importance of the culture and sociological patterns of the language users (2006: 37). This is a welcome addition to the body of work in doctor-patient interaction since Candlin's work began in the 1970's, published in conjunction with a research team (Candlin et al 1977). Candlin is still engaged in major research projects in medical discourse (see, for example, Candlin 2001, O'Grady and Candlin 2007).

Another 'small' study with wide-spread potential for positive action (Quiroz 2008) concerns the elaborate racist language used by private adoption agencies on the internet and elsewhere to classify children. The focus on racial issues in self-help adoption literature and in placement policies for adoptive children can make it difficult to find suitable homes for children. Quiroz's valuable work on so-called racial identity follows on from a large archive of research on racist language and identity in critical discourse studies.

The body of work in each of these areas – law (especially forensic linguistics), medicine and anti-racism – have proved productive in effecting movements of social change. Further examples of local studies can be seen in Young and Harrison's (2004) collection of reports of projects from around the world.

4.   Construction of identity

A major research area in critical discourse analysis has been the investigation of the construction and maintenance of identity. The categorization of different groups of people by the specification of their social roles has been a characteristic of cultures through the ages. When the established roles lead to discrimination or exploitation, they may be challenged. This can involve confrontation with the discourses through which they are maintained. Over the past half century, we have seen challenges to the designations of gender, race, ethnicity, class and caste, and these areas have provided fruitful ground for critical discourse studies.

Gender-based projects have ranged from studies of gendered and sexist lexis and the use of pronouns to complex comparisons of boys' and girls' discourse

styles in mixed or single-sex groups (Sheldon and Johnson 1998). They have also included attempts to de-gender language in institutional settings (for example, Ehrlich and King 1998). Much of the work on gender is well-known (see, for example, Cheshire and Trudgill 1998) and has been effective in changing social attitudes. Research questions which have been raised include those relating to possible differences between the discourse of men and women, for example "Are women more polite than men?", "Do men exercise power discoursally in the workplace?", "Can men and women understand each other?" Results of such research are complex because of the variability of social situations. It has been claimed that communication problems may be the result of gender-specific conventions or cultural rules, but there is some disagreement about causes and cures of the problems. These range from the view that solutions lie in education, self-awareness and understanding (Tannen 1990) to the view that they are the result of serious differential power relations in the home and the workplace. Language changes in reference to women's roles have been called 'politically correct', an interesting phrase in itself since its positive connotations have been reversed by reactionary forces in the popular media and the phrase is now used with negative connotations to imply that de-gendered language is trivial or foolish.

Also on the subject of gender, Ehrlich and King (1998) provide a striking example of a way in which meanings are socially constructed and constituted. They report that in 1989, a (named) university in Canada sponsored a *NO MEANS NO* rape-awareness campaign, and in response, violent messages appeared in the windows of the men's accommodation. These included *NO MEANS HARDER*, *NO MEANS 'TIE ME UP'* and expressions even more obscenely suggestive, the implication being that "no" voiced by a woman responding to a sexual advance should be interpreted as "yes" (1998: 178). The authors comment: "the meaning of the word 'no' in this particular context has been appropriated by the dominant culture." But whether the men's comments are interpreted as a disturbing justification of violence against women (as Ehrlich and King claim) or whether they are read as misplaced crude humour, the implication stands. For overviews of work in critical analysis of gender in discourse, see, for example, Mills (1995), Coates (1996), Johnson and Meinhof (1997).

A further major area of research has centred around racism (van Dijk 1987, 1991). Overt prejudicial speech can be challenged, but when prejudice has become 'naturalised' within a particular community, it may pervade discourse, unnoticed as such by either the speaker/writer or listener/reader until the situation is exposed (Bloor and Bloor 2007: 43–44, 121–138). Textual research in this area (for example Halliday 1978: 21–31, Bloor and Bloor 2007: 115–118) has often drawn attention to the use of pronouns to identify Self *(we, us, our, ours)* as opposed to Other *(them, their, theirs)*. Some anti-racist groups have been aware of this issue (following Baldwin 1964: 83, 89) and consciously used pronouns to unite all racial groups together as Self. In a similar vein, revolutionary groups fighting apartheid in South Africa, who refused to recognize the racist classification system, prefixed

racist terminology with the term "so-called" as in "so-called coloured" and "so-called white" (Rassool 2009).

Crucially, analysts have addressed the question of how individuals come to be defined as members of a racial group. There is no easy answer to this question since race has been associated with particular world spaces or national identity for many hundreds of years. Some people may willingly and openly select a category for themselves but most have it imposed upon them by institutions over which they have little control, such as the South African apartheid laws, 1914–1994), and census categories still operating in USA and Great Britain (see Bloor and Bloor 2007: 85–99). However, the process of institutional categorization and the consequent construction of racial identity extends far beyond racial issues into education, the justice system and elsewhere.

5.   Construction of place

We now turn from discussing the construction of identity to an area of increasing interest pin-pointed by de Beaugrande (2004): environmental concerns and global warming. Concern for the ecology of the planet is a continuing area of interest for linguistics and discourse analysis (Halliday and Webster 2009: 37). Brosius (1999: 281), cited in McElhinny (2006), argued that "one of the more urgent tasks in the analysis of contemporary environmentalism is to understand the ways in which [...] constructions of actual and metaphorical space are discursively produced and reproduced". McElhinny (2006) refers to a large body of literature written between 1995 and 2005 concerning environment disputes and the language of exclusion and ownership. She herself undertook a detailed and highly developed study of how the framing of a debate about an environmental dispute influenced the public perception of the physical reality of the world and supported the preservation of the landscape. It is centred on how a region of Canada which did not 'exist' as such – because it had not been identified as a 'place' in its own right – became constructed through discourse.

The study concerned a strip of land to the north of Toronto. This area was the site of environmental disasters dating to before the twentieth century. In the 1920s, trees had been re-planted on deserted farms, but by the 1990s companies were bottling water from the streams and developers were extracting sand and gravel for building Toronto suburbs. The region historically had no name and the people of Toronto and its surroundings did not conceive of the strip as a unit, although they used parts of it for leisure activities. In the 1990s, people began to be concerned about possible urban sprawl and further industrial exploitation. Groups formed in the neighbouring town, Richmond Hill, to fight for conservation areas and hiking trails.

McElhinny's research focused on written documents and websites of these groups, on media reporting, and on records of debates in the Ontario legislature.

Significant discoursal construction occurred first in the naming of the region as the Oak Ridges Moraine and then in the mapping of the region, which signifies the area as a "place" that people can refer to and discuss. Culturally, landscape can be seen as having a particular cultural value as in Bourdieu's (1986) concept of cultural capital; it is associated intertextually with the visual arts, literature, music, travel, and "taste". McElhinny discusses the implications of this and shows how descriptions of the moraine helped to relate the area to this aspect of a cultural heritage. The major claim is that the moraine did not exist in the culture of Canada until it was mapped, named and its features described and discussed. Statements by the protesters made assertions about the *fact* of the moraine – its indisputable *thereness*. A small sample follows:

1. The moraine is a glacial deposit of sand and gravel containing the headwaters of rivers flowing into Lake Ontario and Lake Simcoe.
2. The Oak Ridges Moraine is one of the last continuous corridors of green space left in Southern Ontario.
3. The Oak Ridges Moraine is more than just a beautiful landform feature with its breathtaking vistas, rolling hills, wooded valleys and 'kettle' lakes. Its most precious feature lies hidden below the ground surface.

From this point onwards, it became possible to make evaluative judgements about its social value and to discuss the future of the region. It can be observed that environmental activists may use both scientific and aesthetic arguments referring to issues, such as the preservation of wild life and natural resources, as well as the beauty and leisure prospects of the place.

6.   Politeness, power and knowledge

In this section, we compare two approaches to the same type of linguistic data, each of which addresses issues of politeness. The first is a classic work in pragmatics that seeks to identify pragmatic universals in social interaction and the second a piece of socially critical discourse analysis addressing issues of power in the dissemination of knowledge. The comparison exemplifies distinct methods and introduces some influential theoretical issues about the nature of context.

To exemplify these differences of approach, we take the case of a discursive strategy used by speakers or writers, consciously or unconsciously, to support their communicative intentions. One such expression is known rhetorically as a *hedge*. Traditionally, hedges have been interpreted simply as a means of modifying the degree of truth of a proposition (Lakoff 1973), but subsequent linguists have discussed more interpersonal uses of hedges. Compare the examples in the table, where those in the first column are unhedged and those in the second column are hedged:

Unhedged	Hedged
You are wrong about that	You *may be* wrong about that *I think* you are wrong about that
X is the killer	X *could be* the killer *I don't believe* X is the killer *It's possible* that X is the killer

Brown and Levinson (1987), in their major study of the pragmatics of politeness, identify the use of hedging (as well as address forms and grammatical features) as discursive strategies used to effect politeness. They offer examples from three diverse cultures to show that although the expression of politeness may vary across languages, basic politeness strategies, such as hedging, are pragmatic universals used internationally to soften a direct or indirect command or request. Thus, they discuss pragmatic principles in relation to social issues but give little contextual description. They pay attention to the relative high or low status of individuals participating in the exchanges, but do not address in any detail the contextual implications of many utterances. They distance themselves and their claims from such issues with the words: "We admit that there are areas of our theory that are hard to test empirically … for example, the asymmetry of strategic choice between participants in asymmetrical social relationships of authority and subservience and the exact nature of that asymmetry" (Brown/Levinson 1987: 12).

A very different approach was taken by Myers (1990) in his study of discursive strategies in scientific research papers. He understands that his research provides further evidence for the universality of politeness strategies claimed by Brown and Levinson, but stresses that his objectives are different from theirs. While they were concerned with universality, Myers' concern was with the construction of scientific knowledge and such issues as (1) how knowledge becomes part of the established canon, (2) who controls the publication of scientific research and (3) why some scientists are excluded from publication. Hence, his work is a social critique of power and control based on the analysis of text and context.

Analytically, one of Myer's aims was to show how written texts produce scientific knowledge and reproduce the scientific authority of that knowledge. To conduct this research, he not only analysed texts but also looked in considerable detail at the academic community, the individual authors and their messages, the readership, and the publication process. Overall, he investigates a number of genres, including popular science versions, but here we report on the part of his work devoted to innovative claims made in research articles by experts writing for experts in respected refereed journals (see also Myers 1989).

Myers (1990: 67) found that referees and editors of the journals often asked authors to amend their submissions, sometimes in ways which appeared to reduce the strength of claims being made. Actual original knowledge claims – even highly

significant ones – are marked as being "provisional, pending acceptance … by the community." This important observation depends on a methodology that allows a rich investigation of context and the cultural expectations of the discourse community as well as the intentions of the authors.

Some of Myers's examples come from the work of Watson and Crick (1953), the scientists who identified the structure of DNA, who, in their initial published article, *suggest* a structure for DNA and refer to it as *a* structure rather than *the* structure (emphasis as in Myers 1989: 12). Myers explains that the scientists were not expressing any doubt about the accuracy of their claim, they were "not famous for caution or modesty." The hedging simply reflected "the appropriate attitude for offering a claim to the community" (Myers 1989: 12). Myers relates this feature of academic writing to politeness theory. One of his conclusions is that the reason for hedging here is that baldly stated claims constitute a face-threatening activity towards a readership of fellow scientists who might be offended or highly critical of the work in question. This in turn is related to issues of social power within the academic field, since the "owner" of established research holds a powerful identity within the group. In order to effect publication and acceptance by the establishment, the writer must mitigate any face-threatening activities by what are termed negative politeness strategies. Researchers well-established in an academic community tend to use hedging of this type automatically although they are often unconscious of the intention of social deference. Novice writers may fail to meet such requirements without editorial advice, and good scientists thus risk social exclusion.

Subsequent research in other disciplines has found similar strategies, although close contextual analysis is sometimes necessary to understand what precisely constitutes a claim in science. In applied economics texts, for example, various types of claim can be identified, but only the *field central critical* claims (ones that could challenge a well-established research model) are hedged (Bloor and Bloor 1993).

Work of this type provides evidence for two significant issues concerning the links between form and meaning:

1. The generic constraints on the means available to speakers or writers in specific social contexts.
2. The importance of interpersonal relationships in the production of text.

Such matters relate to issues of on-going importance in pragmatics.

The first numbered point relates to the question of how far pragmatics takes account of the limited meaning potential of institutionalised conventional discourse, which is often established in ways that disallow challenge and *discourage* conflict. Simple examples of this phenomenon are seen in business correspondence and formal business meetings where conventional forms of address and politeness practices are designed to ease negotiation and communication. In recent times, international hotel chains have trained their staff to use *house styles* so that, for example, an English speaking receptionist will use the same style of greeting and

offer of service in New York, Hong Kong, or Brussels. In such cases as these, we may welcome such conventional practices but when such techniques are utilized in advertising, political speeches, pro-war propaganda, fraud, or other manipulation of the public, the critical discourse analyst has a role in raising awareness of the linguistic, rhetorical and ideological tactics being employed.

The second numbered point concerns the part that social roles play in the wording of spoken utterances and written text. These range from the use of specific grammatical forms, such as the choice of interrogatives, declaratives or imperatives to voice a request to the use of ironic remarks, slang or jokes to imply intimacy or distance. These are seen as important indicators of power relations and social control (Sadock 2004, Bloor and Bloor 2007: 102–119).

7.   Two routes to the critique of discourse

In this section, we give a brief introduction to two approaches to critical discourse analysis that differ in identifiable ways from the work discussed so far in that factors other than text and discourse become prominent. The first is the so-called discourse historical approach, which requires researchers to investigate how texts are contextually placed in a political time frame and how they change (in content and/or form) over a given period. An understanding – or at least an interpretation – of the historical context is seen as part of the research programme. The second approach, which we term socio-cultural, requires researchers to consider the whole of the social setting in which discourse practice takes place. Since discourse is a part of social action, without a broad ethnographic analysis, it is argued, the critical discourse analyst cannot appreciate how mutual knowledge allows the participants in the discourse to frame their meanings or interpret the meanings of others.

7.1.   Discourse historial approaches

Wodak (2001) makes a case for a specific discourse-historical approach that was employed by her colleagues and herself in three case studies into racist discourse in Austria (see Reisigl and Wodak 2001). It employs a complex methodology, in which a topic of study (the project under investigation) is traced historically across a period of time. In this case, the analyst identifies samples of actual racist language which are tracked intertextually over a period of time (a method employed generally in stylistics and critical linguistics), and additionally looks for "inconsistencies, contradictions, paradoxes and dilemmas in the text-internal or discourse-internal structures," (2001: 64–65), using a content-oriented approach, more like traditional historical or social analysis. This is achieved by the collection and comparison of texts mainly from news media, and relating these texts to historical events and socio-cultural practices. Crucial to the method (Wodak 2001) is a

social critique that exceeds the purely textual or discourse internal sphere. More-over, Wodak stresses the importance of background and, unusually, of the contextual knowledge *of the researcher*. Those who engage in this type of historical analysis need to understand related social and historical matters in some considerable depth.

In a smaller scale study, Hearn (2008) also uses an historical approach in his critique of the values and language of trade union solidarity in Australia. His analysis consists of a selective account of historical events and personal experiences for "an ethical and political purpose" (2008: 24) with little consideration of the wording or the rhetorical structure of text but with much discussion of principles and ideas, arguing for a searching interrogation of the ethical assumptions that have supported union activity in the past and for more attention to Foucault's (2006) "care of the self", a concept that appears to require some element of self-interest in the individual's commitment to mutual associations. Hearn claims that worker solidarity needs to be constantly reinforced and renewed through discourse. Hearn's historical approach contrasts with the more linguistically oriented Hallidayan approach of Ward (2004), who had a similar objective of studying how and why union solidarity can break down. Rather than tracing a series of historical events, Ward analyses the discourse (particularly pronoun use) of a significant meeting in New Zealand of union members with their employers, using corpus analysis and an analysis of the identity of the referents of "we", combined with the analysis of agency in Given-New structures. He finds that the ordinary members are alienated not only from their employers but also, to some extent, from their union representatives, which results in low participation by the members. From this position, Ward is able to make suggestions for broadening participation in the decision making processes.Further examples of discourse historical research are reported in a special issue of *Critical Discourse Studies* Volume 6.4, edited by Wodak and Richardson (2009)

7.2.   Socio-cultural approaches to critical discourse analysis

In section 6 above, we looked at the claim that a broad socio-cultural analysis was important for appreciating the expression and recognition of the interpersonal function in discourse, specifically in the case of politeness strategies in academic writing.

Scollon (2001) makes an even more extreme claim for a broad analysis in critical discourse studies in which the starting point is social practice and discourse analysis is a supporting factor. He uses the term *mediated* discourse analysis but agrees that it shares the goals of critical discourse analysis; however, he sees as its focus "the social actions through which social actors produce the histories and habitus of their daily lives" (2001: 140). Its concern with discourse is to "explicate and understand how the broad discourses of our social life are engaged (or not) …

in social actions (2001: 140)". He argues that theories of pragmatics and interactional sociolinguistics start with a focus on social action but in practice "tend to become focused only in text" (2001: 140) and fail to take into account the richness of the sociocultural context. Social actions are mediated by language and also by other cultural tools, and any social action takes place in real time in a site of engagement which incorporates many socially accepted practices, such as reading road signs, viewing a film, or having a friendly conversation. His elaborate methodology requires the investigation not only of the spoken and/or written discourse involved but also of any displays or physical action, and consideration of the beliefs and attitudes of the human participants via discussion and focus groups.

The critical element in Scollon's work is clearly exemplified in his 2001 case study of 'having a cup of coffee in Starbucks', where he identifies a social paradox (pages 175–182): the development of neo-capitalism with its attendant discourse of neo-liberalism. He raises questions concerning how the marketing strategy of the company (signs, descriptions, seating, material objects, and so on) projects a liberal image with such artifacts as use of re-cycled cardboard containers, the choice of fair-trade coffee, and the egalitarian, 'friendly' behaviour of staff. Customers, he claims, learn patterns of behaviour associated with the coffee house that include use of company discourse and the use of specifically created (or adapted) words to describe products (*espresso, latte, Americano*, and so on) and the idiosyncratic size of cups (*tall* being the smallest available).

Scollon's approach echoes a traditional ethnographic view, such as that presented by Frake ([1964] 1972) in his classic study *How to Ask for a Drink in Subanun,* which proposed that a decent description of a culture would specify what a stranger would need to know in order to perform and communicate appropriately in events taking place in that society. Regardless of linguistic skill, without this cultural and contextual knowledge, one could not participate effectively in discourse.

What are the implications of such work for the pragmatic goal of relating utterances to meaning? Mutual knowledge of speaker-hearer or writer-reader is generally accepted as an important factor in communication. A lot of work in pragmatics is concerned with the goal of explaining how a hearer "infers the speaker's meaning on the basis of the evidence provided" (Wilson and Sperber 2004: 607–608). According to relevance theory, aspects of the speaker input must connect with a hearer's background information and must appear relevant to that individual. The hearer must be enabled to make assumptions by processing the input in such a way as to yield "positive cognitive effects". Much work in pragmatics considers these issues using artificial data, consisting of a series of short exchanges. These are then interpreted in the light of different possible worlds and the question of how changes in the speakers' background knowledge would bring about changes in the interpretation of illocutionary acts. There appears to be considerable scope for further research into the nature and substance of the socio-cultural

knowledge that is necessary for functioning adequately in human society, and it may well be that work of this type in discourse studies can improve our understanding of general relevance.

Over the past 20 or so years, studies in anthropological linguistics, prototype theory, cognitive linguistics and metaphor studies have provided evidence for culture-specific categorization, knowledge structures and idealized cognitive models. These are areas of increasing interest to pragmatics and critical discourse studies and are the focus of our next section.

8.   The contribution of cognitive linguistics

The study of metaphor as a key rhetorical device in public speaking and in writing has seldom flagged since Aristotle first identified it as such, but a completely new and massively influential perception of the ubiquity and centrality of metaphor in human cognition and discourse emerged with the publications of Lakoff and his colleagues starting from Lakoff and Johnson (1980). Following Rosch (1981) and Fillmore (1982), Lakoff (1987) developed the theory of *cognitive frames* and showed how metaphor permeates cognition in ways not previously recognized by being linked to image schemas. For example, the metaphorical perception that MORE IS UP/ LESS IS DOWN is reflected in such expressions as *price rise, high cost, falling profits, drop in population, top score, contributions peaked, new heights of understanding*. This pattern tends to cohere with the metaphorical relation GOOD IS UP /BAD IS DOWN, which gives such expressions as 'high hopes', 'feeling low', 'falling standards.' For the most part, there is no conflict between these two metaphors, but sometimes one may over-ride the other, as for example, in the headline: 'Knife crime up', where MORE IS UP takes precedence over GOOD IS UP.

Very significant for critical discourse analysis is the container schema (Lakoff 1987: 345–348), which looms large in conservative comment on such issues as immigration. The tacit use of the metaphorical identification of a nation with a container permits bigoted commentators on refugees or immigrants to use without challenge such expressions as *full, over-full, flooded, inundation, crammed to bursting point, overflowing* (Chilton 2004: 114–117, Bloor and Bloor 2007: 122). Chilton (1996) also analyses container metaphors used in a different context in his 1996 study of cold war metaphors. By deconstructing such metaphors, the critical analyst can shed light on the arguments offered. This is not to suggest that cognitive metaphors necessarily lead to specious argument. Rather, as research suggests, metaphors permeate our discourse and are central to cognition. We cannot argue, or even think, without them. Nevertheless, the ability to highlight and deconstruct these phenomena is invaluable in challenging the authority of texts.

Cognitive metaphors with their intricate ramifications determine the character of the frame. For Lakoff (2004: xv) "frames are mental structures that shape the

way we see the world. […] structures in our brains that we cannot consciously access, but know by their consequences: the way we reason and what counts as common sense". In the same work, Lakoff identifies metaphorical framing as part of his critical analysis of the US government's propaganda for the two Gulf wars (see also Bloor and Bloor 2007: 75–77).

Paul Chilton, described by Teun van Dijk, on the back of Chilton's (2004) book as 'the godfather of political discourse', emphasises the social and cultural aspect of frames by defining them as *bundles of cultural knowledge*, extending Lakoff's concept with the view that "Metaphorical mappings can enter into complex bundles of meaning that involve other cognitive factors, in particular frame representations that are in effect stores of structured cultural knowledge" (Chilton 2004: 52).

Chilton's work dates back to the relatively early days of critical discourse analysis when he analysed nuclear propaganda (Chilton 1985), using the term "Nukespeak", a pun on Orwell's "Newspeak" from the satirical novel *1984.* Although he has some grounding in functional systemic linguistics and still employs lexico-grammatical analysis, Chilton has recently been seen to extend the approach, arguing, like Teun van Dijk (2008: 56–110), that systemic functional linguistics' commitment to a strictly sociological take on context fails to make due allowance for the important role of individual and collective cognition in the creation of ideologies and in communication in general. Hence, in Chilton's later work, we find cognitive linguistics increasingly important, and his copious output includes a paper co-authored with Lakoff (Chilton and Lakoff 1995).

In fact, the adaptation of cognitive approaches is perhaps less distinctive than Chilton sometimes seems to imply. As well as making headway in pragmatics itself (for example, Fauconnier 1985, 2004), cognitivist insights into our perceptions of how language works have inevitably had a major impact on many discourse analysts, not least those working in the critical dimension. One case for a cognitivist approach is the centrality of ideology in critical discourse analysis. Ideologies can be represented as sets of cognitive frames. Chilton (2004: 50) states that "the use of language in political discourse can be seen as a form of competition among political actors wishing to promote, to have accepted, their own particular 'world'".

Lakoff (2004: 4) says: "Framing is about getting language that fits your world view. It is not just language. The ideas are primary – and the language carries those ideas, evokes those ideas". Many analysts, including systemic functionalists, would recoil from Lakoff's cheerful assumption that ideas are separable from language, a view that comes very close to the popularist notion of language as a mere vehicle for expressing independently formed ideas. Fauconnier's (2004) view of language as the tip of an iceberg of cognitive activity, does not necessarily imply such independence though it is still arguably at odds with the more linguistically focussed approach of some analysts.

In *Analysing Political Discourse* (2004), Chilton provides an explicit statement of what he sees as the practice of political discourse analysis. In addition to the de-

construction of cognitive metaphor and framing, Chilton's critical analysis of texts focuses on a number of concepts at the heart of pragmatics. These include implicature, presupposition and deixis, both literal and metaphorical. These three dimensions are exploited in the 'positioning' of speakers and hearers and of the participants referenced in the text. Interestingly, Chilton points out that metaphoric closeness may diverge from literal closeness. He gives the example of the relative "closeness" of Australia and Albania for English people, the latter country being nearer geographically while being perceived as less familiar hence metaphorically further away. He argues that deontic modality can also be interpreted spatially as relative distance from the Self.

9.   Conclusion: the way ahead

In this chapter, we have discussed some of the work in critical discourse analysis that we see as having strong links with the study of pragmatics. Because of space constraints, we have omitted discussion of significant work on the news media such as Richardson (2006). We have also neglected interesting branches of the field concerned with more abstract issues such as the nature of discourse and its relationship with language and other semiotic systems. Ten years ago, Fairclough et al. (2004: 3–5) commented that discourse analysis was 'attracting scholars from a considerable range of disciplines in the social sciences and humanities' and welcomed *Critical Discourse Studies* as a new journal that would provide a platform for theoretical and methodological diversity. While they did not seek to establish a unified field, they hoped that it would encourage "focused debate" and lead to "more clarity and consensus". It is an open question as to whether increased consensus is likely to occur or even whether it is desirable, but ten years later there is still little indication of a unified methodology and no signs of moves towards a unified theory.

There are, however, as we suggested in section 8 above, interesting attempts to examine the links between the socio-cultural and the cognitive explanations of human discourse. We welcome work which links social practices with the critical analysis of texts and other semiotic systems (van Leeuwen 2008 for example). It has been good to see a revival of interest in the discourse practices of other cultures (van Dijk 2009) and of comparative discourse analysis (for example the edited volume by Barron and Schneider 2005, Barron 2012). Such work can be essential groundwork for the investigation of international conflict and co-operation.

There is also considerable agreement on the sort of targets of criticism in which researchers engage. These include factors relating to the global economy, gross inequalities, injustice, and ecological hazards (mentioned by Fairclough 2010: 4–21) and specific instances of equality and injustice. In connection with justice, work in forensic linguistics has been particularly successful (see Coulthard and Johnson

2013). Also attracting interest at the present time is the discourse of fundamentalist aggression. Using corpus analysis to investigate collocation in online militant texts, McEnery (2013) addresses the question of how violence might be inspired linguistically with interesting but complex results. There is scope for further work using this method of analysis.

In conclusion, we feel that the resistance to deception, power and prejudice is still as important as it was when Bolinger (1980) advocated incorporating social criticism into discourse studies. Today, it is difficult to see any evidence of success in effecting social change, but this is something that is not open to scientific enquiry. We can claim, however, that the body of work under the name of "critical discourse analysis" has led to a better understanding of the way discourse works in social control. Many linguists now find it productive to work with a model of language which incorporates the socio-cultural aspects of discourse and there are signs that this may lead to a better understanding of human cognition.

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8. Corpus linguistics and discourse analysis

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Corpus linguistic methods are becoming increasingly popular in a range of linguistic fields. When new methods are adopted in a particular field, this can add to the development or critical revision of existing concepts and underlying theoretical assumptions. The present article aims to provide an overview of corpus approaches to the analysis of discourse that add to the conceptualisation of the notion of *discourse*. Schiffrin (1994: 5) points out that discourse analysis is "widely recognized as one of the most vast, but also one of the least defined, areas in linguistics". Jørgensen and Phillips (2002: 1) observe that discourse has become a fashionable term, but the concept it refers to is rather "vague". Similarly, Marra (2013: 1) describes discourse analysis as an "umbrella term which refers to a range of qualitative frameworks used for the empirical examination of language in use". For many linguists, discourse means spoken language, but depending on the theoretical framework, it can equally include written texts. Teubert (2004: 100) states: "[c]orpus linguistics studies languages on the basis of discourse". Through the link with corpus linguistics, Teubert (2004) suggests a rather concrete approach to discourse, as corpus methods can only be applied, if there is a working definition for the phenomena that are represented by corpus data. At the same time, corpora can only take samples from "the discourse" and these samples are shaped by the research questions of a study (Teubert 2010: 18). The type of research questions that the present article deals with relate to the basic definition by Brown and Yule (1983: 1) that describes discourse analysis as the "analysis of language in use". Corpora provide examples of language in use. The article begins with an outline of some fundamental principles of corpus linguistics that indicate shared ground with discourse analysis – working with the notion of language in use in its widest sense. It is argued that from a theoretical point of view, corpora are particularly suited for studies that deal with discourse as representation. Section 2 focuses on ways in which corpora capture specific discourses. Section 3 deals with approaches to the explanation and interpretation of corpus findings. Finally, section 4 concentrates on the study of discourse organisation with the help of corpus methods.

1. Corpus and discourse

Corpora are collections of computer-readable text(s) used for linguistic analysis. Typically, corpora contain naturally occurring data which can be anything from newspaper articles, novels, student essays, leaflets, or text messages to transcrip-

tions of spoken data recorded in a range of contexts. Hence, the naturalness of cor-
pus data distinguishes it from data generated through linguistic experiments that
elicit particular types of language examples. Discourse analysis also emphasises
the need to study natural data. At the same time, it focuses on the contexts in which
language is produced. For discourse analysts, relevant units of analysis go beyond
the word and take account of larger patterns, coherent stretches of text or whole
texts. Texts – whether spoken or written – are seen as part of social interaction so
that discourse is the place where meanings are created and interpreted.

Traditionally, methods of discourse analysis have been qualitative, partly be-
cause of the focus on coherent stretches of texts and their functional interpre-
tation within specific theoretical frameworks. Corpus linguistic methods can add
a quantitative dimension to the analysis of discourse. They shift the emphasis
away from a small number of selected examples and so can help to restrict re-
searcher bias. Additionally, a quantitative approach to discourse phenomena em-
phasises the "incremental effect of discourse" (Baker 2006: 13): discursive rep-
resentations of people, events, institutions, etc. are created through repeatedly
occurring patterns of language use. The cumulative effect of such patterns shapes
people's perceptions and also their own language use. As an example, Baker
(2006: 14) uses the co-occurrence patterns of the words *confined* and *wheelchair*
to illustrate how they reflect a set of expectations about people in wheelchairs. In
addition to providing quantitative methods, corpus linguistics contributes to the
conceptualisation of the notion of discourse and shapes theoretical frameworks of
analysis.

The relationship between corpus methods and theoretical approaches is de-
scribed by Tognini-Bonelli (2001) with the help of the terms *corpus-based* vs. *cor-
pus-driven*. Her definition of corpus-based stresses a "'confident' stand with re-
spect to the relationship between theory and data" (Tognini-Bonelli 2001: 66) so
that corpus data is analysed on the basis of existing models and descriptive cat-
egories. A corpus-driven approach is more inductive and aims to "derive linguistic
categories systematically from the recurrent patterns and the frequency distribu-
tions that emerge from language in context" (Tognini-Bonelli 2001: 87). While not
necessarily expressed with Tognini-Bonelli's (2001) terminology, the question of
whether corpus linguistics is merely a methodology or entails theoretical claims
has given rise to debate among corpus linguists and the expression of partisan
views (see e.g. the volume edited by Worlock Pope 2010; McEnery and Hardie
2012; or the review of the latter by Hunston 2013). For discourse analysis, corpus
linguistics can provide opportunities for the combination of different methods, or
the *triangulation* of methods (Baker 2006: 16). Equally, the explanation of corpus
findings can have theoretical implications.

Building on Mahlberg (2005: 188–189), there are three tenets of what might be
called a *corpus theoretical* approach in the sense of a framework for the interpre-
tation and explanation of corpus findings:

1) Language is a social phenomenon
2) Meaning and form are associated
3) A corpus linguistic description of language prioritises lexis

The following sections will develop each of these points in view of the conceptualisation of discourse and the implications for discourse analysis.

1.1.   Language is a social phenomenon

Language is used by people to act in a variety of social contexts. The data collected in corpora provides evidence of the ways in which language is used, e.g. how entities are constructed in the discourse and how people interact by using language. Simple frequency information can already indicate how aspects of our social reality are reflected by language. Leech, Rayson and Wilson (2001) point out that the days of the week are used with different frequencies. Looking at data from the British National Corpus (BNC), a 100 million word corpus containing text from a variety of sources and contexts, Leech, Rayson and Wilson (2001) find that *Sunday* and *Saturday* are the most frequently referred to days of the week. As Figure 1 shows, although less frequent than *Sunday* and *Saturday*, *Friday* and *Monday* are still more frequent than *Tuesday*, *Wednesday* and *Thursday* – a situation that Leech, Rayson and Wilson (2001: 47) describe as "a strong devotion to the (long) weekend". The BNC data further shows that the frequency for each day is higher in the spoken than in the written part of the BNC. This descriptive quantitative information does not tell us anything as such about the meanings that are associated with each day of the week, but it already suggests that there are meaningful differences and variation according to the context of use.

The empirical focus of corpus linguistics links in with the empirical examination of language that is at the heart of discourse analysis. A crucial difference is the amount of data that is examined and the methods that support the analysis. Frequency counts as shown in Figure 1 can be easily generated by the computer. Still, another aspect of quantitative data is that the repetition of linguistic units reveals patterns of language use. In this sense, quantitative data is key for the second tenet of the corpus approach: the association of meaning and form becomes apparent through patterns in the corpus – this point will be illustrated in section 1.2. Interpreted from a social point of view, linguistic patterns reflect habitual behaviour of language users that is associated with repeated social contexts and repeated types of action. Patterns in a corpus also "embody particular social values and views of the world" (Stubbs 1996: 158). A general corpus can therefore serve as "a repository of cultural information about a society as a whole" (Hunston 2002: 117). Putting lexis at the centre of this approach (see also section 1.3) means to focus on patterns of words, i.e. the discursive construction of entities and the naming and labelling of people, events, institutions, etc. This approach emphasises that discourse is based
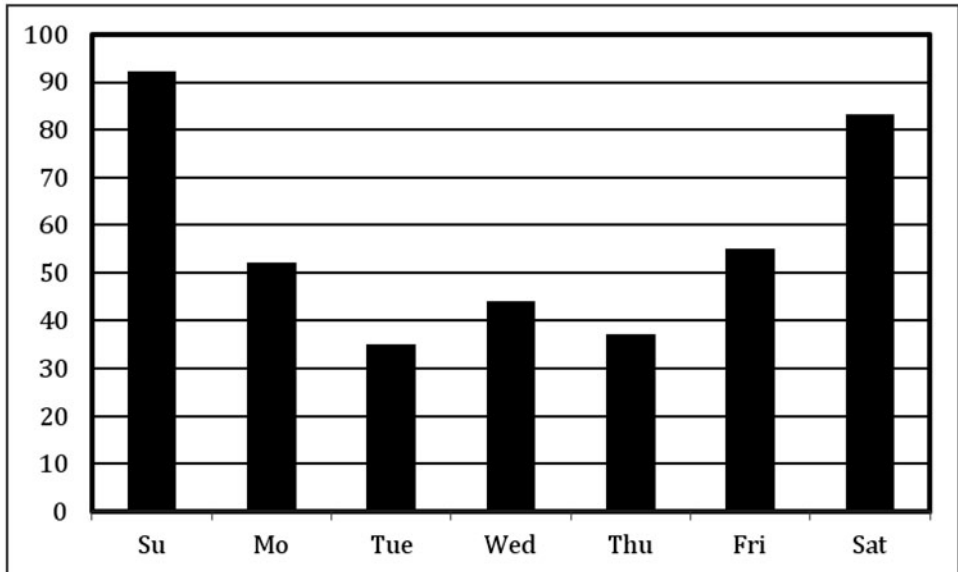
Figure 1.   Frequencies (per million words) of names of the week (singular forms only) in the BNC (derived with BNCweb, accessed April 2013)

on interaction. Interaction might sometimes be described solely in terms of spoken interaction. However, any patterns that can be identified across collections of texts only come into being if they are used by people. Like spoken language, written texts are used to communicate and therefore interact – even though the readers of a text are not usually present when the text is produced. The fact that patterns are repeated across texts is evidence of interaction.

1.2.   Meaning and form are associated

Corpus data as evidence of language use makes it possible to observe what is repeatedly talked about. In this sense, quantitative information shows repeatedly occurring meanings and the forms in which they are expressed. Figure 2 illustrates occurrences of the word *hand* in the format of a concordance, i.e. a display format that shows the search word in the centre with a specified amount of co-text on the left and on the right. The example has been derived with the tool WebCorp Live, which accesses data from the web and presents it in a useful format for corpus linguistic analysis. The WebCorp Live search was restricted to domains of UK broadsheet newspapers and to a limited number of 64 web pages (a default setting in WebCorp Live). Figure 2 only contains the concordance lines that show "patterns" of *hand*, i.e. repeated occurrences around the search word. The concordance lines are sorted according to surface patterns, but also according to what might be seen

as *semantic preferences*, i.e. co-occurrences of items that share a semantic feature (Sinclair 2004: 142). Lines 6 to 10 can be grouped together under a semantic preference of "hurting or losing" one's hand. Semantic preferences do not have to be expressed by the same *collocates* (words that appear repeatedly in the context of *hand*): *chops off, cuts off* and *amputated* all occur just once; their relationship is based on a shared meaning.

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 1    tish man fitted with bionic 'Michelangelo' hand Engineer Chris Taylor, who lost his a
 2   eview of The Times Subscribe now New bionic hand allows user to 'feel' Print Share via
 3   nce News Transplant patient receives bionic hand with electronic fingers A disabled ma
 4  A sensational breakthrough: the first bionic hand that can feel Steve Connor Steve Con
 5  Galleries Home" Science" Science News Bionic hand that gives patients back their sense
 6    Tottenham goalkeeper Heurelho Gomes breaks hand The stopper is currently on loan with
 7     Wanderers Wolves keeper Carl Ikeme breaks hand after punching tactics' board
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10    ngladesh £45-a-month hero amputated girl's hand to save her from factory carnage Dida
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17  ain Duncan Smith tells wealthy pensioners: 'hand back your benefits' IDS says it is an
18    and Pensions Secretary, urged the rich to hand the money back to the State, and Nick
19     Films > Reviews Iron Man 3 review: A big hand for Downey Jr, but movie lacks drama
20  legraph Home" Comment" Telegraph View A big hand for the hand-up Prince Today's young
21      ws" Crime Philpott fire: Mick's obscene hand gesture was final act of defiance At
22     TV. Home" Travel" Picture galleries Rude hand gestures of the world An illustrated
23   David Bernstein at Champions League trophy hand over Bernstein was behind the Chelsea
24  us eurozone bailout prompts anger as savers hand over possible 10% levy Angry
25    I proudly defend section 75 – it will not hand the NHS over to the private sector T
26    our members huge discounts on travel. We hand pick all the luxury hotels and holid
27    access to the best rates, guaranteed, for hand picked hotels in the UK and abroad.
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Figure 2.   Patterns of *hand* retrieved with WebCorp Live

The example of *hand* shows that repetitions in the concordance can be the result of several newspapers referring to the same story. Lines 11 to 14 all contain the word *first.* They refer to the story of the first British person who received a hand transplant – reported on by *The Telegraph, The Independent* and *The Guardian*. Lines 11 and 13 are in effect from two different articles by *The Telegraph* one of which reports on the progress of the patient following the operation. Similarly, lines 15 to 18 are related. The articles (by *The Telegraph, The Guardian, The Independent* and *The Times*) are all from the same month (April 2013) in which Iain Duncan Smith, the Work and Pensions Secretary, is reported to have made a statement suggesting that wealthy pensioners should repay universal benefits such as free bus passes or television licences. This example shows how concordance data can indicate different types of patterns. The pattern *hand back* is more general than the occurrence of

hand back with *Iain Duncan Smith.* Still, the comments by the Work and Pensions Secretary might be seen as part of a wider discourse on benefits for pensioners or on government spending. After the concordance lines for Figure 2 were retrieved, there were, for instance, further reports on Iain Duncan Smith backtracking over his suggestion. Newspaper corpora can provide examples of how discourses develop over time and how reports are reactions to or continuations of previous reports. While this time dimension may not be so crucial for the description of more general meanings in the language (like *hand back* as *repay* or *return*), it plays an important role in the description of discourses. I will return to this point below.

1.3.   A corpus linguistic description of language prioritises lexis

Samples of discourse in the form of corpus data help to see words in their contexts of use. Recurrent patterns show how meaning and form are linked. As language users are not necessarily aware of the patterns, insights into the relationship between patterns and meanings have had a crucial impact on the way in which entries in dictionaries are presented (Sinclair 1987). With the help of corpus information, typical collocations and patterns of use can now be shown, and it can be described how words function in context. From a more theoretical point of view, corpus data also draws attention to linguistic units that may not otherwise be easily perceivable as such if syntactical criteria are applied. The concept of the *lexical bundle* illustrates this well. Biber et al. (1999: 989) define lexical bundles as "sequences of words that most commonly co-occur in a register". Lexical bundles are often not syntactically complete units, but they can be shown to fulfil important discourse functions. For university registers, Biber (2006), building on Biber, Conrad and Cortes (2004), outlines a taxonomy of discourse functions where lexical bundles are classified into three main groups: stance expressions (*I don't know if, I'm not going to, it is possible to*), discourse organisers (*want to talk about, if we look at, one of the things*), and referential expressions (*or something like that, have a lot of, the nature of the*).

The focus on lexis in a corpus theoretical approach is not meant to imply that corpus methods are only useful for the study of patterns of words. Much of corpus linguistic research is based on corpora annotated with information on linguistic categories, such as word classes, grammatical structures, semantic categories, etc. The emphasis on lexis in the present context is to highlight the potential of identifying new descriptive categories – such categories can also link lexis and text structure (this point will be developed in more detail in section 4). With regard to corpus approaches to discourse, there is a growing body of research employing corpus methods to investigate the representation of social issues, global events or groups in society. What these studies have in common is an emphasis on the linguistic forms and patterns around words that are used to refer to, evaluate and label aspects of social reality. Some of the forms that are studied in this way can be re-

garded as *cultural key words*. Cultural key words express meanings that are important to a society or culture. They tend to be recognisable even without corpus methods, as illustrated by Williams' (1983) vocabulary of culture and society, where he explains social and cultural issues around words such as *unemployment.* Corpus methods make it possible to pin down the meanings of cultural keys. Stubbs (1996) shows how collocations can reveal associations and connotations, and thus the assumptions embodied by cultural key words (Stubbs 1996: 172, cf. also Stubbs 2001). His examples include words from the lexical field of *work* (Stubbs 1996: 176–181). Other examples of cultural key words studied with the help of corpus methods include *feminism* (Jaworska and Krishnamurthy 2012), *globalisation* (Teubert and Čermáková 2004), and *sustainable development* (Alexander 2002; Mahlberg 2007).

More generally, Stubbs (2006: 33) argues that corpus analysis can aid the identification of meanings which play a part in "the routine transmission of cultural knowledge" (Stubbs 2006: 33). Among his examples are ways of talking about groups of people, such as *band, bunch, crowd, relatives, friends*, that relate to the location of people in the social world. The typical phrases in which these words occur reveal the attitudes and evaluations that play a part in the social discourse. The representation of groups of people is also addressed by Caldas-Coulthard and Moon (2010) who are interested in how social actors are categorised in media discourse. Using the Bank of English, they compare tabloid/populist media and broadsheet lexis focusing on adjectives (specifically *curvy, hunky, kinky* and premodifiers of *man, woman, girl, boy).*

2.   Corpora for the analysis of discourses

Corpus linguistics can support approaches to discourse by broadening the empirical basis for the study of discourse phenomena in general corpora but also by creating corpora as samples of specific discourses. Corpus tools make it possible to compare linguistic phenomena across different discourses. The design of corpora as samples of discourse depends on the definition of a particular discourse. Teubert (2010: 18) points out: "[f]or most practical purposes of both linguists and lay people, this discourse at large will be cut up into smaller, specific discourses pretty much *ad libitum* and in line with our research question". Hence, discourse analysis can focus on different types of social and institutional contexts, for instance, on classroom discourse, workplace discourse, newspaper discourse, medical discourse, etc. or on thematic areas, such as the discourse of climate change or the discourse of asylum seekers.

Corpus research has had a particular impact in showing differences between spoken and written discourse and in highlighting the implications for grammatical descriptions. Table 1 shows the distribution of the word *absolutely* across the

spoken and written sections of the *British National Corpus* (*BNC*). The table gives the total number of words in the corpus and the size of the spoken and written components. The normalised frequencies for *absolutely* show that it is more frequent in spoken than in written language.

Table 1.   *absolutely* in the BNC (retrieved with BNCweb)

Category	No. of words	Frequency per million words
Spoken	10,409,858	182.24
Written	87,903,571	42.84
total	98,313,429	57.6

The higher frequency of *absolutely* in spoken English can be explained by its functions in the discourse. Carter and McCarthy (2006: 188) draw attention to the fact that some adjectives and adverbs occur more frequently in spoken than in written language because of their use as response tokens – examples include *absolutely, certainly, definitely, fine, good, great.* For such adjectives, Carter and McCarthy (2006: 188–189) point out that "[i]n spoken grammar, the term 'response token' better describes their function of referring to a whole preceding utterance rather than their word-class identity as adjectives or adverbs". In the example below from Carter and McCarthy (2006: 459), *absolutely* is a single-word response and indicates the speaker's attitude or stance:

A: That's a fair comment, isn't it?
B: Absolutely.

Still, Biber et al. (1999: 1038) argue that the same "grammar of English" is applicable to spoken and written language. Like any variety of the language, conversation can be described with regard to the frequencies with which certain linguistic features occur. Hence, Biber et al. (1999: 1038) describe "the grammar of conversation" through the "grammatical features that are especially characteristic of conversational grammar language, as compared with other registers" (Biber et al. 1999: 1038). Significant areas in the grammar of conversation include, for instance, vocatives, conducive questions, first person imperatives, direct speech reporting or vernacular grammar (Biber et al. 1999: 1108–1125). Even if spoken language is described as a variety, especially grammars that do not draw on corpus data are often biased towards terminology used to account for written texts. In their grammar of English, Carter and McCarthy (2006) place particular emphasis on spoken grammar. They also highlight grammatical features with regard to patterns of language use beyond the sentence level or speaking turn. They deal, for instance, with *vague language*, pointing out that "[v]agueness is motivated and purposeful and is often a mark of the sensitivity and skill of a speaker" (Carter and McCarthy

2006: 202). An example of vagueness expressions is *or something,* as in *It weighed about twenty kilos or something* (Carter and McCarthy 2006: 204).

Corpus approaches also shed light on the relationship between discourse analytical and sociolinguistic areas of research. The design of corpora can make it possible to investigate distributions of linguistic features both in terms of discourse types and groups of users. An example is Rühlemann's (2010) study, which shows that some features that characterise conversational grammar are used more frequently by women than by men. Rühlemann's (2010) findings suggest that women adapt their conversational language more to the conversational situation than men do.

Because of the crucial importance of context, it needs to be stressed that texts in a corpus only present a partial picture. For spoken language, transcriptions that make up a corpus simplify the complex communicative situation, as work on multi-modal corpora illustrates (e.g. Kipp, Martin, Paggio and Heylen 2009; Knight 2011; Adolphs and Carter 2013). But also corpora of written text already simplify the presentation of meanings when pictures are not included or formatting is not preserved. In the present article I will not go into such practical aspects of corpus compilation. In the remainder of this section, I concentrate on exemplifying sampling criteria that define the discourse that is studied.

Examples focusing on clearly delimited discourses include Teubert's (2001) analysis of a corpus collected from British Euro-sceptic websites or Partington's (2003) study of White House press briefings. In the study of specific discourses, the comparison of corpora or corpus components can play a crucial role. Baker (2006) studies political debates on fox-hunting in the British House of Commons and uses computer key words to distinguish between the speech of people in favour of fox-hunting and those who voted to ban fox-hunting. Key words, which can be generated by tools such as *WordSmith Tools* (Scott 2012), are words that are significantly more frequent in corpus A than in corpus B (cf. Scott and Tribble 2006). Cotterill (2001) also adopts a contrastive approach to the study of discourse. She investigates the lexical representation of domestic violence in the opening arguments of the O.J. Simpson trial, contrasting statements by the prosecution and defence. For her comparison she draws on *semantic prosodies*, i.e. the evaluative or attitudinal meanings that are associated with a word (Sinclair 2004). Semantic prosodies that are relevant to the meanings in the trial discourse are identified by comparing the use of the words in the trial with their patterns of use in a general reference corpus.

Among the methods used to compile corpora for the analysis of discourse phenomena is the use of specific search terms to identify relevant texts. This approach is in line with the corpus theoretical focus on lexis. For the study of *sustainable development*, Mahlberg (2007) compiled a corpus of articles from *The Guardian* that contain the phrase *sustainable development* and that were published in 2002 – the year of the Johannesburg summit. This corpus contains 211 articles and approximately 150,000 words. It is organised in such a way that it is possible to trace dis-

tributions across sections of the newspaper, e.g. home news or different types of feature articles, as well as months of publication. The study of *sustainable development* was concerned with the *local textual functions* of the phrase, i.e. both the lexico-grammatical patterns as visible in a concordance analysis and the functions they fulfil in texts. The assessment of textual aspects takes into account, for instance, that the publication of most articles in the home news category relates to the taking place of the World Summit. The negative semantic prosody that is found with *sustainable development* appears to be strongest in feature articles, and the occurrence of the term in obituaries can be explained through the positive meanings that are associated with the strive for *sustainable development.* Meanings in the *sustainable development* corpus can be further described with the help of *key key words*, i.e. words that are key in more than one of the texts in the corpus when the texts are individually compared to a reference corpus. Such key key words indicate topics that are relevant to the notion of sustainable development and include *water, climate, farming, forests* and *poverty* (Mahlberg 2009a).

Grundmann and Scott (2012) study the discourse of climate change based on a newspaper corpus collected from the LexisNexis database covering an 11-year period. They compare news coverage across the UK, the US, Germany and France. Their subcorpora were collected by using specific search terms, e.g. *climate change, global warming* and *greenhouse effect* for the UK and USA and for Germany *Klimawandel, globale Erwärmung, Treibhauseffekt, Klimaschutz* und *Klima-katastrophe.* Grundmann and Scott (2012) are interested in the visibility of actors who dominate the discourse. These actors are classified as "advocates" or "sceptics". The former advance climate mitigation targets whereas the latter promote a wait-and-see approach (Grundmann and Scott 2012: 7). Actors are identified on the basis of literature or background knowledge, but also through salient names in the corpus. The authors compare attention spikes (i.e. increased reporting on climate change) across their four subcorpora and interpret them in relation to events and policies. Using key word analysis, they identify topics that are dealt with across the four countries in contrast to themes that focus on domestic issues (reflected by similarities or differences in the key words for the subcorpora). They find, for instance, that the UK hosting the G8 summit in Gleneagles in 2005 has a strong synchronising effect on the discourse, whereas the importance of Schwarzenegger's policy initiatives in California in 2007 is limited to the US. For a corpus study of climate change discourse, see also Bevitori (2010).

Another study that compiles a corpus with the help of specific search terms is Baker, Gabrielatos and McEnery (2012), who investigate the representation of Islam and Muslims in the British press. They work with a corpus collected from the newspaper database Nexis UK by using a search term that takes into account not only *muslim* and *islam* but also other potentially relevant words, such as *koran* or *burka.* I will return to this study below. For a methodological discussion of how to choose query terms for the compilation of a corpus see Gabrielatos (2007). A tool

that can automatically produce a corpus from the web with the help of *seed words* is WebBootCaT (Baroni, Kilgarriff, Pomikalek and Rychly 2006). Seed words are used to find texts that are potentially relevant to the discourse the researcher wants to investigate.

Corpora for the study of discourse can also be defined in more general terms than by reference to specific linguistic forms as starting-points for the compilation of a corpus. Haarman and Lombardo (2009) present a collection of articles that deal with evaluation and stance in television news reporting on the Iraqi war in 2003. The research in this edited volume is based on a corpus of war-related news recorded during the first month of the war in evening news programmes of the British and Italian public broadcasting channels BBC One and RAI Uno, and the American and Italian commercial channels CBS and Canale 5. The articles in the collection address the war news reporting from various angles. It is shown, for instance, what kind of annotation is relevant to the analysis of the television corpus, including mark-up of different events (introduction/report/exchange) or roles (newsreader, reporter, legitimated person), but also visual elements (to camera vs. voice over).

A crucial aspect of the methodology adopted by the project on war news is the comparison across different subcorpora. Lombardo (2009), for instance, uses key words to compare the discourses of the news presenters. Comparisons can also be motivated by arguments based on previous research. Ferrarotti (2009) investigates the use of *I* and *you* in the discourse of the news presenters across the four above mentioned subcorpora. Unlike a key word analysis, the focus on the first and second person pronouns in Ferrarotti's (2009) study relates to previous research on the construction of audiences through the use of pronouns. In the same volume, Lipson (2009) illustrates the diversity of approaches to the construction of meaning by focusing on visual elements. She compiles an inventory of recurring types of images and analyses the meanings associated with them. In particular, she studies the representation of Iraqis in terms of otherness. Lipson (2009) argues that images have a crucial effect on how the audience understands and evaluates events and participants. Haarman and Lombardo (2009: 8) see the methodology of the war news project as a whole as characterised by "a constant movement back and forth between data in the form of concordances, collocations and clusters on the one hand, and, on the other, the contextual information (i.e. the actual texts)". They point out that the "intuitive and serendipitous nature of the methodology" can give rise to new research questions in the course of the analysis (Haarman and Lombardo 2009: 8).

The war news project uses external criteria for the collection of the corpus. Further studies that define the discourse type under investigation either by external criteria or in general linguistic terms (as opposed to concrete seed words) are the following. Koteyko and Carter (2008) are interested in the role of the modern matron in UK hospitals. They use a corpus of Department of Health documents on modern matrons and a corpus of semi-structured interviews with modern matrons

to compare policies on the role of these senior nurses with the actual reality of their work, specifically in view of infection control. Harvey (2012, 2013) deals with the discursive construction of sexual and mental health concerns of adolescents. He analyses a corpus of messages sent to the Teenage Health Freak website through which young people can receive health advice. Prentice, Rayson and Taylor (2012) analyse features of the language of Islamic extremism. For this purpose they collected a corpus containing 250 extremist texts downloaded from the Internet. The criteria for the selection of the texts were: the texts were written in English, they include explicit advocations of the use of violence, and the texts had to be written in the first person. Altmeyer (forthcoming) illustrates how corpus methods can be employed in subject areas that do not typically receive attention from linguists. In the field of religious education, he works with texts produced by students at secondary schools in Germany. The students wrote texts to answer the question "What does 'God' mean to me?". Altmeyer (forthcoming) uses these texts in a corpus study to identify features of the religious discourse of students.

3.   Explanation and interpretation

Partington (2010: 88) describes the aim of a research field that has come to be called *Corpus-Assisted Discourse Studies* as "to uncover, in the discourse type under investigation, what we might call *non-obvious meaning* – that is, meaning which might not be readily available to perusal by the naked eye" (emphasis in the original). Such meanings play an important role in the representation of particular world views or ideologies. In a similar way, Louw (1993) employs the concept of semantic prosodies to draw attention to subtle meanings that can also reveal the insincerity of the writer. Corpus-Assisted Discourse Studies (CADS), as outlined by Partington (2010), has concentrated on political and media language, which provides insights into wider social issues. Baker, Gabrielatos and McEnery (2012), who see their work located within a CADS framework, explain how their aims relate to those of critical discourse analysis (cf. Bloor and Bloor, this volume) through the focus on social issues as represented in public texts, including, for instance, issues of social inequality.

Corpus theoretical arguments, as well as links to other discourse approaches, play a role in explaining and interpreting corpus findings. For Teubert (2010: 188), "[t]he meaning of a lexical item is everything that has been said about it in the discourse under investigation". Hence, meaning is best described in terms of paraphrases, which can be more or less explicit (Teubert 2010: 219–220). This focus on meaning in the discourse is also reflected by approaches that aim to find categories as a basis for analysis by identifying thematic groups through concordance analyses. This approach is illustrated, for instance, by the functional groups that Mahlberg (2007) established in a study of *sustainable development*. There is, for instance,

a group of meanings that present *sustainable development* as a goal that people try to achieve, work towards, promote or are committed to. A similar approach to categorisation is adopted by Baker, Gabrielatos and McEnery (2012), who address the question as to "What does a collocational analysis of the word *Muslim* reveal about the construction of this group?" (Baker, Gabrielatos and McEnery 2012: 6). They focus on noun collocates of the adjective *Muslim* and put them into thematic categories such as *conflict*, *religion*, *area/country*, and *family/relationship*. Based on this classification, Baker, Gabrielatos and McEnery (2012: 8) find that Muslims are presented as a "homogeneous population embroiled in conflict".

A different approach to the classification of corpus-derived lexical items is presented by McEnery (2006). He claims that within the discourse of a moral panic a set of roles can be identified. Based on the literature on moral panics and a qualitative analysis of some moral panic texts in the corpus he analyses, McEnery (2006) develops a set of discourse roles for a model of moral panic. This model can be used both in a diagnostic and analytical way. Key words that are derived by comparing two corpora are classified according to the moral panic roles, i.e. *object of offence*, *scapegoat*, *moral entrepreneur, consequence*, *corrective action*, and *desired outcome* (McEnery 2006: 7). If the key words largely fit the model, this indicates that the corpus contains a moral panic. At the same time, the analysis of the moral panic can begin by populating the model with key words (McEnery 2009: 96). Among the examples that McEnery (2006, 2009) uses to illustrate the model is a corpus of writings by Mary Whitehouse to investigate a moral panic concerned with immorality and the media. With his model, McEnery (2006) suggests an approach to moral panic that can account for relationships between different lexical items. It goes beyond the description of the representation of a single concept. This approach complements the analysis of the moral panic labelling discussed by Partington (2010).

Hardt-Mautner (1995: 22) points out that "[d]rawing on corpus evidence fundamentally redefines the nature of 'interpretation', turning it from an introspective undertaking into an empirical one". She sees especially semantic prosody as "a very exciting concept" for the analysis of discourse, because it helps to assess semantic choices in a text in view of readers' expectations (Hardt-Mautner 1995: 22). The empirical support for the interpretative process, however, does not imply that a final interpretation can be arrived at. As Teubert (2010: 239) observes, "[i]nterpretation […] cannot be strictly separated from the construction of new realities, discourse realities waiting to be interpreted in their turn". Considering the potential of corpus methods for discourse analysis, Hardt-Mautner (1995: 22) argues that "'roaming' in the computerized corpus" can highlight linguistic features that are potentially interesting for further analysis. Even more important, however, is the actual combination of quantitative and qualitative approaches.

Baker et al. (2008) reflect on ways of combining corpus linguistic methods with approaches in critical discourse analysis (CDA). The specific project they

focus on for their assessment of methods is the RAS project (Discourses of Refugees and Asylum Seekers in the UK Press 1996–2005). The project is concerned with the discursive presentation of refugees, asylum seekers, immigrants and migrants in the British press (all four groups together are referred to as RASIM). One of the methods employed in the project is the analysis of *consistent* collocates of RASIM, i.e. collocates present in at least seven of the ten annual subcorpora. These *c-collocates* were categorised into groups by means of concordance analysis and using CDA notions of topos, topic and metaphors. The design of the corpus also allowed for comparisons between tabloids and broadsheets on the basis of key words, for instance. Baker et al. (2008: 277) observe that concordance analysis was a crucial method used in conjunction with all other methodological tools throughout the project. Condorance analysis makes it possible to take account of "the context that the analyst is aware of […] It is no wonder, therefore, that it has proven to be the single CL [corpus linguistic] tool that discourse analysts seem to feel comfortable using" (Baker et al. 2008: 279). Baker et al. (2008) argue that both CL and CDA approaches can provide entry points for an analysis. With CL methods, a "pattern map" can be derived from the data by providing information on frequencies, key words, clusters or collocations (Baker et al. 2008: 295–296). On this basis, specific data sets can be selected for more qualitative analysis. Equally, a CDA analysis can point to patterns or phenomena that can be usefully quantified. Baker et al. (2008: 296) point out that with the focus on lexical patterns, CL methods are most useful for the investigation of referential strategies. More fundamentally, corpus methods concentrate on what is explicitly said in the text rather than what is implied. For CDA it seems there is a wider range of sources – outside of the corpus – that can be drawn on, to complement the analysis, e.g. dictionary definitions or policy documents (Baker et al. 2008: 296).

An important aspect in the study of discourse is also the temporal dimension. The initial and very simple example of *hand* in section 1 already indicated how patterns that are visible in the corpus data relate to specific events or things happening at a particular time. The temporal dimension is emphasised in what Partington (2010: 104) describes as Modern Diachronic CADS – "the study of changes in linguistic habits or in social, political and cultural perspectives over a brief period of contemporary time, as illustrated in a particular type or set of discourse types". A method that helps to address questions related to the temporal dimension is suggested by Gabrielatos et al. (2012). They introduce the *wave, peak and trough (WPT) method* to identify statistically significant peaks and troughs in the number of documents in subcorpora defined by particular time-points. Gabrielatos et al. (2012) illustrate their method with the corpus of newspaper articles on the topic of Islam and Muslims used in Baker et al. (2012). Gabrielatos et al. (2012: 157) argue that "the frequency of reporting on an event or topic can be safely treated as proportionate to its actual, perceived or projected salience". They see this relationship as particularly important for the Discourse-Historical Approach within CDA

(Reisigl and Wodak 2001), where the analysis takes into account relevant con-
textual elements. Statistically significant peaks may help to identify trigger events
relevant to the contextual background (Gabrielatos et al. 2012: 157). Equally,
insights into the context can help the interpretation of corpus data but also the se-
lection of data for more qualitative analyses.

4.   Cohesion, textual units and discourse structure

The examples that I have discussed so far mainly approach discourse by analysing
lexical patterns. This is typically done with the help of concordances, as also ob-
served by Baker et al. (2008). However, corpus linguistic methods can equally be
employed to study the organisation and structure of texts. The concept of local tex-
tual functions (cf. section 2) indicates that the meanings of lexical items are deter-
mined both by lexico-grammatical as well as textual patterns. Local textual func-
tions (Mahlberg 2007, 2009b) provide a way to focus on textual patterns from a
lexical point of view. The present section concentrates on this textual dimension of
lexico-grammatical patterns. Patterns beyond the sentence are typically discussed
under the heading of cohesion. Descriptions of cohesive devices generally follow
the distinction between grammatical and lexical cohesion (Halliday and Hasan
1976). Corpus linguistic research has accumulated ample evidence that such a dis-
tinction is difficult to uphold (cf., e.g., the concepts of lexical bundles in section 1.2
or semantic prosodies in section 2). As a consequence, cohesive devices or cohe-
sive functions of lexico-grammatical patterns can be seen as part of a much larger
inventory of patterns in text (Mahlberg 2005: 177). Links throughout a text are
created through the interlocking and overlapping patterns of lexical items. An
example of such a cohesive network are the patterns that the semantic preference or
the semantic prosody of a lexical item can create across stretches of texts, as illus-
trated by the example of *true feelings* in Mahlberg (2006). The semantic preference
and the semantic prosody of *true feelings* are often fused in the meaning of "reluc-
tance to express true feelings". With focus on a particular text, Mahlberg (2006)
shows how *true feelings* is part of a network of meanings that includes expressions
such as *private conversation* or *accidentally overheard*, which create cohesive
links with *true feelings* through the semantic preference and semantic prosody of
this lexical item.

The relationship between lexico-grammatical and textual patterns is also illus-
trated in a study of the noun *move* in newspaper story patterns (Mahlberg 2009b).
Working with a corpus of *Guardian* articles, Mahlberg (2009b) relates the textual
positions in which *move* occurs to the news values presented in the articles. It is
shown that the pattern *move follow** (* is the wildcard symbol that can stand for
any letter/s) has a tendency to occur at the beginning of a paragraph. Further-
more, it has a preference for occurring in the second paragraph in an article and

tends to refer to the nucleus of the story (White 1997). In the following example from a *Guardian* article the headline and the first sentence (which coincides with the first paragraph) form the nucleus which provides the main information of the article. In the second paragraph, the noun *move* packages the information of the nucleus so that it can be integrated into the text that follows (Mahlberg 2009b: 278).

Lawyers' inquiry into sexist jibes

<P1>The Law Society is to launch an investigation into two City solicitors over an email calling for a black secretary who was leaving their firm to be replaced by a "busty blonde". </P1><P2>*The move follows* a decision by …… </P2>

The Guardian, 25 February 2002, Clare Dyer

Mahlberg and O'Donnell (2008) are also interested in the patterns of news stories and investigate the lexical properties of the nucleus. The nucleus encapsulates the main meanings that will be developed throughout the article and functions as the textual "anchor point" (White 1997). Mahlberg and O'Donnell (2008) find, for instance, that there are words that are key when the nucleus paragraphs are compared to a corpus made up of articles without the nucleus. Controversy nouns (such as *controversy, row, embarrassment*) are evaluative and highlight newsworthiness in the nucleus. At the same time, they are general enough to cover a variety of subject matters in news articles. O'Donnell et al. (2012) take the investigation of textual positions of lexical patterns in news articles even further and describe words, clusters (i.e. repeated sequences of words) and concgrams (i.e. non-contiguous patterns of words) in terms of their common textual positions.

As part of her phraseological profile model, Römer (2010) also looks at the distribution of phraseological items across text segments. Investigating a corpus of book reviews, she divides each review into four parts of equal size and studies the distribution of frequently occurring phraseological items across the four parts. She finds, for instance, that *a * range of* (where the asterisk indicates a slot that can be occupied by different words) tends to occur in the first and the last quarter of book reviews, which generally correspond to the introductory section and the critical evaluation respectively. This distribution goes together with the typical function of the item in expression of positive evaluation as in *the book offers a wide range of useful and interesting insights into the research area of spatial language* (Römer 2010: 113). Items that express negative evaluation, such as *it is not clear* seem more likely to occur in the third and last quarter of book reviews than in the first half (Römer 2010: 114).

Mahlberg (2009b), Mahlberg and O'Donnell (2008), O'Donnell et al. (2012) and Römer (2010) all use automatically identifiable textual segments defined through formal criteria (such as paragraphs or text sections defined through word counts). As part of the war news project, Haarman (2009) studies the coda, i.e. the final segment, of news reports that has to be manually identified. Particularly for

BBC and CBS reports, she finds patterns of evaluative lexis that make codas more similar to editorials than to reporting. Flowerdew (2008) approaches the organisation of discourse from a lexical point of view entirely. She investigates lexical and grammatical signals for the Problem-Solution pattern, i.e. a pattern of text organisation that comprises four elements: situation, problem, solution and evaluation. Her study does not require an initial segmentation of the text into elements of the problem-solution pattern, but lexico-grammatical signals are interpreted in terms of their potential to indicate elements of the pattern.

When Biber, Connor and Upton (2007) outline the necessary steps for generalisable descriptions of discourse, they point to the need to identify appropriate discourse units that can then be analysed internally in terms of the linguistic features that characterise the units and externally in terms of the sequential patterns to which they contribute. In their book, Biber, Connor and Upton (2007) discuss both top-down and bottom-up approaches to such an analysis of discourse organisation. A top-down approach begins with an analytical framework that defines the relevant discourse unit types for the corpus analysis. In a bottom-up approach, the texts in a corpus are automatically segmented into discourse units. To explore relationships between top-down and bottom-up approaches, Biber, Connor and Upton (2007) focus on two of the studies illustrated in their book which deal with the discourse organisation of biology research articles.

Conducting a move analysis, Kanoksilapatham (2007) follows a top-down approach. In move analysis (Swales 1990), a text is described in terms of segments, i.e. *moves*, that serve particular communicative functions (cf. Samraj; Tardy and Swales, this volume). Kanoksilapatham (2007) analyses a corpus of 60 biochemistry research articles (amounting to about 320,000 words). The entire articles are segmented into moves and the moves classified according to move types. To analyse the linguistic characteristics of each move type, Kanoksilapatham (2007) uses multidimensional analysis. Biber, Connor and Upton (2007) compare this move analysis with a study of vocabulary-based discourse units (VBDUs) in biology research articles that they conducted jointly with James K. Jones (Biber et al. 2007). Although the VBDUs study uses a different corpus from that of the move analysis, the corpora are similar in that they comprise research articles in the general discipline of biology.

Biber, Connor and Upton (2007) see the value of a comparison in the different methodological approaches which the studies follow. While moves are defined through their communicative function, VBDUs are discourse units that are identified on the basis of a distinct set of words that characterises them. Because of the functional definition, a segmentation into moves has to be done by a human analyst. In contrast, VBDUs result from an automatic analysis based on vocabulary repetition. The two studies under comparison begin with different types of discourse units for the segmentation of the texts in the corpora, but they both conduct a multi-dimensional (MD) analysis to analyse the linguistic characteristics of the

discourse units. Each discourse unit was tagged for a number of linguistic features using the Biber tagger. Although the sets of linguistic features are not entirely the same, they are still sufficiently similar for a comparison of the two approaches. In MD analysis, a factor analysis identifies the systematic co-occurrence patterns of the linguistic features. These co-occurrence patterns define *dimensions* along which types of discourse units can be compared.

The MD analysis for the move study identified seven dimensions and the MD analysis for the VBDUs identified four. The four dimensions of the VBDUs analysis correspond closely to dimensions in the move analysis. For instance, both studies identified a dimension that is interpreted as relating to "conceptual" discussion that deals more with abstract than concrete reference. The positive features in this dimension are long words, attributive adjectives and nouns (or more specifically abstract and process nouns in the case of the VBDU dimension). Biber, Connor and Upton (2007: 249) argue that the similarities between the results of the MD analysis suggest that the discourse units used in both approaches account for "the range of linguistic variability in this discourse domain". Biber, Connor and Upton (2007) also go into further detail as to the functional interpretation of types of moves and types of VBDUs as well as their contribution to the sequential organisation of research articles. However, in the present context, the key contribution of Biber, Connor and Upton's (2007) study is to show relationships between top-down and bottom-up approaches. Such work indicates the great potential to be explored in the description of the association between form and meaning/function that goes considerably beyond the lexico-grammatical level that so far has received most attention in corpus linguistic studies to discourse analysis.

5.   Conclusions

This article argues that corpus linguistics and discourse analysis have a shared interest in discourse as language in use and in the social dimension of linguistic patterns. Corpus linguistics provides quantitative methods to study samples of discourses represented in corpora. Because of the emphasis on lexical patterns, corpus linguistics is particularly suited to support and complement the investigation of the discursive construction of entities and the representation and labelling of social groups or events. The lexical emphasis is also reflected in the corpus linguistic study of cultural key words, the automatic generation of computer key words that can serve to characterise discourses and the description of *textual key words*, i.e. words that fulfil specific functions in the structure of texts, such as "controversy" nouns in the nucleus of newspaper articles. Because of the relationship between patterns and meanings, a corpus linguistic account describes meanings that are created in the discourse. Methodologically this is reflected in the identification of analytical categories on the basis of concordance analyses. Such

ad hoc categories are characteristic of inductive, corpus-driven or bottom-up approaches. A corpus approach, however, does not have to be exclusively bottom-up. Especially the identification of discourse units through both bottom-up and top-down approaches points out that there is still plenty of room to explore links between formal and functional or quantitative and qualitative categories of discourse description.

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9. Multimodal pragmatics

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1. Introduction

Pragmatics is concerned with context-based interpretations of language use, where linguistic choices are seen to derive their meanings not only from the system of language itself (that is, grammar, discourse systems and lexis), but also from contextual factors, such as the background of the speakers and the nature of their social relationships and respective intent, and other factors in the situational and cultural context of the interaction (e.g. Goffman 1967, Austin 1975, Grice 1975, Brown and Levinson 1978, Leech 1983, Goodwin 2013). In this respect, pragmatics can be characterized as broad-based in its approach to the study of language in use, where it "has proved inclusive rather than limiting" (O'Keefe, Clancy and Adolphs 2011: 19), as evidenced by the wide-range of perspectives which have developed in this sub-field of linguistics.

With this in mind, we explore how the goals of pragmatics are aligned with multimodal studies, the latter which aims to investigate how meaning is derived through the interaction of language with other multimodal resources (e.g. images, scientific symbolism, gesture and embodied action, audio resources) over time (e.g. O'Halloran 2011, Jewitt 2013). We first provide an introduction to pragmatics and multimodal studies and compare the various research agendas of both traditions before we then give an overview of research which has adopted a *multimodal pragmatics* approach. Following this, we demonstrate the usefulness of the multimodal pragmatics approach by combining concepts from pragmatics with those from social semiotic theory (Halliday 1978, 1985, Halliday and Matthiessen 2004) to investigate how informal, casual online conversation, visual resources and action are integrated to accomplish a formal learning task in Collaborative Computer Mediated Communication (CCMC). In this case, the focus is not just on language, but rather on language in operation with visual, actional and other multimodal resources. Lastly, we conclude with a vision for the future of multimodal pragmatics research.

2. Multimodal studies and multimodal pragmatics

The goals of multimodal studies and pragmatics are closely related; that is, both areas of research adopt a context-based approach to the study of language to investigate how linguistic resources are used to achieve particular communicative pur-

poses. However, multimodal studies moves beyond a focus on language to theorize the functions of resources other than language (e.g. visual, actional and audio resources) and to investigate how choices from these systems combine with linguistic choices to create meaning in communicative acts and events. Therefore, while both traditions are concerned with language use and both acknowledge and take into account the significance of contextual parameters, multimodal studies is also concerned with developing a systematic approach to the study of resources other than language in order to explore the semantic expansions which occur when language, images, gestures, sound and other resources interact in multimodal phenomena (e.g. print documents, interactive digital media, day-to-day interactions, built spaces, and so forth). This research agenda stems in part from the theoretical framework which underlies the research field, as described below.

2.1.   Multimodal studies

Halliday's social semiotic theory (Halliday 1978, Martin 1992, Halliday & Matthiessen 2004), as exemplified by Kress and van Leeuwen (2006 [1996]) and O'Toole (2011 [1994]), provides the theoretical basis for the majority of research in multimodal studies to date. While other influential approaches have been developed, for example, Forceville and Urios-Aparisi's (2009) cognitive approach and Scollon's (2001, Scollon and Scollon 2003) mediated and situated discourse analysis, Halliday's central idea that language is a resource which is systematically organized to make different strands of meaning provides a useful platform to explore the functions of language, the functions of resources other than language, and the interaction of language with other resources. That is, the strands of meaning in language, which Halliday calls the "metafunctions", are realized through choices from grammatical systems which construe our experience of the world (i.e. experiential meaning), logical relations in that world (i.e. logical meaning) and social relations (i.e. interpersonal meaning) which are organized into messages (i.e. textual meaning). The metafunctional principle permits the functions of language to be explored and compared to meanings which arise from visual, audio and other resources, providing a theoretical platform to understand how and why semiotic choices combine in communication across different contexts.

Halliday's social semiotic theory is a theory of meaning that has been most fully developed for language in systemic functional linguistics (SFL). However, the underlying conceptual platform, referred to as systemic functional theory (SFT), provides a productive foundation to explore how linguistic choices interact with multimodal choices in ways which are aligned with the goals of pragmatics.

2.2.   Multimodal Pragmatics

Within the field of pragmatics, there exists a broad range of applied approaches that examine the importance of multimodal resources (such as visual images, sound, gesture, facial expression, movement, proxemics, etc.) in addition to speech in the context of meaning making and knowledge construction in English and other languages. In what follows, we provide an overview of the major approaches which have been developed in multimodal pragmatics, although this review is limited to embodied and material action in talk-in-interaction and to new media technologies, both major fields in which the interaction of language with other resources has been explored.

2.2.1.   *Multimodal pragmatics: embodied and material action in talk-in-interaction*

Research on embodied interaction, in particular, has always placed a strong emphasis on the significance of non-verbal or paralinguistic features, such as kinetic movement and facial expressions, as realized in talk-in-interaction in different contexts and situations. Goodwin (2000), for instance, has shown that different semiotic resources are co-deployed in talk-in-interaction. Based on an analysis of young girls playing hopscotch and archaeologists classifying color, he suggests that the study of human interaction needs to take into account the combined meaning making capacities afforded by different semiotic resources, such as language use in context, embodied action as realized through gesture and gaze, and also the material world in which the interaction takes place.

The importance of multimodal resources in meaning construction has also received attention in studies on embodied action in talk-in-interaction in institutional settings. Deppermann, Schmitt and Mondada (2010), for example, examine how multimodal resources organize social interactions in business meetings, a context which requires participants to shift between agendas that are pre-arranged in terms of written resources and activities that draw on verbal resources. Drawing on video-recorded evidence, their analysis reveals that different multimodal resources, such as talk, gaze, gesture, body posture, orientation, and movement, are utilized and coordinated in accomplishing transitions between different phases in a multi-party business meeting. Mondada (2013) has also investigated the systematic interaction between speech and embodied multimodal resources, such as gaze, gesture, body posture, orientation, and proxemics, in the organization and management of turn-taking in large multiparty group interactions.

In their study of embodied action and organizational interaction, Heath and Luff (2013) similarly emphasize the significance of multimodal resources, such as the interplay of sound, gesture and the manipulation of a material object, in the ways in which economic transactions are brought to a conclusion by the strike of a

hammer at auctions, for instance. Streeck (2013), too, considers the role of embodied action and activities that involve the handling of physical objects in talk-in-interaction in an automobile repair shop, while Yasui (2013) examines the role of gestures involved in the process of collaborative idea-generation in the context of film production.

Multimodal pragmatic perspectives have also informed research on embodied interaction in space with a special focus on actional resources. Arminen, Auvinen and Palukka (2010), for example, focus on the organization of multimodal activities in the aviation industry, highlighting the complexities involved when air traffic controllers and pilots combine talk, action, and interaction with technical resources in Airbus flight simulators. Haddington and Keisanen (2009), in turn, concentrate on the interaction of language and embodied actions in the context of driving a car, and establish that participants do not rely on language alone when negotiating routes, but draw on a combination of linguistic, material, embodied, and even sensory resources. Mondada (2009) similarly highlights the interplay of embodied action and speech when participants manage itinerary descriptions in public spaces, while Broth and Mondada (2013) explain how the multimodal activity of "walking away" contributes to and is coordinated with the organization of closings in talk-in-interaction.

The pervasiveness of multimodal meaning making through multi-semiotic resources such as speech and gestures has also been foregrounded in studies that examine adult-child interactions in familial and educational contexts. Campisi and Özyürek (2013), for instance, reveal the different strategies that Italian adults and children deploy in both their speech and gestures in demonstrations that involve the use of certain objects, such as how to make a cup of coffee, whilst Goodwin and Cekaite (2013) examine the complex interplay between speech and embodied action, such as gesture, touch, and mobility, in the routine activity of getting children ready for bed. McIlvenny (2009), in turn, focuses on the combined meaning making potential of embodied interaction, material objects, and space, in the way families enact the phenomenon of the "time-out" to discipline young children who are misbehaving.

Moreover, Björk-Willén's (2007) study of the ways young children negotiate and maintain participation in play activities in a pre-school environment shows that even young children are adept at exploiting a range of different multimodal resources for specific purposes. The interplay of multimodal actional resources and talk is also highlighted by Björk-Willén and Cromdal (2009) in their study of how bilingual children enact educational experiences acquired during second language instructional activities, such as "object labeling" and "self-presentation" in "free play" activities, whilst Hall and Smotrova's (2013) research focuses on the significant role of prosodic cues, coupled with gaze and body positioning in teachers' "self-talk" in managing classroom interactions. Pozzer-Ardenghi and Roth (2009) similarly highlight the demonstrative and referential power of gestural actions and

body position in their study of twelfth-grade biology lessons in human anatomy and physiology.

Such multimodal pragmatics perspectives focused on the role of action and talk-in-interaction have also informed research on conversational storytelling. Niemelä (2010), for example, investigates the role of reported speech and embodied actions, such as gaze, gesture, posture, body movement and orientation, in the enactment of stance-taking during conversational storytelling. Selting (2012) considers the impact of embodied affect displays by tellers of "complaint" stories in face-to-face and telephone conversations, while Sugita (2012) focuses on the impact of facial expressions in relation to embodied affect displays and stance-taking in the context of telling "scary" stories in casual conversation.

2.2.2.   *Multimodal pragmatics: interaction with new media tools and technologies*

The importance of multimodal meaning making has received attention in pragmatic research on human interaction with new media tools and technologies, and computer-mediated communication. Aarsand and Aronsson (2009), for instance, focus on the ways in which vocal emotional displays, such as "response cries", are deployed as interactional resources during computer gaming activities by middle class families, as a way of positioning themselves within the game, and as a resource for moving in and out of virtual space. Licoppe (2009) explores the impact of mediated proximity in the way social gatherings are collaboratively accomplished in routine mobile phone conversations and location-aware mobile games which provide players with visual cues of co-presence and location in the form of iconic images and maps.

Gardner and Levy (2010) similarly focus on the ways in which multimodal resources, such as speech and action, are combined and coordinated in a collaborative web-based task undertaken by high school students working together on a computer, while Lam (2013) provides insight into how internet group buying deals are organized multimodally through the mixing of inter-discursive rhetorical elements and the use of hypertextual links. Vandergriff (2013), in turn, illustrates the role of multimodal resources pertaining to the use of emoticons, nonstandard punctuation, and lexical surrogates, such as "hmmm", in quasi-synchronous computer-mediated consensus-building discussions by foreign language learners.

These studies acknowledge the increasing significance of multimodal resources in new media where visual, aural and other resources combine in ways which were not previously possible prior to the development of interactive digital technologies. In addition, as demonstrated by the studies outlined in this and the previous section 2.2.1, multimodality has been central to the goal of pragmatics to investigate how language is used to achieve particular communicative purposes across different contexts. These studies differ, however, from multimodal research

derived from Halliday's (1978) social semiotic theory in that there has not been a common underlying theoretical framework to conceptualize the functions of language in relation to other multimodal resources. Section 3 introduces a multimodal pragmatics approach to computer mediated communication developed from Halliday's social semiotic theory.

3.   Multimodal pragmatics approach: an illustration

The multimodal pragmatics approach developed from Halliday's social semiotic theory views discourse, context and culture as sets of inter-related semiotic systems where meaning arises from combinations of system choices (Halliday and Hasan 1985). This approach is described in detail in 3.3 below and illustrated by means of an empirical analysis of Collaborative Computer Mediated Communication (CCMC) which focuses on the use of different multimodal resources for achieving pragmatic goals and objectives. Specifically, the approach is exemplified by examining the use of informal, casual online conversation, visual resources and action to accomplish a formal learning task in CCMC in three Singapore schools. While some studies (e.g. Paulus 2005, Koh, Herring, and Hew 2010, Groen and Noyes 2013) have focused predominately on the linguistic forms and features of Computer Mediated Communication (CMC), this study incorporates the multimodal aspect of a collaborative learning task involving the use of social media tools and interactive multimodal analysis software. The aim is to understand effective group collaboration, where "effectiveness" is defined as the strategic deployment of linguistic, visual and actional resources which function together to achieve the goals of a formalized learning task. In this way, we investigate the functionalities and affordances of different multimodal resources for achieving pragmatic goals and objectives, in this case in collaborative online project work. The research design and background to this study are first described in 3.1 and 3.2, before the theoretical approach is presented in 3.3 and finally the results in 4.

3.1.   The research design

The students in the present study used social media platforms, such as Google Plus and Google Hangout, to interact via chat, audio, video and screen-share facilities as they annotated and analyzed multimodal texts and videos using concepts, frameworks and facilities provided in *Multimodal Analysis Image* and *Multimodal Analysis Video*, which are software applications developed from research projects in the Multimodal Analysis Lab in the Interactive & Digital Media Institute at the National University of Singapore (http://multimodal-analysis-lab.org/). The software applications allowed the students to directly annotate multimodal documents (with and without image components) and videos. The schools had the option to
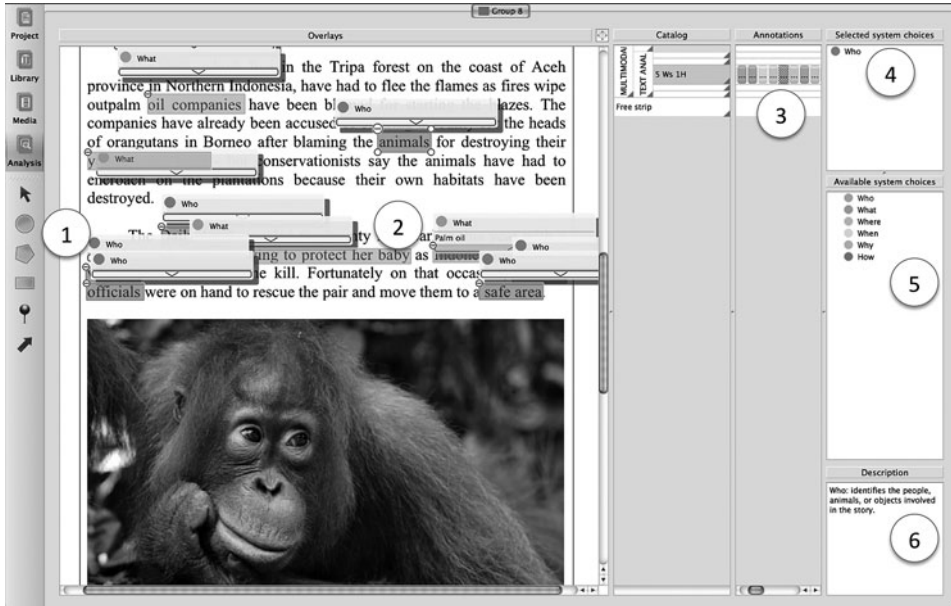
Figure 1.1. Multimodal Analysis Image Screenshot: Overlay tools [1], overlays [2], annotation nodes [3] selected system choice [4], list of available system choices [5], descriptions [6]

use either *Multimodal Analysis Image* software for the analysis of texts with and/or without image components and *Multimodal Analysis Video* software for the analysis of videos. The concepts, frameworks and media texts were provided by the teachers, and integrated in the software by the researchers.

For *Multimodal Analysis Image*, annotations are made via a range of overlay tools, as displayed in [1] in Figure 1.1. The overlays [2], which are inserted directly onto the multimodal document, are correlated with annotation nodes [3] in system strips categorized according to customized analytical frameworks. These analytical frameworks are made up of categorical systems which contain system choices. Once an overlay has been made, students select a system choice [4] from a list of available system choices [5] with descriptions [6] (provided by the teachers) and assign it to the overlay (see Figure 1.1).

For *Multimodal Analysis Video*, students view the video in the player window, as displayed in [1] in Figure 1.2, and insert time-stamped annotations [2] in system strips [3]. Annotation nodes are synchronized with the video, the film strip [4], the sound strip [5], and the transcription [6] (which had been transcribed by the researchers). Students then select a system choice [7] from a list of available system choices [8] and assign it to the annotation node (see Figure 1.2).

Figure 1.2. Multimodal Analysis Video Screenshot: Player window [1], time-stamped anno-
tations [2], system strips [3], film strip [4], sound strip [5], transcription [6],
selected system choice [7], list of available system choices [8]

The students' actions and chat recordings during the multimodal analysis sessions
(made via Google Plus and Google Hangout facilities) were recorded using
Camtasia (http://www.techsmith.com/camtasia.html) screen capture software, and
Google Chrome web browser software (https://www.google.com/intl/en/chrome/
browser/extension) that allows users to record Google Hangout chat messages
which were stored in a local server. The screen captures (see Figure 2.1 and Fig-
ure 2.2) show the multimodal analysis software interfaces and the chat entries
which are highlighted in bands on the right hand panel for *Multimodal Analysis
Image* in Figure 2.1 and the left hand panel for *Multimodal Analysis Video* in Fig-
ure 2.2.

Students were divided into groups of three or four, with one annotator per
group. Due to the limitations of Google Hangout, which allows screen sharing but
not shared control over the mouse, there could only be one annotator per group.
The annotator's responsibilities were to ensure accurate analysis and annotation
of the text or video, in addition to participating actively in the group discussions
using Google Hangout chat and ensuring that the students remained on-task.
Non-annotators monitored the annotator's action via Google Hangout screen
share and participated in the discussion using Google Hangout chat. The data col-
lection lesson took place in each school's computer lab. To simulate an on-line
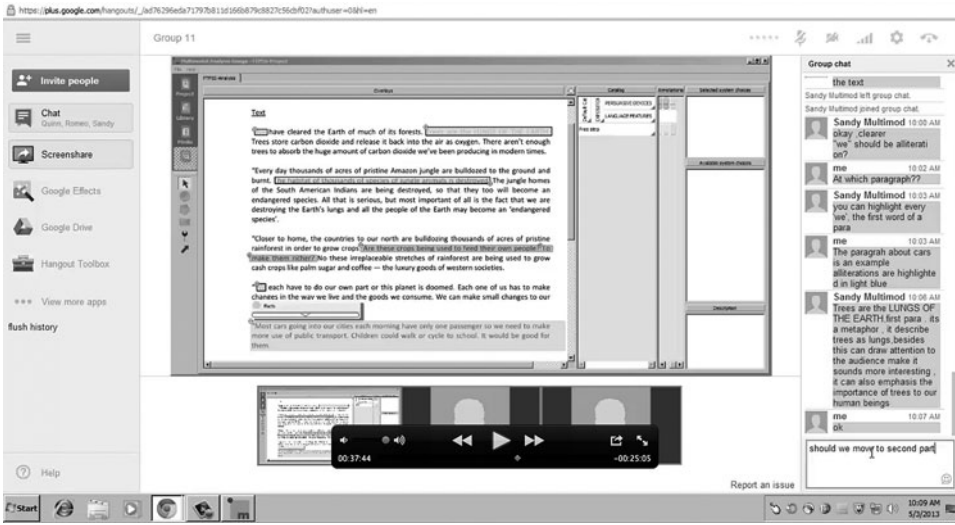
Figure 2.1. Using Google Hangout Screenshare, Chat Functionalities, and *Multimodal Analysis Image* Software

Figure 2.2. Using Google Hangout Screenshare, Chat Functionalities, and *Multimodal Analysis Video* Software

environment where students work remotely, students belonging to the same group were seated as far away from each other as possible within the confines of the computer lab.

3.2.   The Singapore education system, school profiles and the assigned tasks

The Singapore education system consists of four levels – primary, secondary, pre-university and post-secondary education. Education is compulsory for children from the age of 6 to 15. Different tracks are provided based on the ability and aspirations of the students. The Singapore education system is well recognized internationally as Singapore students are consistently ranked highly in academic competitions and global tests of verbal and mathematical competence; for example, Trends in International Mathematics and Science Study (TIMSS) and Progress in International Reading Literacy Study (PIRLS) (http://timss.bc.edu/). Singapore schools are well equipped, and emphasis is placed on training and the professional development of capable teachers and administrators. The medium of instruction in all Singapore schools is English for all subjects except Mother Tongue, which is conducted in the respective officially recognized languages of the main ethnic groups, as determined by the Ministry of Education (MOE).

Data was collected from three government schools in Singapore, referred to as School A (primary school), School B (secondary school) and School C (junior college) and described in detail below. From each school, one class was selected for the study, based on teachers' interest in the research project, and whether the school subject was relevant to the study. In Schools A and B, data was collected in the context of English Language lessons, which emphasize not only the principal language skills of reading, writing, listening and speaking, but also literacy skills to cope with the demands of a knowledge-based economy and the varied functionalities of a digital age (see English Language Syllabus 2010: Primary & Secondary (Express/Normal [Academic]). In School C, data collection was done in the context of a General Paper lesson. General Paper is a subject taken by all junior college students in Singapore as part of pre-university education. It aims to train students to engage deeply and critically with the world around them and to develop language and literacy skills which demonstrate proficient comprehension, interpretation, application and communication of ideas relevant to a diverse range of subject areas (see General Paper: Higher 1 (Syllabus 8806) 2013).

School A is a primary school situated in a suburb in the east of Singapore. The students come from lower to middle class backgrounds where most live in public housing. The class selected for this study was a primary 4 class of forty-three students, with students ranging from the age of 9 to 10. While this was not the school's best class in terms of academic results, the students were still considered to be above average in comparison to the rest of their schoolmates of the same level. The teacher in School A assigned students the task of identifying the 5Ws1H (Who,

What, Where, When, Why and How) in a simple expository text. Students were to complete the task within a 30 minute period.

School B is a secondary school situated in one of the oldest public housing estates in Singapore. It has a much smaller intake of students than most secondary schools in Singapore and is considered to be a "neighborhood school" with students of average ability. The class chosen for the study was a secondary 3 class, with thirty-two students of ages 15 to 16. This class was classified in the school as an above-average class. Students in School B were assigned the task of identifying the language and persuasive features (e.g. rhetorical questions, use of emotive language, inclusivity, metaphor, and so forth) of a persuasive text. They were also instructed to justify, if possible, their annotations using a dialogue box within the software interface. Consequently, the task was more open-ended. Students were given slightly longer than an hour to complete the task.

School C is a junior college situated in a suburb in the north-east of Singapore. It is a well-regarded pre-university institution and enrolls students of slightly above average ability. The class selected for the study was a first year class of twenty-three students, with students aged 17 to 18, who had just completed their secondary school education. The teachers in School C chose to attempt the more complex task of video analysis. An excerpt from Michael Moore's (2004) movie-documentary *Fahrenheit 9/11* was used for this purpose. Different groups were assigned different segments of the video excerpt to analyze, with each group focusing on particular analytical aspects, such as tone, participants, soundtrack, and so forth. The students were given slightly more than an hour to complete the assigned task.

The students used an informal variety of English in their chat communications in combination with language features of CMC. The chat data also featured colloquial Singapore English known as "Singlish" (Gupta 1992, Deterding, Low and Brown 2003, Ooi 2002, Lim 2004), which is a variety of English that has been adapted from indigenous languages and dialects to fulfill a range of functions in the local context. The varieties of language used in the computer-mediated chat are typical choices made by Singapore students who are members of a dynamic multilingual community, and therefore not indicative of an inability to speak Standard English (see Tay 1989).

3.3.   Multimodal frameworks for analysis

The data analysis is based on the premise that CCMC is enacted in an interactive multimodal environment where semiotic resources – language, image and action – interact through a visual mode to contribute to holistic meaning-making for the accomplishment of formalized learning tasks. In the case of video analysis, our data included audio resources but the soundtrack is not considered in the present study as the students collaborated through the visual mode only: that is, they could play
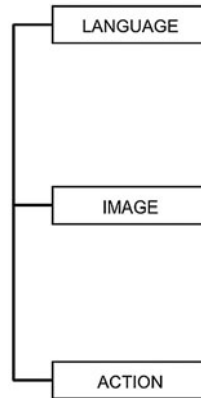
Figure 3.1. Multimodal Resources for CCMC

the video, but they could not use audio resources to communicate with each other. Therefore, our multimodal framework includes language, visual and actional resources (see Figures 3.1) as our focus in this paper is the analysis of the student interactions.

Using social semiotic theory, where language is seen to have specific functionalities which are described semantically through the architecture of system frameworks, we developed a system framework for the analysis of CCMC, adapted from Eggins and Slade (1997), Martin and Rose (2007) and Sinclair and Coulthard (1975). The framework is informed by Halliday's (1978, Halliday and Matthiessen 2004) systemic functional theory, which seeks to explain how language is used as a resource for meaning-making, and how it is structured for such use. As explained earlier, systemic functional theory, language and other resources are conceptualized as inter-related semantic systems that have the potential to realize four functions simultaneously, that is, experiential, logical, interpersonal and textual meaning.

We focus primarily on interpersonal meaning and the enactment of social relations via the exchange of information and services in interactions (see Halliday and Matthiessen 2004), which in this case involve linguistic, visual and actional resources. While the systemic approach is also concerned with the experiential and logical content of the multimodal exchanges, exemplified here by the semantic content of the collaborative learning task, we focus primarily on how the students use multimodal resources to interact with each other to fulfill the learning objectives, rather than the actual content of the lesson. For this purpose, we establish five categories of analysis: *generic stage*, *sub-phase*, *turn*, *function* and *move*, which are described in turn below. These categories are ordered hierarchically in the system framework displayed in Figures 3.2–3.4.

The generic stage is the principal organizational category through which the multimodal interaction is structured. The generic stage consists of two stages, a so-
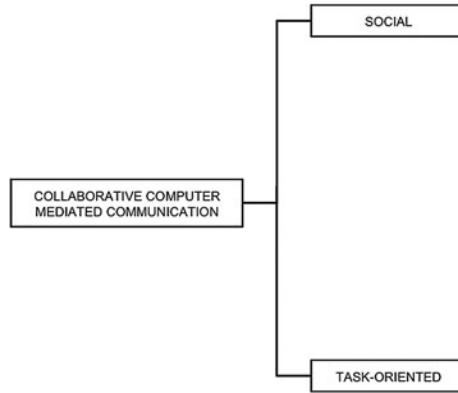
Figure 3.2. System Framework for CCMC

cial and a task-oriented stage, as displayed in Figure 3.2. These stages are further categorized into subsequent levels of delicacy, as shown in Figure 3.3. The generic stages of social and task-oriented refer to two major phases in the exchanges which serve social and "regulative" purposes and content-based "instructional" purposes respectively (see Christie 2005).

In the first case, the social generic stage has primarily an interpersonal function which is relevant to the opening sub-phase when speakers open the chat exchange with greetings or even statements pertaining to the orientation and logistics of the setup *("Who are you?"* and *"Testing 1, 2 and 3"*). It is also applicable to the closing sub-phase when participants close the conversation *("Byebye"*, *"Time's up"*). The task-oriented generic stage pertains to the learning task at hand, which is sub-categorized into on-task and off-task sub-phases. On-task entries indicate that participants are focused on task accomplishment, while off-task entries signal a diversion from the assigned task where interpersonal considerations, in particular power, affect and status, become dominant. Within the two sub-phases of on-task and off-task, the student contributions of Initiate and Respond are categorized as turns, which are further classified according to their functions, which are realized by distinct moves. In each case, the moves are realized multimodally, through various selections of linguistic, visual and actional choices.

By combining the frameworks in Figures 3.1–3.4 we present a multimodal pragmatics approach which can be used to investigate how students deploy linguistic, visual and actional resources and the resultant effectiveness of this deployment. As a significant part of the learning task in this study is actional in nature (e.g. mouse movement, toggling between windows, drawing overlays and annotations and so forth), the task-oriented sub-system in 3.4 reveals how material actions are used to execute moves that fulfill certain functions.
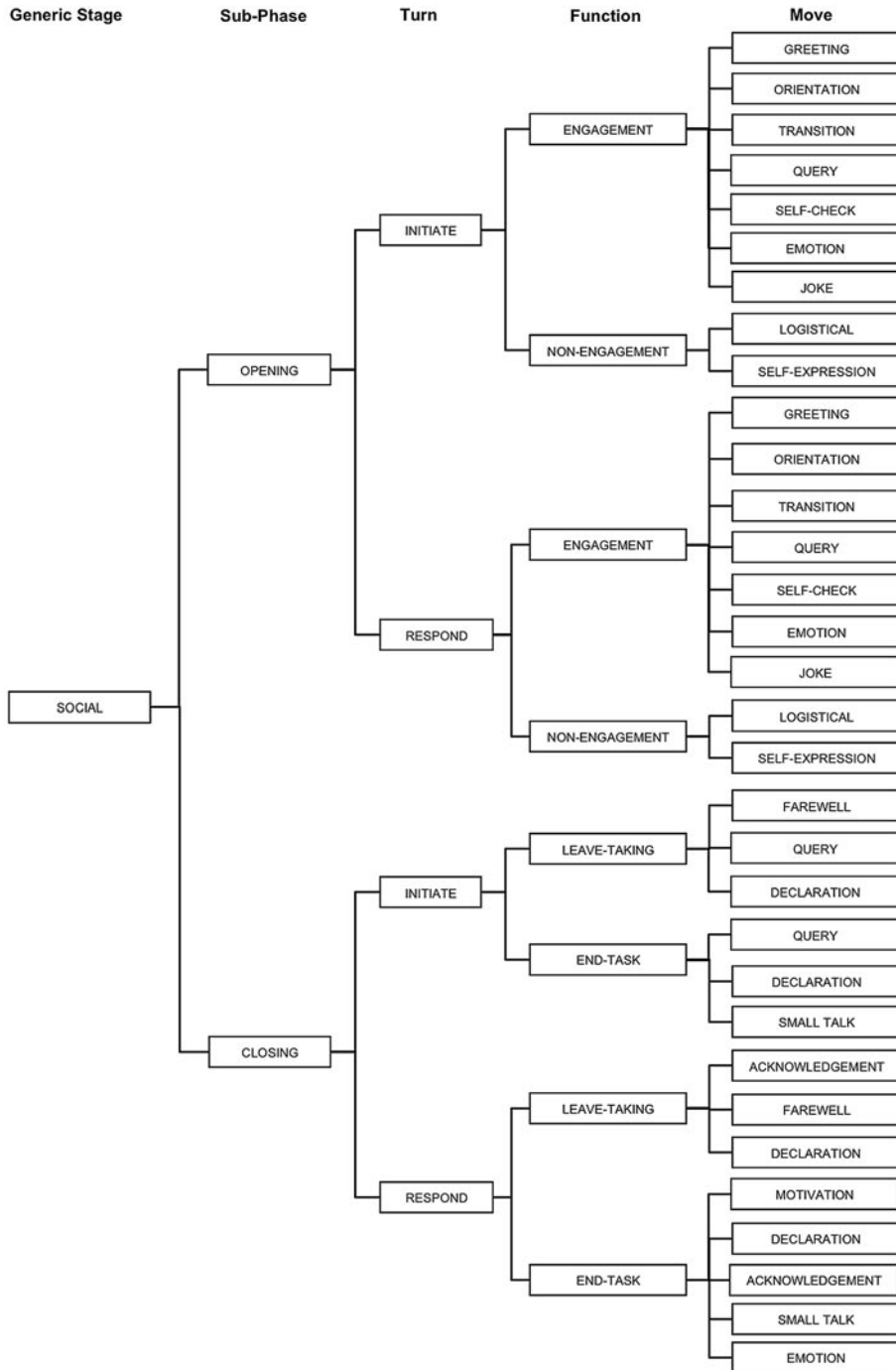
Figure 3.3. Social Sub-System Framework
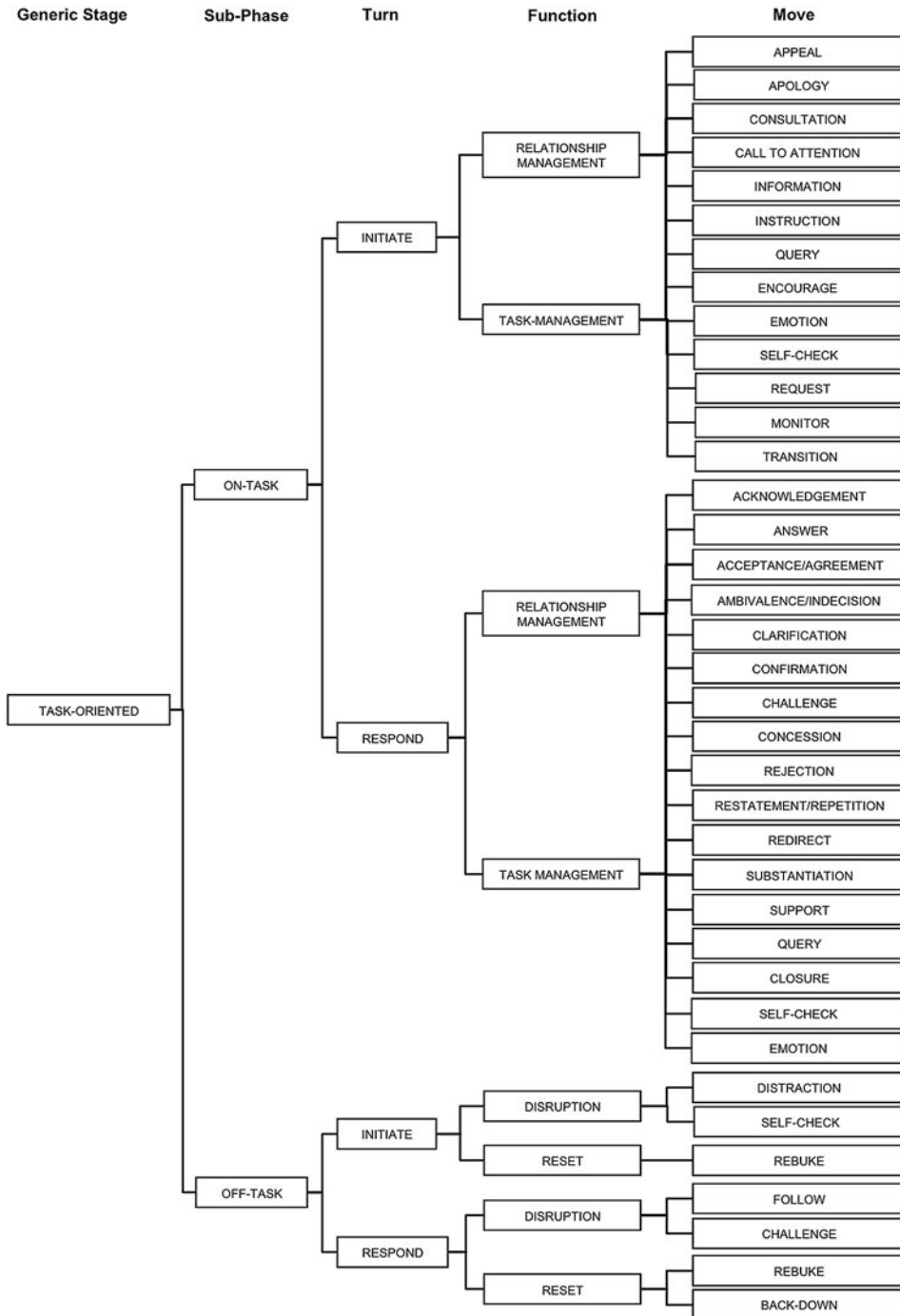
Figure 3.4. Task-Oriented Sub-System Framework
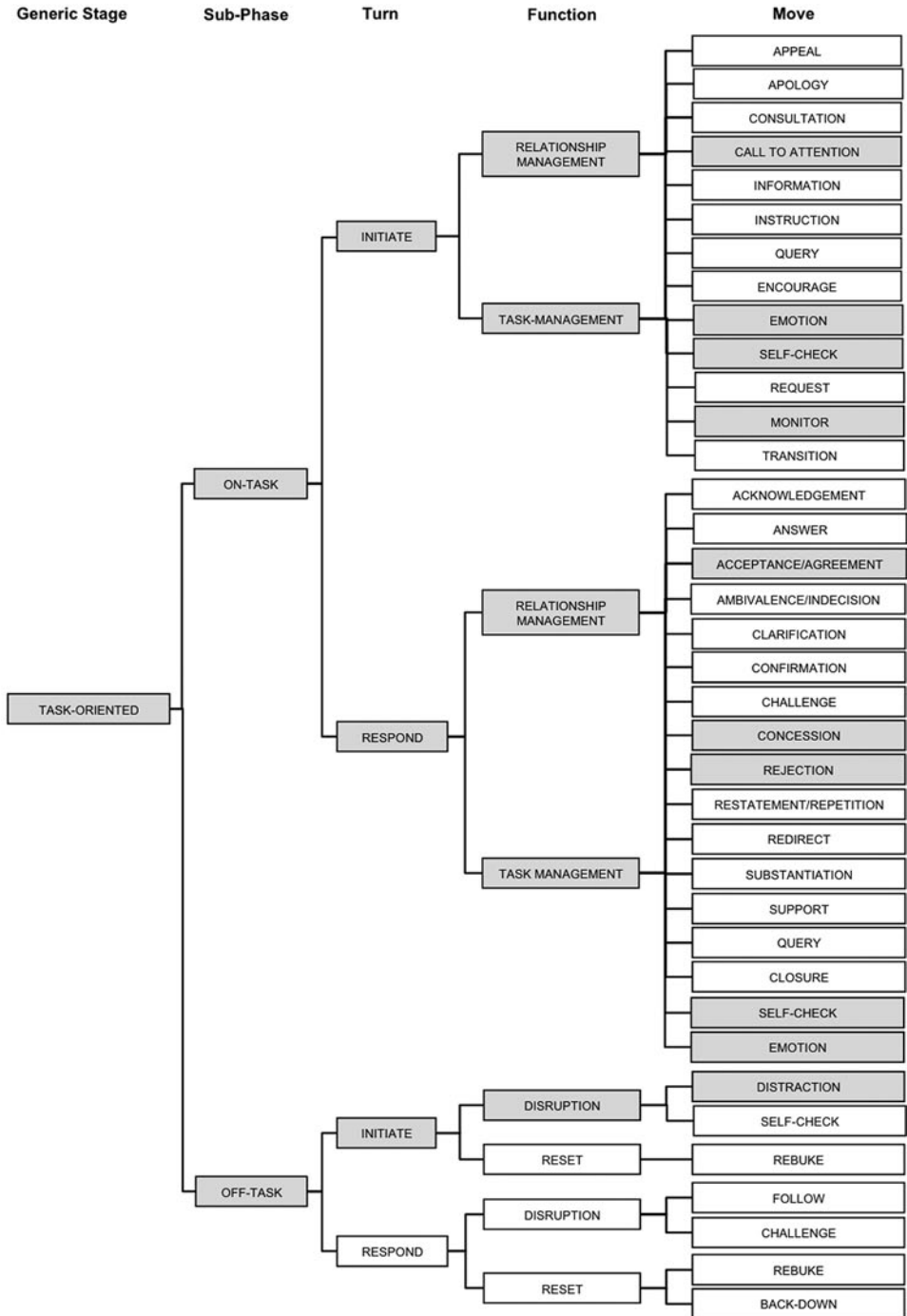
Figure 4.   Visual/Actional Task-Oriented System Choices (shaded grey)

4.   Analysis and discussion

The chat logs were viewed with the screen capture videos of each group's annotator's screen to see how the chat was synchronized with the annotator's on-screen actions (e.g. toggling between windows, minimizing or maximizing windows, adjusting window size, making or deleting annotations and justifications). Using the task-oriented sub-system framework in Figure 3.4, we observed that the visual and actional resources were deployed largely to execute a limited set of on-task visual and actional moves, as displayed in Figure 4 (shaded grey), that were either initiated by the student annotator or carried out in response to a verbal move in the chat logs. While this semantic space seems somewhat limited in comparison to the linguistic resources deployed, it is nonetheless critical for the completion of the assigned tasks.

4.1.   Investigating group efficiency

The student chat entries were analyzed in conjunction with the relevant project work stored in the underlying database of the multimodal analysis software. This permitted the number of annotations and justifications made during the session to be verified. The number of on-task chat entries was divided by the number of annotations and justifications to derive the average number of utterances per annotation (on-task chat entries versus number of Annotations and/or Justifications in Table 2.1). The general assumption was that a lower estimate would mean fewer utterances needed to accomplish an annotation, and a higher estimate would indicate more utterances (on-task chat entries in Table 2.1) needed to accomplish an annotation. Such a relative comparison, while reflective to some degree of group efficiency, cannot be interpreted without examining other variables: (i) the actual chat which takes place, whether the annotations made were a consequence of the collaborative chat, or the annotator's own initiative in isolation from the group chat; (ii) the annotator's familiarity with the research design and software capabilities; (iii) the annotator's dexterity with regard to manipulating the on-screen interface incorporating both Google Hangout and either *Multimodal Analysis Image* or *Multimodal Analysis Video*; and (iv) the nature of task the students had to complete.

We can infer from Tables 2.1–2.3 that the more efficient groups tend to make more annotations and justifications than the least efficient groups. In the majority of cases, group annotations and justifications outnumbered self-annotations and justifications, reflecting the more collaborative character of the most efficient groups.

In what follows, the variables influencing group efficiency with respect to group members' deployment of multimodal resources are described and explained in relation to their respective use of linguistic, visual and actional resources, – that is, in relation to 'multimodal pragmatics'. Although both the most efficient and least efficient groups' data are shown here, only some of these groups are discussed because of their relevance to the issues at hand.

Table 2.1. General Performance Indicators – School A (primary school)

	Total Number of On-Task Chat Entries	Group Annotations and/or Justifications	Self-Annotations and/or Justifications	Total Number of Annotations and/or Justifications	On-Task Chat Entries versus Number of Annotations and/or Justifications
Most efficient group	32	17	7	24	1.33
Least efficient group	123	3	8	11	11.18

Table 2.2. General Performance Indicators – School B (secondary school)

	Total Number of On-Task Chat Entries	Group Annotations and/or Justifications	Self-Annotations and/or Justifications	Total Number of Annotations and/or Justifications	On-Task Chat Entries versus Number of Annotations and/or Justifications
Most efficient group	92	31	8	39	2.36
Least efficient group	227	4	13	17	13.35

Table 2.3. General Performance Indicators – School C (junior college)

	Total Number of On-Task Chat Entries	Group Annotations and/or Justifications	Self-Annotations and/or Justifications	Total Number of Annotations and/or Justifications	On-Task Chat Entries versus Number of Annotations and/or Justifications
Most efficient group	201	15	10	25	8.04
Least efficient group	209	5	0	5	41.80

School A

In School A, the annotator of the most efficient group promptly responds to and acknowledges group members' instructions and requests to move the screen, draw overlays, and assign system choices to the overlays, both verbally and materially via mouse action. In order for the annotator to respond quickly and effectively to his/her group members' input, or to execute self-annotations without compromising his/her attention to and participation in the chat taking place simultaneously, the annotator has to be adequately dexterous to toggle between the Google Hangout window and the *Multimodal Analysis Image* software window.

An example of this annotator's effective balancing of his/her own initiative and group input is when he/she initially began an annotation on his/her own, but deleted it as a result of group members' input. The extract in (1) shows the chat utterance as the annotator begins an annotation, completes it almost simultaneously with a group member's response (see Figure 5.1 marked A and B), and then expresses a modulated disagreement with the response, using the affect key (*"Really"*) (see Hymes 1972).

(1) Chat text marked A – most efficient group School A

Participant	Text	Move Type
Annotator:	*What should the word Borneo be in*	Consultation
Quill:	*where*	Answer
Annotator:	*Really*	Challenge
Quill:	*are u just highlighting randomly*	Query
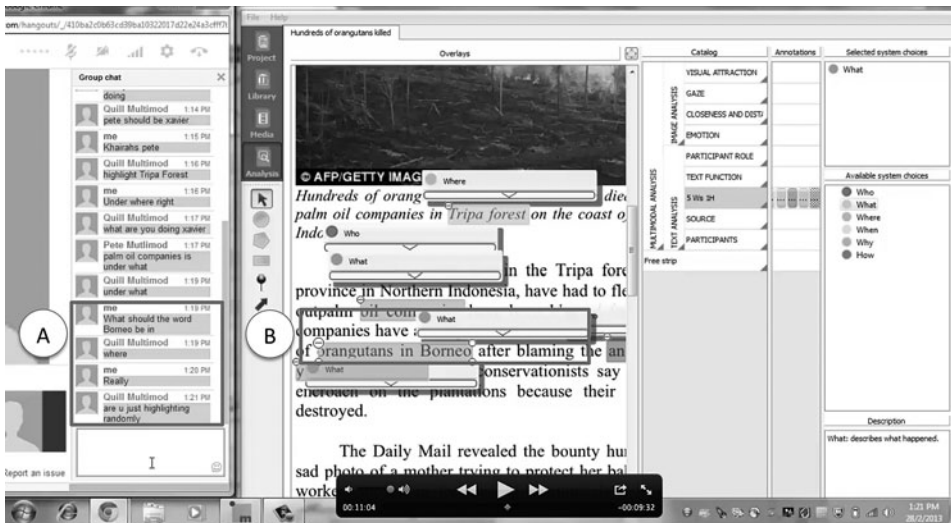
Figure 5.1. Screenshot of highlighted chat [A] and corresponding annotation [B] – most efficient group School A; Multimodal task-oriented move: Monitor
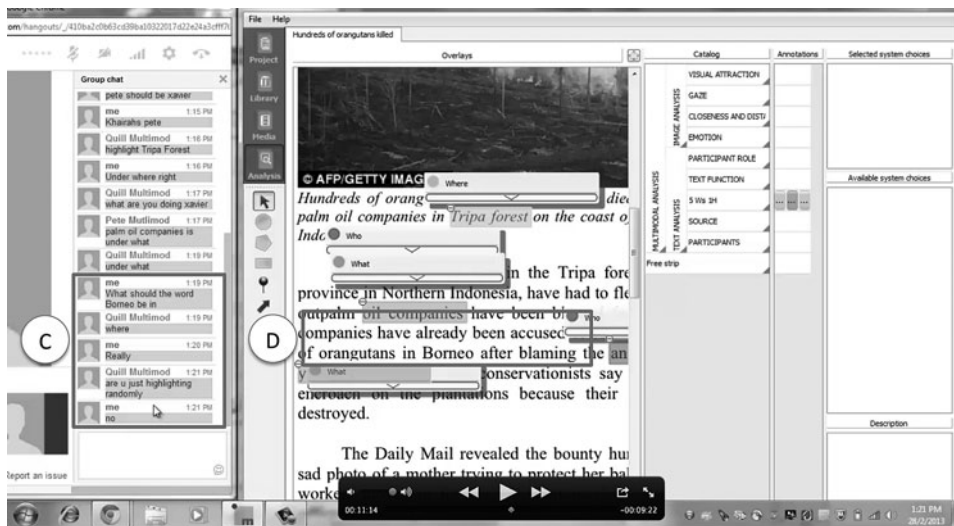
Figure 5.2. Screenshot of highlighted chat [C] and corresponding annotation deleted [D] – most efficient group School A; Multimodal task-oriented move: Concession

In Figure 5.2 (marked D, with C indicating the chat taking place simultaneously) we see that the self-annotation (marked B in Figure 5.1) made previously by the annotator has now been deleted, which is an example of a material multimodal on-task response of *concession*. Quill's answer (*"where"*) in response to the annotator's *consultation* question (*"What should the word Borneo be in"*) is a face-threatening act (see Goffman 1967, Lakoff 1973, Brown and Levinson 1978) which interrogates and casts doubt on the correctness of the annotations made by the annotator. The annotator responds with an equally face-threatening interrogative *challenge* move (*"Really"*). The choices made in this negotiation of disagreement are not direct contradictions, which therefore have the consequence of saving face for both Quill and the annotator. Also, the indirect effect of using the interrogative form *("are u just highlighting randomly")* allows the annotator to respond either in the positive or negative without Quill insisting on his/her point of view and consequently committing a potentially face-threatening act. The annotator's subsequent choice of the simple polar negative (*"no"*) (see extract (2)) ends this episode of disagreement. However, it does so without negative consequences largely because it is accompanied by an actional move of concession. Without this final actional move, the argument between the annotator and Quill would have taken a different direction.

(2) Chat text marked C – most efficient group School A

Participant	Text	Move Type
Annotator	*What should the word Borneo be in*	Consultation
Quill	*where*	Answer
Annotator	*Really*	Challenge
Quill	*are u just highlighting randomly*	Query
Annotator	*no*	Rejection

In contrast, the least efficient group had an annotator who was less capable of multi-tasking and showed a lack of confidence with the task and his/her responsibility as an annotator. He/she resorts to multiple appeals for help but does not respond and even rejects most offers of help (*"I am not there yet"*), resulting in a face-threatening act. What then exacerbates the situation is the annotator's inability to utilize actional resources to respond to requests to move the screen or move the node, an example of a multimodal action of *rejection*. For example, in extract (3), a group member's request to move a purple-coloured rectangle overlay down is acknowledged but not acted upon even though the Google Hangout chat window is visible (see Figure 6 marked A and B). Moreover, the annotator unexpectedly makes a request for group members to suggest further annotations, which adds on to his/her list of annotations to accomplish, and confuses his/her group members as his/her actions do not fit with what is being expressed verbally.
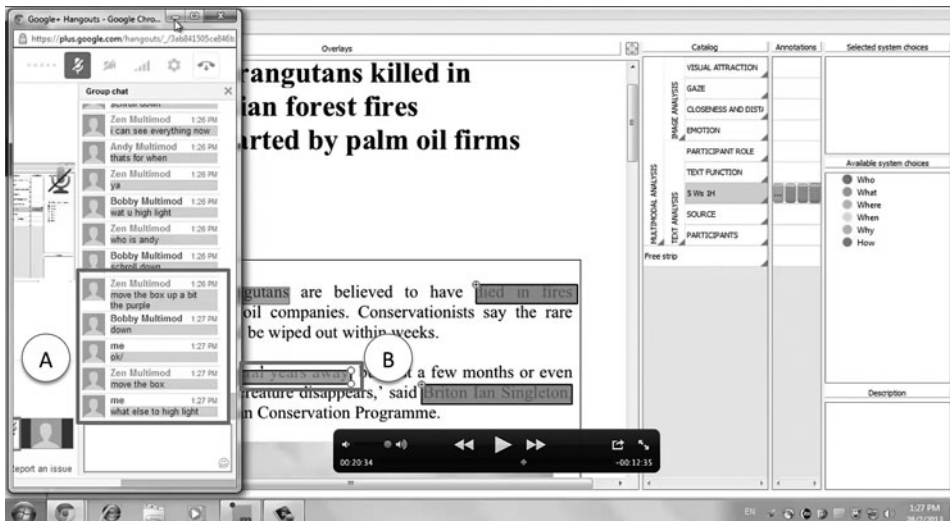
Figure 6.   Screenshot of highlighted chat [A] and corresponding annotation [B] – least efficient group School A; Multimodal task-oriented move: Rejection

(3) Chat text marked A – least efficient group School A

Participant	Text	Move Type
Zen	*move the box up a bit*	Instruction
Zen	*the purple*	Instruction
Bobby	*down*	Instruction
Annotator	*ok/*	Acknowledgment
Zen	*move the box*	Instruction
Annotator	*what else to high light*	Query
	…	
Zen	*the several years away*	Information

School B

Figure 7.1 (marked A) displays the screen capture video for the most efficient group at the point when extract (4) occurs. The annotator has verbally acknowledged Sandy's counter to Romeo's answer. He/she then executes a multimodal material move of *acceptance/agreement* by annotating the respective part of the text (see Figure 7.2, marked B). The concrete nature of this utilization of an actional resource augments the verbal acknowledgment (*"ok"*) and positions the annotator on Sandy's side. This makes it harder for Romeo to contest Sandy as Romeo does not have the ability to commit annotations into the analysis. Thus, the annotator, with his/her additional multimodal actional facility to input annotations, seems to offer not only the advantage of the availability of actional resources but with it, the means to grant leverage during disputes.

(4) Chat text – most efficient group School B

Participant	Text	Move Type
Romeo	*these countries signed the montreal protocol and over the years we have seen a decline in CFCs, halons and other damaging gases." is facts*	Information
Sandy	*this is anaphora*	Challenge
Annotator	*for C one, is anaphora?*	Consultation
Romeo	*no, it a facts*	Rejection
Sandy	*no! MINE*	Challenge
Sandy	*because of "we can", repeating in the sentence*	Substantiation
Annotator	*ok*	Acknowledgment
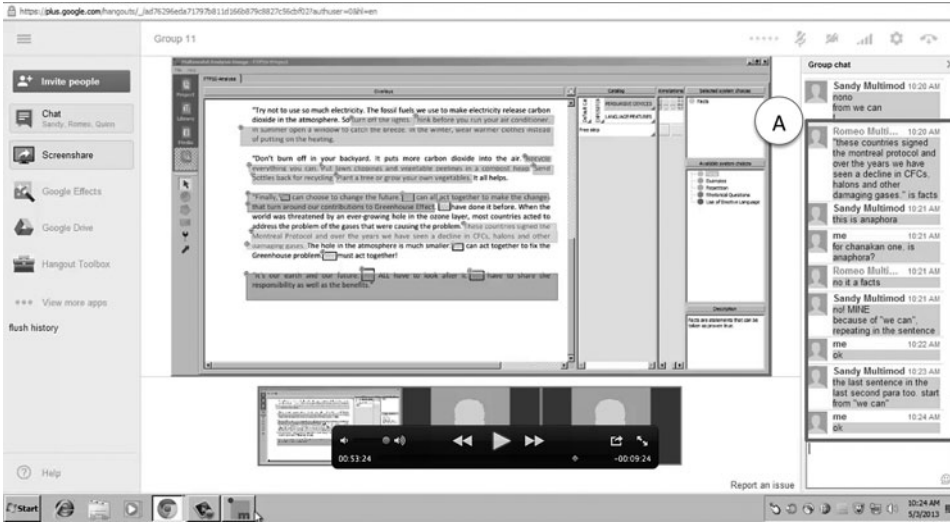
Figure 7.1. Screenshot of highlighted chat [A] – most efficient group School B; Multimodal task-oriented move: Monitor
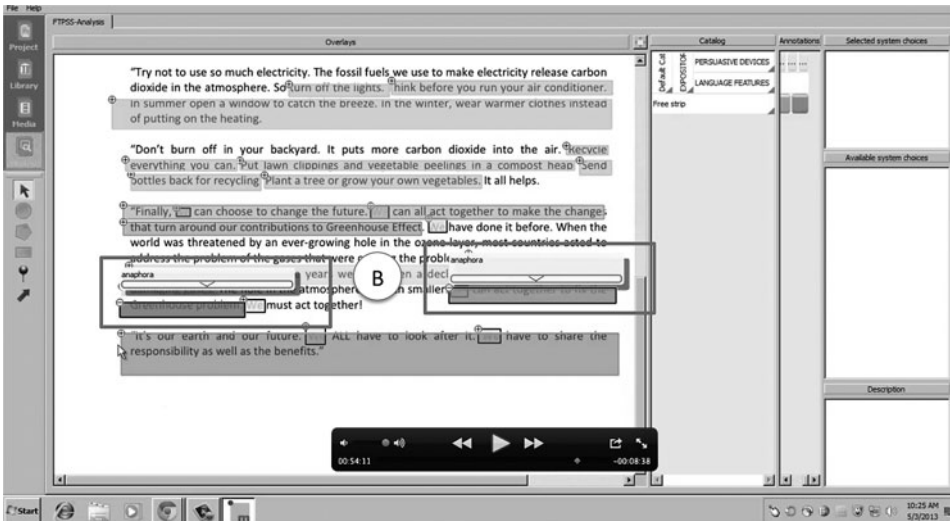
Figure 7.2. Screenshot of highlighted annotations [B] – most efficient group School B; Multimodal task-oriented move: Acceptance/Agreement

School C

An interesting feature which emerged for the most efficient group in School C is the establishment from the onset, via discussion between group members, of a strategy to tackle the assigned task, as shown in extract (5). The implementation of their chosen strategy resulted in a more efficient and economical approach to the task that focused on analyzing their assigned part of the video in manageable increments, based on length of time and analytical categories, rather than large segments of the video that were too long and complicated. Also, the annotator had a very economical way of eliciting responses and contributions from group members, by combining words and actions. For example, after entering a node, or pointing the mouse at the respective scene in the video (an example of a multi-modal Call to Attention), consultations often took the form of one- or two-word phrases, e.g. *"here/"*, *"hu tis" ("who [is] this")*, *"this?"* (Figure 8, marked A and B). Thus, the annotator made use of the actional resource of pointing using a mouse pointer to direct attention, and the question to reinforce the pointing action. Whether question or action came first varied with each instance, but both the linguistic and actional modes worked bi-directionally to focus attention on the segment to be viewed.

(5) Chat text – most efficient group School C

Participant	Text	Move Type
Victor	*comment on environment and actor?*	Consultation
Xavier	*yup*	Acceptance/Agreement
Annotator	*ya*	Acceptance/Agreement
Xavier	*we settle the actors first….A…do your thing!*	Instruction
Annotator	*lets c the vulgar agn*	Instruction
Xavier	*lol…basket*	Emotion
Annotator	*lets do*	Instruction
Annotator	*so wad we do 1st*	Query
Xavier	*quick lah the actors first..*	Instruction
Annototor	*k*	Acknowledgment
Xavier	*go to the 5 min 20 sec or something like that*	Instruction
Walter	*so what are we supposed to do*	Query
Xavier	*then we go scene by scene and settle the actprs and environment*	Instruction
Xavier	*later then we discuss the invference*	Instruction

Figure 8.   Screenshot of highlighted chat [A] and corresponding annotation [B] – most efficient group School C; Multimodal task-oriented move: Call to Attention

5.   Conclusion

Using a multimodal pragmatics approach, this study has demonstrated how students use a combination of linguistic, visual and actional resources in the fulfillment of a formalized learning task in a web-based environment. The analysis reveals that the qualities of multi-tasking, planning and dexterity enable these resources to be used effectively to enact social relations through negotiation and leverage, and at the same time, they can be used or mis-used depending on whether their interaction indicates a visual-verbal reinforcement, or a visual-verbal mismatch.

The study of language use, both in pragmatics and other sub-disciplines of linguistics and language studies, requires a multimodal approach because discourse, context and culture are themselves multimodal in nature (see O'Halloran et al. 2013). In this regard, the linguistic system is part of a larger multimodal meta-system, where language derives its unique characteristics in relation to the functionalities of other resources. From this perspective, linguists and language researchers are poised to make a major contribution to our understanding of communication in the current digital age. However, this requires theories and techniques which are capable of handling the complexity of interacting system choices and mapping the resulting high dimensional semantic space which unfolds over time. Such theories and techniques can be operationalized using interactive digital technologies which provide the necessarily facilities and functionalities for such an approach. In turn,

linguists would have an empirical basis for developing multimodal pragmatics as a major paradigm of linguistics research; one which addresses the challenges of language use today.

Acknowledgments

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Part II
Discourse structures

10. Discourse Markers

Kerstin Fischer

1. Introduction

The field to be covered in this article is very broad, as evidenced by the many different terms used for the items under consideration, for instance, pragmatic markers, discourse particles, discourse markers, discourse relation markers, discourse operators, conversational particles, discourse connectives or interjections, or more specifically, response tokens, feedback signals, continuers, change-of-state tokens, discourse structuring devices, etc. Many of these terms indicate a particular function, such as marking discourse relations or signalling feedback, yet, crucially, not the same function. The main question addressed in this chapter is thus whether all of these items constitute a single class or whether a cover term, such as discourse marker, lumps together different items that perhaps only share the single characteristic of lying outside of what syntacticians are generally concerned with. Indeed, many proposals for definitions evoke negative criteria, such as that discourse markers are usually not inflected and not integrated into the sentence structure, or that they do not contribute to the propositional meaning of sentences.

At the same time, discourse comprises different functional systems, such as turn-taking, discourse structure, stance marking and coherence building, and discourse markers fulfil their functions with respect to these different functional systems. This multidimensionality of discourse contributes to the heterogeneity of the field and to the variety of functions fulfilled by these items. So why throw all of them together in a single class?

In fact, there are several good reasons to assume that the items covered by the terms listed above do constitute a single class and that this class is both structured and united by the various characteristics of discourse. The first reason is that the structural features that characterize discourse markers are so diverse that they do not allow for any sort of categorization that can do justice to the behaviour of individual discourse markers, nor to *ad hoc* creations and non-verbal behaviours. That is, there are no reliable formal or semantic criteria to distinguish between different discourse markers.

Secondly, many discourse markers may fulfil a broad spectrum of functions in more than one functional domain of discourse (cf., for instance, Aijmer 2013). That is, many discourse markers are multifunctional. Ripping the different functional domains apart by concentrating on, for instance, connecting, structuring or turn-taking functions only, prevents us from understanding the contributions of individual discourse marker items, as well as the conditions of their interpretation and use.

Thirdly, typical grammaticalization paths of discourse markers become apparent only if we regard the whole spectrum of functions they may fulfil, as well as the grammatical positions in which they may occur. Grammaticalization accounts not only for how words belonging to traditional formal classes, such as adverbs (e.g. *well*) or matrix clauses (e.g. *I think*), can acquire new, extra-propositional and extra-sentential status, but also for how, from a diachronic perspective, these forms tend to develop multiple discourse functions (cf. e.g. Diewald 2011). This means that we have to consider other word classes as well, such as adjectives or adverbs (for instance, *good* and *well*) or modal particles in languages that have them (cf. Auer 1996, Aijmer 1997, Auer and Günthner 2005), in order to understand which items may develop discourse marker functions and how they are interpreted in a given context.

Fourthly, the functional domain covered by discourse markers is not as chaotic as it may seem but can be structured on the basis of different dimensions, which partly coincide. Thus, I argue in the following that even though the range of phenomena to be dealt with in discourse marker research is huge, there are co-occurrence relations between dimensions of description that allow the definition of subclasses of discourse markers.

Each of these four arguments will be considered below. Following this, I shall return to the question of the definition of the class. The article will thus be structured as follows: Section two discusses the structural characteristics of discourse markers and how they contribute to defining the class. The third section illustrates the functional spectrum discourse markers may fulfil and provides evidence for their multifunctionality, substantiating the above claim that the whole spectrum of functions needs to considered. The fourth section concerns the historical development of discourse markers, illustrating the contribution of the structural context to the interpretation of discourse markers and arguing for a consideration of the polycategoriality of these items, i.e. their membership in different word classes. The fifth section addresses different dimensions on the basis of which the heterogeneous class of discourse markers can be described and which have often remained implicit in the discussion while being vital to understanding how this amazingly broad field is organised. The picture emerging as a result of the discussion is then that of a heterogeneous, but highly interconnected class of items with properties drawing on interactional, interpersonal, textual and contextualising functions alike.

From this perspective, the failure to arrive at a clear definition of the class of discourse markers reflects central characteristics of the items under consideration and of the class as a whole, which only become apparent if, for methodological reasons, we resist the urge to classify discourse markers and to break the class up into subclasses as if they were indeed distinct. I thus argue to augment efforts of definition with efforts that further our understanding of the mechanisms that allow the items under consideration to fulfil their broad spectrum of functions.

2.   Structural characteristics of discourse markers and issues of meaning

A broad range of items belonging to different structural classes have been considered as having acquired discourse marker status. In the following, it will be shown that drawing the lines prematurely does not do justice to the observable facts.

Discourse markers are typically short words, for example, *ok, yes, well,* and *so*. Many researchers prefer the term *discourse particle* in order to distinguish discourse markers from clitics, full words, and bound morphemes, as well as from larger entities, such as formulaic expressions (for a discussion, see Fischer 2006b). However, larger units, such as speech routines like *you know, after all* and *I mean,* as well as open-class words, such as adverbs like *well* or *okay,* may be functionally very similar to discourse markers. The same holds for metalinguistic phrases that are in the process of lexicalisation. Moreover, that which is expressed by particles, i.e. small, uninflected words (Zwicky 1985), in one language may, for instance, be expressed by very heavy speech formulas in another (cf. Fischer 2006b). For example, particles fulfilling discourse functions in English or German correspond to rather heavy and inflexible multi-word units in French (cf. Schiffrin 1987: 328, Nemo 2006: 384). Similarly, that for which some languages have modal particles may be expressed by discourse markers, adverbs or speech formulas in another (e.g. Fillmore 1984, Fischer 2007, Fischer & Alm 2013). So while there is a tendency for discourse markers to be particles in some languages, cross-linguistically, there are also numerous exceptions.

The requirement that discourse markers are lexical items, including fixed phrases, also describes a tendency rather than a necessary or sufficient criterion. In fact, non-verbal behaviours, such as nods (e.g. Clark and Krych 2004, Allwood et al. 2006), filled or even silent pauses (e.g. Clark and Fox Tree 2002) or restarts (e.g. Goodwin 1980) may fulfil very similar functions (cf. Schiffrin 1987: 327, Fischer 2000). For instance, Levinson (1983: 320) shows how a silent pause may be interpreted by participants as preshadowing a dispreferred next move (see also example [1]); the same function, namely to indicate "an insufficiency in response," has been suggested for the discourse marker *well* (Lakoff 1973: 464, Levinson 1983: 334, cf. also Aijmer, Foolen, and Simon-Vandenbergen 2006: 110; cf. examples [2], [3]):

(1) C: Um I wondered if there's any chance of seeing you tomorrow sometime
       (0.5) morning or before the seminar
       (1.0)
   R: **Ahm (.)** I doubt it (Levinson 1983: 335)

(2) R: What about coming here on the (.) or doesn't that give you enough time?
   C: **well** no I'm supervising here (Levinson 1983: 335)

(3) Yvonne: Did you defeat the purpose? {laughing}
    Tom: **Well**, the purpose was,
             maybe at the time just a medium. (Norrick 2001: 852)

Discourse markers are also generally considered to be uninflected due to the fact
that most of them are particles, which are uninflected by definition (cf. Zwicky
1985, Hentschel and Weydt 1989: 5). However, there are also fixed phrases (like
by the way, if I may interrupt), adverbs (like *right*) or verbs in the imperative (like
listen or *look*) that can function as discourse markers, and thus also this criterion
rather describes a general tendency (cf. Schiffrin 1987: 327–328).

   Another criterion, brought forth by Schiffrin (1987: 328) and Schourup (1999:
233), is that most discourse markers occur utterance-initially. With the exception
of a few discourse markers with functions similar to tag questions, such as German
ne? or *gell?* or English *eh?*, which can only rarely be found at the beginnings of ut-
terances, all discourse markers indeed can, and most do, occur utterance initially.
However, they may also occur in other places, for example, in the middle of utter-
ances as hesitation or repair markers, or turn-finally where they yield the turn to an-
other speaker. They may also constitute an utterance by themselves, as illustrated
in example (4):

(4) Kathy: three times ex, minus four.
    Nathan: Three times e=x, minus four?
    Kathy: **Right**.
    Nathan: **alright,** distribute first, **right**?
    Kathy: **mhm**.
    Nathan: Two ex minus=.. ex squa=red, three ex minus tw=el=v=e, you get,
             do that side, so you get .. ex, **whoa**. I don't want to do that. Negative
             ex squared, two ex minus, two minus ex, **Um**, Plus twelve … **Now** do
             you factor this? After you do that?
    Kathy: **Yeah**.
    Nathan: **Yeah. Oh but** first I gotta take out that negative one, don't – **I mean** that
             negative. (Louwerse and Mitchell 2003: 200)

Although discourse markers can occupy different positions in discourse, they can-
not occur just anywhere; instead, there are certain constructional positions to
which they are confined, such as the syntactic pre-field or post-field (cf. James
1972, 1973; Fischer 2006a; Fischer and Alm 2013). Irrespective of their position
with respect to other utterances, however, many discourse markers are not inte-
grated into the sentence structure; i.e. they occur outside of the sentence bound-
aries. This means that they are extra-clausal and positionally variable, as well as
syntactically and semantically optional, such that their presence neither in-
fluences the grammaticality of the sentence, nor changes the meaning of the prop-
osition expressed by the unit to which they may be connected (cf. Mosegaard

Hansen 1998: 236). Prosodically, they are often not integrated into the tone unit of adjacent material; instead they may constitute tone units by themselves (Schiffrin 1987: 328; Fischer 2000; see also Sweetser's 1990 discussion of 'comma intonation').

However, it is unclear to what extent discourse markers may still be connected to some kind of host unit. Fraser, for instance, speaks of "discourse segments which host them", that is, he assumes that discourse markers are directly connected to stretches of discourse (Fraser 2006: 190). Lewis (2006: 55) even speaks of "syntactic hosts", and Mosegaard Hansen (1998: 236) describes discourse markers as "instructions to the hearer on how to integrate host utterances into a developing model of the discourse". Thus, discourse markers may be connected to host utterances. This is certainly the case if conjunctions, connectives and sentence adverbs are considered to be discourse markers. The two instances of *because* in example (5) and *although* in example (6) illustrate such integrated uses:

(5) well we were going up t'see uh … my – our son tonight, but we're not **cause** the younger one's gonna come for dinner **cause** he's working in the neighborhood. So that's out. (Schiffrin 1987: 204).

(6) Sue isn't here, **although** she said she would be. (Fraser 2006: 190)

On the other hand, there are also numerous discourse markers that are characterized by the property of 'unintegratedness,' that is, as items that may constitute utterances themselves or at least carry independent intonation contours (for example, marked by pauses or by a falling intonation contour, see Pons Bordería 2006: 81). Many researchers therefore hold discourse markers to be syntactically, prosodically and semantically unintegrated, such that they do not influence the co-text with which they may occur, and thus regard them as independent (e.g. Diewald 2006: 408, Gupta 2006: 243, Travis 2006: 229). Examples of such discourse marker occurrences are the following:

(7) Nathan: see it's little rules like that, that I'm not gonna remember, so if it's – if it's less than or equal, and there's a minus=, you have to flip the si=gn. **Okay**. Are you tired? (Louwerse and Mitchell 2003: 201)

(8) Jen: Okay then I was asking and she says you're working tomorrow as well,
    Ivy: Yes I'm supposed to be tomorrow yes,
    Jen: **Oh:::**, (Heritage 2005: 192)

(9) **so**, you've spent all your money?[1] (Blakemore 1987: 106)

The discussion is complicated by the fact that many discourse markers can occur both in integrated and in unintegrated positions, such as *but*:

(10) F810: Like th- they had great plans like to get a flat together and stuff in St
Andrews, which now isn't happening, so I don't know really where she
wants to go, **but**.

    F809: Uh-huh.

    F810: I don't know why she'd want to go to St Andrews. (Hancil 2008: 5)

(11) F835: I'm thinking I want want to work on a cruise ship an do some beauty
therapy, **but**

    F833: Wow! That's so cool!

    F835: because it, you see I figured you don't have to pay like, for like tax or
anything
[laugh], got your food an your like bed free [inaudible] bed [laugh]
(Hancil 2008: 6)

The two utterance-final instances of *but* in examples (10) and (11) are interesting
because they cannot be regarded as interrupted productions of regular discourse
connectives since the utterances that follow do not stand in any contrast relation-
ship to the previous assertions. Moreover, in example (10), *but* is uttered with a fal-
ling intonation contour, signalling the end of the turn. Thus, the two instances of
but in these examples are not infelicitous connective uses. Similarly, in example
(12), *but* constitutes an utterance by itself:

(12) Leonore: Did they train you-

    Lynne: yeah.

    Leonore: Did they train you that – …

    Lynne: yeah. … yeah.

    Leonore: ..So you have your own equipment,

    Lynne: …

    Leonore: **but,**

    Lynne: No, I don't have my own equipment at all. … Dad, … you know,
has done some of it. (Louwerse and Mitchell 2003: 227)

These examples are in contrast to uses of *but* that are integrated both prosodically
and grammatically into the clauses that serve as host units, such as the following in
example (13):

(13) The Israeli army had announced Monday that the three soldiers were wounded
in the ambush **but** were probably alive. (Nemo 2006: 390)

Thus, we cannot distinguish between integrated and unintegrated markers because
the same discourse marker may be used in both positions, i.e. in contexts in which
they are integrated prosodically and grammatically as well as in contexts in which
they form independent utterances or are only loosely connected to their host units.

Finally, besides the formal characteristics, it has also been suggested that dis-
course markers can be characterized by the fact that they occur in discourse functions

beyond the expression of propositional meaning. They are generally taken to have lost their semantic meaning and to have acquired certain pragmatic functions instead (e.g. Schourup 1999, Lewis 2006, Mosegaard Hansen 2006). This concerns not only small particles or interjections, such as *oh*, but also fixed phrases like *you know* and *I mean*, which are taken to carry idiomatic, non-truthfunctional (*bleached*), pragmatic meanings. Though not all discourse markers have developed from fully semantic items (cf. Diewald 2006, 2008; Estellés Arguedas 2009), and thus the operation of *bleaching* cannot be assumed for all of them, it is generally accepted that discourse markers do not contribute any truth-functional meanings. However, connectives may in fact contribute to the propositional or ideational meaning of clauses (Schiffrin 1987, Redeker 1990, 1991); for instance, similar to what we have seen for *but* above, Sweetser (1990: 111) shows how the propositional (14a), epistemic (14b), and speech act (14c) readings of a connective may be related (1990: 77):

(14) a) John came back **because** he loved her.
   b) John loved her, **because** he came back.
   c) What are you doing tonight, **because** there's a good movie on.

Thus, in a) *because* signals a causal relationship between two events, whereas in b) the *because*-clause provides the evidence for the conclusion in the main clause; *because* has therefore an epistemic function. In 14c), *because* introduces the reason for asking the previous question; Sweetser (1990) calls this the speech-act meaning of *because*.

Similarly, Redeker (1990: 372) argues that the same items, for instance the conjunctions *so* and *because*, may fulfil both ideational (i.e. conceptual) and pragmatic functions. The meanings of discourse markers, however, are often thought to be different from meanings of other lexical items, such as nouns or verbs. In particular, many scholars hold that the meanings of discourse markers are procedural rather than conceptual, i.e. their function is not to contribute to the propositional content of an utterance but to aid the hearer in understanding the relevance of the utterance and to reduce his or her processing effort (e.g. Blakemore 1987, Mosegaard Hansen 1998: 236, Fraser 2006: 189). In the same vein, Hentschel and Weydt (1989) hold that all discourse markers are characterized by a syncategorematic meaning, i.e. they need to combine with a proposition in order to be meaningful. According to Schiffrin (1987), discourse markers have either no, vague or reflexive meanings, i.e, meanings that point to something outside themselves; for instance, *oh* and *well*, are rather characterized by particular uses in context than by a stable semantic or pragmatic contribution. She proposes that discourse markers provide participation and textual coordinates of talk by indexing both local and global units, such as the immediate co-text and larger discourse units, such as conversational topics (1987: 327). Markers, in her view, thus provide textual coordinates for utterances. In later work, Schiffrin (2006: 322) elaborates on the indexical properties of discourse markers and suggests that they constitute a subclass of indexicals.

The reasoning here is that, irrespective of whether a discourse marker is integrated in a host utterance or not, it must still point to something outside itself, i.e. either to an aspect of the host utterance, or to a contextual, situational factor (domains, discourse planes, etc.). Such an approach treats deixis as a key to understanding the pragmatic functioning of discourse markers and has become widespread (e.g. Aijmer et al. 2006; Diewald 2006; Fischer 2006a; Frank-Job 2006; Schiffrin 2006). Furthermore, deixis has been viewed as central in some accounts of the polyfunctionality of discourse markers (Schiffrin 2006, Fischer 2006a). To sum up, to point to something outside itself is thus one important property of discourse markers that is recognised in some way or other in most approaches, as the characterization of their meanings as syncategorematic, procedural, indexical or instructional reflects. Diverse as discourse markers may be, at least some of the variability may be accounted for by taking into consideration the elements they index and, therefore, the wider utterance context.

To sum up, the prototypical discourse marker has been previously described as a small, uninflected, predominantly initial word that is not integrated into the sentence structure, and that encompasses indexical, pragmatic meanings (procedural, instructional, indexical, syncategorematic) only. Yet none of these criteria are really exclusive. Pons Bordería (2006: 82) therefore argues that we should content ourselves with a prototype approach to definition. In addition, Schourup concludes that "if defined grammatically, the discourse marker class has to be regarded as more or less open" (1999: 236). Consequently, many researchers rely on a functional definition for discourse markers; for instance, Schiffrin (1987: 41), Waltereit (2006: 64), and Mosegaard Hansen (2006: 25) argue that the class should be described entirely from a functional point of view. A functional characterisation may indeed avoid unnecessary formal limitations; so the following section addresses whether defining the class by means of functional criteria may help us get around the problems outlined.

3.   Functional spectrum

A glance at the functional characteristics of discourse markers shows that the range of functions they can have is not restricted to a single domain of discourse. For instance, in written discourse, discourse markers are used to create rhetorical or logical relationships between sentences, thus establishing coherence and marking the microstructure of each paragraph and the macrostructure of the whole text (Bangerter, Clark, and Katz 2004). They serve to express the writer's attitude towards the subject, the reader or the text, and they create relationships between the text and the reader's expectations and background knowledge such that they either evoke or construe an aspect of the argumentative situation that is part of the common ground (cf. Clark and Schaefer 1989, Fischer 2007). Utterances may also need to

be displayed as coming from different sources, as, for instance, in quoted speech (cf. Goffman 1981), which is also often signalled by means of discourse markers.

Discourse markers play a similar role in spoken interaction (Gühlich 1970). In addition, they contribute to the management of the conversational flow, for instance in turn-taking (Willkop 1988). Moreover, speakers face online formulation tasks, involving repair (Levelt 1983), hesitation and reformulation (Clark and Fox Tree 2002). They also collaborate on creating common ground, and listeners may contribute to that process by means of feedback signals (Allwood, Nivre, and Ahlsén 1992, McCarthy 2003) and news-receipt tokens (Heritage 1984, 2005), signalling how the listener perceives and understands the previous turn (Gardner 2001).[2] Furthermore, speakers manage interpersonal relationships by means of discourse markers (see, for instance, Goffman's 1978 analysis of response cries, i.e. interjections). For instance, the combination *yes but* is a typical means of signalling the speaker's polite consideration of the interlocutor's statement and at the same time it preshadows disagreement or violation of expectation. Other discourse markers like *you know* and *right* may indicate agreement seeking and common ground and may be used to yield the conversational floor (cf. Schourup 1985, Fox Tree and Schrock 2002).

The functional spectrum covered by discourse markers thus seems to be just as heterogeneous as their formal properties. It seems that the functions which the items under consideration are suggested to fulfil are extremely diverse, and that the only uniting property is the fact that they can all be fulfilled by discourse markers. But this observation begs the question as to whether we can still maintain that discourse markers represent a unified category. Indeed, defining discourse markers on the basis of their functional spectrum – in order to avoid the problems in pinning down their structural characteristics discussed above – is in danger of being circular: That is, we might be tempted to call discourse markers those items that fulfil discourse marking functions, and we call discourse marking functions those that are fulfilled by discourse markers.

Another problem is that many functions of the functions of discourse markers are also fulfilled by other items. For instance, conversational management functions are also realised by speech formulas and non-lexicalized metalinguistic devices. Stance can be expressed, for instance, by modal verbs, adverbs, parenthetic clauses, or tag questions like *don't you* and *doesn't it*. Face-saving politeness functions can be fulfilled by discourse markers like *well*, but just as well by pauses (cf. Levinson 1983: 330), as well as by flattery and other non-lexical means to mitigate an utterance (cf. Caffi 2005).[3] In addition, linking functions can also be fulfilled by conjunctions and speech formulas. These problems can be avoided if we can find a basic, underlying function on the basis of which the functional spectrum of discourse markers can be explained, or if the functions fulfilled by discourse markers can be related to a general model of discourse. Thus, for instance, Roulet (2006: 117) argues that "the study of discourse markers or particles must be integrated in a

global model of the complexity of the organisation of monological and dialogical discourse." A single, underlying function from which all other functions can be deduced, or alternatively a model that accounts for the fact that discourse markers fulfil just these functions and not others, would avoid any circularity since both the underlying function and the overarching model provide independent accounts of the functional spectrum evoked.

Let us start our search for a functional characterization of discourse markers by considering attempts to identify a single underlying function. First of all, there is Schiffrin's famous, overarching (though operational, preliminary) functional definition, which has been taken up by many other scholars in the field and which states that the main function of discourse markers is "to bracket units of talk" (Schiffrin 1987: 31). She proposes discourse markers to be "non-obligatory, utterance initial items that function in relation to ongoing talk and text" (1987: 321).

Related to this suggestion is another proposal, namely that the primary function of discourse is to connect units of talk (e.g. Fraser 1999). In order to understand the significance of either of these definitions, we need to consider what the units of talk connected or bracketed are. Roulet (2006: 117) argues that it is necessary to present a "precise definition of units and pieces of information to which discourse markers or particles apply or which they relate at different levels, which implies a hierarchical model of discourse structure and a concept of discourse memory". Schiffrin (1987: 32) explicitly rejects an equation of 'unit' with 'sentence' since it "would imply a dependence on, and relationship with, syntactic structure which is just not evident". Schiffrin, who prefaces her description explicitly with a model of discourse, states that sometimes "those units are sentences, but sometimes they are propositions, speech acts, tone units" (1987: 35).

The question of the units to which discourse markers may connect is related to our previous discussion of the integratedness of discourse markers (in section 2). Thus, if a discourse marker, for instance a connective, is integrated into a 'host unit', at least one of the two units connected by the connective should be well-defined. However, even this can be problematic. For instance, for a connective like *but* in the following example, it is not evident what exactly the segments would be:

(15) John is rich **but** dumb. (Lakoff 1971: 133)

For discourse markers that are not integrated into 'host units', it may be even more difficult to identify the kinds of units connected or 'bracketed' since many of the units to which discourse markers refer are not textual units such that they are realized explicitly, like, for instance, topics. Fraser (1999: 946) therefore assumes two classes of discourse markers: those which relate messages (i.e. from content, epistemic and speech act domains) and those which open, close or return to topics, like *to return to my point* or *incidentally* (1999: 949), which reintroduce a previous topic.

To hold that discourse markers connect discourse segments, such as utterances, would thus exclude very many of their uses. Roulet (2006: 120) therefore suggests

what he calls text relation markers to connect a constituent of the hierarchical structure of text – act, move, or exchange – and a piece of information stored in discourse memory. That is, discourse markers create or mark relationships between actual, virtual (attributed), or presupposed utterances, as well as aspects of discourse memory.

Other scholars propose further, rather broad definitions of discourse units, suggesting them to include speech acts, turns at talk, or the participation structure (e.g. Schiffrin 1987, Bazzanella 2006, Frank-Job 2006). The 'units' involved in their accounts are often understood as 'planes' (Schiffrin 1987), 'levels' (Frank Job 2006) or 'domains' (Sweetser 1990) of discourse. However, several questions arise with respect to such broad definition of units. The first question is whether a discourse plane like participation structure constitutes a unit of *discourse*, rather than, say, a unit of the discourse *situation*, and similarly, whether aspects like the participation structure constitute *units* of discourse rather than their *conditions* or *circumstances*. The second question concerns the independent verifiability of the discourse planes proposed. Is there a methodologically sound way to determine the number and kind of discourse planes? A third problem is whether the reference to these planes of discourse should indeed be best understood as creating or marking *relationships* between two units at all. Indicating speaker attitude, for instance, does not necessarily involve a relationship between units. Similarly, the concept of creating or marking a (two- or three-place) relationship would also be stretched very far in the case of unintegrated interjections, hesitation markers or feedback signals.

Thus, the bracketing and the connecting functions of discourse markers only account for some of their uses, but not for the whole spectrum. The two functional proposals therefore do not serve as overarching functions that allow the definition of the discourse marker class as a whole. Now one may attempt to distinguish between connectives and other discourse markers and to declare that only the items with connecting functions are discourse markers while the others are something else, for instance, 'pragmatic markers' instead of discourse markers (Fraser 1999, 2006): they are not connectives and thus might have to be excluded. However, there are some problems with using functions to distinguish between different types of discourse markers: 1) the polyfunctionality of individual discourse marker occurrences, 2) the polyfunctionality of the same discourse marker in different contexts, and 3) the relatedness of their functional interpretations. We treat these three problem areas in turn in the following.

First, the same discourse marker occurrence may fulfil several very different functions simultaneously. Schiffrin (1987: 320) states that "markers may work on more than one level at once." Thus, we find functional overlaps for individual occurrences of discourse markers, where for a given instance in discourse it cannot be established whether it fulfils the one or the other function because it is likely to fulfil both:

(16) Amy: did he hit the brakes at all?
    Marsha: no.
              he didn't touch the brakes.
    Amy: now see what-
    Patricia: that's where I make *my* mistake.
    Amy: see, I slid a couple times
              but I *pumped* the brakes.
              That one time, I was coming down a *hill*.
              And there was a car stopped at a red-light.
              And when I hit the brakes the *first* time,
              I slid.
              And I was only less than a car-length away from him,
              so I just started *slamming* them down.
              And I stopped within inches of his bumper.
    Ralph: that doesn't do any good.
              Slamming them down isn't going to do you any good.
              You're going to
    Amy: **yeah** but it was=
    Ralph: =it's going to throw you into another skid.
    Amy: **yeah**, but it was pumping them
              and it got me *stopped*.
              I mean,
              as long as I didn't hit him into the intersection. (Norrick 2001: 872)

The example shows *yeah* as an example for an ambiguous and polyfunctional item, exhibiting an uptaking function, signalling topic continuity, successful contact, perception and understanding (cf. also Allwood, Nivre, and Ahlsén 1992), and also mitigating the face threat of the speakers' disagreement about the usefulness of pumping breaks. Schiffrin (1987: 330) comments on the polyfunctionality of individual discourse markers: "Note the efficiency of this arrangement. Only one linguistic item – a discourse marker – with one indexical function, anchors an utterance into more than one discourse component at once. By doing so, it provides a path towards the integration of those different components into one coherent discourse." Also Fraser (1999: 950) concludes: "each DM [discourse marker, K.F.] had a potential effect on all three levels: the Ideational, Rhetorical, and Sequential, and the Topical level was not even considered". If, however, the same discourse marker occurrence can fulfil connecting (here the topic) and non-connecting functions simultaneously, it does not make sense to classify items according to their function.

The second problem in dividing the functional spectrum of discourse markers according to different functions is that individual markers may fulfil very different functions in different contexts. Examples of a discourse marker with different

functions in different contexts were already displayed above in the case of *but*: this discourse marker can serve as a turn yielding signal as in (10) and (11), suggesting to the listener the speaker's awareness that the utterance may be problematic. It can also function as an independent utterance, providing an as yet unspecified rejection of the previous turn as in example (12), and as a conjunction with epistemic or speech act meaning as in examples (17a) and (17b) respectively below:

(17) a)   France is Catholic **but** socialist. (Sweetser 1990: 104)
    b)   (Please) look up that phone number – **but** don't bother if it will take you more than five minutes. (Sweetser 1990: 101)

The third problem concerns the relationships between the different functional interpretations of discourse markers. These relationships may be systematic and guided by general mechanisms, such as metonymy or metaphor, and their meanings may be perceived to be highly related. Participants in discourse must have strategies to determine why a particular marker receives only certain interpretations and not others. Also, the functional possibilities must be finite and learnable, a fact which suggests that the different readings can be inferred on the basis of more general principles (cf. Foolen 1989).

Correspondingly, a review of the spectrum of approaches to discourse markers reveals that the functions which discourse markers may fulfil are taken to be highly related in almost all more recent studies (see, for instance, the spectrum of approaches in the edited volume Fischer 2006). In general, approaches do not assume homonymy to hold between the different readings of a discourse marker whereby a single orthographic/ phonological form can have different distinct, unrelated interpretations. In contrast, very common is a polysemy approach in which a single phonological/orthographic form is associated with a number of distinct readings that are related by a set of general relationships, such as metaphorical or metonymic extension (e.g. Mosegaard Hansen 1998, 2006), or they are taken to be the lexicalized results of other general mechanisms, such as implicature (e.g. Waltereit 2006). For instance, epistemic meanings may be related to speech act meanings of conjunctions by metaphorical mapping between different domains (Sweetser 1990: 112).

Other approaches which do not subscribe to polysemy relations also assume that the different functional interpretations of discourse markers may be related, yet by means of mechanisms involving an invariant meaning, i.e. monosemy. In these approaches, each discourse marker is suggested to have an invariant meaning which is related to its individual interpretations in context by means of a general mechanism. The mechanisms proposed may include contributions from syntactic/ semantic constructions or particular prosodic contours, which are not specific to single items but are rather proposed to be more general such that they account for the functions of different discourse markers (e.g. Ehlich 1986; Fischer 2006a; Fischer and Alm 2013; Diewald 2013). Another possibility is to describe the invariant meaning and to assume a system of pragmatic parameters that select the re-

spective context-dependent meaning (cf. Bazzanella 2006). Other scholars explain the relationships between the invariant meaning and its contextual occurrences by accounting for the observable senses via mappings to different domains that are part of a general model of discourse. In these models, the domains referred to, for instance, the epistemic or speech act domain (as in examples [14a-c] above), provide the necessary specifications of the underspecified invariant meaning component (cf. Sweetser 1990). Since the domains provide accounts of the observable senses, much attention is devoted to their description in these models, for example, as discourse planes (Schiffrin 1987, 2001, 2006) or as a communicative background frame specifying the tasks interlocutors attend to in discourse (Fischer 2000, 2006a).

There is thus a broad spectrum of possible ways of accounting for the fact that a single phonological/orthographic form can have different interpretations and consequently for the functional spectrum which discourse markers have been found to fulfil (for an overview, see Fischer 2006b). The models that are invoked to explain the relationships between the various discourse marker interpretations, be they polysemy- or monosemy-based, present a functional account of discourse markers free from circularity since the different functional domains involved are accounted for on independent grounds.

To sum up, no single function can be found that all discourse markers fulfil alike; instead, there is a considerable breadth of possible functions which discourse markers may have. This might suggest that discourse markers do not form a single class. However, the individual functions within this spectrum tend to be related to each within individual occurrences of discourse markers (polyfunctionality), i.e. many of these functions co-occur in individual discourse marker uses. Furthermore, the same discourse marker may fulfil different functions in different contexts. This overlap of functions makes it difficult to define and separate discourse markers on functional grounds, as we have seen for *but*. Finally, the functions identified are often related by general mechanisms, such as polysemy relations, a connection to an invariant meaning or models of discourse. Since the various different functional interpretations can be related in this way, it is implausible to tear the functional spectrum apart. To assume that discourse markers do constitute a single class is necessary in order to account for their functionality and in order to come to an understanding of the behaviour of both individual discourse markers and the whole class.

4.   Historical perspective

The historical characteristics of discourse markers support our previous discussion regarding their structural and functional properties and underline the fact that the consideration of a broad range of items and functions is necessary. In fact, the historical dimension explains several of the problems encountered in the discussion of the criteria for defining discourse markers.

Regarding the functions of discourse markers, the generally held hypothesis is that semantic change is unidirectional, going from objective, propositional meanings towards increasingly subjective meanings (for example, Traugott 1995, 2011, 2012; Brinton 2005; Lewis 2006: 54). For example, Mosegaard Hansen (1998: 237) states that discourse markers "start out having a propositional function, and only achieve discourse marking functions over time". This process is suggested to generally lead from meanings in the objective realm to the subjective realm (hence the term *bleaching*), although other kinds of developments of discourse markers are also possible (cf. Waltereit 2006, 2012; Diewald 2006, 2008; Estellés Arguedas 2009: 107). For instance, sometimes the changes observable do not happen one after the other but almost simultaneously (cf. Estellés Arguedas 2009: 106). Also, some source items have always served in the interpersonal, subjective realm (Diewald 2006). Yet in general, the sense extensions by means of which semantic change takes place are proposed to follow general paths similar to those held to account for the polysemy of a discourse marker (cf. Sweetser 1990; Auer and Günthner 2005). Thus, diachronic studies are often evoked to explain the multi-functionality of discourse markers by showing that there are sense extensions along certain cognitively relevant dimensions, invoking the notion of polysemy (e.g. Lewis 2006; Mosegaard Hansen 2006).

Also with respect to their structural properties, findings relating to the historical dimension reflect the heterogeneity of the field. For instance, Traugott (1995: 1) suggests a cline from clause internal adverbials to sentence adverbials, and from sentence adverbials to discourse markers. Thus, the gradual development from open class words to discourse markers explains the similarity between the formal and functional properties of discourse markers and many open class items. Similarly, Waltereit (2006: 75) argues that discourse markers tend to develop from independent utterances, such as verbs in the imperative. That is, "constructions that can constitute utterances by themselves" favour a reanalysis as discourse markers, such that syntactic independence facilitates a development during which meanings become non-obligatory and non-propositional. Furthermore, research has shown that over time, phrases may become lexicalised and subsequently are subject to shortening processes (e.g. German *verstehscht = verstehst Du*, Deppermann 2008; Italian *va be = va bene*, Waltereit 2006: 74). A crucial role in these changes is played by certain syntactic grammaticalization positions, in which a reanalysis becomes possible (Auer 1996; Diewald 2008, 2013).

To sum up, the structural and functional heterogeneity of the field can be understood as the result of ongoing grammaticalization processes. Drawing strict lines between discourse markers and, for instance, open class items ignores the flexible relationship between word classes and prevents an understanding of the conditions under which discourse markers develop.

5.   Dimensions of variation

I have argued above that with regard to formal characteristics, discourse markers have to be understood as a broad category with fuzzy boundaries. Furthermore, I have suggested that there is no single function that accounts for the functional spectrum which discourse markers can fulfil (or at least there is no model yet that would provide such a unifying function) and that therefore it is better to orient to a model of discourse that can be independently verified. Finally, I have pointed out that the formal and functional heterogeneity of the class corresponds to the variable ways in which discourse markers come into existence. Thus, I have argued to leave the category as broad as possible so that all possible characteristics of discourse markers and the relationships between them may become apparent. In this section, I want to re-introduce some order into what I have so far presented as an extremely heterogeneous field. In order to provide some structure for the field, I present four dimensions according to which the variability of the field can be explained.

A useful starting point to account for the variability of the formal and functional spectrum of discourse markers is the dimension of integratedness. Two poles on opposite ends of this dimension can be identified: On the one hand, there are those uses that constitute parts of utterances, such as connectives (such as examples [5] and [6]), on the other, there are completely unintegrated uses that may constitute independent utterances, such as feedback signals or interjections (examples [7] to [9], for instance).

Related to integratedness is another dimension, namely the dimension of indexicality, a dimension specifying what may constitute the units to which the respective discourse marker refers (for instance, the units which it brackets or connects, cf. section 3 above). The two opposing poles of integratedness correspond to different types of reference elements indexed by the respective discourse marker occurrence. Those approaches focusing on integrated discourse marker uses tend to specify the reference elements of the respective discourse marker as mainly aspects of adjacent utterances (or even host units) with regard to which the respective discourse marker is doing its linguistic work. That is, those approaches that focus on integrated uses with connecting functions regard specific aspects of utterances as the reference elements. Nyan (2006: 177), for instance, distinguishes illocutionary acts, acts of argumentation, text constituents or contextual assumptions as "aspects of host utterances" (cf. Fraser 2006: 190) in relation to which discourse markers may fulfil their pragmatic functions. In contrast, approaches that focus on syntactically, semantically and prosodically unintegrated items may rather consider domains, levels or planes of discourse as reference elements, for instance, the topic structure, extra-linguistic activities, or participation frameworks (e.g. Bazzanella 2006: 456–457, Fischer 2006a: 442–443, Frank-Job 2006: 368, Schiffrin 2006: 333).

The third dimension I want to introduce is the dimension of function. Corresponding to the opposite poles of the dimensions of integratedness and indexicality are two opposing sets of functions. In particular, while those discourse markers that are seen to be related to some host utterance fulfil functions with respect to connecting the host unit to some aspect of discourse – be it another discourse segment (Fraser 1999) or a contextual proposition (Blakemore 1987, Redeker 1991) or part of discourse memory (Roulet 2006), contributing to the coherence of discourse (cf. Mosegaard Hansen 1998, 2006) – items that are perceived to be unintegrated and therefore independent play a primary role in the management of conversation. The functions that the unintegrated items may realise concern domains such as the sequential structure of the dialogue, the turn-taking system, speech management, interpersonal management, the topic structure, and participation frameworks (see, for instance, Frank-Job 2006, Schiffrin 2006, Travis 2006, and Fischer 2006a). The dimension of integratedness thus corresponds in part[4] to a functional dimension with coherence establishing, connecting functions as the one pole and discourse management functions as the other.

A fourth dimension that correlates with the dimensions of integratedness, indexicality and function concerns the contexts in which discourse markers are used. The two opposing poles concern written text on the one hand and situated face-to-face conversation on the other. While integrated items are frequent in written text, unintegrated items occur most prominently in spoken interaction. The reason is that the more integrated an item is in its surrounding co-text, the more reference elements are retrievable from the co-text, the more easily it can occur in (de-contextualised) written discourse. Conversely, the more context is available to participants in verbal face-to-face interaction, the more information can be retrieved from the context, yet also the more interpersonal, speech management, turn-taking and other functions become relevant. Thus, approaches focusing on the connecting function of discourse markers (e.g. Fraser 1999; 2006, Lewis 2006, Mosegaard Hansen 2006: 23, Nemo 2006, and Roulet 2006) also, if not primarily, account for items occurring in written discourse. Conversely, the more the interpretation of items is dependent on aspects of the communicative situation, like speech management, the participation framework, or the turn-taking system, the less relevant these items are for written communication. The approaches concentrating on these kinds of items are usually restricted to spoken, conversational, interaction (proponents of this approach are, for instance, Frank-Job 2006, Schiffrin 2006, Travis 2006 and Fischer 2006a).

To sum up, I want to suggest that as soon as we open up our view to the whole spectrum of candidates for discourse markers, distinctions and defining criteria for possible subclasses of discourse markers appear as natural products of clustering, and this enhances our understanding of discourse markers instead of hindering it. My proposal to introduce some order into this apparent chaos is thus to locate discourse marker occurrences on a set of dimensions. The dimensions proposed often

coincide, giving rise to certain prototypes that may serve to identify subclasses of discourse markers. However, understanding their features as points on dimensions preserves the view that each subclass is connected to a large spectrum of items and functions, making apparent how each occurrence is located with respect to the larger whole.

Thus, structuring the spectrum of discourse markers according to a set of dimensions, starting from the dimension of integratedness, provides a useful basis for understanding the disparity of the field and the problems in establishing a definition of subclasses of discourse markers. Considering the range of contexts in which discourse markers are used, ranging from written text to spontaneous spoken multi-party interaction, the broad range of functions that discourse markers cover is not very surprising.

6.   Conclusion

A central challenge in the study of discourse markers consists in defining the class, describing the characteristics of the items under consideration and developing criteria for distinguishing discourse markers from other word classes, such as modal particles and focus markers, conjunctions, adverbs and the like. In this article, we have briefly reviewed the wealth of proposals for definitions of the class and the problems in determining its exact range. The conclusion is that discourse markers constitute a broad, extremely heterogeneous class of items with fuzzy boundaries. However, this heterogeneity has very good reasons which are rooted in the diachronic development of discourse markers, as well as in their deictic nature, itself influenced by the many affordances of discourse, and in the considerable spectrum of functions that become relevant in the production of spoken and written discourse. Yet, individual items and their uses can be located on several corresponding dimensions, clustering into highly interconnected groups. This allows us to assume that discourse markers form a single, yet heterogeneous class.

To conclude, let us briefly compare our findings to Schourup's (1999: 242) conclusion of his 'tutorial overview' on discourse markers in which he states that the

> overabundance of terms and definitions in this area cannot be ascribed to claim-staking or fashion. In general the term and definition used in each framework are chosen to reflect theoretical preoccupations, to avoid unwanted associations, or to rule in or out particular linguistic items or functions. Such variation is to be expected in an area that has only recently become a focus of intensive study and which bears on many different areas of discourse research, cognitive, social, textual, and linguistic. On the other hand, so long as such uncertainties exist, DM [discourse marker, K.F.] must remain a term with theoretical aspirations, but whose precise reference remains at issue.

As much as we have to agree with Schouroup's description of the diversity of definitions, the conclusion drawn here from the current state of the art is not that the

field is too young to be described in precise terms, but that we need a theory that accounts precisely for the lack of a precise definition of the field. In particular, we need a theory of discourse functions before a definition of discourse markers can succeed. Such a theory is also vital for cross-linguistic comparison (cf. Fischer and Alm 2013) since only a detailed map of the semantic or conceptual territory covered provides the basis for the comparison of different realizations of these functions in different languages. Furthermore, also for methodological reasons it is essential not to separate the range of phenomena considered initially since the most striking characteristics of discourse markers do not become apparent if too much of the focus is on subclasses only.

Acknowledgements

Notes

1. The utterance is a response to seeing someone coming in loaded with parcels.
2. These additional functions are reflected in the quantitative distribution of discourse markers in written and spoken discourse; for instance, Louwerse and Mitchell (2003: 208) find ten times as many discourse markers in spoken as in written discourse.
3. Some of these may be regarded as discourse markers. However the inclusion of, for instance, non-verbal signs would mean a considerable stretching of definitional boundaries.
4. We can only assume a tendency for the different dimensions to co-occur.

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11.   Stance

Tiina Keisanen and Elise Kärkkäinen

1.   Introduction

The term "stance" does not have a very long history in the field of linguistics or linguistic pragmatics. However, the first decade of the 21st century has witnessed an upsurge of interest in stance, with numerous monographs, collections and articles bearing the term in their title (see e.g. Kärkkäinen 2003a, Englebretson 2007a, Jaffe 2009, Kärkkäinen and Du Bois 2012). Yet the field is young and only gradually taking shape, and no consensus exists on how stance can be defined, what it may encompass, on what levels of language and discourse it operates and how it should consequently be studied. Overall, we can say that stance is variously used to subsume, or replace, prior linguistic notions like modality, evaluation, attitude, affect and subjectivity in language. However, for practical research purposes, stance has been operationalized rather differently by different researchers. As a result, the term, as we will see, is not monolithic but understood and studied in a number of different ways. On the other hand, some work pertaining to stance may not choose to use the term at all but some other term instead, such as one of the more established linguistic terms mentioned above.

The present contribution will first give a brief account of the development and present use of this term by discussing primarily some discourse-functional and linguistic-anthropological studies on stance which view stance largely as a synonym for subjectivity (section 2). Next, a more detailed account will be offered of some pertinent dialogic and intersubjective approaches to stance which rely on insights from linguistic anthropology (section 3). A substantial body of recent stance research has been carried out in conversation-analytically informed linguistics, where stance, or stance taking, is essentially viewed as an interactionally organized and sequential activity (section 4). This chapter concludes with the description of some recent attempts, including those of the present authors, to include embodied actions together with the language used in the analysis of stance taking (section 5).

Even though stance has been studied in a number of sub-disciplines within linguistics, such as corpus linguistics, systemic-functional linguistics, discourse-functional linguistics, cognitive linguistics, interactional linguistics and linguistic anthropology, we will not be able to cover all pertinent research in equal depth, but will focus on the more interactionally-oriented research on stance. As Englebretson (2007b: 1) argues in his introduction to a multifaceted collection of stance studies, "[r]esearch on stance, however this term is defined, represents an ongoing

trend toward understanding the full social and pragmatic nature of language, as it is used by actual speakers or writers to act and interact in the real world".

2.   Stance as subjectivity

The present section will give a brief account of the development of the term stance, tracing it back to the notion of subjectivity in language. This line of research has viewed stance as being locatable in linguistic form, either grammatical or lexical: modal verbs, adverbials, adjectives and nouns have been frequent objects of study here. It typically views stance as a (relatively isolated) mental position or interior state of an individual speaker, who in expressing a stance draws from a more or less definite set of linguistic markers. Even though a body of work in discourse-functional linguistics, corpus linguistics and linguistic anthropology has opened up the repertoire of linguistic forms that can index stance, their emphasis still lies on subjective expression rather than on the intersubjective construction of stance.

Linguistic "subjectivity" became a focus of study in the 1980's, even though some earlier work had already pointed out its importance for language study, notably Benveniste as a representative of French pragmatics and approaches to *énonciation*. Benveniste (1971) pointed out that the speaking subject is always present in an utterance, especially in the first person pronoun *I* as one of the linguistic forms appropriated by the speaker in discourse. More recently, Finegan (1995) defines subjectivity as follows: "[…] expression of self and the representation of a speaker's (or, more generally, a locutionary agent's) perspective or point of view in discourse – what has been called a *speaker's imprint*" (Finegan 1995: 1, emphasis in original). Subjectivity, then, refers to the phenomenon whereby the speaker with her attitudes and beliefs is present in the utterances she produces. In other words, rather than simply describing an event or presenting an objective statement of some event or state of affairs, the speaker represents an event or state of affairs from a particular perspective.

The notion of subjectivity, however, has generally not been a very precise one in linguistic investigation, despite the fact that it has been a topic of some interest for over two decades. The most extensive and perhaps the most influential work on subjectivity has been carried out by Traugott from a diachronic perspective and by Langacker within his theory of cognitive grammar. Traugott (e.g. 1989, 1995) has shown that subjective meaning represents the last stage in semantic change: meanings become increasingly based in the speaker's subjective belief, state or attitude towards the proposition. For Langacker (e.g. 1985, 1990) an objective vs. subjective construal of a perceived entity is at the very core of the synchronic explanation of linguistic expressions. He also discusses subjectification from a diachronic standpoint (1990), taking as one example the evolution of the English modal verbs from verbs with a more concrete sense into epistemic modal auxiliaries with epis-

temic meanings (including not just future but present meanings); this process is argued to display increasing layers of subjectification (see also Krug 2001 for semi-modals developing into modals).

Further, the description of the grammatical marking of evidentiality and epistemic modality as important manifestations of subjectivity has been the object of intensive linguistic scrutiny for several decades in different languages of the world. Indeed, a common characterization of modality (Lyons 1977, Palmer 1979, 1986) has been that it is associated with the subjective characteristics of an utterance, i.e. the grammaticization of a speaker's subjective attitudes and beliefs, as opposed to an objective statement of a proposition (see the definition of subjectivity above). Seminal studies on modality in English include those by Palmer (1979, 1986) on modality and modal verbs, Coates (1983) on the semantics of modal auxiliaries, Chafe (1986) on the differences of evidential marking between conversation and academic writing and Biber and Finegan (1989) on lexical and grammatical marking of evidentiality and affect. The word "stance" started to replace the grammatically-oriented and therefore more restricted word "modality" in the titles of research articles in the late 80's or early 90's, see e.g. "styles of stance" (Biber and Finegan 1989) and "adverbial marking of stance" (Conrad and Biber 2000). A major advancement of the use of the term was manifested in the chapter entitled "The grammatical marking of stance" in the grammar of spoken and written English by Biber et al. (1999). The authors adopt a rather wide definition of stance: speakers and writers "commonly express personal feelings, attitudes, value judgments, or assessments: that is, they express a 'stance'" (1999: 966). Major grammatical categories figuring as stance markers include adverbials (*unfortunately*), complement clauses (*I just hope*, *it's amazing that*), modals and semi-modals (*might*, *have to*), nouns + prepositional phrases (*the possibility of a deal*) and premodifying stance adverbs (*really*). The authors also allow for the possibility that stance may be expressed not by grammatical but also lexical and paralinguistic means (cf. Lyons' 1977: 797 definition of epistemic modality that includes paralinguistic means as well as verbal ones), although a strict distinction between lexical and grammatical means has also been called into question by some (see Langacker 1990: 16).

Semantically, many of the above studies have distinguished three or four common types of stance: "epistemic stance" (to do with the speaker's commitment to the status of information in a proposition, such as its degree of certainty, likehood or possibility), "evidential stance" (to do with the source of knowledge and the type of evidence that a speaker has for making a claim or assertion; this type is often subsumed under the category 'epistemic'), "evaluative stance" (the speaker expressing evaluative judgments in terms of goodness, beauty, or some other sociocultural attribute) and "affective stance" (the expression of the speaker's emotions). Biber and Finegan (1989) and Biber et al. (1999) add to this a fifth, "style of speaking stance". One fruitful line of work, arising from systemic-functional lin-

guistics, has indeed developed the study of evaluation into a rigorous framework, the APPRAISAL system (e.g. Martin 2000, Martin and White 2005), which sets out to categorize lexical meanings and choices in spoken and written data into the sub-systems of Affect (expression of emotion), Judgment (moral evaluations) and Appreciation (aesthetic assessments), thus elaborating on evaluative and affective stance within one framework. Another related line of work examining evaluation in textual data is the corpus-linguistic approach represented by Hunston and Sinclair (2000), who identify local syntactic patterns typically used to evaluate (e.g. *it* + link verb + adjective group + clause, as in *it was certain that he was much to blame.*). These two approaches have thus expanded the repertoire of linguistic expressions indexing stance towards including and categorizing lexical types and syntactic patterns.

Somewhat in parallel, some discourse-functional, corpus-linguistic and linguistic-anthropological studies have shown that stance, or subjectivity, in fact influences a wider range of aspects of language structure and use than has traditionally been thought (see below for examples). Subjectivity is thus becoming to be seen as a major organizing principle in language use, after having been almost totally neglected in western linguistic inquiry in favor of the referential, cognitive, or descriptive function of language. Research is beginning to show that not just grammatical categories like mood, modality, tense and evidentials are indices of the speaker's point of view or attitude, but that our everyday language use is inherently subjective at many, if not most, levels.

Thus, within linguistic anthropology, Kockelman (2004) proposes the following definition for stance markers: any sign that members of a community associate with a speaker's personal contribution to event-construal, where 'stances' are to be understood as possible kinds of such personal contributions. This definition is not unlike the definition of subjectivity above; however, it brings in the speaker's community and therefore takes into account the larger cultural and ideological dimension (see also Shoaps 2004). Already earlier, Ochs and Schieffelin (1989: 22) had argued that affect permeates the entire linguistic system, so that linguistic resources for expressing affective and epistemic stance include not only the lexicon, but grammatical and syntactic structures (e.g. choice of pronouns, verb voice, tense/aspect, sentential adverbs, hedges, cleft constructions, diminutives, word order), phonological features (e.g. intonation, voice quality, sound repetition) and discourse structures (e.g. code-switching, dialect, couplets and repetition of own/other's utterances) (Ochs and Schieffelin 1989: 12–14, Ochs 1992: 412).

Within discourse-functional linguistics, Bybee and Hopper (2001: 7) further argue that most utterances are evaluative in the sense of either expressing a judgment or presenting the world from the perspective of the self or of the interlocutor. In a corpus-based analysis Thompson and Hopper (2001) provide evidence that in American English conversation speakers do not talk much about events or actions, but rather display their identities, express feelings and attitudes, and check their

views of the world with their peers (*I've been sleeping for 10 hours, I'm excited about it, I dunno if it's worked*). Similarly, Scheibman's study shows the pervasiveness of subjective subject–predicate combinations "that permit speakers to personalize their contributions, index attitude and situation, evaluate and negotiate empathetically with other participants" (Scheibman 2001: 86; see also Dahl 2000 for Swedish conversation). Keisanen (2006), in turn, establishes the prevalence of stanced material in negative *yes/no* interrogatives and tag questions in a corpus of American English conversations: typical formats for these structures are [negated copula]+[*it/that*]+[evaluative adjective] and [*It/that*]+[copula]+[evaluative adjective]+[tag], respectively. When examined in interaction, the constructions are found to index the current speaker's affective, evaluative and/or epistemic stance towards the issue at hand. Certain frequent argument structures indexing stance have further been shown to prevail in everyday speech: e.g. the English verbs *remember* and *think* predominantly occur in epistemic phrases or clause fragments, such as *I remember*, *I think* and *I guess*, either themselves indexing speaker attitude or framing an upcoming one (Tao 2001; Kärkkäinen 2003a, 2007). Englebretson (2007c) analyzes the uses of Indonesian clitic particle *-nya* as a marker of evidential, epistemic or affective stance in conversation.

Within corpus linguistics, Biber et al. (1999: 859) also observe that conversation is characterized by a focus on interpersonal interaction and by the conveying of subjective information. In a corpus-driven treatment of British conversation, Rühlemann (2007), in turn, opens up the linguistic repertoire related to stance. He ends up discussing a varied list of linguistic expressions as provisional indices, or icons, of stance: first names, endearments (*love, sweetheart*), familiarizers (*mate, man*), historic present in narrative, introductory *this* (*there's this man*), tails (right dislocation) (e.g. *That was a crafty move that*) and third-person singular *don't* (*it don't matter*). Co-selection and association patterns (collocations) of the above with other affective or evaluative elements in an utterance figure highly in the analysis: we frequently find clusters of items whose semantics point to the possibility that a stance is being expressed.

The above studies alert us to the possibility that a lot more in language may be geared towards stance taking than has hitherto been acknowledged. Even though subjectivity has been a notion relating primarily to the speaker, and speaker stance has thus been at the core of the research discussed above, there is now growing awareness that much of our everyday speech is centered around the speech-act participants, not only the speaker but also the hearer. It is also possible and even likely that stances are not always explicitly spelled out at all, but simply evoked, in which case there is no unambiguously stanced lexical or grammatical material present in an utterance. Indeed, a newer body of research views stance, albeit as primarily locatable in form, no longer as a product of an individual speaker but intersubjective and dialogically constructed between the co-present participants (section 3). On the other hand, it is also acknowledged that stance markers do not necessarily bear any auto-

matic relation to "real" inner affective states (Rühlemann 2007) – recent interactional research indeed talks about the *display* of stance and affect, rather than actual stances held or emotions felt by the conversational participants (section 4). The focus is subsequently widened toward an intersubjective conceptualization of stance.

3.   Stance as a dialogic and intersubjective construct

A dialogic perspective towards stance is briefly presented in this section. Building upon work done primarily in linguistic anthropology, this viewpoint emphasizes the public nature of displaying stances and the mutual coordination of the activity of stance taking in discourse. Here the focus is no longer on individual stance acts but on stances building on each other dialogically (see e.g. Holquist 1990 for Bakhtin's theory of dialogism) not only over consecutive turns but also over longer segments of conversation, where syntactic, semantic and prosodic resonances between contributions by different speakers are one important resource for stance taking.

Du Bois (2007) advocates the notion of stance as involving not only the subjective dimension, but also "intersubjective engagement" with other subjectivities: "[w]hen we learn to see how one speaker's subjectivity reacts to another's subjectivity, we will have a real opportunity to witness the dialogic emergence of intersubjectivity" (Du Bois 2007: 159). Also, the fact that speakers orient to a shareable stance object is further evidence of such intersubjectivity, and shows that even subjectivity cannot mean an escape to the mental interior. The dialogic relation arising between two participants' stances is exemplified in the following conversational extract:

(1) Du Bois 2007: 160

```
1  ALICE: I don't know if she'd do it.
2         (0.6)
3  MARY:  I don't know if she would either.
```

Du Bois draws attention to the high degree of dialogic resonance, i.e. the parallelism, of the two contributions with the help of 'diagraphs', which map the "structured resonances across utterances" (Du Bois 2007: 160):

```
1  ALICE: I  do  n't  know  if  she 'd    do it      .
2  MARY:  I  do  n't  know  if  she would     either.
```

Through such a presentation, we can observe striking similarities between the stances of the two participants. However, Du Bois is careful to point out that even though the stances are seemingly equivalent, on closer examination they also turn out to be fundamentally different: the word *either* indexes the intersubjective rela-

tionship between the stances and the speakers, as it essentially acknowledges that Mary's stance is built on Alice's stance rather than being independently established.

A recent body of research, which also builds on the idea of the intersubjectivity of stance, acknowledges resonance as one manifestation of it. Kärkkäinen (2003b; see also 2006) discusses how discourse participants can often be observed to negotiate a joint stance in assessment sequences which conclude larger story-telling sequences. Such negotiation is manifested in two frequent dialogic practices of stance taking, namely initial framing of stance in individual speakers' contributions (*I think*, *to me*, *it seems*) and the high degree of parallelism of words, phrases and other syntactic structures, semantic meanings (*dense* and *dope*) or prosodic patterns (phonological recycling and sound similarities, e.g. *Explains that.* vs. *Exactly.*) across speakers and speaking turns. The author argues that such assessment sequences involve the negotiation of some underlying social norm or value implicit in the story, and that participants work towards establishing at least a working agreement before the topic is closed. Niemelä (2005) examines the use of voiced direct reported speech (DRS) in story-telling. Speakers frequently adopt "another voice", as in *<VOX> see I'm originally a PE [= physical education] teacher, but I guess I can teach math </VOX>.*, which is said in an exaggeratedly perky and enthusiastic voicing in order to display an affect-laden negative opinion of substitute teachers. Niemelä observes that after the production of voiced DRS by the initial teller, recipients can display their alignment and shared stance by immediately producing a second, resonant, instance of DRS, or even a second story with a resonating voiced DRS sequence, and thus promote social solidarity between the participants. Siromaa (2012) further elaborates on the exact resonating lexico-syntactic, structural, prosodic and semantic elements between first and second stories, thus viewing resonance as a resource of stance taking.

Practices of intersubjective stance taking have also been studied in institutional interaction. Haddington (2004, 2007) discusses American and British news interview data and observes that interviewers regularly work towards setting the interviewees up for a certain type of stance (*The world is coming to terms with the new architecture of disarmament, isn't it?*). Interviewees, on the other hand, are shown to use different linguistic and interactional means in (dis)engaging with such positioning, such as the linguistic NEG + POS pattern (*I don't' think it's an architecture of disarmament. It's an architecture of a %uh, frankly of nuclear anarchy in the world*). This engagement is often designed to express the interviewee's resistance towards the stance offered.

The intersubjectivity of stance has further become an object of study in some recent work on rather exotic languages and genres. Thus, Lempert (2008) examines the poetic organization of epistemic stance as a form of argumentation in Tibetan Buddhist face-to-face 'debates'. His main contribution lies in the attention given to a novel aspect of the intersubjectivity of epistemic stance: emergent text-metrical argumentation structures can be seen to resonate with those of another

speaker (cross-turn parallelism of stances), or with the same speaker's earlier structures (turn-internal parallelism of stance). Shoaps (2004, 2007) demonstrates how irony functions in evaluative stance taking in Sakapultek (Mayan) discourse and what it reveals about Sakapultek notions of moral personhood. Finally, Oropeza-Escobar (2011) shows that resonant use of represented discourse (i.e. reported speech) is a frequent vehicle of stance taking in joking interactions between friends in Mexican Spanish.

Indeed, this line of research perhaps conceptualizes stance rather boldly as a motivating force or framework, consequential in the construction of even more enduring social constructs, such as personhood and social identity. In this way it sets itself somewhat apart from the closely related, yet different body of research situated in the conversation-analytical tradition, where stance, even though pervasive in accomplishing actions and designing turns, is still considered "subordinate" to social actions rather than being an object of study in its own right. Such studies will be examined next.

4.   Stance as an interactionally organized activity: stance in turn and sequence

This section complements the intersubjective view of stance by a sequential and interactional view fundamental in conversation analysis. Conversation analysis is based on close microanalysis of the participants' conduct in different types of casual or institutional situations. These situations are audio or video-recorded, and the data are then carefully transcribed in order to make the details of talk and other conduct available for analysis. In line with this approach, in the studies discussed in sections 4 and 5 stance and stance taking are regarded as interactionally organized activities embedded in the practices of talk-in-interaction and in the ongoing social action. The current section begins with studies on stance taking from the point of view of turn design and continues on to discuss stance taking from a sequential perspective by focusing on the reflexive relationship between the current turn and what precedes or follows it in interaction. Section 5 then discusses how embodied actions together with language may be used in stance taking.

Turn design refers to the selections that the current speaker makes with respect to the turn's verbal construction as well as to the action that it will implement (Drew 2005: 82–83). One central area within stance and turn design is the study of evidential, epistemic, evaluative and affective lexical materials and their functions in their local sequential environments. Kärkkäinen (2007) examines the uses of a frequent epistemic phrase *I guess* in English conversation and concludes that this phrase frames a just-discovered stance, an inference which is based on evidence gleaned by the speaker from the ongoing or prior turns, the physical environment, or the wider social context. In different sequential positions, *I guess* may variously

organize the participants' stance taking activity. Fox (2001), in turn, discusses evidential materials in English conversation. She finds that evidential markers, such as *look (like)*, *hear*, *see*, *sound like* and *seem*, are connected to social meanings of authority, entitlement and/or responsibility in their local interactional contexts. Entitlement refers to the choices made in turn design that mark the current speaker's statement of his/her access to the turn's content and his/her right to carry out the action it implements. The use of evidential markers correlates with some distancing or denial of entitlement to the associated claims (Fox 2001: 182).

In addition to epistemic and evidential materials, evaluative terms are frequently used in designing stanced turns. Evaluative materials are typically found in assessments, such as *It's really good*. Assessments are used by discourse participants to evaluate persons, objects and events described in conversation (Pomerantz 1984, Goodwin and Goodwin 1987, 1992). Goodwin and Goodwin (1992: 162) present the following linguistic template for assessments:

[*it*] + [copula] + [adverbial intensifier] + [assessment term].

Discourse participants can modify this format for assessments and thereby display their different access and entitlement to phenomena being assessed with their choice of tense or evidential materials, for example (Goodwin and Goodwin 1992, see also Heritage and Raymond 2005).

Also various syntactic constructions have been observed to play a part in turn design and the interactional construction of stance. Thompson (2002) examines object complement constructions, such as *I remember I was talking to him regularly for a time* in English conversation, and finds that such constructions are best characterized as consisting of epistemic, evaluative, or evidential fragments, such as *I remember, I think* and *I know,* accompanied by a declarative or interrogative clause. The initial fragment regularly expresses the speaker's stance towards the upcoming utterance (Thompson 2002: 125). *Wh*-clefts, such as *What I'm surprised of is that the pay goes up to something like two fifty an hour,* and left-dislocation as in *My father, he is not a very heavy drinker* have been observed to have similar functions: according to Kim (1995), these constructions display the current speaker's affective or epistemic stance, or are used in foregrounding the current speaker's counteractive stance, for example, in disagreement sequences. Laury (2012), in turn, shows how the Finnish extraposition construction (*se oli niin kataala temppu kun naisil oli nii hauska* ['It was such a dirty trick that the women had so much fun']) is used for taking a generic evaluative stance, especially at transition points between topics and at the ends of stories.

One avenue for stance research is to examine if and how the projected course of action is influenced by the design of the turn as a declarative or as an interrogative, for example. Heritage (1984) provides some observations on this in his examination of free-standing partial repeats that are used as newsmarks. He states that a newsmark formulated as a declarative (such as *You are?*) may project disagreement, while

an interrogative (such as *Did you?*) "does not project the possibility of upcoming disagreement" (Heritage 1984: 343). Further, Heinemann (2006) connects the choice between negative or positive *yes/no* interrogative requests in Danish home help interactions to the speaker's entitlement to make the request. A positive interrogative request, regularly accompanied by mitigation, displays that the speaker orients to the request as one she is not entitled to make (e.g. *Ve' du godt være sød a stoppe den ned te' mig?* ['Would you please be kind enough to tuck it down to me?']), while a negative interrogative request asserts the speaker's entitlement to the requested matter (e.g. *Ka' du ikk' tænde loftlyset?* ['Can't you turn on the overhead light?']).

The prosodic design of the turn has frequently been connected to the expression of affect or emotion. Specifically marked prosody, which often includes such turn design features as high pitch, increased loudness and prosodic lengthening, is regularly observed to index some type of affective stance (Selting 1994, Günthner 1997, Clift 2000, Goodwin and Goodwin 2000, Wu 2004). However, rather than positing a set of (interrelated) functions for a certain prosodic shape, for example, the studies above consider the interpretation and functions of prosodic cues to be directly dependent on the sequential location in which they are found. Couper-Kuhlen (2012) examines the affective displays of disappointment and irritation after a just prior rejection of a request or proposal. She finds that these displays are indeed realized via different prosodic features, and that displays of disappointment or not displaying any negative affect at all are in fact preferred over displays of irritation in this sequential slot. Local and Walker (2008) further observe that without such close microanalysis of interaction, it is problematic to assert exogenous labels, such as "happy", "tired" and so on, to speakers' states based on what they 'sound like' to the analyst.

A number of studies have further expanded their focus and examined stance taking and the reflexive relationship between the current turn and what has preceded it in immediately prior discourse. Kärkkäinen (2003a) examines the interactional functions of *I think,* the most frequent epistemic marker in American English conversation. Example (2) below illustrates how especially in responsive turns *I think* regularly attends to some minor interactional trouble in the previous turn, while it simultaneously marks that a slightly different perspective on the matter will follow (Kärkkäinen 2003a: 130).

(2) Kärkkäinen 2003a: 136

```
01 DARRYL: But,
02         .. but to try and .. and talk me out of believing in
           Murphy's
03         Law, by offering a miracle as a replacement,
04         that doesn't d- work.
05         (TSK) (H)
06 PAMELA: Well you're right,
07         I think they're probably flip sides.
```

Similar findings are reported for Swedish *jag tycker/ tycker jag* (Karlsson 2003), Estonian *ma arvan* (Keevallik 2003), French *je pense, je crois, je trouve* (Mullan 2006) and Finnish *minusta* and *minun mielestä* (Rauniomaa 2007), all of which can roughly be translated with 'I think'. Rauniomaa (2007) observes that in assessment sequences *minun mielestä* and *minusta* are used to mark a transition to an assessment sequence after another speaker's turn or within an extended turn, or to project disagreement in a second assessment.

Various discourse particles and response tokens have been analyzed as embodying stance in responsive turns. Hakulinen (2001) discusses the Finnish discourse particle *kyllä,* whose direct translation is 'yes', but depending on the sequential position it can also mean 'sure', 'really' or 'indeed'. Hakulinen finds that one of the uses of *kyllä* is to address some problematic aspect in the previous turn. Moreover, the position of *kyllä* in the turn has its implications: the further away from the beginning of the turn the particle is placed, the more clearly the current speaker disaligns and disagrees with the previous speaker. Further, Sorjonen (2001) discusses two Finnish response tokens *joo* and *nii*, which are both positive in polarity and roughly translatable with 'yes'. In response to a co-participant's display of stance, *nii* is found to offer an affiliative response, while *joo* in the same context offers a non-affiliative claim of understanding (Sorjonen 2001: 206). In a similar vein, Jefferson (2002) observes that the response token *no* may be used to display affiliation in American English after a negatively framed utterance. According to Jefferson (2002: 1355), Nora in example (3) is complaining about an acquaintance who appears to be claiming too much expertise in international politics based on one trip abroad. Bea, her interlocutor, affiliates with her position with the response token *no*:

(3) Jefferson 2002: 1355

```
01 Nora: Although she: (.) said she went into ho:mes why that
02       doesn't mean anything one home in each country
03       doesn't mean a thing
04 Bea:  No↓:.
```

Discourse connectives have also been shown to have functions which relate to the sequential construction of stance. English *but* (Pomerantz 1984, Schiffrin 1987, Park 1998) and Japanese *demo* 'but' (Park 1998, Mori 1999), for example, have been found to have similar functions in prefacing disagreement and marking contrastiveness. Park (1998: 283) argues that in response to a complaint about an operation that the speaker's father is going to go through, the recipient's turn *But you knew he was in pain before right? Wasn't he* amounts to disagreement and a rejection of the complaint, with the turn-initial *but* functioning as a preface to this.

Assessments are not only used to evaluate persons, objects and events described in conversation, but also to establish congruent as well as divergent stances with the prior speaker. Pomerantz (1984) describes several techniques by which discourse

participants can calibrate their respective positions in assessment sequences. For example, agreeing but downgraded second assessments regularly project disagreement, while agreeing, upgraded second assessments are offered as strong agreements (Pomerantz 1984: 66, 68). On the other hand, the second assessment speaker may also disagree with the prior speaker and their assessment, in which case the turn is regularly preceded by delay devices, such as pauses, turn prefaces and so on (Pomerantz 1984: 70). Disagreements can also vary in strength: strong disagreements often include contrastive evaluations, while weaker disagreements regularly include qualifications or exceptions to the initial assessment (Pomerantz 1984: 74).

In addition to being used as stanced responses to prior turns, many linguistic structures, typically interrogatives, are frequently found in turns that invite a response from the recipient. Koshik (2003) discusses *wh*-interrogatives, such as *When have I*, which are used to "challenge the basis for or right to do an action done by the prior utterance" (2003: 51) and to request an account for prior claims. Central to such challenging *wh*-interrogatives is the display of epistemic stance, which in Koshik's study refers to making a negative assertion; for example, *When have I* conveys 'I have never' (2003: 52). In another study, Koshik (2002) discusses affirmative *yes/no* interrogatives, such as *Are you gonna talk about it*, which are used as "reversed polarity questions". The term refers to questions which prefer an answer from the alternative polarity to that of the form of the interrogative. According to Koshik, the main function of such interrogatives is to convey the epistemic stance of the speaker. As in Koshik (2003), this refers to making an assertion, for example, *Are you gonna talk about it* conveys 'You are not gonna talk about it', rather than posing the interrogative as an information seeking question (Koshik 2002: 1865, see also Waring 2012). Heinemann (2008), in contrast, discusses *yes/no* interrogatives in Danish which are used as biased 'same polarity questions'. She finds that such questions can likewise be used to challenge the recipient and to convey the recipient's previously displayed stance that they cannot either deny or endorse without trouble. In other words, such interrogatives are rendered unanswerable and are regularly used in the context of incipient disagreement.

Raevaara (2004) discusses Finnish *wh*-questions, such as *Mitäs kolesteroli näist tykkää?* ('What-*s* is their effect on cholesterol'), and the uses of the enclitic particle -*s* in such turns. She demonstrates that one of the uses of the particle is in stanced *wh*-question turns which seek confirmation from the recipient. Further, Heritage (2002) discusses negative *yes/no* interrogatives, such as *Shouldn't you be preaching unity now instead of this class warfare*, that are used for making hostile assertions in news interviews. He finds that while negative *yes/no* interrogatives are regularly used by interviewers for making hostile assertions or taking positions, statements followed by negative tags are not. Keisanen (2006, 2007), in turn, examines negative *yes/no* interrogatives and tag questions in spoken American English. She finds that also tag questions are used as challenges in everyday interaction. The following example presents one such case:

(4) Keisanen 2007: 259

```
01 CAROLYN: .. I could not do fractions.
02          .. And I mean with .. ~Samuel as a teacher,
03          who wants= to tell #them,
04          .. (H) who wants to go up <@> to this man and
             say </@>,
05          <VOX> I have a problem </VOX>.
06          (0.3)
07 CAROLYN: (GASP)[=]
08 KATHY:        [<HI> You] didn't </HI> really have Mister
                  ~Samuel,
09          did you?
10          (0.3)
11 CAROLYN: Oh=,
12          hell yeah.
```

Kathy's tag question in lines 08–09 challenges Carolyn's claim that Mister Samuel taught her at school (line 02). By focusing on something that is considered to be discrepant in the content of the telling, recipients can disalign from the sequential development projected by the telling. Here the teller has sought affiliation from the recipients by indexing the intonation units on lines 04–07 as a potential climax of the story with direct reported speech and altered voice quality (Clift 2000, Niemelä 2005). In addition to their use as challenges, negative *yes/no* interrogatives and tag questions have been observed to be regularly used in negotiating alignment or disalignment in interaction through their use as assessments or requests for confirmation or in eliciting tellings (Keisanen 2006).

Repetition or multiple sayings have been observed to be pertinent to stance taking as an interactionally constructed phenomenon. Rauniomaa (2008) examines the functions of self-repetition in American English interactions. She finds that a second mention of an utterance can be used as a device for resuming the sequential implications of the first mention, and thereby for seeking a response or pointing out some inadequacy in the response received. At the same time the repetition displays a stance towards the ongoing activity as not developing as the first mention had proposed. Tainio (2012) focuses on how in Finnish classroom interaction teachers may occasionally repeat and prosodically imitate the students' turns, thus conveying implicit criticism of the students' behavior. In the same vein, multiple sayings, such as *No no no* within one turn can be used to display a stance that the previous turn is unnecessarily pursuing some course of action and that the sequence in progress should be halted (Stivers 2004).

Finally, story-telling sequences offer another fruitful arena for stance taking between discourse participants. Clift (2000), Ford (2004) and Niemelä (2005) show how stories are regularly built so as to seek affiliation or a certain type of stance display from the recipients. Clift (2000) discusses data where a story recipi-

ent affiliates with the story-teller by offering a 'collaborative completion' (Lerner 1991) of a reported utterance: such completions of reported speech present us with one means for the construction of a shared stance. In contrast, Clift (2000) and Ford (2004) discuss data where the story recipient's withholding of affiliation or problematic stance display may lead to a change in topic or the expansion of the story. Expansions are used to transform the earlier point of possible completion, and therefore also the story, as not yet complete, and thereby to renew the relevance of the recipient's stance display (Ford 2004). These and other findings discussed in this section provide ample evidence for viewing stance taking as a collaborative, interactionally organized activity.

This section has presented studies where stance and stance taking are examined within the practices of social interaction. The final section of this contribution further widens the arena for studies on stance by discussing multimodal research on stance taking.

5.   Stance in embodied interaction

The final section of the chapter discusses new avenues for stance research by presenting some novel findings on the practices of stance taking, in which the entire semiotic (linguistic, material and embodied) environment of social interaction is taken into consideration. In line with the conversation-analytic approach, we set aside the question whether the participants actually experience a certain inner affective state at a given moment, but simply focus on the various types of displays of stance and affect that are publicly available. We first offer a brief overview of some relevant recent video-based research and subsequently proceed to exemplify our own research into stance in news delivery sequences.

Stance taking in embodied interaction can be viewed in terms of multimodal practices in which language, prosody, gesture and body posture combine with sequential position and timing, as well as with the ongoing activity and the setting where people interact. In a seminal paper, Goodwin and Goodwin (2000) show how emotionally charged actions are integrated into an activity system in which language, gesture, intonation, timing and sequential position are all used in creating places for heightened mutual orientation and action. With respect to related assessment activity, Haddington (2006) demonstrates how mutual gaze is typically established during agreeing second assessments, while cut-off gaze precedes a disaligning response to a prior turn. M. H. Goodwin (2007) and Peräkylä and Ruusuvuori (2006) further observe that body position, gestures and facial expressions may be used to maintain or establish the participants' reciprocal involvement in, or detachment (or exclusion in multi-party settings) from, the ongoing assessment activity. For example, asymmetric facial displays may incorporate a lack of mutual affective involvement between the discourse participants (Peräkylä and Ruusu-

vuori 2006, see also Ruusuvuori and Peräkylä 2009, Kaukomaa, Peräkylä and Ruusuvuori 2013). Stivers (2008) focuses on story-telling sequences and shows how story recipients' nods in mid-telling display preliminary affiliation with the teller's stance, that is, foreshadow affiliative and aligning uptake at story completion. In contrast, it is shown that vocal continuers found in mid-telling, such as *uh huh* or *mm hm*, are used to simply align with the ongoing story-telling sequence.

Some other work starts out from a social action or larger activity and analyzes its sequential progress by taking stock of all the relevant semiotic channels involved in doing that action, including stance (and affect) as its essential component. Kärkkäinen (2012) examines how linguistic, prosodic, and embodied resources are used to implement a stanced digression, or insert, in the midst of a multi-unit turn (e.g. the insert "Well they probably will have spices" in *like I don't care, if I'm in the middle of friggin' Kathmandu – <A> <LO> Well they probably will have spices </LO></A>, like the Arctic circle?*). She maintains that the construction of stanced digressions involves a fine-tuned coordination of the linguistic, prosodic and embodied resources used, thus making the digression recognizable as such, i.e. of subsidiary status. The paper further shows that such inserts are not primarily designed to get a response from the recipient(s), as the recipient's response is regularly minimal and they orient to the turn as a multi-unit turn still in progress.

Below, we aim to complement earlier research into news tellings and news receipts (e.g. Maynard 1997, Maynard 2003) through a multimodal analysis of that activity. It is thus the social action that provides the template against which stance and affect are examined; the latter can be viewed as an important ingredient in the reception of bad news, yet they are not an object of study in themselves but pervasive in accomplishing that conversational action. The following example (5) illustrates the multimodal and collaborative reception of news that is interpreted as "bad news" in the interactional situation and sequential environment at hand. It is from a conversation between three students: Rukmini (sitting on the right), Guy (on the left) and Robert (in the middle) (see Figure 1 below). Rukmini has just engaged in an animated enactment of how her laptop was broken when she "threw it down" in connection with a bodily search in a flight terminal; after that the laptop's internet connection would no longer work.

(5) Broken laptop

```
01 RUKMINI: I- I- I can't live,
02          I- I really I'm going mad?
03          I'm like
04          I don't know man,
05 GUY:     [Yeah],
06 RUKMINI: [I'm] --
07          I can't live without the [2internet2],
```
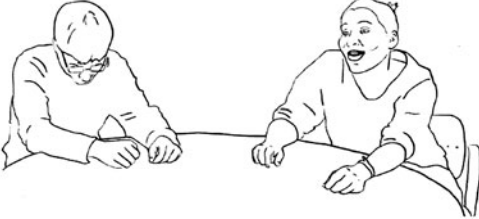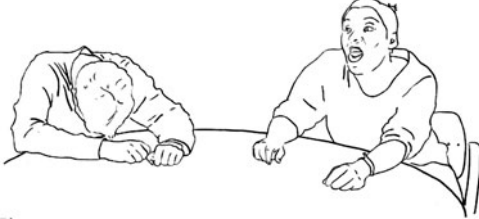
```
08 GUY:                                       [2S-2]--
09 RUKMINI: I don't know.
10 GUY:     So you're [going to get the= old #one,
11 ROBERT:            [Yeah].
12 GUY:     the one that you broke,
13          repaired?
14          [or=] --
15 RUKMINI: [No]=,
16          I'll just .. b=um arou[2nd,
17 GUY:                           [2Yeah2].
18 RUKMINI: cause my2] music and my stuff is on [3it3],
19 GUY:                                         [3Yeah3].
20 RUKMINI: I want this for internet [4only4].
21 GUY:                             [4Yeah4].
22          Cause I- I- I've hired this.
23          ... uhm,
24          .. [from the university],
25 RUKMINI:    [Don't even tell me],
26          how much is- --
27          how much do you pay.
28 GUY:     A hundred,
29          .. for the- the semester.
30 ROBERT:  The whole semester is only a hundred for that.
31 GUY:     Yeah.
32 RUKMINI: ... You can't tell me that [now].
33 ROBERT:                             [Uh= @].
34 RUKMINI: You <F> cannot say that </F>.
35 GUY:     You should have said,
36          [you should have told me].
37 ROBERT:  [@ @@@]
38 GUY:     @@
39          (H)
40          But I #do- --
41          but I don't get to keep this.
42          (1.6)
```

In lines 01–09 Rukmini is engaged in closing her previous display of frustration regarding the incident by summarizing it with *I- I really I'm going mad?* (line 02) and by voicing some anxiety about living without access to the Internet (lines 03–09). Upon hearing this, Guy makes a confirmation request concerning Rukmini's intention of having the broken laptop repaired (lines 10–14); this acts as a presequence to the upcoming news delivery, designed so that it leaves the option somewhat open (the word *repaired?* is said with a rising intonation and the turn ends in *or=* produced with a truncated intonation contour). Rukmini indeed denies the option because she will still be able to use the laptop for listening to music and

some other "stuff". The only reason she needs a new computer is for accessing the Internet (line 20, where *this* refers to a new computer). After her disconfirming response, which in effect makes the acquisition of a new laptop necessary, Guy now announces the news that was anticipated by the pre-sequence: he himself had hired the laptop sitting on the table. He produces this option with some hesitation, *Cause I- I- I've hired this.*, incrementally adding information (*… uhm, … from the university*) when there is no immediate uptake. The news announcement is not packaged prosodically very clearly as either good news or bad news (see Freese and Maynard 1998 for speakers ascribing such valence on the upcoming news through characteristic prosodic structures), but is rather ambivalent between the two. The announcement makes the option of hiring a laptop from the university also available for Rukmini, which may constitute good or bad news to her. That there was no immediate uptake by Rukmini already upon hearing that Guy had hired his laptop can be taken to foreshadow an interpretation as bad news.

Rukmini's announcement response (Maynard 1997) then starts slightly in overlap and is indeed negative: *Don't even tell me* (line 25) is said in a rather flat prosody and Rukmini simultaneously produces a clear lateral head shake (Figure 1; the vertical line ‖ in the transcript indicates the exact position of the screenshot/picture). Her response thus clearly displays that the option of hiring is bad news to her (news that she no longer wishes to hear). She subsequently learns that this option is relatively cheap, a hundred euro for one semester. In line 30 Robert interjects with an evaluation, *The whole semester is only a hundred for that.* The evaluation turn is produced in a louder volume, the pitch goes up on *whole* and then gradually falls, and the speaker also raises his eyebrows on the word *whole* (Figure 3). Robert's news reception thus displays some surprise at the cheapness of the deal. Indeed, Freese and Maynard (1998: 199, 209) also find that a high onset and a rising-falling contour is sometimes present in the reception of bad news as a way of displaying the recipient's surprise. Robert subsequently turns his gaze from Guy to Rukmini, as if to check her reaction, and engages in further evaluation through *uh=* and a laugh particle. It is noticeable that Rukmini's face has frozen into a static expression, with wide eyes and a slightly open mouth (her jaw has dropped), already in line 29 upon hearing the rental price, and continues to be so until end of line 31 (Figure 2).

In lines 32 and 34, Rukmini further rejects the bad news with progressively stronger displays of affect. She first utters *… You can't tell me that now.* with again a flat intonation, thus displaying po-faced "lack of emotion" in the face of the news, while at the same time producing two lateral head shakes for intensification (McClave 2000) (Figure 4). Without a pause, she then proceeds to a much stronger stance display, variously describable as 'desperation' or '(mock) anger': *You <F> cannot say that </F>.* in line 34 is said in a much louder volume, indicated by the F's in the transcript, and with strong primary stress on *not*, accompanied by a lifting of eyebrows and a widening of eyes, while she continues to gaze at Guy with a "frozen" smile on her face (Figure 5). The utterance is thus designed to be a strong

```
25 RU:[Don't ‖even tell me],
26    how much is- --
27    how much do you pay.
```

Fig. 1.

```
28 G: A hundred,
29    .. for the- ‖the semester.
```

Fig 2.

```
30 RO: The ‖whole semester is only a
        hundred for that.
31 G:   Yeah.
```

Fig. 3.

```
32 RU:  ... You can't tell me
        that [now‖].
33 RO:       [Uh= @].
```

Fig. 4.

```
34 RU: You <F> can‖not say
        that </F>.
```

Fig. 5

stance display towards the news through several semiotic channels: the words uttered (which rather abruptly annul the addressee's prior action), the strong prosody and the animated facial expressions. As a parallel embodied enactment of frustration or despair upon hearing the news (on *now* in *you can't tell me that now*), Robert rather dramatically starts to lower his head onto the table, but does not say anything (Figures 4 and 5).

It is of interest that the recipients are "collaboratively involved in developing the news implicativeness and [its negative] valence" (Maynard 1997: 106). Rukmini and Robert are collaboratively engaged in the reception and interpretation of the news, and their emotional performances incorporate elements of surprise, frustration, despair and (mock) anger. Robert takes on some of the burden from Rukmini by participating in the assessment of the news and the embodied emotional display; they jointly construct a negatively affective response. There is perhaps even an element of embarrassment present, as we often feel embarrassed at having spent a great deal of money on a product that our fellow humans were cleverer to purchase for less. We may thus yet again find proof for the intersubjectivity of stance taking in the way stances can be displayed through the body and not the language alone.

We have further seen that the stance displays mobilized by the participants are multiple, partly overlapping and fuzzy on the edges, and that assigning them just one exact label may not always be possible. But we can sidestep this dilemma by turning our gaze in the first instance on the sequential unfolding of the actions (telling news, receiving news) and the larger activity, rather than attempting to precisely label and categorize the stance displays themselves. The latter are not something that exist independently and on their own, but are always interactionally generated in a certain sequentially (turn by turn) unfolding activity that the participants are engaged in. Thus, we do not only describe how the telling and reception of the news sequence proceeds, but also elaborate on how stance and affect play an integral part in the unfolding of that sequence. And finally, we may argue that even though in the above example the participants mobilize an elaborate display of stance, the actual affective inner states of the individuals are less than clear. We get a feeling that they are "going through the motions" of how to receive unwelcome news. This is all the more reason for not equating a publicly available stance display, a publicly enacted stance, and an actual stance held by a participant.

6.   Conclusion

In this chapter we have given a rather concise overview of the development and current use of the linguistic-interactional construct 'stance'. We have seen that the term and its predecessors (modality, subjectivity, evaluation) encompass a variety of research endeavors in several sub-disciplines of linguistics, namely corpus linguistics, systemic-functional linguistics, discourse-functional linguistics, cogni-

tive linguistics, interactional linguistics and linguistic anthropology. We have also seen that there has been a shift over recent decades from studying a single speaker's stance in individual utterances, towards viewing stance as a dialogic, intersubjective and interactionally organized construct emergent and negotiated over longer conversational sequences. Relatedly, one line of research regards stance as motivating our actions and as being consequential over time for aspects of social life, such as identity and personhood. By comparison, another line considers stance as an essential part of all actions but directs its research focus on the accomplishment of those actions rather than stance *per se*. Simultaneously, there has been a considerable expansion of the repertoire of linguistic items commonly viewed as indexing stance, from a rather closed set of grammatical items towards a varied set of lexical, syntactic and even discourse-level phenomena (e.g. resonances and repetitions as also indexing stance).

Despite differences in research foci and perspectives, it is safe to say that the proliferation of studies on stance that we have witnessed over the last two decades indicate a clear turn in linguistics towards the expressive and social functions of language, after a long-standing preoccupation with its descriptive and referential functions. Underlying this research, or perhaps a mere convenience, is the assumption that stance is primarily locatable in some linguistic form or other, and what still remains to be done is to explore the possibility that stance is not clearly indexed at all but only implied, and that its accomplishment is based on the combination of the ongoing activity, sequential position, language and the body. Thus, as Haddington (2013) also proposes, the pragmatic study of stance now awaits, and would now greatly benefit from, a synthesis of the above approaches and methods.

Appendix

Transcription symbols

Symbols used in transcription from Du Bois et al. 1993
(modified to include revisions by Du Bois)

UNITS
   Intonation unit (one line is one IU)   {carriage return}
   Truncated intonation unit   --
   Truncated word   -
TRANSITIONAL CONTINUITY
   Final (clear falling intonation)   .
   Continuing (level, slight rise or fall)   ,
   Appeal (high rise, seeking a validating response)   ?

SPEAKERS

   Speech overlap   [ ]

   (numbers inside brackets index overlaps)   [2word2]

LENGTHENING

   Lengthening (of a sound, syllable)   =

PAUSE

   Long pauses > 0.7 seconds   …(0.8)

   Time not measured, longer than a short pause …

   Short pause < 0.250 seconds   ..

   (brief break in speech rhythm)

VOCAL NOISES

   e.g. (TSK), (GASP)

   Glottal stop   %

   Exhalation   (Hx)

   Inhalation   (H)

   Laughter (one pulse)   @

   Laughter during speech   <@> words </@>

QUALITY

   Special voice quality (e.g. voice of another) <VOX> words </VOX>

   Forte: loud   <F> words </F>

   Higher pitch level   <HI> words </HI>

   Lowered pitch level   <LO> words </LO>

   Allegro: rapid speech   <A> words </A>

TRANSCRIBER'S PERSPECTIVE

   Uncertain hearing   #two #words

   Indecipherable syllable   #

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12. Speech act sequences

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1. Introduction

Written discourse or dialogical discourse types such as conversation, court trials, news interviews, political debates, classroom lectures, interactions via chat or Skype, or service encounters consist of sequences of ordered speech acts that convey communicative action and promote the negotiation of meaning in situated contexts. The term "speech act sequence" was introduced by van Dijk (1979, 1980) as an extension of speech act theory (Austin 1962, Searle 1969) to account for the coherence and function of speech act sequences in conversation. The current understanding that speech acts are multifunctional actions in communication was implicitly stated in Wittgenstein's (1958) *Philosophical Investigations* in that words are actions with different functions and that the meaning of a word is found in "its use in the language" (p. 20). Wittgenstein used the concept of 'language-game' (*Sprachspiel*) to refer to an *activity* and the actions performed as part of a language-game when speaking a language (e.g., giving orders and obeying them, greeting, guessing riddles, reporting an event).[1] Speech act sequences comprise a series of oral or written actions performed by a speaker (or writer) (e.g., a student's email request to a professor; a narrative; a news report) or a communicative exchange, between two or more interlocutors, embedded in a situated context (e.g., a conversation; news interviews; chat).

The aim of this chapter is to offer a general account of the structure and function of speech act sequences as conceptualized in different approaches to discourse that focus on language use in social action and interaction. This chapter is organized as follows: since speech act theory made a fundamental contribution to approaches to discourse, the central tenets of this theory are described to account for speech sequences (section 2). Then, speech act sequences are analysed from the perspective of anthropology (Hymes) and sociology (Goffman) in relation to spoken discourse embedded in language, culture and society (section 3), as well as from various approaches to discourse that analyse the sequential structure of spoken and written texts (section 4). The chapter ends with conclusions and directions for future research on speech act sequences (section 5).

2.   From speech acts to speech act sequences

The underlying assumption of speech act theory is that speakers use language to perform actions in everyday communication. The main tenets of speech act theory were initially presented in 1955 by the British philosopher John Austin at the William James lectures at Harvard University, later published posthumously in his influential work *How to do Things with Words* (1962). These ideas were further developed by the American philosopher, John Searle with his seminal work *Speech Acts* (1969) and later work (1975, 1976, 1992, 2010). Both philosophers of language were concerned with the structure of utterances with respect to their meaning, use, and action. Austin (1962: 14–15) described the appropriate circumstances of performative utterances, suggesting that speech acts initiated by a speaker are followed up/ undertaken by an addressee, while Searle (1969: 45) focused on the intentional and conventional aspects of individually performed illocutionary acts by a speaker. Austin described three acts of an utterance: 1) the locutionary act (meaning, referring and predicating); 2) the illocutionary act (the force achieved in saying something such as informing, ordering, or making a request); and, 3) the perlocutionary act (the effect achieved by saying something such as persuading or convincing). Of these, it is the illocutionary act that represents the focal point of speech act theory because it centers on the speaker's intentions when performing speech acts, such as informing (representatives), refusing or making an offer (commissives), requesting (directives), apologizing (expressives), or taking the oath to become the President of the United States (declaratives using performative acts). Finally, Searle (1969) proposed a set of felicity conditions that must be met before an utterance can be considered successful. Following Schiffrin (1994), each condition highlights a different aspect of an utterance: the propositional content involves the meaning or textual content; the preparatory conditions refer to the knowledge or background circumstances; the sincerity condition reflects the speaker's psychological state; and, the essential condition centers on the illocutionary force of what is said. In general, speech act theory developed a framework that recognises the underlying conditions and derivable rules that must be satisfied prior to the realization and understanding of isolated utterances in given contexts.

Although speech act theory focused on the structure of individual illocutionary acts at the utterance level, Searle (1969: 16) stated that "all linguistic communication involves linguistic acts". Communication implies that the illocutionary force expressed by speaker A is recognized and acknowledged, under the appropriate circumstances, by speaker B. Austin (1962) noted that the successful performance of an illocutionary act involves three conditions: securing an uptake, taking effects, and inviting response (pp. 116–118). In order to secure an uptake, the speaker must ensure that the interlocutor understands the pragmatic meaning and force of what is intended. For example, if I say to my eight-year-old son "When

you finish doing your homework, you can go play outside with your friends", this promise can take effect, by my son responding, "okay, Dad", or simply by my son acknowledging what I said with a follow up such as "I'm done, I'm ready to go outside". Next, illocutionary acts 'take effect' by causing a change in the normal course of events. After President Obama took the oath of office on January 20th, 2009 as President of the United States, for instance, he could no longer be addressed as Senator Obama. Lastly, the majority of illocutionary acts "invite by convention a response or a sequel" (Austin 1962: 117). A response can also be realized through head nods, prosodic features (e.g., low or rising intonation), or by gesture. The analysis of the illocutionary act suggests that speech acts are produced and interpreted under specific circumstances by two or more interlocutors. As such, Austin's initial conceptualization of speech acts as "doing things with words" provided the foundation for the analysis of speech act sequences.

Searle's (1969) felicity conditions also motivate the analysis of speech acts in communication. Schiffrin (1994) convincingly showed how the same utterance (e.g., *Y'want a piece of candy*?) can be produced to convey at least two pragmatic functions, namely, as a question (to elicit information) or as a request (to get the hearer to do something for speaker). Both a question and a request are directives and share three conditions: 1. preparatory (it is not obvious to both the S[peaker] and H[earer] that the H will do A[ct] in the normal course of events [request] or that the H will provide the information without being asked [question]), 2. sincerity (S wants H to do A [request] or speaker wants the information [question]), and 3. essential (counts as an attempt to get the H to do A [request] or to elicit this information from H [question]). Where they differ is in the propositional content, that is, in a question the content refers to any proposition or propositional function, while in requests there is a future A of H.

Although the felicity conditions apply to individual illocutionary acts, speech acts such as a question or a request often require a response from an interlocutor, thus, accounting for sequences of speech acts in communication. However, Searle cautions that individual illocutionary acts have a purpose that is built in the essential condition (e.g., questions have a purpose by virtue of their function as questions), and as such, speech act sequences do not have a specific goal in conversation, that is, "we don't yet know what counts as a relevant continuation until we know something which is external to the sequence, namely its purpose" (Searle 1992: 12). What is external to the sequence, though, depends on the hearer. In everyday communication a question or a request requires a response that depends on the hearer's interpretation and the setting where the speaker's utterance is produced. For example, in her data from service encounters, Merritt (1976) showed that the utterance *do you have coffee to go*? can be interpreted as a request for information (if the vendor's response is *yes, we do, would you like cream and sugar?*) or as a request for service (if the vendor's response is *cream and sugar?*, followed by the customer's response *cream only*) (p. 326). Likewise, understanding indirect speech

acts (e.g., *I was wondering if you would mind writing me a recommendation*) is conditioned upon the hearer's interpretation of the act, which together produces a joint action or speech act sequence produced by two or more speakers (see section 4.8). Overall, the pragmatic interpretation of an utterance depends not only on the speaker's intention (as in Searle's [1969, 1992, 2010] account of the illocutionary force of the act) under felicity conditions, but also on the hearer's interpretation of the utterance under the appropriate circumstances (Austin's [1962] securing uptake and inviting response).

Speech act theory provides the foundation for the analysis of sequences of speech acts. Notions such as uptake, illocutionary force, conventionality, felicity conditions, and indirectness have been widely employed to examine a wide range of speech act sequences among native and non-native speakers and in a variety of languages. Of these, the concepts of illocutionary force and conventional indirectness play a fundamental role in the examination of various speech acts across languages (e.g., Blum-Kulka, House, and Kasper 1989, Wierzbicka 2003, Schneider and Barron 2008). Finally, in order to analyse speech act sequences, one must go beyond the examination of individual speech acts and take into account their placement in conversation, the pragmatic function of the illocutionary acts, and their sequenced order in interaction. The next section reviews two approaches to social action that account for the concept of speech act sequences in face-to-face interactions from the point of view of culture and society.

3.   Speech events, interchanges, and moves

In this section I review how the concept of speech act sequence is interpreted from two interdisciplinary perspectives to social interaction, one from the point of view of anthropology (Hymes) and another from the view of sociology (Goffman). Both researchers were concerned with face-to-face interaction in situated contexts. Although Hymes (1962, 1972, 1974) and Goffman (1961, 1971, 1981) were not discourse analysts, their contributions motivated our understanding of the pragmatic function and discourse structure of speech act sequences (section 4).

Within the field of the ethnography of communication, Hymes, a linguistic anthropologist, made fundamental contributions to discourse in communication, and in particular, to our understanding of the notion of speech act sequences. According to Hymes (1974), knowledge about discourse is part of our communicative competence, that is, our implicit cultural knowledge about how to use language in speech situations (i.e., social occasions where speech occurs, e.g., a meal, a party, or a class), about how people use language to perform different acts, and about how people interact in different speech events. This latter concept of *speech event* refers to an interaction between two or more speakers where two or more speech acts occur. Speech events are part of speech situations.

The speech act constitutes the minimal unit of a speech act sequence. According to Hymes (1972: 57), "[d]iscourse may be viewed in terms of acts both syntagmatically and paradigmatically: i.e., both as a sequence of speech acts and in terms of classes of speech acts among which choice has been made at given points". From a linguistic ethnographic view, a speech event is an interaction between two or more interlocutors in which more than one speech act is accomplished. It may constitute a minimal two-turn sequence of speech acts by two speakers or a sequence of speech acts that are connected across the interaction, as for instance, greetings (e.g., Hi-Hi), a compliment-compliment-response sequence at a party (e.g., A: I love your earrings; B: Thanks), or a series of connected speech act sequences during a conversation at the office or during a sales transaction at a grocery store. Under the anthropological view of discourse, the speech act sequence is embedded in the entire communicative event or speech situation in which speech events take place.

The work of sociologist Ervin Goffman (1961, 1971,1981) also made fundamental contributions to the analysis of social interaction in situated contexts. As a sociologist interested in activity and dialogue in society, Goffman was not interested in the speech that occurs during a speech event, but rather, in the dynamics of the interaction that take place during a specific situation, including the roles of the participants and the activities (or speech actions), such as an interaction in a small room or a personal encounter with a stranger on the street. Goffman (1971) pointed out that during a face-to-face interaction, people negotiate talk through interchanges. In other words, a reply follows a question and an offer is followed by response that accepts or declines. The term *interchange* was introduced in his seminal work on *Relations in Public* (Goffman 1971) to refer to a sequence of (verbal or non-verbal) moves that comprise the entire interaction. According to Goffman (1971, 1981), a move is the basic unit of analysis in an encounter. A move refers to any full stretch of talk bearing on the circumstances of a gathering (1981: 24). It can comprise one speech act or a series of speech acts within the same turn. An interchange consists of a minimum of two moves, as in an encounter between two strangers who run into each other at the entrance to a store (A: Oops, sorry; B: That's okay), or a statement and a reply. An interchange in longer stretches of talk may proceed in a three-move interchange or in encounters where a chain of three moves can be expanded, as in example (1):

(1) Chain of three moves interchange

```
01 A¹:              Did you read Red Harvest?
02 B¹:              No, I missed that one.
03 A¹/A²:           Terrific. / Did you read The Glass Key?
04   B²:            No, but I saw the picture. I liked it.
05   A²/A³:         Was better than the book. / You see 'The
06                  Maltese Falcon'?
```

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07        B³:         Ya, it was swell.
08        A³/A⁴:      It was better than the book, too. / You like
09                    Ambler?'
10         B⁴:        I've read him all, but I don't know. I don't
11                    think I like him much.
12         A⁴/etc. I like him. / etc.
```
<div align="right">(Example taken from Goffman 1971: 147–148)</div>

In example (1) here, each three-move interchange is expanded to initiate the next three-move interchange. The first interchange includes the initiating move (line 01) (i.e., a request for information), the response to the request (line 02), and an acknowledgement move (line 03, 'Terrific'), followed by the beginning of the next interchange with another question (line 03, "Did you read *The Glass Key*?"), and so forth. The example above consists of a sequence of speech acts (mainly question-response sequences) which are connected by means of a series of three-move interchanges that comprise the entire interaction (lines 01–12). A move can be analysed within a turn or may consist of just a sentence, and each move may contain one or more speech acts. Since Goffman (1971) was concerned with the entire interaction, the length of an interchange depends on the participants' interactional needs. It can include a brief two-move interchange sequence (e.g., question-answer) or more connected sequences in longer interactions with expandable interchanges and across multiple turns.

In Goffman's approach to the analysis of face-to-face interaction, interchanges consist of sequences of speech acts, but unlike speech act theory that focuses on the speaker's intentions and the illocutionary force of the act (Searle 1969), Goffman centers on speech actions in interaction including both the speaker and the hearer, as well as on the situation where the interchange takes place. More specifically, interchanges consist of sequences of verbal and non-verbal moves (as accomplished through speech acts) with at least two turns, such as a question-response pair, an assertion and a reaction (e.g., A: It was hailing in Ohio [USA] on Mother's day; B: Oh), or a sales transaction at a market with multiple connected interchanges across the interaction, such as greetings, request-response sequence, bargaining sequence, payment sequence, and the terminal exchange. The sequential placement and the function (e.g., question, greeting, apology, etc.) of the move in each interchange determine the outcome of the interaction.

Speech events and interchanges are realized as speech act sequences. Unlike speech act theory, both Hymes and Goffman considered the social context where actions take place and the negotiation of meaning in conversation by both the speaker and addressee. Under these frameworks, speech act sequences are viewed as actions in social interaction with defined participant roles and the inclusion of the context where verbal (and non-verbal) actions occur.

4.   Speech act sequences from the perspective of approaches to discourse

This section explains how the concept of speech act sequence is conceptualized in classic approaches to discourse analysis that attempt to examine sequenced speech actions at the local and global levels of discourse. These approaches were proposed in reaction to classic speech act theory (Austin 1962, Searle 1969) to advance our understanding of language as social action in institutional and non-institutional settings (cf. also Edmondson this volume).

4.1.   Exchanges and moves in classroom discourse

Using data from classroom discourse, Sinclair and Coulthard (1975) proposed the term *exchange* to account for a structure of up to three moves[2] in teacher-pupil interactions, namely, initiation by the teacher (I), response from the pupil (R), and feedback (F) to the pupil's response from the teacher. Example (2) shows a three move exchange typical of classroom discourse:

(2) Teacher-pupil exchange

```
01 Teacher: Can you tell me why you eat all that food?
02          Yes
03 Pupil:   To keep you strong
04 Teacher: To keep you strong. Yes. To keep you strong.
05          Why do you want to be strong?
                        (Example taken from Sinclair and Coulthard 1975: 21)
```

In this type of discourse, most of the exchanges are initiated with a question from the teacher (directives) (Initiation, line 01), followed by the pupil's direct response to the preceding utterance (Response, line 03), and an evaluation from the teacher of the preceding utterance (line 04). As in Goffman's notion of interchange, exchanges can be expanded (line 05) to form subsequent exchanges that combine to form transactions (Sinclair and Coulthard 1975). In classroom discourse speech act sequences are realized across turns, beginning with a directive act that projects two additional moves that refer back to the initiating move.

4.2.   Exchange structure and interactional moves

In his model of spoken discourse, influenced by Sinclair and Coulthard's (1975) discourse model, Edmondson (1981) observed that some speech acts are the product not of a single utterance, but of a negotiation, a cooperative achievement, or a conversational outcome between two speakers. In order to examine speech acts in interaction, the author emphasized the need to analyse "a *sequence* of speech acts, rather than having a closed pair of such acts" (1981: 55). Edmondson proposed three levels of analysis that comprise the interactional structure: interactional acts (i.e., illocu-

tionary act level), interactional moves (turn-taking level), and exchange structure. That is, interactional (or communicative) acts (the smallest units of interactional structure) combine to form interactional moves, which in turn are sequenced to produce exchanges, which comprise phases (or sequences) in conversation. The notion of move resembles that of Goffman's minimal unit that comprises the interchange, including verbal and non-verbal moves. However, following Sinclair and Coulthard's (1975) move structure, Edmondson proposed three elements that comprise an interactional move: uptake, head, and appealer, of which the first and the last are optional moves. According to Edmondson, the uptake validates the previous move and the appealer "solicits Uptake from the hearer" (1981: 84)

Under this model of spoken discourse, an exchange consists of at least two interactional moves or two-party interactions performed by alternating speakers (1981: 86). An encounter of two strangers who run into each other at the supermarket thus consists of one exchange (e.g., A: sorry; B: it's okay). Two speakers interacting at a party perform multiple exchanges that form sequenced *phases* across the interaction, that is, a conversation. Sequences of speech acts performed by different speakers motivate the dynamics of social interaction.

4.3.   Sequences of actions in conversation

Speech act sequences have been analysed from the perspective of conversation analysis (CA), a micro-analytic approach to talk-in-interaction that examines institutional and non-institutional talk (cf. also Clift this volume). This methodological approach, that grew out of ethnomethodology, was influenced by the work of sociologists Sacks, Schegloff, and Jefferson, whose theoretical and methodological contributions began in the 1960s and were formalized in the 1970s with their seminal article "A simplest systematics for the organization of turn-taking for conversation" (*Language* 1974) and Schegloff's (2007) micro-analytic description of "Sequence Organization of Interaction". Under this framework, speech act sequences are analysed with respect to sequence organization which refers to "the organization of courses of action enacted through turns-at-talk – coherent, orderly, meaningful successions of 'sequences' of actions or moves" (Schegloff 2007: 2). Conversations consist of sequences of speech actions, one of which is the adjacency pair. An adjacency pair is the minimal unexpandable sequence that is composed of two utterance lengths or turns, realized by two different speakers, and are adjacently placed one after the other (Schegloff and Sacks 1973: 295). It is composed of two structural parts which represent the smallest speech act sequence, 'first pair parts' (FPPs), which initiate the exchange, and 'second pair parts' (SPPs), which respond to the previous utterance (e.g., greeting-greeting, request-rejection, or agreement-disagreement).

I will now present the sequential analysis of two interactions from a CA perspective to illustrate the structure of speech act sequences and the function of the

speech actions in each sequence. Example (3) shows a transaction in a service en-
counter between a clerk and a customer (US delicatessen) and example (4) features
an invitation-refusal sequence in a telephone conversation between two friends.
These examples showcase the internal structure of speech act sequences as well as
how each sequence is coherently organized across the entire interaction. Example
(3) displays a complete interaction (7.19 minutes) between a female clerk and a
male customer in the delicatessen at a U.S. supermarket. (see appendix for the tran-
scription conventions used).

(3) Sequential analysis of a service encounter at a US delicatessen (Indiana, US)

```
01            ((presence of customer))
02 Clerk:     ok, may I help who's next?
03 Customer:  um, can I get a pound of Ovengold turkey - please?
04 Clerk:     of what? Oven[gold?
05 Customer:               [Ovengold turkey↑
06 Clerk:     a pound
07            - sliced how
08 Customer:  uh medium -
09            can I get that - separated in two half-pound bags?
10 Clerk:     okay,
11            you want a pound, then split
12 Customer:  yeah
13            ((0.6 seconds))
14 Clerk:     that was the Boar's Head, right?
15 Customer:  yes, please↓
16            ((1.72 minutes))
17 Clerk:     how's this? ((clerk shows slice to customer))
18 Customer:  perfect size
19 Clerk:     you want a sample↑
20 Customer:  no, thank you↓
21 Clerk:     okay,
22            and ah - you said a pound, right?
23 Customer:  a pound in two half-pound bags
24 Clerk:     that's right, okay
25            ((1.90 minutes))
26            ((delivers product))
27 Customer:  can I get the same:: exact thing,
28            but with the sweet sliced ham↑
29            (0.3 seconds)
30 Clerk:     sweet sliced ham↓
31            ((3.15 minutes))
32 Clerk:     ((delivers product))
33            anything else↑
```

```
34 Customer: that'll do it↓
35           thank you very much↓ =
36 Clerk:    = thank you.
```

The interaction in (3) is comprised of four main sequences of speech acts. The first sequence consists of a summons-answer sequence (Schegloff 1968) (lines 01–02) by means of a non-verbal move (presence of customer) and the clerk's response. In the second sequence, the first transaction (lines 03–26) includes the request for service-response sequence with multiple sequences inside. This sequence consists of a request in the form of a conventional indirect request (line 03), as the first pair part, and the second pair part which confirms the request in line 06. Probably due to difficulty in hearing, the clerk launches a repair by means of an "other-initiation repair sequence" (Schegloff 2007: 101): the repair sequence includes the trouble source which overlaps with the customer's repair with a final rising intonation (↑) (lines 04–05). The repair sequence functions as an insertion sequence between the request-response pair (lines 03 and 06). The next sequence expands on the previous by means of elaboration of the request (lines 07–08). The customer's turn initiates an additional sequence as a post-expansion that includes the request-response (lines 09–10), and a second sequence that begins with a clarification request and the customer's response (lines 10–11). Six seconds later the next sequence includes the clerk's request for confirmation of the product's brand and the customer's response (lines 14–15). One minute and 72 seconds later the clerk initiates another sequence (confirmation request-response, lines 17–18), and a post-sequence in the form of an offer to taste product and response (lines 19–21). The final sequence of this transaction includes a confirmation of the amount of the product and the customer's response, followed by the delivery of the product (lines 22–26).

The second transaction (third main sequence) is accomplished in three turns (lines 27–32), followed by a pre-closing device with a high terminal to secure uptake (*anything else↑)* and the customers' response (33–34) that signals the end of the interaction. Finally, the closing sequence (fourth sequence) is initiated by the customer who thanks the clerk; this is followed by the clerk's emphatic response to signal closure of the transaction ("thank you.") (lines 35–36).

Example (4) shows the sequential analysis of an invitation-refusal sequence taken from a 34-minute telephone conversation between two American women, Anne and Mary. This sequence features an analysis of the pragmatic function of prosody and other non-verbal moves in conversation (Selting 2010) (The 28-second sequence begins at minute 20:20 and ends at 20:48).

(4) Invitation-response sequence in American English (20:20–48)

```
01 Anne: ... but hey, while I'm thinking about it –
02       let me ask you –
03       are you gonna – what ar –
04       do you have plans for Thanksgiving yet↑
```

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05 Mary: no↓ ((soft))
06 Anne: why don't you think about coming here↓
07 Mary: ((whispers)) (1.08 seconds)
08       - that's a good idea↓
09 Anne: it is a really good idea,
10       you could see our new house,
11       and you're - of course -
12       we have a nice little guest room -
13       I'm also - I'm gonna invite Cathy too,
14       [((breathes))
15 Mary: [huh
16 Anne: and uh =
17 Mary: = I'm trying to get John (0.06) to go somewhere -
18       because (0.36 seconds) his birthday is that week↓
         ((soft))
19 Anne: oh it is:::
```

This sequence opens with a pre-sequence or pre-invitation which is presented at the end of Anne's turn, followed by the interlocutor's brief response (in a soft voice) (lines 04–05), which projects the ensuing invitation sequence. The invitation-response sequence is introduced with the main invitation realized in the form of a suggestion and a low terminal (line 06, 'why don't you think about coming here↓'). The response to the invitation is prefaced by a 1.08-second pause, followed by the interlocutor's whispers and a positive remark about the invitation (lines 07–08). Then, Anne initiates a post-sequence reinforcing Mary's previous remark by means of an emphatic positive evaluation (line 09) and elaboration of the invitation (lines 10–14), followed by a brief acknowledgement (line 15). Notice that the increment initiator in line 16 ('and uh') is interrupted by Mary's completion of the adjacency pair, that is, the response to Anne's invitation in line 06: Mary's dispreferred response consists of two moves in the same turn: the first introduces the reason (line 17) and the second, after a brief pause, provides an account uttered in soft voice (line 18). It should be noted that 'because' (line 18) prefaces the second move that lasts 0.36 seconds to further delay the refusal. The interaction continues with Anne's acknowledgement with an elongated response in a surprising tone (line 19).

   Prosody plays an important role in the delivery of the actions. Mary's initial dispreferred response is brief (1.66 seconds), uttered softly, and ends with a low terminal (line 05) (↓). Another interactional resource in this sequence is the length and final intonation of the pre-invitation (line 04) and the invitation sequences (line 06). Figure1 shows the intonational contour of the pre-invitation and Figure 2 displays the contour of the invitation:
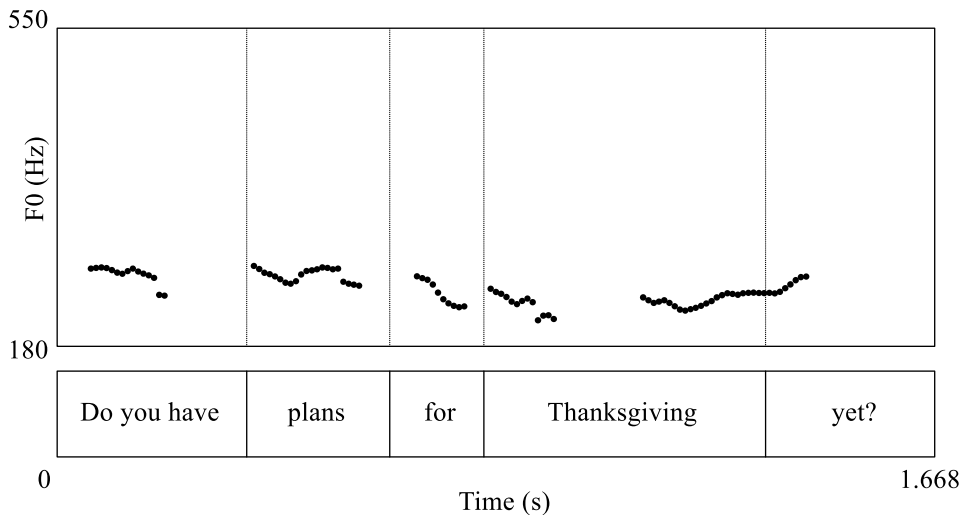
Figure 1.   Pre-invitation: 'do you have plans for Thanksgiving yet↑' (example 4, line 04)
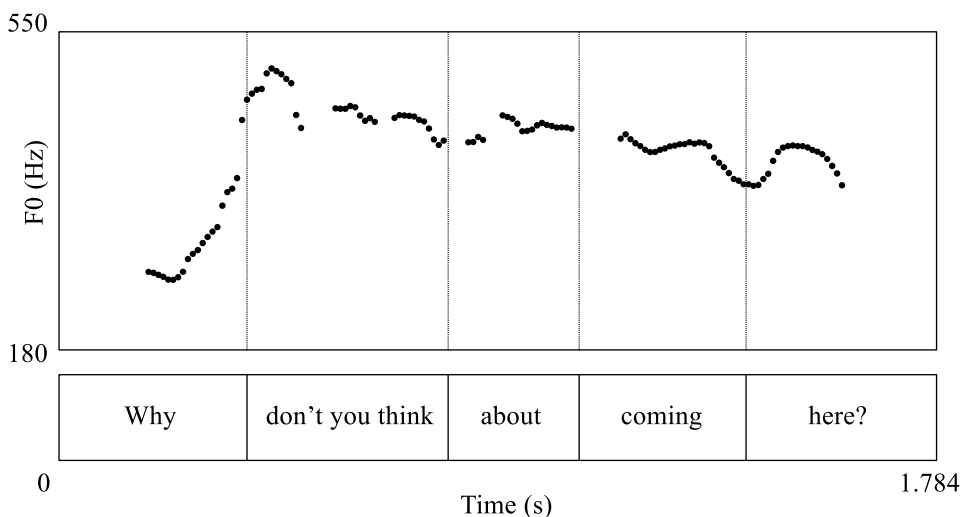
Figure 2.   Invitation: why don't you think about coming here↓ (example 4, line 06)

A prosodic analysis of these segments shows that the invitation move (line 06) is longer (1.78 seconds) and ends with a low terminal (↓) (Figure 2), whereas the pre-invitation (line 04) is shorter (1.66 seconds) and ends with a final rising intonation (↑) (Figure 1). In the absolute interrogative that opens the invitation (line 04), the final rising intonation projects more information to come, whereas the pronominal interrogative that delivers the invitation (line 06) ends with low final intonation (↓), signaling completion of the invitation sequence.

The examples above show how speech acts combine to form sequences of speech acts (two or more speech actions) in one turn or across multiple turns. Under the CA framework, sequences are formed with at least one adjacency pair and their placement has important consequences for the outcome of the interaction. Two-turn sequences (with verbal or non-verbal moves) can function as pre-sequences, insertion-sequences (e.g., repair sequence in example [3]), post-sequences, and terminal exchanges. With regard to example (4), prosodic signals (e.g., intonation, duration, pause) are important elements of the speech act sequence that complement the pragmatic content of the speaker's utterance(s). Research on prosody in interaction has shown that a falling (↓) or rising tone (↑), the presence of a pause, or a long or short utterance produce interactional effects on the hearer's response (Couper-Kuhlen and Ford 2004, Wichmann 2004, Selting 2010), and as a result, these prosodic elements influence the structure and outcome of speech act sequences in conversation.

Many researchers have adopted analytical tools from CA to study sequences of speech acts in a variety of conversational contexts. For example, using a corpus of video-taped and telephone conversations, Taleghani-Nikazm (2006) realized a micro-analytic description of request sequences in German conversation. The author focused on the grammatical construction and sequential placement of turns and examined the organization of pre-request and request sequences in long stretches of talk. Using a similar corpus of video-taped and telephone conversations in German, Golato (2005) analysed the grammatical structure and sequential organization of compliments and compliment responses. The study focused on the complete speech act sequence and the design of turns when giving and responding to a compliment in multi-party interactions. In the context of service encounters, Félix-Brasdefer (2012a) and Placencia (2008) examined the structure of sequences in market service encounters and in corner-store interactions in one region in Southern Mexico and Quito and Manta (Ecuador), respectively. The analyses showed how speech acts combine to form sequences across the interaction, such as greetings, pre-sequences, request for service-response, payment sequence, and the closing sequence. In the context of second language conversations, sequences of speech acts have also been analyzed in learner-NS interactions to examine how second language learners employ grammatical and turn-taking resources to negotiate disagreement sequences in conversation (Bardovi-Harlig and Salsbury 2004, Félix-Brasdefer and Lavin 2009), as well as repair sequences and the use of delay as an interactional resource (Gardner and Wagner 2004).

4.4.   Communicative exchanges from the view of therapeutic discourse

The analysis of therapeutic discourse, specifically, the microanalysis of communicative exchanges and the strategies employed during therapeutic interviews, lent important insights to the analysis of conversation. Labov and Fanshel (1977) examined the conversational structure of sequenced speech actions featured in

doctor-patient interactions, including the sequential placement and function of requests. The authors observed that during the realization of verbal interactions interlocutors performed different actions across the interaction, namely, they initiate, interrupt, redirect, continue, respond, reinforce, withdraw or end the conversation. These conversational elements are realized through speech act sequences in different ways. For example, Labov and Fanshel described the complexity of requests, whose internal structure comprises a series of speech act sequences. After a request has been issued, the person responding has at least three options: 1) give information/ confirmation or carry out the request; 2) put off the request with accountings; and, 3) refuse with or without an accounting (1977: 63–64). For each speech action initiated there is a different trajectory of unpredicted outcomes that determine the structure of the request-response sequence. In this approach, communicative exchanges are realized through a set of speech actions which are expanded into other exchanges across the conversation.

Labov and Fanshel's approach to discourse was meant to expand the notion of speech acts into sequences of speech actions using authentic conversation and narrative. Under this framework, the speech act combines into sequences of actions in one long turn (e.g., patient's narrative) or across the interaction to form one or more communicative exchanges that may be expanded into coherent exchanges across the conversation. Communicative exchanges (i.e., a sequence of actions) combine to form connected exchanges throughout the conversation.

4.5.   Speech exchanges and contextualization cues

Interactional Sociolinguistics (IS) is an approach to discourse analysis that examines communicative practices in authentic face-to-face encounters and accounts for our "ability to interpret what participants intend to convey in everyday communicative practice" (Gumperz 2001: 215). With a broad interdisciplinary tradition and a focus on language, culture and society, IS has its roots in speech act theory (Searle 1969), Grice's conversational implicature (Grice 1975), anthropology (Hymes' [1972] ethnography of communication), sociology (Goffman (1971, 1981) and CA collaborators Sacks and Schegloff (1974), and linguistics. Participants produce and interpret speech acts which combine to produce real-life speech exchanges (similar to Hymes' (1962, 1972 'speech event', cf. section 3) framed within a particular communicative activity type (e.g., a conversation at a party). Speech exchanges consist of at least two turns involving two or more participants in face-to-face interactions.

Unlike other approaches to discourse (e.g., CA), in IS participants play specific roles to construct and accomplish the intended social action: the speaker produces illocutionary acts (intended meaning) and the interlocutor interprets both the verbal and non-verbal meanings of the illocutionary act with the help of contextualization cues. Contextualization cues refer to any verbal or non-verbal signs that are inter-

preted by the hearer, and affect how messages are understood in situated contexts (Gumperz 1982, 2001). These cues (prosody [stress, voicing, duration, high or low pitch], code-switching, and non-verbal signals [such as gaze or laughter]) reinforce the interpretation process in real-life conversational activities. In IS the units of analysis for accomplishing communicative action include the illocutionary act (with support of contextualization cues), the speech exchange (at least a two-turn sequence with verbal and non-verbal moves), and communicative activity types where social action takes place. This approach has been applied in the analysis of social action in intercultural interactions (Kidwell 2000).

4.6. Ordered sequences of actions and planes of discourse

Speech act sequences are also analysed in Schiffrin's (1987, 2006) model of discourse coherence. Of the five planes of discourse presented in Schiffrin's model, two are relevant to the understanding of speech act sequences: act structure and exchange structure. The act structure refers to "ordered sequences of actions performed through speech" (Schiffrin 2006: 196), such as questions or compliments. These actions are structured because their presence in discourse constrains the interpretation of the following or preceding utterance, such as an answer to the question or a compliment response. The level of exchange structure refers to the turn as the minimal unit of talk in a sequentially defined unit, such as an adjacency pair with two alternating speakers. While at the level of the act structure the focus is on the speech act or ordered speech act sequences in one turn, at the level of the exchange structure ordered sequences of actions are negotiated between two or more speakers, with at least a two-turn sequence, as in question-answer or compliment-compliment response sequences. The exchange structure combines to form larger exchanges in order to add coherence across the interaction.

4.7. Speech act sequences and macro-speech acts

As mentioned in section 1, the term "speech act sequence" was introduced by van Dijk (1979, 1980) to account for the coherence and function of action or speech act sequences in conversation. He distinguished two functions of the illocutionary act: the conventional function of acts such as assertions, requests, or apologies (as in Searle 1969, Sadock 1974) (abstract pragmatics) and the social dimension of such speech acts in interaction, and he referred to these social actions as *interaction sequences* (van Dijk 1984: 143). Interaction sequences consist of social actions (or a sequence of speech acts) performed by different participants in a specific social situation, such as a conversation at lunch time or a trial in court.

In his approach to Critical Discourse Analysis (CDA), van Dijk (1993) examined the properties of the "text" of a speech, which includes an analysis of the speech acts at the local level, as well as of *macro-speech acts* (van Dijk 1980)

through which the speaker accomplishes a particular speech act, such as an asser-
tion (global level). Macro-speech acts consist of speech act sequences taken as a
whole functioning as a global act, such as a global request (e.g., I hope you can
help me. I need to get to school and my car broke down. <u>Can I borrow yours</u>?).
They comprise sequenced speech actions that are accomplished by one speaker
(e.g., in one turn during a political debate, including assertions, complaints, and
directives), as well as the negotiation of those speech acts by two or more speakers
(e.g., defending, attacking, persuading) (interaction sequence). To illustrate the
discourse structure and function of speech act sequences and macro-speech acts,
example (5) shows an interaction during a guilty plea hearing[3] in the United States
(see appendix for transcription notation):

(5) Courtroom discourse: US guilty plea hearing

```
01 Judge:     ((summons defendant by first and last name))
02            this is ((reads case number))
03            ma'am, did you hear the advice of rights and
              penalties earlier?
04 Defendant: yes I did
05 Judge:     you understand those rights and penalties?
06 Defendant: yes sir
07 Judge:     have you received a copy of the violations
08            of probation that were filed with the court?
09 Defendant: yes I have
10 Judge:     have you read those allegations?
11 Defendant: do what? I'm sorry
12 Judge:     have you read those allegations?
13 Defendant: yes I have
14 Judge:     do you understand them?
15 Defendant: yes I do
16 Judge:     do you need for me to read your allegations
              here in open court
17 Defendant: no sir
18 Judge:     I believe I've already appointed
              ((name of attorney)) as your attorney
19            and I will show that Mr. ((surname of attorney))
20            will be continued in his appointment for these
              allegations
21            so your bond is going to be set in the amount of
              seventy five hundred
22            dollars cash or surety of 750 to a bondsman.
23            You do have a court date coming up
24            do you understand that date?
25 Defendant: yes I do
26 Judge:     do you have any questions?
```

```
27 Defendant: no I don't – um is there a 15 day hold for the
               probation?
28 Judge:     not on this case uh because this case is the
               probation uh
29             probation violation
30             but on this case you are eligible to post bond at
               this time
31 Defendant: ok great. Is that it?
32 Judge:     the allegations will be entered on your behalf
33             and that will be all for today= thank you↓
34 Defendant: thank you↑
```

In this interaction, the judge opens the hearing by means of sequences of actions with a highly structured turn-taking system that is characteristic of asymmetric institutional interaction, the question-answer pattern, with little opportunity for the lay person to take the initiative (Drew and Heritage 1992). The judge opens the interaction with a sequence of assertions (lines 01–02), followed by a series of question-answer sequences in which the judge asks the question and the defendant provides the answer (lines 03–17) (interaction sequences). There is a repair sequence (lines 11–12) that functions as a clarification request (initiated by the defendant), embedded in the question and answer sequence (lines 10 and 13). In the next turn, the judge performs a series of assertions and declarations (lines 18–22, 23–24) (macro-speech acts of informing and requesting). The defendant asks one question followed by the judge's response (lines 27–30) (interaction sequence). The judge ends the interaction, followed by the defendant's acknowledgement (lines 32–34). Macro-speech acts are sequenced speech actions that are accomplished in one turn by one speaker or negotiated across multiple turns by two or more speakers in situated contexts.

4.8.   Joint actions in language use

In Clark's (1996) approach to language use, sequences of speech acts are interpreted as joint actions embedded in a joint activity type, such as a conversation or a class lecture. His approach to discourse is influenced by sociology (Goffman 1981, Sacks et al. 1974), conversational inference (Grice 1975, Levinson 1979, 1992), and speech act theory (Austin 1962, Searle 1969). In his model, individual communicative acts (e.g., a request) combine to form joint actions (e.g., a question-answer sequence). Although one interaction can perform a joint action (greetings; compliment-response sequence), in conversation joint actions are coordinated into phases (a series of joint actions) to form a joint activity type (similar to Levinson's [1979, 1992] activity type, Hymes' [1962, 1972] speech event, or Wittgenstein's [1958] language-game). For instance, the service encounter in example (3) shows an example of joint actions that combine to form phases across the sales trans-

action (joint activity type). Joint actions are the composite of individual actions performed by the speaker and the addressee who share common ground (Clark 1996: 92–121). Similar to Goffman's (1961, 1981) notion of situation, in Clark's model joint actions are rooted in a particular setting, such as a conversation, a running group, or a service encounter interaction. In this approach to language use, joint actions refer to sequences of speech acts that are coordinated and negotiated (across turns) by two or more speakers in specific settings.

4.9.   Speech act sequences in media discourse

From the perspective of media discourse, the structure and function of speech act sequences are analysed from different interdisciplinary views, such as conversation analysis, critical discourse analysis, linguistic anthropology, psychology, linguistics, systemic functional linguistics, and sociology. The analysis of language of media discourse includes public affairs media, such as news, documentaries, magazine programs, television and radio broadcasts, and political discourse (Fairclough 1995). Given its broad multidisciplinary scope, I will show how speech act sequences are conceptualized in two approaches to discourse commonly used to examine media discourse, Critical Discourse Analysis (section 4.7) and conversation analysis (section 4.3). The notion of *communicative event* refers to spoken and written texts, such as a conversation, a newspaper editorial, or a television documentary (similar to Hymes' [1962, 1972] notion of "speech event"). An analysis of the language of the media from a CDA perspective considers three dimensions of the communicative event, namely, the text, discourse practice, and sociocultural practice (Fairclough 1995). Broadly speaking, the text refers to the individual units of the sentences and the relations of cohesion (connected sentences) and coherence; the discourse practice is understood as a dialogic relation (or two-party interaction in spoken texts) between text production and text consumption; and, the sociocultural practice alludes to the situated context where the discourse practice takes place (similar to Goffman's [1961, 1981] "situation"). That is, the text can be seen as a sequence of speech acts within or above the sentence level (minimal units of the communicative event), which in turn is embedded within the discourse practice (an interaction or social practices). Finally, the discourse practice is embedded in a specific sociocultural practice (the situation where discourse occurs). A communicative event is seen as a chain of speech events or discourse practices that are embedded in a situated sociocultural practice.

The sequential structure of news interviews is analysed from different approaches to discourse. Using the CA approach, Heritage and Greatbatch (1991) examined the sequential turn-taking format of face-to-face news interviews which proceed in sequences of interviewer questions and interviewee responses to those questions. In this conversational exchange, turns are formed of sequences of speech

acts which are negotiated in a fixed question-answer format. Using a different genre of news interviews, Jucker (1986) analysed the sequential structure of radio news interviews using (revised) concepts from different approaches to discourse: speech act theory (illocutionary act), CA (turns, adjacency pair, and sequences), speech act sequencing (Stubbs' 1983 notion of conversational exchanges, Sinclair & Coulthard's 1975 model of classroom discourse, Labov & Fanshel's 1977 speech actions in therapeutic discourse), and conversational inference (pragmatic principles [Grice 1975, Levinson 1983] and activity type [Levinson 1979]). Jucker identified three sequences, each representing different moves: the opening sequence, the main sequence, and the final sequence. In the opening sequence, the radio commentator begins with greetings, introductions, and opening questions (i.e., sequences of ordered speech acts in one turn). The main sequence is performed in various question-answer exchange forms, including leading questions for information and reformulations to make the request more explicit (i.e., at the exchange level). In the final sequence, the interviewer ends the interview and addresses the interviewee by name and thanks him/ her. Finally, in her analysis of political interviews from the media, which she calls a 'speech event', Blum-Kulka (1983) identified two levels (of four identified in her data) related to speech act sequences, namely, moves (e.g., opening moves) which combine to form move exchanges (e.g. question-answer, questions for clarification, and challenging reformulations of the initial question).

The notion of the speech act sequence adopted in media discourse is determined by the approach to discourse selected to analyse the type of media discourse. These include speech acts and macro-speech acts in specific communicative events (CDA), conversational sequences (CA), sequences of speech acts and sequential exchanges (Jucker's integrative approach to speech act sequencing), and the sequential move analysis through exchanges (Blum-Kulka's sequencing of political interviews). [4]

4.10.   Speech act sequences and macrosegments in Computer-Mediated Discourse

Unlike the previous approaches which examine discourse either in spoken or written texts, Computer-Mediated Discourse Analysis (CMDA) studies language use in online interaction where participants interact through verbal language that is typed on a keyboard and read on a computer screen (e.g., email, chat, Facebook) or negotiated through live video with audio (e.g., Skye). In her model of CMDA, Herring (2004) proposed four domains or levels of language of which two are related to the notion of speech act sequences, namely, meaning and interaction. At the level of meaning, Herring refers to language use that includes one or more ordered speech acts, such as a clarification question or a series of speech acts in an e-mail message (an information question, an apology, and an invitation). Following Longacre (1992), Herring used the term *macrosegment* to refer to one or more

sequenced actions which serve as larger functional units, namely, "a functional constituent of the text at a macro- or global level of organization" (1996: 83). For example, in the analysis of online messages, Herring (1996) identified different types of macrosegments in the body of the message, such as expressing views, requesting information, or suggesting a solution. At the interactive level sequences of speech acts are negotiated by means of 'interactive exchanges' by two or more participants, such as in Skype (spoken discourse) or via chat (written interactive discourse).

The notion of adjacency pair or turn commonly used in CA (Sacks et al. 1974; Schegloff 2007) is different in CMDA where language is negotiated in virtual environments. According to Herring (2001), there are at least two properties of the computer medium that create difficulty for interactional management: 1. "disrupted turn adjacency" because "messages are posted in the order received by the system, without regard to what they are responding to" and 2. lack of simultaneous feedback (p. 618). For instance, chat represents a synchronous medium of interaction that is mediated by writing and a computer between two or more participants with spontaneous interventions. Due to the lack of visual audio contact, participants interact by means of interventions or entries (Noblia 2009). This segmentation of speech actions, which results in disrupted turn adjacency, is due to the need to control time between the participants. Other features of speech act sequences in chat discourse include the level of informality (colloquial conversation) and the non-verbal social cues that serve as compensatory strategies (Herring 2001) that reinforce the speakers' communicative actions (e.g., emoticons, CAPS, smileys, etc.) With regard to the presence of speech acts in asynchronous discourse, such as e-mail, the information in one e-mail can contain several ordered speech actions (commonly organized in various turns in conversation) that are ordered in discourse sequences, as in example (6) (taken from Félix-Brasdefer 2012b):

(6) E-mail from US female student sent to a male professor

```
01 Hola Profesor 'last name':
02 I hope this email finds you well.
03 I have been having trouble understanding the concepts of
04 what we are learning and am trying to teach myself by using
05 my notes and book and obviously it is not helping, since I
06 am doing so poorly in the class.
07 I understand you have office hours but I can't make
08 them because they conflict with my schedule.
09 I am wondering if you had any tips you could give me on
10 how to study for these materials.'
11 Thanks in advance.
12 (Student's first name + last name)
```

The e-mail message above consists of three main sequences: the opening sequence (line 01), the body of the message (lines 02–10), and the closing (11–12). Each of these sequences consists of one or a series of speech actions. The opening sequence includes a formal greeting (01). The body of the message consists of co-ordinated sequences of speech acts (or macrosegments). It opens with an instance of relational talk (line 02), followed by two accounts (lines 03–06 and 07–08) and a conventional indirect request (lines 09–10). The closing sequence includes two moves, an expression of gratitude and the student's signature (lines 11–12). In face-to-face interaction, this example would be organized across multiple turns.

Due to the virtual modality, sequences of speech acts in CMDA are performed differently than in spoken or written discourse. In synchronous modalities such as chat, speech act sequences are accomplished by means of interactive entries which include a series of speech actions by two or more participants (interactive level). An exchange of two entries represents an interactive sequence. In asynchronous discourse such as e-mail, speech acts are combined to form sequences or macro-segments in one entry (openings, the body of the message, and closing) (meaning level). In CMDA the sequential placement and function of speech act sequences are conditioned by the modality of the interaction, namely, asynchronous (e.g., chat), synchronous, (e.g., e-mail), or hybrid modalities that include both types such as Facebook. The presence of non-verbal cues (e.g., emoticons) also conveys additional information that is part of the macrosegment.

4.11.   Speech act sequences in cross-cultural and interlanguage pragmatics

Speech act sequences have been analysed in cross-cultural and second language learning contexts, such as in interlanguage pragmatics. The Cross-Cultural Speech Act Realization Project (CCSARP) (Blum-Kulka, House, and Kasper 1989) is based on politeness theory (Brown and Levinson 1987) and a revised version of speech act theory (Bierwish 1980) which situates speech acts in the area of linguistic communication. Blum-Kulka et al. (1989) investigated cross-cultural, intra-lingual, and interlanguage variation in the realization of requests and apologies in seven countries. The data were collected using a Discourse Completion Test (DCT) that asks participants to respond in writing to a series of situations as they would in real life. The unit of analysis of these speech acts is the "sequence of utterances used to complete the missing lines in the discourse completion test" (1989: 20). Example (7), taken from Blum-Kulka et al. (1989: 17), shows the components of a written request sequence: "Judith, I missed class yesterday, do you think I could borrow your notes? I promise to return them by tomorrow."

(7) Request sequence elicited with a Discourse Completion Test (DCT)

```
01 Judith                                 [Alerter]
02 I missed class yesterday               [Supportive move]
03 do you think I could borrow your notes? [Request head act]
04 I promise to return them by tomorrow.  [Supportive move]
```

In this sequence, the head act is an obligatory element and the supportive moves (preposed, lines 01–02; postposed, line 04) are optional elements. In order to obtain interactive moves with written data, Schneider (2008) created a Dialogue Production Task in which each participant is asked to write "a short dialogue that represents language which would typically be used in [specific] situation[s]" (p. 139). With this interactive format, Schneider examined sequential written data in terms of turns and moves that comprise sequences of speech acts to account for intra-lingual pragmatic variation across three language varieties of English (England, Ireland, and the United States). There are other formats used to collect speech sequences based on hypothetical written questionnaires; in some, the response to a written situation is provided orally by participants. This response is recorded and analysed as speech act sequences (e.g., Kasper 2000, Félix-Brasdefer 2010).

Unlike the DCT, where the data are traditionally collected from only one participant in written format, other studies used role plays to analyse the sequential structure of speech acts in interlanguage and cross-cultural pragmatics. For example, Gass & Houck (1999) set out to investigate the possible negotiation of outcomes in refusal responses in learner-native speaker (NS) simulated interactions in English (e.g., acceptance, refusal, postponements, alternatives) using a role play instrument. Refusal sequences have also been examined in cross-cultural settings among NSs of American English and Mexican Spanish (e.g. Félix-Brasdefer 2008) and in learner-NS interactions (e.g. Félix-Brasdefer 2004, 2009) because they involve an extensive process of negotiation when responding to invitations, requests, and suggestions. The sequences identified include openings (greetings), invitation-response sequences, insistence-response sequences, and closings (farewells).

It should be noted that in the CCSARP model each sequence features a series of speech acts, either as written strategies produced in response to a DCT by one speaker (e.g., request sequence, refusal sequence), or as a series of interactive sequences with two participants who role play a given situation (e.g., invitation-response sequence, requests for confirmation, etc.). For example, using closed and oral role plays, Hasler-Barker (2013) examined sequences of compliments and compliment responses among learners of Spanish as a foreign language to observe pragmatic development over the course of one semester.

In the majority of studies that follow the CCSARP model, the written or oral responses are analysed according to speech acts which are ordered to form speech act sequences produced in one written or oral turn (by one speaker), or interactional

sequences (role play interactions) with two participants who negotiate social actions across multiple turns. Finally, in her approach to discursive pragmatics in interlanguage pragmatics, Kasper (2006) examined meaning as action by means of speech acts in interaction (influenced by the CA methodology) in native and non-native speaker discourse. Speech acts in interaction occur across sequences in conversation where native and non-native speakers negotiate pragmatic meaning as joint accomplishments. Kasper's approach to speech acts in interaction represents a pragmatic discourse perspective to social action which goes beyond speech act theory and intension-based views of meaning.

5.   Conclusions

In this chapter I examined the structure and function of speech act sequences in light of existing approaches to discourse that investigate social action and inter-action in a variety of institutional and non-institutional settings. Although classic speech act theory provided the foundation for the analysis of individual illocutionary acts, extensions and modifications of the theory were necessary to analyse sequences of speech acts. The term 'speech act sequence' is used as an umbrella term to refer to sequences of speech acts at two levels: 1. ordered speech actions performed by one speaker or writer (e.g., actions in one turn, a narrative, a speech, an e-mail message, or postings in Facebook) and 2. ordered speech actions negotiated by two or more alternate speakers across turns or exchanges (interactional level, such as in conversation, news interviews, student-professor e-mail exchanges, or an exchange of social actions via chat). Some of the terms used to refer to speech act sequences are motivated by the approach to discourse in which each notion was conceptualised, such as speech act sequence, macro-speech acts, exchange, inter-actional move exchange, interchange, joint action, speech event, conversational sequence, macrosegments, or entries in networked virtual environments such as chat.

Future research on speech act sequences should be based on a continuous revision of theoretical and methodological approaches that examine written and spoken discourse, followed by an empirical analysis of under studied types of dis-courses and genres that aim at examining pragmatic meaning as social action. Some examples include empirical research in specific settings of institutional discourse (e.g., guilty plea hearings; academic discourse in professor-student advis-ing sessions [Bardovi-Harlig and Hartford 1993] or in office hour consultations [Limberg 2010] in other languages other than English and German), service en-counter interactions in commercial and non-commercial settings (e.g., Kerbrat-Orecchioni and Traverso 2008, Placencia 2008, Félix-Brasdefer 2012a), and the analysis of genres in the emerging field of computer-mediated discourse (e.g. Her-ring, Stein, & Virtanen 2013). Further research should incorporate a more refined

analysis of the prosodic features of speech act sequences in spoken discourse (e.g., stress, intonation, duration) (Selting 2010), as well as the analysis of non-verbal actions that contribute to the pragmatic meaning of speech act sequences in situated contexts.

Appendix

Transcription Conventions
(Adapted from Jefferson 2004)

A. Contiguous utterances
=   Equal signs indicate no break up or gap. They are placed when there is no interval between adjacent utterances and the second utterance is linked immediately to the first.

B. Overlaps
[A left bracket indicates the point of overlap onset.
]   A right bracket indicates the point at which two overlapping utterances end, if they end simultaneously, or the point at which one of them ends in the course of the other. It is also used to parse out segments of overlapping utterances.

C. Intervals
( )   Parentheses indicate the time in seconds and placed within an utterance mark intervals or pauses in the stream of talk.
–   A dash marks a short untimed pause within an utterance.

D. Characteristics of speech delivery
↑↓   The up and down arrows mark sharper rises or falls in pitch.
:   A colon marks a lengthened syllable or an extension of the sound.
:::   Colons prolong the sound or syllable.
Word   Underlining is used to indicate some form of stress or emphasis, either by increased loudness or higher pitch.
.   A period marks a fall in tone.
,   A comma marks continuing intonation.
?   A question mark signals rising intonation.

E. Other markings
(( ))   Double parentheses are used to mark transcriber's descriptions of events.

Notes

1. See Xanthos (2006) for an insightful discussion of Wittgenstein's possible association of language games with speech acts, semiotic practices, rules for determining their use, and moves or the actions we perform when speaking a language.
2. Sinclair and Coulthard (1975) adopted a revised version of Bellack et al.'s (1966) pedagogical model of move structure in the classroom. Bellack et al. referred to the classroom as a "language game" (Wittgenstein 1958), which consists of speech act sequences that promote interaction between the teacher and the student, namely, soliciting, responding, and reacting moves.
3. This example is taken from the corpus of courtroom discourse collected and transcribed by doctoral student Erin Lavin at Indiana University.
4. See Blas-Arroyo (2011), Fairclough (1995), and Talbot (2007) for other perspectives used in media discourse for the analysis of speech act sequences.

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13. Phases in discourse

Theodossia-Soula Pavlidou

1. Introduction

The title 'phases in discourse' implies that within "one" discourse different stretches can be delineated, constituting identifiable parts that successively follow one another. At the same time, the title takes for granted that we can demarcate the transition from non-discourse (or, alternatively, non-communication, non-interaction, non-conversation, etc.) to discourse – in other words, it assumes that we can say when and how discourse starts and ends.[1] Such are organizational problems relating to the units and structure of discourse, problems which both analysts of and, primarily, participants in discourse have to solve.

Discourse is commonly divided into three major phases, namely an opening, a medial or core, and a closing phase. In turn, different 'stages' or 'sub-phases' are identified within a single phase (cf. e.g. Laver 1975, Henne and Rehbock 1979). In Laver's (1975) approach to face-to-face communication a phase consists of a particular sequence of stages, and a stage comprises (at least one) behavioral event. A "typical" opening phase of an encounter would consist of eight stages, namely: 1) making mutual eye contact, 2) exchanging distant gestures of greeting or acknowledgement, 3) assuming an appropriate facial expression of cordiality, 4) reaching appropriate bodily proximity, 5) exchanging appropriate contact gestures of greeting, 6) taking up mutual bodily orientation, 7) exchanging stereotyped expressions of phaticity appropriate to the occasion of meeting someone, and 8) indicating through the use of transition signals that "the main business of the interaction" can start (cf. Laver 1975: 219–220). Similar activities, but in more or less reverse order are involved according to Laver (1975: 227–229) in the closing phase. For their part, Henne and Rehbock (1979: 186–187) introduce the notion of sub-phase (*Teilphase*) in order to deal more adequately with the high complexity of the medial phase of conversation, which is characterized by a multi-layered speech-act structure; sub-phases are delineated through the change of topic (or sub-topic) and through situational contingencies (e.g. a new participant joining in).

However, it is to Conversation Analysis (CA) that we owe the most principled accounts of conversational structure. These include explicit proposals about how participants accomplish internal (i.e. between the phases of conversation) and external (from non-interaction to a specific conversation, and from that to the non-interaction following it) transitions. Consequently, the discussion of phases in the present chapter will be guided, to a large extent, by CA considerations. Section 2 ('Perspectives on phases in discourse') will specify some of the tenets of CA and

highlight the perspectives from which the topic of discourse phases will be approached. We focus on a particular type of discourse, namely on the non-institutional landline telephone call and explore the impact of certain kinds of variation (cultural, technological, institutional) on the structure of its phases. The structural consequences of the variation mentioned will be examined systematically only with respect to the first phase in discourse in section 3 ('The opening phase'). This is due not only to space restrictions, but also to the fact that research is not equally available for all three phases, for all types of phone calls, for all dimensions of variation, etc. Section 4 ('The closing phase') deals with the third phase in discourse, taking into account aspects of cross-cultural variation and, to a lesser extent, of institutionalization. Section 5 ('The medial phase') looks only at the basics of this phase in order to proceed to an illustration of its organization as a series of sequences in a particular phone call as well as of the way in which this second phase ties in with the first and the final stages. Finally, section 6 will offer some overall remarks and conclusions.

2.   Perspectives on phases in discourse

Apart from the general statement that in discourse three major phases can be distinguished, it is difficult to examine discourse phases in any detail without reference to specific discourse types. Therefore, I would like to first limit the scope of our discussion to dialogical discourse and, within that, to everyday conversation as the prototypical instance of unmediated and non-institutional discourse.

As is well known, conversation has been the object *par excellence* of CA, an ethnomethodologically informed strand of sociological investigation. According to two of its major representatives,

> CA research has, in part, been inspired by the realization that ordinary conversation is the predominant medium of interaction in the social world. It is also the primary form of interaction to which, with whatever simplifications, the child is initially exposed and through which socialization proceeds. Thus the basic forms of mundane talk constitute a kind of benchmark against which other more formal or "institutional" types of interaction are recognized and experienced (Drew and Heritage 1992: 19).

With building blocks such as 'turn', 'adjacency pair', 'sequence', etc., conversation analysts have sought to describe (and account for) basic aspects of the architecture of conversation (cf. e.g. Sacks, Schegloff, and Jefferson 1974; Schegloff 2007, cf. also Clift this volume), or more generally, talk-in-interaction. These aspects include: the organization of turn-taking, the overall structural organization of a 'single conversation', and the organization of sequences through which certain activities get accomplished. In this framework, a phase can be visualized as a series of sequences (of differing types).

CA's findings were established through meticulous analysis of recordings and transcripts of naturally occurring interactions. A particular kind of naturalistic data, namely phone call recordings, proved to be very useful as they readily satisfied certain fundamental principles of the ethnomethodological approach. For one, audiotapes of phone calls could be subjected to scrutiny as often and by as many analysts as desired (a feature also shared by other types of naturally recorded talk as well); in addition, and more crucially, the telephonic medium (which at that time did not afford visual contact) ensured that the analyst had access to the same kind of information that was available – *qua* the medium itself – to both the 'caller' (the person who initiated the call) and 'recipient' (the person that the caller intended to access as opposed to the 'answerer'). Thus, this "distinctive and recognizable genre" (Schegloff 1993: 4548) of talk-in-interaction, i.e. the telephone call, came to play an important role within conversation analytic work. A series of very influential papers (cf. e.g. Schegloff 1968, 1986; Schegloff and Sacks 1973) provided powerful analyses of the sequential structure of the opening and closing sections of telephone calls. However, as has been variously emphasized, the concern of the founders of CA was not telephone discourse itself but rather the study of "interaction in ways that accepted the relevance to the conduct of the interaction of the fact that it was being conducted over the telephone, because the participants' conduct was oriented to this being a conversation on the telephone" (Schegloff 2002: 289), e.g., the fact that the caller and the recipient were not co-present, that in answering the phone one did not know (at the time) who the caller is, and so on. Despite the specific constraints that the telephonic medium imposes on interaction, making it "a felicitous environment for studying interaction" (Hopper 1992: 10), conversation over the phone proves to be quite similar to that in face-to-face situations. Hopper argues that, since predictions about dissimilarities have not been supported by ensuing research, accounts of telephone conversation are generalizeable to non-mediated conversation.

It is important to stress that what has been called a 'canonical opening' (or closing), i.e. an opening or closing consisting of certain 'core' sequences, was not intended as a statement about how all calls, not even most calls, are actually made or about how they should be made. It was regarded rather as an underlying pattern towards which participants orient themselves, a pattern which could account for both 'conforming' and 'deviating' instances of openings or closings. However, based solely on US data, the CA findings have been taken (by researchers outside the USA and/or outside the CA community) to reflect the interactional norms of the USA alone. By the beginning of the 1990s, the issue of cultural variation had also been raised within CA, in particular by Hopper in his 1992 book devoted to telephone call openings. Since then, an increasing number of studies have turned to comparative issues in the study of telephone conversation, looking into the specific means that different languages and cultures provide for the realization of the core sequences, and examining the cross-cultural validity of the latter (for discussion

and references, see the volume edited by Luke and Pavlidou 2002 and Luke and Pavlidou 2002a; see also Pavlidou 2005).

Part of the variation mentioned in the preceding paragraph has to do with interactional aspects, such as phatic communion, that go beyond the organizational problems of opening or closing a telephone call. According to Laver (1975: 236), in these transitional phases of encounters, the "psychological comfort" of participants is "most at risk" because the interactional roles in the opening may not yet be precisely defined, while in the closing a continuing consensus for future encounters has to be ensured. In order to overcome eventual tensions in these "crucial" phases, *phatic communion* is employed. The notion of 'phatic communion', as is well known, was introduced in the 1920s by the anthropologist Malinowski to describe "a type of speech in which ties of union are created by a mere exchange of words" (1966: 315) with little, if any, informational content. While a typological approach[2] to phatic communion is also derivable from Malinowski's remarks, Laver (1975: 236) adopts a more functional perspective, attributing two general functions to this kind of interaction: establishing and consolidating the interpersonal relationship between the participants, and facilitating the transitions to and from interaction. Further research in this direction has indicated that the employment of phatic utterances varies cross-culturally (cf. e.g. Pavlidou 1991). Moreover, it has been argued that phatic communion is a dynamic phenomenon (cf. e.g. Coupland, Coupland, and Robinson 1992; Pavlidou 1995, 1998a) and should as such be best regarded like any other means of attending to the relationship aspect of communication (cf. e.g. Pavlidou 2008), or as Laver (1975: 236) would say, of facilitating "the management of interpersonal relationships".

Our focus on the telephone call in this paper also allows examination of the impact of changes in the medium itself on the organization and structure of discourse. While retaining the mediated, but synchronous, character of discourse, the telephonic medium (as a mass product) underwent important modifications in the last decade of the 20th century. Among other things, technological developments made possible the following: caller identification through displays of the number and/or the name of the person calling as well as through individual ring melodies (on the phone of the recipient), and, conversely, the caching of identity by the caller him/herself; keeping track of missed calls; visual contact between caller and recipient; multi-party conversations. Most importantly, though, the introduction of mobile telephony which not only drastically increased the accessibility of individuals, but also basically cancelled the possibility of localizing an accessed recipient at a specific place (e.g. home, the workplace, etc.), while at the same time enabling the mapping of individual telephone numbers to individual persons (what Hutchby and Barnett 2005 call the "individualization of handsets"). At the turn of the century, the effects of the technological innovations on interaction emerged as a new topic of interest (cf. e.g. Katz and Aakhus 2002), but only a small part of this research

aspires to study mobile telephone talk with the kind of detailed analysis that is required by the conversation analytic approach.

Finally, a note on institutionalization is in order before closing this section. In discourse analysis it is common to distinguish between non-institutional (like ordinary conversation) and institutional forms of discourse (e.g. classroom interaction, media discourse, courtroom discourse). For CA, however, such concepts are not to be defined *a priori*; rather, their relevance for those participating in an interaction is to be sought in and grounded through the analysis of the data, e.g. when participants are oriented to tasks and functions that are conventionally associated with a particular institution. It is in this sense, then, that the attribute "institutional" is employed (Drew and Heritage 1992: 22–25). One of the respects in which institutional talk has been found to vary systematically from ordinary conversation is in the organization of turn-taking, for example through the pre-allocation of questions and answers (cf. news interviews). Such specialized (and distinctive for different institutional contexts) turn-taking systems may entail further "reductions and specializations of the available set of conversational options" which are conventional and culturally variable (Drew and Heritage 1992: 26). Of primary interest to the present discussion is the fact that institutional constraints may affect both the sequential organization of the interaction in an institutional setting as well as its overall structural organization involving specific phases and their order (e.g., classroom discourse). Consequently, a discussion of the phases of such discourse types would require an extensive examination of the contextual contingencies. Given space constraints, the present discussion will be limited (for reasons of comparison) to a few minor instances.

3.   The opening phase

Our focus, as already mentioned, will be on telephone calls, which stand proxy to other non-mediated forms of everyday interaction. However, telephone calls lack the 'accidental' nature of some other encounters insofar as "calling" somebody presupposes the intentional activity of dialing a certain number and can, thus, be taken (except for the marginal case of calling somebody by mistake) to entail a reason for calling (cf. also Hutchby and Barnett 2005: 154). This is particularly evident in the case of institutional calls, where the reason-for-call is tailored to the purposes and functions of a specific institution. So the opening phase is an opening *towards* the reason for the call.

3.1.   The canonical opening

Opening a telephone conversation, or any conversation for that matter, involves multiple organizational tasks that get accomplished through four main sequence types (core sequences), each of which revolves around the solution of at least one

organizational task (cf. e.g. Schegloff 1986). The *summons-answer* sequence in telephone discourse is the very first step towards launching a conversation. It ensures a working acoustic channel and the availability of the recipient. This sequence consists of the summons, i.e. the ringing of the telephone, which is eventually answered by somebody at the other end of the line who then picks up the phone and says e.g. *Hello?* (answer). Next comes the *identification/recognition* sequence in which the (individual or categorial) identities of caller and answerer are established through self-identification and/or other-recognition. The third sequence (*exchange of greetings*) is "the regular form for the accomplishment and display of reciprocal recognition or satisfactory reciprocal identification (although these can be accomplished by other forms of talk). They put persons, according to Goffman's formulation, into a state of ratified mutual participation; the talk can proceed" (Schegloff 1986: 129). Finally, in the fourth position *initial inquiries*, like *How are you?* can be exchanged, before the caller proceeds to the so-called 'anchor position', where the reason for the call is introduced Schegloff (1986: 116). As Schegloff emphasizes, there is no one-to-one mapping between sequence types and organizational tasks. Moreover, the realization of the core sequences can be either 'serial' (one turn realizing the first part of the sequence, next turn the second part of the sequence, and so on, such that each sequence comes after the previous one has been completed) or 'interlocking' (e.g. one turn realizes the last part of one sequence and the first of the next sequence).

Despite, then, their seemingly routine character, openings are not mechanical repetitions of a ritual procedure but are rather managed cooperatively by the participants on a turn-by-turn basis. In other words, the possibility of variation is already built-in in the conceptualization of the canonical opening. However, the way in which an opening is accomplished is consequential for the rest of the conversation.

3.2.   Cross-cultural variation in the opening phase

Looking into the specific means for opening a telephone conversation in languages other than English lends itself to taking a next step and asking about the validity of the canonical opening in cultures other than the US. In other words, the question can be posed whether, for instance, openings across cultures have the same constituents and whether these constituents appear in the same sequential order and/or materialize in the same way.[3] More important for the present discussion, however, is the fact that some types of variation are consequential for the structure of the opening phase.

A first finding in this direction has to do with the type of answer that is provided to the summons. In some Northern European countries, the answer to the summons consists of the self-identification of the answerer. This has consequences for the structure of the opening as it conflates (part of) the second core sequence with the first one (pulling it to first speaking position). Such is the case in The Netherlands

(Houtkoop-Steenstra 1991), Sweden (Lindström 1994), and Finland (e.g. Arminen and Leinonen 2006), where people normally answer the phone by stating their name (family name or first name or both) in contrast to US *Hello?* Answering the phone at home by stating one's name (eventually together with a *Hallo?* or a greeting formula) is also common in Germany (see for example Berens 1981, Brinker and Sager 1989; Pavlidou 1991, 1994); however, this seems to be changing over time, especially in metropolitan areas (e.g. Berlin) and among younger people. Moreover, in Northern European countries the answerer's self-identification is usually followed by the caller's self-identification. This pattern contrasts with a preference for other-recognition on the basis of minimal voice samples in some other countries, besides the USA, e.g. Greece and China (cf. e.g. Pavlidou 1994 and Sifianou 2002 for Greek; Luke 1996 and Sun 2002 for Chinese), where self-identification is associated with workplace and business calls.

Despite differences in the realization of the answer across cultures, the presence of the summons-answer sequence in all phone calls is undisputed. By contrast, the relative prominence of other core sequences seems to be more susceptible to cultural variation. Greetings, for example, appear to be an integral component of Swedish (Lindström 1994) as well as of Finnish (Arminen and Leinonen 2006) openings, but not of Greek ones (Sifianou 2002). Moreover, variation has been found with respect to the fourth core sequence (initial inquiries), ranging from full suspension to mandatory inclusion in some countries. Finnish openings lack reciprocal ritual inquiries, so that the anchor position comes immediately after the exchange of greetings; if such inquiries do appear before the reason for calling, they are oriented to not as part of a conventional call opening routine but as an information seeking question (Arminen and Leinonen 2006: 344). On the other hand, such inquiries or other kinds of expressions associated with phatic talk appear to play a much more prominent role in Greek openings as compared to German ones (e.g. Pavlidou 1994), and also in Chinese openings (e.g. Sun 2004a).

While Schegloff approaches the initial inquiries sequence from a strictly structural perspective, i.e. as providing "a formal opportunity for the other party to make some current state of being a matter of joint priority concern" (1986: 118), other researchers have commented on the importance of these inquiries for different cultures from a politeness point of view. For example, Coronel-Molina (1998: 53) remarks that regardless of the ultimate purpose of a telephone call (or visit) "Hispanic etiquette requires that the participants first inquire after the health and/or activities of each other's family members". Similarly, Pavlidou (1991, 1994) has argued that it is part of the politeness understanding in Greek culture to include phatic talk in the opening; by contrast, in German culture, refraining from phatic talk (or, to put it differently, taking the shorter way to the reason for the call) is the preferred way. The fore-grounding of the interactional aspects of communication – mostly in relation to a positive politeness orientation – has been highlighted, for example, in the attention to recipients' social status in *taarof* (ritual politeness) in

Persian openings (Taleghani-Nikazm 2002), in the invited guessing of the caller's identifications in Chinese openings (Sun 2002) and in the playfulness and humor in Greek openings (Antonopoulou and Sifianou 2003).

It is important to underscore that the variation mentioned above does not actually challenge the universality/validity of the organizational tasks that have to be accomplished in the opening; rather, it concerns the ways in which they get done in different cultures in relation to differing preferences and norms within those cultures. What is of greater relevance to the discussion of phases, though, is the fact that certain preferences have an effect on the structure and length of the opening; thus, self-identifying in the answer to the summons, reduces the total number of core sequences and, consequently, the length of the canonical opening. This, then, leads, e.g., to a shorter opening phase in Finland than in the US, the Finnish opening phase consisting of three core sequences, the first two of which are interlocked (summons – answer [=self-identification of the recipient] – self-identification of the caller), the third of which is the exchange of greetings (Arminen and Leinonen 2006).

3.3.   Openings in mobile phone calls

The few studies available to date on conversation over mobile phone arose from essentially the same questions, i.e. whether and how the technological features of mobile telephony affect the structuring of the call opening. Hutchby and Barnett (2005), who conducted one of the first studies that offers detailed analysis of mobile telephone talk using naturalistic data, argue that such openings are not necessarily managed differently from landline phone call openings in the UK. On the other hand, their study also shows that there are subtle modifications in the organization of openings over the mobile phone related to two fundamental features of mobile telephony, namely (1) the portability of handsets which may lead to topicalization of the location of the recipient, and (2) the one-to-one mapping of handsets to individual users which may reduce the significance of the identification/recognition sequence.

With respect to the first feature, Hutchby and Barnett (2005) found that sequences requesting or proffering information about location are present in 61 % of the calls (more precisely, during the first 20 seconds of the phone calls that were recorded). This finding demonstrates, in their view, that locational inquiries are not as extensively present as commonly assumed. Moreover, they argued that the locational inquiry sequence appears as an additional element in the opening, serving both the specification of location but also the interactionally relevant linking of location to current activity. Concerning the second feature, the individualization of the handsets (in connection with the technological affordance of caller identification), Hutchby and Barnett (2005) examined instances of "pre-voice sample" identification, i.e. cases where caller or recipient orient themselves to being able to ident-

ify their co-participant before any voice sample has been provided. Their analysis showed that participants indeed orient to the individualization of mobile handsets afforded by caller identification technology and the social practice of individual ownership of mobile numbers. As the authors illustrate in one particular case, such modifications may have severe consequences for the opening, namely, its omittance (with a direct launch into the reason for the call).

For Swedish openings, Weilenmann (2003) claims that the convention of answering the phone through self-identification by name carries over from landline to mobile phone calls (even though she cursorily mentions that mobile telephony provides different technical possibilities which might affect identification/recognition). She focuses on the question *What are you doing?*, which in her data followed the greeting and identification sequences. Weilenmann considers this "opening question" to be a means for checking for the recipient's availability for the conversation, through the specification of his/her location. She remarks that even though the mobile phone enhances one's accessibility, people retain a sense of appropriateness as to what activities belong to which locations.

In a similar vein, Arminen (2006) reports that most of the Finnish mobile phone call openings which he examined (62 out of 74) involved a sequence referring to location. This locational sequence may function as an index of availability, in particular with regard to availability for the conversation on the phone ("interactional location") or for common action ("praxiological location"). Based on the same Finnish data set as Arminen (2006), Arminen and Leinonen (2006) show that the first turn in a mobile phone call consists canonically of a greeting as opposed to self-identification in landline calls. However, self-identification in answering a mobile phone call seems to be employed when the caller's identity is cached. It may also indicate difficulty on the answerer's part to take the call. Moreover, they argue that the greeting is specifically designed for the person calling and – contrary to US *Hello?* in first speaking turn position – it is treated as a "real" greeting, making a return greeting on the caller's part relevant. The anchor position for introducing the reason for the call comes immediately after this return greeting. Thus, the mobile call opening in Finland emerges as a truncated canonical landline call opening, encompassing the following core elements: summons-answer/recipient designed greeting, return greeting. Thus, the effect of the technological changes on the organization/structuring of mobile phone call openings appears to be much more decisive in Arminen and Leinonen's (2006) data than in the UK data analyzed by Hutchby and Barnett (2005).

3.4.   Openings in institutional settings

As already mentioned, mundane phone calls are addressed to individual persons and they usually involve a reason – be it transactional or interpersonal. By contrast, institutional phone calls are addressed to holders of certain positions who are auth-

orized to provide a specific service (to which the reason for calling normally pertains) and who may remain anonymous as individuals during the call. For example, a call to an emergency number is usually made in order to ask for assistance or report some problem. Moreover, in answering such a call as an authorized call taker at an emergency center, one normally hears and understands it as a virtual emergency and as a request for assistance before any exchange between caller and call taker has taken place (cf. Zimmerman 1992). This "pre-beginning", as Zimmerman calls it, "establishes an alignment of identities which provides a particular footing for the call" (1992: 433). In such emergency calls, the summons is answered by the call taker's categorial identification, followed by a short acknowledgement and the unfolding of the reason for the call in the second speaking turn. In other words, the opening is reduced to the first two core sequences of the canonical opening in mundane phone calls. Furthermore, these two sequences take a very specialized form: summons – answer [= categorial identification] – acknowledgement, after which the caller states the reason for calling. The other two core sequences of non-institutional calls (i.e. exchange of greetings and initial inquiries) are "*routinely* absent (M. Whalen and Zimmerman 1987: 175–8; Heritage and Greatbatch 1991) for the reason that they are not relevant to essentially anonymous encounters" (Zimmerman 1992: 435, emphasis in original). The same patterning of the opening phase that characterizes American English emergency calls was also found in Italian calls to the Azienda Sanitaria di Forlì, the local health service of the city (Monzoni and Zorzi 2003). Such reduced openings more generally characterize service calls both in Italy (cf. e.g. Bercelli 2003) and other countries.[4]

The canonical opening for emergency calls described above is quite different from openings of other institutional encounters. For example, in US and British news interviews (cf. Clayman and Heritage 2002), openings (in contrast to the main body of the interview) are usually extended monologues by the interviewer, addressed to the audience and not to the other participant(s) of the encounter, the interviewee(s). These monological openings consist of the following sequences: the 'headline', in which the interviewer offers "a global characterization of the topic to be discussed" (Clayman and Heritage 2002: 60) and, sometimes, also briefly introduces the interviewees; the 'background', which provides some information on the topic; and, finally, the 'lead-in', which formally introduces the interviewees. In other words, in this institutional context, too, the last two sequences of the canonical opening are routinely absent; but, in addition, the very first sequence (summons – answer) is systematically absent, since the two parties (interviewer and interviewee[s]) appear on screen ready to go. The only core sequence of the canonical opening of mundane phone calls which also appears in news interviews is the identification sequence; but, again, this takes a very specialized form, i.e. as self-identification of the interviewer (and eventually presentation of the interviewee[s]) in the headline, addressed to the audience and not from one participant to the other.

4.   The closing phase

While the opening phase (and with it, the whole conversation) is sparked off with the summons and its status as a bridge to the reason of the call is unquestionable, multiple attempts may be made to open the closing phase. Many of these do not, however, materialize. Instead, new topics may be initiated and termination of the call can be repeatedly postponed. This is one of the intricacies characterizing the closing phase (cf. Pavlidou 1997), which is considerably less widely studied than openings.

4.1.   The canonical closing

Every telephone call ends unequivocally when the physical channel is interrupted, i.e. when the phone is "hung up". But unless there is some extremely urgent matter (emergency) or some severe conflict between the caller and the recipient, people normally arrive at this point only after working together through a number of organizational tasks, the most important of which is the suspension of the (theoretically endless) procedure of producing turns, one after the other, by different speakers (turn-taking system). More specifically, in Schegloff and Sacks' (1973: 294–295) words, the problem consists in "HOW TO ORGANIZE THE SIMULTANEOUS ARRIVAL OF THE CONVERSATIONALISTS AT A POINT WHERE ONE SPEAKER'S COMPLETION WILL NOT OCCASION ANOTHER SPEAKER'S TALK, AND THAT WILL NOT BE HEARD AS SOME SPEAKER'S SILENCE" (emphasis in original). This can be accomplished through the use of an adjacency pair (the terminal sequence), e.g. exchange of farewells, if this pair is placed sequentially after another adjacency pair that successfully initiates the closing section of the conversation. The latter (sequence for the initiation of the closing) comprises an offer to close the conversation (a *pre-closing*) followed by the acceptance of the offer to do so by the other participant.

    Pre-closings in English include one-word utterances of *We-ell*, *O.K.*, *So-oo* with downward intonation. Such utterances are only possible pre-closings because, in using them the speaker offers to close the conversation, but at the same time s/he also provides the addressee with an opportunity to reopen topic talk (mentioning a "hitherto unmentioned mentionable" [Schegloff and Sacks 1973: 304]). Only if the addressee declines this opportunity in the next turn, does the *We-ell* or *O.K.*, and so on, indeed become a pre-closing. Moreover, given that such utterances can have other uses as well, it is their sequential placing ("at the analyzable … end of a topic" [Schegloff and Sacks 1973: 305]) that allows participants to treat them as pre-closings.[5] The canonical closing consists, then, of two core sequences, organized in two adjacency pairs: pre-closing – acceptance, terminal exchange, provided that these two sequences are preceded by a sequence in which one participant offers to close down the topic (e.g. *Okay?*) and the other accepts (e.g. *All right*).

Other kinds of pre-closings include, for example, referring to caller- or recipient-specific interests (e.g. reference by the recipient to the cost of the telephone call for the caller or, on the caller's part, to possible impositions on the recipient's time), re-invocation e.g. of the reason for the call or of an arrangement to meet that was made earlier in the call or reference to some urgent reason for closing the conversation (*I have to rush to a class*). In contrast to *We-ell*, *O.K.*, etc., such pre-closings do not specifically invite further talk, although they cannot prohibit it.[6] They can also occur as optional components of the minimal/canonical closing. In all cases, they offer the possibility not only of expanding the canonical closing beyond the two sequences, but also of abandoning the closing altogether (what Button 1987 calls "moving out of closings"). Participants index such fluctuations in the trajectory of the closing, for example, by deploying misplacement markers (e.g. *By the way*, …) when introducing new materials into a closing section (Schegloff and Sacks 1973: 320) or by using high grade assessments (e.g. *Lovely!*) in order to mark the end of an inserted sequence and, thus, display expectability of the resumption of the closing (Antaki 2002: 13).

4.2.   Cross-cultural variation in the closing phase

Work on closings in languages other than English is still rather sparse (cf. e.g. Werlen 1984, and Brinker and Sager 1989 for German; Liefländer-Koistinen and Neuendorf 1991 for German and Finnish; Aston 1995 for Italian [service encounters at bookshops]), though it seems to be gaining new impetus in the last five years). Existing research has, however, offered some indications of cross-cultural variation with respect to the ways in which the core sequences get accomplished, including the specific means in different languages and cultures for doing the same kinds of tasks. For Chinese, Sun (2005) argues that, although there are pre-closing signals (meaning 'good/fine') roughly equivalent to *Okay* and *All right*, such expressions are rarely used on their own. Rather, they combine with two other expressions (with the meaning of 'that's all for now' and 'that's about it') that explicitly announce the closing in a matter-of-fact way. Similar means for initiating the closing section, i.e. by announcing that there is nothing else to say, can be found in other languages as well, e.g. Ecuadorian Spanish (Placencia 1997) and Greek (Pavlidou 2002). Interestingly, this way of initiating the closing section is in no sense bound to the interests of caller or recipient. It thus represents a type of pre-closings which is different from the American English ones as discussed by Schegloff and Sacks (1973). What Sun (2005) points to, however, is that even when similar devices are available in two languages, their deployment may be subjected to different terms of use; for example, while expressions regarding future contact, well-wishes, etc. can be found both in English and Chinese closings, certain types of content (and accordingly, expressions) are reserved for specific types of social relationships between caller and recipient.

In contrast to Chinese, in Greek there is a variety of one word utterances – associated with different parts of speech and various degrees of lexical import – that can function as possible pre-closings (cf. Pavlidou 1997, 1998b). These expressions can be used either alone or in combination with one another (and/or with other kinds of pre-closings e.g. invoking caller- or recipient-specific interests, necessity to close, etc.). The use of such expressions along with repetition (within one turn or over several turns, by the same and/or different speakers) and other features, such as overlaps and latching, means that Greek closing phases are lengthier, with less neat dyadic structures, relative to the German closings in Pavlidou's (1997, 1998b) data. Similar observations have been made e.g. with respect to repetition in Ecuadorian Spanish closings (Placencia 1997) and also with regard to the length of Chinese closings in comparison to American English ones (Sun 2005). Such findings are attributed to a stronger fore-grounding of the interpersonal aspects of interaction/communication in certain communities (cf. e.g. Placencia 1997, Pavlidou 1998a, Sun 2005) with regard to the solving of the organizational problems in closing a conversation. As has been argued (Pavlidou 2008), the canonical closing captures the interactional work necessary for the smooth completion of the conversation as it builds on the partners' consensus to part and, thus, forestalls feelings of rejection or animosity (cf. Laver 1975, 1981). While some cultures seem to favor an "interactionally economical solution" (Pavlidou 2002: 225) to the organizational problem along the lines of the canonical closing, in others this is marked for, e.g., urgency, place, situation, etc., as seems to be the case in Greek closings between familiars. In these latter cultures, participants prefer to provide each other with abundant tokens of involvement and agreement, such as repetition, overlaps, particles of familiarity, etc., in other words, an "interactionally exuberant solution" (Pavlidou 2002: 225). On the other hand, Bolden's work (2008), points to aspects of relationship maintenance and reaffirmation in closings that do not affect the overall length of this phase in conversation. Her detailed examination of the use of the Russian "delay" particle *-to* in closings of phone calls between friends and family members shows that it is deployed selectively, namely when the participant who initiated the closing raises new issues which, however, are other-attentive (e.g. asking *How are you?*). The particle *-to* has thus been found to mark not only the structural delay of a particular turn/action, but also to display a sensitivity to interactional roles and responsibilities. In other words, *-to* also marks the speaker's accountability for the delay.

Once again, it should be stressed that none of the studies above questions the validity of the two crucial components of the closing section as proposed by Schegloff and Sacks (1973). What they draw attention to are aspects of the management of interpersonal relationships across cultures that may go beyond the structural requirements of closing a conversation.

4.3.   Other kinds of variation in closings

With respect to mobile telephony, the few studies available to date do not address how closings are accomplished in mobile phone calls. The main reason is presumably that the technological developments up to now have not led to any changes regarding the termination of a phone call. One might therefore expect that the structure of closing mobile phone calls does not diverge from that of a landline call.

As for institutional settings, there is some evidence that the overall restrictions to which interaction is subject in such contexts impacts on the way in which the closing section is structured. For example, in the case of emergency phone calls, Zimmerman comments in a footnote that as soon as the business of the call is accomplished, the call, being monotopical, "can, and indeed should, be ended" (Zimmerman 1992: 465; the closing itself is compressed as compared to the closing section of ordinary conversation consisting in "[a] brief exchange of *thank yous* and *byes*". In a different kind of monotopical phone call (inquiries for directory assistance on a US campus), Clark and French (1981) found that over 60 % of the calls ended without *good-byes.* The authors regard this finding as consistent with their view that the *good-bye* exchange builds the last step in the leave-taking subsection of the closing. This subsection is optional, serving the purpose of reaffirming the relationship between the participants. Consequently, if there is no need for reaffirming "each other's acquaintance", then leave-taking (including *good-byes*) will be missing, and the call ends with e.g. *Thank you – You're welcome*.[7] Similarly, Sun (2004b) found that Chinese business calls usually end with *thank you* on the customer's part rather than *good-bye* (whereas the Chinese equivalent of *good-bye* is always present in calls between acquaintances). She argues that this reflects the unequal relationship between customers and service providers – the latter being held to be more powerful than the callers. In any case, the outcome is reduced closings as compared with the canonical closing of a mundane phone call.

For news interviews, on the other hand, it is time restrictions that play a major role since such interviews have to be accomplished within a specific time slot and fit into the overall broadcasting schedule. As Clayman and Heritage (2002: 73–74) underscore, "a great deal of the closing process can be understood as a solution to the problem of how to bring an unscripted interaction to close in accordance with a prearranged schedule". In place of ritualized farewells, the news interviews examined by Clayman and Heritage (2002) regularly terminate with the expression of thanks on the interviewers' part, optionally followed by an acknowledgement by the interviewee. This terminal exchange, however, is not preceded by an initiation of the closing section that allows for the possibility of further topic talk (be it a continuation of the last topic or introducing a new topic). Rather here "[t]he relevance of termination is established through practices that occur as components of, or are embedded within, turns devoted to some other business – either within the interviewer's final *thanks*, or within earlier questioning turns" (2002: 77). So, instead,

the interviewer prefaces his/her *thanks* with a winding down that neither projects nor receives response from the interviewee, e.g. announcing the necessity for closing. Alternatively, the interviewer may try earlier in the course of the interview, i.e. before his/her terminal turn, to wind down the interaction by indicating e.g. that this is *the last question.* For a different type of interview, the academic advising interview (which is time-bounded as well, but also monotopical) Hartford and Bardovi-Harlig (1992) argue that the closing section, while retaining the structure of the canonical closing, does not felicitously embrace reinvocation of previously negotiated matters, as discussed by Schegloff and Sacks (1973) for natural conversation.

5.   The medial phase: remarks and illustration

As already mentioned, calling somebody is not like running into someone accidentally. Hence, a telephone call involves a reason – a feature that impacts on its organization and on the participants' orientations. Ordinarily, the reason for the call is the first topic addressed in the telephone call by the caller in the anchor position. It occurs after completion of the (four) core sequences of the opening section (cf. 3.1.). This is the point, then, that marks the transition from the opening to the medial phase. Sometimes (due to, e.g., urgency, follow-up calls, etc.), though, the reason for calling may be 'preempted' (cf. Schegloff 1986: 133–134), i.e. presented in an earlier position. In such a case, the number of sequences in the opening phase is reduced. Alternatively, the reason for the call may be deferred to a later position because priority is given, either by caller or called, to some other matter, e.g. to noise in the background, delay in answering the phone, etc. In addition, the how-are-you sequence itself provides an opportunity for making "some current state of being a matter of joint priority concern" (Schegloff 1986: 118), and thus for initiating topic talk prior to the reason for calling. Moreover, on some occasions, e.g. when previous attempts to reach the caller were unsuccessful, it may be the recipient who initiates or introduces the first topic, either in the anchor position or preemptively.[8]

  Clearly, talk in the medial phase does not have to be limited to just one topic, i.e. the reason for the call. Moreover, the medial phase of mundane phone calls, unlike their openings (and closings), is not characterized by 'routine' or 'ritualized' sequence formats. By contrast, institutional calls are ordinarily monotopical, the reason for the call being related to the task/service that is specific to that institution, and their medial phase, as interaction in institutional settings more generally, is "organized into a standard shape or order of phases" (cf. Drew and Heritage 1992: 43). For example, in emergency calls (cf. Zimmerman 1992), the medial phase is initiated through a *request for help* (the reason for the call) in the form of a direct request, a report or description of the problem, or a narrative. This is followed by an *interrogative series* in order to specify the nature of the problem and the kind of assistance needed. Finally, a *response* on the part of the call taker closes the medial

phase. Monzoni and Zorzi (2003) also found the medial phase of Italian emergency phone calls to go through the same type of turns, although partly realized differently in the two languages.[9] In mundane phone calls, on the other hand, even if the medial phase is taken to consist of topic talk (cf. e.g. Henne and Rehbock 1979: 186–187), and this talk is not restricted to one topic, there is no standard shape with respect to the introduction, development and closure of topics in all medial phases.

Entering into topic talk in everyday conversation can be accomplished in several ways, including topic nomination, topic solicitation, topic-proffering. Topic nomination can be accomplished, for example, in the form of 'news announcements', produced as partial reports on a speaker-related activity about which the recipient is assumed to have some knowledge, e.g. *John came this morning*, preceded by topic markers like *Uh:m*, *listen*, etc. (Button and Casey 1985: 21–26). Topics can be solicited, for example, through the use of 'topic initial elicitors' (*What have you been up to?*), which invite the recipient to propose a topic related to his/her activities (Button and Casey 1984). Finally, in topic proffering, a speaker proposes a 'recipient-oriented' topic (mostly in the form of a yes/no-question, e.g. *Was the party fun?*), without, however, actively launching it (Schegloff 2007: 169–189).

Topic development then unfolds accordingly. When a topic is proffered and the recipient "embraces" it (Schegloff 2007: 171), for example, this minimal sequence gets expanded, sometimes into quite extensive talk. In such a case, the topic gets closed through a particular three-turn sequence specifically designed to close long sequences or topics "collaboratively and interactionally" (Schegloff 2007: 186).[10] In other cases, a particular topic can be closed through a step-by-step shift (topic shading) or through a disjunctive shift (cf. misplacement markers in section 4.1.) to another topic.

However, since in the medial phase of a phone call – as elsewhere, for that matter – people do not simply talk about something (topic, sub-topic, etc.) but also do things, the medial phase can be approached more generally in terms of *sequence organization* (cf. Schegloff 2007: 1, 113–114), which, as noted above, does not fall under a 'ritual' format. I would like to demonstrate this by sketching an analysis of the medial phase in a particular phone call as a series of sequences through which certain actions get accomplished. Although the focus here is on the medial phase, it is useful to take the whole phone call into account, so that a) points discussed earlier with respect to the opening and closing phases can be illustrated as well, b) the full sequential context in which the medial phase is embedded, i.e. the opening and closing phases, and the relevant transitions become evident, and c) the non-standard shape of the medial phase is better appreciated in juxtaposition to the, more or less, "routine" sequence formats that generally characterize opening and closing phases. The phone call[11] (38 seconds) presented below in its transcribed form is characterized throughout by a quick tempo, many overlaps and lots of latching. Eleni, a university student, calls her aunt who lives in the same city, apparently in order to specify the modalities of her visit to her aunt's home.

Transcript 1

				OPENING PHASE	
01		((telephone rings))		**summons**	
02	Aunt	Ναι?		**answer**	SEQ1
		'Yes?'			
03	Eleni	Έλα θεία¿		**recognition**	
		come-you-IMP aunt			
		'Hey aunt?'			SEQ2
04	Aunt	Α: έλα (Ελενίτσα [μ).]		**recognition**	
		INTERJ come-you-IMP NAME-DIM mine-D			
		'Oh hey (my little Eleni).'			
05	Eleni	[Τι] κάνεις?=		**initial inquiry**	
		what do-you			
		'How are you?'			
06	Aunt	=Καλά είμαι. εσύ?=		**respond + reciprocate**	SEQ3
		well am-I you			
		'I'm O.K. what about you?'			
07	Eleni	=Ωραία. [μια χαρά.]		**respond**	
		nicely a joy			
		'Fine. just fine.'			
				MEDIAL PHASE	
08	Aunt	[Στο σπίτι] είμαι. δεν πάω: γιατί:		F_{pre}	
		at-the home am-I not go-I because			
		'I'm at home. I'm not going because'			
09		το: μεσημέρι κουρεύτηκα.			
		the noon got-I-haircut			PRE SEQUENCE
		'I had my hair cut at noon.'			
10	Eleni	Α:. το με[ση]μέρι?=		F_{ins}	
		INTERJ the noon			
		'Oh. at noon?'			
11	Aunt	[Ναι.]		S_{ins}	
		'Yes.'			

12	Aunt	= Τι κάνεις [εσύ?]	+F_pre
		what do-you you	
		'What are you doing?'	
13	Eleni	[Εγώ]: γι' αυτό άργησα [να] 'ρθώ,	S_pre
		I for this was-I-late to come-I	
		'Me that's why I didn't come earlier,'	
14	Aunt	[Α.]	SCT
		'Oh.'	
15	Eleni	λέω θα 'χει πάει στο κομμωτήριο. [γι' αυτό.]	+S_pre
		say-I will has-she gone to-the hairdresser for this	
		'I said to myself she'll have gone to the hairdresser's. that's why.'	
16	Aunt	[Ο:χι] όχι.	NMPE(+S_pre)
		'No no.'	
17	Eleni	Α[: να 'ρθώ?]	F_b
		INTERJ to come-I	
		'Oh shall I come?'	
18	Aunt	[(Το πρωί πήγα.)] ό:πως θέλεις. έλ[α (…..)]	+NMPE(+S_pre), S_b
		the morning went-I as want-you come-IMP-you	
		'I went there in the morning. As you wish. come (….)'	
19	Eleni	[Εγώ θα] 'ρθώ:,	F_post
		I will come-I	
		'Me, I' ll come,'	
20		[εφ]τά η ώρα έχω μάθημα στη	
		seven the hour have-I lesson at-the	
		'I have a class at seven o'clock'	
21	Aunt	[Ναι.]	minimal response
		'Yes.'	
22	Eleni	σχο[λή, θα φύγω μετά. κατευθείαν από 'κεί.]	
		school shall leave-I afterwards directly from there	
		'at the university, I'll leave then. straight from there.'	
23	Aunt	[Α. έ:λα (πιδί μ'. αφού-) ε: κοίτα] κι αν δεν	S_post, +S_post
		INTERJ come-IMP-you child-D mine-D since uh look-IMP-you and if not	
		'Oh. come (my child. since-)uh look and if'	

The rightmost column spans: rows 12–16 are grouped as **PRE SEQUENCE**; rows 17–18 as **BASE SEQ**.

24		μπο[ρείς να: δεν είν' απαραίτητο να τρέχεις] αγώνες	S_post, +S_post
		can-you to not is necessary to run-you races	
		'you can't you don't have to run'	
25	Eleni	[.h Όχι όχι, μπορώ. μπορώ]	NMPE(+S_post)
		no no can-I can-I	
		'.h No no, I can. I can.'	
26	Aunt	[δρόμου.]	NMPE(+S_post)
		road-GEN	
		'races.'	
27	Eleni	[Θα 'ρθώ] λίγο έτσι εκεί να σε δω, και θα φύγω	NMPE (F_post) =Fx
		shall come-I a-little so there to you see-I and shall leave-I	
		'I'll just come by to see you, and I'll leave'	
28		μετά. °από ['κεί.°]	
		afterwards from there	
		'then. from there.'	
29	Aunt	[Νά] η Τίνα διαμαρτύρεται ρε μ-	Fz
		DEICTIC PART the NAME-FEM protests FAMIL PART	
		'It's just that Tina is complaining m-'	
30		συμμορφώθηκε, αλλά σε περιμένει.=	
		complied-she but you waits	
		'she has complied, but she's expecting you.'	
31	Eleni	=Α: καλά.=	Sz
		INTERJ well	
		'Oh O.K.'	
32	Aunt	=(N[αι.)]	Sx
		'Yes.'	

POST SEQUENCE

		C L O S I N G P H A S E	
33	Eleni	[Έ]γινε. θεία [έρχομαι. . h h ε:]=	pre-closing + summary
		done aunt come-I uh	
		'O.K. aunt, I' m coming. .hh uh'	

SEQ1

34	Aunt	[(Έγινε) πουλάκι μου.]=	accept	SEQ1
		done bird-DIM mine		
		'O.K. sweetie.'		
35	Eleni	=[νυ]χοκόπτη θα φέρω 'γώ.	moving-out: related topic	SEQ2
		nail-clippers shall bring-I I		
		'I'll bring the nail clippers.'		
36	Aunt	=[(ναι.)]	SCT plus closing SEQ1	
		'Yes.'		
37	Eleni	ε[ντάξει?]	offer to close the moving-out seq.	
		'all right?'		
38	Aunt	[Ναι. νυ]χοκόπτη φέρε [συ γιατί] αυτό	accept, moving out again	SEQ3
		yes nail-clippers bring-IMP-you you because this		
		'Yes. you bring the nail clippers because this one'		
39	Eleni	[Έγινε.]	SCT plus closing SEQ2	
		done		
		'O.K.'		
40	Aunt	μ' καταγρατσούν'σε [°(πάλι).° άντε]=	cont.moving-out +	
		me scratched-it-D again so-then		
		'have scratched me a lot again. so then'	pre-closing	
41	Eleni	[Έγινε θ ε ί α.]=	SCT plus closing SEQ3 plus pre-closing	SEQ4
		done aunt		
		'O.K. aunt.'		
42	Aunt	=[γεια.]	1st terminal	SEQ5
		'bye.'		
43	Eleni	=[άντε.] >°γεια γεια.<	2nd terminal	
		'so then. bye bye.'		

To give a quick preview of the analysis, let me mention that, interestingly, in this particular phone call, no reason-for-call is ever explicitly articulated. Rather, in the anchor position (line 08) it is the aunt who announces (first topic) that she is at home, launching a sequence that seems to work towards Eleni's offer to come (F_b, line 17), which is then accepted by the aunt (S_b, line 18). I consider this minimal sequence (*base sequence*) in lines 17–18 to be the *base adjacency pair* around which the whole medial phase revolves and which contains the reason-for-call. What I am suggesting, in other words, is that the medial phase consists of three main sequences: a *pre-sequence* (lines 08–16) which seems to work towards a request on the aunt's part (i.e. that Eleni comes); a *base sequence* (lines 17–18) in which Eleni pre-empts her aunt's request and offers to come; and a *post-sequence* (lines 19–32) which elaborates on Eleni's offer by indicating the time restrictions that this offer is subject to and, correspondingly, on the aunt's momentary stepping back from her implicit request.

Let us now look a bit more closely at the sequence organization of the three phases, although no detailed account for this analysis can be offered here. The opening phase comprises quite straightforwardly three core sequences in the expected order (cf. 3.1), namely a summons-answer sequence (lines 01–02), a recognition sequence (lines 03–04),[12] and an initial inquiries sequence (reciprocal how-are-you's with responses, lines 05–07; more accurately, this is a sequence of two sequences in interlocking organization). In line with the comments made in 3.2 on Greek openings, however, it is to be noted that participants do not self-identify; rather, mutual recognition is achieved through voice sample (line 02), in connection perhaps with the 'signature hello' of the aunt (Ναι 'yes')[13] and Eleni's knowledge about who usually answers the phone in this particular household, address forms ('aunt', line 03), etc. Note further that while there is a full range of phatic exchanges (lines 05–07), there is no greetings sequence.

Line 08, as already mentioned, marks the beginning of the medial phase. However, no reason for the call is given at this point. The aunt's announcing her being at home and her explaining why this is so (F_{pre}, lines 08–09) indicates that something special may be going on here. Eleni's reaction in line 10, in which the time of the aunt's haircut is topicalized, provides evidence of the fact that there has been a change in some prior arrangement between Eleni and the aunt (insertion sequence: $F_{ins} - S_{ins}$, lines 10–11). The aunt goes on to ask (topic solicitation) what Eleni is doing ($+F_{pre}$, line 12). Eleni does not reply directly to this question, but registers her delay in visiting the aunt (S_{pre}, line 13) by way of referring (notice the indexical γι' αυτό 'for this') cataphorically to the reason for this delay; the reason is then presented in line 15 ($+S_{pre}$) – bearing further evidence for the change in the aunt's and Eleni's plans. This is, then, the adjacency pair ($F_{pre}+F_{pre} - S_{pre}+S_{pre}$) that builds the *base adjacency pair of the pre-sequence*. The aunt's 'Oh' in line 14 (SCT) marking her uptake of Eleni's $+S_{pre}$ closes the sequence. But when Eleni proceeds to the grounds for her delay, i.e. her assumption that the aunt would be at the hair-

dresser's ($+S_{pre}$, line 15), the aunt rejects this assumption in a non-minimal post-expansion (NMPE), where she: a) contradicts Eleni outright (cf. NMPE($+S_{pre}$) in line 16), and b) repeats, in a slightly changed version as compared to line 09, the time of her going to the hairdresser's (NMPE($+S_{pre}$), first part of line 18). The pre-sequence is closed by Eleni's uptake 'Oh' (S_m, line 17). The second part of line 18 is the second part (S_b) of the *base sequence*, responding to the first part (F_b, line 17), i.e. Eleni's offer to go to the aunt's place.

The *base adjacency pair of the post-sequence* following the base sequence is $F_{post} – S_{post}$. More specifically, F_{post} (lines 19, 20, 22) is a non-minimal post-expansion of S_b, in which Eleni topicalizes (note the syntactically redundant occurrence of the personal pronoun εγώ 'I' in line 19) the 'coming' (mentioned in line 18). The aunt responds minimally (line 21) and aligns (S_{post}, line 23) with the F_{post}, but then suggests ($+S_{post}$ [note the self-interruption in line 23], lines 23, 24, 26) that, if Eleni can't make it, she should not go into that much trouble. Eleni, in partial overlap with the aunt's turn, turns down this suggestion in a non-minimal post-expansion of $+S_{post}$ (NMPE($+S_{post}$), line 25); she then goes back to her F_{post} and reworks it in a non-minimal post-expansion (NMPE $F_{post}=Fx$ lines 27–28). The aunt reacts (Fz) to this (lines 29–30) by what appears to be unrelated to Fx (topic shift; note the discourse deictic particle Νά 'there' introducing the turn) but which seems to be a re-working of her $+S_{post}$ (lines 23–24, 26) that enhances the aunt's implicit request. Eleni's assessement (Sz, line 31) shows that she complies with that and closes the inserted topic. Finally, the aunt, in line 32, accepts (Sx, line 32) Eleni's renewed offer to come (Fx, lines 27–28) and at the same time ends the post-sequence.

After closing the last topic in the post-sequence, the interaction proceeds to the closing phase which comprises five sequences. However, due to the many overlaps and repetition (cf. the remarks on Greek closings in 4.2.) as well as to the extreme interlocking organization of the sequences it is rather difficult to give a short and at the same time transparent description of the sequence organization of the last phase. The closing phase is initiated with the pre-closing[14] followed by the summary ('I'm coming') in line 33. The offer to close is accepted – in overlap with Eleni's summary – in line 34, followed by a sequence closing third (line 36) addressed to the summary in line 33. This builds then the first core sequence of the last phase. Note, however, the hesitation marker ('uh') in line 33 which leads into a short moving out of the closing that raises a related 'mentionable' (bringing the nail-clippers, line 35) to the reason-for-call. Eleni then offers to close (line 37) this moving out in almost full overlap with line 38 in which the aunt aligns with the 'mentionable'. This second sequence closes with Eleni's SCT in line 39. The aunt, however, continues in line 38 and most of line 40, moving out (third sequence) of closing again and revealing that Eleni's visit was not oriented to as a mere dropping by, but was connected with a very practical purpose – cutting the aunt's (?) nail(s). This is probably why the aunt was keen to announce her availability but never articulated an explicit request. In overlap with Eleni's alignment in line 41 which can be seen as both clos-

ing the third sequence and re-initiating the closing, functioning as a pre-closing at the same time, the aunt produces άντε (end of line 40), which functions as a SCT and as an acceptance of the pre-closing (this would then be the fourth sequence). Lines 42 and 43 comprise the terminal sequence (second core sequence).

6. Concluding remarks

In this chapter, it was argued that in order to talk about phases in discourse an account of both the internal structure of each phase and of the transitions from one phase to another has to be provided within the same theoretical framework. While several scholars have talked of three phases in discourse and offered insightful analyses (e.g. Laver 1975, Henne and Rehbock 1979), their analytical tools and/or empirical grounding do not enable a more general and principled account of the organizational problems, the units and the architecture/structuring of discourse. For this reason the present discussion of phases in discourse was largely informed by the CA perspective, since this allows, among other things, an understanding of the overall structure of conversation (talk, discourse, interaction, communication) but also of the local management of the conversational contingencies at each step leading to that structure.

In order to be able to look more closely at the details of phase organization, a particular type of discourse that has played a pivotal role in CA work, the telephone call, was taken as the basis for our discussion. Accordingly, the opening, the closing and the medial phase of telephone calls were considered as a series of sequences. The standard shape of the opening and closing phases was juxtaposed to the less routinely shaped medial phase, and the transitions from non-discourse to the opening phase, from the opening to the medial phase, from that to the closing phase, and finally to the end of the call were examined. At the same time, whenever possible, the effects of cultural, technological and institutional factors on the structuring of phases, e.g. number and type of sequences were discussed. Thus, mundane telephone calls were contrasted with institutional calls and landline calls with mobile phone calls. In addition, cross-cultural variation was taken into account. Finally, the sequential organization of one discourse unit into phases, together with the sequence organization of each phase, were illustrated through the detailed analysis of one particular telephone call.

It was, thus, shown that the sequential approach to phases allows for an understanding of both 'routine' (opening and closing phases) and non-standardly shaped phases (medial phase) and for the systematic examination of the impact of cultural, technological, institutional factors on the structuring of phases in discourse. More generally, it was shown that from a CA point of view, phases can be conceived of as a series of sequences of different types through which certain activities get accomplished (cf. e.g. Schegloff 2007), and discourse as a set of successive phases.

Acknowledgement

Notes

1. In a certain sense this is tantamount to deciding what 'discourse' is – an issue dealt with in Fetzer (this volume).
2. In such a case, phatic communion is approached as a discourse type, closely associated (especially by those writing about the English language) with 'small talk' (cf. e.g. Schneider 1988). However, there seems to be no general understanding as to what the exact relationship (synonymy, hyponymy and in what direction) between the two discourse types is. For a more dynamic approach to small talk within sociolinguistics broadly speaking, see Coupland (2000) and the volume edited by Coupland (2000).
3. Work referred to in this section – though not necessarily informed by CA principles – has all been conducted with recorded data that was collected before the technological innovations of the 1990s (most importantly caller identification displays) affected landline telephony.
4. For cultural differences between Italian and e.g. Spanish or German openings of service calls, see the volume edited by Thüne and Leonardi (2003).
5. The topic closing of 'monotopical conversations', i.e. those which are produced "from their beginnings with an orientation to their expectable monotopicality" (Schegloff and Sacks 1973: 307) and do not simply contain a single topic (a fact that can only be established when the conversation is actually closed), may be accomplished through the pre-closing itself.
6. According to Schegloff and Sacks (1973: 314), for the possible pre-closings *We-ell*, *O.K.*, etc. "[C]losing is the central possibility, further talk is alternative to it". Further differences include: pre-closings like *I have to rush to a class* announce the warrant for closing, instead of embodying it as *We-ell*, *O.K.*, etc., do (311). Also, they don't have to be placed after a topic has been closed down (308).
7. However, Aston (1995) has shown that in face-to-face interactions between assistants and customers in English and Italian bookshops (another type of service encounter), 'thanks' is used when ratification of referential and/or role alignment is needed. As Aston (1995) argues, as far as ratification of referential alignment is concerned, similar procedures are to be found in his Italian and English data. However, ratification of role alignment seems to be handled differently due to cultural differences in the preferred modes of managing the remedial work that precedes ratification.
8. There is also some cross-cultural evidence for this. Luke (2002), for example, in his study on the initiation and introduction of first topics in Hong Kong telephone calls shows that participants orient to the reason for the call in the anchor position and that preemptions or deferrals follow similar patterns as those observed in the US calls.

9. Yotsukura (2002: 155) shows for a different kind of phone call, namely Japanese business phone calls seeking assistance for resolving customer service-related problems, that after the opening phase and a transition section, "a general report of a business-related problem, or at least a series of details relating to such a problem" is/are presented, followed by "a section summarizing the matters discussed, which may include an offer or assurance of assistance".

10. In such a "dedicated sequence-closing sequence" (Schegloff 2007: 186–194), a speaker proposes a possible closing of the topic (or of the sequence) by e.g. offering a summary, an assessment or an aphoristic formulation of the outcome of the topic/sequence (first turn). In the second turn, the recipient collaborates in closing down the topic/sequence by aligning with (the action or stance displayed in) the previous turn. In the third turn, the first speaker then ratifies the recipient's alignment. Cf. also Schegloff and Sacks (1973: 305–307) on topic-bounding techniques.

11. The phone call is drawn from the *Corpus of Spoken Greek* compiled under the author's direction. It has been transcribed according to the CA transcription conventions (cf. e.g. Schegloff 2007). The glossing of the Greek text is omitted in those lines where the correspondence between Greek and English is immediately recognizable; moreover, details on case, tense, number, etc. in the Greek text have been provided only when absolutely necessary. The following abbreviations are also used: IMP=imperative, NAME=personal name, FEM=feminine, GEN=genitive, DIM=diminutive, INTERJ=interjection, DEICT PART=deictic particle, FAM PART=particle of familiarity, D=dialectal accent; F=first pair part and S=second pair part, with the indices "b", "pre", "post", "ins" referring to the base, pre-, post-, insertion sequences; SEQ=sequence; SCT=sequence closing third; NMPE (X)=non-minimal post-expansion of the turn X; +X=continuation of turn X.

12. Note the ἔλα (imperative, second person singular, of the verb 'to come') in lines 03 and 04 which, as I have argued elsewhere (Pavlidou 1995, 1998a), accomplishes and displays "reciprocal recognition or satisfactory reciprocal identification" (Schegloff 1986: 129), i.e. it functions as the greeting does in English phone calls. In mobile phone calls, and landline phone calls with caller ID, this ἔλα moves into the recipient's first turn (and the caller's first turn as well), provided that the recipient does want to display recognition. Similarly, Arminen (2005: 651, 652) observes that the Finnish speech particle *no* which is commonly used in the second speaking turn of landline phone calls has moved into the first speaking turn of mobile phone calls.

13. Greek options for answering the phone include Ναι 'yes', Μάλιστα 'yes', Εμπρός 'go ahead', Παρακαλώ 'beg-I', Ορίστε (order-IMP-2nd person plural), Λέγετε (say-IMP-2nd person plural), none of which has even remotely the flavor of a greeting, like English *hello*; instead they function as requests to the caller to proceed, i.e. they manifest the availability of the answerer in a more straightforward way. However, as Sifianou (2002) also notes, this range of options makes it easier for the answerer to develop a "signature hello" (Schegloff 1986: 123). This, in turn, may have implications for the organization of the opening, e.g. it may "trigger quite atypical playful openings" (Sifianou 2002: 53).

14. Pre-closings in Greek include expressions of agreement, e.g. οκέι ('okay'), εντάξει ('all right'), έγινε ('done', 3d person singular, past tense, indicative of the verb 'to become'), with downward intonation. In addition, the closing section can be initiated with the discourse marker λοιπόν ('so, then') and the particle άντε ('let's move on', 'so, then'),

both with downward intonation. The former is a sort of summarizing particle that rounds up what has been talked about and indicates at the same time, an orientation towards terminating the conversation. The latter shows the speaker's orientation towards termination of the call, on the assumption that mutual consensus for this exists (cf. Pavlidou 1997, 1998a).

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14.   Move structure

Betty Samraj

1.   Introduction

The analysis of discourse within genre frameworks in English for Specific Purposes commonly includes the identification of the move structure of texts, where a move is defined as a "discoursal or rhetorical unit that performs a coherent communicative function" in written or spoken discourse (Swales 2004: 228–229; Tardy and Swales, this volume). It was Swales' (1981, 1990) pioneering work on the structure of research article introductions in terms of the genre's constituent moves (e.g. *establishing a research territory*) which originally gave rise to a plethora of studies of both academic and professional discourses in terms of their move structures. These studies have focused on the rhetorical organization of texts in order to elucidate the functions that texts serve in various social contexts (such as Swales 1990, Bhatia 1993, Swales 2004, Flowerdew and Wan 2006). As such, move structure has been used to characterize the way in which different genres accomplish their communicative purpose. This chapter will discuss some key studies conducted within the framework of genre analysis that have employed move structure analysis to enhance our understanding of academic and non-academic written and spoken genres, although the majority of these studies focus on written academic genres.

This chapter will also consider the nature of the linear and hierarchical ordering of moves and their constituent steps, also an area which has been shown to be important in move structure analysis (Samraj 2002; Yang and Allison 2003). The subtleties in move structure differences across related genres will also be considered. Variation in rhetorical organization across genres from different disciplines, across sections of complex genres, and across exemplars of the same genre from different time periods has been explored. Move structure analysis has also been employed in the area of contrastive rhetoric to understand cultural variation in discourse structure (Connor 2002, 2004). Many of these analyses of move structure have highlighted variation in rhetorical organization, adding to our understanding of genre relations.

A key application of the analysis of move structure in discourse has been in the teaching of English for Academic and Research Purposes (EAP and ERP). This chapter will include a discussion of how move structure analysis has been employed in the construction of pedagogical materials for the teaching of EAP and ERP (for example, Swales and Feak 2009). An analysis of moves in abstracts accompanying master's theses, a seemingly straightforward genre, will be used to illustrate some of the complexities of move structure analysis discussed in this chapter.

2.   Genre, moves, and steps

Swales (1990: 58) defines a genre as comprising "a class of communicative events, the members of which share some set of communicative purposes." As Askehave and Swales (2001: 198) point out, this early definition suggests that "the communicative purpose of a genre (a 'privileged' criterion) shapes the genre and provides it with an internal structure – a schematic structure." Descriptions of the rhetorical structure of genres in terms of moves have represented a crucial component of genre studies that have ensued and have indeed played an important role in elucidating questions in genre theory, such as genre relatedness, genre evolution, and genre variation. The identification of the move structure of genres has also been used in reading and writing instruction. It should be pointed out, however, that the role served by the communicative purpose in a genre has been problematized by Askehave and Swales (2001). They have acknowledged a certain level of difficulty in identifying a text's communicative purpose and have noted that not all genres are characterized by a single clearly identifiable communicative purpose. As such, they suggest that in some cases the communicative purpose of a genre might be arrived at following an "extensive text-in-context inquiry", where the researcher pays considerable attention to the discourse community where the texts are produced early in the study.

As mentioned above, the rhetorical purpose of individual moves contributes to the communicative purpose of the genre as a whole. Swales (2004: 229) points out that the move is a functional unit and not a formal one although some researchers have tried to align it with a grammatical unit, such as a clause or paragraph (Crookes 1986). Delineating moves in a genre, however, has not always been performed with ease. Bloor (1998: 60) claims that identifying moves in a text "can be a difficult and contentious activity" and that experienced readers "often fail to agree on the interpretation of moves (or where they begin or end)." Swales (1990: 140) himself refers to the difficulty of distinguishing between the first and second moves (*establishing the importance of the area of research* and *summarizing research*) in his original four-move *create-a-research-space* (CARS) structure of research article introductions (Swales 1981). He uses this to justify his modification of the move structure of this part-genre. Although the move is clearly a functional unit, researchers have also turned to linguistic features to help identify moves and their boundaries (Nwogu 1997). Swales (2004: 229) acknowledges that moves and their boundaries are identified through a "mixed bag of criteria" including our intuitions based on our knowledge of text schemata (cf. also Tardy and Swales this volume). Paltridge (1994: 295) concludes in an early paper on identifying textual boundaries in genre analysis that "there are non-linguistic rather than linguistic reasons for generic staging in texts". Perhaps, because of this, a number of studies focusing on move identification include analyses by more than one researcher and measures of reliability between coders who analyze the same text independently (for example, Li and Ge 2009).

The identification of moves is often accompanied by an analysis of the linguistic features that characterize these moves (Lim 2006, Pho 2008). In recent years, the use of corpus-based methodologies has been shown to facilitate the detailed analysis of linguistic features of moves in genres (see, for example, Biber, Connor, and Upton 2007) although such analyses have been a part of earlier genre analyses before the advent of corpus linguistics.

Each rhetorical move can be realized by one or more steps (sometimes referred to as sub-moves [see Santos 1996]). For example, the move of *establishing a research niche* can be accomplished by either a *counter claim to a previous research claim* or an *establishing a research gap* step. Some genre analysts such as Henry and Roseberry (2001: 154), following Bhatia (2001), have used the notion of strategy instead "to mean how the writer or speaker chooses to realize or execute the move." Bhatia (2001: 84–7) labels some of Swales' (1990) steps in the CARS model as sub-moves and others as strategies presumably depending on whether these steps are optional. It should be noted that some researchers following Bhatia (2001), such as Kwan (2006: 34), use the term strategies only for "non-obligatory and non-sequential constituents" of moves and the "obligatory and sequential constituents" of moves are referred to as steps. Other researchers, such as Barron (2012: 100) posit that strategies are elements that can realize either moves or sub-moves. However, not all descriptions of genres comprise both levels of move and step (or strategy), although the dual level scheme has been argued to be preferable to a single level scheme both for descriptive and pedagogical purposes (Yang and Allison 2003). It should be noted though that even when a dual level structure is proposed for a genre, not every move is realized by constituent steps. In Yang and Allison's (2003) description of the organization of the results sections in research articles, for instance, some of the moves such as *reporting results* and *summarizing results* do not have constituent steps, while the moves *commenting on results* and *evaluating the study* do. Some moves are therefore more rhetorically complex than others. Steps are also functional units and can be either optional or obligatory, although, as Kwan (2006) points out, the centrality of a step in a genre has not always been given much importance.

A key aspect of genre studies has been the status of moves vis-à-vis each other. Attempts have been made to ascertain the centrality of specific moves in genres although there is some variation in how the importance of moves is determined. Some studies identify certain moves as being obligatory for that genre although many studies just note the varying frequencies of different moves. Mostly, a move is deemed obligatory if it appears in 100 % of the texts (for example, Flowerdew and Dudley-Evans 2002, Basturkmen 2012) However, some researchers, such as Li and Ge (2009: 96), state that a move has to appear only in 50 % of the texts to be considered obligatory, following Nwogu (1997). Flowerdew and Dudley-Evans (2002), in their analysis of editorial letters, identify three moves, *preparing the reader for decision*, *conveying decision* and *signing off* as obligatory and one

move, *making recommendations for revision*, as optional. However, not all genres seem to be characterized by the presence of an obligatory move. Halleck and Connor's (2006) analysis of TESOL conference proposals indicated that this genre is not characterized by an obligatory move. Their move analysis led them to the conclusion that certain genres are not as conventionalized as others and allow a greater degree of creativity than others.

Most genre analysts have not just considered moves as either obligatory or optional but have considered the importance of moves within a genre in slightly more complex ways. It is not uncommon in genre studies for authors to refer to the percentage of texts in which a particular move appears, leading to discussions of how typical, predominant, or conventional (Biber, Connor and Upton 2007) certain moves are in a particular genre. The amount of textual space devoted to a particular move and the extent to which it might be recycled have also been used as indicators of a move's importance in a genre. Yang and Allison (2003), in their analysis of results, discussion, and conclusion sections of research articles, provide a nuanced account of move structure when they point out that the moves *reporting results* and *commenting on results* are repeated more frequently in the results sections but are briefer in length, while these same moves are fewer in number but more developed in the discussion sections.

Another key component of move structure analysis is the sequential order of moves. Genres are not only characterized by a certain set of moves but the overall organization of a genre is captured in the order in which these moves tend to appear. In Swales' (1990) CARS model for research article introductions, for instance, the three moves are stipulated to appear in a particular order. In some studies, the order in which constituent steps appear has also been identified. An example of this is Yang and Allison's (2003) study, where they specify the order in which steps realizing a move tend to normally appear. The place of a move or step within the whole rhetorical structure of a genre may not always be straightforward, however. In a study of research article introductions from two related fields, Samraj (2002) discusses the difficulty in specifying the placement of the step *species description* within the first move or as an embedded component of the step *presenting goals of present research* used to realize the third move, *occupying the niche*, in a research article introduction. Establishing a move order has also been shown to be challenging in spoken discourse because of the "inherent flexibility of speech genres" (Rowley-Jolivet and Carter-Thomas 2005: 56). In their study of the move structure of conference presentation introductions, Rowley-Jolivet and Carter-Thomas (2005) state that the position of certain moves such as *outline structure/scope* can be fairly free. Similarly, an earlier study of another spoken genre, lecture introductions (Thompson 1994), also indicated variability in the sequencing of moves.

The hierarchical organization of genres is mainly captured through a description of a genre's moves and their constituent steps. A small number of studies, such

as Ayers (2008), have postulated sub-steps in their framework of analysis, giving rise to a greater depth in analysis. Some genres have been shown to be characterized by a greater degree of hierarchical complexity where one move is embedded in another. Santos (1996: 491) specifies move embedding as a characteristic of the research article abstract genre since his analysis revealed that the third move, *describing the methodology* often is embedded within the move *presenting the research* and he labels these moves with embedded moves hybrid moves. Interestingly, he points out that the embedded move is not necessarily truncated and could be well-developed. Another interesting case of move embedding is reported in Biber, Connor and Upton's (2007: 50) study of rhetorical moves in fundraising letters where two moves, *offer incentives* and *reference insert* are noted to often be embedded in other move types. These studies seem to indicate that particular moves in a genre are more likely than others to be embedded.

3.   Genre relatedness and variation

Move structure analysis has been employed in exploring questions of genre relatedness and variation. The impact of variables, such as discipline (Samraj 2002), language (Ahmad 1997) and even class size (Lee 2009), on a genre's move structure has been explored. Such studies provide insight into the ways in which move structure can be employed in exploring genre theory. I will discuss a few key studies that exemplify this.

Yang and Allison's (2003) study of various sections of the research article shows that the relationship between part-genres, sections of a genre such as results and methods, cannot be adequately captured merely in terms of differences in the moves that comprise these part-genres but rather in more nuanced features of the move configurations. Their study explores results, discussions and conclusions in applied linguistics research articles and reaches the conclusion that "though two sections have the same moves in common, they can differ quantitatively and qualitatively" (p. 377). Although some moves might be unique to one section, the careful analysis of the data shows, among other things, that the same move can appear more frequently in one section than in another. In addition, although the same move might appear in two sections such as discussion and conclusions, there might be some variation in the constituent steps. For example, the move *deductions from research* can be manifested by three different steps, namely, *making suggestions*, *recommending further research*, and *drawing pedagogic implication*, in the discussion while this move is realized by only the last two steps in the conclusions. Further, related sections can also vary in the amount of cyclicity found in the organization. This study shows that fine differences in emphasis in the communicative purpose of the various parts of a research article can be related to subtle variations in move choices. Yang and Allison (2003) reveal that the results section

focuses on *reporting results* rather than *commenting on results*, which is emphasized in the discussion. Differences in emphasis rather than kind are seen in the fact that the same moves occur in different sections. This study shows that a move analysis can contribute significantly to our understanding of genre variation when the analysis moves beyond a straightforward consideration of constituent moves and steps.

Another study of a genre set, research article abstracts and introductions, in two related disciplines, wildlife behavior and conservation biology, has indicated that the relationship between genres may not be stable across disciplines. By analyzing the structure of abstracts using moves and steps from the CARS model that characterizes research article introductions, Samraj (2005: 152) reports a "greater distinction in communicative purpose and the ensuing overall organization between research article abstracts and introductions in wildlife behavior". Although gap creation is a common step in the *creating a niche* move in the wildlife behavior introduction, it is uncommon in the abstract. However, in conservation biology, gap indication is also common in the abstract.

Although Swales' (1990) conceptualization of genres, as mentioned earlier, has led to a characterization of the organization of genres in terms of moves, it should be pointed out that larger units of organization have also played a role in genre description. For example, the research article, perhaps the genre that has been most intensively studied, is first mostly described in terms of its constituent sections or parts, introduction, methods, results and discussions, before the move structure of the part-genres is analyzed. The structure of longer and more complicated genres such as theses and dissertations has invariably been analyzed in terms of larger units. Such analyses have identified three common formats for these student-produced texts: the traditional, article compilation, and topic-based format. Particular parts of theses and dissertations such as their introductions and conclusions, however, have been analyzed in terms of their move structure (Bunton 2005, Samraj 2008).

An interesting case of a move analysis of a genre with a complex structure is the study of literature reviews in dissertations (Kwan 2006). Although Swales (2004: 210) states that the literature review is "not susceptible to the kind of move-step analysis used successfully in other part-genres", Kwan (2006) succeeds in arriving at a move-step analysis by first dividing literature review chapters into three units, thematic, introductory and concluding texts, and then performing a move-step analysis only of the thematic units. The structure of individual thematic units is shown to include the three main moves of thesis introductions (Bunton 2002) but some new strategies or steps are posited to account for the realization of these moves. This analysis does enhance our understanding of this important section of the dissertation. Because Kwan's (2006) move-step analysis has only been applied to a part of the literature review and the analysis does not indicate how the various thematic units themselves are organized, this analysis cannot be used to refute

Swales' (2004: 211) claim that a successful literature review is attained through the writer persuading the reader that an organizing pattern is at work rather than the literature review being characterized by a particular sort of organizing pattern. The genre studies on literature reviews reinforce the idea that not all genres have discourse structures that can be articulated through a straightforward use of the move-step framework.

Move structure has been utilized not just to explore questions of relatedness across similar genres and disciplinary variation in genres but also to examine cross-linguistic variation in genres (Ahmad 1997, van Bonn and Swales 2007). Such studies are also pedagogically motivated since cross-cultural variation in genres can be of use in addressing the needs of students with specific language backgrounds. The study of research article abstracts by Melander, Swales and Fredrickson (1997) considered both cross-linguistic and disciplinary variation in academic writing and showed that texts from certain disciplines such as linguistics exhibit a greater variation in rhetorical structure across languages than biology.

Since genres "are widely regarded as conceptual and curricular building blocks of the 'right size'" (Swales and Luebs 2002: 136), it is not surprising that studies focusing on the move structure of genres have pointed to the pedagogic purpose of articulating the organizational patterns of key academic genres. The prototypes of genres arrived at from such analyses have indeed informed the creation of pedagogical materials for instruction of non-native speakers and other novices in general and these will be discussed in the following section.

4.   Move structure and pedagogy

The recent volumes on writing for academic and professional purposes, such as those by Swales and Feak (1994, 2000, 2009), provide a good illustration of the pedagogical use of move structure analysis. They can be successfully used in EAP courses following genre-based methodologies (such as those argued for by Hyland 2007). Based on our growing knowledge of genre structure in terms of moves, teaching materials have been created to enhance students' academic literacy by increasing their awareness of rhetorical organization in genres. These handbooks and teaching materials make it clear that the frameworks presented are in no way "a formula to be unthinkingly applied" (Paltridge and Starfield 2008: 91). For instance, Paltridge and Starfield (2008: 97) in their volume titled, *Thesis and Dissertation Writing in a Second Language*, a handbook for supervisors, state that the CARS framework should not be seen as "rigid and inflexible" but as a tool to understand the argumentation and persuasion that characterize thesis and dissertation introductions.

An interesting feature of these carefully constructed pedagogical materials is the actual analysis of texts that students engage in to complete the activities. For

example in the volume on writing abstracts (Swales and Feak 2009: 6), students are asked to analyze the move structure of an abstract provided. Such analysis activities are also accompanied by tasks where texts belonging to a genre are presented with their constituent moves highlighted. It should be pointed out that although the functions of specific moves are discussed in detail, such as the functions of the *methods* move in a research article abstract, the move structure analysis does not usually reach the level of steps as it normally does in the research studies that are the basis of these materials. The students' knowledge of the rhetorical organization of genres is also built by exercises which entail revising drafts of texts or evaluating the quality of various exemplars of a genre in light of information given about the genre's move structure (see Task 6 in Swales and Feak 2009: 15).

A number of other features of move structure analysis are also reflected in these pedagogical materials. Students are made aware of the preferred sequences of moves in genres as well as the textual space ascribed to various moves. For example, students are asked to determine if certain sections should be expanded or reduced in a conference abstract (Swales and Feak 2009: 61). In addition, students are also made aware of disciplinary variation in genre structure through activities where students are to select exemplars of a particular genre from their discipline and perform a move analysis as a comparison to the specific exemplars provided in these volumes. Students are also informed about the relationship between related genres. Swales and Feak (2009) relate their discussion of the conference abstract to the research article abstract, for instance, linking the slightly different move structure to the slightly different communicative purpose of these two related genres.

A number of studies in the last decade have reported on the efficacy of employing the results of move structure analysis in EAP and ERP instruction (for example, Henry and Roseberry 2001, Hyon 2001, 2002, Henry 2007). In Henry (2007), for example, the results of an earlier genre analysis (Henry & Roseberry 1998) of letters of recommendation in terms of moves and their lexico-grammatical features were turned into web-based activities, including those that allowed learners to identify moves and their possible order in this genre and to identify relevant lexico-grammatical features. More recently, a series of case studies by Cheng (2008a, 2008b) have shown how advanced learners' genre analysis of texts, including a consideration of move structure, in a genre-based writing course can facilitate their learning of disciplinary literacy practices, providing further support for the pedagogical use of move structure analysis.

This survey of the key pedagogical materials focusing on genre structure by ESP and EAP specialists indicated that there is an unmistakable link between research findings and the sorts of exercises created for instruction. These volumes even provide students with some key results of pertinent genre studies (see Swales and Feak 2009: 18). Furthermore, recent studies have indicated the value of using

materials focusing on move structure, supporting the assumption that "writing instruction will be more successful if students are aware of what target discourses look like" (Hyland 2003: 26).

5.   Analysis of thesis abstracts

In this section I will report on a study of thesis abstracts from three disciplines, biology, philosophy and linguistics, to illustrate some of the issues discussed in this chapter about move structure analysis. Research article abstracts continue to be the focus of research on cross-linguistic and cross-disciplinary variation in academic discourse (e.g., van Bonn and Swales 2007, Pho 2008) and these studies have employed move structure analysis. A genre closely related to research article abstracts is the abstract accompanying a master's thesis. Although recent EAP studies have attended to graduate student writing, they have not explored thesis abstracts (note however that Swales and Feak 2000 and 2009 include a section on dissertation abstracts).

A selection of 15 abstracts each from master's theses from the three disciplines produced at a large North American university were analyzed. Although abstracts are only a small part-genre of the master's thesis, a discourse analysis of these short texts does offer interesting insight into the norms of disciplinary discourse and illustrates how move structure can be complex even in short and seemingly simple texts. This analysis of rhetorical organization points to an alternate structure for philosophy abstracts and raises the question about the relationship of thesis abstracts in some disciplines to research article abstracts. As such, a move structure analysis of these texts offers a means of exploring some questions of genre identity and disciplinary variation.

The texts were analyzed for their rhetorical organization using a common framework employed in the analysis of research article abstracts, namely, a five-part move structure given in Table 1, which draws on the work of Santos (1996) and Hyland (2000) and includes the following moves: *situating the study*, *presenting the research*, *methods*, *results/product*, and *conclusions*. According to Santos (1996), the first move includes a statement of current knowledge, refers to previous research or states a problem. More recently, van Bonn and Swales (2007) have stated that this first move can be characterized as a manifestation of two elements: first, a justification for the present research and, second, an establishment of overt links to other research.

From an analysis of the master's thesis abstracts, it seems that the first move is used to identify a problem in the real world or a gap in the research world, provide background information on the study (for example, provide information on a species) and/ or provide an overt positive justification for the study being reported. Therefore, this move can either serve a persuasive or a neutral contextualizing

Table 1.   Structure of Abstracts

Moves	Steps
Situating the study	State problem in real world and/or State problem in research world and/or Provide background information and/or Provide positive justification for study
Presenting the Research	State study's goal purposively or descriptively and/or State thesis
Methods	Describe sites, processes, instruments, design used
Results/ product	Present findings and/or Provide main argument and/or Describe product
Conclusions	Present generalizations from study and/or Present real world and/or research recommendations and/or Provide positive justification for study

function. By identifying a problem in the real world or a research problem, a justification is being provided for the work reported. This is not the case for the background step, which only contextualizes the study. As Table 2 indicates, the philosophy abstracts are the least likely to contain move 1. Of the four instances in the philosophy abstracts, none refer to previous research or a gap in research. Only one provides a positive justification for the study. The first sentence in example (1) provides a background for the student's argument:

(1) A claim of Martin Heidegger's essay, "Holderlin and the Essence of Poetry", is that the essence of poetry is the establishment of Being by means of the word. My thesis is that this establishment is effected by the interrelationship of the fourfold, language, and the poet. (Phil 4)[1]

These results are quite different from Hyland's (2000) study of research article abstracts where philosophy abstracts were more likely to have the first move, *situating the study*, (80 %) in comparison to abstracts from other disciplines, such as applied linguistics and physics. In the current study, in contrast to philosophy, 11 out of 15 biology theses contain move 1. Of these, four texts provide a justification for the study in terms of research. That is, four abstracts either note a gap in research or provide a positive justification in terms of the study's contribution to research. However, it should be pointed out that none of the biology abstracts actually contained any specific reference to previous research. Consider example (2), which contains a well-developed move 1.

(2) Species that require management intervention are usually in rapid decline. Conservation biologists often have no time for field studies to determine im-

portant factors such as dispersal patterns or natural boundaries of populations and subspecies. Genetic studies can provide a snapshot of these factors to assist in formulating a management plan that is tailored closely to the needs of the species.

Coastal southern California populations of cactus wrens are declining due to the effects of habitat loss and fragmentation; it is estimated that fewer than 400 pairs remain. Previous work has suggested that these populations represent the subspecies *Campylorhynchus burnneicapillus sandiegensis*, which is diagnosable using 7 characters of plumage pattern and color. This study uses phylogenetic methods to re-examine the data used to describe this subspecies. (Bio 1)

This excerpt contains a problem both in terms of species decline and a gap in research. The virtues of genetic studies are then stated to justify the thesis research. Although authors seek to persuade their readers about the worth of the study in terms of the research world, no citations are given.

Table 2.   Moves in Abstract

Moves	Philosophy (n=15)	Biology (n=15)	Linguistics (n=15)
1. Situating the study	4	11	11
2. Presenting the research	15	15	15
3. Methods	3	15	12
4. Results/ product	6	15	10
5. Conclusions	7	13	11

The linguistics abstracts also include the first move 11 out of 15 times. Of these, only five abstracts provide a justification for the study in terms of research. And, in one case, specific citations are provided:

(3) Research on academic reading and writing in context is a valuable and vital area of study. Studies of academic literacy demands have focused on analyzing writing prompts (citation), examining disciplinary and contextual influences on texts and writing tasks (citation, citation), and investigating faculty reading and writing assignments (citation, citation) … Although there have been extensive studies that center on academic literacy, many questions have yet to be answered. (Ling 10)

It should also be noted that most of the *situating the study* moves in linguistics contain a real world justification for the study and only in a few is there a complete lack of attempt to persuade the reader about the need for the study:

(4) Despite the development of different teaching approaches and methods, the teaching of German as a Foreign Language is not as successful as could be expected. (Ling 4)

In no case is background information given without some attempt at problematizing that background or using it as a positive justification for the study. Overall, thus, it seems that the biology and linguistics abstracts are somewhat similar in the use of the first move although there is a greater frequency of mere contextualization without persuasion in Move 1 in biology.

Move 2 is consistently found in all of the abstracts in all three disciplines although in a few cases it appears before move 1. Santos (1996) and others have noted that the research being reported can be presented descriptively (example [5]) or purposively (example [6]) as the examples below show:

(5) This thesis reports on a study of writing assignments developed by secondary school teachers in a sheltered program for ELL students at one site. (Ling 9)

(6) The role of the coyote in dispersing plant seeds was studied to determine if they are legitimate seed dispersers, defined as treating seeds that pass through their digestive tract in germinable condition. (Bio 14)

In most of the cases in all three sets of texts, the research is presented purposively. Interestingly though, even if the research is presented descriptively in move 2, the purpose of the research can be surmised from the presence of a move 1 that justifies the study as in example (7).

(7) Responses of rare and endangered species, like the salt marsh annual hemiparasite *Cordylanthus maritimus* ssp. *Maritimus (Cordylanthus)*, to change in their environments (salinity, perennial canopy density and identity, exotic species and habitat loss) can cause population fluctuations, threatening the long-term sustainability of the species. Identifying the causes of the temporal and spatial instability may lead to useful re-establishment tools. I examined *Cordylanthus* response to its abiotic and host environment both in situ and in the greenhouse. (Bio 9)

This example illustrates that the rhetorical purpose ascribed to a sentence or sentences can be influenced somewhat by the rhetorical force of surrounding sentences, which belong to a different rhetorical move. In this case, although the research is presented descriptively in the last sentence, the *purpose* of the study is evident from the previous move, which situates the study partly by explicating what can be attained by studying responses by endangered species. This finding seems to suggest that the rhetorical effect of a particular move could be influenced by the presence or absence of a neighboring move. As such, the juxtaposition of two moves (and their constituent steps) might warrant a re-consideration of the rhetorical purpose assigned to a move had it occurred by itself. In this case, if the

final sentence had appeared without the previous ones comprising move 1, this sentence would clearly be a descriptive statement of the goal of the study.

Some previous studies of research article abstracts such as Pho (2008) have noted the high frequency of the *methods* move. This is indeed the case with the biology abstracts and to a lesser extent with the linguistics abstracts. The *methods* move is always present in the biology abstracts, sometimes in fairly elaborate structures, although in two cases, it is only found as subordinated clauses in move 2, *presenting research*, and can be, thus, considered an embedded move.

The *methods* move is much more uncommon in the philosophy texts, which is not surprising considering the non-empirical nature of studies in this discipline. Vestiges of the *methods* move are seen in a small proportion of philosophy abstracts, such as in example (8), and mainly refer to the philosophical texts that were analyzed. Interestingly, in the following case, the *methods* move appears at the very end of the abstract, perhaps reflecting the peripheral role of this move in the philosophy abstract.

(8) The material for the thesis will focus on Nietzsche's published books as well as secondary literature by several commentators on Nietzsche's work. (Phil 3)

The *results* move has also been noted as a distinguishing move of research article abstracts. Example (9) provides a quintessential example of the *results/product* move from a biology thesis abstract.

(9) … A natural salt marsh with predators and a constructed salt marsh without predators served as study sites.
    Prokelisia did not increase numerically in response to increased *Spartina* foliar nitrogen levels at either site. At the natural marsh, high levels of predation prevented *Prokelisia* from exploiting the nitrogen-rich plants. At the constructed marsh, lack of predation allowed the invasion of the scale insect, *Haliaspis spartina*, in fertilized plots, which limited the feeding area for *Prokelisia* and reduced host quality. (Bio 2)

Hyland (2000: 67) in his framework for abstract structure labeled this rhetorical move *product* so that it not only includes a statement of results but also a statement of "the argument" or "what was accomplished". Consequently, this move can better account for abstracts from fields such as philosophy, which do not necessarily report empirical results. What is interesting is that more than half of the abstracts from philosophy have, instead of a *results/product* move, a stretch of discourse where a preview of the thesis is given, often as a chapter-by-chapter outline. Example (10), which is a complete philosophy abstract, cannot easily be described in terms of moves, such as *methods* and *results/product*, that have been postulated so far. Instead the organization seems to be similar to what has been noted about the structure of book reviews, namely, *introducing the book* and *outlining the book* (Motta-Roth 1996). As Motta-Roth (1996: 111) states in her analysis of book re-

views, the move *outlining the book* is "usually the longest one" and includes a "detailed description of how the book is organized, that is, in parts, chapters, sections etc., which topics are treated in each chapter …".

(10) This thesis is an examination of silence in the philosophy of Martin Heidegger. How silence is employed, what its function is, and its significance are topics which are examined. The primary focus is to attain an understanding as to the ontological significance which can be attributed to silence in Heidegger's scheme.

   Chapter I examines how silence arises within Heidegger's social critique (authenticity, inauthenticity, and the One). Chapter II presents Heidegger's theory of language. Silence emerges as the origin of language. Chapter III provides a brief look at Heidegger's critique of technology. Silence looms as that which may be the "saving power" through which the rift exhibited by technology between Being and beings may be bridged. Chapter IV is the concluding chapter and articulates how and why silence attains ontological significance. (Philo 10)

An interesting aspect of this move is the use of interactive metadiscourse called "frame markers" described as "references to text boundaries or elements of schematic text structure" (Hyland 2004: 138). Instead of using "elements of schematic text structure", i.e. specific reference to chapters, as in example (10) above, student writers in philosophy also structure the outline of the thesis in terms of discourse acts, again an instantiation of frame markers but in terms of an announcement of discourse goals, as in example (11).

(11) I also analyze Foucault's criticism of the discourse of humanism and its respective subject. I do this for a couple of reasons. My first intention is to explain … Next, I explain Foucault's criticism of the humanistic subject of the grounds that this subject supposedly escapes the grasp of power. I divide Foucault's critique of humanism into three different sections: the conceptual, the strategic, and normative. …

   Last, I investigate the later work of Foucault, wherein he engages in an analysis of a specific mode of subjectivity: the relation-to-self. I then explain Foucault's (much misunderstood) account of freedom and agency, situating both within his understanding of modern power. Subsequently, I give an analysis of … I attempt to show how his particular understanding of ethics is consistent with his earlier conception of modern power with its emphasis on practice. Finally, I argue that the two anti-foundationalistic "post-humanist" technologies of the self which Foucault offers, are able to resist modern forms of power, without regressing to some "essential" self or appealing to law. (Phil 5)

In addition, in some cases, both chapter or section headings and discourse acts are used together to present the outline of the thesis as in example (12).

(12) In chapter three I outline Habermas's concept of the lifeworld and its colonization by administrative and economic systems imperatives. In Chapter four, I make the case that Habermas's hermeneutic explication … I conclude this thesis in chapter five with thoughts and questions regarding the enduring nature of alienation. (Phil 6)

The final move in abstracts, *conclusions*, presents generalizations from the study or points out research or real world implications based on the findings. Interestingly, some of the abstracts also include an explicit statement of the value of the study in the conclusion, mirroring the positive justification found in the first move. This indicates that the same step can belong in more than one move. It can serve to both situate or conclude the study. The *conclusions* move is fairly common in the biology and linguistics abstracts. If the philosophy abstract gives an outline of the thesis, then it tends not to include a *conclusions* move because what would have been the concluding move is part of the chapter-by-chapter outline (see example [10]). The philosophy conclusions tend to be a re-statement of the main argument in the thesis and an explication of the virtues of the view being conveyed as in example (13).

(13) Thus my reading ascribes to Plato a broader, more unified argument against epistemological relativism, not one merely confined to the self-refutation of "Man is the measure" in one formulation. (Phil 7)

An interesting feature of the biology and linguistics conclusions is that recommendations based on the findings, be they research or real world (in one case pedagogical, in the other, conservation), are not that common. In both disciplines, only six abstracts contain recommendations and in the majority of these cases, they are real world recommendations as in examples (14) and (15):

(14) Finally, the pedagogical implications of this study include the importance of enabling students to cope with literacy demands that may be disciplinary and situated; thus, instruction purposed to assist students in cross-disciplinary writing may need to guide students in methods of modifying their theories of genre as they encounter different writing situations. (Ling 10)

(15) This study further shows that it is possible to use non-invasive sampling techniques for population level studies. When planning such a study, the investigator should plan to collect several samples from each specimen, determine a method of demonstrating that the specimen is from the study species, and plan to collect from ⅓ to ½ more specimens than is projected to be needed for the study. (Bio 1)

A few biology abstracts also show a cyclical patterning between the moves *results/ product* and *conclusions* similar to the cyclical pattern noted in results and discussion sections of research articles (Yang and Allison 2003).

One of the key findings of this analysis of thesis abstracts from the three disciplines is the variability in move structure found in the texts from philosophy. Based on the results of the move analysis, it can be argued that some philosophy abstracts have an alternate rhetorical organization, given in Table 3. The first move provides the main argument or focus of the thesis. The second move presents an outline of the thesis as seen in example (10) given above. As mentioned earlier, philosophy abstracts that provide an outline of the thesis rarely contain the last move, the conclusion move, which reiterates the main claim or focus of the thesis. In fact, according to a philosophy faculty member, this rhetorical organization is more typical of the way thesis abstracts are organized in this discipline. These results raise an interesting question for genre analysis and genre theory. Can there be alternate discourse structures for texts from one discipline that belong to the same genre? It seems to be the case here that although texts may belong to the same genre and have the same communicative purpose, this communicative purpose might be manifested in different move structure configurations. In the case of philosophy, it appears that some thesis abstracts bear a greater similarity to moves in book reviews and others are more akin in their structure to research article abstracts. The thesis abstracts from biology and linguistics appear to share the structure of research article abstracts, indicating that theses in these disciplines might be looked upon as long research articles while those from philosophy might be viewed as short monographs.

Table 3.   Alternate structure of thesis abstract for Philosophy

Argument
Thesis outline
Conclusion

This analysis of move structure has also shown that variables, such as discipline, can affect the rhetorical organization of a text, supporting the results of previous genre studies (Hyland 2000, Samraj 2002, Lim 2010, Stoller and Robinson 2013). A move such as *methods*, that might play an important role in texts from some disciplines (biology) might play a peripheral role or even be absent in texts from another discipline (philosophy). The cycling of a certain set of moves might also be affected by the disciplinary affiliation of texts belonging to a genre. Another interesting feature of move structure uncovered by this study is the possible impact of surrounding moves on the rhetorical force of a move. This requires further research.

6.   Conclusion

As stated at the beginning of the chapter, the move structure of a text can be used to understand how a text fulfills its communicative purpose. The survey of move structure analysis in genre studies reported in this chapter has indicated that this analysis includes far more than a simple listing of moves embodying a rhetorical purpose. The move structures identified in genres reveal both the levels of organization and the sequential organization of rhetorical units found in texts. These studies have also shown that move structure analysis is a useful tool for exploring genre variation and relatedness, and the sophisticated analyses of move structure performed have revealed the complex ways in which genres can vary from one another. Genres have been shown to vary in terms of the flexibility in move order allowed, the degree to which cyclicity occurs, the sorts of steps used to realize moves, and the importance of particular moves in addition to containing unique moves. Units larger than moves, such as thematic units in literature reviews in dissertations, have also been used in genre studies and move structure has been identified in these larger units or part-genres.

The results of studies uncovering the move structure of various written academic genres have been usefully employed in materials developed for academic literacy instruction to non-native speakers of English. Recent studies documenting the learning of academic writing in courses employing the genre method lend support for further research not only on move structure in genres that have remained relatively unexplored, such as non-academic spoken genres, but also for studies exploring the effectiveness of using move structure in the teaching of non-academic genres.

The analysis of move structure in thesis abstracts from three disciplines reported here has revealed that texts from biology have similar organizational structures to those found in research article abstracts. The disciplinary variation in genres captured in terms of move structure is most pronounced with the abstracts from philosophy, where a majority of texts share some similarity to book reviews, raising the possibility of texts from a single genre being characterized by more than one move structure configuration. Further comparative studies of thesis abstracts and book reviews in different disciplines, especially in the humanities, are needed to shed further light on this question of genre identity.

Notes

1. Examples from the theses have not been edited. Parenthetical information indicates the discipline and number assigned to a text.

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15. Silence

Michal Ephratt

1.   Introduction

In the last 150 years the study of communication in general and the study of discourse in particular have expanded and become more thorough. The study of silence has evolved along the same lines, parallel to the above or woven into it (see Jaworski 2006; Ephratt 2008: 1932–1934; Kurzon 2011: 2275).

Scholars differ as to the scope of modes participating in communication. All theories and systems involve in some way the activation of the human body. Scholars studying (human) communication systems and discourse dispute on which part of interpersonal interaction is accounted for by "(verbal)" language (lexicons and grammars of languages such as English, Hebrew and Swahili); what other systems exist; and where does silence fall within this layout. The share of the "verbal" language component in discourse among adults in face-to-face interaction is reckoned not to exceed 35 % (see, e.g., Birdwhistell 1970: 158; Vargas 1986: 10; Burgoon, Buller and Woodall 1996: 3, 136–137). Customarily, studies devoted to "nonverbal" communication exclude "verbal" language, so their attempts to subcategorize communication are made only in "nonverbal" communication. This results in non-exclusive criteria yielding a non-inclusive picture.

Setting aside silences such as the silence (stillness) of the universe, as in "But the Lord is in his holy temple: let all the earth keep silence before him" (Habakkuk 2: 20); or "Über allen Gipfeln / Ist Ruh" [Over all the hilltops is silence] in Goethe's "*Wandrers Nachtlied*", when silence crept into the classification of communication it was typically placed as a class within the paralinguistic category. As we shall show (sections 2 and 3 below), this seems to deny the nature of paralanguage as co-occurring with speech.

Situating silence as a separate category – as if constituting a natural kind – presents it artificially as a monolithic phenomenon and blurs the relations of silence and speech, and of silence and the remaining modes (estimated at 65 %) of human communication.

Not treating verbal communication as an isolated category external to classification, and not treating silence as a monolithic category distinct from all other categories, would result in incorporating the various means of communication (including the varieties of communicative silences) into an integral system within pragmatics and discourse analysis.

2.   Outline: silence in the literature

We first look at the treatment of silence as it emerges in the literature on "nonverbal communication" (section 2.1). We then look at the literature dedicated to silence in its own right (section 2.2).

2.1.   Silence in literature on "nonverbal communication"

All scholars who have considered silence in the context of "nonverbal communication" have classified silence within paralinguistics, alongside voice qualities and vocalization. Leathers (1997: 162) lists nine attributes of sound that may convey meanings: loudness, pitch, rate, duration, quality, regularity, articulation, pronunciation and silence. On the last of these he comments that it is not an attribute of vocal cues as its presence excludes all of the eight defining attributes of vocal cues. He then adds that on the other hand silence serves important functions in interpersonal communication.

   Trager (1958), the first to describe paralanguage, breaks paralinguistics down into three classes: (1) voice set: physiological or physical peculiarities (see also voice-print); (2) voice qualities: most of the members listed by Leathers (1997); and (3) vocalizations which constitute specific noises such as qualifications (laughter, crying; see in detail Crystal and Quirk 1964: 41) and what Trager terms "segregates": grunts and sneezes, i.e., vocal reflexes (see Scott 1958). Other scholars cluster the paralinguistic constituents according to segmentation criteria, yielding two major groups: segmental vs. nonsegmental (Poyatos 2002: II, 3), or adding suprasegmental as a third class (Burgoon, Buller and Woodall 1996: 64). Poyatos (2002: II) starts from the paralinguistic level, so Trager's (1958) three classes come under the nonsegmental group. Poyatos' segmental class consists, in turn, of three sorts of alternants – "nonverbal segmental utterances": consonantal (such as "*fizz*", "*Tz*", "*umph*" sounds), vocalic (such as "*oh*"), and segmental silences (Poyatos 2002: II, 3, 141–177).

   This outline in general and Poyatos' references to silence in particular move us forward, looking into the classification of the (as yet equivocal) term "silence" in these models offered for paralanguage. We may recall that Leathers (1997) too was troubled by the special characteristics of silence, setting silence apart from his remaining eight sound attributes. Burgoon, Buller and Woodall (1996: 64) further classify the nonsegmental class into four categories, the first of which is time, which in turn they further classify into length, tempo, fluency and pauses. Fluency of speech has to do with stutters, repetitions, filled pauses and hesitation. Unfilled pauses constitute another category – within time, but outside fluency. Crystal and Quirk (1964) also make a point in differentiating what they term "silent" from "voiced pauses". Their array reveals a more complex picture, as they distinguish paralanguage from prosody. They follow the line that "prosody can fairly easily be

integrated with other aspects of linguistic structure" whilst paralanguage "seems remote from the possibility of such integration" (1964: 12). Pauses – silent and voiced – are discussed in the chapter on prosody. The authors state explicitly that "[…] *pause*, traditionally and in our view rightly [is] regarded as having a patterned relation to the rest of linguistic behaviour" (1964: 49). In the introduction they say that "the system of pause is […] equivocal, since its voiced exponents in particular range from a reasonably patterned distribution (for example schwa at points of lexical selection) to a relatively random distribution of variously formed vocalizations as non-linguistic as a cough" (1964: 12). They list nine features starting from the most prosodic to the most paralinguistic: the first is tone, the last pauses (silent and voiced, 1964: 64, 68) preceded by vocalizations such as laughter or crying. This does not seem to reflect their above stance on the prosodic status of pauses but to be a technical outcome of placing pauses alongside vocalics. The split between voiced pauses and unfilled pauses is just one example, being the tip of the iceberg of the story named silence.

Although most scholars associated with the "nonverbal" discipline, who mention silence do so on the paralinguistic level[1], this does not exclude silence from belonging to categories other than paralanguage.

Vargas (1986), for example, lists nine nonverbal systems ("languages" in her terminology) which "contribute significantly to all human communication, regardless of the spoken language they accompany: kinesics; the eyes; paralanguage; silence; tacesics and stroking; proxemics; chronemics and color" (Vargas 1986: 10–11). Here silence stands apart from paralanguage. This seems to challenge our observation that all such scholars deal with silence as part of paralanguage. Yet reading carefully we soon realize that as above, Vargas too deals with silence as part of paralanguage along with voice qualities accompanying spoken communication. Junctures like "*ice cream*" vs. "*I scream*", pauses to punctuate or accent words, and hesitations are part (or extensions) of paralanguage, and within it Vargas accordingly classifies them. The "silences" isolated by Vargas as a special separate system are different from the above; she states, "Interpersonal silences that are independent of verbal communication defy classification" (1986: 77). Among these are cases when there is nothing to say, silence as a weapon to hurt others – the "silent treatment", and silence as emotional responses such as defeat and love. Among the silences which defy classification Vargas also mentions institutional silences such as silence in funerals or weddings, and internally oriented silences such as silence in which to think, plan or enjoy solitude.

At the other extreme we find Poyatos, a leading scholar of "nonverbal communication" and a most productive writer on the subject. Poyatos places silence in the alternants class within paralanguage. He provides many examples in which silent alternants serve to delimit speech segments as speech markers (punctuation), serve as turn openings and for psycholinguistic internal needs such as lexical search, hesitation, self-correction, etc. According to Poyatos, silent alternants may

also be an outcome of emotional states such as grief or happiness (2002: II, 164–166). Many of the incidences that Vargas lists as silences that defy classification are classified by Poyatos as paralinguistic alternants. Nor does Poyatos stop here. He describes communication as based on a triple structure consisting of language, paralanguage and kinesics. This coincides with verbal, paralinguistic and the nonverbal (or linguistic, paralinguistic and extralinguistic). But for these Poyatos adds another plane, namely silence and stillness (2002: II, 302). This is not the silence he categorized as alternants within paralanguage. This is not Vargas' silence as a null category defying classification; for Poyatos, silence and stillness are major categories alongside the triple structure.

2.2.   Studies on silence: literature devoted to silence in its own right

After perusing the picture emerging from the "nonverbal" discipline in section 2.1, we now look at the one arising from scholars concerned specifically with the study of silence. Many scholars from the "nonverbal" disciplines (section 2.1) referred to Bruneau's (1973) paper on *Communicative silences: Forms and functions* as their principle source on silence.

Bruneau adheres closely to two assumptions concerning silence and the relations between speech and silence:

(a) "Silence is to speech as the white of this paper is to this print". Criticizing scholars for ignoring silence as an adequate object of inquiry he says, "Much of the manner in which we have studied language function has denied the functioning of silences. We have attached our inquiry to the figures, comparing figure with figure, unit with unit, almost completely oblivious to the ground" (Bruneau 1973: 19). Speech being the figure, silence is clearly the ground.
(b) "Absolute silence, then, is impossible: even when not speaking aloud, man carries on a continuous interior monologue" (Bruneau 1973: 17).

These two assumptions sparked his concept of silence, which in turn determined the phenomenon categorized as incidences of silence and their grouping. Bruneau singles out what he terms three major forms of silence: psycholinguistic silences, interactive silences and socio-cultural silences.

Psycholinguistic silence – Bruneau's first silence form – consists of impositions of slow-time created by the encoder or the decoder, imposing discontinuity of the speech sequence. Under this form Bruneau lists hesitations – commenting that they can take the form of non-lexical intrusive sounds, sentence corrections, word changes, repetitions, stutters, sentence incompletions, etc. Clearly these phenomena are not in themselves means for communication – carrying meaning in their own right – but are rather instances of communication breakdown (e.g., stutters, sentence incompletions) or, second-best, remedies and repair techniques invoked following malfunctioning mechanisms (sentence corrections, word changes).[2]

Lyons, following Chomsky's eminent differentiation between competence and performance, proposes to distinguish phenomena belonging to the language system from incidences belonging to language behavior, and to discount the latter from discussion. Lyons (1972: 49, 57–58) lists "slips of tongue, mispronunciations, hesitation pauses, stammering, stuttering", etc., as incidences belonging to performance, hence not part of the communicative functions. These examples coincide with most cases which Bruneau categorizes as psycholinguistic silence. Not included in Lyons' list are slow-time silences which are silences enabling planning or organization, and which may in turn facilitate clearer and more efficient communication, but they themselves are not communicative: a fluent or an experienced speaker could do without them, and others, having to resort to such techniques, are happy to render them imperceptible (so as not to expose their needs).

Bruneau's second silence form, interactive silences, "are highly bound to the nature of the message sharing process and especially to communicative situations and circumstances" (Bruneau 1973: 28); they are also longer than psycholinguistic ones.[3] Bruneau breaks "interactive silences" down into six subtypes: (1) decision making regarding initiating or terminating the speech burden; (2) drawing inferences – the time consumed for processing and decoding the message (by the decoder as well as the encoder)[4]; (3) silence as a means for exerting control: acquiring interpersonal attention from the other. Here too come silencing the subordinate by the authority and the Amish shunning; (4) reacting to diversity includes silences as a reaction to physical, verbal, psychological and sociological diversity, likewise (5) reacting to emotional intensity: deep emotional or unexpected states; (6) maintaining interpersonal space. As Bruneau (1973: 33–34) observes, the latter need not be expressed by outburst; often they are expressed in silence, wordless or undifferentiated. Maintaining or alerting interpersonal distance is the last subtype listed by Bruneau. He outlines there a negative association between physical distance between persons and interactive silences (regarding intimacy see n. 4 above).

The third major form of silence according to Bruneau is socio-cultural silences. He explains (1973: 36–37) that "socio-cultural silences are those related to the characteristic manner in which the entire social and cultural orders refrain from speech and manipulate both psycholinguistic and interactive silences". These consist of silencing involved in the authoritative–subordinate relationship, be the authority human or divine, and also silences in certain institutions and locations such as hospitals, courtrooms and libraries. Says Bruneau: "the silence speaks saying 'we recognize and acknowledge your position by our silence'". In such cases, socio-cultural silencing is intimately associated with violence and ignorance (see e.g., Glenn 2004; Ben-Ze'ev, Ginio and Winter 2010). To this category belong both external authoritative silencing and internal subordinate self-silencing (see also Jaworski 1993: 115–139; Zerubavel 2006). Bruneau also categorizes under socio-cultural silences what he terms "silence in rhetorical control", namely silence at public cer-

emonial events, an example being the minute's silence to commemorate the dead (see also Gregory 1994; Kurzon 2007: 1681–1683, "situational silence").

Bruneau's 1973 paper is commonly cited as the first in communication linguistics and speech studies dedicated to silence. Probably unaware of it, Jensen, (1973) published a major paper in the same year, titled *Communicative functions of silence*. Jensen too starts off by pointing to the general disregard of silence's contribution to communication: "[…] while aware of the gift of communicating via sound and visual symbols, few of us are fully sensitive to the reality that absence of sound – that is, silence – can also perform a number of highly significant communicative functions". And then, "silence is still a – if not *the* – paramount factor in many communicative situations" (Jensen 1973: 249). After mentioning the likelihood of contextual and cultural influences on the functioning of silence, Jensen ascribes five functions to silence: (a) a linkage function: this binds people together or severs relationships. Jensen mentions here intimacy and ignorance, connecting in real life to living-existing people, or connecting to the past: to the deceased (see the minute's silence, above) or to the other – the different or divertive (see above). (b) An affecting function: this too works both ways, it can soothe or it can harm. Likewise it can also liquidate existing relationships (see e.g., Oduro-Frimpong 2011 and n. 5 below). (c) A revelational function: this "facilitates making something known but also can hide something". It is worth noting that a common belief seems to be that silence hides, yet as Jensen here reveals, silence may also function to disclose, whereas at times speech is used to escape and hide information (see section 3.3.2 below on "empty speech"). (d) A judgmental function: "silence is employed to register assent or dissent, favor or disfavor". Jensen resorts to the canonic example of silence as assent (see also Ephratt 2007; Heydon 2011). (e) The last is an activating function. The positive example he provides for this is the impression communicated by a public speaker who pauses to choose his words. The negative example is when silence – not accompanied by some physical activity – communicates the impression of the person doing nothing. These two examples differ from the previous cases and functions in that they illustrate not a function of silence but a chain of beliefs or implications concerning the silent person performed by the observer (Goffman's 1959: 2, "given-off information").

A third paper often referred to is the one written in 1974 by Harvey Sacks, Emanuel Schegloff and Gail Jefferson: *A simplest systematics for the organization of turn-taking for conversation*. This paper proposes a model for the mechanism underlying speaker switches in conversation (see also Duncan 1973; Clift, this volume). Sacks and colleagues' rules for transition coordination operate for each speaker's turn, at what they call "the initial transition-relevance place of an initial turn-constructional unit" (1974: 704). They argue that "[d]iscontinuities occur when at some transition-relevance place a current speaker has stopped, no speaker starts (or continues), and the ensuing space of non-talk constitutes itself as more than a gap – not a gap, but a lapse" (1974: 714).

"Silence" does not appear in the title of Sacks, Schegloff and Jefferson's paper; but when going into specifics they state (1974: 715):

> a silence after a turn in which a next has been selected will be heard not as a lapse's possible beginning, nor as a gap, but as a pause before the selected next speaker's turn-beginning. We are saying: among the means used for reducing gap are classificatory decisions which seem themselves orderly as to the alternative applicability of 'gap', 'pause' and 'lapse' as ways of conceiving the appearance of silence in a conversation.

They outline the specifics of these terms in a footnote (1974: 715 n. 26):

> Parties' treatment of silence in conversation is contingent on its placement. To put it roughly: intra-turn silence (not at a transition-relevance place) is a 'pause', and initially to be talked in by others; silence after a possible completion point is, initially, a gap, and to be minimized; extended silences at transition-relevance places may become lapses. But some silences are transformable […],.

Alongside, intensive quantitative chronometric studies were perused, scholars who collected and analyzed data on speech-rates were to show the ratios of speech to non-speech, in isolation or in relation to personality variables (as early as Chapple 1939; Goldman-Ersler 1958; Adell, Bonafonte and Escudero 2007). Something (speech) and nothing (the spaces, or the silences, between words) were counted. Such studies produced quantitative predictions, such as the "constant ratio" between vocalization and silence in spontaneous speech (Crown and Feldstein 1991) and "standard maximum" silence in conversation (Jefferson 1989). The correspondence between pauses (or silences) and syntactic structures was subjected to qualitative studies, too. Hawkins (1971) examined the syntactic location of hesitation pauses. Well before the 1970s Frieda Goldman-Eisler (see, e.g., 1958) embarked on a series of experiments testing and predicting the correlation between word planning in speech and the length of pauses.

Fundamental interest in silence in general and its various manifestations and functions had long been conducted in psychotherapy. Freud himself took silence to indicate psychic resistance and interruption of free associations (manifested as pauses) to indicate transference (Freud 1912). Silence has come up ever since in the dealings of psychoanalysis (see, e.g., Reik 1926/1968). The 1961 volume of the *Journal of the Psychoanalytic Association* was dedicated to silence in therapy. Here too silence was not monolithic. Soon after, Masud Khan (1963) was said to put an end to the Freudian stance whereby silence meant resistance, when reporting on a case of a young patient who invoked silence as enactment – communicating his psychic experience with his mother (see also Levitt 2001).

Interestingly, in a paper written back in 1955 Sidney Baker – not belonging to the psychoanalytic paradigm – set forth his thesis and empirical findings on silence: "there are two basic forms of interpersonal silence, when speech breaks down or words become irrelevant". The former (see S- in Figure 1) is typical of situations in which no reciprocal identification holds between subjects: social en-
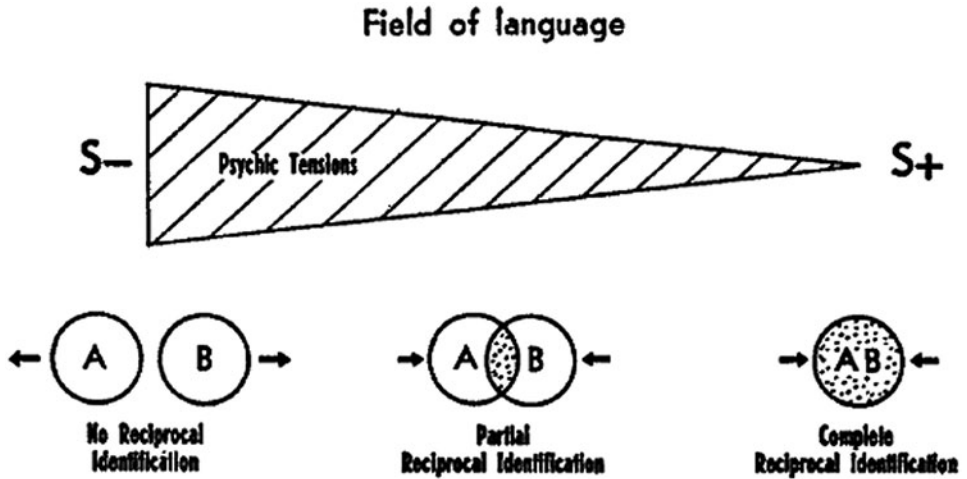
Field of language

Figure 1.   "The field of language" in Baker 1955, reprinted by permission of Heldref
Publications

counters between strangers. The latter (S+ in Figure 1) occurs in situations of complete reciprocal identification.

Following Baker's model, speech takes place in the common situations of partial reciprocal identification, that is, between the experiences of alienation (at one extreme) and intimacy (at the other). The most prominent innovative idea stated and demonstrated here by Baker seems to be that within this field of language, constituting negative silence (S-), speech and positive silence (S+), the aim of speech is to arrive at comple"te reciprocal identification, hence the aim of speech is to lead to positive silence. In such a case the relations between silence and speech are not ground – the white of the paper, the pauses and lapses in between turns and syntactic boundaries (see above) – but figure (see also section 3.2.1 below and n. 4, 8). In his empirical paper on silence in intimate relationships, Oduro-Frimpong (2011) reports on such cases exemplifying negative silences invoked between intimates as withdrawal, delay and avoidance. The themes emerged within a phenomological framework, from interviews initiated by the researcher's question "How do intimate couples use silence to manage their conflict?" No doubt, should the question have been phrased to include any silence we would have also seen the other end of relation spectrum, namely close intimacy.[5]

Adam Jaworski, has devoted many years to the study of silence. His first major publication on *The Power of Silence: Social and Pragmatic Perspectives* (1993) has been followed by many papers he authored and co-authored and books he edited dealing with silence. His contributions on silence may be characterized not by the theory they sustain but by his choice to explore any public (in his terms "political"), literary or interpersonal event involving prototypical or atypical in-

stances belonging to the equivocal term "silence" in its everyday senses (see, e.g. Jaworski 1993, 1997; Jaworski, Fitzgerald and Constantinou 2005). Jaworski asks "Can I say something without speaking? Can I remain silent when talking?" To answer this, Jaworski makes a point of differentiating between communicative and non-communicative speech and silence. Thus, presenting speech and silence on a continuum, he allows for a wide range of phenomena such as meditation, closure, inference and ambiguity as well as refraining from talk, to be counted as communicative silence. Jaworski (1993: 78) then assigns communicative-intentional silences to one of three categories: (1) state – a given communicative event is structured through, or framed in, silence; (2) formulaic silence; or (3) silence as an activity – "a linguistic item becomes classified as an instance of silence when minimal contrast to a formal act of nonspeaking takes place". Regarding the functions of silence, Jaworski (2006) bases his discourse-communicative stance on Halliday's (1978) categorization of semiotic systems fulfilling three meta-functions: the ideational (i.e. extralinguistic referential) function, the interpersonal function and the textual-metalinguistic function (1997).

Saville-Troike published three editions of her *Introduction to the Ethnography of Communication*. In the first edition she lists ten components which she claims to be essential for the first steps needed for the analysis of each communicative event (1982: 137). Within the scene are genre, topic, message purpose and setting. The other six components are participants, message form, message content, act sequence, rules for interaction, and norms of interpretation. She then elaborates each of these components. The same structure and order persists in the second edition of the book, published seven years later (1989). As stated on the cover, this edition "has been thoroughly revised to reflect the substantial contribution made in recent years to the development and application of the subject". This is indeed manifest in respect to silence. Interestingly, in the first edition of her book the first lengthy reference to silence Saville-Troike makes (out of two, 1982: 227) is in the section elaborating the message-content component. She opens, "Understanding the *message content* requires knowing the meaning of what is unsaid and presupposed by members of the group, as well as what is verbalized" (1982: 144, and see also section 3.3.1 below). She goes on: "When silence has an intentional communicative function it may be analyzed as one of the forms a 'speech' act may take, and should be considered along with the production of sentence tokens as a basic unit of linguistic communication". This leads her to state, "Silent communicative acts are to be distinguished from the pauses which may or may not occur in conversational turn-taking […] Silent acts are part of the verbal code, and pauses part of the nonverbal". Though stated here explicitly, it is only in the second edition (Saville-Troike 1989) that she introduces silence as a legitimate prime code in the communicative system.[6] As presaged in the 1982 quote, in 1989 silence occupies the nonverbal code/nonvocal channel. Figure 4.1 (Saville-Troike 1989: 145) is here reproduced as table 1[7] (cf. Figure 4.1 in Saville-Troike 1982: 143).

Table 1.   Saville-Troike 1989: 145, Figure 4.1.

Non-verbal	Verbal	
Paralinguistic and prosodic features Laughter	Spoken language	Vocal
Silence Kinesics	Written language (deaf) sign language	Nonvocal
Proxemic Eye behavior Pictures and cartoons	Whistle/drum languages Morse code	

Here too Saville-Troike (1989: 146) differentiates "between silences which carry meaning, but not propositional content, and silent communicative acts which are entirely dependent on adjacent vocalizations for interpretation, and which carry their own illocutionary force […] Silent communicative acts conveying propositional content may include gestures, but may also consist of silence unaccompanied by any visual cues".

As indicated, the way to the introduction of silence in Figure 4.1 (1989: 145) was paved in the paper Saville-Troike had written as the introduction to *Perspectives on Silence*, a book she co-edited with Deborah Tannen in 1985. The dedicated detailed attention to silence as a key topic did elicit many clear statements not previously heard in linguistics. She begins (1985: 4) with two constitutive statements about silence: (a) "we can view silence as itself a valid object of investigation, bounded by stretches of verbal material which provide boundary marking for its identification"[8], and (b) "just as with speech, silence is not a simple unit of communication, but is composed of complex dimensions and structures". She then proceeds to lay out the different sorts of silences: external to interaction (opposed to noise) and within interaction (co-structure with speech). Here Saville-Troike first presents her differentiation between code and channel, yielding the oppositions verbal/nonverbal and vocal/nonvocal (see description of her Figure 4.1 – table 1 above): "within communicative events, not all nonvocal communication is nonverbal, so that a further distinction should be made between verbal silence and nonverbal silence" (1985:5). In essence, she argues that for each code there is its silence dimension: such is the case with sign language (such as American Sign Language/ASL), which she categorizes as verbal nonvocal and its silence dimension in the form of one deliberately closing one's eyes. Such is the case with ' …' as a silence marker in written language (which she also categorizes as verbal nonvocal)[9]. Pauses are the nonverbal dimension in paralinguistic and prosodic behavior. Saville-Troike (1985: 7, 17C1.b) shows here that spoken languages too – the verbal vocal – have their silences: verbal silences which carry grammatical and indexical meanings and replace different elements within sentences, such as teacher's WH-question fill-in-the-blank structure ("*This is* ___"), taboo words, and

cases where the speaker is at loss for words. Moreover, when referring to the ethnography of language she states that each of the aforementioned ten components required for the analysis of each communicative event "that can call for a different form of speech can also permit or prescribe silence" (1985: 14).

Claiming that silence is composed of complex dimensions and structures, Saville-Troike (1985: 9), following Dauenhauer (1980: 55), says, "silence […] would be the positive abstinence from employing some determinate expression" and shows that words, sentences and even complete utterances may be composed of silence (1985: 8–9; see also Jaworski 1993: 33, 176, 34, 73–84, 101). Moreover, alluding to silence in the courtroom, Saville-Troike shows that silence may have truth value similar to speech (1985: 7; see also Tiersma 1995: 45, and section 3.2.1 below).

The next important publication is Saville-Troike (2006), whose most prominent contribution, augmenting the previous ones, is placing silence as a signifier. Says Saville-Troike (2006: 379): "it is an essential component of communication […] Silence is a 'signifier' in Saussure's sense of a meaningful element that is linked to a referent by cultural convention. As with spoken language, the linkage between silence and meaning may be symbolic, indexical, or iconic".

Dennis Kurzon has, also, published important contributions to the studies on silence. Kurzon's programmatic monograph *Discourse of Silence* (1998) deals with silence as a sign. Kurzon – as a linguist – following Jakobson (1937) and de Saussure queries the relationship which holds within silence as a sign between signifier and signified. At this stage Kurzon seems to limit silence only to cases where the zero element is the signifier, claiming that in such cases "zero is taken as the 'forerunner' of silence" (1998: 6). Yet for Kurzon zero signified should be accounted as part of silence too. His examples are cases where the addressee unintentionally does not answer a question. Kurzon rightly admits that "[f]or silence to have meaning in the linguistic sense, the speaker must have an intention – hence a zero signifier has an utterable signified, a meaning that may be expressed in words. But when the speaker has no intention behind his behavior, we may refer to this silence as unintentional and therefore as linguistically meaningless" (1998: 8).

Kurzon, then, realizes that the Saussurean model limits silence so he proposes seeing silence as a semiotic concept in relation to speech. Using the semiotic square, based on Aristotle's square (Kurzon 1998: 8–18), Kurzon wishes to test the relations between speech and silence. Within the acoustic plain, the antonym of acoustic silence on the semiotic square is therefore not speech but noise (noise is the contrary to unintentional silence and movement the contrary to stillness; see Poyatos 2002 and section 2.1 above; see also Kurzon 1998: 17–19). However, in an attempt to construct a square representing the semiotic perspective adequately, he sharpens Saville-Troike's observations on the matter. Pursuing his choice to base his study on the contrast between silence and speech, he challenges intention on the one hand and the relation between signifier and signified on the other. Accordingly, from the fact that normal human conversation is made up of the sequence: "speech

silence speech … when one person speaks, the other in order to listen should be silent" (1998: 10), Kurzon (1998: 11) derives that

> one cannot speak and be silent at the same time; this is necessarily an either/or relationship […] non-speech may have one of two meanings. If it means the lack of communication, then it cannot imply silence in the sense in which I am analysing it – as a communicative activity. Secondly, if non-speech means non-verbal communication, which includes kinesics and body language, proxemics[…], paralinguistic cues (such as intonation, tone of voice, pitch and volume), as well as chronemics (timing and rhythm) of which silence is usually considered a part, then such behaviour may also accompany speech, and in the case of paralinguistic cues) must do.

Kurzon then differentiates between non-verbal and co-verbal behavior. In fact, classifying as co-verbal all communicative behavior that accompanies speech (or silence), he classifies intentional silence as non-verbal, being complementary to speech: silence alternates with speech (1998: 18; as seen above, according to Kurzon, unintentional silence contrasts with noise).

Kurzon (1998: 18, Figure 7) sums up his attempt to clarify the relations between silence and speech by adopting from Malandro, Barker L. and Barker D. (1989) their matrix showing dyadic interaction:

Table 2.   Kurzon following Malandro et al.'s matrix showing dyadic interaction

	Verbal	Non-verbal
Vocal	Speech	Paralinguistics
Non-vocal	Silence	Body movements, etc.

The striking difference between the classification proposed by Saville-Troike (see table 1 above)[10] and Kurzon (table 2 here) is the position of silence within communication: Saville-Troike classifies silence as nonverbal and nonvocal whereas according to Kurzon silence is verbal and nonvocal (for discussion see section 3.2 below).

Kurzon's (1998: 5–24) elaborate theoretical discussion of the semiotics of silence and its fruitful contributions pave the way for the theme of his monograph: silent response to questions, which as he demonstrates, calls for issues such as transitivization of silence and modality of silence: (a) unintentional silence: "I cannot speak"; (b) intentional: internal – willingness: "I will/shall not speak", and (c) (intentional) external: "I must/may not speak" (Kurzon 1998: 25–50). Focusing here on the silent response, Kurzon places the discussion on the seam between the addresser and the addressee. As Kurzon rightly states (1998: 10–11), linguistic, and still more semiotic, silence (in contrast to acoustic silence as lack of noise) is the speaker's intentional silence (the duty of the addressee is to listen, not to talk)[11]. Once an addressee replies to a question, turn-switching is established (see reference to Sacks, Schegloff and Jefferson 1974, section 2.2 above; Zuo 2002; and Miller 2006 regarding discourse analysis of silence in Biblical texts). In an empiri-

cal study on silence in police interrogation, Heydon (2011) found silence – as the right not to provide information – to be the preferred second adjacent pair response. Yet these are not cases of a silent reply which seems to fall into the trap of mistaking the non-speech of the listener (who is rather expected not to talk) with the communicative activity of the speaker.

Kurzon's more recent paper *Towards a typology of silence* (2007) also resides on this delicate seam sliding towards silences external to communication and interaction. Kurzon stresses clearly that in the current paper he wishes to focus on the circumstances in which silence may be meaningful in the interaction rather than in the meaning itself (2007: 1675). He then outlines five factors to be considered concerning the typology of silence: (a) the number of participants involved in the interaction; (b) the text that is not uttered; (c) the distinction between intentional silence and unintentional silence (see above); (d) features such as the distinction between presence and non-presence in conversation, and (e) the source of silence: internal vs. external. Bearing these factors in mind, Kurzon clusters four types of silence:

(a) conversational silence, in which "the silence may be considered equivalent to a speech act. But we do not know what the S [= silent person] would have said if s/he had spoken; in such a silence the text is often unknown" (Kurzon 2007: 1676, and see at length Kurzon 1998). Kurzon includes in conversational unintentional silence many of the psycholinguistic silences listed by Bruneau (1973) (see section 2.2 above).

(b) Thematic silence: this too occurs in dialogical context, yet contrary to conversational silence, where the silent person does not say anything, in thematic silence s/he refrains from speaking about a particular topic, or as Kurzon puts it: "s/he chooses silence instead of talking about the topic […] In this type of silence, the theme or topic of the text is known, and perhaps the contents are also known" (2007: 1677). Kurzon asserts that since a unique feature of thematic silence is that it cannot be timed (the speaker does not stop talking), it is metaphorical. As we shall shortly suggest (see section 3.3.1 below) thematic silence seems to coincide with the "unsaid".

(c) Kurzon labels the third group in his typology "textual silence". This covers any "social interaction in which the S or Ss [= silent person/s] reads or recites a particular text in silence" (2007: 1679). Since the text read in silence is preset, the length of textual silence equals the length of that text, e.g., reading prayers, reading in a library, etc.

(d) Kurzon's fourth class is situational silence, hence mostly institutional events in which participants are silent. Contrary to "textual silence", here there is no known text (but see section 3.3.1 below and see n. 14). A minute's silence on Remembrance Day, or the opening and closure of Quaker's meetings, are examples of situational silence cited by Kurzon (see also de Vela-Santos 2011).

Sobkowiak (1997) looks at the markedness of communicative silence vis-à-vis speech. He does so investigating four aspects of linguistic signs: distribution, form, content, and function. The central thesis of his paper is that communicative silence (CS) is a pragmatically marked member of the opposition silence-speech (1997: 45). Regarding the first aspect he claims that "*homo loquens* is talkative and CSs are distributed very sparsely" and that "The use of CS implies the use of speech for communication, but not vice versa" (1997: 49; but see Jaworski 1993: 76). Cases of markedness inversion (such as funerals) are indeed constructive arguments supporting his claims on distributional markedness of communicative silence (relative to speech, see also Philips 1985; Jaworski 1993: 56–62, "points of transition"). Markedness theories regard the least complex forms as unmarked relative to the more complex forms. By this token silence being formally less complex than speech should be regarded as unmarked.[12] On the semantic level, looking at content, Sobkowiak follows the cognitive contention regarding prototypes whereby semantic complexity is reverse to cognitive typicality; hence it is relatively more marked. His conclusions regarding form and content do not seem decisive, and so he merges the two criteria (form and function) claiming that speech is the unmarked pair-part since it is highly diagrammatic compared to silence.

To check the functional markedness of communicative silence, Sobkowiak alludes to Roman Jakobson's (1960) model of the functions of language. He says that speech is capable of fulfilling all six of the classic Jakobsonian functions: referential, poetic, phatic, metalingual, emotive and conative; "[t]hus, along the functional dimension CS is clearly deficient relative to speech on at least two accounts: referential and metalingual" (1997: 46, but see section 3.2.1 below).

3.   Mapping silences and speech within discourse

From the foregoing review, starting with silence treated in literature on nonverbal communication (section 2.1 above), and moving on to silence as a theme in its own right (section 2.2 above), it emerges that silence does not constitute a natural kind. The word "silence" does not stand for a monolithic concept. The various means which Sacks, Schegloff and Jefferson mention regarding turn-talking ("pauses", "gaps", "lapses" and "silences"; see section 2.2 above and see also Jaworski 1993: 17; Zuo 2002: 47; Ephratt 2011: 2294–2295) do not overlap with Bruneau's (1973) classes constituting psycholinguistic silences, interactive silences and sociocultural silences, or with Jensen's (1973) five categories, with Jaworski's prototypical and not-prototypical silences varying from nonphonations to visual silence framing and from signs to vagueness and language manipulation (1993, 1997, 2005), or with Saville-Troike's (2006) and Kurzon's (2007) various silences; nor are all these replicas of each other. Bilmes (1994: 79)states:

> […] silence has no internal structure […] But, as we have already noted, the sameness of silence is superficial. There are as many kinds of silence as there are relevant sounds. In the realm of talk, for each possible utterance there is a corresponding silence. And there is, in addition, the silence which is the absence of talk itself.

Mapping silence onto a comprehensive communicative model requires a distinction between communicative and non-communicative silences, and also the mapping of the former within the various dimensions of communication. This mapping results in refining and defining the relations between the various modes of speech and the various modes of silence.

3.1.   The paralinguistic dimension: indexical silences

The reader may recall that, concerning silence, all scholars appear to refer to paralinguistics. If we take paralanguage as an intermediate dimension between pure symbol – conventional signs and pure icon, or better as an intermediate sign incorporating both a symbolic and an iconic relation between signifier and signified, this classification may be confirmed as not accidental (Peirce's classification of indices as secondness, see Nöth 1990: 45). Hence, paralanguage falls between communicating and not-communicating. Indeed, this dimension neatly covers the various pauses which seemed to be in the focus of the scholars (outlined in section 2 and the beginning of section 3 above) of silence in nonverbal communication, as well as the pauses classed as psycholinguistic and interactive pauses by Bruneau (1973, see section 2.1 above). These pauses are indexical – semiotic functions appending to non-semiotic functions – as they have an iconic basis since their practical function is to take time off (within an interaction) from that same interaction to admit the necessary space to attend to non-communicative demands. These may be psychic management of emotions evoked in the speaker or listener during interaction, cognitive processing of demands arising during interaction, and so on. These same pauses have a symbolic characteristic since the speaker purposely maintains them to elicit their corresponding meaning: e.g., "I am speechless because I am in a state of shock/surprise"; or "I realize that my line of argumentation might be tricky and so I pause to allow you – the listener – time for processing". The symbolic feature identifying these pauses as paralinguistic assumes an intentional communicative act by the speaker in initiating such pauses (on Oduro-Frimpong 2011 see section 2.2 above).

To sum up the phenomena of paralinguistic pauses: when silence serves the speaker[13] in discourse as an indexical sign – having simultaneously both iconic and symbolic features, it belongs to the paralinguistic dimension. It is important to note that not all pauses belong in the paralinguistic dimension, so not all pauses are signs. Pauses may wholly overwhelm the speaker, contrary to her/his conscious and unconscious desires. Examples are a person not communicating because s/he is sleeping, or is alone (see Jaworski 1993: 77, 105; Bilmes 1994: 79), or is in meditation (but see Jaworski 1993: 18–20); these pauses are not part of communi-

cation so they do not come under the paralinguistic or under any other dimension of communication.[14] Likewise pauses associated with a person who stutters or is undergoing strong emotional experiences of disassociation, let alone pauses caused by physiological conditions such as brain damage and the like all fall outside communication and interaction, so from a pragmatic-communicative point of view they are not signs (see Lyons 1972 on performance, section 2.2 above). This distinction is crucial for weeding out silences external to communication and meaning from those which are meaningful signs alongside speech. As we shall see in detail (see section 3.2 below, and Figure 2, section 3.4 below), and as we have mentioned in passing, as in the linguistic dimension speech is the typical means (unmarked, see section 2.2 above and Jaworski 1993; Sobkowiak 1997) for communication and silence is an atypical, albeit complementary, means. In the paralinguistic dimension the unvoiced pauses are the typical means to convey timeout; the voiced pauses are atypical.

Weeding out non-communicative pauses also weeds out the numerous cases of silence external to the human body, such as the stillness of nature, the silence of the CD player following an electrical short circuit or the silence following a car crash. As Jaworski (1993), Kurzon (1998) and others have shown, all these cases exemplify the antonym for noise – rather than the antonym for speech, so they are external to communication.[15] We emphasize here that such behavior or symptoms, although external to communication, do not prevent the observer from drawing inferences from them (see Jaworski 1993: 90 on inference, and see also Ephratt 2012 on verbal silence fulfilling Grice's cooperative principle). Blushing can serve as a good example of cases where the body or behavior discloses to the observer what the person would prefer to conceal: one does not blush in order to communicate something, but the observer may draw inferences from this somatic symptom (see n. 20 below).

3.2.   The linguistic dimension: silences as a pure symbol

Paralanguage then is the intermediate dimension: intermediate between the linguistic and the extralinguistic dimension. It is now time to explore the linguistic dimension, that is, the relation of speech and silence both being given-information. As seen in tables 1 and 2 above, both Saville-Troike (1982, 1989) and Kurzon (1998) list spoken language as the only possible instance intersecting the verbal and the vocal. Lyons sets two separate dichotomies: (1) linguistic, consisting of the verbal and prosodic, and (2) segmental, consisting of prosodic and paralinguistic (1972: 52–53). Jaworski (1993: 85) states that "Silence definitely belongs to the nonverbal component of communication".

The priority of words and speech in both phylogenetic (humanity and culture) and ontogenetic (the individual) respects is universally agreed. As seen from the typology of languages and language-families worldwide, the core of language is symbolic. This is apparent from an exploration of the lexical variance among lan-

guages as well as grammatical variations. Needless to say, prominent theories proposed within the universal grammar paradigm (e.g. Greenberg 1963a, 1963b; Chomsky 1965), as well as the "natural" paradigm (e.g. Dressler et al. 1987) do not contradict – let alone refute – the symbolic status of language.

As we have just seen, silence is not monolithic: some silences have nothing to do with communication and interaction, and hence should be excluded from our discussion. Other cases are indexical: intermediate between icon (not communication-oriented) and symbol (pure sign, produced to signify), hence they fall within the paralinguistic dimension (section 3.1 above).

There is still another major group: silences as pure symbols. The mention of "silence when speech is expected" recurs over and over in publications about silence within discourse. The most eminent such saying is by Wittgenstein in the proposition closing the *Tractatus*: "section 7. Whereof one cannot speak thereof one must be silent" (1922/1961). Bearing in mind proposition section 6 (preceding proposition section 7) it seems that Wittgenstein does not end the *Tractatus* stating that silence is meaningless. Here he contends that silence is the appropriate mode for expressing meaningful content which falls outside logical expressions. Wittgenstein refers here to the language of mystics, the language of ethics and esthetics (see Zemach 1964).[16] Bilmes (1994) adheres to his view that "where the rule is 'speak', not speaking is communicative" (78). He writes: "conversational silence is the absence of talk (or of particular kinds of talk) where talk might relevantly occur" (79). In Saville-Troike's view (1985: 14), "Each component that can call for a different component of speech can also permit or prescribe silence" (and see Jaworski 1993: 34, 73–76; Kurzon 1998: 7–8). This notion of silence as part of communication, as the speaker's choice, when it is his or her turn, to express herself or himself by silence, should be clearly distinguished from other silences. Moreover, part of the communicative faculty practiced by both interlocutors and linguists is their competence to identify and analyze silence as a linguistic symbol realized within the specific pragmatic-discourse setting. Silence as a pure symbol never appears in isolation.

Being a variant of a specific linguistic component (a word, a phrase or a chunk of discourse) these silences are symbols (constructed by a null signifier attached to a specific non-null signified) hence belong in the linguistic dimension of communication. Assuming the correspondence here between our use of linguistic and Kurzon's use of verbal, it seems that Kurzon, with Malandro, Barker L. and Barker D. (1989; see Kurzon 1998: 18, and table 2 section 2.2 above), are right in placing silence in the verbal dimension. Although one can see their rationale for identifying silence as verbal non-vocal, I wish to show that silence as a pure linguistic symbol should be characterized as vocal, specifically linguistic and vocal. The seeming rationale for characterizing silence as non-vocal is the trivial fact that silence has no vocal expressive signifier ("nonphonation", see Jaworski 1993: 23, 47). Yet this is identification by negativity. Non-vocal signs – characterized positively – should

assemble the set of signs using non-vocal channels. Saville-Troike's (table 1 section 2.2 above) examples, such as sign languages or Morse code, are typical neat examples for verbal non-vocal communication systems.[17]

In linguistics, and still more in classic linguistics, silence started off as figure rather than ground. Panini, the famous 4th-century BCE Indian linguist was the inventor of many basic linguistic terms (e.g., "root" and "phoneme"). His ordered formal grammar is clearly the source of the notion "zero sign" (see Scharf 1996: 173–174, for a description of Panini's "Lopa" and rules).

Jakobson (1937: 152) defines the zero sign (but he does not mention Panini) as "a sign invested with a particular value but without any material support in sound". This citation hinges on these authors' structural method and theory regarding paradigmatic relations. Jakobson (1937: 151), referring to de Saussure, states: "According to the fundamental formula of F. de Saussure, language can tolerate the opposition between something and nothing and it is precisely this 'nothing' that is in opposition to 'something' – or in other words, the zero sign". Opposed to the cases mentioned above – and turn-taking and chronometry in particular – these grammatical silences do not show up chronometrically.

As the arithmetic zero is indeed a numeral digit among others, so the zero sign and other linguistic silences within the linguistic dimension are a vocal symbol. The following examples of silence as a pure symbol – other than the zero sign – show that silence as a symbol is indeed a vocal sign complementing speech within the linguistic dimension.

3.2.1.   *Verbal silence serving Jakobson's model*

Following Sobkowiak (1997, see section 2.2 above) Ephratt, (2008) analyses the roles of conversational verbal silence in Jakobson's model, offering various examples of linguistic silences serving the six communication functions proposed by Jakobson (1960). As noted, Sobkowiak (1997: 46) stated that the referential or illocutionary significance of silence is nil (although it might carry contextual meaning). But apparently no one can argue that the zero sign has no referential meaning. Moreover, examples show that silence, as a linguistic sign, conveys information and so serves the referential function. Silence might indeed take on a referential role: one can make claims and proclaim propositions using verbal silence (see also Jensen's "revelational function", section 2.2 above). Tiersma (1995: 45) tells of a taxpayer who filled out an Internal Revenue form that asks about specific sources of income. A question on the form asks the taxpayer to list all income of any type not reported elsewhere on that form. Even though the taxpayer had such income, he left this portion of the form blank and signed a declaration under penalty of perjury that the information on the form was accurate. The court observed that, "Failure to [fill in the blank] was equivalent to an answer, and a false one at that". The taxpayer was found guilty of perjury.

As shown in Ephratt (2008) and dealt with in length in Baker 1955 (see section 2.2 above) silence is a symbol (not as a psycholinguistic response, see Bruneau section 2.2 above) most effective for expressing emotions (e.g., emptiness, intimacy) thus serving the emotive function.[18] In cases of extreme emotional experiences, in cases associated with preverbal experience, or in cases such as absence and loss (death), silence is to be seen as the preferred mode of expression, but in many such cases also as the most authentic and most adequate, hence the only possible way to communicate the emotional experience. Olinick (1982: 463) reminds us that at the close of Lincoln's famous Gettysburg Address the crowd responded with silence and refrained from applause.

In respect of the conative function, verbal silence performs direct and indirect speech acts: prototypical cases are silence as assent (see Ephratt 2007) and shunning and the "silent treatment" (see e.g., Oduro-Frimpong 2011 regarding the management of marital conflicts).

Caesura, metaphors and ellipses are just a few examples of poetic silence (see, e.g., Grabher and Jessner 1996; Cacoullos and Sifianou 1998; Panajoti 2011). To give just a glimpse into such poetic silence, we cite Gilead (2008) who asks how many superfluous or missing words the best shortest story can have. To this end he analyzes the story that Ernest Hemingway submitted to a contest for the shortest and best short story: "For sale: baby shoes, never worn." Gilead's answer is "Not one" (2008: 128). As Gilead shows, in those six words, Hemingway creates an entire universe, an enigmatic and tragic one. This six-word story is a book, a movie and a poem; it lacks nothing. Gilead (2008: 124–125) sums up by saying:

> The closer that words approach silence, the greater the effect that they can convey […] Much remains in silence, and yet this kind of silence is full of reality, thoughts, emotions, and feelings. It is pregnant with innumerable unspoken words […] And this silence speaks; this silence echoes each word to the utmost.

Jakobson (1960: 355) regards utterances such as "*Hello*" or "*Testing 1, 2, 3 check*" (checking a loudspeaker) as instances belonging in the phatic function. Says Jaworski (1993: 48), as if commenting on Jakobson: "It is my strong conviction that silence can sometimes signal that the channel of communication remains open, or that one has no intention of closing it, while speech would precisely have the effect of overtly terminating the possibility of further communication between the participants. It is usually thought that the opposite is true […],". The classic example, according to Olinick (1982: 469) and many others, for phatic communication is the silence of intimates (and see n. 18 above). Silence too serves to maintain contact and alliance in the phatic function (see also Jensen's (1973) "linking function", section 2.2 above).

As the reader may recall, Sobkowiak (1997: 46, see section 2.2 above) argues that silence is deficient (relative to speech) concerning the metalingual function

since "it cannot be used to comment on, or express a query about, the structure of language itself". Ephratt (2008: 1926–1932) lists the various roles played by silence in the metalingual function: ranging from its being a discourse marker indicating turn-switching (see Sacks, Schegloff and Jefferson 1974, section 2.2 above) to assuming the "right to silence" as a privilege securing metalinguistic conditions to do with language conduct (form) rather than content: silence may serve as (a) a safeguard against incriminating identification; (b) protection for uneducated and inarticulate persons (see also section 3.3.2 below on its benefits in the judicial system).

A good example of silence as a pure sign serving the referential function is when in a Christian marriage ceremony the minister addresses the participants thus: "If anyone here can show just cause why this man and woman should not be joined together in matrimony let him speak now or forever hold his peace". This case intersects many linguistic issues: it sharpens and makes explicit the difference between rhetorical questions, which are anything but questions – they are indirect means for providing (rather than requesting) information – and a genuine question typically or atypically answered in silence. A rhetorical question is said to be a question whose unmarked answer is silence (see, e.g., Hiz 1962; Schmidt-Radefeldt 1977 and Frank 1990; Sobkowiak 1997: 51; Kurzon 1998: 26). Yet, in light of silence as a symbol we offer a different picture: because a rhetorical question is not a question, no reply is in place, so there is no reply: not in words and not in silence.[19] Contrary to "rhetorical questions", in the latter cases – as exemplified by the reply to the minister's question – the answer is not known, even though in the case of the marriage ceremony the negative answer, as signified by silence, might indeed be the desired answer. As real life shows, and Hollywood films prove, a positive answer expressed using words is indeed a possibility.

The next example, from a scene in Act II of the play *Waiting for Godot* by Samuel Beckett, also shows a reply in silence as a sincere (and even iconically informative) answer to a genuine question:

Box 1a: "What does he do, Mr. Godot?"

Vladimir:	What does he do, Mr. Godot?
(silence)	
	Do you hear me?
Boy:	Yes, Sir.
Vladimir:	Well?
Boy:	He does nothing, Sir.

Should the discourse go as presented in the raw text (Box 1a), the silence indicated as stage directions, and the three lines that follow seem to add no information; their only justification might be their enhancing tiresome boredom (not immaterial to the theme of waiting for Godot). But looking now at silence as a symbol, we may offer a richer reading, attained by rearranging this very same fraction of this very same discourse (Box 1b):

Box 1b: "What does he do, Mr. Godot?" – paraphrase

Vladimir:	What does he do, Mr. Godot?
Boy:	*(silence)*
Vladimir:	Do you hear me?
Boy:	Yes, Sir.
Vladimir:	Well?
Boy:	He does nothing, Sir.

To Vladimir's question about Godot's occupation the boy answers – in silence. Vladimir does not grasp this silence as a symbol, so he suspects that the boy has not heard his question and so could not reply. The boy, having answered the initial question, interprets Vladimir's second question as a fresh one, and not as an indirect speech act invoking an answer to the first. The boy then answers the literal (second) question accordingly. Vladimir's "Well?" expresses his second attempt to get the boy's answer to his initial question. Thus, "He does nothing, Sir" is the boy's verbalized paraphrase of his first informative answer expressed by silence (for similar examples see Jaworski 1993: 3–4; Zuo 2002: 25).

   Those silences are primarily discourse-pragmatic pure symbols. The iconic relation between the form of the symbol, namely silence, and the content is secondary. We must distinguish iconicity of a symbol here (within Peirce's thirdness) from icon as a sign (Peirce's firstness; see section 3.3 below, and Nöth 1990: 45).

3.3.   The extralinguistic dimension: silences as an icon

The icon ties together form and content. As just demonstrated (end of section 3.2.1), a symbol can be completely opaque or partly transparent, showing resemblance between the signifier and the signified. This, as explained, is an iconic feature attached to a symbol (Peirce's thirdness), not a genuine icon (Peirce's firstness). Also, as outlined regarding silence as indexical (section 3.1), a sign can merge a symbolic and an iconic phase (Peirce's secondness). A genuine icon does not originate as a sign: it lacks the basic requirement of a sign, namely having distinct isomorphic phases as signifier and as signified.[20] A genuine icon then is an anomaly in semiotic systems such as language. In fact, many of the instances given

by Bruneau (1973) as psycholinguistic silences and interactive silences (see section 2.1 above) are essentially icons: when a person who is overwhelmed by intense emotion loses her speech this is iconic: she does not do it as means to communicate something to the other (see, e.g., Oduro-Frimpong 2011 and n. 5 above). This is the reason, as explained, why such silences should not be addressed when silence is examined as a means for communication. Sure enough, the listener notices and often draws conclusions from such non-intentional silence, yet, as explained they are not signs sent by the speaker to establish communication (see n. 11 above).

Still, as seen regarding symbols and indices, milder forms of iconicity do take part in communication, so they should be treated in the study of signs in communication. It is interesting that whereas words – language-dependent signifiers, constructed of specific phonemes molded into syllabic and morphemic structures – cannot be purely iconic, silence, a universal sign free of phonetic constraints, may indeed constitute an iconic sign. Silence is external to the linguistic code but is within communication and the discourse setup, so as icon, silence's intersection with speech takes place in the extralinguistic dimension whose focal point is content: the outer world.

As with the foregoing dimensions (section 3.1 and section 3.2 above), two possibilities hold: the typical (unmarked) and the atypical (marked). In the linguistic dimension, speech is the typical means for communication, and verbal silence is the atypical. In the paralinguistic dimension, unfilled pauses are the typical means that intermediate between communication and non-communication; form and content and the filled pauses are the atypical. The same symmetry holds when we look now at the extralinguistic dimension, namely merging content and an iconic form of expression: the "unsaid" is the typical and "empty speech" is the atypical.[21]

3.3.1.   The unsaid

Jaworski's (1993: 98–114) account of "political strategic silence" and Kurzon's (2007: 1677, and see section 2.2 above) account of "thematic silence" seem to be accurate descriptions of the "unsaid" as a sign. It occurs in a dialogical context, where the speaker refrains from speaking about a particular topic.

The iconic essence of the unsaid seems to be exemplified in Theodore Reik's report on a Viennese actress, Josefine Gallmeyer, who in a psychoanalytic session with him requested: "Let's be silent about something else!" (Reik 1926/1968: 177). Zerubavel (2006) identified this unsaid with "the elephant in the room". As Kurzon says, "in this type of silence, the theme or topic of the text is known, and perhaps the contents are also known" (2007: 1677). The iconic-semiotic significance and force of the unsaid is that the communicative act of not-saying is most eloquent in not only that it is indeed said by this iconic silence, but also that this silence intensifies its existence.[22]

We all notice the eloquence of what the politicians choose not to say or scientists who ignore a reference or a scholar (see Jaworski 1993: 105–114; Rescher 1998: 92; Dressen 2002; on the legal status of the unsaid see Tiersma 1995; Heydon 2011: 2314–2315). Jaworski (1993) and Bilmes (1994) explain this mechanism with reference to a relevance model. Says Bilmes: "Constituting silence has become a major occupation of social scientists. We find topics or points that the speaker or the author might have mentioned, things that he might have said, but didn't, and we note his silence. We create silence by creating relevance" (82).

Special attention should be paid here to the difference between the unsaid, as an iconic sign, and what is left out, assuming one way or another that it is known, irrelevant, not worth mentioning, or could be otherwise implied. Rescher (1998: 93) claims:

> In verbal communication we never have enough time and space at our disposal to make it all explicit […] and this means that for reasons of communicative efficiency and economy we have to let silence do some of the communicative work […] and so the natural presumption is that what we do actually say is the most important part of the matter […] and this means that in many declarative settings silence implies *normalcy*.

His thesis lies in the sphere of speech as the typical means of verbal communication and does not allude to the unsaid, which as just shown intensifies, rather than normalizes, the presence of that absence. The same argument seems to apply to Tyler's view on *the said and the unsaid* (1978) as representing the topic and comment uttered and the presuppositions and implications drawn from that (1978: 459–465).

As mentioned in section 2.2 above, Saville-Troike makes a point of distinguishing "the said" from the "presupposed". Whereas the "unsaid" is a deliberate silence originating in the speaker as not saying, implications are not signs but pragmatic-logical operations deduced and originating in the interlocutor (see also Jaworski 1993: 90, and see in length Ephratt 2012).Returning now to the unsaid, we have to disagree with Kurzon's claim that since thematic silence cannot be timed (the speaker does not stop talking) this silence is metaphorical. Placing the unsaid in the content dimension, namely looking at the content not said rather than its form (time-consuming), the matter of time proves irrelevant. The absence of mention, when mention is definitely expected (i.e. relevant), makes this absence become present. Says Zerubavel (2006: 86, quoting Jasper 1997: 139): "In fact, we may one day come to remember the Holocaust 'not so much for the number of its victims as for the silence' surrounding it". We can each recall numerous personal or public instances where an unsaid issue, which at the time was timeless (that silence did not consume time), led to endless discussions.

3.3.2. *Empty speech*

As the unsaid is a meaningful iconic sign consisting of silence (null signifier), speech can be meaningless. Whereas speech is the profound meaningful typical verbal means of communication, empty speech is an atypical semiotic convergence. Says Jaworski (1993: 76): "speech represents here the lack of expected silence (about something)". Looked at now from the content dimension, it is a signifier with no signified. This is Lacan's "*parole vide*", "where the subject seems to be talking in vain about someone who, even if he were his spitting image, can never become one with the assumption of his desire" (Lacan 1956/1966: 50).

According to Lacan's theory concerning the psyche and language, language is a chain of signifiers where the signified – the Thing, or the object of desire – is absent, this is iconically conveyed by empty speech. Saville-Troike (1985: 6), quoting Searle (1969), says that "one can utter words without saying anything". Contentwise the iconic meaning conveyed by empty speech is not the words uttered but its emptiness. This holds for both impersonal public discourses and intersubjective private dialogues (see Jaworski, Fitzgerald and Constantinou 2005 on silence in TV reporting of 9/11).

Some judicial systems have realized that a reticent person on the stand (the accused or suspected person in an investigation or in court) evoking the "right to silence" as part of the privilege against self-incrimination (see Kurzon 1995; Ephratt 2007; Ephratt 2008: 1928–1932; but see Heydon 2011) is beneficial to the system. Reticence is an efficient mode to reduce the time and energy consumed by deception and misinformation, as well as empty speech (see section 3.2.1 above and see also Jensen 1973: 21).

A comment should be made regarding two closely related but different issues. Small talk might seem identical with empty speech, but it is not necessarily so. Insofar as small talk serves the phatic function (see Jakobson 1960; Jaworski 2000; also Baker 1955, section 2.2 above), it should not be examined in the content dimension but in the verbal. By definition, the phatic function is to connect (on silence serving phatic communication see Olinick 1982; Jaworski 2000; Ephratt 2008: 1923–1924), whereas empty speech disjoins, introduces noise. Says Susan Sontag (1966: 12, as quoted by Bruneau 1973: 20–21): "[The art of] our time is noisy with appeals for silence […] one recognizes the imperative of silence, but goes on speaking anyway. Discovering that one has nothing to say, one seeks a way to say *that*."

3.4.   Summation: a model of silences within interaction

Examining silence as a polyphonic phenomenon in communication and interaction not only restores silence to the place it occupies in real-life interaction. It also clarifies the relations between speech and silence, thus sharpening and shedding new light on pure semiotic, linguistic, discourse analytic and pragmatic issues hidden

under the veil of silence as meaningless absence. What started off as a clear demarcation between verbal and non-verbal language, with the share of the verbal amounting to an estimated 35 % of the means available and realized for communicating, ended up – following the incorporation of the verbal and of the different silences into the classification – as a new fresh picture.

As noted, Kurzon (1998: 10–11; but see 18, cf. section 2.2) stresses that silence, in contrast to "paralinguistic" cues, is not co-verbal since it does not accompany speech (but see on Leathers 1997: 162, section 2.1 above). Mapping silences onto the various dimensions makes apparent the fact that only silence as a symbol does not accompany speech: Empty speech is by definition a case where speech accompanies silence. This is also the case regarding the unsaid. In both cases the speaker does not stop speaking (see Kurzon 2007: 1679). Indeed, as with other extralinguistic signs, here too speech may indeed accompany this extralinguistic sign, such as kinesics, gaze and silence (i.e. the unsaid and empty speech, see table 2 in Ephratt 2011: 2289). This also coincides with Lyons' layout regarding prosody as part of language. The same reasons for incorporating prosody in language hold for "verbal silence": silence as a symbol should then be added to the scheme of the relations between verbal and non-verbal communication in what Hinde and Lyons term the "verbal" (Hinde 1972: 91).

Figure 2 is a graphic summation of the various planes discussed here, mapping the dimension, the signs, the typicality and the various communicative silences occurring in interaction.
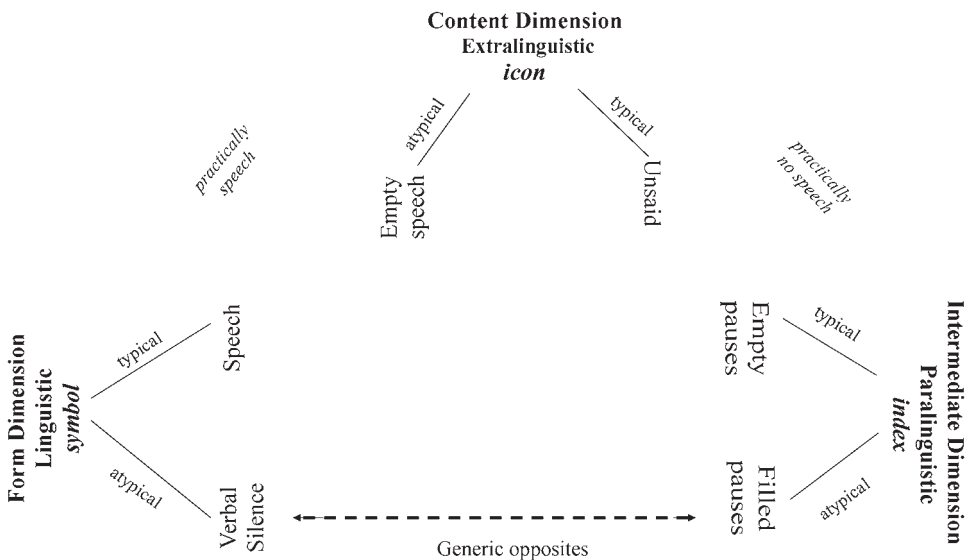
Figure 2.   Silence in interaction

This scheme reflects the multiple relations of the various modes of speech and of silences. The main ones, without doubt, are the complementary relations within the linguistic dimension between speech and verbal silence. The reader may check the semiotic and pragmatic relations of each of the six elements set out here with its two neighboring elements, of the typical elements of each dimension and of the atypical (respectively). We can also follow the path of sounds vs. no sounds. In so doing, we observe that out of the three sound elements only speech is meaningful: empty speech and filled pauses, namely voices and word-like sounds, are atypical and meaningless. As seen, this creates a generic dichotomy between verbal silence as the atypical, yet meaningful, means within the linguistic dimension and filled pauses in the paralinguistic dimension.

In doing discourse analysis we should bear in mind Reik's saying (1926/1968: 183) that "[t]here is meaningless speech and meaningful silence". Accordingly, we must trace the various silences – as we do regarding voiced linguistic symbols. For each such occurrence, we should then look for its significance, and meaning in the specific context and interaction. Following such inquiry, not only would we determine whether each instance of silence or speech within the discourse event has meaning and to what plane it belongs, but also would we be able to see its contribution to the entire discursive event.

Notes

1. But see e.g. Trager (1958), who does not mention silence at all.
2. For an empirical example of communication breakdown drawn from police interrogations mediated by Japanese-English interpreters, see Nakane 2011.
3. Some cases listed as psycholinguistic silences interrupt speech but do not consist of silence as such (e.g., repetitions and repair, and see section 3.3.1 below).
4. Bruneau's reference in passing (in connection with drawing inference) to silence as promoting closeness and small talk as a means of halting informality and keeping from getting too close seems contrary to his arguments regarding interactive silences punctuating embarrassment accompanying intimacy (see Baker 1955 just below, and section 3.3.2 on small talk).
5. Also explicitly asking about silence, as opposed to asking about conflict management in general, might have induced participants to rule out incidences they did not perceive as silence, yet, within the study's framework would have turned out as such.
6. Regarding silence, Saville-Troike's third edition (2003) sticks to the picture set out in the second edition.
7. To highlight the place of silence here and in table 2, we have changed the direction of the columns and of the rows as in the source table.
8. Compare above with the Bruneau's (1973) view of silence as ground for speech, and Baker's (1955) model of the relationship between speech and silence
9. On argumentative silence "showing over telling" as a means for activating the researcher's process of constructing meaning, see Adler 2011.

10. As discussed above, silence as a sign entered gradually into Saville-Troike's lore. Figure 4.1, as cited here in table 1, was published in 1989, the same year as Malandro, Barker L. and Barker D. (1989), the source of table 2: see n. 7 above).

11. See Jaworski (1993: 90) quoting Sperber and Wilson (1986: 54) on inference as the share of the audience – as opposed to ostension belonging to the speaker. And see Goffman (1959: 2): "given off information" and "given information" accordingly.

12. Zuo (2002: 45, 53), on the other hand, structures silence along three parameters: location, duration and frequency.

13. Here we deliberately refrain from dealing with volition. As Freud has taught the world, no person and no deed are free of the unconscious.

14. Following this line I argue that the cases mentioned by Bruneau (1973: 41) as "places of silence" and Kurzon (2007) as "textual silences" (see section 2.2 above), like readers reading text in a library or prayers in religious services, even when they all silently go through the same text, are not cases of silences within interaction because there is no interaction.

15. Poyatos (2002) does not exclude such cases from his detailed study of nonverbal communication. Those sounds and movements enter language when one wishes to name them or characterize them in discourse and literary work.

16. This widely accepted interpretation of Wittgenstein's proposition seems to resolve Bruneau's (1973: 20) criticism, interpreting Wittgenstein's saying that "symbolically, silence is nothing". For a metalinguistic interpretation of Wittgenstein's seventh proposition, see Meyer (1986: 35–64). For an example of such silence see de Vela-Santos 2011.

17. Saville-Troike's example of written language as verbal non-vocal seems to be justified only for written systems that are independent of spoken languages. A writing system corresponding to a spoken language is not a system in its own right but a means of mediating speech (on this matter see Lyons 1972).

18. The most salient function in Baker's (1955) model seems to be Jakobson's emotive function, yet the model seems fit for explaining the role played by silence serving other functions such as the phatic function and the referential function.

19. This distinction between rhetorical questions and genuine questions answered in silence is a good instance of the contribution of the study of silence as a symbol to general linguistics: incorporating silence as signifier stretches the boundaries of linguistic signs, and therefore forces us to reexamine known linguistic notions in light of these new boundaries.

20. Blushing seems to be a good example of a genuine bodily icon; see section 2.2 and the end of section 3.1, above.

21. The reader may note that here I refine the outline I proposed in Figure 1 in Ephratt 2008 concerning the relation between eloquent silence and the unsaid and empty speech (and see Figure 2 in section 3.4).

22. See Saville-Troike's (1985: 10) reference to Abrahams (1979) on silence as an intensifier.

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Part III
Discourse types and domains

16. Taxonomies of discourse types

Jürgen Esser

This article gives an overview of major taxonomies of discourse types and their historical roots going back to the beginnings of sign theory, the Prague School and British contextualism. Therefore, discourse type is understood here in a wide sense to cover established notions like language function, register, genre and text type. The differing notions are taken care of by a metatheoretical approach.

1. Historical and conceptual framework: some important forerunners

1.1. Introduction

The variability of language use was already described in antiquity in the venerable disciplines of rhetoric and poetics. One of the classifications that has (marginally) survived in more recent taxonomies of discourse types is the distinction between everyday (vulgar) language versus literary/poetic (elevated) language.

Modern taxonomies of discourse types with more differentiated classifications can be traced back to the dispute in the Middle Ages between *realists* and *nominalists*. The question was whether word signs are so abstract and context independent that they have universal meanings (realism) or rather have user-based, individual meanings (nominalism) which apply to a particular discourse with its context and individual sign users. In the last century the realist position was taken by de Saussure and the nominalist position by Morris, who was the founder of modern semiotics and can be regarded as an important forerunner of modern pragmatics and the study of discourse types.

1.2. De Saussure

De Saussure's sign theory was linguistically motivated and in its supraindividual abstractness (*signe*, *langue*) it was committed to universal realism. Although de Saussure recognised individual language use with the concept of *parole*, his semiotic ideas centered on the supraindividual level of his well-known linguistic sign. Therefore it is no surprise that he did not explain the notion of *parole* systematically. Among many dispersed references to *parole* de Saussure ([1916] 1974: 30) says: "l'exécution (…) nous l'appellerons la parole" [the execution we call *parole*]. However, the "execution" of the speech event and the situation in which it takes place was not studied by de Saussure himself but rather by linguistic directions that developed after his time, notably British contextualism and the Prague School.

1.3.   Morris

Drawing on the philosophical work by Ch.S. Pierce (1839–1914), Morris studied the relationship between linguistic signs and their individual sign users. Morris (1938: 3) called this relationship the "interpretant" and defined it as "that effect on some interpreter in virtue of which the thing in question is a sign to that interpreter". This "relation of signs to their interpreters" (Morris 1938: 30) has become to be generally regarded as the semiotic subdiscipline of pragmatics.

Morris was one of the first to recognise and describe types of discourse in a modern sense. Morris ([1946] 1971: 368) defined *type of discourse* as "a specialization of language for the accomplishment of specific purposes". He developed a model to classify discourse types with the help of a two-dimensional classification of *use(age)* and *mode*. These two dimensions are part of a general (behavioristic) sign theory that is not confined to linguistics. Morris (1971: 174–175) recognises four *primary sign usages*: "Signs (…) may be used to inform the organism about something, to aid it in its preferential selection of objects, to incite responses of some behavior family, and to organise sign-produced behaviour (interpretants) into a determinate whole". With regard to the linguistic classification of discourses, the four main uses are *informative*, *valuative*, *incitive* and *systemic*, cf. Morris (1971: 205). These four uses can be understood in modern terms as types of macro speech acts which describe the purposes or *goals* of the communication, i.e. to inform, evaluate, command, explain. Cutting across these four distinctions, there are four kinds of discourse mode, which can be understood as *text forms*: *designative*, *appraisive*, *prescriptive* and *formative*. With the help of a 4x4 matrix Morris postulates 16 major types of discourse. The scientific discourse type, for example, is characterised by an informative use (goal) and a designative mode (text form), and the religious discourse type is characterised by an incitive use (goal) and a prescriptive mode (text form). All in all, it must be stated, however, that Morris's classificatory matrix has not enjoyed widespread reception although similar ideas were formulated later, for example by Werlich, Longacre and Virtanen (cf. 4.).

1.4.   Malinowski, Firth and Skalička

After sketching the nominalist position of Morris in the first part of the 20th century, we now turn to two kinds of reaction to de Saussure's universal, realist concept of the linguistic sign and its theoretical deficit at the same period of time: Some linguists ignored it, others improved on it. To the first group we can count two prominent figures in British contextualism, Malinowski and Firth; to the second group we can count the linguists following the Prague School.

Comparing written and spoken language, the anthropologist Malinowski ([1923] 1949: 306–307) emphasised the importance of the "context of situation" and the establishment of "purely social communion" for statements "spoken in real

life". Taking a clearly nominalist stance, Malinowski (1949: 308–309) stressed "how erroneous it is to consider Meaning as a real entity, contained in a word or utterance" and "that neither a Word nor its Meaning has an independent and self-sufficient existence".

Besides his emphasis on the context of situation, Malinowski (1949: 315) also drew attention to a type of discourse that he called *phatic communion*: "There can be no doubt that we have here a new type of linguistic use – *phatic communion* I am tempted to call it actuated by the demon of terminological invention – a type of speech in which ties of union are created by a mere exchange of words".

The general linguist Firth followed Malinowski and also studied the context of situation. But while Malinowski had in mind individual situations, Firth was more interested in what certain situations have in common. Firth ([1935] 1957: 31) wrote:

> It is perhaps easier to suggest types of linguistic function than to classify situations. Such would be, for instance, the language of agreement, encouragement, endorsement, of disagreement and condemnation. (…) We could add many types of function – wishing, blessing, cursing, boasting, the language of challenge and appeal, or with the intent to cold-shoulder, to belittle, to annoy or hurt, even to a declaration of enmity.

This tentative classification of linguistic functions can also be regarded as a forerunner of taxonomies of discourse types in terms of different speech act functions (macro speech acts).

Before we come to the modification of de Saussure's realist sign concept in the tradition of the Prague School, we should mention that similar to Firth's speech-act-like observation of 1935, a member of the Prague School, Skalička (1948: 23), had elaborated on de Saussure's concept of *parole* and expressed similar ideas:

> Outside linguistics, there is linguistic theory, occupying itself with much that linguistics proper ignores; that is to say, with *la parole* too. (…) So there are many words in a language which clearly form a theory of *parole*, cf., for example, *to speak, speech, to stammer, to stutter, to ask, to answer, to speak to the point, to speak at random, intelligible, comprehensible, ambiguous*, etc., etc.

These tentative explorations can again be regarded as first formulations that pointed into the direction of speech-act theory as proposed later by Austin, Searle and others.

2.   Discourse types and language functions in the tradition of the Prague School

2.1.   Bühler

Although not a formal member of the Prague Circle, Bühler can be regarded as the psycholinguist of the Prague School. His writings were eagerly received by the leading figures of the Circle before the Second World War, notably by his long-

standing Vienna colleague Trubetzkoy, whereas he was fully recognised outside the Circle only after the War in the sixties. Bühler ([1934] 1978: 24) took up Plato's metaphor that language is an instrument (*organon*) which can be used to inform others about things. Bühler's (1978: 28) concept of the linguistic sign is more sophisticated than de Saussure's because it recognises not only signifier and signified, as does de Saussure's model, but also the sender and receiver of the signifier (i.e. sign in a narrow sense). The three variables, signified, sender and receiver, point to three fundamental functions of language: *representation*, *expression*, and *appeal*. These three functions do not operate exclusively and independently by themselves but are given different degrees of prominence in varying communication settings and have thus become a basis for the classification of discourse types.

The representation function is dominant if the focus of the message is on the objects and states of affairs that are referred to. The expression function informs about the sender's "inner state" ("Innerlichkeit"). The appeal function is operative when the message focuses on the recipient in order to control their behaviour. It is obvious that the three language functions, representation, expression and appeal, can be understood as purposes or goals of communicative acts, i.e. as speech acts or discourse types such as, for example, informative prose, personal diary or instruction manual. The impact of Bühler's organon model can probably be attributed to his structured, though not over-differentiated, semiotic approach, which differs from the impressionistic accounts of Firth and Skalička.

2.2.   Jakobson

Jakobson (1960: 353) extended Bühler's communication model of sender, receiver and signified to a model of six "constitutive factors in any speech event, in any act of verbal communication". In Jakobson's terminology the sender is called *addresser*, the receiver *addressee* and the signified *context*. The six constitutive factors of verbal communication are described like this (Jakobson 1960: 353):

> The ADDRESSER sends a MESSAGE to the ADDRESSEE. To be operative the message requires a CONTEXT referred to ('referent' in another, somewhat ambiguous, nomenclature), seizable by the addressee, and either verbal or capable of being verbalised; a CODE fully, or at least partially, common to the addresser and the addressee (or in other words, to the encoder and the decoder of the message); and, finally, a CONTACT, a physical channel and psychological connection between the addresser and the addressee, enabling both of them to enter and stay in communication. All these factors inalienably involved in verbal communication may be schematized as follows:
>
> <div align="center">
>
> CONTEXT
>
> ADDRESSER MESSAGE ADDRESSEE
>
> CONTACT
>
> CODE
>
> </div>
>
> Each of these six factors determines a different function of language.

The scheme of fundamental factors is complemented by a corresponding scheme of the functions (Jakobson 1960: 357):

REFERENTIAL
EMOTIVE   POETIC   CONATIVE
PHATIC
METALINGUAL

Figure 1.   Jakobson's language functions

As indicated above, Bühler's functions of representation, expression and appeal correspond to Jakobson's referential, emotive and conative functions. Jakobson's phatic function integrates Malinowski's discourse type of phatic communion mentioned above in section 1.4.

The metalingual function draws on the distinction between *object language* and *metalanguage*. The first is the object of linguistic description, namely word forms and sentences, the second is the language used by the linguist to describe word forms and sentences. Jakobson (1960: 356) stresses that metalanguage plays an important role in everyday language: "Like Molière's Jourdain who used prose without knowing it, we practise metalanguage without realizing the metalingual character of our operations. Whenever the addresser and/or the addressee need to check up whether they use the same code, speech is focused on the CODE: it performs a METALINGUAL (i.e., glossing) function".

The poetic function is described by Jakobson (1960: 356) as follows: "The set (*Einstellung*) towards the MESSAGE as such, focus on the message for its own sake, is the POETIC function of language. (…) Poetic function is not the sole function of verbal art but only its dominant, determining function". Focus on the message is given, for example, in deviations from the norm such as rhythm and rhyme.

This brings us to the fuzzy relationship between language functions. The following holds for all of them (Jakobson 1960: 353): "Although we distinguish six basic aspects of language, we could, however, hardly find verbal messages that would fulfil only one function. The diversity lies not in a monopoly of some one of these several functions but in a different hierarchical order of functions. The verbal structure of a message depends primarily on the predominant function". Note that the last sentence in this quotation echoes the Prague School axiom that form follows function.

The six language functions introduced by Jakobson can be regarded as a framework to distinguish discourse types. But it must be noted that there are considerable differences in size. So, for example, a metalingual exchange about the code introduced by "What do you mean by X?" or a comment about the weather to establish phatic communion are shorter than book-length pieces of informative prose on a specialised subject, a personal diary or an instruction manual.

2.3.   Mukařovský

Mukařovský was interested in the relationship between *standard language* and *poetic language*. This took up the ancient distinction between everyday language and literary language (cf. 1.1.). Not unlike Jakobson's definition of the poetic language function (cf. 2.2.) Mukařovský ([1932] 1964: 19) wrote before him: "The function of poetic language consists in the maximum of foregrounding of the utterance. (…) In poetic language foregrounding achieves maximum intensity to the extent of pushing communication into the background as the objective of expression and of being used for its own sake".

Mukařovský was especially interested in the interpenetration of poetic and standard language. For him the standard serves as a background for poetic language, which in turn can pass on its new coinings to the standard. Jakobson's interest was different. He wanted to show in his framework of six language functions that the nature of poetic language could be explained by a relatively simple principle, namely the parallelism of linguistic forms and structures, which showed itself in equivalences of sound, stress, realism, images, syntactic structures etc.

2.4.   Havránek

Havránek can be regarded as the founder of *functional stylistics* in the Prague School. He started with a description of the differences between the *standard language* and *folk speech* and claimed that "the fields in which the standard language is used are more varied than is the case for folk speech" (Havránek [1932] 1964: 3). Some of the functional differences between folk speech and the standard are explained as follows (Havránek 1964: 3):

> Utterances in folk speech can on the whole be assigned to the so-called *communicative* function, that is, they belong to the area of everyday communication; in the area of technical communication folk speech includes only some lexical areas, and at times may acquire an esthetic function. The area of *workaday technical* (…) communication is almost entirely reserved to the standard language, and that of *scientific technical* communication, completely so; likewise, the regular foundation of *poetic language* is the standard.

Havránek recognises four functions of the standard: *communicative*, *workaday technical*, *scientific technical* and *esthetic*. These four functions are established on the basis of three general stylistic devices: *intellectualization*, *automatization* and *foregrounding*. These are "*different modes of utilization of the devices of the language* or *their special adaptation* to the different purposes of the standard language" (Havránek 1964: 5); they determine the choice of concrete linguistic entities such as the pronunciation of a word, a lexical item or a syntactic construction.

The three modes of utilization, intellectualization, automatization and foregrounding, are explained as follows (Havránek 1964: 6, 9, 10):

By the *intellectualization* of the standard language, which we could also call its rational-
ization, we understand its adaptation to the goal of making possible precise and rigor-
ous, if necessary abstract, statements, capable of expressing the continuity and com-
plexity of thought, that is, to reinforce the intellectual side of speech. (…)

By *automatization* we thus mean such a use of the devices of the language, in isolation
or in combination with each other, as is usual for a certain expressive purpose, that is,
such a use that the expression itself does not attract any attention. (…)

By *foregrounding*, on the other hand, we mean the use of the devices of the language in
such a way that this use itself attracts attention and is perceived as uncommon, as de-
prived of automatization, as deautomatized, such as a live poetic metaphor (as opposed
to a lexicalized one, which is automatized).

Intellectualization manifests itself most clearly in scientific language. Automatiz-
ation can be found in everyday, workaday and scientific communication with dif-
ferent norms for expressing definite reference, cf. Havránek (1964: 14–15): In
everyday communication intelligibility is given by the situation and by conversa-
tional automatization. To this we can count, for example, deictic reference, ellipsis
and phatic communion. In workaday technical communication definiteness is
given by defined or codified automatizations through special terms and formulae.
In theoretical technical communication accuracy is given by the automatizations of
intellectualization. The device of foregrounding fulfils an esthetic function which
corresponds to Mukařovský's and Jakobson's poetic functions.

From the four functions of the standard and the linguistic devices to implement
them Havránek arrives at four *functional dialects*: namely conversational, worka-
day, scientific and poetic.

The relation between Havránek's functions of the standard, the stylistic devices
and the corresponding functional dialects can be summarised as in the following table:

Table 1.   Havránek's functions, devices and functional dialects

Functions	Devices	Dialects
communicative	automatization	conversational
workaday technical	automatization	workaday
scientific technical	automatization / intellectualization	scientific
esthetic	foregrounding	poetic

To complete Havránek's typology of discourse types we must also mention his cat-
egory of *functional styles*. Havránek (1964: 15–16) writes:

The difference between *functional style* and *functional dialect* (…) consists in the fact
that the functional style is determined by the specific purpose of the given verbal re-
sponse – it is a function of the verbal response (of the act of speech, 'parole'), whereas
the functional dialect is determined by the over-all purpose of the structured totality of
means of expression, it is a function of the linguistic pattern ('langue').

Thus, the distinction between the specific purpose of a speech act and the overall purpose of a discourse is a matter of abstraction, i.e. of whether you look at a specific speech act or at the discourse as a whole. This distinction can also be witnessed with other theorists of discourse types to be discussed below.

The functional styles of the standard are classified "according to the *specific purpose* of the response" (Havránek 1964: 14), e.g. exhortation or general explanation, and "according to the *manner* of the response" (Havránek 1964: 15), namely private/public and oral/written. Havránek thus combines functional categories like speech acts and language-external categories of language production.

2.5.   Doležel

The distinctions between private/public and oral/written became important features in Doležel's concept of *objective style* (Doležel 1968; Doležel and Kraus 1972). Objective style is sharply distinguished from the style of a particular text and also from the style of individual text classes, for example the texts of one author. Doležel and Kraus (1972: 38), for example, write:

> The main contribution of the Prague stylistics to the theory of styles consists in the introduction of the notion *objective style* in a rather systematic outline of the variety of objective styles. This part of the theory is based on the assumption that some general verbal properties of text classes can be derived from the supra-individual circumstances of the process of communication, such as the general purpose of the message (its function); the communicative situation (private vs. public; direct communication vs. telecommunication); the form of language used (oral vs. written), etc. These supra-individual communicative circumstances operate as style-forming factors, molding the verbal organization of texts in such a way as to make the expression adequate to the specific communicative needs. These factors operate automatically and independently of the speaker's (author's) will.

It will be noted that the concept of objective style accommodates not only the purpose or function of the message but also the *conditions of production*, which can be described from without, making no use of linguistic data and categories: private/public, direct/mediated (e.g. telecommunication), oral/written.

3.   Discourse types in British contextualism

3.1.   Registers

The influence of the language-external conditions of production on the linguistic properties of discourses was also studied in British contextualism. Here a distinction was made between language variation that is relatively permanent and therefore depends on the *user*, and variation of *use*, which changes with the situational settings. From the 1960s, variation according to use was generally described as

register (cf. Ellis and Ure 1969). Register is described as a complex notion that depends on the combined features along (usually) three dimensions: field, mode, tenor (cf. Gregory 1967; Gregory and Carol 1978; and Halliday 1978). Ignoring conceptional and terminological "niceties", the three dimensions can be classed with language-external situational categories as shown in the following table.

Table 2.   Gregory's register dimensions and situational categories

Register dimension		Situational category
field		subject matter (topic)
mode		medium (oral/written)
tenor	personal	addressee relation
	functional	speech-act role

About the addressee relationship Gregory and Carol (1978: 51) write: "It has been suggested that there is an inverse relationship between the degree of formality existing between people and the need to make information verbally explicit (Joos, 1961)". In his influential book Joos (1961) distinguishes five degrees of formality. In an earlier publication Joos (1958: 4) had given the following wordings to exemplify five different addressee relationships:

> Printable: In my opinion he is not the man whom we seek.
> Formal: I believe that he is not the man we are looking for.
> Colloquial: I don't think he's the man we're looking for.
> Casual: I don't think he's our man.
> Intimate: I'm afraid you've picked a lemon.

Note that in the 1961 publication the terminology of the formality scale changed to frozen, formal, consultative, casual, intimate.

The speech-act role of functional tenor is described by Gregory and Carol (1978: 53) like this: "Is the speaker trying to persuade? to exhort? to discipline? (…) The generic structure of text is often defined in terms of functional tenor". In terms of abstraction, functional tenor mediates between functional style and functional dialect.

The complexity of the notion register that was mentioned above is described, for example, by Gregory and Carol (1978: 64) as follows:

> The concurrence of instances of the contextual categories (…) produce text varieties called registers. These varieties represent instances of language defined in terms of the similar points they occupy in the continuums of field, mode and personal and functional tenors of discourse. (…) Language texts which can be placed on the same points within the contextual categories belong to the same register. Register is therefore a useful abstraction linking variations of language to variations of social context.

It is interesting to note that in this definition of register the focus is on the co-oc-currence of contextual categories and not on the co-occurrence of linguistic forms. This important step was, however, already made by Halliday, McIntosh and Strevens (1964: 90) who (visionarily) wrote: "It is by their formal properties that registers are defined. If two samples of language activity from what, on non-lin-guistic grounds, could be considered different situation-types show no differences in grammar or lexis, they are assigned to one and the same register". The authors were well aware that at their time it was impossible to describe registers in terms of linguistic forms because the corpus linguistic infrastructure and methods were not yet available. This became possible in the 1980s; cf., for example, Biber (1988).

3.2.   Genres

With our discussion of genres we enter another terminological and conceptual mine-field and we cannot do justice to all proposals that have been made. Enkvist (1973: 20) was interested in a definition of genre that was applicable both to literary studies and linguistics: "a culturally definable traditional type of communication". In its generality it is compatible with Swales's (1990: 58) attempt to define genre from a linguistic point of view: "A genre comprises a class of communicative events, the members of which share some set of communicative purposes". Swales (1990: 49; 54) also explains that "exemplars or instances of genres vary in their prototypical-ity" and that "a discourse community's nomenclature for genres is an important source of insight". For Biber (1989: 5), too, genres belong to a "folk-typology" and are "readily distinguished by mature speakers of the language". It is part of a general language command to know the meaning of and identify, for example, *newspaper article*, *private letter*, *diary*, *love story*, *public speech*, *telephone conversation* etc.

   The description of genres is based on language-external, cultural or sociologi-cal descriptions, mostly of low abstraction, cf. e.g. Bhatia (2004). Genres are usually more specific than, for example, functional dialects. In their boundedness to specific situations, genres are quite similar to registers, cf. Gregory and Caroll's concept of register quoted above in section 3.1.

   Genres are described to a large extent in terms of everyday communication. Distinct from this are typologies of discourse that are based on recurring co-occur-rences of linguistic word forms. This kind of methodology was already addressed above in the definition of register as defined by Halliday, McIntosh and Strevens in section 3.1.

   In corpus linguistics, genres describe language-externally what texts are chosen to be included in a corpus. Therefore, externally defined genre and inter-nally established text type should be distinguished, cf. Biber and Finegan (1986) and Biber (1988). Biber's written genres (mainly taken from the Lancaster-Oslo/ Bergen Corpus), for example, were: press, editorial, skills and hobbies, popular lore, government documents, academic prose, belles lettres, general fiction, ro-

mantic fiction, professional letters. The spoken genres (from the London-Lund Corpus) were: face-to-face conversation, telephone conversation, interviews, broadcasts, spontaneous speeches, planned speeches. The texts of the written and spoken genres were the input to statistical analyses of word-forms (and dependent on them of morphological and syntactic features) which yielded text types.

Biber's analyses showed quite clearly that the components of his corpora, i.e. genres, cannot be mapped unequivocally onto statistically derived text types, cf. Esser (1993: 54–55). Biber (1989: 38–39) admits: "The typology developed here is relatively complex and sometimes the resulting 'text types' are surprising". The reason for this is "that the theoretical bases of genres are independent from those of text types".

Concluding our remarks about genre we must point out that instantiations of genres can be classed as very broad, e.g. written, spoken or press, or very delicate, e.g. cookery book or love song. The flexibility of the concept genre can be viewed as an advantage but also as a methodological problem of delimitation which defies operationalisation.

4.   Notional discourse types

We have seen in section 2 that the taxonomies of discourse types in the tradition of the Prague School started from the components of the communication situation in which linguistic signs operate and from *external language functions*, cf. Daneš (1987: 11–15). In a similar way our discussion of discourse types in British contextualism in section 3 relied on analyses of the communication situation and correlations of these with language use. In this section about notional discourse types we consider approaches which go beyond communication situation and external language function and consider instead or additionally cognitive procedures that are assumed to take place in the minds of text producers and text receivers. The selection of authors is representative rather than comprehensive.

4.1.   Werlich

Werlich was one of the first to develop a taxonomy of discourse types from the point of view of text linguistics in the 1970s. What was new about his approach was that he considered cognitive aspects that went beyond external language functions and analyses of the communication situation or intentions. Werlich (1976: 21) writes:

> A text grammar can be based on the hypothesis that texts, conceived of as assignable to *text types*, primarily derive their structural distinctions from innate cognitive properties. Accordingly, the five basic text types correlate with *forms and ranges of human cognition*. They reflect the basic cognitive processes of contextual categorisation. These are

(1) differentiation and interrelation of *perceptions in space* in the text type of *description*;

(2) differentiation and interrelation of *perceptions in time* in the text type of *narration*;

(3) *comprehension* of great general concepts through differentiation by analysis and/or comprehension of particular concepts through differentiation by subsumptive synthesis in the text type of *exposition*;

(4) *judging*, that is the establishment of relations between and among concepts through the extraction of similarities, contrasts, and transformations from them in the text type of *argumentation*;

(5) and *planning* of future behaviour by a subdivision of subsumption in the text type of *instruction*.

The relations between cognitive processes and text types are summarised in the following table.

Table 3.   Werlich's cognitive processes and corresponding text types

Cognitive process	Text type
perceptions in space	description
perceptions in time	narration
comprehension	exposition
judging	argumentation
planning	instruction

It is striking that Werlich's text types do not have much in common with the external language functions discussed in section 2, although there are affinities between Havránek's scientific functional dialect and Werlich's text types of exposition and argumentation. Neither are there affinities with the situationally defined register dimensions discussed in section 3. However, new on the scene of discourse types is the category *narration*.

To complete the sketchy picture we must also mention that Werlich's five text types are related to what he calls *(thematic) text bases*. These are descriptions of prototypical surface structures at clause level, e.g. SVA_{loc} for description as in *Thousands of glasses were on the table*, cf. Werlich (1976: 27–29).

Furthermore, Werlich (1976: 46) subclassifies manifestations of text types at two levels as *text forms* and *text form variants*. Text forms are "dominant manifestations" of particular text types. For example, the text type argumentation can be instantiated by the text form *comment*. This in turn has, for example, the *leading article* and the *review* as more specific text form variants.

4.2.   Longacre

A distinction between surface structure and notional discourse type is also made by Longacre (1983: 3):

> In brief, notional structures of discourse relate more clearly to the overall purpose of the discourse, while surface structures have to do more with a discourse's formal characteristics. (…) To begin with, we classify all possible discourses according to two basic parameters: *contingent temporal succession* and *agent orientation.* Contingent temporal succession (henceforth contingent succession) refers to a framework of temporal succession in which some (often most) of the events or doings are contingent on previous events or doings. Agent orientation refers to orientation towards agents with at least a partial identity of agent reference running through the discourse. These two parameters intersect so as to give us a four-way classification of discourse types.

The two binary parameters of classification and the resulting four discourse types are summarised in the following table:

Table 4.   Longacre's classification of discourse types

	+ Agent orientation	– Agent orientation
+ Contingent succession	narrative	procedural
– Contingent succession	behavioural	expository

If one compares Longacre's discourse types with Werlich's text types it becomes evident that there are similarities and differences. Both classifications recognise narrative and expository discourses. Longacre's procedural discourse corresponds to Werlich's instruction and Werlich's description has affinities with Longacre's expository discourse. The fundamental difference between both proposals is that Longacre does not recognise argumentation as a discourse type and Werlich does not recognise behavioural discourse.

Besides the two basic parameters, contingent succession and agent orientation, Longacre (1983: 4) also considers a further parameter called *projection*: "Projection has to do with a situation or action which is contemplated, enjoined, or anticipated but not realized". This would yield eight discourse types instead of only four. Longacre (1983: 4–5) gives the following examples of the new subtypes: Narrative: prophecy (+p), story (-p); procedural: how-to-do-it (+p), how-it-was-done (-p); behavioral: hortatory, promissory (+p), eulogy (-p); expository: budget proposal, futuristic essay (+p), scientific paper (-p).

4.3.   Virtanen

Virtanen starts from Werlich's classification of text types, which she understands as "prototypical abstractions" and which play a role in the processes of text production and text comprehension. Reference to prototypical abstractions has an effect of automatization (cf. 2.4.). They are a means to ease comprehension of the text receiver. Virtanen (1992: 297) writes:

> Various text types – prototypical abstractions – may be used as heuristics in the process of text production and text comprehension. This obviously relates to 'intertextuality', i.e., the dependence of one text on other, previously encountered texts. (…) Making use of the possibility of producing a prototypical text structure is a way for the text producer to maximize receiver-orientation. The way in which the text producer gives the text receiver information may thus facilitate her/his task of interpreting the text, of building around it a text world and a universe of discourse (…). A text that conforms to a prototypical structure obviously contains less information than a text full of surprises, which, in terms of information theory, carries a lot of information.

Students of text linguistics are familiar with the fact that the terms *text (type)* and *discourse (type)* are not tied to particular meanings but are often defined in a completely opposite fashion. This is also the case with Virtanen. She distinguishes between *discourse type*, which corresponds to Werlich's text type, and *text type*, which is characterised "as the aggregate of prototypical surface features", cf. Biber's text type (section 3.2.) and Werlich's text base (section 4.1.). In the default case the discourse types are realised by the prototypical surface features of corresponding text types. From a text producer's point of view one can say that a chosen discourse type is realised in its wording by a text type.

The point of Virtanen's model is that realisations of the five surface text types do not always have to be instantiations of the five discourse types (Virtanen 1992: 298): "The superordinate discourse type need not always be realized through the corresponding text type. An apparent mismatch of a discourse type and the corresponding text type may be accounted for in terms of notions such as the 'direct' and 'indirect', or 'primary' and 'secondary' uses of various text types".

As an example Virtanen quotes the following passage from the Bible to show that an argumentative discourse can be realised by a narrative text type:

> A farmer went out to sow his seed. As he was scattering the seed, some fell along the path, and the birds came and ate it up. Some fell on rocky places, where it did not have much soil. It sprang up quickly, because the soil was shallow. But when the sun came up, the plants were scorched, and they withered because they had no root. Other seed fell among thorns, which grew up and choked the plants. Still other seed fell on good soil, where it produced a crop – a hundred, sixty or thirty times what was sown. He who has ears, let him hear. (Matthew 13: 3–9)

This passage is a piece of argumentative discourse in which the reader or hearer is asked to judge in answer to a problem which is presented with narrative features.

Virtanen (1992: 302–303) describes interesting relations between discourse types and text types:

> The two-level typology (…) suggests that the text types can be ranged on a scale according to the ease with which they may serve different types of discourse. Some text types, such as the narrative or descriptive, may be more readily used indirectly or secondarily, i.e., to serve other discourse types than the corresponding narrative or descriptive one [… for example] the use of narrative to persuade (…), and the use of description to instruct (…). Other text types, on the contrary, are more often found in direct or primary use. For instance, the argumentative text type (…) typically realizes the argumentative discourse type.

Based on her analyses Virtanen argues that the narrative is a basic text type because it seems to be able to realise any type of discourse. On the other hand the narrative discourse type is highly restricted. Virtanen (1992: 304) writes: "As a discourse type, narrative (…) shows a conspicuous characteristic in not allowing actualization through text types other than the corresponding narrative one: It cannot surface through a non-narrative type of text without a minimal narrative frame text".

It will be noted that Virtanen's (but also Longacre's and Werlich's) two-level taxonomy has similarities with that of Morris sketched in section 1.3: On the one hand there are functional categories (Morris: informative, valuative, incitive, systemic use; Virtanen: descriptive, narrative, expository, argumentative, instructive discourse type), on the other hand there are surface-structure categories (Morris: designative, appraisive, prescriptive, formative text form; Virtanen: descriptive, narrative, expository, argumentative, instructive text type).

4.4.   Van Dijk

A different notional approach to the classification of discourse types was made by van Dijk with his concept of *superstructure*. Not all texts, but many conventionalised texts, have recurring abstract schemata which are independent of content or theme. Some of the conventionalised text types that van Dijk describes were already mentioned in Werlich's list of text types: narration, argumentation and exposition. Van Dijk (1980: 131) defines superstructure as follows:

> Eine Superstruktur ist eine Art abstraktes Schema, das die globale Ordnung eines Textes festlegt und das aus einer Reihe von Kategorien besteht, deren Kombinationsmöglichkeiten auf konventionellen Regeln beruhen [A superstructure is a kind of abstract schema which determines the global organization of a text and which consists of a number of categories whose possible combinations are based on conventional rules].

For example, important categories for the text type narrative are plot, consisting of setting and event(s), which in turn consist of complication and resolution. The text type argumentation on the other hand has as important categories justification, circumstances, facts and conclusion. A scientific paper (as an example of exposition)

is expected to have the categories problem, hypothesis, experiment, result, solution.

The relevant and prototypical categories of a text type are part of a structure that can be represented with the help of a tree diagram or rewrite rules. The categories of the text type narrative, for example, are structured in the following way, cf. van Dijk (1980: 142–143):

Narrative → Story + Moral
Story → Plot + Evaluation
Plot → Episode(s)
Episode → Setting + Event(s)
Event → Complication + Resolution
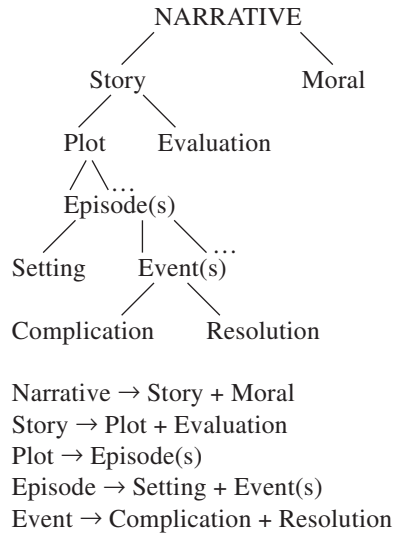
Figure 2.   Van Dijk's superstructure of a narrative

It is important to note that not all of the categories have to be present in a narrative text, some of them can be missing or arranged in a different order.

The difference between van Dijk's approach and the ones by Longacre and Werlich lies in the fact that the discourse types are not classified according to a combination of features (e.g. contingent succession and agent orientation in Longacre's model) but rather by the structural arrangement of notional text constituents.

5.   Summary and conclusions

Our representative rather than exhaustive survey of taxonomies of discourse types has shown quite diverse but also interrelated and overlapping approaches. This is the result of different theoretical backgrounds and the development of linguistic thought. Roughly speaking there are three neighbouring disciplines that have exerted a stimulating effect on the categorisations of discourse types: sign theory, sociology/cultural theory and cognition.

It was Morris and the followers of the Prague School who started from the theory of the sign in general and the linguistic sign in particular. One of the elaborations of the sign theory is the view that language signs are instruments or tools to do something (Bühler's organon model) and which therefore fulfil certain functions. These external language functions play a role in the systems of Bühler, Jakobson, Mukařovský and Havránek.

Social relations play a role in the taxonomies of Malinowsky and Jakobson with the concept of phatic communion, in Havránek's conversational functional dialect, in Doležel's private/public distinction and in Gregory's personal tenor.

Cognitive approaches to discourse classification focus on models that try to describe what is going on in the minds of sign users. On the one side there are descriptions of the intentions of speakers/writers or the purposes of what they communicate. To these we can count Morris and his four uses (informative, valuative, incitive and systemic), the speech act examples of Firth and Skalička, Doležel's general purpose, Gregory's functional tenor and Swales's genre. On the other side there are notional features in the models by Werlich/Virtanen and Longacre and their structured combinations in van Dijk's approach.

Besides the different interests in research fields as inspired by sign theory, sociology and cognition, a general distinction between *language-external* and *intensional* definitions lends itself for a classification of the taxonomies of discourse types. Language-external definitions relating to production (e.g. direct/mediated, oral/written), topic (e.g. academic prose/novel) and social relation (e.g. private/public, formal/intimate) are, in the words of Biber (1989: 5), "readily distinguished by mature speakers of the language". That is, they are not based on linguistic abstractions and can therefore easily be named and listed in terms of common knowledge of the language and culture. Intensional definitions are, on the other hand, based on abstractions such as functions, features, intentions and structures, cf. Lyons (1977: 159). They depend on theoretical models which are not part of a layman's common knowledge. The taxonomies that were discussed in our survey can be classified according to the external/intensional distinction as displayed in table 5. Note that the common dichotomies external/internal and extensional/intensional do not capture the situations that we have described in our taxonomy of discourse types.

In some cases the allocation in the matrix allows for major and minor definitional weight. For example, Malinowski's phatic communion is given more weight in terms of language-external social relation and Jakobson's phatic language function more intensional functional weight. Likewise, Longacre and van Dijk have intention or purpose in their description, although these are regarded as less central.

It is hoped that the grid in table 5 is both general and delicate enough to be also applied to taxonomies that are not included in this article and also to those that are possibly to come in the future.

Table 5.   A classification of taxonomies of discourse types

Taxonomies		External definitions			Intensional definitions			
Author	Category	Production	Topic	Social relation	Function	Feature	Intention	Structure
Morrris	informative						x	
	valuative						x	
	incitive						x	
	systemic						x	
Malinowski	phatic communion			x	(x)			
Firth	agreement etc.						x	
Skalička	ask etc.						x	
Bühler	expression				x			
	representation				x			
	appeal				x			
Jakobson	emotive				x			
	referential				x			
	conative				x			
	poetic				x			
	phatic			(x)	x			
	metalingual				x			
Mukařovsky	standard				x			
	poetic language				x			
Havránek	conversational			x				
	workaday		x					
	scientific		x					
	poetic				x			
Doležel/ Havránek	[functions]						x	
	private/public			x				
	direct/mediated	x						
	oral/written	x						
Gregory etc.	field		x					
	mode	x						
	personal tenor			x				
	functional tenor						x	
Swales/Biber	genre	x	x				x	
Werlich/ Virtanen	description					x		
	narration					x		
	exposition					x		
	argumentation					x		
	instruction					x		
Longacre	narrative					x	(x)	
	procedural					x	(x)	
	behavioral					x	(x)	
	expository					x	(x)	
van Dijk	narrative						(x)	x
	argumentation						(x)	x
	scientific report						(x)	x

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17. Classroom discourse

Shanru Yang and Steve Walsh

1. Introduction

This chapter provides an overview of the discourse domain of classroom discourse, broadly described as the spoken interactions which take place in any formal learning environment. The main rationale for bringing 'classroom' and 'discourse' together under one umbrella heading is to enhance our understandings of learning. This has been the main reason for studying spoken interaction in classrooms for more than fifty years. In essence, an understanding of the interactions which occur in classrooms (whatever our understanding of *classroom* or *discourse*) lies at the very heart of our understanding of learning. This chapter begins with a discussion of current research on classroom discourse, before turning to an examination of its main features, including approaches to investigation. Finally, future directions are introduced in section 5.

Since the 1960s, there has been a concerted effort to understand the relationship between language, interaction and learning, an enterprise which has led to literally thousands of publications and the creation of an enormous body of knowledge. Despite this, however, no single journal has existed as a "home" for this type of research; the advent of the international and peer reviewed journal *Classroom Discourse* published by Routledge from 2010 has started to address this obvious gap. Why have so many resources been devoted to the study of discourse in classroom settings? What have been the results of these endeavours, and why does research on classroom discourse still account for at least one third of all submissions to journals such as *TESOL Quarterly* and *Applied Linguistics*? The present article offers some answers to these questions.

When we consider classroom discourse as a domain, there are clearly many contexts which could be studied. The broad distinction made here, however, is between language used as a medium of instruction (including, for example, most primary, secondary and tertiary contexts) and language as a focus of study (to include, for example, modern languages teaching, Teaching English to Speakers of Other Languages (TESOL), English as an Additional Language. These contexts can be further subdivided to include bilingual education, including CLIL (Content and Language Integrated Learning: see, for example, Coyle, Hood, and Marsh 2010, Llinares, Morton, and Whittaker 2012); multilingual education (cf. Cenoz 2009) and monolingual classes. What is especially true for all classroom contexts, however, is that the pragmatic features of the discourse are largely determined by the fact that language is being used in an institutional setting, following a particular and specific agenda.

In the remainder of this chapter, we provide an overview of the main features of classroom discourse, consider why it is still so prominent in terms of research and enquiry, review the various approaches to studying classroom discourse, and evaluate its pedagogical applications. Finally, we offer some thoughts on future directions and challenges.

2.   Features of classroom discourse

In this section, the discussion turns to a description of the features of classroom discourse which give it its unique qualities. It is now widely accepted (Cazden 1988, de Fina 1997, Seedhouse 2004, Ellis 2012) that there are three features of classroom discourse in general which give it its unique characteristics. First, interactions are goal-oriented, organised in such a way that participants orient towards the institutional goal, for example, learning a second language. Second, roles are unequal: teachers normally hold power and control patterns of participation – this is true even in the most decentralised, learner-centred classroom. Third, each institutional interaction has its own unique "fingerprint" (Drew and Heritage 1992: 26) determined by the particular agenda of that institution (cf. below).

By way of exemplification, we focus here on second language classrooms. Seedhouse (2004) identifies three properties of discourse in the second language classroom which give it its unique "fingerprint":

1. Language is both the vehicle and object of instruction.
2. Pedagogic goals and the interaction which takes place are inextricably linked.
3. Learner contributions are subject to evaluation by the teacher.

In the second language classroom, communication is unique because the linguistic forms used are typically both the goal of the moment and the means of achieving that goal. Meaning and message are one and the same thing, "the vehicle and object of instruction" (Long 1983: 9). In other words, language is both the focus of activity, the central objective of the lesson, as well as the instrument for achieving it (Willis 1992). This situation is, in many respects, atypical, most unlike, for example, the one prevailing in a history or geography lesson, where attention is focused mainly on the message, not on the language used.

Since the 1980s and 1990s, a number of characteristics of classroom discourse have been identified in classes which adopt a predominantly communicative language teaching (CLT) methodology. Lightbown and Spada (1993: 72–73), for example, have commented that features such as the limited amount of error correction, the emphasis on communication over accuracy, and learners' exposure to a wide range of discourse types distinguish the communicative classroom from more 'traditional' grammar-based learning modes. Perhaps surprisingly, there is now a growing body of evidence to suggest that peer interaction is not as effective as was

once thought in promoting acquisition (cf. Sato and Lyster 2012, Dörnyei and Malderez 1997, Foster 1998). Rampton (1999: 333) clearly questions the value of learner-learner interaction, stating: " … some of the data we have looked at […] provides grounds for doubting any assumption that peer group rituals automatically push acquisition forwards." Observations like the previous one are borne out in other studies (see, for example, Mitchell and Martin 1997), indicating that the role of the teacher in shaping classroom interaction may need to be reconsidered, as does the very notion of whole class teaching. Simply handing over to learners is apparently an inadequate means of promoting SLA; there is both an expectation and responsibility that the teacher is there to *teach* the second language, not simply to organise practice activities. Although practices such as cooperative learning (CL) have shown positive results in improving subject knowledge as well as learners' self-esteem (Kagan 1994), Jacobs et al (1997) argue that CL can also be a device that may impede the learning process.

In the remainder of this section, as a first step to understanding communication in the second language classroom, the characteristics of L2 classroom discourse are presented under four key areas: teachers' control of patterns of communication, questioning, repair, modifying speech to learners.

2.1.   Teachers' control of patterns of communication

The features of classroom discourse in the second language classroom, its "text" (Breen 1998: 121), are easy to identify and present a very clear structure, where teachers control both the topic of conversation and turn-taking. Students take their cues from the teacher through whom they direct most of their responses. Owing to their special status, teachers control most of the patterns of communication which take place in the L2 classroom. They do this primarily through the ways in which they restrict or allow learners' interaction (Ellis 1998), take control of the topic (Slimani 1989), and facilitate or hinder learning opportunities (Walsh 2002). Put simply, even in the most decentralised L2 classroom, it is the teacher who "orchestrates the interaction" (Breen 1998: 119). The underlying structure of second language lessons is typically IR(E/F), involving teacher initiation (I), learner response (R) and an optional evaluation or feedback (E/F) by the teacher (Sinclair and Coulthard 1975). (Henceforth, this is referred to as the IRF sequence).

The work of Sinclair and Coulthard (1975), based as it was on systemic-functional linguistics and the work of Michael Halliday (1994), was in many respects pioneering in that it identified the basic unit of classroom discourse: IRF, also referred to as "tryadic interaction" and "recitation script". There have been many studies on classroom discourse since the 1970s, most of which confirm that IRF is still the predominant exchange structure to be found in classrooms the world over (see, for example, Cazden 1988 and Nystrand et al. 1997). Several studies (cf. Hall 1995) of IRF have criticised teachers' overuse of this discourse pattern because it

limits learners' potential for learning and language development. Under IRF, learners are typically restricted to short responses and do not develop the type of elaborated response which is more likely to facilitate SLA. Teachers' responses are often short evaluations of learner contributions and do little to advance learner engagement or language development.

Other researchers have looked more closely at the third part of the IRF exchange structure, the F-Move (Cullen 2002). What is interesting here is that teachers who offer appropriate feedback can do much to enhance learning opportunities by helping learners to offer fuller, more extended, elaborated responses (Wells 1999, Walsh 2006). Under these conditions, teachers appreciate the importance of feedback to learning and push learners to clarify meanings, offer clearer articulations of their intended meaning, or simply make connections to their own experiences. When it is viewed in this way, where the F-move provides support, guidance and elaboration, the IRF exchange structure may have a very positive impact both on the discourse and on learning potential. Duff's (2000) study in Hungarian classrooms demonstrated quite clearly that there was greater engagement and learner involvement when teachers paraphrase a learner's contribution and summarise it for the whole class. Similarly, and in a different context, Boyd and Maloof (2000) observed that university tutors could do much to facilitate a more interactive discourse when students' contributions received appropriate affirmation from the tutor.

There have been many other studies of IRF; space does not permit further discussion except to note the pervasiveness of IRF in educational contexts around the world. Its importance in helping teachers attain Classroom Interactional Competence (CIC, Walsh 2011) is discussed in Section 5.

2.2.   Questioning

Typically, classroom discourse is dominated by question and answer routines, with teachers asking most of the questions, one of the principal ways in which teachers control interaction patterns. According to Chaudron (1988), most studies on teachers' questioning behaviour have examined the ways in which questions facilitate the production of target language forms or correct content-related responses. Many of the question-types selected and used by language teachers are of the closed variety and produce only short responses from students (van Lier 1988a). Other studies have focused on the extent to which questions produce responses which are communicative, arguing that referential questions are more likely to produce "natural" responses than display questions (Long and Sato 1983, Brock 1986, Nunan 1987). This distinction has been challenged in more recent studies (cf. Seedhouse 1996) which query the value of the simple distinction between *display* and *referential* questions given that the purpose of all questions is to elicit responses and the purposes and effects of teacher questions need to be further examined. Traditionally, display questions, questions to which the teacher already

knows the answer (e.g.: *what's the past tense of go?*), are seen as being different from referential questions, where the answer is not known in advance (e.g. *when does this lesson end?)* and typically produce shorter, simpler responses from learners. While accepting that the purpose of all questions is to elicit responses, the display/referential distinction is, arguably, a useful one of which teachers should be aware (Thompson 1997, Cullen 1998). According to a teacher's pedagogic goal, different question types are more or less appropriate: the extent to which a question produces a communicative response is less important than the extent to which a question serves its purpose at a particular point in a lesson. In short, the use of appropriate questioning strategies requires an understanding of the function of a question in relation to what is being taught (Thompson 1997, Nunn 1999).

2.3.   Repair

According to van Lier (1988b: 276), "apart from questioning, the activity which most characterises language classrooms is correction of errors". He goes on to suggest that there are essentially two conflicting views of repair: one that error correction should be avoided completely, the other that consistent error correction is necessary. One of the reasons for such polarity is the importance of maintaining face in the classroom. While repair between native and non-native adults outside the classroom might be deemed inappropriate, since it would result in a loss of face, there is absolutely no reason why errors should not be corrected in the L2 formal context. Indeed, as Seedhouse (1997: 571) confirms, this is what learners (especially adults) want: "[…] learners appear to have grasped better than teachers and methodologists that, within the interactional organisation of the L2 classroom, making linguistic errors and having them corrected directly and overtly is not an embarrassing matter". For many teachers, repair, is a ritual, something they "do to learners" without really questioning their actions. This is not intended as a criticism, merely an observation. The consequences of such ritualistic behaviour, however, are far-reaching, since for many practitioners, the feedback move, where correction of errors typically occurs, is crucial to learning. Taking this a little further, error correction may be direct or indirect, overt or covert; in short, teachers are open to many options – their split-second decisions in the rapid flow of a lesson may have consequences for the learning opportunities they present to their learners. Although feedback is understandably perceived by most learners as evaluative (Allwright and Bailey 1991), other researchers have posited a variable approach to feedback. Kasper (1986: 39), for example, contrasting "language centred" with "content centred" repair, notes that specific repair strategies are preferred or dispreferred according to the teacher's goal. Van Lier concludes that "repair is closely related to the context of what is being done" (1988a: 211), the implication being that repair, like other aspects of classroom discourse, either is, or should be, related to pedagogic goals.

2.4.   Modifying speech to learners

Lynch (1996: 57–58) suggests three reasons for the interest in language modification by teachers for learners. Firstly, interest stems from the link between comprehension and progress in L2; secondly, teacher language has a strong influence on learner language and thirdly, learners frequently have difficulties understanding their teachers.

Lynch (1996) identified a number of ways in which teachers modify their interaction, including the use of confirmation checks to make sure that the teacher understands the learner, and comprehension checks to ensure that learners understand the teacher. Other modification strategies identified by Lynch include repetition, reformulation, completion and backtracking.

Tardif (1994) identified five modification strategies, including self-repetition, where teachers simply repeat an utterance; linguistic modeling, where teachers provide an exact word or statement to be modelled by students; providing information needed to complete an activity or task; expansion, elaborating a student response; and making extended use of questions is made to ensure participation, check understanding, facilitate comprehension.

Tardif's work supports the earlier findings of Long and Sato (1983) who conclude that expansion and question strategies are the most frequently used in teachers' discourse modifications. Other studies have focused on the relevance of scaffolded instruction for learning (see, for example, Roehler et al. 1996).

3.   Reasons for studying classroom discourse

Any classroom can be viewed as a dynamic context in which a range of encounters takes place among teachers, learners, settings and learning materials (Walsh 2006: 4). Communication between teacher and learners takes place through the spoken medium of classroom discourse, which can essentially be seen as an ongoing conversation through which learning takes place. Studies of classroom discourse, therefore, have the potential to contribute to both theoretical understandings of learning, and to more practical issues related to teaching practices and procedures.

As we have seen in the previous section, classroom discourse has been the focus of attention for more than 40 years. During that time, the study of interaction in the L2 classroom has provided valuable insights into the complex relationship between interaction and learning (see section 4). In his brief review of research conducted in L2 classrooms, Chaudron (2001) notes that language teaching research has covered topics including the nature of programmes, teaching methods, research methodology for classrooms, teacher-student interaction, learner behaviour, learning outcomes and so on.

Why is there still a need to study interaction in the classroom and how much scope is there for new insights? A number of reasons are identified in the dis-

cussion which follows, drawing, by way of exemplification, principally on the second language classroom context.

The first reason for studying classroom discourse is that it is central to both promoting and understanding learning processes. According to van Lier (1996: 5), "interaction is the most important element in the curriculum", a position echoed by Ellis (2000: 209) who writes "learning arises not *through* interaction, but *in* interaction" (emphasis in original). Given the centrality of interaction to pedagogy and to language learning, a fuller understanding needs to be gained of its precise function. Further, in light of the lack of empirical evidence for negotiation of meaning in learner-learner interaction (Foster 1998), there is increasingly a realization that the teacher has an important role to play in shaping learner contributions (Jarvis and Robinson 1997, Ellis 2012). At least two key theories of class-based SLA have been modified in recent years to acknowledge the role of the teacher in co-constructing understanding and knowledge. Long's Interaction Hypothesis (1983, 1996), for example, has been adjusted to take account of the importance of negotiation of meaning in the feedback learners receive on their contributions from the teacher. Swain too, in her latest version of the Output Hypothesis (1995, 2005), adopts a socio-cultural perspective which highlights the importance of teacher-learner dialogues in promoting acquisition. The point is that even in the most student-centred class, the teacher is instrumental to managing the interaction (Johnson 1995); there is, then, a need for both teachers and researchers to acquire 'microscopic understanding' (van Lier 2000a) of the interactional organisation of the L2 classroom.

Much of the work on the relationship between classroom interaction and learning has been criticised because it was conducted under 'laboratory conditions' (see, for example, Gass, Mackey, and Ross-Fieldman 2005). While some of these criticisms may well be justified, there are sound reasons for collecting data in this way and then making claims about the relevance of such studies for classroom practice (Nunan 1991). Indeed, according to Long (1996), studies have shown that despite the differences, findings in experimental environments have generally been very similar and transferable to genuine classroom settings.

There have been calls in recent years to ensure that interaction-related research takes place in classrooms so that results can be fed back to classrooms (Eckerth 2009). It is certainly fair to say that unless there is a proliferation of research on interaction *in* classrooms, many of the earlier findings will not stand up to scrutiny, leading, perhaps, some practitioners to call into question the very foundations of teaching approaches such as Communicative Language Teaching (CLT) or Task-Based Language Learning (TBLL). Both approaches rest on the assumption – derived from 'laboratory-type experiments' – that language learning is in some way the product of negotiation for meaning, which, in turn, is more likely to occur when students are interacting with each other.

A second reason for continuing to study classroom discourse is the relationship between planning and practice. Most researcher-practitioners recognise that "good

teaching" is concerned with more than good planning (cf. Richards 1998). As van Lier (1991) has commented, teaching has two essential ingredients: planning and improvising. The interactive decisions taken by teachers – their improvisations – are at least as important as the planning which occurs before teaching. Under this view of teaching, decisions are taken in relation to the pedagogic goals of the teacher, the goals of the learners and the opportunities or constraints imposed by the context. Good decisions are those which are appropriate to the moment, not ones which "follow the plan". Teachers may restrict or facilitate learning opportunities in their moment-by-moment decision-making (Walsh 2002). Their ability to make the "right decision" entails an understanding of interactional choices: choices which influence the flow of the discourse and which largely determine the extent to which opportunities for learning are created.

Our understandings of the ways in which teachers create *space for learning* (Walsh, Morton, and O'Keeffe 2009) or orient to different types of knowledge (see, for example Bernstein 1999) all require some understanding of classroom discourse. Creating "space" so that learning can take place requires a sophisticated understanding of interaction in any classroom setting, not just second language classrooms. It is especially important in higher education settings such as seminars, where the ability of tutors to handle student contributions, to shape, paraphrase and "push" for extended responses are central to dialogic teaching and to one of the main aims of higher education, namely the promotion of criticality (Johnston et al. 2011).

A third reason for continuing to study classroom discourse is that there is, as yet, no widely available metalanguage to describe its features. A plethora of terms is currently being used by researchers, practitioners and teachers which may have different meanings according to who is using it and in what context. The first step towards promoting understanding is describing; this cannot occur without a commonly agreed language of description. Our understandings of classroom discourse can only be fully realised when there is an agreed metalanguage to first describe and then explain what is really happening. Any understanding of interactional processes must begin with description (van Lier 2000b), which, in turn, involves participants engaging in dialogue about their professional world (Lantolf 2000). Access to a more sophisticated, widely available metalanguage and opportunities for dialogue are central to professional development (Edge 2001). Expertise and understanding emerge through the insights and voices of L2 teachers (Richards 1998); these voices need a language, which allows concerns to be raised, questions to be asked and reflections to be discussed.

4.   Approaches to studying classroom discourse

In this section, a review is presented of the most relevant contributions to the significant research body that now exists on the study of L2 classroom interaction. Three approaches to analysing classroom discourse are first critiqued – interaction analysis, discourse analysis, conversation analysis – before proposing a more variable and dynamic approach.

4.1.   Interaction analysis (IA) approaches

Proponents of the *scientific method* (Cohen, Manion, and Morrison 2000: 15–19) would argue that one of the most reliable, quantitative approaches to analysing classroom discourse comprises a series of observational instruments, or coding systems, which are used to record what the observer deems to be happening in the L2 classroom. From these recordings and the ensuing statistical treatment, classroom profiles can be established, which, it is argued, provide an objective and scientific analysis of classroom discourse. With their roots firmly planted in behavioural psychology, a huge range of observation instruments has proliferated since the 1960s and 1970s.

The main features of observation instruments are that they use some system of ticking boxes, making marks, recording what the observer sees, often at regular time intervals. Such observation instruments are considered to be reliable, enabling ease of comparison between observers and generalisability of results. However, they have also been criticised for being essentially behaviourist, assuming a stimulus/response treatment of classroom discourse. One field in which observation instruments have been used successfully is teacher education, where they have been useful in developing competencies and raising awareness (see, for example, Flanders 1960).

There are a number of limitations to interaction analysis approaches (Wallace 1998). Firstly, the patterns of interaction which occur have to be matched to the categories provided. The results are pre-determined and cannot account for events which do not match the descriptive categories. No allowance is made for overlap; the categories for observation are discrete and there is an underlying assumption that classroom discourse proceeds in a sequential manner (T -> S -> T -> S and so on). However, this is simply not the case: overlaps, interruptions, back-channels, false starts, repetitions, hesitations are as common in language classrooms as they are in naturally occurring conversation. Secondly, observation instruments are based on the assumption that one move occurs at once, obliging the observer to make snap decisions about how to categorise utterances as they occur. Inevitably, inaccuracies and reductions will ensue and the complexities of classroom interaction will be lost (Wallace 1998: 112). Thirdly, the observer is always considered an outsider "looking in on" events as they occur. Consequently, any coding system as-

sumes the centrality of the observer rather than the participants – the observer's interpretation of events excludes that of the participants. Perhaps more importantly, observers may fail to agree on how to record what they see, a shortcoming which clearly has consequences for the validity and reliability of any research.

Seedhouse makes the important point that coding systems fail to take account of context and "evaluate all varieties of L2 classroom interaction from a single perspective and according to a single set of criteria" (1996: 42). In the multi-layered, ever-changing, complex language classroom context, this is clearly a severe deficiency and perhaps as strong an argument as any for selecting alternative means of recording and describing the interaction patterns of L2 classrooms.

4.2.   Discourse analysis (DA) approaches

Perhaps the earliest and most well-known proponents of a discourse analysis (DA) approach to classroom interaction are Sinclair and Coulthard (1975) who, following a structural-functional linguistic route to analysis, compiled a list of 22 speech acts representing the verbal behaviours of both teachers and students participating in primary classroom communication. The outcome is the development of a descriptive system incorporating a discourse hierarchy:

LESSON
TRANSACTION
EXCHANGE
MOVE
ACT

The act is therefore the smallest discourse unit, while lesson is the largest; acts are described in terms of their discourse function, as in the two examples of speech acts below (* indicates a pause of 1 second or more):

Act	Function	Realisation
Evaluation	evaluates	Ah that won't help then will it
Cue	evokes bid	what is the situation * at the beginning of the story *

(Walsh 1987, based on Sinclair and Coulthard 1975)

It is now widely accepted that most classroom communication is characterised by an IRF or IRE structure, where **I** corresponds to teacher **I**nitiation, **R** to student **R**esponse and **F / E** to optional teacher **F**eedback or teacher **E**valuation. This tripartite IRF/IRE exchange comprises two teacher moves for every student move and typifies much of the communication to be found in both content-based and L2 classrooms (see above for a fuller discussion).

One of the main limitations of the Sinclair and Coulthard system is that it was derived from data recorded in traditional primary school classrooms during the 1960s which demonstrated clear status and power relations between teacher and learners. In the contemporary classrooms, where there is far more equality and partnership in the teaching-learning process, it is doubtful whether the framework would adequately describe the structure of classroom communication (Walsh 2001).

While DA approaches certainly have their place and have done much to further our understanding of classroom discourse, they are perhaps too static to fully account for the complexity of classroom interaction and suffer from a number of limitations. Firstly, the approach is both descriptive and prescriptive: it tries to categorise naturally occurring patterns of interaction and account for them by reference to a discourse hierarchy. Secondly, DA takes as its starting point structural-functional linguistics: classroom data are analysed according to their function. For example, *what time does this lesson end?* could be interpreted as a request for information, an admonishment, a prompt or cue. The DA model has been criticised for its "multifunctionality" (Stubbs 1983) because it is almost impossible to say precisely what function is being performed by a teacher (or learner) act at any point in a lesson. Classification of classroom discourse in purely structural-functional terms is consequently problematic. Thirdly, no attempt is made to take account of the more subtle forces at work such as role relations, context and sociolinguistic norms which have to be obeyed. In short, a DA treatment fails to adequately account for the dynamic nature of classroom interaction and the fact that it is socially constructed by its participants.

4.3.   Conversation analysis (CA) approaches

The origins of current Conversation Analysis (CA) approaches stem from interest in the function of language as a means for social interaction (Sacks, Schegloff, and Jefferson 1974) (cf. Clift this volume). Established by Sacks, Schegloff and Jefferson in the early 1960s, CA is an analytical endeavour that explores the sequential order in talk-in-interaction by examining language as social action (Goodwin and Heritage 1990, Hutchby and Wooffitt 1998, Wooffitt 2005). The focus of CA studies lies in "the order/organization/orderliness of social action, particularly those social actions that are located in everyday interaction, in discursive practices, in the sayings/tellings/doings of members of society" (Psathas 1995: 2). Its underlying philosophy is that social contexts are not static but are constantly being formed by participants through their use of language and the ways in which turn-taking, openings and closures, sequencing of acts, and so on are locally managed. Interaction is examined in relation to meaning and context; the way in which actions are sequenced is central to the process. According to this view, interaction is *context-shaped* and *context-renewing;* that is, one contribution is dependent on a previous one and subsequent

contributions create a new context for later actions. Context is "both a project and a product of the participants' actions" (Heritage 1997: 163).

Although the original focus of CA was on naturally occurring conversation, it is perhaps in specific institutional settings, where the goals and actions of participants are clearly determined, that the value of CA approaches can be most vividly realised. An institutional discourse CA methodology takes as its starting-point the centrality of talk to many work tasks: quite simply, the majority of work-related tasks are completed through what is essentially conversation, or "talk-in-interaction" (Drew and Heritage 1992: 3); many interactions (for example, doctor-patient interviews, court-room examinations of a witness, classrooms) are completed through the exchange of talk between specialist and non-specialists.

The purpose of a CA methodology in an institutional setting is to account for the ways in which context is created for and by the participants in relation to the goal-oriented activity in which they are engaged. All institutions have an over-riding goal or purpose which constrains both the actions and interactional contributions of the participants according to the business in hand, giving each institution a unique interactional "fingerprint" (Heritage and Greatbatch 1991: 95–96). Thus, the interactional patterning (or fingerprint) which is typical of, for example, a travel agent will be different from that of, say, a dentist's surgery. By examining specific features in the institutional interaction, an understanding can be gained of the ways in which context is both constructed and sustained. Features which can be usefully examined include turn design, sequential organisation, topic management and lexical choice (Heritage 1997).

The relevance of a CA approach to classroom discourse settings is not difficult to perceive. CA attempts to account for the practices at work which enable participants in a conversation to make sense of the interaction and contribute to it. There are clear parallels: classroom talk is made up of many participants; it involves turn-taking, turn-ceding, turn-holding and turn-gaining; there have to be smooth transitions and clearly defined expectations if meanings are to be made explicit. Topics have to be introduced and managed if there is to be any coherence to the discourse. The behaviour and discourse of the participants are goal-oriented in that they are striving towards some overall objective related to the institution. Possibly the most significant role of CA is to interpret from the data rather than impose pre-determined categories. As there is no preconceived set of descriptive categories at the outset, the approach is strictly empirical. Both Levinson (1983) and Seedhouse (2004) make the important point that CA forces the researcher to focus on the interaction patterns emerging from the data, rather than relying on any preconceived notions which language teachers may bring to the data.

In contrast to discourse analysis approaches, where context is regarded as static and fixed categories of talk are imposed, a CA approach adopts a dynamic perspective by considering the ways in which the context is mutually constructed by the participants. This perspective assumes that contexts are not fixed entities which operate

across a lesson, but dynamic and changing processes which vary from one stage of a lesson to another (Cullen 1998). A CA methodology is better-equipped to take variations in linguistic and pedagogic purpose into account since one contribution is dependent on another. Its main limitation is that it is unable to generalise across contexts, making comparisons and more comprehensive observations difficult to apply.

4.4.   A variable approach to investigating classroom discourse

According to Drew and Heritage (1992), much of the research on L2 classroom interaction to date has adopted an approach whereby context is viewed as something static, fixed and concrete. The majority of studies have had one of two central goals, attempting to account for either the nature of verbal exchanges or the relationship between SLA and interaction (Wu 1998). Whatever their focus, most studies have referred to "the" L2 classroom context (singular), implying that there exists such an entity and that it has fixed and describable features which are common to all L2 contexts. There are a number of possible explanations for this unidirectional and static view.

In the first instance, there has been an over-riding concern to compare L2 classroom interaction with "real" communication, whereby "authentic" features of "genuine" communication occurring in the "real" world are somehow imported into the L2 classroom setting (Nunan 1987; Cullen 1998). By following this line of enquiry, many researchers have failed to acknowledge that the classroom is as much a 'real' context as any other situation in which people come together and interact. In the words of van Lier (1988a: 267), "Nor should the 'real world' stop at the classroom door; the classroom is part of the real world, just as much as the airport, the interviewing room, the chemical laboratory, the beach and so on". Blanket interpretations of L2 classroom discourse as either communicative or uncommunicative (Nunan 1987, Kumaravadivelu 1993), adopting an invariant view of context, have failed to take account of the relationship between language use and pedagogic purpose (Seedhouse 2004). When language use and pedagogic purpose are considered together, different contexts emerge, making it possible to analyse the ensuing discourse more fairly and more objectively. Under this variable view of contexts (plural), learner and teacher patterns of verbal behaviour can be seen as more or less appropriate, depending on a particular pedagogic aim.

Another possible explanation for a rather static, uni-directional view of context is that many previous studies have had a tendency to focus heavily on IRF routines. Following the earlier work of Sinclair and Coulthard (1975), many studies of L2 classroom interaction have adopted largely quantitative analyses focusing on tryadic exchanges. When longer stretches of discourse are considered, quite different interactional organisations emerge (see, for example, van Lier 1996, Jarvis and Robinson 1997). The Jarvis and Robinson study, for example, identified *focus, build, summarise* patterns of interaction which can facilitate learner participation

in the discourse. Breen (1998: 115) adopts a similar perspective, considering the ways in which learners learn "to navigate the opportunities and constraints provided by classroom discourse" through social and pedagogic patterns of interaction. By focusing on longer stretches of discourse, more complex, complete relationships emerge between interactions which are jointly constructed.

A third reason for ignoring the more dynamic and variable features of context is that there has been a tendency to use reductionist research tools, which have ignored the important details of interaction in the L2 classroom in a quest to pursue "rigorous" modes of scientific enquiry usually reserved for "hard" disciplines such as physics and chemistry. Van Lier (2000b) has for some time now called for more ecologically framed modes of investigation, which focus on the shifting environment of the L2 classroom and offer an understanding of the interactional processes at work. His call adds voice to that of many other researchers who are proposing that classroom interaction should be investigated from a multi-layered perspective in which (a) participants play a crucial role in constructing the interaction, and (b) different varieties of communication can be identified as the lesson unveils according to particular pedagogic purposes (see, for example, Tsui 1994, van Lier 2000b, McCarthy and Walsh 2003, Seedhouse 2004, Walsh 2006).

The discussion now offers a brief review of some of the more recent studies which have undertaken a variable approach to analysing classroom discourse. In one of the earliest studies to adopt such an approach, Karen Johnson (1995) makes extensive use of classroom transcripts to illustrate the relationship between pedagogic purpose and patterns of interaction, identifying both academic and social task structures within her data. Importantly, and like Kumaravadivelu (1999), she considers the influence of teachers' and learners' cultural, educational and linguistic backgrounds on socially constructed interactions. Johnson makes the link between pedagogic purpose and language use to illustrate how teachers' use of language may control subsequent patterns of communication. She writes: "the patterns of classroom communication depend largely on how teachers use language to control the structure and content of classroom events" (1995: 145). Similarly, Kumaravadivelu conceptualises a framework for what he terms Critical Classroom Discourse Analysis (CCDA), a framework for "understanding what actually transpires in the L2 classroom" (1999: 453). The framework reflects the sociolinguistic, socio-cultural and sociopolitical dimensions of classroom discourse. CCDA is socially constructed, politically motivated and historically determined; the L2 classroom is viewed as a constituent of a larger society which includes many forms of power, domination and resistance. Understanding the interaction which occurs requires an awareness of the voices, fears, anxieties and cultural backgrounds which result in the commonly found mismatches between "intentions and interpretations of classroom aims and events" (Kumaravadivelu 1999: 473). The research tool which is posited for conducting CCDA is critical ethnography (McLaren 1995), which offers a rich, multilayered analysis of data from multiple sources and multiple perspectives.

In the work of Seedhouse (2004), there is an attempt to characterise L2 classroom interaction by using a conversation analytic methodology to uncover its "architecture". He proposes a number of micro-contexts which are jointly created by teachers and learners through their interactions and in relation to specific pedagogic goals. In one micro-context, for example, he looks at the relationship between pedagogy and interaction with regard to repair and asks, for instance, how teachers organise repair; what specific strategies do they use when correcting oral errors and what strategies do learners expect them to use? His findings indicate not only that teachers tend to avoid overt error correction, but, perhaps more significantly, that their choice of language and pedagogic purpose are in opposition. That is, although the teacher's intention is to correct errors (pedagogic purpose), their choice of language militates against this. While learners accept that error correction is an essential part of the language learning process, teachers seem to shy away from overt correction because they believe it is in some way face-threatening. Language use and pedagogic goals are at odds (Seedhouse 2004).

In a similar vein, Walsh (2006) proposes four classroom *modes*, defined as "an L2 classroom micro-context which has a clearly defined pedagogic goal and distinctive interactional features determined largely by a teacher's use of language" (2006: 101). The definition is intended to portray the relationship between actions and words, i.e. behaviour and discourse which are the very essence of classroom interaction. It is used to embrace the idea that interaction and classroom activity are inextricably linked, and to acknowledge that as the focus of a lesson changes, interaction patterns and pedagogic goals change too. A modes analysis recognises that understanding and meaning are jointly constructed, but that the prime responsibility for their construction lies with the teacher.

The four modes are *managerial* mode, *materials* mode, *skills* and *systems* mode, and *classroom context* mode. In *managerial mode*, the main pedagogic goal is to transmit information and organise learning. This mode is characterised by a single, extended teacher turn and the absence of learner turns; under *materials mode*, the main pedagogic goal is to provide language practice around a piece of material, or to check and display learning. This mode is characterised by display questions, form-focused feedback, direct repair and the use of scaffolding; in *skills and systems mode*, on the other hand, the pedagogic goal is to enable learners to produce correct forms and manipulate the target language. The features of this mode include direct repair, teacher echo, clarification requests, extended teacher turns; finally, under *classroom context mode*, the main pedagogic goal is to promote oral fluency. Typical features include minimal repair, referential questions, extended learner turns, content feedback and clarification requests.

What does each of these studies have in common and how do they advance our understandings of classroom discourse? Though there are others not reported here (see, for example, an eclectic, theory-neutral approach in Rampton 2006), importantly, all four studies recognise that the L2 classroom setting is made up of a series

of contexts which are linked to the social, political, cultural and historical beliefs of the participants. Contexts are created by teachers and learners as they engage in face-to-face interaction and according to particular pedagogic goals. Our understanding of classroom discourse can, we suggest, be greatly enhanced through detailed descriptions of the ways in which micro-contexts are created, maintained, developed. We would go further and argue that teachers need to acquire the necessary skills to study their own contexts and to develop pedagogic skills which are appropriate to the interactional features they uncover. This is a theme which is dealt with more fully in section 5.

5.   Future directions

One of the predicted growth areas in second language teaching in the future (Graddol 2006) is CLIL. Under this approach, both content and language are given equal importance: while learning, for example, history, learners also acquire a second language, for example English. Also referred to as Content Based Language Teaching (CBLT), CLIL is already growing in both popularity and importance across many parts of Europe and beyond and several studies have now been conducted on this very particular type of classroom discourse.

As an educational context, CLIL poses many challenges for learners. In the words of Coyle (2006: 10):

> CLIL learners need to discuss, debate, justify and explain using more complex language and different sorts of language than would be practised in the regular foreign language lessons. In turn the language needed is linked closely with literacy issues in the mother tongue – scaffolding language in a different way than in foreign language lessons is required.

From a research perspective, CLIL also offers some unique challenges, largely brought about by the specific features of the discourse. For example, teachers often switch between discourses which is language-focused and that which is content-focused and need to signal these switches to learners (Dalton-Puffer, 2007). The use of pausing becomes more important as does the need to maintain the flow of the interaction by seeking and offering help, often in the form of linguistic props or scaffolds, as and when needed (Morton and Walsh 2009). According to Gibbons (2002: 10), scaffolding refers to "the temporary assistance by which a teacher helps a learner know how to do something, so that the learner will later be able to complete a similar task alone". In a CLIL context, scaffolding is an essential skill and one which offers enormous research potential.

A second, fruitful research direction offered by CLIL contexts is the opportunity to develop a fuller understanding of code-switching. In many classroom discourse settings around the world, code-switching is the norm, especially in CLIL

contexts. There is a huge potential for research so that a body of knowledge is established relating to how and why interactants switch from one language to another, especially where both content and language are the object of study.

In addition to specific types of classroom discourse which are likely to feature more strongly in the future, such as CLIL, it is highly likely that the focus of research will also shift. In a current research project, *English Profile* (cf. Kurtes and Saville 2008), led by Cambridge University Press in conjunction with a number of UK universities, the Common European Framework (CEF) descriptors are under evaluation. The aim of the project is to re-evaluate existing descriptors using empirical evidence; one particular area of interest is that of interactional competence. Students' ability to interact in a second language, not only with each other but with speakers from other language backgrounds, is clearly of more importance than their ability to "perform". Interactional competence, according to Young (2008: 101) is "a relationship between the participants' employment of linguistic and interactional resources and the contexts in which they are employed". In other words, from a pragmatic perspective, it is the ability of interactants to make appropriate use of both language and interactional strategies according to specific contexts. What is of interest here, is that the focus of attention is on the interaction – what goes on between speakers and what they can accomplish together – rather than individual production of accurate, appropriate utterances.

Taking this a little further, and focusing more explicitly on classroom discourse, we propose that there is huge research potential in the domain of what we are calling *classroom interactional competence* (CIC), defined as "teachers' and learners' ability to use interaction as a tool for mediating and assisting learning" (Walsh 2006: 130). CIC has the following interactional features:

– Pedagogic goals and language use are convergent. Teaching goals and the language used to achieve them are working together.
– CIC uses interactive strategies which are appropriate to the moment and which facilitate co-constructed meaning.
– CIC creates space for learning through, e.g. extended wait-time, reduced teacher echo, planning time for "rehearsal", student initiations & clarifications.
– CIC involves shaping learner output: paraphrasing, scaffolding, re-iterating, appropriating.

What is important to recognise from a classroom discourse perspective, however, is that these features are context-specific. A completely new set of features may emerge when the focus is different. What is also true, is that both teachers and learners have the potential to acquire CIC once they have learnt to "read the signs" and develop understandings of the role of interaction in learning (see, for example, Walsh, Morton, and O'Keeffe 2011).

It would not be appropriate or even possible to discuss future trends in classroom discourse research without some mention of technology. The rapid develop-

ment of computer software enables linguists to deal with larger size of texts within a short time and provides computer-assisted analysing techniques (Sinclair 1991). For reasons of space, we limit ourselves here to a brief discussion of an approach to analysing classroom data using a combined methodology which brings together conversation analysis with Corpus Linguistics (CL). Conversation analysis has already been mentioned (see section 4). CL has developed rapidly since the 1960s largely due to the advent of computers and their capacity to store and process large amounts of data. It allows for the quantification of recurring linguistic features, and concordancing software enables researchers to examine these features in their immediate linguistic contexts. Among the many fields where CL is being adopted to complement other methodological tools such as CA (see, for example, Walsh and O'Keeffe 2007) are contexts such as the workplace (Koester 2006), pedagogic and academic contexts (Farr 2003), and advertising and the media (O'Keeffe 2006).

By combining the highly quantitative CL methodology with the more quali-tative, fine-grained CA approach, interesting perspectives on classroom discourse can be derived. For example, CL provides an overall picture of how classroom talk differs from conversational discourse in terms of recurring patterns of indi-vidual words and multi-word chunks. CA, on the other hand, offers insights into the ways in which interactants – through turn-taking, sequential organisation, topic management and development, etc – co-construct meanings and establish micro-contexts.

According to Seedhouse (2004: 260), it is possible to integrate CA with other social science data collection methods, providing researchers take care to carry out "serious, detailed, and in-depth analysis" in which they "portray the emic orien-tations of participants in situ at a particular point in an interaction, rather than from outside the interactional sequence". Seedhouse recommends that, in using CA with ethnographic methods, the in-depth analysis of the talk-in-interaction should come first. Other studies (cf. Walsh, Morton, and O'Keeffe 2011) have demonstrated how the relationship between CA and CL can be more iterative, with each ap-proach to analysis informing the other.

The main advantages of a combined CA/CL approach to investigating class-room discourse are summarised below:

– Both use a corpus of empirical data, starting from the data and working out-wards to construct context (from turn order in CA, from patterns in CL).
– Both refer to baseline comparisons with other types of interactions (canonical sequential order in the case of CA, reference corpora in CL).
– CA offers emic, close-up perspectives, CL complements this position by pro-viding a bigger picture.
– Both attach importance to lexis in creation of meanings (though this is down-played in CA).

– Word patterns (CL) may provide useful insights into sequential organisation (CA); for example, discourse markers may reveal interesting features about specific turns. Lexical patterns in CL help to locate local contexts in interaction (CA).

In sum, we are suggesting that a CLCA approach to analysing classroom discourse has much to offer since it provides researchers with a systematic, iterative framework with which to analyse both linguistic and pedagogic contexts. As O'Keeffe and Walsh (2012: 164) note, "they both [CL and CA] start from the data and can bring us to an understanding of context of use".

6.   Conclusion

This chapter offers a perspective on some of the developments which have occurred in the field of classroom discourse in the last twenty years or so, and points to possible future directions. We have argued that, despite the numerous studies which have been conducted, there is still a strong need for research in this area. This is driven partly by a need to more fully uncover the relationship between classroom interaction and learning and partly by a need to ensure that these understandings are passed on to practitioners so that learners benefit.

Various approaches to analysing classroom discourse are evaluated, but the central argument is that classroom discourse should be viewed as a complex, dynamic and fluid blend of micro-contexts, created, sustained and managed by interactants in their pursuance of goals. By adopting a variable approach to classroom discourse, researchers acknowledge that interaction patterns vary according to the different agendas and social relations of the participants, but primarily according to teachers' pedagogic goals. By studying the ways in which meanings are co-constructed in the interaction and by recognizing that classroom contexts are neither static nor invariant, it is argued that a more representative, fine-grained analysis of the discourse is possible.

In the final part of the chapter, possible future research directions were presented, focusing mainly on new, emerging educational contexts, such as CLIL, or alternative ways of investigating classroom discourse, such as a combined CA/CL research methodology. The notion of classroom interactional competence was also introduced as a construct which may help us to reveal interactional features which may have a positive impact on learning.

In the current educational climate which places value on applied research and seeks research outcomes which make a difference, we would argue that researchers working in the domain of classroom discourse have much to offer. Beginning with detailed descriptions of classroom interaction which offer plausible explanations of what is really happening, there is enormous scope to go further, much further, by

involving practitioners. The aim of the enterprise must go beyond description, which is surely the first step. The end-users of classroom discourse research (teachers and learners) should be involved in such a way that they are able to maximise professional development through the lens of classroom discourse. At present, classroom discourse-based research is only beginning to offer descriptions which are both plausible and usable in extending awareness and promoting the notion of interactional competence. There is still much more work to be done, especially in identifying ways of enabling teachers to access the interactional processes of their classes and of making description and understanding a part of their day-to-day teaching.

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18.   Pragmatics and medical discourse

Gillian Martin

1.   Introduction

This chapter seeks, on the one hand, to explore how patient and healthcare provider voices are enacted within a range of contexts in which medical discourse takes place and, on the other hand, to evaluate the contribution of pragmatics to an understanding of the many complexities that characterise communication in healthcare settings. The focus of the chapter will be primarily on spoken, rather than written discourse and on so-called *frontstage* encounters (Goffman 1959, Sarangi and Roberts 1999, Roberts 2006) between patients and healthcare providers as this reflects the preponderance of extant research which has drawn on pragmatics. However, reference will be made to studies focusing on provider-provider interaction in order to give some flavour of the range and potential of pragmatics as a method of inquiry.

The chapter begins by providing a sense of the breadth of research into medical discourse and an overview of the main methodological approaches. Some of the principal insights to have emerged through pragmatic analysis of authentic interactional data are then presented. This review will concentrate initially on single-culture research, before turning to scholarship that has adopted an intercultural or cross-cultural comparative focus. Restrictions of space necessarily limit the scope of this survey. The chapter will conclude by evaluating the contribution made thus far by pragmatic inquiry in the field of medical discourse and by assessing future research directions.

2.   Field of inquiry and methodological approaches

Research on communication in medical settings has emerged from a number of disciplines such as medical sociology, medical anthropology, medical ethnomethodology, social psychology, and linguistics, including clinical linguistics. There is also a considerable body of research emanating from clinicians. Each of these disciplines variously brings its own particular methodological, epistemological and ontological assumptions to the study of themes such as the social institution of medicine, the health beliefs of participants in a consultation and their embeddedness in a particular cultural value system, the communication between providers and patients and that amongst providers. Medical discourse has been described by Wilce (2009: 199) as referring in its widest sense to "discourse in and about heal-

ing, curing, or therapy; expressions of suffering; and relevant language ideologies". Charon, Greene and Adelman (1994: 955) argue that the study of medical discourse, including its verbal and non-verbal components, is a prerequisite for understanding "the enterprise of medicine".

Recognition of the importance of (good) communication as a basis for reaching a diagnosis, planning treatment, giving advice and dealing with the emotional implications of a disease (de Haes and Bensing 2009) perhaps helps to explain why most research on medical discourse has focused on doctor–patient encounters: Menz (2011) notes that the last 40 years have seen significant growth in interest amongst sociolinguists and discourse analysts in doctor–patient communication as a field of investigation. However, a review of the literature reveals that the boundaries of this field of enquiry extend far beyond such dyadic or multi-party consultations and, increasingly, include alongside *frontstage* encounters with patients so-called *backstage* activities (Sarangi and Roberts 1999) involving *inter alia* interaction between various providers within a particular institutional context. Further, scholarship on medical discourse encompasses face-to-face encounters and non-face-to-face encounters, oral and written discourse, and discourse using new technologies (see Heath, Luff, and Sanchez-Svensson 2003). Its broadened remit comprises encounters between patients and healthcare professionals, including nurses, pharmacists, physiotherapists, health visitors, homeopaths, and medical students, and also communication amongst healthcare professionals and between healthcare professionals and students in clinical and educational contexts such as ward rounds, grand rounds, case conferences, team meetings, and surgical interventions. Research has also been conducted on communication with patients with pathological conditions, e.g., autism and schizophrenia, and on therapeutic counselling talk in psychotherapeutic and psychiatric sessions. An appreciation of the quantity and range of research dealing with both single-culture and intercultural encounters is provided *inter alia* by Ong et al. (1995), Candlin and Candlin (2003), Beck, Daughtridge and Sloane (2002), Pilnick, Hindmarsh and Gill (2010), Gotti and Salager-Meyer (2006), Schouten and Meeuwesen (2007), Menz (2011) and Perkins (2011).

The diversity of locations of interaction and participants might in part reflect the move away from a vertical model of care delivery, for example, between doctors and patients toward a model that is horizontal and delivered by a multidisciplinary team. This may have contributed to the widening interest in *backstage* communication. On the other hand, such a shift may equally be a response to the new discursive reality in which healthcare providers, particularly doctors, must assume wider organisational responsibilities (Roberts 2006). Indeed, their work is no longer based narrowly on "medical-scientific knowledge, personal clinical experience and closed peer assessment", instead there is more "communication about medical work *as work*" (Iedema 2006 127, emphasis in original).

Charon, Greene and Adelman (1994) and also Heritage and Maynard (2006) document the emergence of two broad methodological approaches within research

on medical discourse: process analysis and microanalysis. Both work primarily with audio- and/or videotaped recordings of authentic interactions or with authentic documents, e.g., case notes, but may additionally employ questionnaires or interviews with providers and patients.

Process analysis has been employed to quantify the relationship between particular healthcare provider and/or patient verbal and non-verbal behaviours, variables such as gender or age, and outcomes such as satisfaction and compliance. It involves the coding of interaction using syntactically, semantically or functionally defined units, e.g., speech acts, according to coding templates such as Bales's (1950) Interaction Process Analysis (IPA) and the Roter Interaction Analysis System (RIAS) (Roter and Larson 2002)[1]. The former is problematic insofar as the categories of analysis are not tailored to medical communication (Heritage and Maynard 2006). RIAS, by contrast, addresses the specificities of the medical visit and contains a range of socio-emotional and task-focused categories of analysis (Heritage and Maynard 2006). Process analytic systems have several shortcomings. The existence of fixed categories of analysis overlooks the fact that a segment of discourse may fulfil more than one semantic function. Furthermore, the general neglect of the content and context of the utterance in process analytic systems means that the "connection between how people talk and either what they talk about or why they talk" (Charon, Greene, and Adelman 1994: 956) is disregarded. Notwithstanding these shortcomings, process analysis has been dominant in the analysis of doctor–patient discourse.

The other main methodological strand within research on medical discourse, the microanalytic approach, has its origins in anthropology, sociology, linguistics and psychology (Charon, Greene, and Adelman 1994, Heritage and Maynard 2006). Its point of departure is the belief that "talk is socially produced and interpretable only within its situated context" (Charon, Greene, and Adelman 1994: 957). The approach often limits the scope of its analysis to single visits and emphasizes capturing the complexity and richness of how the interlocutors co-construct the interaction through the fine-grained analysis of transcripts of medical encounters.

Sarangi and Roberts (1999) make a further important distinction in their review of microanalytic studies of healthcare interaction between those focused on the "institutional order" and those focused on the "interaction order". The former tend to adopt a critical discourse analytic approach and to locate interaction within its ideological "historical-social-structural" macro-context (Candlin and Candlin 2003: 141), whilst the latter, in the tradition of Conversation Analysis (CA), focus on micro-structural aspects of discourse at different levels of analysis, i.e., the overall structure of the consultation, sequential analyses and analysis at the level of the turn (Heritage and Maynard 2006). For conversation analysts, the institutional order is of relevance, but only insofar as the interlocutors invoke it in their interactive behaviour. Both Wodak (1996) and, more recently, Candlin and Candlin

(2003) have pointed to the lack of cross-fertilisation between studies focused on the institution and those on micro-structural aspects of discourse. Their observation can also be applied to the dearth of studies combining process analytic and microanalytic approaches.

2.1.   The place of pragmatics in medical discourse research

For Lakoff, pragmatics "connect[s] words to their speakers and the context in which they are speaking: what they hope to achieve by talking, the relation between the form they choose and the effect they want it to have (and the effect it does have), the assumptions speakers make about what hearers already know or need to know" (2007: 130). It seeks to "account for the rules that govern use of language in context" (Blum-Kulka and Olshtain 1984: 196). Thus, pragmatics can help to uncover the cognitive processes alongside the professional, social and cultural constraints, including role and power based constraints, which shape how language is used in various types of medical discourse. Yet, whilst research on oral and written medical discourse has drawn *inter alia* on Austin (1962), Searle (1969), Grice (1989), Leech (1983), and Brown and Levinson (1987), it is striking how few articles explicitly mention using pragmatics as a method of inquiry. This is in stark contrast to research using other analytic approaches such as CA. Hence, it can be difficult to define clear boundaries in respect of research adopting a pragmatic perspective on medical encounters, as a review of relevant articles in the *Journal of Pragmatics* over the last decades reveals. What follows, therefore, is an overview of some of the dominant themes within the study of medical discourse that have been informed by research which draws on pragmatics, either explicitly and exclusively or implicitly and in combination with other frameworks of analysis. Much of this research has adopted a microanalytic approach involving the detailed analysis of transcripts of single encounters, particularly between doctors and patients. The themes include asymmetry, routines, misalignment, and directness–indirectness, which although closely interrelated, will be treated under separate headings. Whilst the main focus will be on single-culture studies, the chapter will also provide a more general overview of insights emerging from intercultural and cross-cultural comparative research. Limitations of space necessitate drawing boundaries which reflect identified research emphases. Such constraints mean that the chapter will not review the literature on pragmatics in the context of communication disorders with a pathological basis, for which comprehensive reviews are provided by Davis (2010) and Perkins (2011).

3.   Themes in medical discourse research: single culture studies

3.1.   Asymmetry

Asymmetry has been one of the dominant research themes in the literature: in particular, the asymmetries of power and knowledge existing between providers and patients and the extent to which patients' verbal behaviours may be linked to their perceptions of the provider role and authority. Such asymmetries encompass "assumptions speakers make about what hearers already know or need to know" (Lakoff 2007: 130). Drew (2001) has noted that the theme of medical control permeated much of the research on doctor–patient interaction in the 1980s and 90s, although there is some evidence from research on nurse–patient communication that nurses, in accordance with instrumental and institutional requirements, may also seek to control the interaction, including when topics are introduced and how topics introduced by patients are dealt with (Jones 2003).

A view of the patient as more than just a passive participant in the consultation (see Jarrett and Payne 1995, Drew 2001) has been revealed by some doctor–patient and nurse–patient studies, including those of Ainsworth-Vaughn (1995), Stivers and Heritage (2001) and Kettunen, Poskiparta and Gerlander (2002). They have argued that patients have recourse to the same power strategies, e.g., interruptions and questioning, as healthcare providers, although these may be realised differently. In their study of nurse–patient consultations in a Finnish hospital setting, Kettunen, Poskiparta and Gerlander (2002), in line with other CA studies, demonstrated that power is constructed discursively by the interlocutors rather than being static: patients, whilst recognising the sources of nurses' power, used questions, disclosure of knowledge about their health problems, and interruptions during consultations so as to raise issues that were of significance to them. Importantly, the authors also point to the need to assess the impact of macro-contextual and socio-demographic factors on patient interactive behaviour, including cultural background and gender, and the seriousness of the health problem.

Amongst the many studies that have explored features of asymmetry in doctor–patient interactions, a large number focus on the "epistemic authority of medicine" (Wilce 2009: 206). They report on how the doctor invites, allows, or discourages patients from expressing their feelings (ten Have 2001: 253), how the doctor maintains topic control and control over the phasing of sequences or, indeed, how the doctor controls the kind of knowledge admissible by a particular interlocutor in the consultation (West 1983, Frankel 1984, Mishler 1984, Todd 1984, Silverman 1987, Lalouschek and Nowak 1989, Frankel 1990, Drew 1991, Wodak 1996, Roberts 2000, Ariss 2009). Drew (1991: 38–39) distinguishes between patients having and using knowledge and simultaneously displaying "non-entitlement to that knowledge". Such asymmetries seem to persist in spite of the increase in patient-centred models of care over the last two decades (see Ishikawa, Hashimoto, and Kiuchi 2013).

Differing entitlements to knowledge have been demonstrated by Lacoste (1981), Drew (1991), Heath (1992), Nijhof (1998), Lehtinen (2007) and Ariss (2009). Indeed, amongst the pragmatic challenges encountered by patients in consultations is the ability to judge when it is legitimate to use this knowledge. Lacoste (1981) reports on a consultation in a French hospital between an elderly lady and a doctor, in which a type of boundary dispute occurs in respect of the knowledge admissible in the consultation by the patient, in this case the use of specialist medical terminology. The doctor's question: "How long have you had this pain in your stomach?"[2], provokes the following response from the patient: "I've never had a pain in my stomach, I have a pain in my spleen." The doctor then responds: "Listen, the spleen, you're not supposed to know where that is, you had a pain in the stomach" (Lacoste 1981: 172). Mey (2001: 300) observes that having and employing this knowledge has no value if the pragmatic or hidden conditions determining its use are not fulfilled. Important here is the fact that the elderly lady lacks the relevant professional or social authority. Mey (2001: 299–300) concludes: "What the physician allows the patient to tell is not primarily what the patient wants or is able to tell, but rather what is pragmatically possible in the doctor–patient relationship, in particular within the social institution of the medical interview where the interaction between doctor and patient takes place".

Zhao (1999: 211) provides a similar example, taken from a consultation between a Chinese doctor and a patient, which highlights the pragmatic conditions underlying the use of medical knowledge (example [1]).[3]

(1)
P: It ached here. The ache seemed to be in the stomach not the liver. It's the stomach-ache. It ached so much that I could not stand up later. Very serious. I just
D: When was LATER?
P: It seems half a month ago.
Dr: When was the LAST TIME? You said TWICE.
P: A week ago. But let me tell you that I have great mental stress that caused the symptom.
D: Is it the place you pointed at when you had pain twice?
P: I felt the pain in the stomach not the liver, then I
D: How long did the pain last?

<div align="right">(Zhao 1999: 211)</div>

In this extract, the patient's, albeit mitigated, assertion ("seemed to be") in the first turn that the source of his pain is in his stomach rather than his liver and his evaluation of the pain as "very serious", is ignored by the doctor, who interrupts him and shifts the focus to the chronology of the episode. With this, the doctor effectively dismisses the patient's candidate diagnosis and rights to medical knowledge.

A related theme which runs both implicitly and explicitly through studies of medical discourse, concerns the centrality of routines to the architecture and man-

agement of clinical work. These routines, which emerge in both oral and written discourse, are clearly linked to the knowledge system into which providers, in particular doctors, have been socialised and to the broader institutional context. They also reveal the rules that determine language use in medical contexts.

3.2.   Routines

Routinised activities such as history taking, ward rounds and case notes represent the enactment of medical work. They are linked to the role performance of doctors, nurses and other providers within the requirements and restrictions imposed by the institution, including time, human resources, forms and templates. Patients also perform a role by being cooperative or uncooperative with these routines, a reality which may lead to their classification as *good* or *bad* patients.

It is possible to identify the more dominant "voice of medicine" (Mishler 1984) in the conversational routines which structure consultations, in particular those involving history taking and diagnosis. The providers navigate a path through defined task-focused phases, in which medical data are elicited via extended and predominantly close-ended question and answer sequences and then analysed (Byrne and Long 1976). The providers also determine when the consultation is at an end. Lack of medical knowledge may result in patients struggling to understand the intent behind a seemingly disconnected sequence of questions (Barry et al. 2001; Heritage 1997). Patients may remain silent, if they do not understand particular questions so as to appear cooperative (Kettunen et al. 2001). Equally, they may, by virtue of prior socialisation, be familiar and complicit with these routines (Frankel 1984, Kettunen et al. 2001, Heritage and Maynard 2006) and be suitably economical in their responses to questions, thereby displaying the necessary pragmatic competence. At the most basic level, patients learn to distinguish the illocutionary force of conventionalised pre-closings such as *Have you any other questions?* and to respond appropriately (White et al. 1997, Robinson 2001, Heritage et al. 2007). White et al. (1997) observed in their qualitative study of closings in medical visits that the delayed positioning of the doctor's question, "Is there anything else?" in closure was interpreted by patients as signalling that the question was not a genuine invitation to topicalize additional concerns and that doctors did not anticipate an affirmative response. The negative polarity of *any* signals a preferred *no* response on the part of the patient (see Heritage et al. 2007). Thus, when patients did voice other concerns, doctors tended to deal with them perfunctorily.

Bliesener and Siegrist (1981), using CA and combining insights from pragmatics and medical sociology, have explored the function of routines in relation to managing the conflict between patients' need for information and providers' institutionally driven work schedule in ward rounds in a German hospital. They draw on pragmalinguistics to identify "speech plans and interactional routines and their

efficiency in actual conversation" (Bliesener and Siegrist 1981: 181). Analysis of the data reveals a two-stage approach to conflict management. At the local or "basic conflict" level (1981: 185), providers engage in "inhibitory routines" (1981: 186) and "reactive routines" (1981: 189) to block patient initiatives to influence the agenda: such routines enable providers to proceed with their work schedule and usually result in patient resignation. However, so-called "derivative conflicts" (1981:191) may occur where a patient escalates his/ her efforts in order to save face. At this point, providers invoke a different set of routines, including offering concessions and promises, with the aim of achieving the patient's consent and, thereby, safeguarding the work schedule. The study reveals how interactive routines at the local level can support routines at the institutional level, thereby reinforcing the link between the two orders.

Gill and Maynard (2006) in their exploration of patient explanations of illness demonstrate patients' sensitivity to the structure of the consultation, and, with this, the challenge as to how to provide their explanations within this sequential structure and without disrupting the doctor's information-gathering. Doctors, too, face the challenge of how to react to these explanations before their data-gathering is complete. Studies revealing how patients seek to have their voice heard within the routines of the consultation and to get issues on the table without appearing overtly subversive, include those of Gill, Halkowski and Roberts (2001) and Hudak et al. (2010) (see also section 3.4 for a discussion of Directness/Indirectness).

Gill, Halkowski and Roberts (2001), using CA, have explored the accomplishment of a request in the course of a primary care doctor–patient consultation in the US. In this case-study, the female patient wishes, one the one hand, to convey the concern that she may have contracted a HIV infection through a previous blood transfusion and may therefore need a HIV test. On the other hand, she does not wish to over-dramatize her situation. Their research also focuses on the response of the doctor. The authors conclude that "phenomena that get treated as requests in medical visits may well look nothing like requests" (Gill, Halkowski, and Roberts 2001: 77). They call for further research on the realisation of requests in clinical encounters, including how patients initiate requests and how doctors respond to them.

Hudak et al. (2010) have studied patient compliments in the context of orthopaedic surgical consultations in a US healthcare setting, revealing how the function of compliments differed depending on their positioning. Whilst compliments positioned after the surgeons had made various treatment recommendations fulfilled the function of normal compliments in everyday conversation, those positioned during the information-gathering phase and before treatment recommendations were sometimes used by patients as a means of pursuing their own particular treatment agenda:

(2)
```
21 →  PT:   an ↑actually I've ↑heard so many ↑wonderful things about you, .hh
22           from, (0.6) a customer of mine whose name I don't even remember,
23           an from my (0.3) my close friend's sister in (  )?
24    DR:   uhah,
25    PT:   I guess you did he:r ↑hips er
26    DR:   yup
27 →  PT:   a::n (.) doctor Milne sa:ys that you're wonderful because you're
28           not invasive.
29           (.)
30    DR:   heh heh heh heh=
31    PT:   =course yihknow we all want.
32           (1.0) ((rustling noise))
```
<div align="right">(Hudak et al. 2010: 789)</div>

In example (2) here, Hudak et al. show how the patient clearly has a non-invasive treatment option on her mind. She uses compliments (Lines 21–23, 27–28) as a way of getting this onto the agenda. The surgeon's initial reaction of laughter (Line 30) is followed in the next sequences by an expression of resistance, which, nonetheless, does not rule out the possibility of non-invasive treatment. Hudak et al. (2010: 795) conclude that, for patients, compliments can function as "a resource that allows their preferences or wishes to be known in situations where they do not feel entitled to express them directly (or to overtly participate in the decision-making process)".

Routines are also enacted through the written documentation underlying clinical work, for example, in charts and case notes (Rees 1981, Hobbs 2004). Hobbs (2004) chronicles the process of socialisation of medical residents through the lens of writing progress notes. Many formal and informal interactive routines shape the acquisition of medical knowledge, including the oral case presentation, which is based on written case notes. Learning to write the case notes is part of a process of observation and modelling whereby residents "familiarize themselves with the pragmatic and cognitive structures that typify this professional genre" (Hobbs 2004: 1583). Hobbs' (2004) research in an obstetrics unit in a US hospital tracks the professional socialisation of one resident over a nine-month period. Her case note analysis illustrates how residents become more concise and focused and conform to the formal and syntactic requirements of the genre, including assumptions about the ordering of information, what should be included or omitted, and about the nature of medical reasoning. Through this progression, the resident displays growing pragmatic awareness (Hobbs 2004).

(3)
    Admit Note 4/18/81 MN 1200 AM
    Pt is 25yo BF G5P2Ab2 EDC ?8/81 who
    presented to Central w/hx gross ROM on
    4/17/81 @ 7 pm. No contractions. Fluid was clear
    Hx sexual intercourse this AM   (Hobbs 2004: 1586)

Example (3) reveals extensive use of abbreviations, telegrammatic syntax and, importantly, reliance on the background knowledge of her co-clinicians to interpret the content (Hobbs 2004). By excising any extraneous information, clinicians orient to the "pragmatics of medical representation" (Hobbs 2004: 1591), and show their membership of a particular community of practice. Hobbs (2004: 1601) speaks of this in terms of pragmatic competence because "medical diagnosis is a narrative interpretive process that is produced through language".

Some of the studies reported in this section and the preceding section point to an underlying mismatch in expectations between patients and providers about how to achieve the goals of the consultation. Bliesener and Siegrist (1981: 197) have noted that "whereas the problem of clinical interaction between staff and patient can be localized in the patterns of conversation, its causes reside in the professional frame". The various asymmetries of knowledge and power characterising medical discourse have generated considerable research into the types of misalignment which can emerge in interaction, and their management. Some of these will be elaborated in the following section.

3.3.   Misalignment

One of the main sources of misalignment in medical discourse issues from the conflict between the biomedically grounded "voice of medicine" and the socially grounded "voice of the lifeworld" brought by patients to the consultation (Mishler 1984). Patient and provider may approach the interaction with different expectations as to the content and organisation of discourse (Mishler 1984, Todd 1984), creating opportunities for a conflict in interactive frames, in other words, in "how speakers mean what they say" (Tannen and Wallat 1993: 60) and, with this, pragmatic misunderstandings. Patients' illness explanations may not be attended to, either because doctors do not grasp what is meant by what is said or because they choose not to attend to them. In accordance with the biomedical understanding of disease, which emphasizes what is visible as being "credible, measurable, and neutral", their gaze is focused on the confines of the physical body in isolation from its social context (Wang 2000: 148).

Tannen and Wallat (1982, 1993) draw on Goffman's (1979) concept of *footing* to demonstrate how in a paediatric interview/consultation in a US clinic the paediatrician engages in code switching through linguistic, paralinguistic and prosodic cues

to mark a shift between three interactive frames: the social encounter, the examination of the child who is suffering from cerebral palsy (including its videotaping for paediatric residents), and the consultation with the child's mother. Equally, they show how the divergence in knowledge schemas between the paediatrician and the patient's mother, specifically the paediatrician's narrower biomedical understanding of the patient's cerebral palsy and the mother's broader focus on her child's "total physical wellbeing" (Tannen and Wallat 1993: 70) result in the mother interrupting the paediatrician during the examination to ask questions and in the paediatrician having to shift between the frame *examination* and the frame *consultation*. Similarly, the mother and the paediatrician do not share the same understanding of the term *wheezing*: the mother uses the term to refer to the sound of her child's noisy breathing, whereas for the paediatrician, wheezing has a narrower medical meaning and denotes a constriction of the throat passages (see also Lalouschek 2002).

Lalouschek and Nowak's (1989) analysis of case history taking in an Austrian clinic demonstrates the communicative impact of the mismatch in knowledge and thought structures of patient and doctor. The patient has been admitted to hospital with heart trouble. Lalouschek and Nowak observe how the doctor does not attend to the patient's foregrounded and repeated assertion, "I don't seem to be getting better" (present author's translation)[4], which is formulated in colloquial language and which he perceives as his core problem. It functions as a kind of aggregate for his various complaints and is of much greater relevance to him than just the heart complaint. The doctor, by contrast, directs his attention to the heart complaint and to classifiable symptoms. This example serves to illustrate the different relevance and connotations of utterances for patient and doctor. This, together with the doctor's objective, analytic focus and the subjective, emotional orientation of the patient, and the use of specialist versus non-specialist terminology generates interwoven areas of conflict between the participants (Lalouschek and Nowak 1989).

Moore, Candlin and Plum (2001) also explore frame misalignment in HIV consultations in an Australian clinic. They identify four meanings of the term *viral load*, i.e., as a "human biological property" (2001: 431), as an "indicator of treatment effectiveness" (2001: 431), as an "indicator of treatment compliance" (2001: 432) and as an "indicator of wellness" (2001: 433). They associate these different meanings with three different types of discourse: the discourse of health measurement, the discourse of health care, focused on treatment effectiveness and compliance, and the discourse of health experience. These three discourse types constitute interdependent systems of meaning, which can produce misalignment in terms of establishing the frame in which a particular test result is interpreted. The authors provide evidence of misalignment between the doctor's focus on the discourse of health measurement and the patient's focus on the discourse of health experience. They argue that both doctor and patient need to negotiate a common frame in which to understand how "the meanings of each discourse connect with each other" (Moore, Candlin, and Plum 2001: 445).

The divergent focus on health experience versus health measurement results in another potential source of misalignment between patients and providers. This relates to perceptions of time, frequency and quantity and, with this, impacts on responses to questions such as *how long*, *how often* and *how much*. Drew and Heritage (1992), Mishler (1984), Sacks (1992: Spring 1972, Lecture 5) and Zhao (1999) all document differing pragmatic formulations of time between patients and providers, specifically, between biographical and "objective" or "institutional" time (Drew and Heritage 1992: 32). Kettunen, Poskiparta and Gerlander (2002) provide the following example (example [4]) of a patient questioning the nurse about her recommendation to do "normal" (Line 2, Line 8, Line 11) activity post-surgery:

(4)

1	N:	……((looks at patient)) of course having your muscles in good shape as well (.) stomach muscles
2		((laugh)) perfectly normal <u>moving</u> around and exercise and <u>such</u> °yes that's quite (.) quite (.) important°
3		((looks forward))
4	P:	yeah but what about <u>exercise</u> when I leave here and go home(.) should I stay in bed
5		for two weeks and <u>move</u> about very carefully [or]=
6	N:	[no]
7	P:	=should I try to exercise especially?
8	N:	to move (.) ((nod)) about quite normally and really after these few days there's no need in any way
9		to be careful except to <u>avoid</u> very violent movements (.)
10	P:	yeah, yeah
11	N:	as for the rest you can °live a normal life°(.)
12	P:	why I'm asking is (.) that if I'd take a walk (.) with the dogs for example, then ((turns to nurse))
13	N:	oh yes if your dogs won't go wild then run (.) ((laughter, patient joins in))
14		but then swimming and such (.) for example (.) after the stitches have been removed
15		then (.) when you do everything at a relaxed pace °there's no danger at all°
16	P:	well good
17	N:	but then (.) lifting <u>technique</u> again (.) even after your sick leave you should think how to lift [and]
18	P:	[well] what
19		would be the best technique of all?
20	N:	it would be best to use your <u>legs</u> of coure .….(No. 7)

(Kettunen, Poskiparta, and Gerlander 2002: 104)

The word "normal" carries a narrower, medically defined meaning for the provider and represents a knowledge schema not shared by the patient. This appears to result in misalignment between two frames of measurement, which the patient must clarify through questioning.

Misalignment can impact negatively on patient and provider satisfaction and, potentially, on patient compliance with treatment. A further challenge for providers and patients that is also linked to the prevailing asymmetries, concerns the management of social and vertical distance and, with this, facework. It is to this that we now turn.

3.4.   Indirectness/Directness

Consultations between healthcare providers and patients involve *inter alia* requests for information, the delivery of diagnoses or judgements on the patient's health, and recommendations about treatment or lifestyle. All of this communicative activity requires both provider and patient to make decisions as to the appropriate level of directness or indirectness with which to formulate a particular speech act. Such decisions are taken within the context of the interlocutors' orientation to existing power and knowledge asymmetries, perceptions of role-based authority, expectations regarding the routines of the consultation and with reference to socio-demographic factors, e.g., gender (Bonnano 1982, Graham 2009), and local factors such as social distance. Communication between providers or between providers and students requires similar judgements to be made. The following paragraphs present insights from several studies offering perspectives on the presentation of candidate diagnoses by patients, the realisation of requests and suggestions by patients and providers, on politeness and on the use of mitigation within different types of medical discourse (see also sections 3.1, 3.2).

Kettunen et al. (2001) show how in nurse–patient counselling in a Finnish hospital, patients have recourse to hinting as a means of advancing an opinion. In addition, Gill and Maynard (2006), with reference to Gill (1998) and ten Have (1991), note how patients handle the dilemma of providing illness explanations and managing authority. Patients, when wishing to obtain the doctor's evaluation, downgrade any personal certainty that they might have about their illness and its cause. By contrast, when their explanations do not require doctor assessment, their certainty is not downgraded. Gill (1998) offers the following example of a female patient in a US outpatient consultation, who asserts in a forthright way that she suffers from migraines and allergies (Lines 1–2, Line 6, Line 9), but is then much more tentative in formulating a connection between the two (Lines 4–5, Line 7):

(5) Dr. Curtis with Patient Ives [1:46]
1   Ms. I: I still ha::ve my: ordinary::: migraine
2   headaches, which I've ha:d for yea::rs?
3   (1.3)
4   Ms. I: *And ah:* (.) they come and go so badly I: just
5   have to really wonder what triggers that.
6   I know I do have some *allergies*.
7   So   [that's] s:ome possibilities=
8   Dr. C: [>M hm<]
9   Ms. I: =an I know (.) .hh they do bother me

(Gill 1998: 345)

In this way, the patient demonstrates that she has an entitlement to some knowledge based on her own experiences of illness, but not in respect of a possible illness

causation or diagnosis. This lies, as we have seen in Lacoste (1981), within the domain of expertise of the doctor. Such uncertainty on the part of patients can reinforce their subordinate role and, with this, the power asymmetry (ten Have 1991).

Other studies demonstrating the tentative way in which patients make candidate diagnoses or seek a diagnosis, include Kettunen, Poskiparta and Gerlander's (2002) study of nurse–patient consultations and Cegala's (1997) study of doctor–patient consultations in a US primary care setting. Cegala (1997: 192) noted that patients use embedded questions ten times more frequently than doctors: the use of the declarative form enables the patient to seek a diagnosis without explicitly asking. Whilst the risks with such an approach are that the patient's voice may not be heard (Heath 1992) or that the provider must work hard to discover the patient's underlying agenda, assertiveness may challenge the provider's professional face, interrupt the routine, and create conflict.

With reference to requests and suggestions, the following extract presented by Kettunen, Poskiparta and Gerlander (2002) shows how the patient ensures that his voice is heard by the nurse though the combination of different communicative strategies.

(6)

1	P:	((looks ahead)) I'd remember that one now (.) or will the message get across (.) that I have a mole
2		over there ((points)) that kind (.) I did ask about it there (.) in the health center I've had it (.) for ages
3		but now it's changed ((turns and looks at nurse)) it's developed something rough like a scab
4		on it (.) so I thought that you could take a look at the same time (.) ((laugh)) if it would be possible
5		to _snip it_[so that you'd _take it_] (.)
6	N:	[at the same time] yeah I think so[sure]
7	P:	[I think] it's OK with just local anesthesia _anywhere_ but but
8		[I mean]=
9	N:	[(--)]
10	P:	=if it would fit in[well]=
11	N:	[(--)]
12	P:	=here and if _it's necessary to do_ ((with emphasis))
13	N:	yeah that
14	P:	so you could snip it off.
…		
15	N:	but I can still suggest this ((looks at patient, nods))
16	P:	well if it then
17	N:	that there's this thing
18	P:	just the message that if he _thinks_ that the (.)
19	N:	yeah
20	P:	doctor at the health center thought that it wouldn't matter(.) then I wouldn't there's been
21		no trouble but it's _changed_ anyway from=
22	N:	so now it's ((writes on form))
23	P:	=what it's been before (.) it was smooth earlier just a colored brown spot like a mole
24		(.) like this for example (.) ((shows arm))

25 N: *yeah yeah ((looks at patient))*
26 P: *now it's it has a kind of (.) rough (.) surface and it doesn't itch or anything*
27 N: *yeah*
28 P: *it (.) °I thought that I'd show it to a doctor and ask what he'd think but°*
29 N: *yeah I'm writing this down and I'll send the message ahead…(No. 30)*

<div align="right">(Kettunen, Poskiparta, and Gerlander 2002: 108)</div>

The patient is to undergo surgery, but not for the mole. His initial suggestion (Lines 1–5) is formulated indirectly. The authors draw attention to how he mitigates his request by downplaying the operation (Line 7) and the mole (Line 20). He also shows deference to the doctor and his diagnostic judgement (Lines 10, 12, 18). Alongside this non-threatening behaviour, he keeps the floor through his extended and assertive disclosure and, ultimately, through the combination of strategies achieves his objective, namely, that the nurse will raise the issue with the doctor.

Kettunen, Poskiparta and Gerlander's (2002) study revealed only infrequent recourse to indirect questions by patients, which conflicts with the findings of Ainsworth-Vaughn (1995). Reporting on a consultation that was part of a wider study in a US haematology/oncology practice, she concluded that the doctor employed a direct style of questioning, whereas the patient's approach involved use of mitigation, honorifics, hesitation phenomena, and ambiguity. This patient plays a very active role in the consultation and Ainsworth-Vaughn argues that deference should not be equated with passivity. The following extract (example [7]) comes after a lengthy discussion on how to deal with the build up of scar tissue after surgery and treatment for a breast tumour.

(7)
```
161D:                              I would tell you "Leave it
162   alone."
163P: yeah . uh huh (3 sec) I know my KIDS WAS WONDERING if .
164   you thought I should ah . be advised to have a . let me
165   (???) . . to ah have . get a whirlpool . hot tub or a
166   whirlpool . to massage that.
167D: (2 sec) O:Oh . Take a deep breath in (2 sec) Again (4 sec)
168   WE'LL LOOK AT THE WHOLE PICTURE
169P:                           Ah hah . Okay
170D:                                    Okay?
171P:                                         Okay
172D:                                              Like
173   . whether or not we think you need any radiation
174P:                                    Mm
```
<div align="right">(Ainsworth-Vaughn 1995: 276)</div>

Ainsworth-Vaughn (1995) explains the layering of mitigation, realised through syntax, prosody, invoking a third-party (her children – a strategy also used by the patient in Gill, Halkowski and Roberts' (2001) study when seeking an HIV test)

and also through the dual function of the patient's utterance (Lines 163–166) as a question and as a suggestion (the former mitigates the latter and prevents a threat to the doctor's role as the "proposer of treatment" (1995: 286–287)). Yet, interestingly, although the patient succeeds in having her suggestion heard by the doctor, his response stresses that the decision is a medical one (Lines 167–173), requiring medical knowledge, to which the patient does not have "structural rights" (Ainsworth-Vaughn 1995: 287–288; see also section 3.1).

Research has also shown how the language of providers when requesting and instructing may be characterised by indirectness, including the use of mitigators, hedges, and other syntactic downgraders, which can appear to reduce power distance, but, in some cases, simply reinforce the paternalistic and asymmetric nature of the provider–patient relationship (Aronsson and Sätterlund-Larson 1987, Lee 1987, Aronsson and Rundström 1989, Hewison 1995, Caffi 1999, Pilnick 2001).

Hewison's (1995) observational study of interaction between nurses and elderly patients in a UK hospital setting revealed how nurses sought to get patients to do things without necessarily using direct commands or persuasion.

(8)

> Doreen (auxiliary nurse): Would you like to come into the dayroom? Would you like to come into the dayroom? Would you like to come and sit in the dayroom with the other ladies? Change of scenery. OK? Come on.
>
> (Hewison 1995: 79)

Whilst the degree of insistence clearly increases, the ability of the nurses to get things done with the sugar coating of negative politeness (Brown and Levinson 1987) is a consequence of their power and the familiarity of the patients with what is required of them by virtue of the routine nature of the communication (Hewison 1995, see also section 3.2). As Hewison notes, the patient in the above extract was not deaf; rather, posing multiple questions was part of the routine enacted by the nurses.

A further explanatory factor in the approach of the nurses in Hewison's (1995) study may have been the age of the patients. Aronsson and Sätterlund-Larsson (1987) and Aronsson and Rundström (1989) demonstrate the challenges for providers to balance the need for clarity with politeness in their analysis of two Swedish healthcare settings involving doctors dealing with adult patients in a hospital clinic and doctors in multi-party paediatric consultations with children and their parents in an allergy outpatient clinic. There is a clear tension in medical consultations between creating and maintaining an appropriate balance between formality and informality, distance and intimacy. Aronsson and Sätterlund-Larsson (1987) argue that with adult patients, social distance is negotiated on an ongoing basis during the different phases of the consultation. Requests by the doctors during the physical examination phase were often formulated with recourse to both positive and negative politeness strategies:

(9)
 Doctor: You could perhaps undress a little and get on the couch and then we'll
      examine your thighs while I try to get hold of a report
 Patient: Yeah, that's fine
 Doctor: from X-ray   (Aronsson and Sätterlund-Larsson 1987: 8)[5]

The doctor's recognition of the face threatening nature of the request to an adult patient in example (9) is reflected in the use of positive politeness strategies such as the use of the informal 'you'[6], the use of collaborative 'we', and negative politeness strategies such as hedging, minimisers and conventional indirectness. Interestingly, the patient whilst initially agreeing to the request, reveals in a subsequent turn through the question "Shall I take everything off now?" that he has not actually understood the force of the doctor's utterance. This pattern is replicated in other consultations, particularly with elderly patients (Aronsson and Sätterlund-Larsson 1987).

By contrast, in the paediatric consultations, the use of indirectness during physical examinations was uncommon. Clear directives, occasionally with a conventional politeness marker such as "please" were addressed to the children, "Now will you, please, take off your sweater" (Aronsson and Rundström 1989: 488). The authors suggest that "children's bodily privacy is less constricted that that of adults, and there is a lesser need for roundabout courtesy" as the doctor embodies both medical and adult authority (Aronsson and Rundström 1989: 488). Doctors also succeed in managing medical authority without threatening parental authority: the direct way of addressing children about topics which implicate their parents, such as, recommendations about food or hygiene, represents an indirect, less threatening way of addressing parents. This also reduces the risk of non-comprehension of speaker intent as observed by Aronsson and Sätterlund-Larsson (1987). Importantly, the authors suggest the need to understand the choice of politeness strategies in terms of sequencing: doctors resort to more direct methods when they perceive that negative politeness is not working (Aronsson and Rundström 1989: 502).

In the course of consultations, providers and patients may have to deal with various forms of rejection of treatment or advice and resistance to diagnoses or therapeutic suggestions, all of which carry a face threat for the provider and/or the patient. Pilnick (2001) has explored offers of advice giving and their rejection in pharmacist–patient consultations. Heritage and Stivers (1999) demonstrate how doctors' online commentaries accompanying patient examinations and also the use of mitigation can anticipate predicted resistance by patients to "no-problem diagnostic evaluations" (1999: 1501) which deny the patient the sick role. In other words, doctors may avoid unmitigated assertions of a no-problem diagnosis which could pose a face threat to the patient and suggest that they have been overly anxious in seeking treatment.

An earlier study by Robins and Wolf (1988) analysed the written responses of students in a US medical school to a discourse completion scenario involving a patient's rejection of a therapeutic regime. The authors argue that politeness theory can help students to understand the patient perspective, in this case infringement of the patient's negative face, and to gauge a culturally and therapeutically appropriate response that strives to underpin the cooperative nature of the consultation, thereby preventing communication breakdown.

Politeness and use of mitigation have also been investigated in provider–provider communication. Graham (2009) has explored the complex relationship between politeness strategies and the numerous hierarchies operating in multi-disciplinary meetings involving clinicians, nurses and social workers in the context of discharge rounds in a hospital setting. His study reflects a more dynamic understanding of politeness, i.e., as something constructed by the interlocutors within the context of the institution (Watts 2003). A discourse analysis of the meetings reveals the role of age and experience in reproducing and challenging the various hierarchies. In one discharge round, Graham reviews the following contribution by a social worker (example [10]).

(10)
23 SW1: How about her mental status? *What's with the*
24 *mental status?* I mean- you know- I
25 understand that this is a confusing environment
26 .. but she's not remembering what's happening.
27 She's very confused. I mean really confused..
28 Enough to be- make it bothersome.   (Graham 2008: 23)

The social worker moves between strategies asserting her power in the hierarchy, e.g., posing an unmitigated question (Lines 23–24), and more deferential behaviour, e.g., I mean, you know, I understand that (Lines 24–25), which shows her awareness that in the institutional hierarchy, it is doctors who diagnose. Those members of the team who are lower in the hierarchy, such as social workers and nurses, are faced with a dilemma: by being (or having to be) subtle, they risk not being heard (see also Aronsson and Sätterland-Larsson, 1987, Wang 2000), generating frustration and the decision to withhold input (Graham 2009).

Other studies investigating deference and directness in provider communication and drawing on Brown and Levinson's (1987) politeness theory include Lambert's (1995) work with student pharmacists. Lambert elicited his data using a written discourse completion scenario involving an outpatient pharmacist reporting a patient drug allergy to a physician and recommending an alternative drug. The findings revealed that the students were much more likely to use an avoidance strategy in respect of recommending an alternative drug than in reporting the allergy. This behaviour can be explained by the greater face threat to the doctor implicit within the recommendation. Both the report and the recommendation elicited high levels of

negative facework. Indeed, significantly, every recommendation also used some form of redressive action containing negative politeness (Lambert 1995: 553).

The research presented in this section has highlighted some of the professional and structural constraints which determine decisions made by providers and patients about directness and indirectness, but it has also indicated how the interpretation of the relationship between form and function takes place at the local level. It also reveals the challenges faced by patients and providers in terms of determining the appropriate balance between clarity and subtlety and between deference and assertiveness. Where the patient or provider voice is not heard or where a party desists from acting and remains silent, the result can be dissatisfaction and frustration (Kettunen et al. 2001, Graham 2009).

3.5.   Summary

The preceding sections have offered an overview of some of the key themes within medical discourse that have been informed by insights from pragmatics. The studies cited thus far, by virtue of the fact that they report on research conducted in various countries, suggest the existence of similarities in terms of the sources of asymmetries and communicative challenges facing the actors in clinical settings. Such challenges are rooted in divergent knowledge systems and the tensions between the voices of medicine and the lifeworld.

These studies have not focused specifically on discourse produced by patients and/or providers who do not share the same language and/or national or ethnic cultural background. In such encounters, the culturally determined rules and constraints underlying who says what, to whom, and when in clinical settings may differ. Thus, we now shift our attention to a brief general review of the literature on intercultural communication in therapeutic encounters and of cross-cultural comparative research.

4.   Intercultural and cross-cultural comparative studies

Candlin and Candlin (2003) and Skelton, Kai and Loudon (2001) draw attention to the lack of interest within the applied linguistic and discourse analytic literature in intercultural healthcare communication. Skelton, Kai and Loudon (2001) contrast this with the much stronger tradition of research within medical anthropology with its focus on culturally shaped beliefs about health and illness. They conclude that "[p]erhaps the only thing that we do know is that patients across cultures believe that 'good' communication (however defined) is an important feature of successful doctor–patient encounters" (Skelton, Kai, and Loudon 2001: 257).

This conclusion might help to explain the strong focus within extant research on exploring the impact of particular cultural or language variables, for example, pro-

vider–patient ethnic or language concordance on the outcome of consultations or sat-isfaction of patients. Much of this research has emerged from the US, is centred on consultations between African-American or Hispanic patients and Caucasian pro-viders and uses quantitative methodologies. Themes such as patient ethnicity and the quality of patient–physician communication have also been investigated using RIAS in conjunction with other qualitative instruments such as patient interviews (see Schouten and Meeuwesen 2007 for an overview). Few studies have explored empiri-cally the dynamics of the intercultural communication process. As with the literature on single culture and language encounters, intercultural microanalytic studies focus primarily on doctor–patient communication, in particular where the patient is the non-native speaker (NNS) (Rehbein 1994, Frank 2000, Riedel 2002, Valero-Garcés 2002, Moss and Roberts 2005, Roberts et al. 2005) and only rarely where the pro-vider, either doctor or nurse, is the NNS (Cameron and Williams 1997, Berbyuk Lindström 2008, van de Poel and Brunfaut 2010, Schön 2012). Equally, studies of in-tercultural communication where the provider has recourse to a foreign patient's first language (L1) (Riedel 2002) or where both provider and patient are using a lingua franca (Watermeyer and Penn 2009) are scarce. The neglect of the provider perspec-tive is surprising, considering the challenges identified by international medical graduates with pragmatic aspects of interaction such as appropriate phrasing of ques-tions, gauging the amount of information to give, and expressing emotional support for the patient (see Pilotto, Duncan, and Anderson-Wurf 2007). An emergent site of research interest includes discourse-based studies of interpreted provider–patient in-teractions (see the edited volume by Pöchhacker and Shlesinger 2007).

Microanalytic studies of intercultural provider–patient communication help to reveal the difficulties encountered by NNS patients in dealing with the routine of the consultation in the host culture. An investigation of routine and emergency gen-eral practice consultations in inner London surgeries by Roberts et al. (2005) and Moss and Roberts (2005) revealed that patients with limited English encountered difficulties which had their origins in language and self-representation as opposed to culturally determined beliefs about health. The authors argue for the need to take into account the dynamic relationship between culture and language. They assert the impossibility of decoupling ways of talking from cultural assumptions, as, for example, gauging the appropriate level of directness, the amount of background in-formation to provide before introducing the main point, how and when to introduce particular topics and to interrupt. Their analysis reveals four sources of misunder-standings for general practitioners (GPs): "(1) pronunciation and word stress; (2) intonation and speech delivery; (3) grammar and vocabulary; and (4) style of self-presentation", with the possibility of multi-causality (Roberts et al. 2005: 469). The categories can also generate misunderstandings in consultations with patients who are speakers of non-standard varieties of English or from countries where English is used as a lingua franca: such speakers may contextualise pragmatic intent differ-ently. The authors cite the example of a Nigerian patient whose use of stress does

not conform to the patterns of contrastive stress amongst standard variety speakers. The resulting ambiguity means that the issue he presents is not properly resolved during the consultation.

Other research which has identified the impact of divergent cultural and procedural assumptions includes Frank's (2000) study of communication in a US college health centre. Using questionnaires, interviews and observation, the study revealed problems experienced by international students in comprehending implied questions, dealing with particular conversational routines, gauging when to talk, when to ask questions, how to disagree, how to ask for more time to communicate on account of difficulties in the foreign language (L2), and how to judge the appropriate level of directness. From the provider perspective, the absence of a response after a question or an unclear response tended to be attributed to rudeness rather than to pragmatic failure (Frank 2000). In the following example, the receptionist attributed the patient's brief response "Yes", where a more elaborate response such as "Yes, at 10.30" would be pragmatically appropriate (Frank 2000: 47), to slight impoliteness.

(11)
    Receptionist: Do you have an appointment?
    International Student: Yes.
    Receptionist: What time? (Somewhat irritated)
    International Student: Ten thirty.   (Frank 2000: 47)

Frank also observed how differing cultural assumptions resulted in a sociopragmatically-based mismatch between staff and students in terms of whether staff believed the main problem presented by the patient had been dealt with.

Similar sources of communicative difficulty to those identified by Roberts et al. (2005) and Frank (2000) are presented by Valero-Garcés (2002) in her study of doctor–immigrant patient consultations in Spanish healthcare centres. She demonstrated how the providers and patients hold different expectations of the routine as a consequence of the patients not having adequate knowledge "to act out the role" (2002: 490) and not having "mastery of both the structure of institutional dialogue, and the language system and its use" (2002: 492). As a result, the routine may be subverted: the patients ask more questions, make more requests, and when providing information may violate the maxim of quantity, a point that also emerges from Roberts et al.'s (2005) study.

On the part of the providers, Valero-Garcés (2002) found evidence of more reformulations and interruptions and of greater recourse to commissives and directives. Providers use these and other strategies to accommodate to the patient within the constraints of time imposed by the institution. Riedel (2002) and Watermeyer and Penn (2009) have also identified strategies such as code switching and response solicitations used by providers to check understanding. Riedel's (2002) study of consultations between a German doctor and three Danish patients under-

going cancer therapy in a German hospital shows how the doctor code switches to Danish when he wants to communicate important information, but equally, how communicative difficulties can arise when the doctor does not understand the patient when she speaks Danish.

Cameron and Williams (1997) focus on discourse where the provider is the NNS and has productive difficulties in English. The Thai student nurse works in the psychiatric unit of a US hospital, where she communicates with patients and her supervisor. The authors draw on relevance theory, in particular the notions of strong and weak communication, to explain the relative success of interactions. Three factors come into play: context-activated inferencing on the part of the listeners, use of communication strategies by the interlocutors which are triggered by perceived difficulties in achieving the communication goals, and the professional competence of the nurse and her supervisor. In the case of the third factor, the supervisor draws on her professional knowledge to disambiguate the nurse's utterances during the latter's reporting. Moreover, both parties are familiar with the routines and sequences that characterise reporting in this setting. In this way, the "power of expectation" created by pre-existing knowledge schemas can help the inferencing process (Cameron and Williams 1997: 425). The nurse's professional competence also enables her to exercise topic control when interacting with patients, whilst the patients, in their search for relevance, can be seen to engage cooperatively when confronted with weak communication of speaker intention (Cameron and Williams 1997). The findings in respect of provider–provider communication resonate with a point made by Spreckels and Kotthoff (2007) in respect of multi-cultural surgical teams, which suggests that national cultural identity may not be paramount where shared knowledge exists and one surgeon is more experienced.

Berbyuk Lindström's (2008) study of non-Swedish doctors working in Sweden reveals similarities to Swedish providers in the conduct of consultations, including, for example, questioning behaviours. She attributes this finding, in part, to "the influence of the activity parameters pertaining to medical consultation" (Berbyuk Lindström 2008: 232). Her evidence again points to the universality of the biomedical model and of the types of routine underlying its enactment. However, there are also differences in behaviour which have their origin in both language and cultural factors, including orientations to power and hierarchy. Examples include pronominal use, engagement on an emotional level with patients (see also Schouten and Meeuwesen 2007), difficulties with non-health related talk with patients and other providers, divergent assumptions about a paternalistic versus mutualistic model of care, about how to engage with nurses, and directness in communication. She cites the example of a German doctor's directness when providing the patient with information ("you < don't need care >") (example [12]). She explains that this doctor's formulation may be pragmatically appropriate in a German context, but conflicts with a Swedish preference for greater indirectness and embarrasses the patient.

(12)

D: You've never had so much / er / you've always not so much // I mean with with
    < establishable > changes // technical // you < don't need care >

<div align="right">(Berbyuk Lindström 2008: 73)[7]</div>

The doctor's formulation might also be attributable to limitations in the L2 (Ber-
byuk Lindström 2008: 73) and the lack of language confidence or competence may
produce more controlling behaviour (see also Cameron and Williams 1997). On
the positive side, as non-Swedish doctors are aware of possible issues with lan-
guage competence, they tend to communicate more clearly and engage more inten-
sively with giving feedback in the form of repetitions and reformulations (Berbyuk
Lindström 2008).

Other studies have adopted a cross-cultural comparative approach by compar-
ing the use of particular speech acts or modification strategies in consultations in
different national cultural settings. Van de Poel and Brunfaut (2010) highlight the
absence of research with a pragmatic focus into doctor–patient consultations where
the doctor is a NNS and use discourse completion tests to compare how L1 and L2
doctors in Sweden and Belgium employ external and internal modification in their
communication with patients. Ohtaki, Ohtaki and Fetters (2003) have explored the
ratio of doctor to patient speech, including the frequency (as opposed to the real-
isation) of particular speech acts such as directives, questions and explanatory
statements, in Japanese and US doctor–patient consultations. Odebunmi's (2008)
qualitative study of diagnosis delivery in Southwest Nigerian hospitals compared
the pragmatic strategies used by Nigerian doctors when delivering a diagnosis with
Maynard's (1991a, 1991b, 1991c, 1992, 2003, 2004) findings for US clinical set-
tings. Whilst there appears to be broad similarity across the two settings, Ode-
bunmi (2008) proposes that mitigation of serious news through veils and hedges
may be somewhat more characteristic of diagnosis delivery in Nigerian hospitals.

In sum, the extant literature points to a range of productive and receptive chal-
lenges in intercultural encounters. These include understanding the culturally ap-
propriate performance conditions underlying particular speech acts, mapping form
to function and accurately determining the appropriate linguistic encoding of
meaning, and interpreting the force of an utterance correctly. Some of the instances
of pragmalinguistic and sociopragmatic failure may be attributed to inappropriate
transfer from the L1 to the L2 and from the culture of origin (C1) to the foreign cul-
ture (C2). Cultural assumptions brought by patient and provider in respect of
relative power and social distance can impact on their perceptions of the appropri-
ate level of directness or indirectness, use of mitigation, and propositional explicit-
ness. In the case of NNS providers, shared specialist knowledge, acquired through
education and socialisation into the professional role, may help to avert or alleviate
the consequences of pragmatic failure in provider–provider communication.

5.   Taking stock

The preceding review has presented some of the main structural and linguistic features of medical discourse and provided an insight into its complexities. Cameron and Williams (1997: 419) have asserted that although there is a belief that technology is the main instrument of medicine, its use relies on language as "[l]anguage allows patients and care-providers to make their intentions known". Yet, the manner in which they make their intentions known can present challenges, in particular, for patients. Patients and providers bring different assumptions and categories of interpretation to the consultation, which are grounded in institutional, professional, lay and, also, national cultural identities. This means that the parties to the interaction cannot necessarily rely on a shared system of knowledge or beliefs, thereby generating a rich source of potential interactive trouble. The sensitivity of pragmatics to the context of discourse can help to reveal the interplay between the interactive and institutional orders (Sarangi and Roberts 1999) and, importantly, shed light on how features of the institutional order are reproduced, challenged and negotiated through discourse. Examples from the literature have documented some of the sources and manifestations of interactive tension and how they are or are not resolved. They demonstrate how pragmatics can help to explain the various dilemmas facing patients that arise from the asymmetries that inhabit consultations. Such dilemmas include judging the right to use knowledge or specialist vocabulary, who utters a specific speech act to whom, in what situation, at which stage of the discourse, and how this is achieved. In this way, pragmatics can help us to conceptualise provider–patient communication as a form of intercultural communication based on the fact that the participants have been socialised into distinct knowledge systems, which, in turn, are differently operationalized on the level of discourse (Haberland and Mey 1981, Cameron and Williams 1997). A mismatch in these frames can result in both sociopragmatic and pragmalinguistic failure. For non-native patients, the challenge, both in productive and receptive terms, of correctly determining the appropriate linguistic encoding of meaning in the L2 alongside correctly evaluating its cultural associations is, however, arguably greater. In this sense, Haberland and Mey's (1981) observation that the kinds of communicative challenges faced by native and non-native participants in consultations constitute differences in degree, would appear to be justified and to represent a context for further academic enquiry.

To date, most work has concentrated on provider–patient and, in particular, doctor–patient encounters. Yet, the evolving nature of medical work means that patients are increasingly treated by multi-disciplinary teams and also that providers must manage their work in accordance with shifting institutional demands (Iedema 2006, Roberts 2006). This suggests the need for a continued widening of inquiry within the domain of *backstage* encounters and with reference to the impact of new technologies such as the internet on oral and written communication (Gallardo

2005, Locher 2006), including how these technologies might recalibrate the balance between having knowledge and having rights to use that knowledge in provider–patient encounters. Each of these changes carries implications for the configuration of the relationship between the institutional and interactional orders, although, as demonstrated by many of the reviewed studies, the traditional asymmetries have shown themselves to be resistant to change in spite of greater emphasis on patient-centred models of care over the past two decades (see Ishikawa, Hashimoto, and Kiuchi 2013).

Likewise, with increasing international mobility, there is clearly an argument for more intensive research engagement with team and provider–patient encounters where the provider is the NNS or where the participants are communicating in a lingua franca. The elaborate interplay of culture and language in such constellations, not least the relationship or possible tensions between professional and national cultural identity and their encoding in oral and written language, would arguably generate a rich topic of investigation from the perspective of intercultural and interlanguage pragmatics.

Schouten and Meeuwesen (2007: 29) note that "[f]requency countings of behaviour … do not shed light on the dynamics of the communication process". The microanalysis of transcripts of authentic audio- or video-taped encounters or of authentic documents clearly addresses this shortcoming. Moreover, the combinations of interpretive approaches such as CA and pragmatics can move beyond a narrow focus on speaker intent and uncover the collaborative and sequential construction of meaning, thereby revealing how medical work is enacted. Yet, the focus within microanalytic research, including studies drawing on pragmatics, has tended to be on single encounters, which although demonstrating how local factors and, indeed, personal communicative styles of patients and providers can shape their discourse, tends to limit the explanatory force of the findings. There is clearly scope for combining qualitative and quantitative methodologies: the insights from the many microanalytic studies of discourse can help to elaborate and contextualise those emerging from research adopting a macroanalytic approach.

Healthcare providers, especially doctors, have traditionally acquired their communication skills on the job through observation of their senior colleagues. Increasingly, their education contains formal training in communication skills. Pragmatics can help to inform this training, making providers more sensitive to their own communicative behaviour and that of their interlocutor/s.

Introducing the 1981 special issue of the *Journal of Pragmatics* on therapeutic discourse, the editors, Haberland and Mey (1981: 105), explain the theme of the volume: "what goes wrong in doctor–patient communication, and what is language's role in all of this". Over thirty years later, pragmatics continues to shed light on this knotty relationship and on the intricate choreographies characterizing medical encounters.

Notes

1. See www.riasworks.com/resources_e.html for a comprehensive bibliography of RIAS studies in single-culture and cross-cultural comparative contexts.
2. Translation from French provided by Lacoste (1981).
3. Translation from Chinese provided by Zhao (1999).
4. "*I kann mi net derfanga.*"
5. Translation from Swedish provided by Aronsson and Sätterlund-Larsson (1987).
6. Here the reference is to the distinction between the informal/formal modes of address in Swedish.
7. Translation from Swedish provided by Berbyuk Lindström (2008).

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19. Legal discourse: processes of making evidence in specialised legal corpora

Alison Johnson

Questioning has often been the focus of institutional legal discourse research across the domains of police interviews and courtroom interaction both in terms of the institutional participants and the lay respondents (e.g. Drew 1992; Archer 2005; Newbury and Johnson 2006; Tracy and Parks 2012). Though we know much about question design and evidence construction and negotiation from this work, there is more to be learned from cross-domain corpus-based research, particularly in the area of reported speech and quoting in legal discourse. This chapter focuses on pragmatic uses of the verb SAY in police interviewing and cross-examination discourse, using specialised corpora. Combining insights from previous research on reported speech (Matoesian 2000; Galatolo 2007) in legal discourse and using a cross-corpus approach, we look at how actions of settling on agreed and contested evidential facts are accomplished. We see how patterns of use with SAY are linked to a range of institutional activities: arguing and stance making, doubting and rejecting, time-shifting and framing, which constitute professional activities of shifting and fixing states of knowledge against legal and moral discourses. Construction, acceptance and denial of the verbal "facts" is given "intertextual authority" (Matoesian 2000) by institutional participants: judges and lawyers.

1. Introduction

What is said in police stations and in courtrooms by suspects and witnesses involved in civil and criminal offences is socially significant for citizens in that private and local discourse is made public in being repeated as it travels from interview to courtroom and enters the social consciousness via the media. Speech is recorded, either in notes or in official audio-recordings, and this makes it possible for the defendant or a witness's words to be quoted, requoted and recontextualised across time and space over the course of an investigation and in any subsequent trial or legal proceedings. When the words are used in court they become oral evidence that is heard and judged and selectively passed on to the public by the world's media. This chapter is concerned with the ways that evidence is made and the ways that that evidence is made social through institutional processes of saying what is being or has been said by witnesses and in quoting their words. No more has this phenomenon been evident than in the recent murder trial of Anders Breivik, in the first half of 2012 in Norway, as Breivik's words were requoted

around the globe by the media representatives who were present in the courtroom, as examples (1), (2) and (3) show.

(1) Defiant Breivik "would carry out massacre again"
    (http://www.bbc.co.uk/news/world-europe-17737085 17 April 2012)
(2) *Au deuxième jour de son procès, Breivik assure: "Je le ferais de nouveau".*
    (http://www.lemonde.fr/ 17 April 2012)
    'On the second day of his trial, Breivik affirms: "I would do it again"'.
(3) *Breivik: Jeg ville gjort det igjen.* (www.dagbladet.no/ 17 April 2012)
    'Breivik: I would do it again'.

(1) is a headline, (2) is from the body of a news report, and (3) is a headline accompanying a large photograph of Breivik, from online news in Britain, France and Norway, respectively, for 17th April 2012. On this day Breivik made a statement to the court about his actions in Oslo and on the island of Utøya in 2011, which left 77 people dead. Breivik's quoted words became the "soundbite" (Bell 1991: 207) selected by the world's media from all the words that he said in court: "I would do it again". The British report *frames* (Goffman 1974; Bauman 2004: 9) his words with the adjective "defiant", categorising Breivik with a negative criminal identity, while the trial is still in progress and marking, through direct quotation, that this "reportable fact" is selected because it is "particularly incontrovertible" (Bell 1991: 207). In the French report the framing of the quoted words includes an explicit time adverbial: "on the second day of his trial". In each of the reports there is a different way of doing the reporting clause: direct speech but no *verbum dicendi* (1); present tense "affirms" with direct speech (2); and name plus colon to indicate direct speech, but without quotation marks to accompany a photo (3), adding a different "flavour" to the "newsmaker's own words" (Bell 1991: 209). And the BBC's quotation (1) differs from the French and Norwegian media ([2] and [3]) in that it attributes the word "massacre" to Breivik, whereas the other two use the unspecific "it". These examples serve to show that what is said in a legal context is pragmatically important in what it does. Breivik's speech, which in most contexts would be ephemeral and lost to us is preserved for the legal record and, through the principle of open justice and the presence of the media, is made available for society to understand. However, the media reporting of courtroom interaction is highly selective and what the Breivik trial examples show is that selectivity involving quotation is a potent linguistic resource. We are encouraged to view Breivik as both culpable and defiant. Quoting the words of a suspect or a defendant, and indeed important witnesses, has social effects beyond the courtroom or the interview room. The public "hear" the selected soundbites as representative samples of suspects' talk and are made co-present in the courtroom to evaluate criminal responsibility, making jurors of readers. This process is one of the ways in which the legal becomes social.

Since the focus of this chapter is on what is said by suspects in legal settings, we should also briefly note the right to say nothing. In most jurisdictions, and in the

Anglo-American and European systems, there is a right of silence. This means a suspect does not have to say anything to the police and does not have to answer questions that might incriminate him or her in court. The English and Welsh right to silence is called "the caution" and it says: "You do not have to say anything. However, it may harm your defence if you do not mention when questioned something which you later rely on in court. Anything you do say may be given in evidence" (Gov.uk 2012). The wording of this right makes anything that is subsequently said contextually and intertextually dependent on it.

1.1.   Police interviews and trials as complex genres

Being interviewed by the police in relation to a crime or being a witness in a trial are not everyday occurrences and only a small number of citizens have experienced these "complex" (Heffer 2005: 71) and "hybrid" genres (Hasan 2000: 29). They are complex as they contain genres within genres and hybrid because they are able to blend narrative and argument within questioning. Police interviews with suspects are generally characterized by four phases:

– Opening, including telling the suspect the nature of the offence that they are being interviewed about and cautioning the suspect about the right to silence;
– Recount: inviting the suspect to give an account of the event under investigation in their own words;
– Questioning;
– Closing formulae.

Heydon's (2004, 2005) explanation of the structure of police interviews is tripartite (opening, information gathering, closing). Rock (2007) describes what happens immediately prior to interview, when suspects are brought to the police station on arrest and what they say when cautioned; and Carter (2011) examines interactional details, such as laughter, and how this is deployed in interviews. The English and Welsh criminal jury trial contains many sub-genres or stages, which are sequentially ordered (the Anglo-American adversarial system is very similar, though there are some notable differences as explained by Cotterill 2003):

– jury selection and swearing in
– indictment (reading out the charge[s])
– opening speeches by the barristers (prosecution and defence monologues)
– case for the prosecution: witness appearances (prosecution witnesses are questioned and then cross-examined by the defence)
– case for the defence: witness appearances (defence witnesses are questioned and then cross-examined by the prosecution
– closing speeches by the barristers (prosecution and defence monologues)
– summing-up by the judge and instructions to the jury (monologue)

- jury deliberation (privately)
- verdict (by the jury)
- judgment (written by the judge)
- sentencing (by the judge)

Each of these stages may be further classified in terms of parts. For example, for the witness appearance, Gibbons (2003: 134) describes a four or five-part structure (the bracketed stage is optional) that applies for each witness:

- opening: calling in by court officer and swearing in with the oath;
- examination-in-chief by friendly counsel;
- cross-examination by opposing counsel;
- (re-examination by friendly counsel);
- dismissal by the judge.

Legal discourse, then, is defined by special rules of use that derive from the law, such as the police caution (or right to silence) and from specialised legal institutional conventions (asymmetries of power and access to knowledge) and genres, which work according to stages or phases and have their own interactional rules and goals.

2.   Approaches to legal discourse

2.1.   Forensic linguistics

Forensic linguistics is a relatively new field of applied discourse analysis, which covers a wide range of research on language in legal settings, but there is already a wide and cross-disciplinary range of scholarly work available for the new researcher to discover across all the domains of legal talk. Focusing on work produced since the start of the millennium, the following areas have received attention: Miranda rights and cautioning suspects (e.g. Rock 2007; Ainsworth 2008), police interviews (e.g. Ainsworth 1993; Haworth 2006; Komter 2006; Johnson 2008; Jones 2008; Leo 2008) and coerced and false confessions (Drizin and Leo 2004; Berk-Seligson 2009), lawyer consultations (Scheffer 2006), asylum interviewing (Maryns 2004), mediation (Stewart and Maxwell 2010), civil, criminal and historical trials (e.g. Ehrlich 2001; Matoesian 2001; Cotterill 2003; Archer 2005; Heffer 2005; Shuy 2006, 2008) and appeals (Tracy 2011)[1].

It is clear that the many participants in the legal system also feature importantly. For example a number of researchers have examined the language of judges, such as Tracy and Parks' (2012: 21) analysis of "tough questioning" which examines the ways in which judges in appeal cases subject the parties in the case to questioning. They find that "tougher questioning of one party […] may cue […] which position a judge finds more compelling", and Kurzon's (2001) subject is the "pol-

iteness" of judges, finding that there are differences between British and American judges in his data. Gray (2010: 599), a judge himself, writes of attempts to improve the giving of expert evidence in Australian courts by dealing with experts in a manner known as the "hot tub", whereby experts are called "at the conclusion of all of the other evidence" and then they are "required to debate directly between themselves the matters on which they are not agreed, so that the judge and the lawyers can observe the debate". This method has been found to have a number of benefits, including "reducing the level of partisanship" and saving time (Gray 2010: 600–601, quoting Justice Heerey 2004).

Apart from research that looks at "language in the legal process" (Coulthard and Johnson 2007: 8), the other main concern of forensic linguists is with "language as evidence" (Coulthard and Johnson 2007: 119–215), where linguistic expertise is called upon by the courts, or by the police or solicitors, in a variety of criminal and civil cases (see for example Shuy 2006, 2008), including: trademarks, threats and blackmail, plagiarism and authorship, document complexity, voice identification, clarity of warning labels.

2.2.   Pragmatics of questioning in legal interaction

An important theme, apparent in the Tracy and Parks research and Gray (above), and recurring across a wide range of the previously mentioned research, is the role of questioning in legal interaction, since for many of the domains question and answer mode is central. Archer (2005: 16) notes that "powerful participants control and constrain the contributions of non-powerful participants in today's courtrooms through their use of questions" and demonstrates how these practices developed in the historical setting (1640–1760). Like Gibbons (2003: 95), Archer (2005: 197) finds two main kinds of questions: information-seeking and confirmation-seeking. And Jones (2008), following Johnson (2002) and Newbury and Johnson (2006), distinguishes between *so*-prefaced information- and confirmation-seeking questions, in her study which focuses on police interviews with white British and Afro-Caribbean suspects. Eades (2010: 181–2) notes the importance of Jones's findings: police asked the white suspects more information-seeking *so*-prefaced questions, while with the Afro-Caribbean suspects they asked more confirmation-seeking *so*-prefaced questions, providing "less scope for the suspect to present their own version" of events. Heydon (2005: 117–146) too deals with this idea of *versions of events,* showing the ways in which "topic management resources" enable police interviewers "to formulate a suspect's narrative as a police version which excludes contextual information provided by the suspect" (Heydon 2005: 145–6), thereby emphasising culpability and guilt. Harris (2001: 71) points to the power of questions in the courtroom in a similar way, particularly the way questioning "fragments" the narrative and privileges the institutional framing of questions. Coulthard and Johnson (2007: 102) show that much of a narrative can be contained in

lawyer questions rather than in witness answers, through confirmation-seeking questions that require only *yes* or *no* responses. Heffer (2005: 114) provides quantitative results which suggest that "counsel in CHIEF appear to use over three times as many narrative elicitations and over twice as many requests for specification" whereas "counsel in CROSS appear to prefer CONFIRM requests through declaratives and tag questions", showing that examination-in-chief is more open and cross-examination more restrictive in terms of witness response. When it comes to children in the courtroom, questioning practices become even more salient. Brennan (1994) and Aldridge and Wood (1998) are among a number of researchers who point to the unfair use of complex questioning with child witnesses, both in police interviews and in the courtroom, and Holt and Johnson (2010: 21) discuss the syntactic and pragmatic complexities of a cross-examination question directed to a 15-year-old child. The question in (4) contains multiple embedding (indicated by the bracketing), negative polarity (*incorrect to suggest*), dummy *it*, the subjunctive, and a non-finite verb (*to suggest*), rather than the more direct subject pronoun plus finite verb form *I suggest*.

(4) Courtroom cross-examination question (quoted from Brennan 1994: 216) (my mark-up).
    Would it be incorrect [to suggest[that it was not so much a tripping] [but [because of the state of inebriation of yourself], that you fell over]]?

Holt and Johnson (2010: 22) note that "the complexity and power of cross-examination questions is not in their syntax alone. It is their pragmatic force that makes them powerful. […] these linguistically tactical questions draw their effect from the fact that the talk is designed to 'make a witness acquiescent' and make material significant for the hearer (a jury) in terms of 'displaying evidence'". Cotterill (2010: 353) draws our attention to the asymmetrical "interpersonal dynamics of courtroom interaction" through a series of examples which show witnesses challenging the relevance of the question posed by the lawyer. She shows that witnesses who resist aggressive cross-examination questions do so at some cost, categorising the speech act as "rebellion", since the special conversational maxims (Grice 1975) that apply in court require witnesses to answer questions, not ask them, to answer them truthfully, but without speculating, and to be responsive: they cannot say nothing, unless it is self-incriminatory. In her examples witnesses are frequently rebuked by judges for flouting the maxims, telling them *you have to answer questions that are asked of you* (Cotterill 2010: 366) or *I'm afraid you can't ask questions like that* (Cotterill 2010: 368). Given this brief survey of questioning, it is clear to see why it has received such widespread attention in the analysis of legal discourse to date. Questions do a lot of important interactional work at the heart of which is institutional dominance and control. None of this work focuses on the act of quoting, and that is what this chapter contributes to the foregoing work.

2.3.   Saying what is said in legal questioning: an interactional sociolinguistic approach

In this chapter I focus on a particular aspect of legal questioning that has received little attention to date: saying what is said through reporting and quoting a witness's words as a pragmatic resource within two domains: police interviews and trials.[2] Drawing on what is available in other parts of this handbook, the chapter uses a combination of interactional discourse analysis, conversation analysis and corpus-driven discourse analysis approaches (Part 1, chapters 3, 4 and 8). The analysis here draws on an interactional sociolinguistic approach, in that it sees talk as social action in which there are inter-speaker constraints that produce variation (Finegan and Biber 1994: 316). Police officers and lawyers have institutionally-derived conversational dominance, which includes macro-level social dominance in terms of role (professional questioner versus lay respondent; differences in the distribution of knowledge) and local and micro-dominance, such as control of topic, or power derived from formal and informal naming of the interviewee in the course of questioning, as in (5) from the trial *David Irving v Penguin Books Ltd and Deborah Lipstadt* (2000), which we examine in section 3. The cross-examining barrister produces two questions (turns 40 and 42). In the second (42) the direct naming produces a threat to "positive face" (Brown and Levinson 1987) in the way that it explicitly points the finger at Irving in a question that exposes his inaccuracy (turn 40) and then asks him to explain why he told lies on oath.

(5) Cross-examination of David Irving by Richard Rampton QC on Day 3 *Irving v. Penguin Books Ltd and Deborah Lipstadt (2000)*.
40 Q. *The answer you gave yesterday was wrong, was it not?*
41 A. *That is correct.*
42 Q. *Why was it wrong, Mr Irving?*

From a sociolinguistic perspective, we know that language varies according to two dimensions: the user and the uses to which the language is put (Holmes 2008: 9). This means that who is speaking and what they are doing with that language and why is important, and in the legal context this is particularly salient, along with the where and when components. For example, imagine that you are a person accused of murder and you are in the witness box in a courtroom during your trial. In an adversarial system, such as the Anglo-American system, you will first be questioned by your own side – that is by your defence lawyer. Then you will be cross-examined by the opposition – the prosecution barrister. Who is speaking to you varies and the talk they use varies too. Friendly questions differ greatly from unfriendly questions in cross-examination. That is what is meant by an adversarial system. Apart from variation according to user and use, individual variation encoded in the linguistic choices of style that each user makes – "stylistic variation" (Rickford and Eckert 2001: 2) – needs to be accounted for, alongside the institutional con-

ventions of a particular role. We will see how rhetorical choices in lawyer style affect stance and power in cross-examination.

In all of this, "the context of situation" (Halliday and Hasan 1985: 10) – the who, when and where dimensions of language – is crucial to our understanding of the interactional space of legal discourse. Who is speaking, when they are speaking, and where they are, are by no means simple and straightforward, because of the special features of the institutional context. For example, in relation to who is speaking, Heydon (2004: 29), employing Goffman's "participation framework" of *principal, author, animator* and *figure* (Goffman 1981: 226), shows us that in police interview openings and closings the participation framework employed is "one in which the police officer is assigned the role of *animator* but the roles of *principal* and *author* are assigned to the police institution", because the words are determined by the rules governing what must be said. There is an institutional "script" that must be delivered in order for the officers to fulfil their "institutionally defined goals" (Heydon 2004: 29). The when and where dimensions are also complex, as the temporal and spatial situation of a police interview is multidimensional. Coulthard and Johnson (2007: 63) use an example from a police interview, where an interviewee (IE) is giving his account of an assault (6).

(6) Police interview with suspect (author's data).
IE. I knew [victim's name] was stoned as well as pissed. I knew that she'd drunk quite a fair amount and I knew that she was stoned.
IR. You're saying to me that you knew that she was drunk and high on drugs. Is that what you're-
IE. -yes.
IR. I'm sorry you- everybody must understand exactly what you're saying er ok then.

Coulthard and Johnson (2007) explain that three simultaneous realities exist. First there is the distinction between what Gibbons (2003: 147) calls the "primary reality" of the interview room (*IR: You're saying to* me) and the "secondary reality" of the event in the past that is being talked about (*IE: I knew [victim's name] was stoned*). The third reality is the future reality of the courtroom, where the interview may be heard by the judge and jury, which is invoked when the interviewer (IR) says *everybody must understand exactly what you're saying. Everybody* is ambiguous for the interviewee, because he may believe that it relates to the people in the interview room: the two police officers, the suspect and his solicitor, but as Coulthard and Johnson (2007: 63) explain "the interviewer's invocation of a wider audience for the talk, though the use of *everybody*, cues the future and overhearing audience: a judge and jury in a courtroom". The presence of the tape recorder in the room is the only signal to the interviewee of this future audience, apart from the oral caution that he has received.

The multi-temporal nature of courtroom talk is most starkly seen in (7) from the judge's summing up in the Harold Shipman murder trial (2000). Shipman was

convicted of the murders of 15 of his patients by injecting them with lethal doses of morphine.

(7) Harold Shipman trial (2000). Judge's summing-up monologue to the jury, Day 52.
In cross-examination Dr. Shipman was reminded of Detective Constable Beard's evidence as to what Dr. Shipman had said on the 14th August 1998 when interviewed by Detective Constable Beard and the Home Office drugs inspector, Mr. Calder. Dr. Shipman told you that so far as he was concerned he had told them the truth.

(7) shows us two temporal events within a third: cross-examination, interview and summing-up. Shipman's words in interview, which he was reminded of in cross-examination, are indirectly quoted in the summing-up: *Dr Shipman told you that […] he had told them the truth*. In the Harold Shipman trial the summing-up took 10 days (Days 43–52) in the 58 day trial. This speech event is addressed by the judge to the jury after they have heard all the evidence and the lawyers' closing speeches and comes immediately before they deliberate on the evidence. Time and place is complex in this example, as is the syntax.

The idea that context is something preformed, static, and unchanging is insufficient, however, for a full theory of the context of talk, and conversational analysts and anthropologists, in particular, have added to our understanding of the importance of context through their analysis of naturally occurring spoken texts. Hanks (1992: 53) talks about context as "dynamic", changing from moment to moment and actively constructed by participants in talk, and Goodwin and Duranti (1992: 31) have a view of context that means that talk is shaped by and also shapes the context in which it is situated. They say, "Instead of viewing context as a set of variables that statically surround strips of talk, context and talk are now argued to stand in a mutually reflexive relationship to each other, with talk, and the interpretive work it generates, shaping context as much as context shapes talk". This means that the way that participants position each other through their interactional choices and the way that particular sequences of turns at talk change the context from conversational to formal, for example, affect the meanings that are made. To understand legal discourse, then, we need a theory of context that takes account of the macro-social categories of who, what, where, and when, but also of the micro-social elements of talk, constructed through, for example, the choice of constructing a turn with a quotation from a speaker's prior turn, as we will see in the courtroom data in section 3.

2.4.   Legal data: opportunities, limitations and corpus-based discourse analysis

In the legal domain it is often impossible to get access to audio- or video-recordings. The contemporary courtroom discourse that I refer to and use in examples is from publicly available official transcripts of English trials and there is no audio-

recording available. This means that the transcripts have not been made by linguists and therefore do not contain pauses, intonational information or hesitations. However, the police interview data referred to is taken from my own transcriptions of audio- and video-recordings and so a richer transcription can be made, allowing a fuller analysis of linguistic phenomena.

The analysis here is also corpus-driven, since all of the data is electronically held, allowing us to perform corpus-based analyses and understand legal discourse in terms of empirically-based observations. This means, for example, that we can use concordances, such as in Figure 1, to look at all the examples of a particular linguistic form. We can identify patterns of collocation and "collocational frameworks" (Renouf and Sinclair 1991: 128), such as *what X X saying*, which produces: *what you are saying, what I am saying, what he is saying* and *what it is saying* (Figure 1).

```
1                     I do not know what you are saying about Minsk, but it may not matterD4
2   had been going on in 1942, is that what you are saying? D6
3   Not at slave camps either? Is that what you are saying? D7
4              Do you understand what I am saying? D6
5                               What are you saying if you are not saying that? D7
6      but Wolff was in a position, what I am saying is Wolff was close to Hitler D5
7                   That is what he is saying, is it not? D6
8   to liquidate ourselves". That is what it is saying, is it not? D6
9                      Yes. What it is saying is, we make space for Jews coming D5
10                 and what he is saying is this: "Look, leave Galen for the D4
11           I take it what you are saying means that Hitler having addressedD3
12  And that is completely contrary to what you are saying to these Australians, is it not? D4
```

Figure 1.   Concordance of *saying* (12 of 95 lines) in barrister Richard Rampton's crossexamination questions to David Irving. Sorted two to the left, to show the pattern: *what X X saying* (Trial days are shown at the end of the concordance line e.g. D7 for Day 7).

A corpus-driven approach assumes that patterns are observable in large datasets and will emerge from the data (Sinclair 2004: 10) and that these patterns of meaning are not accessible through intuition or from pre-assigned grammatical and structural categories. Small corpora (of 250,000 words) are particularly suited to looking at all the examples of a particular word, whereas this is impossible in large corpora (Lüdeling 2008: 165). When the corpus is restricted to a specific legal domain, it is possible to look at how a verb such as SAY is used, with the assistance of computer programs such as *Wordsmith Tools* (Scott 2010). In addition to concordances, *Wordsmith* can identify frequent clusters in the data. In the *David Irving v. Penguin Books Ltd and Deborah Lipstadt* (2000) trial clusters of SAY with *you* were found: *you say Mr Irving, do you say that, what you are saying, why do you say, you say this I, you say that you, you are saying what, then you say this, so you say*. We shall examine the frequency, distribution and functions of some of these in legal discourse.

While the corpus-driven approach allows us to find frequent patterns of meaning, a complementary method is to use a discourse analysis or conversational

analysis approach, which allows us to look at interactional sequences of talk. It is not sufficient to know, for example, that SAY occurs in clusters with *you.* It is important, too, to examine this use in interaction. This enables us to find that SAY is used cohesively with other verbs of speech reporting (e.g. *told* in example 7 above) and with the "cognitive verbs" (Fetzer 2008: 384) *think* and *know.* In our examination of data extracts, the sections that follow aim to provide a fuller understanding of how saying and quoting in legal discourse is done and how legal institutional meanings are made in the processes of making evidence.

3.   Making evidence through quoting in police interviews and in trials

Police interviews and trials with suspects, defendants and with other witnesses are characterised by two major categories of participant: the professional institutional participant and the lay speaker, and by inequalities in the distribution of power and control. Lay witnesses are questioned by the police in relation to the alleged offence and what they say in answer then and in court becomes material for repetition, quotation and comment.

3.1.   Saying what is said in police interviews: seeking acceptance and doubting

The most frequent verb (after BE, DO and HAVE) in a set of 10 police interviews (in total approximately 90,000 words) is the verb SAY with the forms *said, say* and *saying* being the most frequent. Of these three forms *say* is most key[3] (when comparing its frequency against the British National Corpus BNC), followed by *saying*, making the present tense and the present progressive forms interactionally more salient. This preference for what is being said in real time characterises police interview interaction and justifies a close look at the functions of SAY in this discourse type. If we look at all the examples of *say, saying, to say* and *says* (excluding past tense *said*), we can see something else about this process when we look at the most frequent collocates, as Table 1 shows. The most frequent immediate left hand word class is the pronoun, with *you, he, she, I* occurring in descending order of frequency. We can also see pronouns in the L2 collocates (that is two to the left of SAY). This pattern shows us that the stative function of SAY is being invoked in real time, as we can see in line one of the concordance in Figure 2, where we can also see other patterns with pronouns. The collocates also show us two boundary features. Frequent right hand collocates are the next turn marker and the *no* response, shown also in an example (line 9, Figure 2). This reflects the use of SAY in questions which check the state of knowledge so far and attempt to get agreement on that state (line 9). The frequency of *no* as a right hand collocate shows us that interviewees recognise and resist this institutional action.

Table 1.   Most frequent left and right hand collocates of SAY (excluding *said*) in police in-
            terviews

Left hand collocates (L1 and L2)		Node word, SAY 427	Immediate right hand collocate (R1)
L2	L1	say 267	R1
did 108	you 128	saying 100	that 60
what 33	he 58	(to) say 42	anything 52
you 21	to 44	says 11	to 46
when 16	you're 21		he 28
so 12	she 19		you 26
she 10	didn't 12		[Next turn marker] 15
was 10	were 9		then 11
and 10	I'm 7		no 11

```
1                              You say you made a grab for the knife
2                   Is that what you're saying?
3                        Did he say anything?
4                   Is that what you're saying she said?
5                        When you say a drink you mean a cup of tea
6                        So you say it started about 9 o'clock
7                        And you say you don't like him.
8   So is it possible, then, that she was saying to you 'no'?
9           [IR]   Is that what we're saying? [IE] No
```

Figure 2.   Edited concordance of SAY showing L1 and L2 pronoun collocates

In this selection of examples there are four instances of the *you say* collocation, but
this does not mean that the same meaning is produced. In line 1 the *you say* formula
introduces a repetition of something the suspect has just said, but, as we shall see in
courtroom discourse, it produces a meaning that doubts the suspect's position
(lines 4 and 8 also produce a pragmatic effect of doubting). In this case the suspect
has been arrested for stabbing his girlfriend multiple times and is giving an account
of how he got his own injuries (a cut hand) and implies a contrast with what she
says or with what the police believe. The *when you say* example (line 5) clarifies
the meaning of something that has been said and the *so-* and *and-*prefaced ques-
tions (lines 6 and 7) function, as discussed in Johnson (2002), to summarise and
resume the narrative with the police officer telling the story in the witness's words
and formulating it as a question with assumed confirmation. The examples with
saying (lines 2, 4 and 8) come in turns where the police officer repeats or summa-
rises the gist (Garfinkel and Sacks 1970; Drew 2003) of what the witness has said
and then asks for confirmation of that institutional version in the *is that what you're*

saying question, which we have already seen in Figure 1 from the Irving trial cross-examination questions. The penultimate example (line 8) introduces an alternative hypothesis about what a rape complainant was saying. As Heritage and Watson (1979: 2–3) and others point out, these institutional *formulations* often involve "transformation of the syntactic and semantic framework" and these are therefore powerful tools in making the evidence institutional and converting it in status from lay to professional discourse. Power is manifested in the control that allows the institution to preserve some aspects of the original and transform others, making it difficult for the interviewee to dispute the utterance. In relation to line 8, we see, as Tannen tells us, that reported speech does not always involve quotation of something that has been used in prior speech. This is not something the suspect has said; it is "constructed dialogue" (Tannen 2007: 112). We also see the way the *you say* pattern is linked to a second verb in the *you say he/you* + Verb pattern (exemplified in lines 1 and 7). The final example (line 9) is particularly interesting as it uses the inclusive pronoun *we* to further increase the coercion to agree.

What all these examples have in common is a specialised set of legal, rather than lay, meanings produced with SAY. The stative function is formal and made in the high-stakes context of stating on oath, as evidence and for the record, silently invoking the caution (*say anything … given in evidence*). Crucially for the lay participant, this set of meanings is less likely to register as having been performed and makes the institutional meaning of SAY in police interviews a powerful legal tool, below the level of notice for the lay participant. What is clear is that there are two important actions (amongst others) performed with SAY in saying what is said: that is, doubting a witness's version of events, and attempting to seek acceptance of an institutionalised, formal, evidential, legal version of events. Lay language becomes legal and institutional, preserving aspects of the lay talk in a professional and privileged form, making it socially available.

3.2.   Saying what is said in the contemporary courtroom: *David Irving v. Penguin Books Ltd and Deborah Lipstadt* libel trial. Appropriating the voice of the other.

Moving from the interview room to the courtroom, SAY is also the most important verb in this legal discourse domain (after BE, HAVE and DO and along with THINK and KNOW). Taking as my data a corpus of the defence barrister, Richard Rampton's, cross-examination questions from this 32-day trial, and David Irving's answers to those questions, I have a corpus containing around 286,000 words:

Rampton's questions: 156,921
Irving's answers: 128,879

The trial was held at the Royal Courts of Justice, London, before Justice Gray with no jury. Richard Rampton, QC, defended Lipstadt, and Irving conducted his own

case as *pro se* litigant. In the examples that follow, I focus on a particularly important pragmatic resource of defence advocacy that strikes any analyst of this trial, and that is Rampton's use of Irving's own words against him.

3.2.1.   You say + *quotation*

The first pattern with SAY is the use of the *you say* + quotation pattern that is revealed in the collocates of SAY. *You* is the most frequent left hand collocate of *say* and quotation is frequently to the right of the node word in a concordance (see Figure 2). For example, when questioning Irving on his own diary entries, which Rampton does to try to expose Irving's illicit activities in the Russian archives, while researching for his books, the following quotation form is used with SAY: *You say: "I tucked the envelope with the glass plate into a hiding place before reentering"*. This production format allows Rampton to report Irving's speech in the *you say* reporting clause and then to animate Irving's words (Irving is the author), appropriating the *I* of the other. As in the police interviews, this makes the present relevant, but in this case Rampton brings what was said in past time and makes it present, through the act of reading from the diary text that he holds in his hand as a material object. Figure 3 shows a pattern within the *you say* + quotation pattern: *you say this* + quotation. *This* serves to mark the quoted speech with a proximal deictic, which marks the action of bringing the quoted speech, from another time and place, into the current space of the courtroom, making it more vivid and stylistically marked for emphasis and accusation.

```
1               And you say this in the last paragraph: "Now you probably D4
2 Right at the end, you say this: "My position remains unchanged, that D4
3      about which you say this. I am reading from the top of the page: "At D7
4               You say this: "But just imagine the omelette on their faces" D7
5          Then you say this: "I am prepared to accept that local Nazis D6
```

Figure 3.   you say + quotation, marked with deictic *this*

As Hanks (2005: 193) tells us, *this* is one of the linguistic expressions that is part of the "deictic field" along with "the positions of communicative agents" such as speaker and addressee and "the positions occupied by objects of reference". In this case the speaker category is multivoiced, since Rampton is voicing Irving's words. Irving is also doubly an object in the deictic field, indexed as a person in the *you* deictic and indexed through the use of his diary as a material object in the field. This strategy enables Rampton to ventriloquize (Tannen 2007: 21) and animate the voice of the other: the claimant, on behalf of his clients: the defendants. In this way Rampton uses Irving as his own attacker as he is "thrust into a position" (Hanks 2005: 193) as an object of reference.

3.2.2.   You say + *direct quotation + probing question*

The *you say* + quotation pattern is only the start of a communicative act and what immediately follows is usually a probing question, extending the pattern to *you say* + direct quotation + probing question. We see this in a discourse sequence from cross-examination (8). The pattern is found in the first lines (in bold in turn 153).

(8)   *You say* + direct quotation + probing question in cross-examination, Day 15.

153   Q. I think it should. Then you close the quote from Lord Hailsham and **you say: "Traitor No. 1 to the British cause". What do you mean by that?**

154   A. Lord Hailsham, these were records that were in 1988 just released from the Public Record Office, Cabinet records, and they reveal Lord Hailsham, who later became a Lord Chancellor, I believe, having said at a Cabinet meeting in 1958 in a totally negligent manner that he did not think that immigration into Britain was going to be a problem and that so far only 100,000 had arrived, and he thought it would not go to more than that.

155   Q. And why does that make him a traitor, No. 1 traitor?

156   A. Because it is the duty of the custodians of government in this country to look ahead and to try to ward off any kind of misfortunes and tragedies that may otherwise befall the country which is put into their guardianship.

157   Q. So what you are really saying is they have an overriding obligation to safeguard the racial purity of the mixed bag of mongrels of Anglo Saxons, French, Celts, Irish and goodness knows what all that you call "English", is that right?

158   A. I am not sure that the British or English would be very flattered by the "mongrels" that you have called them. If I were to use language like that, I could be rightly and justifiably accused of vilification, of defamation and possibly even of racism.

In extract (8) we see that the probing question is used to provoke Irving, giving him his own racial attitudes in the quotation, in order to try to elicit racist speech as evidence in the courtroom. Irving tries to resist (154), rather than answering the question about what he meant by the words "traitor […] to the British cause". Rampton persists (155) by repeating his question. When Irving still replies in what Rampton considers a guarded manner, he provides an even more direct provocational statement, which he attributes to Irving with the *so what you are really saying* frame. He "re-keys" or recasts the conversation, changing the "tenor" (Tannen 2007: 23) from Irving's guarded prejudice to blatant racism, a tenor which is recognised and named by Irving metalinguistically: *If I were to use language like that, I could be rightly and justifiably accused of vilification, of defamation and possibly even of racism* (turn 158). Johnson and Clifford (2011: 66) discuss this example too, describing Rampton's approach as "doing incredulity with a straight face". In this extract and many others like it, Rampton does his job through the use of the pro-

bing questions, after confronting Irving with his own quoted words, and, whether Irving is provoked to produce racist speech or not, the chosen quotation in the initial question does its job of bringing into evidence and into the public arena Irving's racist attitudes.

3.2.3. *You said … You say …*

We noted that *said* was a frequent word in the police interviews and it is also frequent in the trial data, though we have so far concentrated on the importance of the present and present progressive forms of SAY, those that situate the quoted speech in the immediate and primary reality of the courtroom. In (9) we see one of the patterns of use with *said* in the cross-examination data: its co-occurrence with *say* in the *you said … you say …* pattern (the two turns are marked with bold). This pattern contrasts the past with the present, bringing two realities into play simultaneously, in order to present Irving as an unreliable witness: a liar, and therefore to strengthen the defence case.

(9) Rampton's question turns only, Day 3.

26 Q. Could you turn, please, to the page numbered 289? It is the top left-hand block on one of the pages.

28 Q. I was asking you if you remember why it was that you had translated "Judentransport", a singular word, as Jews in general?

30 Q.**You had said, you can see it there, can you not, that it was a silly misreading of the word. You said at line 19: "I admit I made a mistake in the transcription"?**

32 Q. This was your sworn evidence on oath yesterday?

34 Q. **Now** would you please turn to the first page of your new bundle?

36 Q. The translation you have made for us kindly ----

38 Q. --- 23rd January 1974, where you have transcribed it correctly?

40 Q. The answer you gave yesterday was wrong, was it not?

42 Q. Why was it wrong, Mr Irving?

[…]

54 Q. You realized then ----

56 Q. --- that this is one of the points that I was going to make against you, did you not?

58 Q. It has been repeatedly made, has it not? Yet, when you come into the witness box to answer questions on oath, you simply pluck an explanation out of the air, do you not?

60 Q. What is the truth, Mr Irving? You did not misread it, that is clear.

62 Q. No. So yesterday's answer was a false answer.

64 Q. **You now say, "Well, I may have mistranslated it, but my translation was, on the face of it, legitimate"?**

In order to make the contrast between the past and the present, Rampton uses two pairs of lexically cohesive words: *said/say* and *there/now* (in turns 30/64 and 30/34 respectively). The "referential indexicals" (Silverstein 1976) *there* and *now* point to two objects in the deictic field. With the first (*there* turn 30) Rampton is pointing Irving to a transcript of his own words from a previous day of the trial. The second is another material object "the first page of your new bundle", which is pointed to with the indexical *now* (turn 34). The repetition of SAY in the past and the present through the *said/say* pair, further marked first with the distant spatial *there* and then with the immediate temporal *now,* does the pragmatic work of casting doubt on the veracity of Irving's testimony, presenting as it does two different versions, only one of which can be true. This allows Rampton to metapragmatically label the testimony as *wrong* (turns 40, 42), *false* (turn 62), and to direct an accusation at him, formed as a tag question: *when you come into the witness box to answer questions on oath, you simply pluck an explanation out of the air, do you not?* (turn 58).The contextual "shifters" (Silverstein 1976) *there* and *now*, which work with the temporal shift between past and present SAY, set up a new context for accusing the witness of lying on oath, a tactic of defence advocacy that benefits the defendants. Marking the opposing realities for the witness, simultaneously marks them for the court, making the unreliable witness maximally visible and available for uptake by reporters.

3.2.4.   So you say

Unreliability is also marked with the fixed expression, *so you say,* used by Rampton in cross-examination, and found 14/372 times in a concordance of *say*. Three of these occurrences are accounted for by one interactional sequence (10), where we see that the pragmatic force of this is: *I am doubting you.* This is another resource of defence advocacy to suggest an untruthful witness in cross-examination. The *so you say* response (though marked in the Q and A format as a question) is in bold (turn 322). This sparks a long discussion about its meaning. (The repetitions of the phrase and the discussion of meaning is also shown in bold).

(10)   *So you say,* cross-examination, Day 14.

320   Q. When I asked you about this document before, it was ages ago, you denied ever having seen it.
321   A. Now I am seeing it for the first time, yes.
322   Q. **So you say.**
323   A. I beg your pardon. I am on oath and, if I say I am seeing this for the first time, then I am seeing it for the first time.
324   Q. Mr Irving, you have said many things on oath which I simply do not accept, so we can get past that childish stage of this interrogation.
325   A. **I think this is probably the time to have it out. Where you think I am lying on oath, then you should say so.**

326   MR JUSTICE GRAY: **He is saying so.**

327   MR RAMPTON: **I am doubting it, Mr Irving.**

328   A. [Mr Irving] **My Lord, he is not saying when. He is just alleging in broad terms.**

329   MR JUSTICE GRAY: **Mr Irving, that is not right. Let me make it clear to you. […] I think it is fair to say that every time Mr Rampton is challenging the truth or credibility of what you are saying, he has made that clear in his questions.** […] If you think that he is not making his case clear at any point, then you are entitled to say, what are you asking me, Mr Rampton? What are you putting to me? But on this particular document, I would like to know whether you do or do not challenge its authenticity.

336   A. [Mr Irving] I think for the purpose of today I will accept that it is genuine, but it has these blemishes to which I may refer later on. **But to suggest that I have seen this document before is inaccurate and untrue.**

337   MR RAMPTON: **I have not said that yet, Mr Irving.**

338   A. **You said "so you say" and the record shows that.**

339   Q. **I do say "so you say" because I doubt your answer, and I will tell you precisely now why I doubt it, as I always do, because I am not allowed to make that suggestion unless I have a basis for doing so.** It has been in Gerald Fleming's book "Hitler und die endlosung" ever since 1982.

340   A. I have not read that book.

341   Q. You have not read that book?

342   A. It has been sent to me twice by Gerald Fleming, once in English and once in German, and I have not read that book.

The conversation between the judge and Irving (turns 328–336) makes clear to Irving that the phrase means that his words are doubted and underlines the power of the Court, which Philips (1998: 87) describes as "the ideological framework of courtroom control" emanating from the judge. Rampton returns to the examination (turn 337) and the metatalk between Irving and Rampton (turns 336–339) completes the work of doubting, started by the *so you say* (turn 322) by, as Rampton says, giving *a basis for doing so* (turn 339). This particular meaning of SAY is surprisingly absent from the *Oxford English Dictionary's* long entry on SAY as a verb, though *says you* and *sez you* are there with the meaning "used in the present tense to convey doubt about, or contempt for, the remark of a previous speaker" (*OED* online). In the legal context it is used for particular effect in cross-examination and this analysis illustrates the range of previously undocumented meanings that SAY can have and the specialised uses to which it can be put.

3.2.5.   What X said was … *Constructing authority*

In 3.2.3 we looked at the past tense form in combination with the present. Although, as in the police interviews, the preference is for the present tense, present progressive and non-finite forms (*say, says, saying, to say*), the past tense form, *said,* does important work, particularly in combination with other forms of SAY, as we see in example 11 below. In Rampton's cross-examination questions to Irving, some of the most frequent left hand collocates of *said* are: *you, I, he,* and *Hitler* (Table 2)

Table 2.   Pronoun collocates to the left of *said* in cross-examination

L1 collocates of *said*	Occurrences and %	Referring to	Example
you	78/313 25 %	Irving	***You said****: "I find the whole Holocaust story utterly boring"* D14
I	36/313 11 %	Self*	***I said*** *it is a letter from Greiser to Himmler.* D5
He	29/313 9 %	Sources and experts	*"Jews must be treated like tuberculosis bacilli,* ***he said****, using his favourite analogy. Was that so cruel when one considered that even innocent creatures like hare and deer to be put down" (the German word was getturtit)*[sic][4]. D12
Hitler	26/313 8 %	Hitler as a specific source	*Mr Irving, come on. This is not the playground. My expert has given the correct account chronologically. He describes how on 16th, Horthy said, "But surely I cannot murder them?" and* ***Hitler said****, "There is no need for that. As with the Slovakians, they can be put in concentration camps".* D12

However, in the use of *I,* Rampton does not always refer to self. 20 % of these uses are in quotation where Rampton is re-enacting a dialogue between Irving and an interviewer or from his diary. Here Rampton is therefore performing the *I* of Irving, rather than the self. And many of the uses of *he* refer cohesively to Hitler (as in the example in Table 2), adding to the importance of quoting that particular speaker. Hitler's speech is quoted to Irving in order to try to provoke him, since one of the defences to the libel by the defendants is that Irving is a Hitler apologist and that that is part of his anti-Semitism. In addition, an analysis of a concordance of *said* in Rampton's cross-examination finds that 61 of the 313 occurrences are accounted

for by the collocational frame (Renouf and Sinclair 1991) *what X said (was)*. This collocational frame does the work of constructing authority through what expert witnesses say. In our final extended sequence (example [11]) we see the words of an expert witness for the defence contrasted with the words of the complainant, Irving. In this way the two sides are brought head to head, with the defence constructing themselves as superior through the authority of the expert with the result that the claimant is positioned as weak.

(11)   Day 29 (end of cross-examination and defence case).

1323 Q. This is the date, is it not, Mr Irving, on which in effect Hitler, having declared war on the United States and thus having brought about a world war, declares war on the Jews?

1324 A. No.

1325 Q. **He says to them**, does he not: "Right, mates, you brought about the first war, I told you that you would be for it if there was a second war. Now this is it. Face the music".

1326 A. Actually, the declaration of war was the next day.

[…]

1340 Q. It is quite an important point so, if your Lordship does not mind, we will find out, on the best authority, when it was declared.

1341 A. I think it is a "Who wants to be a millionaire" question, is it not?

1342 Q. Not really, I think.

[…]

1346 MR RAMPTON: Perhaps we can bypass the good Dr Goebbels, my Lord, because this is Professor Irving writing his Goring book in 1989ish, I think, page 337. "It is probably only now that he", that is probably Hitler, might be Goring, "learned that the Japanese had attacked Pearl Harbour. At the Reichstag session on December 11th Hitler declared war on the United States".

1347 A. I found it at the same time, yes.

1348 Q. **Well, who is right? You or you?**

1349 A. This time you are right.

1350 Q. OK, the 11th.

1351 A. Luckily I am not a betting man.

1352 Q. Lucky you have not lost a million quid, yet.

1353 A. I would have phoned a friend if I had one.

1354 Q. Mr Irving, this was a very important speech, was it not?

1355 A. No.

1356 Q. The day after the declaration of war on the United States?

1357 A. It was the usual Adolf Hitler pep talk. He did not often see the Gauleiters. He did not like the Gauleiters. **He said** to Martin Bormann after Rudolf Hess went, "Keep the Gauleiters off my back".

1358 Q. **What he said was**: "You Jews, I threatened you, I promised you, you have got it coming to you, and now it is here because the world war has begun".

Coming, as it does, at the end of Rampton's cross-examination and at the end of the defence case, the use of this collocational frame (turn 1358), to construct authority, by correctly quoting Hitler's threat to the Jews at the start of World War Two, is particularly powerful. It marks the end of the case and the defence signs off whilst in a superior position, at the culmination of a cross-examination which has, as we have seen, caught Irving out on many occasions. The rhetoric of the turn: *Well, who is right, you or you?* (turn 1348), cannot but have occasioned humour for the audience, in the seemingly impossible reality of two *yous*. Behind this clever question is a duplicitous witness, who has to concede: *This time you are right* (turn 1349).

4.   Conclusion

We have seen that saying what is or what has been said is a key activity in legal talk. This is evidenced in the frequency and keyness of the forms of SAY and the work it does in a wide range of activities in the interview room and the courtroom. There are a range of collocational patterns, frames, and fixed expressions, including *you say* + quotation, *what X said,* and *so you say,* which are used to do pragmatic work, such as provoking, providing authority, and doubting. We have seen how interviewing and cross-examination has a preference for present tense, present progressive and non-finite forms of SAY and this makes the focus of saying what is said rooted in the primary reality of the questioning activity, rather than in the past. SAY is used by institutional speakers, police interviewers and cross-examining barristers for arguing and stance making and some of the patterns allow the lawyer to ventriloquize and animate the voice of the other side making it present and, with the help of deictic markers, time shifting. Actions of seeking acceptance and doubting are performed across the two discourse types and quoted speech is framed, transformed, performed and ventriloquized. Deictic marking, repetition and stylistic choices produce rhetorical power. Micro-social linguistic and pragmatic choices link to macro-social actions:

– professional activities of marking place, time and speaker: where/when/who and of seeking acceptance of a version of events and doubting another;
– appropriating the voice of the other to favour the own side's case, producing a reversal of power as another's words come under other side or judicial control;
– creating a materiality of speech through quotation, making the ephemeral "real", present and tangible and "truthful".

– contrasting what was said with what is said *now* and *here* to construct truth and lies and to construct evidence within a defence case;
– shifting and fixing states of knowledge against legal and moral discourses of the time.

There are a number of larger-scale socio-legal implications of the uses of quotation in questioning in police interviews and courtroom discourse that this chapter helps us to understand. First (as we saw in 3.1) quotation selects lay words and preserves, but also transforms, them in professional police interview talk, privileging the particular function the professional quoter chooses. By having their words taken into the professional domain, the suspect loses control of their own voice, as it is appropriated for evidential meaning-making. The courtroom is truly polyphonic, containing multiple voices that the barrister can interpret. Most powerful, perhaps, is in cross-examination, when barristers voice the witness they are questioning. When they assume the *I* in direct quotation, they make the witness listen to themself and question their own words, as they hear them ventriloquated in the mouth of another. Without a recording to listen to, we can only guess at the intonational transformations that make them more unpalatable. Not only are the words appropriated and transformed but also an identity is de- or reconstructed, and in cross-examination this is always to the detriment of the witness and for the benefit of the party being represented. In quotation the professional can also put selected speech head-to-head (sections 3.2.3 and 3.2.4), to present opposing realities as simultaneous. In the *you said/you say* formula, where the witness said one thing in the past and is saying another thing in the present, only one reality can be true in the legal context and the witness is therefore presented as unreliable. The simultaneous presentation of conflicting versions of a witness's testimony exposes their identity legally and socially as a liar. Another head-to-head construction is the witness versus the expert in the *what X said* formula, which constructs authority in the expert witness, either to oppose (using an expert from the opposing side) or to provoke (using a voice with which the witness sympathises). Both mechanisms employ contrast as a strategy of defence advocacy, marking the unreliability and duplicity of the witness for the court. In doing so, these pragmatic effects are made visible and available to the public for social disapproval and approbation, making the public evaluators and jurors of the evidence. Quotation itself is a marked resource as it marks a context-shift that is controlled, in the cases here, by the institutional speaker. Along with the quotation mechanism (the SAY verb and direct or indirect speech reporting), the professional can make the speech present tense or shift from past to present to make what was said in the past co-present for the audience, whether or not the quoted person still holds that view (3.2.1). This strategy moves the quoted material from the private sphere (in Irving's case from his most private of materials, his diaries) to the public one, making his written diaries "speak" in the present, no longer to self, but now to the world. All these shifts (shifts of sayer,

from written to spoken, and of time and place, or from private to public) thrust the quoted material into a different sphere of reception and make it first legal and then social property for evaluation. Stylistic marking, using proximal deictics and referential indexicals (*this, now*) is employed for emphasis and to make speech more vivid adding to the "theatricks" (Maryns 2013) of advocacy, techniques that are part of the professional narcissism and overt display that seeks notice both in the public arena of the courtroom and beyond. Quotation takes the personal and makes it professional and legal; then the legal becomes social, as it is available for social and moral adjudication.

Notes

1. Reference is restricted here to work on spoken legal language, although there is a similarly rich literature on written legal texts such as statutes, wills, contracts, judicial opinions etc. For example, see Johnson and Coulthard 2010 for a summary. Solan and Tiersma's (2005) book: *Speaking of Crime. The Language of Criminal Justice,* considers the role of language across the whole judicial system, as does Cotterill's (2002) collection.
2. See, though, Galatolo (2007: 195–220) on "active voicing" in courtroom interaction, Holt and Johnson (2010: 30–33) on reported speech in legal talk, and Matoesian (2000: 879) on "intertextual authority in reported speech" in a rape trial. See also work on formulation in conversation analysis, defined by Garfinkel and Sacks (1970: 350) as where "a member may treat some part of the conversation as an occasion to […] summarize, or furnish the gist of it", such as by Drew (2003) and Komter (2006).
3. Key-ness is defined by Scott (2010: 165) as when a word's "frequency in the text when compared with its frequency in a reference corpus is such that the statistical probability as computed by an appropriate procedure is smaller than or equal to a p value specified by the user". The *appropriate procedure* is the one done automatically by *Wordsmith* (Scott 2010) and the *p value* is the program's default of 0.000001.
4. In the trial transcript the German word is mis-transcribed as *getturtit.* The correct spelling is *getötet* (meaning 'killed').

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20.   Electronic discourse

Miriam A. Locher

1.   Introduction

This chapter deals with *electronic discourse* by discussing the pragmatics of language use in computer-mediated settings. In many so-called first world countries, accessing the Internet by means of a computer or a smartphone, etc. has become an everyday activity for many people. In only little more than twenty years of publicly accessible Internet access, the use of computer-mediated forms of communication has developed from primarily information websites and email exchanges to highly interactive and social forms of Internet use. In Crystal's (2011: 149) words, "[t]he Internet is the largest area of language development we have seen in our lifetimes. Only two things are certain: it is not going to go away, and it is going to get larger". While the 2000s have seen an increase in multi-modal uses of computer-mediated communication (CMC) in that video messaging (e.g., in YouTube), the exchange of pictures (e.g., flickr) or three-dimensional virtual worlds (e.g., Second Life) are popular, written "language" is still the primary means by which communication is achieved (Wilbur 1996, in Crystal 2006: 9). In Yus' (2011: 28) words, "[i]n the past, Internet-mediated communication was basically text-based, and even nowadays the text typed by users is essential in virtual interactions". As such, linguists started to study language use and by now we can look back on research from two decades. In the continuation of Crystal's (2011: 149) quotation above, he rightly points out that "[t]he challenges facing linguists are considerable, as they move towards the goal of formulating a sophisticated theoretical and applied Internet linguistics. But that, of course, is the basis of its appeal". In this spirit, this chapter attempts to first address the object of study by looking at the names given for the research domain (Section 2), before discussing electronic discourse as a moving target, and highlighting that offline and online communication are more often than not intertwined (Section 3). Section 4 is dedicated to identifying research approaches to electronic discourse, before discussing Facebook as an example of a Web 2.0 practice, i.e. multi-modal interactive CMC, in Section 5.

2.   The object of study: a name for the research domain

"Electronic discourse" and "digital discourse" (Thurlow and Mroczek 2011b) are just two terms for language use by means of computer-mediated technology. The linguistics community has been looking around for an adequate label for the re-

search domain for some time now, proposing a number of alternative terms (see Crystal 2011 and Jucker and Dürscheid 2012 for an overview of terminology). Looking at this work, it transpires that the labels also reflect the development of language use as such. Susan Herring (2013), one of the pioneers in research on language use on the Internet, first used the term computer-mediated communication (CMC), before propagating the study of computer-mediated discourse (CMD) (see Herring 2004a for a discussion of the difference between CMC and CMD); in 2013, she now argues that the term should be adapted so as to incorporate the new use of multi-modal means of communication:

> […] CMC itself has been undergoing a shift, from occurrence in stand-alone clients such as emailers and instant messaging programs to juxtaposition with other content, often of an information or entertainment nature, in converged media platforms, where it is typically secondary, by design, to other information or entertainment-related activities (Herring 2009; Zelenkauskaite and Herring 2008). This phenomenon, which I refer to as convergent media computer-mediated communication (CMCMC), is especially common on Web 2.0 sites. (Herring 2013: 4)

In fact, Herring (2013) goes on to argue that CMCMC is largely synonymous with Web 2.0 uses (see below for a definition of Web 2.0). David Crystal, another prominent researcher on electronic discourse, used the term "Netspeak" in his 2001 publication, a term that seemed to imply a unified form of language use common to the Internet. Taking into account the development of the Internet itself, he distances himself from a unified reading in 2011 by acknowledging that language on the Internet is diverse:

> The stylistic range has to recognize not only web pages, but also the vast amount of material found in email, chatrooms, virtual worlds, blogging, instant messaging, texting, tweeting and other outputs, as well as the increasing amount of linguistic communication in social networking forums (over 170 in 2011) such as Facebook, MySpace, Hi5, and Bebo. Each of these outputs presents different communicative perspectives, properties, strategies, and expectations. It is difficult to find linguistic generalizations that apply comfortably to Internet language as a whole. (Crystal 2011: 10)

Some researchers have taken issue with the element "computer-mediated" in CMC or CMD, arguing that the term no longer adequately reflects current usage since it wrongly implies that the field of interest is restricted to the computer as a means of communication; others have argued that terms such as "digital discourse", "electronic discourse", "e-communication", "digitally mediated communication", etc. are too broad "since it would also include mass media communication via TV and radio, which is not in the focus of researchers analyzing language use in the new media" (Jucker and Dürscheid 2012: 40). For this reason, Dürscheid and Jucker (2012: 40) prefer the term keyboard-to-screen communication (KSC), which, for example, allows mobile phones and text messages to be included in the analysis in a more transparent way and can be characterized according to three main components: "a) primarily graphically realized, b) either in a one-to-one, a

one-to-many or a many-to-many-format and c) mediated by cell phones, smart phones, or networked PC tablets and computers". However, as technology develops, even the keyboard might become a misnomer in the future, notably when voice-recognition tools (speech to text translation) become more widespread in smartphones and computers. In this chapter, the well-established term computer-mediated communication is used to refer to instances of communicative events that can be studied under the more general label of electronic discourse (see also Herring, Stein and Virtanen 2013b, section 3.1). The term 'computer' is not intended to describe the tool only but stands for any means that allows electronic communication.

3.   The range of electronic discourse: a moving target

To discuss the range of CMC, it is worthwhile to look at its development once again. The early 1990s predominantly saw the use of email messages and information websites. Since then, in short order, the use has spread to encompass instant messaging, chat, blogs, virtual words, WiKis and social network sites. Within these types of CMC, we find a vast range of different styles and functions of language use (see Crystal 2011: 10, quoted above). In other words, while email messages might have originally been short and geared towards quickly passing on information, the range of functions for which email communication can be used nowadays spans a vast array of different activities. For example, email messages can be used for formal job applications and requests to authorities (leaning toward the "letter" as a close text type relative), as well as for quick and informal exchanges that might even lack address terms and farewell phrases and can be sent to individuals in close time proximity (resembling the exchange of instant messages, see also Jucker and Dürscheid 2012). Email is used for personal one-on-one communication as well as for reaching a selected group of people by adding multiple addressees or by using mailing lists that allow the quick and efficient distribution of content. The scope of use has thus increased with more people using email and with the sanctioning of uses over time. While there are certain aspects that remain constant (e.g., the addressee and subject headers, the possibility to add a signature line, etc.), what becomes clear is that there is no unified linguistic way of using this technological means and there is no one restricted function for its use. As linguists, we can be both interested in how this technical means developed as well as how different styles become linguistically manifest (see the next section for research approaches).

   With a view to the development of CMC, the buzzword *Web 2.0* stands for a turning point that refers to the more dynamic and user-shaped development of electronic discourse. Yus (2011: 93) aptly summarizes the changes in CMC that gave rise to the term:

> The Internet is under constant evolution and development. One of the most strikingly successful environments for virtual interactions and information transmission is the popularization of a new form of production and reception of information that avoids the traditional "pyramidal media communication pattern" based on an authority that unidirectionally filters and delivers Internet content to the mass of users. Instead, this new trend of informational dissemination feeds from the users through special interfaces for interactions and content sharing. This phenomenon, now consolidated, has been given different labels, such as *social networks*, Web 2.0 (see O'Reilly 2007), *wiki phenomenon, participatory culture* (Jenkins et al. 2006), *user-generated content*, *Me Media* (Garfield 2006), and *social software*, among others. (Yus 2011: 93)

While Yus particularly highlights the move away from typically hierarchical communication patterns to interaction and content sharing in his description of Web 2.0, in her study of the language of tweets on Twitter Zappavigna (2012: 2) especially highlights the social function of Web 2.0: "The social web, or Web 2.0, are popularized terms used to signal a shift toward the internet as an interpersonal resource rather than solely an information network. In other words, the social web is about using the internet to enact relationships rather than simply share information, although the two functions are clearly interconnected". Working with Hsu and Park's (2010) distinctions between Web 1.0 and Web 2.0, Zappavigna (2012: 2) presents a useful comparison of central features (paraphrased, italics added):

- The *mode of usage* is "read" in Web 1.0 and "write and contribute" in Web 2.0
- The *unit of content* is the "page" in Web 1.0 and the "record" in Web 2.0
- The *state* is "static" in Web 1.0 and "dynamic" in Web 2.0
- *How content is viewed* is achieved in a "web browser" in Web 1.0 and in "browsers, RSS (Really Simple Syndication) readers, mobile devices, etc." in Web 2.0
- The *creation of content* is "by website authors" in Web 1.0 and "by everyone" in Web 2.0
- Web 1.0 is the domain of "web designers and geeks", while it might represent "a new culture of public research" in the case of Web 2.0.

Next to a more participatory and relational use of language in Web 2.0, Herring (2013), Thurlow and Mroczek (2011b) and Jucker and Dürscheid (2012) all point to the fast development of multi-modal communication and the convergence of practices that used to be separate.

In this light, Crystal (2011: 10) identifies three research challenges: (1) the "rapidly growing language corpus", (2) the "diversity of language encountered on the Internet", and (3) the "speed of change". The Internet provides us with a vast and growing corpus of language produced in computer-mediated settings, which offers a wide spectrum of language use. Challenge (3) is particularly noteworthy because language use collected from the Internet often presents a moving target. While some practices have already gone out of use altogether (see Crystal 2011: 138), others may cease to exist in the near future. Many researchers who are currently working with a corpus of data gathered a few years ago face the fact that the technological affordances have changed in the meantime. For example, researchers

working on status updates in Facebook (e.g., Bolander and Locher 2010; Lee 2011; Page 2012) were confronted with the interface changing the prompt for the status update from "What are you doing right now" to "What is on your mind". Potentially, this change in prompt might also influence the types of status updates produced. However, rather than seeing this as a problematic event per se, Lee (2011: 111) convincingly maintains that "[u]nexpected design (or affordance) changes such as these pose real challenges for internet researchers [...] but they are also a perfect opportunity for tracing creative adaptations in people's new media textual practices". This claim is also valid for other CMC data. As a consequence, there clearly is a need to be (even more) cautious when it comes to generalizing about practices and to pay particular attention to the time factor.

4.   Research approaches to electronic discourse

Linguistic research on CMC can look back on more than twenty years. Next to many research articles on CMC data published in linguistics journals and collections, there are dedicated journals such as the *Journal of Computer-mediated Communication*, *language@internet*, or the recently launched (and somewhat broader) journal *Discourse, Context & Media;* next to themed issues in the mentioned journals, a number of special journal issues dedicated to CMC have been compiled (e.g., *Journal of Sociolinguistics* 2006, edited by Androutsopoulos; *Journal of Politeness Research* 2010, edited by Locher); and the number of edited collections (e.g., Beisswenger 2001; Beisswenger, Hoffmann and Storrer 2004; Danet and Herring 2007; Giltrow and Stein 2009; Gurak et al. 2004; Herring 1996; Herring, Stein and Virtanen 2013a; Rowe and Wyss 2009; Thurlow and Mrozek 2011a) and monographs in linguistics that exclusively deal with CMC is steadily picking up (e.g., Baron 2000, 2008; Beisswenger 2000; Crystal 2001, 2006, 2008, 2011; Heyd 2008; Hoffmann 2012; Janoschka 2004; Locher 2006; Markham 1998; Page 2012; Richardson 2005; Yus 2011; Zappavigna 2012). There are also many sources in media studies, communication studies or the digital humanities that linguists can draw on (e.g., Baym 2003; Markham and Baym 2009). What exactly linguists study when confronted with the potentially enormous corpus of language use on the Internet is of course influenced by their research agenda and training. Like in any research design, the research questions will call for different methodologies, ranging from qualitative, ethnographic work to large corpus studies, with a trend to use mixed methods (see Bolander and Locher 2013). Here it is possible to name only some of the large research strands and to give a number of literature pointers for each.

There is work that aspires to develop a *theoretical framework* by providing tools which allow us to describe and understand the developing patterns of CMC language use more generally. For example, Herring's (2007) faceted classification scheme constitutes an etic grid by means of which researchers can identify relevant

situational/social and medium/technological factors that *together* shape CMC practices. These facets help to describe the specifics of a particular dataset in a systematic way. The ten medium/technological factors comprise aspects of synchronicity, message transmission, the persistence of transcript, the size of message buffer, the channels of communication, the possibility for anonymous messaging, private messaging, filtering, quoting, and the message format. This open-ended cluster thus tries to grasp central technological affordances shaping the practice in question. At the same time, the fact that it is human beings who use language in the provided interface is taken into account by working with a set of situational/social factors, that are derived from Hymes' (1974) work on the Ethnography of Speaking, specifically from his SPEAKING mnemonic: the participation structure, the participant characteristics, the purpose, topic or theme, tone, activity of the interaction, the norms developed and invoked, and the code. By paying attention to both types of factors, one can avoid giving precedence to the medium factors. The tendency for early research to explain a pattern primarily by recourse to technical factors has been criticized as computer/technical determinism (see, e.g., Androutsopoulos 2006b; Baym 1995; Herring, Stein and Virtanen 2013b). In their critical state-of-the-art article, Jucker and Dürscheid (2012) also work towards providing a set of concepts that allow us to further our knowledge of CMC more generally. They question common parameters for discussing CMC practices in the literature, such as the "old dichotomies […] 'asynchronous' versus 'synchronous', 'written' versus 'spoken', 'monologic' versus 'dialogic', and in particular 'text' versus 'utterance'" (2012: 39). In some instances they argue for expanding the terminology (e.g., by adding "quasi-synchronous" to the first dichotomy) or for being more precise in the definitions. In other cases they argue for replacing concepts such as "text" and "utterance" altogether since they have become blurred in light of Web 2.0 developments. Instead, they propose that "the new realities of online communication" can be better captured with the concepts of "communicative acts" and "communicative act sequences". The former is defined as "all forms of ostensive communication" (in Sperber and Wilson's (1995) *Relevance Theory* sense[1]). This renaming of "text" and "utterance" allows the researcher to draw on all multimodal acts of communicating "irrespective of their monologic or dialogic context, irrespective of their synchronous, quasi-synchronous or asynchronous communication pattern, and ultimately also irrespective of their production in the graphic or phonic code or even in a non-verbal manner" (2012: 46). When such communicative acts form "strings of related units", such as Tweet sequences or chat contributions, Jucker and Dürscheid (2012: 46) speak of a "communicative act sequence".

There is a body of research that is dedicated to particular *modes of computer-mediated communication*, such as chat, blogs, e-mail, instant messaging, listserv, websites, wikis, interactive online games and worlds, social network sites, etc. In Giltrow and Stein's (2009) collection on *Genres in the Internet*, the question of "genre" is reviewed so that the data are studied with respect to their uniqueness and

difference to other, similar language use practices offline and online. This collection continues and goes beyond the discussion of much early work on CMC, which tried to pinpoint to what extent a CMC practice was influenced by oral or (print) written "counterparts". For example, chatroom interaction was often described as having oral features, and smileys were argued to compensate for the lack of facial expressions and to aid in the disambiguation of messages (see, e.g., Brennan 1998). The attempts at situating a set of chatroom data on the continuum from oral to written features ultimately resulted in many scholars arguing that the emerging written form of interaction is unique in its own right, while *at the same time* drawing on previous sources available to interactants (see, e.g., Crystal 2001). However, Dürscheid (2003), and Jucker and Dürscheid (2012: 44) convincingly argue that there is no doubt about the fact that chat interaction is presented in the *graphic code* rather than the *phonic code*, so that the previous discussion is more about the "conceptional dimension, i.e. the language of immediacy versus the language of distance". Continuing the discussion of how to best classify CMC modes, a number of papers have recently addressed the fact that research endeavors on CMC seem to be chasing the "novel". Both Herring (2013) and Thurlow and Mroczek (2011b) call for caution in this respect. The latter argue that:

> Technologies – even "new" communication technologies – are, however, often not as spectacular or revolutionary as many would have us believe (cf. Thurlow 2006). Indeed, they are usually embedded in complex ways into the banal practices of everyday life (cf. Herring, 2004[a]). Technologies are thus best understood as prosthetic extensions of people's abilities and lives, rather like the hearing aid and the paperclip (Keating, 2005; McLuhan, 2005 [1964]). (Thurlow and Mroczek 2011b: xxiv–xxv)

The authors are right in pointing out that there is no clear distinction between online and offline life. In fact, it should be stressed that it is the same human beings who choose from a number of means for their communicative purposes, electronic or not. Herring (2013: 1, italics in original) proposes to use the terms "familiar", "reconfigured" and "emergent": "phenomena *familiar* from older computer-mediated discourse (CMD) modes such as email, chat, and discussion forums that appear to carry over into Web 2.0 environments with minimal differences; CMD phenomena that adapt to and are *reconfigured* by Web 2.0 environments; and new or *emergent* phenomena that did not exist – or if they did exist, did not rise to the level of public awareness – prior to the era of Web 2.0". She argues that this classification helps to get a better handle on CMC practices and to steer away from making too large claims about the novelty of a practice.

Some research strands focus on how well-established linguistic topics like *interactional organisation* and different *activities* are managed in online contexts. There are studies on classic interactional linguistic topics such as coherence, turn-taking and floor management, (e.g., Herring 1999; Panyametheekul and Herring 2003) or code-switching (e.g., Androutsopoulos 2013; Siebenhaar 2003) in a number

of different modes of CMC. Examples for studies of "activities" can be found in research on disagreeing in blogs or online newspaper comments (e.g., Bolander 2012, 2013; Langlotz and Locher 2012; Neurauter-Kessels 2011, 2013; Upadhyay 2010), apologising in emails (e.g., Davies, Merrison and Goddard 2007; Harrison and Allton 2013), requesting in emails[2] (e.g. Economidou-Kogetsidis 2011; Merrison et al. 2012), or advice giving in a variety of contexts, including studies of peer-to-peer and professional-to-lay person interaction (e.g., Harrison and Barlow 2009; Kouper 2010; Locher 2006, 2010c, 2013; Morrow 2006, 2012; Placencia 2012).

Other work delves into particular online practices to understand the complex *emergence of situated relational and interpersonal language use*. For example, work has been conducted on how relationships online are created and maintained, and how community building online is achieved (Androutsopoulos 2006b; Baym 1995, 1998; Herring 2004a). Such early work is now complemented with studies on social network sites, which only started to boom in the mid 2000s (e.g., Bolander and Locher 2010; boyd and Ellison 2007; Jones, Schieffelin and Smith 2011; Lee 2011; Page 2012; Yus 2011; Zappavigna 2012). There is work that studies the negotiation of norms of conduct (e.g., Graham 2007, 2008; the special issue on im/politeness and CMC in the *Journal of Politeness Research* 2010 see below), or the construction of identities online (e.g., Turkle 1995; Danet 1998; Hamilton 1998; Locher and Hoffmann 2006; Planchenault 2010). Research on solidarity building or conflict has been conducted (Baym 1995, 1998; Bolander 2012; DuVal Smith 1999; Hardaker 2010; Kollock and Smith 1996; Korenman and Wyatt 1996; Langlotz and Locher 2012; Smith, McLaughlin and Osborne 1997; Zappavigna 2012), and there is a growing body of studies discussing politeness and impoliteness in CMC (e.g., Angouri and Tseliga 2010; Darics 2010; Fayard and De-Sanctis 2005; Graham 2007, 2008; Harrison 2000; Haugh 2010; Herring 1994; Hongladarom and Hongladarom 2005; Kouper 2010; Locher 2010b; Neurauter-Kessels 2011, 2013; Nishimura 2010; Planchenault 2010; Upadhyay 2010; Yus 2011).

The handbook on the *Pragmatics of Computer-mediated Communication,* edited by Herring, Stein and Virtanen (2013a), shows the spectrum of research quite nicely by being split into five parts. The first covers the "pragmatics of CMC modes" (including texts on email communication, listserv communication, blogging, real-time chat, instant messaging, text messaging, mobile phone communication and synchronous voice-based CMC); the second is dedicated to "classic pragmatic phenomena in CMC" (dealing with notions such as relevance, performativity, address, apologies, advice, deception), the third part is on the "pragmatics of CMC phenomena" (from email hoaxes, authentication and Nigerian letters, the maxims of online nicknames, to micro-linguistic structural features of CMC), the fourth part presents work on "discourse pragmatics of CMC interaction" (raising issues of rhythm, timing, the floor, coherence, repair, responses, small talk, politeness and flaming), and finally the fifth part discusses the broader perspectives of

code-switching, genre and narrative analysis. This brief overview of *Pragmatics of Computer-mediated Communication* shows that while the spectrum of research is vast, at the same time, research interests overlap to a certain extent. Scholars working on coherence and cohesion will do this by working on particular practices – for example, "chat" in the case of the contribution to the Handbook by Markman (2013), or blogs in Hoffmann's (2012) case. In this way, research will contribute to more than one of the areas delineated in the parts of the handbook, enhancing our knowledge of the mode of communication as well as how the interactional side is handled by people engaging in online chat or blogs.

In his introduction to the special issue on "Sociolinguistics and computer-mediated communication", Androutsopoulos (2006b) reflects on the research history of CMC, claiming that there has been a development in three waves. The first wave is characterized by looking for "a single, homogeneous genre or communication type" in CMC, as Herring (2007) phrases it. The second wave gives more attention to "the interplay of technological, social and contextual factors in the shaping of computer-mediated language practices", and the third ongoing wave of research on CMC highlights "the role of linguistic variability in the formation of social interaction and social identities on the Internet" (Androutsopoulos 2006b: 421). Georgakopoulou (2006) emphasizes the dynamics of interaction and stresses that variability should be embraced as a subject rather than considered to be noise. This latter perspective is also shared by Thurlow and Mroczek (2011a) in their recent collection. In addition and next to calling for research on discourse, ideology and technology, they especially call for an incorporation of the analysis of multi-modality in the CMC research toolkit (Thurlow and Mroczek 2011b: ix, xxv). This comment is particularly pertinent for the platforms that converge means of interaction. For example, Facebook allows microblogging in status updates, the uploading of pictures and video clips, the use of chat windows and messaging options, etc. In the next section, I will illustrate a number of examples of multi-modal practices.

5.   Illustrations of Web 2.0 practices taken from *Facebook*

While Facebook is only one of many possible social network sites (SNS) to choose from, it is a social internet platform that offers many forms of computer-mediated interaction previously found in isolation and thus, according to Lee (2011: 112), offers a Web 2.0 interface par excellence:

> *Facebook* clearly demonstrates multimodality (cf. Kress and van Leeuwen, 2006), intertextuality and convergence (Androutsopoulos 2010), and mash-up (cf. O'Reilly 2007) – the coexistence of various formerly separate web spaces and media in one single platform.

Table 1.   Visualization of the Facebook interface "home" in September 2012

Icons indicating new messages, friend requests, notifications.	Search box.	Links: "My name" (the account holder's wall), "Find friends", "Home".	The friends' latest activities are listed that are not displayed as independent events in the chronological news feed (e.g., comments, likes, etc.)
Facebooker's profile picture.	Prompt to update status ("what's on your mind?"), add photo/video.	Birthday and events reminders.	
Lists of the Facebooker's favorites, groups, apps, games feed, etc.	News feed: A list of activities by the Facebooker and his/her friends in chronological order, most recent at top. Prompts to 'like' or 'comment' under each new post.	Commercial ads.	A list of friends; a green dot next to the name indicates whether they are logged on and available for chat.
		Space for a chat window that opens only on demand.	

In what follows, I will use Facebook as an example of a social network site to illustrate a number of issues that emerged in a research project on Facebook data conducted by Brook Bolander and myself (see Bolander and Locher 2010; Locher and Bolander 2014).

SNSs boomed in the first decade of the 2000s (e.g., Facebook, LinkedIn, MySpace, Bebo). According to boyd and Ellison (2007), they are "web-based services that allow individuals to (1) construct a public or semi-public profile within a bounded system, (2) articulate a list of other users ['friends'] with whom they share a connection, and (3) view and traverse their list of connections and those made by others within the system". As pointed out by a number of studies (Bolander and Locher 2010; Jucker and Dürscheid 2012; Page 2012; Yus 2011; Zappavigna 2012) and indeed in the quote by Lee (2011) above, social network sites such as Facebook offer a platform for different multi-modal activities. Facebook users first need to establish a profile page where they can upload a profile picture and provide information by ticking boxes (e.g. on marital status, gender, hobbies, music/tv/ movie preferences, etc.). After this, a personal network is created by "befriending" other Facebookers, so that a network of people who can see each other's activities emerges. On the main interface itself (see the schematized visualization from 2012 in Table 1 of what you can see when clicking on "home"), users can write on their own or each other's "walls"[3], they can produce status updates, upload hyperlinks, videos and pictures. Status updates and other activities are displayed on the news

feed (home) interface in chronological order with the most recent post on top (second column at the bottom in Table 1). This space is the largest and most prominent in the interface. By means of a "like"-button, and the possibility to leave comments on activities, a dialogue can emerge.[4] In addition, many users send each other notes/messages similar to e-mail communication (managed within the platform, upper left corner of Table 1), and use the instant message window (a list of those friends who are online at the same time is displayed; lower right corner of Table 1). Furthermore, the platform offers manifold possibilities for activities such as virtual "poking", engaging in surveys, quizzes or games (apps, games feed; lower left in Table 1).[5] In the privacy settings, users also have the option of organizing their friends into groups and assigning different viewing/accessing rights.

Jucker and Dürscheid (2012: 61) argue that Facebook practices defy an easy typology:

> […] Facebook is a multiple-tool platform for which it is impossible to say whether it is quasi-synchronous or asynchronous, monomodal or multimodal, based on texts or on utterances, monologic or dialogic, mobile (via applications for smart phones) or stationary (via PC) and which can be characterized by a formal or (more frequently) an informal language. Thus, Facebook is all in all: the profile page, which provides information about the user, represents a monologic context, the chat window, which offers quasi-synchronous communication, represents a dialogic one; the language used in the chat conversation is typically in an informal style, the profile information typically in a more formal style. The distinction between public and non-public and between private and non-private is not clear-cut either. Status updates, for instance, may contain private topics, whereas other CAs [communicative acts], such as the user's profile information (hometown, sex, work or study environment etc.), are of a far less private nature. Furthermore, messages users send to each other are not public, whereas comments drafted on each other's wall are public (at least for all friends).

According to Facebook itself, "Facebook helps you connect and share with people in your life". The literature confirms that the platform's function seems to be primarily one of social connection (boyd 2009; Jucker and Dürscheid 2012; Page 2012; Yus 2011: 128; Zappavigna 2012). Hence, our own project aimed to study how relationships are created/maintained in the status updates (SUs) of Facebook users and in the reactions to these status updates (RSUs). To study these relational practices, we addressed linguistic identity construction in particular (see Bucholtz and Hall 2005). Before we turn to this focus, I will introduce our data.

Our data consists of the profile pages and the activities displayed on the walls of two focus groups of ten people each from German-speaking Switzerland (FG-S) and the UK (FG-UK) (overall we have 74 participants in the Swiss data set and 58 in the UK data set[6]). We chose one anchor person and then added those nine friends of the anchor person who had most ties among each other to each group. The UK group consisted of students, while the Swiss group of students and young professionals mostly in their twenties with a couple in their early thirties. However, these

people were not active in equal measures. All consented to us downloading their activities on their walls[7] (for further detail see Bolander and Locher 2010, Locher and Bolander 2014). The data was collected during two months in 2008/2009. Neither group is large enough to be representative of students/young professionals in general, or of Swiss or UK people. Our aim was to conduct a qualitative analysis of two groups of people who have ties with each other in order to understand better how the groups use language in Facebook.

First we established what our twenty Facebookers *do* on the interface. Overall, they engaged in twelve action types (a total of 481 in FG-S and 673 in FG-UK). We found that writing status updates was the most prominent category (n=227, 47 % for FG-S; n=248, 37 % for FG-UK). Other actions shown on the walls included system messages announcing activities such as writing on each other's walls, writing a comment on photos/sources/quotes, posting a source/quote, uploading photos, accepting a "gift" or similar items, becoming a fan, creating a group, announcing an event, writing a review, and system messages indicating game activities (Locher and Bolander 2014). Only the FG-UK showed considerable gaming activity. Further activities popular in Facebook, such as sending each other notes or engaging in chat window communication, are not visible on the wall and thus do not show up in the overview. We should also stress that much of the interface has changed in the meantime. As already mentioned, the prompt for the status update was "What are you doing right now?" at the time of collection and has changed to "What's on your mind". The 'like'-button was not in place yet, nor could people shown on uploaded pictures be tagged with their Facebook profile names. In addition, today the system generated messages on activities are filtered into separate feeds. The entire wall is nowadays also presented in a different manner (the so-called timeline). Nevertheless, the survey shows that Facebook users engage in a multitude of activities with the text-based status updates constituting the largest category.

Pursuing the question of relationships and identity construction by Facebookers, for our datasets we can confirm that "Facebook Friends usually already know each other in the offline world before connecting via the Facebook site" (Page 2012: 67). The platform allows one to share mundane everyday experiences in a microblogging manner (much like in Twitter, Zappavigna 2012), and to display what one finds humorous, endearing or noteworthy, from musings about one's own life to discussing politics, events, music or global warming. Page (2012: 72), using the concept of small stories (Georgakopoulou 2007) for the status updates, demonstrates how Facebookers draw on "expressive resources associated with affective discourse" to mark their contributions as worth telling. These resources are explicit appraisals (i.e. the stance taking of a Facebooker through the expression of affect, judgment or appreciation), and more implicit stance taking, expressed in "nonverbal displays of affective style" (e.g., emoticons, kisses or laughter, the use of intensifiers and boosters). Page (2012: 84) found that the use of these resources increased from 2008 to 2010 in her dataset.

   In our study (see Bolander and Locher 2010, Locher and Bolander 2014), we worked with the notion of "acts of positioning" (Davies and Harré 1990) and with an understanding of identity construction as emergent in interaction (see Bucholtz and Hall 2005). On the basis of these theoretical underpinnings, we found that both groups in our data implicitly or explicitly constructed identity categories in the status updates, by making claims about personality, pastime, work, humor and relationship (see Locher and Bolander 2014). "Personality" claims could be invocations of positive or negative stance taking such as signaling that one is happy, amazed, hopeful or apprehensive, bored, busy, etc. We claim that when such acts are repeated over time, the posters construct an identity that can be translated into something like "a happy person", or "a busy person". A special category is "humor", since "having a sense of humor", is a particularly valued trait. For this reason we treated this category separately from "personality". "Pastime" activities portray users as having interests, which can be translated as creating identities like, for example, "food lovers", "music geeks", etc. In the case of the category "work", we found references to bosses, being employed or to student life, which translates as invoking identity categories linked to the interlocutors' main occupations. Finally, the category "relationship" emerged in posts that invoke categories such as friend, fiancé/e, family, spouse, etc. More than one of these categories could be invoked in the same post. More often than not, the categories were implicitly invoked by connotations (rather than explicitly by lexemes such as, say, "friend", "spouse", etc.). We therefore needed to interpret the acts in a qualitative manner. Examples from the status updates of an individual from FG-UK are given in (1) to (5), with the categories and explanations in square brackets.

(1) Rose is looking forward to seeing her housies again soon! (posted on 1/1/2009)
    ["Personality": the update reveals her positive emotional stance; "Work": she is returning to her student life after the Christmas holidays, which is clear from her previous posts; "Relationship": she singles out the students she lives with and thus creates an in-group.]
(2) Rose the heating's working the heating's working the heating's working the heating's working the heating's working the heating's working the heating's working.
    [This was written hours after having posted 'Rose is freezing freezing freezing!'; "Humor": the hyperbolic repetition; "Personality": the update is revealing her positive emotional stance by means of the repetition.]
(3) Rose – Beyonce+Alexandra=amazing.
    ["Pastime": We learn about music tastes; "Personality": She is able to appreciate good things; "Humor": Word play by assembling the names into a mathematical equation.]
(4) Rose loves Christmas films … even if I always cry at the happy bits! :).

["Personality": we learn that Rose is compassionate and can easily be moved; "Pastime": We learn about film tastes.]

(5) Rose is getting down with the diss today, innit. (after Gilmore Girls that is …)
["Work": Rose is writing a dissertation and evokes the "student identity"; "Personality": She is procrastinating; "Pastime": We learn about her tv tastes; "Humor": By means of the informal *innit* and the comments on Gilmore Girls in parentheses and the ellipsis, she qualifies her resolution in a tongue in cheek way.]

In a qualitative analysis of these categories (checked by means of coder agreement[8]), 1100 acts of positioning emerged in 474 status updates. The groups constructed identities in the fields of personality (46 %), followed by pastime (26 %), humor (10 %), work (9 %) and relationship (9 %). Roughly the same distribution appears when we look at the two focus groups individually. What our Facebook users thus stress are personality traits and pastime activities. Despite the fact that people in both networks share similar occupations, work or study related issues are not as prominent as they could be. Finally, it is striking that the category "relationship" is not evoked as frequently as the others. However, in line with Thurlow and Mroczek (2011b: xxxiv), we would like to stress that "[n]o identity work happens outside of, or without a view to, relationships; acts of identity are also always acts of comparison, social distinction, and othering". In other words, the categories of personality, pastime, work, and humor also contribute to the creation and maintenance of relational ties by publicly creating in-groups and out-groups. The category "relationship" just does the same work in a more explicit manner.

Yus (2011: 131), quoting boyd (2011: 43), makes the valid point that much of the identity construction we witness might not be entirely controlled by the authors of the posts, since readers can use the comments to enhance, maintain or criticize a person's face. In our data, only about half of the status updates (SU) receive comments and these reactions (RSU) are supportive of the writer's stance in the majority of cases, and only rarely challenge the identity put forward (see Page 2012: 86–89).[9] One of the few challenges we found, which illustrates Yus (2011) and boyd's (2011) point, can be seen in (6):

(6) SU: *hard-disk des MAC kaputt, Rettung kostet 3000.-!!! und jetzt?!!!!??*
           'hard-disk of MAC is broken, Saving the disc costs 3000 !!! what now?!!!!??'
    RSU: *sicherheitskopie hervornehmen und weiter arbeiten…*
           'take out the backup copy and keep on working ..'

While the status update writer is asking for help and is indicating distress by the exaggerated use of exclamation and question marks, the writer of the RSU does not react to the level of distress at all. Instead, the writer implies that a conscientious computer user would have a backup readily available, and, since the SU writer did

not mention this solution herself, implies that she does not belong to this category. This kind of reaction and positioning of herself is probably not what the status update writer had in mind when posting her call for help.

The status updates in our data clearly connect to the offline life of the users and allow the readership to learn more about them. For example, Lauren creates the identity of a student by sharing her experience of writing an essay with her readership:

(7)   Lauren is clearly avoiding work. She is aware that she still has 900 words left to reach her target for the day. She just doesn't care enough to bother! [12/11/2008, 5:02pm]
(8)   Lauren has only another 1500 words left and is rather glad that she had the amazing idea of splitting everything into sections. [12/17/2008, 1:14pm]
(9)   Lauren has passed the 3,000 word mark meaning there's less than 1,000 words to go … I think I'll call it a day to be honest! [12/17/2008, 7:07pm]
(10) Lauren is preparing herself for the final push but just needs a bit of time to settle into it .. honest. [12/18/2008, 11:16am]
(11) Lauren has just 500 words left … joy of joys :). [12/18/2008, 12:43pm]
(12) Lauren is as good as finished. [12/18/2008, 2:40pm]
(13) Lauren's computer has just deleted her essay … it's gone … she's screwed :(. [12/19/2008, 11:24pm]

We follow her from the procrastinating phase on December 11 to the joys of almost having completed the task to the devastating news that the computer has crashed and her work has disappeared on December 19. An impressive example of how online and offline life is intertwined and how status updates can be used for identity construction is discussed in Lee's (2011) study of Peggy, who wrote Facebook status updates while giving birth to her child, thus allowing her friends to witness her transformation to a mother: "The story of Peggy also makes the case for the domestication of new media (Berker et al. 2005; Silverstone and Haddon 1996). Being 'always on', as she was, certainly blurred the boundary between Peggy's online and offline lives, and between her public and private personae" (Lee 2011: 123).

While Peggy reports on a life-changing event, the majority of status updates in our data report on more mundane happenings. Zappavigna (2012: 38), working on tweets, argues that "[…] microblogging can be seen as an ongoing performance of identity" and goes on to explain that the act of sharing the mundane might be

> the human desire for affiliation: we exist within communities of other voices with which we wish to connect. The stances we adopt and observations and evaluations we share all exist relative to the meaning-making of the other members of our social network and to all other potential networks of meaning. In other words, we perform our online identities in order to connect with others. (Zappavigna 2012: 38)

This comment is clearly also valid for our Facebook data. What is striking in both Lauren's report on her work progress, as well as in Peggy's account of her birth experience is that Facebook is not the primary activity that they are engaged in at the time of writing the status updates. They are working or in the hospital, but use Facebook either on their computer or smartphone to keep people informed about their progress. Jones, Schieffelin and Smith (2011) give further evidence of how interwoven the practices of the users can be. In their study they discuss how teenagers use instant messaging to discuss norm violations committed by their "friends" in Facebook. In other words, the interactants have access to an interface that allows them to have both Facebook and the Instant messenger open, while probably engaging in a number of other activities in their physical surrounding or on different Internet platforms/computer applications. They send each other references to the offending Facebook posts in the Instant messaging interface, and thus interlink the practices. Jones, Schieffelin and Smith (2011: 27) show how in "[g]ossiping about these online [Facebook] activities of absent others, the teens in our study use IM to establish and affirm shared moral stances […]," and thus engage in negotiating identities discursively.

Finally, we should point out that acts of positioning do not only occur in the status updates or the activities that Facebookers engage in. Jones, Schieffelin and Smith (2011: 40) describe the Facebook interface as rich in stance "insofar as it provides contexts in which users generate visual and verbal representations of identity, taste, affiliation, and membership for others to respond to". In Bolander and Locher (2010), we adapt Zhao et al.'s (2008: 1824) work, to distinguish between more implicit and more explicit ways of making identity claims. While creative language for implicit and explicit acts of positioning is used in status updates and comments displayed on the wall as discussed above, the profile page, which is set up at the very beginning of the Facebook experience, also entails acts of positioning. These can be explicit acts of self-labeling, such as indicating one's gender or sexual preferences, as found in the basic information section. More implicit acts are performed in the sections on the profile where users are invited to write freely about themselves (narratives in the "about me" sections) or list their likes in an enumerative way (the "self as consumer", Zhao et al. 2008: 1824). Finally, by posting pictures of themselves (in the profile and on the wall), the users make implicit claims about themselves as "social actors" since, "[i]t is as if the user is saying, 'Watch me and know me by my friends'" (Zhao et al. 2008: 1825). Such identity claims through pictures are made on the basis of "showing without telling" (cf. Zhao et al. 2008: 1825). In Sunden's (2003: 3) words, "[p]rofiles are unique pages where one can 'type oneself into being'" (quoted in boyd and Ellison 2007) and they interact with the creative use of written status updates and other activities that Facebookers engage in.

6.   Conclusion

This overview article on electronic discourse started out by claiming that linguists took up the challenge to study this vibrant and evolving field of language use and can already look back over more than twenty years of research. The search for a name of what we are studying when looking at computer-mediated communication mirrors the different concerns and developments in the field itself and is not over yet. After a discussion of such concerns, I moved on to reviewing a number of research strands, from the development of theoretical approaches and tools for systematic description of CMC, to the exploration of modes and genres, the interactional organisation of activities, and the complex emergence of situated relational and interpersonal language use. The discussion of Facebook as one of the popular Web 2.0 platforms showed how intertwined online and offline action can be.

In Section 3, it was reported that Crystal (2011: 10) identifies the speed of change as one of the research challenges for linguists. The brief comments on the quickly changing interface in Facebook since 2008 make clear that reproducing our study with a more recent dataset derived from a comparable group of people will be difficult. However, qualitative studies can never easily be reproduced, so that this comment will not come as a surprise and it is nevertheless possible to build on each other's knowledge. In the same vein, it will also not be easy to mirror large quantitative corpora a number of years down the road when so many of the technical factors may have changed in the meantime. In addition, next to the fast shifts in technical developments, research on electronic discourse has shown that interaction online is no less complex and no less tied to the negotiation of social conventions and norms than offline interaction.

The more the modes merge in Web 2.0, the more the researchers are forced to work on ways in which to account for multi-modality. Thurlow and Mroczek (2011b: xxv) remind us that "[m]ultimodality is – or at least should be – a 'taken-for-granted' in new media studies. It is increasingly regarded as a core concept in sociolinguistics and discourse analysis more generally [...]". It is important to highlight that the last part of the quotation calls for more attention to multi-modality in general and not only in CMC research. At the same time, we can also call for more transfer from face-to-face research methodologies to CMC data (see Bolander and Locher 2013). (For example, when looking at virtual worlds such as Second Life, we are indeed confronted with many of the same problems that face-to-face researchers confront when making data accessible that is derived from videos recorded from different points of view). Acknowledging to a greater extent that online interaction is inventive, creative and evolving, but ultimately conducted by the same people who engage in offline interaction and who draw on this experience, allows us to shift our attention to what Herring (2011: 346) repeats as research desiderata (already mentioned in [2004b: 34]): to "consider more deeply the question of what determines people's use of mediated communication" and to theorize "[i]n

addition to technological determinism, the effects of time, familiarity, and mass popularization". She adds that it is time for "synthesizing, distilling, and extracting core insights from the available corpus of empirical digital discourse studies" (Herring 2011: 346). In connection with Crystal's (2011) three challenges – the "rapidly growing language corpus", the "diversity of language encountered on the Internet", and the "speed of change" – this leaves us with plenty of work to do in the future.

Acknowledgments

Notes

1. Yet another theoretical approach is represented by Yus (2011), who uses the Internet as a pool of data to work on questions of cognition and interpretation, drawing on relevance theory in his 'cyberpragmatic' approach.
2. This growing body of work especially also uses a contrastive, cross-cultural, variational and interlanguage pragmatics approach.
3. You write on a friend's wall by clicking on the name of the person, which directs you to this person's interface.
4. The comments and 'likes' can typically be made by anybody who is a friend with the person who posted the item in the news feed, or if it is a public account by anyone at all. They are displayed in a threaded manner below these posts. Depending on the privacy settings in Facebook, which are constantly evolving, 'everybody' or 'friends of friends' or 'only friends' can see them. As a consequence, you can start being in a dialogue with friends of friends, who are not in your own network.
5. In the past, the system generated posts on apps/games activities also showed on the Facebooker's wall and home, while they now appear in separate feeds, probably in order to avoid clustering of the news feed.
6. The study design is not contrastive with respect to 'culture' and we do not interpret the groups as representing their countries of origin.
7. The wall interface only shows the Facebooker's activities and the reactions by other people to these activities. It can be accessed by clicking on the name of the Facebooker. In contrast, the newsfeed shows all activities by the entire group of friends.
8. The coder agreement was at 80 percent and any remaining problems were resolved after discussion between the two authors.
9. Jones et al. (2011) show how teenagers use instant messenger to discuss controversial Facebook posts of their friends. In other words, the challenging of an act of positioning can occur in a different medium than in Facebook itself.

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21.   Press releases

Geert Jacobs

1.   Introduction

This article looks at press releases, those short, typically one-page, written texts that are issued to the media on behalf of a wide range of organizations, from businesses and government agencies to political parties and not-for-profit organizations. It is aimed at demonstrating that, situated on the borderline between media discourse and professional communication, press releases are not just socially relevant; in spite of the limited attention they have received from discourse scholars, they are also linguistically very interesting.

As far as the social relevance of press releases is concerned, a wide range of analytical approaches to the media ranging from classic news sociology to anthropological accounts of the news, have indicated that journalists invariably write from sources in general, and that they draw on press releases and other PR ready-mades in particular (see, for example, Hall et al. 1978 on the impact of official, elite sources). Indeed, it was sociologists and mass communication specialists who first drew attention to the news production process and who, in investigating how political and economic relationships underpin the media business, introduced useful concepts, such as *pro-active news management* (Schudson 1978) and *gatekeeping* (Shoemaker 1991). The titles of some of these studies refer to journalism as an industrial process, e.g. Tuchman's (1978) *Making News: A Study in the Construction of Reality* and Fishman's (1980) *Manufacturing the News*. They are part of a long and wide-ranging tradition reaching from Boorstin's (1961) concept of *pseudo-events* and Galtung and Ruge's pivotal 1973 article on newsworthiness to John B. Thompson's (1990, 1995, 2000) more recent work on mediazation. Clearly, one important component in the news production process is the press release. Turk (1985) and Morton & Warren (1992a, 1992b) have investigated how heavily reporters depend on press releases. Recently, Davies (2008) has suggested that journalists have come to do no more than recycle press releases, making them "churnalists".

Somewhat surprisingly, relatively little research has been conducted on the micro-level of textual practices, the linguistic nitty-gritty, of the news production process. As recently as approximately two decades ago (and long after the high of news sociologies), Allan Bell's (1991) book on the language of news media was the first main reference as far as the discursive analysis of journalists' professional news-making routines is concerned. This article presents an overview of what has been done in the linguistic analysis of press releases since this publication, as well

as pointing to possible avenues for future research. Also, close attention is paid to how the study of press releases has been inspired by developments in linguistic pragmatics.

Tying in with the articles on genre analysis and move structure in this volume (cf. Samraj this volume, Tardy and Swales this volume), it is interesting to note that in one of the few linguistically oriented analyses of press releases, Lassen (2006) even raises the question as to whether they constitute a genre of their own in the first place. Her answer, in the end, seems to be that they do not: drawing on a small corpus of press releases in biotechnology, Lassen argues that press releases may be seen as a genre on the basis of selected textual features that will be dealt with in greater detail below. Eventually, however, she concludes that they do not qualify for the genre label in terms of communicative purpose (see Askehave and Swales 2000 for a thorough discussion of the problems of genre identification and communicative purpose). Instead, Lassen claims, press releases are to be treated as media-channels which support a variety of communicative objectives from making announcements to conveying responses. She concludes that whether we want to "dethrone" press releases from the genre status depends on our "application needs" (506) and on the angle (that of the reader or the writer, or of a teacher who is trying to demystify the secrets of professional writing routines) from which we enter the complex social arena in which press releases are meant to function.

With this last comment, Lassen points to what may be one of the main reasons why, genre or not, press releases continue to be largely underexamined, viz. the fact that they find themselves on the borderline between two traditional fields of inquiry, both of which – in turn – have always been somewhat on the periphery of discourse study in their own right: media discourse and professional communication. From the perspective of the writer, press releases are to be situated in the broad domain of professional communication, with all sorts of organizations (businesses, political parties, etc.) as well as individuals issuing printed public statements to the press with the central aim of convincing journalists to use them in their own news reporting. It could be argued that this constitutes the central common communicative purpose, one that justifies the application of the genre label. At the same time, the unique *raison d'être* of press releases has to do with media coverage and the study of press releases cannot afford to ignore these "uptake" aspects. This explains why press releases have been looked at from differing perspectives, both from the perspective of professional discourse and from the perspective of media discourse. At the same time, since press releases do not strictly qualify as either, they continue to occupy a rather insular position in discourse studies.

The first part of this article links press releases to a number of key concepts in linguistic pragmatics, including *participation framework*, *intertextuality*, and *entextualization*. In particular, the analysis is focused on a wide range of special metapragmatic features situated in the fields of deixis, discourse presentation and performativity. I show how press releases are heavily "preformulated", i.e. I show

how self-quotation and third-person self-reference are employed to construct them in such a way that they can be copied easily by journalists in their own news reporting. The second part deals with more recent developments in today's increasingly technologised mediascape. It is shown how the rise of internet PR and on-line press release distribution services has started to create a new location for so-called *e-releases* to play their mediating role, leading to a hybridised discourse type combining traditional preformulation with new, overtly persuasive features drawn from direct mail (including superlatives, direct reader address, imperatives and emphatic all-capital typography). In addition, in line with the mission statement of the international NewsTalk&Text research group (see NT&T 2011), this article will argue for a linguistics of news production, one that is aimed at unravelling the complex entextualization processes underlying the use of press releases both at the PR office and in the newsroom. Finally, the analysis of press releases as print *information subsidies* is related to that of various forms of oral interaction within the domain of news-making and news management.

2.   Projected discourse and preformulation

Bell's (1991: 59) claim that "[a] story which is marginal in news terms but written and available may be selected ahead of a much more newsworthy story which has to be researched and written from the ground up" can be seen as the starting-point of the linguistic analysis of news production in general and of press releases in particular. This section will first explicate the unique participation framework underlying the PR-journalism relationship (2.1). Next, it will demonstrate how the highly intertextual character of press releases results, among others, in a wide range of special metapragmatic features in the areas of deixis, discourse presentation and performativity (sections 2.2–2.4).

2.1.   Projected discourse

One debate that has been central to the development of pragmatics and that is also particularly relevant to the study of press releases concerns how the traditional dyadic communication model fails to even begin to account for the complexity and messiness of everyday interaction. Clearly, hardly any verbal interaction is about a single speaker or writer addressing a single hearer or reader. It was Hymes (1974) and Goffman (1981), and later Levinson (1988), who pioneered the idea that language use can only be properly investigated in the context of the real participation status of all parties involved. While most innovations in this area were made in the analysis of oral, especially multi-party, interaction, it has been shown that some of the same messiness can be found in the use of written texts. As far as press releases are concerned, it has been argued that they can be seen as a special type of indi-

rectly targeted, projected discourse (Jacobs 1998, 1999a, McLaren-Hankin 2007):
the journalists who receive press releases serve as mediators and the journalists'
own readerships as absent ultimate destinations. What is meant by "projection"
should be clear from the following two extracts from cover letters (cf. example [1],
[2]) that were attached to press releases as they were sent to the media (emphasis
mine)[2]:

(1) We suspect that this information is likely to be of interest to your readers and
    therefore hope that you will be able to *pass it on* to them.

(2) Please find enclosed a press release. Would you be kind enough to *insert it* in
    your publications?

Clearly, from the writer's point-of-view, it is not enough for journalists to read
press releases carefully. They are meant to "pass them on", to "insert them" in their
own writing. Interestingly, projected discourse is reflected in what Clark &
Schaefer (1992), following Sacks, Schegloff and Jefferson's (1974) notion of re-
cipient design, were the first to call *audience design*. This highlights the fact that
the special participation framework of press releases as projected discourse has an
impact on the language of press releases. Indeed, it has been shown that, in order to
facilitate reproduction in the media, press releases are typically *preformulated*, i.e.
they are written, prefabricated as it were, in an appropriate news style that requires
little or no reworking on the part of the journalists who receive them (Jacobs
1999a). Clearly, preformulation ties in with notions of intertextuality or, perhaps
even more accurately, "entextualization". Echoing the lines from the cover letters
quoted above, Bauman and Briggs (1990: 73) define entextualisation as "the pro-
cess of rendering discourse extractable", of facilitating its re-insertion into a new
interactional setting. The press release in Figure 1 illustrates, for instance, the use
of powerful, newspaper-like headlines, followed by a comprehensive "lead" para-
graph as well as a number of special metapragmatic features, most prominently
third-person self-reference, pseudo-quotation and explicit semi-performatives.
I will now briefly comment on each of these three metapragmatic features and in-
dicate how they fit in with recent developments in pragmatics.

Co-operative Financial Services Slashes Credit Card Fraud Rates with Adeptra Auto-resolution Technology

Unrecoverable card fraud losses fall by 70 %; on target for project payback in under six months

NORWALK, CT, USA and READING, UK – August 5, 2009 – Adeptra, the recognised leader in automated contact and resolution services to companies engaged in consumer credit and risk management, today announced that Co-operative Financial Services' (CFS) adoption of its Auto-resolution technology to tackle fraud, has led to unrecoverable card fraud losses falling by 70 %. Since implementation, CFS has reported a 35 % reduction in fraud.

Using Adeptra Auto-resolution to contact customers to verify suspected cases of fraud, CFS now makes around 12,000 calls every month, most of which are new calls that fraud analysts were unable to make previously. Loss per case has fallen by 50 %, largely because the system is getting to fraud cases quicker, and call centre operators are able to concentrate on the high-risk calls that they are trained for and find more satisfying.

Martin Kent, MI and analysis manager at CFS Financial Crime Management commented: "We could see card fraud increasing in line with the industry-wide rise of 14 %, and recognised that we needed to become more efficient in dealing with fraud, and to reduce our exposure through an automated solution." He continued: "Adeptra was the obvious choice due to its impressive track record, integration ability and its domain expertise in fraud – and card fraud in particular."

The project has delivered unprecedented payback and, partly thanks to CFS' proactive customer communications and bond with its customers, the self-service solution has been well received. As Adeptra delivers its Auto-resolution system in a hosted environment avoiding the complex issues of integration and testing, the project was delivered with minimum disruption to CFS' existing business, reducing internal costs and allowing CFS to maintain only a small project support team.

Lou Venezia, CEO of Adeptra commented: "With recent APACS research suggesting that UK fraud losses on debit and credit cards increased by 14 % in 2008, smart organisations like CFS are turning to Auto-resolution to intervene immediately to greatly reduce the time gap between the suspected activity and the customer being informed." He added: "Working with Adeptra, CFS is tackling this rising tide without the financial and time considerations associated with employing a significant amount of extra resource. Ultimately CFS is providing superior customer service through the increased peace of mind that it is adopting the most sophisticated and timely solutions to keep its customers' money safe."

Prior to launch, CFS conducted considerable customer communications to increase awareness of the solution, including messages on statements, information on the website and internal communications. CFS also worked with Adeptra on the script, quickly informing customers who the call was from and what it was concerning, so customers could be assured that it was not a spoof call. Customers can also easily switch out of the system at any point and talk to an agent – although most are more than happy to complete the entire transaction through the automated system.

With a Software as a Service business model, Adeptra's customers include 9 of the top 10 UK card issuers, 8 of North America's top 10 financial institutions, and 3 of the top 4 Australian banks.

ENDS

About Adeptra

Adeptra is the global market leader in Auto-resolution™: technology that automates key call centre interactions to reduce their cost and dramatically increase performance. Applications are fully integrated, industry-specific solutions for business processes such as fraud detection, payment reminders and opt-in marketing.

Distinct from less sophisticated auto-dialler systems, Adeptra combines recorded dialogue with state of the art natural language to reach out to individual customers and personally engage with then about important, time-sensitive issues. Adeptra is able to make thousands of customer contacts simultaneously and achieves higher levels of portfolio penetration and produces significantly better results than human agents alone. The resolutions it secures are delivered into clients' computer systems for reporting and analysis.

Among its many customers, Adeptra is used by the majority of leading retail banks in the United Kingdom and the United States. It occupies a premium position in the market by continually reinvesting in its technology, operations and service structure. Adeptra was the first to be accredited to the highest data protection standards mandated by the payment card industry (PCI DSS) and, uniquely has achieved this is both the US and Europe. For more information, visit www.adeptra.com

Figure 1.   Press release from journalism.co.uk

2.2.   Third-person self-reference

Following early work by Gumperz (1982), Ford and Fox (1996: 162) have argued that referential choices "are made not only to fit into, but also to manage and to transform conversational activities and participation structures". This can be seen in the press release displayed in Figure 1. Here, the organization issuing the press release refers to itself through the institutional voice, i.e. not in the first person, as "we", but in the third person, as "Adeptra, the recognised leader in automated contact and resolution services to companies engaged in consumer credit and risk management" (using the organization's proper name, followed by an elaborate apposition). This kind of marked departure from the normal deictic centre can be associated with what Brown and Levinson (1987) call point-of-view operations, with the writer switching out of his own perspective into the reader's. However, here, this switch does not serve a politeness purpose but rather one of preformulation, allowing the journalist to simply copy the reference in his own projected reporting. In addition, it has been argued that there is more going on in such "I"-less, "displaced" discourse than merely formal deictic projection (Jacobs 1999b). As well as

the referential function of identifying the source of the press release, the self-reference in the first so-called "lead" paragraph in Figure 1 also plays an attributive role: the definite description in the apposition indicates that Adeptra is "the recognised leader" in its field. Such an attribution is less than innocent – some would say it is uncooperative or even manipulative – in that the reader (including, crucially, the projecting journalist) is led to unquestioningly share its presuppositions.

Of course, the single press release in Figure 1 is just one instance of preformulating self-reference, which also includes the use of displaced time deixis (referring to "today" through the date, or even, through "yesterday", which can easily be integrated in daily newspapers) and space deixis (avoiding "here" and "there"). In addition, preformulation allows for more radically manipulative point-of-view operations, like in the following "bad news" headlines from press releases in examples (3) and (4):

(3) This integration will lead to a loss of 7 jobs.

(4) Wagons-Lits: Decrease of 97.5 jobs due to loss of railway catering

Here through nominalization nothing is changed in the propositional content of the headlines, but clearly a different degree of personal commitment on the part of the organization is expressed. However, a detailed exploration of these issues goes well beyond the scope of this article. Suffice it to say that a thorough analysis of the genre's deictic anchoring ties in with a wide range of topics that have been central to the field of pragmatics from its early origins.

2.3.   Pseudo-quotation

At the end of the Santa Cruz lectures on deixis, Fillmore (1975) suggested that another topic he would have liked to cover was the relation between direct discourse and indirect discourse – or quotation – as it is, in his view, also connected to deixis. This is also the case in press releases. The example in Figure 1 includes quotes in the third and fifth paragraphs. While both are interesting, it is the double quote in the fifth paragraph (attributed to Adeptra's CEO Lou Venezia) that I would like to look at more closely here (cf. example [5]);

(5) Lou Venezia, CEO of Adeptra commented: "With recent APACS research suggesting that UK fraud losses on debit and credit cards increased by 14 % in 2008, smart organisations like CFS are turning to Auto-resolution to intervene immediately to greatly reduce the time gap between the suspected activity and the customer being informed." He added: "Working with Adeptra, CFS is tackling this rising tide without the financial and time considerations associated with employing a significant amount of extra resource. Ultimately CFS is providing superior customer service through the increased peace of mind that it is adopting the most sophisticated and timely solutions to keep its customers' money safe."

There can be no doubt that we are looking here at what Bell (1991: 60) called a pseudo-quote, i.e. where the words "were almost certainly not verbalised by the named source[, but] written by a press officer and merely approved by the source (sometimes not even that)". And there can be no doubt that, apart from challenging traditional discourse presentation theory that quotes are a literal rendering of previously uttered words, such reflexive, constructed direct speech plays a preformulating role. We know that journalists rely heavily on quotes (cf. Bell 1991) and so the use of pseudo-quotes described above helps writers of press releases meet one of the major stylistic requirements of news reporting (cf. Sleurs, Jacobs and van Waes 2003, van Hout, Pander Maat and de Preter 2011). However, there is more to pseudo-quotes and preformulation than just meeting the stylistic requirements of news reporting. Rather, the distancing function of direct speech ("it's not me who said this") allows the writer of the press release to be a lot less objective than the average journalist would expect from a source to be copied verbatim. It is no coincidence that some of the most promotional language in the press release in Figure 1 is embedded in quotation: CFS is called "smart" because it has turned to Adeptra's services. These are praised as "the most sophisticated and timely solutions" on the market. Such superlative language would no doubt prevent even the most easy-going journalist from "projecting" the press release, if it was not for the fact that it was more or less safely enclosed between a distancing pair of quotation marks. Along the same lines, it should be noted that the linguistic action verbs used – "comment" and "add" – are of the uncommitted type when it comes to the truth of the quoted information, allowing the journalist to retain a neutral, reporting stance.

Again, it should be noted that the use of pseudo-quotes in press releases is a lot more sophisticated than can be shown here and it ties in with many more developments in discourse presentation theory that I have only been able to touch on. As such, preformulation in press releases should be seen as a broad cover term that reflects some of the wide-ranging audience-directedness underlying the genre.

2.4.   Explicit semi-performatives

A third and perhaps even more subtle metapragmatic feature of press releases that is connected with yet another of the central themes of linguistic pragmatics is demonstrated in the first sentence of the body of the press release in Figure 1 (cf. example [6]):

(6) Adeptra, the recognised leader in automated contact and resolution services to companies engaged in consumer credit and risk management, today announced that Co-operative Financial Services' (CFS) adoption of its Auto-resolution technology to tackle fraud, has led to unrecoverable card fraud losses falling by 70 %.

For simplicity's sake, we can just take the kernel of this sentence:

> Adeptra today announced that …

Of course, in many ways this utterance differs from the canonical form of an explicit performative speech act as spelled out by John Austin (1962) in *How to do things with words*, which would be:

> I hereby announce that …

Here the subject is 'I' and the verb is in the simple present indicative active, referring to the moment of speaking (and not a habitual truth). While the extract from the press release looks very different indeed, the expression is still essentially performative in nature: it is in the act of issuing the press release that Adeptra is making the announcement. Hence, we seem to have one of a large group of what Verschueren (1995) calls "non-central cases of performatives" or "semi-performatives" here. It can be called "explicit" in that the writer of the press release has decided to make the nature of the performative explicit by identifying its illocutionary force. In combination with third-person self-reference and the use of a past tense plus time reference, this makes for the curious kind of performative that can easily be turned into a report by the journalist through the simple act of verbatim reproduction and that, I believe, provides a clear illustration of Austin's early suggestion that there "seem to be clear cases where the very same formula seems sometimes to be an explicit performative and sometimes to be a descriptive, and *may even trade on this ambivalence*" (1962: 78, emphasis mine).

3.   Recent developments in press release scholarship

In this second part of the article, I hope to present three recent, inter-related developments in press release scholarship. One has to do with today's increasingly technologised mediascape. The rise of internet PR and on-line distribution services has opened up e-mail to anyone interested in issuing press releases, leading to a new hybridised discourse type called e-releases. Second, in line with the mission statement of the international NewsTalk&Text research group, this article will point to the potential of a linguistics of news production in helping to unravel the complex entextualizations underlying the use and re-use of press releases. Finally, it is demonstrated how the analysis of press releases as print information subsidies may be inspiring for the study of various forms of multimodal interaction within the domain of news-making and news management.

3.1.   New technology

While the news business is currently undergoing dramatic changes, it is puzzling to note that press releases as such appear to have essentially remained stable and continue to be the main news management tool in PR as journalists receive more press releases than ever before. So does the internet with its customized websites and online press release distribution services have no impact on the language of press releases at all? Less than twenty years ago, press releases were exclusively faxed to newsrooms and discarded from journalists' desks in a matter of minutes. Today the press sections on corporate websites offer press releases long-term residual exposure through archived pages that are indexed by the major search engines and that often come up high in the listings for relevant keyword queries. Interestingly, while the impact of the internet on PR practices has recently drawn quite some attention in the PR literature (Yea & Ki 2012), little or no interest has been shown in how the new technology has affected press releases, let alone the language of press releases.

Preliminary efforts to address this research question have shown that press releases seem to be in a phase of discursive development (see Strobbe & Jacobs 2005). With the internet rapidly expanding access to press releases beyond the circles of professional journalists, the question can be raised as to what extent preformulating practices might be affected. If, for instance, press releases are no longer primarily for journalists to copy in the media, is there any point in writing them in the impersonalised style described above, the main purpose of which is that it requires little or no reworking on the journalists' part? As the extract from an e-release in Figure 2 demonstrates, today's online press releases seem to be a hybrid of the traditional preformulated features of paper press releases (e.g. headline and lead, third-person self-reference and pseudo-quotes) and a more direct kind of discourse reminiscent of direct mail, one from which preformulation is being phased out. These direct features include superlatives ("greatest") and other persuasive features outside of quotation marks ("acclaimed", "award-winning"), direct reader address ("you've probably read …") and imperatives ("go to", "visit", "contact"), all features that would perhaps defer journalists from "projecting" the press release in their own reporting, but that will certainly appeal to the general public.

**Music Greats Join Acclaimed Singer-Songwriter
and Journalist Jamie Reno on His Latest CD
"All American Music," A Musical Road Trip on 33rd Street Records,
Features Some of the Greatest Names in American Popular Music …**

San Diego, California – January 7, 2004 If the name Jamie Reno sounds familiar, it should. You've probably read his award-winning work in Newsweek for the last decade. Reno, a veteran Newsweek national correspondent who is currently covering the 9/11 investigation as well as the Iraq war's impact at home, is also an acclaimed singer-song-writer whose fourth CD features an array of music greats playing with Reno on his songs. But in addition to the new record, which is already receiving nationwide praise, it is his personal story that helps make Reno's new release so remarkable.

Appropriately titled "All American Music," the new CD's inspiration was Reno's own battle these past seven years with cancer. A celebration of life and music, "All American Music," which will be released nationally on Jan. 27, 2004, features all-new material from Reno, now in remission, and appearances from Charlie Daniels, Ricky Skaggs, Jeff "Skunk" Baxter (Steely Dan / Doobie Brothers), Dickey Betts (Allman Brothers), Randy Meisner (Eagles), Charley Pride, Suzy Bogguss, Jerry Donahue (Hellecasters), and more.

"I recorded these songs over the past two years mostly at night, after covering some pretty heavy stories during the day," says Reno. "This record is a road trip, an emotional American journey, and it's an honor to work with so many musicians who've inspired and influenced me over the years."

Engineered by 2003 Grammy nominee Bernie Torelli and co-produced by Reno and music veteran Josquin Des Pres (Bernie Taupin, Young Dubliners), "All American Music" is filled with well-crafted, bittersweet songs written by Reno, whose melodic music has been featured on NBC network and nationally syndicated television shows and who recently won Best Song at the San Diego Songwriters Guild Awards. Fulfilling Reno's lifelong dream of recording his own acoustic traveling songs with many of his musical heroes, "All American Music" will be available at every Borders, Tower Records, and Barnes & Noble store nationwide on Jan. 27, 2004; a major CD release party and concert is scheduled for Jan. 30 at the downtown San Diego Borders store, and more will follow.

33rd Street Records, a burgeoning California-based label that also recently signed rock legend Peter Frampton, among others, will accompany the release of Reno's "All American Music" with a major national media and publicity campaign. Dedicating a portion of his proceeds from the record to the Sidney Kimmel Cancer Center, Reno is an example of a well-known national figure who's courageously battled a deadly disease and turned the experience into something he hopes will entertain and inspire.

For more information and the latest updates on "All American Music," go to www.towerrecords.com, visit Reno's website at www.jamiereno.com, contact Jamie directly at 858-467-1070, or jreno@san.rr.com, or contact Jules Westreich at **33rd Street Records**, at 916-371-2800.

Figure 2.   Press release on jamiereno.com

3.2.   Towards a linguistics of news production

In spite of the centrality of preformulation, and hence of intertextuality and entextualization in the analyses that I have presented above, little has been said about the way in which press releases are taken up in the media. The first few efforts in this area were distinctly corpus-based and hence product-based. Lenaerts (2002), for example, in trying to find out to what extent press releases find their way into the media, compares a mere six political press releases on a language policy-related crisis in Belgium with the newspaper articles that report on it. Similarly, Pander Maat (2007) looked at how the promotional elements in 43 press releases issued in the aviation industry were edited in daily newspapers, subscription-based travel magazines and free internet publications (for a similar approach see Pander Maat 2008 and Jansen 2008). McLaren-Hankin (2007), finally, analyzes how news reporting about a cash-for-contracts scandal in the UK was affected by the company's press releases on the matter.

While all of these researchers were interested in the way press releases are handled by journalists, none of them have visited newsrooms to observe routine news-making practices or even to simply talk to journalists. Recently, however, a number of researchers and newsroom ethnographers have come together under the umbrella of the NT&T (NewsTalk&Text) research group which tries to bring linguistic analysis to bear on the discursive processes that shape the news product, and, in this way, fill in a blind spot in news and press release scholarship[3]. In a new position paper (NT&T 2011) they aim to consolidate emerging research efforts which focus on the interplay of language use and journalism, media and society and they try to open up and raise awareness of the discussion. Tom van Hout, for exmple, has conducted a major ethnography at the business news desk of a Dutch-language quality newspaper in Brussels by recording journalistic writing processes electronically through keystroke logging and screen recording software. He has shown how micro-level discursive events, such as writing a lead, can be linked to macro-level ethnographic issues, such as journalists' engagements with technologies of production. In doing so, he suggests that news-writing should be characterised as a technologically contingent process in which reporters extract discourse from one context (e.g. that of a corporate press release) and then re-insert it into a new context (see e.g. van Hout and Jacobs 2008). Along the same lines, Kim Sleurs set out to unravel how press releases are written at the other end of the PR-journalism interface as she conducted ethnographic research at the in-house PR service of a major Belgian bank. She was able to point to a wide range of practical as well as political concerns that have been glossed over in previous product-oriented work on the topic (see Sleurs, Jacobs and van Waes 2003, Sleurs and Jacobs 2005).

3.3.   Multimodal explorations

One final new development that should be mentioned here relates to multimodality. Indeed, it has been the very process of opening up the scope of research to include new technologies, as well as PR and newsroom practices, that has drawn attention to the fact that the use of print press releases is closely linked to various forms of interaction situated outside the domain of print. If we want to subject intriguing concepts, such as projected discourse and preformulation, to further empirical scrutiny, context will have to be taken more seriously and our analyses extended to include a wide range of complex multimodal interactions. Van Hout and van Praet (2009), for example, look at the daily routine of storyboard meetings, where reporters discuss the day's news. Jacobs (2011) deals with on-line press conferences where, in addition to those journalists who attend the press conference live, a number of journalists follow the proceedings through the internet. These journalists log in to the press conference from their PC at the newsdesk, from where they can see and hear the proceedings in real-time, even having the opportunity to ask questions via e-mail. The result, it seems, is a further fragmentation of the news production process, with a continued shift in the interactional balance of power in favour of the news source. Finally, Jacobs and Tobback (2011, 2013) have conducted team fieldwork at the news desk of the Belgian French-language public broadcasting corporation RTBF in Brussels. In line with previous calls for a linguistics of news production, the data of their newsroom ethnography include transcripts of meetings and interviews as well as field notes covering the complex set of entextualizations underlying the natural history of broadcast news. One promising avenue for further research here is that of video news releases. It remains to be seen how they, like print press releases, are incorporated in broadcast news bulletins.

Notes

1. The author of this article wishes to thank the two anonymous reviewers.
2. The examples quoted here are from a larger dataset of over 600 press releases from business as well as politics, both in English and Dutch used in Jacobs (1999a). Note that the analysis of cover letters is of considerable interest for our purposes. As a matter of fact, the very existence of a cover letter implies that the press release is not addressed identically.
3. Note also the increasing importance of context in genre analysis, e.g. Swales (1998) and Bhatia (2004).

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Author index

Subject index

A

academic discourse *see* discourse domain, academic discourse
– master's thesis abstracts 15, 385, 393
action (*see also* speech act) 1, 14, 37, 39–42, 47, 65–66, 97, 101–104, 108–109, 323, 324, 326–331, 335–340, 345, 473
activity type 38, 45, 54, 336, 339–341
adjacency pair 7, 39, 40, 101–103, 330, 333, 335, 337, 342, 354, 363, 373, 374
affect 13, 74, 75, 136, 141, 142, 146, 149, 243, 251, 257, 295, 297, 298, 300, 301, 304, 308, 309, 311, 313, 566
– affective stance *see* stance, affective stance
appraisal theory 8, 125, 140, 146
asymmetry 19, 199, 308, 339, 494–497, 495, 500, 502, 503, 504, 506, 509, 514–515, 528, 530
audience design 586

B

British contextualism *see* contextualism

C

classroom 4, 14, 18, 65, 66, 67, 68, 74–89, 145, 150, 151, 181, 190, 241, 307, 323, 357, 464–477, 480, 481
– classroom context 18, 82, 463, 469, 472, 475, 477, 481
– classroom discourse *see* discourse domain, classroom discourse
– classroom interaction 68, 74–76, 79, 84, 151, 307, 357, 465, 469, 471–473, 475–477, 481
closings *see* discourse phase, closing phase
cognition 10, 11, 17, 36–37, 44–52, 54, 71, 133, 204–206, 240, 420 453–454, 459
– cognitive context 6, 35–36, 38, 48, 55
– cognitive frames 10, 204–205
– cognitive metaphors 204–206
– cognitive models 204
– cognitive processes 17, 47, 129, 190, 494
– cognitive prototypes 36
– cognitive verbs 535
cognitive linguistics 10, 190, 204–205, 295
cohesion 2, 138, 139, 145, 154, 229, 340, 563
collaborative computer mediated communication (CMC) 12, 239, 244, 249, 250
collocate 535, 536, 538
common ground 35, 37, 49, 49, 278, 279, 340
communicative purpose 11, 15, 39, 47, 166, 193, 231, 243, 385, 386, 389, 390, 392, 400, 401, 415, 448, 452, 561, 584
computer-mediated communication (CMC) *see* collaborative computer mediated communication
computer-mediated discourse analysis (CMDA) 14, 341–342, 343
concordance 11, 218–220, 224, 226, 228, 233, 510, 535, 538, 541, 543
connectedness 37, 38, 39, 40, 44, 45, 46, 50, 51, 52, 55, 57
connectives 38, 52, 271, 275–277, 281, 286, 305
context 5–6, 8, 10, 36, 38–48, 52, 53–56, 108, 125–128, 134–138, 139–140, 143, 166–167, 171, 181, 189–190, 198–202, 203, 205, 216–217, 220, 223, 228, 229, 239–240, 241–243, 244, 263, 272, 276, 278, 281–284, 286–288, 327, 328, 386, 446, 473–476, 477–481, 493, 494, 533, 541, 594, 595
– classroom context *see* classroom, classroom context
– cognitive context *see* cognition, cognitive context
– cultural context *see* culture, cultural context
– global context (*see also* local context) 39, 54