EXPRESSION OF ANGER
IN SPONTANEOUS FRENCH DIALOGUES

CATHERINE MATHON

1. *Introduction*

In the field of emotions and especially in the numerous studies about the vocal expression of emotions, the corpus is a central problem. A great number of experiments are based on simulated emotional expressions with actors (professional or not) playing roles. This allows for a tighter control of the quality of the recordings as well as a selection of the emotion to be acted, and finally a control of the lexical content in the expressions.

Some studies are conducted on elicited speech under laboratory. It consists of putting subjects in situations that may cause an emotional reaction. In most condition subjects have to perform a specific task, which can limit the lexical content of the utterances produced. The scenarios vary according to studies. They may be based on a video game (Johnstone & Scherer 1999) or a computer task.

Recently more and more researchers have insisted on the necessity of using natural emotional speech. Some are conducted using multimedia data (Chung 2000; Mathon 2007). Some corpus is also obtained from call-centers (Vidrascu & Devillers 2005). This methodology allows scientists to work on "authentic" emotions. However, spontaneous emotional speech still causes many problems because of a lack of overall control parameters. Indeed, to obtain these data, there are ethical as well as practical difficulties such as:
– the signal is quite often of poor quality, because of bad recording conditions;
– the situation of speech cannot always cover a wide range of emotions; indeed it is often difficult to find a discourse type favouring emotion expression.
– lexical content of the statements is not controlled.

This last point leads the researchers using natural speech data to take into account not only vocal features (i.e. fundamental frequency parameters, speech and articulation rate, high frequency energy, intensity...) but also segmental information and speaker behaviour.

Thus, I assume that in natural speech data, emotion is expressed through both segmental and supra-segmental parameters. A multimodal analysis is conducted in order to verify this.

My second hypothesis in this study is that male and female speakers do not use the same means to express anger.

The first part of this paper describes the corpus on which the study is based, and how the emotive charge of the corpus has been validated; it measures also the real influence of both segmental and supra-segmental information on emotion detection. Then, I present the results of a multimodal analysis, connecting pragmatic contexts, segmental features (lexical and morphosyntactic) and supra-segmental cues (F0 registers). This analysis reveals a difference between female and male speakers in the management of a conflictual dialogue; there is a strong relationship between the management of a speaker's emotion on the one hand, and linguistic (segmental and supra-segmental) strategies s/he uses to express anger on the other hand.

2. *Corpus*

The study is based on a corpus of natural dialogues recorded from a radio program. The radio presenter calls professionals and provokes a situation of miscommunication by playing the role of a client and asking something which doesn't fit the situation. Eventually, this miscommunication leads the victim of the hoax to express anger.

The corpus consists of twelve dialogues transcribed using Transcriber 4.0.

Table 1: *Characteristics of the corpus*

Dialogues	12
Speakers	13M, 14F
Speaker turns	765

The entire corpus was labelled with three types of labels:
– N for Neutral State (concerning principally the speaker turns at the beginning of the exchange),
– A for Anger (associated with a scale from 1 to 5, depending on the intensity of emotion),
– OE for Other Emotion. This last label indicates all the speaker's affective states, which are not anger.

The labelling task, made by the experimenter herself and another linguist, consisted in listening to all the dialogs, and reading the transcriptions of the speaker turns simultaneously and deciding which was the expressed emotional state, according to the

conventions above. In case of disagreement, the speaker turns were re-evaluated until the annotators came to an agreement. The productions of the radio presenter were not taken into account since we assumed that his productions could contain a part of acted out speech.

Table 2: *Proportion of speaker turns by label*
(N = Neutral State; A1 = Anger degree 1; A2 = Anger degree 2; A3 = Anger degree 3;
A4 = Anger degree 4; A5 = Anger degree 5; OE = Other Emotion)

Labels	Ratio (%)
N	52
A1	12
A2	15
A3	9
A4	3
A5	1
OE	8

Table 2 shows the proportion of the speaker turns by labels. 40% of the victim's turns were labelled as anger, across the five degrees of the anger scale. Mild anger seems to be more present than strong anger, probably because of the socio-professional context of the dialogs.

3. *Perception test*

The labelling of the corpus permitted to select which speaker turns were to be tested perceptively. A pre-test was conducted with 5 French listeners of 81 out of the 765 initial speaker turns, in order to extract the 26 turns which made up the final stimuli for the perception test. The pre-test was useful to show up the presence of anger in the corpus, as well to verify the most relevant segmental or supra-segmental cues for the detection of emotion. The final stimuli were tested in three different conditions by a total of 49 French listeners:
  – in the first condition, 26 listeners could access both segmental and supra-segmental information;
  – in the second condition, 13 readers could access only the linguistic content of the speaker turns;
  – in the third condition, 10 listeners could access only the prosodic information. The segmental content of the speaker turns had been hidden using white noise.

The subjects task was to indicate if the acoustic signal they were listening to or the transcription they were reading (depending on the test condition) conveyed anger or not. If so, they were to evaluate the degree of anger on a scale from 1 to 5.

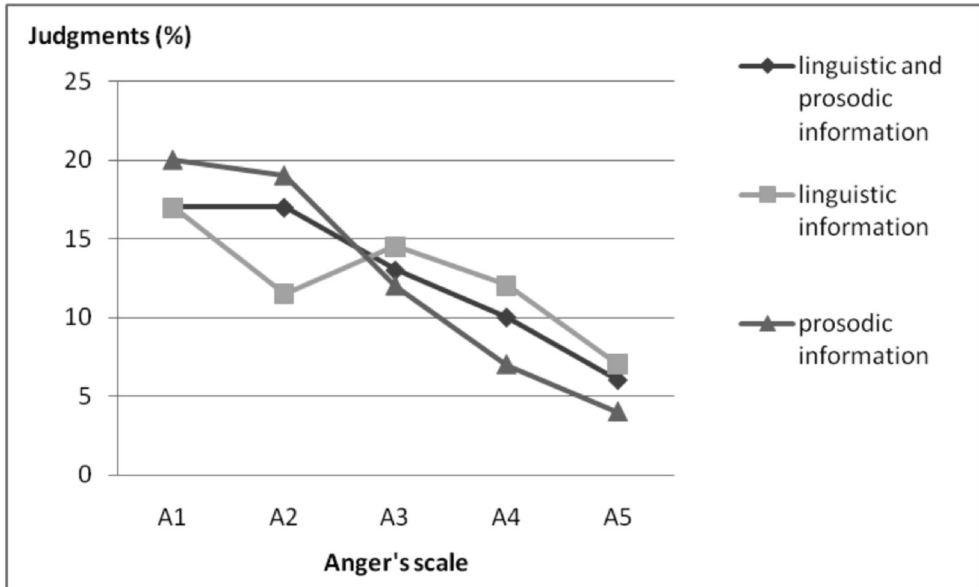Figure 1: *Responses depending on degrees of anger for the three perception conditions*

Figure 1 shows the answers for each degree of anger of the three conditions studied. These results confirm the first perceptive annotations: mild anger is more often detected, while strong anger seems to be less frequent. Prosodic information underlines mild anger, since in the third condition, listeners chose more often degrees 1 and 2 of anger. On the contrary, linguistic information focuses on strong anger (degrees 4 and 5).

4. *Multimodal analysis*

The next step was to conduct a systematic analysis of all the speakers' turns in order to list the relevant linguistic features for anger detection. We focalized on three types of analysis:
1.   an analysis of the pragmatic context of the speakers' turns. Different speech acts were identified;
2.   an analysis of the lexical and morphosyntactic items relevant for anger detection;
3.   an analysis of the F0 registers.

4.1 Pragmatic analysis

The pragmatic analysis was conducted using both the transcription and the audio data with the help of Transcriber 4.0, that followed the course of the dialogues. Male and female productions were analyzed separately in order to verify if there was a gender difference in the

management of the dialogues. Figures 2 and 3 show the pragmatic contexts found in the corpus and their division depending on the speakers' gender.

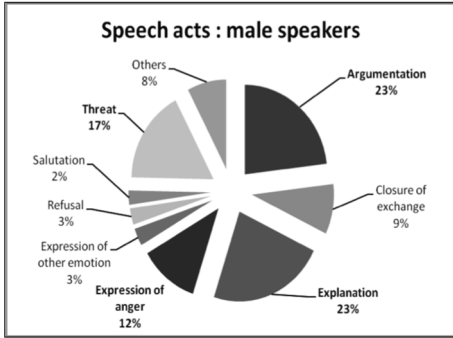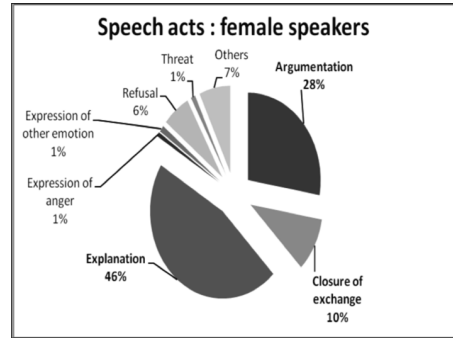Figure 2: *Proportion of speech acts (%) in male speakers' productions*

Figure 3: *Proportion of speech acts (%) in female speakers' productions*

Looking at speech acts in both male and female speaker productions, we can see that explanations and argumentations take an important place in their discourse. Male speakers also express threat and anger, while female speakers do not.

Figures 4 and 5 show the 3 speech acts: "explanation", "expression of anger" and "threat" in male and female speaker productions depending on degrees of anger.

Figure 4: *Proportion (%) of 3 speech acts (explanation, expression of anger, threat) in male speakers' productions*
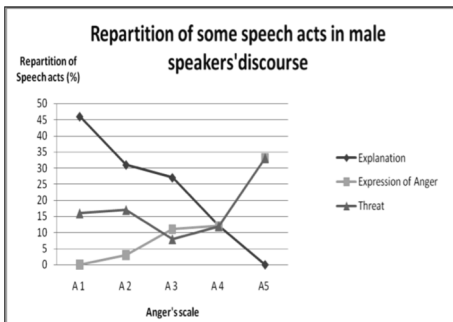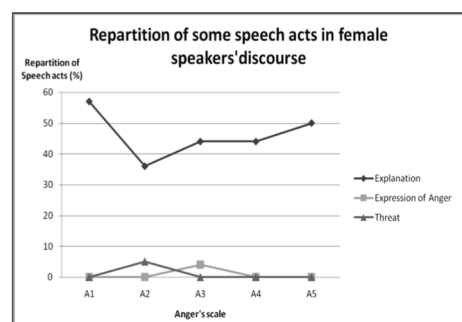
Figure 5: *Proportion (%) of 3 speech acts (explanation, expression of anger, threat) in female speakers' productions*

We can observe that the proportion of "explanations" decreases in male speaker discourse depending on the increase in anger. On the contrary, the proportion of "explanations" stays at a high level in female speaker discourse on all degrees of anger.

In male speaker discourse, the proportion of "expression of anger" and "threat" increases depending on the increase in anger. On the contrary, the proportion of "expression of anger" and "threat" stays at a low level in female speaker production.

In the first degrees of anger, we observe that speakers, male and female, try to explain the situation of the call, in order to fit with the demand of the client (the radio-presenter). Male speakers also try to threaten and intimidate the fake client, while female speakers prefer to close the dialogues. Even in strong anger, female speakers continue explanations and argumentations while male speakers express strong anger.

The behaviour differences between male and female speakers concerning the management of the situation of communication are also based on different uses of lexical and suprasegmental cues.

4.2 Lexical and Morphosyntactic Analysis

The second level of the analysis consisted in a systematic review of all the lexical and morphosyntactic cues for anger detection (Kerbrat-Orecchioni 2000). All these features were assigned to different classes and occurrences were counted. The proportion of occurrences of each class of features in the different degrees of anger was calculated and converted to percentages.

Five types of morphosyntactic features were identified: interjections, disfluencies, negative forms, verbal forms in the imperative, and other modality orders. Male and female speaker productions were analyzed separately. The negative form is the most occurring feature for both male and female speakers and is present in all degrees of anger. Interjections are also present in an important proportion (from 23% to 39% of the speaker turns) but preferably in the first degrees of anger. Moreover, the proportion of imperative verbal forms increases with the degrees of anger in male speakers productions (from 17% to 47% of the male speaker turns). This last result may be connected with threatening behaviour by male speakers.

Lexical features can be organized in six classes:
– words expressing anger directly;
– words expressing anger indirectly;
– colloquial words, since I assumed that a speaker who feels anger tends to use a more informal language;
– insults, swear words, which imply that the speaker expresses a strongly negative emotion;
– words that imply a closure of exchange;
– and finally all adverbs or coordinating conjunctions which imply an opposition.

In male productions, the most relevant feature is colloquial words. Their proportion in male speaker turns increases depending on degrees of anger, from 2% (A1) to 67% (A5). A regular increase in the proportion of opposition conjunctions is also observed, from 6% (A2) to 33% (A5). The only reliable lexical feature for female productions is the opposition conjunction. A regular increase in its proportion for the female speaker turns is observed, from 9% (A1) to 50% (A5). Female speakers do not use lexical markers at all like colloquial words

or insults. They do not even use words that express anger, directly or indirectly. These results are connected with female behaviour observed in the dialogues. Indeed they prefer to explain and argue which explains why the proportion of conjunction of opposition is relevant in female speech productions. But anger detection in female productions implies that they use other ways than lexical means to express anger. Perhaps a reliable feature for female anger detection will be supra-segmental and this will be treated in the next section.

4.3 Prosodic Analysis

In this study I focused on F0 parameters. Intensity and energy features were not taken into account because of the nature of the corpus. F0 measures were extracted automatically with the help of the WinPitchPro software. This software takes the transcriptions and signal segmentations first made with Transcriber which assigned a layer to each speaker. WinPitch-Pro recognises all the layers created with Transcriber and treats them separately. F0 was extracted from all the speaker turns (at a time sampling rate of 20 ms).

The minimum, maximum, mean and range of F0 for each turn were statistically computed. The voice amplitude of each speaker i.e. the delta difference between the maximum and the minimum of fundamental frequency, was divided in four equal registers: Low (L), Medium-Low (ML), Medium-High (MH), and High (H). The F0 values of these registers vary from one speaker to another one. F0 means were calculated for each turn using F0 automatic extractions. Then each value was classified in the corresponding register. The proportion of speaker turns (%) was calculated for each register and each degree of anger. This method can be used to compare voices which are significantly different, such as male and female voices.

Just as with the pragmatic and lexical strategies, the results of the classification of speaker turns, depending on degrees of anger and F0 registers, were examined separately in male and female productions. Figures 6 and 7 show the proportion (%) of each voice register depending on each degree of anger, for male (Figure 6) and female (Figure 7) speakers.

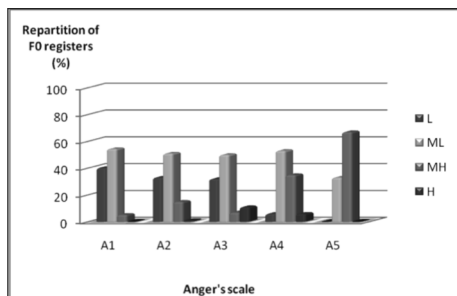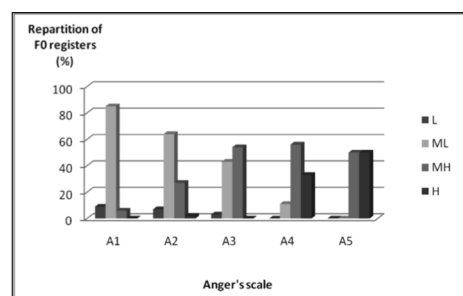Figure 6: *Proportion of F0 registers for male speakers*

Figure 7: *Proportion of F0 registers for female speakers*

For the first degrees of anger, the register used by both gender is the Medium-Low register. However male speakers also use the Low register, while female speakers prefer to go up to the Medium-High register. For both male and female speakers, there is a global increase of the F0 register depending on the degrees of anger, but this movement comes earlier in female speech productions (A3) than in male speaker turns (A4). For strong anger turns (A4 and A5), female speakers use MH and H registers, while male speakers stay in ML and MH registers.

The multimodal analysis showed that female speakers do not use any lexicon which implies impoliteness, or a direct expression of anger. Instead of using lexical information to communicate anger, female speakers use voice registers more easily. On the contrary, male speakers express anger by threatening and insulting the fake client. The lexical information, in this case is meaningful enough to communicate the affective state. It implies that male speakers do not need to use a higher voice register to express anger. Furthermore, they tend to intimidate the interlocutor. It has been demonstrated that intimidation and threatening need a low register (Demers 2003).

5. *Strategies of emotion expression*

Through the multimodal analysis described in the precedent section, it has been shown that there is some sort of a trade-off between segmental (i.e. lexical and morphosyntactic) and supra-segmental (prosodic) levels.

In conclusion, I will show examples of melodic curves, illustrating this trade-off between the two levels. Just as with the multimodal analysis, male and female productions are examined separately.

Figure 8 is an example of the melodic curve of a French woman's expression of anger (labelled as Anger 4).

Figure 8: *Melodic curve (WinPitch Pro) of a French woman's expression of anger (labelled as Anger 4).*
The horizontal axis is the time axis in seconds and the vertical axis is the F0 in Hertz (Hz)
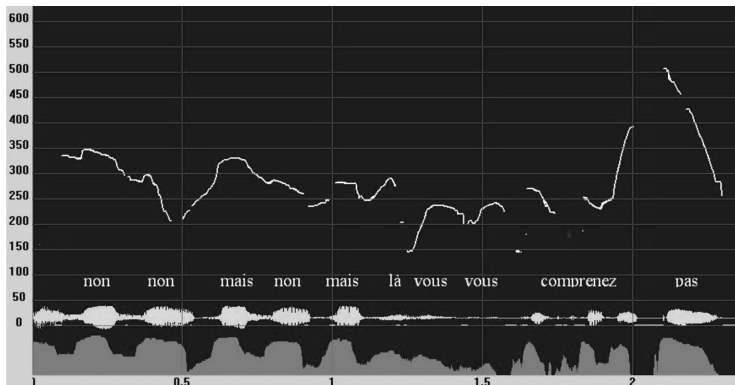
The content of the statement "non non mais non mais là vous vous comprenez pas", which can be translated as "no no but no but there you you don't understand", is not meaningful as far as the expression of anger is concerned. Indeed, considering the lexical content, there is no expression of anger, no swear words. There are just some conjunctions of opposition and negative forms. In compensation, the melodic pattern presents strong pitch variations with steep rises and falls. The F0 range is very wide going from 150 Hz to 500 Hz. Precisely on the last syllable the voice of the speaker decreases from high to medium-low register. Even in the lowest points of the melodic curve, the speaker voice does not fall under medium-low register.

Figure 9: *Melodic curve (WinPitch Pro) of a French man's realisation of anger (labelled as Anger 4). The horizontal axis represents the duration in seconds and the vertical axis the level of fundamental frequency in Hertz (Hz)*
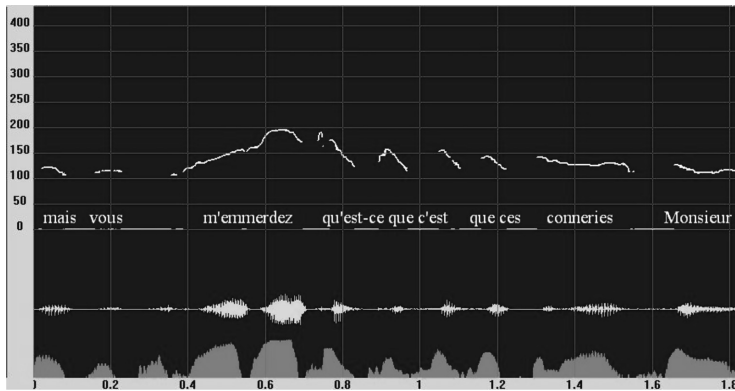
Figure 9 is an example of the melodic curve of a French male's expression of anger (labelled as Anger 4). The content of the statement "non mais vous m'emmerdez qu'est-ce que c'est que ces conneries Monsieur" which can be translated as "you're pissing me off what are these stupid things Sir", is meaningful considering of the expression of anger. Indeed the speaker strongly expressed anger by using swear words. In contrast, the prosodic information seems to be not relevant. The voice of the speaker stays in the low and medium-low registers. The contour is quite flat except on "m'emmerdez" ("pissing me off").

6. *Conclusion*

This study brings out the linguistic and paralinguistic speaker strategies to express anger, depending on the behaviour they adopt in a situation of conflict. It reveals a sort of trade-off between lexical and prosodic features.

Moreover, I found there is a gender influence in the management of conflict which influences the segmental and supra-segmental parameters the speakers use to express anger. This research shows a need to explore all communication features of emotion and underlines

the trading relationships between linguistic and paralinguistic (segmental and supra-segmental) features that are used to convey emotion and attitudes.

Modern technology should increase the use of multimodal (visual, acoustic, semantic, pragmatic) analysis in this domain.

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Emotions, parcours émotionnels et construction de l'identité de victime

Maryline Mathoul & Véronique Traverso & Christian Plantin

La présente étude s'inscrit dans le champ de l'analyse des interactions verbales et de l'argumentation. C'est une analyse de cas portant sur l'apparition et le développement de l'émotion 'colère' au cours d'une interaction se déroulant en milieu scolaire.

L'interaction met en scène deux jeunes filles de 15 ans, Kary et Amélie, qui se sont battues un jeudi matin en sortant des bus scolaires, devant leur collège, Kary accusant Amélie d'avoir trahi son secret. Elles sont convoquées par la Conseillère Principale d'Education (CPE)[1] de l'établissement afin d'établir les raisons du conflit et tenter de le résoudre.

Cette interaction fait partie d'un corpus de 7 interactions enregistrées dans le bureau de la CPE[2]. Nous nous concentrerons sur un extrait de 1 minute 44 (dont la transcription se trouve en fin d'article) qui constitue le moment le plus intense de l'interaction dans la démonstration coléreuse et accusatrice de Kary. C'est ce que nous appelons le 'pic émotionnel' du conflit.

1. *Cadre de l'analyse*

Les convocations chez la CPE sont occasionnées par des problèmes qu'il s'agit de clarifier et si possible de résoudre. Dans ce contexte, les élèves doivent s'expliquer et justifier leur comportement. Au cours de ces interactions, on voit le plus souvent se mettre en place les deux rôles de 'victime' et d'accusé', que les élèves essaient de s'attribuer ou dont ils se défendent. Tel est bien le cas dans notre interaction, où Kary cherche à se construire le rôle de victime d'une trahison, Amélie de son côté s'efforçant de se dégager du rôle complémentaire d'accusée et donc de responsable du problème. La genèse du conflit entre les deux protagonistes peut être reconstituée comme suit à partir de ce qu'elles disent dans le bureau de la CPE le jeudi matin:

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[1] CPE: Les CPE travaillent sous l'autorité directe du chef d'établissement et sont chargés d'un certains nombre de tâches au sein d'un établissement scolaire et notamment celui de la discipline et du bien être des élèves. Il s'occupe des élèves quand ils ne sont pas en cours.

[2] Ce corpus est actuellement étudié par Maryline Mathoul dans le cadre de son doctorat, *Vers une résolution de conflits entre élèves: analyse interactionnelle d'une situation de médiation au collège*, Université Lumière Lyon 2.

Contexte	Kary a un petit ami, M. Kary et Amélie sont copines	Antérieur au mercredi
Rupture	Kary quitte M. Kary confie à Amélie qu'elle a un autre petit ami	
Evt. déclencheur	Amélie révèle le secret à M.	
Incident 1	M. fait des scandales auprès de Kary	mercredi
Incident 2, cause de la convocation	Kary et Amélie se battent devant le collège	jeudi
Interaction	**Les jeunes filles s'expliquent devant la CPE**	**jeudi**

1.1 La situation trilogale de la convocation

Le fait que les deux élèves doivent s'expliquer devant un tiers transforme leur situation initialement duale (situation conflictuelle allant jusqu'à la bagarre dans notre cas) en une situation trilogale censée permettre d'avancer vers la résolution du conflit:

> Les interactions constituant ce que nous appellerons le 'conflit primaire' ont échoué. Les discours antagonistes restés bloqués n'ont pas permis d'aboutir à une décision nécessaire. Comment dépasser cet échec? On pourrait imaginer bien des solutions. La technique ici mise en œuvre peut se décrire comme un changement de cadre participatif. On va publier le conflit qu'on ne peut résoudre, ouvrir le dialogue privé à des discours tiers qui vont le travailler et le faire évoluer: tout se passe comme s'il y avait des choses qu'on ne pouvait dire à l'adversaire que devant des tiers (Plantin 1995: 111).

Cette nouvelle situation engendre de nouvelles contraintes ainsi que des 'jeux' d'alliance voire de coalition entre les participants. Il peut par exemple arriver que la CPE, en questionnant l'élève accusé, établisse un scénario contraire à celui que la victime a rapporté. Elle se rallie alors du côté de l'accusé initial qui devient victime à son tour.

1.2 Emotions et parcours émotionnels

Nous étudierons la colère de Kary, qui se dit victime de la trahison de son amie Amélie. Notre cadre d'analyse a été développé dans les travaux conduits depuis plusieurs années à Lyon sur d'analyse de l'expression, de la construction et de la gestion des émotions ordinaires (Cosnier 1994). La méthode d'analyse a été développée dans Plantin (1998); Plantin, Doury & Traverso (éds. 2000); Traverso (2000); Plantin, Traverso & Vosghanian (2008). L'émotion, ici la colère, n'est pas abordée comme un état qui aurait été déclenché chez un certain individu par un certain événement (tel que ceux que nous avons reconstitués dans le tableau ci-dessus), dont cet individu serait la proie et qu'il manifesterait, mais comme un processus interactionnel, c'est-à-dire d'une part comme quelque chose qui se met en place et qui évolue dans le temps de l'interaction et d'autre part comme une co-construction à laquelle tous les participants contribuent. Le terme 'parcours émotionnel' cherche à traduire cette conception à la fois évolutive et interactionnelle

de l'émotion. Dans cette interaction de surcroît, ce processus de construction collective des émotions s'intègre très fortement dans celui de construction des identités de victime et d'accusé. Sur le plan méthodologique, étudier la construction de la colère de Kary implique non seulement d'étudier les contributions des autres participantes à cette construction, mais aussi de prendre en compte les parcours émotionnels des autres participantes.

Dans le schéma ci-dessous, nous avons représenté d'une part le parcours émotionnel de Kary, qui 'plonge' vers des émotions négatives de type 'colère' de plus en plus intenses dans son interaction avec Amélie, et de type 'plainte' vis à vis de la CPE ainsi que le parcours d'Amélie. D'autre part, le parcours émotionnel de la CPE, qui reste stable et ne manifeste pratiquement aucune émotion.

Le parcours émotionnel d'un acteur (ou 'lieu psychologique') est défini comme la succession des états émotionnels assignables par lesquels il passe au cours d'un événement communicationnel. Nous nous proposons de montrer que dans cette interaction trilogale le 'sujet ému' est divisé selon que son partenaire interactionnel est sa camarade élève, relation où prédomine la colère, ou la CPE, vis-à-vis de laquelle elle affiche de la plainte. L'émotion est donc à attribuer non pas à une personne mais à une position dans l'interaction.

L'extrait se compose de deux étapes, chacune constituée de deux phases. La première étape est celle de l'aveu (Amélie reconnaît avoir parlé du nouveau copain de Kary à l'ex-) (Schéma 1.1); elle est constituée d'une phase 'ça va pas' (l. 235 à 254) puis d'une phase de démonstration de pleurs (l. 255 à 276). La deuxième étape est celle de la dispute (Schéma 1.2), et elle est constituée d'une phase de démonstration de colère (l. 277 à 298) puis d'une phase de retour au calme (l.299 à la fin de l'extrait). La courbe générale descendante de ces parcours représente une évolution vers des émotions de plus en plus négatives jusqu'au retour au calme.

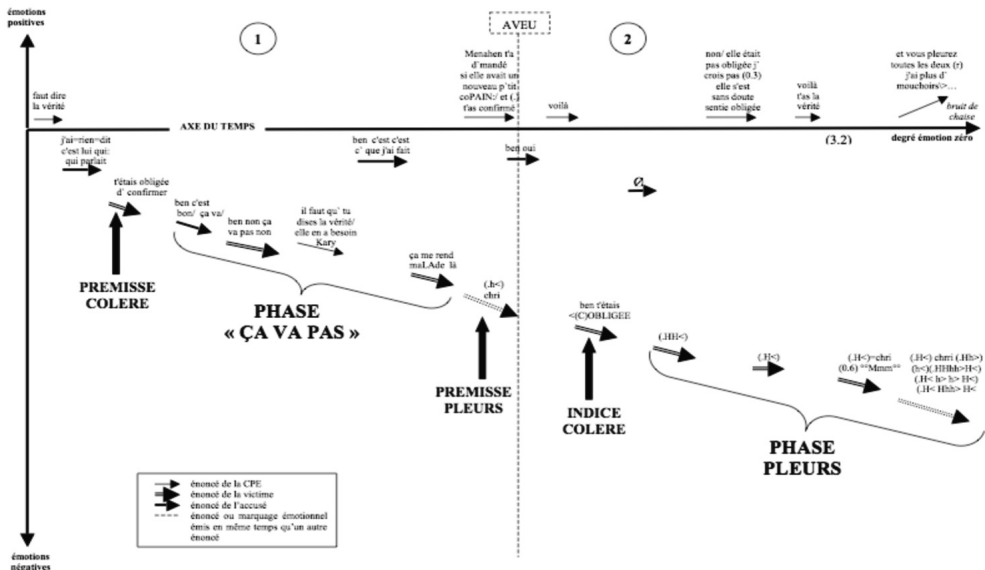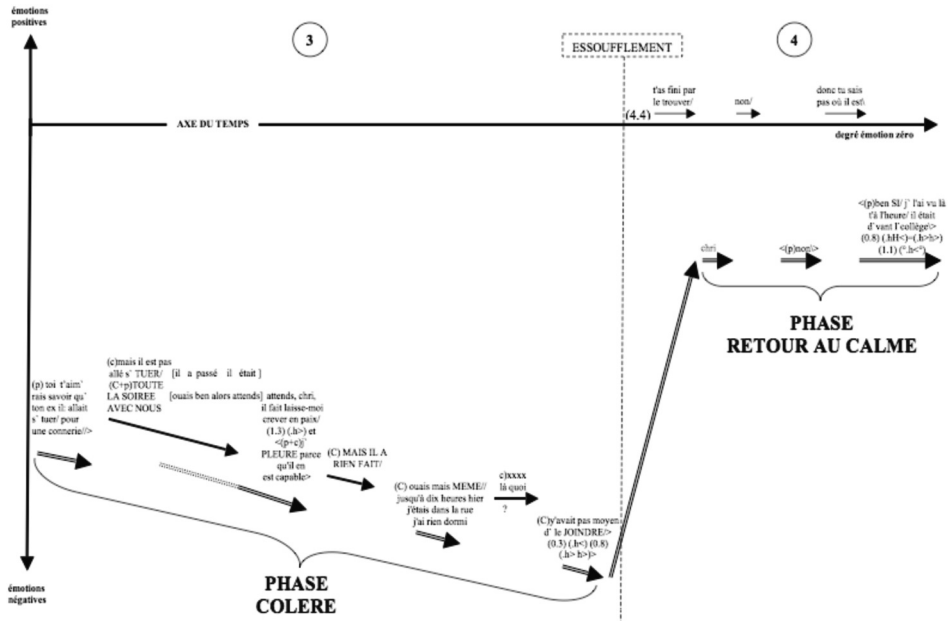Schéma 1.1: *Pic interactionnel: étape de l'aveu*

Schéma 1.2: *Pic interactionnel: étape de la dispute*

émotions positives

③   ESSOUFFLEMENT   ④

t'as fini par
le trouver/   non/   donc tu sais
pas où il est/

AXE DU TEMPS   (4.4)   degré émotion zéro

<(p)ben SI/ j' l'ai vu là
t'à l'heure/ il était
d' vant l'collège/>
(0.8) (.hH<)-(.h>h>)
(1.1) (°.h<°)

chri   <(p)non°>

**PHASE
RETOUR AU CALME**

(c)mais il est pas
allé s' TUER/   [il a passé il était]
(C+p)TOUTE
(p) toi t'aim'   LA SOIREE   [ouais ben alors attends] attends, chri,
rais savoir qu'   AVEC NOUS   il fait laisse-moi
ton ex il allait   crever en paix/
s' tuer/ pour   (1.3) (.h>) et
une connerie//>   <(p+c)/'
PLEURE parce   (C) MAIS IL A
qu'il en   RIEN FAIT/
est capable>   (C) ouais mais MEME//   c)xxxx
jusqu'à dix heures hier   là quoi
j'étais dans la rue
j'ai rien dormi   ?
(C)y'avait pas moyen
d' le JOINDRE>
(0.3) (.h<) (0.8)
(.h> h>)>

**PHASE
COLERE**

émotions négatives

2. *Analyse des parcours*

Trois aspects de l'apparition et du développement de la colère sont particulièrement frappants dans cette interaction.

2.1 Variations émotionnelles dans le parcours

Kary fonde son parcours émotionnel sur la succession de deux types d'épisodes émotionnels.
1) Des épisodes de type tonique.
Pour Cosnier, les états affectifs de type tonique sont des:

> états affectifs [qui] se prolongent de façon continue pendant de longues périodes,
> formant un arrière fond, sur lequel évoluent les affects phasiques (Cosnier 1994:
> 80-82).

Tout au long de l'interaction, Kary tente de préserver son identité de victime en se plaignant de la trahison de sa camarade. La plainte est à la fois un acte consistant à se plaindre des agissements d'Amélie à la CPE[3], et une émotion, c'est-à-dire «l'expression de la douleur d'un être hu-

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[3] La situation de médiation mise en place au cours de la convocation chez la CPE a pour effet que la plainte est à la fois (ou successivement) un acte adressé à quelqu'un à propos d'une autre personne en présence de cette

main. Expression de la peine, de la douleur par des cris, des gémissements» (TLFI), comme on peut le voir dans la phase 'ça va pas' quand Kary énonce «<(p)'tain ça me rend maLAde là>» (l. 247), ou bien encore dans la phase 'colère' lorsqu'elle répond à Amélie à propos de l'ancien petit ami (qui menaçait de se suicider): «j' PLEURE parce qu'il en est capable» (l. 290).

Qu'elle parle à la CPE dans le premier cas ou qu'elle se dispute dans le second cas, elle se plaint constamment de la gravité de la trahison et de ses conséquences: la peur qu'elle a éprouvée la veille au soir en étant obligée de sortir la nuit pour chercher M. qui menaçait de se suicider et restait introuvable. Enfin, elle se plaint de ne pas avoir dormi à cause de cette peur (peur de la violence de M., ce qui apparaît plus tard dans l'interaction), comme on le voit dans la phase 'colère': «moi j'ai rien dormi/(.)jusqu'à dix heures hier j'étais dans la rue» (l. 294-295 de la transcription). La plainte est la conséquence de plusieurs événements qui se sont succédé et ont entraîné en cascade une série de 'peurs' plus ou moins intenses et longues. Par moments, cette plainte semble 'dominée' par un autre type d'expression émotionnelle: la colère. Dans ces cas-là, la colère envahit l'espace interactionnel mais ne masque pas totalement la plainte.

Remarque: Les zones interactionnelles où l'on observe l'expression de la peur sont plutôt organisées sous forme de récits événementiels tandis que l'expression de la colère s'observe surtout lors de zones interactionnelles pendant lesquelles les interlocutrices échangent des propos et se disputent. La peur est une émotion relative au passé (ce qui a eu lieu la veille), c'est une émotion racontée tandis que la colère est, dirons-nous, une émotion situationnelle, qui s'exprime *in situ*. La plainte reste présente en continu, c'est une émotion transversale.

2) Des épisodes de type phasique.

Les affects phasiques sont:

> 'des moments émotionnels privilégiés, apparaissant bien souvent en courtes phases, accompagnés de paroles, de mimiques et de gestes produits soit par le sujet, soit par son partenaire'. Ce sont des 'micros émotions de base'. Ces émotions passagères sont étroitement liées à ce qui se passe au cours de l'interaction (*ibidem*).

Les manifestations de la colère, «vive émotion de l'âme se traduisant par une violente réaction physique et psychique» (TLFI), apparaissent de façon ponctuelle, lors d'épisodes interactionnels courts et intenses qui s'essoufflent vite pour laisser de nouveau la place à des épisodes de récits, de questionnements de la CPE, de mise au point etc. Les épisodes coléreux sont suivis d'un long silence, sans doute nécessaire pour 'reprendre ses esprits'. C'est le cas pour la phase 'colère' de l'extrait. Cela dit, on note certains indices relatifs à la colère avant la phase 'colère' proprement dite. Par exemple lorsque, dans la phase 'ça va pas', Kary demande à sa camarade «t'étais obligée/ d` confirmer/ toi\ (0.8) t'étais obligée d` dire oui\»

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personne et un acte adressé directement à celui ou celle dont on se plaint. L'opposition traditionnellement établie entre «direct complaint» et «indirect complaint» (voir par exemple Drew 1998, Dersley & Wootton 2000, Heinneman & Traverso (éds.), à paraître) est ici non opérationnelle.

(l. 239-240), tour de parole dans lequel on peut noter, outre la répétition, les intonations extrêmement marquées. De même, dans la phase des pleurs, le ton monte, comme l'indique la prosodie plus marquée sur «obligée» lorsque Kary repose la même question «ben t'étais <(C)OBLIGEE//>» (l. 245). La colère domine la phase suivante, puis s'apaise dans la dernière phase où les manifestations de la colère ont complètement disparu.

On observe donc une forme de colère contenue dans les deux premières phases et une grosse colère dans la troisième phase (ce développement retardé de la colère a des causes interactionnelles que nous présentons ci-dessous, 2.2). On note que la véritable colère est bien circonscrite dans l'organisation temporelle de l'interaction, dans une phase de forte accusation. La colère monte, explose puis s'essouffle. On assiste ainsi à ce que Cosnier appelle une interférence entre les affects toniques et phasiques:

> sur ce fond 'tonique' évoluent les affects phasiques avec lesquels ils ne sont
> pas incompatibles et ils peuvent même interférer: il peut arriver ainsi que tel
> affect phasique modifie l'affect tonique sous-jacent, provoquant un 'déblo-
> cage' ou le contraire. Ce sont les 'tournants de la conversation' (*ibidem*).

2.2 Des parcours émotionnels construits en fonction des interlocuteurs

Comme on l'a vu, c'est dans le cadre complexe d'un trilogue que Kary doit défendre son identité de victime. Ainsi, lorsque Kary raconte son histoire à la CPE, Amélie devient le témoin de l'échange. A l'inverse, quand elle s'adresse à Amélie, c'est la CPE qui devient le tiers témoin. Dans ce cadre participatif trilogal et asymétrique, on observe que la victime construit différent son identité face à ces deux interlocutrices.

La colère se développe exclusivement dans des passages de dialogue élève/élève. On peut supposer que d'une part Kary n'éprouve pas de colère contre la CPE et n'a pas de raison de lui faire subir sa colère. D'autre part, le statut de la CPE empêche le développement de cette colère: si l'élève se met à parler de façon coléreuse à la CPE, il y a de bonnes chances pour que cette dernière la remette à sa place. Kary perdrait sans doute ainsi l'écoute et l'attention de la CPE, ce qui n'est pas dans son intérêt. La 'stratégie' interactionnelle de Kary consiste donc à faire montre de sa colère devant la CPE pendant qu'elle dialogue avec sa camarade et de n'afficher que de la plainte quand elle dialogue devant sa camarade avec la CPE. Il est en revanche de son intérêt d'exprimer pleinement sa colère face à sa camarade et devant la CPE afin que la trahison d'Amélie soit considérée comme un fait grave ayant eu des conséquences émotionnellement lourdes. La colère exprimée fonctionne comme une forme de preuve de la gravité des faits.

On observe donc la construction de deux parcours émotionnels pour deux interlocutrices différentes. La colère face à Amélie et la plainte face à la CPE, sachant que de toutes les façons, même dans les dialogues coléreux, Kary continue de se plaindre de l'attitude d'Amélie.

Pourtant, si Kary ne se met pas en colère face à la CPE, force est de constater que l'organisation interactionnelle de tous les participants joue un rôle déterminant dans le développement ou non de certaines émotions.

2.3 Construction des émotions et rôles interactionnels

L'étude détaillée de l'expression de la colère montre clairement comment Kary met en scène ses émotions en fonction du rôle interactionnel joué par ses interlocuteurs. Nous observerons deux aspects de la colère: celle qui ne se développe pas et celle qui se développe.

1) La colère qui ne se développe pas.

Dans la phase 'ça va pas', Kary demande à sa camarade si elle était obligée de confirmer les propos de M. Cette question fonctionne comme un reproche implicite. En guise de réponse, Amélie oriente l'interaction vers le parcours interactionnel du reproche et non de la question en demandant un arrêt de ces reproches avec «ben c'est bon/ ça va/» (l. 242) qui est à comprendre comme 'ça suffit, ce que j'ai fait n'est pas si grave, cesse de m'en faire le reproche'. C'est une forme de minimisation des faits. Amélie adopte une stratégie de contournement voire de retardement de l'accusation et par conséquent le retardement de la colère de sa camarade. Cette stratégie fonctionne puisque nous n'avons ici qu'une prémisse de colère et pas de développement coléreux de la victime. En effet, le premier énoncé «t'étais obligée de dire oui» ne suscite pas de développement interactionnel coléreux comme c'est le cas par la suite lorsque Kary réitère cette accusation.

Plus loin, lorsque la CPE intervient en disant «elle en a besoin Kary» (l. 246), elle évoque une identité maladive et plaintive de la victime, à laquelle Kary adhère aussitôt avec son énoncé de la ligne 248: «ça me rend malade». Cette intervention de la CPE ne laisse pas de place, interactionnellement parlant, pour le développement de la colère. On est passé à autre chose.

On voit dans ces deux passages comment le développement de la colère avorte par le jeu interactionnel des trois locutrices. Amélie l'accusée se débrouille pour ne pas répondre aux questions, évite le sujet, la CPE suggère une identité plaintive sur laquelle Kary la victime s'appuie.

Le même phénomène se retrouve plus loin, lorsque la CPE fait le point sur la situation et énonce elle-même ce qui a dû se passer la veille: «Menahen t'a d`mandé si elle avait un nouveau p`tit coPAIN:/ et (.) t'as confirmé\» (l. 249). En réponse, Amélie acquiesce, et Kary lui demande: «t'étais obligée», avec une intonation plus marquée, comme on l'a vu précédemment (l. 255). Cette fois, non seulement Amélie ne répond pas mais c'est la CPE qui prend la parole et répond à la place de l'accusée: «non/ elle était pas obligée j` crois pas (0.3) elle s'est sans doute sentie obligée» (l. 258). Cet énoncé minimise la trahison d'Amélie par l'utilisation du modalisateur «croire» et de l'adoucisseur «sans doute». La CPE forme à ce moment-là une alliance avec Amélie, ce qui, compte tenu de son statut de juge-arbitre, pèse lourd dans l'interaction. Amélie de son côté se met à pleurer. La colère ne peut donc pas se développer et c'est une autre forme d'émotion qui émerge: la peine. Les deux ca-

marades se mettent d'ailleurs à pleurer, l'espace interactionnel est ainsi comblé. Aucune des interlocutrices ne développe l'émotion colère.

2) La colère qui se développe.

A partir de la ligne 265, la CPE se met en quête de mouchoirs. Elle laisse alors une place interactionnelle 'vide', ce qui va permettre le développement de la colère.

Au début de la phase 3 (l. 277), Kary s'auto-attribue la parole en s'adressant à sa camarade. Elle va développer le thème du suicide de M. (qui en réalité n'a rien fait). Les réponses d'Amélie seront d'ailleurs invariablement les mêmes: il n'a rien fait du tout. Les deux jeunes filles développent deux lignes argumentatives différentes sur ce thème:

–   Kary, la victime, justifie sa colère par la peur qu'elle a éprouvée devant les menaces de suicide de M.: «il fait laisse-moi crever en paix/» (l. 289), «j'ai rien dormi/» (l. 294), «y'avait pas moyen d` le JOINDRE» (l. 297).

–   Amélie, l'accusée, récuse systématiquement le bien fondé des accusations de Kary en expliquant que, dans la réalité, il ne s'est rien passé. Elle tente de démotiver une colère que Kary présente comme 'juste'.

La prosodie de la victime poursuit sa montée jusqu'à la fin de la phase. Si au départ elle pleure encore, les pleurs vont laisser la place à manifestation de la colère et aux cris. On passe ainsi de «<(p) toi t'aim` rais savoir qu` ton ex il: allait s` tuer/(0.3)» (l. 278) à «<(p+c)j` PLEURE parce qu'il en est capable>» (l. 290) puis à «<(C) ouais mais MEME//» (l. 293). De son côté, l'accusée ne suit pas cette voie, au contraire. La prosodie de ses propos monte puis redescend. On passe de «<(c)mais il est pas allé s` TUER/» (l. 279) à «<(C) MAIS IL A RIEN FAIT/>» (l. 292) et enfin à «<(c)xxxx là quoi>» (l. 296). Du point de vue du contenu des propos, on note que les propos d'Amélie sont de plus en plus incompréhensibles, tandis que Kary tient un discours qui reste très clair et audible. On peut parler d'étouffement interactionnel du discours de l'accusé par la mise en discours de la colère de la victime.

On observe donc dans ce passage que le retrait de la CPE du jeu interlocutif permet à l'échange entre les deux camarades de se développer, et à la colère empêchée et retenue jusque-là de s'exprimer. L'interaction plus ou moins libre entre les camarades laisse de la place à l'expression de la colère et conduit à un étouffement progressif de l'accusée. En fin de parcours coléreux, le silence ponctué de manifestations de pleurs permet aux interlocutrices de passer à autre chose, c'est la CPE qui prend alors la parole (l. 299) en s'adressant à la victime qui ne montre plus de colère, et se développe la phase 4 de 'retour au calme'.

Conclusion

L'analyse de cet extrait d'interaction a permis de montrer qu'on ne peut pas associer simplement une émotion et un lieu psychologique qui en serait le siège. En d'autres termes, on ne peut pas associer de façon univoque une émotion à un participant. On a vu que ce dernier est capable de développer (et de jouer sur) plusieurs émotions successivement voire si-

multanément. De la même manière, les fluctuations dans la construction de la colère montrent que celle-ci s'effectue de façon collaborative, en fonction de la tournure que prennent localement les échanges. On est donc bien loin d'une situation dans laquelle un individu en proie à une émotion l'exposerait ou l'adresserait à ses interlocuteurs.

L'analyse permet également de dégager des conditions d'apparition et d'expansion de l'émotion (colère) dans ce type d'interaction. Elles sont relatives:

– aux statuts officiels des participants (élèves/CPE);
– à leurs rôles langagiers: pacificateur ou opposant;
– à l'organisation des tours de parole: l'auto-attribution de la parole favorise l'apparition de la colère;
– à l'organisation du cadre participatif. Sur ce plan, il apparaît clairement que le retrait du médiateur laisse des espaces interlocutifs disponibles qui fonctionnent comme autant d'autorisations à prendre la parole et à développer la colère. On a également observé que le silence de l'accusé ou ses stratégies d'évitement freinent le développement de la colère.

En somme, ce type d'interaction montre que, dans certaines circonstances, les émotions comme la colère et la peine sont des phénomènes qui se définissent interactionnellement.

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Transcription de l'extrait

235 CPE 'lors maint`nant faut dire la vérité hein/ (0.6)

AME mais j'ai (0.5) j'ai=rien=dit/ c'est lui qui: qui parlait qui dit ouais/ j` suis sûr elle a un
nouveau copain et tout\

CPE ah (0.9) et et D'Accord\

KAR t'étais obligée/ d` confirmer/ toi\ (0.8) t'étais obligée d`

240 dire oui\ (0.7)

AME ben c'est bon/ ça va/ (0.6)

CPE non mais [non   ] heu tu:

KAR xxxxxxxx [ben non ça va pas non\]

245 CPE i: il faut qu` tu joues l` jeu/ (.) Amélie\ (0.6) il faut qu` tu dises la vérité/ [elle en a besoin
Kary]

AME [ben c'est c'est] c` que j'ai fait/

KAR <(p)'tain ça me rend maLAde là\>

CPE bon [(.)] il t'a d`mandé (0.3) Menahen t'a [d`mandé] si elle

250 KAR   [(.h<)]   [chri   ]
avait un nouveau p`tit coPAIN:/ et (.) t'as confirmé\

KAR (.H<)

AME ben oui

CPE voilà\

255 KAR ben t'étais <(C)OBLIGEE//>
[(1.2)   ]

KAR [(.HH<)]

CPE non/ elle était pas obligée j` crois pas (0.3) elle s'est sans doute sentie obligée

260 [(1.5)   ]

KAR [(.H<)]

CPE voilà t'as la vérité\ (3.2)

KAR (.H<)=chri (0.6) Mmm (0.9)

265 CPE et vous pleurez toutes les [deux] et j'ai plus d` mouchoirs/

KAR   [(.H<)]
[(0.9)] à force d'avoir des élèves qui

KAR [chrri]

CPE [pleurent dans mon bureau/ <(r) j'ai plus d` mouchoirs\>]

270 AME [(.Hh>) (h<)   (.HHhh>H<)   ]

CPE [(1.8)   ] heu: Emmanuelle [vous av- vous avez des

KAR [(.H< h> h> H<)]   [(.H< Hhh> H<
9 mouchoirs/ (.) non/ [(2.3)   ]

KAR   [(.Hh<)]

275 Oui/ (.) s'il vous
plaît\ ((bruit de chaise déplacée))

KAR <(p) toi t'aim` rais savoir qu` ton ex il: allait s` tuer/(0.3) pour une connerie//>

AME <(c)mais il est pas allé s` TUER/

```
280            [il a passé il était        ]> <(C+p)TOUTE LA SOIREE AVEC
        KAR    [ouais ben alors (.) attends/]
               NOUS heu>
        KAR    <(s) ouais mais attends l'autre i vient à Cerdon j` qu'à/- (s) j` qu'à chez moi/ pour m`
               di:re/ chri (0.6) que: ouais/ heu de:
285            que qui fallait qu` je le LAIsse et tout/ heu: (0.5) et tout ça/ tu vois et après en plus (S) tu
               VOIS/ il dit à ma mère ma mère elle dit ben viens à la maison et tout/ heu reste au moins à
               la maison c`te nuit/ heu vas pas m` prendre froid dehors/ sinon heu tu vas mourir/ quoi\
               (.) chri, il fait laisse-moi
290            crever en paix/ (1.3) (.h>) et <(p+c)j` PLEURE parce qu'il en est capable>
        AME    <(C) MAIS IL A RIEN FAIT/> (0.6)
        KAR    <(C) ouais mais MEME// (0.2) avec toi ça t` s`rait arrivé avec Dalois t'aurais flippé toute
               la nuit/ moi j'ai rien dormi/ (.)
295            jusqu'à dix heures hier j'étais dans la rue >
        AME    <(c)xxxx là  quoi>
        KAR    <(C)y'avait pas moyen d` le JOINDRE/> (0.3) (.h<) (0.8) (.h> h>)>
        CPE    t'as fini par le trouver/
300     KAR    chri
        CPE    non/
        KAR    <(p)non\>
        CPE    donc tu sais pas où il est\
        KAR    <(p)ben SI/ j` l'ai vu là t'à l'heure/ il était d`vant l`
305            collège\> (0.8) (.hH<)=(.h>h>) (1.1) (°.h<°)
```

Conventions de transcription

SIGNES CONVENTIONNELS NON RELATIFS AUX PLEURS				
Signes		Description des signes		
Bien/	bien\	Intonation montante	Intonation descendante	
Bien :	Bi-	Prolongement	Troncation	
°bien°	bien BIEN	Enoncé murmuré ou prononcé très bas	Insistance	Saillance
Bien=		Latching : enchaînement immédiat		
.h,	h,	Aspiration	Expiration	
(.)	(0.2)	Micropause	Pause chronométrée	
xxxxxx		Enoncé inaudible		
<xxxx>		Délimitation d'un phénomène		
[xxx]		Enoncé chevauchant un autre énoncé		
(xxxxx)	((xxx))	Enoncé incertain	Comportements non verbaux, co-actionnels	

SIGNES RELATIFS AUX PLEURS					
Signes			Description des signes		
(.h<)	(.H<)	(.hhh<)	Aspiration	Aspiration forte	Phénomène saccadé et répété
(.h>)	(.H>)	(.HHH>)	Expiration	Expiration forte	Phénomène saccadé et répété
chi	Chri		Reniflement sans larme		Reniflement avec larmes
<(t)xxxx>	<(T)xxxx>		Tremblement dans la voix		Tremblement intense
<(p)xxxx>	<(P)xxxx>		Pleurs dans la voix		Pleurs intenses
<(c)xxxx>	<(C)xxxx>		Enoncé en criant		Enoncé en criant intensément
<(s)xxxx>	<(S)xxxx>		Sanglots dans la voix		Sanglots intenses
(s)	(S)		Sanglot isolé		Sanglot isolé intense
(.h<hHii>(s)hhh<chri>)			Exemple de combinaison de phénomènes		
Hhou hiii			Pleurs vocalisés		

Strategic Use of Emotional Terms in Ethical Argumentation on Abortion

Simona Mazilu

1. *Introduction*

This paper is concerned with the use of emotional terms in ethical argumentation on abortion in an attempt to prove that the emotional or expressive component is a characteristic of this type of argumentation. In texts dealing with the issue of abortion one can notice that expressives represent a recurrent element in the moves exchanged between disputants in the argumentation process. This observation may underlie the hypothesis that expressives are not an accident but an essential component of ethical argumentation on abortion.

This approach to expressives is integrated in the pragma-dialectical theory of *speech acts in argumentative discussions* (van Eemeren & Grootendorst 1984) which accounts for argumentation as an *illocutionary act complex*. Therefore, ethical argumentation on abortion is viewed as an exchange of speech acts between the protagonist and the antagonist of a standpoint. This exchange of speech acts may be viewed as a critical discussion supposed to lead to the resolution of the dispute in case. One question to be answered in the analysis is whether expressives are used by disputants for their dialectical potential or for their persuasive effect or for both. The hypothesis underlying this study is that the main function of expressives is rhetorical.

Argumentation from a pragma-dialectical perspective is considered a complex speech act made up of various speech acts specific to each dialectical stage. The ideal model of a critical discussion provides a list of speech acts which includes *assertives*, *directives*, *commissives* and *usage declaratives* to be performed by disputants according to their role in the dispute as either protagonist or antagonist. The pragma-dialectical model views expressive speech acts, "such as congratulations, condolences, and expressions of joy, disappointment, anger, or regret" as communicative acts by means of which the speaker airs his feelings concerning a certain event or state of affairs" (van Eemeren & Grootendorst 1992: 39). Expressives as "expressions" of the speaker's state of mind, emotions or feelings "have no place in a critical discussion" since they "do not lead to any specific commitment that is relevant to resolving the dispute" (*ibidem*). Moreover, "expressives may sometimes be indirect speech acts through which 'primary' speech acts are conveyed that *do* play a part in a critical discussion. In such cases, they should, naturally, be taken into account in the dialectical analysis" (*ibidem*).

If confronted with the ideal model of a critical discussion suggested in the pragma-dialectical approach to argumentation, the several texts on the issue of abortion selected for analysis appear to lead to the conclusion that ethical argumentation on abortion abounds in overt and implicit expressive speech acts performed at various points in the discourse in order to gain the audience's adherence to a certain position. So, the high frequency of emotional elements is a characteristic of such instances of ethical argumentation on abortion. The use of expressives undermines the critical character ethical discourse is supposed to have as an argumentative type of discourse.

Disputants make use of various means of conveying and arousing emotions. These means range from the topical potential available for the standpoint at issue to vocabulary, from presentational devices to speech acts. Therefore, the cover term *expressives* will be used for all the elements that convey emotions in a text whether they are topics, lexical elements, stylistic devices or speech acts. The term *topic* (Greek *topos*) needs clarification at this point. From a rhetorical perspective, topics have been defined as "the general heads under which were grouped arguments for a particular subject or occasion" (Corbett 1971: 108). In other words, topics should be viewed as "a 'checklist' of ideas" or "as a stock of general lines of argument" (Corbett 1971: 109) that can be used in developing any subject. The notion of topics is taken over by pragma-dialectics in the form of "*topical potential* [which] associated with a particular dialectical stage can be regarded as the set of relevant alternatives available in that stage of the resolution process" (van Eemeren & Houtlosser 2002: 139). In this analysis, the term topics will be employed with reference to the different argumentative options disputants have at a particular point to support their position.

The analysis of expressives in what follows starts from the empirical observation that the degree of emotional attachment depends on the standpoint advanced by disputants: *Abortion is a crime / Abortion is not a crime*. Therefore, the standpoint is the key element that determines the choice of dialectical and rhetorical means which best serve the interest of each party in each stage of the dispute. Thus, pro-life advocates conceive of abortion as "an unspeakable crime", "a great moral disorder", "the deliberate killing of an innocent human being" or "a deadly sin" as opposed to pro-choice supporters who call abortion "interruption of pregnancy". The same terminology clash holds for the fetus, too. According to the degree of emotional commitment of the protagonist or the antagonist, the fetus may be viewed as "a human being", "a personal human life" or "an innocent human being" in contrast with "the result of conception", "a newly fertilized ovum", "a newly implanted clump of cells" or "not a person from the moment of conception". Behind these acts of defining abortion and the fetus in a certain manner, there lies the intention of the speaker *to condemn* vs *to defend* abortion as well as the intended effect upon the audience that is to repent, to feel pity for the fetus or the mother, to stir anger at defenders of abortion, etc. vs not to feel guilty, to have confidence in one's reason, etc.

The expressive speech acts discussed in the paper have been identified in text excerpts illustrating opposing positions on abortion and interpreted as maximally argumentative. As mentioned above, the central claim in this analysis is that the emotional component may

be viewed as an essential characteristic of ethical argumentation on abortion and that expressives are mainly used for their rhetorical potential to gain the audience's adherence to a position.

The analysis is structured in two main parts. The first part is devoted to a presentation of several linguistic means of conveying emotions related to the standpoint *Abortion is a crime* which is further divided into the "hard" anti-abortion perspective and the "soft" anti-abortion perspective. The second part deals with emotions related to the standpoint abortion is not a crime. Topics or argumentative alternatives available to discussants, stylistic devices, speech acts and lexical items are the main means of conveying emotions in this type of argumentation. In both parts, the focus is upon the vocabulary of emotion used by disputants in their argumentative exchange.

2. *Means of conveying emotions in ethical argumentation on abortion*

This part of the analysis is an attempt at making a classification of the various means of expressing emotion in ethical argumentation on abortion starting from the assumption that the choice made by one party is determined by that party's position towards abortion: abortion is / is not a crime. According to this opposition one may witness *expressions of disapproval* on the one hand and *expressions of approval* on the other hand. Thus, the party holding that abortion is a crime may express in his argumentation the whole range of emotions related to crime such as horror, rage, fear, revenge, punishment, grievance, suffering, pain, blame, torment, remorse, reprobation, etc. All these feelings are stirred by the central element in anti-abortion argumentation – the fetus – which is considered a human being.

The other party maintaining that abortion is not a crime is not expected to make use of emotional terms related to the fetus but to the mother who is considered aggressed by the imposition to carry a child to term against her will. Yet, in their argumentation abortion defenders employ terms deliberately devoid of emotion when referring to the fetus as "result of conception", "newly fertilized ovum" or "newly implanted clump of cells". In defending the anti-abortion or the pro-abortion position the choice of means to communicate emotions has major consequences for the whole process of argumentation and as such for the perception of each type of discourse as a reasonable or unreasonable one.

As stated before, ethical argumentation on abortion is an illocutionary act complex whose communicative dimension resides in arguing in favor or against abortion whereas the interactional dimension consists in convincing the other party of the acceptability or unacceptability of the standpoint abortion is / is not a crime. This illocutionary act complex is made up of various types of speech acts among which expressives occupy a very important place. Disputants' emotions or mental states are "exchanged" by means of expressive speech acts that can be grouped under two major illocutions: *disapprove* in the case of anti-abortion argumentation and *approve* in the case of pro-abortion argumentation. Interestingly, explicit expressions of approval / disapproval and of other mental states derived from them

are rarely used as such. Therefore implicitness seems to be the rule rather than the exception. Moreover, besides its primitive illocutionary force any expressive speech act has several secondary illocutionary forces which are manifested when the act is performed (Vanderveken 1990). Illocutionary forces are carried not only by verbs but also by nouns, adjectives or adverbs which express a particular emotion or state of mind. As concerns the perlocutionary force of these expressives, among the effects they have upon the audience one can mention guilt, remorse, fear, repentance, etc. in the case of anti-abortion argumentation and ease of mind, lack of guilt, relief, etc in the case of pro-abortion argumentation.

2.1 Emotions related to the standpoint *abortion is a crime*

Anti-abortion fighters express their disapproval of abortion by calling it a *crime*. In defending the standpoint *Abortion is a crime* they make use of a wide range of emotional arguments meant to convince a third party of the wrongness of this deed. In broad lines anti-abortion argumentation goes this way: Abortion is a crime because the one killed is an innocent human being. Who are the actors in this scenario? The mother is the murderer, the fetus is the victim. Usually, alongside with the mother other members of the social community such as the father, the family, friends, doctors, nurses, pharmacists or legislators are considered guilty of complicity in abortion. As a matter of fact, abortion is metaphorically conceived of as an act of aggression against life or a threat to life in general. In other words, by abortion, not only the life of an individual but the life of the whole society is menaced. That is why the most appropriate pattern or scheme of argumentation chosen to condemn abortion is that of cause and effect or facts and consequences.

As regards the topics or the lines of argumentation employed to defend their position, anti-abortion fighters manipulate opposing concepts such as good vs evil or life vs death. The audience is provided with two options: either do good by condemning abortion and this way choosing life which is conducive to their happiness or do evil by not taking a stand against abortion and this way choosing death which is conducive to their unhappiness.

The audience is therefore faced with two kinds of emotions: emotions related to the fetus which represents life and emotions related to the mother who represents death. In the category of emotions related to the fetus one may experience pity, sorrow, regret, pain, while in the category of emotions related to the mother there are feelings of rage, revenge, reprobation, blame, torment, compassion, suffering etc. depending on how the mother is seen as either a criminal or a victim of the social environment in which she lives. All these emotions are typical of the anti-abortion argumentation and are communicated by "hard" or by "soft" means. For more specificity, the term "hard" will be used for those instances of argumentation which lay heavy emphasis on the violence of abortion, on the tragic consequences of abortion for the child, the mother and the whole community. This type of "hard" anti-abortion argumentation appeals to the audience's emotions by means of extremely powerful imagery whose function is to reproduce the atrocity of abortion and make the audience repent, fear, pity, etc. at the same time. The term "soft" will be used for those instances of

anti-abortion argumentation which try to move the audience in a moderate manner by means of a mixture of rationality and emotion.

2.1.1 The "hard" perspective

Under the "hard" perspective heading three texts were selected that have certain characteristics in common: *Despre avort, cu Pr. Serafim Man (On Abortion with Father Serafim Man), Mărturii ale unor femei care au făcut avort (Testimonies of Women that have had an Abortion)* and *Scrisoare deschisă adresată dnei Aurora Liiceanu, psiholog (Open Letter to Mrs Aurora Liiceanu, Psychologist)*. These three texts consider abortion as a murder on the basis of the argument that the fetus is a human being. They argue against abortion in terms of facts and consequences pointing out that abortion is not an individual act but an act for which the whole social community is responsible. The question to be answered in the analysis is: What are the specific features of these texts with respect to expressing emotions related to abortion as a crime?

First of all, as instances of the "hard" anti-abortion perspective these fragments may be viewed as parts of a "documentary" on abortion which is not only informative but also instructive. This "documentary" starts with the definition of abortion from a religious perspective and the consequences of abortion for the child and the mother (*On Abortion with Father Serafim Man*). The second text contains the testimonies of two women who had an abortion. These two confessions are meant to have a great impact upon the female audience that could ever think of abortion as a solution to an unwanted pregnancy (*Testimonies of Women that have had an Abortion*). The third part of the "documentary" is an excerpt from a letter written as a reaction to a newspaper article drawing on abortion and family planning (*Open Letter to Mrs Aurora Liiceanu, Psychologist*). This letter presents abortion as a moral problem which generates violence and grave forms of abuse that affect the whole social community.

In what follows, the different types of emotions manipulated in the three texts will be grouped into several categories according to the effect they may have upon the audience.

> (1) Abortion is a double murder: first, against God who created that being, and then against that soul which, not being united with Christ by the the Sacrament of Holy Baptism, will be deprived of God's Glory, remaining in a dark place until Judgement Day when, by God's mercy, it is saved. But, on the woman there lies a great deadly sin. Abortion is one of the greatest sins which brings about God's wrath on us all, and for a woman dying while having an abortion is similar to committing suicide and according to the Church Fathers, the Church is not allowed to pray for her soul, this being a sin against the Holy Ghost. Abortion is a revolting sin and brings about God's punishment both in this life and especially after death. The immediate punishment is sometimes, even death; and later the impossibility of giving birth to other children, diseases on the other children or on parents, conflicts between hus-

band and wife and other forms of punishment. Sinful are also those who urge the woman to have an abortion – husbands, mothers, friends, as well as those who perform the abortion – doctors, nurses or pharmacists who provide contraceptives. (my translation)

Despre avort, cu Pr. Serafim Man (On Abortion with Father Serafim Man, www.avort.ro)

Regarding the emotional vocabulary used by the protagonist one can notice in excerpt (1) a mixture of terms related to the notion of *crime* and religious terms related to the notion of *punishment* supporting the argumentative scheme of cause and effect, or facts and consequences, mentioned before. This instance of argumentation seems mainly aimed at: A) a religious audience whose belief that abortion is a crime is once more reinforced; B) an indefinite audience whose belief is that *Abortion is not a crime*. Thus, terms like *crime*, *dark place*, *frightful*, *great sins*, *deadly sin*, *revolting sin*, *punishment*, *death*, *diseases*, *conflicts* are employed to stir fear. In other words, faced with such nightmarish imagery the audience is made aware of what abortion represents as well as of its consequences. Moreover, religious terms such as *God*, *Christ*, *the Sacrament of Holy Baptism*, *God's glory*, *Judgement Day*, *God's mercy*, *God's punishment*, *God's rage*, *the Church*, *the Church Fathers*, *the Holy Spirit*, *prayers* are meant to strengthen the emotional value of the first category of terms. Abortion is presented as such a grave act that only God can punish it accordingly. At the same time, these religious terms represent expressions of the protagonist's religious authority or *ethos* as a priest. Therefore his argumentation is supposed to enjoy the highest credibility before the audience. In a persuasive message as the text in point the mixture of concrete and abstract terms is not accidental. It creates what Kinneavy (1971) calls "persuasive clarity" which is quite different from clarity in scientific or informative terms. The audience is made to believe it has "a clear picture of reality" when in fact it is provided with a screened or filtered view of the reality.

The use of emotional vocabulary may thus be seen as subordinated to the major purpose of the argumentative text which is to convince the audience of the wrongness of abortion. Put simply, the expressive component of the protagonist's argumentation represents a persuasive device intended to have a psychological effect upon the audience.

The testimonies of two women who had an abortion can be viewed as another instance of the "documentary" from the "hard" anti-abortion perspective. The two testimonies are extracted from a leaflet called "Sarcină nedorită?" (Unwanted Pregnancy?) that the Christian-Orthodox Association "Pro-Vita" circulated a few years ago to persuade women to choose other solutions to an unwanted pregnancy than having an abortion. The two fragments were excerpted from texts which can be regarded as a confirmation of the "reality" of abortion and its consequences as presented in excerpt (1) above. The testimonies are the following:

(2) I have aborted my child. Together with him a part of me died too, a part that can no longer rise to life. Today I wouldn't take such a decision, no mat-

ter what the people around me might say. I live with a fear inside I can no longer escape. I have nightmares in which a little girl is running towards me with open arms and keeps asking me: "Why mummy? Why?" [...]. I tell this story for all women's benefit. Consider well what you are doing because your dreams will torture you and you'll be haunted by the eyes of those who are no longer alive [...]. (Judith) (my translation)

"Sarcină nedorită?", Leaflet of the Christian-Orthodox Association "Pro-Vita"

(3) Why did nobody tell me what would follow? All those who advised me to have an abortion two years ago – the doctor, the counsellor, my parents, my friends and my husband – assured me that it was the best thing for me and my child! Now my child is dead and I'm desperate! I can no longer sleep at night, I can no longer laugh. Nobody understands me! Please, tell everybody how awful an abortion is. Terrible pains torture my body and soul. (Jutta) (my translation)

"Sarcină nedorită?", Leaflet of the Christian-Orthodox Association "Pro-Vita"

The two fragments are not in themselves argumentative texts. They can be interpreted as maximally argumentative for the sake of this analysis to reveal that in fact they (can well) function as arguments within the anti-abortion argumentation promoted in the leaflet. After a brief presentation of abortion and its effects, the testimonies are strategically placed at the end of the leaflet text because they are meant to be perceived as strong arguments. Since they represent the personal experiences of two women supposed to exist in reality, the testimonies have a greater psychological impact upon the reader or the audience than any other impersonal discourse against abortion. So, the two quoted stories represent emotional arguments by means of which the audience's persuasion is aimed at.

The vocabulary of the two testimonies is another means by which emotions are manipulated. As instances of expressive discourse the two confessions focus on the "self" and its relation with the world. Thus, what we expect to find in this case is the female "self" expressing feelings and emotions induced by a painful experience before a female audience that should be convinced of the wrongness of abortion. Therefore, there are terms which express psychological states such as fear ("I live with a fear inside"), suffering ("I have nightmares", "I can no longer sleep at night", "I can no longer laugh"), torment ("your dreams will torture you and you will be haunted"), remorse ("Today I wouldn't take such a decision"), despair ("I am desperate") as well as physical suffering ("Terrible pains torture my body and soul"). The frightening imagery of abortion is suggested by nouns like *fear*, *nightmares*, *pains*, verbs like *torment*, *haunt*, descriptive adjectives like *desperate* and evaluative adjectives like *awful* and *terrible*. The emotional impact of such words is even greater since they are directly chosen by the speaking subject who makes a confession. Moreover, the degree of credibility of the two testimonies before the audience is higher as people tend to be more easily persuaded by first person stories or even to recognize themselves in other people's experiences.

The next text for analysis under the "hard" anti-abortion perspective is an excerpt from an open letter written as a reaction to a women magazine article on abortion as a "necessary evil" and on family planning as a "great gain of humanity":

> (4) I believe that abortion should be viewed as a moral issue that has to do also with the healing of people's psychology. The savage violence directed against children and against other vulnerable creatures, the violence that we witness every evening on TV, is the same violence directed against unborn children. The abuse of the already born children will continue as long as the violence against children in their mothers' wombs is tolerated, even, legalized or considered a necessary evil, etc. The abuse of women will continue at least as long as there are forms of extreme violence, such as the abuse of the unborn children. Abortion has become a daily crime in which not only the mother but also the entire family, the father, the other children, the grandparents participate. You, as a psychologist, have all the necessary instruments to reveal all the lies that cover such a tragedy. (my translation)
>
> Larisa Iftimie, Open Letter to Mrs Aurora Liiceanu, psychologist,
> File Provita Media no.72, August 2004, www.avort.ro

If the first two parts of the anti-abortion "documentary" promote the image of abortion as a "deadly sin" – excerpt (1) – or as a painful personal experience – excerpts (2) and (3) –, the final part presents abortion as an act of extreme violence. The protagonist strategically chooses to deal with *violence* since it seems to be a form of life nowadays to which people have grown more and more accustomed. As she states, we are permanently "entertained" with violence whether we talk about violence against children, women or any other vulnerable creatures. So, the emotions manipulated in the passage are related to the concept of violence and its effects upon the audience.

As noticed above, lexical choice is a strategy to communicate and stir emotions at the same time. It should be again emphasized that not all the terms chosen to present abortion as an act of violence are emotional as such. Their emotional value may be determined by the context, in other words they represent terms that acquire emotional value in the context. The key terms of the passage are *violence* and *abuse* whose emotional content is intensified by the use of descriptive adjectives. Thus, structures like *savage* or *extreme violence* as opposed to *vulnerable creatures* are meant to arouse the reader's pity for the innocent victims of any form of abuse as well as his/her indignation at abortion. Of great psychological effect is also the correlation between structures like *the abuse of unborn children, the abuse of already born children* and *the abuse of women* suggests the fact that abortion affects directly or indirectly a large number of individuals. In addition, terms such as *crime* determined by the frequency adjective *daily*, terms like *lie* and *tragedy* and the use of the passives *will be tolerated*, *legalized or considered a necessary evil* with a negative connotation show that abortion is an act of violence performed on a large scale and with the participation of the whole society. All these terms create the same image of a sphere of aggression dealt with in the analyses of the previous text excerpts.

2.1.2 The "soft" perspective

If from the "hard" perspective abortion was treated as a crime, from the "soft" perspective it is considered an infringement of rights. The "soft" anti-abortion perspective can be illustrated by means of an excerpt from Dr. Sam Vaknin's article *The Aborted Contract and the Right to Life*. The author draws on the relation mother-fetus as a contract which is broken when abortion is performed.

> (5) When a woman engages in voluntary sex, does not use contraceptives and gets pregnant – one can say that she signed a contract with her fetus. [...] The contract between a mother and her fetus is derived from the larger Social Contract. Society – through its apparatuses – stands for the embryo the same way that it represents minors, the mentally retarded, and the insane. Society steps in – and has the recognized right and moral obligation to do so – whenever the powers of the parties to a contract (implicit or explicit) are not balanced. It protects small citizens from big monopolies, the physically weak from the thug, the tiny opposition from the mighty administration, the barely surviving radio station from the claws of the devouring state mechanism. It also has the right and obligation to intervene, intercede and represent the unconscious: this is why euthanasia is absolutely forbidden without the consent of the dying person. There is not much difference between the embryo and the comatose.
>
> Dr. Sam Vaknin, The Aborted Contract and the Right to Life,
> http://samvak.tripod.com/abort.html

The protagonist argues against abortion starting from the premise that the mother-fetus relationship is a contract between two parties that are supposed to have equal rights. Yet, when the mother decides to have an abortion, she infringes the fetus's right to life. The mother is endowed with consciousness or power to decide while the fetus lacks consciousness and thus cannot exercise his/her will. Therefore, one party's rights prove stronger than the other party's rights. The resolution of this conflict of rights is one of the major responsibilities of Society. As the author upholds, Society has the right and obligation to defend the weak party's interests. These are in broad lines the main ideas Vaknin puts forward in his argumentation.

Regarding the lexical choice appropriate to the types of topics employed we can notice a mixture of concrete and abstract terms by means of which emotions related to abortion as an abuse of human rights are manipulated. The protagonist combines *legal terms* (*contract*, *sign*, *Social Contract*, *apparatuses*, *stand for*, *minors*, *insane*, *right*, *obligation*, *parties*, *citizens*, *monopolies*, *administration*, *state mechanism*, *protect*, *intervene*, *intercede*, *represent*) with *qualifying terms* of the ordinary language (*small*, *big*, *tiny*, *mighty*, *barely surviving*, *devouring*). This combination of terms is *strategic* – or a strategic maneuvre, according to recent developments in the pragma-dialectical theory – in that it results in a very persuasive appeal to the audience's sense of citizenship. The maneuvre is achieved by use of terms lacking emo-

tional content, i.e. whose fundamental meaning is completely deprived of emotional value (most of the legal terms mentioned above), in a context where terms such as *fetus*, *mother*, *embryo, minors, the mentally retarded, the insane* can be emotionally valued. The semantic association of the (scientific) paradigm *fetus*, *embryo* with the (legal) paradigm *minors, the mentally retarded, the insane* allows the transfer of the characteristics of the latter to the former and thus directs the audience to a representation of the act of abortion as an infringement of law.

The use of this mixture of legal and common terms creates an impression of emotional involvement and at the same time of objectivity from the protagonist's side. He can be viewed both as a detached social analyst and an ordinary citizen who needs Society's protection. Vaknin's language suggests two dimensions of the issue of abortion: on the one hand the dimension of "rationality" and on the other hand the dimension of "aggression". Abortion represents an abuse of the embryo's right to life and therefore a form of aggression that needs to be addressed by Society in the same rational manner used for other forms of social abuse. The word *thug* used instead of *the physically strong* as opposed to *the physically weak* is strategically chosen to convey the idea of aggression the weak party is subjected to by the strong one.

2.2 Emotions related to the standpoint *abortion is not a crime*

Abortion defenders express their approval of abortion by defending the standpoint *Abortion is not a crime*. Broadly, pro-abortion discourse puts forth the argument that *The fetus is not a human being*. If anti-abortion argumentation focuses upon the fetus's right to life, pro-abortion argumentation concentrates upon the mother's right to choose. The abortion scenario is modified so that the mother plays the part of the victim while the fetus stands for the aggressor. Therefore, abortion defenders are expected to use emotional arguments related to the mother. Since she is viewed as a victim, abortion is presented as the right thing to do to remove the "source" of aggression. So, in defending the standpoint abortion is not a crime, protagonists attempt to convince the audience of the rightness of abortion.

The following fragment – excerpted from an article drawing on the mother's right to self-defense – illustrates this perspective:

> (6) I think that the premise is false, that the fetus is not a person from the moment of conception. A newly fertilized ovum, a newly implanted clump of cells, is no more a person than an acorn is an oak tree. [...] I should perhaps stop to say explicitly that I am not claiming that people have a right to do anything whatever to save their lives. I think, rather, that there are drastic limits to the right of self-defense. If someone threatens you with death unless you torture someone else to death, I think you have not the right, even to save your life, to do so. But the case under consideration here is very different. In our case there are only two people involved, one whose life is threatened, and one who threatens it. Both are innocent: the one who is threatened is not

threatened because of any fault, the one who threatens does not threaten because of any fault. For this reason we may feel that we bystanders cannot intervene. But the person threatened can.

Judith Jarvis Thomson, A Defense of Abortion in *Philosophy and Public Affairs*, vol. 1, no. 1, Fall, pp. 47-66.

Starting from the premise that the fetus is not a person from the moment of conception, the protagonist tries to argue in favour of the mother's right to abortion. The main argument advanced is the following: the mother's life is threatened by the fetus. Although neither of them can be blamed for this situation, the mother has the right to intervene to put an end to it. In order to defend her position convincingly, Thomson resorts to certain elements such as topics or particular lines of arguments, lexical choice, stylistic devices and speech acts by means of which emotions related to the mother as a victim are manipulated.

As regards lexical choice, several terms are used which are suggestive of the same sphere of *aggression*. However, the major difference is that the object of aggression is no longer the fetus but the mother and, thus, the one whose rights are emphasized is not the fetus but again the mother. The vocabulary of Thomson's argumentation is not emotional as such but contextually emotional. *Right* and *threaten* are the key terms of the excerpt which in combination with other terms such as *life*, *death*, *self-defense*, *fault*, *person*, *save*, *innocent* bear an emotional burden.

These terms express the protagonist's emotional attachment to the aggressed mother. The intended effect is to make the audience feel sympathetic to the mother and therefore perceive abortion as an act of self-defense and not as a crime. The interplay between *threaten* in the passive and *threaten* in the active ("one whose life is threatened, and one who threatens it", "the one who is threatened is not threatened [...], the one who threatens does not threaten because of any fault", "But the person threatened can") is extremely effective in suggesting the power relation between the two parties, the aggressor and the aggressed. The use of the modal verb *can* both in the affirmative and the negative forms with the meaning *be allowed to* ("For this reason we may feel that we bystanders cannot intervene. But the person threatened can") points out the fact that the mother is the only one that can decide what to do with the aggressor.

As regards reference to the fetus, "intentionally unemotional" terms are used in the excerpt such as *a newly fertilized ovum* or *a newly implanted clump of cells*. By these terms the fetus is placed in opposition with the mother who is a person. Surprisingly, the protagonist labels both the aggressed and the aggressor as *innocent people*. However, the mother is perceived as more of a "person" than the fetus is.

3. *Conclusions*

The analysis of the several text excerpts illustrating treatment of the standpoints *Abortion is a crime* and *Abortion is not a crime* in point of expression of emotions, reveals that ex-

pressives represent an essential characteristic of ethical discourse on abortion. This characteristic could be extended to other instances of ethical discourse dealing with a moral dilemma of the *good* vs *evil* type. In other words, the hypothesis that expressives are not an accident but a fundamental component of ethical argumentation has been confirmed.

Whether we talk about the "hard" or the "soft" anti-abortion perspective or the pro-abortion perspective, emotions are conveyed by similar means such as topics, vocabulary, stylistic devices and overt or implicit speech acts. Therefore, the emotional appeal present in the excerpts dealt with can be viewed as a very powerful strategy of winning the argument. The main function of expressives in ethical argumentation is a rhetorical one. As stated in the ideal model of a critical discussion and as confirmed by the present analysis expressives do not contribute to the resolution of a dispute yet, they are used to gain the audience's adherence to a standpoint.

Ethical argumentation on abortion may be considered an instance of critical discourse because of the difference of opinion externalized in the confrontation between the protagonist and the antagonist. However, the disputants' rhetorical objective to win the argument by appealing to the audience's emotions overweighs their dialectical objective to solve the difference of opinion. This type of argumentation does not conform to the critical standard of reasonableness and, so, the disputants can hardly be regarded as reasonable ones.*

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EMOTIVE ARGUMENTATION EXPONENTS IN COMPUTER-MEDIATED DIALOGUE. THE CASE OF A ROMANIAN POLITICIAN'S BLOG

TEODORA POPESCU

The aim of this paper is to present an analysis of the emotive argumentation exponents present in the computer-mediated dialogue recorded on the personal blog of a Romanian politician, now an ex-major player on the political scene. The mini-corpus that we base our study on consists of the replies given to a blog posting written by the politician with regard to a statement made by the current Romanian president in a press conference. The emotive exponents identified and discussed in the present study are: slang/jargon words and expressions; use of foreign words and expressions; use of idiomatic utterances; forms of address (e.g. terms of endearment, etc.); value judgments; presuppositions; euphemisms; punctuation (exclamation marks, suspension points, etc.). We will also discuss these emotive exponents with regard to the relationships established between interlocutors, as well as to their politically-laden illocutionary force.

Introduction

We will start with a short theoretical background and some working definitions relevant to our study. *Weblogs* represent websites with a standardised but at the same time flexible structure built on a CMC (content management system). They also allow for a possibly attractive, marketable presentation. Unlike traditional mass media communication, weblogs support the interaction of authors (bloggers) with their readers by offering services to comment and give feedback on articles (the so-called "blog posts"). They also support the interaction with other bloggers by facilitating hyperlinking to other blogs or blog posts available on the Internet. It is different from emails in that it is group communication and everybody has access to what each interlocutor has previously said. It is asynchronous, since communication does not take place in real time. The totality of weblogs – the *blogoshpere* – represents the new virtual communicative space, with an exponentially increasing number of members every day.

A by-now quite common type of blogging is to be found in the political arena. *Political blogs* are weblogs in which the content concentrates on issues, events and policy in a constituency, national, international or party political context (Ferguson & Griffith 2006: 366). One of the reasons why blogs have become so popular in this sphere is that they may represent an alternative channel for the distribution of information as well as a mobilisation tool due to their ability to spread news very quickly (Ito 2004, Kahn & Kellner 2004). Bloggers are sometimes considered

as a "fifth power" that increasingly occupies the control function of the mass media (Gillmor 2004, Himmelsbach 2005), different from the established news values through their more personal, direct, and often location-specific style of reporting. To a certain extent, blogs can turn into a tool for opinion formation, as they may influence agenda setting and framing processes (Farrell & Drezner 2008). This orientation towards sustained dialogue and lasting social relations has a greater impact on partisans and supporters and seems to increase their political engagement.

On the other hand, there are some negative aspects pertaining to political weblogs, which can be detrimental to effective communication. For example, hyperlinking on weblogs might foster fragmentation by connecting only like-minded bloggers, who, consequently, avoid dealing with diverging views (Howard 2005). Political clustering along ideological divides may lead to homogeneous spheres with little, if any, communication with the outside world. Another aspect pertains to the threat that blogs pose to the reflective quality of public political communication by allowing anybody to share their more or less concise thoughts. Thirdly, it has been argued that blogs might worsen the inequality of voices in the public sphere by supporting a star culture with few prominent authors (the so-called "A-listers") and a large number of unknown bloggers (Shirky 2003).

Political blogging has existed for quite some time, to a larger or lesser extent, in different democracies. Tom Watson was the first UK's MP to use a blog in 2003. By 2004 there were 5 MP's using blogs, whereas during the 2005 general election campaign there were approximately 65 parliamentary candidates who resorted to blogging as part of their campaign structure (Ferguson & Griffith 2006: 366).

During the 2004 US presidential campaign weblogs were very much used in order to transmit information and to allow for political debate. Campaign blogging was also present in other Western democracies: the 2005 UK general election (mentioned above), the 2005 Danish parliamentary election, the 2005 New Zealand general election, the 2005 German Bundestag election, as well as the 2007 French election (Albrecht et al. 2007).

Emotive markers in computer-mediated communication

We shall argue for the purposes of this study that emotive argumentation exponents fall into two broad categories: the first being in relation with and specific to computer-mediated communication, while the second pertains to the pragmaliguistic means of achieving communication. Table I presents a taxonomy of the most frequent emotive exponents, revealed from a sample sub-corpus extracted from Adrian Năstase's blog.

In the following we will try to analyse this categorisation, accounting for the specificity of communication through blogging, which is a sub-category of computer-mediated dialogue (CMD) (along with chatting). CMD, as previously mentioned, is a hybrid-type of communication (neither purely written, nor verbal). For this very reason (the lack of paraverbal indicators), CMC needs to find substitutes in order to ensure the interpersonal dimension of communication.

For the first category of affective markers we identified the following: emoticons, punctuation, spelling and usernames.

TYPE	EMOTIVE MARKERS / EXPONENTS		EXAMPLES
CMC-related devices	Emoticons (smiley face, wink, frown, sad face, etc)		☺ ☻ ☺
	Punctuation (suspension points, exclamation marks, inverted commas, etc.)		*I beg you... /* 'va rog eu frumos...' *Congratulations! /* 'Felicitari!'
	Spelling	Capital letters	*YOU'RE TELLING US NO NEWS* 'NU NE SPUNETI NICI O NOUTATE'
		Wilful transcription of faulty Romanian pronunciation/grammar	'almanhe' *(faulty plural for 'almanahuri' – almanacs)*
	Usernames (revealing vs concealing identity)		'mirceag' *(possibly indicative of another politician's name?)*
Non-directly CMC-related pragma-linguistic devices	Speech acts carrying emotive load: expressives/assertives		*I am ashamed of such a president /* 'Mi-e jena cu un asa presedinte' *I don't consider that* [...] */* 'Nu consider ca [...]'
	Vocatives (affective forms of address)		*Liviu, sonny /* 'Liviu, taică[...]'
	Diminutives and superlatives		'superbase' *(from super + Băsescu)*
	Coinage of new words and expressions		*Băsescian dictatorship /* 'dictatură băsesciană'
	Foreign words and expressions		*'capisci'; 'c'mon'; 'j'en ai assesz'; 'thanks anyway'*
	Slang/in-group language		the AN / 'AN-ul'
	Colloquialisms and use of the vernacular		*set-up /* 'facatura' *at once /* 'mintenas'
	Idiomatic expressions		*he shot from the hip /* 'l-a luat gura pe dinainte'
	Proverbs and sayings		*The truth will out /* 'Minciuna are picioare scurte'
	Presuppositions		*just like Mona Musca's denunciation on the letterhead of the DA Alliance /* 'la fel ca si denuntul Monei Musca pe antetul Aliantei DA'
	Implicature		*t b lied. answer: so what? he's a politician /* 't b a mintit. raspuns: si ce daca? e politician'
	Value judgments		*AN may represent a solution to this crisis /* 'AN poate reprezenta o solutie pentru aceasta criza'
	Controversial assertions		*Any lie is construed on a truth, otherwise it won't hold. /* 'Orice minciuna se construieste pe un adevar- altfel, nu sta in picioare.'

Table I: *Taxonomy of emotive markers in computer-mediated communication*

As far as the second category is involved, we detached 13 exponents which are non-directly CMC-related: speech acts carrying emotive load (expressives/assertives); vocatives (affective forms of address); diminutives and superlatives; coinage of new words and expressions; foreign words and expressions; slang/in-group language; colloquialisms and use of the vernacular; idiomatic expressions; proverbs and sayings; presuppositions; implicature; value judgments and controversial assertions. All these CMC-related or -non-related devices mostly account for the polarisation of allegiances and the individual expression of ideological stances.

The first Romanian political blog

Although at present there are numerous politicians (MP's) or private individuals (partisans/supporters of a political doctrine) who lead blogs, the one we are going to analyse in the following has the merit to be the first one on the Romanian political scene.

Adrian Năstase, the blogger, formerly an extremely potent political actor, lost the presidential elections of 2004 in favour of the current president, Traian Băsescu. The battle was fierce and the victory only came after the second scrutiny, the difference being almost unnoticeable. The failure was allegedly assigned to the politician's lack of popularity with common people.

Nevertheless, the claim to elitism is still overt in the motto:

1) "...Cititorii mei sunt mai inteligenți decât scriitorii altora."
   '...My readers are more intelligent than others' writers.'

The implied idea is that other politicians are not even capable of writing their own speeches and therefore hire professional writers to this end. However, the people who engage in conversation in this blogospace outsmart the other politicians' writers.

The next line in the letterhead summarizes the political trajectory of the MP:

2) ministru – prim-ministru – blogger
   'minister – prime-minister – blogger'

There is also an attached tag that reinforces the idea of intellectual elite:

3) blog cu accord intellectual / conținut implicit
   'blog with intellectual consent / implicit content'

The corpus we chose to analyse in order to reveal affective exponents present in a computer-mediated dialogue is made up of all the comments triggered by an entry posted on 26th September, 2007, 12:09 PM. The post triggered 102 responses, the first on September 26, 2007, 12:15 PM (6 minutes after it was launched on the weblog), and the last on October 2, 2007, 1:23 PM (a week after, it still aroused interest among participants). The transcript totals 15226 words, out of which 3947 are unique words.

As to the patterns of interaction, there were 59 individual posters, some of them posting several times, mostly in reply to other posters. 26 posts were directly addressed to A.N.[1], 15 posts were not addressed to anybody in particular, 60 posts were replies to other posters' responses and only one reply of the blogger's was recorded.

The title of this post reads:

4) Traian Basescu minte!
   'Traian Basescu is lying!'

This represents a forceful assertive, which sets not only the topic, but the tone and the direction of the conversation as well. It comes as no wonder, then, that the verb *to lie* (a minți) is found in 28 instances (25 present simple – 'minte', 3 past simple – 'a minţit', 1 gerund – 'minţind', all with reference to Traian Băsescu. From the same word family we also encounter *lie* (15 occurrences in the singular – 'minciuna' and 4 in the plural – 'minciuni[le]') and *liar* in 2 occurrences – 'mincinos'.

We will present below the input post in full, and will try to analyse the message that it conveys. The statement, taken out of context, seems, at first sight, completely nonsensical and contradicts common logic. In fact, the president makes a parallel with previous accusations of abuse that he himself made against Adrian Năstase and the prosecutors in office during Adrian Năstase's mandate as prime-minister. The difference, though, he states, lies in the fact that unlike his case, when the PSD officials gave instructions that his file be sent to the Prosecutor's office, now, during his mandate as president, nobody gave any instruction to anyone as to sending ex-ministers' files for investigation.

5) In conferinţa de presa de ieri, Traian Basescu afirma: "***S-a dovedit***[2] *insa ca, in ceea ce ma priveşte, exista o stenograma a PSD, in care demnitarii PSD din acea vreme au stabilit sa se trimită dosarul la Parchet. Ceea ce ar fi foarte greu de susţinut de către actualii miniştri. Nimeni nu a dat nicio instrucţiune nimănui.*"

'In yesterday's press conference, Traian Băsescu asserted that: "*It has been nevertheless **proved** that, as far as I am concerned, there existed a PSD[3] short-hand report in which the then PSD officials decided that the file be sent to the Prosecutor's office. Which would be very difficult to uphold by the present ministers. Nobody gave any instruction to anyone.*"'

As we shall see in the following, Adrian Năstase starts from the assumption that everybody is well within the context and leaves out completely this aspect of the apparent lack of logic and chooses instead to confute one verb - 'to prove' (used in the passive voice, to emphasise indirectness). By 'logically' inferencing that 'it hasn't been proved', the politician aims to demonstrate that Traian Băsescu is lying. The strongest argument used is the traditional one: quoting exact sources, with clear time reference.

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[1] The initials of the politician.
[2] A.N.'s bold type.
[3] The Social Democrat Party.

6) In realitate, in **Rezoluția DNA**[4] nr.6/P/2005, din 28.XI.2005, se arata ca: *"Din ansamblul actelor premergătoare efectuate in cauza **nu s-a confirmat existenta niciunei stenograme a discuțiilor purtate in cadrul sedintelor organismelor de conducere ale PSD** – mai precis in sedintele Delegației Permanente sau ale Biroului Executiv Central – ce s-au desfasurat in cursul anilor 2003-2004 si **nici ca s-ar fi dispus înregistrări ale discuțiilor pe banda magnetica sau alt tip de suport**."*
'In reality, in the **DNA's Resolution** no. 6/P/2005 on 28.11.2005, it was shown that: *"Out of all preceding documents drawn up for the purposes of this case, there has been **no confirmation of the existence of any shorthand report of discussions conducted within meetings of PSD management bodies** – more precisely the meetings of the Permanent Delegation or of the Central Executive Bureau – which were held during 2003-2004, **neither of the fact that there had been an order to magnetically tape or by any other means to record conversation**."'*

7) Deci **nu** s-a dovedit. Deci Traian Basescu minte.
'Therefore, it has **not** been proved. Therefore, Traian Băsescu is lying.'

Although political blogs, as we previously mentioned, may run the risk of becoming partisanship-driven, in this particular instance one can still find some divergent ideologies and side-takings. The first three replies are in fact against Adrian Năstase, the stance varying from mild to strong opposition. We will reproduce the one that Adrian Năstase chose to answer to (actually his only intervention in this dialogue).

8) haide D-nule Nastase nu ne mai luati de fraieri va rog eu frumos...macar faza cu stenogramele lasa-ti-o asa si nu va mai umpleti de penibil negandu-le autenticitatea...pentru ca totusi nu sunt numai fani care va sustin neconditionat cei ce mai scriu pe blogul dumneavoastra...apropo rugati administratorul sa nu mai cenzureze mesajele in care nu sunteti ridicat in slavi...daca sunt decente si nu contin limbaj licentzios nu vad rostul cenzurarii lor... Sau macar scrieti in titlul blogului: interzis a scrie celor care ma contesta
'com'n Mr. Năstase, please don't take us for fools any more...at least leave the shorthand reports thing as it is and don't plunge into ridiculousness by denying their authenticity...because anyway, there are not only fans who support you unconditionally, the people who happen to write on your weblog...by the way, ask your administrator to stop censoring the messages in which you are not being lauded...if they are decent and do not contain licentious language I see no point in censoring them...Or at least write in the letterhead of your weblog: forbidden to the ones who will contest me'

The first to answer to this reply is from the administrator himself:

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[4] The National Anti-corruption Department.

9) Liviu, taică, ai ceva să-mi transmiți sau te mai zbați nițel în conspirație?...☺
   'Liviu, sonny, are you telling me something or keep struggling against the conspiracy?...☺'

The blog administrator replies to the overt accusations of purposefully planned like-mindedness in a superior, sarcastic tone ('taică' = affectionate term in the vernacular, used by an older person to address a younger one, cf. DEX 1998); yet the use of a smiley face can have a double role: to mitigate the effect of the rather blunt implication that the interlocutor has in fact nothing to say and to belittle the importance of the exchange. He is nevertheless the one who administrates the blog and enforces impartiality; therefore he has to at least apparently preserve a balance between the diverging ethea in the dialogue.

Adrian Năstase's reply is meant to clarify his reasoning. Nevertheless, he does so by shedding a somewhat negative stigma on the whole political body of which the president is a leading member. He declares that he did not refer to the 'shorthand reports thing', although the syntagm 'shorthand reports' does appear in bold type, and it actually represents the crux of his argument.

10) Eu nu m-am referit la chestiunea stenogramelor – istoria e lunga si murdara, legata de campania electorala, la fel ca si denuntul Monei Musca pe antetul Aliantei DA, avandu-l drept co-presedinte pe Traian Basescu. M-am referit la afirmatia "s-a dovedit". Eu am aratat simplu, citand dintr-un document al Parchetului, ca "nu s-a dovedit" si, ca deci afirmatia a fost o minciuna. Asta nu inseamna ca nu poti sa-l mai votezi odata pe Basescu!
   'I did not refer to the shorthand reports thing – that's a long and dirty history concerning the electoral campaign, just like Mona Musca's denunciation on the letterhead of the DA Alliance[5]. I referred to the statement "It has been proved". I simply showed, by quoting from a document issued by the Prosecutor's Office that it hasn't been proved, and therefore, that the statement was a lie. This doesn't mean you can't vote for Băsescu once more!'

The condescending and sarcastic tone is again conspicuous: *I am telling you what is right, but in the name of free will, it is up to you to choose what's wrong*, would be a fair translation of the of last exclamative sentence.

I. *CMC-related emotive exponents*

a) *Emoticons* are probably the most important paralanguage affective marker in computer-mediated communication. According to Sanderson (1993: 1), emoticons (or "smileys") represent "a sequence of ordinary characters you can find on your computer keyboard. Smileys

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[5] Political alliance between the National Liberal Party and the Democrat Party, concluded in 2004 for electoral purposes. It subsequently proved non-functional and was therefore dissolved in 2007.

are used in e-mail and other forms of communication using computers". They were also described as "visual cues formed from ordinary typographical symbols that when read sideways represent feelings or emotions" (Rezabek & Cochenour 1998: 201). In CMC they are an expression of emotion, also called "pictographs" and are used as "surrogates for nonverbal communication" (Thompson & Foulger 1996: 226), giving clues as to the facial expression of the message sender, in order to provide "a paralinguistic component to a message" (Thompson & Foulger 1996: 230). According to Godin (1993: 4), when "properly used, a smiley can spice up virtually any form of written communication".

Most of the time, in this conversation, emoticons are used as a contextual tool and pragmatic mechanism shaping and acknowledging shared mindsets.

> 11) Ca Traian Basescu minte cum respira o stie prea bine orice roman in-
>   telegent. Cariera politica a scumpului nostru presedinte este cladita pe
>   minciuna. Numai un mic exemplu: Mai tineti minte cand a promis ca va
>   demisiona in 5 MINUTE. Ha, ha, ha, ce gluma buna!☺
>   'That Traian Basescu lies as he breathes is well known by any intelligent
>   Romanian. The political career of our beloved president is built on lies.
>   Just a little example: Do you remember when he promised he would re-
>   sign in 5 MINUTES. Ha, ha, ha, what a good joke! ☺'

This final exclamation has by now an anecdotal value. It is the president's favourite expression of appreciation of his own sense of humour. Its use here is meant to emphasise the initial statement referring to the president's innate propensity to lie.

b) *Punctuation* is used as a substitute for face-to-face paraverbal indicators. Suspension points are used to suggest that the implications go beyond what was said; exclamation/question marks are used to mark the interactants' amazement, indignation, etc.; inverted commas indicate that the meaning of the word/expression is figurative.

c) *Spelling* performs the same function as punctuation, plus a supplementary one which again comes to reinforce the idea of cultivating group identity through common valorisation benchmarks.

Capital letters are a substitute for intonation and an indicator of higher voice pitch used for greater emphasis:

> 12) Mai clar, NIMENI, dar absolut nimeni din afara acestui partid nu ar putea
>   "desăvârşi" lucrurile fără ajutorul "intern"!
>   'More specifically, NOBODY, but absolutely nobody outside this party
>   could "round off" things without "insider" help!'

Wilful transcription of faulty Romanian pronunciation/grammar is used to refer to uneducated politicians. Marian Vanghelie, otherwise a prominent PSD figure, has made history with his illiterate discourses in broken syntax and suburban lingo. In this conversation just a few of his most celebrated linguistic blunders are referred to, e.g. marean /ma'ræn/ (instead of Marian /ma'rjan/); almanahe (instead of 'almanahuri' – almanacs, n.pl.); asfalte (instead of 'asfalturi' – asphalts, n.pl.).

d) *Playing the identity game* is a very important element of computer-mediated communication. Preserving anonymity in CMC is a double-edged sword, in that it has both advantages and disadvantages. On the one hand, it might be possible that behind an assumed name, people may feel freer to uninhibitedly express their opinions, while their interlocutors give them the benefit of the doubt and focus on the apparent truth value and accuracy of the arguments put forward, refraining from any conjectures as to ulterior motives or intentions. On the other hand, the positive dynamics of a discussion group may be based on the fact that people count on clear identification of the interlocutor, in order to ensure credibility. Interlocutors' anonymity may render their contributions less reliable or accurate, distorting the perception of the group members, who will distrust the expertise of the speaker and question the believability or motivations of the statements made[6].

The most relevant example in our mini-corpus refers to the assumptions one interlocutor makes about the identity of another poster. *Aya* (herself with an irrelevant nickname) replies to the comments of *mirceag* with a series of invectives and defamatory statements. Strangely enough, their language borders bawdiness at times, but their comments are not banned by the administrator, nor condemned by any of the other participants.

13) Marea problema a celui care are gresita impresia ca este cu adevarat presedintele PSD (individul despre care vorbim - stii care, ala care crede ca se ascunde cand semneaza "Mircea G" pe forum la JN sau "mirceag" ori "mircea" aici pe blog) e urmatoarea: dupa ce ca sta pe picioroange, mai si umbla tras de sfori de catre stapanii lui.

'The chief problem of the guy who is under the false impression that he is the real president of PSD (the guy we are talking about – you know who, the one who thinks he's under cover when signing "Mircea G" on the JN forum and "mirceag" or "mircea" here on the blog) is the following: not only is he walking on broomsticks, he is also being string-pulled by his masters.'

II. *Non-directly CMC-related emotive exponents*

a) Speech acts carrying emotive load: expressives/assertives are rather forceful tools for the expression of one's party identification or ideological orientation, or simply the articulation of closeness to or distancing from Adrian Năstase.

14) ...ma simt mai reprezentat de Adrian Nastase ca om de stat si, de ce nu?, presedinte decat de bufonul Basescu.

'... I feel more represented by Adrian Nastase as a statesman and, why not?, as president, than by Basescu the jester.'

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[6] For more information on competing hypotheses concerning perception of anonymous sources – the discounting hypothesis and the benevolence hypothesis, see Rains (2007).

15) Nu consider ca Adrian Nastase este un om desavarsit. Sunt convins ca are
   pacatele lui, asa cum avem toti.
   'I don't consider that Adrian Nastase is a perfect man. I am convinced he
   has his shortcomings, like we all do.'

b) Vocatives (affective forms of address):

16) haide D-nule Nastase...
   'come on, Mr Nastase...'

17) Domnule Adrian Nastase...'
   'Mister Adrian Nastase...'

18) Domnule Presedinte,'
   'Mister President,'

19) Prostanacule,...
   'Dopey,...'

The first three instances represent forms of address to Adrian Nastase, and it is interesting to note that negative politeness strategies never go that far as to use the second person singular (in Romanian, social distance is grammatically marked through the use of the second person plural verb and the personal pronoun of politeness – 'dumneavoastră') The fourth instance is from an exchange between Aya and the one she considers to be Mircea Geoană, the current president of the PSD party. 'Dopey' is a nickname that Mircea Geoană was given by the first Romanian post-Decembrist president, the founding father and long-standing president of the PSD party (until demoted by scheming party dissenters).
c) Diminutives and superlatives are classical devices of expressing affect. Romanian is particularly linguistically rich in diminutives and superlatives, due to its agglutinant characteristic of word-formation through affixation. The following examples are included in the mini-corpus: 'base' (*from Băsescu*), 'superbase' *(from super + Băsescu)*, 'baselu' (*popular form of base + definite article*); 'fratioare' (*little brother*).
d) Coinage of new words and expressions is another lexical device that can contribute to the expression of emotions, all politically-oriented. Examples include 'dictatura basesciana' (Băsescian/Băsescu's dictatorship) or:

20) Nu stiu cat de corupt este, nu i-am numarat ouale.
   'I don't know how corrupt he is, I haven't counted his eggs.'

A număra ouale cuiva ('to count sb's eggs') is a newly coined idiom in Romanian, meaning 'to probe sb's honesty', making reference to a political corruption scandal in which Năstase was involved, when he allegedly had some shareholding in a poultry farm.
e) Foreign words and expressions are indicative of the fact that the group members share a common language. Examples include: 'c'mon'; 'capisci'; 'J'en ai assez', 'y compris', 'bref', 'Wow!', 'Thanks anyway', etc.

f) Likewise, slang and in-group language are also used as a cohesion factor for the members of this virtual community. E.g. ANul, ANului (*the AN, i.e. the Adrian Năstase; proper noun initials + def. art. suffix, m.sg., N/G*); adminii (*the admins, i.e. the administrators of the weblog; abbrev. + def.art. Suffix, m.pl., N*).

g) Colloquialisms and use of the vernacular increase the degree of familiarity between interlocutors and spice up the conversation. Examples include:

> 21) Mi se rupe magistral de PSD/PRM/PNL
>   'I don't give an imperial damn about PSD/PRM/PNL⁷'

'făcătura' (*set-up*); 'mare specialist în cacialmale' (*real specialist in games of bluff*); 'mintenaş' (regional expression meaning *at once/in a second*, used in Transylvania); 'oleacă' (*a little bit*); 'nene' (*old chap, brother*); 'mai tre' (*still needs to*); 'idee faină' (*great idea*), etc.

h) Idiomatic expressions serve the same purpose as colloquialisms and use of the vernacular, contributing to an increased feeling of belonging to and solidarity within the group. From a pragmatic perspective, proverbs may serve a double function: of positive politeness when they are applied to the members of the group and negative politeness when they refer to group opponents.

> 22) haita n-are ce roade
>   'the pack has nothing to chew on' (meaning that the politicians in the PSD party have nothing left to steal).
>
> 23) Nici in gluma sa nu "arati coltii" cand e vorba de suferinta cuiva!
>   'Don't "show your fangs" when it comes to somebody's suffering, not even in jest!' (to show one's fangs = to be ready for attack)
>
> 24) Presedintele Romaniei nu minte, ci l-a luat gura pe dinainte (!).
>   'The president of Romania is not lying; he's just shot from the hips.' (he spoke without forethought)

i) Proverbs and sayings, used in the context of computer-mediated communication contribute even more to encoding in-group relations. On the one hand, they transmit solidarity by instituting a sort of positive politeness amongst participants, who adhere to the same set of rules, values and beliefs. On the other hand, they institute negative politeness, by expressing indirectness and by distancing from those who have divergent views and are not supportive of the same cause. As it might be easily expected, the proverbs/sayings/proverbial expressions used are mostly in relation to lies/lying/liars.

> 25) Minciuna are picioare scurte si odata si odata tot il va ajunge mania poporului!
>   'A lie has short feet (= the truth will out) and one fine day the rage of the people will run you down'

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⁷ Acronyms for Romanian political parties.

26) Prostanacule, ai mare grija: cel care sare multe garduri, sigur "agata apasat"
un varf de par cu sezutul pantalonilor!
'Dopey, be very careful: he who jumps over many fences will surely hook
his trousers on a picket' (= a thief will always be caught eventually).

j) Presuppositions refer to the "assumptions the speaker makes about what the hearer is likely to accept without challenge" (Givon, 1979: 50). In the example below, the speaker assumes as common ground the fact that Mona Musca's denunciation of former involvement with the Securitate[8] is a stain on the public image of the DA Alliance, which was supposedly founded on justice ('Dreptate') and truth ('Adevăr').

27) la fel ca si denuntul Monei Musca pe antetul Aliantei DA
'just like Mona Musca's denunciation on the letterhead of the DA Alliance'

k) Implicatures are useful means of expressing meaning without explicitly uttering or stating it. The example below is a relevant example. The speaker implies that by definition, politicians are notorious liars, and that their lies are common knowledge and have therefore no effect.

28) t b a mintit. raspuns: si ce daca? e politician
't b lied. answer: so what? he's a politician'

l) Value judgments refer to a common set of values that the participants in the blogosphere share or dissociate themselves from.

29) AN poate reprezenta o solutie pentru aceasta criza
'AN may represent a solution to this crisis'

30) Si eu ma simt reprezentata de un om de talia lui Adrian Nastase.
'I too feel represented by a man of Adrian Nastase's stature.'

m) Controversial assertions are made with the purpose of building arguments in favour / in refutation of moral reasoning and political ideology.

31) Orice minciuna se construieste pe un adevar – altfel, nu sta in picioare
'Any lie is construed on a truth, otherwise it won't hold.'

32) In politica, e nevoie sa minti frumos si credibil, nu sa spui adevaruri neplacute. Daca alegatorul e bou si vrea sa i se spuna 'Sa traiasca bine', asa i se spune.
'In politics, one needs to lie nicely and credibly, not to say unpleasant truths. If the voter is an asshole and wants to be wished 'Live well', that's what he will be told.'

---

[8] The secret service of communist Romania.

Conclusions

Although blogs are generally created with a view to ensure communication between the author and his/her readership, in this case there is little, if any communication between the blogger and the posters, which consequently turns the blog into a sort of self-casting of the id of a formerly powerful political leader. We believe that in the long run this will surely determine less involvement from non-party participants, leaving space for divisive debate between close supporters and opponents of the Parliamentarian.

It is apparent that there is more communication among the posters themselves than between the blog owner and the posters, inevitably leading to an ideologically heterogeneous arena.

This pluralistic ideological positioning is still auspicious. The posters' utterances cover a wide range of stances, varying from solidarity/commitment to detachment.

34) Va spun toate acestea pentru ca stiu ca nu este nevoie ca unui om ca Nastase sa ii adresezi indemnuri la actiune. Dar pentru Adrian Nastase pe care il simt, stiu ca valoreaza mult sprijinul moral si prietenia in momentele de singuratate si confirmarea valorii in clipele de declin.
'I am telling you all these because I know that one needs not urge a man like Năstase to act. But for the Adrian Năstase I feel, I know that moral support and friendship in moments of loneliness and the confirmation of value in times of decline count a lot.'

35) Ca sa fim foarte clari, de la bun inceput: urasc PSD, il urasc pe Ion Iliescu si pe Nastase. Cred cu tarie ca aceste entitati au adus mai multe prejudicii Romaniei decit Nicolae Ceauşescu.
'To make myself very clear, from the outset: I hate PSD, I hate Ion Iliescu and Nastase. I firmly believe that these entities have brought more prejudice to Romania than Nicolae Ceauşescu.'

We have tried to demonstrate in this paper that the weblog under discussion is more emotion/affect-driven than politically programatic, particularly because of the interactants, who are minor political actors and/or supporters, and who display their side-takings by resorting to a wide range of emotive argumentation exponents.

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WORDING VIEWPOINTS AT SCHOOL
IN DEBATES ABOUT RELATIONSHIPS WITH OTHERS

MARIE CARCASSONNE & MIREILLE FROMENT & CHRISTIAN HUDELOT

Usually, a dialogue is considered an argumentative one when the speakers utter arguments with the intention of making their point of view prevail and of persuading their interlocutors. In fact, a debate offers the speakers the opportunity to formulate and compare points of view. The relation between intention and linguistic means can be present, but there is a diversity of discourse figures. Dialogical effects also have to be taken into account.

Argumentation is spoken of when discursive moves modify the former utterances, whether through a shift of theme, or a shift of genre, or modalisations... Those discursive moves are all together what propels the debate and what justifies it.

They also raise theoretical questions. Some of these moves can only be determined by the analyst, others are the result of speakers interpreting words differently and also depend on the type of words used.

The analysis is led from the receiver's point of view, no-one can tell in advance how the discourse he receives will make sense for him/her. Thus, argumentation is not merely in the speaker's intention. Besides, it also raises the question of lexical meaning in argumentative dialogue, and precisely how words work in accordance with their type.

According to Weinreich (1963), Hockett (1958) and François (1980), different types of words can be distinguished. Technical words (eg. *sulfur, sulphate, sulphide*), names of artefacts (eg. *chair*), concepts defined in a set of relations (eg. *phoneme*, *sentence*, *string*), can be distinguished from 'full' words, which support *notions*, as mentioned by Perelman (1988), Grize (1990), François (1994), (eg. *difference, racism, jalousy, rejection, liberty*, etc.).

Some words refer to a notion. According to François (1994), we can speak of a "notion word". This is precisely because there are words whose particularity is to be "notion words" (Grize, Perelman) that discussion is possible: "if words meant the same thing at the end of a text as at the beginning, it wouldn't worth speaking or writing" (1994: 48).

Our conception of meaning and types of words is elaborated from the receiver's point of view, which can be said a "dialogical" point of view. This is why, in a dialogue or a text, we contrast expected and unexpected words, which strike the receiver: words that are familiar or unfamiliar to him, either words from specialized discourse or words referring to another culture.

The diversity of interpretation is linked to the fact that the meaning of words is not only in the words themselves but in the relationships between speakers, as Bakhtine-Volochinov even says (1977: 146): "one has no grounds to say that meaning belongs to the word per

se. In reality, it belongs to the word as a hyphen between speakers, which it is actualised only by the process of active understanding, implying a response".

In fact, it's important to note two aspects of interpretation, one which is tied to the words and which everyone can have access to, another which is relevant to our own experience, feelings and associations.

The reception of an utterance involves both the interpretive movements that discourse imposes and interpretive movements of the receiver himself or herself, based on the associations the utterances awaken. On the one hand, the utterance has a restraining effect upon its receiver, on the other hand it resonates with him or her.

1. *Interpretation, wording and dialogue*

More than other words, notion-words generate what Wittgenstein (1945/1961) has called "language-games". It is worth debating because of them. Several authors have noted that they stimulate formulations of points of views (Lahire 1998, Froment & Hudelot 2007).

François underlines that "thinking with words" can partly be defined as "searching to transform *a notion into concept"* (1994: 43), by analysing the notion, clarifying presuppositions, giving definitions, or distinctions, as well as examples or telling stories. The matter will then be a "concrete concept".

Therefore we will not study words but the "wording" and the elaboration of notions. Wording implies the relation between discourses, that is to say the discourse of the self with the other (present or missing) as well as the relation between discourse and the experience to be communicated.

Wording is defined by François (2004) by noting that language offers a large number of possibilities: it concerns words or constructions but also genres of discourse. In order to refer to a concrete or abstract object, the selection of words and of their arrangement may be different from one speaker to another and from one moment to another for the same speaker: these possibilities arise during a process which occurs "within us but without us", that is to say not by effective choice.

Using the concept of wording lays the emphasis on the process of spontaneous selection among possibilities: it does not imply that there is a notion which pre-exists and is "worded" afterwards. Wording is not conceived as a "tracing" of the reality (a complete description for example would be impossible) nor as a reflection but as a process including a part of creativity or at least of specificity – the fixed aspect of ideological discourse for instance doesn't really allow us to talk of "wording" anymore.

The wording always manifests a point of view and so always simultaneously elaborates notions, several authors have noted this trend (François 1994, Grize 1990, Tomasello 1994/2004).

2. *Move, theme, genre, linking*

The theme of the discourse does not determine its wording. How one imagines the theme is always worded through a genre of discourse, which can be observed in the linking of utterances.

In this study, we also mobilize the notion of *move* (discursive and/or interpretive move), that is to say the various displacements involved in the linking of utterances, the various ways a speaker links up his discourse to another one. The relationship can be a genre move, a move of theme, a move of genre and theme, a move affecting lexical-grammatical categorization or a move that affects the referential world. We use this term to depict how a notion is elaborated through the confrontation of viewpoints and/or values tied to various dialogical frames.

In the debate which we observed and analysed, we noted, as Wertsch (1985) did, the meeting of the pupils' spontaneities with what is expected in the school world. The moves show the locutors' various relationships with the referent in a given interaction with certain co-locutors. They show the encounter between the various locutors' social worlds, the values and affects they perceive in them. Moreover, some moves are easily identified, in particular the moves concerning the themes, the modification of the categories or those which are introduced by a grammatical word. Other moves result from the receiver's interpretation.

In our data, at least three social worlds are linked together: the school source, the class group source and the child's family. Of course, it is not the speaker's knowledge and culture as a whole which are involved, and we can add that those worlds interact and modify each other.

3. *The data*

Our study focuses on a debate at school about relationships with others. The data consists of a session of civic instruction in a primary school (2nd and 3rd level). The teaching-learning situation is a deliberative debate, based on the reading of a fable *Les chameaux et le dromadaire (The camels and the dromedary)*, taken from a book written for pupils, whose title is *Silence, la violence* (*Violence, be silent*) (1999). Its theme is difference, which leads to violence between the animals.

The children were encouraged to interact and answer one another, so that they might find a non-violent solution to a conflict.

We selected a group made up of four children (seven to eight years old) who interacted with one another. The teacher managed the macro units of the dialogue. Children were supposed to elaborate a problematics and to be involved in the debate. They were asked not to express content with doxic utterances.

From a didactic point of view, the institution expects children to learn to distance themselves from their own experience and their usual ways of wording, so that they may become familiar with a genre of discourse less tied to the context.

Some characteristic moves collected in our corpus are examined in the next section.

4. *Some characteristic moves in our data*

The first selected example[1] is located in the beginning of the dialogue. Pupils build a discursive space and explore the notion of difference.

> Example 1
>
> Marion 2: [...] we don't exactly know if they will/ if they will try to live together since they are different or if they will fight. That is, we don't know very well what they'll do about that
> Axel 2: Because sometimes there are some kinds of animals that don't accept others so er... because they're different and all that but actually it's false so er...it is not because we are different that we should
> Marion 4: we should reject others + it's not because for example it is like racism it's not because
> Axel 3: The others are Black
> Marion 5: The others are Black and (because) they are not like us that we should push them aside and that we should say that they are slaves who don't know anything + we shouldn't say that 'cause **they also look like us** + they have two arms and two legs and they have a head with a brain and they are a little bit like us + **they are like us** it's only the skin that changes because there is a lot of sun that's all + If it was like us but except that if it weren't for the sun it would be the same it would be exactly the same for all of us.

Pupils rather quickly speak of racism instead of difference. The elaborating of the notion is the result of several intricate moves.

Figure 1
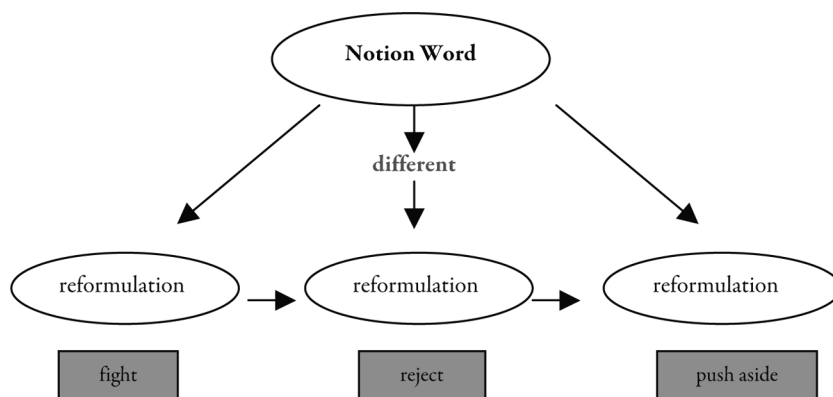
First, we take interest in the re-categorization move: the pupils reword the word "different" which represents a notion here. They reword it three times as "fight", "reject, and "push aside".

"Different" here becomes a pivot-word around which the locutor makes a move. A pivot word is an anchor point in the discourse, a word which is repeated or modified. There is no possibility of knowing before the utterance which word will become a pivot word, nor how it will be modified.

The lexical move corresponds to an evolution of the meanings of the notion, which are negotiated between the locutors. We have to take into account the children's spontaneity, the repeating and modifying, the frames in which the discourses are interpreted.

Figure 2
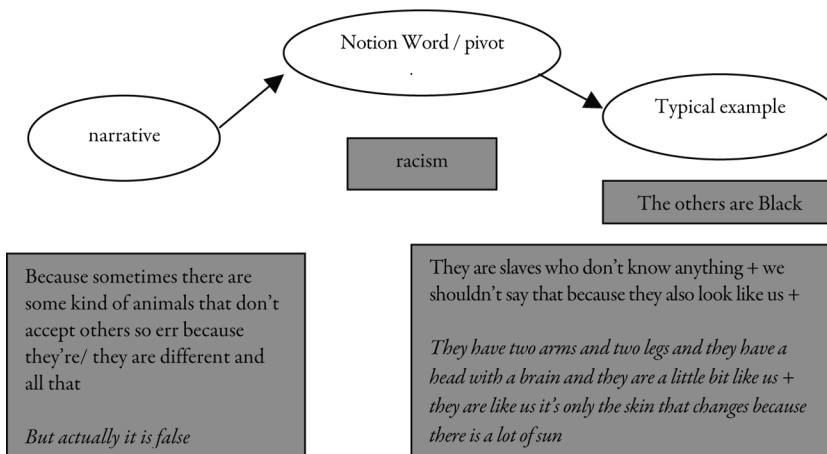
The word *racism* becomes a main word. We observe both a theme move and a genre move.

– On the one hand a genre move: the locutor utters a generic narrative. Then there is an opposite move: the locutor utters a typical example. *To be Black* is taken as an emblematic example of racism.

– On the other hand, we observe a theme move: in the narrative we identify the theme of rejection, in the example of the theme of equality.

The typical example shows a child's point of view about racism and Blacks. More or less doxic beliefs from different historical contexts are repeated. These can be seen as the memory words and discourses.

The pupil speaks of "slaves" which reminds us of the colonial era, and she adds "they know nothing" which points out the belief in a cognitive difference. We notice that the typical example is a medium between the generic and the particular.

Example 2

Andréa 2: *I* have a pal who is Black in our building his name is Sidiki and well I do play with him because we ARE not racist we really like Black people because **they are like us**, as Marion said they have a brain like us <laughter> and what's more ***I know some Black people who are nice there are even sometimes Blacks who are nicer than Whites.***

Marion 6: It's true, it's true, I even think that Blacks are nicer than Whites
Dimitri 1: Like Igor he is very nice Igor
Marion 7: Except that sometimes he gets on our nerves
Andréa 3: sometimes he gets on our nerves but we really like him
Axel 4: some are very nice but some are quite nasty + like Kevin
Marion 8: no but it's not really nastiness he also has friends so it means that he's not nasty + he is not nasty with them + I AM nasty with some people, other people but I am not nasty with the ones I like.

We interpret this second example through an affective frame. The speakers deal with particular cases that take a typical value and support or refute Andrea and Manon's generic assessment: "Blacks are nicer than Whites".

The sharing of experience shifts the generic into the particular. Marion (Marion 7) modalises Andréa's utterance and brings an opposite argument.

Two affects (being nice # getting on one's nerves) are put together. The discourse goes from inherent qualities to relational ones. Marion (Marion 9) reflects back on the meaning of *nastiness*.

Figure 3
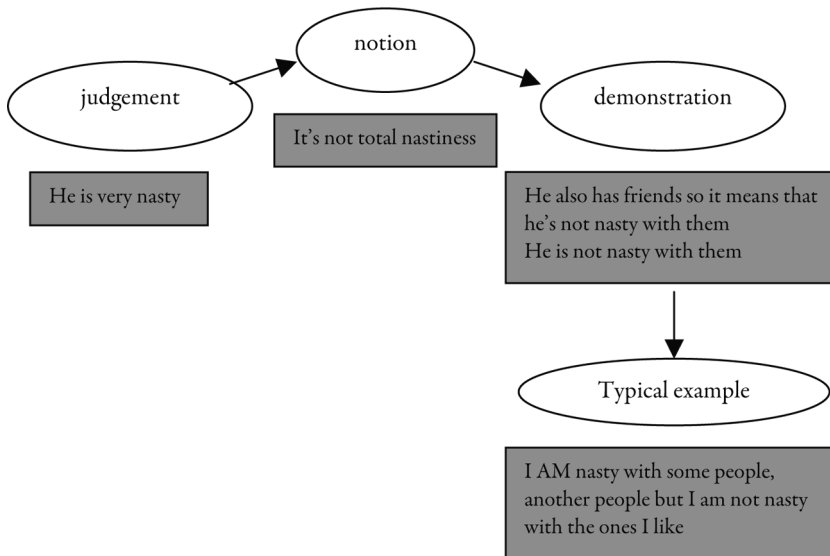
Her reflexive move is constructed through nominalization ("nasty" becomes "nastiness") and the restriction brought to the generic utterance with the addition of "with them" which plays the role of a modalisation and allows her to build her demonstration.

She speaks of herself as an example and presents herself as the one who knows. This explanatory discourse is not expected from a child (she can surprise herself) and here we cannot identify her discursive sources. Does she repeat a former discourse or not?

With the nominalization, we go from a judgement to the notion of "nastiness": lexical-grammatical tools ("so it means"), and the added "with them" points out the moves that have built the demonstration explicitly. The demonstration itself is justified by a typical example, which presents the speaker's behaviour as exemplary.

> Example 3
>
> Andréa 4: MY cousin she is racist and I try to make her understand because Blacks are exactly the same as Whites because they are nice because me/ in her building there is a Black boy so when he asks her to play with her well she pushes him away and me I think it's kind of a shame/ so to make her understand and/ well I say "OK I'm going to play with the boys" so after that she gets bored and then she comes to play with us.
>
> Axel 7: That is not
>
> Axel 8: coming back to Andrea's **supposition** it's not racism it is some kind of jealousy anyhow
>
> Axel 9: you try to make her feel jealous 'cause she plays with him but in fact she will try to take his place and she will push him aside once more/ it won't do any good.

Andréa tells an example, given as a personal one. She communicates her attempt to make her cousin modify her behaviour. Her narrative shows both linking to the former utterances and to the fable.

She tries to give an answer to the first question: "what will happen between the camels and the dromedary?". She imagines making the opponents play together.

This example (n. 3) is a very precious one. It shows how complex wording can be.

Her utterance can be interpreted through various interrelated items: genre of discourse and wording (she tells a narrative), the assignment, the former discourses, the next locutor's interpretation, and her enunciative habits.

Our interpretation thus take *all of them* into account:

– Andréa's utterance is a narrative. We can identify five of the six narrative components identified by Labov (1978): introduction, indications, development, evaluation, and resolution.

Introduction	MY cousin she is a racist and **I try to make her understand** because Blacks <u>are</u> exactly the same as Whites because they <u>are</u> nice
Indications	because me in her building there <u>is</u> a Black boy
Development	so <u>when</u> he <u>asks</u> her to play with her then **she <u>pushes him away</u>**
Evaluative comment	And me I think it's kind of a shame
Resolution	so to make her understand and well I <u>say</u> "OK I am going to play with the boys" **so after that she <u>gets bored</u> and then she <u>comes</u> to play with us.**

As far as wording is concerned, we notice the use of "when he + present" which confers an iterative or nearly generic meaning to the narrative (due to the non-actualization), and of "I try to": thus the extent of this modalisation cannot be determined. The present authors hesitate between a local modalisation that will concern the predicate "make her understand" or a global modalisation: in that case the whole narrative will be interpreted as an example of behaviour that could make a racist into a non-racist.

    – The assignment required answering the question at the end of the fable: "how will the meeting go on?"

Andréa's answer is to act upon the others' behaviour and to bring them to play together.

> Andréa: so after that/ **she gets bored and then she comes to play with us.**

> Axel**:** coming back to Andrea's supposition it's not / not racism it's kind of/ kind of jealousy anyhow.
> Axel: *you* try to make her feel jealous 'cause she plays with him but in fact she will try to take his place and she will **push him aside** once more/ it won't do any good.

Axel's utterance "to push aside" modifies Andréa's narrative way of meaning. It makes a fiction of it like the fable. His utterance is tied with the beginning of the dialogue, on the first question.

    – Andrea's narrative is also related to the former discourses. We notice that some other locutors' words are repeated (the repeated words or sentences are in Black):

> Andréa [...] **because the Blacks are exactly the same as the Whites because they are nice**

> Marion 5: The others are Black and it's not (because) they are not like us that we should push them aside and that we should think that they are slaves who don't know anything + we shouldn't say that 'cause **they also look like us** + they have two arms and two legs and they have a head with a brain and they are a little bit like us + **they are like us** it's only the skin that changes because there is a lot of sun that's all + If it was like us but except that if it weren't for the sun it would be the same it would be exactly the same all of us.

> Andréa 2: I have a pal who is Black in our his name is Sidiki and well I do play with him because we ARE not racist we really like Black people because **they are like us**, as Marion said they have a brain like us <laughter> and what's more ***I know some Black people who are nice there are even sometimes Blacks who are nicer than Whites.***

– Her narrative is linked to the next locutor's interpretation too:

> Andréa 4: MY cousin she is a racist and I try to make her understand because the Blacks are exactly the same as the Whites because they are nice because me in her there is a Black boy so when he asks her to play with her well she pushes him away and me I think it's kind of a shame so to make her understand and well I say "OK I'm going to play with the boys" so after that she gets bored and then she comes to play with us.

> Axel 8: <coming back to what Andrea supposition> it isn't racism it's some kind of jealousy anyhow

> Axel speaks of a "supposition", so he makes Andréa's narrative a hypothesis. His discourse is linked with the first question at the beginning of the dialogue. From this point of view, he doubts its relevance. For him, the example concerns jealousy and not racism.

– We can add that each Andrea's narratives resemble each other (have "family resemblances" as Wittgenstein said): she often searches for a compromise.
Let us read a later narrative of Andréa's:

> Andréa 30: In Portugal, in the past they did not like red colour because it was the colour of blood and they often went to mass so err.. after when we went to Portugal well Mum she was wearing red things and so **Mum explained to my granny** that it is not because it's the colour of blood that you shouldn't have to wear these clothes because red won't hurt you + **so after** that they wore red clothes + and to go to mass they didn't wear red things they wore Black things all the time.
> (Andréa's narrative is in its relationship to her enunciative habits)

She seems to think that a good intervention is enough to bring a good conclusion. Andréa is also playing the pupil who answers the teacher, thus her narratives are personal, but recomposed to fit the assignment.
We can say that the dialogue has built the notion and the viewpoint under our eyes.

Conclusion

In this school debate, the aim is neither to persuade the others nor to take the advantage. It's a debate with a heuristic aim. The pupils learn to explore a notion through wording and dialogue.

Favourable conditions have been created to allow them to propose a resolution together and to elaborate notional content. We remark that they do it by repeating former discourses and personal experiences, or given as such, that they success to create a discussion space which supposes listening and cooperation.

We notice the importance of lexical meaning in the debate. We underline the relationships between the way the words work and their types. Words can be the support of a move, but not every word. Besides, the move is tied to the interpretative process, along the exchanges.

Thus, the question of accentuation and interpretation arises: what is the good distance to interpret? What is the good distance to deal with notions?

In our debate, pupils through their discursive moves express viewpoints they would not have said lonely. One can also notice the meeting of various worlds, world of the school, of the family, of history, of stories... and child-like points of view concerning values. The moves manifest the locutor's place and his relationship with the theme, they also reveal the doxa's heterogeneity, and that of the social groups in which we are involved in.

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ARGUMENTATION IN CLASSROOM INTERACTION.
TEACHING AND LEARNING ITALIAN AS A SECOND LANGUAGE

SILVIA GILARDONI

1. *Introduction*

This paper aims at considering the role played by argumentation in teaching and learning languages, by focusing on metalinguistic sequences about grammar and word meaning in classroom interaction.

From the theoretical point of view the study is based on two approaches to research: a) an approach to discourse analysis, which underlines the relevance of the argumentative dimension in verbal communication in a semantic-pragmatic perspective (Rigotti 1998; Rigotti et al. 2003, 2004), and b) a social interactionist approach to language acquisition, which uses the methodology of conversation analysis, taking into account the essential role of interaction in the process of formation and development of language competence (Mondada & Pekarek Doehler 2000, 2001; Pekarek Doehler 2000, 2006)[1].

Following this theoretical and methodological framework, we suggest two levels of analysis:

1. an analysis at the macro level, which focuses on argumentation as a basic dimension of classroom interaction, with specific reference to language teaching;
2. an analysis at the micro level, in order to examine how argumentative discourse emerges from language teaching in different types of classroom activities and interaction sequences. With this purpose, the research is based on a *corpus* of oral classroom interactions collected in different contexts while teaching Italian as a second language to adult learners in Italy and abroad.

The general aim of this research is then principally descriptive, but the analysis also tries to evaluate the different ways of argumentative discourse from the point of view of language teaching and learning, thus giving some methodological suggestions for teaching practice.

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[1] As Pekarek Doehler states (2000: 8-9), the core of this approach can be identified with three fundamental postulates: 1. the constitutive role of the interaction as a structuring factor of the language development process; 2. the contextual sensitivity of the language competences, which depend on the conversational and socio-interactional conditions; 3. the situated and reciprocal character of the discourse and of the cognitive activity, which are situated in the context of action undertaken by the interlocutors and have an interactional nature.

2. *Argumentation in classroom interaction*

In order to better understand the role played by argumentation in language teaching and learning we will briefly consider the concept of education to define the specificity of pedagogic communication in the teaching context.

Education is achieved through the communicative interaction among people, a teacher and a student in the case of a teaching context. In this communicative exchange the teacher takes on the task of providing knowledge, abilities, values, suggesting an interpretation of reality; the learner sees the teacher as an authority because of his/her store of knowledge and competence.

The classroom interaction, like other kinds of interaction in institutional settings, is characterized then by an asymmetry in the relationship between the interlocutors, which contributes to define the discourse organization and the presence of recurrent interactional structures, as the well-known three-part "initiation-response-feedback" sequence (Sinclair & Coulthard 1975)[2]. This asymmetric relationship is normally regarded as a relationship based on the power of social roles, and this fact has led to debate the forms of this kind of interaction and the communicative and pedagogical styles of the educational contexts[3].

Actually it is necessary to focus on the notion of power and it is useful to consider the origins of the word. The Latin word *potestas* is a *vox media*, i.e. a word with positive or negative meaning depending on the context: it can be understood as power based on coercion (*vis*), or power based on authority (Rigotti et al. 2003: 42; Rigotti et al. 2004: 32-33). In the first case, power makes someone do something with a form of violence. The second case is a form of power which makes someone do something to help him/her grow up; as a matter of fact *auctoritas* (authority) comes from the Latin verb *augeo*, i.e. to raise, to grow something.

Power based on authority is related to persuasive discourse and argumentation practice; it can be interpreted in this way, as Rigotti et al. state (2004: 32): "another person does something because I have persuaded him to do so on the basis of good reasons".

Now we can make some observations on the teaching context.

The teacher has an authoritative role because he/she carries out a function of mediation and co-construction of knowledge, in order to help the learner grow up, accompanying him/her into the relationship with reality, and the learner needs this mediation to grow up and *to be* in a properly human sense[4].

The authoritative mediation of the teacher is based then on persuasive communication and argumentation is its essential component.

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[2] See also Mehan (1985), who names this three-part sequence "initiation-reply-evaluation sequence", the so-called IRE sequence. On the asymmetry in institutional interactions and in the classroom interaction see Orletti (2000).

[3] See for instance Fasulo & Girardet (2002) and for a review of studies in this field of research see Ciliberti (1999).

[4] About the vocation of the teacher as a mediator see Zambrano (2008 [1965]).

When the teacher conveys knowledge and data, he/she asks the learner to accept them and while speaking he/she has to explain the reasons: it is clear that the way of communicating requires an argumentative approach, not simply the transmission of information, in order to be adequate for the pedagogic communication itself and for the felicity of communication (Rigotti 2007).

In the learning process the learner gives credit to the teacher because he/she sees the teacher as an authority, i.e. a trustworthy witness for his/her store of knowledge and competence.

The pedagogic action of the teacher interacts then with the task of the learner, who undertakes to verify the teacher's interpretation of reality: so, the learner receives and accepts contents, explanations, data, theses, internalizes them and verifies them in his/her personal experience.

We can observe that the teaching and learning interaction is based first of all on the responsibility of each interagent, who does not have to give up his/her task[5].

On the other hand, pedagogic communication is influenced also by other factors, i.e. the interest and the relevance, which are the core of the pedagogic interaction as well as of communication in general. Interest and relevance are the basis of an important notion of educational psychology, i.e. motivation: as everybody knows, learning is not possible without motivation, the key element that sets in motion the learning process[6].

2.1 Argumentation in second language teaching and learning

Let us now closely examine the case of interaction in teaching and learning a second language.

As regards the content and aims of language teaching and learning it is necessary to consider the known dichotomy between competence and performance, in Chomskian ter-

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[5] The pedagogical relationship can be considered as a meeting place of the responsibility and freedom of the interagents, as Zambrano (2008 [1965]: 118) clearly points out: "Tutto dipende da ciò che accade in quell'istante che apre la classe ogni giorno: tutto dipende dal fatto che, nel confronto tra maestro e alunni, non si verifichi la rinuncia di nessuna delle due parti: dal fatto che il maestro non rinunci trascinato dalla vertigine, quella vertigine che assale quando si sta soli, su di un piano più alto del silenzio dell'aula, e dal fatto che non si difenda neppure dalla vertigine aggrappandosi all'autorità stabilita. La rinuncia trascinerebbe il maestro sullo stesso piano del discepolo, alla finzione di essere uno di loro, al proteggersi rifugiandosi in uno pseudo cameratismo. La reazione difensiva lo condurrebbe a dare per fatto quel che deve ancora farsi, poiché una lezione deve essere offerta allo stato nascente. Nella trasmissione orale della conoscenza si tratta di un doppio risveglio, di una confluenza di sapere e di non sapere ancora. E questo doppiamente, perché la domanda che il discepolo porta incisa sulla fronte deve manifestarsi e rendersi chiara a lui stesso, dato che l'alunno comincia a essere tale quando gli si rivela la domanda che porta nascosta dentro. Una domanda che, nel momento della sua formulazione, è l'inizio del risveglio nella maturità, l'espressione stessa della libertà".

[6] On motivation in pedagogical science see Titone (1977).

minology, that is to say between the system and its realization, system and use, system and text.

This distinction is clearly dealt with in the "Common European Framework of Reference for Languages" (Council of Europe 2001: 9), when it defines the "communicative language competences", i.e. those competences "which empower a person to act using specifically linguistic means". The communicative language competences comprise several competences: linguistic, sociolinguistic and pragmatic. The linguistic competence includes the dimensions of language as a system, i.e. lexical, phonological, syntactical knowledge and skills. Sociolinguistic and pragmatic competence refer to language use: sociolinguistic competence is concerned with "the sociocultural conditions of language use"; pragmatic competence refers to "the functional use of linguistic resources (production of language functions, speech acts)" and the mastery of discourse, of text types and forms (Council of Europe 2001: 13).

The language system consists of structures and rules as a whole that the teacher is expected to give students as means to understand and produce texts.

The student accepts data and examples and is expected to discover rules and structures, verify and internalize them. The learner starts a process of developing hypotheses, of reflecting on language, and this process leads to the development of his/her awareness of how a language works and consequently how it is used. It is the case of the metalinguistic competence, which is implicit, operational, at the beginning of interlanguage development, while it becomes explicit and formal in the following stages (Freddi 1994: 90).

Performance corresponds with taking the risk of communication, with creativity in language use: the teacher is supposed to introduce the learner to the risk of communication, to lead him/her to experience language and to use the language system in relationship with reality, and the learner is expected to take this risk.

The motivation to learning will be linked with the personal and social need of the learner and with the attractiveness of the language itself, from a social and cultural point of view[7].

As regards the practice of argumentation in this context, we can notice that argumentation is often required in language comprehension and production classroom activities: we can consider, for example, the activation of inferential processes in comprehension activities (questions, cloze tests, etc.) or the argumentative practices in production activities such as writing argumentative texts, summaries, taking part in a discussion, in role-plays, in a debate about pros and cons of an issue.

Nevertheless, there is an argumentative dimension at a deeper level of communication, which is related to the discourse of the teacher and to the interaction moves.

The teacher is expected to give explanations about language and has to give reasons about various aspects of the language system and language use.

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[7] On motivation in language teaching see Freddi (1994: 4-6) and Balboni (2002: 37-40). On the concept of language attractiveness with particular reference to Italian language, see De Mauro et al. (2002) and Gilardoni (2005).

The teacher also has a specific role in the interaction. Relating to some observations in Py (1990), we can state that there are two complementary moves in language classroom interaction: a "self-structuring move" performed by the learner when producing messages (on the basis of the interlanguage), and a "hetero-structuring move" performed by the native (or native-like) speaker, who intervenes in the previous move monitoring communication.

Besides, the discourse is characterized by the so-called bifocalisation (Bange 1992), that is to say the double focus on form and content which is typical of the interaction in second language classes, where the participants can focus their attention on the linguistic aspects of messages and/or on the content.

In the interactional moves, negotiation processes of meanings and forms take place between the interagents: during the interaction the teacher and the learner reach an agreement on communicative aims, meanings, procedures and forms of communication.

The monitoring activity of the teacher and the activation of negotiation processes can originate "potentially acquisitional sequences" (De Pietro, Matthey & Py 1989), i.e. sequences, which are particularly favourable for second language acquisition, because, by answering communicative needs, they facilitate the integration of new elements into the interlanguage.

3. *Teaching and learning Italian as a second language: argumentation and interaction*

The empirical part of this research, that is the analysis at the micro level of the argumentative dimension in classroom discourse, is based on a *corpus* of oral classroom interactions collected in different courses of Italian to foreigners. The contexts we analysed are the following:

–   a summer course of Italian language and culture for adult learners, with an intermediate level of proficiency, held by an Institute of Italian language and culture in Italy;

–   a course of Italian language and Business Italian for students with an upper-intermediate level at the University of Coventry[8].

The analysis considers how argumentative discourse emerges in language teaching and learning. Emphasis is placed on two different types of interaction sequences, which seemed significant from the point of view of argumentation:

–   sequences about grammatical questions, consisting in a metalinguistic reflection about aspects of the language system;

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[8] The *corpus* consists of 10 hours of audio recorded lessons at the Institute of Italian language and culture in Italy, collected in August 2007, and of 20 hours of audio recorded lessons at the University of Coventry, collected in the period between October 2007 and February 2008. We would like to thank the headmistress and the teachers of the Institute of Italian language and culture (the Tolomei Cultural Institute in Settignano, near Florence) and the teachers of the courses at the University of Coventry, who took part in the research. We also thank Paola Arrigoni and Margherita Tanca, who collaborated in collecting the data.

– sequences about use and meaning of words, consisting in cooperative activities of building, negotiating and verifying lexical hypotheses.

3.1 Grammar and argumentative discourse

A metalinguistic reflection on grammatical questions can be managed by the teacher on his/her own initiative or at the learner's request, during the different activities and stages of the lesson.

In the following example the teacher is correcting the students' written texts together with them, in order to point out the most common grammar mistakes; a typical mistake regards the use of combined prepositions with the definite article:

Extract 1 (Se2_130807_39.10)
1   T: fai una frase con .. eh . l'espressione di: l'avverbio di luogo . vicino\ .. inventa una frase usando .. magari
2   pensa alla: .. la descrizione di un luogo non lo so\
3   S1:   la nostra casa è: . vicino . al- alla chiesa\
4   T: bene . brava .. perché qui fate bene e quando scrivete fate male/
((*laughs*))
5   T: <la nostra casa è vicino (4s) alla chiesa\ > ((*T writes on the blackboard*)) okay\ eh molti di voi molti=molti di voi
6   si dimenticano/ ... si dimenticano la preposizione articolata si dimenticano l'articolo\ .. la regola di uso
7   dell'articolo .. della preposizione articolata la regola è: la stessa che eh: . la regola della preposizione articolata
8   è la stessa dell'articolo\ . cioè io vivo A settignano\ .. no/ . senza articolo quindi la nostra casa è vicina A
9   settignano . ma eh con le parole e i nomi comuni usiamo l'articolo\ . quindi la nostra casa è vicino Alla chiesa\ .
10   tante persone si dimEnticano l'articolo\

The teacher reminds the students that the rule of combined prepositions with the definite article is the same as the rule of the article (l. 6-9). This is explained through examples: one example is elicited from a student (l. 1-4), another example is offered by the teacher (l. 8-9). The examples allow to infer the rule, which is then made explicit (l. 9: "we use the article with common nouns").

This excerpt exemplifies a recurrent style of grammar explanation, which is conducted through examples and enunciation of rules: in this way the teacher shows his/her authority and competence and tries to guide the learners in the discovery of language, in the construction of knowledge and in the development of language awareness.

The interaction goes on with a question by a student, who asks the difference between "vicino" and "vicina" ("near"), both used by the teacher in the examples:

Extract 2 (Se2_130807_39.15)
1   S1:   è è vicinO o vicina?
2   T: brAva\
((*laughs*))
3   T: questo è un problema cioè . eh: mh in questo caso puoi dire in=in entrambi i modi cioè . così questa parola è
4   un avverbio\ . se metti . vicina diventa l'aggettivo\ . ma è uguale la nostra frase in questo caso sì ... eh mh . la
5   maggior parte delle volte però lo usiamo come avverbio quindi sempre con la o\
6   S1:   ah
7   T: sì è più usato\ . mh/ . la nostra casa . è vicina alla chiesa la nostra casa è vicino alla chiesa .. sono abbastanza
8   intercambiabili\

The teacher answers that the difference between "vicino" and "vicina" is a problem. She explains that they are two different parts of speech, "vicino" is an adverb, while "vicina" is an adjective (l. 3-4). But the argumentation goes on in a slightly weak way: she says that there is no difference in use (l. 4: "it is the same"), then she corrects herself and says that the two words are nearly interchangeable (l. 7-8).

The teacher wants to find a criterion for the choice and uses as an argument the frequency of use, a statistical criterion. The reasoning is: let's use "vicino" because it is used more frequently (l. 4-7). Actually the frequency criterion does not seem valid enough in this case, it has to be checked.

The choice between "vicino" or "vicina" is an aspect of the system, which is variable and linked to use. A reasoning which could be helpful for the learner could rather be the following: let's use "vicino" because it is easier, it always ends in "-o", and you have no problems with agreements.

In the following extract we find another example of metalinguistic reflection within the activity of correcting exercises; the argumentation is problematic again:

Extract 3 (Se2_130807_1.06.20)
1 S1:   voglio: gli voglio bene . voglio loro bene\ .. gli o loro/
2 T: brava questa è una bella questione\ qui c'è sempre la differenza parlato scritto\ .. eh faccio solo un accenno a
3   questa cosa poi la incontreremo: eh ... allora eh ...< voglio . bene . voglio bene alle mie: amiche\> ((*T writes on*
4   *the blackboard*)) volere bene amare essere amico no/ . <voglio bene (2s) loro .. sarebbe voglio bene loro ..
5   oppure A .. loro> ((*T writes on the blackboard*)) questa è la forma corretta . è la forma dello scritto\ .. la
6   REGOLA vuole che tu non usi un gli una=una: particella pronominale . ma usi direttamente il pronome
7   personale\ .. voglio bene a loro=voglio bene loro\ .. NEL parlAto parlando . quindi una una regola non proprio
8   correttissima .. usiamo gli voglio bene <gli voglio bene> ((*T writes on the blackboard*)) anche se sono donne e al
9   plurale\ ... questa è la FRASE .. che usiamo parlando\ . questa è la frase CORRETTA .. è la frase che usiamo
10   nello scritto è la frase che spiega la regola\
[...]
11   eh questo è strano perché questo gli: . di solito . cioè questo gli secondo la regola è maschile singolare\ .. ho
12   un fratello . GLI voglio molto bene\ . è corretto . A LUI\ mh/ .. e parlAndo questo GLI . lo usiamo <sia per .. loro .
13   a loro maschile ... a loro femminile\> ((*T writes on the blackboard*)) ... quindi questa non è la regola .. ma è
14   l'uso\

A student asks a question about the use of the pronouns "gli" or "loro" ("them") for the third person plural of the indirect object pronoun (l. 1). The teacher explains that there is a difference between the written and the oral form (l. 2). There is a correct form, which is the form used in writing and follows the rule, i.e. the use of the pronoun "loro" (l. 4-7 and 9-10). When you speak there is a form which is not really correct (l. 7-8): "gli", which in accordance with the rule is the masculine form of the third person singular, is used instead of "loro" as the masculine and feminine form of the third person plural (l. 8-9 and 11-13).

We can observe that the teacher appears a bit uncertain about the explanation. First she says that in speaking there is a "rule" which is not really correct (l. 7-8), then she states that it is not the rule but the use (l. 13-14).

The example shows the persistence in teaching practice of the idea of rule as norm, prescription, correctness, in opposition to use, which can also be incorrect. But, why should a learner follow the rule, if the use is different? Actually, the problem is simply to acknowledge that in the system of the language and also in language teaching, there is a distinction between a variety for formal writing and a variety for speaking[9].

In the next extract the teacher is explaining the negative structure of the imperative form:

Extract 4 (Se2_130807_1.00.56)
1   T: quindi ricordate sempre la negazione è NON più .. eh infinito per quanto riguarda il TU noi stiamo parlando del
2   TU va bene/ . <imperativo .. imperativo ... mh/> ((*T writes on the blackboard*))
3   S1: ma se devo dire: voi noi/ metto:/
4   T: benissimo . okay ora facciamo: vi faccio uno schema\ . a:llora ... <TU . e VOI questi sono gli imperativi più usati
5   ovviamente\ ... mh/ . tu ... positivo e negativo\ eh quindi positivo è METTI> ((*T writes on the blackboard*)) ...
6   negativo/
7   S2: non=non mettere\
8   T: <non mettere\> ((*T writes on the blackboard*)) ... il voi/ chi: voglio sentire qualcuno che mi risponde:/
9   S3: mh voi/
((3s silence))
10 T: questo è semplicemente: . il verbo all'indicativo\ ... voi/ questo è tu METTI voi/ ... met- [te te . mh/
11 S3:   [mettete
12 T: la negazione/
13 S3: non mette- . non mettete\
14 T: brava mh/ <non . mettete\> ((*T writes on the blackboard*)) .. quindi l'Infinito è solo per il tu .. questo è strano\ ...
15   okay\

For the negative structure of the imperative, "non" is placed before the forms used in the affirmative structure; for the second person singular "non" + infinitive is used, as it is illustrated by the example "non mettere" ("don't put"). In this case the teacher only states the rule (l. 1-2), she does not argue and does not explain the rule thoroughly; she says only "it's strange" (l. 14), that is to say it is unusual, it is different from the other forms. The reason of this language form can be understood in a diachronic perspective, because the form comes from the neo-Latin negative structure of the imperative. Then the teacher decides not to give

[9] On the linguistic varieties of Italian language in relation to language teaching, see Sabatini (1984), Benucci (2001) and Santipolo (2002). In the mentioned extract we have to notice another problematic aspect in the discourse of the teacher: speaking about the difference between the use of "gli" and "loro" she distinguishes between "gli" as pronominal particle and "loro" as personal pronoun (l. 8-9), giving a terminological distinction which can create confusion and does not appear pertinent. As a matter of fact "gli" and "loro" are both personal pronouns; if we want to distinguish them, we can refer to their form, which in the case of "gli" is unstressed, while in the case of "loro" is considered pseudo-unstressed.

a complete explanation for a pedagogic choice, because she thinks that it is not relevant for the addressees.

The previous extract exemplifies a way of presentation of grammar, which responds to a pedagogic and teaching criterion: in the description of the language system the teacher has to refer to the notion of the so called "pedagogic grammar" (Corder 1973), that is to say a presentation of information about language with the purpose of facilitating language learning, a grammar, which has to be useful for the learner.

3.2 Word meaning and argumentative discourse

The focalization on the meaning and the use of words, the so-called process of noticing (Nation 2001), occurs in classroom interaction when learners have to face lexical gaps and partial or complete opacity of lexical units, or when the teacher suggests the development of vocabulary as the learning goal. This means that the teacher is expected to communicate the meaning of words, in order to solve lexical comprehension or production problems and/or to increase the learners' vocabulary. To communicate word meanings the teacher can use various techniques, which are complementary: non verbal communication (using gesture or actions, drawing, using real objects), translation into the first language (or into another known language), and definition in the second language. We will deal in detail with this last way of communicating the meaning of a word[10].

Using definitions in the second language involves an argumentative dimension of the discourse. The teacher is expected to provide or elicit the definition of a word, that is to discover and to verbally describe the content of a concept: this means explaining and justifying the use and the meaning of a lexical unit, giving relevant, clear and understandable information.

There are many ways of defining a word and different typologies of definitions have been classified. From the point of view of language teaching we think that it is useful to refer to the analysis suggested by Jakobson. Studying the functioning of language and aphasic language disturbances, he pointed out two possible ways of giving definitions, one called "predicative" and the other one "substitutive", which are based on the two types of relations connecting linguistic units, i.e. the relation of contiguity and the relation of similarity (Jakobson 1971 [1956]). Thus, a definition can be based a) on a predicative connection, which expresses a relation of contiguity with the word to be defined, when, for example, the class of a concept or its defining characteristics are pointed out; or b) on a substitutive relation, which expresses a relation of similarity, as in the case of using synonyms or antonyms.

In the following extract the teacher has to explain the meaning of the utterance "sembrare una scamorza" (to look like scamorza cheese), here related to the appearance of a little girl, a character of a novel read by the students:

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[10] On the various ways of communicating word meaning in teaching Italian as a second language see Gilardoni (in press).

Extract 5 (Se3_130807_0.13.03)
1 I: barbara è bassissima è grass- è una bambina . cioè sembra dicono sembra una scamorza\ . il
2   formaggio scamorza . <è fatto così> ((*T draws on the blackboard*))
3 I: <è un formaggio: italiano> ((*T draws on the blackboard*)) ... okay/ questo si chiama scamorza\   ...   è   un
4   formaggio che ha la buccia dura dentro . dentro è tipo: mozzarella ma non è mozzarella è più secco della
5   mozzarella\

After drawing the shape of scamorza cheese, which the suggested comparison with the very short and fat child is related to[11], the teacher also gives a verbal definition of the word, providing a term, the class word, and its characteristics, which are in a relation of contiguity with the word to be defined: explaining the word "scamorza" she says in fact that it is Italian cheese (l. 3) and it has a hard skin (l. 4). The teacher then mentions another kind of Italian cheese, "mozzarella", which has a relation of similarity with "scamorza", but it allows to add another characteristic of the object to be defined, i.e. the drier, harder texture (l. 4-5).

In the following example, a student asks a clarification about the meaning of the word "bassotto" (dachshund):

Extract 6 (Se3_130807_16.15)
1   T: innanzitutto volevo chiedere a voi se ci sono parole . che non avete capito\
2   S1: mh un bassotto è un cucciolo di cane/
3   T: NO il bassotto è un: eh razza .. il bassotto è una RAZZA di cane\ . <il bassotto è ((*T draws on the blackboard*))
4   S1: ah
5   T: <okay/ è fatto . così è lunghi:ssimo\> ((*T draws on the blackboard*))
6   S2: il bassotto è lungo
7   T: <ha il muso così\> ((*T draws on the blackboard*)) .. il bassotto è con le gambe corte e il corpo lungo\
8   S3: vuol dire che è . è un cane no/
9   T: sì però è una razza non è un: non è un cucciolo o:
10 S2: penso che bassotto perché sia: basso\
11 T: esatto esatto basso bassotto mh/ il corpo lungo e le zampe corte\

The student, asking a question about the meaning of "bassotto", puts forward a hypothesis for the definition, thinking that "bassotto" means puppy (l. 2). This lexical hypothesis probably arose with reference to the concept of "basso" (short), which the word seems to derive from[12]; but being short is a characteristic of this dog, as suggested afterwards by another student (l. 10). The teacher corrects the student's hypothesis by giving the predicative definition "it is a breed of dog" (l. 3) and also by drawing the dog on the blackboard; she then adds some characteristics of the animal, it is very long (l. 5), it has short legs and a long body. But it looks like another student does not understand the correction of the first hypothesis of definition (l. 8): this allows the teacher to repeat the correct definition: "it is a breed, not a puppy" (l. 9).

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[11] To be precise, the expression "essere una scamorza" ("to be 'scamorza' cheese") is usually used in Italian to define a person of weak character and who lacks personality or who is inadequate.
[12] Actually "bassotto" can be considered a lexicalization of the form derived from the adjective "basso" (short) and the suffix "-otto".

In this example we can notice a way of communicating the meaning which is not really effective. We mean that the choice of the hyperonym "razza" (breed) in the definition caused comprehension problems, because the word was probably unfamiliar to the learners; using a more common and basic word like "tipo" (type) might have facilitated the comprehension.

In extract n. 6, the teacher is presenting the vocabulary related to the weather:

Extract 7 (Se2_130807_1.55.23)

```
1   T:    queste sono le parole delle stagioni (2s) e le parole del tempo\ .. Oggi=oggi secondo voi come è/ è una
2         giornata/
3   S1:   pioggia/
4   T:    l'aggettivo/ . piovosa .. mh/ piena di pioggia\ ... sono cose molto semplici . È sereno quindi c'è il sole È coperto
5         ci sono le nuvole è nUvoloso\ . è coperto:/ .. ci sono delle nuvole non tanto forti non tanto pesanti\ . è nuvoloso
6         ci sono delle nuvole\
```

The teacher explains the predicative content of some adjectives related to the weather, by giving the definition of their meaning. In the case of "sereno" (clear) she speaks about the condition: the weather is clear, when it is sunny (l. 4). In the case of "piovoso" and "nuvoloso" (rainy and cloudy) she considers, even if not explicitly, the semantic value of the bound morpheme "-oso": a day "full of rain" and "when there are a lot of clouds" (l. 4-6). This example shows that the knowledge of word formation processes is an important part of lexical competence, as everybody knows, and it is also a useful strategy to elicit and to communicate the word meaning.

In the last extract, the metalinguistic work of lexical definition is used by the teacher in order to develop the lexical competence of the learner in a cooperative way:

Extract 8 (IL_200208.39.48)

```
1   S1:   ho visto un bando di concorso per un posto di: . tecnico eh dell'ambiente/
2   T:    mh . sì sì è giusto un bando\ . che cos'è il bando/
3   S2:   si trova in un: giornale\
4   T:    mh . potrebbe essere su un giornale su una gazzetta ufficiale . e che cos'è esattamente il bando/
5   S3:   eh (3s) una pubblicità . come=come pubblicità per un:
6   T:    si:/
7   S3:   per il lavoro/
9   T:    mh sì pubblicità oppure è . viene si dice viene .. pubblicato un bando cioè è l'annuncio [mh/
10  S2:                                                                                        [l'annuncio
11  T:    l'abbiamo fatto anche quando [abbiamo fatto business
12  S2:                                 [sì=sì
13  T:    italian for business okay\ . il bando di un concorso cioè viene annunciato . che ci sarà un concorso\
```

While correcting some exercises, the teacher decides to verify the comprehension of the word "bando" (announcement of competition), found in an utterance, and asks the students the meaning of the word (l. 2). A student tries to define the word in a predicative way:

"you can find it in a newspaper" (l. 3). The teacher accepts only partially the definition of the word suggested by the student and repeats the question, eliciting a new definition from another student; in this case the student defines the word in a substitutive way: "bando" is like an advertisement for a job (l. 5-7). The teacher then suggests a definition with a better substitute, underlining the sense of announcement, which the concept of "bando" is related to (l. 9).

The negotiation of word meaning to find a good definition in the second language helps to develop the defining competence, which is based on the ability to infer lexical meaning from contextualized language use, making a metalinguistic operation of decontextualisation: this means, as Nation states (2001: 64), "that the word is removed from its message context to be focused on as a language item". Defining is then a rather specialized speech genre, which requires some cognitive effort of the learners and is possible, above all, with students at upper-intermediate or advanced level. Nevertheless, we should recognize that it deserves proper attention in classroom interaction, as it is an important part of both the lexical competence and the metalinguistic competence.

4. *Concluding remarks*

Through the analysis of the interaction between teacher and students in the classroom we have tried to show the essential role of argumentative discourse in the context of second language teaching and learning.

In the language classroom the task of the teacher meets the task of the learner.

The teacher is expected to be a good arguer, because he/she has to explain and justify both the use of language structures and word meaning and use. In his/her activity of supporting and monitoring language learning, the teacher has also to provide his/her authoritative confirmation about the hypotheses formulated by the learner in the process of the development of the interlanguage.

The learner is then expected to develop hypotheses on language structure and use and verify them practicing and improving the second language.

This means that the classroom should be considered as a "community of practice" (Wenger 1998), that is a context where the interagents have a shared understanding of the purposes of the interaction, of their actions and tasks and of themselves as members of the community.

In such a community of practice clear and effective argumentation is a condition to facilitate and support learning and contributes to generate potentially acquisitional sequences in the interaction. This occurs, as we have tried to show in the analysis of the *corpus*, both in the explanation of grammar and in the communication of word meaning.

After this analysis, we think that it is necessary to further examine and assess the various argumentative practices in second language teaching and learning, in order to develop

the awareness of the argumentative dimension in teaching discourse and to plan teacher training courses in this field.

As a matter of fact the skill of argumentation is to be considered as one of the characteristics of a good second language teacher; so, quoting and paraphrasing Corder (1973: 347), we can state that "a well-qualified, energetic[,] inventive" and well arguing "teacher can be a 'living' pedagogical grammar".

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Transcription conventions

[		overlapping speech
-		cut off word or truncated speech
. .. ...		short pause, pause of medium length, long pause
(3s)		a pause, timed in seconds
:		prosodic lengthening
/		rising intonation
\		falling intonation
AABB		prominent speech
=		words following each other fast, without a break
(( ))	< >	features of interaction that cannot be transcribed (( )) and delimitation of the commented features < >
[...]		part omitted in the transcription

Symbols to identify who is speaking:

T: teacher

S1, S2, ...: students

Each extract is labeled with a code indicating its collocation in the *corpus*.

How does argumentative structure play out when commenting on a theoretical text in one's second language?

Marie J. Myers

Description of the study

In this qualitative case study we analysed students' argumentative discourse in e-mail discussions on assigned theoretical readings in a training course for teachers of French as a second language. These readings were assigned weekly and served as the basis for the next in-class discussion. The contents of the e-mails were used to identify the major questions that required follow-up in class. In analysing the e-mails we used two measures: first, we looked for emerging categories and second, we used a complexity scale to look for 'complexification' in language use. The assigned readings were varied but were all in French. The level of difficulty the readings entailed could be classified as advanced. The reaction papers were not part of assignments to be graded but rather only formative in nature and a way to identify what had not been understood and in need of further clarification (Lave & Wenger 1991; Wenger 1998; Gee 1999; Wertsch 1991). Students were required to forward their e-mails on a weekly basis using their anonymous e-mail code. We analysed the e-mail reactions over five consecutive weeks. The object of the study was to examine argumentative discourse in reaction papers on theoretical texts (Laing, Phillipson & Lee 1966).

Since these assigned reaction-papers were expected to be written in French, the students' second language we also examined the characteristics of ability to use the second-language in argumentative discourse (Kern 1994). The objective of this study using dialogue analysis was two-fold: one, to find emerging categories and then we classified the various utterances in order to uncover intention, ability to express opinion, logic, causality, objectivity, information content, disengagement or inertia in meaning transfer and contestation, so as to identify communicative ability at an advanced level and to channel it in an opportune way for the benefit of future teaching practice (Verity 2000; Swaffar 1988; Myers 2004); second, to understand the level of complexity at which these future teachers of French could function in the French Language, their L2, and uncover weaknesses in order to develop remedial strategies for the future (Johnson 1982).

Theoretical background

Sperber & Wilson (1989) divide verbal communication into two communication processes, one based on coding and decoding, and the other one having to do with ostentation and inference. What is coded is of course of a linguistic nature but also corresponds to an intention. Relating to the former there are acoustic signals being used for semantic representations. Regarding the latter Foppa (1984) claims that every utterance is formulated by someone with an intention. The researcher thinks that when we start expressing ourselves we pretty well know what we intend to say although our intention may not be very clear in our minds. It appears that we do have to formulate our utterances in order for us to be able to verify if what we say corresponds to what we intended to say, and if need be we back-track and correct ourselves. Levelt (1989) also agrees that there is an intention underlying every articulation. So as intention and language use go hand in hand it is quite appropriate to study the language used by these teachers in training so as to establish their level of functioning in language and meaning-making (Auerbach 1992) and to assess the development of their professional thinking (Harré & Gillett 1984).

Participants

We used purposive sampling for the selection of papers from the participants who were part of the course. All the papers were from a fifth year university course with 24 students starting in September 2007. After the course ended, regularly assigned course reaction papers from a five week duration were chosen for analysis. Papers ranged from one to two pages in length. The selection was made based on the fact that these papers were anonymous, sent by e-mail and could not be traced to the author. Each page was assigned a number, so two consecutive page numbers could be part of the same paper. In fact from more than 150 pages, only 50 could be retained for analysis to protect anonymity.

Data analysis

We used two measures to look at argumentative structure.

First, we analysed the transfer of lexical meaning from the 46 French texts of students' reactions into reaction in inter-linguistic and inter-cultural transposition. More specifically we looked at the relations between the utterances, in terms of intention based on the understanding achieved of complex texts, and the ability of enunciators to convey their reaction in argumentative discourse by linguistic means. Logic, causality, objectivity and informational content are factors taken into account. The pages were given numbers from 1 to 50 with some having more than one page. Within each paper each line where an item or unit of meaning appeared was numbered as well. So for instance P 18-20 refers to paper 18 and to the unit of meaning on line 20 in that paper.

The texts were colour coded for each emerging category. The categories were entered onto a chart, with each uncovered item transcribed and referenced under the appropriate item heading.

Second, Duran & Ramaut's (2006) framework originally intended for setting-up tasks in a sequenced order of difficulty was adapted and made to fit the context of our study and our situation in order to use it for the analysis of results.

We understand that this framework, intended for the measurement of processing ability for the receptive skill of reading will certainly represent a greater challenge where the measurement of language production is concerned, namely in our case, critical reaction texts. The authors think nevertheless that the complexity scale also works for production-based tasks. They state that at basic proficiency levels, fluency and complexity prevail over accuracy. So, as far as language output is concerned, getting across the message was considered more essential than spelling accurately or having perfect grammar, this category fitted within our study.

The complexity scale was taken into account when looking at the data and relevant numbers of examples identified under each category as each emerged in the findings. These are reported below.

Results

We found that the students agreed overall with the theoretical underpinnings presented in the different assigned weekly readings in the textbook. One problem that surfaced was disengagement in a very small number of texts while in others, but only for 6% of the text items, we identified contestation, questioning and even rejection of the statements made in the readings.

A. *Findings related to the first dialogue analysis measure that was applied.*
The analysis uncovered the emergent main categories listed below:
- Intention based on understanding achieved
- Ability to convey reaction to argumentative discourse by linguistic means
- Logic
- Causality
- Objectivity
- Informational content.

Other smaller categories were uncovered, namely:
- Disengagement
- Contestation and rejection.

The question was whether or not the students were impeded in their argumentation because of the request to use their second language in the critical response. There were two such cases, where at times responses to the French text were in English and frustration was evi-

dent. The question is whether these students clearly understood the argumentation in the theoretical text in French, their second language; or whether other constraints were placed on them by their lack of practice in using argumentative discourse in general. Another argument could be made around the more strenuous effort entailed in summarizing and critiquing in another language, in which one may not be as used to the economy of words expected, although one might be a fluent user. For the examples, the first number given is the number assigned to the paper followed by the line number in that specific paper.

- Examples at the 'Intentional levels' (amount of effort applied to arrive at a full understanding).

In one instance, there was no effort made: *J'aime l'idée de donner le texte écrit qui correspond à ce que l'apprenant écoute* (22-19, 20).

The instructions were to only give the text to look at after the listening activity, clearly the student skimmed the text and did not try to get the full meaning.

Some effort was apparent in a number of texts: *Je ne suis pas certaine ce que les termes veulent dire. Donc si possible, est-ce qu'on pourrait en discuter...?* (9-8,9).

This person identified the barrier caused by a lack of understanding of some terms.

The same is obvious in the following examples:

> 11-2: *Je n'ai jamais étudié la linguistique donc, je trouve cela un peu difficile à suivre: Que veulent dire la pragmalinguistique et la sociopragmatique exactement?*
> 11-9: *qu'est-ce-que la pré-communicative exactement?*
> 13-17, 18, 19: *La chose que je n'ai pas vraiment compris{e} de ce chapitre est le concept de réalité métaphorique construite par la langue. Je ne sais pas si c'est un concept essentiel ou non, mais je n'ai pas tout à fait compris!*

Clearly efforts were made according to these comments at various levels.

- Examples under: 'Ability to convey opinion by proper linguistic means'.

Under this category there is great variation going from 'inability to do so' (paper 5) and 'doing so with difficulty' (paper 1) to 'great ability'.

In one case the comment was limited to a general reaction: *je ne suis pas du tout d'accord avec cet énoncé* (10-4,5).

In other cases, the students were quite able to do so: paper 7 was good throughout; other good examples are:

> 4-27, 28: *Quelques suggestions sont différentes pour les niveaux en 9e année, 10e, pour les explications du fonctionnement de la structure lexicale.*
> 19-1, 2: *L'accent mis dans ce chapitre sur la prise de conscience du contexte de situation, des pratiques sociales, est, à mon avis, particulièrement pertinent.*
> 22-30, 31, 32: *Une chose que j'ai appris en faisant ce lecture est la variabilité d'un sens en contexte dans la compréhension de l'écrit. Et l'habileté du lecteur de voir ce qui est explicite et implicite.*

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- Examples under the topic: 'Logic'.

There were cases where total confusion was apparent (paper 6) and where a lack of logic was identified (paper 5).

Otherwise there appeared to be a good display of logic in papers 8-1 to 17.

Regarding the following example: 19-22: *On participe chacun à la création de ce qu'on est*. Nowhere in the text was there a reference made to this point, so there is evidence here that a logical conclusion was drawn.

- Examples under the heading: 'Causality'.

Negative causes were identified in the following examples:

> 7-20: *4 ans d'études ont abouti à un niveau oral pitoyable*
> 11-5: *Il peut y avoir beaucoup d'anxiété quand les locuteurs natifs sont présents*
> 11-34, 35, 36: *Vous dites qu'il manque un pont entre les savoirs et les savoir-faire; moi je suis d'accord, car cela est un problème que j'ai. Dans une leçon de grammaire je réussirai, mais quand je dois l'appliquer j'ai de la misère.*
> 19-13, 14: *Dans mes cours j'ai hâte d'offrir à mes élèves l'occasion de ce développement à travers, comme le texte suggère, des textes écrits en L2 à propos de la cultures/des cultures de L1.*
> 32 (end): *on pourrait encourager des gens moins compétents à continuer leurs études de français après la 9e année.* To date most learners drop French after Grade 9. So the suggestion is to have those who don't reach the required level of competence continue their French Studies.

- Examples under the heading: 'Objectivity'.

Not unlike what is required of future teachers these students were level-headed and for the most part no lack of objectivity was identified**.**

> 12-8 and 9-16,17 are typical examples.
> 18-21, 22: *On doit se rendre compte que le contexte culturel et nos expériences personnelles peuvent influencer notre compréhension d'une langue seconde.*
> 11-7, 8: *Il est important que les apprenants aient des silences plus longs si nécessaire avant de se mettre à interagir, comme vous dites.*
> 46-19, 21: *Je suis d'accord que le vocabulaire est très important dans l'apprentissage et l'enseignement d'une langue seconde et la qualité, l'étendue et la maîtrise du vocabulaire sont des paramètres essentiels de l'acquisition de la langue.*
> 3-22, 23: *J'ai beaucoup aimé lire cet article et il m'a beaucoup fait réfléchir sur mon enseignement de la langue étrangère.*

- Under the heading 'Informational Content' we identified the various ways provided for adding information including when we detected bluffing, where there was incomprehensibility and where economy of words corresponded to the use of more abstract language.

Bluff was identified in the following examples: paper 6 and 1-12, 13: *Commence avec un ex- emple au lieu d'une liste pour catégoriser les idées.* In the latter example the comment was on lay-out but did not add anything to content.

> 27: *Il y a un article du Reader's Digest [dans lequel on dit] que les américains sont plus polis que les asiatiques et aussi les européens. Il y a des préjudices mais ceci l'is- sue. Peut-être quand on parle de culture, la parole et le résultat on peut utiliser "being direct or indirect" au lieu place de poli et impoli.*

In that example there is no contribution in informational content, rather it appears to be confused talk.

Direct transposition/translation was identified in the following example: 11-9: *En anglais on dirait "longer wait-time".*

> 23-13, 14, 15: *Je pense que c'est très important ... qu'on développe l'aud[i]tif ... en faisant beaucoup d'activités d'écoute et à l'oral.* In this example the text is re- peated.

A number of good contributions were identified:

> 4-17, 18: *L'expérience vraie d'apprentissage est quand les étudiants essayent d'uti- liser la langue eux-mêmes.*
> 21-9: *donne un tableau à compléter lors de l'étude d'un roman:*
> – *Idiome dans le texte*
> – *Qu'est-ce-que ça veut dire*
> – *Idiome semblable en anglais*

- Under the heading 'Contestation and Rejection' the example below identifies a student who is clearly having difficulties in the course:

> 1-12: *plus d'emphase sur faire et moins étudier* and 1-15,16: *pas d'occasion pour l'auteur de montrer leur connaissance mais place pour poser questions.* This stu- dent expresses frustration about the workload involved.

- Under the heading: 'Disengagement or inertia in meaning transfer'.

There are a number of times where ambiguity or ambivalence appear and examples range from a sense of someone totally lost to someone who tries to escape from completing the assignment.

There is also inertia identified: paper 15, this student did not react, in a very odd way seems to have taken segments in the text and placed them side by side, as a result there is, among other oddities, no correspondence between the nouns and the pronouns going with them.

There was an attempt to summarize the text but the words picked and put together make no sense from a professional standpoint, as in the following examples.

> 31-29: *La plupart des gens avec une langue seconde utilisent leur première langue pour créer des phrases donc quand je vais décoder un texte, je vais utiliser le L1 de mes étudiants pour mieux interpréter ce qu'ils ont écrit.*

> 17-8: *on peut savoir une chose mais pas un autre. Ce qui est plus important est
> que tu peux les comprendre.*

In fact the idea, in the text reported on, was to arrive at meaning through context!

In the examples below there is a clear indication of disengagement: in both examples
no usefulness is found in the assigned reading. One wonders if it was the same student.
There are obvious difficulties in understanding French.

> 14-8, 9: *Vraiment les mots sont difficiles. Je ne peux pas comprendre vraiment
> comment ce chapitre est utile au cours.*
> 1-18, 19: *meilleur usage de notre temps comme enseignant que utiliser les textes
> très académiques,* and 1, 8, 9: *trop académique et trop ennuyeux.*

- Examples under 'Contestation'.

There is evidence of a negative reaction to the conservatism of the education system, not
against the course, in the following examples:

> 7-21: *Je trouve inadmissible que le système soit encore structuré de cette façon.*
> 8-17, 18, 19: *Je crois que si nous comme des enseignants nouveaux décider de
> changer comment nous enseignons, nous pouvons vraiment améliorer l'expérience.*
> 22-39, 40: In the text it is mentioned that various language abilities come into
> play together, the student reacted to the text saying the following:
> *Mais en réalité on sépare les éléments en écoute, écrit, oral, lecture dans les acti-
> vités en classe et les examens.*

- One example of 'Rejection of advice given in the textbook':

> 35-29, 30: *Le texte mentionne comment des étudiants peuvent savoir la pro-
> nonciation des mots s'ils utilisent la notation phonétique. Cela m'énerve un peu.*

It is not clear why exactly this student rejects the idea of helping students with pronuncia-
tion by showing them how to recognize the phonetic script that is found next to words in
good dictionaries. Did the student think that she had to teach phonetics, that was never
the case made in the text although some of the students had taken courses in linguistics and
therefore could have been able to teach learners the fundamental aspects of phonetics. How-
ever this notion was only introduced as being a way to support learners when not in class
and trying to remember the sounds of unfamiliar words.

B. *Findings when examining data with the complexity scale*

The second treatment shows a continuum for each category from minus to plus, or simple
to complex. The Duran and Ramaut complexity scale results were entered under the fol-
lowing overarching parameters: "the world" (Table I), "the task" (Table II), and "the text"
(Table III). See the charts below. All in all these university students' utterances were all
ranked by analysis to be at least at an average level of complexity.

Parameters	SIMPLE		COMPLEX
(a) World			
1 **Level of abstraction:** concrete or abstract approach to the topic?	Concrete descriptions (here-and-now)	In other time/space (there-and-then)	Abstract perspective
2 **Degree of visual support:** to what extent is visual support provided, and does it support task performance?	Much visual support	Limited visual support	No visual support
3 **Linguistic context:** to what extent is linguistic context available, and does it support task performance?	High level of redundancy; low information density	Limited level of redundancy	High density of information; low level of redundancy

Table I. *World parameters* (Duran & Ramaut 2006)

In section 1, "level of abstraction": we need to include a 'Rejection category', as was identified in the analysis above. "Concrete descriptions" are found in two papers (11, 9), "In other time/space" is found in paper 9 and an abstract perspective is adopted in all papers except for 1, 14, 15, 16, 31.

Under section 2, "degree of visual support", there was only limited visual support included in three papers, in 21 (a chart), 37 (a column of sound symbols), 43, 44, (in both cases quotes from the text in16 font followed by short comments), with no visual support in the remaining 42 papers.

As regards section 3, "linguistic context", a limited level of redundancy was found in papers 1, 14, 15, 16, 43 and 44. All other papers displayed high density of information.

(b) Task (communicative and cognitive processing demands)			
4 **Level of processing:** what should students do with information in the text? At what level must the information be processed?	Descriptive (understanding information as presented)	Restructuring (reorganizing information)	Evaluative (comparing different information sources)
5 **Modality:** how should students provide their answers or produce the outcome?	Non-verbal reaction (purely receptive)	Limited verbal reaction (writing/talking at copying level)	Verbal reaction (talking or writing at descriptive level)

Table II. *Task parameters* (Duran & Ramaut 2006)

For section 4, "level of processing", the category 'No understanding' has to be added to the chart as was evidenced in the analysis above. Under "descriptive" there is the use of paraphrase, under "restructuring" there is evidence of some summarizing and under "evaluative" we noted that ideas were seldom confronted to other theoretical concepts but rather the contents of the texts were calibrated against one's experience.

In section 5, "modality": Under "non-verbal reaction" we can count the few missing papers that were not sent in for a given week. "Limited verbal reaction" was identified in nine papers. All the other 37 papers displayed a descriptive level verbal reaction.

(c) Text			
6 **Vocabulary:** is the vocabulary used highly frequent or not?	Highly frequent words	Less frequent words	Infrequent words
7 **Syntax:** are the sentences simple or complex?	Short, simple sentences	Reasonably long sentences with juxtaposition	Long, embedded sentences
8 **Text structure:** is the text clearly/ explicitly structured?	Structure is explicit and clear	Structure only partly explicit	Structure is left implicit
9 **Text length:** is the text short or long?	Short	Reasonably long	Long

Table III. *Text parameters* (Duran & Ramaut 2006)

At "text level" all categories were identified on some text or other but without student identity one cannot study a trend.

Discussion

What can be said about the interface syntax/argumentative structure? An interesting aspect emerged as concerns syntactic versus argumentative concessions. In light of these we investigated the use of grammar, theory of argumentation/critiquing and logic. Both questions related to inertia of meaning from one language to another and the ambiguity or ambivalence permeating the viewpoint of the respondent were addressed.

Finally we explored the implications of this study for intercultural communication (Lantolf 2000; Hofstede 1980; Eco 1983; Borden 1991) and we ask ourselves if it is fair to evoke a disability from bilingualism (Downs 1971; Wiseman & Abe 1986).

In this study the instructor acted as a true interactional partner in the sense described by Van den Branden (2006: 217). Negotiation of meaning and content took place and the instructor was encouraging output throughout the course. Focus on form only took place when appropriate, and the main focus appeared to be on meaning-making with form taking a secondary position or was sometimes not really cared for. Indeed a number of anglicisms were found. The whole class was offered a rich, relevant and communicative input connected to the readings (Lee 1986; McQuillan & Rodrigo 1995; Levine & Haus 1985).

In addition the instructor tried to implement Olson's (2003) joint intentionality principle, and as regards learning goals played out, one could say that a "meeting of minds" was reached, with some staying at the periphery (Gee 1999). In addition the interplay of teacher and student interactions resulted in more language learning and contributed to continuous and intense mental activity. So much so that it was painful to some and as a result we observed disengagement and rejection, yet in time these situations would be resolved through group simulation activities in class.

Our results concur with Borg's (2003: 81) statement regarding teachers he describes as "active, thinking decision makers who make instructional choices by drawing on com-

plex, practically oriented, personalized and context-sensitive networks of knowledge, thoughts and beliefs".

The mix of reactions channeled through the different aspects of their profession including the practicum school context to which they constantly referred, the students they had, the curriculum, theories of language learning and practical applications, etc. There is much complexity in the cognition teachers rely on, with a mix of blurred distinctions between personal opinions and thoughts and many inextricably intertwined components.

According to Van den Branden (2006) our understanding of interaction comes from an articulation of not only teachers' perceptions and actions but also through taking into account and being influenced, whether consciously or not, by students' actions and their perceptions. This was not only showing in the analysis through the future teachers' discourse as based on their experience with their own pupils during their practicum placement in schools but in the interaction with the theoretical text written by their instructor at the university, with more general implications for individual students' reaction papers. However independent of the on-looking instructor the future teachers' actions and perceptions influenced each other and were also influenced by, as well as having an influence on, their pupils' perceptions and actions and all this was brought into the university course such as these actions were inspired by, and in turn inspired the same actors' perceptions (here the students in the university course) in a 360 degree movement, or a back or forward spin (Brophy & Good 1986). According to Lampert (1985: 190), the course instructor then becomes "a dilemma manager, a broker of contradictory interests who builds a working identity that is constructively ambiguous". University instructors need to maintain a sense of control over the learning environments that they create and ensure that they remain powerful, otherwise only the meaning attached to practical experiences will constitute the backbone of what these students think and believe about language teaching, when in fact the university course should have a strong impact on teacher cognition and teacher actions in order to prepare them for the future.

In our second analysis we began to wonder if some of these students were experiencing a "muddled level of operation" in the second language. As regards others it appeared that they engaged in contestation and rejection perhaps to cover their inability to synthesize. The translational strategy uncovered was rather unusual for students at that level: they were picking-up words for summarizing like in their mother tongue but because of an apparent lack of mastery of argumentative discourse in L2 and perhaps also in L1, some passages in their texts made no sense. How did these students manage to pass their earlier courses in the language? Did they manage to get their papers assessed as successful because of "complex –sounding" discourse that in fact they did not understand? Would it be possible that instructors rated them as acceptable because they were afraid of sounding stupid if they had said that the complex sounding discourse was incomprehensible. This trend of writing without making sense was namely identified in papers 31, 29 and 34.

We question whether the identified disengagement was not rather evidence of an avoidance strategy so as to not have to deal with sorting out ambiguity and ambivalence.

In conclusion we can say that failure to properly use argumentative discourse could be due to a problem in cross linguistic/cross cultural communication. We can report that we uncovered some potentially emotionally overwhelmed people and perhaps their minds were clouded by task-anxiety, because they could not complete the task, or perhaps because they did not apply themselves or take the time to do so.

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THE WITNESS EXAMINATION OF PUBLIC INQUIRIES.
A CASE OF ARGUMENTATIVE DIALOGUE

SILVIA CAVALIERI

1. *Introduction*

Legal discourse has been thoroughly investigated from a variety of angles over the last thirty years or so. Investigations on courtroom interaction have involved linguistic analysis of legal style and rhetoric (Mellinkoff 1963, Crystal & Davy 1969, Goodrich 1986 and 1987, Tiersma 1999), studies of specific legal genres (Levi 1990, Bhatia 1993, 1994, Maley 1994, Trosborg 1997, Gibbons 1994, Kurzon 2001), as well as ethnomethodological and socio-logical approaches (O' Barr 1982, Drew 1985, O'Barr & Conley 1990). The analysis of courtroom discourse has recently extended to issues of language power relations and on the legal argumentative strategies employed by counsels during the examination of witnesses (Walton 1996, 2002, 2003).

As the title suggests, this study intends to analyse a particular kind of courtroom discourse, that is, the witness examination of Public Inquiries. Specifically, some linguistic tools exploited by the lawyers in the questions posed will be observed and described in order to demonstrate that even this inquisitorial proceeding retains some traces of the adversarial system typical of any other jury trial in Common Law countries such as England, Scotland and Northern Ireland.

In particular, this study aims at shedding some light on the argumentative functions of the lawyer's self-mention in his/her questions during the witness examination of Public Inquiries. Thus, the analysis will principally focus on two lexical items used by the counsels as "shifting reference" to the authority, namely "Inquiry" and "Tribunal" and will try to demonstrate how their combination with other meta-argumentative elements contributes to the construction of argumentative strategies during the examination of witnesses.

The paper is organized as follows. Section 2 deals with the presentation of the data and methods adopted in the study. Section 3 presents some preliminary definitions of "Tribunal" and "Inquiry" to better understand the etymology of these two words used as shifting reference and discusses both the quantitative and the qualitative results of the analysis. On the basis of these results, Section 4 draws some concluding remarks about the different argumentative strategies in which "Tribunal" and "Inquiry" are involved.

2. Data and methods

2.1 The data

The analysis is carried out on a corpus of witness examination transcripts collected from the official websites of three Public Inquiries established in England, Scotland, and Northern Ireland. The Public Inquiries are described in the following lines:

a) Cullen Inquiry: Public Inquiry concerning the "Dunblane massacre", a multiple homicide committed in a primary school of Dunblane (Scotland), on 13th March 1996. Chaired by Lord Douglas Cullen.

b) Bloody Sunday Inquiry: Public Inquiry dealing with the killing of civilians due to a shooting caused by British soldiers during a peaceful march in Derry (Northern Ireland), on 30th January 1972. Chaired by Lord Saville of Newdigate.

c) Shipman Inquiry: Public Inquiry concerning the homicide of 15 patients, carried out by Dr. Harold Shipman when he was a practitioner at Market Street, Hyde, near Manchester (England). Chaired by Dame Janet Smith.

Specifically, the corpus is composed of 5 days of transcripts for each Public Inquiry giving a total number of 507,346 tokens. As the main interest of the present paper concerns the questions posed by the lawyers both during Examination-in-Chief and Cross Examination, the corpus has been subsequently tagged by means of the software "Note Tab Light", which enables the user to select by hand parts of text that could be used separately in a quantitative analysis. As shown by the following description, three tags have been chosen to identify three smaller sub-corpora concerning questions:

a) <QST> (question): including all the questions posed by the lawyers and by the Chairman of the Inquiry.

b) <DE QST> (Direct Examination question): including the questions posed during Examination-in-Chief.

c) <CE QST> (Cross-Examination question): including all the questions posed during Cross-Examination.

This type of tagging allows the subdivision into sub-corpora and, at the same time, leaves all the data available in their entire form for a more complete analysis.

2.2 The methods

The analytical framework of the present work has followed three different steps, involving both a quantitative and a qualitative observation of the data presented in the previous section.

First of all, since the focus of this paper centres on the items "Inquiry" and "Tribunal" as shifting references to the authority used by the counsels as shields to create different ar-

gumentative strategies in their questions during the witness examination, the methodology has at first considered the etymology of these two words looking at their definitions as a preliminary point.

Secondly, after these introductory generalisations, a quantitative analysis with the software "WordSmith Tools" (Scott 1996) has been made considering the frequency of these items in the three sub-corpora, their keyness, as well as their concordances, their collocations and clusters in order to identify their argumentative roles through their combination with connectives and other meta-argumentative expressions.

Lastly, a more qualitative analysis of the argumentative functions of "Inquiry" and "Tribunal" has been carried out on some samples extracted from the data combining two theories proposed by Stati (2002) and Walton (2002). The investigation has focused in particular on the role these two items take in the forms of argument they produce ("active" *vs*. "passive subject") (Stati 2002: 47) and on the legal argumentative strategies in which they are involved (Walton 2002: 35-72).

3. *Discussion*

3.1 Premises

In this section, before starting with the quantitative and qualitative analysis of the data, the preliminary definitions of "Tribunal" and "Inquiry" provided by the *Oxford English Dictionary* (OED) are discussed in order to better understand the lexical-semantic nature of these two items.

The definition of "Tribunal" in the OED is the following:

    a.   a court of justice; a *judicial* (my emphasis) assembly
    b.   *fig*. place of *judgement* (my emphasis) or decision; *judicial authority* (my emphasis)

As shown by the previous definitions, we can notice that the etymology of the word "Tribunal" is strictly linked to the idea of judging and it is characterised by its reference to the "judicial authority" that has as a final goal to return a verdict. Thus, we expect the data to confirm the presence of this item as a shifting reference to the authority in judging argumentative strategies.

Moving on to "Inquiry", the definition proposed by the OED is the following:

    a.   the action of seeking, esp. (not always) for truth, knowledge, or information concerning something; search, research, *investigation*, *examination* (my emphasis)
    b.   a course of inquiry; an *investigation* (my emphasis)

Differently from the definition of "Tribunal", the etymology of the word "Inquiry" is associated with the action of investigating and its semantics involves an information-seeking

process. As a consequence, we expect a different use of "Inquiry" from "Tribunal" as a shifting reference to the authority in the construction of the argumentative strategies. We argue that the data will demonstrate the presence of the reference to the "Inquiry" in argumentative patterns involving an investigative purpose.

3.2 Quantitative results

Considering the frequency and the keyness of "Tribunal" and "Inquiry" in the two sub-corpora of questions posed during the Examination-in-Chief and during the Cross-Examination analysed with "WordSmith Tools" (Scott 1996), and comparing their results, it is interesting to notice how the quantitative presence of the two items is diametrically opposite in the two phases of the witness examination. In fact, as can be seen in Table I, "Tribunal" presents 54 entries in the Examination-in-Chief and 106 entries in the Cross-Examination, while "Inquiry" presents 173 instances in the Examination-in-Chief and 50 instances in the Cross-Examination.

Table I: *Frequency of the reference to the authority in the sub-corpora Examination-in-Chief and Cross-Examination*

Reference to the authority	Examination-in-Chief	Cross-Examination
Tribunal	54	106
Inquiry	173	50

The former table represents a first confirmation of the expectations raised by the preliminary definitions of the two items. In fact, the word "Tribunal" is more frequent in the Cross-Examination, the most combative phase of the examination, in which the witness is questioned by the counsel representing the opposite part in the proceeding. On the contrary, the situation is overturned for the item "Inquiry" that is more recurrent in the Examination-in-Chief, the first investigative stage of the witness interrogation. As a consequence, as already shown by the semantics of the two words, "Inquiry" is associated with information-seeking situations such as the Examination-in-Chief, while "Tribunal" to judging ones such as the Cross-Examination in which the credibility of the witness is tested and judged by the authority.

3.3 Qualitative results

After having presented the quantitative results concerning the frequency and the keyness of "Tribunal" and "Inquiry" in the sub-corpora, in this section the discussion moves on the qualitative analysis of the two items and some examples selected from the data are presented in order to show the argumentative role of the two references to the authority and the strategies they contribute to create.

The first example involves "Tribunal":

Ex. 1

Q. Could you see if you could help us make sense, please, of M25.255. To put it in context, this is where you are playing him the recording that you had made of your interview with soldier D, who is referred to as SD in the transcript. He is speaking in the background in his conversation with you and you were commenting on the quality of the evidence and Paul Mahon [...]
Would the *Tribunal* be right to assume what he was saying was: yes, this is jolly good evidence, but I have got it now on the recording that I have made; is that what that means, or can you ascribe any other meaning to it or help us with what it does mean?

A. Does that not look like it is soldier D says, "Yes, very good"?

As shown by Ex. 1 extracted from the Cross-Examination of the Bloody Sunday Inquiry, in the first part of the question the lawyer starts an "argument from testimony" (Walton 1996b: 61) by presenting part of the witness written statement (M25.255) as a piece of evidence. Then, in the second part of the same question, he makes a claim about the evidence presented and introduces it by placing himself behind the reference to the "Tribunal", which in this case becomes an "authoritative self" for the lawyer. In this extract, the item "Tribunal" is the subject of the argumentative strategy and it is used as a personification of the judicial authority that enables the counsel to give his assumptions by "hiding behind the authority" ("Would the Tribunal be right to assume..."). The creation of an "authoritative self" serves the lawyer to frighten the witness and to make his question more effective.

Moreover, the item "Tribunal" is also employed during the Cross-Examination in the creation of the "*ad hominem* argument" (Walton 2002: 59-63) as shown by the following extract:

Ex.2

Q. If the position is that you saw somebody with blond hair who you understood to be a journalist talking to Michael, it is not entirely candid to this *Tribunal* to say today on oath that you did not see any journalist, is it?

A. No, I was told he was a journalist, I did not know he was a journalist at the time.

Q. Are you doing your best to help this *Tribunal*?

In Ex. 2, we can see two instances of "Tribunal". In the first question, the reference to the authority follows the same pattern already pointed out in the previous example. In the second instance, on the other hand, "Tribunal" is introduced as a passive subject in the argumentative strategy to create an "*ad hominem* argument". In fact, we can notice that the question in which is employed does not represent a request for information, but a personal attack to the witness who is alleged of not doing his/her best to help the authority ("Are you doing your best to help this Tribunal?").

As well as in the two previous forms of argument, we find the shifting reference from the counsel to the "Tribunal" also in the realization of a biased type of "argument from position to know", in which the witness is in the position to know something about the evidence (Walton 2002: 45-50), as highlighted in the following example:

> Ex. 3
> Q. Could you please help the *Tribunal* a little more with your own rec-
>   ollections of what you saw on the day, and could I ask you again,
>   please, to look at AM44.6, the whole page first of all. Have you today
>   been shown the original of this document?
> A. I have. [...]
> Q. Could we look at it together, please. Is it right that you saw five sol-
>   diers running across Glenfada Park?
> A. No.
> Q. Firing on people who were carrying a wounded man?
> A. No, the only recollection I have is three soldiers in Glenfada Park.
>   Now, there was people running, carrying people. I did not actually see
>   a soldier shooting one of them.
> Q. This first sentence is certainly not accurate?
> A. No.
> Q. Are you telling this *Tribunal* on oath today that you have no recol-
>   lection of giving that statement in 1972?
> A. I have not.
> Q. No recollection at all?
> A. No.

In the first question of Ex. 3, the reference to "Tribunal" is clearly used in an "argument from position to know" since the witness is asked to help the Tribunal in the recollections of facts ("Could you please help the Tribunal...?"). The second instance, on the contrary, could seem at first again implied in the construction of an "argument from position to know". However, in this case the reference to the authority serves the lawyer as a shield to make a counter-claim to a previous statement given by the witness. In fact, in the second occurrence it is possible to notice the presence of the progressive form related to the item "Tribunal" that, following Heffer (2005), is a clear signal of challenge to the witness evidence commonly used in trials. Moreover, another hint to this challenging strategy is the meta-argumentative item "on oath" that again serves to frighten the witness remembering that he/she is producing his/her testimony in front of the authority.

Moving on to the shifting reference of "Inquiry", we can observe a different role from that of "Tribunal" as regards to the construction of the legal argumentative strategies. Indeed, "Inquiry" is often used as a simple collective self-mention reference to the authority which is receiving the evidence from the witness, as shown in the subsequent example:

Ex. 1b

Q. You told the Inquiry that you were going to inquire if soldiers A or C, or indeed the others, had given statements to the Tribunal. Have you been able to do that?

A. No, I have not been able to make contact with either of them

In this extract, the "Inquiry" is the "receiver" of the witness evidence (the witness "told the Inquiry" that...) and it can be considered as a passive participant in the creation of an "argument from testimony" (Walton 1996: 61). In the example, it is possible to observe also an instance of "Tribunal", which is implied in the "argument from testimony" too. In fact, it is associated with the meta-argumentative item "statement" that makes the "Tribunal" object of the action "give statements to..." and consequently passive subject in the "argument from testimony".

Another form of argument in which the reference to "Inquiry" is involved is the "argument from position to know" as shown in example 2b.

Ex. 2b

Q. First of all, can you tell the *Inquiry* how you first either heard from him or met him?

A. It is quite difficult for me to recollect the detail. It was shortly after I was elected. He came to my surgery and gave me a tale that is broadly set out in the Ombudsman's Report. The gist of it was that he had been a Scout leader, and he had run an organisation I think called the Dunblane Rovers for youngsters [...]

Q. Can you date this meeting?

A. I cannot.

Q. Was it long after you were elected?

A. I don't know, but it must have been during 1983, certainly.

In the former extract, we can see an instance of "Inquiry" at the beginning of the passage as reference starting an "argument from position to know". In fact, through the authoritative reference "Inquiry", the counsel asks the witness to "tell" what he/she remembers. The "Inquiry" is in this case the direct object of the verb to "tell", thus being the passive subject of the "argument from position to know".

However, we can also find the shifting reference "Inquiry" as an active subject of different forms of argument. One of these is again the "argument from testimony" as proposed by the following example:

Ex. 3b

Q. You can take it that the *Inquiry* has heard direct evidence about how this system worked, and indeed works up to the present time. What I am more concerned about at the moment is what you saw as perhaps the shortcomings of that particular direction, and you make comments on Page 4, and can I take it that essentially you are saying there that that is a fairly skeletal direction on how to carry out such an enquiry?

A. I took the view that all parts of the system must be in place and be equally supportive of the overall purpose of the system, and in respect of the Order and the form which was required to be completed by the officers, I felt that they were not adequate in their form.

In Ex. 3b, "Inquiry" is personified as demonstrated by its association with the verb "has heard". Furthermore, it is the subject of the verb, thus being at the same time the active participant of the argument in which it is involved. In this case, the "Inquiry" is presented as reference for the construction of an "argument from testimony" as also substantiated by the meta-argumentative item "direct evidence" by which it is followed.

4. *Concluding remarks*

The results of both the quantitative and the qualitative analysis has confirmed the expectations given by the different semantics of "Tribunal" and "Inquiry" in the way they contribute as shifting references to the authority for the lawyer in the creation of different argumentative strategies.

In fact, considering the quantitative results, "Tribunal" has appeared to be more frequent in the Cross-Examination (106 *vs.* 54), the most combative phase of the witness examination. On the contrary, "Inquiry" has proved to have a higher keyness in the Examination-in-Chief (173 *vs.* 50), the part of the witness examination devoted to the search for information.

Moreover, as demonstrated by the qualitative observation of some samples of data, "Inquiry" is implied in information-seeking kind of arguments both as active and passive subject in the argumentative strategies. Indeed, "Inquiry" is used by the counsels especially in the Examination-in-Chief mainly in the creation of the "argument from position to know" or of the "argument from testimony".

On the other hand, "Tribunal" is involved in more judging forms of argument as for example the "*ad hominem* argument" or to make counter-claims about a previous evidence given by the witness. As shown by the data, "Tribunal" acts differently from "Inquiry" as an "authoritative self" for the counsel that "hides behind the authority" to produce a more powerful and effective question and, sometimes, to scare the witness.

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Pârvulescu vs. Ceauşescu and all vs. Pârvulescu. Argument and pseudo-argument in a unique event in a communist dictatorship

Mihai Daniel Frumuşelu

The present paper is a case study of a unique event that occurred in 1979 Romania, during the communist dictatorship that marked the history of Eastern Europe in the second half of the 20th century. During the 12th congress of the Romanian communist party, a veteran member of the party, Constantin Pârvulescu, took the floor unexpectedly and talked against the dictatorial leader of the party and the country, Nicolae Ceauşescu.

This is my second paper on this event, whose complexity and originality under several aspects (audiovisual, linguistic, argumentative, and, last but not least, political) suggests that it may and should be the focus of many investigations from different perspectives, especially by researchers from my generation, who lived the communist period, including the moment of this event. My first paper on this subject (Frumuşelu, forthcoming) investigated general aspects related to discourse features. The present paper highlights the argumentative strategies used by Pârvulescu and by those speakers who counterattacked him and the context in which this argumentative confrontation took place.

1. *Material and method*

This paper will use as primary source the TV recording of the incident, made by the Romanian television. The fact that there was only one television in Romania at that time, the public one, and that it was strictly controlled by the communist party, will appear blatantly obvious in the analysis. The analysis of the event will start from *multimodal* considerations on the place where the event occurred and on the participants, and will continue with a semantico-pragmatic account of the verbal interaction between the participants in the event. The multimodal investigation brings information about both linguistic and non-linguistic features of the event, which is relevant to its rhetorical and argumentative aspects.

2. *General features of the event*

After WW2, Romania, as most of the Eastern European countries, experienced the dictatorship of the communist party, which held the monopoly of the political power, assured

by the state constitution. This happened despite the fact that there were extremely few communists in Romania (less than 1,000 members in 1944). After 1965, when Nicolae Ceauşescu was elected secretary general (i.e. leader) of the communist party, the power was gradually concentrated into his own hands, either directly or by means of his family, first of all his wife, Elena Ceauşescu. Nicolae Ceauşescu governed virtually unrestrained, mainly by emitting decrees. The parliament (officially called "The Great National Assembly") was reduced to the formal role of meeting a couple of times a year to ratify Ceauşescu's decrees.

This general situation caused the discontent of several veteran members of the party, who were not lucky enough to be relatives to Nicolae Ceauşescu. One of them was Constantin Pârvulescu, who had the courage to speak up on this matter during the 12th congress of the communist party, in November 1979.

2.1 Participants

Constantin Pârvulescu's intervention was followed by four speeches, that where held in chronological succession by: Ion Popescu-Puţuri, George Macovescu, Leonte Răutu (Lev Oighenstein) and finally Nicolae Ceauşescu. The first three speakers who counter-attacked Pârvulescu were high-ranking members of the Romanian Communist Party. The last of them, Leonte Răutu, is mentioned under his two names. He was a Soviet Jew (Lev Oighenstein) sent to Romania after WW2 to contribute to the implementation of the communist system there, and, like other persons who were in the same situation, he changed his name into a Romanian one (Leonte Răutu).

2.2 The multimodal transcription of the event

The multimodal perspective on human interaction considers discourse meaning being made up of the different semiotic channels, which equally contribute to the resulting meaning (Thibault 2000; Baldry & Thibault 2006). A consequence is that language is regarded as one of the meaning components, a part of the acoustic channel. This unlike the customary theories of discourse analysis and conversation analysis, which consider language as playing the main part and therefore other features are marked as, for instance, *paralinguistic* or *non-linguistic*.

I made a multimodal transcription of the whole recording of the event, translated the interventions into English and added the corresponding English subtitles to the recording. My multimodal transcript of the audiovisual recording describes and identifies the main components of the multimodal text as follows:

a) *timeline*, that corresponds to the chronological flow starting from the moment immediately before Pârvulescu's asking to take the floor;

b) *soundtrack*, that corresponds to the notion of *discourse* in discourse analysis – in the Romanian original and in English translation, and including the components *participant* and *content*, that respectively render the participant in the interaction

(e.g. the speaker or the audience) and that content of audio channel that is relevant to the event;

c) *visual frame*, corresponding to the *extra-linguistic context* in discourse analysis, and including the marking of the relevant *proxemic* and *kinesic* features, if any.

The whole event lasts for 38 minutes and its multimodal transcription covers 43 pages in A4 format. Pârvulescu's intervention, that triggers the trail of events, is rendered completely, in the Appendix, whereas the relevant excerpts of the other participants' interventions will be quoted in the course of the study. In the transcription notation several suggestions given by Du Bois *et al.* (1988) were also used. The general conventions on the notation that are relevant to the present study are shown in Table I.

Table I: *Multimodal transcription conventions*

Transcription	Meaning	Example
Bold type	stressed word or fragment	**we** should ask him, and he **does** know
Dots	The absence of the context	... the floor, to hand it in to the congress secretariate.
Slash	A short pause made by the speaker	
Square brackets	Added context in the English translation, to make the meaning clearer for non-Romanian readers	Do I have less merits than this— [poet] Păunescu?
Direct descriptions	Other actions that are relevant to the event	*unclear* *applauding* *Part of the audience chanting*

The mention *unclear* is used instead of an unclear fragment of the soundtrack.

Further multimodal events and comments are made in italics. Comments referring to pragmatics, discourse analysis, rhetoric, are made separately, as inserted comments. The transcriptions rendered in this study contain the English translation of the interventions, without the Romanian original, as it focuses on argumentative schemas rather than on linguistic features. Moreover, the excerpts present along the analysis lack the mentioning of the visual frame, as the camera manoeuvring is not relevant to them, but only to Pârvulescu who was shown before and after his attack on Ceaușescu.

The multimodal transcription is essential to understand those aspects of the discourse that cannot be understood after an analysis of the discourse, rhetorical and argumentative features of the event have been analysed. An example is the reason why Pârvulescu is not able to reply to his opponents after they have counter-attacked him: he simply has no access to the microphone, and in addition the TV cameras are no longer showing him in close-ups but on a long shot on the whole audience.

2.3 Multimodal features of the event

Constantin Pârvulescu could not plan his intervention beforehand, due to the strict control that Ceauşescu had on the speakers: the list of speakers was made up and approved in advance and the speakers' interventions were also composed and verified in advance. The speakers' role was reduced to reading out a written intervention, whose content consisted of praising the accomplishments of the nation under Ceauşescu's leadership. This formal role of the speakers had a counterpart in the audience, who was reduced to a "robotic" role: applauding, cheering and chanting.

The auditorium where the congress took place was also designed to favour Ceauşescu. Its disposition was highly asymmetrical, and marked the gap between Ceauşescu and the audience, the latter being hindered from any spontaneous intervention. The asymmetry of the auditorium is shown in Figure 1 (Frumuşelu, forthcoming).

Figure 1: *The asymmetry of the congress auditorium*

Presidium

Rostrum

Audience
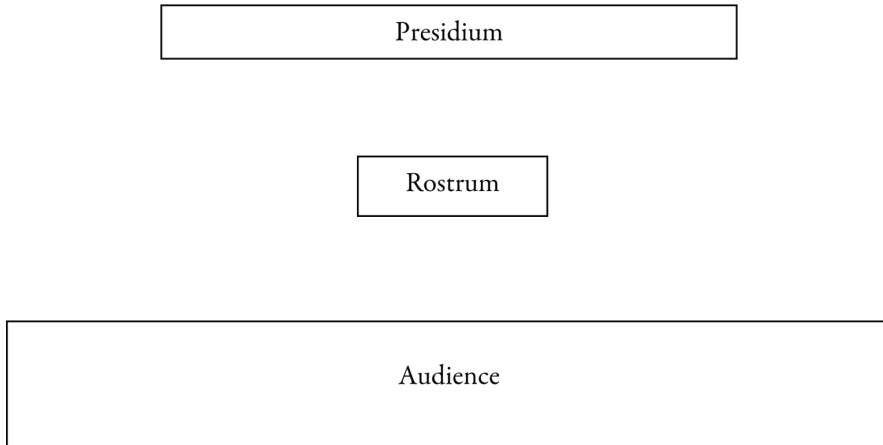
In this disposition of the auditorium, it was only Nicolae Ceauşescu and his wife, Elena Ceauşescu, who had unlimited access to the microphone. The television settings were also adjusted to privilege Nicolae Ceauşescu, who was the only participant to be shown in close shot.

3. *Discourse events and their argumentative effects*

Ancient rhetoricians such as Aristotle (*Rhetorica* 1358a36-58b20, *Rhetorica ad Alexandrum* 1421b7), Quintilian (*Institutio oratoria* 3.3.14), and the author of *Rhetorica ad Herennium* (1.2.2), identified three main rhetorical genres, which may be rendered in English as the *deliberative*, the *forensic* and the *demonstrative* (or *epideictic*) ones (Sloane 2006: 119; Too 2006: 265). The way in which the debates of the communist party congresses took place may

be described in a nutshell by saying that the *deliberative genre*, that was normally expected to occur in a political debate, was replaced by the *epideictic* one.

One of the strongest effects of Constantin Pârvulescu's intervention was the change he implicitly made in the discourse of the congress debates, from the purely formal discourse of *epideictic* nature to a genuinely critical *deliberative* one. The speakers who counter-attacked Pârvulescu had two main goals: (i) to cancel the perlocutionary effects of Pârvulescu's intervention, and (ii) to reverse the debate to its initial *epideictic* form. The former goal was described in detail in Frumuşelu (forthcoming). The present paper will highlight the counter-attack of the four speakers who took the floor after Pârvulescu's intervention, particularly the use of fallacious argumentation in doing it.

As it can be noticed from the multimodal transcription in the Appendix, Pârvulescu replied an *ad hominem* attack on him in a rhetorical scheme of *praeteritio* (Dragomirescu 1995: 342), also called *paralepsis* or *occultatio* (Sloane 2006: 659), i.e. by mentioning something by pretending to keep silent upon it. His mentioning of the name of the Soviet Union would be used against him by the speakers who would counterattack him by hinting at the fact that his interests are foreign to the Romanian people, and thus suggesting that he is a traitor (Table II below).

Table II: *Constantin Pârvulescu's mentioning of the Soviet Union*

Timeline	Soundtrack	
	Participant	Content
04:44	Male voice in the board	*Unclear*
04:47	Female voice in the board (Elena Ceauşescu?)	... in the party.
04:48	The audience	(*applauding*)
04:51	Pârvulescu	I didn't ask you when you entered the party.
04:56	Pârvulescu	And what did you do during WW2.
04:58	Pârvulescu	If you didn't fight against the Soviet Union.
05:02	Pârvulescu	I didn't ask you about this!
05:03	Members of the audience	(*unclear voices*)

Van Eemeren & Grootendorst (1984: 124) define the enthymeme as an argument with a missing part, which can be either one of the premises or the conclusion. Constantin Pârvulescu's intervention introduced two arguments in form of enthymemes with one missing premise:

(i) Ceauşescu had staged the congress in order to be re-elected, and therefore he should not be re-elected.

(ii) The congress debates were empty talk on the positive sides of the party activities, and they should turn immediately into genuine critical debates.

The two enthymemes, with the unexpressed premises reconstructed from the context, are described below.

(i)

Conclusion:
Nicolae Ceauşescu should not be re-elected.
⇑

Expressed premise:
Nicolae Ceauşescu has staged the congress in order to be re-elected.

Unexpressed premise:
Staging a congress is an unpardonable deed.

(ii)

Conclusion:
The party congress should turn into a genuine debate.
⇑

Expressed premise:
There are no debates going on, but only empty talk about positive aspects.

Unexpressed premise:
A congress should be held in form of critical discussions.

As one remarks, Pârvulescu's argument complies with the rules of syllogistic reasoning. From a classical rhetorical perspective the force of an argument is given by *ethos*, *logos* and *pathos* (Aristotle 1994: 90-93/1356a). The two enthymemes prove that Pârvulescu gives his argument the *logic* dimension. In addition, his remarks at timeline 00:57-01:09 are meant to enhance his *ethos*, whereas several remarks, as those at timeline 01:19-01:28, 01:52 and 02:53 are loaded with *pathos*. The conclusion is that Pârvulescu had complied with the classical rhetorical requirements of conducting an argument. One should expect a reply whose rhetorical features should be at the same level.

In spite of this, the interventions against Pârvulescu were completely irrelevant to the two arguments made by him. The analysis of the four interventions against Pârvulescu identified four arguments of fallacious nature: *ignoratio elenchi* (ignorance of refutation) (Walton 2003: 1222), red herring, straw man, *ad hominem*.

At this stage, the debate forced by Pârvulescu reached its *prima facie* stage. Then an immediate question arises: why did it not continue? And the answer is given by the multimodal pre-settings of the congress auditorium: Pârvulescu was denied any further access to the microphone and the TV cameras no longer showed him in medium shot: a general long shot on the whole audience was shown while he was speaking.

The first speaker who followed Pârvulescu, Ion Popescu-Puţuri, was also a veteran member of the party, totally subdued to Ceauşescu. His intervention is completely irrelevant to Pârvulescu's intervention, at times even hilarious. It may be characterised as a gen-

eral *ignoratio elenchi* that not only ignored Pârvulescu's standpoint, but even repeated what Pârvulescu suggested that it should be avoided: Popescu-Puţuri continued the apology of the people's and the party's achievements under Ceauşescu's leadership. This strategy is of the red herring type, aiming at distracting the attention from the topic started by Pârvulescu.

These two types of fallacious argument – *ignoratio elenchi* and red herring – have in common the fact of being fallacies of relevance. The first two, *ignoratio elenchi* and the red herring fallacy are called by Walton "pure fallacies of relevance" (2004: 1). In another study, Walton remarks the fact that being irrelevant in an argumentative confrontation may be used to hide a reasoning that is *logically* faulty:

> A speaker who wanders off the topic, distracting the audience with matters that are exciting but not relevant, could be normatively criticized for failing to address the issue. The wandering could be a logical fault of his or her argumentation. Even if the audience is rhetorically persuaded by it, the argument could still be logically faulty. Indeed, the red herring tactic is the sort of trick a sophist might use, and is known in logic as a fallacy. (Walton 2003: 1221-1222)

No wonder then that George Macovescu, the speaker who took the floor after Popescu-Puţuri continued to make use of arguments of irrelevance, but, however, chose to be less irrelevant than Popescu-Puţuri by using another type of attack: *ad hominem* starting from the connotations of Pârvulescu's old age.

Table III: *George Macovescu's* ad hominem *attack on Pârvulescu*

Timeline	Soundtrack	
	Participant	Content
25:56	George Macovescu	Therefore, comrades, I do think that we should strongly reject all what comrade Pârvulescu has said here, and explain it by some circumstances. True, old age gives you wisdom, but can also make you act wrongly.

The *ad hominem* argument is particularly powerful in its irrelevance, precisely because it is not always irrelevant, as remarked by several scholars including Walton, who also summed up the views on this aspect (1998, Chapter 2). If a smoker advises one not to smoke, the latter could reject his argument by pointing at the fact that the advice is given by someone who smokes. This *ad hominem* attack, however, does *not* invalidate the argument, and this is precisely because the attack was not aimed at the argument itself. This indeterminacy leaves open the possibility that the argument may be correct. George Macovescu presumably used this feature, in an unethical way, to suggest that Pârvulescu may be a decrepit individual and consequently not aware of what he is saying. From this point to implying that Pârvulescu's argument is wrong is just one step, as one may wonder to what extent can a decaying mind produce a sound argument.

Another *ad hominem* attack on Pârvulescu was the reference to Pârvulescu as a "traitor", done by Ceauşescu (Table IV). This was an implicit hint at his (would-be) allegiance to the Soviet Union.

The straw man build up by Nicolae Ceauşescu had as a starting point the proper name "Soviet Union" mentioned by Pârvulescu (timeline 04:58), and consisted in the indirect suggestion that Pârvulescu has no allegiance to the Romanian homeland, and his intervention was implicitly marked as an anti-national one. Ceauşescu intertwined his straw man with an *ad hominem* attack built on Pârvulescu's past.

Table IV: *Nicolae Ceauşescu's attack on Pârvulescu's past*

Timeline	Soundtrack	
	Participant	Content
32:38	Nicolae Ceauşescu	As he asked Macovescu what did he do during WW2, **we** should ask him, and he **does** know, because he was **asked** why for four years, during WW2, he stayed indoors, until **we**, who had been imprisoned, took him out and put him to work!

The fact that Ceauşescu combined the straw man with the *ad hominem* is not entirely surprising, given the similarities shared by the two types of fallacious argumentation. Walton, for instance, remarks the relation between the *straw man* and the "poisoning the well" variety of the *ad hominem* one (1996: 120).

The frustration of the communist leaders was best expressed by George Macovescu's urge "Let us pretend we did not even hear what comrade Pârvulescu said!". This was an attempt to cancel Pârvulescu's speech act of accusation at its elementary level, called by Searle (1969: 57) the "normal input and output conditions", as pointed out in Frumuşelu (forthcoming).

Table V: *George Macovescu's infringement on the norms of rational discussion*

Timeline	Soundtrack	
	Participant	Content
26:16	George Macovescu	Să susţinem –
	The audience	(*Applauding*)
26:23	George Macovescu	Let us support further, with all our determination, and let us pretend that we **didn't even hear** what comrade Pârvulescu said.

To sum up, the counter-attacks on Pârvulescu ignored both his arguments, and were directed either astray (*ignoratio elenchi*, red herring) or against Pârvulescu's person (straw man*, ad hominem*), as shown in Figure 2 below.

Figure 2: *The targets of the counterattacks on Pârvulescu*
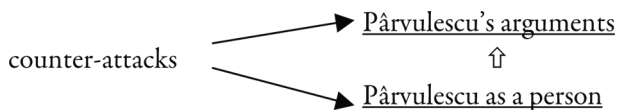
This is in a deep contrast to Pârvulescu's rational intervention, in which the three components *ethos*, *logos* and *pathos* were balanced to result in a convincing argument that was hard to counteract. The only way to counteract Pârvulescu's argument was by a series of non-rational interventions, built on irrelevant arguments and supported by the multimodal settings of the auditorium.

This brings up one more question: how was it possible that the audience was completely controlled by Ceauşescu? In his book on the genocides in history (Anti-Jewish, Anti-Armenian, against Native Americans and other nations), the social psychologist James Waller argues that there is a natural tendency in the human individual to find the cause of events outside his own person:

> Generally, we have a preference for seeking causal explanations in forces outside the individual – particularly features of the immediate situation. (Waller 2002: 175)

In the case of the analysed event, this means that the members of the audience were inclined to consider themselves not responsible of what happened in an event that was not organised by them, but in which they were called to play the mere part of statists. However, the organisers skilfully used them as much more that statists, as their automatic reactions were considered to be genuine. Waller notices the interactive dynamics of the relation between individuals and the external situations in which they may be involved:

> [...] we are partly the products of our situations, but we are producers of our situations as well. (Waller 2002: 198)

In other words, the audience cannot escape the inherent responsibility that they had in playing the infamous part of an applauding machine run by Ceauşescu. With the audience keeping silent, the argumentative parody held to silence Pârvulescu would have left Pârvulescu's opponents exposed in their empty arguments.

4. *Conclusions*

Constantin Pârvulescu's intervention against Nicolae Ceauşescu made an abrupt transformation of the genre of the congress debate from the mere epideictic discourse to a deliberative one. His intervention moved the debate up to the stage of *prima facie*, but it was blocked by irrelevant counter-attacks. The end of the debate was favoured by three factors: (i) the allegiance of the leaders to Ceauşescu, (ii) Ceauşescu's complete control on the audience, and (iii) the asymmetric settings of the auditorium in terms of proxemics, as well as audiovisual settings. It was this multimodal setting of the auditorium that hindered Pârvulescu from any further contribution in the debate that he himself had launched. Pârvulescu made a great accomplishment by launching an attack and a debate in its incipient form, but he could not change the settings of the auditorium, nor could he influence the people hired to support Ceauşescu.

Obviously, such a debate does not fulfil the elementary conditions for a rational discussion, such as, for instance, the "code of conduct for rational discussant" listed by Van Eemeren and Grootendorst (1984: 151-176), and therefore even less the requirements for a debate in a political institutionalised confrontation. Among the rules listed by the authors, there are those granting the participants "the right to challenge" (1984: 158), that was obviously denied to Pârvulescu from the moment of his intervention. Most notable is Van Eemeren and Grootendorst's mentioning the obligation to retract one's point of view as a part of the concluding the debate:

> The protagonist is obliged to retract the initial point of view if the antagonist has (while observing the other rules of the discussion) sufficiently attacked it [...]. (Van Eemeren & Grootendorst 1994: 174)

It goes without saying that Pârvulescu has been *sufficiently attacked*, at least as to the number of arguments launched against him. This means that in a rational discussion as described by Van Eemeren & Grootendorst, Pârvulescu should have admitted, in the end, that he was wrong! Then an immediate question arises: why was he not given the floor to simply admit that he was completely wrong, as proved by the four speakers who counter-attacked him? The immediate answer is that Pârvulescu had no reasons to consider himself proved wrong, and the irrelevance of the arguments brought against him – and shown in Figure 2, above – can only support such a conclusion. In this case, Ceauşescu was only afraid to continue a genuine debate with Pârvulescu, and the only way to do it was to deny any latter the further access to the floor.

A small but decisive mistake made by Pârvulescu was his mention of the name of the Soviet Union. Together with his old age, this name would be used by the speakers who counter-attacked him in order to depict him as an enemy of the people. His own reply was used as a starting point of the attacks against him.

Despite all the convergent attacks on Constantin Pârvulescu's image, his intervention was far from being ineffectual. Its immediate perlocutionary effects on Ceauşescu were reflected by Macovescu's suggestion to pretend that nobody even heard what Constantin Pârvulescu said – a wishful thinking, impossible to accomplish. The very existence of the present paper is just one more proof of this.

Appendix

The multimodal transcription of Constantin Pârvulescu's intervention during the 12th Congress of the Romanian Communist Party, November 1979.

The content of the soundtrack is rendered in English translation only. In addition to the general conventions listed in section 2.2, the bold type at Timeline 05:10 marks a pronunciation stress in the marked syntagm. The dash marks a short pause (as at timeline 01:19).

The square brackets at 01:24 are used to add information that is unlikely to be inferred by non-Romanian readers.

Timeline	Soundtrack		Visual frame
	Speaker	Content	
00:55	Pârvulescu	Comrades!	Medium long shot on Pârvulescu
00:57	Pârvulescu	This year I have celebrated 60 years since I have entered the communist party.	Medium long shot on Pârvulescu
01:02	The audience	*Applauding*	Shift to long shot on audience
01:09	Pârvulescu	Out of these 60 years, about 55 I have been a member of the party leading organs.	Medium long shot on Pârvulescu
01:16	The audience	*Applauding*	Shift to long shot on audience
01:19	Pârvulescu	Do I have less merits than this—	Shift to medium long shot on Pârvulescu *Head: pointing towards left (where also Ceauşescu was sitting)*
01:24	Pârvulescu	[poet] Păunescu?	Medium long shot on Pârvulescu
01:28	Pârvulescu	... Who talked a lot of nonsense yesterday. Didn't he?	Medium long shot on Pârvulescu
01:32	The audience (partial)	*Applauding*	Shift to long shot on audience
01:37	Pârvulescu	To occupy the rostrum of this congress?	Shift to medium long shot on Pârvulescu
01:41	–	–	Medium long shot on Pârvulescu
01:43	Pârvulescu	Comrades!	Medium long shot on Pârvulescu
01:45	Pârvulescu	I was astonished at the way this congress was prepared, and at the congress itself.	Medium long shot on Pârvulescu
01:52	Pârvulescu	How is it possible, comrades,	Medium long shot on Pârvulescu
01:55	Pârvulescu	while there are so many major problems to be discussed,	Medium long shot on Pârvulescu
02:03	Pârvulescu	and a lot of shortcomings	Medium long shot on Pârvulescu
02:05	Pârvulescu	to debate on, and to find solutions to improve.	Medium long shot on Pârvulescu
02:10	Pârvulescu	We, communists, have always talked on our accomplishments, but we have even more focused on our shortcomings.	Medium long shot on Pârvulescu

00:26	Pârvulescu	And how to mend these failures.	Medium long shot on Pârvulescu
02:32	Pârvulescu	So that we may improve our work.	Medium long shot on Pârvulescu
02:35	Pârvulescu	This is our communist spirit.	Medium long shot on Pârvulescu
02:38	Pârvulescu	Comrade Ceauşescu had the impunity	Shift to long shot on all
02:41	Pârvulescu	to	Long shot on all
00:42	Pârvulescu	prepare the congress in advance,	Long shot on all
02:46	Pârvulescu	and during the congress and the conferences,	Long shot on all
02:48	Pârvulescu	to be re-elected	Long shot on all
02:51	Pârvulescu	secretary general of the party.	Long shot on all
02:53	Pârvulescu	It is something unprecedented, in the history of our party, comrades!	Long shot on all
02:57	Pârvulescu	And in the history of the communist parties!	Long shot on all
03:01	–	–	Long shot on all
03:05	Pârvulescu	Why does Ceauşescu avoid	Long shot on all
03:08	Pârvulescu	to be elected to the central committee?	Long shot on all
03:12	Pârvulescu	And out of the central committee to be re-elected?	Long shot on all
03:15	Pârvulescu	Why?	Long shot on all
03:17	Pârvulescu	Because Ceauşescu is avoiding the control of the party.	Long shot on all
03:22	Pârvulescu	He tries to...	Long shot on all
03:23	Male voice in the audience	It is not correct!	Long shot on all
03:24	Pârvulescu	What?	Long shot on all *People rising*
03:25	Pârvulescu	What is not correct?	Long shot on all
03:27	Pârvulescu	Comrades!	Long shot on all
03:28	One voice in the audience	Ceauşescu re-elected!	Long shot on all
03:30	The audience	*Audience rising, applauding, cheering* Ceauşescu re-elected!	Long shot on all
03:38	The audience	*+ chanting*	Switches between long shot on audience, and long shot on all
03:48	The audience	*Applauding and chanting*	Long shot on audience
04:18	The audience	–	Long shot on all

04:21	Pârvulescu	In this spirit was this congress organised, comrades.	Long shot on all(!)
04:25	Pârvulescu	And there are teams of agitators here.	Long shot on all
04:28	The audience	From the first to the last row.	Long shot on all *Part of the audience rising*
04:29	–	*Part of the audience chanting*	Long shot on all
04:32	Male voice in the audience	This is not true!	Long shot on all *Audience sitting down*
04:35	Pâvulescu	I listened to all the speakers.	Long shot on all
04:38	Pâvulescu	I didn't interrupt anyone.	Long shot on all
04:40	Low voice in the board	Wait, wait...	Long shot on all
04:41	–	–	Long shot on all
04:44	Male voice in the board	–	Long shot on all
04:47	Female voice in the board (Elena Ceauşescu?)	... in the party.	Long shot on all
04:48	The audience	*Applauding*	Long shot on all
04:51	Pâvulescu	I didn't ask you when you entered the party.	Long shot on all
04:56	Pâvulescu	And what did you do during WW2.	Long shot on all
04:58	Pâvulescu	If you didn't fight against the Soviet Union.	Long shot on all
05:02	Pâvulescu	I didn't ask you about this!	Long shot on all
05:03	Memebrs of the audience	–	Long shot on all *A few members of the audience rising*
05:09	Pârvulescu	Comrades!	Long shot on all
05:10	Pârvulescu	I **won't** vote for Ceauşescu's re-election as a leader.	Long shot on all
05:16	Pârvulescu	–	Long shot on all *Pârvulescu leaves the rostrum and walks up the stairs to his seat*
05:17	The audience	*Rising, applauding and chanting* Ceauşescu re-elected!	Shift to long shot on audience
05:34	The audience	*Applauding and chanting* Ceauşescu re-elected!	Shift to long shot on all
05:49	The audience	–	Long shot on all *The whole audience sits down*

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Ad hoc concepts and argumentation in political debates

Anabella-Gloria Niculescu-Gorpin

Lexical items have been regarded as conveying a basic, literal meaning, captured in most cases by lexicographic definitions. Nevertheless, when communicating, speakers select (unconsciously) only those 'literal' features relevant for that particular context, loosening or narrowing the basic, literal concept encoded. On the other hand, in processing utterances to recover the speaker's meaning and to understand particular constructions, hearers may not retrieve the same encyclopaedic features as the ones put forward by speakers, but different though similar ones. Such instantaneous formed concepts have been known in the literature as *ad hoc* concepts (Barsalou 1983, 1987; Carston 2002).

Following the relevance-theoretic account of this phenomenon (Carston 2002; Wilson & Carston 2006; Wilson & Carston 2007; Sperber & Wilson 2006), this article attempts to discuss several aspects of meaning in connection to *ad hoc* concept formation, argumentation and persuasion. Using as corpus the 2004 American Presidential Debates, the analysis considers the way in which the candidates employed recurrently several lexical structures to argue for their own campaign and to dismantle the one of the opponent. The analysis focuses on several constructions that are representative for the entire corpus. It also proposes several possible lines of interpretation that could have been followed by the audience in processing the candidates' message.

The analysis shows that such means are instances of loosening or narrowing leading to *ad hoc* concept formation, revealing ways in which the candidates used repetition to strengthen their arguments in their attempt to persuade the voters.

1. *Introduction*

Politicians want to persuade, that is they try to change their hearers' beliefs and knowledge, and sometimes their behaviour, too. Candidates to presidency attempt to persuade their audience, making them believe that they represent the perfect solution for the problems of the country and its citizens; they use language to achieve their final goal, that is getting elected.

Linguistic elements, such as sentence structure (coordination and subordination, passive or active voice), choice of lexical items, use of metaphors, framing, rhetorical elements have been described as contributing to achieving persuasion to a greater or lesser extent. The present article is part of a larger project concerned with the analysis of the 2004 Amer-

ican Presidential debates. The focus here will be on *ad hoc* concept formation, its link to the relevance of the message and on the relationship existing between argumentation and persuasion in political debates.

The main points of the theoretical framework will be described in the sections preceding the actual analysis.

2. *Relevance theory and* ad hoc *concepts*

To arrive at the relevance-theoretic interpretation of *ad hoc* concepts, a brief overview of the main tenets put forward by the theory is presented here.

According to relevance theory (Sperber & Wilson 1986/1995, 1987) having cognitive effects is a necessary condition for relevance; the greater the cognitive effects, the greater the relevance.

People have intuitions about relevance: they can distinguish, without being aware that they can, between irrelevant and relevant information, or between more or less relevant information. These intuitions are in close connection with the context, that is a particular item of information is more relevant in one context than in others.

A stimulus is said to be worth the hearers' attention when the information transmitted can be linked with background information possessed. Moreover, any utterance / input creates predictable expectations of relevance. Relevance is connected with some form of cost-benefit analysis. To be relevant, the processed information has to yield positive cognitive effects, i.e. "a worthwhile difference to the individual's representation of the world – a true conclusion, for example" (Wilson & Sperber 2004: 3[1]). Positive cognitive effects are of three types: contextual implications, strengthening of a contextual assumption or contradiction, and elimination of a contextual assumption. Contextual implications are the most important and are defined as "[...] a conclusion deducible from the input and the context together, but from neither input nor context alone" (Wilson & Sperber 2004: 3-4). Cognitive effects are achieved by mental processes, which involve a certain effort. Since processing effort is a negative factor, relevance is lower when the processing effort is greater than expected.

For a political debate to be relevant to an audience, the information it contains must combine with the context in which it is delivered, and to yield positive cognitive effects. Political debates are considered ostensive stimuli because by producing them, politicians draw their audience's attention to a particular stimulus. Considering the above highlighted relevance-theoretical claims, it is assumed that the audience expected that the information contained in these speeches would have yielded positive cognitive effects at a low processing effort.

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[1] Most articles are cited from the authors' websites so they are Word documents; page numbers may refer to the document as downloaded from the website.

As pointed in the Introduction, there may be (and often is) a gap between the concept encoded by a word and the actual concept put forward by speakers. According to relevance theory (Wilson 2003; Carston 2002; Sperber & Wilson 2006; Wilson & Carston 2006; Wilson & Carston 2007), what bridges this gap is the construction of an *ad hoc* concept. *Ad hoc* concepts are constructed pragmatically by both speakers and hearers either when performing an utterance or when trying to comprehend a message. There is no need for speakers and hearers to end up with the same *ad hoc* concept for successful communication to occur. *Ad hoc* concepts are not linguistically given and are not necessarily stored in the lexicon; as just mentioned, they are constructed pragmatically, on-line and this is due to specific expectations of relevance determined in particular contexts. Thus, an *ad hoc concept* "[i]s accessed in a particular context by a spontaneous process of pragmatic inference, as distinct from a concept which is accessed by the process of lexical decoding, and so it's context invariant" (Carston 2002: 322-323).

It seems that more often than one might expect, the 2004 candidates to the US presidency used 'non-literally' the linguistically encoded meaning of a concept either because language did not provide them with any word/structure that would best suit their purpose, or because this would have been the most effective way in which they could communicate their plans (readers are referred to Section 4).

Within the realm of relevance theory, the theory of *ad hoc* concepts has been developing in relation with its proponents' attempt to provide a unifying theory of lexical pragmatics, that is a theory which attempts to show that "narrowing, loosening and metaphorical extension are simply different outcomes of a single interpretive process which creates an *ad hoc* concept, or occasion-specific sense, based on interaction among encoded concepts, contextual information and pragmatic expectations or principles" (Wilson & Carston 2007: 1).

Such an approach and its implications are important for the analysis of the 2004 US presidential debates because they may offer an explanation on how the audience might have arrived at the relevant interpretation of the candidates' messages. More specifically, the audience employed the same inferential mechanisms in deriving both the meaning of 'literal' and 'figurative' expressions because, a unified account of lexical pragmatics rejects "the traditional distinction between literal and figurative meaning and claims that approximation, hyperbole and metaphor are not distinct natural kinds, requiring different interpretive mechanisms, but involve exactly the same interpretive processes as are used for ordinary, literal utterances" (Wilson & Carston 2007: 3).

The 2004 American presidential debates provide examples that illustrate the definition given by relevance theory to *ad hoc* concepts which can also inform the analysis of my corpus (for an extensive discussion see Carston 2002; Wilson 2003; Wilson & Carston 2006; Wilson & Carston 2007, etc.). Following the relevance theory approach, concepts are presented with capital letters and *ad hoc* concepts with an asterisk.

3. *Persuasion and argumentation*

When it comes to the 2004 US presidential debates, *ad hoc* concepts can be studied in relation to the way in which candidates bring arguments in favour of their own programmes or against their opponent in their attempt to persuade the audience.

Persuasion has been studied from different points of view, and within different disciplines, such as rhetoric, linguistics, sociology or psychology, making it a great candidate for an interdisciplinary approach.

I have neither the space nor the intention to go into a long analysis of the different approaches to persuasion, therefore only those aspects important for my analysis are emphasised. Persuasion is considered to take place when opinions and values are changed; this may happen during an electoral campaign. How candidates use discourse to achieve persuasion is still a matter of discussion in the linguistic, sociological and psychological fields. Persuasion cannot and should not be analyzed from one single perspective; any pertinent study should consider not only the linguistic elements that could contribute to the persuasiveness of the message, but also the socio-cultural and economic context in which the debates took place.

Here, persuasion is defined as an attempt to change hearers' beliefs and knowledge in order to change their behaviour (Zimbardo & Leippe 1991). According to this theory, successful persuasion requires four steps: a message may persuade if hearers are exposed to it, pay attention to it, understand it and accept it (Zimbardo & Leippe 1991: 129). Two more steps are needed for persuasion to be fully achieved through change of behaviour: retention of the new attitude and its translation into the expected behaviour (Zimbardo & Leippe 1991: 129, 136, 137).

In the case of the 2004 American presidential debates, US citizens watching or listening to the debates were exposed to the message. Some of them may have paid attention to it; some may have also understood it, and some may have even accepted it.

Establishing the percentage of the audience which was persuaded during these debates would have involved actual questioning of people, but this was neither possible nor the purpose of my article which is to see how *ad hoc* concepts formation, argumentation and persuasion may be linked.

My approach to rhetoric follows the interpretation given by Michael Billig (1996) who claims that rhetoric has mainly to do with argumentation. Protagorean rhetoric was concerned with argumentation that had at its core the idea that there are always two sides of one issue (Billig 1996: 3). This is also what candidates to presidency are doing: each contender tries to bring arguments in favour of his particular electoral programme and to dismantle the one of his opponent. Of interest are both the form (i.e. the lexical structures used) and the content (the meaning of such lexical structures) of their messages, since in processing the message, the audience would look for that information that will yield more positive cognitive effects at a low processing effort.

The term *argument* may be misleading in itself, since it may mean a quarrel, a discursive battle, or "reasoned discourse", especially in dialogue (Billig 1996: 27-28). The two-sidedness of argumentation implies the existence of dialogue, since no real argumentation can take place if there is no voice to counter-react.

The opposition between Plato's and Protagoras' philosophy is of help here: Plato claimed that people's different opinions have nothing to do with actual knowledge. He considered that the unchangeable truth, the World of Ideas lies above contradictions of shifting oppositions and sense-perceptions. Hence, oppositions exist between truth and opinion, appearance and essence. To discover the ultimate truth means to put an end to all argumentation; thus, the Platonic view becomes the one of indisputable truth.

On the contrary, Protagoras and sophists argue that there is nothing but the different opinions people have, hence denying the validity of objective truth; there is no underlying reality besides argumentation, and since any issue is two-sided, then both sides are true. Thus, there is a constant possibility that any speech is opposed by a counter-speech. For example, in arguing that his solutions were valid, Kerry had to consider that a possible true counter-speech was also available – that of his opponent, and the other way around.

According to Perelman (1979), the basic features of the context of argumentation are justification and criticism, rhetorically related to each other: "Every justification presupposes the existence or eventuality of an unfavourable evaluation of what we justify" (Perelman 1979: 138) and "a question of justification ordinarily arises only in a situation that has given rise to criticism" (Perelman 1979: 33). The context of argumentation must be social, because criticism is meaningless "unless some accepted norm, end or value has been infringed upon or violated" (Perelman 1979: 33). Actions and decisions are criticized in relation to accepted rules and values, not in abstract. The same is also true for justification. Hence, it was necessary for candidates to justify and legitimate their campaigns and programmes in order to persuade their voters and to get elected.

By their own nature, political debates presuppose argumentation. In the case of these political debates (as in the case of all modern political debates), a dialogue is established along two dimensions: on the one hand, the dialogue between the candidates and the audience, and on the other hand, the dialogue taking place between the candidates. Argumentation was involved in the second case: each candidate had to provide justification for his electoral programme and to criticise his opponent. This dialogic dimension is well represented in my corpus: each candidate's answer is opposed by a counter-speech, the opponent's rebuttal. On the other hand, the dialogue existing between the candidates and the audience gave the latter the possibility to react only through one means: their votes.

Since persuasion is sometimes difficult if not impossible to achieve, the purpose of argumentation is not always to persuade the other party. Moreover, the candidates did not want to persuade each other, but the audience. To do this, they used the basic features of argumentation to justify their own programmes and to criticise their opponent. Nevertheless, because immediate persuasion is often unattainable, the candidates were also in search for the last word, that is to provide an unanswerable criticism, or to fail to offer justification

on the part of the opponent. By having the last word, a candidate may have higher chances to persuade more voters and thus to get elected.

The 2004 US candidates made use of argumentation: they bring arguments in support of their actions and statements, arguments that are related to legal situations (UN resolutions, the American Constitution, etc.), to past situations (Saddam's former actions, former military interventions that were a success), to traditions (oaths taken, the Bible, etc.), or even to future situations (the possibility of a future attack using weapons of mass destruction). By bringing arguments, their programmes may become legitimate. Trying to legitimise their programme, the candidates' answers are examples of justification of their own position and of criticism of their opponent. Thus, argumentation as a rhetorical device may increase persuasion.

4. *The analysis*

In bringing arguments in favour of their own programmes and attempting to combat their opponent, the 2004 US candidates had to keep in mind that their messages had to be relevant to their audience, i.e. to yield greater positive cognitive effects at a low processing effort. If the candidates wanted (part of) the audience to process their answers (step 3 in the definition of persuasion) then their message had to be relevant: if the processing effort had been greater than the positive cognitive effects achieved, the audience would not have processed the candidates' answers at all. Given that recency of use and frequency of use are factors that may decrease the processing effort due to high activation of particular structures in the mind of the audience, the candidates used several (lexical, syntactic, etc.) constructions recurrently. In his attempt to justify his own electoral programme and to criticise his opponent, each candidate used his own achievements and the opponent's failures as premises of enthymemes[2], sometimes leaving a lot of information presupposed. As the examples (1)-(5) show, the concepts encoded by the candidates' words were either loosened or narrowed.

The short analysis below discusses several structures that were present recurrently in the candidates' answers, structures the candidates might have used to make their messages relevant for their audience, i.e. to keep the processing effort low while increasing the positive cognitive effects.

The first example belongs to John Kerry, and it occurs (as such or with a slightly different form) nine times in the debates analysed:

> (1) I have a plan to have a summit with all of the allies, something this president has not yet achieved, not yet been able to do ***to bring people to the table***.
> (John Kerry; italics mine, A.G.N.G).

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[2] Enthymemes, which are made up of a conclusion and its justification, are the basic unit of a rhetorical argument; they resemble syllogisms, but they lack one premise, thus always leaving some information presupposed. As opposed to syllogisms whose deductions are certainties, enthymemes deal with probabilities. The justification of the claim might also be criticised and, in its turn, it will need an enthymemic support and so on, *ad infinitum*. Thus, rhetorical arguments presuppose open-endedness (Aristotle, Rhetoric).

Following relevance theory, a possible inferential analysis of the conventional metaphor *bring people to the table* would look as follows:

> (2) BRING PEOPLE TO THE TABLE
>   with the propositional form:

JOHN WANTS AT T_1 TO BRING PEOPLE TO THE TABLE

The encyclopaedic assumptions it may activate are:
→ people come to the table in order to eat;
→ when people sit together around a table they may talk, disagree or reach
    a conclusion;
→ sitting together at a table involves friendship;
→ the table is seen as a place which automatically puts people together;

BRING* [PEOPLE TO THE TABLE]*

→ creating alliances, making the allies talk;

The audience is likely to create this *ad hoc* concept having available or recently activated contextual information such as Kerry is a politician and he is talking about America's allies, trying to emphasise the necessity of strong alliances in the war on terror. In trying to interpret Kerry's utterance, this *ad hoc* concept will satisfy (part of) the audience's expectations of relevance.

The second example is represented by the expression *the new wars of the 21st century* used by Bush in the second debate:

> (3) the war of the 21st century

The structure in (3) is not a metaphor, but it represents a narrowing of the literal meaning of WAR. It may be analysed along the following lines. All people have some knowledge about wars: armed forces colliding for different reasons. Yet, in this particular context, the construction activates information related to the Iraq War, the 9/11 terrorist attacks, and other such events. Assuming that the candidates are structuring their utterances according to their own abilities and preferences, trying to be as relevant as they can[3], the audience will construct the *ad hoc* concept (21st CENTURY WAR) * whose encyclopaedic entry could contain information such as *wars involving terrorist attacks such as those of 9/11*, *wars involving weapons of mass destruction*, etc. This example displays another interesting and rare feature: narrowing does not take place here at the verb level.

G.W. Bush and John Kerry tend to use the same constructions when they talk about a particular subject. Their recurrence will determine particular *ad hoc* concepts to be highly activated in the audience's minds, lessening the processing effort needed to comprehend the message.

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[3] According to the second clause of the Presumption of optimal relevance: "An ostensive stimulus is optimally relevant to an audience if: (a) It is relevant enough to be worth the audience's processing effort; (b) It is the most relevant one compatible with communicator's abilities and preferences." (Wilson & Sperber 2004: 7).

In bringing arguments in favour of his programme, and trying to show how determined he is to make America safer, Kerry uses the structure under (4) every time he has the opportunity (6 times in the corpus analysed).

(4) I will hunt down and kill the terrorists. (John Kerry)

This construction exhibits a major metaphor characteristic: the speaker does not want to communicate the literal meaning of the predicate. Example (4) falls in the class of cases where the property could be true of the entity referred to in some particular cases (Carston 2002: 352). There is no doubt that J. Kerry could hunt down and kill the terrorists. However, what he is trying to emphasise is his plan to support the fight against terrorism. The loosening of the concept HUNT* is also determined by the direct object *terrorists*, since usually people would think that the element of hunting would be an animal, not a human being. Again, by recurrently using particular constructions, the candidate would have made his answers relevant to (part) of the audience.

The last example focuses on one occurrence of the verb *to go*, trying to show how speakers tend to 'select' unconsciously only those features that are relevant for the current purpose of communication, leading to *ad hoc* concept formation.

(5) They're going from tyranny to elections. (G.W. Bush)

It is neither the place nor the space to go into a long analysis of *go*, trying to establish its basic/literal meaning; therefore, *go* it is considered to imply movement from one place to another. Following the relevance-theoretic comprehension procedure, which according to relevance theory (Wilson 2004; Wilson and Sperber 2004, etc.) implies three steps[4], part of the audience could process the example as in (6):

(6) **Contextual Assumptions**
→ people usually tend to go from a point in space A to another B, say from London to Manchester;
→ going from one place to another implies a change
→ the Iraqi people were under a tyranny;
→ they are about to have elections;
→ the Iraqi people are moving from one political regime to another;

   Contextual implication:
→ Bush is the president who helped the Iraqi people go through the change;

   Implicated Conclusion:
   Bush's decisions are good.

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[4] "a. Follow a path of least processing effort in computing cognitive effects: Test interpretative hypothesis (disambiguations, reference resolutions, implicatures, etc.) in order of accessibility. b. Stop when your expectations of relevance are satisfied [or abandoned]." (Wilson & Sperber 2004: 9).

This is how such an example could have been processed by (part of) the audience. Such an implicated conclusion could have satisfied the expectations of relevance some voters might have had.

Suppose some voters already trusted Bush and were looking for confirmation of their already held attitudes: such an implicated conclusion (Bush's decisions are good) would have strengthened an already existing assumption. Since Bush frequently employs such constructions, they are highly activated in the minds of the audience (Bush used these constructions in the debates and in other speeches, and some voters could have attended to these stimuli). Thus, the processing effort is lowered, while the positive cognitive effects are increased. On the other hand, if other voters were against Bush, then such an implicated conclusion (Bush's decisions are good) would have led to the contradiction and elimination of a contextual assumption/an already held attitude (Bush does not take good decisions). Last, but not least, for undecided voters, the example may have triggered strong contextual implications such as the one under (6) which would have made them vote for Bush.

In bringing arguments against his opponent, Kerry uses constructions such as *He broke his word*, *He just declared it dead*, [it=Kyoto Protocol], *I believe that this president, regrettably, rushed us into a war, made decisions about foreign policy, pushed alliances away*, etc. Suppose part of the audience would have processed these utterances, since the processing effort needed would have been low due to their recurrence and because in processing them, they would have used the same mechanism used for comprehending other lexical items. For those who already considered that Bush had not achieved a great deal during his office, the message could have led to the strengthening of an already held assumption. On the other hand, for some undecided voters or for Bush's followers such recurrent structures would have led to different positive cognitive effects such as the contradiction and elimination of a contextual assumption/an already held attitude (Bush actions are good) or to contextual implications.

These examples show once more that in many cases it is very difficult to claim that only one single type of positive cognitive effect is observed; such cases are rare, and appear most of the times in artificial contexts created for the sole purpose of theoretical explanations.

5. *Conclusions*

Both candidates used recurrent constructions to bring arguments in favour of the way in which they would solve the main issues at stake (Iraq War, Home Land Security, Tax Cut, etc.) and to dismantle their candidate's programme. Since these structures display features of loosening or narrowing, they encode *ad hoc* concepts. Being recently and frequently used, they were highly activated in (part of) the audience's mind, decreasing the processing effort required and increasing the positive cognitive effects achieved. For those voters, the debates

were relevant. The 2004 elections' outcome together with the analysis suggests that both candidates used almost the same means in their attempt to persuade, i.e. to get voters to elect them.

The analysis suggested in Section 4 may explain how, following the second clause of the Presumption of optimal relevance, the candidates used particular lexical items that encoded only those features that would make their answers relevant to (part of) their audience. By narrowing or loosening the 'literal' meaning of several lexical items, new *ad hoc* concepts were built up that served the candidates' argumentative purposes. On the other hand, (part of) the audience might have interpreted the analysed debates as in 4, following a path of least processing effort. The theoretical framework of *ad hoc* concept formation as understood within relevance theory warrants that the audience will follow the path of least processing effort, because in attempting to bridge the gap between sentence meaning and speaker's meaning, the audience would retrieve only those features that satisfy the audience's expectations of relevance, and not the entire encyclopaedic information a concept may encode. There is no need for hearers to retrieve from their memory all features related to, say, the verb *go* in order for them to reach the intended meaning. Moreover, by repeating particular structures, the candidates were certain that the features they had in mind were highly active in the minds of their audience, thus being more accessible and easy to retrieve.

It has to be mentioned that the outcome of any elections depends on several other factors mainly related to the last two steps involved in persuasion: retention of the new attitude and its translation into the expected behaviour (Zimbardo & Leippe 1991: 129, 136, 137). Since attitudes people hold predict behaviour, when conditions (1) to (4) below are met, one may talk about attitudes-behaviour consistency:

> [...] (1) the attitude is strong and clear; (2) the attitude is relevant to the behavio[u]r called for by the situation at hand; (3) the attitude and the behavio[u]r have strong links to the same additional component of the attitude system (either cognitions or affective responses), and (4) the attitude is important to the individual (Zimbardo & Leippe 1991: 192).

Investigating how these factors may influence the outcome of elections might bring new insights into the very complicated mechanism of persuasion. Nevertheless, such research has less to do with a linguistic analysis, and should consider a wide range of factors (socio-psychological, political, economic, etc.) specific to each electoral process. The present article has only tried to shed some light on the link between *ad hoc* concept formation and its use in presidential debates.

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DO YOU (DIS)AGREE? INVESTIGATING AGREEMENT AND DISAGREEMENT IN NEWSGROUPS INTERACTION

ELISA CORINO

1. *Introduction: Computer Mediated Interaction*

This work aims to investigate the use of agreement routines in a peculiar form of communicative interaction: the Newsgroup (NG). The choice of NGs as object of our research is due not only to the interest they raise as a particular expression of Computer Mediated Communication/Computer Mediated Discourse (along with mail, chat, MUD... and the like) from the textual point of view, but also to the potential field of research they offer for discourse analysis. Besides discourse analysis, agreement, disagreement and argumentation strategies have been the object of psychotherapy, focus groups (Myers 1998) and legal studies, but there is little material about written forms of communication.

It is a matter of fact that in the past few years the Internet has triggered a boom of research on discourse in connection with human behaviour, on the basis of regular interactions between a huge and steadily increasing number of people.

Online interaction overwhelmingly takes place by means of discourse, nonetheless the traditional methods used by scholars dealing with discourse analysis before the spread of CMC are now feeble for a certain number of reasons.

As Herring (2002) points out, various attempts have been made by linguists to classify CMD as a third way between speech and writing, or as a kind of "written speech", as it exhibits features of orality, including rapid message exchange, informality, and representations of prosody, though produced by typing on a keyboard and read as text on a computer screen.

Nonetheless Netspeak is not a single homogeneous *genre* of communication, it is rather a set of "socio-technical modes" (Herring 2002) that combine the technological means of communication with the social and cultural practices that have arisen around their use.

One of the features that distinguishes CMD from other types of communication, determining some distinctions within CMD itself as well, is *turn taking*. It is commonly recognised that turn-taking in spoken conversation follows a regular alternation between speakers, ideally without gaps and overlaps, whereas CMC suffers from the constraints imposed by the medium that affects the nature of the conversation itself: on the one hand we can find asynchronous CMC, such as e-mail, where there is often a considerable time lag between when a message is sent and when it is responded to, on the other hand synchronous CMC, such as IRC, involves more rapid exchanges of turns, but fosters a lot of overlapping.

Usenet Newsgroups are still a quite unexplored field that lies in between: they deal with a kind of computer mediated group communication that, though asynchronous, presents a high degree of overlapping between exchanges. In comparison with chat messages, NGs posts are much longer and the exchange between the participants is more structured and complex, multiple responses are often directed at a single initiating message, and single messages may respond to more than one initiating message. This is a typical feature of asynchronous CMC, where longer messages tend to contain multiple conversational moves and *quoting* is thus the most relevant way of achieving a successful communication.

In particular NGs provide a wide source of data about (dis)agreement and argumentation, being a virtual community based on opinion and information exchange. The posters[1] most of the times explicitly ask for opinion and judgement or do express theirs about other posters' messages. This kind of exchange implies that the bare occurrence of agreement and disagreement formulas must be higher than in normal colloquial conversation.

In such an environment where dense interactional patterns take place and many people are involved, even agreeing and disagreeing strategies seem to follow certain schemes and rules. We are now going to explore these strategies, trying to sketch a qualitative survey that aims to be as representative as possible, if not exhaustive, of the agreement scale as well as of the gender and interlingual differences displayed in the Newsgoup communication[2].

2. *CMD and quoting*

As it was stated in the previous paragraph, turn-taking in CMC does not adhere to the ideal that speaker turns alternate in an orderly manner. The fact that in CMD there is not a one-to-one correspondence between an initiation and its response is particularly true when speaking about asynchronous communication in Usenet Newsgroups, where exchanges are often interrupted by messages from other exchanges. The task of reconstructing adjacent conversational moves is additionally complicated by the fact that a single message may contain two or more moves which are physically, but not functionally, adjacent. The Gricean maxim of local relevance is frequently violated, as physically close posts are often pragmatically irrelevant to one another, whereas distant messages can be interrelated.

It is not possible to reproduce here a whole thread to exemplify the discussion development, however we try to present a schematic account of a series of consecutive messages posted as part of a discussion on a listserv discussion list reproduced by Herring (1999) and a screen shot of a newsreader like Forte's Agent where you can see the development of a thread according to the hierarchical levels of indentation. Furthermore we refer the reader to the works of Marello (2007), Corino (2007), Fiorentino (2005) and Gheno (2004) for an in depth discussion about the structure and the textual variety that characterise the Newsgroup as a form of CMD.

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[1] People who are posting messages in a NG, each single message is considered a post.
[2] All the examples are drawn from the NUNC (Newsgroup UseNet Corpora), a suite of multilingual corpora to be found at www.corpora.unito.it, description to be found in Barbera, Corino & Onesti (2007).
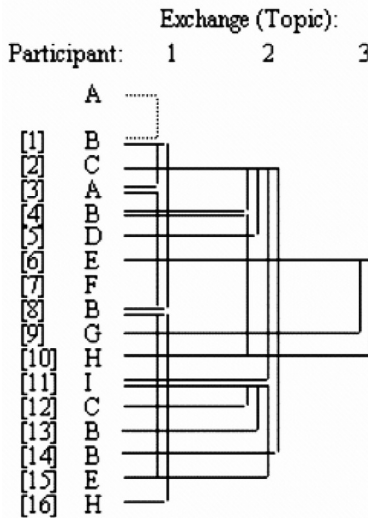
Figure 1: *Schematic representation of interaction in a discussion list sample (Herring 1999)*
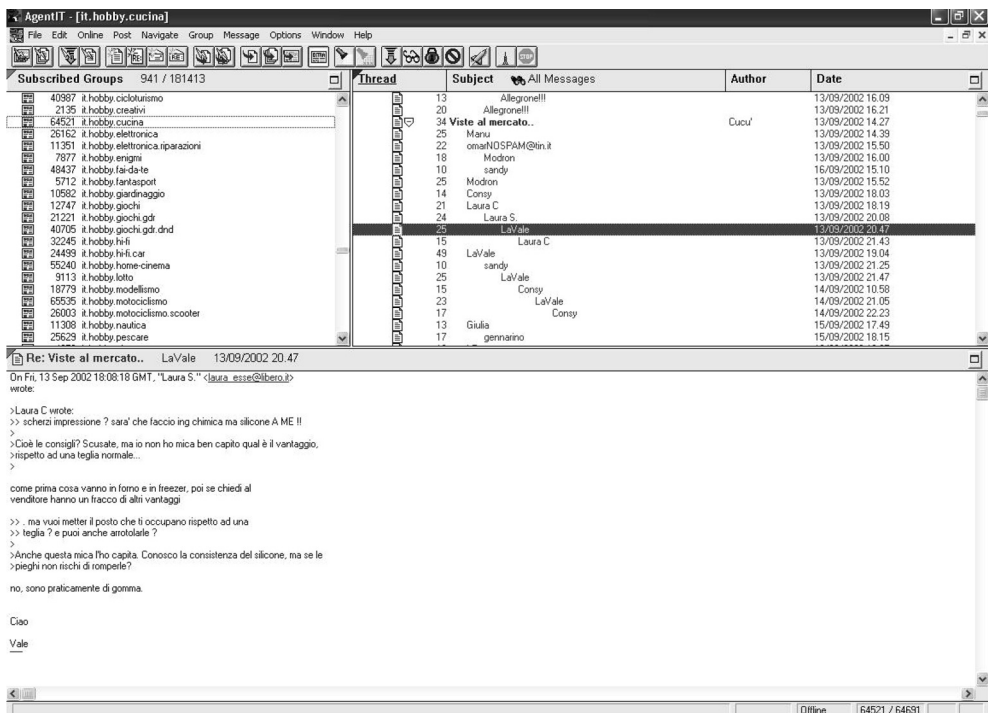

Figure 2: *Representation of a thread in a newsreader program*

The NG thread is a text built in a progressive way through the sequence of posts by different participants, therefore it is not possible to control its communicative effectiveness revising it as it hap-

pens for dialogues in other textual genres. It deals rather with cooperation among participants and respect of common rules of behaviour and textual devices used in order to give as much coherence (and somehow cohesion) as possible to the exchange.

Concerning this Storrer (2002) speaks of "Sequenzialisierung der Antwortnachricht", though it is not possible to speak of sequencing in a broad sense, i.e. the argumentative progression is set by a series of overlapping messages characterized by the deletion of transitional passages and the repetition of relevant paragraphs. The text as a whole is thus shaped through the selection of the parts of every single post that are considered significant to the participants.

Quoting is therefore a crucial strategy to be studied in order to make comments on any of the textual features of the NG as a genre of communication.

In [1] we can see how the poster explicitly asks for quoting in order to be able to easily follow the discourse and interact.

> [1] ti pregotipregotiprego...
> Per favore, potresti mettere – la prossima volta – la tua risposta sotto
> il messaggio originale debitamente tagliato di tutte le parti non utili
> alla comprensione della tua risposta?
> Grazie.
> Saluti, XXX[3]

In [2] we find the quoting of an answer of a previous post; there is clearly a situation of flaming going on, but a newcomer does not understand the reasons of the disagreement as the quoting is not complete: the lack of the prior messages invalidates the coherence of the discussion, and therefore its intelligibility.

> [2] > "Sara YYY"
> >>> Iniziamo dal tono: era paro paro a quello del suo mex urlato e
> >>> minatorio:
> > Pliz: mi manca il mex a cui sta rispondendo la signora YYY... qualcuno me
> > lo inoltra? Grazie! :-)[4]

The meaning of the text is negotiated and co-constructed by the participants and the use of quotation is particularly important when speaking about agreement and disagreement as it determines the relevant elements on which the discussion is based, focusing the attention of the participants on a well localized theme and determining therefore the textual movement and the progression of the argument.

---

[3] Pleasepleaseplease.
Could you please – next time place your answer under the original message and cut out from it all parts that are not necessary to understand your answer?
Thanks.
Greetings, XXX.
[4] "Sara YYY".
>>> Let's begin from the attitude: it was just the same as her msg, shouting and menacing:
> Pliz: I missed the msg to whom Mrs. YYY is answering... could somebody forward it to me? Thanks :-)

The whole focusing mechanism changes according to the characteristics of the dialogue itself and its task oriented features. For instance, contrastive markers re-orient the co-participants' cognitive states towards grounding ungrounded topical aspects to be meta-negotiated. Such markers offer a collaborative context-updating strategy, tracking the status of common ground during dialogue topic management.

In the following we are going to illustrate by examples how quoting enables participants to keep alive the focus of the conversation and to prosecute the subject just by pasting parts of the previous messages, analysing the possible connections and mutual influences between quoting and agreeing/disagreeing routines and their implications in topic negotiation.

As Pistolesi (2004) points out, to resort to the quoting strategy can depend on the emotional tenor of the exchange and on the involvement of the participants: direct quoting and resumption techniques seem to be more frequent when one has to express slight opposition and disagreement, whereas they seem to disappear in messages expressing total disagreement.

3. *Etiquette vs Netiquette*

The particular features of the NGs' language could be explained by the structure and nature of the NG itself. On the one hand it deals with a well-defined community, organised and self conscious, and therefore allowed to a certain amount of "freedom of expression" (participants know each other and are "virtual friends"; they keep regular contact and have regular interaction), avoiding introductions, explanations and formulas typical of controlled interaction. But on the other hand it is strictly regulated by a clear *Netiquette* defining the rules of interaction. In [1] we have introduced an example of the conventions governing the co-construction of the text and the need of a well known and carefully planned quoting strategy, in [2] a menacing attitude is mentioned[5], but Netiquette implies (dis)agreement rules as well.

> [3] **Q**[6]: > [...] riflettesse un pochino su. Per esempio, * quanti * messaggi si ... si ... ho capito potrebbbero essere scritti in mail privata? Quanti vengono scritti solo per dire * sono d'accordo *, quando nei ns - più che in altre sedi - vale la regola del * chi tace acconsente * ... e via di questo passo! e, ad esempio, gli "auguri"? Io, da tempo, non ne faccio sul ng ... 1 Se è gnucco, poi, randellate sui denti. Ma solo dopo averlo aiutato.
>
> **A**: ah ... vedo siamo d'accordo anche su questo ... il problema è che la selezione naturale tende a far convergere niubbo e gnucco[7] ...

---

[5] Reproducing the whole thread would have been too long here, therefore we refer the reader to the online queryable version of the corpus, nonetheless this example requires some more details to be understood: it deals with a conversation where one of the posters wrote the whole message in capital letters, which is considered a sign of an aggressive attitude, as it often simulates the rising of the voice.

[6] **Q:** marks the quoted passage, **A:** marks the answer.

[7] The Italian word *gnucco* has a twofold meaning suggested by the pun between its literal meaning, *dull*, and its phonetic likeness to the English *newco*(*mer*).

Saluti, XXX[8]

As this post points out agreement and disagreement are strictly regulated, even though there is not a rule explicitly mentioned in the official Netiquette. Nevertheless the principle "silence gives consent" seems to be ignored by newbies and newcomers, whereas experienced posters are irritated by the redundancy and by the noise messages of simple agreement cause in the thread.

Actually there are lots of messages posted just to show one's agreement, though they do not add any new information to the discussed topic. In § 4 we are going to observe indeed how agreement is never an end in itself, it is rather a strategy to introduce a certain amount of disagreement or further details to the conversation.

4. *How to (dis)agree in multilingual NGs*

In NGs posters most of the times explicitly ask for opinion and judgement or do express theirs about other posters' messages. This kind of exchange implies that the bare occurrence of agreement and disagreement formulas must be higher than in normal colloquial conversation. Even usual turn taking signals in colloquial conversation can trigger argumentative thread where agreement and disagreement overlap and cut across each other.

In this form of CMD the interactional functions of agreement and disagreement are often carried out by similar routines, playing each time a different role in the negotiation of information. These roles can be roughly divided into three main categories or *levels of agreement* (Bazzanella 1996) that can be applied to this analysis as well: total agreement, partial agreement and total disagreement, and they can be ordered according to a well-known scale ranging from signals of total agreement to total disagreement as in Table I:

Total agreement
sharing
Partial agreement
[...]
Turn taking strategy
Topicalization of information
[...]
Asking for an explanation
Asking for correction
Partial disagreement
Total disagreement

Table I: *Agreement/Disagreement scale (Bazzanella 1996)*

[8] **Q:** How many messages could be written in a private mail? How many are written just to say *I agree*, while in ng – more than in other places – serves the rule "silence gives consent"... and so on! And, for example, "good

Total agreement and disagreement are obviously defined by clear and precise expressions, as in [5] where there is a formal and plain expression of disagreement and in [6], where a more creative form of pointing out one's mistake is introduced:

> [5] **Q:** > È una enorme rottura di palle; *magari* fosse di tutti i giorni la
> > cucina speciale o quella per gli ospiti...
>
> **A: Dissento**. Come ho già detto, io sono uno di quei single che lavora tutto il giorno in ufficio, arriva a casa tardi la sera e *se* dovessi mangiare un panino schifido al bar o una pizza da asporto o cose comprate in gastronomia tutti i giorni, penso che mi suiciderei. Secondo me è *FAVOLOSO* tornare a casa, sia a pranzo che a cena e mettersi a cucinare. Mi rilassa, mi fa dimenticare il grigio mondo dell'ufficio, mi fa insomma star bene e mi permette di cominciare la notte di buon umore :-)
> [...]
> JXX[9]

> [6] **Q:** > Senti maaaaaaa... Perozzo, sei sicuro di volere il pesto rosso con basilico
> > o non cercavi, FORSE, il pesto rosso alla siciliana, che il sempre grande
> > Sergio mi ha detto trattarsi di Capuliato alla trapanese... Capuliato, trito
> > di carne, e per traslato anche di pomodori secchi, i quali danno il
> > caratteristico sapore e consistenza al pesto rosso...
>
> **A: Blokka i manzi!** ;-)))
> Quello trapanese (sennò Gianmaria ci capulìa) è un pesto di pomodori FRESCHI. Il capuliato con i pomodori secchi è palermitano e viene dalle montagne e dal centro e, che io sappia, lo usano anche ad oriente. "Capuliatu" è comunque il "tritato" (basso latino capulare, antico spagnolo capular e antico francese capler, capleier); anche il soffritto (cipolla, sedano e carota) se fatto a punta di coltello è capuliatu.

---

wishes"? I haven't been doing it in the ng for a long time... If one is newco, then, clubbing. But only after having helped him.
A: Ah... I see we agree about this as well... the problem is that the natural selection makes newco and newbie converge.
Greetings, XXX.
[9] **Q:** > It is just big pain in the ass; *if only* could special dishes or guest dishes be everyday dishes...
A: I disagree. As I already said, I am a single, working all day long, arriving home late and, *if* I had to eat a disgusting sandwich or a take away pizza and such, everyday I think I will commit suicide. I just think that it is *GREAT* to go back home, both for lunch and dinner to cook. It is relaxing and I forget about the grey world of the office. It is in the end good to me and allows me to start the night with a good mood.:-)
[...]
JXX

XX*[10]

English speaking NGs' users often use intensifying elements such as *really, strongly* or *do*…

> [7] Eat all you can… **I do agree**, but they do prove particularly useful when you are run off your toes and need a quick lunch that is more than a sandwich. I took my kids to a circus in Chelmsford yesterday afternoon and we dropped in to one of the buffet style places for dinner afterwards.

The use of these routines in order to express only partial agreement usually implies a more complex operation, where agreement is a sort of kind and implicit device used to introduce disagreement. Pomerantz (1975) observes that when participants feel that they are expected to agree with an assessment, yet disagree, they usually express their disagreement with some form of delay. He introduced the term of "dispreferred-action turn shape" to refer to second assessments that display features such as silence or delays after an assessment has been introduced: action that is not "oriented to" the talk as it was invited to be. These actions are structurally marked, displaying what she calls "dispreference" features such as "delay, requests for clarification, partial repeats, and other repair initiators, and turn prefaces". When posters feel that they are expected to agree with an assessment, yet disagree, they usually express their disagreement with some form of delay. Some of the forms of delay that Pomerantz lists are initial silence in response to forthcoming talk and repair initiators, yet in written forms of communication such as NGs we can find a certain degree of disagreement concealed under conversation repair strategies, quoting or initial agreement used to delay and mitigate the confutation of the previous statement, such as in [8] where first of all there is the quoting of the previous messages, the sharing of the same opinion and then the objection, which makes of this post a representative example of partial agreement.

> [8] **Q:** >>> La cucina quotidiana non è una banlità
> >> È una enorme rottura di palle
> > Per me la preparazione della cena quotidiana è un piccolo rito
> …
> > Un punto fermo di fine giornata lavorativa,
> > un attimo di raccoglimento,

---

[10] **Q:** > liiiisteen… Perozzo, are you sure you want the red pesto with basil
> or weren't you looking for, MAY BE, sicilian red pesto, that the great
> Sergio told me is like the Trapani Capuliato… Capuliato, minced
> meat, and dry tomatoes as well, that give the
> characteristic flavour and consistency to the red pesto…
A: Stop the calves! ;-)))
The trapanese one is a pesto made of FRESH tomatoes. The capuliato with dry tomatoes is from Palermo and comes from the mountains and from the centre and, as far as I know, it is used in the East as well. "Capuliatu" is the "minced" (old Latin capulare, old Spanish capular and old French capler, capleier); also the lightly fried mixture of chopped onions, carrots and celery if it is done with a knife is capuliatu.
XX*

> un muovere le mani con precisione e tempismo.
> È "casa".

> **A: così è anche per me**, la cena ... telefonini spenti, le chiacchiere serali
> con le puzzole, la scelta del menu a partire dagli ingredienti disponibili e
> dalla voglia :) pentole ciotole vapori profumi per casa...
> […]

> **ma** è anche rottura di palle, quando 7 giorni su 7 devi preparare anche il
> pranzo per almeno 2 belve affamate (e che non sempre si accontentano),
> che deve essere rigorosamente già pronto per le 8 del mattino ... e di fatto
> è la prima cosa che faccio appena alzata
> LXXX[11].

Some forms of request for explanation can be considered ways of expressing partial disagreement as well, even if it is not explicit but has to be inferred from the context, such as in [9] where comments alternate the quoted passages and create a sort of dialogue in progress: the external reader – the lurker – of this passage has actually the impression to witness an actual dialogue where the one speaker does not know what the other speaker is going to say next.

[9] **Q:** > […] nel momento in cui contrasti gli allevamenti e giustifichi i laboratori bisogna che tu ne valuti i motivi. 1 Non è uguale uccidere un animale per farne una salsiccia, per farne un cappotto, per trovare cure.

A: quindi, tradotto ai minimi termini: la vita degli animali vale a seconda del grado di convenienza dell'uomo. lo spieghi tu ai bambini nelle scuole che uccidere gli animali per mangiarli non va bene e ucciderli per "curarsi" va bene?

Q: > Se non fai differenze fai solo danni al movimento animalista.

A: ah ecco, volevo ben dire.

---

[11] **Q:**>>> Daily cooking is not a stupid thing to do
>> It is a great pain in the ass
> To me preparing dinner is a small rite...
> An anchor to the end of a working day,
> a moment of concentration,
> a movement to be done with precision and sense of timing.
> it is "home".
A: So is it for me, dinner ... mobiles turned off, evening chatting with our polecats, choosing the menu according to the available ingredients and to the will :) pans cups steams and smells around...
[…]
but it is a pain in the ass as well, when 7 days out of 7 you have to cook for lunch as well _ for at least 2 hungry wild beasts (that are not always happy with it), that has to be ready by 8 in the morning... and actually it is the first thing I do after I get up.
LXXX

Q: > Perché è comprensibile a più la futilità dell'uccisione di un animale per farne pellicce o per farne cotolette

   A: mi pare che tu stia solamente cercando giustificazioni perchè appoggi un massacro scientifico e non lo fai per uno alimentare.

Q: > Se c'è la possibilità di trovare cure a favore della razza umana molti saranno favorevoli.

   A: stando dalla parte dei vivisettori ti riuscirà difficile conseguire questo scopo: le persone ti chiederanno che diavolo di animalista sei, e tu dovrai rispondergli che non lo sei[12].

Muntigl and Turnbull (1998) identify four major types of disagreement, ranked from most to least aggravated: irrelevancy claims, challenges, contradictions, and counterclaims. They found that the more a second turn threatens the face of the speaker who made a claim as a first turn, the more likely it is that the third turn will contain further support of that first speaker's claim. The poster in [10] disagrees with a previous message (the quoted message that in its turn disagrees with another message) and agrees with the recipe on the web site, then in the second part agrees with the first poster following his/her logical thread. The quoting mechanism enables participants to mix strategies of agreement and disagreement and to support them with extratextual devices such as hyperlinks, moreover they tend definitely to combine the functions of *agreement markers* and *contrastive markers*, thus re-orienting the topic by commenting or refusing part of it.

[10] **Q:** > ci vuole una faccia da chiulo non indifferente per inventarsi una
> pizza simile
> http://www.pizza.it/ricette/ricetta_week/Gennaio/pizza_capodanno.htm

   A: Sulla pizza ci potete sbattere tutto quel che volete. È lo zampone precotto la mostruosità assoluta
   0=:-)

Q: > Eccone un'altra convinta che la pizza sia sacra e che Napoli ne sia la

---

[12] > **Q:** [...] the moment you are against stock farming and not against laboratories, you must consider the reasons. 1 It is not the same to kill an animal in order to make a sausage, a coat or a medicine out of it.
A: that is to say that: animals life has a different value depending on the convenience degree of mankind. How do you explain to children that killing animals in order to eat them is wrong while killing them looking for "a cure" is all right?
Q: > if you do not distinguish you just damage animalists.
A: Yep, that's true.
Q: > 'Cause it is clear the uselessness of killing an animal in order to have fur or steaks.
A: It seems to me that you are just looking for justifications, since you are supporting a scientific massacre but not an alimentary massacre.
Q: > If there is the chance to find some cure of any use to mankind many will agree.
A: Being on the side of vivisection you'll have a hard life: people will ask what kind of animalist you are, and you will have to say that you are not.

> Capitale...

    A: Sono daccordo anche su questo, la pizza, soprattutto quella bassa e croccante, non è altro che una mensa aedibile, come una tortilla messicana o una piadina o una crepes. Un piatto su cui ci metti ciò che ti piace. Si potrebbe eccepire per la pizza spessa, che allora diventa una focaccia, ma questo è un altro discorso.

    Ciao

    XXX[13]

The prosecution of the conversation could easily then shift on the nature of the *focaccia* or the possible substitutes of the pizza.

According to Bazzanella's scale of agreement asking for explanation and correction is nearer to disagreement as it leaves out the intention of the speaker, that does not accord with his counterpart. In the following example, for instance, the poster delays his disagreement with a discursive marker (*senti maaaaaa...*) introducing a challenging point, then he asks if the author is sure about what he said - may be he wanted to point out something else - and eventually he resorts to the expert's opinion, reporting his judgment. This is a typical example of how politeness in the NG community carries out disagreement, by disguising it as partial agreement.

[11] **Q:** > Scusate la mia ignoranza, Io avevo richiesto una riccetta di pesto di
> Basilico rosso, Io non sapevo che c'è il basilico di colore rosso, (Red
> Rubin Basil)
> e anche di colore blu (African Blue Basil), però quando si pesta non ha
> il colore rosso, per far il pesto il migliore è Sweet Basil Italian
> Large-Leaf.
> (Ho richercato questo all'Universita di Wisconsin Horticultural Dipartimento)

    A: azzo... altro che la Massaciucmel University di Bologna... me cojoni!!! qui adesso useremo i nomi botanici, visto che del basilico che abbiamo non ce ne puo fregar di meno...

    Senti maaaaaa... Perozzo, **sei sicuro** di volere il pesto rosso con basilico o non cercavi, **FORSE**, il pesto rosso alla siciliana, che il sempre grande

---

[13] **Q:** > you must really have quite a brazen-face to invent such a pizza
> http://www.pizza.it/ricette/ricetta_week/Gennaio/pizza_capodanno.htm
A: One can put whatever he/she wants on a pizza. It is the precooked stuffed pig's trotter the ultimate monstruosity 0=:-)
Q: > And here we have someone else convinced that pizza is sacred and Naples the capital of it...
A: I agree about this as well, the pizza, expecially the thin and crispy one, it is nothing more than a food base, just like Mexican tortilla or Italian piadina or French crepe. A dish you can put whatever you like on. One could make an exception for thick pizza, but now again it becomes a focaccia and that's something else again.
Ciao
XXX

> Sergio mi ha detto trattarsi di Capuliato alla trapanese... Capuliato, trito
> di carne, e per traslato anche di pomodori secchi, i quali danno il caratte-
> ristico sapore e consistenza al pesto rosso...[14]

A similar strategy involving clarifying requests displays an opposite procedure, though ob-
taining the same final effect: instead of implying the poster's erroneousness, the writer ex-
plicitly mentions a comprehension trouble, caused by the imprecision of the expressed idea.
This is a further stage of the scale, getting closer and closer to overt disagreement:

> [12] **Q:** >Un punto fermo di fine giornata lavorativa,
>
> **A: Non capisco.**
> Anch'io fui singolo, ma la sera, che a mezzogiorno a casa non rientravo
> ma neanche mangiavo, mi nutrivo solamente daltronde come adesso, il
> pensare di DOVERMI mettere a cucinare era un tormanto; quante volte
> pane e mortadella e via a letto a leggere.
> [...]
> Ciao
> XXX[15]

Indeed the interaction can determine a change of course, introducing reparation moves and an
unconditional *no* can make over into a reparation and finally in an agreement assessment.

> [13] **Q1:** >> [...] scopo la comunicazione di "messaggi" ben più ampi del-
> l'oggetto in se. non penso che tu ne abbia paura (perchè mai?), ma come ti ho
> detto in queste cose credo che ogniuno abbia il proprio punto di vista esclu-
> sivo e ogni ragionamento finisca per essere fine a se stesso.

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[14] **Q:** > Sorry for my ignorance, I asked a recipe the red pesto, I didn't know there is red basil, (Red
> Rubin Basil)
> and even blue (African Blue Basil), but when you grind it, it isn't red, to make the best pesto you should use'
Sweet Basil Italian
> Large-Leaf.
> (I searched this at the Horticultural department of the University of Wisconsin)
A: shit... you bet! Massaciucmel University of Bologna... oh my balls!!! Now we're going to use botanic names,
as we don't care about basil...
liiiisteen... Perozzo, are you sure you want the red pesto with basil or weren't you looking for, MAY BE, sicilian
red pesto, that the great Sergio told me is like the Trapani Capuliato... Capuliato, minced meat, and dry toma-
toes as well, that give the characteristic flavour and consistency to the red pesto...
[15] **Q:** >An anchor at the end of a working day,
A: I do not understand.
I've been single as well, but in the evening, at lunch time I never came home and I didn't even use to eat, I used
to feed myself as I do now, thinking of HAVING TO cook was a torture; so many times bread and mortadella
and directly to bed.
[...]
Ciao
XXX

> **Q2:** > **No**, io più che altro ho inteso che tu forse hai paura del "campo minato", ossia quel campo sul quale tutti possono avere pareri discordanti senza che nessuno debba veramente avere torto o ragione. **Sbaglio? penso di no!**

>> **A: ah scusa non avevo capito! Hai proprio ragione mi fai paura!!** Ma ricordati che secondo me invece é propio questo tipo di discorsi (paragoni tra vino, arte e filisofia anche spicciola), che spesso nascono davanti ad un bicchiere di vino, 1 Io non faccio mai paragoni tra vino ed arte (oltretutto di arti grafiche e scultoriche non capisco una mazza) , men che meno tra vino e filosofia, purtroppo ho poco tempo per studiarla, ma detesto quella spicciola[16].

Johnstone (1989) lists three types of persuasive strategies: quasilogic (persuasion can be achieved by using a type of informal reasoning); presentation (moving and involving the listener in order to persuade); persuasion (calling to mind traditional wisdom), exploring our multilingual suit of corpora it can be noticed how the use of these schemes are largely culture-, gender- and language-specific.

English speaking users, for example, tend to employ a well defined range of disagreeing patterns combining the quasi logic and the presentation strategy and obtaining as a result a level of faded agreement that in the end turns to be disagreement. In particular the routine gets going from a simple quoting device, the next turn repair initiators indicate that the speaker of the NTRI is about to disagree and the argumentative moves aim to turn the expression into total disagreement following the sequence quoting – agreement – adversative preposition.

> [14] **Q:** > It is polite, and safer, to credit the source of the publication, as you do in the recipes following your post, >which puts one in the same position as a reviewer. Reviews are sppecifically exempted by copyright rules

>> **A: I agree. But frankly** I get fed up with the way that every time someone does something positive in this NG, there are always a bunch of whinging twits who find some excuse to criticise.

> [15] Even Madhur Jaffrey on the cooking programme about fast food today (Saturday) stated that 'they' (Indian restaurants) cooked anything and called it Rogan Josh. Sadly, **I agree with her, but** widen the dishes to incorporate

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[16] **Q1:** >> [...] aim of the communication in "messages" longer then their object. I don't think you fear them (why then?), but as I told you I think every one has his own point of view and each reasoning eventually becomes an end in itself.
Q2: > **No**, rather I understood you are afraid of the " mined field ", that is to say that field in which any one can have different opinions, even if no one is really right or wrong. **Am I wrong? I don't think so no!**
A: ah sorry I didn't understand! you're right, you scare me!! But remember, I think it's exactly this kind of conversations (comparisons between wine, arts and simple philosophy), that often start in front of a glass of wine, I never compare wine and arts (besides this I do not understand a shit of graphic and sculptural arts) , even less wine and philosophy, unfortunately I have little time to study it, but I hate the small one.

> ALL dishes they cook! When I have cooked RJ for the uninitiated (into good
> Indian cuisine) there is always a period of silence

These features are to be found both in Italian and in English, as well as in German, though they seem to be more common in the latter. Herring (1992) considers these pattern of disagreement to be typical of female posters, our results though seem to withdraw hers, they seem to be rather a regular and recursive structure more language specific than gender specific. A possible explanation could be the existence of an informal Netiquette unwittingly acquired by the community or the sense of belonging to this community itself, as one does not want to be impolite towards a "Net mate".

As for the strategies to introduce disagreement through partial agreement, unlike Italian, English makes full use of modals and conditionals both to express dissent and to set up new themes in the discourse progression.

> [16] Mr X does not get the expected result, and may be put off trying again. It's prefectly fair to sell the stuff as "chilli seasoning", because that is not the exact name of another common ingredient. I checked with out local TS, and they said they would investigate a complaint such as this. 1 And I'm quite sure they'd reach the same conclusion as I have. **Now if the ingredients weren't clearly labelled I'd agree with you, but they are, and I simply can't see a problem with it**.

> [17] **Q:** >> Bitter? Lime pickle should be hot and sour. (Probably overkill with something like a vindaloo.) yes, lime pickle is bitter like other citrus fruits, (but it does mellow on maturing, so may be perceived by some as sour), green or unripe mango is sour (like pomegranate). There is the difference.

> > **A:** It may be a difference between different people's interpretations, but **I would * never * class** a citrus fruit as "bitter". **I would say** that lemon (juice) is the quintesscence of 'bitter'. Possibly because any bitterness that is there is swamped by the effect of the acid. so what is acid if it is not bitter, have we got our wires crossed? Is vinegar not bitter?, acetic acid? Other people may not get that effect. well either you or I have an atypical opinion on what is what!! but I **would agree** that people's perceptions on food are different, that is what makes me like pukka Indain food, and others like 'Indain restaurant food', (unless they haven't tried the pukka stuff yet!) cheers WXXX

5. *Gender related agreement/disagreement*

Social rules have to be taken into account even when talking about CMD, male and female posters are supposed to follow different discursive patterns, just as they do in spoken discourse, both in the way they structure the message and quote passages, in the way they express (dis)agreement, and in the way they select the content of their messages. It seems that

traditional gender stereotypes can be reified even when people believe they are freely choosing their online gender identity in non traditional ways.

Agreement and disagreement strategies can display the different features of the so called "genderlects": as Herring (1995) points out, women often disagree by cushioning their disagreements with affiliative comments, posting questions rather than making assertions, whereas men use an adversarial style.

Baym (1996) investigates agreement and disagreement patterns in a mostly female newsgroup. The disagreement patterns she discovered matched those suggested by Pomerantz (1975), but some major differences emerged due to the medium, gender, context, and interactive goals: disagreements included quoting, were linked to previous discourse and had pervasive elaboration. Interestingly, accounts and justifications emerged with agreements, and not with disagreements, as the notion of preference predicts.

The tendency for women to be more polite, supportive and emotionally expressive, and conversely the one of men to be more likely to insult, challenge, express sarcasm, use profanity, and send long messages is confirmed by all the examples we have been giving through this contribution. So far we have found long messages (according to Herring 1993 an evidence of the writer's gender) where contributors use to dwell on the subject displaying an authoritative orientation, using strong assertions and sarcasm. On the contrary female posters can in theory be identified with a stylistic variety characterized by personal orientation, attenuation, questions and justification (Herring 1993).

In the following exchange the difference of gender is plain: on the one hand a woman commenting a recipe, on the other hand a man criticising the woman's knowledge of ingredients, stressing her inexperience by the use of capital letters (elsewhere in [2] negatively judged by participants as a sign of impoliteness).

> [18] **Q1:** >>> Proverò a sostituire la fecola con l'amido di mais (sospettavo che >>> fossero intercambiabili, ma aspettavo che lo dicesse qualcun altro per primo)., casomai poi solo farina

> **Q2:** >>Maizena e amido di mais NON sono intercambiabili... sono la stessa cosa! Maizena è, infatti, un marchio commerciale che indica UNA MARCA di amido di mais. Puoi usare anche fecola di patate e amido per dolci. Anche sola farina, ovvio, con il risultato di avere però una torta più pesante. :-) --

> **Q3:** > Ma mi sa che lei intendesse come intercambiabili amido di mais e fecola...
> > se non ho capito male..

>> **A:** Evvabbuò... ho fatto l'ennesima figura mia! Ecchessarà mai!!! Una più, una meno... ;-)))[17]

[17] **Q1:** >>> I'll try to substitute the potato flour with maize starch (I guessed they were the same thing, but I was waiting for someone to tell me)., just in case only flour

This example shows how women are discouraged or intimidated from participating on the basis of the reactions with which their posts are met when they do contribute. Male are generally more likely than women to produce bald, unmitigated disagreeing, though this does not mean they always agree, but they use to express disagreement indirectly, off-record, using intraturn delays, hedges, and pre-disagreement tokens, which are generally followed by using weak disagreements. Even when they are verbally aggressed as in [18] they try to avoid direct confrontation, they rather try to mitigate the exchange seeking for reparation.

Verbal aggressiveness comes to have a different significance for women than for men; as Coates (1986) observes, women are apt to take personal offence at what men may view as part of the conventional structure of conversation.

In the following example the attitude of the man answering the message is rather accommodating, but the repetition of the NP and the appellative "stellina" might offend the woman, treating her as an unacquainted child.

[19] **Q:** >**Semola**, DXX. **Semola** di grano duro (venduta anche come *sfarinato di grano duro*).

A: No, stellina; semolino-semolino, quello che si usa per fare le pappate ai microbimbini, che ha la grana simile a qualla dalla farina di mais bramata bergamasca, che viene venduto in pacchettini da 250/500 g o sfuso da sacchi da 50 kg. proprio quello, addizionato di circa un 20 % di quella che viene venduta come semola di granoduro ma che a me sembra proprio **farina-farina** di grano duro. Fo molti errori, moltissimi di questi molti sono voluti, gli altri sono caz....uali, ma in questo caso giustissimo fui.[18]

6. Conclusion

In this contribution we have been trying to shed light on a genre of computer mediated discourse that has not been fully explored by discourse analysis yet. NGs offer an environment where people engage in socially meaningful activities online in a way that typically leaves a

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Q2: >> maize starch and maizena are NOT interchangeable... they are the same thing! Maizena is a brand, kind of maize starch. You can use the potato flour and starch for cakes as well. Even the simple flour, of course, obtaining although a cake a little bit heavier. :-)

Q3: > I thought she was meaning interchangeable maize starch and potato flour...
> if I understood...

A: Ockey dockey... I made again a fool of myself! So what!!! Just one more... ;-)))

[18] **Q:** >**Semolina**, DXX. **Semolina** of durum wheat (also known as *flour of durum wheat*).

A: No, little star; middlings-middlings, the one you use to make babyfood, that is similar to the maize meal from Bergamo, that is sold in 250/500 g packets or by measure 50 kg sack. Exactly that one, with a 20 % of what is sold as semolina of durum wheat but looks like **fluor-flour** of durum wheat. I do a lot of mistakes, some of them are deliberate, others are caz... ual, but this time really right I was.

textual trace, making the discoursive interactions more accessible to the analysis and to the observation. In particular, agreeing and disagreeing routines have proved to be an interesting aspect of CMD to be further investigated. Our findings partially contradict the previous results of gender related discourse analysis, in particular we found out that some routines, such as the procedure of showing agreement first to object afterwards in the prosecution of the discourse, seems to be more language specific and culture related than a distinction based on genre.

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The mediator as meaning negotiator

Daniela Muraru

1. *Introduction*

This paper aims at identifying and discussing the various linguistic strategies employed by the American president, Jimmy Carter, in exercising his role of a "mediator" in the conflict between Egypt and Israel. He displays an argumentative behaviour characterized by the use of language strategies that function as persuasive techniques. These are resorted to with the purpose of helping the two parties to come to dispute resolution, by making them agree on signing a peace treaty. The empirical material (enclosed in the *Annex*) is made up of several fragments of texts that belong to the mediator, and in which the starting points of the two parties are formulated.

The focus on starting points was generated by the importance they have as the basis for identifying the main points of disagreement and agreement. Thus, the notion of common ground is essential in defining the issues of a conflict, so that resolution may be possible. Also, the re-formulation of the starting points is very important as it enables the parties to stay focused on the relevant aspects of the conflict. The use of (re-) definitions enables the mediator to exercise his roles of communicator, formulator and manipulator, in his attempt to minimize the disagreement space between the parties. The various roles play a part in differentiating the position of mediator from that of negotiator. In exercising his roles, the mediator resorts to a series of linguistic strategies or tactics.

It is important to, first of all, define the major concepts this paper operates with, in order to have a better picture of the context in which these particular types of strategies occur. Then the paper briefly mentions some of the typologies for classifying the various mediation strategies, proposed by different scholars (Bercovitch & Regan 1996, Bercovitch & Wells 1993, Carnevale & Pruitt 1992, Schultz 1991). Unfortunately, these models refer to the non-linguistic reality, that is, they see facts only as an account of data, and discuss and evaluate various strategies of mediation as mere observation of facts. As a difference from this, this paper is trying to approach the empirical facts from a pragma-dialectical perspective, in order to study the verbal interaction and to discover the strategies that the use of language has to offer.

The reason for this kind of approach is that the pragma-dialectical theory of argumentation is not concerned with the psychological or cognitive dimension of people's states of mind, but with the people's expressed commitments, that is, with what can be externalized only. Consequently, applying this theoretical framework to the study of mediation enables the analyst to observe certain patterns of behavior at the verbal level.

2. *Key concepts*

"Mediation" is the process in which a third party – ideally neutral – assists two or more parties in conflict, facilitating communication and offering some guidance in order to help them solve the dispute by themselves (van Eemeren *et al.* 1993; Jacobs & Aakhus 2002).

The person who mediates is called a "Mediator", defined (Naess 1966, Eemeren *et al.* 1993: 118) not as a person who necessarily has to solve the conflict, or who must come to a conclusion about the truth or falsity of information, but especially as one whose job is "to regulate communication, manage interpersonal relations, and facilitate decision-making" (Jacobs & Aakhus 2002: 29).

"International mediation" is a particular type of mediation used in international conflicts, which "involves interventions by credible and competent intermediaries who assist the parties in working toward a negotiated settlement on substantive issues through persuasion, the control of information, the suggestion of alternatives, and, in some case, the application of leverage" (Fischer & Keashly 1991: 30).

"Negotiation" is viewed as "a joint decision-making process in which parties, with initially opposing positions and conflicting interests arrive at a mutually beneficial and satisfactory agreement" (Albin 2001: 1). The purpose of negotiation – that of reaching a settlement – is attained by means of a dialogic dialectical process in which the two parties actively influence each other (cf. Hutiu 2007: 39). Thus, from the formal point of view, negotiation involves two parties in dialogue trying to resolve a conflict; therefore, it is a "two-way process of persuasion" (*ibid.*).

By its definition, mediation needs three parties that can reach the phase of negotiation: – the two conflicting parties have, in turn, the roles of protagonist and antagonist of a standpoint, while the third party – the mediator – addresses either each of the party, thus presenting the position of the other party, or both parties, as a common audience. First, the mediator may negotiate with each of the disputants in private, and then the parties may come to negotiation between themselves. Actually, as a facilitator of communication, the mediator has the role of helping the parties agree on reaching the negotiating phase.

As opposed to mediation, negotiation necessarily implies reaching a common point and agreement settlement. Therefore, mediation turns the dyadic relation of negotiation into a triadic interaction.

It should be added that negotiation, in this particular case submitted for analysis, is a process the third party gets involved in, at certain moments, as part of his mediating task, that is, the negotiating sessions he resorts to are employed with the specific purpose of determining the parties to reach a settlement. Also, the two conflicting parties are initially engaged in a negotiation process, but, when reaching a stalemate, the need is felt to require the presence of a third party to help them clarify the divergent issues. Nevertheless, during the entire mediation process, there are various attempts for Egypt and Israel to come to a resolution by becoming engaged in negotiations all by themselves, without the involvement of the American party. The failures make them see the mediator as the only reasonable solu-

tion of getting to an agreement. Thus, one of the roles of the mediator is "to facilitate negotiation" (Fischer 1983: 305).

3. *Mediation strategies*

Wall, Stark & Standifer (2001) set the premises for mediation occurrence: the interacting disputing parties must request or permit a third party to mediate; and the third party must agree to mediate. These premises enable us to treat mediation as a critical discussion, viewed within the pragma-dialectical framework.

In the context of international mediation, the notion of strategy is defined as "an overall plan, approach or method a mediator has for resolving a dispute... it is the way the mediator intends to manage the case, the parties, and the issues" (Kolb 1983: 249).

It should be added that there is no such thing as a universal strategy or a general set of strategies to act as rules that can be applied in any case of mediation, or valid for every type of dispute or conflict. Therefore, the mediator's choice depends on the context of the dispute and the type of the parties, which exist prior to the mediation itself. Nevertheless, they influence the mediator's perceptions and approaches to the dispute.

3.1 Non-linguistic strategies or tactics for mediation

A distinction is made between strategies and tactics (Himes 1980, Kolb 1983, Schultz 1991), in the sense that the former determine the choice of the latter (Schultz, 1991: 205); strategies focus on the process of thinking or planning, while tactics involve taking action of what has been planned. In other words, tactics regard applying the theoretical points thought up in a plan to the practical level of action, in order to evaluate the effectiveness of the strategy.

Bercovitch & Wells (1993) talk about various classifications of strategies, that the literature on mediation and negotiation has made so far, and evaluate their effectiveness in practice. Some of the strategies mentioned by them are not necessarily linguistic, and could be viewed simply as tactics, such as gaining the trust of the parties, searching for information, acting as a communication link, engaging the negotiators in role-reversal, educating the disputants in conflict management techniques, acting as a sounding board, providing a face-saving mechanism, and arranging an environment conducive to conflict management.

Being considered a typology which does not allow clear distinctions between different types of mediation behaviour, Touval & Zartman (1985) suggest another classification, which seems particularly useful in the context of international mediation. In the Introduction to *International Mediation in Theory and Practice* (1985), the two scholars make a classification of the "methods" by which the mediators contribute to conflict resolution. Thus, we may speak about three main roles attributed to the mediator: communicator, formulator and manipulator. These are closely connected with the mediator / negotiator distinction,

in the sense that we understand the mediator in a two-fold way: (1) the Mediator as a facilitator of decision-making – engaged in pure mediation, whom is attributed the roles of communicator and formulator, and who typically displays neutrality and transparency, and (2) the Mediator as a manipulator (not necessarily in a negative way) – engaged in negotiation, making use of leverage, eliciting concessions or compromise. Most of the effects of such a strategic behaviour can be skilfully pursued by means of language / discourse.

3.2 Linguistic/Discourse strategies employed by the mediator

The most important means of communication used by the mediator, in establishing a good relationship with the parties, is the spoken interaction, which ensures the progress of the mediation process. It is only at that level that effective mediation and its successful outcome can be achieved. Therefore, we may add that the various discourse strategies depend upon the mediator's "tacit pragmatic competence" (van Eemeren *et al.* 1993: 119). In the case submitted for analysis in the present paper, the mediator tries to achieve his strategic aims in an indirect way, by providing formulations and reformulations of the disputants' standpoints and starting points, with the purpose of minimizing the disagreement space[1] between the parties.

    "Formulations" and "reformulations" are the devices which have important argumentative functions within mediation. They "offer strategies that are sensitive to the multiple and sometimes paradoxical demands placed on the conduct of the mediator" (van Eemeren *et al.* 1993: 138). The technique of formulating represents a sample of "how people can employ the resources of ordinary language to approximate an ideal model of a critical discussion under less-than-ideal conditions" (*ibid.*: 139).

    The argumentative task that this technique involves is that of helping the mediator to clarify positions, to summarize the status of the issues at stake, and to identify the points of agreement and disagreement, thus laying out options for resolving their impasse. The mediator merely facilitates the discussion by which the disputants may search for their own settlement, as "a disagreement in views cannot be resolved through strategies that end a discussion without mutual consent" (*ibid.*: 28).

    The pragma-dialectical theory of argumentation treats the formulation of standpoints[2] as having particular importance, because we can speak about reaching agreement only if there is a common ground for discussion, that is, if the participants in the dispute agree on

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[1] According to the definition given by van Eemeren *et al.* (1993: 95) "[t]he entire complex of reconstructible commitments can be considered as 'disagreement space', a structured set of opportunities for argument."

[2] According to pragma-dialectics, "an oral or written expression is a standpoint if it expresses a certain positive or negative position with respect to a proposition, thereby making it plain what the speaker or writer stands for" (van Eemeren & Grootendorst 2004: 3).
"In the communication between language users, with a standpoint, a point of view is expressed that entails a certain position in a dispute [...] Standpoints may express opinions concerning facts, ideas, actions, attitudes, or whateve" (van Eemeren & Grootendorst 1992: 14).

the acceptability of certain standpoints. As we also know from the pragma-dialectical approach, "[t]here is a clear parallel in mediation where the resolution of differences requires that disputants clearly express standpoints and not shift ground in defending those standpoints" (*ibid.*: 141). The ideal model of critical discussion assumes that no standpoint is more important than another.

According to the code of conduct, both parties wish to resolve and not merely to settle the disagreement, therefore, in order to determine the parties to come to an agreement, the mediator's role is to clearly formulate and reformulate the standpoints advanced by the two conflicting parties. The mediator "should not argue for or against disputant standpoints or tell disputants what to argue" (*ibid.*: 120), instead, he has "to clarify what the disputants are arguing and to project alternative trajectories for the discussion" (*ibid.*). The mediator's role is "to create conditions for rational discussion between the disputants" (*ibid*: 180). To this aim, he combines negotiating sessions, and resorts to reasoning, persuasion and control of information so that the disputants reach an acceptable agreement.

Moreover, the various strategies and roles mentioned above are materialized at the linguistic level by means of appropriate lexical choices that satisfy the interests of the parties best. Some of the language strategies that Toulmin *et al.* (1979) mention involve the use of abstract or concrete terms, of words / expressions with proper or figurative meaning, or other characteristics such as precision and intensity of language. These elements will be discussed in the text analysis in the following section.

4.1 The mediator as meaning negotiator – text analysis

Starting from the idea that language is "a precise instrument for thought" (Naess 1966: 38), one of the mediator's roles is that of manipulator, in the sense that although he helps the parties to come to a dispute resolution on their own, he, nevertheless, tries to impose the outcome of agreement settlement, thus adopting the position of a negotiator. It is known that "word choice influences meaning" (Toulmin *et al.* 1979: 141). Thus, playing the part of a negotiator of meanings entails finding the most appropriate combination of words or sentences that best serve his persuasive aim of determining the parties to reach an acceptable agreement.

In order to be convincing, he exercises his role of a manipulator by resorting to a range of vocabulary items mainly characterized by elements that belong to the semantic field of peace. The mediator's aim is to strategically[3] diminish the zone of disagreement by the repeated use of words such as "mutual(ly)", "common", "together", "unanimous", reinforced by the modals "must" and volitive "will". By resorting to such linguistic elements, Carter

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[3] The term "strategically" is used in this paper in the pragma-dialectical sense of "strategic maneuvering" (see Eemeren & Houtlosser 2002), a concept which means that in an argumentative discourse, in order to come to dispute resolution, the arguers have two maintain "a delicate balance" between the rhetorical and the dialectical aims.

also forces an outcome of the situation, thus exercising his manipulative function of negotiator.

In his first two speeches on the conflict between Israel and Egypt (March 16th, 1977 and January 4th, 1978), Carter clearly formulates the standpoints and the arguments of the disputants and the possible options for moving along with the discussion so that the outcome should be a successful one.

First of all, as a point of departure, he himself defines the process of negotiation:

> (1) We know that confrontation magnifies differences. But the process of negotiation circumscribes differences, defines the differences, isolates them from the larger regions of common interests and so makes the gaps which do exist more bridgeable.
>
> (speech on March 12th, 1979)

by summarizing the mission of the mediation process, as well, and, thus, restricting the disagreement space. The emphasis is laid on the idea of differences, which, he believes, could be overcome.

Later on, the mediator identifies, first, the points of agreement - the common ground that both parties share is their desire for peace. Then, Carter characterizes the disagreement space as represented by the three main issues stated on March 16th, 1977 and re-stated on January 4th, 1978.

In his public address on March 16th, 1977, Carter discusses the three major requirements for peace, which are the starting points for the peace agreement, thus summarizing and clarifying the positions of the two parties.

Therefore, the prerequisites for peace are the following:
1) Israel should open borders for its neighbours "over a period of months or years", which Carter calls "a sense of a common purpose to avoid the repetitious wars and death";
2) "the establishment of permanent borders for Israel";
3) "to deal with the Palestinian problem".

In his address from January 4th, 1978, President Carter re-states the "principles" which "must be observed before a just and comprehensive peace can be achieved", using different structures, though conveying similar meanings:
1) "true peace must be based on normal relations among the parties to the peace";
2) "withdrawal by Israel" and "recognized borders for all parties";
3) "a resolution to the Palestinian problem in all its aspects".

What he does is to clearly formulate the common starting point of both parties: "unanimous desire for peace". This search for peace proves that "broad areas of agreement do exist", an expression that combines the adjective "broad" with the emphatic auxiliary "do", used with the same exact intention of minimizing the disagreement space.

His words summarize the very definition of the mediator's role as a communicator and formulator, and the participants' position in the dispute, as well: "let them seek out among themselves some permanent solution". In this sense, the role of the mediator as a mere facilitator of decision-making, engaged in pure mediation, implies the idea of providing guidance only, while the resolution of the dispute should remain with the parties.

The conclusion is that both parties share the same desire for peace, and freedom, which stand for universal values, though differently understood by them: "Meeting in this hall of liberty reminds us that we are bound more than in any other way by distinctive common ideals and common commitments and beliefs." Therefore, the mediator states that there is common ground, so that the parties should work in the same direction to solve these inconsistencies.

In order for the parties to reach agreement, there has to be "general equality between the disputants" (van Eemeren *et al*. 1993: 118), which Carter tries to attain by addressing both parties equally. It is a technique meant to isolate the differences and to do away with the idea of power, by permanently reformulating and stressing the common standpoints of the parties, and the greatness and uniqueness of the moment: "mutual dedication to these ideals", "unanimous desire for peace", "Prime Minister Begin and the Government of Israel are no less fervently committed to the same noble objective.", "unique relationship" and "indestructible".

Another device used by Carter to promote the idea of equality of positions and to reduce differences is the use of parallel constructions introduced by "like you", stressing upon the common purpose in this conflict as a zone of agreement:

> (2) … like you, they worry about the uncertainties of that first crucial stage…
> Like you, they hope to banish forever the enmity that has existed between the neighbours, the permanent neighbours of Egypt and of Israel. Like you, they want this peace, and like you, they want it to be real and not just a sham peace.

Welton *et al.* (1988: 182) include among the components of successful mediation "a trusting and emphatic relationship between the mediator and each disputant". This position is defined by the mediator himself, bringing forward as arguments the high degree of involvement and commitment on the American part, and on his part, personally, and the distinction between America and the other countries:

> (3) *we offer our good offices*
> (4) of all the nations in the world, *we are the one that's most trusted*, not completely, but most trusted by the Arab countries and also Israel. I guess both sides have some doubt about us. But we'll have to act kind of as a catalyst to bring about their ability to negotiate successfully with one another.
> (5) we have an excellent chance to achieve peace
> (6) *I will be devoting a major part of my time* on foreign policy between now and next fall trying to provide for a forum.

Thus, he strategically defines America's position and role in the mediating process, stressing its uniqueness, and actually pleading the case of America as the only nation capable of performing a genuine role of mediation. In (4), Carter uses as arguments to convince the parties an opposition of terms – "most trusted" / "not completely" / "but…", stressing exactly the mediator's roles and the idea of a successful outcome America is to mediate.

All these quotes belong to Carter's starting point in the mediation process, that is, to his first speech on this matter – on March 16th, 1977. His address on March 14th, 1979, is a conclusion to the mediating process, in which the American president summarizes the points defined in the beginning and America's position, and the achievements in the peace process: "We went there to use our influence and good offices to help the leaders of those two great nations more decisively toward that peace…".

He expresses his confidence in the parties, and in the fact that they can change history, which is supported at the linguistic level by the use of assertives: "I know that Israel is committed and determined", "I am convinced". This is meant to induce them a positive state of mind with the purpose of gaining their trust as a mediator. America's solidarity with the parties, and the fact they all three share a common ideal are linguistically hinted at, by the recurrent use of a generic "we", which suggests the inclusion of the third party in this search for world peace.

Therefore, the strategic use of the linguistic material represents the means by which Carter tries to manipulate the parties in the sense of influencing the outcome of the conflict in a favourable way.

4.2 The mediator's patterns of argumentation

In exercising two of his roles, mentioned in this paper, the mediator / negotiator resorts, in formulating his ideas, to several language strategies, among which the use of abstract rather than concrete words. Concepts such as "just and comprehensive peace" or "true peace based on normal relations", "successful search for peace" are but few of the expressions that have no fixed boundaries of meaning. They involve abstraction, defined as "the distance separating the sense of a word or phrase from any specific empirical object or situation" (Toulmin *et al.* 1979: 141).

By strategically making use of language, Carter, indirectly, argues that the parties should try to overcome their differences and reach a conflict settlement. Language becomes, thus, a way of manipulation and persuasion, especially when used figuratively. Such is the metaphor the president resorts to when defining the role of America: "We'll have to act kind of as a catalyst…"

Certain wordings and expressions are characteristic for Carter's behaviour at the linguistic level, which proves his equal treatment of the parties, his neutrality and transparency. Nevertheless, we may speak of language intensity when he stresses America's qualities by opposition with other countries.

> (7) Many countries depend completely on oil from the Middle East for their life.
> We don't. If all oil was cut off to us from the Middle East, we could survive; but
> Japan imports more than 98 percent of all its energy, and other countries, like in

> Europe - Germany, Italy, France - are also heavily dependent on oil from the Middle East.

The assumption that any settlement will be based on a "mutual decision" is essential to the mediation process. Consequently, there is a permanent stress on the words "mutual" "common", "both" used by the mediator, several times, in each of his interventions, with the particular aim of reducing the disagreement space between the conflicting parties.

The vocabulary he uses is mainly characterized by noun phrases, which underline the idea of peace and freedom, and of a successful outcome – "peace initiative", "ability to negotiate successfully", "the cause of brotherhood and of peace", "deep longing for peace", "work together successfully to make this peace" , "sacred dedication to peace born and fostered in Jerusalem and in Cairo". At the same time, these wordings are rich in adjectives that contain the idea of superlative: "enormous", "greatest", "highest", "excellent", "one of the finest acts of the world", elements which are meant to suggest a positive state of mind. Their use emphasizes the importance attributed by Carter to reaching a settlement.

The use of "*must*" as a strong performative suggests Carter's sense of obligation, and his commitment and determination that the parties have to come to an agreement, and establish peace, by signing the treaty: "We must not lose this moment. We must pray, ...and we must act as everything depends on ourselves.", "we must make this beginning", "We must seize this precious opportunity"; "We must persevere"; "We must proceed".

Carter's commitment and determination are suggested by the use of another modal - "*will*", which emphasises the mediator's solidarity with the cause sustained by the parties: "we will stay involved", "We will stand by our friends", "We will work not only to attain peace, but to maintain peace", "we will rededicate ourselves", "we will always recognize, appreciate and honor..."

The recurrent topic is that of the worthy and the advantageous, in the sense that he permanently stresses the great efforts ("you have made enormous sacrifices and you have taken great risks for peace") made by both sides, efforts which led to a noble cause – peace in the world. Again "enormous" and "great" emphasize the role of the parties in coming to an acceptable agreement, by trying to imply that otherwise their efforts would be useless.

Another common feature of his discourses is represented by the form of appraisal Carter makes use of, in metaphorically speaking about the leaders of the two parties, even reproducing their words (March 12th, 1979) precisely with the aim of minimizing distance and power ("breaking down the barriers between peoples"): "the visionary example of president Sadat", "strong and courageous man" (about Sadat), "As Prime Minister Begin said [...] the agreements reached there proved that any problem can be solved, if there is some - and he repeated, just some wisdom", "President Sadat told me in Cairo that he will let nothing stand in the way of our shared goal of finishing the treaty of peace between Israel and Egypt, and of making it a living testament of friendship between the two neighboring peoples." The language used in this case is highly figurative, characterized by metaphors, and depicting the two leaders of the two parties in a hyperbolic way.

5. *Conclusions*

The present paper has tried to prove the way in which the mediator can be treated as a nego-tiator of meanings, in the sense of his paying great attention to the linguistic elements, used by each of the conflicting parties, and reformulating these elements with the purpose of forcing an outcome upon the conflict. The theoretical points served as a background for the practical analysis of Carter's mediation process.

First of all, the need was felt for defining the major concepts involved in the context of in-ternational conflict in order to situate this sample of mediation. Then, a clear distinction be-tween mediation and negotiation as third party interventions was drawn, with the purpose of outlining the different procedures and goals that each of these two concepts involves. Also, this discussion was integrated in the pragma-dialectical framework of the argumentation theory, so as to specifically delineate the theoretical concepts this paper uses, later on, for analysis.

A classification of non-linguistic strategies was mentioned, adopting the three-fold dis-tribution of roles attributed to the mediator by Touval and Zartman (1985). Special attention has been given to the language strategy of (re)formulation, which is lexically materialized, in the mediator's linguistic behaviour, under the form of discourse elements that help him play his parts.

The formulation of standpoints is of particular importance in the pragma-dialectical con-text, as it enables the mediator to exercise his function as a facilitator of decision-making, by pre-venting the parties from deviating from the main issues under discussion.

In the analysis section, the mediator's roles have been identified as they function in prac-tice. Thus, the role of the mediator as communicator and formulator engaged in pure media-tion, and that of the mediator as negotiator, resorting to manipulation (in the sense of facilitating conflict resolution) intermingle with Carter.

By the choice of appropriate lexical items, the mediator tries to find ways to bring the two peoples – Arab and Israeli - together, to bridge the gap between them, stressing the area of agree-ment represented by the common pursuit for peace.

All the linguistic elements are strategically used by the mediator, with the purpose of per-suading the parties to become dedicated to this search for peace, in order to determine them to reach the negotiating phase. By summarizing the starting points of the parties, and by stressing their shared goal for peace, the mediator exercises the roles of communicator, formulator, and, at the same time, of manipulator, by means of language. The combination of linguistic strate-gies such as abstraction, intensity, words used figuratively, is meant to contribute to conflict res-olution, by defining and minimizing the disagreement space between the parties[*].

6. *Annexes*

1. President Carter Discusses the Resolution of the Arab-Israeli Conflict (March 16th, 1977).

[...] I think one of the finest acts of the world nations that's ever occurred was to establish the State of Israel.

So, the first prerequisite of a lasting peace is the recognition of Israel by her neighbors, Israel's right to exist, Israel's right to exist permanently, Israel's right to exist in peace. That means that over a period of months or years that the borders between Israel and Syria, Israel and Lebanon, Israel and Jordan, Israel and Egypt must be opened up to travel, to tourism, to cultural, exchange, to trade, so that no matter who the leaders might be in those countries, the people themselves will have formed a mutual understanding and comprehension and a sense of a common purpose to avoid the repetitious wars and death that have afflicted that region so long. That's the first prerequisite of peace.

The second one is very important and very, very difficult, and that is the establishment of permanent borders for Israel. The Arab countries say that Israel must withdraw to the pre-1967 borderlines; Israel says that they must adjust those lines to some degree to insure their security. That is a matter to be negotiated between the Arab countries on the one side and Israel on the other.

But borders are still a matter of great trouble and a matter of great difficulty, and there are strong differences of opinion now.

And the third ultimate requirement for peace is to deal with the Palestinian problem. The Palestinians claim up 'til this moment that Israel has no right to be there, that the land belongs to the Palestinians, and they've never yet given up their publicly professed commitment to destroy Israel. That has to be overcome. [...]

Those three major elements have got to be solved before a Middle Eastern solution can be prescribed.

I want to emphasize one more time, we offer our good offices. I think it's accurate to say that of all the nations in the world, we are the one that's most trusted, not completely, but most trusted by the Arab countries and also Israel. I guess both sides have some doubt about us. But we'll have to act kind of as a catalyst to bring about their ability to negotiate successfully with one another.

We hope that later on this year, in the latter part of this year, that we might get all of these parties to agree to come together at Geneva, to start talking to one another. They haven't done that yet. And I believe if we can get them to sit down and start talking and negotiating that we have an excellent chance to achieve peace. I can't guarantee that. It's a hope. [...]

So, this is such a crucial area of the world that I will be devoting a major part of my time on foreign policy between now and next fall trying to provide for a forum within which they can discuss their problems and, hopefully, let them seek out among themselves some permanent solution.

Just maybe as briefly as I could, that's the best answer I can give you to that question.

2. President Jimmy Carter Addresses Palestinian Rights (January 4th, 1978).

[...] We believe that there are certain principles, fundamentally, which must be observed before a just and a comprehensive peace can be achieved.

First, true peace must be based on normal relations among the parties to the peace. Peace means more than just an end to belligerency.

Second, there must be withdrawal by Israel from territories occupied in 1967 and agreement on secure and recognized borders for all parties in the context of normal and peaceful relations in accordance with U.N. Resolutions 242 and 338. Third, there must be a resolution of the Palestinian problem in all its aspects. The problem must recognize the legitimate rights of the Palestinian people and enable the Palestinians to participate in the determination of their own future.

Some flexibility is always needed to insure successful negotiations and the resolution of conflicting views. We know that the mark of greatness among leaders is to consider carefully the views of others and the greater benefits that can result among the people of all nations which can come from a successful search for peace.

Mr. President, our consultations this morning have reconfirmed our common commitment to the fundamentals which will, with God's help, make 1978 the year for permanent peace in the Middle East.

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