

DECISION-MAKING PROCESS IN SOME ROMANIAN WORKPLACE MEETINGS

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Introduction

Meetings are seen as “interactions which focus, whether indirectly or directly, on workplace business” (Holmes & Stubbe 2003: 59), being one of the most important decision-making avenues used today. Participants are dealing with sensitive issues or with everyday workplace business using various communicative strategies according to their objective or subjective goals and their social statuses. Whether in the position of chairperson or regular participant, the speaker aims at establishing and maintaining a certain balance between the power and the politeness dimensions of workplace discourse. Efficiency seems to be the key-word in deciding which strategies fit best in the particular context of every meeting. In order to be effective, any strategy requires certain communicative skills in the encoding and the decoding processes used by participants. The speaker encodes both the objective and the subjective purposes in a single utterance, which is almost simultaneously decoded by the hearer. Among the variety of communicative strategies used by the speakers in workplace meetings, this paper focuses on the argumentative ones, as they were depicted in the analysis of two Romanian meetings.

Researchers have examined the discourse of workplace meetings from different perspectives: the discursive strategies used in the management of meetings (Barbato 1994, Bargiela-Chiappini & Harris 1997), the discursive realizations of status in meetings (Craig & Pitts 1990, Sollitt-Morris 1996), the complex communicative processes involved in getting things accomplished interactionally through meeting talk (Drew & Heritage 1992, Sarangi & Roberts 1999), interruptions, seen as manifestations of power in meetings (Edelsky 1981, Craig & Pitts 1990), the amount of talk contributed by different participants as an indication of dominance (Edelsky 1981, Holmes 1992, Sollitt-Morris 1996, Holmes & Stubbe 2003), politeness considerations of participants' contributions to meetings (Pearson 1988, Morand 1996, Holmes & Stubbe 2003).

1. Methodological issues and description of corpus

Our research is part of a larger on-going project at the Faculty of Letters from Transylvania University of Braşov, Romania. The project is entitled *Professional Language*

in Present-day Romanian. Linguistic Patterns and Discursive Structures and is supported by a governmental grant (CNCSIS, ID 142). Its main objectives are to identify some characteristics of effective communication in various Romanian workplaces and to disseminate the results of the analysis among communication and workplace practitioners.

The methodology used for collecting the data was adapted after the participatory framework proposed by the Language in the Workplace (LWP) Project, based at Victoria University of Wellington, New Zealand. It involves collecting authentic linguistic data with the help of volunteers, real participants to the communicative process in certain workplace contexts, in order to minimize the intrusion of the research team in the organization. The recordings are completed with ethnographic information and submitted for analysis. The results are thoroughly checked through a feedback mechanism, involving both participants and researchers (see Holmes & Stubbe 2003: 19-30). The ethical aspect is covered through the extensive preparation of the research in advance, the written agreement of participants and the freedom, on the participants' behalf, to edit the recorded material according to the organizational policy.

The corpus of this paper consists of two recordings of workplace meetings, which took place in similar business contexts, with a comparable participatory framework and structure. The first recording (TEXT 1) was done during a department meeting in a Romanian organization. The chair of the meeting is the manager of the sales and marketing department (Carmen, woman, aged 40) and the other participants (Adi, Dorin, Ionuț, Costi, Vasile) are all regional managers (men, aged between 25 and 50).

The second recording (TEXT 2) is that of a board meeting in the Romanian branch of a multinational organization. There are six participants (two men and four women, aged between 30 and 40): the general manager (Ina) is also the chairperson, the sales and marketing manager (Carol), the logistics department manager (Eni), the financial manager (Dana), the industry manager (Rareș), and administrative assistant (Irina).

2. Managing interaction in meetings

Meetings are the main venue of transmitting information, planning and organizing everyday activity. During meetings, decisions are made and people work together in order to solve tasks. Mumby (1988: 68) considers that workplace meetings "function as one of the most important and visible sites of organizational power, and of the reification of organizational hierarchy". What is more, workplace meetings are also visible sites of politeness, collegiality and solidarity, or on the contrary, of disrespect and impoliteness, being an ideal context of "relational work" (Fletcher 1999).

Regardless of their type, degree of formality or goals, workplace meetings are a dynamic communicative process based on presentation of points of view and on nego-

tiation. When people are involved in this type of interaction, they use various communicative strategies that take into consideration aspects of politeness and contribute to the construction of power.

Meeting management is a dynamic process in which all participants play a part, whether cooperative or resistant. Among the participants to a meeting, the *role of chair* is vital in carrying out an effective meeting. It is the chair's role to *set the agenda* and to *open the meeting*. It is crucial that they *establish control* at this stage to ensure that participants orient to the chair's authority throughout the meeting. The chair also *keeps track of the progress* of the meeting, marking the stage that is reached and ensuring that all relevant issues are covered.

Effective management often involves *negotiating consensus*. It is the chair's job to make sure everyone at a meeting knows the purpose of the meeting, what the issues being discussed are and that everyone knows what has been agreed. Related to this, it is the chair's role to make sure *everyone feels involved* in the decision-making process. This can include an appropriate amount of small talk and humor in the meeting. Sometimes the chairperson acts as a mere *mediator*, becoming as 'invisible' as possible when the situation requires such behavior. In such cases, without the pressure exercised by the chairperson, people discuss more freely.

In this paper we will analyze and illustrate just a selection from the range of the meeting management strategies and their grammatical interface, focusing mainly on how they instantiate ways of argumentation (and emotive argumentation). We are also interested in the relationship between power and politeness in meetings, trying to define and exemplify specific patterns for Romanian workplace interaction.

3. Data analysis

In what follows, we will mainly focus on the discourse of the chairperson and we will try to identify and comment both on some of the discursive strategies and on the grammatical interface.

The discourse of the chairperson invariably starts with *setting the agenda*. There are at least two frames that may be identified at this level: the *topic frame*, i.e. an explicit and clear presentation of the topics to be discussed during the meeting, and a *time frame*, i.e. the time allotted to each topic from the agenda. This suggests that the chairperson controls the entire meeting and indirectly transmits to the rest of the participants that (s)he is allowed to take advantage of the position to interfere and end a topic. If only topics are framed, this may mean that the time allotted to each topic will be negotiated on the spot, thus the chairperson appearing more employee-focused and open to reactions.

4. Balance between expressions of power and solidarity

In the following extract from TEXT 1, a workplace meeting in a company selling roof windows and loft ladders, Carmen is the head of the Sales and Marketing Department and the chairperson.

Romanian	English
<p>CARMEN: O analiză interesantă vă propun aici la top, unde aveți și voi niște centralizatoare a topului de vânzări și <i>vă rog chiar să le deschideți...</i> tabelele astea... top scări, top ferestre. [...] avem o altă situație care <i>mi se pare alarmantă</i> aicea. Top zero. Adică din totalul nostru de dealeri treizeci la sută nu vând deloc ferestre, ceea ce înseamnă vreo o sută trei dealeri din cei activi. [...] aicea <i>vreau neapărat să discutăm un pic</i> și poate... avem o sută de dealeri care nu vând deloc, dar din ăștia o sută vreo șazeci au standuri. <i>Asta este și mai alarmant.</i> [...] O să vedeți voi, de fapt, din... din această, acest raport al ședinței noastre... <i>eu v-am menționat că vreau să faceți câte un raport, da?</i> deci analiza dealerilor care nu vând, dar au standuri se va prezenta raport de către fiecare director în parte și aceia să analizăm... îi mai ținem la anu, nu îi mai ținem, ne scoatem standul, avem stand pentru că e într-o zonă bună și atunci, sigur, îl lăsăm, dar aici fiecare, <i>o să vedeți voi ce trebuie să facem și ce nu. Da?</i> [...]</p> <p><i>Și mergem acuma la top scări unde situația este și mai dură.</i> Deci avem la top scări avem un dealer care vinde douăzeci la sută [...] deci <i>asta ne arată două lucruri, o dată</i> că depindem de el și că nu e bine, că de fapt o să vedeți creșterea la scări se datorează lui, deci dacă el nu era, noi nu ne făceam planul, dar <i>doi la mână arată și faptul că</i> putem să multiplicăm situația asta.</p>	<p>CARMEN: I suggest you an interesting analysis here with the top, where you also have some tabels of top sellers and <i>please open them...</i> these tabels... top for loft ladders, top for windows. [...] we have another situation that <i>seems to me alarming.</i> Top zero. This means that from our total of dealers thirty percent do not sell at all windows, which means a hundred and three dealers from the active ones. [...] here <i>I urgently want to talk a little about this</i> and maybe... we have one hundred dealers who do not sell at all, but from them almost sixty have booths. <i>This is even more alarming.</i> [...] you will see, in fact, from this... this report of our meeting... <i>I mentioned I wanted from each of you a report, right?</i> So, the analysis of the dealers who do not sell, but who have booths, each manager will present a report and we will analyze them... if we keep them, if we don't keep them, we give up on our booth, we have a booth because it is in a good area and then we will surely leave it there, but here <i>each of you will see what we have to do and not. Right?</i> [...]</p> <p><i>And now we are moving to top sales of ladders where the situation is even tougher.</i> So we have a dealer who sells twenty percent [...] so <i>this shows us two things, one thing is that</i> we depend on him and this is not right, because you will see that the increase for ladders is thanks to him, and but for him we wouldn't have reached the target, and <i>the second thing is that</i> we can multiply this situation.</p>

Although in the beginning, Carmen presents herself as a powerful leader, gradually she succeeds in balancing means of expressing power (first person singular – *I suggest, I urgently want, I mentioned I wanted*, emphatic constructions – *I urgently want to talk, This is even more alarming*) with means of creating solidarity (first person plural – *each of you will see what we have to do and not, now we are moving to, this shows us two things*, asking for feedback – *I mentioned I wanted from each of you a report, right?, each of you will see what we have to do and not. Right?*).

When reviewing the results of the sales, the chairperson takes a stand and personally gets involved in the presentation by gradually characterizing the situation as *alarming*, *more alarming* and *even tougher*. By choosing these adjectives, the chairperson transforms herself in the one who draws a warning signal that there are problems and indirectly asks the participants (sales representatives from different areas) to take the necessary measures to improve the sales results. Both the gradual presentation (from neutral to intensified) and the choice of the words are used strategically: *alarming* is an adjective that suggests a warning of existing or approaching danger, while *tough* further emphasizes the idea of difficulty of the presented situation.

If in the previous extract, Carmen used emotional involvement as an argumentative strategy, in the next example, taken from TEXT 2, Ina – the general manager – does not make use of such strategy.

Romanian	English
INA: Deci pe ordinea de zi, azi avem discutarea rezultatelor din 2005... cu diversele influențe pe care le-au avut anumiți parametri pe care nu i-am... stabilit... nu i-am avut în vedere la bugetare... Vom trece în revistă obiectivele pe care ni le-am asumat în 2005, cele generale ale companiei... și... ăă... vom discuta apoi ce obiective ne asumăm în 2006... urmând ca să trecem la discuții individuale pe obiective, cu fiecare în parte, după ce stabilim obiectivele companiei...	INA: So, on the agenda, today we have discussions on the results from 2005... with the various influences of several parameters we haven't... established... we haven't taken into consideration for budgeting... we will review the objectives that we assumed in 2005, the general ones of the company... and... errr... then we will discuss what objectives we set for 2006... following this, we will have individual discussions on objectives, with each of you, after we set the objectives of the company...

Not only in the beginning, but also throughout the entire meeting, Ina uses mainly the first person plural (*we have discussions on the results from 2005, we will review the objectives that we assumed in 2005*) in order to get people involved to make them feel they part of the team. Even though she does not use emotive argumentation, the efficiency of her discourse is maximum.

5. Description of emotions

Emotional involvement is also visible when the chairperson describes a personal mood or when she commits herself to the truth of the statement.

Romanian	English
CARMEN: Arhitecți. Este subiectul meu preferat. Deci... când sunt prost dispusă și vreau să mă cert mă uit la lista arhitecților. Pe cuvântul meu. Deci atunci când vreau să nu mai pot, mă uit la arhitecți. Vă rog frumos deschideți. (TEXT 1)	CARMEN: Architects. It's my favourite topic. So... when I'm in a bad mood and I want to have an argument I take a look at the list of the architects. Trust my word! So, when I want not to be able to stand it anymore, I take a look at the list of architects. Please, open your folders! (TEXT 1)

Carmen starts a new topic on the agenda by characterizing it as being “the favourite topic”. She obviously marks the speech with irony, preparing the audience for the presentation of bad results. The chairperson shifts focus on herself and associates the list of architects with a “bad mood”. This type of presentation (focused on personal involvement) is aimed at creating a positive image of the chairperson, who thus appears as a preoccupied head of the department, hoping that putting herself down (*when I want not to be able to stand it anymore*) will impress the audience and make them feel as bad as she pretends to feel. In order to emphasize the authenticity of the moment, the chairperson commits herself to the truth of the statement in a colloquial manner: *Trust my word!* The speech is deconstructed, the chairperson pretends not to have control over the situation, but in fact it is a strategy meant to manipulate the audience and obtain the envisaged result.

When presenting another topic (performance indicators), the chairperson briefly reviews the head of the table just to introduce the issue in a personal manner. In the extract below, Carmen takes the problem personally, suggesting that it gives her a headache.

Romanian	English
<p>CARMEN: Indicatori de performanță. Cantitativ număr de dealeri noi, număr de produse vândute, număr de alți colaboratori introduși în rețea: constructori, proiectanți. Număr execuție, asistență, construcție, montaj. <i>Și ajung la încă o problemă care îmi creează dureri de cap: evaluări execuție-montaj. Țsta vroiam să fie ultimul punct. Evaluare execuție montaj despre care am vorbit tot timpul și nici unul nu ați făcut. Absolut nici unul. Deci aici aveți, zic eu, ca o hartă albă: verificare montaje zero, arhitecți zero.</i> (TEXT 1)</p>	<p>CARMEN: Performance indicators. Quantity of new dealers, number of products sold, number of collaborators included in the network, constructors, designers. Manufacturing, assistance, construction, assembling. <i>And I come to another problem that gives me a headache: evaluation manufacturing-assembling. I wanted this to be the last topic. We've been talking all the time about the evaluation manufacturing-assembling and nobody has done anything. Absolutely nobody. So here you have, as I see it, a blank map: verification of assembling zero, architects zero.</i> (TEXT 1)</p>

The chairperson gets emotionally involved in the speech in order to create herself a positive image, of a concerned manager who gives a lot of time to finding the most appropriate solution but gets no help in return.

This strategy is supported by the use of verbs of perception: *see, feel*.

Romanian	English
<p>CARMEN: Cifra de afaceri. Analiza cheltuielilor. Arhitecți. Situația cheltuielilor de reclamă. Buget unu la sută. Și aici aveți fiecare câte un buget pentru că trebuie să vă uitați. Ne uităm împreună. Pe zona de unu, [nume firmă] am și realizat ceva. <i>Văd că cifra de afaceri a scăzut față de anul trecut. Chiar am simțit.</i> Ei nu mai vând ferestre? (TEXT 1)</p>	<p>CARMEN: Turnover. Expense analysis. Architects. Advertising expenses. Budget one percent. And here each of you has a budget to take a look at. We will take a look together. For area D 1, [company name] we achieved something. <i>I see that the turnover has decreased since last year. We even felt it.</i> Don't they sell windows anymore? (TEXT 1)</p>

In Romanian, the verb “to see” is used only as a verb of visual perception and lacks the cognitive meaning (“to understand”), which is common in English. In the extract above, Carmen may use this verb both to describe the evolution of the turnover according to the table she has in front of her (visual perception), and to express her coming to understand the effects of its decrease (cognitive meaning). As far as the verb “to feel” is concerned, we notice a transfer from its denotative meaning to a connotative one: the decrease of the turnover is “felt” as a decrease of salaries and bonuses.

6. *Illuminating narratives*

Appeal to the emotional side of the participants may be achieved by another strategy: introduction of narrative passages with the purpose of setting a positive example for the employees. In the following extract, Adi is one of the regional sales managers and his main complaint is that it takes a lot of time to get in contact with the clients because he has to travel a lot and gets at a certain company after working hours, thus not being able to finish his work. Adi introduces a new topic on the agenda – obtaining a guarantee from a prospective client – but Carmen takes advantage of her position during the meeting and suggests a corrective move (*No! It's not working like this.*).

Romanian	English
<p>CARMEN: Adi, stai o clipă! Nu! Nu merge așa. Uite, știi cazul Lindab. Spre exemplu, Lindab merg în trasee ca și noi. Ajunge la 11 noaptea în anumite locații. Păi îți imaginezi că la 11 noaptea un portar nu-i dă nici ăștia cec, dar are o garanție în clienții lor. Deci, hai să avem la ăștia care știm că ne fac probleme, să avem aicea biletul la ordin sau cecul. Ăla, garanția, acolo unde avem probleme, da?</p> <p>(TEXT 1)</p>	<p>CARMEN: Adi, wait a second! No! It's not working like this. <i>Look, I know the case of Lindab. For example, Lindab people take the same steps as we do. They get there at 11 at night in some locations. Well, you can imagine that at 11 at night the door keeper won't give our man a cheque, but he trusts their clients. So, let's have here for those who give us trouble, let's have a note of hand or a cheque. That, the guarantee, where we have problems, OK?</i></p> <p>(TEXT 1)</p>

This move is used by Carmen to introduce the vivid example of a competitor, emphasizing the idea that a guarantee would be enough for bad payers. The correction functions in two ways: on the one hand, it is about *correcting the topic* (Carmen does not agree that another participant should introduce a topic on the already presented agenda), and on the other hand, it is about *correcting the attitude* (Carmen is supportive of her subordinates and offers them suggestions of how to deal with bad payers). The narrative ends with a summary (the solution: *That, the guarantee, where we have problems*) and with a phatic unit (*OK?*) aimed at ratifying a decision (*let's have here for those who give us trouble, let's have a note of hand or a cheque*).

When talking about the company's relationship with residential architects, Carmen introduces a new personal narrative. This time, the story contains regrets for a missing action (not giving files to the clients) and is aimed at obtaining an emotional response from the participants.

Romanian	English
CARMEN: Extraordinar de mult contează faptul că noi nu avem relații bune cu arhitecții. Extraordinar de mult contează. [...] <i>Și eu când am intrat în mai multe birouri de arhitect, primul lucru m-am uitat ce bibliorafturi are, știind că Velux are. Foarte mult contează să fie biblioraft.</i> (TEXT 1)	CARMEN: The fact that we don't have good relationships with architects counts a great deal. Counts a great deal. [...] <i>When I went to several architects offices, the first thing I did was to look at the files he has, knowing that Velux has. Having a file counts a great deal.</i> (TEXT 1)

7. Asking for participants' opinions

In order to appear supportive, the chairperson tends to ask for participants' opinions on a certain point, while previously characterizing the situation.

Romanian	English
CARMEN: Analiza clienților. Aici aveți un tabel cu clienții restanți. Pe acest tabel vreau să mergem. Prima dată vă prezint un o sinteză a acestei analize. Soldul clienților noștri este [suma], din care neîncasați la termen 45,8 la sută. <i>Ce părere aveți?</i> Sigur aici intră și cei cu întârzieri de trei-patru zile, dar, ca idee. Foarte mulți. (TEXT 1)	CARMEN: Analysis of clients. Here you have a tabel with remainder clients. This is the table I want to discuss. Firstly, I will present a synthesis of this analysis. The due balance for our clients is [sum], with 45.8 percent back payments. <i>What do you think?</i> Of course, those with three or four days delay are also included here, but, just as an idea. Very many. (TEXT 1)

Carmen has a specific manner of introducing the topics, by just giving the headline of the table. This shows that she is not so much interested in giving an introduction, but in analyzing the situation. In the extract above, the chairperson signals her wish for an opinion from the participants (*45.8 percent back payments. What do you think?*) and yet she does not stop to listen to the commentaries. It is worth noticing that she leads the reactions by introducing a short commentary: *Very many*.

When talking about the company's relationship with residential architects, Carmen firstly introduced a personal narrative, grabbing the attention of the audience and then asked for opinions from the participants.

Romanian	English
<p>CARMEN: Extraordinar de mult contează faptul că noi nu avem relații bune cu arhitecții. Extraordinar de mult contează. [...] Și eu când am intrat în mai multe birouri de arhitect, primul lucru m-am uitat ce bibliorafturi are, știind că Velux are. Foarte mult contează să fie biblioraft. Nu mai zic de faptul... Băi, n-am să uit când ați zis că voi, noi nu dăm nimica, noi n-am dat nimica ani întregi. Păi da, păi aia... Dacă le-am da, binențeles că ar face. E te te! Că de când dăm, avem mai puțini decât aveam înainte, când nu dădeam niciun comision. <i>Ce putem face? Aștept propuneri de la voi pentru că mă simt foarte neputincioasă în fața acestei situații. Și vreau să știu poate sunteți de altă părere sau poate, nu știu, poate, nu vreți sau poate nu puteți. Și vreau de la fiecare în parte.</i></p> <p>(TEXT 1)</p>	<p>CARMEN: The fact that we don't have good relationships with architects counts a great deal. Counts a great deal. [...] When I went to several architects offices, the first thing I did was to look at the files he has, knowing that Velux has. Having a file counts a great deal. I don't add the fact that... Guys, I'll never forget when you said that you, we don't give anything and we haven't given anything for years. Well, it's this, it's that... If we gave them, of course they would do it. Go figure! Since we started to give this, we have less clients than before when we used not to give any commission. <i>What can we do? I'm waiting for suggestions from you because I feel very helpless about this situation. And I want to know maybe you have a different opinion or maybe, I don't know, you don't want or you can't. And I want opinions from each of you.</i></p> <p>(TEXT 1)</p>

Her entire speech is emotion-based. The chairperson puts herself down (*I feel very helpless*) in order to show that the situation is out of control and she is out of suggestions. Unlike the narrative, which has a supportive function, asking for advice is face-threatening. Carmen feels that her negative face may be at risk (she may no longer appear as a problem-solver) and wants to be included in the process of finding solutions to the proposed problem.

If previously Carmen asked for a general opinion, in the extract above she is more specific and makes this clear: *I want opinions from each of you.*

In an extract from TEXT 2, Ina is closer to her subordinates than Carmen, being personally involved in the process of budgeting that she explains to them gradually, just as she introduces new figures or follows the columns of the comparative table.

Romanian	English
<p>INA: Acum ajungem la B... Am comparat 2004 cu 2005.</p> <p>DANA: Indicatorii cei reali.</p> <p>INA: <i>Hai să vedem, mai știm să bugetăm?</i> (...) Hm, hm, hm. Și hai să ne uităm și la formule... Da? forecast-ul doi, cel din octombrie. Da? Și să pornim de la cel vechi. După cum vedem, deviația în cheltuieli față de buget este doar de 1,79 la sută... creșterea cheltuieli față de cât ați bugetat, da și... sunt mai mici decât forecast-ul.</p>	<p>INA: Now we get to B... We compared 2004 with 2005.</p> <p>DANA: The real indicators.</p> <p>INA: <i>Let's see, do you still know how to budget?</i> (...) Hm, hm, hm. And let's take a look at the formulas... OK? The second forecast, the one from October. OK? And let's start from the old one. As we can see, deviation of expenses in the budget is only 1.79 percent... an increase of the expenses in the budget, OK and... they are less than the forecast.</p>

8. Appeal to rules and regulations

Doing a certain job or having a certain position in a company implies a set of responsibilities. Sometimes, this feature is exploited by the chairperson, who appeals to rules and regulations, in order to indirectly threaten the person(s) who have not carried out a job properly. We consider this to be another emotional strategy by means of which the chairperson enacts her coercive power. In the following extract, the chairperson appeals to a set of responsibilities that are presented in the job description for the position of regional sales manager.

Romanian	English
<p>CARMEN: Tocmai de-aia am zis să mergem pe filiale. DORIN: Și atunci trebuie mers. Nu, nu, nu la filiale mă refer. Aceeași situație este și la nivel de filială. <i>După părerea mea, eu de exemplu am mers și acuma pe Arad, săptămâna asta, săptămâna trecută o listă cu arhitecții de pe rezidențiale.</i></p> <p>[...]</p> <p>DORIN: Și după părerea mea cam așa trebuie făcut și așa am și început să fac. Mers sau aflat. Eu de exemplu am aflat la Arad printr-un arhitect, care arhitect e și dealerul nostru. Și am zis, te rog, fă-mi o listă cu arhitecții care sunt pe rezidențiale și care au proiecte și au lucrări, proiecte. Și mă duc eu la fiecare și îi dotez cu bibliorafuri, cd-uri și așa mai departe și insist la ei. Deci, eu cam așa văd problema de rezolvat. De aflat în fiecare zonă sau în orașele mai mari, în reședințele de județ, acolo sunt arhitecții, aflat cine sunt...</p> <p>CARMEN: <i>O secundă, du-te și adu fișa postului pentru director de vânzări. Păi da' asta trebuia făcut și până acum. Deci nu e nicio nouitate ce spui. Lucrul ăsta l-am discutat tot timpul.</i></p> <p>(TEXT 1)</p>	<p>CARMEN: That's why I said that we should go for branches. DORIN: And this means we go for it. No, no, no, I'm not talking about branches. The situation is the same at the level of branches. <i>To my mind, I for example went to Arad, this week, last week with a list of the architects for residential areas.</i></p> <p>[...]</p> <p>DORIN: And to my mind this is how we should do it and this is how I started to do. I went there and I found out. I for example found out through an architect who is also our dealer. And I said, please, make me a list with the architects for residential areas who have projects and work in the field. And I go to each of them and I give them files, CDs and so on and I insist. So, this is how I see the solution to the problem. To find out in each area or in big cities where there are architects and who they are...</p> <p>CARMEN: <i>One second, go and bring the job description for sales manager. Well, this was supposed to be done so far. So, there is no news in what you're saying. We've been discussing this matter all the time.</i></p> <p>(TEXT 1)</p>

Dorin is one of the regional sales manager who was accused of not doing a proper job in his area. When he gets the floor, he tries to defend himself by giving a lot of personal examples and by shifting focus to himself (*To my mind, I for example...*). In order to create authenticity, Dorin even introduces direct speech: *And I said, please, make me a list with the architects for residential areas who have projects and work in the field.*

The head of the Sales Department indirectly threatens a subordinate by making reference to the job description. In fact, Carmen will use the same strategy several times during the meeting. By invoking the job description, she wants to remind the participants that they are under a contract with strict regulations and they should follow them. In any other context, reference to the job description would be regarded as hilarious, but in the context of a workplace meeting, it may have the expected effect: the person will react to the indirect blame and take a stand.

Whenever the chairperson uses reference to the job description, she acts as an agent who admonishes the wrong-doer (*This will be a condition for your salaries...*).

Romanian	English
<p>DORIN: Eu fac contract. Crede-mă că nu mi-e greu. Că trebuie să trec niște date... Dacă acele contracte, hârtiile contează...</p> <p>CARMEN: Dar nu contractele, banii... Păi nu contează hârtiile, nu contează hârtia, dar contează relația. Ha! <i>Nu există nimic, nu-i nici hârtie, nici factură, deci absolut nimic nu există.</i> Asta va fi condiția în salariile voastre pe anul... de fapt era menționat și anul ăsta. Și contează și la premiere. <i>O să vă aduc și fișa postului ca să o mai citim o dată.</i></p> <p>(TEXT 1)</p>	<p>DORIN: I make a contract. Believe me, it's not difficult. I only need to fill in some data... If those contracts matter, if papers matter...</p> <p>CARMEN: It's not the contracts, it's the money... Papers don't count, but a relationship does count. Ha! <i>There is nothing, no paper, no invoice, absolutely nothing.</i> This will be a condition for your salaries for the year... in fact, it was mentioned for this year as well. And it will count for the bonus. <i>I'll bring the job description to read it one more time.</i></p> <p>(TEXT 1)</p>

The repetition of negative quantifiers (*nu, nimic, nici – no, nothing*) amplifies the feeling of guilt in the subordinates. This allows the chairperson to further formulate an indirect threat as a punishment.

Conclusions

The constant balance between power and politeness strategies, seen from a communicative-pragmatic point of view, implies both the encoding and the decoding processes, and gives the emotive dimension of argumentative dialogue in workplace meetings. The analysis of two Romanian workplace meetings revealed that the chairperson makes use of different emotive argumentative strategies in order to maintain equilibrium between power and collegiality.

The main strategies that were discussed and exemplified in this paper are: *balance between expressions of power and solidarity, description of emotions, illuminating narratives, asking for participants' opinions, appeal to rules and regulations.* Efficiency seems to be the key-word in deciding which strategies fit best in the particular context of every meeting. In order to be effective, any strategy requires certain communicative skills in the encoding and the decoding processes used by participants.

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L'ARGUMENTATION DANS LA NÉGOCIATION COMMERCIALE

MARIOARA ION

1. *Introduction*

Le but de notre analyse est d'étudier l'argumentation dans la négociation commerciale – un type d'interaction verbale spécialisée – en particulier au niveau macro discursif, avec un focus spécial sur la séquence argumentative de type: argumentation-contre argumentation. Nous avons en vue une analyse au niveau de l'intention discursive de l'émetteur, par l'étude de la façon dont les protagonistes des négociations commerciales comprennent à faire usage d'arguments, pour aboutir à un accord dans le cadre du processus de négociation commerciale; mais aussi au niveau de la réception du discours, c'est-à-dire l'effet provoqué sur l'interlocuteur par le discours argumentatif.

A la base de notre analyse se trouve un corpus enregistré et transcrit par nos soins (IV II 2007), formé d'interactions commerciales diverses, telles que: la demande/l'offre, la conformité/la non-conformité de la marchandise, le type de contrat de collaboration etc. Par rapport à d'autres types d'analyses de la négociation, qui se sont fondées sur des simulations, des jeux de rôles ou des mémoires, la nôtre est basée sur un corpus réel, tant du point de vue linguistique, que du point de vue commercial, du fait qu'après le moment de l'enregistrement, il s'était déjà matérialisé dans des transactions commerciales. De ce point de vue, notre corpus se situe au deuxième niveau de «l'échelle d'authenticité» des documents admis pour l'analyse conversationnelle (Kerbrat-Orecchioni 1995:71), car il s'agit des conversations entre deux représentants de sociétés commerciales, donc contraintes par le cadre institutionnel.

2. *Le rôle de l'argumentation*

L'argumentation trouve incontestablement sa place dans une situation communicative telle que la négociation commerciale car le différend est un élément constitutif du processus de négociation, et elle-même peut représenter un moyen de résolution du conflit entre les protagonistes. Le déclenchement du discours de type argumentatif se produit au moment où l'un des interlocuteurs est en désaccord avec l'offre de l'autre, mais il n'exclut pas non plus la possibilité d'une entente ultérieure. Ce désaccord peut être manifesté soit par la réfutation de l'offre, soit par la proposition d'une contre offre (la thèse de l'argumentation), chacun des protagonistes présentant des arguments pour soutenir sa propre opinion et/ou pour réfuter l'opinion de l'autre, dans le but de convaincre son partenaire de la validité de celle-ci.

La négociation commerciale, en tant qu'une « mosaïque communicative » qui se construit continuellement par les interlocuteurs pendant le processus de négociation, devient le champ de bataille des moyens argumentatifs, dont les interlocuteurs disposent pour persuader leur partenaire de l'opportunité de la transaction respective, mais aussi de leur intérêt commun pour arriver à une entente. En conséquence, c'est une démarche fortement orientée vers l'efficacité des outils argumentatifs, mais en même temps, subordonnée au but général de la négociation, celui de conclure une transaction avantageuse pour les deux parties. Cette double contrainte détermine les protagonistes à faire appel à la diplomatie dans l'usage de cet arsenal, à mettre en œuvre des stratégies, des techniques et des tactiques qui défendent le mieux leur intérêt, mais qui mettent surtout leur disponibilité d'arriver à un accord, justement par le fait de mettre en premier plan l'intérêt commun pour y arriver.

3. Les négociateurs – la diplomatie et l'efficacité de l'argumentation

Dans leur intention d'arriver à résoudre le conflit déterminé par la rencontre de l'offre et de la contre-offre, les négociateurs font appel à l'argumentation, plus précisément à une série d'arguments qu'ils considèrent efficaces. Un argument efficace est celui qui détermine un comportement attendu, justement parce qu'il a été jugé par l'interlocuteur avoir été adéquat, pertinent et valide.

Chaque interlocuteur doit défendre son opinion, tout en ayant la disponibilité de céder, dans certaines limites, de son propre territoire, de telle façon que les parties arrivent à un compromis, bien avantageux pour tous. Cependant ce pas en arrière, par rapport au point de vue exprimé tout au début, appartient rarement à l'auteur même (comme un acte de renonciation), en étant le plus souvent un effet de la démarche de son partenaire (comme un acte de conviction ou de persuasion).

On ne joue pas cartes sur table dans les négociations. La diplomatie est un atout du stratège qui met en scène la négociation. Tout mouvement est prémédité et dissimulé. Une de ses fonctions est de toujours conserver un pas en avance par rapport à son partenaire et d'anticiper son action suivante. Mettre les cartes sur la table équivaut à une stratégie, car il constitue en soi une perte de son avantage devant l'interlocuteur et il positionne son émetteur dans une position d'une vulnérabilité extrême. C'est pourquoi, les intérêts propres à chaque partie, nommés aussi les intérêts divergents, sont dissimulés à l'interlocuteur, afin de permettre une négociation successive et l'arrivée aux intérêts communs des parties, nommés aussi les intérêts convergents. Ainsi, la négociation commerciale représente la conversion de l'intérêt propre en intérêt commun, et chaque MOI, ayant une *persona propria*, contribue à la création de ce NOUS, qui correspond au *territoire commun* de l'entente entre les parties.

Pour que l'argumentation soit efficace, les négociateurs doivent se concentrer sur les besoins et sur les avantages du partenaire dans l'affaire, déterminés par leurs intérêts propres, mais aussi sur l'identification des points faibles de son argumentation. Par exemple : la limitation des offres proposées dans le processus de négociation, l'offre d'une alternative optimale à la négociation ou l'adaptation du type d'arguments à l'interlocuteur (affectifs pour quelqu'un d'émotionnel ou logiques pour quelqu'un de rationnel).

La première direction, dont l'objectif est la dissimulation de l'intérêt propre, se manifeste par l'évitement de se montrer à l'autre comme une personne intéressée par la conclusion de l'affaire. A ce niveau d'interaction, la rhétorique utilisée est très éloignée d'une négociation commerciale; des thèmes et sujets connexes sont abordés (par exemple, au début de la négociation, on introduit le sujet du coût moins cher d'un appel téléphonique sur un appareil fixe, par rapport à celui effectué d'un appareil fixe vers un portable, dans le cas d'une négociation ou on discute du contexte financier difficile, déterminé par la baisse du taux d'échange de la monnaie européenne, dans le cas d'une autre):

- 8-A: vă: sun în legatură cu oferta primită: ieri↑ *'je vous appelle concernant l'offre reçue hier'*
 9-B: da. 'oui'
 10-A: și:: vroIAM să discutăm un pic # asupra ei↑ *'et je voulais qu'on en discute un peu'*
 11-B: <R da cum să nu da' de CE nu mă sunați pe: numărul de fix↑ > ca să nu: # consumăm mobilu↓ <@ hî hî mă sunați pe mobil↓ îi mai scump>. 'oui. certainement. mais pourquoi vous ne m'appelez pas sur le numéro du fixe qu'on ne consomme pas avec le portable↓ vous m'appelez sur le portable↓ c'est plus cher'
 12-A: a: nu-i nici o problemă asta. hî. <R nici o problemă>. am vrut să vă gădesc. nu:: ↓ 'ah ce n'est pas un problème ça. j'ai voulu vous trouver. non'
 13-B: la birou↓ deci dacă vreți↑ puteți să mă sunați acuma pe numărul de fix de aicea și: <p stăm de vorbă>. 'au bureau↓ alors si vous voulez m'appelez à présent sur le fixe d'ici et nous discutons'
 14-A: /o:chei/↓ 'ok' (IV II, 2007: 313).

En échange, on obtient l'avantage d'ajourner au maximum la déclaration de la position d'entrée en négociation, c'est-à-dire la déclaration des intérêts propres, divergents, parce que celui qui se dévoile en premier devient vulnérable.

La deuxième direction, dont l'objectif est l'exagération de l'intérêt de l'autre pour la conclusion de l'affaire, se manifeste par l'insistance et la répétition de certains arguments, qui soulignent les besoins et qui mettent en évidence les avantages de l'interlocuteur dans cette transaction, car on essaie d'identifier les intérêts communs, dans le but d'arriver à un accord:

- 49-B: nici o problemă. deci io v-am zis î: ă dacă vă spun: astea sunt prețuri care le-am făcut pentru dumneavoastră în funcție de discuțiile care le-am avut Aicea de⊥ c-am înțeles dumneavoastră sînteți la-nceput↑ vreți să intrați să promovați problemă. deci io v-am zis î: ă dacă vă spun: astea sunt prețuri care le-am făcut pentru dumneavoastră în pe piața: # franceză am înțeles foarte bine dar după prețurile care eu le practic acuma cu: clienții care deja îi AM ↓ sînt MULT mai mari decât astea
'il n'y a pas de problèmes. donc je vous dis si je vous dis ça ce sont les prix que j'ai faits pour vous en fonction des discussions qu'on a eues ici car j'ai compris que vous êtes au début vous voulez promouvoir sur le marché français j'ai très bien compris mais d'après les prix que je pratique main-

tenant avec mes clients ils sont beaucoup plus grands que ceux-ci'
(*Ibid.*: 315).

Dans cette intervention le négociateur emphatise les avantages que son partenaire peut tirer de cette potentielle collaboration, plus précisément les prix moins chers, par rapport à ceux-là dont les clients existants de la compagnie achètent (*ça ce sont les prix que j'ai faits pour vous*), des prix si nécessaires au client, qui répondent aux besoins d'une compagnie qui se trouve à ses débuts (*vous êtes au début*) et qui se lance sur le marché externe (*vous voulez promouvoir sur le marché français*).

Mais, en dépit de l'attitude bienveillante du vendeur, son comportement empathique ne brise pas les standards de la négociation, car les apparences sont trompeuses. Le rôle du négociateur est celui de convaincre son interlocuteur que le produit proposé est bien et qu'il vaut la peine d'être acheté, en vertu des avantages et des besoins déjà mentionnés. Par contre, il n'est pas nécessaire que le vendeur croie vraiment à l'idée qu'il essaie d'inculquer à son partenaire. Car la vérité ou la fausseté de la thèse de l'argumentation n'importe pas ici, ce qui compte ce n'est que l'efficacité de l'argumentation.

4. *L'Argumentation et la contre argumentation – «La Cellule argumentative»*

L'interactivité du processus d'argumentation est responsable de la rencontre de ces deux séquences de type argumentatif: l'argumentation et la contre argumentation. Argumenter est proposer une thèse et la défendre par des arguments. Contre argumenter est rejeter une thèse et les arguments qui la soutiennent. L'enjeu de cette confrontation est la conviction de l'interlocuteur et la provocation d'une certaine façon d'agir.

Quand est-ce qu'on décide de déclencher la contre argumentation ? Au moment où l'un des partenaires de négociation considère ou, tout simplement, pour atteindre son but, simule que les arguments de l'interlocuteur paraissent inadéquats, manquent de conviction ou de pertinence, il le sanctionne par le lancement d'un contre discours. Mais, contre argumenter ne vaut pas que pour signaler l'inconsistance de l'argument du partenaire, mais aussi pour le transformer en sa faveur. En échange, cette action sera réalisée avec subtilité, sans mettre l'interlocuteur en position défavorable.

Du point de vue de la succession temporelle, la contre argumentation peut être définie comme le deuxième moment d'une structure argumentative. Les deux séquences: l'argumentation et la contre argumentation se succèdent en permanence et peuvent générer des situations quand on répond à une contre argumentation avec le même type de séquence, jusqu'au moment où l'un des interlocuteurs oriente la direction de la négociation vers d'autres aspects de la négociation ou il applique purement et simplement la tactique *timeout*.

Le choix des contre-arguments se fait après avoir évalué la pertinence des arguments formulés par le partenaire en faveur de sa thèse. La contre argumentation peut avoir plusieurs formes:

- *Le rejet des prémisses ou /et des conclusions* jugées comme fausses;

- *L'approche dissemblable ou la présentation des points de vue distincts, voire opposés, concernant une situation;*
- *La découverte des inconséquences dans les affirmations de l'interlocuteur;*
- *La découverte des contradictions dans l'enchaînement des arguments.*

Nous avons choisi pour cette partie de l'étude une négociation commerciale indirecte (par téléphone) de type spécialiste-spécialiste, entre le client bénéficiaire (A)-le potentiel acheteur, et le fournisseur (B)-le potentiel vendeur, dont l'objet est le contrat entre les deux sociétés, mais nous nous occuperons en particulier de la négociation du prix (les répliques 38-67). Le client est celui qui a l'initiative de l'appel téléphonique, ainsi que c'est lui-même qui dévoile en premier sa position, c'est-à-dire la thèse, dans la réplique 38-A: *ben: <Z QU'EST-CE QUE je peux dire↑ > les prix sont un PEU trop GRANDS↓*. Ce fait détermine le déclenchement simultané et presque spontané de la contre argumentation du fournisseur, dès la réplique suivante. L'atténuation de la contre argumentation destinée à la dernière proposition du fournisseur, c'est-à-dire son offre antérieure, par la reprise de la proposition initiale de celui-ci, constitue un indice du comportement stratégique et de la compétence communicative du client. L'agressivité du client, qui essaie de découvrir la limite supérieure de sa marge de prix et la limite inférieure de la marge du vendeur, et donc arriver au «territoire» où le rapport d'affaires (gagnant-gagnant) soit le plus avantageux pour les deux parties, provoque la combativité du vendeur qui lance ses arguments, comme réponse à cette attaque du client.

On se trouve dans une situation d'argumentation où son initiateur, dans notre cas le client, fait une contre proposition verbale à une proposition écrite de son interlocuteur. Par contre, on remarque que, même si le client propose sa thèse (l'argumentation), en étant celui qui devrait soutenir l'opinion avec des arguments, c'est le fournisseur qui propose des arguments pour la soutenance de sa proposition initiale et en défaveur de la contre proposition du client (la contre argumentation).

On va présenter dans ce qui suit (voir le Tableau II) la structure argumentative de la négociation, au niveau des thèses proposées (notées Arg.) et des arguments qui les soutiennent (marqués avec A ou B, en fonction des participants).

Tableau II: *L'Argumentation et la contre argumentation*

D (le Domaine de l'argumentation) – La Négociation commerciale	
A (Le Client)	B (Le Fournisseur)
La Contre Prop (la demande de ré-offre)	La Prop (l'offre écrite)
Relation d'argumentation	
Arg1 et Arg2 (les prix sont chers)	Arg1' (les prix sont corrects)
A 1- argument qui soutient Arg1	B 1.1- argument qui rejette Arg 1
A 2.1- argument qui soutient Arg2	B 1.2 et B 1.3- argument qui défends Arg 1'
A 2.2- argument qui soutient Arg2	B 2.1- argument qui soutient Arg 1'
A 2.3- argument qui soutient Arg2	B 2.2- argument qui soutient Arg 1'
	B 2.3- argument qui rejette Arg2

Il y a deux thèses que le client A propose et qui constituent la contre proposition à l'offre du fournisseur, c'est à dire le désaccord vis-à-vis de sa proposition, mais aussi l'affirmation de sa propre position (Arg1)-les prix sont chers: *ben: <Z QU'EST-CE QUE je peux dire↑ > les prix sont un PEU trop GRANDS↓* et la re-offre (Arg2)-les prix sont vingt pour cent plus chers (à voir le rôle des adverbes quantificateurs dans l'interaction: *au moins/autour de*):

50-A: ...deci ne-ar interesa niște prețuri mai mici **cel puțin** douăzeci_la_sută.
ramâne de văzut dacă: se poate discuta sau nu. à:
'...donc *nous sommes intéressés par des prix plus bas au moins de vingt pour cent*, il reste à voir si on peut discuter ou non. hein'

et

62-A: sigur.# <OF bun> ce să zic↓ ä: páf↓ rămâne de văzut dacă:
DUMNEAvoastră↑ puteți să faceți prețuri mai MICI io v-am ((bip)) # v-
am spus că: **CAM DOUĂZECI_la_sută ar↓ am putea să↓ cam la**
douăzeci la sută am putea să colaborăm
'*certainement. bien. qu'est-ce que je peux vous dire ben il reste à voir si vous pouvez faire des prix plus bas. je vous ai dit que autour de vingt pour cent nous pouvons autour de vingt pour cent nous pouvons collaborer*'

L'argument qui soutient la thèse Arg1 est:

A1- L'argument de *la quantité* du produit qu'il envisage d'acheter, en soulignant ce que ca représente pour le fournisseur en terme de *volume mensuel*, ce qui aurait dû influencer le prix, dans le sens de la baisse, comme effet du volume sur le coût de fabrication:

48-A: ä: e vorba totuși de o cantitate eu știu **CEL puțin de două sute de metri pătrați # pe: lună. # # cumpărați de la dumneavoastră↓ CEL puțin. adică de la unu: la:↓ unu sau două camioane pe lună. Sigur**
'*ben: il s'agit quand même d'une quantité je sais au moins de deux cents mètres carrés par mois au moins achetés de chez vous c'est-à-dire minimum un entre un et deux camions par mois SÛREMENT*'

La contre argumentation par laquelle le fournisseur rejette la thèse Arg1 se réalise par *la réfutation de la prémisse de l'actualité des prix déjà envoyés* et par le soutènement de l'argument du changement de prix, actualisé, en rapport avec l'ancien prix. Le fournisseur expose donc un point de vue différent, qui est fondé sur la «chose omise»:

B1.1- L'argument du *prix réactualisé, en conformité avec la «chose omise»*:

39-B: *deci eu v-am zis # prețurile acelea erau prețurile:: vechi. chiar acuma o intervenit o chestie care: noi n-am reușit s-o discutăm aicea↓ am omis-o atunci*
'*donc je vous ai dit # ces prix-là étaient les anciens prix. à présent même il est intervenu un truc que nous n'avons pas réussi à discuter ici nous l'avions omis à l'époque*'

Parmi les arguments qui soutiennent Arg 1' et qui rejettent, implicitement, Arg 1 nous mentionnons:

B1.2- L'argument de *la qualité du produit* propre sur le marché:

39-B: *o chestie care: noi n-am reușit s-o discutăm aicea ↓ am omis-o atunci. deci toate modelele care sînt acuma care li făc↑ # și pentru ⊥ deci și la cele care vi le-am dat oFERTA toate sînt cu: uși tâmplărești. deci ușile sînt mai solida făcuti: # nu sînt uși din alea simpli bătuti exact ca la: # dacă aveți pliantu în fați: un exemplu ar fi garaju. # care are uși bătuti. deci alea sunt uși simpli ↓ la: # casele astea care-a # făcut oferta acuma toate au uși: uși tâmplărești*

'donc tous les modèles qui existent actuellement que je fabrique # et dans le prix que j'ai fait et pour donc pour celles que je vous ai transmises l'offre tous ont **des portes menuisées donc les portes sont plus solides faites**. # ce ne sont pas des portes simples comme # si vous avez *la plaquette de présentation* en face un exemple ce serait le garage # qui a des portes simples. donc celles-là sont des portes simples. pour # ces maisons dont l'offre il avait fait # toutes ont des portes menuisées'

B1.3: l'argument *du prix special pour un client special* –versus-le prix pour les clients existants:

49-B: *nici o problemă. deci io v-am zis i: ă dacă vă spun: astea sunt prețuri care le-am făcut pentru dumneavoastră în funcție de discuțiile care le-am avut Alcea de ⊥ c-am înțeles dumneavoastră sînteți la-nceput ↑ vreți să intrați să promovați pe piața: # franceză am înțeles foarte bine dar după prețurile care eu le practic acuma cu: clienții care deja îi AM ↓ sînt MULT mai mari decât astea*

'les prix que j'ai fait pour vous en fonction des discussions qu'on a eues ici car j'ai compris que vous êtes au début vous voulez entrer sur le marché français j'ai très bien compris mais d'après les prix que je pratique maintenant avec mes clients ils sont beaucoup plus grands que ceux-ci'

En ce qui concerne l'argumentation Arg 2: *les prix sont vingt pour cent plus chers*, les arguments qui la soutiennent sont:

A 2.1: L'argument *du secteur/segment du marché* auquel ce produit est destiné:

50-A: # da. CE să zic ↓ numai că:: pîf sectorul de piața la care ne adresăm noi adică:: nu prea: nu prea: merge cu preturile astea. deci ne-ar interesa niște prețuri ma:i: mai mici. cel puțin douăzeci_la_sută

'oui qu'est-ce que puis-je dire ↓ rien que le secteur de marché auquel nous nous adressons hein c'est-à-dire ça ne marche pas avec ces prix-ci. alors nous serions intéressés par des prix plus petits au moins de vingt pour cent. il reste à voir si on peut discuter ou pas hein'

A 2.2: L'argument *des coûts supplémentaires omis, comme le transport* du produit:

52-A: # mda. numai că ↑ *îf* < p na > **mai este transportul de adăugat** ↑ [este: 'oui seulement qu'il y a encore le transport à ajouter']

A 2.3: L'argument des autres coûts supplémentaires, pour améliorer la qualité du produit:

54-A: *acoperisul* ↑ *știți ca sint*: ⊥ e u:n: ↑ **cartonu_ala care nu este egzact cel pe care-l aveți dumneavoastra**
'il y a aussi le toit vous savez que ce sont il y a le carton qui n'est pas exactement ce que vous avez'

Les arguments de réfutation constituent en fait des arguments en faveur de la thèse Arg 1':

B 2.1: L'argument de la comparaison du produit propre avec d'autres produits du marché très compétitif sur lequel le client a l'intention d'entrer, dans le but de relever les avantages de son produit, en terme de qualité et de prix. Le rôle des modalisateurs et des connecteurs argumentatifs est essentiel pour l'avancement et la progression du sophisme, en style de démonstration:

51-B: *eu vă spun: sincer eu acuma eu știu exact și cum: cum: i-n franța am fost de-atâtea ori. vă dau un exemplu de exemplu casuța asta BIANca care# IOU v-am făcut prețu: de șapte_sute_treijdoi_di_euro* ↓ *în franța sî vindi cu: o_mie_și_ceVA_di_euro* ↓ **deci** prețu' este aproape dublu. iar ⊥ și bineînțeles care-i î: produs care trece pri:n: # doi sau trei: intermediari. **în schimb** (conector argumentativ) *dumneavoastră dacă lucrați direct* ↑ **deci** o s-aveți succes **MULT** *mai MAri* ↑ **cî** vindeți direct clientului. și prețu o să fii **mai MIC** *dicât în magazin. # eu NU CRED* că prețurile_astea sînt: sînt mari. 'je vous dit **franchement** je sais **exactement** à présent et comme en France je suis allé plusieurs fois **je vous donne un exemple** par exemple cet abri bianca que je vous ai fait le prix de sept cent trente-deux_euros en France il se vend à plus de mille euros' donc le prix est presque double et et **bien sûr** c'est un produit qui passe dans les mains de deux ou trois intermédiaires **c'est-à-dire** que si vous travaillez en direct **alors** vous aurez beaucoup plus du succès **car** vous vendez en direct au client et le prix sera plus petit que dans le magasin **je ne crois pas** que ces prix-ci sont sont grands'

B 2.2: l'argument du caractere limite de l'offre et des couts supplementaires que suppose la demande du client:

55-B: **EGZACT** ↑ *asta vroiam să discutăm. pentru că ieu dacă: ie să iau ALL fel de carton* ↓ *deci d-ela care spuneți dumneavoastră î: gen tegola cum e la noi* ↑ **ăla ie MULT** *mai scump decît ăsta care-l am ieu [aici*
'Exactement ↑ c'est ce que je voulais discuter avec vous. Car s'il faut que j'achète un autre type de carton ↓ c'est-à-dire celui dont vous parliez: genre tegola comme il existe chez nous ↑ celui-là **coûte beaucoup plus cher que celui que je fournis**'

L'argument de réfutation de la thèse Arg2:

B 2.3: *L'argument de l'atteinte d'une limite de prix beaucoup trop basse, par la proposition du client avec sa contre offre, conformément à l'auto négociation du fournisseur, qui la juge inacceptable pour lui et qui propose une autre issue:*

63-B: ((x)) *deci la douăzeci la sută din:# să iau așa un exemplu deci la primu model di căsuță↑# din șapte_sute_treijdoi <J să dăm jos> # # douăzeci_la_suti↑ asta ar însemna căsuța să fie la șase_sute_zece_euro. este FOARti:↓ mic prețu adică nu mă-ncadrez io. nu: NU pot.# # < I nu știu cum↓*

'alors si je calcule vingt pour cent de je prends par exemple pour le premier modèle d'abri de sept cent trente-deux vingt pour cent vingt pour cent ça veut dire que l'abri devrait être à sept cent dix c'est *c'est très petit le prix* c'est-à-dire *je ne peux pas m'encadrer je ne peux pas # # je ne sais pas comment*'

La première concession et le premier signe de cession du territoire appartiennent au fournisseur, qui fait une proposition concernant la recherche d'une solution de collaboration, mais qui suggère aussi une résolution, par le changement de la configuration du produit, mais qui ne satisfait pas le client:

63-B: *dacă vreți↑ deci putem și: cautăm ALTĂ soluție↑ altfel și: o vedem:↑ aceleași tipuri de căsuți și: le facem mai simplu cumva↑ și: astfel putem și ni-ncadrăm în preț*
'c'est-à-dire si vous voulez ben nous pouvons chercher une autre solution autrement les mêmes types d'abris nous pouvons les faire plus simples et comme ça nous pouvons rentrer dans le prix...'

Dans cette séquence de négociation le fournisseur est celui qui contre argumente, donc qui montre et qui soutient l'intérêt commun pour la collaboration des deux parties. D'ailleurs, nous observons une certaine *étapisation du contre discours* du fournisseur:

- a) Par la manifestation de la compréhension vis-à-vis des besoins du partenaire et de l'empathie face aux intérêts de celui-ci, le fournisseur *semble passer du côté de son interlocuteur* (la demande d'appeler sur le téléphone fixe, la compréhension vis-à-vis d'un partenaire qui se trouve à ses débuts et qui, en plus, a comme objectif d'entrer sur un marché étranger);
- b) Il donne l'impression qu'il attend n'importe quel argument tout simplement pour avoir l'occasion de répondre et de *faire connaître son point de vue* (prix nouveaux vs. prix anciens, dus à la « chose omise »);
- c) *Il semble mettre en évidence le point faible de l'argumentation du client et il met en doute les arguments présentés*, par le soutènement de l'argument de la bonne connaissance du marché français et par la présentation de l'algorithme de l'affaire de « succès » du client (*je ne crois pas que ces prix-ci soient soient grands*);
- d) A la fin, il *semble ne pas soutenir en totalité son opinion, car il devrait présenter l'offre initiale comme étant la meilleure solution pour les besoins du client*. Par contre,

il propose une solution alternative, celle du changement de la configuration du produit.

En vertu de cette dernière observation, nous pouvons affirmer que le fournisseur perd en quelque sorte de son terrain initial, justement parce qu'on ne dirait pas que ses arguments influencent le client, qui se maintient dans un registre objectif d'argumentation et qui garde son point de vue concernant la réduction de prix demandée dès le début. Ce fait détermine le fournisseur à se focaliser sur d'autres aspects de la négociation. De point de vue formel, la contre argumentation peut être reconnue par des indices modaux, tels que: *franchement, exactement, je ne crois pas*.

L'issue de la négociation est prévisible au moment où le fournisseur accepte quelques-uns des arguments du client, sous la réserve des discussions futures et il prend l'initiative de réaffirmer sa position, de reconsidérer la contreproposition du client et de refaire sa proposition initiale, en laissant ouverte la voie des négociations:

145-B: <_p da>. de:ci↓ haideți ca ieu: O: să mai studiez o dată oferta asta↓ și:
 vă sun: ↓ # în cursul zilei de astăzi #vă sun și: mai discutăm. da↑
 'oui donc voilà **je vais étudier encore une fois cette offre-ci et je vous rappellerai aujourd'hui je vous rappellerai et on en discutera oui**'↑

L'effet de la contre argumentation dans la négociation commerciale semble ne pas être celui attendu dans un contexte communicatif neutre, d'une conversation standard, en dépit de la pertinence des arguments qui défendent ou réfutent une thèse, une idée ou une action, ou en dépit de leur adéquation au contexte. Le caractère diplomatique et subtil de la contre argumentation peut être relevé aussi par le manque de véhémence de la confrontation directe, par la finesse de l'introduction des arguments dans l'interaction, mais aussi par le choix des voies indirectes, implicites, pour la transmission du message à l'interlocuteur. La modification du point de vue soutenu par l'un des interlocuteurs n'est pas très visible au niveau discursif et, bien sûr, dissimulée, mais celle-ci devient évidente au niveau perlocutionnaire et, ce n'est pas obligé que ce soit dans le cadre de l'interaction courante, mais dans les interactions suivantes.

Par rapport aux types d'arguments propres à la rhétorique antique, *les arguments* du fournisseur sont aussi d'*ordre objectif*, liés au *logos*, ceux-là qui font référence à l'objet externe à négociier-dans ce cas, le produit (sa qualité par rapport aux autres produits du marché- B 1.1 ou le coût de fabrication- B 2.3), que d'*ordre subjectif*, liés au *pathos*, concernant le client (la politique de la compagnie vis-à-vis d'un client nouveau – B 1.2) et à l'*ethos*, connexes à soi-même (sa propre expérience et sa compétence professionnelle-B 2.1). Ainsi, par la relation de type personnel que B établit en rapport avec A, par le biais des arguments B 1.2 et B 2.1, se produit le passage de l'argumentation à la persuasion (vanter son produit et mettre en jeu la crédibilité personnelle).

Les arguments du client sont exclusivement d'ordre objectif, liés au *logos*. Ceux-ci font référence au message et sont liés directement aux trois facteurs importants impliqués dans la réussite de la relation commerciale: le *fournisseur* (par la quantité qui sera achetée-A 1),

le *produit*, qui doit être compétitif (les coûts supplémentaires omis-A 2.2 et la façon de présentation sur le marché-A 2.3) et le *client final* (le consommateur, le destinataire, identifié par le *secteur de marché*-en fait, le segment du marché A 2.1). Du point de vue de la disposition des arguments, nous remarquons que les deux interlocuteurs lancent les arguments et les contre-arguments les plus importants au début de la conversation.

La création du discours argumentatif est tant un art qu'une science, et l'appel aux arguments de type subjectif ou objectif reflète un certain type de comportement de l'interlocuteur vis-à-vis de son partenaire, mais aussi sa compétence communicative. Car l'argument est premièrement un moyen d'obtenir un certain effet sur le récepteur, et l'accent se déplace sur la disposition des arguments, sur l'organisation stratégique en vue d'obtention de l'effet intentionné, mais aussi sur leur cohérence dans le cadre général du discours. Tous ces aspects sont importants car ils contribuent à l'acceptation et à la validation des arguments comme pertinents, dans la démarche de défense ou de réfutation d'une opinion. N'importe quel protagoniste peut faire appel à divers types d'arguments et il peut construire son discours argumentatif tel qu'il considère être le plus efficace pour son intérêt propre.

Tout comme les orateurs antiques qui apprenaient cette science et qui utilisaient un cahier propre où ils gardaient l'inventaire d'arguments, du type-*topoi ou lieux communs*, les négociateurs de notre époque font appel à un set d'arguments, adaptés à la situation communicative respective. Cet *inventaire* contient des arguments objectifs liés à: l'*objet externe* à *négocier* (le prix, la qualité, la quantité, le délai et les conditions de livraison, les spécifications techniques du produit etc.), *celui qui a l'objet de la négociation* (la marge limitée de négociation du prix, directement liée au coût de fabrication), mais aussi des arguments subjectifs (la crédibilité et l'autorité professionnelle), *celui qui désire l'objet de la négociation* (par des références au produit: la quantité – le volume acheté; la qualité ou les autres coûts supplémentaires, mais aussi au destinataire final – le consommateur). C'est au négociateur d'anticiper les contre-arguments de l'interlocuteur et de les transformer en avantages pour son argumentation.

5. Conclusions

L'argumentation dans les négociations commerciales est une forme d'expression de l'intérêt pour l'affaire, mais aussi du respect pour l'interlocuteur. Son rôle est incontestable dans la conversion de l'intérêt propre (MOI) en intérêt commun (NOUS). Cette transformation se passe subtilement, avec diplomatie, car la protection de l'image de l'autre est essentielle pour la réussite de la négociation, mais aussi pour la continuation d'une relation d'affaires à long terme. En conséquence, il est important de créer une image pour soi-même, par la minimisation de l'intérêt propre dans l'affaire, mais aussi pour l'autre, d'augmenter son intérêt, en montrant une emphase appuyée de ses besoins et de ses avantages de l'affaire.

L'efficacité de l'argumentation peut être mesurée par l'effet que les arguments produisent sur l'interlocuteur, c'est-à-dire la conviction d'agir d'une certaine manière, qui conduise

à l'obtention de l'accord réciproque avantageux. Dans ce sens est révélatrice la «cellule argumentative» (Plantin 1995), mais surtout la façon d'articulation de ces deux séquences argumentatives.

Nous remarquons le caractère diplomatique et subtil de la contre argumentation, caractérisée par le manque de véhémence de la confrontation directe, par la finesse de la disposition des arguments dans l'interaction, mais aussi par le choix des façons d'expression indirectes/implicites pour transmettre le message à l'interlocuteur. La modification du point de vue propre, même si elle n'est pas très visible au niveau discursif et, bien sûr, dissimulée par un négociateur habile, devient évidente au niveau perlocutionnaire et, ceci n'est pas obligé que ce soit dans le cadre de l'interaction courante, mais dans les interactions suivantes, car une négociation finit rarement après une seule conversation, souvent se déroulant à plusieurs reprises.

Indifféremment de la manière dont se constitue l'argumentation et se présentent les arguments, l'argumentation est un moyen par lequel chacun des interlocuteurs fait connaître sa position concernant l'objet de la négociation, mais en plus, comme celle-ci conduit à la continuation de la négociation, c'est la preuve indubitable que les négociateurs souhaitent arriver à un accord commun, avantageux pour tous.

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THE FOUR STAGES OF CRITICAL DISCUSSION AND THE MOST FREQUENT SPEECH ACTS IN THE LETTER TO SHAREHOLDERS

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In this paper the concepts of written persuasive interaction, stages of critical discussion and of speech acts will be highlighted with reference to the letter to shareholders included in banks' annual reports. On the basis of Keller's and of the pragma-dialecticians' theories, I will focus on the introductory and representative functions of the letter, and on the role played by the stages of confrontation, opening, argumentation and conclusion as well as on the role of speech acts in the persuasive process. The examples quoted in this paper are extracted from the letter to shareholders drawn up by the most important European and northern American banks. The examples, all in the English version, are provided to clarify theoretical principles and to show that the theories considered can be applied successfully even to specialized texts.

Introduction

Following Keller (2004), my contribution will point out the two main roles played by the letter to shareholders, i.e. the opening and the representative functions. These are of crucial importance in the persuasive process: as a matter of fact, thanks to its two main functions (Keller 2004), the letter is a strongly persuasive text: on the one hand, the opening function gives birth to the first contact between addressers and addressees; on the other hand, the representative one stimulates positive images and feelings in the readers.

Furthermore, on the basis of the pragma-dialectical model of critical discussion (van Eemeren *et al.* 1993), my paper is focused on the four stages into which the content of argumentative texts can be divided, i.e. confrontation, opening, argumentation and conclusion, as well as on the distribution and role of speech acts in argumentative communication. In particular, the letter to shareholders is taken as an example of argumentative text in order to show that the Dutch theory can be successfully applied even to specialized fields of knowledge.

In accordance with the School of Amsterdam, this paper will show that the four stages are not always present together, not even in the same order, and that some speech acts can be more easily found in the letter to shareholders, which should be considered as a short but complete part of a longer discussion going on between banks and stakeholders in annual re-

ports. Moreover, the argumentative role of speech acts, as well as their relationship with the introductory and persuasive functions, will be highlighted.

The paper is divided into three main parts: in the first one the position, roles and contents of the letter, as well as the relationship between roles and content will be taken into consideration. In the second part I will sum up the Dutch theory of the stages of critical discussion and will apply it to the letter to shareholders; the third section will be focused on the speech acts and on their influence on the outcome of the interaction.

1. *The letter to shareholders: position, content and roles*

First of all, I would like to say a few words about the content of the letter and about its structure. After that, I will consider the roles of the letter and finally I will deal with the relationship between roles and content.

1.1 The letter: position and content

The letter to shareholders is a rather short text (1 to 4 pages) placed at the beginning of annual reports, along with other sections such as the financial highlights and the company's managerial structure.

The content of letter can be divided into three main parts:

1. the initial greetings, which occupy the first line, and are addressed explicitly to shareholders, e.g. "Dear Shareholders" (Commerzbank 2003) or to a more general public, e.g. "Ladies and Gentlemen" (Deutsche Bank 2002), "Dear Fellow Shareholders and Clients" (Merrill Lynch 2003), "Ladies and Gentlemen, dear shareholders and business partners" (Dresdner Bank Group, 2000). Although the letter is known as a "letter to shareholders", in reality it is addressed not only to shareholders but also to workers, other banks, the media, analysts, savers, and to people who don't even know the bank in question. In a few words, the letter is addressed to all those people who are not necessarily shareholders, but who can become shareholders if they are positively impressed by the institutional results and the communicative strategy. That is why the letter to shareholders should be called "letter to stakeholders": as shareholders own the bank and are the decision-makers, they are surely the most important addressees. Nevertheless, stakeholders in general also influence the bank's results and policies, because they can decide to invest more or less in the bank, and they can judge an institution to be more trustworthy than another one thus affecting the public opinion accordingly;
2. the body, which includes the business review, the description of the social and the economic conditions, the company's policies and the future outlook;

3. the final greetings (including thanks, forecasts, promises and the chairman's signature) constitute the last paragraph of the letter and highlight the chairman's presence to make clear that the letter is not anonymous and that the bank has a human face, someone who people can refer to.

1.2 The roles of the letter and their relationship with the content

According to Keller (2004), the letter to shareholders plays two main roles:

1. the opening function, which is evident thanks to the position of the letter, placed at the beginning of annual reports, and to the strategic presentation of the textual content, which should facilitate the reading process;
2. the representative function, highlighted by the information supplied and the way it is supplied. In fact, the content must mirror the institutional reality, and the author of the letter must faithfully represent the bank, so that readers can feel that what is communicated is true and that the bank is trustworthy.

Now, I would like to investigate the following points:

- a. the two functions make the letter one of the most important texts included in annual reports, and they make it an example of dialogic interaction;
- b. the opening and representative roles are performed by all the three parts the letter is divided into.

As regards the first point, the letter is a crucial part of the interaction going on between companies and stakeholders, because it puts the two parts in touch with each other, and it must be able to keep this contact alive. As Keller (2004: 122) points out, "[d]er erste Text des Geschäftsberichts hat einen entscheidenden Einfluss darauf, ob der Leser neugierig wird auf das Unternehmen und damit auf die Lektüre, oder ob er die Broschüre gelangweilt wieder zur Seite legt". Moreover, Keller states that the letter must supply readers with a positive image of the chairman representing the institution. If the letter is able to attract the addressees' attention and keep it alive, and if it is able to supply a positive image of the company, the public will go on reading the report and will be more inclined to trust the addresser. On the one hand, the initial greetings play the opening function, as they establish the very first contact between the bank and the readers; on the other hand, the body and the final greetings play the representative function, as they give the majority of information and this must be given in a strategic way, so that addressees can mentally reconstruct a clear and positive image of the bank.

The letter is an example of dialogic interaction between banks and readers: the two parts strive to reach their goals and to satisfy their needs, i.e. persuading stakeholders to trust banks and getting the right information to make decisions, respectively. As banks' and stakeholders' needs differ from each other, a balance must be reached so that communication can lead to positive results. Consequently, a communicative interaction takes place, where addressers state their points of view and support them with *ad hoc* arguments to persuasively answer questions made by addressees, as the next section of my paper will show.

As for the second point, all the three parts of the letter perform the opening or the persuasive function. Thanks to the initial greetings banks get in touch with their readers through an explicit address to a general though identifiable public. The body of the letter performs the representative function: it can be taken as the first, broad answer to the stakeholders' questions about the past and present situation, and about future perspectives and aims. While reading this part, the addressees form a mental image of the writer and, consequently, of the bank. The final greetings include thanks to shareholders, forecasts, promises, references to future contacts between banks and readers and the chairman's signature. This final section of the letter tries to improve the institutional image by stressing the bank's willingness to face difficulties and its confidence in the future. Furthermore, it completes the opening function by promising a standing contact between the parts and by providing the author's signature. As already affirmed in paragraph 1.1, the author's signature makes the text more human and approachable, because it gives an identity to the person who greets the addressees at the beginning of the letter thus completing the text and making the bank identifiable as an entity with a human face.

2. The letter as a critical discussion and its four stages

As stated in the paragraph above, an argumentative, critical kind of communication takes place in the letter to shareholders: in fact, banks try to conquer new clients and to improve the relationship with old-time clients by affecting their minds with strategic points of view and arguments. The communicative process often goes through the four stages identified by the pragma-dialecticians, i.e. confrontation, opening, argumentation and conclusion.

To sum up the Dutch theory concerning the stages, I will quote the representatives of the School of Amsterdam (van Eemeren *et al.* 1993: 26-27), who point out that in the first stage, i.e. confrontation, "the disagreement is identified through some form of expression: it becomes clear that there is a standpoint which meets with doubt or contradiction". In the second stage, i.e. opening, "the parties try to find out whether there is sufficient common ground to make resolution-oriented discussion profitable", while as regards argumentation "[t]he protagonist adduces arguments for the purpose of overcoming doubts about the standpoint". Finally, the concluding stage "fixes the outcome of the discussion: either a resolution or a decision that no resolution can be reached".

The theory of the stages can be successfully applied even to specialized texts like letters to shareholders in banks' annual reports, as I will show taking a letter from Commerzbank Annual Report 2002 as an example. The most meaningful words and expression will be highlighted in bold.

During confrontation, the involvement of two parts (bank and stakeholders) becomes clear:

Dear Shareholders, **We** know that **you** cannot be content with the picture presented of Commerzbank.

The personal pronouns differentiate the addresser from the addressees, thus giving birth to two groups whose different needs and desires become clearly distinguishable both in the letter and in the whole report.

At the opening stage the bank takes on the role of protagonist, and states its willingness to discuss crucial matters:

This reality is something **we are actively tackling; we are doing all that we can to alter this picture, to brighten it up and to show it in a better light** with the aid of convincing facts [...].

At the argumentation stage the bank puts forward standpoints and arguments to back points of view in a successful way, as it will be demonstrated in the following quotation, whose first part is the bank's standpoint, and whose second part is an argument supporting the standpoint:

More than ever, we are convinced that any promising business model for a bank rests upon long-term relationships with their customers. [...] In the interest of providing information as soon as possible, we presented our provisional figures for the 2002 financial year to you and to the public at large at the start of February, and thus very early – not least in order to take the wind out of sails of speculation.

The argument highlights the efforts made by the bank to communicate with its stakeholders. As good communication is the basis of long-term relationships, the argument quoted here proves the bank's belief of the importance of excellent relations with customers.

In the conclusive part of the letter, the definite conquest of the readers cannot be clearly perceived because the letter is a written kind of interaction, and the addressees' involvement differs from the one in oral communication, where protagonist and antagonist are present at the same time and can actively express their standpoints, arguments, and decide who wins. Anyway, while concluding the letter the addresser tries to strengthen the idea that it is worth the readers' trust; what is more, the relationship between the parts and the bank's future success are so strongly highlighted that the bank's standpoints seem to prevail:

Given our **sound liquidity position and good capital base, we remain committed to the goal of achieving better figures soon and, as a result, of being able to present a more attractive picture of Commerzbank**, despite the persistently difficult conditions. I hope that **I will be able to report further progress** to you at our Annual General Meeting in the Frankfurt Festhalle on May 30, 2003.

Despite the completeness of the letter quoted above, it must be pointed out that, as stated by the pragma-dialecticians (van Eemeren, Grootendorst & Snoeck Henkemans 2002: 27) "[t]he parties often do not go through all four of the discussion stages or not in the same order". As a matter of fact, in the letters to shareholders the four stages are not always clearly distinguishable or presented in the order of the ideal model proposed by the School of Am-

sterdam. Anyway, the examples quoted on the previous pages show that pragma-dialectics offers theoretical principles that can be used to understand how argumentation works not only in everyday contexts, but also in specific fields.

In the next section of my paper I will go through the most frequent speech acts and the way they lead to a change of mind.

3. *The most frequent speech acts in the letter to shareholders*

In the paragraphs of this section I will deal with the way how speech acts are considered by the School of Amsterdam.

With the help of van Eemeren and Grootendorst (1992) quotations, first I will sum up the distinction between “*elementary*” and “*complex*” speech acts. Then I will briefly consider their division of speech acts into five kinds (assertives, directives, commissives, expressives and declaratives), and finally I will apply this division to the letter to shareholders and consider the role of speech acts in the argumentative interaction between bank and readers.

3.1 Speech acts: elementary and complex

Before investigating the role of speech acts in argumentative texts like letters to shareholders, I will consider an important distinction made by van Eemeren and Grootendorst (1992: 29) between “*elementary* speech acts” and “*complex* speech acts”. The authors affirm that argumentative discourse taken as a whole is a complex speech act because its communicative function takes place at a high, textual level instead of at sentence level. In particular, they clarify their theory through three points (1992: 28-29):

- 1) First, unlike assertions, requests, promises, and so on which can consist of only a single sentence, argumentation, in principle, consists of more than one sentence. [...] Sometimes an argument, at first sight, appears to consist of just one sentence and is still a complete defense of a standpoint, but on closer inspection, it will then always be found that part of the argumentation has been left unexpressed.

In addition, the authors state that

- 2) [s]econd, without being indirect speech acts, the utterances that go to make up the argumentation all have two communicative functions at the same time:

these two functions are a) the argumentative function that characterizes the whole interaction as argumentative, i.e. defending a standpoint, and b) the function that is peculiar to each utterance, i.e. assertion, promise, statement, etc.

Finally, pragma-dialecticians highlight that

- 3) Third, the speech act constellation that constitutes the argumentation cannot stand by itself. It must be connected in a particular way to another speech act: the speech act in which the standpoint is expressed that is supported by the argumentation. Speech acts such as promises, statements, and requests need not be linked to another speech act in such a special way.

And this is one of the reasons why van Eemeren and Grootendorst affirm that “[t]he differences between argumentation and these other speech acts can be better understood when it is seen that argumentation has not a communicative function at the sentence level but at some higher textual level”.

3.2 Five kinds of speech acts in argumentation

On the basis of Searle’s theory, van Eemeren and Grootendorst (1992) distinguish five kinds of speech acts, which play a crucial role in the outcome of the ideal argumentative discussion, and which can occur more frequently at some stages instead at some others:

- 1) assertives, such as assertions, claims, assurances and suppositions, which are used at confrontation, argumentation and at concluding stage. As the authors affirm (1992: 38) “[a]t the confrontation stage, they can express the standpoint at issue; at the argumentation stage, the argumentation in defense of that standpoint; at the concluding stage, the outcome of the discussion”;
- 2) directives, such as requests, orders and recommendations. Directive speech acts are less frequent than assertives: in fact van Eemeren and Grootendorst (1992: 38) state that “[o]nly those directive speech acts play a part in a critical discussion that challenge the protagonist to defend his standpoint (confrontation stage) or to give argumentation in favor of his standpoint (argumentation stage)”;
- 3) commissives, i.e. promises and agreements, are very frequent in argumentative discourse and perform different functions depending on the stage. As pragma-dialecticians point out (1992: 39)

Commissive speech acts can fulfil several roles in a critical discussion. At the confrontation and in the concluding stage, they can be used for accepting or not accepting a standpoint; at the opening stage, for accepting the challenge to defend a standpoint, for deciding to start the discussion, for agreeing on the distribution of roles and the discussion rules, and for agreeing on how to close the discussion; at the argumentation stage, for accepting or not accepting argumentation; in the concluding stage, finally, they can be used for deciding to start a new discussion.

- 4) expressives, such as congratulations and expressions of feelings in general, are not considered crucial in critical discussion because they “do not lead to any specific commitment that is relevant to resolving the dispute” (van Eemeren & Grootendorst 1992: 39). Anyway, they can influence the persuasive process and lead the parts to change their minds. As van Eemeren and Grootendorst state, “expressives can also encourage or stimulate a meaningful exchange of ideas”;
- 5) declaratives are those speech acts that change a situation, i.e. declarations of war or peace, christening, etc. Pragma-dialecticians (1992: 40) distinguish “nonusage” declaratives which “are performed in more or less institutionalized contexts such as court proceedings, meetings, and religious ceremonies, in all of which it is clear who is authorized to perform a particular declarative” from “usage declaratives, such as explications, elucidations, amplifications and definitions” whose purpose is “to facilitate or increase the listener’s comprehension of other speech acts by indicating how they should be interpreted”. Like expressives,

nonusage declaratives make no direct contribution to the resolution of the dispute. At best, they can lead to the settlement of a dispute, not to its resolution. They, therefore, do not play a part in a critical discussion.

On the other hand, usage declaratives are crucial at different stages:

At the confrontation stage, they can unmask spurious verbal disputes; at the opening stage, they can clarify confusion about the starting points or the discussion rules; at the argumentation stage, they can prevent premature acceptance or nonacceptance; and at the concluding stage, they can prevent ambiguous resolutions.

After summing up the pragma-dialecticians’ differentiation among speech acts and the relations between speech acts and stages of critical discussion, I will investigate which speech acts more frequently appear in the letter to shareholders and what role they perform in the persuasive process.

3.3 Speech acts in the letter to shareholders

Following the Dutch theory, in the letter to shareholders two main groups of speech acts can be recognized:

- 1) the complex speech act of argumentation, by means of which banks express their standpoints and back them with strategic arguments;
- 2) elementary speech acts, i.e. assertions, promises, expressions of joy or worry, which constitute the argumentation taken as a whole.

As regards this last group, the main speech acts in letters to shareholders are:

- a) assertives. The chairman puts forward standpoints and arguments:

In all our measures it was important for us not to overtax or place undue strain upon our relationships with customers – in other words, the very basis of our business – but, on the contrary, to build upon these. More than ever, we are convinced that any promising business model for a bank rests upon long-term relationships with its customers (Commerzbank 2002)

Our considerable progress, however, is still not reflected in our share price. The main reason is that the Deutsche Bank share has remained linked to the depressed tendency of the German equities market (Deutsche Bank, 2002: 6)

- b) commissives. Banks commit themselves to do something or to discuss certain matters:

Given our sound liquidity position and good capital base, we remain committed to the goal of achieving better figures soon and, as a result, of being able to present a more attractive picture of Commerzbank, despite difficult conditions (Commerzbank 2002)

At the same time, the Group intends to exploit all growth opportunities that may arise in new markets and new business, continuing to create development options for the future (Gruppo SanpaoloImi, 2001: 11)

- c) expressives. Expressions of joy, sorrow, worry or gratitude are particularly frequent in letters to shareholders, where chairmen show their human face and the human side of banks:

We are not content either, because we find the darker tones of this picture exaggerated and feel that our share price is out of touch with reality (Commerzbank 2002)

We are also extremely proud of recently being named overall winner and financial industry leader in the *Financial Times* “Best of European Business” awards (UBS 2005: 3)

- d) usage declaratives. These are not so frequent as the other speech acts, but they are sometimes used to define words or to precise expressions that have already been used or that will be used in the text. I will highlight usage declaratives in bold:

More than ever, we are convinced that any promising business model for a bank rests upon long-term relationships with its customers. **Put in contemporary terms, this means** that we continue to see the consistent relationship-banking approach as superior to deal-based transaction banking (Commerzbank 2002)

Another key trend is the increasing demand from clients for investment banks to combine capital and advice. **In other words**, investment banks are expected to commit more of their own capital when executing transactions (Goldman Sachs 2005: 4)

The four kinds of speech acts can be found all through the letter, and they play a very important role in the persuasive process:

- by means of assertives banks state their standpoints, and support them with appropriate arguments;
- through commissives banks take on the role of protagonists, thus stressing what will be done to convince readers that banks are worth their trust;
- through expressives banks can be perceived as human institutions that are interested not only in economic and financial results but also in their stakeholders' needs. As van Eemeren *et al.* (1993: 29) point out, "[e]xpressives [...] are not argumentatively relevant acts. They do not create any commitments for the speaker or writer which are directly relevant to the resolution of a dispute". In spite of this, in the letters there is plenty of expressions of positive and negative feelings, which help banks sound closer to people thus facilitating the contact between the parts. As stated by Keller (2004: 124) with reference to the representative role of the letter,

Außerdem ist der Brief an die Aktionäre der Ort, wo der Vorstandsvorsitzende seine menschliche Qualitäten dokumentieren kann, denn auch dies ist ein Beitrag zur Vertrauensbildung. Das heißt nicht, dass er autobiografisch über seinen Charakter berichten soll; es heißt vielmehr, dass dieser sich ihm Text zeigen muss. Tugenden lassen sich nicht mitteilen, sie müssen sich zeigen. Der Text muss die Person, die »hinter« ihm steht, verkörpern.

- by exploiting usage declaratives chairmen "announce what a speaker is going to mean in using some expression or to clarify what a speaker meant in having used some expression" (van Eemeren *et al.* 1993: 30) thus avoiding misunderstanding. In letters to shareholders this kind of speech act is normally used not to specify how a speech act must be interpreted, i.e. it does not say whether an expression used in the text is a promise, a statement, a proposal, etc., but it is used to rephrase something written before and that can be misinterpreted.

Conclusions

The present paper focused on the two main functions of the letter to shareholders, i.e. the opening and representative roles, as well as on the stages of critical discussion the letter is divided into and on the most frequent and strategic speech acts exploited in the letter.

Apart from pointing out why the letter is so strategic a text in conquering new customers, the aim of my contribution was to show that the Dutch model can be applied even to specialized texts, and that the same model is helpful to understand how devices such as the choice of certain content and of specific speech acts play a crucial role in attracting the addressees' attention and in influencing their mind. The choice of the letter to shareholders was due to its importance as a short but necessary part of a longer text, i.e. the annual report, aimed at providing readers with strategic information supposed to make readers change their opinion and behaviour.

The first section of my paper was devoted to the opening and representative roles of the letter: thanks to them, the letter can be considered as an example of an implicit dialogic interac-

tion between two parts, one of which (banks) directly addresses to its counterpart. As a matter of fact, the writer explicitly greets the readers (initial greetings), it tries to satisfy the readers' want of knowledge by providing information that answer the addressees' question (body of the letter), and it finally refers to future contacts (final greetings). The text, where only the writer's voice can be perceived, is placed at the beginning of the whole report to present the bank to a vast public (opening function) and to portray its reality (representative function).

After summing up the main principles of pragma-dialectics regarding the division of the critical discussion into four stages, the second section highlighted that in letters to shareholders the four stages, i.e. confrontation, opening, argumentation and conclusion, can be recognized, even if they do not always appear together or in the order proposed by the School of Amsterdam.

The third and last part of my paper was focused on the speech acts considered by pragma-dialecticians, i.e. assertives, directives, commissives, expressives and declaratives divided into nonusage and usage declaratives, and on the most frequent and strategic speech acts in the letter to shareholders. I highlighted that in the letter assertives, commissives and expressives are the most frequently occurring acts. Assertives are used to state standpoints and to support them with appropriate arguments; by means of commissives the addresser takes on the role of protagonist in the discussion and states what it wants to discuss about, what it wants to do in the future. Expressives are massively exploited so that banks can share feelings with readers and they can be considered as human entities. Usage declaratives are used, though not so often as the other speech acts, when banks want to clarify or precise the meaning of words and expression thus avoiding misunderstanding. Directives and usage declaratives are not normally used in the letter to shareholders, where acts like commands, threats, prohibitions do not appear, and which are not so formal as to include specific set phrases such as naming or declarations.

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ARGUMENTATIVE DIALOGUES IN MERGERS & ACQUISITIONS (M&As): EVIDENCE FROM INVESTORS AND ANALYSTS CONFERENCE CALLS

RUDI PALMIERI

1. *Introduction*

The relevance of public companies' external communication has particularly increased in the last years (cf. Corvi 2000:41). Besides the more and more pressing request for information disclosure by market's regulation and supervision bodies, companies have progressively realized the importance to openly communicate for building and maintaining long-term relationships (Snehota 2004, Lerbinger 2006) with the financial market community (shareholders and investors in general) and, more in general, with the wider public of stakeholders, i.e. «people who are linked to an organization because they and the organization have consequences on each other» (Grunig & Repper 1992: 125), like employees, unions, customers, competitors, and governments¹. In outlining companies' communications towards the markets, a distinction has to be drawn between *mandatory disclosure*, imposed by regulation, and *voluntary* – or *discretionary* – disclosure (cf. Verrecchia 1983; Clinch & Verrecchia 1997). Public companies must disclose information in order to guarantee a transparent, fair and efficient market, for the sake of investors, savers and other economical actors involved. At the same time, companies need and want to disclose information about their business in order to attract investors, who provide funds, and customers, who buy their products and services. A dilemma arises for companies, tensed between the desire to communicate in order to raise capital and create trustworthiness in front of the market and the desire – restricted by disclosure rules – to retain information in order to obtain competitive advantage, which is an essential condition for making profit (cf. Barone-Adesi 2002).

Thus, the corporate financial communication intervenes in crucial moments of the company's business activities and relevantly contributes to their realization.

Indeed, large part of this communication is argumentative, i.e. it consists of a discourse that presents an opinion (a point of view) and reasons justifying it. If we consider the relevance

¹ Shareholders can be considered as a particular type of stakeholders as, when they invest in the company, they become owners of the firm and not simply claimants on the company's assets. Their stake is the stock, i.e. ownership. This distinction turns out to be necessary when we consider, as I do in this paper, financial interactions like mergers and acquisitions, in which shareholders affect the organization by directly determining the final outcome of the proposal and are intrinsically affected by the deal, as the object of the transaction is their stock.

assigned to reasoning within economic sciences – especially the theoretical approaches underlining concepts like human rationality, rational choices, etc... – the presence in the economic-financial context of a reasoning activity like argumentation should not astonish us. Actually, reasoning is a necessary but not sufficient condition for speaking of argumentation. Reasoning is in fact involved in many other rational activities like demonstration, inquiry, individual decision-making and explanation (cf. van Eemeren & Houtlosser 2005: 24; Rigotti & Greco 2005, 2009). Though these activities are not totally unrelated to argumentation we properly speak of argumentation as a “verbal, social, and rational activity aimed at convincing a reasonable critic of the acceptability of a standpoint by putting forward a constellation of propositions justifying or refuting the proposition expressed in the standpoint” (van Eemeren & Grootendorst 2003: 1). Following this *dialectical* view², we discover that several argumentative discussions feature the financial context and occur each time the acceptance of a certain statement or the consent to a certain proposal is sought, like a banker trying to convince a client of the profitability of a financial product, counterparties in a deal trying to convince each other of the expediency of the reciprocally proposed terms, financial advertising, a firm needing to raise capital that attempts to persuade potential creditors and stockholders to finance its business, a rating agency justifying a downgrade assigned to a company, etc.

In this paper I want to show how a specific activity type, apparently conceived for information-seeking/gathering only, actually manifests, implicitly and explicitly, argumentative dialogues, in which corporate managers have to defend the reasonableness of the decisions they made or the expediency of the transactions and investments they proposed.

2. *Analysts and investors conference calls*

The example I am going to consider refers to a genre of business communicative interactions that consists of conferences with investors and analysts, which in the last years, thanks to the development of technologies for distance communication, have started to be performed online, giving rise to the so-called *conference calls*. The discussion analyzed in this paper is taken from a blended conference, i.e. with people present in the conference room and people connected online, held by two banks, Barclays and ABN AMRO, after having announced a merger agreement.

² Because it is dialectical and dialogical, argumentation differs from demonstration, which rather aims at establishing knowledge rather than persuading (cf. Rigotti & Greco 2005:24). Because it is social, argumentation differs from inquiry and individual decision-making, which is a sort of intra-personal argumentation that lacks of social commitments. Finally, argumentation differs from explanation because the latter aims at providing the causes of a state of affair which the counter-party already acknowledges, while the former's starting point is, in Cicero's words, a *res dubia* (cf. Rigotti & Greco 2005:3), giving rise to a disagreement discussants attempt to resolve by advancing reasons justifying or attacking the standpoint (the *res dubia*) at the roots of the disagreement.

Originally, companies used to organize analysts conference calls after each quarterly earnings announcement. A selected number of financial analysts participated to the teleconference looking for more detailed information. Eventually, these online meetings have been opened to a less restricted public (Bushee et al. 2003), also because whoever might connect into the conference and potentially participate in the call. Sometimes, this brings unexpected – and also funny – side effects, as it was the case with *Joe Herrick*, a mysterious person who registered himself as a representative of well-know companies (e.g. JP Morgan, Morgan Stanley) and managed to obtain the line, eventually asking amazing questions³.

In general, conference calls follow the release of a press announcement (Frankel et al. 1999) that helps analysts and investors to prepare their questions. In contrast with press releases (Jacobs 1999), information disclosed in conference calls shows to be more sophisticated, more detailed, more informally expressed and contains more personal opinions and predictions (Tasker 1998). There is also scientific evidence that conference calls contribute at reducing information asymmetries among investors (Bowen et al. 2002; Brown et al. 2004).

Basically, a conference call is an audio teleconference between corporate managers and various analysts and investors tele-connected. An operator manages the call, organized in two parts (cf. Crawford-Camicciottoli 2007). The first part consists of monological interventions in which corporate managers (at least the Chief Executive Officer and the Chief Financial Officer) present in details the event previously announced – usually the quarterly performance or an M&A proposal – to analysts and investors, temporarily set in a listen-only mode. Then, a dialogical discussion is introduced by the call operator, who opens the line to participants, who, in a Questions-Answers phase (Q&A), have the possibility to ask questions to managers.

In this paper I consider the conference call as a specific *activity type*. The notion of activity type has been developed by Levinson (1979, 1992), who used it for referring to «a fuzzy category whose focal-members are goal-defined, socially constituted, bounded, events with constraint on participants, setting and so on, but above all on the kinds of allowable contributions». In their model of the communication context, Rigotti & Rocci (2006) characterize *activity type* as the institutional dimension⁴ of any communicative interaction (Rocci *forthcoming*), where inter-agents are seen as “role-holders” performing specific skills and jobs – *interaction schemes* – embodied within an *interaction field*, i.e. within a social reality establishing the inter-agents’ joint goal and mutual commitments.

³ “Actually, This is...”. *The Wall Street Journal Europe*. February 16, 2008.

⁴ The other dimension is the interpersonal one, where inter-agents are seen as people, i.e. individuals belonging to a community and with personal goals that might go far beyond the institutional goal they have within the interaction. Thus, conflicts may arise between individual desires and institutional commitments.

In our case, the concerned interaction field is the financial market, whose shared goal can be roughly defined as creating value through sound investments⁵. M&A conference calls contribute to realize this goal by providing analysts and investors with accurate information for correctly evaluating the proposed financial deal. The schemes deployed in this activity type are those typically characterizing information-seeking dialogues: questioning, answering, explaining, turn-taking...

3. *The role of argumentation in Mergers and Acquisitions*

It has become a common practice by public companies to organize conference calls and presentations with analysts and investors after the announcement of an M&A proposal. The role of argumentation in M&As is indeed decisive (cf. Palmieri 2008). First of all, managers have to convince shareholders to approve the proposed deal. Also, managers have to face the potential concerns expressed by regulators, who could prevent the transaction if it undermines market competition; by employees and unions, who fight against the risk of lay-offs (cf. Höpner & Jackson 2006); by politicians, who very often interfere for defending the independence of a firm with national importance, like an airline company or a big bank (cf. Nowak 2001). Furthermore, an influential role is played by financial analysts, who produce valuations and express opinions that may serve as a starting point for the shareholders' final decision (cf. Mahoney 1991). Analysts are usually distinguished in *buy-side* analysts, who work exclusively for institutions like mutual and pension funds, potentially interested in investing in the company, and *sell-side* analysts, employed by brokerage firms, like investment banks, for producing evaluations and forecasts for their clients.

Investors and analysts (the investment community) are particularly interested in M&A transactions because of their impact on the financial value of the companies involved. Not by chance, the announcement of M&As is followed by significant (positive or negative) movements in stock prices (cf. Bruner 2004, 2005).

The M&A conferences with the investment community follow the announcement of the proposal but precede the shareholders' final decision on the transaction. The phase in which the conference is held is thus extremely delicate as managers have still to obtain the consent from shareholders and stakeholders.

Therefore, the conference cannot be considered as an "idle" entertainment. It is indeed a crucial communicative event in which the information exchanged – as our example will show – is expected to be relevant for the final decision-making.

⁵ Financial markets aim at facilitating the meeting between enterprises, having business projects but lacking capital for realizing them, and investors, having surplus capital but no idea how to employ them in a productive way. Financial communication is performed exactly for fulfilling this purpose.

4. *The Barclays – ABN AMRO case*

In 2007, the management boards of two important European banks, Barclays from UK and ABN AMRO from The Netherlands, found an agreement for a merger. The terms of the agreement included the sale to Bank of America (BoFA) of LaSalle, a US division of ABN AMRO, with a break-up fee of €200ml that ABN AMRO should have paid if the transaction would have been eventually cancelled. During the first half of April, rumours were spreading out about a consortium of three banks led by Royal Bank of Scotland (the other two banks were Fortis and Santander) offering to buy ABN AMRO at a price higher than Barclays' but entailing the cancellation of the LaSalle's spin-off. Despite these rumours, on April 23, ABN AMRO and Barclays disclosed a joint press release in which they announced the merger agreement. The same day, they organized a press conference in the morning and an analysts and investors conference in the afternoon.

On the corporate side, six corporate participants, including Rijkman Groenink, the CEO of ABN AMRO, and John Varley, Barclays CEO, held the conference. On the investment side, fourteen participants intervened by asking questions.

The following excerpt, that I am going to analyze, refers to the Q&A phase of the investor/analysts conference. The transcript was available on both companies' websites⁶. In order to check the correctness of the text the audio file of the conference has been considered too. The Q&A phase starts with a question asked by Christopher Hohn, working for a well-known institutional investor:

A.1. Christopher Hohn: Children Investment Fund

Just a question for Mr. Groenink – Chris Hohn from the Childrens Investment Fund – Mr. Groenink, can you confirm please in yes or no answer if there is a materially higher bid from the Royal Bank Consortium, conditional on the LaSalle sale being cancelled, that the ABN AMRO Board can choose to terminate the sale, albeit with the break-up fee that's been mentioned in the release?

A.2. Rijkman Groenink: ABN AMRO

I cannot confirm that, because I don't know of any such bid.

B.1.1. Christopher Hohn: CIF

Could I request, as a just under 3% shareholder of ABN AMRO, that you make public the detail terms of this break-up clause as soon as possible, preferably today, because my concern as a shareholder is to understand if it is effectively put in as a poison pill to frustrate any RBS bid, or is available to be cancelled by the ABN

⁶ The website of publicly traded companies always contains a *Menu* devoted to analysts and investors (usually called *Investor relations* or simply, *Investors*) and, very often, also a separate section for Media (usually called *Media* or *Press*). A subsection usually called *Presentations* contains events belonging to the company's voluntary disclosure, in which we find conference calls and similar presentations held with analysts and investors.

AMRO Board, if it chooses to do so. I think it's something reasonable and I would request that that's done today. Thank you.

C.1.1. Rijkman Groenink: ABN AMRO

Just to be absolutely clear, which break-up fee are you talking about?

C.2. Christopher Hohn: CIF

There is a \$200 million break-up fee for the sale of LaSalle.

C.1.2. Rijkman Groenink: ABN AMRO

Yes. Hm... [*expression of consent*]

B.1.2. Christopher Hohn:

So my question again is, I would like to have ABN AMRO disclose today whether the sale can be terminated by the ABN AMRO Board – it says in the release that it's terminable within limited circumstances and you have not disclosed what those circumstances are. I would like to know if there is a higher bid for the company that the board would like to accept, and is conditional on the cancellation of that transaction, if the board is able to do so, I think it would be a breach of fiduciary duty if this is not the case. The first thing I would like to know is what the circumstances are and I would strongly request the board to make that public today.

B.2.1. John Varley: Barclays

Perhaps I can just comment, which is that I think that the ABN AMRO team has done a spectacularly good job in realizing value for shareholders through the sale agreement that has entered into with Bank of America – a spectacularly good job and in the way that I describe, I think that we have maximized value from an asset that didn't fit particularly well with the new enterprise and we've created the opportunity of a very significant distribution of surplus capital to shareholders thereby. So that is the attitude that I take on the point that you are raising.

B.2.2. Rijkman Groenink: ABN AMRO

May I add that of course that as the Management Board and the Supervisory Board of ABN AMRO have accepted the bid of Bank of America for LaSalle, that of course we share the view of John Varley that this is an extremely good bid. We think that there has not been any valuation out there higher than we have managed to extract from the Bank of America. Furthermore, we have negotiated a clause which is today proactively managed by our advisors to invite anybody who has interest to bid for LaSalle, to come in and to do their due diligence. The Bank of America has without any preparation on our side or their side, has done the due diligence in four days and has come up with this extremely valuable bid for ABN AMRO shareholders. Anybody who comes in today will have 14 days and a fully prepared and fully loaded accessible data room. So I think everybody

has a full opportunity to make an assessment whether LaSalle is worth more to them than the Bank of America and to make a bid. Any professional bank, fully prepared and has been analysing ABN AMRO for the last few months, should be able to do that in a fortnight. I'm just going to move to the next question, if I may, because I'm very conscious that we've got a lot of people in the room and there are a lot of questions, if you'll allow me to do that.

(ABN AMRO-BARCLAYS investors and analysts conference, 23 April 2007)

Christopher Hohn opens a dialogue game (A.1.) that, according to the typology proposed by Walton & Krabbe (1998), should be described as an information-seeking dialogue. His question addresses a typical issue in M&As, i.e. the existence of an alternative, better, offer launched by a third party. In this case, Hohn mentions a precise bid on which rumors were circulating⁷ since days: the offer made by the RBS Consortium, which does not include the sale of LaSalle. He wants to know whether the ABN Board is still in the position of accepting this bid. In replying the question, ABN AMRO CEO Rijkman Groenink seems to exploit the unofficial character of the RBS bid (A.2.).

At this point, Hohn insists (B.1.1. and B.1.1.2), revealing he is a 3% ABN AMRO shareholder and making more explicit his question: he fears that the LaSalle deal has been set up as a poison pill⁸ in order to hinder the Consortium offer and wants to make sure that the management has acted in shareholders' best interests ("I think it would be a breach of fiduciary duty if this is not the case").

Though the question was addressed to Groenink, the reply initially comes from Barclays CEO, John Varley, who defends the LaSalle sale depicting it as a "spectacularly good job" that has "maximized value" for shareholders (B.2.1.). Then, Groenink (B.2.2.) reasserts the expediency of the BofA's offer. Finally, he terminates the dialogue with the justification that other participants wish to intervene ("there are a lot of people in the room...").

5. *Analysis of the dialogue*

First of all, we have to establish whether and to what extent the dialogue is indeed argumentative. A dialogue is argumentative (*persuasion dialogue* in the Walton & Krabbe's typology⁹) if the two parties involved disagree on a certain issue and advance reasons

⁷ See The Wall Street Journal Europe. April 14, 2007.

⁸ Poison pills are defense tactics through which target companies damage themselves so that they are no longer attractive for the bidder. Hohn fears that the break-up fee that ABN AMRO should pay to Barclays if the agreed merger would lapse could be exploited by ABN managers to prevent a takeover by the RBS-Consortium.

⁹ According to Walton & Krabbe (1998) persuasion is only one of the possible dialogue games in which argumentation can intervene. In our view, every time argumentation takes place a persuasion dialogue occurs, because the ultimate goal of arguing is always persuasion. By the way, the specific activity – negotiation, mediation, information seeking, deliberation, etc. – in which an argument intervenes can decisively influence its design, analysis and evaluation.

supporting their own position in respect to the issue. Indeed, the dialogue we are considering starts with a simple question which does not seem to generate a critical discussion.

However, the presence within Hohn's follow-up question (B.1.1.) of significant argumentative indicators – "I think", "It's reasonable" (cf. van Eemeren, Houtlosser, Snoeck Henkemans 2007, Rocci 2008) – suggests a critical discussion is taking place, i.e. an attempt to resolve a disagreement "between a party who defends a certain standpoint, the *protagonist*, and a party who challenges this standpoint, the *antagonist*" (van Eemeren, Grootendorst, Snoeck Henkemans 2002:25). The ideal model of critical discussion consists of four stages that discussants should go through in the attempt to solve the disagreement. In the *confrontation stage* the protagonist advances his standpoint and meets with the antagonist's doubts, sometimes implicitly assumed. Before the *argumentation stage*, in which arguments are put forth for supporting/destroying the standpoint, parties have to agree on some starting points. This phase, the *opening stage*, is essential to the development of the discussion because only if a certain common ground exists it is possible for parties to reasonably resolve – in the *concluding stage* – the difference of opinions.

In the dialogue here considered, we first of all recognize an argumentative effort made by Hohn to show the objective relevance of the question he initially asked. In front of Groenink's reluctance to answer the question (A.2.), Hohn claims for receiving an answer because of the relevance of its possible implications. The implicit argumentation in support of the standpoint that Groenink has to answer his question is that a question should be answered if it is relevant and that a question is relevant if its answer would decisively modify the concerned state of affair. Hohn refers here to the possibility that ABN AMRO Board has breached the fiduciary duty towards shareholders Hohn ("I think it would be a breach of fiduciary duty if..."). Such possibility actually becomes an object of discussion as it can be inferred by the content of Groenink and Varley's replies (B.2.1.; B.2.2.).

Therefore, applying a maximally argumentative reconstruction, we can indeed single out the following issue:

did ABN AMRO Board act in shareholders' best interests by selling LaSalle to BofA?

In relation to this issue, Groenink (with Varley) can be considered protagonist of the standpoint that ABN AMRO management *did* maximize shareholder value (i.e. it did not breached the fiduciary duty towards shareholders).

The position held by Hohn is, instead, rather complex. Apparently, he is not committing to any standpoint but he is only challenging the protagonist to defend his viewpoint, playing in this way the role of antagonist. Alternatively, it is possible and probable¹⁰ that Hohn actually thinks that the ABN AMRO management has breached the fiduciary duty

¹⁰ Since months, Chris Hohn was very critical towards the ABN AMRO management board. He and other representatives of The Children Investment Fund publicly expressed their disappointment for the (low) performances of the bank in the previous years and explicitly claimed for a sale, spin-off or merger of ABN AMRO in order to maximize the share value. (See the documents on the 2007 Shareholders Meeting, available on: www.group.abnamro.com/ir/gsm.cfm).

but, instead of stating it explicitly and so committing himself to justifying with arguments, he manages to shift the burden of proof totally on the side of Groenink.

Shifting the burden of proof is a typical fallacy according to Pragma-Dialectics (van Eemeren & Grootendorst 1992) but, in this case, I argue that Hohn is rather realizing a strategic maneuvering (van Eemeren & Houtlosser 2002, 2005). When arguers maneuver strategically they attempt to win the discussion without detaching from the rules guaranteeing the reasonableness of the discussion, i.e. without committing fallacies. Strategic maneuvering foresees specific tasks in each of the four stages of critical discussion. In the *confrontation stage* «each party will attempt to achieve a definition of the disagreement that favors the issues each of the parties wants to discuss and the positions each of them would like to assume», while in the opening stage each party aims at «establishing the most workable starting points and the most opportune allocation of the burden of proof» (van Eemeren & Houtlosser 2002: 138).

In the *confrontation stage*, Hohn expresses his standpoint as an implication of one of the two possible answers to his question: are you still in the position of accepting a higher offer? If the answer is “no”, the breach of fiduciary duty is entailed.

This strategy allows Hohn to remain coherent with the conditions imposed by the investor/analyst conference call as a specific activity type. Hohn, in fact, is not speaking at the shareholder meeting, where shareholders have the right to go up the stage and express their opinion about managers’ behavior. Conference calls only foresee questions to which managers should answer. In this way, Hohn manages to force Groenink to justify his decision, while remaining a questioner and keeping so a prudent approach.

In the *opening stage*, Hohn shifts the burden of proof entirely on the side of Groenink without violating the *burden-of-proof rule*¹¹. In order to do this, he exploits the ontology of the principal-agent relationship¹², typical of this interaction field, imposing managers to show that the proposal they are advancing is indeed the one maximizing shareholder value. Managers (the agent), in fact, are held to run the company in the best interests of the principal, being in this case shareholders, as owners of the firm. This is even more compelling in M&As, as the target of the offer, and so the final decision makers, are shareholders. This move is also perfectly consistent with the constraints imposed by the activity type. Unlike press conferences, analysts/investors conference calls are conceived for a type of audience which can be highly involved at the personal level by the object dealt by the conference. For example, presidential press conferences can certainly be characterized by very adversar-

¹¹ Rule 2 (The burden-of-proof rule): A party who puts forward a standpoint is obliged to defend it if asked to do so.

¹² An agency relationship occurs when a subject (the principal) engages another subject (the agent) to perform some services on his/her behalf. Agency Theory, particularly developed within financial economics theory (Ross 1973; Jensen 1976), considers the principal-agent relationship, in particular the shareholder-manager relation within public corporations, by stressing the potential conflict of interests, called the agency problem, deriving from the non-alignment between the agent’s personal goals and his/her commitments towards the principal, established by the contract ruling their relationship.

ial questions (cf. Clayman & Heritage 2002), especially from journalists adhering to a different political party. Moreover, journalists are also citizens, thus the main stakeholders of the government's policies. However, when performing their job, we would expect journalists to be impartial and able to separate their personal concerns from their professional duties. The same does not apply with the categories of investors and analysts. By definition, investors hold, potentially or actually, shares in the company, so becoming owners. Analysts, especially buy-side ones, are in a similar position. Therefore, the intervention by shareholders of the firm organizing the conference has not to be considered absolutely out of context but, on the opposite, a natural entailment of this specific context of interaction.

The assumption that managers hold the implicit burden of proving their good conduct finds support in the way in which Hohn's request is replied (B.2.1., B.2.2.). The main concern both by Barclays CEO, John Varley (the first to reply though not directly interrogated by Hohn), and by ABN AMRO CEO, seems to be that of showing the expediency of their decisions for shareholders and that the price paid by BofA for LaSalle is really expedient.

We observe that Groenink and Varley never mention the RBS Consortium's bid. Groenink's first reply («I don't know of any such bid») clearly indicates the strategy adopted by the management: ignoring the RBS Consortium bid and showing the objective expediency of the sale of LaSalle, which works as argument for supporting the standpoint that the Board maximized shareholder value. Here, a fallacious move can be identified. While it could certainly be true that the price paid for LaSalle by BofA has been the highest possible (and so the one maximizing shareholder value), this is not the point raised by Hohn. Hohn's accusation was that the Board failed in preventing a deal with RBS, of which the cancellation of LaSalle is only an implication. In other words, if the sale of LaSalle to BofA prevents the possibility of realizing a better merger, such sale ceases to be expedient as it provides a minor benefit at the expenses of a major benefit (the deal with RBS). Instead of discussing whether or not the LaSalle sale is a poison pill, Groenink and Varley reduce the expediency of the whole transaction to a *local* expediency, deriving from the high price paid by BofA. It is a clear instance of the *fallacy secundum quid et simpliciter*, which occurs «when a property inhering to one part or aspect is generalized to the whole entity» (Rigotti 2005: 9).

The managers' replies can be considered unsound from the perspective of reasonable argumentation, as they ignore relevant factors concerned by the issue under discussion (cf. Rigotti & Greco 2005: 27-36 for the traits characterizing the reasonable approach of argumentation and Rigotti, Rocci, Greco 2006, for an in-depth semantic analysis of the concept of reasonableness). In pragma-dialectical terms, such move can be interpreted as a violation Rule 4 of critical discussion¹³, which states that argumentation should be related to the standpoints actually advanced.

¹³ Rule 4 (The relevance rule): A party may defend his/her standpoint only by advancing argumentation related to that standpoint.

We can now summarize the different strategies adopted by the two parties as follows:

- Hohn's main strategy is to force managers to argumentatively justify their conduct by exploiting the rules and commitments of the interaction field. In doing this, he avoids to directly attack the interlocutors, remaining attached to the rules governing the interaction scheme – questioning rather than asserting.
- Groenink's strategy mainly consists of focusing on a partial aspect of the deal negotiated, the sale of LaSalle, and showing its expediency for shareholders.

6. Conclusive remarks

In the context of M&A deals corporate managers are committed to support their proposal with adequate reasons. The example I have illustrated is interesting in several aspects.

Firstly, it shows that managers are inevitably expected to do something more than disclosing information. Since they are proposing a transaction, they are required to show the expediency of their proposal. In pragma-dialectical terms, managers implicitly assume the role of protagonist in a critical discussion.

Secondly, the participants can be directly involved in the transaction, especially when the questioner is a shareholder, phenomenon that is not expected to occur in traditional press conferences.

In this paper I limited myself to analyze a single case. However, as numerous further examples might show, similar situations are not rare in investors/analysts conference calls. Participants' involvement in the subject of discussion makes analysts/investors conferences a particular type of communicative interaction that clearly differs from traditional press conferences. Further investigation is required for studying more in depth the dialogues in conference calls in contrast with press conferences occurring both in the financial context and in other social contexts, like politics, sport, and entertainment.

The example analyzed also showed the strict relation between argumentation and its context (cf. Rigotti 2006). The specific traits of the activity type in which the discussion takes place impose constraints to the parties' argumentative moves but can also be exploited by discussants for maneuvering strategically.

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“THESE DATA EMPHASIZE A ROLE FOR TREG CELLS, BUT DO NOT ELIMINATE THE POSSIBILITY THAT...”: A TEXTUAL STUDY OF CONNECTIVES IN SCIENTIFIC DISCOURSE

DAVIDE MAZZI

1. Introduction

This paper arises from the spate of interest for the pragmatic and textual aspects of argumentation in the last few decades. In his accurate chronological reconstruction of post-World War II developments of argumentation studies, Plantin (2005: 15) talks about a *moment logico-linguistique* [logico-linguistic stage] in which scholars paid increasing attention to the cognitive mechanisms underlying argumentation (Grize 1990 and 1996) as well as to the discursive implementation of argumentative chains. In this respect, emphasis has been laid on key-constituents of argumentative discourse such as connectives.

These elements have been analysed from a wide range of perspectives. For instance, Ducrot (1980) and Maingueneau (2001) explore their polyphonic nature: thus, they observe that connectives like *mais* [but] and *d'ailleurs* [besides] may signal the interplay of the current speaker/writer's voice and other voices in the text. Furthermore, Anscombe & Ducrot (1983) and Plantin (1989 and 1990) point to the centrality of connectives in providing argumentative discourse with a distinct orientation (cf. Anscombe & Ducrot's [1983] example of *au moins* [at least]).

More recently, connectives have been discussed as members of the broader category of auxiliary argumentative lexis. Stati (1998 and 2002) elegantly argues that connectives act as effective argumentative operators shedding light on the argumentative roles – e.g. Explanation, Justification, Acknowledgment and Refutation – performed by speakers/writers in the articulation of argumentative textual sequences. In addition, connectives have been studied within specialised discourse: more specifically, Bondi (2004) carries out extensive surveys on the use of connectives in academic discourse. Her results show that these tools are central in marking textual cornerstones of disciplinary argumentation such as the interweaving of discourse and counter-discourse.

Studies like Bondi (2004) succeed in developing full-relief analyses of connectives in academic discourse by reason of their narrowly-focussed genre-based viewpoint. Genre is defined by Swales (1990: 58) as a class of communicative events exhibiting homogenous patterns in terms of communicative purpose, parent discourse community, content, structure, style and intended audience. Academic genres – most of all abstracts and research articles – have been thoroughly investigated by means of representative corpora, namely large collections of authentic data gathered in electronic form according to a specific set of criteria (Bowker & Pearson 2002; Hunston 2002).

By drawing on the rich mess of studies reviewed above, this paper aims to carry out a corpus-based study of connectives in scientific discourse. The investigation will focus on a single genre, notably research articles (RAs), in order to spell out the main textual and argumentative functions of connectives. Section 2 clarifies the criteria for corpus design and methodological choices, whereas Section 3 presents the main findings of the study: in particular, evidence will stress the significance of connectives in signalling the basic stages of the writer's argument, e.g. the presentation of findings and authorial evaluation at large. Reference is thus made to Hunston & Thompson's (2000: 5) notion of evaluation as the set of linguistic tools through which writers express their attitude towards or feelings about the entities they are writing about, mainly in terms of varying degrees of desirability (the good/bad axis). Finally, results are discussed in Section 4, where suggestions for further research are provided as well.

2. *Materials and methods*

The study is based on a small synchronic corpus of scientific research articles from ten specialised journals. These well-established publications were chosen by means of chiefly endogenous criteria, since they were recommended by the Staff of the Ph.D. School in Clinical and Experimental Medicine of the University of Modena and Reggio Emilia (Italy)¹. The corpus is comprised of 140 texts, and it amounts to 510,253 words. Research articles cover a homogenous time span as they were all collected from the June-September 2007 issues of journals. In addition, the full running text of RAs was considered, with the exception of the following elements: author name/s, outline, images, notes, tables and graphs, captions, authors' contributions, acknowledgments, references and abbreviations.

As regards methodology, the paper combines quantitative and qualitative procedures. From a quantitative point of view, the linguistic software package *Wordsmith Tools 3.0* (Scott 1998) was used, in order to create a frequency wordlist for the reference corpus. The ten most frequent connectives were identified in the list: these elements served as the object of analysis and they were concordanced² in order to be qualitatively studied in context (Sinclair 1991 and 2003).

Connectives were thus investigated in order to find out their main textual and argumentative functions. In that regard, analysis availed itself of some key-tenets of Sinclair's

¹ Selected publications include the following journals: *British Journal of Dermatology* (BJD); *Journal of the American Academy of Dermatology* (JAAD); *Nature Medicine* (NM); *Blood Cells, Molecules and Diseases* (BCMD); *Proceedings of the National Academy of Sciences of the United States* (PNAS); *Blood* (BL); *Cancer Research* (CR); *British Journal of Haematology* (BJH); *Artificial Organs* (AO); *Proteome Science* (PS); *Clinical Chemistry* (CC); *Journal of Pharmaceutical and Biomedical Analysis* (JPBA); *Science* (SC); *Current Opinion in Genetics and Development* (COGD).

² Concordance is also a computer-assisted tool provided by *Wordsmith Tools 3.0*. It enables researchers to enter a search word or phrase, which is automatically retrieved by the programme in all its corpus occurrences and displayed in context.

(1996 and 1998) studies on units of meaning, and in particular on the phraseological tendency of words to go together in order to create meaning. In the upcoming Section 3, therefore, recourse is made to the notions of collocation – i.e. the frequent co-occurrence of words – and colligation, intended as the regular co-occurrence of grammatical phenomena. In order to strengthen the qualitative component of analysis, finally, for all connectives whose frequency is >100, only a random sample of a hundred occurrences was taken into account.

3. Results

The quantitative survey of corpus data anticipated in Section 2 highlighted the following ten items as the most frequent connectives:

Table I: *Top-ten connectives and related raw frequency*

Connectives	Freq.	Connectives	Freq.
<i>But</i>	770	<i>Thus</i>	284
<i>However</i>	567	<i>Since</i>	105
<i>Because</i>	434	<i>Furthermore</i>	91
<i>Although</i>	374	<i>Moreover</i>	79
<i>Therefore</i>	284	<i>Yet</i>	32

At the outset, connectives listed in Table I³ could be grouped into semantically homogeneous categories, e.g. *but* and *however* as adversative connectives, *although* as a concessive element, *therefore* and *thus* as inferential connectives. However, the corpus-based analysis of the ten elements above transcended the boundaries of these deterministic and *a priori* classifications, since it was aimed at disclosing the broader textual and argumentative functions of connectives in the scientific genre of interest here. In the upcoming sub-sections (3.1-3.4), these functions are reviewed and illustrated with examples, and connectives are grouped exclusively on the basis of the functional closeness revealed by corpus data. Findings are then discussed in Section 4.

3.1 *However, but* and *although*: connectives as a key to explanations, dialogic objection-responses and gaps in knowledge

The first function that may be associated with connectives is that of introducing explanatory remarks into research reports. This occurs when researchers observe findings that exhibit one

³ For the sake of clarity, it must be specified that for both *since* and *yet*, figures only refer to argumentative usages. Frequency counts do not include cases where the two elements occur as prepositions / temporal adverbials, since the analytical focus of the paper is on the argumentative role of connectives.

trend, while at the same time noting that under certain circumstances there are hints of opposing tendencies. This applies to 41 per cent of the attested occurrences of *however* and to 19 per cent of those of *but*. In this case, connectives are often followed by verbs such as *indicate*, *show*, *suggest*, *hypothesise* as well as nouns like *interpretation*, which all contribute to expressing the writer's explanation for the divergent paths evidence seems to take, as in (1) and (2) below⁴:

- 1) [...] the MPP pool does not exhibit an age-related accumulation of T-compromised cells; **however**, aged MPPs give rise to fewer T progeny. *The simplest interpretation of these data is that* T-compromised HSCs do not transition to the downstream MPP pool, and the smaller burst size of T-competent HSCs is also reflected in their MPP progeny. (BL)
- 2) The patients presented in this study had mild to severe renal involvement with haematuria and glomerular thrombi. The mutagenesis study suggests that the mutation in patient 1 enabled synthesis of ADAMTS13 **but** secretion and activity were impaired [...]. *We hypothesise that* the presence of ADAMTS13 in the glomeruli may be a protective mechanism against platelet plug formation under the high-shear conditions of the glomerular circulation, and lack of secreted ADAMTS13, as in certain TTP mutations, could thus promote formation of thrombi. (BJH)

At a deeper level, the clear dialogic connotation of *but* is indeed noteworthy. In 37 per cent of its occurrences, the connective is embedded in a pattern "P but Q" (cf. Maingueneau 2001: 58), where P and Q are two different, let alone competing voices the writer takes into account, in order to weigh up findings and underlying factors more effectively. This peculiarly dialogic use of *but* may be observed in (3) below:

- 3) [...] we tested GA treatment in STAT6-deficient mice, which do not generate IL-4-secreting TH2 cells²⁶. GA treatment reversed EAE and was associated with induction of Treg cells, but not TH2 cells (Fig. 6d). Like other results⁴², these data emphasize a role for Treg cells, **but** do not eliminate the possibility that both TH2 and Treg cells contribute substantially to the therapeutic effect of GA in EAE and MS. (NM)

The dialogic dimension enlightened by connectives is also confirmed in the stages of research articles, in which authors respond to potential objections. The author's counter-discourse is signalled by *but* and *however* in 13 and 7 per cent of the respective occurrences, whereas the other voice projected into text and eventually refuted by the writer is often indicated by the modal *may* acting as a "signal of dialogic text" (Thompson 2001: 65):

- 4) The retention times of d-limonene and IS were approximately 4.2 and 4.5 min, respectively. Naphthalene was selected as the internal standard for its similarity in the retention and extraction recovery to those of d-limonene. Other candidate compound (e.g. limonene-d2 that is much closer in struc-

⁴ In all examples reported in the paper, connectives are written in bold and underlined, whereas relevant collocational items are italicised and underlined.

ture to the analyte) *may* also be used as IS. **But** it is unstable and expensive. (JPBA)

Authorial responses to arguments which may be addressed to the research reported, typically in critical terms, may also be foregrounded by *although*. This concerns 47 per cent of its entries. Interestingly, in 21/47 (i.e. 44.7 per cent), *although* is used in order to concede that the study suffers from limitations, since it may have over-simplified a problem (cf. 4 below) or by reason of downsides in the selection of patients serving as a sample (5). Nonetheless, this does not prevent the researcher from stressing the genuine contribution provided by the paper to knowledge in the field – see “it provides a reasonable starting point ...” (5) and “these results indicate that screening [...] may have clinical importance” (6):

- 5) The goal is to recover, given just the sequence of vowel tokens, the number of Gaussians, the parameters of each Gaussian and the respective mixing probabilities. **Although** this formulation simplifies the learning problem, *it provides a reasonable starting point* because the vowel spectra for a population of speakers tend to have Gaussian distributions when projected into a 2D space (29). (PNAS)
- 6) One additionally later developed myelodysplasia with monosomy 7; one third of SDS patients eventually develop chromosome 7 abnormalities during the course of their disease,¹ and monosomy 7 also is the most common cytogenetic abnormality in patients with acquired AA.²³ Two patients have died. **Although** the number of patients is small, *these results indicate that screening* patients with acquired AA, especially young patients, *may have clinical importance* to determine therapeutic options. (BL)

Finally, a major function ascribed to the first group of connectives considered so far is to indicate gaps in knowledge previous studies might have left open. In this respect, *however* and *but* mostly occur in introductory sections: in 33 and 8 per cent of their occurrences respectively, they are used for the purpose of establishing a niche (cf. Swales 1990 and 2004) in the relevant research territory. As this is the case, these connectives arguably act as lexical signals that transform RA introductions into the initiating stage of Problem-Solution patterns (Hoey 2001) unfolding in the rest of the article. The writer points to inadequacies of past research in order to motivate the publication of fresh and original results. The emergence of a gap in knowledge as the underlying factor of the current publication is well exemplified in an introductory fragment from the Journal of the American Academy of Dermatology reported in (7) below:

- 7) The development of cutaneous AS in the setting of radiation therapy has been well described in the literature.[5], [6], [7], [8], [20], [22], [23], [27], [28], [31], [32], [35], [39] and [42]. **However**, the natural history, potential precursor lesions, and definitive histologic and clinical features to differentiate AVL from well-differentiated AS *have yet to be fully elucidated*. (JAAD)

3.2 *Because* and *since*: connectives as a key to the discussion of results

The two inter-related connectives *because* and *since* are evenly distributed across the Results and the Discussion sections of research articles. They both appear to play a significant role in the presentation of findings as well as the related discussion. First of all, data show that *because* and *since* are involved in evaluative statements (Hunston & Thompson 2000) in 23.3 and 28.8 per cent of the respective corpus occurrences.

As a result, writers employ them in order to unveil cause-effect relations and to formulate more or less tentative interpretations about the empirical evidence they collected. In this respect, the researcher's cautious and circumspect attitude is testified by the colligation of connectives with hedgers (Hyland 1998 and 2005) – e.g. *possibly*, *probably* and *presumably* for *because* (13.3 per cent of its occurrences altogether), and *probably*, *appears to be ...*, *it is likely that ...* and *can be interpreted as ...* for *since* (28.8 per cent). Alternatively, *because* also colligates with verbs characterised by differing degrees of authorial self-assertion (*hypothesise*, *speculate*, *suggest*, *interpret*, *view* and *conclude*). In (8), (9) and (10) below, the collocational remarks discussed in the paragraph are shown at work:

- 8) Only during further evolution the patterning employing adjacent cells became more dominant, *possibly because* this enforces directly a mutual alignment of adjacent cells. (COGD)
- 9) The positive and significant D value *can be interpreted* as balancing selection (heterozygote advantage) [11] *since* in Southeast Asia there are common selective forces (malaria) increasing some pathologies such as hemoglobin E, α and β thalassemia [16] or population subdivision [17] [...] (BCMD)
- 10) *Since* *egl-20/Wnt* mutants have the strongest HSN migration defect and *since* EGL-20 forms a posterior-to-anterior concentration gradient, EGL-20/Wnt *probably* acts as a repellent for the HSN neurons, with the other two posteriorly expressed Wnts, LIN-44 and CWN-1, contributing to this effect (Figure 3a). (COGD)

In second place, the evaluation of results may rely on larger patterns, the most prominent of which can be summarised as follows:

This/These + signalling noun (e.g. *property*, *feature*, *discrepancy*) + *because* ...

This phraseology occurs when the writer discusses results presented earlier on, by encapsulating them⁵ through a signalling noun (Flowerdew 2003), an apparently empty signifier like *property* or, at a deeper evaluative level, *discrepancy*: this is in turn followed by the writer's

⁵ Sinclair (1993: 8) uses the term "encapsulation" in order to designate an anaphoric cohesive phenomenon which makes sure that the semantically relevant aspects of prior textual materials are retained and condensed into a single word or phrase of the upcoming sentence.

motivation/justification introduced with *because*. The pattern accounts for 10 per cent of the occurrences of *because*, and it is instantiated in (11) below:

- 11) Our most pertinent findings are presented in Figs. 1-5. In general, good concordance between KLK transcript and protein concentrations was observed; in some cases, however, [...]. *These discrepancies* are *most likely* due to degradation of KLK proteins, or **because** KLKs are secreted and therefore may not be present in high abundance in cytosols where their concentrations were measured. (CC)

Finally, connectives may back up an evaluation of empirical findings in terms of desirability (Hunston & Thompson 2000), i.e. by means of statements which develop along the good/bad axis, as it were. In (12) and (13) below, an example is reported of positive and negative evaluation respectively:

- 12) This interaction between de-aeration method and sampling device is only evident when the teflon coated paddle is used; if the solid teflon paddle is used f_2 is higher for sampling device A regardless of which de-aeration method is employed. These marginally statistically significant results, however, are *of little practical consequence* **since** f_2 values were >61 across all experimental conditions. (JPBA)
- 13) Occlusive dressing is one of the innovations in recent decades when treating chronic wounds instead of removing healthy granulation tissues by unnecessary frequent debridement and/or by cleansing.⁸ If we use a clear film for occlusive dressing, the wound bed condition can be more readily checked through it. *This is important* **since** aggressive debridement is not always effective to treat intractable wounds, especially when treating patients with pyoderma gangrenosum and CUA. (JAAD)

3.3 *Moreover* and *furthermore*: connectives in concluding remarks

The use of connectives in the discussion and overall evaluation of findings may be extended to two further elements, i.e. *moreover* and *furthermore*. In spite of the relative functional homogeneity one may note between the two and those discussed in 3.2 above – i.e. *because* and *since* – *moreover* and *furthermore* have been kept in a separate section above all for distributional reasons. In this respect, they were found to display a marked preference for the concluding section of research articles – namely Discussion or Discussion and Conclusion – where they occur in 65.8 (*moreover*) and 57.2 per cent (*furthermore*) respectively.

To begin with, the two connectives tend to share the same colligational company, as it were. They frequently co-occur with verbal forms characterised by increasing degrees of commitment to the proposition they govern – notably *would support the inference that ...*, *speculate*, *suggest*, *indicate*, *point to*, *show* and *demonstrate* for *moreover*; *leads us to hypothesise*, *propose*, *call for*, *suggest*, *argue*, *provide evidence for ...* and *demonstrate* for *furthermore*.

In addition, there is a high degree of colligational attraction between the connectives and evaluative adjectives / adverbials (*relevant, crucial, of interest, definitive [evidence], reasonable and interestingly for moreover; of great benefit to the field, simple, attractive, important, reliable, fragile, time-consuming, significantly, undoubtedly, curiously, efficiently for furthermore*). As can be seen from the sequences, evaluative elements mainly describe different levels of desirability (positive v. negative) expressed by writers with respect to the results they are commenting.

On the whole, the colligational surroundings documented above show that *moreover* and *furthermore* predominantly occur in averrals where the writer restates significant results presented earlier on, thus preparing the ground for the discussion of their most relevant implications. This very often takes the form of highly reflexive statements⁶ such as those in (14) and (15) below:

- 14) Physiologic role of p68/p72. The fact that p68 and p72 are involved in the regulation of oncogenes (c-Myc, cyclin D1, fra-1, and c-jun) suggested that they could affect cell proliferation. And indeed, down-regulating p68/p72 in RKO colon cancer cells severely compromised their ability to proliferate (Fig. 6A). **Moreover**, we found changes in cell morphology with the appearance of round bodies that may represent cell carcasses indicative of apoptosis (Fig. 6B). *These data strongly suggest* that p68 and p72 are required for efficient proliferation of colon cancer cells. (CR)
- 15) In functional concordance with hypermethylation, AKAP12 was transcriptionally silenced in Kasumi-1 and SKNO-1 myeloblasts. **Moreover**, AKAP12 expression was restored by treatment with a histone deacetylase inhibitor (MS275) alone or in combination with a DNMT inhibitor (zebularine), further supporting the importance of epigenetic modifications to transcriptional regulation at this locus. *The results* presented here *fit well with a widely accepted model of* epigenetic gene regulation (Cameron et al, 1999) in which CpG methylation and histone acetylation act as synergistic layers [...]. (BJH)

Reading through examples in more detail, the collocational regularities observed for the two connectives can give rise to the frequently reiterated pattern summarised below:

A. *Moreover/Furthermore*, B. [*Thus/Therefore*] *these data / results + indicate / provide definitive evidence / strongly suggest that ...*

In the pattern, A and B stand for highly-valued results authors want to stress in the final section of research articles. These results are joined by either *moreover* or *furthermore*, and then closely followed by the author's evaluative voice along the colligational guidelines clar-

⁶ Lucy (1993: 1) talks about the reflexive capacity of language in terms of the latter's capability "to represent its own structure and use, including the everyday meta-linguistic activities of reporting, characterizing, and commenting on speech". In the present case, reflexive statements are taken to be averrals through which writers reflect upon and evaluatively reconsider the results they are presenting.

ified above. A further example of the pattern at work is provided in (16) below for the reader's convenience:

- 16) [...] the HSN neurons migrate too far anteriorly in animals with a mutation in *cam-1*, which encodes an orthologue of the receptor tyrosine kinase Ror [...]. **Furthermore**, similar to mutation of *egl-20/Wnt*, overexpression of CAM-1 causes a premature stop of HSN migration [...]. *These results suggest an attractive model* in which the posterior-to-anterior spreading of EGL-20 (and possibly other Wnt proteins such as CWN-1 and LIN-44) is counteracted by CAM-1, which may act as a sink for Wnt. (COGD)

3.4 *Thus* and *therefore*: connectives as signals of inductive and deductive reasoning as well as RA structural recycling

Connectives are among the most typical textual devices that mark the unfolding of authorial reasoning, the step-by-step development of the researcher's line of argument. Even without establishing any systematic link between the use of connectives and peculiar argument forms, it is significant that *thus* and *therefore* often signal the writer's recourse to either inductive or deductive reasoning at large. From an inductive viewpoint, *thus* marks the transition from specific quantitative data to broader generalisations in 67 per cent of its attested occurrences: as this happens, the author proceeds from the circumscribed case(s) to the generalisation in an overall cautious manner. This is corroborated by the collocation of the connective with hedgers such as *may*, *seem to*, *we hypothesised that ...*, *it is possible/likely that*, *appears to ...*, *the most likely explanation is that ...*. This aspect also applies to *therefore* (36 per cent), and it is illustrated in (17) below:

- 17) MYC expression was relatively higher ($P < 0.1$) in the FLT3/ITD-positive AML samples compared to non-mutant FLT3 AML (Fig 4A). CCND3 expression *was not significantly higher* in the FLT3/ITD positive compared to non-mutant FLT3 samples (Fig 4B) [...] In addition, there is evidence for autocrine activation of wild-type FLT3 in many other cases of AML and ALL. **Thus**, improving our understanding of how FLT3 signals contribute to leukaemic transformation is important, as it will *probably* reveal areas that can be therapeutically targeted. Several pathways have been shown to be activated by FLT3 including STAT5, PI3K/AKT and RAS/MAPK. (BJH)

Although considerably less frequent, traces of deductive reasoning associated with connectives may also be retrieved. The reverse case of authors moving from the elicitation of a general trend via factual premises asserted as true to a specific illustrative case is instantiated by the following pattern detected for 18 per cent of the occurrences of *therefore*:

General rule highlighted by *therefore* + *In other words, ...* / *Consider ...* / *For example, ...*

The deductive pattern schematised above is illustrated in (18):

- 18) The rate at which the helix aligns with the gradient direction is $||$. **Therefore**, for almost all initial conditions, the system exhibits chemotaxis upwards the gradient if > 0 . This behavior is **therefore** robust and does not depend on fine-tuning of parameters. *Consider the case of* a radial concentration field $c(x) = C(|x|)$... (PNAS)

On a final note, *thus* and *therefore* are also interestingly used as cyclicity markers in the actualisation of RA structure. In the prototypical RA structure (cf. Swales 1990; Swales & Feak 2004), we generally recognise the widely adopted progression from the Methodology to the Results section. In the presentation of results, however, writers may find it useful to go back to, and therefore recycle, the methodological premises introduced beforehand, in order to cast light on the concatenation of findings, their deeply-rooted methodological rationale. The cyclic move from results back to the procedural apparatus of research is signalled by *therefore* and *thus* in 21 and 5 per cent of the respective occurrences. In particular, *therefore* is embedded in the following pattern commonly identified in Results sections:

R1 \rightarrow E1. *Therefore, to...*, *we* + past tense verb / past tense verb in passive voice

The pattern reported above only considers a single hypothetical result (R1) followed by the related evaluation (E1), but it might well be reiterated for as many results as the writer wishes to include in the current research article. After a single result is presented and evaluated, the writer precedes the next finding with a reader-oriented reminder of the procedural justification underlying and justifying it. The writer's step back, as it were, is both signalled by *therefore* and substantiated by the choice of past tense and/or passive voice, two features Swales (1990) empirically relates with the methodological section of research articles. The pattern summarised above is exemplified in (19) below:

- 19) The luciferase gene in this construct is fused to the mini-tau gene and is in-frame only when exon 10 is spliced out (Fig. 2C). This system provided a particularly attractive model for testing our results, as it has previously been shown that overexpression of splicing factors SRp20, SRp40, and SRp55 significantly increased the exclusion of exon 10 from the construct (16). **Therefore, to evaluate** alternative splicing activity after DNA damage, *we transfected* LucM14 into the U2OSAS, UOSE64b, HCT116, and HCT116 p53-/- cell lines. Transfected cells *were treated* with mitomycin C, and luciferase activity in treated versus untreated cells was compared. (CR)

4. Conclusions

The findings in section 3 show that connectives act as pervasive linguistic tools in research articles, the genre that has the lion's share in specialised scientific communication (Swales

1990). The centrality of connectives is proved by their distribution across all RA sections – e.g. *however* in introductions (section 3.1) and *moreover* in Discussion and Conclusions (3.3) – but also by the rich repertoire of textual and argumentative functions they serve.

In this respect, the paper provided further textual basis to sound intuitions of linguistic research, i.e. the role of *therefore* as a signal of inferential reasoning, both inductive and deductive (section 3.4), and the dialogic function that *but* takes on in some of its occurrences (3.1). But most of all, analysis enlightened key-aspects of connectives that might be overlooked in less detailed surveys failing to rely on small yet representative corpora. For instance, it was interesting to draw the attention to the peculiar use of *moreover* and *furthermore* within phraseology through which the writer effectively prepares the way for a critical discussion and evaluation of findings (3.3). Furthermore, evidence pointed to *therefore* as a discursive signpost of cyclic moves from results back to methodological underpinnings discussed in 3.4.

Connectives were therefore observed to be outstanding textual cornerstones in two main respects. First of all, in their tendency to orient the intended readership through the author's scientific argument, thus making crucial argumentative passages clear and explicit. Secondly, by consequence, in their capability of providing research reports with a skilful argumentative construction in order to turn RAs into cunningly crafted rhetorical products.

This paper finally leaves room for potentially fruitful future research. At a more specific level, some of the recurrent patterns discussed above may be further investigated. For instance, This/These + signalling noun (e.g. *property, feature, discrepancy*) + *because* could be analysed in more detail within larger multi-disciplinary corpora, in order to find out how often the embedded signalling noun is an evaluative element expressing the writers' attitude in terms of desirability or modality (Hunston & Thompson 2000).

At a more general level, the analytical model proposed here for connectives could be extended to larger comparative studies, in either cross-linguistic or cross-disciplinary terms. From this point of view, cross-linguistic studies should ideally concern English and languages that still retain high academic credibility at least within their national contexts, e.g. French. On the other hand, cross-disciplinary examinations may keep a relatively homogeneous profile, by concentrating on similarities and contrasts in connective usage within the hard sciences (e.g. engineering v. computer technology, medicine v. biology, however fuzzy epistemological boundaries might sometimes seem). Such research undertakings would help refine our knowledge of connectives and other central discourse markers alike.

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LA NOTION DE 'PRATIQUE' DANS DES DIALOGUES DE SUJET SCIENTIFIQUE AU XVI^e SIÈCLE

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Le dialogue est une structure rhétorique utilisée dans la présentation de la matière scientifique et philosophique, un lieu idéal pour la discussion dialectique de notions et de faits. La conversation fictive – et celle de ce type de dialogue se veut apparemment artificielle – y est reproduite comme s'il s'agissait d'un échange réel, permettant d'exposer des controverses de manière plus efficace par rapport à ce qu'un traité ne pourrait faire.

Il est intéressant d'observer l'essor du dialogue dans l'histoire du texte scientifique français, qui a pour finalité la discussion théorique et la mise en commun des connaissances. Son emploi a été développé au cours des siècles XV^e et XVI^e, pour s'arrêter au XVII^e siècle avec les œuvres de Galilée et de Hobbes.

Le dialogue à la Renaissance est un genre "polymorphe, un genre-frontière, insaisissable" remarque Anne Godard: "le dialogue peut traiter toutes les questions philosophiques, de la plus spéculative à la plus pratique, de la science à la morale" (2001: 6-7). Au cours du XVI^e siècle il s'ouvre même à des essais de théorisation, tels que les ouvrages de Sperone Speroni, l'*Apologia dei dialogi* (1574), et du Tasse, *Dell'arte del dialogo* (1585). Les commentateurs de la *Poétique* d'Aristote étudient le genre du dialogue: il suffit de penser à la *Poetica d'Aristotele vulgarizzata e sposta* (1570) de Lodovico Castelvetro, les *Annotationi nel libro della poetica d'Aristotele* (1575) d'Alessandro Piccolomini, *L'Organe, c'est à dire l'instrument du discours* (1589) de Philippe Canaye, traducteur de l'*Organon*. "Dans un contexte où l'influence d'Aristote est d'une importance considérable pour la réflexion générique" rappelle Véronique Montagne (2004: 1) dans une étude sur le dialogue philosophique du XVI^e siècle, "les théoriciens du genre profitent des analyses des *Topiques* ou encore d'une remarque tirée de la *Poétique* pour légitimer un genre que le philosophe avait écarté de ses préoccupations et pour rendre compte de ses caractéristiques formelles"¹.

Le dialogue de vulgarisation scientifique se situe dans la filière du dialogue philosophique, avec des caractères typiques du dialogue de la tradition platonicienne, et partage le point de vue méthodologique du dialogue didactique (Zanola 2008a: 152).

¹ Parmi les commentateurs d'Aristote, Montagne cite aussi les *Partitionum dialecticarum libri duo Joannis Sturmii* parues en 1539, à Paris, chez Chrestien Wechel, puis présentées par Valentin Erythraeus dans les *Tabulae Valentini Erythraei, in quatuor dialecticarum partitionum Joannis Sturmii* (1561), dont le dernier chapitre contient des considérations sur le genre du dialogue.

Grâce au dialogue, l'orateur peut faire appel à un moyen de conversation plus agréable, le savant évite les difficultés dues à des modalités plus austères d'exposition et il peut faire des digressions et des reprises.

C'est grâce au dialogue qu'au XVI^e siècle Bernard Palissy transmet à un public plus vaste une matière qui l'intéresse, concernant la paléontologie, l'hydrologie, la géologie, la physiologie végétale. L'*Architecture et ordonnance de la grotte rustique* (1563), la *Recepte Véritable* (1563), les *Discours Admirables* (1580), pour citer les dialogues principaux, facilitent l'accès au savoir scientifique de l'auteur. Palissy organise son discours donnant la voix à deux personnes, dont "l'une demandera, l'autre répondra". C'est la prémisse de l'*Architecture et ordonnance de la grotte rustique* (I, 13) aussi bien que de la *Recepte véritable* (I, 58):

Pour avoir plus facile intelligence du present discours, nous le traiterons en forme de dialogue, auquel nous introduirons deux personnes, l'une demandera, l'autre répondra, comme s'ensuit.

Cameron (1990: 141) observe les avantages d'avoir adopté le dialogue, qui rend l'argumentation de Palissy plus simple à suivre, permettant de prévenir les critiques et de comparer deux points de vue: "Cette nouvelle présentation est non seulement plus vivante mais plus 'scientifique'. Elle a encore un atout, elle englobe le lecteur dans la discussion. Même après quatre cents ans, nous sommes toujours sensibles à la force des arguments de Palissy".

Nous allons illustrer, à titre d'exemple, la discussion autour de la notion de 'pratique' opposée à celle de 'théorie', pour mettre en évidence la force des arguments des tenants des deux parties opposées².

1. Les participants au dialogue

Palissy est un autodidacte qui affirme ne connaître ni le grec ni le latin: il se veut un esprit libre capable de contester le savoir des Anciens, dont il attaque le dogme d'infaillibi-

² Une brève note sur la vie de Palissy, d'après la biographie restituée par Dupuis en 1894 (3-69). Né en 1510 à Agen, Palissy a vécu à Saintonge depuis 1539, où il a commencé ses travaux d'artiste comme verrier. De 1536 à 1556, il a consacré sa vie à connaître le secret des émaux, transmettant son art à ses fils et à de nombreux disciples. Son activité d'arpenteur-géomètre a continué pendant les années de persécution religieuse: il a été incarcéré à la Conciergerie de Bordeaux à la fin de l'année 1562, accusé d'avoir participé aux troubles fomentés par les huguenots de Saintes en mai. Entre 1566 et 1571, il a construit pour Catherine de Médicis une grotte en poterie vernissée pour le jardin du château des Tuileries, dont il a donné une description très précise dans l'*Architecture et ordonnance de la grotte rustique de Mgr le duc de Montmorancy*. Après la Saint-Barthélemy (1572), il s'est réfugié à Sedan où il a vécu avec sa famille jusqu'en 1576, continuant son activité de céramiste-décorateur. Parallèlement, il s'est consacré à la rédaction des *Discours admirables*, publiés en 1580 à Paris. Emprisonné de décembre 1586 à janvier 1587, Palissy est repris par la Ligue (1588) et condamné à être pendu et brûlé. Cette peine commuée, il mourra deux ans plus tard de "faim, nécessité et mauvais traitement: à la Bastille, à 80 ans.

lité. Palissy n'a probablement lu que des livres écrits ou traduits en français; tout au long de son écriture il cite, commente et paraphrase la Bible, et les Psaumes surtout.

Dupuy (1894: 161) souligne que "Palissy ne distingue pas le moyen âge de l'époque romaine ou grecque. Le voile impénétrable du latin enveloppe également pour lui les vrais anciens et leurs compilateurs. De ces compilateurs le premier est Isidore".

Palissy même avoue la nature de sa formation au maréchal de Montmorency:

Si ces choses ne sont escrites à telle dexterité que vostre grandeur le mérite, il vous plaira me pardonner: ce que j'espère que ferez, veu que je ne suis ne Grec, ne Hébreu, ne Poete, ne Rhetoricien, ains un simple artisan bien pauvrement instruit aux lettres: ce neantmoins, pour ces causes, la chose de soy n'a pas moins de vertu que si elle estoit tiree d'un homme plus eloquent. J'aime mieux dire verité en mon langage rustique, que mensonge en un langage rhétorique (*Recepte veritable*: I, 48).

Palissy révisé tout le savoir par ces analyses d'expérimentateur. Il est conduit par un désir de pragmatisme, qu'il confie à ses deux personnages: *Demande* et *Responce* dans l'*Architecture et ordonnance de la grotte rustique* et dans la *Recepte veritable*, *Theorique* et *Practique* dans les *Discours admirables*. *Responce* et *Practique* représentent l'auteur et ont toujours le dernier mot.

Dans la *Recepte veritable*, c'est le personnage de *Responce* qui détient le savoir et *Demande* est un adepte de bonne volonté, très lié au savoir traditionnel. *Demande* et *Responce* discutent du projet de la construction d'un jardin, mais avant d'aborder la question, ils s'occupent d'autres sujets: la nécessité de connaissances dans l'agriculture, la présence de sels dans tous les êtres vivants, dans les minéraux et les métaux, la capacité de la terre de générer d'autres pierres.

Demande et *Responce* – les deux interlocuteurs de la *Recepte* – s'insèrent dans la tradition des dialogues de l'instruction religieuse, alors que dans les *Discours Admirables Theorique* et *Practique* font penser aux prises de position adoptées par les hommes de science et les alchimistes à la fin de ce siècle (Cameron 1990: 141).

Dans l'*Architecture et ordonnance de la grotte rustique*, *Demande* assume le rôle du naïf non saintongeais (il est pourtant bien informé), alors que *Responce* est l'architecte-maçon, admirateur enthousiaste de l'activité de Palissy.

Dans l'ouverture des *Discours*, c'est Palissy qui justifie le choix des deux personnages du dialogue dans son *Advertissement aux lecteurs*:

Amy lecteur le desir que j'ay que tu prouffites à la lecture de ce livre, m'a incité de t'advertir que tu te donnes garde de enyvrer ton esprit de sciences escriptes aux cabinets par une theorique imaginative ou crochetée de quelque livre escrit par imagination de ceux qui n'ont rien practiqué, & te donne garde de croire les opinions de ceux qui disent & soustiennent que theorique a engendré la pratique (*Discours Admirables*: II, 14).

Seule la pratique permet de connaître le réel: Palissy affirme sa position qui se détache nettement des théories platoniciennes, suivant lesquelles il existerait une idée modèle antécédente. Palissy ne suit pas non plus la science nouvelle, qui voudrait accorder théorie et pratique, et il souligne le rôle premier de la pratique.

2. *Le choix de la 'pratique'*

Si dans la Recepte on affirme l'importance de l'expérience – les deux personnages de Demande et de Responce ne sont que des porte-paroles –, dans les Discours les attaques contre le savoir transmis sont plus ouvertes: “les Anciens se sont trompés, les théoriciens se trompent, les autres mentent pour se faire valoir... Les lettrés devenus les empêcheurs d'innover et de chercher, sont sommés de se remettre à l'école analogique des choses simples et réelles” (Fragonard 1996: XXVI).

C'est la pratique qui permet de développer la théorie: il faut d'abord imaginer les choses avant de les mettre en œuvre. Palissy met en discussion l'autorité de l'ancien savoir et invite à se méfier de ceux qui affirment que la théorie a engendré la pratique.

Ceux qui enseignent telle doctrine prennent argument mal fondé, disans qu'il faut imaginer & figurer la chose que l'on veut faire en son esprit, deuant que mettre la chose à sa besongne. Si l'homme pouuait executer ses imaginations, je tiendrois leur party & opinion: mais tant s'en faut, si les choses conceües aux esprits se pouvoient executer, les souffleurs d'alchimie feroient de belles choses & ne s'amuseroyent à chercher l'espace de cinquante ans, comme plusieurs ont fait (*Discours Admirables*: II, 15).

Si cela était vrai, les chefs militaires ne perdraient jamais bataille, mais ce n'est que “l'homme bien expert et praticien” qui sait “conduire un navire par tout pays”. Par exemple, seules les études des cartes géographiques et des la cosmographie n'aideraient pas l'homme dans sa navigation:

Si la theorique figurée aux esprits des chefs de guerre se pouuait executer, ils ne perdroyent iamais bataille. J'ose dire à la confusion de ceux qui tiennent telle opinion, qu'ils ne sçauroyent faire un soulier, non pas mesmes un talon de chausse, quand ils auroyent toutes les theoriques du monde. Je demanderois à ceux qui tiennent telle opinion, quand ils auroyent estudié cinquante ans aux livres de Cosmographie et nauigation de la mer, & quand ils auroyent les cartes de toutes regions & le cadran de la mer, le compas & les instruments astronomiques, voudroyent ils pourtant entreprendre de conduire un navire par tout pays, comme fera un homme bien expert & praticien; ils n'ont garde de se mettre en ce danger, quelque theorique qu'ils ayent aprise: & quand ils auront bien disputé, il faudra qu'ils confessent que la pratique a engendré la théorique (*Discours Admirables*: II, 15).

Palissy prévient son lecteur pour qu'il soit conscient qu'il est bien possible de "sçavoir quelque chose et parler des effets naturels, sans avoir veu les livres Latins des philosophes":

Un tel propos peut auoir lieu en mon endroit, puis que par pratique je prouue en plusieurs endroits la théorique de plusieurs philosophes fause, mesmes des plus renommez & plus anciens, comme chascun pourra voir & entendre en moins de deux heures, moyennant qu'il vueille prendre la peine de venir voir mon cabinet (*Discours Admirables*: II, 15).

Palissy réalise aussi un lieu d'étude et de rencontre où il est possible de découvrir, de visiter, de voir et toucher ce que la pratique met à disposition de la connaissance. L'*Advertissement des Discours* se termine par l'invitation à faire visite à cet atelier, sa "petite Académie":

En cest endroit je suis exempt de telle moquerie; par ce qu'en prouuant mes raisons escrites, je contente la veüe, l'ouye & l'atouchement: à raison dequoy, les calomniateurs n'auront points lieu en mon endroit: comme tu verras lors que tu me viendras voir en ma petite Academie (*Discours Admirables*: II, 16-17).

L'*Académie* désigne d'abord un lieu d'enseignement, puis le sens devient plus élitiste désignant "une réunion de personnes qui font profession de Belles Lettres, des sciences ou des Beaux Arts" (*Dictionnaire de l'Académie*). Fragonard (1996: II, 17) met en évidence que "Palissy annexe ainsi un terme prestigieux, qui désigne à la fois les réunions des doctes, et le lieu où il est entreposé le matériel de fossiles et curiosités qu'il décrit à la fin de son livre". Celui qui aura la patience d'aller visiter l'atelier de Palissy découvrira "des choses merveilleuses... mises pour tesmoignage et preuve de mes escrits", et pourra apprendre en une seule journée ce qu'il apprendrait autrement au cours de plusieurs années d'études et de lectures.

La philosophie discute le savoir relatif aux sciences naturelles, mais ce savoir doit être complété par l'expérience. C'est pourquoi Palissy veut prendre ses distances des philosophes livresques, ou des alchimistes, qui n'ont aucune observation du réel. Dans la *Recepte veritable* (I, 54) Palissy donnait déjà des conseils de formation: "Je te prie instruire les laboureurs, qui ne sont literez, à ce qu'ils ayent songneusement à s'estudier en la Philosophie naturelle, suivant mon conseil". Il imagine son savoir tel qu'un chauderon, où l'expérience est l'ingrédient principal:

PRATIQUE – Veux tu que je te dise le livre des Philosophes, où j'ay appris ces beaux secrets? ce n'a esté qu'un chauderon à demy plein d'eau, lequel en bouillant quant l'eau estoit un peu asprement poussée par la chaleur du cul du chauderon, elle se souslevoit jusques par-dessus ledit chauderon: & cela ne se pouvoit faire qu'il n'y eust quelque vent engendré dedans l'eau par la vertu du feu, d'autant que le chauderon n'estoit à demy plein d'eau quand elle estoit froide, & estoit plein quand elle estoit chaude (*Des eaux et fontaines*: II, 44-45).

Toute démonstration commence par la nécessité de contredire le savoir qui n'est pas fondé sur l'expérience. Dans sa théorie sur l'eau, Palissy décrit deux types d'eau, l'eau commune –

l'eau de pluie –, et l'eau dite *congélatrice*, susceptible de se solidifier, telle que l'eau de mer (Zanola 2008b: 176-178). "L'eau est le véhicule des substances dissoutes, qu'il désigne d'abord sous le nom quasi mystérieux de cinquième élément, mais qu'il range par la suite dans la catégorie du sel, *sensu lato*" observe Michel (1951: 21), et ajoute: "Palissy, puisque tout est eau, persistera à dénommer ainsi la plupart des substances à l'état solide, même celles qui, dans leur formule de constitution (qu'il ignorait), sont exemptes de monoxyde d'hydrogène" (1951: 22). Dans le *Traité des métaux et alchimie*, nous pouvons lire un passage où *Practique* résume d'abord ses idées, pour souligner ensuite l'intérêt de son point de vue par rapport aux connaissances précédentes:

PRACTIQUE – Nous pouvons donc assurer qu'il y a deux eaux, l'une est exalative & l'autre essencie, congelative & generative, lesquelles deux eaux sont entremêlées l'une parmi l'autre en telle sorte qu'il est impossible les distinguer au paravant que l'une des deux soit congelée (*Traité des métaux et alchimie*: II, 142).

THEORIQUE – Il y a bien peu d'hommes qui veulent croire ce que tu dis: parce qu'ils voudront s'arrester aux philosophes antiques.

PRACTIQUE – Tu diras ce que tu voudras: Mais si est ce, que quand tu auras bien examiné toutes choses par les effets du feu, tu trouveras mon dire véritable, & me confesseras que le commencement & origine de toutes choses naturelles est eau: l'eau generative de la semence humaine & brutale, n'est pas eau commune, l'eau qui cause la germination de tous arbres & plantes, n'est pas eau commune, & combien que nul arbre, ny plante, ny nature humaine, ny brutale, ne sauroit vivre sans l'ayde de l'eau commune, si est ce que parmi icelle, il y en a une autre germinative congelative, sans laquelle nulle chose ne pourroit dire je suis: c'est celle qui germine tous arbres & plantes, & qui soutient & entretient leur formation jusqu'à la fin (*Ibid.*: 144-145).

Dans le traité *Des pierres*, l'argumentation de *Practique* tourne autour de l'importance de l'expérience, source de connaissance. Ne pas reconnaître sa valeur est une admission d'ignorance, puisqu'il n'y a que la nature qui puisse vraiment être le sujet d'étude principal:

THEORIQUE – Et où est ce que tu as trouvé cela par escript, ou bien di moy en quelle escole as-tu esté, où tu puisses avoir entendu ce que tu dis?

PRACTIQUE – Je n'ay point eu d'autre livre que le ciel & la terre, lequel est conneu de tous, & est donné à tous de connoistre à lire ce beau livre (*Traité des pierres*: II, 221).

Nous savons déjà que Palissy avait rassemblé un "cabinet de curiosités" composé d'éléments de minéralogie (Fragonard 1996: 360). A la fin de ses *Discours admirables*, dans la *Copie des escripts*, Palissy rappelle que tout ce qu'il a écrit sur les pierres se fonde sur ce qu'il a observé et trouvé dans la nature: il invite son interlocuteur imaginaire à visiter son Académie parce qu'il y trouvera tout ce qui est décrit dans son ouvrage:

J'ay mis en ce lieu, en evidence un grand nombre de pierres par lesquelles tu pourras aisément connoistre estre veritables, les raisons & preuves que j'ay mises au traité des pierres. Et si tu n'es du tout aliené de sens, tu le confesseras apres avoir eu la demonstration des pierres naturelles: lesquelles j'a figuré en mon livre, parce que tous ceux qui verront le livre, n'auront pas le moyen de voir ces choses naturelles: mais ceux qui les verront en leurs formes naturelles, seront contrains confesser, qu'il est impossible qu'elles eussent prins les formes qu'elles ont, sans que la matiere eut esté liquide & fluide (*Copie des escrits*: II, 362).

Palissy conclue ses dialogues par un véritable parcours d'exposition, qui lui permet de réviser l'enseignement distribué et le savoir jusque-là illustré. Palissy nous avait prévenu dans son *Advertissement* (II, 16) que dans son cabinet "l'on verra des choses merveilleuses qui sont mises pour tesmoignage & preuve de mes escrits, attachez par ordre ou par estages, avec certains escriteaux au dessouz". En peu d'heures, le visiteur est ainsi mis en mesure d'apprendre "plus de philosophie naturelle [...] que tu ne sçaurait apprendre en cinquante ans, en lisant les theoriques & opinions des philosophes anciens". Un défi séduisant.

3. Conclusion

La *Practique* de Palissy est une pratique faite d'expérience, d'étude et d'observation: il n'est pas intéressé à opposer la théorie à la pratique pour une intention de discussion philosophique, à son avis il est nécessaire que les études soient fondées sur les phénomènes naturels si elles veulent avancer. La pratique et l'expérience sont les fondements de toute connaissance, une connaissance qui n'est jamais séparée de la "sapience", c'est-à-dire de l'amour de Dieu, affirme Palissy, avec toute la force de sa logique:

Je me doute que ceux que tu appelles Philosophes, ne soyent les plus grands ennemis de Philosophie. Car si tu sçavois que c'est que Philosophie tu connoistrois que ceux qui cherchent à faire l'or et l'argent, ne meritent pas ce titre: par ce que Philosophe veut dire amateur de sapience. Or Dieu est sapience; l'on ne peut donc aimer sapience sans aymer Dieu. Et je m'emervaille comment un tas de faux monnoyeurs, lesquels ne s'estudient qu'à tromperies & malices, n'ont honte de se mettre au rang des philosophes. Or comme j'ay dit des le commencement, l'avarice est racine de tous maux, & ceux qui cherchent à faire l'or & l'argent, ne peuvent estre exemps du titre d'avaricieux, & estans avaricieux, ne peuvent estre dits philosophes ny compris au nombre de ceux qui aiment sapience (*Traité des métaux et alchimie*: II, 135-136).

Palissy ne pose pas de séparation entre les procédures de validation scientifique et l'adhésion aux dogmes religieux. Les digressions sont fréquentes et voulues, mais les plus nombreuses trahissent son enthousiasme de réformé et sa nécessité apologetique. Cameron affirme qu'"il faut penser, aussi, que Palissy le chrétien a voulu substituer à la science qui ne cherchait que le gain personnel une science qui contribuerait au bien général, une science qui serait fon-

dée non sur des idées païennes mais, ostensiblement du moins, sur la religion chrétienne” (1990: 136), et il ajoute que Palissy a prouvé que “la science ne peut faire des avances valables que si la raison et l’expérience marchent de pair” (1990: 143).

Palissy a présenté ses découvertes sous une forme accessible grâce aux possibilités dialectiques offertes par le dialogue, et il a ainsi pu illustrer les contacts entre les intérêts humanistes et scientifiques d’un savant de la Renaissance.

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TRANSLATING THE LEXICAL ITEM: ARGUING OVER DOMINANCE, DOMINATION AND HEGEMONY

DEREK BOOTHMAN

1. *Introduction*

1.1 The background to hegemony

The present essay originates from a recently published study of the background sources for the concept of hegemony as developed in the notebooks that the Italian Marxist, Antonio Gramsci, wrote in a fascist gaol from 1929 until his strength gave out, two years before his death in 1937. These *Prison Notebooks* (*Quaderni del Carcere*) began to be published in Italy in the late 1940s and then in English, first in a couple of slim, very partial, and rather unsatisfactory volumes in 1957, followed by a substantial three-volume anthology in over 1300 pages (plus critical apparatus), beginning in 1971 with *Selections from the Prison Notebooks*, and then by a still ongoing project to produce an English translation of the Notebooks in their integral form¹.

About half a dozen main sources feed into Gramsci's concept of hegemony: Marx's 1859 preface to *A Contribution to a Critique of Political Economy*; use of the word within the Italian socialist movement, sometimes with reference to the political situation around the Adriatic; use of the concept and word *gegemoniya* among the Bolsheviks², especially but not exclusively by Lenin; the philosopher Benedetto Croce's concept of «ethico-political history» (hegemony in an incomplete and mutilated form, according to Gramsci); Machiavelli's metaphor of the centaur – half man and half animal, representing consent and force – as well as his use of language³; Gramsci's own analysis of the various real situations considered; and of course his own university linguistic training (Boothman 2008a, 2008b). All these factors converged to produce “hegemony” as it emerged and developed throughout the six-year span that the *Notebooks* occupied, from its first appearance as «egemonia politica», glossed as «direzione» («leadership»), to the observation in the last *Notebook* (on Gram-

¹ Gramsci 1971, Gramsci 1985, Gramsci 1995. The integral translation is Gramsci 1992-present.

² Leaving aside translations Gramsci commissioned from Russian in the 1919-20 period, the first use he himself made of the word “egemonia” is, it seems in letters written from Vienna (December 1923-Spring 1924) immediately after his stay in the Soviet Union and frequent contacts with the Bolshevik leaders there; a selection of these pre-prison letters, including the Vienna ones, is scheduled for 2009.

³ Machiavelli pays great attention to the attainment of consent by negotiation between leaders and led, thereby transforming the crowd (“multitudine sciolta”) into the people (“popolo”); see Fontana 1993, 130-1.

mar) that «every time the language question surfaces it means that a series of other questions are coming to the fore» that pose the «necessity ... to reorganize cultural hegemony»⁴.

1.2 Comparing “hegemony” in Italian and English: two corpora

The 1971 translation, fundamental as regards purely political aspects of the *Notebooks*, was instrumental in putting into circulation in the English-speaking world a number of innovative concepts, including crucially hegemony. These concepts found widespread application in various fields, among them history, sociology, ethnic and gender studies, cultural studies and political theory and science; the latter includes increasingly important disciplinary fields such as subaltern studies, International Political Economy and International Relations. Somewhat schematically, it may be said that from its ancient Greek historical origins as a military concept, hegemony then developed a near-purely political side, before undergoing a shift at the hands of Gramsci to include not only political aspects, but those of culture (in the broad sense, as understood by anthropologists or by critics such as Raymond Williams), language, economics and other sectors. To try to see how hegemony began to be interpreted and applied, in other words how the English-speaking academic community has *translated* hegemony from its Gramscian context, is a large undertaking and the present, necessarily provisional, essay examines just one aspect of this process. It makes use of the fortunate fact that the *British National Corpus*, assembled to give a fair and representative sample of British English, offering among other things a cross-section of academic writings, was compiled over a period of some dozen to twenty five years after the 1971 *Selections* anthology. This time lapse offered a near-perfect opportunity for Gramscian ideas to percolate through and be applied to conditions in Anglophone culture. The *BNC* therefore is a useful reference corpus to compare with the *Quaderni*, naturally to be used judiciously and, for a fuller study than the present one, together with other sources, but it contains material that helps understand how the concept “hegemony” has been understood and translated in an academic setting. As is known, the *BNC* includes a wide range of oral and written discourse (ca. 10% and 90% of 100 million words respectively), and, not surprisingly, the extracts of publications of the authors in whom the root *hegemon** occurs (extracts amounting to within 1% of 5 million words, as compared with ca. 1 million in the *Quaderni*) are limited, with a few exceptions, to written academic discourse. Together, the noun and adjectival forms appear 386 and ca. 350 times in the *Quaderni* and the *BNC* respectively.

This paper examines, through use of the *BNC*, whether one may detect a Gramscian influence, i.e. a *translation* of the term “hegemony” that differs from previous uses in Anglophone culture. It is far too easy – and inaccurate – to say that the English “hegemony” is just the translation of a Greek, or an Italian or Russian etc., term, of the same root. What

⁴ Gramsci 1985, 183–4 (translation slightly modified) for the language question in reorganizing hegemony; the first occurrence of “egemonia” is in *Notebook* 1, §44.

is relevant, instead, is translation in the sense of how the *meaning* of a term is modified and extended on going from one discourse or paradigm to another. Section 1 of this paper consequently reconstructs the meanings of hegemony contained in the *BNC*, attempting to trace, necessarily somewhat partially, how the uses of “hegemony” and “hegemonic” have – and in some cases have definitely not – been influenced by Gramsci’s writings, i.e. the basic consonance, or otherwise, of meaning in the *BNC* compared with the *Prison Notebooks* (for his general influence in Anglophone culture readers are referred to various studies on the subject. See Boothman 2004-05, Boothman (in press), Eley 1984a, Eley 1984b and Forgas 1989). In Section 2 we look at the fruitful application of the concept “hegemony” to new areas, crucial to the translation process given that a word, in acquiring its meaning from its overall linguistic-cultural context, then undergoes a partial semantic extension when used in new contexts.

<i>Quaderni del carcere</i>		<i>Quaderni del carcere</i>		<i>BNC</i>	
SEMANTIC AREA: COLLOCATION WITH <i>EGEMONIC*</i> (56 OCCURRENCES)	USE (EXPRESSE D AS %)	SEMANTIC AREA: COLLOCATION WITH <i>EGEMONE/I</i> (33 OCCURRENCES)	USE (EXPRESSE D AS %)	SEMANTIC AREA: COLLOCATION WITH <i>HEGEMONIC</i> (99 OCCURRENCES)	USE (EXPRESSE D AS %)
funzione	20			mission/function/role	7
		classi/gruppi sociali	33	class/fraction/bloc	21
costruzione/sistema/ elemento	11			structure/model/ control/authority	14
		forza (militare/politica)	15		
Stato/nazione	13	Stato/nazione ecc.	33	State/country/ nation etc. ⁵	4
		gruppi territoriali	6		
quistione/influenza/ atteggiamento/esponente	8			theory/ideology/claim/ tradition/project	8
lotta (tra principii)	4			Struggle	2
				power (not sense of nation)	5
		cultura	3	culture	8
Posizioni	2			Position	5
Other uses of concept	42		10		26 ⁶
Total	100		100		100

Table 1: Comparative collocations (expressed as a %) between the adjectives *egemone/i*, *egemonic** (*Quaderni del carcere*) and *hegemonic* (*BNC*) and the semantic areas of their respective nouns⁷.

The table indicates the similar fields for which the English “hegemonic” and its Italian equivalents are used; “hegemonic” – ignoring the rare idiosyncratic variant “hegemonial” – cov-

⁵ Strangely, there are no occurrences of the adjective “hegemonic” in references to ancient history and pre-modern history (*BNC*) although, as observed, there are frequent usages of the noun “hegemony”.

⁶ Including “hegemonic practice”, perhaps a convergence, as some attempted especially in the 1970s, between Gramsci’s historicist and Althusser’s structuralist approaches.

⁷ Adjectives only are considered in this table. The noun form (ca. 330 occurrences in the *BNC* and 297, including ten in the plural) is dealt with in the second part of the paper.

ers both adjectival forms “egemone/i” and “egemonic*”. By highlighting major fields of use, Table 1 gives some hint of where developments may have taken place in translating the concept into Anglophone culture. Given that “hegemony” occurs rarely outside the confines of “cultural”-political-academic discourse, it may be assumed that, within limits, the use of “hegemonic” reflects usage at the time the *BNC* was compiled and, presumably to a great extent, is still currently being used. First, “State/nation/power” is found with both Italian adjectives in Gramsci, but more frequently with *egemone/i*; in this collocation it *is* found, but to a much lesser extent in English (only 4%). However in probably under-representing the recent disciplinary field of International Political Economy, the *BNC* sample may be somewhat skew for current use of “hegemonic”, and the percentage reported may therefore be an underestimate of current use in this semantic-academic field. Second, “class”, together to a lesser extent with “culture”, is the only notion (with a minor exception for State/nation/power) for which “hegemonic” here corresponds to “egemone/i”, the collocation with “class” accounting for 29% of the *BNC* occurrences of “hegemonic”. Third, for all other uses of “hegemonic” in the *BNC* (ca. 2/5 of the uses of the word) there is a correspondence between “hegemonic” and “egemonic*”. Last, “culture” appears to collocate more with “hegemonic” than “cultura” does with “egemone”, and thus at first sight culture and hegemony seem to be a more common coupling of concepts in English than in Italian. This however is misleading given the standard collocation “egemonia culturale” in Italian, which is also found eleven times in the *Notebooks*.

2. *The uses of the word “hegemony”*

2.1 The historians of the Early Middle Ages

First, what was actually understood by “hegemony” up to recent times, i.e. the last three or four decades? The full OED (CD-ROM version) gives the meaning as «leadership, predominance, preponderance; esp. the leadership or predominant authority of one state of a confederacy or union over the others [...]», with reference to ancient Greece in particular, the meaning here being very close to the one Gramsci was familiar with through use by Italian socialists. Such is also the use among the *BNC* entries relating to ancient through to early medieval British history. On this latter, the *BNC* contains very interesting comments linking political and military power with the concepts of overlordship and hegemony for some of the major regions of what was eventually to emerge as England and Scotland. “Overlordship” is akin to “hegemony”, but explicitly includes the formal recognition of a hierarchy between rulers or petty kingdoms, i.e. suzerainty. Schematically, it may also be suggested that “hegemony” and “domination” are used *almost* synonymously, “domination” having more military overtones and “hegemony” a more political – “civil” or “proto-state” – sense, except when hegemony is defined in the Greek sense of military hegemony. An example of this is seen in the comment, referring to interpretations of Ecgrifith’s reign that «there was undoubtedly a tendency to push back in time the establishment of a far-flung military hege-

mony». The contrast made by the same author between the two concepts “dominance” (or “domination”) and “hegemony”, the latter linked but not equivalent to military power, emerges from the explanation that «the creation of a Midland hegemony was achieved by a remarkable series of expansionist campaigns [...]» and the inconceivability that «Eadwine was able to extend his hegemony southwards without first achieving domination of the Mercians» (Kirby 1992: 68). The political-state aspect of hegemony is emphasized by another author who, in a comment on late antiquity, notes that Theudebert claimed «his hegemony [...] stretched from Visigothic Spain to Thuringia, from the North Sea to the Danube and Pannonia» (Wood 1994).

Given the origins of “hegemony” in the ancient world, it is not surprising that there is no detectable influence of Gramsci in these extracts. The use in English of the concept by the historians here cited appears to be an unmediated translation of a meaning originating in classical antiquity. Further, the same historians often conceive hegemony to be one aspect of a wider use of power within suzerainty or overlordship, opposed to or complementing dominance by force. In this sense there is sometimes fairly full compatibility between the uses of the term in these historiographical extracts and some of Gramsci’s, with the proviso that, for Gramsci, hegemony includes force allied to consent (cf. the centaur metaphor taken over from Machiavelli), with the latter normally predominating. One may note what is either a natural conservatism on the part of the historians, militating against innovative uses of the concept or, indeed, a lack of necessity felt for such innovation.

2.2 Use of the concept “hegemony” in the analysis of present-day society

2.2.1 Explicit Gramscian usages in the BNC

The ways in which different typologies of society are ruled are different, and thus so are the ways in which hegemony operates, and indeed what it – and what dominance – are in such societies. Thus, moving forward in time from the pre-feudal societies of section 1.1 to present-day “Western” society, we note a radical shift in the meaning of “hegemony”, as is indicated in a number of *BNC* extracts that make specific reference to Gramscian uses of “hegemony”. Young, for example, states that «as Gramsci pointed out ..., *hegemony* is not universal and ‘given’ to the continuing rule of a particular class» (Young 1991), while Furlong *et al.* state that «Gramsci’s most original contribution to Marxism lies in his analysis of the ways in which the state transforms coercive force into a structured more consensual domination to which he gives the name ‘hegemony’» (Furlong, Cox & Page, 1985). The latter authors thus explain, at least to a wide readership in the social sciences, how “hegemony” has been incorporated (translated) into Anglophone sociological discourse. They also define hegemony: «For Gramsci, class domination is not achieved through the state being dominated by the ruling class; it is achieved through a complex process of coercion and consent. This is achieved via the use of force (individuals being coerced into accepting the capitalist mode of production) and hegemony. Hegemony implies the mobilisation of the

active consent of those dominated by a ruling class through the use of intellectual, moral and political persuasion and leadership» (as elsewhere in this paper, we leave aside eventual differing interpretations of Gramsci, here whether acceptance of the capitalist mode of production is coercive or consensual.) The fundamental difference between rule in modern and pre-feudal societies emerge clearly, with the meaning attached to “hegemony” – i.e. its translation into a modern setting, with explicit reference to Gramsci’s conceptualization – being very different in the two types of society.

Another extract from Furlong *et al.* illustrates one particular school of thought: «the capitalist ruling class are able to ensure their dominance over society and economy through the unequal competition between different ideologies. In this way, thought and action are conditioned to serve the interests of capitalism through an ideological hegemony» (Furlong, Cox & Page 1985: 266). This has a Gramscian ring to it, although Gramscian scholars will not be surprised that the syntagm “egemonia ideologica” is nowhere to be found in the *Prison Notebooks* (searchable electronic Italian version consulted). What one sees there instead are explicit references to «dominant ideology/ies»⁸, and to «a struggle of political ‘hegemonies’»⁹. The notion of “ideological hegemony” introduced here by Furlong and co-workers is, then, an extension and development of the conceptual nexus contained in the *Notebooks* (and possibly a modification of the interrelationship between its various terms), i.e. a translation of Gramsci’s ideas which, it may be said, seems to remain within his paradigm¹⁰. Other authors included in the *BNC* use yet another term in speaking of a professional development that merely serves «the interest of the dominant hegemony» (McCormick & James 1990: 40). Given that Gramsci’s reference to struggles between hegemonies, it is legitimate to think that a particular hegemony is indeed dominant even though, again, the syntagm “egemonia dominante” is not in the *Notebooks*. One does, however, find there a comment on a situation (termed Caesarism or Bonapartism)¹¹ in which «the forces in conflict», thus including their rival hegemonies, «balance each other ... in such a way that the conflict can only terminate in their reciprocal destruction»; in other words there is a struggle for dominance. A similar concept of competing hegemonies is found in the *BNC* in a work on women, medicine and sexuality in Britain, in which Frank Mort writes of «a much more unstable hegemony [...] successfully challenged by competing groups» (Mort 1987: 116). While not using Gramscian syntagms, it may be said that the authors of these extracts creatively translate Gramscian meanings into their particular setting.

⁸ For the singular see Notebook 4, §7 (first draft) and Notebook 11, §37 (final version), the definitive latter version being in Gramsci 1995: 293. For the plural see Gramsci 1996, p. 33 (i.e. Notebook 3, §34), which gives the precise translation (“dominant ideologies” rather than the “ruling ideologies” preferred in Gramsci 1971, 276).

⁹ Notebook 11, §12; see Gramsci 1971, 333.

¹⁰ Cf. Liguori’s essay “Ideologia” in the authoritative collective volume of Rome’s “Seminario gramsciano”, *Le parole di Gramsci* (Liguori 2004, 131-49, especially pp. 142-3 and 147).

¹¹ Notebook 9, §133; the rewritten version (Notebook 13, §27: Gramsci 1971, 219) omits the “Bonapartism” of the first draft, retaining only “Caesarism”.

2.2.2 Non-Gramscian uses of “hegemony” in the BNC

Different from Furlong *et al.*, what appears to be a minority of the sociologists of modern societies use “hegemony” to mean merely “dominance”, a use – at odds with most previous ones in English – which, given the entire history of the term, leaves the present writer somewhat nonplussed. As representative quotations, one may cite Smith and Hollis’s contention that «the critical mechanism employed by Neo-Realism is termed ‘hegemonic stability’ (‘hegemony’ meaning ‘domination’, from the Greek *hegemon*, a leader)» and Sheard *et al.*’s explanatory glosses «The structuration of the business class as a whole has, to a considerable extent, been determined by the hegemony [dominance] within it of the establishment families», and «containment of capitalism within a patrician hegemony [ideological dominance] which never [...] actively favoured the aggressive development of industrialism or the general conversion of society to the latter’s values and interests» (Smith & Hollis 1990; Sheard, Stanworth, Bilton, Jones & Bonnett 1992). Another synonymous use of the two terms comes in a collectively authored volume: «The Conservative hegemony of the interwar years still awaits an adequate explanation, and the Conservative dominance between 1951 and 1964 [...] has escaped the white heat of historical investigation» (Green 1991). Sometimes, instead, one wonders whether dominance and hegemony, rather than being considered as synonyms, have perhaps been interchanged, as in R.J. Johnston’s comment «The reason for ... the consequent Conservative dominance of Dukeries’ politics, was the colliery companies’ hegemony» (Johnston 1991). “Dominance” might possibly here be used loosely in a non-technical sense, but one important view of mining holds that, before nationalization, most British miners regarded the colliery companies as exerting coercive domination rather than hegemony based on consent. Johnston, while using the terms “coercion” and “consent”, then reiterates the view that the employers were hegemonic, thereby partially confirming that his non-Gramscian use of the concept.

2.2.3 The spread of Gramscian influence

As compared with Section 2.2.2, where a radically different conceptualization of hegemony emerges is in a volume edited by John Allen and Doreen Massey. Through the reviews *Marxism Today* in the 1980s and *Soundings* today, Massey has long been involved with Gramscian sectors of the British left, and “hegemony” as used in this book is indeed the (or “a”) Gramscian translation of it into British culture. In contrast to the examples in 1.2.2, the Marxist economist Laurence Harris, author of one of the book’s essays, introduces a distinction between “hegemony” and “dominance”, making them near-rivals. Especially in the light of the other usages of “hegemony” in the *BNC* extracts from this book, “or”, in the comment that «This system in turn rests on and reflects the domination (or hegemony) of particular nations» (Harris 1988: 33)¹², is to be read as a choice between alternatives, not an explanatory gloss. His point here is, seem-

¹² Allen & Massey (eds.) 1988; the essays included in the BNC extract are by Laurence Harris, Doreen Massey and John Allen, in that order.

ingly, that the hegemony of a particular national economy within the world economy *leads* other nations to adopt features of the economically hegemonic nation, whereas dominance may not imply this. In the score of times “hegemony” and “hegemonic” are used in the *BNC* extracts from the book, usage conforms fairly well to the Gramscian distinction between dominance and hegemony, with perhaps three examples of overlap.

Moving from economics to education, we have a classic example of implicit Gramscian (opposed here to Althusserian) influence in Thomas’s observation: «Traditional Marxist explanations, such as that of Althusser [...] had seen education as reproducing the relations of dominance and subordinacy necessary to the maintenance of the capitalist state [... L]ater Marxist explanations [...] move away from a deterministic model towards a looser one, which emphasizes hegemony and cultural resistance» (Thomas 1990: 15). The distinction between dominance and hegemony is fundamental, with a strong implicit reference to Gramscian concepts (Thomas 1990). The extended title of Mort’s volume, commented on above, indicates a very interesting contraposition: “Dangerous sexualities. The Sanitary Principle in Dominance: Medical Hegemony and Feminist Response 1860-1880. 1. Medical Hegemony And Social Policy 1850-1870” (Mort 1987). Hegemony, of the medical hierarchy here and “purity” elsewhere, is apparently part of an overall “dominance”. This dominance (or domination)-hegemony coupling may be compared with the similar juxtaposition of Gramsci’s: «the supremacy of a social group manifests itself in two ways, as ‘domination’ and as ‘intellectual and moral leadership’» (Gramsci 1971: 45) over the adversary and the allied groups respectively. The context is that of the Risorgimento, “leadership” being linked through parliamentary “transformism” to «the action of intellectual, moral and political hegemony»¹³. This latter phrase is almost certainly the source of the definition of hegemony by Furlong *et alii* (see above), who also note, in a similar conceptual juxtaposition, that «the power bloc is working to maintain the hegemony of the dominant class» (Furlong *et alii*, 1985: 69).

3. *Creative translation: the new fields of application of “hegemony”*

Section 2 of this paper has tried to illustrate the various current meanings of “hegemony” in Anglophone culture and, by comparison with the *Prison Notebooks*, show the influence there of Gramsci’s writings. We now go on to single out a number of new fields, relying again on the *BNC*, in which the concept of hegemony is presently being used in Britain, where hegemony manifests itself and where there are hegemonic struggles. This exercise helps demonstrate the application in a non-Italian culture of a concept, not uniquely but partially, and probably to a large extent, influenced by Gramsci. The proviso must however be added that, without a detailed analysis of the whole of the various extracts in which “hege-

¹³ See the extended note in Notebook 19, §24, translated as “The problem of political leadership in the development of the nation and the modern state in Italy” in Gramsci 1971, 57-58.

mony” and its adjectival forms occur, the immediate context of a few lines might on occasion lead to some uncertainty. Here we select just some of the fields where the use of hegemony seems innovatory as compared with the *Prison Notebooks* and which thus represent, as noted, not the straightforward use of the word but a creative translation of the concept, through extension of its connotations, into a target culture. Among the representative examples are the fields of the social sciences and sexuality, gender and ethnicity (where not included above); religion; the arts, including various literary and musical genres; institutions and professions, including feminist critiques of hierarchies of power and knowledge; fashion and food; and science and technology.

Referring to the most widespread ideology of all, religion, rival “catholic nationalist” and “protestant-loyalist” hegemonies figure in an analysis of Northern Ireland (Fulton 1991). Critiques of academic power structures, and the claimed subaltern position of their authors, emerge forcefully in the comment that none of the «elements of Women’s Studies material» introduced «into the curriculum which [...] has also made space for Black Studies, the teaching of race relations and working-class history [...] has posed any particular threat to the hegemony of traditional discipline and patterns of academic thought and women can be incorporated as easily as the rest» (Lovett 1988: 200). On racism and ethnicity, it is observed that ideology has created «the perceptions and beliefs in individuals deemed necessary to reproduce the political and economic structures of class and/or ethnic hegemony». Consequently «forms of discourse and power [...] establish a pervasive framework of values, beliefs, ideals and aspirations. As a result, the ideology of the dominant class – or ‘race’ – comes to be accepted as self evident ‘common sense’ by large sections of society” (Donald & Rattansi 1993: 79); this particular notion of “common sense” is quite evidently of Gramsci derivation.

In literary studies we read of one genre fighting for «its own hegemony in literature; wherever it triumphs, the older genres go into decline» (Bakhtin 1981: 3), and «anthropology, psychoanalysis, philosophy, history, cybernetics, information theory, semiotics and, of course, linguistics have all left their mark on structuralist discourse about literature. The hegemony of the linguistic model (the premise of all structuralist thought) acquires a special significance in the sphere of literature» (Jefferson & Robey 1986). On fashion and food, Diana Simmonds refers to the «hegemony of dowdiness» and that of «French cuisine (cuisine ancienne)» (Simmonds 1991: 129). Just one of many comments on hegemony in the music sphere (here relating also to ethnicity) is Sebba’s «The interpretive community formed around Rasta language and symbols, presided over and tutored in dread ethics by Marley and other outernational reggae artists, simply could not withstand these changes. Its cultural and political hegemony began to dissolve’ (Gilroy 1987: 190)» (Sebba 1993: 8). “Hegemony”, as used for literary and musical culture, is somewhat innovatory compared to Gramsci, who in these fields discusses hegemony, not so much explicitly as implicitly, often in terms of a national-popular culture partly characterized by melodrama and its manifestations in either novels or nineteenth-century opera.

4. *Some general conclusions*

This paper has analysed the uses of the terms “hegemony/egemonia” and their corresponding adjectives in the *Prison Notebooks* (*Quaderni del carcere*) of Antonio Gramsci and the *British National Corpus*. First, one notes a natural conservatism regarding the use of hegemony in one field (ancient through to early mediaeval history) that seems exempt from Gramscian influence. Second, in the *BNC* categorization of the social sciences and world affairs, Gramsci is sometimes explicitly quoted on hegemony, while at other times his influence, although evident, is implicit; in a small minority of cases, however, the use of “hegemony” is quite at odds with that of Gramsci. Third, of interest for the translation of the concept of hegemony from his paradigmatic discourse to those of Anglophone culture are the modifications, sometimes quite subtle, that the concept undergoes in this latter culture in fields analogous to those he analysed. Finally, what is of great interest for the history of ideas and the question of translation between paradigms are the ways in which, in extending the first Gramscian uses in Anglophone culture of the concept “hegemony” in fields common to those of the *Notebooks*, “hegemony” is then fruitfully employed in fields other than those in which Gramsci originally used it.

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ARGUMENTATION ACROSS CONTRASTS IN M. DE UNAMUNO'S "TWO MOTHERS"

OLGA CHESNOKOVA

The article deals with the role of contrasts in the argumentative strategies created by the short novel *Dos madres / Two Mothers* by the great Spanish writer, poet, philosopher and educator Miguel de Unamuno (1864-1936).

According to Bakhtin (2002: 39), a novel "is plasticity itself, opening many possibilities of dialogicity". Unamuno's short novel *Two Mothers* seems very attractive for reflecting on the argumentation and word meaning, as the collisions of this text suppose and even predetermine the interactions in an argumentative dialogue, as there are many contradictory events and emotions to be expressed and argued. The short novel *Two Mothers* belongs to Unamuno's cycle *Tres novelas ejemplares y un prólogo / Three Exemplary Novels and a Prologue* (1920). As well as his great predecessor and compatriot Miguel de Cervantes Saavedra, Miguel de Unamuno called his short novels *exemplary*, as there may be discovered many lessons and much wisdom. Personality, love, suffering, pity, faith, hope, charity, destiny of Spain – these are constant topics of Unamuno's writings as a whole, as well as of the *Three Exemplary Novels and a Prologue*.

The descriptions of space and time commentaries in these exemplary novels are very scanty. Still it doesn't deprive characters of any historical and social authenticity, but, on the contrary, it makes even more impressive their personalities, the internal reality of their souls. The textual organization of *Two Mothers* includes narrative fragments and theatrical dialogues. The characters are: Don Juan; Raquel, a childless widow; Berta Lapeira, Don Juan's fiancée and his wife afterward. The plot is based on the "one man - two women" triangle. Don Juan is in love with Raquel, the childless widow. Raquel is sterile and to satisfy her gnawing hunger for motherhood she decides to look for a young and healthy fiancée for her beloved Don Juan. It is Berta Lapeira, who according to Raquel, has to become mother of Juan's child. Berta gives birth to a daughter, who is also named Raquel. Rushing about the two women, Juan perishes in an accident. Raquel captures all his possessions and persuades Berta and her parents to let her have Juan's daughter. As is shown by Lotman (1970: 357), any artistic text possesses multilayer intertextual relations with other texts. The text *Dos madres / Two Mothers* reveals clear allusions to the Old Testament, to Rachel's Story (Genesis 29-30; 35) and to the story of the Two Mothers and King Solomon's judgment.

So, the main event of the text is the struggle of two women for Don Juan and for his will. The conversations between the characters as well as the narrator's dialogue with the

reader constitute a really inspiring linguistic material for studying word meaning in dialogic interaction and argumentation.

Reading the text, one may come across numerous expressions of contrasts and oppositions. As far as Unamunian mentality and Spanish mentality on the whole are concerned, as mentioned by Del Rio (1956: 20), “contradiction and conflict have become part of the Spanish being, and Unamuno, well prepared for it by temperament and education, chose to make of it the center of his spiritual life”.

So, the hypothesis consists in a unique role of the contrasts which originally organize the text *Dos madres / Two Mothers* and may be considered as its specific argumentative strategy. Therefore, the investigation was aimed at studying contrasts in figures of speech, figures of thought, arguments and counter-arguments in the text.

In the very beginning of the text we observe the narrator’s reflections on the essence of the relations between Don Juan and Raquel, where the antonyms *vida – muerte / life – death* structure their tragic sense:

Su amor era un amor furioso, con sabor a **muerte**, que buscaba dentro de su hombre, tan dentro de él, que de él se salía, algo de más allá de la **vida** (43)¹ / Her love was a violent love that savored of **death**, that searched within her man, so very deep within him, that it emerged from him like something beyond **life**. (72).

Topics of maternity and paternity are semiotically important for the plot. Kinship terms *padre – madre / father – mother* are rather frequent in the text. Their opposition in dialogues and in the narrator’s discourse also structures and aesthetically marks the intrigue. In the following segment, we find the opposition of nouns *mother – father*, in a persuasive discourse of Raquel addressed to Don Juan, when Raquel, as it is typical for practically all her utterances, justifies her own norms and convinces Juan of the unjustifiable truth of her statements. Raquel’s utterances show that she chooses formulations that attribute positive connotations to their ethically unacceptable content:

Raquel.- <...> Hazte **padre**, Juan, hazte **padre**, ya que no has podido hacerme **madre** (45) / Raquel. <...> Juan, become a **father** since you have not been able to make me a **mother** (75).

Obtaining the results in the argumentative struggles of the characters comes across their feelings and emotions, which are complicated and intricate, cf. the narrator’s reflection on the contradictory emotions, gripping Raquel:

Al decir esto se reía con **una risa** que parecía a **llanto** (46) / As she said this she laughed; her **laugh** sounded like a **sob** (77).

¹ References in Spanish according to Unamuno 1999, in English according to Unamuno 1956, in Russian according to Unamuno 1981.

In many fragments of the text there can be discovered contrasts based on concepts *heaven – hell*, *angel – devil (demon)*. In many sequences of the text Berta is being defined as *an angel, angelic*, while Raquel is called *a demon, or demonic*:

Y a la hija, a **la angelical Berta**, un angelito caído le susurró en el silencio de la noche y del sueño, al oído del corazón: “Te teme” (49) / And to their daughter, the **angelic Berta**, a little fallen angel whispered, speaking to the ear of her heart in the silence of the night and of dreamland: “He fears you” (84).

Berta. ¡Yo no! Esa mujer es **un demonio... un demonio** que te tiene fascinado (62) / Berta. Well, I don't! That woman is **a demon ... a demon** who has fascinated you (112).

As is typical for contrasts and antonyms, they tend to be textually associated. The following example with the same adjective *redentor / redeemer*, referring to the opposite concepts, confirms it:

El pobre Juan, ya sin don, temblaba entre las dos mujeres, entre su **ángel** y su **demonio redentores** (51) / Poor Juan, now without the “Don”, trembled between the two women, between his **angelic** and his **demonic redeemer** (88).

As is usual for Unamuno's style, contrasts and opposite word meanings don't form strict borders, but melt into each other. Thus, arguing the attributes *angel – devil* locks in the definition *fallen angel* and Raquel's attempt to convince Juan of making Berta fall:

Raquel. – Quien sabe...Pero antes dame un hijo...¿Lo oyes? Ahí está la **angelical** Berta Lapeira.¡**Angelical!** Ja...ja...ja...

Don Juan. – ¡Y tú, **demoníaca!**- gritó el hombre poniéndose en pie y costándole tenerse así.

Raquel. – **El demonio también es un ángel**, michino...

Don Juan. – Pero un **ángel caído**.

Raquel. – **Haz, pues, caer a Berta; ¡hazla caer!**(47) /

RAQUEL. Perhaps ... But first give me the child ... Do you hear? There you have the **angelic** Berta Lapeira, **Angel!** Ha ... ha ... ha ...

DON JUAN. And you, a **devil!** ... (shouting, standing up and struggling to remain so.)

RAQUEL. **The devil is also an angel**, darling.

DON JUAN. But a **fallen angel** ...

RAQUEL. **Then make Berta fall; make her fall!** (80).

The opposition and mutual attraction of the concepts *heaven – hell* is another verbal manifestation of the nerve-strain of the characters and another verbal resource of their argumentative strategies. Through this opposition Raquel justifies her actions saying that hell is a sterile womb:

Raquel. – ¿Sabes tú lo que es el **cielo**? ¿Sabes lo que es el **infierno**? ¿Sabes dónde está el **infierno**?

Don Juan. – En **el centro de la tierra**, dicen.

Raquel. – **O en el centro de un vientre estéril, acaso...** (46) /

RAQUEL. Do you know what **heaven** is? Do you know what **hell** is? Do you know where hell is?

DON JUAN. They say that in the center of the earth.

RAQUEL. Or perhaps in the center of a **sterile womb...** (77-78).

As well as it happens with the nouns *angel – devil*, an analogous example of locking contrasts can be found with the nouns *heaven – hell*:

Don Juan. – **Que eres mi cielo.**

Raquel. – **Ortas veces dices que tu infierno...**

Don Juan. – **Es verdad.** (58) /

DON JUAN. You are my **heaven...**

RAQUEL. Sometimes you say that your **hell...**

DON JUAN. That's so. (103).

The concepts of “*body – soul*” as the symbols of corporal and spiritual are also opposed in a number of contexts:

Don Juan. – ¡Mejor, Raquel, mejor! Muerto, sí; muerto de miseria y de podredumbre. ¿No esto miseria? ¿No es podredumbre? ¿Es que soy mío? ¿Es que soy yo? ¿Por qué me has robado **el cuerpo y el alma**? (55) / DON JUAN. It would be better so, Raquel, better! Dead, yes; dead from misery and corruption. Isn't this corruption? Isn't this corruption? Am I my own master? Why have you stolen my **body and soul**? (97).

Raquel. – ¡Hijo mío, hijo mío, hijo mío...! No te robé yo; me robaste tú el **alma**, tú, tú! Y me robaste el **cuerpo**... (56) / RAQUEL. My child, my child, my child ... I didn't steal you; it was you who stole my **soul**, you, you. And you stole my **body** ... (98).

As well as it happens with other contrasts, the concepts and names *body – soul* are also locked. Linguistically, it is the Spanish Phraseological unit *en cuerpo y alma*, which means *completely, entirely, fully*:

Y se decía: “Arrancarle ese hombre y ver cómo es el hombre de ella, el hombre que ha hecho ella, el que se le ha rendido **en cuerpo y alma** (51) / She said to herself: “To snatch away this man and see what the man has surrendered himself to her, **body and soul** (87).

But not only abstract concepts are being opposed and aesthetically marked in the text. Quite current for every day speech antonymous spatial concepts *behind – before* are melting into each other in the narrator's comparison of the attitude of the two women towards Juan with the same sensation of driving him to a perdition:

El pobre Juan, ya sin don, temblaba entre las dos mujeres, entre su **ángel** y su **demonio redentores. Detrás** de sí tenía a Raquel, y **delante**, a Berta, y **ambas**

le empujaban. ¿Hacia dónde? Él presentía que hasta su perdición. (51) / Poor Juan, now without the "Don", trembled between the two women, between his **angelic** and his **demonic redeemer**. **Behind** him was Raquel and **before** him Berta, and **both were driving him on**. **Where to? He saw that it was toward perdition**. (88).

A very peculiar pun is based on Spanish antonyms *claro – oscuro / clear – dark*. The pun is based on these adjectives' relation with the concept *light* and on the Spanish adverbial use of the word *claro* as a form of agreement. An exasperated Berta repeats *claro* of Juan's answer if he really wants to marry her, and immediately adds opposite adjective *oscuro*, denying Juan's expression of agreement and in this way presenting two divergent answers to the same question. So, antonyms *claro – oscuro* become the argument and the counter-argument, respectively.

Berta.- ¡Acabáramos! ¿Quieres, pues, casarte conmigo?
 Don Juan.- ¡Claro!
 Berta.- ¿Claro? ¡Oscuro! ¿Quieres casarte conmigo?
 Don Juan.- Sí. (54).

Unfortunately, both in the English and Russian translations this delicate pun is lost.

BERTA. Will we ever understand each other – you wish to marry me?
 DON JUAN. That's **clear!**
 BERTA. **Clear? Not so clear!** Do you want to marry me?
 DON JUAN. Yes! (90-91).
 БЕРТА. Наконец-то! Значит, ты хочешь на мне жениться?
 ДОН ХУАН. **Ясно!**
 БЕРТА. **Ясно? Совсем не ясно!** Так ты хочешь на мне жениться?
 ДОН ХУАН. Да. (22).

A certain persuasive effect of many dialogue interactions is based on the meaning and stylistic connotations of the Spanish nouns *esposa – mujer / spouse – wife – woman*, which, being stylistic synonyms (Moliner 1986, t. 2: 472), make contextual antonyms and also serve as argument and counter-argument in the text. Raquel opposes herself to Berta as a woman (a beloved woman of Juan) contrary to Berta, who is his *wife* or *spouse*:

Raquel.- Mira, Juan. Dentro de poco, tal vez antes de que os caséis, y en todo caso poco después de vuestra boda, la pequeña fortuna de los padres de Berta, la de tu futura **esposa...**, **esposa**, ¿eh?, **no mujer, ¡esposa...!** la de tu futura **esposa**, sería mía..., es decir nuestra... (54-55) / RAQUEL. Just think, Juan, within a short time, perhaps before you are married, or at any rate a little while after your wedding, the small fortune of Berta's parents, the fortune of your future **spouse... spouse**, eh? **not wife ... spouse!** ... the fortune of your future **spouse** will be mine... or rather, ours... (95).

Sad to say, once again the subtle pun based on the shades of meaning and connotations of these names in the original Spanish text is also lost in the existing English and Russian translations:

Raquel. – <...> ¿No soy tu mujer?
 Don Juan. – Sí, tú eres mi **mujer** ...
 Raquel. – Y ella será tu **esposa**. ¡**Esposa!**, así dicen los zapateros: “Mi **esposa!**”
 Y yo seré tu madre y la madre de vuestro hijo..., de mi hijo (56) /
 RAQUEL. <...> Am I not your **woman**?
 DON JUAN. Yes, you are my **woman** ...
 RAQUEL. And she will be your wife. **Woman!** as the shoemakers say: “My **woman!**” I will be your mother and the mother of your child... of my child...
 (98-99) /
 Ракедь. Разве я не твоя **жена**?
 Дон Хуан. Да, ты моя **жена**...
 Ракедь. А она будет твоей **супругой**. **Супругой!** Мастеровые так и говорят: «Моя **супруга!**». И я буду твоей матерью и матерью вашего ребенка...моего ребенка (26).

The grammatical contrast of singular and plural also acquires argumentative force and aesthetic function. No wonder, that it concerns, for instance, such aesthetically relevant nouns for the text as *amor / love, hombre / man*.

Amor-amores. De tal modo, que cuando el pobre náufrago de **los amores** – que no del **amor** – recaló en el Puerto de la viuda estéril, alegrándose como de una ventura del hijo de sus amigos, sin sospechar que aquel Puerto era un Puerto de tormentas (48) / Therefore, when the poor man wrecked by **love-affairs**, not by **love** – sighted the port of the sterile widow, they rejoiced at the good fortune of their friend’s son, without suspecting that that port was a stormy one. (82).

Hombre-hombres. Raquel. – <...> ¿Y cómo lleva a Juan?
 Berta. – **Los hombres**...
 Raquel. – ¡No, **el hombre, el hombre!** (60) /
 RAQUEL. <...> How do you get along with Juan?
 BERTA. **Men** ...
 RAQUEL. No, the **man**, the **man!** (107).

Locking contrasts in the text of *Two Mothers* is well seen in the oxymoron *fingimientos sinceros / sincere pretensions*, in the most common form of oxymoron involving an adjective-noun combination. Oxymoron itself is a figure of speech that combines two normally contradictory terms. Pretension and sincerity are opposite qualities. They inject a sense of irony in Raquel’s statement about marriage as a school of sincere pretensions. Raquel doesn’t appeal to reason. It is an argument to a psychological state of Berta, her communication partner.

Hay **fingimientos muy sinceros**. Y el matrimonio es una escuela de ellos (60)
/ There are very **sincere pretensions**. And marriage is their school (106).

All these linguistic data seem to indicate that the text of *Two Mothers* is organized by a set of oppositions. A very interesting, though non productive phenomenon of word meaning, typical for all languages is enantiosemy (opposite meanings of the same word).

In the text we find a typical Spanish noun revealing enantiosemy, namely *vencimiento* / *victory* and *defeat* (Moliner, 1986, t.2: 1453). The peculiar feature of the Spanish noun *vencimiento* is that it may be a synonym and an antonym of the noun *victoria*, depending on the communicative intention. In the original text it is opposed to the noun *victoria*, which becomes its counter-argument:

Berta, por su parte, sentíase como transportada. ¡Había vencido a Raquel!
¡Pero a la vez sentía que tal **victoria** era un **vencimiento!** (61) / Berta, on her part, was in transports. She had conquered Raquel! But she felt that the **victory** was at the same time a **defeat**. (110).

Contrasts and oppositions of the text tend to concentration and association. In the following segment we discover at least three pairs of oppositions: *wife – woman*, *heaven – hell* and a very special opposition “For heaven and for me!” that evokes such questions as, for instance, what for, according to Raquel, Juan has to become a father and to have a child, what does Raquel literally say, what does she intend to communicate, for whose sake Juan has to become a father. The formulation “For heaven and for me!” obscures and mystifies Raquel’s formulations of goals for Juan’s paternity and reveals her manner of persuasion and argumentation:

Raquel. – ¿Celos? ¡Mentecato! ¿Pero crees, michino, que puedo sentir celos de tu **esposa...?** ¿De **tu esposa?** Y yo, tu **mujer...?** ¡Para casar y dar gracias a los casados y que **críen hijos** para el cielo; para el cielo y **para mí!**

Don Juan. – **Que eres mi cielo.**

Raquel. – Otras veces dices que tu **infierno...** (58) /

DON JUAN. Jealous?

RAQUEL. Jealous? You fool! Do you think, darling, I could be jealous of your **wife?...** Of your wife? I, your **woman?...** For wedlock, to give God’s blessing to married people and to have them bring up children for God’s kingdom!

For heaven and for me!

DON JUAN. You are my **heaven...**

RAQUEL. Sometimes you say that your **hell...**

DON JUAN. That’s so. (103).

The Unamunian Raquel is a character of extremely strong will. According to the plot, she has to persuade and convince other characters of the fairness and correctness of her statements, and other people become convinced simply because of the argumentative force of these statements. One of their verbal resources is what may be called *Fuzziness of Deixis*. Thus, possessive pronouns are very active in Raquel’s utterances, but at the same time so

vague, that they permit various interpretations. This fuzziness of deixis, mainly based on personal and possessive pronouns, may be interpreted as an argumentative strategy applied by Raquel:

Raquel. – ¡Claro que digo bien! ¿O es que crees que yo no sé que **tu** fortuna, como **tú todo**, no es sino **mía**, enteramente **mía**? (44) / RAQUEL. Of course it's right! Or perhaps you think that I don't know that **your** fortune, as well as everything else that's **yours**, belongs only to **me**, entirely to **me** (74).

Raquel. – ¡Gracias a Dios! ¿No le pregunté si venía acá a buscar la voluntad de Juan? ¡Pues la voluntad de Juan, de nuestro hombre, es ésa, es hacerse padre!

Berta. – ¿**La suya**?

Raquel. – Sí, **la suya**. ¡La suya, porque es la **mía**! (61) /

RAQUEL. Thank God! Didn't I ask you whether you came here to look for Juan's will? Well, the will of our Juan, of our man, is just that to become a father!

BERTA. **His**?

RAQUEL. Yes, **his**. **His**, because it is **mine**! (108).

In the above quoted examples there are being shaded such items, as whose fortune Juan's possessions are, whose will Juan's will is, etc.

Throughout all the text Raquel justifies her own norms. But her statements cause the discordance of word meaning. It has been already seen in the fuzziness of deixis.

The text has multiple examples of expressions not be interpreted logically. Here are some of them.

- **Juan's possibility "to give" a child to a sterile widow.** Raquel. – ¡Bien! Pero **tú puedes darme un hijo**. (45) / Raquel. All right! But **you can give me a child**. (75).
- **Raquel's intention to make Juan a man and a father:** Raquel. – ¡No, no es así! ¡**Yo voy a hacerte hombre; yo voy a hacerte padre!**

Don Juan. – ¿**Tú**?

Raquel. – ¡Sí, **yo**, Juan; **yo**, **Raquel!**

Juan se sintió como en agonía. (55) /

RAQUEL. No, it is not! **I'm going to make a man of you! I'm going to make you a father!**

DON JUAN. You?

RAQUEL. Yes, I, Juan! I, Raquel! (Juan felt the pangs of death.) (96).

- **Raquel's intention to be Juan's mother and the mother of Juan's child.** Y yo seré tu madre y la madre de vuestro hijo..., de mi hijo (56) / I will be your mother and **the mother of your child... of my child** (98-99).

Such expressions show some divergent senses realized by their key words. From the biological and ethical points of view, Raquel's utterances are devoid of sense, but from her own

point of view they just show practical steps of the realization of her plans and don't appeal to reason.

From the point of view of the typology of arguments, this discordance of meaning takes place in *argumenta ab impossibili*, *argumentum ex silencio*, *argumenta ad personam*, etc. The following example is especially vivid as it doesn't just show the different characters' interpretations of the word *thief* (who is the thief: Raquel or Berta?), but also illustrates how the discordance of meaning coincides with a very frequent figure of speech for contrasts, antithesis "live like beggars, or on peaceful terms with a thief":

Berta. – ¡Ladrona! ¡Ladrona! ¡Ladrona!

Raquel. – Ésas son palabras, y no sabes quién le ha robado a quién. Acaso la **ladrona** eres tú...; las **ladronas** sois vosotras, las de tu condición. Y no quiero que hagáis de mi Quelina, de mi hija, una **ladrona**, como vosotras... Y ahora piénsalo bien con tus padres. Piensa si os conviene vivir **como mendigos o en paz con la ladrona**. (70-71)./

BERTA. **Thief! Thief! Thief!**

RAQUEL. Those are mere words, and you don't know who has robbed whom. Maybe you're the **thief**... all of you, people in your position. I don't want you to make my Quelina, my daughter, a **thief** like yourselves ... And now talk it over with your parents. See if it would suit you better to live like **beggars, or on peaceful terms with a thief** ... (130).

To sum up, the antonyms, antithesis, oxymoron, enantiosemy, contrasts based on stylistic synonyms, the discordance of meaning in different characters' interpretations form a whole set of oppositions of the text *Two Mothers*. These oppositions are oriented to the events and to the emotions.

The text itself and the contrasts artistically represented by Unamuno form a special and distinctive argumentative strategy and reveal to us the very minute instances of our spiritual life, the depths of our souls. And one of the infinite manifestations of the human soul can be seen through their contradictory sides.

An outstanding Russian thinker Mikhail Bakhtin in his famous book *Aesthetics of Verbal Creativity* (1986) stated that any literary text is an open one and enters a dialogue interaction with the reader. Bakhtin (1986: 283) also points out that in any society and in any linguistic group there are so called *vlastiteli dum / dominant influences*, whose linguistic choice makes a special impact upon the others. For Spanish mentality Miguel de Unamuno is one of such "dominant influences".

In Foreign Language Teaching the use of such masterpieces of literary texts, as *Dos madres / Two Mothers* by the great Spanish thinker Miguel de Unamuno, in combination with the achievements of modern argumentation theory does enrich humanistic approach to Foreign Language Teaching.

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ON THE PUBLIC ACKNOWLEDGMENT OF THE ANALYTIC-SYNTHETIC DISTINCTION

MICHEL DUFOUR

The debate about the reliability of the analytic-synthetic distinction has a long story, for several connected controversies are similar enough to give the impression of a single epic. During the Classical Age it was central to philosophical debates about the theory of knowledge and especially the relations between concepts or “ideas”. Last century, it had its own “linguistic turn” and became rather part of the philosophy of language for it appeared mostly relevant to semantics since depending on the concept of meaning.

Contemporary text-books often introduce the analytic-synthetic distinction by means of the common distinction made between statements true “by definition” and statements empirically true, either by experience or hear-say. It is worth notice that the same examples are often used to illustrate or illuminate a definition which, at first, may look a bit obscure. The fact that people generally agree that the truth of the examples of analytic statements has something specific is interpreted as evidence of the acknowledgement of a radical difference between analytic truths – also said to be self-obvious – and the others. This paper focuses on the question of the obviousness claimed for analytic truths, an important point in the debates following the seminal paper claiming to dissolve the analytic-synthetic distinction, namely Quine’s celebrated *Two dogmas of Empiricism* (1951).

Both the classical and the contemporary approaches set the problem at a high level of abstraction. The first one – at least in Kant’s wake – by asking if some truths are purely conceptual, when the second, influenced by the analytic philosophy, wonders if a statement can be true only in virtue of its meaning, that is from the impersonal point of view of the semantic of a language. But it seems that the issue of analyticity needs a more pragmatic solution, for it is easy to find examples where users of a same language disagree about the analyticity of a statement. In other words, it happens that statements claimed to be analytic are not acknowledged as such by everybody. Is this disagreement just an accidental misunderstanding or is it meaningful for the very analytic-synthetic distinction? Hence a puzzling question: what would happen if nobody actually grants the analyticity of a proposition previously claimed to be analytic? This may be the case, for instance, if a new generation does not hold as analytic a statement held as such by an older generation. Here, two extreme views can be opposed: on the one hand an objectivist conception holding analyticity to be independent from anybody’s opinion (this could happen on a strict interpretation of analyticity, “depends only on the meaning of words”) and, on the other, a relative-epistemic view saying that “propositions are analytic only for those who think they are”. Ac-

cordingly, only the objectivist has to face the possibility of the paradoxical case of an analytic proposition that nobody acknowledges as such.

But its impossibility in the relative-epistemic view does not entail that analyticity is a subjective and contingent notion. It rather suggests a conception of analyticity less bold than the objectivist, and then universalist, view claiming that any rational being should acknowledge it, for it demands to make an explicit existential statement requiring that to be analytic a proposition must be acknowledged as such at least by someone.

Up to now, almost nothing has been said about the other criteria allowing the analytic-synthetic distinction. This leaves open the possibility of a denial of the analyticity of a statement by everybody, or at least by all living people.

Two classical views

As this paper is not intended to bring a contribution to the history of ideas but to discuss a point from a philosophical point of view, we shall briefly examine only two of the classical views about analyticity. More historical details can be found in J. Proust's book (Proust 1986). We chose these examples not only because of their famous conception of analyticity but also because it is somewhat different from more contemporary views. However, our crucial question can already be raised here.

Let us turn first to Leibniz's version, strongly connected with some major claims of his philosophy of science and truth. Although he brought numerous contributions to the scientific revolution of his time, Leibniz kept on sticking to the ancient and medieval view of science, understood as *scientia* based on certainty and demonstration, as shown in the introduction to his encyclopaedic project where science is defined as «certain knowledge of true propositions» (Leibniz 1961: 43). Accordingly, in a perfect science no room is left for uncertainty and induction since demonstration (deductive proof) remains the very model of scientific reasoning.

In his famous paper on *First truths* (Leibniz 1976), Leibniz makes a distinction between these truths which «predicate something of themselves or deny the opposite of its opposite» and all the others which can be reduced to the first ones by means of definitions or a conceptual analysis. Since first truths are self-predicating, they and the truths of the same kind (definitions, truths set by conceptual analysis) amount to identities. Very explicitly, Leibniz remains faithful to the metaphorical Aristotelian formulation, still popular at his time, saying that in any of those truths «the predicate or consequent always inheres in the subject or antecedent».

In the case of first truths, the identity is plain. But the germane truths can also be seen as (partial) identities since the metaphorical "inclusion" of the predicate into the subject amounts to an identity between the predicate and part of the subject, a "part" being, for instance, a property.

Leibniz's celebrated project of a universal language (the famous Universal Characteristics) intended to bring about universal understanding, peace, friendship, etc. by making any talk clear. It largely relied on the project of discovering truth by analysis, that is by the acknowledgement of "identities". But this is not always easy when you take into account another Leibnizian dichotomy between the various truths.

When the distinction between first and second truths is logical – since reasoning consists in making connections between ideas and judgements – the other one is rather epistemic: it separates rational truths, which are necessary, from factual truths which are contingent. Rational truths are themselves of two kinds: some are "eternal" (including the truths of logics, geometry and metaphysics) when the others are "positive". Positive truths are chosen by God – for instance the laws of nature – and we can learn them *a priori* or *a posteriori*.

Although he claims that all truths are necessary, Leibniz makes an important difference between rational and factual ones: the chain of identities, the chain followed by what he calls "analysis", is finite in the case of rational truths but infinite in the case of factual truths. Hence, the latter are contingent only for men since God knows their "demonstration" and, therefore, their necessity, both logical and ontological.

So, Leibniz makes only an epistemic distinction between "analytic" and factual truths since what makes "A is B" analytic is the possibility for human beings to know the "identity" between being A and being B. To use a more contemporary expression, but going back to the Leibnizian idea of substitution *salva veritate*, an analytic proposition sets an equivalence (rather than an identity) between being A and being B. But Leibniz makes a clear distinction between what we can call "human analyticity" and "metaphysical analyticity": to be humanly analytic a true proposition must link predicate and subject (or at least part of the subject) by a chain of identities which is not too long for the limited human mind. Otherwise, only God can perceive its analyticity.

And this answers our paradox. If you grant that God is "someone", the possibility of an analytic proposition that no one would acknowledge as such is precluded. Accordingly, what we have called the existential requirement about analyticity, namely the existence of at least one rational being acknowledging the analyticity of the statement is satisfied in Leibniz. At least God – supposed to be a perfectly rational being – knows! But Leibniz's metaphysics allows that no human being acknowledges the analyticity of an analytic statement. This case is even very common since it happens with any factual statement.

In classical philosophy, the analytic-synthetic distinction is often associated with Kant. This notion is even fundamental in his philosophy since at the root of his theory of knowledge we find the famous "synthetic *a priori*", depending on this distinction.

In the introduction to the *Critique of Pure Reason*, Kant defines an analytic statement as a statement where «predicate B belongs to the subject A as something that is included (but *hidden* or *implicit*) in concept A» (Kant 1986: § 4). On the contrary, a statement B is synthetic if and only if «B is outside of concept A, although it has a connexion with it».

In a very Leibnizian tone, Kant adds that a statement is analytic «when the connection between subject and predicate is thought by identity». Here again, the relation of identity is at the root of the notion of analyticity.

It is important to stress that Kant's analyticity is explicitly a matter of thought: it is not objective in the sense of independent of the activity of the mind. Moreover, the *Critique of Pure Reason* being a book about the human mind, a call to God's knowledge would not be relevant to make a decision about the possibility of an analytic statement that no human being would acknowledge.

However, an aspect of Kant's text deserves attention. Kant makes a double shift (forwards and then backwards) from a logical point of view – since analyticity is introduced as the property of a judgment – to a psychological stance since he claims that the link between subject and predicate is *thought* by an impersonal mind. Although Kant sometimes supports an anti-psychologist view of logic – for instance in his *Logic* (Kant 2007: 12) – he assumes here a more psychological stance, even if the psychology he is dealing with is transcendental and not empirical. In the context of his research for universal *a priori* properties of the human mind, this double move from logic to psychology suggests a strong connection between logic and rational psychology which makes impossible an analytic judgment without a rational mind expressing it. Hence, the impossibility of an analytic statement that nobody – no human mind – acknowledges as such. This is why discussing the empirical possibility of a punctual mistake or disagreement about the analyticity of a statement would even be irrelevant to his normative project. Moreover, the question of border cases – judgements that could be both analytic and synthetic – cannot be raised since the analytic-synthetic distinction is based on the application of the exclusive inside/outside dichotomy to the relation between predicate and subject. However, the puzzling concept of “synthetic a priori” may well appear as a kind of monster belonging to both sides.

But Kant's examples do raise the question. He contends that “Every body is extended” is analytic and “Every body is heavy” is synthetic. Both judgments are loaded with the physics (the “natural philosophy”) of Kant's time, the necessity of the extension of a body being the topic of an ongoing debate. Thinking that extension is obviously the most essential property of matter, Descartes identified it as *res extensa*. But impenetrability, not extension, was the most essential property of any material thing according to Newton whose law of gravitation quantifies the universal synthetic truth that “Every body is heavy”. And although Kant remains faithful to Descartes in writing that the “decomposition of the concept of body” leads to extension, nowadays we may be doubtful since microphysics has blurred the very notions of body and extension. Does the analysis of the concept of body still lead to extension, especially when applied to micro objects? One of the problems with this question is that the very concept of “body” sounds old fashioned and even slightly irrelevant in some fields of physics. The analyticity of Kant's example may have become contextual and, perhaps, even open to disagreement.

However, Kant's view about analyticity is not that simple, for he allows the possibility of a disagreement, doubt, or ignorance about the analyticity of a statement since the in-

clusion of the predicate in the subject may not be salient. It may be only implicit, hidden (*versteckte Weise*). And this is why an analytic judgement is “explicative” and, therefore, according to the etymology of the word, requires an “unfolding” of the subject. This is not the case with a synthetic judgement which is “extensive”. And so, even if you accept the inside/outside alternative as the only possible model for the relation between subject and predicate, the fact that this relation may be hidden can make somebody hesitate or disagree about the right option. The analyticity of a judgment may not be obvious, and people may be wrong about it. Why not everybody?

Finally, according both to Leibniz and Kant a statement can be analytic without being acknowledged as such by someone. But Kant does not call to God’s eye view to explain how a statement can be analytic even if everybody denies it: his normative philosophy of rationality offers no *a priori* reason to preclude this empirical possibility opened by the fact that analyticity can be only implicit.

New views on an ancient topic

Leaving aside some important contributions from the XIXth century, let us turn now to last century debates. Now, the key-words have become “meaning” and “statement”, rather than “concept” and “judgment”.

The most influential challenge to the analytic-synthetic distinction comes from Quine’s answers to Carnap, especially in his famous paper *Two dogmas of empiricism* (Quine 1951), assaulting the analytic-synthetic distinction on the basis of the following definition: «A statement is analytically true if it is true only by virtue of its meaning alone». This definition, coming from Carnap (1956), reflects an important shift in the concept of analyticity: divorced from rational psychology it got married with semantics.

Quine’s major objective is ontological: he claims there are no analytic statements since there is no such thing as those mysterious metaphysical entities called “meanings”, making some statements true independently of any fact about the world. His target is not only analyticity but a cluster of concepts circularly connected, for one explains the other. Among them, we find analyticity, synonymy, necessity, meaning. For instance, the notion of meaning can be explained by claiming that words and statements have translations, or synonyms, sharing with them something that is their meaning. And the test establishing a sameness of meaning, a synonymy, depends on the possibility to substitute one expression to the other without changing the truth value or the reference of the expression. This is why Quine’s various strictures on synonymy and analyticity are driven from the successful, or unsuccessful, effects of substitutions on the truth of propositions supposed to be analytic. Of course, the concept and the test for synonymy reminds us of Leibniz’s analyticity based on “identity”. Finally, claiming to have shown that none of the suspect notions – “true by defi-

inition”, synonymy, necessity – can make sense of how a statement can be true in virtue of its meaning alone, Quine holds that the analytic-synthetic distinction is nothing but a dogma.

Quine (1960) grants the possibility of a disagreement about the analyticity of a statement and explains it may happen if people attribute different meanings to a statement or a word, or misunderstand its meaning. And since analyticity is just a semantic notion, no conclusion can be drawn about the status of a statement from such a disagreement: the claim that a statement is analytic is no warrant it is.

As Leibniz, Quine makes an important distinction between several kinds of analytic propositions. Leibniz made a distinction between truths which are a matter of logic or geometry or metaphysics and the truths he called “positive” (the truths chosen by God). Quine makes a distinction between logical truths (tautologies) and another class of true statements, including the celebrated “No bachelor is married”, held to be analytic but not in virtue of God’s choice but of a human choice, namely the conventional definition of “bachelor”.

According to Quine, except in the case of a stipulative definition, synonymy set by convention relies on prior relations of synonymy. In this case, the analyticity of the statement is not established and the possibility of an explanatory regression is open. The case of a stipulative definition does not fare better since the truth of such a statement cannot be established or warranted for ever by a *fiat* for this (new) meaning may have to be re-evaluated.

Moreover, a synonymy based on the interchange of words is possible only when relativized to a language. Granting that two terms may not be perfectly synonymous if their connotations, poetical flavour, etc. are taken into account, Quine wonders if interchangeability *salva veritate* is a sufficient condition for what he calls “cognitive synonymy”, that is a synonymy such that an analytic statement can be reduced to a logical truth by substitution of synonym for synonym. Again, this test reminds us of the Leibnizian derivative truths, reducible to first truths. Unfortunately, Quine says, the agreement of two terms by coextension may rest not on their meaning but on an accidental matter of fact, as in the case of “creature with a heart” and “creature with a kidney”. So, substitutability *salva veritate* – at least in the case of an extensional language – is generally not a sufficient condition for synonymy. Therefore, more has to be said to make substitution a sufficient condition for (cognitive) synonymy and this is the path leading to Quine’s holism, no meaning being self-sufficient but depending on all the other statements. This would refute the view that synonymy holds by virtue of meaning *alone* and not by virtue of shared information.

On this ground, Quine claims that no truth is *a priori*: any truth may fail, including logical truths. And bachelors may be married and bodies not extended. But we can have, and do have, some favourite truths, the last ones to surrender. And the statements we make true by definition are true as long as we want them to last. And a statement that looks analytic is not necessarily true but only as long as we want to hold it necessarily true. Finally, Quine’s answer to our leading question is that it is impossible that an analytic statement is not held, or has not been held analytic by someone since analyticity is made by us.

Replies and comments

Grice and Strawson's common reply (1956) to Quine puts forth the fact that when people use the analytic-synthetic distinction they apply it to more or less the same cases, and hesitate about the same cases. Moreover, when a new case is discussed people would tend to apply the distinction in the same way: there are *kinds* of cases to which the distinction is applied, even if it is sometimes applied wrongly. They conclude that since a distinction is made you can't deny there is a distinction between analytic and synthetic statements.

This point recalls Kant's approach to analyticity for it does not pay much attention to the singularity of a possible local disagreement but rather stresses the common ability to make the distinction, and the general agreement about statements which are analytic. Grice and Strawson contest Quine's theses from the point of view of common sense. But their criticism is not based on transcendental Kantian arguments but rather on statistical, hence empirical, alleged observations. They do not resist Quine's theses head on, but accuse him to make a methodological mistake leading to wrong arguments. This mistake begins with the call to the philosophical technical notion of "cognitive synonymy" used to show that synonymy established on interchangeability is not reliable to explain analyticity.

According to them, the trouble with Quine's argument is that instead of looking at the actual uses of the expression "means the same", he takes it to mean "coextensional" that is "true of the same objects". Quine thinks about synonymy and analyticity as logicians or philosophers do, not as lay people do. So, although he is right about the fact that coextensionality is not a sufficient condition for synonymy, he is wrong when he adopts the technical point of view of philosophers to dismiss the common use of the analytic-synthetic distinction. Synonymy is sometimes claimed for words or expressions for which the criterion of coextensionality clearly does not work or cannot be practically established. So, there is no reason to believe that the common conceptions about "sameness of meaning" should conform to the requirements of formal analysis. Finally, Grice and Strawson underline that if the notion of sentence-synonymy is to be given up as senseless, the very notion of sentence-significance should also be abandoned since we could not say if two sentences have the same meaning or not.

Finally, they conclude that Quine's holistic conception of meaning is not only consistent with, but suggests an amended account of statement-synonymy. The debate should be shifted since the main problem is not the ontological question of the existence of "meanings" but the meaning of correlated terms as "synonymous" or "means the same". A clear distinction between the philosophical and the "common" uses of these notions should be made.

In a defence of Quine, Harman (1967) grants that the philosophical talk about "sameness of meaning" differs from ordinary talk, since philosophers take synonymy to hold by virtue of meaning alone and not by virtue of shared information or background or peripheral information. But he objects that Grice and Strawson are weakening Quine's thesis when they put on a par the philosophical and the common use of words or expressions like "synonym"

or “mean the same”. From the philosophical technical point of view, what is at stake is the claim made by proponents of the analytic-synthetic distinction when they argue that the truth expressed by some statements can be explained by the very notion of meaning: clearly, to support the analytic-synthetic distinction amounts to the claim that in some cases (the analytic case) meaning alone can justify this truth.

Harman’s argues that Grice and Strawson’s objections are misplaced. The empirical fact that between different kinds of terms, or statements, people acknowledge or feel a difference fitting more or less the analytic-synthetic distinction is not a decisive point. This distinction should stay a technical matter linked to the very possibility that the truth of a statement depends only on the meaning of their terms. Therefore, it is not relevant to criticize Quine’s approach on the ground that his view of synonymy is too narrow. According to Harman, the fact that some people may classify old, or new, cases as analytic or synthetic is no evidence that the distinction they make is the same as the distinction made by philosophers to try to explain the concept of meaning. To believe that it is one and the same distinction amounts to a circular argument between the existence of analytic truths and their obviousness.

As Quine, Harman does not deny that some truths may appear analytic, but unlike Strawson, Grice and, for instance, Putnam (1975 a), he resists the confusion of an epistemic analyticity (i.e a felt analyticity) with the philosophers’ technical one. This distinction between the epistemic and the semantic or philosophical definition of analyticity has clearly some bearing on the acceptability of the empirical obviousness of analyticity – i.e. an epistemic notion – as a criterion to make sense of the analytic-synthetic distinction for it immediately raises a methodological question about the relevance of personal feelings about the status of some statements to make a decision about the possibility of a statement “true by virtue of meaning alone”. And if feelings do not matter, calling to the celebrated “unmarried bachelor” or “extended body” to make people understand the meaning of “analytic” may be confusing.

If the epistemic and the philosophical notions have to be kept apart, the case of philosophers who are prone to identify both notions is troublesome, for Harman claims that taking into account the epistemic version of analyticity amounts to claiming that, nowadays, there are still witches, but witches without supernatural powers. Hopefully some of those philosophers have changed their minds. After having accepted a distinction in the psychological impact of some statements as evidence of understanding the analytic-synthetic distinction, they finally changed their minds when they discovered that statements they believed analytic were synthetic in other contexts. They became sceptic about the distinction or, at least, about its generality and its stability.

A clear cut distinction between the two notions of analyticity makes possible that nobody acknowledges as (epistemically) analytic a (philosophically) analytic statement, or as synthetic a synthetic statement! But although the distinction between the philosophical and the epistemic notion points at a possible equivocation, the use of different criteria allows clearing it up. And for each type of analyticity, someone will be required to decide if a particular statement is or is not analytic according to such or such criterion. This double analyticity, requiring dif-

ferent types of assessments, possibly made by different people, reminds us of Leibniz's two judgments (human and divine) making the distinction between rational and factual truths.

Finally, Harman suggests that the success of the analytic-synthetic distinction may be the result of a confusion taking a mere similarity in meaning for a strict identity. Instead of taking into account that we slightly adjust the meaning of our terms in a changing context, for instance to optimize the understanding, to improve a translation, etc. the proponents of the analytics-synthetic distinction take it the other way. They hold that since there is no change of meaning in various situations, some conceptual relations are unaffected by changing situations and, therefore, depend only on what has not changed, namely the unchanging meaning of the terms used.

Granting the distinction between epistemic and semantic analyticity, we may wonder if the conclusions drawn from one point of view have no bearing on the conclusions coming from the other. In other words, how far can we go in divorcing the two approaches conflated by the proponents of the analytic-synthetic distinction? This question has an echo in the ambiguity that we found in Kant. We remember that he uses a situation which seems strictly logical (the inclusion of a predicate into a subject) to draw an *a priori* conclusion about the structure of the human mind. This move can be understood if we remember that, in his time, the laws of logic were commonly interpreted as laws of the human thought. Hence the acceptability of the shift from logical properties (about the structure of concepts) to normative psychological properties, a move typical of Kant's transcendental philosophy, also found in his introduction to the analytic-synthetic distinction even if, following his own terminology, the concepts involved in analytic statements are not always transcendental. Kantian analyticity is even based on the link between logic and (transcendental) psychology, as shown by the fact that his analyticity is not a matter of meaning but of thought.

Recently, Boghossian (1996) used the possibility to split analyticity into an epistemic and a semantic notion, to hold a mixed view. He claims that in spite of what he calls the "metaphysical" view undermined by Quine, an epistemic version could be saved. His thrust is that, in some cases, the meaning of my words derives from my intentions as to how to use them; and this would be enough to assert that when used in this last way the resulting statement is analytic since true independently of anything about the world.

In his reply to Boghossian, Harman maintains that you can't radically separate the two notions: to hold the epistemic view amounts to holding the metaphysical one. The main problem with Boghossian's stance would be that deriving the meaning of a word from an intention amounts to derive it from a postulate or a convention, and this is not enough to assure the truth of an assertion.

It seems that Grice-Strawson and Harman agree that part of the misunderstanding and, perhaps, of the very problem of analyticity lies in the divergence between Quine's technical criticism and the intuitions of ordinary people. But is it true that ordinary people have intuitions about analyticity? This question leads us back to the first one we asked about the

obviousness of the analyticity of a statement. This may appear as a mere factual detail of this very abstract debate, but it may matter for there is a strong disagreement about it. Grice and Strawson claim that ordinary people can easily be brought to make and understand the analytic-synthetic distinction. But Harman (1994) challenges this point by arguing that ordinary people do not make this distinction «difficult to teach to students, as they confuse it with all sorts of other distinctions». And this raises again the very practical question of the criteria acceptable and actually used to qualify a statement. If analyticity is introduced to students, or other people, by a definition illustrated by examples such as “Every body is extended” or “All bachelors are unmarried”, a popular approval both about the truth and the specificity of these statements will support primarily the epistemic approach and only indirectly the semantic (philosophical) one. And this will support both the Grice-Strawson’s view about a wide acknowledgment of the analytic-distinction, but also Harman’s point since acknowledging the truth and the obviousness of some statements does not entail that the philosophical meaning of “analytic” is understood. When you read the papers of the various authors discussed here, nothing very clear or precise is said about the practice and interpretation of this kind of “experimentation”. Philosophers stick to their definitions, but when they talk about the public understanding of analyticity nothing is very clear about its expression and its interpretation.

A trouble for the analytic-synthetic distinction – unless you anticipate it with a contextualized notion, for instance a monster like “local analyticity” – is that you may get both a wide assent to the analyticity of a statement and some suspicion, usually expressed by “Isn’t it context dependent”? Putnam (1975 a) writes about «border cases» but tries to improve this sweeping formulation by adding: «what matters is that the AS distinction is construed as a dichotomy». Rather than universal, border or mixed cases, some statements seem clearly analytic in some contexts and clearly synthetic in others. Hence a possible ambivalence about their status: they are obviously analytic (or synthetic), but in a limited area or for the time being. And this may be the reason why metaphorical meanings are sometimes devastating for analyticity.

So, the analyticity of a statement may appear both obvious and relative. Hence a situation compatible with Grice-Strawson’s view and Harman’s as well: people often grant the obvious truth of statements like “Every body is extended”, “Iron is a metal”, “Cats are animals”, “Women are females” and so forth, but remain suspicious, foreseeing the possibility that in some weird cases this is not true. And this may be another reason why many authors, including Leibniz and Kant, acknowledge that analytic statements are easy to grasp but sometimes have a dark side, hidden or accessible only to another eye.

The analytic style in argumentation and dialogue

For dialogue or argumentation theory, what are the consequences of the analyticity of some statements? First, we know that the analytic-synthetic distinction is not sponta-

neously made by lay people and that there may be some disagreements about it. But the obvious truth of some statements can explain the style of some dialogues or arguments – let us say they are “analytic” – which can be recognized in some fields of human communication. Let us sketch some of their fundamental features.

The statements taken to be analytic are common dogmatic truths and are presupposed to be shared by any people intervening in the verbal exchange. Of course, the word “dogmatic” should be given its ancient meaning of “systematic”, any pejorative connotation being left aside. Analytic statements can be rightly called “first truths” as in Leibniz (that is non derivable from other propositions) or “central truths” – to use Quine’s metaphor which has the virtue to raise the pragmatic question: «central to what or whom?»¹.

Leaving aside the problem of determining if these statements are accepted because true or held true because previously accepted, it is important to stress that they are looked upon as lasting definitions established by a set of necessary and sufficient conditions. Granting that none of the terms involved in these statements is ambiguous, situations like Harman’s witches without supernatural powers should be prevented. These strict conditions of analyticity set a frame, working as a normative system, whose typical stability will make its confrontation with empirical truths more salient.

The previous conditions remind the first steps in the building of an axiomatic system, but also the requirements expected by classical philosophers from a “perfect language” as the project that Leibniz associated with his optimistic “Calculemus!”, supposed to solve any problem in human communication. An analytic system actually works very much like a “calculus” or a systematic argumentative field where deductive proofs are supposed to lead to the indisputable settlement of a controversy.

Analytic statements work as principles and so, cannot be challenged without threatening the stability of the whole system. Moreover, an assault or a doubt about the necessity of one of them would have devastating inferential consequences since analytic propositions like “A is B” can also be used as inferential rules making elementary arguments like “x is A, therefore x is B” deductively valid.

As suggested by Quine’s argument, denying that some statements are analytic or necessarily true allows asking for some new or renewed evidence of their truth. In this case, a dialogue can always be reopened and an argument may become endless since a doubt can always be raised about the truth of any justification or the validity of any inference. A well-known strategy to avoid it is asking for rigid definitions to block the meaning of key terms and prevent any regression in the justification of inferential moves. But to use this strategy amounts to acknowledging that the meaning of the redefined words or expressions was floating or that not everybody may take an alleged analytic statement to be analytic.

¹ Putnam (1975 b: 253-257) discusses it briefly.

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NEGATIVE OPPOSITIONS IN ARGUMENTATION

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1. *Introductory remarks*

The aim of this paper is to present the first results of an ongoing research, which intends to bring to light the relevant contribution of negation to the structural organization of argument schemes.

The theoretical perspective here adopted will be the approach to the analysis of argument schemes developed within the Argumentum Model of Topics (AMT), characterized by a particular explanatory capacity in eliciting the inferential as well as the endoxical components hidden in argumentative moves (Rigotti 2006; Rigotti & Greco Morasso 2006; Rigotti 2007; Rigotti 2008, this volume; Rigotti & Greco Morasso, forthcoming). In this approach the relevant contribution of the Topic tradition to an exhaustive identification of the mostly implicit components of an argumentative move is presented in all its heuristic force, showing at the same time its strict connection with the contemporary debate on argumentation schemes, in particular with the theoretical and methodological perspectives of the Pragma-Dialectical account (van Eemeren & Grootendorst 1992; van Eemeren & Houtlosser 2004).

In outlining the particular ontologico-semantic organization of the argumentative moves structured on negative oppositions we intend to bring to light how insightful it is from a methodological point of view to adopt an in-depth semantic analysis for the individuation of the inferential connections activated by the argument (see paragraph 2.1), as well as for the identification of the conditions to be met for its valid or fallacious use (see paragraphs 2.2 and 3).

2. *Loci ab oppositis in the taxonomy of loci*

Negation can affect an argumentative move in different ways. It can occur in the standpoint, which in this case corresponds to a negative state of affairs, for whose acceptance by the addressee the arguer intends to argue (*I am not going out. It's raining*). It can appear in the argument (*You are wrong. She is not at home now*), when negative is the state of affairs proposed in order to support the reasonableness of the claim. Negation can, again, occur both in the standpoint as well as in the argument (*Mary doesn't vote. She isn't yet eighteen*), when both states of affairs presented in the claim and in the argument are negative.

Negation can indeed affect the structuration of an argumentative move still in a different way, when it intervenes in the form of a negative opposition in shaping the semantico-ontological relation which links the standpoint to its argument.

In relation to the ‘topical potential’, i.e. the set of argumentative moves an arguer has at disposal to prove the acceptability of his claims (van Eemeren & Houtlosser 2002: 139), negative oppositions are extremely significant for the role they play in the constitution of a considerable number of *tópoi*, known as *loci* from opposites (*ab oppositis*), which according to the classical taxonomy belong to the broader class of extrinsic loci.

Before taking into account the particular inner structure of this sub-group of loci, it may be useful to outline briefly the Aristotelian notion of *locus*¹, characterised by the author in his *Topics* “as a method for finding out an appropriate argument in relation to any standpoint” (*Topica* 100a 1, Ross 1958 ed.; Rigotti 2008)².

Assuming as point of departure the deep understanding of the nature of loci developed within the Argumentum Model of Topics, a *locus* can be described as a “semantico-ontological relation linking the class of states of affairs to which the standpoint belongs to another class of states of affairs in the same or in another possible world” (Rigotti 2008, § 1)³.

Each semantico-ontological relation corresponding to a locus – or using the Medieval scholars’ terminology each *habitus* (Rigotti 2008, § 1) – generates a series of inferential connections or maxims (*maximae*)⁴, each of which activates a logical form of *modus ponens* or *tollens* (Rigotti 2008, § 3)⁵.

The inferential dimension so far described does not exhaust the structural organization of a locus. Its inferential component remains indeed unactivated, if it is not integrated through a further component, this time of endoxical nature – in Pragma-dialectics characterised as “material” (van Eemeren & Grootendorst 2004) – which is responsible of the persuasive effectiveness of the argumentative move. In order to meet the audience demand (van Eemeren & Houtlosser 2002), the inferential process generated by the maxims of the locus has in fact to be anchored to opinions (*endoxa*)⁶ already accepted by the audience, entering the cultural *common ground* (Clark 1996) the arguer shares with his addressee⁷.

¹ For a deeper understanding of the proper nature of this not simple notion see Rigotti, this volume § 3 and § 4.

² On the conceptual and theoretical framework of Topics and its relevance for contemporary Argumentation Theory see Rigotti 2006, 2007.

³ This is the first of the three levels distinguished by the Argumentum scholars within the procedural component of an argument scheme (Rigotti & Morasso, forthcoming § 3).

⁴ In this sense a locus can be defined as “a class of maxims generated by the same ontological relation” (Rigotti & Greco Morasso, forthcoming; Rigotti 2008). In relation to the ancient notion of *maxima* the Argumentum scholars signal its closeness to the contemporary notion of procedural starting point (van Eemeren & Grootendorst 2004), to Toulmin’s warrant (Toulmin 1958), to Kienpointner’s Schlussregel (Kienpointner 1992) and to the notion of argumentative principle (Garssen 2001).

⁵ The maxims and the logical forms activated by them are respectively the second and the third level the AMT scholars distinguish within the procedural component of an argument scheme (Rigotti & Morasso forthcoming, § 3).

⁶ For Aristotle’s definition of *endoxon* see *Topics* 100b.21 (Ross 1958 ed.).

⁷ We are surely indebted to the Argumentum researchers for the reintegration in argumentation theory of this fundamental Aristotelian notion, practically neglected in the tradition of topics, probably because of the lack of explicit examples of endoxa in Aristotle’s *Topics*, where it is left to the reader to reconstruct them from the listed *tópoi* (Rigotti & Morasso, forthcoming § 3.5).

The *endoxon* intervenes in the argumentative strategy as a general premise, whose association to a second premise of factual⁸ nature generates a first conclusion. This first conclusion derived from the endoxon-based line of reasoning is then exploited by the procedural component of the locus, which associates it as a minor premise to the maxim, which plays the role of major premise, obtaining thus the final conclusion, corresponding to the standpoint or claim of the argumentative move.

The organizational structure of a locus may be considered so far outlined in its main features. We can now turn to the specific group of loci at issue in our work, loci from opposites, traditionally typologized under the broader group of extrinsic loci.

2.1 Intrinsic vs. extrinsic loci

In the taxonomy inherited from the Topics tradition, arguments are classified according to their different proximity to the standpoint.

If we look at the way in which standpoints and arguments are linked to each other in the semantico-ontological relations at the basis of a locus, their different kind of proximity allows to identify two main groups, corresponding to the ancient distinction between intrinsic and extrinsic loci⁹.

In his *Summulae Logicales* Peter of Spain, a Medieval scholar we are particularly indebted to for the systematization of the Aristotelian doctrine of Topics, describes this distinction as follows:

Locus differentia maximae dividitur per locum intrinsecum, extrinsecum et medium. *Locus intrinsecus* est ille, quando sumitur argumentum ab eis quae sunt desubstantia rei, ut a definitione. *Locus extrinsecus* est ille, quando sumitur argumentum ab eis, quae omnino separata sunt a substantia rei, ut ab oppositis, ut si quaeretur utrum Socrates sit albus et probetur sic «Socrates non est niger, ergo Socrates est albus.

(*Summulae logicales*, 5.08, Bochenski 1947 ed., 46)

[The locus difference of maxim is divided into intrinsic, extrinsic and middle locus. The intrinsic locus is that one, in which case the argument is taken from factors pertaining to the substance of the situation (in the

⁸ The identification within the “material” component of endoxical and factual premises highlights a relevant aspect of arguments, that is their context-boundedness (Rigotti 2006; 2007). They are always embedded in a specific interaction field, situated within a broader communication context which determines their argumentative efficacy. On communication context see Rigotti & Rocci 2006.

⁹ The topical tradition foresees also a third group of loci, called *medi* or *mixti*, situated at the border (*in confinio*) between the intrinsic and extrinsic ones. With respect to the two interpretations of the Aristotelian Topics offered respectively by Cicero (Stump 2004b ed.) and by Themistius, the taxonomy of loci in intrinsic, extrinsic and complex adopted by the Argumentum scholars is closer to Themistius’ interpretation, followed by Boethius (Stump 2004a ed.); see Rigotti & Greco Morasso 2006.

standpoint), as the locus from definition. The extrinsic locus is that one, in which case the argument is taken from factors that are completely separated from the substance of the situation (in the standpoint), as the locus from opposites; thus if it would be asked whether Socrates is white, it would be considered right also this: «Socrates is not black, then he is white».]

In intrinsic loci arguments refer to states of affairs that are constitutive of the possible fragment of world mentioned in the standpoint or that coexist with it (Rigotti 2006; Rigotti 2007; Rigotti & Greco Morasso 2006). Exploiting the linguistic notion of syntagm, opposed to that of paradigm, introduced in modern linguistics by Structuralism to differentiate the relations between contiguous elements *in praesentia* from the relations of alternativeness or *in absentia* (Seiler 1996; Rigotti 1992), the semantico-ontological relations at the basis of intrinsic loci are of syntagmatic nature, since in this case the arguments evoke aspects that are ontologically related to the syntagmatic context of the thesis¹⁰.

Let's consider for example the following argumentative move *This Scotch whisky is highly flavoured. It is made with malted barley dried over a peat fire.* The high quality of the product mentioned in the standpoint is supported through the particularly high quality of its material cause, a factor which is evidently ontologically linked in a direct way to the fragment of reality referred to in the standpoint, inasmuch as it conditions it.

Let's consider now a further argumentative move, seemingly very simple *Our daughter did not pass her last exam. Then she failed!* and let's compare it with the previous one. In this example the proximity of the argument to the standpoint is not the same. The state of affairs mentioned in the standpoint, to fail an exam, is in a relation of alternativeness to the situation of passing an exam, negated in the argument, i.e. it is linked to it through a relation *in absentia*, more precisely of contrary opposition. Linguistically speaking the aspect evoked by the argument is here ontologically related to the paradigmatic context of the claim (Rigotti 2006; Rigotti 2007).

Contrary opposition represents together with contradictory, privative and relative opposition one of the different negative oppositions that loci from opposites are built on; they include loci from contraries, from relatives, from privatives and from contradictories as further sub-groups. Peter of Spain introduces them as follows:

Quid sit locus extrinsecus dictum est prius. Locorum extrinsecorum alius ab oppositis, alius a maiore, alius a similitudine, alius a proportione, alius a transumptione, alius ab auctoritate. Item oppositionum quattuor sunt

¹⁰ For a typology of arguments included in the group of extrinsic or paradigmatic loci, see Rigotti 2006; Rigotti 2007; Rigotti & Greco Morasso 2006.

species, scilicet: oppositio relativa, oppositio contraria, oppositio privativa, oppositio contradictoria.

(*Summulae logicales*, 5.32, Bochenski 1947 ed., 53)

[What has to be meant for extrinsic locus was previously said. Extrinsic loci include locus from opposites, locus from major and minor, locus from similarity, locus from proportion, locus from metaphor, locus from authority. And so four are the species of opposition, i.e. relative opposition, contrary opposition, privative opposition, contradictory opposition.]

It comes here clearly to light the not secondary role played by the Aristotelian doctrine of oppositions¹¹ for the constitution of a considerable number of extrinsic loci.

In this work we have chosen to focus our attention on locus from contraries. In *Summulae Logicales*, after some preliminary words on the negative opposition of contrariety and on the difference between mediate and immediate contraries:

Contrarietas est contrariorum oppositio, ut albus-niger. Et sciendum quod quaedam sunt contraria mediata, ut albus-niger, inter quae sunt medii colores, quaedam sunt immediata, ut sanum et aegrum circa animal.

(*Summulae logicales*, 5.34, Bochenski 1947 ed., 53)

[Contrariety is the opposition of contraries, such as black-white. And it must be known that some are mediate contraries, such as black-white, between which there are middle colours, and others are immediate, such as healthy and sick with respect to the animal.]

the author passes to the definition of locus from contraries, which is characterised by describing first of all the *habitudo*, that is the semantico-ontological relation at its basis, and then the inferential connection or maxim generated by it, which can activate different logical forms, depending on the constructive or destructive use; with respect to the destructive use of the maxim, the validity conditions are specified for its non fallacious application, restricted to the case of immediate contraries:

Locus a contrariis est habitudo unius contrariorum ad reliquum; constructive sic: «hoc animal est sanum, ergo non est aegrum», vel sic: «hoc corpus est album, ergo non est nigrum». Locus a contrariis – maxima: posito uno contrariorum ab eodem removetur reliquum. Destructive tenet in contrariis immediatis cum constantia subiecti, ut «hoc animal non est sanum, ergo est aegrum». Locus a contrariis immediatis – maxima: remoto uno contrariorum immediatorum ponitur reliquum manente subiecto.

(*Summulae logicales*, 5.34, Bochenski 1947 ed., 53)

¹¹ For a further analysis of negative oppositions, see also § 2.2.

[*Locus from contraries* is the relation of one of the contraries to the other one; constructively so: «this animal is healthy, then it is not sick», or so: «this body is white, then it is not black». *Locus from contraries – maxim*: given one of the contraries, the other one is excluded from it. Destructively it holds with respect to immediate contraries with the same subject, such as «this animal is not healthy, then it is sick». *Locus from immediate contraries – maxim*: excluded one of the immediate contraries, the other one is given, remaining unchanged the subject.]

Peter of Spain's words are an emblematic documentation of the necessity of a semantic approach not only for the identification of the ontology of the standpoint, but also for the elicitation of the condition to be met for a valid use of the locus itself.

Before passing to consider in the next paragraph the different types of semantic paradigm generated by contraries – particularly interesting for the logical implications they can give rise to when submitted to negation, which are responsible for the valid or fallacious use of the locus in question – we will now outline briefly the complex inferential structure which underlies an apparently simple argumentative move as the locus from contraries proposed in our above-mentioned example.

Arguments have indeed a considerably complex inner structure, which results from the intertwining of two components, a topical and an endoxical one (Rigotti & Greco Morasso 2006; Rigotti 2006; Rigotti 2007), with distinct and complementary functions.

To represent it we adopt here the graphical notational system used within the AMT approach, which precisely identifies the maxim at work and makes explicit the point of crossing between the line of reasoning descending from the endoxon and the line of reasoning descending from the maxim.

As the diagram in Figure 1 shows, the maxim *In a contrary opposition, the truth of one extreme implies the falsity of the other one and vice versa*, directly engendered by the locus from contraries, intervenes as major premise in a syllogistic reasoning. In order to generate the final conclusion *Our daughter failed*, which corresponds to the standpoint to be supported, the maxim needs the following minor premise, *On occasion of our daughter's last exam it was false that she passed it*. This minor premise corresponds to the first conclusion of another syllogistic reasoning, descending from the endoxon, *On occasion of an exam, to pass or to fail are the two mutually exclusive alternatives for a student*, which anchors the argumentative move under consideration to an opinion already accepted by the public, which belongs to the common ground the arguer shares with his addressee. It is thanks to the endoxon that the locus is able to meet the audience demand and thus to reach its persuasive effectiveness. This first conclusion of the endoxical syllogism, obtained from the endoxon through the minor premise of factual nature, *Our daughter did not pass her last exam*, is exploited by the maxim, which activates here the logical form of *modus tollendo ponens* ($P \vee Q, \neg P \vdash Q$), *In a contrary opposition the falsity of one extreme implies the truth of the other one*, valid only with immediate contraries, and generates the final conclusion, *Our daughter failed*, which coincides with the standpoint that was to be supported.

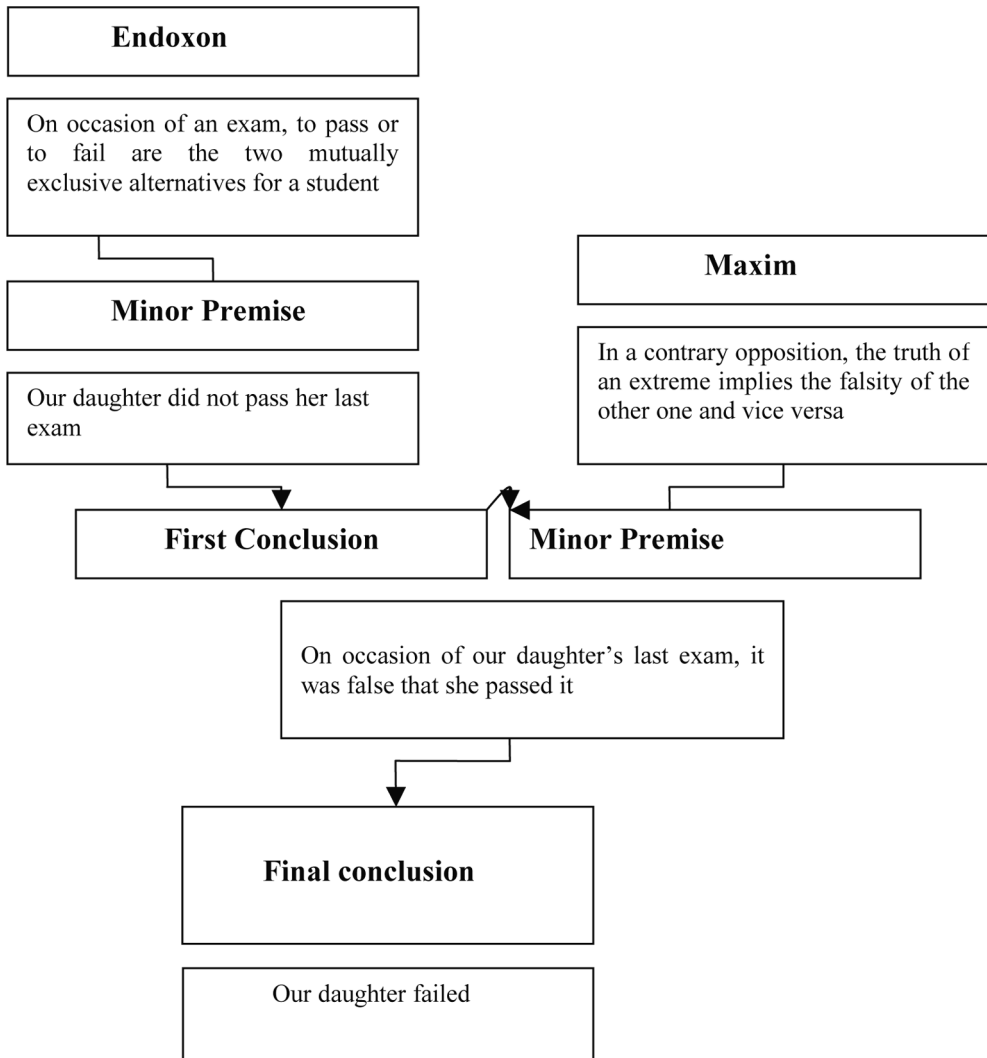


Figure 1: Representation of locus from contraries according to the AMT

2.2 Negative oppositions and semantic paradigms

Before proceeding to better specify the previously mentioned conditions of applicability of the locus from the contraries, strictly bound to the logical implications which arise from the interaction of negation with the semantic paradigm of the elements in contrary opposition, it can be useful to focus our attention on the typology of negative oppositions inherited from the classical tradition and to elucidate their relation with the linguistic notion of semantic paradigm.

If we look at negative expressions such as *black-white*, *rich-poor*, *good-bad*, *odd-even*, *major-minor*, *double-half*, *hot-not hot* etc. they are not homogeneous with respect to the kind of negative opposition they manifest¹². Negative terms can in fact oppose each other in different ways, traditionally known as correlation, contrariety and contradiction¹³.

Correlatives (called by Aristotle *tà prós ti*¹⁴) are opposite terms connected through a relation of mutual implication: it is not possible for a given entity to be for example *major* or *double*, without being *major* or *double* of something else. We are here in front of what contemporary semantics names converse predicates, i.e. properties which identify the same state of affairs by interpreting it in an opposite direction (Mel'čuk 1974 and 1999: 83; Gatti 1992: 172-173; Gatti 2004: 35).

Contraries (*tà enantía*¹⁵) are terms which oppose each other such as for example *black* to *white*, *good* to *bad*, *odd* to *even*. In some cases contraries do not admit any intermediate term, for instance a number can be either *odd* or *even*. In other cases between the two extremes of the contrary opposition it is possible to have intermediate values¹⁶, which are sometimes lexicalized, as for instance *grey* in the opposition *black-white*.

Contradiction (*antífasis*¹⁷) is the most radical negative opposition. Elements in contradictory relation, i.e. *white-not white*, *odd-not odd*, *major-not major* etc., analogously to contraries and correlatives cannot be simultaneously true, according to the principle of contradiction¹⁸, but differently from the latter, they cannot be also simultaneously false, being ruled by the law of excluded middle¹⁹. In other words the contradictory opposition cannot have mediate terms among its extremes.

Correlatives, contraries and contradictories are from a logico-semantic point of view predicates belonging to semantic paradigms (Gatti 2004: 40) of a different type.

Particularly relevant for the fallacious implications which can arise from their interaction with negation are the semantic paradigms with polarized structure generated by the contrary opposition.

¹² In lexicology these expressions are normally reconducted to the indeed generic linguistic category of antonymy (Mel'čuk 1974 and 1999: 83-84; Gatti 1992: 172-173).

¹³ The Aristotelian typology of negative oppositions, presented in *Categoriae* 10 and *De Interpretatione* 6 (Minio-Paluello 1949 ed.; Gatti 2004: 34-41) deeply influenced, through Boethius's mediation, the medieval doctrine of oppositions. The privative opposition (*stéresis*), which appears in *Categoriae*, 10, 11b 18 as a distinct group of negative opposition, denoting properties, as for example *blind* and *sighted*, which are present or absent by nature, in *Metaphysica*, I, 4, 1055a 33 (Jaeger 1957 ed.) is reconducted to the contrary opposition.

¹⁴ See *Categoriae*, 10, 11b 18.

¹⁵ See *Categoriae*, 10, 11b 18.

¹⁶ See *Categoriae*, 10, 12a 1-4 and *Metaphysica*, I, 4, 1055b 2-3. We have in this case *contraria mediata*, opposed to *immediata* (*Summulae logicae*, 5.34, Bochenski 1974 ed., 53-54).

¹⁷ See *De Interpretatione* 6, 17a 25-26.

¹⁸ See *Metaphysica*, Γ, 6, 1011b 13-22.

¹⁹ See *Metaphysica*, Γ, 7, 1011b 23-24.

3. *Contraries under negation and the “polarity temptation”*

The logical implications which are licensed by the denial of predicates in contrary opposition are strictly bound to the nature of the semantic paradigm contraries belong to.

It can be useful to recall here briefly the definition of semantic paradigm. As it was previously seen, a semantic paradigm is a set of predicates in relation of alternativeness (Rigotti 2005b: 73). Alternativeness implies reciprocal exclusion (Rigotti 1988: 348-349). Let's consider, for instance, the semantic paradigm of colours. If we assert that a certain colour pertains to a given entity, by uttering for example *This jacket is blue*, this implicitly excludes its being black, or white, or yellow, or any other colour included in the chromatic paradigm. On the contrary by negating the inherence of that colour to the entity under consideration through the utterance *This jacket is not blue*, it will be indeed implicitly affirmed that it can be either red, or green, or yellow or any other colour of the paradigm under consideration (Rigotti 2005b: 73-74; Gatti 2004: 41-51). Thus when a predicate belongs to a multiple paradigm, its denial implies the affirmation of the disjunction of all the other predicates in relation of alternativeness to it within the semantic paradigm:

$$\neg P \rightarrow P_1(x) \vee P_2(x) \vee P_3(x) \dots \vee P_n(x).$$

The inner structure of a semantic paradigm significantly influences the logical entailments licensed by the interaction of negation with its elements²⁰. If the paradigm is not multiple but binary, the negation of one element coincides with the affirmation of the other one in alternative to it; when we say for example that a light is not on, we evidently affirm that it is off.

Let's now turn our attention to paradigms with polarized structure, generated by the contrary opposition. With respect to them, a primary role is played by the above mentioned traditional distinction between mediate and immediate contraries, which is to ascribe to the gradable or not gradable nature of the predicates involved in the contrary opposition. If the predicates are gradable, the paradigm with polarized structure is continuous, i.e. it's possible to find intermediate scalar values between the two polarized extremes. It follows that in a multiple continuous opposition (*good-bad, rich-poor, white-black, friend-enemy*, etc.), the denial of one extreme does not coincide necessarily with the affirmation of the opposite one; the opposite extreme is “just one of the possible alternatives” (Rigotti 2005b: 74) offered by the continuous paradigm among other alternative values, which are situated in the intermediate zone of “neither... nor” (Sapir, 1951: 133; Gatti, 2004: 112). Thus to be not rich, or not good, or not friend does not necessarily coincide with being poor, or bad or enemy.

When the predicates in the paradigm with polarized structure are not gradable, the contraries are immediate (*odd-even, married-unmarried*, etc.) and in this case the negation of one extreme coincides with the affirmation of the other one, as in all binary paradigms: if for example a number is not odd, it will be even and viceversa.

The different inner structure of semantic paradigms with polarized structure becomes thus relevant for the identification of some fallacies, which arise when these paradigms are submitted to negation.

²⁰ For the interaction of negation with semantic paradigms, see Gatti 2004: 47-48 and 107-118.

It is first of all necessary to notice that overlapping between semantic and lexical paradigms seldom occurs. The intermediate states between scalar values in contrary opposition are sometimes lexicalized through corresponding terms, as for instance *grey* between *white* and *black*, or *medium* between *big* and *small*, or *lukewarm* between *warm* and *cold*. In many other cases this process of lexicalization does not take place. In English there is for example no mediate term between *friend* and *enemy*, as well as in Russian between *drug* and *vrag*, or in German between *Freund* and *Feind*, or in Italian between *amico* and *nemico*, although from a semantic point of view someone who is not friend is not necessarily enemy and viceversa. Notwithstanding the fact that the semantic paradigm here in question is multiple, the absence of lexicalization of the intermediate values induces to treat it as a binary paradigm, allowing the negation of one extreme to coincide with the affirmation of the opposite one. Consequently “someone who is not friend becomes enemy and the enemy of the enemy is erroneously viewed as friend” (Rigotti 2005b: 74).

Through the previous in-depth semantic analysis of the different logical implications licensed by the interaction of negation with the various types of semantic paradigm, the validity conditions for the application of the maxims generated by the locus from contraries are now more precisely identified. It is in fact now clearer why the maxim of the locus from contraries in its destructive use is valid only for immediate contraries (*Summule logicales* 5.34, Bochenski 1947: 53).

The polarity temptation (Rigotti 2005b: 75), that is this fallacious interpretation of the logical implications deriving from the negation of mediate contraries, erroneously treated as immediate opposites, is a strategy often used at psycho-socio-political level “in the process of group constitution and identification” (Rigotti 2005b: 75; Seiler 2004)²¹.

A historical documentation of the manipulative nature of this polarizing temptation can be found in our recent past, when according to the principle “The enemy of my enemy is my friend” during World War II many European countries became allies of Stalin in order to withstand Hitler’s power. The historical events immediately following the Yalta Conference clearly showed how misleading this view was.

A polarized vision of the world, dichotomized between two opposite spheres, a good and a bad one, with no intermediate possibilities, although not peculiar of totalitarianism (Weiss 2005)²², has found indeed a systematical application in totalitarian discourse²³. We can have an example in

²¹ This fallacy, traditionally known as false-dilemma, or also as black and white fallacy, is a reasoning based on a disjunctive syllogism, proceeding from a false disjunctive premise, in which the disjuncts are not mutually exclusive elements. For a deeper insight into false-dilemma see Hamblin 1970, 45-46; Engel 1999, 140-142.

²² As Weiss states, this axiological polarization of the world «is no peculiarity of totalitarian systems» but «the leading principle which is superimposed to every kind of political propaganda: any real propagandist simply cannot do without such a binary, Manichean approach. [...] This approach is in a trivial sense manipulative, since a dualistic view of the world excludes the existence of a third (fourth, fifth ... and n-th) referential world which belongs neither to the we-group nor to the ‘others’ and which has its own corresponding system of values, be it on an intermediate stage or on an independent level.» (Weiss 2005: 254). On this polarizing tendency, which «tends to force every entity [...] under a two-valued classification scheme, creating a setting where everything is black or white without the existence of shades of grey» see also Horn 2003: 270-271.

²³ For a comparison between the totalitarian discourse in Soviet and Nazi propaganda, see Weiss 2005.

the following slogans taken from Soviet propagandistic posters, appeared between the Twenties and the Forties²⁴:

Мы превращаем пустыни в цветущий край,
они превращают города и села в пустыню.
[We transform deserts into a blooming region,
they transform cities and villages into a desert.]

Два мира, два плана.
Мы насаждаем жизнь, они сеют смерть.
[Two worlds, two plans.
We spread life, they sew death.]

Тов. Ленин очищает землю от нечисти.
[Com. Lenin cleans the world from garbage]

Каждый удар молота – удар врагу
[Every hammer blow is a blow to the enemy]

It is interesting to notice that the polar opposition *good-bad* here does not appear in explication but is left to be inferred from the list of actions of opposite sign explicitly stated, which can be reconducted to the hyperonymical semantic paradigms of good actions – превращать пустыни в цветущий край (to transform deserts into a blooming region), насаждать жизнь (to spread life), очищать землю от нечисти (to clean the world from garbage) – and bad ones – превращать города и села в пустыню (to transform cities and villages into a desert) and сеять смерть (to sew death). The world is thus presented as divided in two groups, the world of we (мы), the good ones, which are represented through their positive activities, opposed to the world of they (они), the not good and therefore bad ones, engaged in activities of opposite sign, and which are to be rejected as enemies.

We cannot avoid to mention, finally, the manipulative exploitation of the polarity temptation at vocabulary level, emblematically described by Orwell in *Nineteen Eighty-Four* as one of the strategies foreseen in Newspeak²⁵ for the reduction of the horizon of thought through vocabulary reduction. But let's give the word to the author:

Newspeak was designed not to extend but to *diminish* the range of thought, and this purpose was indirectly assisted by cutting the choice of words down to a minimum. (Orwell 1999: 313).

In this process of vocabulary reduction an important role is played by the negation of adjectives in polar opposition:

In addition any word [...] could be negated by adding the affix *-un*. [...] Thus, for example, *uncold* meant 'warm' [...]. By such methods it was found

²⁴ See <http://www.davno.ru> (last consultation December 2008).

²⁵ For the principles of Newspeak, see Orwell 1999: 312-326. A deep insight into *НОВОЯЗ*, the Soviet version of Newspeak, is offered in Сарнов /Sarnov 2002 and Thom 1987.

possible to bring about an enormous diminution of vocabulary. Given for instance the word *good*, there was no need for such a word as *bad*, since the required meaning was equally well – indeed better – expressed by *ungood*. All that was necessary, in any case where two words formed a natural pair of opposites, was to decide which of them to suppress. *Dark*, for example, could be replaced by *unlight*, and *light* by *undark*, according to preference. (Orwell 1999: 315).

The scalar nature of the adjectival forms under consideration is here evidently eluded (Gatti 2004: 68-69) and the alleged plain synonymy of these negatively prefixed forms with their polar extreme is clearly to reconduct to a fallacious interpretation of the implications licensed by the negation of mediate contraries.

4. *Conclusions*

Much work remains to be done for a complete description of the various types of oppositional loci, but already from this first step of our research it is not possible to avoid to notice the heuristic validity of a semantic-oriented approach to the analysis of argumentative loci.

The doctrine of oppositions and the adoption of the notion of semantic paradigm have revealed themselves an insightful tool for the individuation of the semantico-ontological structure of the locus here at issue with respect to its paradigmatic context, as well as for the identification of the conditions to be met for its valid or fallacious use.

We wish that “the great enterprise” of the analysis of the ontologico-semantic structure of loci “that is left to the AMT team and to all welcome researchers” which will join them (Rigotti & Greco Morasso, forthcoming) might find in the considerations offered in this paper an effective, although in any case initial, contribution.

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L'IMPLICITE – CARACTÉRISTIQUE FONCIÈRE DE L'ARGUMENTATION LITTÉRAIRE

CARMEN NEDELEA PLESA

1. *L'objet*

L'objet de l'étude que je propose est de présenter le discours littéraire comme un discours argumentatif, dont l'argumentation est basée sur bon nombre de stratégies visant à impliciter un certain message sérieux à travers les assertions feintes par lesquelles l'auteur influence le lecteur.

2. *Le cadre théorique*

Le cadre théorique de notre démarche est la pragmatique anglaise et américaine basée sur les notions de l'intention du locuteur et l'effet chez le récepteur qui reconnaît l'intention communicative. L'approche gricéenne est basée sur la notion d'implicature et particulièrement sur les notions d'implicature conversationnelle et d'implicature conventionnelle.

Dans son analyse du statut logique du discours littéraire, Searle a montré que le locuteur d'un énoncé qui apparaît dans un discours de fiction feint de faire une assertion. Pour accomplir son acte de feindre sans intention de tromper, le locuteur accomplit effectivement un acte locutionnaire d'énonciation, ce qui permet à Searle de remarquer que si l'acte illocutionnaire est feint, l'acte d'énonciation est réel: il fait semblant de faire des assertions. Mais, à travers les assertions feintes, l'intention du locuteur consiste à fournir au lecteur un message sérieux.

Notre étude se propose de donner une réponse à cette question analysant le message sérieux de l'auteur comme un contenu implicite et le discours littéraire comme un discours argumentatif. Si une argumentation naturelle est la plupart du temps logiquement incomplète, les prémisses n'en sont que rarement explicitées, le discours littéraire amène rarement à une conclusion explicite bien que les prémisses soient explicitées.

3. *Le discours littéraire – un discours argumentatif*

Le discours littéraire est un discours argumentatif parce qu'il est toujours construit pour un destinataire, le lecteur. L'argumentativité est un trait inhérent de tout discours littéraire qui apparaît ainsi comme un ensemble de stratégies discursives qui rendent raison d'un ou de

plusieurs messages, un ensemble de mécanismes qui enchaînent des propositions dans le but d'étayer la structure logique du discours comme un acte d'argumenter.

Un locuteur argumente lorsqu'il présente un énoncé comme destiné à en faire admettre un autre. Cette divergence entre la signification de la phrase et le sens communiqué par l'énoncé est expliquée par la notion d'implicature. Par là, il faut comprendre que le locuteur donne à entendre à son auditeur plus que sens littéral de la phrase. La notion d'implicature est basée sur la distinction fondamentale entre ce qui est dit et ce qui est implicite dans un énoncé. Donc, l'implicite du discours est une caractéristique foncière de l'argumentation et le discours littéraire, destiné à chercher l'implicite, peut être interprété comme discours argumentatif. C'est aux destinataires d'explicitier le discours, d'en découvrir les chaînons manquants, essentiels pour sa signification, pour l'amener à une conclusion.

4. Un modèle pragmatique de l'implicite littéraire

L'analyse de l'implicite dans le discours littéraire a établi un modèle pragmatique de l'implicite littéraire qui contribue à expliquer les mécanismes par lesquels l'auteur fournit au lecteur un message sérieux et le pousse à y adhérer. Dans le discours littéraire, chaque instance narrative a pour spécifique un mécanisme d'implication. Je propose une typologie de l'implicite littéraire: l'implicite de l'auteur, l'implicite du narrateur, l'implicite du personnage et l'implication du lecteur. Les catégories d'implicite littéraire sont perçues en fonction des stratégies visant à impliciter et l'intention communicative joue un rôle important parce que les degrés d'implication sont imposés par l'auteur.

5. Le discours littéraire – un discours argumentatif de la part de l'auteur

La notion d'implicite est liée à l'intention communicative de l'auteur et à l'idée que le lecteur peut reconnaître/découvrir les intentions parce que le discours littéraire a des conventions constitutives. Les conventions littéraires sont historiquement déterminées et les œuvres peuvent signifier différemment par rapport aux lecteurs des époques différentes. L'auteur même établit un rapport différent à ces conventions dans ses œuvres, son attitude est toujours implicite: il peut respecter les conventions narratives (alors, elles sont déclenchées par le lecteur comme présuppositions qui appartiennent à la connaissance d'arrière-plan) ou il peut transgresser les conventions et impliciter les nouvelles règles de jeu littéraire (les règles sont actualisées par le lecteur comme implicature conventionnelle).

L'attitude de l'auteur est toujours implicite parce qu'il n'existe aucune règle qui détermine à partir de quel écart (par rapport à des conventions narratives), une œuvre peut encore être dite narrative. Je propose de concevoir les conventions narratives comme règles non conversationnelles de nature esthétique dont l'actualisation est déterminée du point de vue culturel parce qu'elles valident le comportement des lecteurs et des auteurs qui appartiennent à une communauté culturelle ou à une époque. Ces conventions narratives

configurent une rhétorique des instances de discours, une logique d'action qui influence le codage et le décodage du texte.

Dans le texte littéraire, les situations communicatives sont artificielles, les créations de l'auteur, déterminées par les conventions constitutives du discours littéraire et elles s'approchent par degrés différents de la communication ordinaire. Le point de départ c'est que dans le texte littéraire, toutes les phrases appartiennent à un seul locuteur, l'auteur, qui a la capacité de multiplier son identité. Les discours du narrateur et du personnage sont polyphoniques parce qu'ils rendent manifestes les intentions de l'auteur. Donc, le discours littéraire exprime une intentionnalité de deuxième degré. Toute interprétation du discours du narrateur ou du personnage suppose toujours la relation fondamentale auteur-lecteur, parce que les stratégies narratives et conversationnelles dépendent des intentions de l'auteur.

Dans les théories actuelles sur la fiction littéraire, l'auteur n'a pas un rôle important, on parle de la mort de l'auteur et les théoriciens semblent autoriser le lecteur à produire un nombre infini d'interprétations. On pense qu'une fois le texte séparé de son locuteur, de son intention et de son contexte, il se trouve dans un espace infini d'interprétations possibles. Bien sûr, la lecture d'une œuvre est déterminée par les compétences du lecteur, de son contexte idéologique et historique, mais la lecture ne dépend pas seulement de son propre système de signifiés, parce que le lecteur ne peut pas déclencher des inférences arbitraires. Chaque lecture est le résultat d'un calcul interprétatif.

L'interprétation du texte ne signifie pas pour le lecteur chercher dans le texte ses propres intentions, ni découvrir les intentions de l'auteur empirique, mais c'est une dialectique entre la stratégie de l'auteur et la réponse du lecteur.

L'analyse pragmatique a relevé l'idée que les problèmes de l'auteur et du lecteur sont différents: la démarche de l'auteur est prédictive, tandis que celle du lecteur est heuristique parce qu'il doit produire des déductions pragmatiques qui dirigent la lecture et l'interprétation. Je pense qu'il est nécessaire que le comportement du lecteur soit déterminé par des règles bien qu'elles ne soient pas respectées. Il est important que l'auteur suppose l'existence d'un lecteur qui respecte ces maximes.

Le comportement communicatif de l'auteur et aussi celui du lecteur se définissent par l'intentionnalité et la rationalité, chacun utilisant une certaine stratégie, déterminée par l'image postulée de l'autre. Chaque lecteur construit pendant la lecture une image de l'auteur, le résultat d'une activité déductive, l'auteur suppose aussi l'existence d'un lecteur capable de réaliser les processus coopératifs qu'il propose. L'auteur doit anticiper les réactions du lecteur, en créant la possibilité de choisir la solution interprétative qui convient. En effet, l'option pour un certain codage est la modalité de guider le décodage. Pour choisir la stratégie propre à une certaine situation communicative on suppose que l'auteur connaît les effets que l'œuvre produit sur le lecteur et aussi il doit avoir une bonne connaissance de l'interlocuteur, de sa capacité d'interpréter les énoncés.

Pendant la lecture d'un texte écrit, la référence aux circonstances de l'énonciation a d'autres fonctions que dans la conversation orale, parce que celui qui a produit le texte n'est pas présent et les hypothèses du lecteur sur le sujet de l'énonciation ou sur ses intentions de-

viennent plus risquées. Lorsqu'un texte n'est pas produit pour un certain récepteur, mais pour une communauté de lecteurs, l'auteur sait que le texte ne sera pas interprété conformément à ses intentions, mais selon une stratégie complexe d'interaction qui implique le lecteur et ses compétences. Chaque lecture est une transaction difficile entre la compétence du lecteur réel et la compétence postulée par un texte pour une communication réussie.

Il est difficile de reconnaître les intentions de l'auteur empirique et elles ne sont pas importantes pendant l'activité interprétative. Pendant la lecture on peut attribuer à l'auteur des informations qu'il n'a pas implicites. Il ne peut pas empêcher certaines interprétations bien que son intention ne soit pas de les déterminer. Il y a des situations où l'auteur empirique a le droit de se manifester comme lecteur modèle, mais il ne peut pas désapprouver les analogies sémantiques autorisées par les mots utilisés.

Les modalités de rendre manifeste l'intention communicative sont diversement déterminées par les effets que l'auteur se propose. Au moment où il n'y a pas de commentaires explicites, il est difficile d'identifier l'intention communicative de l'auteur. Mais il est très important que, pendant la lecture, le lecteur ne cherche pas les intentions de l'auteur empirique, mais de l'auteur implicite, dont la stratégie communicative est rétablie.

On peut analyser les stratégies d'implication de l'auteur comme stratégies argumentatives en deux cas dans lesquels l'auteur ne respecte pas la maxime de qualité: la communication auteur/lecteur est directe (titre, convention narrative, nom propre) et des contextes où la communication est moyennée par le discours du narrateur et du personnage.

Le fragment que je propose pour l'analyse fait parti du roman *Le monde en deux jours* écrit par George Bălăiță [*Lumea în două zile*, Bălăiță 1975] et c'est un dialogue entre le personnage central Antipa et un chat étrange, Murr:

Et je rencontrerai le matou du vieillard de vis-à-vis. Nous serons dans le passage ou sur la terrasse de l'hôtel. Je crois qu'il y aura du vent.

Bonsoir, monsieur le professeur, dira le matou (je n'ai jamais compris pourquoi cette fripouille aux yeux jaunâtres et ensommeillés m'appelle monsieur le professeur).

Bonsoir je répondrai parce que j'aime bien bavarder avec lui.

Nous sommes les seuls à porter de la fourrure si vous me permettez l'observation monsieur le professeur.

Je crois que tu as raison, monsieur Murr.

Oh, Murr! vous me gênez, monsieur le professeur. Mais, dites-moi, s'il vous plaît, ne croyez-vous pas que quelqu'un puisse nous demander ce que c'est cette fourrure?

Si on nous demande seulement, ça ne fait rien, répondrai-je.

Vous avez raison, monsieur le professeur. Permettez-moi de me retirer; je dois retrouver madame Simchas.

A bientôt cher Murr.

Mes respects, monsieur le professeur. Mais, excusez moi, je vous retiens avec une autre question: comment va-t-elle, votre petite chienne Eromanga?

Elle regarde assez souvent votre immeuble.

O, vous plaisantez, monsieur le professeur, excusez moi, mes respects!
 Au revoir, Murr chéri.

L'argumentation part d'une situation originellement conflictuelle, implicite par l'auteur: les deux personnages appartiennent à deux espaces fictionnels différents. Ce conflit est résolu dans la configuration conclusive de l'argumentation, dans son implicite communicationnel. Le dialogue est imaginé par Antipa, qui a une position privilégiée et il en pourra profiter, mais à la fin, on inverse les rapports entre les personnages. La conversation amène une orientation argumentative inverse parce qu'elle est fondée sur les contenus implicites manipulés légèrement par le matou.

Dans le fragment, il y a deux situations argumentatives où on démontre deux thèses différentes:

1. l'argumentateur est le matou et le destinataire Antipa, la thèse démontrée c'est la certitude identitaire d'Antipa;
2. l'argumentateur est l'auteur et le destinataire est le lecteur, la thèse démontrée est la certitude de la lecture.

Chaque discours (du matou et d'Antipa) est orienté vers le récepteur dont il vise à modifier l'attitude: pour Antipa, d'emporter l'adhésion, pour le lecteur, d'induire un changement de lecture.

L'objet de l'échange verbal au niveau des personnages est la négociation des identités, à la fin duquel Antipa change de rôle. Dans la première partie du roman, Antipa est paresseux et rêveur, il semble vieux bien qu'il n'ait pas encore 30 ans. La deuxième partie du roman relève d'autres traits de son caractère: fermeté, indifférence, disposition pour le jeu.

La situation argumentative est composée de plusieurs échanges et elle a pour caractéristique de commencer par un échange d'ouverture et de terminer sur un échange de clôture. Les échanges d'ouverture sont confirmatifs et visent simplement à entretenir ou à confirmer une relation établie ou marquent l'intention de parler.

On remarque la déférence excessive du matou qui utilise pour désigner l'interlocuteur: monsieur le professeur. Les incursions de matou configurent un comportement stratégique parce que la politesse négative est spécifique aux relations entre insider et outsider. Le chat a implicite qu'Antipa est un outsider: il ne s'agit pas d'une supériorité sociale, mais plutôt ontologique. Pour le chat, Antipa est un outsider parce qu'il est le personnage du roman *Le monde en deux jours*, tandis que le chat appartient à l'œuvre fantastique de E.T.A. Hoffmann. La description définie déclenche une présupposition existentielle: 'il y a un professeur' et à partir du contexte communicatif, il est Antipa. Cette présupposition contredit une information de connaissances d'arrière-plan, de narrateur et de lecteur: Antipa n'est pas professeur. Cette contradiction signale que le chat a exploité la maxime de qualité dans le but de transmettre comme implicature conversationnelle le changement identitaire d'Antipa. Antipa accepte le rôle d'interlocuteur bien qu'il constate dans son commentaire évaluatif une transgression de maxime de qualité: "Bonsoir, je répondrai, parce que j'aime bien bavarder avec lui". Bien qu'il ait calculé l'implicature, il ne rejette pas le discours de l'argu-

mentateur, il ne crée pas un contre discours. Le discours du matou est orienté vers Antipa et vise à emporter son adhésion.

Le matou utilise une stratégie conversationnelle, il réduit le potentiel agressif de l'assertion envers l'interlocuteur; il reconnaît qu'il ne peut rien imposer à son interlocuteur: "si vous me permettez l'observation".

Les présuppositions manipulées par le chat ne renvoient pas à des croyances d'arrière-plan parce que ce n'est pas un dialogue centré sur l'échange d'information, mais sur le changement d'identité d'Antipa.

Antipa ne contredit pas les présuppositions, il les accepte, bien que le locuteur affirme un énoncé dont les présuppositions sont fausses: "je crois que tu as raison, monsieur Murr". Il ne produit pas ces énoncés pour induire son auditeur en erreur, si leur sens ne peut se réduire à leur littéralité c'est qu'il communique des implicatures. En utilisant le nom du chat monsieur Murr, Antipa s'inscrit dans le jeu ontologique en l'acceptant. Le nom propre est une description définie qui déclenche une présupposition existentielle: 'il y a un chat qui s'appelle Murr', mais il appartient à un autre espace fictionnel qu'Antipa, à l'œuvre fantastique de E.T.A. Hoffmann.

Les appellatifs utilisés par Antipa se modifient au cours de la conversation: "monsieur Murr, cher Murr, Murr chéri", tandis que les interventions du chat sont les mêmes. La situation communicative vise à neutraliser la distance ontologique qui existait au début entre les interlocuteurs.

Dans l'échange de clôture, les interlocuteurs respectent les normes de la politesse négative et on peut expliquer l'option pour une modalité stratégique d'abandonner l'interlocuteur par des motivations conjoncturelles. Le protocole final est suivi par une construction restrictive qui précède une demande: "excusez-moi, je vous retiens avec une autre question". C'est une stratégie spécifique de la politesse négative: la sollicitation sur un sujet tabou est précédée par un verbe de permission, qui rend impossible une réponse négative. La question déclenche une présupposition existentielle: 'il y a une petite chienne Eromanga' et cette petite chienne appartient à un niveau ontologique différent de celui des interlocuteurs.

La réponse d'Antipa est coopérative malgré la violation de maxime de qualité parce que le but est d'impliciter le changement du code utilisé par les personnages, le discours sérieux est remplacé par une plaisanterie. A l'hypothèse que le locuteur veut coopérer, mais il ne peut pas donner toute l'information, on peut calculer l'implicature: 'la petite chienne suivit le matou'. Il y a aussi une exploitation de maxime de qualité et l'implicature est calculée par l'interlocuteur "vous plaisantez, monsieur le professeur".

A ce moment, le changement de discours est possible parce que les locuteurs ont les mêmes règles communicatives et la même conception pour les exploiter. La plaisanterie est une modalité de reconnaître l'appartenance des personnages au même espace ontologique et marque l'adhésion d'Antipa. L'argumentation implicite du matou déconstruit l'identité d'Antipa et la reconstruit en d'autres termes.

Dans l'autre situation argumentative qui implique auteur/lecteur, on suppose que l'auteur ne respecte pas la maxime de qualité par les contradictions déterminées de la

transgression des niveaux ontologiques pour inférer un code de lecture pour la deuxième partie du roman.

L'habileté ou inhabileté conversationnelles, le comportement communicatif, les stratégies utilisées par les personnages sont déterminés par l'intention communicative de l'auteur.

Dans ce contexte communicatif, l'intention de l'auteur est de mettre en doute la certitude ontologique du personnage Antipa parce que la déficience communicative d'Antipa implique l'altérité comme caractéristique du personnage.

En exploitant la maxime de qualité, l'auteur implique une modalité de lecture parce qu'il y a une affinité évidente entre le fragment et le dialogue entre Murr et Etlinger de l'histoire écrite par E.T.A. Hoffmann. Le nom du chat signale l'homologie entre les deux fictions impliquant la mémoire d'un livre. Il s'agit d'une implicature parce que l'auteur ne respecte pas la maxime de quantité (il ne donne pas toute l'information) et la lecture est déterminée par la compétence du lecteur de calculer l'implicature.

Le nom du personnage est une convention, un signe pour les intentions et les compétences communicatives de l'auteur dans le champ littéraire. On peut déceler à ce niveau la stratégie intertextuelle de l'auteur. L'intertextualité de l'écriture détermine une sélection culturelle de lecteurs parce qu'elle oblige une lecture intertextuelle.

Au moment où un auteur nomme le personnage, il construit une description définie, le nom étant une abréviation. Plusieurs fois, la signification du nom reçue dans le discours de l'auteur est différente de la signification littérale de la description. Pour actualiser la signification du nom, le lecteur doit actualiser les implicatures. La compétence du lecteur d'utiliser correctement le nom de personnage pendant la lecture est gagnée par un emprunt de référence. Le rapport entre le nom du personnage et la description définie sur laquelle il se fonde est pragmatique.

L'intention avec laquelle l'auteur utilise le nom du personnage dans le texte littéraire n'est pas seulement de désigner le personnage, mais d'actualiser par le nom une autre histoire littéraire. On peut reformuler la théorie de l'emprunt de référence en termes d'implicatures qui sont actualisées dans un certain contexte communicatif. On peut expliquer d'une telle manière la possibilité que le lecteur peut reconnaître l'intention avec laquelle l'auteur utilise le nom du personnage, en déclenchant les implicatures.

Les noms du chat et de la petite chienne sont des signaux narratifs, intertextuels, qui emportent une histoire préexistante, le lecteur est obligé d'actualiser les informations latentes. Les informations narratives qui proviennent d'un autre texte littéraire sont actualisées comme des implicatures parce qu'elles s'ajoutent à la signification de la phrase et ne se substituent pas à la signification littérale. Si le lecteur n'actualise pas les implicatures associées au nom du personnage, on peut continuer la communication, mais non pas dans la direction désirée par l'auteur.

La fonction de l'implicite générée par l'intertextualité du nom est d'établir une complicité valorisante entre l'auteur et le lecteur que le texte présuppose. Cette complicité détermine l'actualisation de la signification implicite et permet la reconnaissance de

l'intention parodique. Cette situation argumentative est inédite parce que l'existence de l'argumentateur/auteur est présupposée.

Alors, on ne peut pas ignorer le rôle de l'auteur parce qu'il établit les règles du jeu littéraire et il est implicitement intégré à la fiction; l'auteur peut empêcher la lecture arbitraire du texte littéraire parce que son discours est argumentatif. Les intentions illocutionnaires sérieuses (d'influencer le lecteur) sont transmises à de différents degrés comme implicatures ou présuppositions. Il y a des textes où les messages de l'auteur sont plus proches de l'explicite, mais il y en a d'autres plus créatifs où il est très difficile de déterminer l'intention de l'auteur. L'identification de ces messages est déterminée par les degrés dans lesquels l'œuvre respecte les conventions narratives.

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RASSEGNA DI LINGUISTICA GENERALE

A CURA DI MARIO BAGGIO E MARIA CRISTINA GATTI

ANNE-MARIE CHABROLLE-CERRETINI, *La vision du monde de Wilhelm von Humboldt. Histoire d'un concept linguistique*, ENS Éditions, Lyon 2007, pp. 158

Questa densa monografia è dedicata all'importanza della *Weltansicht* nella concezione di Humboldt. La prima parte dell'opera ripercorre le origini del concetto negli anni a cavallo fra il Diciottesimo e il Diciannovesimo secolo. L'Autrice fa emergere il contesto culturale e ideologico nel quale si delineò la riflessione intorno alla «diversité linguistique» (p. 10). La parte successiva descrive i tratti costitutivi del concetto di *Weltansicht*, che compare per la prima volta nel discorso *Über das vergleichende Sprachstudium in Beziehung auf die verschiedenen Epochen der Sprachentwicklung*, pronunciato all'Accademia di Berlino nel 1820. L'analisi è integrata da un regesto delle diverse traduzioni del termine in francese (prevalte tuttavia *vision du monde*) e in altre lingue, tra cui l'italiano, che impiega per lo più *visione del mondo*. L'Autrice peraltro osserva che in francese spesso i medesimi traduttori rendono anche termini come *Weltanschauung*, *Weltauffassung*, *Sprachsicht*.

Nella terza parte sono tracciati i principi metodologici della linguistica comparata secondo Humboldt e gli humboldtiani. L'Autrice rileva come la modernità dello studioso tedesco si concentri tutta proprio nel concetto di *Weltansicht* «que nous pouvons définir, aujourd'hui, comme un lien vivant [...] qui intègre d'une part le rapport avec la pensée et le monde extralinguistique et, d'autre part, le lien avec une communauté humaine, une nation» (p. 133). La nazione conferisce l'essenza della propria individualità alla lingua, così come, grazie alla lingua, la nazione si costituisce come tale ed è

capace di fecondare l'interazione continua e creatrice tra pensiero, lingua e mondo.

Giovanni Gobber

LIA ABULADZE, ANDREAS LUDDEN, *Lehrbuch der georgischen Sprache*, Helmut Buske, Hamburg 2006, pp. XII-400

Negli ultimi decenni, molti studenti di cartvelologia nelle università europee occidentali hanno mosso i primi passi sulla classica *Einführung in die georgische Sprache* di Kita Tschenkéli, uscita a Zurigo nel 1958 in due volumi, uno teorico, l'altro applicativo, con molti esercizi basati soprattutto sulla lingua letteraria. Alla *Einführung*, che rimane una pietra miliare per chi intenda avviare uno studio sistematico del georgiano moderno, si affianca ora – inteso quasi come versione minore e aggiornata – il manuale di Abuladze e Ludden. Esso offre un'efficace introduzione alla fonetica e alla fonologia, che precede 33 lezioni articolate ciascuna in un testo con commento grammaticale e lessicale, in una serie di esercizi e in una traduzione (in tedesco) del testo, la quale serve per un'utilissima retroversione. Le prime 21 lezioni contengono testi dialogici su temi dell'esperienza quotidiana di un giovane studente universitario; nelle undici seguenti vi sono per lo più monologhi di andamento narrativo o descrittivo, che spongono la storia culturale e politica della Georgia.

La terza parte del manuale consiste nella descrizione dei fondamenti della grammatica georgiana contemporanea; seguono 78 tabelle con i paradigmi dei verbi più importanti (pp. 245-323). Infine, dopo la soluzione degli esercizi, vi è un glossario georgiano-tedesco. Uno strumento indispensabile è il *compact disc* (otteni-

bile separatamente), nel quale sono registrati i testi delle 33 lezioni.

L'opera è rivolta a futuri studiosi di cartvelologia già in possesso di nozioni di linguistica generale. Non si tratta di un manuale di facile utilizzo; tuttavia, grazie a una dosatura saggia di tradizione e di innovazione, esso propone un percorso di apprendimento di rara efficacia.

Giovanni Gobber

JURIJ D. APRESJAN, O semantičeskoj motivirovannosti leksičeskich funkcij-kollokatov (Motivazione semantica delle funzioni lessicali-collocazioni), "Voprosy Jazykoznanija", 2008, 5, pp. 3-33

L'Autore, una delle voci più autorevoli della linguistica russa contemporanea, ridefinisce in questa sede la natura semantica dei lessemi verbali che intervengono in alcuni tipi di collocazioni, presentate da Igor' Mel'čuk e Aleksandr Žolkovskij nell'ambito della teoria fraseologica delle funzioni lessicali (FL). Nella versione originale di questa teoria, che costituisce una componente rilevante del modello linguistico SmyslŮTekst (SensoŮTesto), i manifestanti verbali delle funzioni lessicali di tipo sintagmatico Oper, Labor e Func venivano presentati come semanticamente vuoti e la loro scelta semanticamente immotivata.

Apresjan, riprendendo quanto già esposto in un articolo precedentemente pubblicato in "Voprosy jazykoznanija" (2004, n. 4), modifica quanto finora sostenuto in merito allo statuto semantico di queste entità linguistiche. Si tratta, a ben vedere, di verbi semanticamente pieni, dotati di «sobstvennoe leksičeskoe značenie» (p. 7), la cui scelta quale manifestante di una funzione lessicale in rapporto ad un dato argomento è semanticamente motivata. Essa dipende infatti dalla natura azionale sia del verbo che interviene quale strategia di manifestazione della FL, sia del predicato a cui è riconducibile il sostantivo che funge da argomento della FL data. Ciò consente al lessi-

cografo di formulare previsioni attendibili relative al lessema verbale che dovrà comparire in una certa collocazione.

Maria Cristina Gatti

STEFAN RABANUS, EVA SMOLKA, JUDITH STREB, FRANK RÖSLER, *Die mentale Verarbeitung von Verben in idiomatischen Konstruktionen*, "Zeitschrift für germanistische Linguistik", 36, 2008, 1, pp. 27-47

Analisi sperimentali svolte nell'ambito di un'indagine sulle modalità di memorizzazione e di elaborazione dei verbi in sede mentale portano gli Autori a rilevare che i verbi usati in espressioni idiomatiche (*Sie haben mit Kanonen auf Spatzen geschossen*) e letterali (*Der Jäger hat auf das Reh geschossen*) attivano associazioni mentali analoghe.

Tali risultati sperimentali si oppongono a ipotesi precedentemente avanzate in sede di riflessione psicolinguistica, secondo le quali i verbi usati in frasi idiomatiche attiverrebbero associazioni mentali diverse da quelle attivate dai medesimi verbi nell'uso letterale.

I risultati conseguiti da queste recenti indagini consentono pertanto agli Autori di concludere che per i verbi con significato sia idiomatico che letterale non mutano le modalità di elaborazione a livello mentale.

Maria Cristina Gatti

LAURA MARIOTTINI, *La cortesia*, Carocci (Le Bussole, 280), Roma 2007, pp. 112

Con il termine "cortesia" si indicano tutte quelle strutture ricorrenti nella lingua scritta e parlata che manifestano un comportamento comunicativo cooperativo e rispettoso. La cortesia serve, quindi, a facilitare le relazioni sociali e a canalizzare e compensare l'aggressività, ossia l'insieme delle azioni che potrebbero costituire un'offesa per i destinatari. Essa non deve intendersi solo come un insieme di norme, ma anche e soprattutto come un insieme di strategie che determinano la scelta di certe forme linguisti-

che piuttosto che di altre. Si tratta, dunque, di un fenomeno che è parte della funzione interpersonale del linguaggio, focalizzato sul comportamento sia verbale sia non verbale e sulla di particolari indicatori linguistici.

Lo scopo del volume, che si presenta come uno strumento sia di riflessione analitica sia di formazione per studenti, insegnanti, traduttori, è di fornire un valido strumento per partecipare in maniera più consapevole allo scambio comunicativo. Il libro è diviso idealmente in due parti: una teorica, nella quale si presentano i più importanti approcci nell'ambito degli studi sulla cortesia, e una incentrata sugli ambiti di applicazione.

Nel primo capitolo vengono presentate le teorie pragmlinguistiche, quelle cioè che nascono a partire dagli studi di filosofia del linguaggio di Austin e di Grice. Tra queste, si ritengono fondanti quelle di Lakoff, di Leech e, in particolare, di Brown e Levinson, il cui modello è tuttora considerato lo strumento di analisi della cortesia più elaborato e più noto. Brown e Levinson sviluppano nozioni provenienti dalla sociologia, come in particolare il concetto goffmaniano di "faccia", che descrive due particolari esigenze della persona: il bisogno di non essere ostacolata e quello di essere approvata. Obiettivo del lavoro dei due studiosi è l'elaborazione di un modello di comunicazione universale basato sull'interrelazione/interdipendenza della "faccia positiva" e della "faccia negativa" dei partecipanti a uno scambio comunicativo, e, soprattutto, sulla loro esigenza di preservare reciprocamente la "faccia".

Nel secondo capitolo l'Autrice analizza le ricerche sulla cortesia di "seconda generazione", molto critiche nei confronti delle teorie precedenti. La più significativa tra le obiezioni rivolte agli autori citati è quella di proporre modelli etnocentrici e universalistici, basati su una nozione di cortesia strategica, nella quale il parlante può decidere di adottare o meno determinati comportamenti e strumenti linguistici. Tali modelli non si adattano a tutte le

lingue/culture: a quella giapponese, per esempio, cinese, thailandese, coreana e ad alcune culture europee, nelle quali la cortesia è stabilita da norme sociali e grammaticali ed è una regola prescritta e quindi obbligatoria. Gli studi esaminati abbandonano il pragmlinguismo e abbracciano il sociopragmatismo, introducendo alcune nozioni fondamentali della sociologia, come il contesto e la situazione comunicativa. L'Autrice illustra i modelli di alcuni ricercatori operanti in ambiti linguistici non anglofoni, che mettono in discussione le pretese di universalità della cortesia postulate da Brown e Levinson. Tra questi, il modello di Matsumoto, che, riflettendo sul sistema onorifico del giapponese, evidenzia il fatto che la nozione bipolare di faccia, costruita in termini strategici e fortemente volitivi, non si adatta ai principi che regolano la retorica interpersonale nipponica, nell'economia della quale la scelta delle forme linguistiche, oltre al contenuto proposizionale, veicola informazioni di carattere sociolinguistico, che definiscono il tipo di relazione in corso.

Il terzo capitolo tratta le teorie di "terza generazione" o della pragmatica socioculturale, sviluppatasi nel mondo ispanico, che mirano a proporre un quadro teorico nuovo da utilizzare per tutte le lingue in tutte le culture. È necessario, secondo questo indirizzo di ricerca, unire l'elemento linguistico all'extralinguistico, vale a dire inserire lo studio della cortesia in quel particolare ambito della pragmatica maggiormente sensibile alla nozione di contesto che è l'ambito socioculturale. All'interno di tale area si includono non solo le caratteristiche dei partecipanti, la descrizione della situazione comunicativa, l'analisi dell'interazione, ma anche le variabili sociali che influenzano le scelte linguistiche. Nel volume si dedica particolare attenzione all'approccio proposto da Diana Bravo, la quale sostiene l'ipotesi contestuale della cortesia e propone categorie di analisi vuote – autonomia e affiliazione – che vanno riempite con le norme socioculturali della lingua/cultura studiata.

Nel quarto capitolo si ravvisa nell'analisi conversazionale un quadro teorico denso di spunti interessanti. Se si coglie l'aspetto co-costruttivistico e dinamico dell'interazione, ci si rende conto del fatto che le definizioni di cortesia proposte in precedenza non si adattano facilmente al modello interazionale: l'insieme delle strategie e l'effetto sul destinatario sono elementi propri dei modelli statici, sono punti di arrivo della cortesia, descrivono il risultato, non pongono l'attenzione sul processo e sui cambiamenti che il comportamento cortese può subire nello scambio concreto. Dunque, se si vuole affrontare il tema della cortesia dinamica, si deve tener conto del dinamismo che contraddistingue la conversazione e si devono prendere in considerazione anche i cambiamenti di prospettiva e di atteggiamento che in essa avvengono, concretizzati, per lo più, nei meccanismi di presa del turno, nelle formule di chiusura e nella dinamica delle coppie adiacenti.

Gli ultimi due capitoli gettano uno sguardo su due possibili campi di applicazione degli studi sulla cortesia: la traduzione e le interazioni *online*, in modo specifico le *chat*. Queste ultime, per la loro natura ibrida tra oralità e scrittura, presentano norme di interazione linguistica e sociale distinte rispetto alle altre modalità comunicative. Gli utenti delle *chat* formano delle comunità di parlanti, all'interno delle quali vigono le norme che essi stessi negoziano. I comportamenti cortesi o scortesi, quindi, conclude l'Autrice, sono sia di natura universale, dettati dal galateo della rete, sia di natura particolare, decisi da ogni singola comunità e dai ruoli che i partecipanti ricoprono al loro interno.

Chiara Beccalossi

STEFANIA CAVAGNOLI, *La comunicazione specialistica*, Carocci (Le Bussole, 290), Roma 2007, pp. 111

Il volume, che si rivolge principalmente a studenti di linguistica, offre una panoramica sui principali temi relativi alla comunicazione spe-

cialistica basandosi su un approccio interdisciplinare, che considera come naturale punto di partenza la linguistica e interagisce con gli studi sulla comunicazione, sulla sociologia, sulle discipline scientifiche e sul diritto.

Il primo capitolo si occupa del problema definitivo, riscontrando nella ricerca italiana, di cui si presentano le posizioni più rappresentative, la mancanza di una definizione e denominazione univoca del tema trattato, ovvero quello della lingua o linguaggio utilizzato nella comunicazione fra esperto ed esperto o fra esperto e non esperto, o ancora, fra esperto e futuro esperto (la cosiddetta comunicazione didattica). La riflessione verte sul rapporto osmotico tra lingua comune e linguaggi specialistici, due serbatoi linguistici tra i quali avviene uno scambio continuo, sebbene non costante. In questo rapporto è la lingua comune la parte determinante, dato che i linguaggi specialistici non possono prescindere e ne sono considerati sia una varietà diafasica, sulla base del rapporto esistente fra i parlanti in una determinata situazione, sia una varietà diastratica, sulla base dei rapporti fra gruppi di esperti e non esperti, nella dimensione verticale della comunicazione.

Il secondo capitolo affronta il tema del testo specialistico, ritenuto il punto di partenza preferenziale per l'analisi della comunicazione specialistica in quanto unità fondamentale dei rapporti disciplinari e linguistici che regolano la trasmissione di informazioni di settore. In linea con le tendenze della linguistica testuale, il testo viene considerato la base del processo comunicativo, in quanto contiene gli elementi lessicali, morfologici e sintattici da analizzare nello studio delle microlingue. A questo proposito, l'Autrice sottolinea l'utilità, soprattutto in prospettiva interlinguistica, di una classificazione dei testi specialistici, tradizionalmente distinguibili in base alla loro forma, al contenuto o alla funzione per cui sono prodotti, a seconda delle esigenze dei fruitori dei testi stessi e del rapporto esistente tra i testi e le situazioni.

Il terzo capitolo si addentra nelle caratteristiche morfosintattiche (alta frequenza di processi di nominalizzazione, passivazione e deagentivazione, ellissi, paratassi, ecc.) e lessicali (terminologia/e) di tali testi, considerandone anche gli aspetti pragmatici, disciplinari e culturali. L'Autrice propone una prima suddivisione tra scienze naturali e scienze cosiddette umane, più internazionali e con un bacino di riferimento più ampio le prime, più nazionali e quindi con una minore condivisione di saperi e modalità processuali le seconde. Sebbene queste ultime applichino schemi conoscitivi e descrittivi simili, il contenuto dell'analisi scientifica è meno oggettivo e più legato a dimensioni culturali e sociali proprie di una determinata tradizione.

Nel quarto capitolo vengono descritti gli aspetti sociolinguistici e pragmatici della comunicazione specialistica considerando l'asse verticale sul quale si muovono gli attori della comunicazione e fornendo una selezione di diversi schemi di suddivisione in livelli e protagonisti, a seconda che si considerino come punto di riferimento dell'analisi i partecipanti allo scambio o lo stile della comunicazione.

Il quinto capitolo tratta i problemi e i miti della comunicazione specialistica: le difficoltà della redazione di testi divulgativi il più possibile comprensibili ed il principio della neutralità emotiva.

Nel sesto capitolo si descrive il linguaggio giuridico, come esempio di linguaggio specialistico. Se ne illustrano anzitutto le caratteristiche (complessità sintattica, nominalizzazione, uso di termini specifici ma anche di parole della lingua comune con accezione diversa, presenza di forme arcaiche e latine, ecc.), per poi considerare alcuni problemi relativi alla gestione di testi a carattere giuridico, nei quali il principio della chiarezza concettuale va spesso a scapito della chiarezza espositiva.

Chiara Beccalossi

FEDERICA VENIER, *Il potere del discorso. Retorica e pragmatica linguistica*, Carocci, Roma 2008, pp. 128

L'Autrice delinea i rapporti tra la retorica aristotelica e la pragmatica linguistica per ricostruire la storia "della sovrapposibilità degli interessi" e degli oggetti dei due campi di studio, evidenziando in particolare quei nuclei teorici che fanno sì "che retorica e pragmatica linguistica possano essere intese come tentativi molto spesso congiunti di risolvere una serie di questioni sorte nel corso della riflessione sul linguaggio e la comunicazione" (p. 21).

Nella prima parte, *L'eredità di Aristotele* (pp. 19-64), la proposta aristotelica di un "metodo" che regolasse e controllasse i modi pubblici dell'agire comunicativo viene dapprima inquadrata e di seguito visitata nelle sue riprese nei modelli pragmatici di Austin (1962), Perelman e Olbrechts-Tyteca (1958) e Grice (1967). L'Autrice conclude il capitolo presentando le interpretazioni "storiografiche" di Garin, Barilli e Compagnon e quelle linguistiche di Coseriu e Benveniste circa la rinascita della retorica nella seconda metà del secolo scorso e l'interdisciplinarietà degli interessi coinvolti.

Nella seconda parte, *Retorica e pragmatica a confronto* (pp. 67-100), l'Autrice analizza gli elementi che consentono di accostare le due discipline assumendo come termini di confronto le categorie retoriche e pragmatiche di oratore e parlante, di *logos* e discorso, di uditore e ascoltatore. Tali categorie permettono sia di evidenziare i punti di contatto e integrazione, sia di sottolineare i margini di differenza tra le due discipline.

Nelle *Conclusioni* (pp. 101-103) viene sintetizzata la tesi evidenziata a più riprese nel corso della trattazione: retorica e pragmatica, pur condividendo come oggetto di indagine l'idea di discorso come attività del locutore mirante a un obiettivo determinato, restano due discipline autonome e distinte. Esse infatti, conclude l'Autrice, guardano allo stesso og-

getto da due diverse prospettive: la pragmatica da quella del parlante e la retorica da quella dell'ascoltatore. Appaiono pertanto riduttive sia le posizioni di coloro che tendono a vedere la retorica come un ambito subordinato alla pragmatica, sia le posizioni di coloro che ritengono che l'esecuzione di un qualunque atto linguistico consista di fatto in una sorta di persuasione del destinatario. Venier sostiene infatti che la nozione di perlocuzione di un macro-atto retorico, qual è quello costituito dal discorso del retore, non è sovrapponibile a quello di perlocuzione di un micro-atto, qual è quello oggetto della pragmatica. Ritiene inoltre che non si debba pensare all'attività linguistica come a qualcosa di genericamente riconducibile alla persuasione perché non pochi sono gli atti fondati proprio sull'ottenimento di un fine in assenza di persuasione. Del resto, la caratterizzazione degli obiettivi perlocutori non è, di per sé, una condizione necessaria né sufficiente al raggiungimento dello scopo illocutorio.

Maria Paola Tenchini

JOHN WOODS, *Beyond Reasonable Doubt: An Abductive Dilemma in Criminal Law*, "Informal Logic", 28, 1, 2008, pp. 60-70

Nei processi penali basati sul *common law* l'imputato può essere giudicato colpevole dalla giuria sulla base di prove indiziarie anche qualora sussista un motivo ragionevole per l'assoluzione. Tale principio del diritto anglosassone sembra essere in contraddizione con il concetto di onere della prova "oltre ogni ragionevole dubbio" che l'accusa deve soddisfare in caso di procedimento penale. Infatti da una parte l'accusa di colpevolezza non è dedotta, ma unicamente abdotta dalle prove indiziarie. Tali prove infatti costituiscono le premesse di un ragionamento, chiamato abduzione o ragionamento per segno, che è solamente plausibile e non ha una forza probatoria pari alla deduzione. La conclusione in tale tipo di argomento risulta essere infatti

solo la spiegazione più plausibile di un fatto e può essere confutata qualora possa essere fornita una migliore spiegazione. D'altra parte, la controparte in un processo normalmente produce un argomento a sostegno di una spiegazione dei fatti contraddittoria o contrastante con quella dell'accusa. Tale dilemma è affrontato dall'Autore analizzando a livello dialettico i ragionamenti delle due parti in un processo. Spesso infatti le prove esaminate dall'accusa per spiegare la colpevolezza dell'imputato sono differenti da quelle usate dalla difesa per provare la sua innocenza. Per tale motivo, le versioni dei fatti, così come le argomentazioni, spesso non sono neppure comparabili. Nel modello dialettico esposto dall'Autore, l'incommensurabilità degli argomenti è superata proprio dal concetto argomentativo di "oltre ogni ragionevole dubbio". Anche se ragionevoli, le versioni dei fatti presentate dalla difesa possono non essere spiegabili con l'innocenza dell'imputato, oppure possono fondare la sua innocenza in modo più debole rispetto agli argomenti dell'accusa. Per tale ragione, in un contesto dialettico come quello giuridico, l'apparente contraddizione logica si risolve in termini puramente argomentativi.

Fabrizio Macagno

JOSEP MARCO, *The terminology of Translation. Epistemological, conceptual and intercultural problems and their social consequences*, "Target" 19/2, 2007, pp. 255-269

La terminologia utilizzata in traduzione ha sempre fatto discutere gli studiosi, a cominciare dalla denominazione della disciplina stessa. Da una parte, infatti, il debole statuto epistemologico della disciplina non crea consenso tra gli specialisti; dall'altra la relazione tra concetti e metalinguaggio è tutt'altro che univoca. Spesso si utilizzano sinonimi per indicare uno stesso concetto e, viceversa, concetti del tutto differenti vengono denominati attraverso sinonimi.

Questa situazione si spiega, in primo luogo, con il fatto che il metalinguaggio scientifico, in generale, è strettamente legato a una disciplina e a una scuola di pensiero; in secondo luogo, spesso, le scelte terminologiche, risultato di una tradizione nazionale, non vengono condivise a livello internazionale, un po' per la scarsa comunicazione tra gli studiosi, un po' perché le tradizioni in parte si sovrappongono; infine, più nello specifico per quanto riguarda la traduzione, la ricerca, la pratica del tradurre e la formazione del traduttore non vanno di pari passo.

Per esemplificare questa situazione definita "caotica" (p. 255), l'A. analizza l'uso dei termini "procedure", "technique", "strategy" e "shift" nel corso della storia della disciplina, mostrandone somiglianze e differenze spesso trascurate dagli specialisti (pp. 258-264). Infine, si sofferma sulle conseguenze sociali di questa situazione evidenziando una contraddizione tra il grado di importanza che, come mostrano alcuni dati raccolti, gli specialisti danno alla conoscenza formale e terminologica della disciplina e l'utilizzo che realmente si fa di questa conoscenza (p. 264-265).

Vittoria Precipe

MARY SNELL-HORNBY, "What's in a name?" On metalinguistic confusion in Translation Studies, "Target" 19/2, 2007, pp. 313-325

La pluralità di approcci e il numero delle lingue coinvolte in una ricerca può portare confusione per quanto riguarda il metalinguaggio di una disciplina. Nel caso dei Translation Studies, l'eterogeneità degli approcci alla ricerca – letterario, linguistico, informatico – e il numero delle lingue in gioco, porta alla necessità di creare un metalinguaggio il più univoco e largamente utilizzabile possibile, che prescinda, cioè, dalle singole lingue e culture. L'A. suggerisce tre modalità per raggiungere questo scopo, evidenziando i limiti e i vantaggi di ognuna.

Una prima possibilità è data dall'utilizzo di parole comuni, ridefinite e adattate al nuovo

contesto, procedura che non esclude, però, il rischio di malintesi, come nel caso di "norm" (pp. 314-317); in alternativa si può coniare un termine nuovo, processo che potrebbe portare a un risultato poco comprensibile per chi non condivide la lingua, la cultura e il contesto comunicativo dell'autore; infine, si possono riprendere parole da lingue non più in uso, come il latino e il greco e riadattarle al nuovo contesto, ridefinendole (pp. 319-320). Quest'ultima strategia permetterebbe di non dover tradurre la parola in questione nelle diverse lingue, evitando il problema dei "falsi amici" o dell'uso di sinonimi utilizzati per identificare concetti del tutto differenti.

È proprio quest'ultimo atteggiamento che l'A. discute con più attenzione, facendo riferimento al proprio lavoro di edizione del Handbuch Translation (pp. 320-322).

Vittoria Precipe

SONIA VANDEPITTE, *Remapping Translation Studies: Towards a Translation Studies Ontology*, "Meta" LIII/3, 2008, pp. 570-588

Lo sviluppo della ricerca all'interno dei Translation Studies (TS), a partire dalla seconda metà del XX sec. fino ad oggi, ha portato al moltiplicarsi di approcci, modelli, concetti e terminologia, spesso in contraddizione gli uni con gli altri.

Le stesse sintesi proposte da M. Baker, "Bibliography of Translation Studies" in M. Baker (ed.) *Routledge Encyclopedia of Translation studies*, 1998; J. Williams, A. Chesterman, *The Map. A Beginner's Guide to Doing Research in Translation Studies*, 2002; e la "EST-Directory 2003", presentano una partizione degli ambiti dei TS spesso contraddittoria e, a volte, priva di basi consistenti.

Tenendo come punto di partenza i lavori sopra citati, l'A. propone un thesaurus che riunisce in un sistema coerente e consistente tutta la terminologia, gli ambiti, le metodologie, individuate negli anni in questo campo di ricerca.

Il thesaurus costruito in lingua inglese, presenta una struttura aperta a qualsiasi altra cultura e costituisce il punto di partenza per disegnare una nuova mappa dei TS sulla falsariga di quella proposta da Holmes più di trent'anni fa e ritenuta ormai superata.

Vittoria Prencipe

JERZY BRZOZOWSKI, *Le problème des stratégies du traduire*, "Meta" LIII/4, 2008, pp. 765-781.

Analizzando il termine "strategia" a partire dalle più comuni definizioni riportate su alcuni dizionari di lingua francese e inglese, l'A. mostra come nell'ambito dei Translation Studies, l'utilizzo di questo termine sia spesso approssimativo.

Il tradurre, infatti, è considerato una pratica asistemica e, al livello di scelte strategiche, fattori consapevoli e inconsapevoli interagiscono gli uni con gli altri. Pertanto, nel caso specifico, la nozione di "strategia" è da rivedere.

L' A. propone un'analisi che prevede l'intersezione di un livello cosiddetto strategico, considerato onnicomprensivo ("globale"), con livelli più specifici ("bassi"), come quello delle "tecniche" del tradurre, chiamate da alcuni "universali", che danno vita a "figure" traduttive, le quali andrebbero studiate più attentamente in relazione a tutti i cambiamenti ai quali un testo tradotto è sottoposto.

Vittoria Prencipe

RASSEGNA DI GLOTTODIDATTICA

A CURA DI BONA CAMBIAGHI

CHANTAL CALI, *Didactique des langues tierces, didactique du plurilinguisme: une nouvelle approche pour optimiser l'enseignement/apprentissage des langues et maintenir la diversité linguistique en Europe*, "Synergies. Europe", I, 2006, pp. 119-128.

La didattica del plurilinguismo, innescata dalla didattica delle terze lingue già presenti in alcuni curricula europei, non può non fare allusione alle nozioni di competenze parziali, di interlingue, di lingue passerelle, di basi di transfert, e quindi si riferirà a modelli dinamici, quali l'MDM del multilinguismo di Herdina e Jessner (2002), il modello ecologico di Aronin e Laoire (2004) e ad altri, tutti caratterizzati dalla messa in azione di strategie metacognitive e creative importanti.

Tuttavia l'elaborazione più generalizzata di curricula multilingui, che favorirà l'emergere di un plurilinguismo reale e diversificato, sarà lenta e faticosa.

Bona Cambiaghi

JEAN DUVERGER, *Les sections bilingues francophones en Europe centrale et orientale: repères, enjeux, perspectives*, "Education et sociétés plurilingues. Education e società plurilingui", XXIII, 2007, pp. 31-39.

Il lavoro delle sezioni bilingui con il francese come seconda lingua d'insegnamento nelle discipline non linguistiche in diversi paesi dell'Europa centrale e orientale (che ha una sua storia ormai ventennale) deve diventare paradigmatico di tutta l'educazione al plurilinguismo nell'Europa dei 27 paesi.

Negli Stati Uniti d'Europa si richiede ormai una nuova didattica, che sappia sviluppare approcci contrastivi-comparativi mirati a sviluppare competenze metalinguistiche sempre più

forti, che sappiano mettere in gioco l'intercomprensione tra lingue vicine, che utilizzino sistematicamente gli strumenti del Consiglio d'Europa, quali il "Quadro" e il "Portfolio", e, attraverso una vera e propria pedagogia del *progetto*, sappiano condurre da un insegnamento bilingue ad uno plurilingue.

La bibliografia e la sitografia del pur breve articolo sono preziose.

Bona Cambiaghi

MAURO PICHIASSI, *Apprendere l'italiano L2 nell'era digitale. Le nuove tecnologie nell'insegnamento e apprendimento dell'italiano per stranieri*, Guerra Soleil, Perugia 2007, pp. 212.

Le nuove tecnologie e la multimedialità stanno cambiando profondamente il mondo dell'educazione e della formazione linguistica. Esse rappresentano una risorsa non solo per coloro che vogliono apprendere un'altra lingua, ma anche per coloro che vogliono approfondire la propria. Mauro Picchiassi propone con questo volume – suddiviso in 7 capitoli – "una panoramica degli aspetti e delle caratteristiche dei cambiamenti in atto nella scuola e nelle università" (frontespizio).

Nel primo capitolo (pp. 1-23) egli presenta la genesi delle tecnologie didattiche e sottolinea che l'attuale rivoluzione tecnologica è da molti intesa come "la terza fase dopo l'introduzione della scrittura e della stampa" (p. 2). La trasformazione radicale avvenuta nella nostra società ad opera delle nuove tecnologie non poteva non coinvolgere anche il mondo della scuola, nonostante un alternarsi di "momenti di attrazione e momenti di rifiuto" (p. 21). Alla scuola spetta tuttavia il ruolo di una "centralità educativa" (p. 23) che con l'uso delle nuove tecnologie possa "favorire l'acquisizione di conoscenze; promuove"

vere capacità di sistematizzazione delle esperienze; fornire strumenti critici per l'interpretazione e la trasformazione della realtà" (p. 23).

Il secondo capitolo (pp. 25-43) affronta le teorie e le modalità dell'apprendimento multimediale, intendendo per multimedialità "la somministrazione del materiale in più formati di presentazione" (p. 25), come testo con illustrazioni, illustrazione con elementi sonori, filmati ecc., mentre il terzo capitolo (pp. 45-74) è dedicato all'ipertesto.

Nel quarto capitolo l'A. analizza le attività e i vari aspetti della didattica linguistica con il supporto del computer, come la lettura, la scrittura, l'analisi testuale, i corpora e i dizionari elettronici.

Il quinto capitolo (pp. 117-138) presenta e analizza i criteri per la valutazione del software didattico per l'italiano L2, passando in rassegna vari aspetti metodologici e tecnici come *adeguatezza dei contenuti al livello linguistico degli allievi; la chiarezza e correttezza dei contenuti; l'organizzazione dei contenuti; lo spazio adeguato a tutte le attività linguistiche; l'approccio didattico; la facilità d'uso; la struttura ipertestuale; l'interattività* ecc.

Il sesto capitolo (pp. 139-154) si occupa invece della didattica con Internet, presentando attività didattiche e potenziali problemi connessi all'uso del web e indicando criteri per valutare i siti didattici.

Il settimo capitolo (pp. 155-193) è dedicato all'e-learning e ne analizza le modalità di apprendimento e le caratteristiche, come la *flessibilità, la modularità, l'usabilità, l'interattività, l'aggiornabilità* e la *trasversalità*, oltre ai protagonisti (docente, studente e tutor).

Conclude il volume un'appendice che segnala gli indirizzi dei siti dei corsi di Italiano online e la rete per la didattica.

Erika Nardon-Schmid

MARIE-CHRISTINE JAMET, *À l'écoute du français. La compréhension orale dans le cadre*

de l'intercompréhension des langues romanes, Gunter Narr, Tübingen 2007, pp. 200.

«Et si l'intercompréhension était une anti-Babel?». È con questa immagine, sorta di *fil rouge* che percorre tutto il testo, che l'A. introduce il suo lavoro sull'intercomprensione delle lingue romanze, il cui tema ruota intorno al convincimento che parlare lingue diverse non costituisce più una punizione divina, ma un *atout* per potersi comprendere, purché esse appartengano alla stessa famiglia. Se queste somiglianze sono già state sfruttate per l'abilità ricettiva scritta anche in termini di metodi didattici, l'A. si propone di dimostrare, analizzando in particolare la coppia francese/italiano, che esistono le condizioni per un'intercomprensione anche dell'orale.

Il volume, che unisce la teoria allo studio di casi, si divide in due sezioni: la prima riguarda le parole isolate (capp. 1 e 2) e la seconda le parole in un discorso (capp. 3, 4 e 5). Dopo avere analizzato aspetti prettamente fonetici che possono essere implicati in caso di intercomprensione francese-italiano (cap. 1), il capitolo 2 presenta un'esperienza di riconoscimento di parole isolate francesi, condotta su locutori italofofoni, i cui risultati aprono all'ipotesi di un "indice di trasparenza sonora" (p. 61). Poiché la lingua non funziona per parole isolate, la ricerca della Jamet prosegue focalizzandosi sulle parole all'interno di un discorso. Di conseguenza il capitolo 3 si concentra sulle specificità del discorso orale, mentre il capitolo 4 analizza il processo di comprensione, i suoi meccanismi e le strategie attivate. Si arriva così allo studio di due casi (cap. 5): la somministrazione a due locutori italofofoni adulti di documenti orali complessi registrati dalla radio.

Nella *Conclusion* (pp. 174-179) l'A. esplicita le ricadute pratiche, preoccupazione ricorrente in tutto il volume, di questo suo "parcours pré-didactique" (p. 179) nella speranza di avere fornito qualche principio fondante per un metodo di intercomprensione per l'orale.

Assai vasta la *Bibliographie et sitographie* (pp. 180-196) divisa per temi (quali *Linguistique romane; Phonétique, phonologie, prosodie; La langue parlée; Langue, discours et compréhension; Psycholinguistique, linguistique appliquée et compréhension; Acquisition/apprentissage et didactique; Intercompréhension, enseignement du français en Italie e Matériel pédagogique d'intercompréhension des langues romanes*).

Gli *Annexes*, particolarmente ricchi, sono tutti consultabili su Internet.

Patrizia Mauri

EDITH COGNINI, *Vivere la migrazione tra e con le lingue: funzioni del racconto e dell'analisi biografica nell'apprendimento dell'italiano come lingua seconda*, Wizarts, Porto Sant'Elpidio, 3, 2007, pp. 279 ("Lingue sempre meno straniera").

Il volume, inserito in una collana dal titolo assai evocativo, partendo da un'indagine sugli aspetti metalinguistici e socio-psicologici circa l'acquisizione/apprendimento dell'italiano in contesto migratorio, si propone di valutare quanto il racconto e l'analisi biografica possano aiutare nell'acquisizione dell'italiano L2 in una prospettiva interculturale.

L'A. si interroga sul valore delle grandi lingue di mediazione mediante indagini sul campo, osservazioni partecipanti del setting, uso di questionari standard, studi di caso e interviste narrative.

Valuta i dati raccolti sia di natura quantitativa che qualitativa entro processi di decostruzione degli atteggiamenti e di co-costruzione narrativa come parti significative per la valutazione delle competenze linguistico-comunicative e interculturali del soggetto plurilingue.

Una bibliografia ragionata divisa in 5 sezioni termina il volume.

Bona Cambiaghi

MARCO MEZZADRI, *Italiano L2: progetti per il territorio*, Cartemoderne UNINOVA in

collaborazione con Guerra Edizioni, Parma 2008, pp. 253.

"Perché insegnare la lingua italiana agli alunni stranieri nell'Italia di questo inizio del XXI secolo?" (p. 7). Con questa domanda l'A. apre l'introduzione al volume che qui presentiamo, la cui struttura intende fornire stimoli, spunti di riflessione ed esempi per aiutare il lettore a costruire una risposta alla domanda iniziale.

Le parole-chiave da cui Mezzadri muove e su cui si fonda per impostare l'intero lavoro sono *educazione linguistica, educazione alla cittadinanza democratica, plurilinguismo e pluriculturalismo*, parole che caratterizzano il sostrato scientifico sia della prima parte, dedicata alle *Coordinate teoriche*, sia della seconda parte, riservata invece alle *Esperienze*.

I quattro capitoli costitutivi della prima parte inquadrano il tema dell'insegnamento/apprendimento dell'italiano come lingua seconda nella scuola italiana da più punti di vista: da quello normativo, con riferimenti anche al *Piano educativo personalizzato* (PEP) e a *La via italiana per la scuola interculturale e l'integrazione degli alunni stranieri*; a quello dell'educazione bilingue, con aperture al CLIL e alla teoria dell'interdipendenza; a quello della valutazione degli apprendimenti, con interessanti rimandi al *Quadro comune europeo di riferimento* e proposte di applicazione dei descrittori in classe; fino alla proposta di un modello di intervento per la didattica dell'italiano dello studio.

Le riflessioni teoriche e le proposte applicative trovano infine un riscontro concreto nella seconda parte del volume, in cui l'A. presenta sette progetti realizzati nel territorio di Parma, con scuole ed enti locali, rivolti non solo agli insegnanti di italiano lingua seconda ma anche agli apprendenti, bambini, adolescenti, adulti.

Chiude il volume una bibliografia ampia ed aggiornata.

Cristina Bosisio

SARA FERRARI, *Le tecnologie dell'informazione e della comunicazione nella didattica dello*

spagnolo, I.S.U. Università Cattolica, Milano 2008, pp. 231 (CD-ROM annesso).

La sempre maggiore diffusione delle nuove tecnologie ha prodotto anche nel mondo della scuola dei profondi cambiamenti sia per l'insegnamento/apprendimento in genere sia per l'insegnamento/apprendimento delle lingue straniere in particolare. Le varie applicazioni che i supporti multimediali permettono hanno modificato le modalità con le quali i giovani comunicano, ricercano informazioni, organizzano dati, ascoltano dialoghi o musica, vedono video ecc. "Tale realtà non può essere ignorata dal sistema scolastico che deve, di conseguenza, attrezzarsi per fornire un adeguato supporto di conoscenze e abilità per tutti, dagli insegnanti agli studenti" (Introduzione, p. 11).

Avvalendosi anche di documenti messi a disposizione in Internet da parte di alcuni colleghi che si occupano di tecnologie didattiche, Sara Ferrari ha redatto per gli insegnanti di spagnolo – ma anche per coloro che vogliono avvantaggiarsi delle esperienze informatiche sperimentate con successo in ambito didattico – un manuale quale supporto "per la progettazione e realizzazione di attività che prevedono l'uso in classe di materiali multimediali e quale stimolo per riflettere sull'effettiva opportunità di utilizzare le tecnologie dell'informazione e della comunicazione in uno specifico contesto didattico" (Introduzione, pp. 12-13).

Il volume è suddiviso in sette capitoli che comprendono *Le tecnologie dell'informazione e della comunicazione* (cap. 1, pp. 17-35), *La manipolazione dei testi* (cap. 2, pp. 37-52), *Gli ipertesti* (cap. 3, pp. 53-71), *Le presentazioni multimediali* (cap. 4, pp. 73-81), *I cd-rom e i dvd per la didattica dello spagnolo* (cap. 5, pp. 83-142), *Internet* (cap. 6, pp. 143-191) e *Integrazione del materiale multimediale nella classe di lingua straniera* (cap. 7, pp. 193-207).

L'Autrice integra le riflessioni teoriche con le attività pratiche inerenti alle tecnologie informatiche per la didattica della lingua spa-

gnola, ma pone anche l'attenzione alla possibilità di realizzazione di progetti pianificati, nonché alla fruizione autonoma di vari percorsi di apprendimento da parte dei ragazzi. Per meglio seguire l'impostazione dell' "imparare facendo" viene allegato al volume un CD-ROM con la soluzione degli esercizi, l'esemplificazione di attività proponibili in classe, i link a molti siti di interesse e un ipertesto in spagnolo che ripercorre i temi trattati nel manuale fornendo un ulteriore supporto per l'insegnante – ma anche per l'apprendente – che voglia avvicinarsi alle tecnologie dell'informazione e della comunicazione in modalità multimediale.

Erika Nardon-Schmid

FLORA DE GIOVANNI, BRUNA DI SABATO (a cura di), *Imparare ad imparare. Imparare ad insegnare. Parole di insegnanti ad uso di studenti*, Edizioni Scientifiche Italiane, Napoli 2008, pp. 278.

Il volume raccoglie due cicli di lezioni dedicate all'apprendimento e all'insegnamento delle lingue e delle letterature, tenutesi presso l'Università degli Studi di Salerno dal 2005 al 2007.

Dopo una *Presentazione* dettagliata e approfondita dello spirito iniziale e dei contenuti fondativi del Progetto (pp. 5-22), le curatrici organizzano il volume suddividendolo in tre parti: la prima introduttiva, dedicata alle *Riflessioni preliminari* sull'*Imparare ad imparare* (Raffaele Sibilio, pp. 25-32) e sull'*Imparare ad insegnare* (Paolo E. Balboni, pp. 33-40); la seconda e la terza simmetricamente organizzate intorno all'insegnamento e all'apprendimento della lingua (*La lingua*) e all'insegnamento e all'apprendimento della letteratura (*La letteratura*).

Di seguito riportiamo i titoli dei singoli contributi rispettivamente della seconda e della terza parte:

La lingua

Imparare a riflettere sulla lingua, a cominciare dalla propria, Gianfranco Porcelli (pp. 43-61);

Imparare una lingua straniera, Paolo E. Balboni (pp. 63-90);

Insegnare una lingua straniera, Gianfranco Porcelli (pp. 91-114);

Una proposta didattica per l'insegnamento della traduzione specializzata, Patrizia Mazzotta (pp. 115-127);

Insegnare l'italiano come L2 e come LS: analogie e differenze teoriche metodologiche, Matteo Santipolo, (pp. 129-147);

Professione: traduttore, Gabriella Rammairone (pp. 149-161).

La letteratura

Piacere, politica, poetica. Le tre "P" della letteratura, Laura Di Michele (pp. 165-183);

Imparare a leggere un testo, Massimo Fusillo (pp. 185-191);

La letteratura in classe, Remo Ceserani (pp. 193-202);

Insegnare la letteratura: formazione, istruzione e intelligibilità dell'insegnamento letterario, Ivan Verč (pp. 203-219);

Insegnare a leggere in una prospettiva interculturale, Maria E. Brunner (pp. 221-248);

Teaching Literature through Linguistic Analysis, Judith Munat (pp. 249-271).

Cristina Bosisio

ANTONY MOLLIKA, ROBERTO DOLCI, MAURO PICHIASSI (a cura di), *Linguistica e Glottodidattica. Studi in onore di Katerin Katerinov*, Guerra Edizioni, Perugia 2008, pp. 411.

Il presente volume raccoglie ventitre contributi di studiosi italiani e stranieri offerti in onore a Katerin Kanterinov per omaggiarne la lunga attività scientifica e didattica volta ad esplorare e ad approfondire numerose aree di ricerca in una "continua interazione tra linguistica e glottodidattica" (*Presentazione*, p. 7).

Dopo un capitolo introduttivo sul *Profilo biografico e scientifico di Katerin Katerinov* (pp. 9-15), i curatori del volume presentano i contributi in ordine alfabetico per autore. In que-

sta scheda li elenchiamo raggruppandoli secondo i temi annunciati nella presentazione (p. 8):

– linguistica contrastiva e testuale

Spagnolo e italiano: da una lingua all'altra, Manuel Carrera Díaz (pp. 111-119).

Note sull'italiano dei media, Maurizio Dardano (pp. 141-151).

Come si insegnava l'uso dell'articolo nelle prime grammatiche di lingua italiana per polacchi, Elzbieta Jamrozik (pp. 237-253).

Il detto e non detto e la ricostruzione testuale: un problema di consecutio temporum?, Vincenzo Lo Cascio (pp. 271-282).

Polisemia e sinonimia dei mezzi espressivi italiani usati in un espediente retorico largamente diffuso: l'indeterminatezza del flash forward, Tjša Miklič (pp. 297-309).

– teoria glottodidattica

Una scienza dell'educazione linguistica basata sulla teoria dei modelli, Paolo Balboni (pp. 17-39).

Sull'interdisciplinarietà della glottodidattica, Bona Cambiaghi (pp. 105-109).

Bimodalità e insegnamento delle lingue oggi, Marcel Danesi (pp. 121-139).

– materiali didattici

I materiali didattici per la didattica dell'italiano LS nel mondo: una ricognizione, Laura Berttini (pp. 73-92).

Appunti di didattica della pronuncia dell'italiano lingua "altra", Gianfranco Porcelli (pp. 363-373).

– tecnologie

Linguaggio giovanile e varietà dialettali perugine in Internet, Antonio Batinti e Carmen Coli (pp. 59-71).

Tecnologie e formazione alla ricerca della produttività, Enrico Borello (pp. 93-103).

La logistica nell'apprendimento di una lingua, Bondi Sciarone (pp. 375-384).

– formazione degli insegnanti

Educazione linguistica e valutazione della competenza linguistico-comunicativa: al di là delle mode, Monica Barni (pp. 41-57).

La formazione dei lettori di italiano, Cristina Lavinio (pp. 255-269).

L'allievo protagonista del proprio apprendimento. Riflessioni su stili di studio e strategie di apprendimento di italiano L2, Mauro Pichiassi (pp. 341-361).

– politica linguistica

Lingue e identità dell'Europa, Tullio De Mauro (pp. 153-172).

Italia: patrie regionali e patria nazionale, Giovanni Freddi (pp. 217-235).

Certificazioni, economia della lingua italiana nel mondo, Quadro Comune Europeo di riferi-

mento per le lingue: *per una politica linguistica dell'italiano nel mondo*, Massimo Vedovelli (pp. 385-411).

– rapporti tra lingua e cultura

Pubblicità paremiologica e italiano L2: lingua e cultura in contesti didattici, Paola Desideri (pp. 173-199).

Le "culture" nella classe di lingua italiana, Roberto Dolci (pp. 201-215).

I malintesi della cortesia nella comunicazione interculturale, Patrizia Mazzotta (pp. 283-296).

L'umorismo verbale nella glottodidattica, Antony Mollica (pp. 311-339).

Cristina Bosisio

RASSEGNA DI LINGUISTICA FRANCESE

A CURA DI ENRICA GALAZZI E CHIARA MOLINARI

BERNARD CERQUIGLINI, *Merci professeur! Chroniques savoureuses sur la langue française*, Bayard, Paris 2008, pp. 328.

On ne peut que se féliciter de la parution de cet ouvrage qui, en dehors d'un véritable esprit de système (l'auteur déclare modestement se situer dans la lignée des « remarqueurs », sous l'égide de Vaugelas donc, plutôt que dans celle des grammairiens illustres à la Damourette et Pichon), réunit quelque 300 chroniques transmises par TV5-Monde et toujours disponibles sur le site de cette chaîne. Au cours de cette émission, sorte de « courrier des lecteurs » au format Internet, et donc dans ce livre où les entrées sont présentées sous l'ordre alphabétique, B.C. aborde essentiellement des questions de lexicque (mots et locutions, régionalismes et autres) et d'orthographe (l'éternel débat sur l'accent circonflexe, l'« accent du souvenir » selon le titre d'un autre ouvrage de Cerquiglini, 1995), sans négliger des problèmes de morpho-syntaxe (dont l'accord du participe passé avec auxiliaire *avoir*) qui hantent les français, les francophones et les apprenants étrangers. On apprécie, au-delà de la verve qui caractérise ce passionné de la langue française, la prise en compte de la dimension diachronique, qui seule peut expliquer – pas toujours justifier – certains phénomènes. Linguiste et par là observateur objectif, B.C. plaide cependant pour les simplifications orthographiques et pour la féminisation des noms de métiers: souhaitons que ce livre contribuera à une meilleure connaissance de certaines « modernisations » qui ont toujours quelque difficulté à s'implanter en France.

Maria Colombo Timelli

CATHERINE BEL, PASCALE DUMONT et FRANK WILLAERT ed., « *Contez me tout* » *Mélanges de*

langue et de littérature médiévales offerts à Herman Braet, Peeters, Louvain – Paris – Dudley, MA 2006.

De ce gros volume, nous ne signalons que les contributions ayant trait à la langue française. BRIGITTE L. CALLAY, *Guillaume d'Angleterre 'en essil'* (pp. 129-146): l'exil auquel on fait allusion est certainement une *peregrinatio religiosa*, qui n'exclut cependant pas l'intégration des personnages dans les valeurs séculières. PIERRE DEMAROLLE, *L'architecture événementielle dans le 'Saintré'* (pp. 147-157) met en rapport l'agencement des faits, l'enchâssement des événements dans le roman d'Antoine de La Sale, avec les moyens morphologiques en jeu, notamment le système verbal, parfois déroutant pour le lecteur moderne. EWA DOROTA ŻÓŁKIEWSKA, *Le bon Dieu et tous ses saints – dans les fabliaux* (pp. 355-362) analyse les diverses fonctions (stylistique, mimétique, de caractérisation des personnages) remplies par les invocations à Dieu et aux saints, notamment dans les fabliaux de Jean Bodel, Garin, Rutebeuf, Jean de Condé. SIEGFRIED WENZEL, *French Proverbs from the Mouths of English Preachers?* (pp. 543-555), relève dans des manuels pour les prédicateurs et des sermons anglais des XIV^e et XV^e siècles des proverbes et dictons cités en français, non accompagnés de traduction. GIANNI MOMBELLO, *Poèmes en français, en astesan et en flamand de Giovan Giorgio Alione* (pp. 601-624) souligne les rapports du poète astesan G.G. Alione avec la langue, les lettres et la culture françaises entre la fin du XV^e et les premières décennies du XVI^e siècle. JACQUES CHARLES LEMAIRE, *Ancien français 'donoier'. Étude de sémantique historique* (pp. 723-736): verbe polysémique en a.fr. (il couvre toute la gamme des actes de la séduc-

tion), de même que le déverbal *donoi*, *donoyer* sort de l'usage vers 1350, entre autres à cause de l'homonymie de certaines de ses formes avec celles du verbe *donner*. JESSE MORTELMANS, *Quels moyens pour dire le vrai? Sur les origines de la chronique médiévale* (pp. 737-747) souligne la spécificité de certaines formules de véridicité typiques de la chronique et 'signe' d'un genre littéraire qui s'affirme en tant que tel. YORIO OTAKA, *Le complémenteur des complétives enchâssées* (pp. 749-753), propose un classement des phrases doublement relatives en longue diachronie, de l'a.fr. au français du XX^e siècle. BARBARA N. SARGENT-BAUR, *Encore le 'Chevalier de la Charrete', v.12* (pp. 755-762) revient sur les variantes de ce vers célèbre et propose d'y voir une réminiscence du Ps. 68,2, ce qui amènerait à accepter la leçon du ms. G. LYDIA A. STANOVAIA, *Le genre en ancien français* (pp. 763-782), aborde, selon une approche guillaumienne, la question sur le plan sémantique, morphologique (suffixes et pseudo-suffixes), et syntaxique. WILLY VAN HOECKE, *Le développement de l'adverbe 'non' comme marque de la négation 'partielle' en français* (pp. 797-812), retrace l'évolution de cette négation du latin à l'a.fr. au fr. moderne, en mettant surtout en relief les emplois qui se sont conservés contre ceux qui ont disparu.

Maria Colombo Timelli

DANIELLE JACQUART, DANIELE JAMES-RAOUL et OLIVIER SOUTET ed., *Par les mots et les textes. Mélanges de langue, de littérature et d'histoire des sciences médiévales offerts à Claude Thomasset*, PUPS, Paris 2005, pp. 894.

Dans ce volume de plus de 60 contributions, signalons plusieurs études linguistiques en perspective diachronique, dans divers domaines.

Lexicologie et lexicographie: H. GERNER, R. MARTIN, *Le lexique de la langue scientifique à l'aune du FEW* (pp. 357-370); D. JAMES-RAOUL, *Défense et illustration de la langue française: la néologie dans les Arts Poétiques (XII^e-XIII^e siècles)* (pp. 451-463); B. LAURIOUX,

'Olla patella': préliminaires à une étude de la lexicographie alimentaire au Moyen Âge (pp. 465-481); T. MATSUMURA, *'Guillaume le Maréchal' revisité* (pp. 533-545); O. SOUTET, *Observations sur le traitement lexicographique du si d'ancien et de moyen français* (pp. 693-703); Fr. TORTERAT, *Si et or comme cohérents (para)textuels en ancien et en moyen français* (pp. 763-778).

Linguistique diachronique: M. BANNIARD, *L'ancien français, mémoire du latin* (pp. 21-36).

Onomastique et toponymie: J.-P. CHAMBON, *Toponymie et grammaire historique: les noms de lieux issus de cappella et forestis et la diffusion spatiale de l'article défini dans la Galloromania* (pp. 143-155); J. CHOCHÉYRAS, *Les lieux dits «La croix rouge» au Moyen Âge et leur signification prophylactique* (pp. 157-175); A. MALGOUVERNÉ, *Usages et représentation de l'espace montagnard au bas Moyen Âge: l'exemple des lieux-dits du Jura gessien* (pp. 505-520); Chr. SILVI, *Les variations sur le nom dans la 'Mappemonde' de maître Gossuin de Metz* (pp. 679-691).

Phonétique: A. MEILLER, *Diphthongaison et non-diphthongaison conditionnées* (pp. 547-550).

Syntaxe: S. BAZIN-TACHELLA, *'Lequel' dans la traduction française de la 'Chirurgia Magna' de Guy de Chauliac* (pp. 37-53); S. MARCOTTE, *Subordonnants de la série lequel et coordination* (pp. 521-532); A. QUEFFÉLEC, *Les réponses négatives averbales à pronom sujet en ancien français* (pp. 609-622).

Traduction: J.-P. BÉNEZET, *Quand dispensation n'est pas la bonne traduction de 'dispensatio'* (pp. 55-69); Fr. VIELLIARD, *L'utilisation de l'"Itinerarium peregrinorum" par l'"Estoire de la guerre sainte": traduction et adaptation* (pp. 807-818).

Signalons aussi la bibliographie des travaux de Cl. THOMASSET (pp. 11-19), qui comprend de nombreuses études dans le domaine de l'histoire de la langue, scientifique surtout, au Moyen Âge.

Anne Schoysman

CLAUDIO GALDERISI et CINZIA PIGNATELLI ed., *La traduction vers le moyen français*. Actes du II^e

colloque de l'Association Internationale d'Études sur le Moyen Français (AIEMF), Poitiers, 27-29 avril 2006, Turnhout, Brepols 2007, pp. 460 («The Medieval Translator. Traduire au moyen Age», 11).

En introduisant les textes des 25 communications présentées au II^e colloque de l'AIEMF, C. GALDERISI souligne la centralité du thème de la traduction pour les études sur le moyen français, en rappelant que «deux tiers des traductions médiévales sont faites entre le XIV^e et le XV^e siècle» (p. 2). L'organisation du volume reflète les trois axes qui ont guidé la réflexion des participants: philologique, linguistique et épistémologique. La série des études linguistiques, les seuls dont nous rendront compte ici, s'ouvre par la relation de G. ROQUES, qui examine le vocabulaire régional de huit traductions de la *Consolatio Philosophiae* de Boèce en précisant ainsi l'origine géographique des différents textes. Le domaine lexical est encore exploré par O.A. DUHL, qui analyse les fonctions de la reduplication synonymique dans la traduction de Jehan Droyon de *La nef des folles* (vers 1498); par M. GOYENS et E. DEVIÈRE, qui abordent le problème des langues de spécialité au Moyen Âge en passant par l'examen du vocabulaire médical dans les traductions des *Problemata* d'Aristote, et par A. SMETS, qui étudie la nature des termes restés en latin dans 14 traductions de traités de fauconnerie en essayant de déterminer les causes de ce maintien. Pour ce qui concerne la syntaxe, A. BENGSSON s'interroge sur les modalités de traduction de l'ablatif absolu en moyen français à travers l'étude de quelques traductions du XIV^e siècle, notamment celles de Jean de Vignay; M. COLOMBO TIMELLI présente de nouveaux témoignages de traités de morphosyntaxe latine (*Ars minor* de Donat et *Quot modis*), imprimés entre 1510 et 1520 et rédigés en latin et en français. D'autres communications considèrent la langue d'une (ou plusieurs) traduction(s) sous de différents aspects: ainsi, S. MARZANO analyse la traduc-

tion du *De casibus* de Boccace par Laurent de Premierfait; C. PIGNATELLI compare les usages linguistiques de deux manuscrits (XIII^e et XV^e s.) contenant des traductions de Jean d'Antioche; A. SCHOYSMAN s'arrête sur la traduction du *Débat de la vraie noblesse* de Jean Miélot; A. VALENTINI considère la technique de Simon de Hesdin «traducteur» de Valère Maxime. G. DI STEFANO, enfin, présente des réflexions plus générales sur le bilinguisme des traducteurs et sur les caractéristiques de leur langue, tels les calques et les dittologies.

Barbara Ferrari

JACQUES CHARLES LEMAIRE, *Une version 'lilloise' de la 'Complainte de l'enfant banni' de Jean Bouchet*, in SARAH BAUELLE-MICHELS, MARIE-MADELEINE CASTELLANI, PHILIPPE LOGIÉ et EMMANUELLE POULAIN-GAUTRET ed., *Romans d'Antiquité et littérature du Nord. Mélanges offerts à Aimé Petit*, Honoré Champion, Paris 2007, pp. 531-559.

J.C.L. édite le texte de cette complainte selon le ms. Bruxelles, KBR IV 541, transcrit à Lille en 1568. Le poème de Jean Bouchet, composé en 1500, y est marqué par de nombreux picardismes graphiques, morphologiques et lexicaux, mis en relief et commentés dans l'introduction et dans les notes au texte.

Maria Colombo Timelli

DENISE POULET, *Originalité du picard de Lille et de ses environs*, in SARAH BAUELLE-MICHELS, MARIE-MADELEINE CASTELLANI, PHILIPPE LOGIÉ et EMMANUELLE POULAIN-GAUTRET ed., *Romans d'Antiquité et littérature du Nord. Mélanges offerts à Aimé Petit*, Honoré Champion, Paris 2007, pp. 699-708.

D.P. met en relief certaines particularités phonétiques et lexicales qui font du dialecte de Lille un parler singulier dans l'aire picarde: cependant, la recherche des causes de ces caractéristiques est une question encore en suspens.

Maria Colombo Timelli

JACQUES FRANÇOIS, DENIS LE PESANT, DANIELLE LEEMAN ed., *Le classement syntactico-sémantique des verbes français*, "Langue française", 153, mars 2007, pp. 128.

Les éditeurs introduisent ce numéro par une présentation de la version papier du dictionnaire des *Verbes français (LVF)* de Jean Dubois et Françoise Dubois-Charlier (pp. 3-19), fondé sur un classement syntactico-sémantique dont les principes théoriques sont validés par les recherches proposées dans la contribution suivante, où Iris Eshkol et Denis Le Pesant (pp. 20-32) étudient les prédicats nominaux et verbaux des classes «compliment et remerciement», «manière de parler», «prédiction», «information répondant à une demande». D'autres articles proposent des analyses de verbes ou classes de verbes qui s'appuient sur *LVF*, en faisant parfois des comparaisons avec d'autres dictionnaires ou d'autres approches: sont ainsi étudiés les verbes de sentiment (Rolf Kailuwet, pp. 33-39), le verbe *changer* et ses synonymes (Dominique Dutoit et Jacques François, pp. 40-57), le verbe *voir* (Danielle Leeman et Madona Sakhokia Giraud, pp. 58-73), les verbes de cause (Sophie Hamon et Danielle Leeman, pp. 74-91) et les trivalenciels locatifs, c'est-à-dire les verbes qui présentent deux arguments post-verbaux nominaux, l'un direct, l'autre indirect (Morgane Sénéchal, Dominique Willems, pp. 92-110). La dernière étude est consacrée à l'emploi du pronom clitique *on* utilisé comme sujet humain dans les exemples du *LVF* (Antoinette Balibarò Mrabti, pp. 111-126).

Cristina Brancaglioni

DANIÈLE DUBOIS, *Sens commun et sens commun: Expériences sensibles, connaissance(s) ou doxa?*, "Langages", 170, 2008, pp. 41-53.

Cet article analyse le rapport entre les deux acceptions du mot sens, – perception sensible et doxa sémantique –, pour explorer la relation entre les cinq sens communs de la personne et

le sens commun. Il examine, dans cet ordre, les singularités lexicales relatives aux couleurs et aux odeurs. Pour ce qui est des couleurs, la catégorie et la désignation dépendent de leur statut sémiotique et cognitif (objet de décor ou bien palette de peintre, par exemple). Elles ne reposent donc pas sur le sens commun, mais sur un processus d'abstraction. À l'inverse, les odeurs, dans la culture occidentale, n'ont pas de nom, et sont dénommées par des termes dérivés, ou des définitions subjectives. Ceci révèle qu'elles n'appartiennent ni à une doxa des sensibles communs, ni à une connaissance scientifique devenue commune.

Jean-Paul Dufiet

VALERIA ZOTTI, *Dictionnaire bilingue et francophonie. Le français québécois*, Schena ed., Fasano 2007, pp. 130.

Dans son volume, V. Zotti réfléchit à la variation lexicale francophone dans la lexicographie bilingue. En d'autres termes, elle cherche à analyser le traitement, dans les dictionnaires bilingues, de lexies qui renvoient à des réalités culturelles, sociales et politiques diverses par rapport aux paramètres de référence européens. Pour ce faire, l'auteure examine la nomenclature de trois dictionnaires bilingues contemporains (*Il Boch. Dizionario Francese – Italiano Italiano – Francese*, 2000; *DIF Dizionario francese – italiano italiano – francese*, 1999; *Il Nuovo Dizionario Garzanti di Francese*, 2003), en portant le regard, tout particulièrement, sur le français québécois. Après avoir souligné le retard de l'intégration des québécismes dans les dictionnaires bilingues, V. Zotti en souligne les faiblesses. Celles-ci concernent notamment la présentation des québécismes, l'emploi des marques toplectales et sociolectales et, enfin, le traitement des traduisants. Cette constatation conduit l'auteure à postuler la nécessité «d'envisager un dictionnaire bilingue attestant aussi les ramifications morphosyntaxiques de la variété du français parlé dans l'une des régions les plus représentatives de la francophonie» (p. 78). Le

rôle et la fonction du dictionnaire bilingue sont ainsi renouvelés: lieu de rencontre des variétés linguistiques du français et de l'italien, le dictionnaire bilingue pourrait ainsi refléter l'identité composite et changeante des langues et des peuples français et italien.

Chiara Molinari

MARIE-BERTHE VITTOZ ed., *Les mots migrants: l'interculturel en œuvre*, Synergies Italie, 4 / 2008.

Ce volume de Synergies Italie rassemble les interventions de la journée d'étude du 20 mars 2007 à l'Université de Turin et a pour objet les «mots migrants». Ce thème essentiel de la lexicologie et de la lexicographie est analysé dans sa dimension interculturelle et s'articule autour de trois parties. La première, *Voyage dans le temps*, rassemble les articles analysant ce sujet à travers une approche diachronique. La seconde partie, *Voyage dans l'espace*, aborde les migrations linguistiques du point de vue des déplacements spatiaux, tant au niveau de la langue qu'au niveau du discours (guides touristiques, discours journalistique). La troisième partie, *Voyages textuels*, traite des mouvements terminologiques au niveau des langues de spécialité. Ces différentes approches offrent au lecteur des itinéraires transversaux très riches, de véritables «voyages» aussi bien diatopiques que diachroniques qui font émerger le concept de *passage*, à la fois multidirectionnel (emprunts aller-retour) et transculturel (remaniements sémantiques, créations nouvelles).

Valérie Durand

IRMTRAUD BEHR, DIETER HENTSCHEL, MICHEL KAUFFMANN et ANJA KERN ed., *Langue, économie, entreprise le travail des mots*, Presses Sorbonne Nouvelle, Paris 2007, pp. 500.

Allorché la mondializzazione moltiplica gli scambi tra lingue e culture diverse che le imprese si trovano a dover gestire tanto a livello di risorse umane che di pratiche linguistiche orali

e scritte, gli studi sul ruolo delle lingue nell'economia sono ancora poco numerosi.

Il volume miscelaneo che segnaliamo, (26 contributi), affronta i discorsi *sull'economia* e i discorsi *dell'economia* a livello internazionale, in un'ottica pluridisciplinare e contrastiva (tra le lingue poste a confronto il francese, il tedesco, l'inglese, l'arabo, il portoghese, lo slovacco). Il ruolo della componente linguistica (scritta e orale) è esplorato all'interno delle imprese e nell'attività economica (dalla stampa ai curricula scolastici ai discorsi specialistici, informali e di divulgazione), in particolare per le aree della gestione e del marketing.

Di spiccato interesse sono la traduzione economica come fattore di evoluzione di una lingua (p.e. nel caso della traduzione verso l'arabo) e gli scambi sulle pratiche traduttive attraverso le liste di diffusione che si qualificano come luoghi di intensa riflessione metalinguistica condivisa oltre che di solidarietà tra i traduttori di diversi paesi, testimoni privilegiati e talora veri protagonisti della creatività lessicale legata all'evoluzione della realtà socioeconomica.

Non vengono trascurati l'impatto della cultura sulla comunicazione e i malintesi interculturali.

Si tratta di un volume stimolante e di grande interesse per la novità, l'attualità e la ricchezza delle tematiche affrontate.

Enrica Galazzi

ELISA RAVAZZOLO, *Analyse du discours interactif médiatique. Le rôle de l'animateur d'une émission radiophonique*, Aracne, Roma 2007, pp. 151.

Dans son étude, E. Ravazzolo se propose d'examiner le fonctionnement d'une interaction médiatique, en focalisant tout particulièrement le rôle de l'animateur. L'ouvrage est organisé en quatre chapitres. Le premier chapitre esquisse le cadre dans lequel s'inscrit la recherche et rappelle, par conséquent, les axes principaux de l'ADI (analyse du discours en interaction) proposée par C. Kerbrat-Orecchioni. De nature méthodologique, le deuxième chapitre présente

l'émission étudiée, *Radiocom c'est vous*, et décrit les démarches suivies pour la constitution du corpus. Le rôle de l'animateur fait l'objet du chapitre 3: la nature interactive de l'émission, où un invité est censé répondre aux questions posées par les auditeurs, influence de près la fonction de l'animateur. Celui-ci n'est plus responsable seulement de l'organisation globale de l'interaction (gestion des séquences d'ouverture et de clôture et allocation des tours de parole), mais il contribue à l'évolution même de l'échange: il peut approfondir les questions des auditeurs, apporter des informations supplémentaires, rappeler l'invité vers les questions posées, apaiser d'éventuels conflits, etc. Enfin, le dernier chapitre est consacré à l'ethos de l'animateur, étudié par le biais des stratégies linguistiques qui le révèlent. Les émissions étudiées sont présentées en annexe.

Chiara Molinari

PIERRE ENCREVÉ – MICHEL BRAUDEAU, *Conversations sur la langue française*, Gallimard, Paris 2007, pp. 194.

C'est le français dans toute sa variété, historique et actuelle, qui est présenté dans ce bel ouvrage de Pierre Encrevé et Michel Braudeau. Avec la "légèreté et la liberté de ton de la conversation" (p. 12), les auteurs entreprennent un tour d'horizon sur le présent et l'avenir du français, qui est désormais la langue maternelle de quatre-vingts millions de personnes. Les sujets abordés sont nombreux: on part de l'histoire de la langue, réceptacle de trésors littéraires qu'il faudrait lire dans leur orthographe originelle (y compris les grands auteurs du XVII^e), pour se pencher sur son évolution et ses perspectives. Selon Encrevé, "c'est toute la culture française [...] qui est la meilleure chance de la langue (p. 44)", une langue qui jouirait d'un prestige inaltéré. "Le français se porte mieux que jamais" (p. 24), affirme-t-il, corroborant son optimisme par des remarques sur la langue de l'administration (où une simplification majeure est en cours), le langage judiciaire, ("un enjeu démocratique

prioritaire" [p. 61]), la féminisation des noms de métier et la politique linguistique (les échecs de quelques lois protectionnistes ne mettant pas en danger la vitalité de la langue). Le français est ainsi évoqué dans sa mouvance, de la langue des banlieues à la francophonie; en ce qui concerne l'orthographe, finalement, il faut à la fois la "respecter" et la "désacraliser" (p. 110), car elle n'est qu'une convention sociale, une forme éphémère en vigueur à un moment donné, comme en témoignent entre autres les dictionnaires.

Giovanni Tallarico

HELENE BUZELIN, DEBORAH FOLARON ed., *La traduction et les études de réseaux / translation and Network Studies*, «Meta», LII, 4, 2007.

La revue *Meta* (LII, 4, 2007, sous la direction d'Hélène Buzelin et Deborah Folaron) présente un numéro spécial sur «La traduction et les études de réseaux». Freddie Plassand, avec «La traduction face aux nouvelles pratiques en réseaux», étudie les listes de diffusion et les nouvelles stratégies de résolution de problèmes induites par l'usage d'Internet; Hélène Buzelin, dans «Repenser la traduction à travers le spectre de la coédition», prend pour cadre d'études la pratique de quelques éditeurs et traducteurs du Québec, et pose la question de savoir en quoi la coédition peut modifier nos façons d'étudier la traduction; Anthony Pym («Cross-Cultural Networking: Translators in the French-German Network of *Petites Revues* at the End of the Nineteenth Century») et María Sierra Córdoba Serrano («La fiction québécoise en Espagne: une question de réseaux») se penchent, eux aussi, sur des utilisations stratégiques spécifiques de l'espace interculturel; quant à Laurence Jay-Rayon, elle propose de nouvelles pistes de réflexions avec une analyse de la fonction des réseaux métaphoriques chez Nuruddin Farah et l'exploration des enjeux de leur traduction («Traduire les réseaux métaphoriques chez Nuruddin Farah»). Ce numéro contient également, outre l'excellente introduction d'Hélène Buzelin et Deborah Folaron, d'autres contribu-

tions, telles que celle d'Yves Gambier, «Réseaux de traducteurs/interprètes bénévoles», qui concernent moins spécifiquement la linguistique française.

Yannick Preumont

RAFFAELE SPIEZIA, *La lisibilité entre théorie et pratique*, Fasano, Schena editore, Alain Baudry & C^{ie} Éditeur, Paris 2007, pp. 148.

La lisibilité est un domaine qui a suscité beaucoup d'intérêt en ce qui concerne la langue maternelle, mais qui est encore peu exploré en langue étrangère. L'objectif de ce livre est de fournir aux enseignants de langue étrangère un instrument pour déterminer le niveau de compréhensibilité des textes qu'ils vont soumettre à leurs étudiants, en fonction des capacités de déchiffrement de ces derniers. Dans un premier temps, l'auteur présente un excursus historique des recherches théoriques sur la lisibilité lin-

guistique dans les pays anglosaxons et francophones, tant dans le domaine de l'éducation que dans les secteurs de la presse écrite, de la langue administrative et du monde des affaires. Ensuite, il analyse et il évalue les outils techniques déjà disponibles dans les pays francophones, comme les logiciels *Cordial* et *Sato* (*Système d'Analyse de Textes par Ordinateur*), qui permettent de mesurer la lisibilité d'un texte et d'en relever les caractéristiques sur le plan syntaxique et lexical. L'auteur expose enfin les résultats d'une recherche sur 1618 apprenants italo-phones de Français Langue Étrangère, élèves du secondaire (collège et lycée). Enfin, il présente le prototype du logiciel *Textbalancer*, qui pourra être utilisé pour le choix de textes adaptés aux différents niveaux de compétence des apprenants italo-phones de FLE.

Michela Murano

RASSEGNA DI LINGUISTICA INGLESE

MARGHERITA ULRYCH E MARIA LUISA MAGGIONI

HENDRIK DE SMET, *Functional motivations in the development of nominal and verbal gerund in Middle and Early Modern English*, "English Language and Linguistics" XII/1, 2008, pp. 55-102.

Non è possibile comprendere la storia del gerundio inglese senza uno studio attento dei meccanismi dell'intero sistema delle costruzioni che ne fanno uso. L'articolo di De Smet, basato su un corpus che copre il periodo 1250-1640, si propone di esaminare l'evoluzione del gerundio in funzione verbale e nominale in uno stadio determinante nello sviluppo diacronico della lingua. In inglese antico, attraverso la morfologia derivazionale, era possibile creare nominalizzazioni deverbali con l'uso dei suffissi *-ing* o *-ung*; questi derivati assumevano tutte le caratteristiche dei sostantivi. A partire dal tardo Medio Inglese iniziò ad affermarsi l'utilizzo del gerundio in funzione verbale e, nell'ultima fase del periodo considerato nel saggio, l'uso verbale del gerundio divenne un elemento assolutamente indispensabile della grammatica della lingua inglese.

I dati analizzati da De Smet – raccolti utilizzando come fonti il Collins COBUILD Corpus, l'Helsinki Corpus, l'*Oxford English Dictionary*, il Penn-Helsinki Parsed Corpus of Middle English, il Penn-Helsinki Parsed Corpus of Early Modern English e il Corpus of Late Modern English Texts – permettono all'autore di giungere a conclusioni secondo le quali il prevalere dell'uso verbale del gerundio (del tipo *eating the apple*) presenta motivazioni economiche e iconiche che, insieme alla sua maggiore flessibilità, costituiscono un plausibile vantaggio funzionale rispetto al suo uso nominale. Come conclude De Smet (p. 96) "the his-

tory of the gerund indicates that functionally driven language change is in fact possible, provided that it is implemented through repeated motivated choices in synchronic usage".

Maria Luisa Maggioni

MARINA DOSSENA-INGRID TIEKEN-BOON VAN OSTADE (eds), *Studies in Late Modern English Correspondence*, Linguistic Insights, Studies in Language and Communication, Vol. 76, Peter Lang, Bern, Berlin, Bruxelles, Frankfurt am Main, New York, Oxford, Wien 2008, pp. 291.

The volume is a collection of papers presented during the 14th ICCEHL International Conference held in Bergamo in 2006. The studies presented in this volume concentrate on aspects of Late Modern English letter writing. The study of the interaction of individuals belonging to different social classes, writing for different purposes, and finding themselves in different social contexts, both in Britain and in its colonies, provides insights into the linguistic choices of people, into their beliefs and habits but most of all it shows how and to what extent textual codification was accepted.

In the Early Modern period letter writing stimulated the production of manuals: it was an art, a part of common social interaction but also a display of oneself (as for example in book prefaces written in letter style to patrons or epistolary novels) and there existed many types of letters, from private to business, from those written in person to dictated ones, from long messages to short ones. Letters often share the characteristics of both written and spoken language. Research in recent years has shown how analyzing the language of letters presents an opportunity to investigate a range of registers, styles and vocabulary: data derive mainly from

pecially-designed corpora or corpora where letters represent a significant part, following current approaches to historical sociolinguistics and pragmatics.

The papers in this book shed new light on a number of aspects, especially methodological ones. Arja Nurmi and Minna Palander-Collin open the volume investigating the definition of the letter as a genre, proving how many extra-linguistic variables influence classification as much as the language used; in particular the authors focus on the presence of spoken discourse markers. Ingrid Tieken-Boon van Ostade addresses instead on Robert Lowth's correspondence, reconstructing his social network in relation to his activity as a grammarian: the paper tackles a crucial problem regarding the availability of letters sent and received, since only by studying the modes and extent of the exchange can researchers give a real picture of the social interaction of an individual. Gaps in the correspondence must be filled in with information derived from other sources, e.g. publications, biographies etc.

Two contributions deal with the paleographical aspects, investigating idiosyncrasy in writing conventions, i.e. the use of abbreviation, punctuation, spelling conventions etc. While Fitzmaurice proves that these are related to social status, Dury proposes to represent paleographical variation in the form of tags in electronic corpora, as it is essential to get information about the education and social background of the writer and the nature of his/her relationship with the addressee.

An important issue in letter writing appears to be grammar. Sairio presents a corpus of letters written by Bluestocking women, focusing on the position of prepositions before or after a relative pronoun. She demonstrates that stranding was disapproved of well before prescriptive grammars stigmatized it and suggests that individuals of rank such as Mary Montague would not use or need grammars, which were meant for the young and illiterate, but actually set the

norms: prescriptive grammars reflected usage among the upper class and educated people. Letters contain information about the level of literacy of their writers, self-corrections in particular are important; Fairman proves how the lowly literate appear mainly concerned with spelling problems while the highly educated authors seem to be more concerned with style.

Style is also essential in the case of business letters dealing with complaints or problems. By using correspondence with the Bank of Scotland, Dossena delves into the pragmatic strategies employed by these writers, who adapted politeness and persuasion strategies to their needs, thus varying their illocutionary aims accordingly. Finally Dollinger studies forms of address, abbreviated verbal forms and the alternation of *shall* and *will* in the first person and concentrates on a corpus of business letters sent to Australia and Canada up to 1850, thus investigating the early stages of a 'globalized' business English and proving an early rate of differentiation in a colonial context.

The volume collects papers that use research methods that are relatively new in historical linguistics (corpora) and at the same time investigates a genre which is well known to literary critics but less so to linguists. Letters were not just the source of biographical information and cannot be seen as fiction but as a key part of everyday life, as the most important means of communication and as an excellent ground to understand how discourse and standardization spread and were shared by "speakers" of Early Modern and Modern English, an aspect we are all familiar with in the age of electronic mail.

Silvia Pireddu

KRISTIN DAVIDSE-TINE BREBAN-AN VAN LINDEN, *Deictification: the development of secondary deictic meanings by adjectives in the English NP*, "English Language and Linguistics" XII/3, 2008, pp. 475-503.

Aggettivi che preferenzialmente fungono da attributi nel sintagma nominale, come per esem-

pio *other* in *far other scene*, possono assumere la funzione di deittici secondari. Questi ultimi specificano la denotazione del sintagma nominale: *other*, per esempio (facendo riferimento al sintagma precedente) completa la denotazione del sintagma *the side*, specificandola. Davidse, Breban e Van Linden, autori del presente articolo, sostengono che tali aggettivi, nel proprio semantismo, sono potenzialmente dei deittici. Si tratta infatti di aggettivi che servono a identificare frammenti di realtà, ovvero a denotarli tramite indicazioni spazio-temporali. Nella deissi secondaria questo semantismo è completato da un riferimento relativo alla situazione (ovvero al parlante, all'interlocutore, al contesto) individuata dal deittico primario/principale del sintagma nominale (in inglese *noun phrase, NP*). Gli autori giungono ad affermare che la deissi secondaria nei sintagmi nominali assume lo stesso ruolo degli ausiliari nei sintagmi verbali. Il sintagma nominale dovrebbe essere inteso a livello di funzione come una gerarchia di determinazione e specificazione e non semplicisticamente appiattendone la funzione con la manifestazione, cioè descrivendolo come una stringa rigidamente organizzata in *determiners > attributes > classifiers > head noun*. Oggetto specifico dell'articolo è l'analisi di cinque aggettivi: *opposite, complete, old, regular, necessari*; tramite la deissi secondaria essi divengono punti di riferimento fondamentale all'interno del contesto comunicativo.

Erica Doppiati

AUGUSTO CARLI-ULRICH AMMON (eds.), *Linguistic Inequality in Scientific Communication Today*, AILA Review Vol. 20, John Benjamins Publishing, Amsterdam/ Philadelphia, 2007, pp. 137.

The dominance of English in international scientific communication has established a definite advantage for the members of specialized discourse communities in terms of the distribution and circulation of knowledge. However, the access and participation for non-native speakers

with limited language competence has become increasingly difficult, leading to the under-representation of specifics academic and research approaches that emerge from countries speaking lesser known languages, i.e. other than English.

The volume of collected articles edited by Carli and Ammon in the AILA Review Series offers an introductory and broadly comprehensive perspective on the current situation of international scientific communication. It tackles a number of issues including efficiency and fairness in the participation in scientific debate, the consequences of a global language on the actual development of science, the responsibilities of English. The first contribution, by Florian Coulmas, is about the topic of inequality in scientific communication, which is a consequence of the dominance of English as the language of science.

The second paper, by Flowerdew, introduces the problem of publishing in English for university postgraduate students and young scholars in search of their academic "niche" in an increasingly globalized university system that highly prizes research output in English. In his article, Flowerdew presents some qualitative data in order to highlight the difficulties encountered by non-native speakers (NNS) of English in acquiring and implementing the complex language skills required by academic writing. He also comments on the efforts of these scholars in trying to refer to the main literature of their subject when writing, and on the problems of alleged plagiarism that this might cause. Finally, the author concludes with a brief outline of the strategies that NNS of English might adopt to alleviate the burden that writing in English might represent.

The article by Guardiano, Favilla and Calaresu investigates stereotypes that often surround the dominance of English in the domain of international research publication. The first part of the article offers an outline of the problems that NNS scholars encounter when facing

the problem of language in scientific publication. The statistics available show in fact that even though the academic community of non-Anglophone speakers is bigger than the native one the number of publications written by NNSs is only 20% of the total amount, due to four different aspects of non-native writing: problems associated with linguistic and discursive aspects; problems associated with the fact that composition problems are more constrained and laborious for NNSs; cultural differences and different rhetorical traditions, both strictly pertaining to the research article genre and to intercultural variation and individual authorial choices; and, finally, material disadvantages and limitations. Editors are aware that NNS are unable to stress the relevance of their contributions properly and have difficulties in interpreting the real meaning of reviewers' reports. The article then presents results from a questionnaire conducted among university researchers working both within the sciences and in scientific and humanities university courses.

Hamel focuses on the development of language use in scientific publications. In his study, Hamel concentrates on international periodicals, showing that 75% of recent output in the humanities and social sciences, and up to 90% in the natural sciences, was published in English. The central question that Hamel tries to entangle is the actual consequence that the hegemony of English has on scientific development. This has advantages and disadvantages: on the one hand there is the indisputable advantage of using a common language, but on the other hand there is the danger of the extreme homogenization of knowledge which could cause irrevocable damage to humanity. Finally, a proposal for the promotion of language diversity in science is put forward, and highlights the global advantage that such a move would bring about.

The article by Van Parijs represents the breadth of the scope that Carli and Ammon aimed at reaching with the volume. Van Parijs

is a philosopher, political economist and academic who in his research has focussed on, amongst other things, the economy of linguistics communication. In his contribution, Van Parijs, analyses the topic of English language hegemony over international communication in terms of a cost/benefit ratio. The article proposes a criterion of fair burden sharing for which native speakers of English should be required to compensate the linguistic efforts that non-native speakers have to undertake to participate in "global communication", via the payment of a linguistic tax. The provocative and original article by Van Parijs points at one of the most relevant issues of the subject at hand, that is the economic, and consequently cultural, hindrance that English as single lingua franca causes.

The following two articles concentrate on specific settings of international communication. The contribution by Gazzola and Grin, from Genève University, focuses on multilingual communication and the possibility of establishing a general analytical framework of assessment based on the principles of fairness and efficiency in the allocation of resources. Gill's article presents a case study based on the analysis of the linguistics shift from Bahasa Malaysia to English that Malaysia underwent in 2003 for the teaching of maths and science. The description of the event is taken as an introduction into the broader debate of language policy as a socio-political instrument.

The final contribution to the volume is by Ammon, whose wide and influencing contribution to the study of the role of language diversity in scientific communication has opened new horizons in the promotion of knowledge circulation in the setting of language preservation. Though admitting the dominant role that English has acquired in the last decades as the dominant instrument of scientific communication, Ammon's reflections cover a wider scope entangling a variety of topics and referring to a long term perspective into the future develop-

ment of scientific communication. Starting from an analysis of the current state of affairs of language use in science, Ulrich considers attempts to preserve diversity and promote the use of minor languages. In his reflection, Ulrich calls for two main points: the necessity of an objective description of the actual power of English in the scientific community and the need to analyse the current situation from a diachronic perspective. Although English is, and probably will be in the forthcoming decades, the dominant language of science, emerging developing countries, and particularly Brazil, China and India, might represent the linguistic challenge that lies ahead for the preservation of its power.

The book is a valuable contribution to the debate over language and science, as it highlights the topic from different perspectives while providing insights into the future of scientific communication and what may turn out to be only a temporary dominance of English.

Marcella Spano

PIOTR CAP, *Towards the proximization model of the analysis of legitimization in political discourse*, "Journal of Pragmatics" XL/1, 2008, pp. 17-41.

Grounded in the observation that legitimization, namely the claim to rightness, plays a cru-

cial role in political discourse, the paper discusses the legitimization strategies of assertion, implicature, common ground and proximization, illustrated by practical examples. Assertion, which enacts credibility by referring to factual information or to actions in line with the psychological, social, political or religious predispositions of the addressee was used by President Bush on the night of 9/11 to legitimize prospective actions against Al-Qaeda. The legitimization strategy based on implicature, prompting the addressees to interpret implied meanings, was instead repeatedly used by President Nixon following the 'Watergate' scandal in 1972, while legitimization exploiting common ground was utilized in the opening sentence of the decree of Afghan Islamic clerics (Ulema), regarding the US demands for the handover of bin Laden after the 9/11 attacks. Of crucial importance for the US legitimization of the military intervention in Iraq in March 2003 was proximization, through which the occurring events and their actors are presented as directly affecting the addressee. A cross-disciplinary model for the study of proximization is then developed and applied in the paper.

Costanza Cucchi

RASSEGNA DI LINGUISTICA RUSSA

A CURA DI ANNA BONOLA

MARIA CRISTINA GATTI, *Lingvističeskie temy v prepodavanii russkogo jazyka kak inostrannogo* [Temi linguistiche della didattica del russo come lingua straniera], EDUCatt - Ente per il diritto allo studio universitario dell'Università Cattolica, Milano 2008, pp. 213

Il merito principale di questo volume è quello di creare un importante quanto spesso trascurato collegamento fra linguistica teorica e didattica della lingua russa: infatti, molti aspetti essenziali della lingua russa sono stati indagati a fondo dalla linguistica teorica, ma spesso tali acquisizioni non vengono recepite dalla glotto-didattica.

L'assunto di base è che una buona didattica deve simulare la percezione della lingua da parte del parlante nativo, la quale è condizionata dal rapporto fra strutture linguistiche e componenti comunicative del contesto. Il contesto, poi, non è una sorta di container vuoto da riempire, ma partecipa attivamente al processo di comunicazione, contribuendo a determinare il significato delle strutture linguistiche. L'autrice lo dimostra prendendo in considerazione un importante aspetto del lessico russo, gli affissi, e un'altrettanto fondamentale categoria grammaticale: l'aspetto del verbo.

Nel primo caso si dimostra che per assimilare il *vladenie jazykom* del parlante nativo, il discente straniero, oltre alla competenza lessicale deve padroneggiare la struttura dinamica del lessico: gli affissi contengono infatti significati nascosti (idee latenti), che possono essere inferiti dal parlante solo sulla base dell'enciclopedia. Il contesto e l'approccio inferenziale diventano dunque fondamentali.

Per quanto riguarda l'aspetto del verbo, MC. Gatti si concentra su due forme aspettuali

concorrenziali: il perfettivo risultativo e l'imperfettivo fattuale generico, dimostrando come la scelta per l'uno o per l'altro sia determinata dal contesto ed esiga l'attivazione di numerose inferenze.

L'approccio didattico inferenziale risulta promettente oltre che interessante: si tratta di allenare i discenti alla percezione dell'implicito che si nasconde dietro la struttura linguistica ed emerge dall'interazione fra strutture linguistiche e contesto. La prospettiva interazionista è dunque fondamentale sia per la comunicazione, sia per la didattica.

Anna Bonola

AA.VV., *Fonetica i nefonetika. K 70-letiju Sandro V. Kodzasova* [Fonetica e non: studi in onore di Sandro V. Kodzasov], Jazyki slavjanskich kul'tur, Moskva 2008, pp. 846

Quest'opera collettanea è dedicata a Sandro Vasil'evič Kodzasov, fonetista, ma anche ricercatore insigne in ambiti come la sintassi e la tipologia (fondamentali sono i suoi studi sulle lingue caucasiche, per lo più compiuti in collaborazione con A.E. Kibrik).

L'ampiezza di interessi del dedicatario dà ragione dell'ampio spettro dei temi trattati nel volume: teoria linguistica e modelli di lingua, le lingue daghestane, la fonetica in diverse lingue e in particolare il russo, sintassi e fonetica, semantica e grammatica, pragmatica e comunicazione, discorso, lingua e società, testo letterario. A questi temi, che costituiscono altrettanti capitoli del volume, è premesso un capitolo con saggi di G.Ch Ibragimov, T.M. Nadeina, A.E. Kibrik, V.I. Belikov che presentano la figura di Sandro Kodzasov: ne emerge la raffinata e acuta capacità di analisi fonetica, la vastissima com-

petenza plurilingue, l'esperienza della ricerca sul campo (*polevaja lingvistika*) e la capacità di generalizzazione.

Tra i saggi di particolare interesse segnaliamo: A.A. Kibrik sulla nozione di proposizione, E.V. Padučeva sull'inversione del soggetto e la sua funzione comunicativa, I.M. Kobozeva sulla particella *vot*, T.E. Janko sui mezzi prosodici dell'enfasi, M.V. Kitajgorodskaja e N.N. Rozanova sulle strategie dell'invettiva nella comunicazione urbana.

Completa la raccolta un interessante appendice con le cartine linguistiche redatte da Kodzasov e l'indice completo delle sue opere.

Anna Bonola

ANATOLIJ NIKOLAEVIČ BARANOV, *Lingvističeskaja ekspertiza teksta* [La perizia linguistica del testo], Flinta, Moskva 2007, pp. 592

Molto richieste a partire dall'inizio degli anni Novanta, le perizie linguistico-forensi sono diventate in Russia uno degli sbocchi della linguistica applicata; l'autore ne ha una pratica ventennale e in questo volume riassume la propria esperienza coniugandola con la riflessione linguistica. Alla base del volume ci sono 200 casi che riguardano contenziosi su svariati temi: vilipendio, brevetti, diffamazione, pornografia, diritti d'autore, difesa delle marche e pubblicità. Scopo dell'opera è informare sia riguardo ai fondamenti teorici sia sulla pratica della perizia linguistica.

Nel capitolo introduttivo vengono presentate l'attività del perito linguistico (classificazione dei tipi di *expertise* linguistico e le tappe del suo sviluppo) e nuove branche ad essa connesse, come la linguistica forense.

Il primo capitolo precisa concetti fondamentali che non trovano una definizione chiara nella giurisprudenza, ma che sono essenziali per il perito linguistico, come, per esempio, la distinzione fra informazione implicita ed esplicita, il concetto di asserzione ecc. Quindi vengono illustrati i fenomeni linguistici che più frequentemente l'esperto deve interpretare nel

corso della sua analisi: fraseologismi, metafore, referenza, nominalizzazione, tipo di discorso. Il terzo capitolo tratta gli effetti comunicativi del discorso e i procedimenti della sua manipolazione. Segue un capitolo ricco di esempi e di conclusioni teoriche sull'analisi della semantica della parola nella consulenza linguistica. Un intero capitolo, il sesto, è dedicato all'analisi dell'istigazione, con particolare attenzione al concetto di "appello". Il settimo capitolo approfondisce infine gli strumenti informatici dell'analisi, soprattutto i corpora. La monografia si conclude con lo studio di due casi.

Anna Bonola

VADIM VIKTOROVIČ DEMENT'EV, *Neprjamaja komunikacija* [La comunicazione indiretta], Gnozis, Moskva 2006, pp. 376

La categoria di "comunicazione indiretta" viene illustrata in questa monografia come completamento di distinzioni già note nella linguistica, come quella fra comunicazione convenzionale e non convenzionale (Ju.M. Lotman), fra lingua scritta e parlata ecc. La necessità di precisare una nuova categoria può essere discutibile, ma l'autore la giustifica con il fatto che le distinzioni precedenti hanno sempre studiato i poli opposti, trascurando i numerosissimi casi intermedi fra comunicazione diretta e indiretta; inoltre, la comunicazione indiretta per Vadim Dement'ev è la norma su cui si evidenzia la comunicazione diretta, e non il contrario, come si è soliti pensare.

La comunicazione è diretta quando il piano del contenuto dell'enunciato coincide con il senso complessivo dell'enunciato stesso; la comunicazione indiretta esclude invece tale coincidenza e dunque richiede un processo di interpretazione più complesso che va al di là delle strutture linguistiche: si pensi all'interpretazione di fenomeni come l'implicitezza, gli eufemismi, gli atti linguistici indiretti, l'ironia, la metafora ecc.

Nel primo capitolo, introduttivo, la nozione di comunicazione indiretta viene confrontata

con numerose categorie affini, e in particolare con l'opposizione "lingua-discorso" e il concetto di asimmetria del segno linguistico. Il secondo capitolo propone un modello di comunicazione indiretta, basato su una serie di diadi che oppongono intenzioni comunicative dirette a indirette; per esempio: domanda-richiesta, domanda-complimento, asserzione-richiesta, mezzi di comunicazione verbale e non-verbale, destinatario diretto – indiretto ecc.

Il terzo capitolo considera la comunicazione indiretta all'interno delle strutture linguistiche non isosemiche, mentre l'ultimo capitolo analizza la parte che i generi hanno nella realizzazione della comunicazione indiretta.

Anna Bonola

ANDREJ VLADIMIROVIČ OLJANIN, *Prezentacionnaja teorija diskursa* [La teoria del discorso presentativo], Gnozis, Moskva 2007, pp. 407

All'interno degli studi sulla pragmatica della comunicazione l'autore ha elaborato il concetto di discorso presentativo partendo dalla constatazione che spesso il nostro discorso ha la forma di una presentazione, non priva di elementi della

teatralità. Il discorso presentativo si realizza tramite mezzi semiótico-linguistici (concetti e immagini), chiamati dall'autore "presentemi", organizzati in strategie e tattiche "presentative".

Il corpus analizzato nella monografia è tratto dai mezzi di comunicazione di massa e presenta diverse varietà di discorso: argomentativo, giuridico, religioso, politico, pubblicitario, rituale, gastronomico.

Nel primo capitolo viene presentata una gerarchia dei bisogni e dei discorsi, volti a soddisfarli. Quindi si passa a descrivere le caratteristiche pragmatiche della comunicazione di massa – soprattutto il concetto di *image* (capitolo II) –, per giungere, nel terzo capitolo, alle categorie semiótico-linguistiche che sono alla base del discorso presentativo: teatralità, densità dell'informazione, precisione o approssimazione dei processi nominali. I capitoli quarto e quinto sono centrali dal punto di vista dell'analisi: illustrano infatti il concetto di "presentema" e le strategie comunicative del discorso presentativo.

Anna Bonola

RASSEGNA DI LINGUISTICA TEDESCA

A CURA DI GIOVANNI GOBBER E FEDERICA MISSAGLIA

MAREK NEKULA-VERENA BAUER-ALBRECHT GREULE (Hgg.), *Deutsch in multilingualen Stadtzentren Mittel – und Osteuropas. Um die Jahrhundertwende vom 19. zum 20. Jahrhundert*, herausgegeben von, Praesens Verlag, Wien 2008, 212 Seiten.

Der Band sammelt Beiträge zum gleichnamigen Symposium, das am 16. und 17. Februar 2006 in Regensburg gehalten wurde. Im Buch wird die Spezifik der Mehrsprachigkeit in den Städten Budapest, Bukarest, Danzig, Lemberg, Lodz (Łódź), Prag und Rīga beschrieben.

Die ersten drei Beiträge sind Franz Kafkas Deutsch gewidmet: Zum einen werden Regionalismen (Verena Bauer) und Autokorrekturen in den Manuskripten seiner Werke (Boris Blahak) erforscht, die als Indizien für eine „austrophone“ Mündlichkeit angesehen werden; zum anderen wird Kafkas Sprache als Musterbeispiel für den „multilingualism of a Prague Jew“ diskutiert (Marek Nekula). Im vierten Beitrag wird der tschechische Einfluss auf das Wienerische kritisch bewertet (Peter Ernst).

Jeder von den folgenden sechs Beiträgen beschäftigt sich mit einer spezifischen mehrsprachigen Kommunikationstradition. Untersucht werden die Nonstandard-Varietäten des Deutschen in Budapest (Manfred Michael), die deutsche Sprachkultur in Bukarest (Hermann Scheuringer), die Polyglossie in Lemberger Zeitungen (Stefaniya Ptashnyk), das Deutsch in Łódź oder „Lodzer Deutsch“ (Jörg Riecke), die Danziger Stadtsprache (Grażyna Łopuszańska) und die deutschbaltische Überlieferung (Ineta Balode).

Deutsch wird als Muttersprache und als Identitätsmerkmal von elitären städtischen Milieus untersucht, aber auch als Selbstdarstel-

lungsmittel von mehrsprachigen Sprech – und Kulturgemeinschaften, denen die exaltierten monoglossischen Ideologien der Nationalstaaten fremd waren. Gerade in dieser Hinsicht wird heute in der Europäischen Union die damalige Erfahrung der Mehrsprachigkeit im Herzen Europas positiv bewertet und als Vorbild für ein zukünftiges fruchtbares Zusammenleben betrachtet.

Giovanni Gobber

VILMOS ÁGEL-MATHILDE HENNIG (Hgg.), *Zugänge zur Grammatik der gesprochenen Sprache*, Tübingen, Max Niemeyer Verlag 2007 (Reihe Germanistische Linguistik 269), 316 Seiten.

Unter Rückgriff auf verschiedene Ansätze wie *Construction Grammar*, *Interaktionale Linguistik*, Theorie des Nähe – und Distanzsprechens sowie Überlegungen zur Bedeutungskonstitution gesprochener Sprache setzt sich die Arbeit das Ziel, das derzeit bestehende Defizit bei der grammatiktheoretischen Verortung gesprochensprachlicher Phänomene aufzuarbeiten. Der Band umfasst zehn Einzeluntersuchungen, die auf verschiedene Fragestellungen eingehen wie z.B. *Was sind die grundlegenden Anforderungen an eine Theorie der Grammatik der gesprochenen Sprache?*, *Was können geeignete Bausteine für eine Modellierung einer Theorie der Grammatik der gesprochenen Sprache sein?*, *Welche Konsequenzen ergeben sich aus einer grammatischen Theoriebildung für die Untersuchung von Einzelphänomenen?* oder *Inwiefern ermöglicht uns die breite Anerkennung unseres Gegenstandes nun eine Umsetzung unserer Erkenntnisse in die Praxis (beispielsweise der Grammatikschreibung)?* Behandelt werden aber auch Fragestellungen, die in der Gesprochene-Sprache-Forschung bisher nur wenig oder über-

haupt nicht berücksichtigt wurden, wie z.B. die Frage des Verhältnisses von Regionalität und gesprochener Sprache (Péter Kappel, *Überlegungen zur diatopischen Variation in der gesprochenen Sprache*). Gegliedert ist das Buch in drei thematische Schwerpunkte. Während der erste Teil (*Gesprochene Sprache in Theorie und Praxis*) die Bandbreite möglicher Ansätze für die Beschreibung gesprochener Sprache widerspiegelt, befasst sich der zweite Themenbereich (*Nähesprechen in Theorie und Praxis*) mit dem Theoriebaustein des Nähe – und Distanzsprechens, in dem „der durch Peter Koch und Wulf Oesterreicher bekannt gewordene Ansatz ‚Sprache der Nähe – Sprache der Distanz‘ aufgegriffen, erweitert und auf weitere Untersuchungsfelder angewendet wird“ (XIV). Im abschließenden dritten Teil (*Gesprochene Sprache und Grammatikschreibung*) plädiert Peter Eisenberg (*Sollen Grammatiken die gesprochene Sprache beschreiben? Sprachmodalität und Sprachstandard*) für eine modalitätsneutrale Darstellung der Sprache in Gebrauchsgrammatiken und bekennt sich selbst zu einer „Grammatik des geschriebenen Standards“ (290), während Reinhard Fiehler (*Thesen zur Struktur einer Grammatik der gesprochenen Sprache*) eine Grammatik der gesprochenen Sprache befürwortet, weil diese – wie die Schriftsprache auch – eine eigenständige Verständigungsform ist, daher spezifischen Bedingungen unterliegt und entsprechende Regularitäten ausbildet.

Der Sammelband versteht sich nicht nur als eine Einführung in die grammatiktheoretische Fundierung empirisch gewonnener Detailkenntnisse, sondern auch als eine systematische Ausrichtung, die für alle weitere Beschäftigung mit der Theorereflexion über *gesprochene Sprache* von Nutzen sein wird.

Sandro Moraldo

MAGDALENA PUTZ, *Indikatoren für Verstehen, Missverstehen und Nichtverstehen in Gesprächen*, „Linguistik online“, (32), 3, 2007, pp. 95-103.

Der Beitrag fokussiert ein kommunikatives Problem, welches sich auch in Gesprächen zwi-

schen Muttersprachlern und Fremdsprachenlernern widerspiegelt: die Frage nach Kriterien, an Hand derer sich eine gelungene bzw. misslungene Kommunikation erkennen lässt. Die Autorin hebt hervor, dass ein hundertprozentiges Verstehen generell unwahrscheinlich und empirisch kaum nachweisbar sei und sich Verstehen nur entlang eines Kontinuums von Missverstehen und Nichtverstehen unterscheiden lässt. Schwierig wird das Realisieren der Phänomene zudem, wenn sie sich nicht explizit metasprachlich manifestieren, sondern von den Gesprächsteilnehmern absichtlich verdeckt oder gänzlich unbemerkt bleiben. Mittels transkribierter Visitingespräche erarbeitet Putz sprachliche und nonverbale Handlungen, die Verstehen (z.B. explizite vom Sprecher intendierte Reaktionen), Missverstehen (z.B. verzögerte Reaktionszeit) und Nichtverstehen (z.B. Abbruch eines Themas) signalisieren. Mit zwei Beispielen verifiziert die Verfasserin, dass diese Indikatoren helfen, verständnishemmende Einheiten in Gesprächen besser zu identifizieren. Mit deren Kenntnis könnten in Zukunft verständnishelfende Materialien für Fremdsprachenlerner entwickelt werden.

Jan Henschel

KATERIN SCHAAD-ESTHER ZOLLINGER, *Warum Vorschulkinder nicht zurückgrüßen müssen. Beobachtungen zu Spezifika des kindlichen Sequenzmusters in der Grußhandlung*, „Linguistik online“, (36), 4, 2008, pp. 59-76.

Auf der Basis einer Pilotstudie, in der das Grußverhalten von Kindern zwischen vier und sieben Jahren analysiert wird, demonstrieren die beiden Autorinnen, dass der Spracherwerb von Kindern nicht parallel zu deren Sozialisierungsprozess stattfindet. Kinder eignen sich vielmehr die grammatischen Grundstrukturen vor den sozialen Konventionen an. Mittels der transkribierten Beobachtung von Grußsituationen, an denen Kinder, Eltern und Erzieher eines Kindergartens beteiligt waren, legen die Verfasserinnen dar, dass Kinder die für Er-

wachsende konventionalisierten Sequenzmuster in den Grußritualen nur bedingt einhalten. So fehlt zum Beispiel in der Kommunikation unter Kindern der Gruß häufig gänzlich, von Erwachsenen an sie gerichtete Grüße werden nur selten mit Gegengruß erwidert. Trotzdem sind die Kinder zu einer Interaktion bereit, da sie die sich oftmals anschließenden Befindlichkeitsfragen bereits zu ca. 50 Prozent beantworten und auch den Blickkontakt aufnehmen. Dies zeigt, dass sich vor allen Dingen die jüngeren Kinder der Studie noch im Stadium der Ontogenese befinden, in der sie ihren eigenen Begrüßungssequenzmustern folgen. Die für die Sozialisation wichtige Aneignung und Umsetzung der konventionellen Grußpraxis findet erst in den Folgejahren statt.

Jan Henschel

HILKE ELSÉN, *Phantastische Namen. Die Namen in Science Fiction und Fantasy zwischen Arbitrarität und Wortbildung*, Tübingen, Gunter Narr Verlag 2008 (= Tübinger Beiträge zur Linguistik, Band 509), 210 pp.

Namen sind nicht nur Schall und Rauch. Das beweist die Tatsache, dass sie in literarischen Texten mit über Erfolg oder Misserfolg des Produkts entscheiden können. Welche Gesichtspunkte oder Strategien – sofern sich solche nachweisen lassen – für die Autoren bei der Namensgebung für Gestalten (aber nicht nur) maßgebend sind, darüber berichtet der vorliegende Band. Ausgehend von originär deutschsprachigen Fantasy – und SF-Romanen und Geschichten wird hier ein Modell entworfen, das die Zusammenhänge zwischen Referenz und Struktur von Namen und deren morphologische Randbereiche untersucht, um die Vielfalt der Benennungen von Figuren und Szenarien in einem breiten begrifflichen Spektrum zu erfassen. Untergliedert ist der Band in drei Teile. Der erste beschreibt in einer Einführung Gegenstand und Ziel der Arbeit, die theoretischen Grundlagen und gibt zudem einen Literaturüberblick über die Textgattungen *Sci-*

ence Fiction und Fantasy und über verschiedene Untersuchungen von SF-Lexemen. Der zweite Teil fokussiert die Struktur literarischer Namen anhand praktischer Beispiele. In drei Kapiteln wird zum einen die Wahl, Entstehung, Lautsymbolik und Wortbildung der Namen abgehandelt, zum anderen die Motivation, Bildungs- und Wirkungsweise von Kunstwörtern untersucht und schließlich die „Beziehung zwischen der Form eines Namens und bestimmten Eigenschaften des Namenträgers“ (75) analysiert. Im abschließenden dritten Teil sucht Hilke Elsen „nach einer Erklärung für unterschiedliche Gemeinsamkeiten der Namen auf lautlich-graphischer Ebene“ und hinterfragt weiterhin die Assoziationsqualitäten literarischer Namen mittels einer Rezipientenbefragung. Als Ergebnis lässt sich festhalten, dass die Namensgebungsstrategie der Autoren nicht immer nach den sonst üblichen Wortbildungsregeln erfolgt. Bei der Benennung u.a. von menschlichen, menschenähnlichen oder fremden Wesen wird nämlich nicht nur auf standardsprachliche, sondern in hohem Maße auf kreative Wortbildungsmuster zurückgegriffen. In drei Anhängen werden dann noch einmal die einzelnen Namen nach Referenten (Menschen, lokale Angaben, kulturelle Errungenschaften etc.) geordnet (Anhang I), die Belegtexte mit jeweiligem Kürzel aufgelistet (II) und schließlich die Stellungnahmen verschiedener Autoren zu einzelnen Fragen (III) angeführt.

Sandro Moraldo

KLAUS WELKE, *Einführung in die Satzanalyse. Die Bestimmung der Satzglieder im Deutschen*, de Gruyter, Berlin – New York 2007, pp. XIV+374

In diesem wertvollen Buch wird eine Einführung in die traditionelle Satzanalyse vorgeschlagen, die auf den Satzgliedern gründet. Da die Einheit „Satzglied“ je nach den Satzmodellen verschieden aufgefasst wird, bietet der Autor im ersten Kapitel eine knappe Darstellung des Satzgliedbegriffes in Dependenz – und

Konstituentenstrukturgrammatiken. Aus der Diskussion geht hervor, dass ein Satzglied als eine syntaktische Relation zu betrachten ist, die in gewissen Beziehungen mit einer Wortartenkategorie steht. Sätze und satzwertige Konstruktionen werden dann untersucht, und zwar mit besonderer Berücksichtigung der verschiedenen Formen von Nebensätzen. Zur Veranschaulichung dieser Begriffe wird im zweiten Kapitel eine exemplarische Analyse vorgeführt.

Im folgenden Kapitel konfrontiert sich der Autor mit dem Attribut. Darunter wird eine abhängige Einheit in Satzgliedern unterhalb der Satzebene verstanden. Die wichtigsten Kriterien für die Unterscheidung von Attributen und Satzgliedern werden ausführlich behandelt, wobei Appositionen als Spezialfälle von Attributen erklärt werden.

In den Kapiteln 4 bis 8 wird die «Reise durch die Satzgliedlandschaft» fortgesetzt, die zur Anwendung in den Beispielanalysen vom zehnten Kapitel gebracht wird. Beschrieben werden Prädikate und Argumente der Satzstruktur, ebenso wie die so genannten Modifikatoren (Adverbialbestimmung und freies Prädikativ). Den so genannten komplexen Prädikaten wird besondere Aufmerksamkeit gewidmet. Sie «entstehen diachron dadurch, dass syntaktische Einheiten (Infinitive, Partizipien II, Substantive und auch substantivische oder präpositionale Wortgruppe) in das Prädikat inkorporiert werden» (S. 194). Diese Konstruktionen sehen äußerlich wie syntaktische Konstruktionen aus, sie werden aber von den Sprechern und von den Linguisten als morphologische Gebilde betrachtet. Das Thema ist von großer Bedeutung für die Definition des Wortes. Darauf wird leider im Buch nicht näher eingegangen.

Das neunte Kapitel enthält einen kurzen Einblick in die semantische Bestimmung von Satzgliedern. Es wird gezeigt, wie die traditionelle Analyse semantisch orientiert ist, was nicht notwendig negativ zu bewerten ist. Diese Tatsache gibt dem Autor die Gelegenheit, die

Beziehungen zwischen Dependenzgrammatik und Prädikatenlogik hervorzuheben, während die Konstituentenstrukturgrammatik eher der aristotelischen Logik entsprechen würde.

Zum Schluss sollen ein Paar Fehler in der Behandlung der Kategorialgrammatik korrigiert werden. Der berühmte Artikel über die „Syntaktische Konnexität“ von Kazimierz (und nicht „Kazimirz“!, siehe Literaturverzeichnis) Ajdukiewicz erschien 1935 und nicht 1936. In seiner Notation erscheint *kein* mehrstelliges Prädikat und seine Grammatik entspricht keiner «Prädikatenlogik mit mehrstelligen Prädikaten, die diese nicht in mehrere einstellige Prädikaten auflöst» (S. 257). Unter solchen Mängeln leiden zwar Bar-Hillels und Lambeks Kategorialgrammatiken. Genau das Gegenteil gilt aber für das Modell, das Ajdukiewicz in Anlehnung an Stanisław Leśniewskis Auffassung der sog. „Bedeutungskategorien“ entwickelte. Mit der Bezeichnung „Bedeutungskategorie“ wollte sich Leśniewski explizit auf die vierte *Logische Untersuchung* von Edmund Husserl beziehen. Für die beiden polnischen Logiker bezeichnete der Terminus „Bedeutungskategorie“ eine Klasse von sinnvollen Ausdrücken, die den Wörtern einer natürlichen Sprache gleichgestellt sind. Anders in den späteren kategorialen Grammatiken, in denen die Ausdrücke als logisch syntaktische Erscheinungen angesehen werden, für die eine sukzessive typentheoretische Semantik entwickelt werden kann.

Die Notation von Ajdukiewicz trägt dieser Tatsache Rechnung, indem eine *nicht-lineare* Hierarchie von Funktoren und Argumenten entwickelt wird, die sich auf die Logikkalkülen von Jan Łukasiewicz bezieht (den Terminus „Funktore“ verdanken wir aber Tadeusz Kotarbiński, der ihn 1929 einführte). Darüber hinaus werden bei Ajdukiewicz ausschließlich *einstellige* Funktoren verwendet. Ein mehrstelliger Funktor wie das Symbol für die zweistellige Konjunktion *und* wird als stratifizierter einstelliger Funktor umformuliert. Dasselbe gilt für ein transitives Verb, das vom Typ (s/n)/n ist,

und nicht vom Typ *s/nn*, wie Welke behauptet (S. 256-257). Hier verwendet Ajdukiewicz eine «Technik», die Moses Schönfinkel 1928 entworfen hatte, die aber nach dem Namen von Haskell Curry als *Currying* bezeichnet wurde. Damit werden die leeren Argumentstellen beim Funktor schrittweise gesättigt: *bewundert* hat die Kategorie *(s/n)/n*, *bewundert Anna* ist ein *s/n* und *Emil bewundert Anna* ist ein *s*.

Es erübrigt sich zu sagen, dass Ajdukiewicz seine Kategorialgrammatik schon 1931 in einem polnischen Artikel mit dem Titel „W sprawie ‘uniwersaljów’“ („Über die Universalien“) ausführlich dargestellt hatte; der Beitrag erschien im „Ruch Filozoficzny“ vier Jahre vor der Veröffentlichung seiner „Syntaktischen Konnexität“ (die im ersten Heft der „Studia Philosophica“ zusammen mit der deutschen Version von Alfred Tarskis berühmtem „Wahrheitsbegriff“ erschien).

Giovanni Gobber

HANS SCOLLO, *Deutsche Grammatik für Italiener. Una grammatica contro corrente, comparativa fra il tedesco e l'italiano, con riferimenti all'inglese*. Graphics Editore, Como: 2008, 560 pp.

Il volume intende operare “una presentazione sistematica, chiara e pratica delle strutture grammaticali” della lingua tedesca. Il punto di partenza è volutamente polemico: l'intento è quello di andare “contro corrente”, ovvero contro la maggior parte delle metodologie dell'insegnamento moderno che non aiuterebbero il discente a raggiungere una chiara conoscenza delle strutture del tedesco corretto e una decisa padronanza delle sue regole. La polemica si rivolge esplicitamente contro H. Griesbach, il cui sistema di presentazione avrebbe influenzato le grammatiche oggi in uso, che pongono il caso genitivo in fondo alle declinazioni, allontanando troppo le forme grammaticali del tedesco da quelle delle lingue classiche.

Poiché il volume è destinato a discenti di madrelingua italiana, la presentazione delle

strutture grammaticali è operata attraverso un'analisi contrastiva e in lingua italiana; titoli dei capitoli e nomi di regole sono invece forniti in entrambe le lingue. Nel deciso tentativo di supplire alla mancata esperienza linguistica diretta, il supporto audio al volume è un invito all'ascolto sistematico e alla memorizzazione delle strutture fondamentali del tedesco, presentate all'interno di brani e dialoghi in lingua riguardanti situazioni di vita quotidiana. L'invito allo studio mnemonico porta con sé un'interessante promessa: i discenti saranno presto in grado di assimilare un linguaggio naturale e preciso, perché aiutati a formare nella mente un modello linguistico su cui ragionare e da cui partire per ulteriori formulazioni.

Il volume si conclude con una ventina di pagine dedicate a metodi di lettura dell'ora, nomi dei popoli, alle preghiere e ad un utile indice analitico.

Lucia Salvato

SANDRO M. MORALDO (Hg.): *Sprachkontakt und Mehrsprachigkeit. Zur Anglizismendiskussion in Deutschland, Österreich, der Schweiz und Italien*, Heidelberg: Universitätsverlag Winter 2008 (Sprache – Literatur und Geschichte. Studien zur Linguistik/Germanistik, Band 35), 286 pp.

Steht Europa trotz der von der EU proklamierten sprachlichen (und kulturellen) Vielfalt eine Anglisierung der Sprachen ins Haus? Die These der Überfremdung durch übermäßiges Eindringen von angloamerikanischem Wortgut erfreut sich ungebrochener Beliebtheit. Welche Bedeutung der deutschen und italienischen Sprache vor dem Hintergrund dieser Sprachkontaktsituation im mehrsprachigen Europa zukommt, welche Herausforderungen sich aus dieser Vorrangstellung des Englischen für die Sprach – und Bildungspolitik ergeben, darüber berichtet u.a. der vorliegende Band. Die Beiträge gehen auf einen internationalen Kongress zurück, der im März 2007 an der *Scuola Superiore di Lingue Moderne per Interpreti e Traduttori* der *Università degli Studi di Bologna* in Forlì stattfand. Die Frage liegt

auf der Hand, ob es überhaupt noch sinnvoll sein kann, über den Einfluss von Anglizismen zu diskutieren, ob es wirklich noch Fragestellungen gibt, die nicht schon bis zum Überdruß formuliert, bewertet, an – und ausdiskutiert worden sind. Die Lektüre des Bandes zeigt jedoch, dass sich neue Tendenzen in der Diskussion um Sprachkontakt und Mehrsprachigkeit aufspüren und erschließen lassen, nämlich durch Grenzüberschreitungen, durch neue empirische Untersuchungen und nicht zuletzt durch provokante Thesen. Das Spektrum der Themen reicht von der Fokussierung kontaktinduzierter Veränderungen als ambivalente Reaktion auf kulturellen und sprachlichen Kontakt, dem Eintreten einer wissenschaftlich fundierten Sprachpflege und Sprachkritik an der Schnittstelle zwischen Sprachwissenschaft und Öffentlichkeitsarbeit, über die Thematisierung der Pseudoanglizismen und *false friends* in Österreich bis zu der sehr komplexen Situation des schulischen Fremdsprachenunterrichts und der Englischkenntnisse bei Erwachsenen in der Schweiz und der in Italien vom Honorarpräsidenten der *Accademia della Crusca* vertretenen These der orthographischen Rekodifizierung des Englischen. Die Themen wollen Anstöße zur Reflexion und Anregungen für weitere Untersuchungen geben. Der Band verfolgt nicht zuletzt das Ziel, einer sprachbewussten und – kritisch eingestellten Öffentlichkeit ein besseres Verständnis von Sprachwandel zu eröffnen. Namhafte Wissenschaftler aus Deutschland, Österreich, der Schweiz, England und Italien zeigen auf, dass – auch wenn das Thema des unaufhaltsamen Fortschreitens von Englisch als Sprache der grenzüberschreitenden Verständigung fast schon ausgereizt schien – neue Erkenntnisse durchaus noch zu erwarten sind.

Federica Missaglia

HELMUT SPIEKERMANN, *Standardsprache im DaF-Unterricht: Normstandard – nationale Standardvarietäten – regionale Standardvarietäten*, „Linguistik online“ (32), 3, 2007, pp. 119-137.

Welches Deutsch soll man in einem „Deutsch als Fremdsprache“-Kurs lehren, wenn selbst die Muttersprachler des Deutschen nicht völlig variationsfrei oder von regionalen Einflüssen unberührt sprechen? Von dieser Frage ausgehend gibt der Autor einen Überblick über die Sprachvariationen im deutschen Sprachgebiet, die von den großen Nationalvarietäten in Deutschland, Österreich und der Schweiz bis hin zu örtlichen Dialekten reichen. Auf Basis empirischer Untersuchungen weist Spiekermann dabei nach, dass in den letzten 50 Jahren ein Abbau dialektaler Formen, die Abkehr von nationalen standardsprachlichen Normen und der Bedeutungsgewinn regionaler Standardvarietäten zu verzeichnen sind. Neben der in Wörter-, Aussprachebüchern und Grammatiken kodifizierten nationalen Standardsprachform sollten deren Merkmale daher in einem kommunikativ angelegten Fremdspracheunterricht stärkere Beachtung finden, insbesondere, wenn er vor Ort stattfindet. Andere Standardabweichungen wie z.B. die Tilgung von Schwa in der 1. Pers. Sg. oder die Reduzierung unbestimmter Artikel, die quasi im gesamten deutschsprachigen Raum verbreitet sind, sollten zudem in die Landeskunde der Lehrmaterialien des „Deutsch als Fremdsprache“-Unterrichtes integriert werden.

Jan Henschel

ANTONIE HORNING, *Mediation – Vermittlung zwischen? Projekt einer interkulturellen Deutschdidaktik im Rahmen der Masterstudiengänge „Unternehmenskommunikation“ und „Kulturmanagement“* *Mediazione e trattativa – lingua tedesca*, in: *Der Fall der Kulturmauer. Wie kann Sprachunterricht interkulturell sein?*, hrsg. von Ulrike A. Kaunzner, Waxmann Verlag, Münster, New York, München, Berlin, 2008, pp. 27-41.

Horning stellt zwei interdisziplinäre Masterstudiengänge an der Universität Modena e Reggio Emilia vor, u.z. *Comunicazione nell'impresa e nelle organizzazioni internazionali* und *Pro-*

gettazione e gestione di attività culturali. Sie erläutert, wie Studierende die in deutschsprachigen Ländern üblichen Prozesse und Methoden der Mediation kennenlernen, indem sie sich auf Deutsch mit Konzepten und Beispielen von Mediation z.B. in Unternehmen oder anderen Organisationen auseinandersetzen. Die interkulturelle Ausrichtung der Kurse zeigt sich auch in der Übernahme didaktischer Konzepte aus den deutschsprachigen Ländern: Wenn möglich, finden die Veranstaltungen in Seminarform statt, und die Studierenden beteiligen sich aktiv an der Durchführung des Unterrichts.

Christine Arendt

SABRINA BALLESTRACCI, *Überindividuelle Merkmale des Grammatikerwerbs im Unterricht des Deutschen als Fremdsprache durch italophone Studierende. Ergebnisse einer empirischen Untersuchung, „Deutsch als Fremdsprache“, XLV, 3/2008, pp. 160-169.*

Das im Beitrag präsentierte Forschungsprojekt der Universität Pisa, das sich an der Studie „Deutsch in Genfer Schulen (DiGS)“ orientiert und diese vergleichend heranzieht, zielt auf die Ermittlung von Besonderheiten im Erwerbsprozess von italophonen Lernern von Deutsch als Fremdsprache ab. Gegenstand der empirischen Analyse, die sich auf statistische Auswertungen schriftlicher Arbeiten gründet, ist der Erwerb der Verbalmorphologie, der Satzgliedstellung und der Deklination von Nominalphrasen im universitären DaF-Unterricht. Es soll in diesem Zusammenhang festgestellt werden, ob italophone Studierende für sie typische Erwerbsphasen durchlaufen.

Beate Lindemann

S. SCHMIDT-K. SCHMIDT (Hgg.), *Erinnerungsorte. Deutsche Geschichte im DaF-Unterricht. Materialien und Kopiervorlagen*, Cornelsen Verlag, Berlin, 2007, pp. 96.

Die in diesem Lehrwerk präsentierte Materialsammlung für den Landeskundeunterricht im Bereich von Deutsch als Fremdsprache gründet

sich auf den Ansatz des französischen Historikers, Pierre Nora, der in den 80er Jahren die Geschichte Frankreichs als symbolische Gedächtnisorte in Form von Essays vermittelte. Eine Arbeitsgruppe bestehend aus 15 Autoren präsentiert in diesem Sinne 13 Erinnerungsorte der deutschen Geschichte, die „wie Mosaiksteine die Identität einer Kultur, einer Nation, einer Gesellschaft bilden“ und somit das kollektive Gedächtnis geformt haben. Ausgangspunkt für die Geschichtsvermittlung ist daher nicht die chronologische Abfolge der Ereignisse, sondern vielmehr die geschichtliche Symbolik verschiedener Orte in Deutschland. So impliziert beispielsweise der Blick auf geschichtsträchtige Plätze in Berlin ganz unterschiedliche historische Schwerpunkte: Berlin und die „Goldenen Zwanziger Jahre“ der Weimarer Republik (1919-1933), das Mahnmal zur Bücherverbrennung (Nationalsozialismus, 10. Mai 1933), der Führerbunker (NS-Diktatur, Ende des Zweiten Weltkrieges) und natürlich die Berliner Mauer (Geschichte nach 1945: 1961-1989). Dresden hingegen steht für die Zerstörung einer Stadt im 2. Weltkrieg (Bombardierung Dresdens im Februar 1945). Nationale Symbolik wird in Frankfurt am Main mit dem Versuch assoziiert, eine Demokratie zu etablieren (1948 erstes gesamtdeutsches freigeschaffenes Parlament in der Frankfurter Paulskirche). Weitere Beispiele für Orte, die zur Vermittlung der Geschichte herangezogen werden, sind die Hansestädte (vom Mittelalter und der Frühen Neuzeit bis heute), der Kölner Dom (Mittelalter und heute) und Neuschwanstein (19. und 20. Jahrhundert, Ludwig II.). Hervorzuheben ist die umfangreiche und differenzierte Materialsammlung, die in Form von authentischen Texten, Photographien, Graphiken, Landkarten, Arbeitsblättern und einer Vielzahl von historischen Hördokumenten präsentiert wird und eine ausgesprochen vielseitige Verwendung im sprachlichen Unterricht ermöglicht.

Beate Lindemann