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Communication Models and their Use in Various Theories of Language

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Abstract
The aim of this paper is to give an overview of the way in which the process of communication is conceived and implemented in various linguistic theories. The process of communication was considered in structural linguistics and understandably it is at the core of various functional approaches to the study of language. The individual theories - functional structuralism, systemic-functional grammar and functional cognitive grammar - differ only to a limited degree in the ways of conceiving the communication process and its implementation in the description of language and discourse. In all of them, the intermingling of the system of language and its instantiation in discourse has always been a fundamental tenet.

Key words
interaction, communication models, discourse, situation types, context, functions of language.

Introduction
In this paper I would like to discuss the use of communication models in various theories of language because in most linguistic theories language is defined as a tool of communication as well as a system of signs. Thus, various linguistic descriptions are either based on some definite models of the process of communication, or at least they imply and implement some points of view of the process of communication. It follows from this that linguistic descriptions differ as to which model of the process of communication, if any, is immanent to them. In my opinion, descriptive linguists, despite their main preoccupation with the code, have to consider both verbal and non-verbal communication and communication processes in general. In fact, many theories of language draw on explicit definitions of communication and communication models.

Approaches to the communication process in various linguistic theories
To begin with, Jespersen (1962:19) defines all speech activity in terms of three things: expression, suppression, and impression. According to him:14 Expression is what the speaker gives, suppression is what he does not give, though he might have given, and impression is what the hearer receives. It is important to notice that an impression is often produced not only by what is said expressly, but also by what is suppressed. Suggestion is impression through suppression.15 Here we can see quite clearly three basic factors of the communication process: the speaker, the hearer, the message (utterance). It is in fact a simple message (transmission) model in which there is no mention of the context or common code (it is implied here). However, successful communication does not always result in a duplication of the message since it presupposes implicit meanings (realized by suppression). Of course, implicit meanings presuppose inferential processes on the part of the speaker/hearer. The next model which has a prominent position especially in functional linguistics is Buhler’s organon model (1934). In fact, this model marks the beginning of functional linguistics. Drawing on Plato’s instrumentalist approach to language, Buhler devised a model which described the communicative functions. The three main functions Buhler distinguishes in his model are representation, expression, and appeal. The function applicable to the communicative action depends on the relations of the linguistic sign that are predominant in a communicative situation. The model is as follows:

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14 Jespersen: 1962:19
15 Jespersen: 1962:19
In the model there are three basic constituents: the sender, the receiver, the object and state of affairs (which might be referred to as the context). Each constituent is allocated a specific function, depending on which of the three constituents involved was focused on most heavily. When the focus is on the sender, we speak of the expressive communicative function. When the focus is on the objects and states of affairs, we speak of the representative (referential) function. The focus on the receiver in the process of communication is the domain of the third function (appeal). The circle at the centre of the model symbolizes the actual word spoken, that is, the sound message. The triangle symbolizes the linguistic sign and shares common space with the circle in some areas, while extending beyond it in other areas.

Where the circle overlaps the triangle, the phenomenon sound contains more acoustic information than the sign does. We are, however, capable of filtering out the relevant information without being hindered by all the additional stuff, e.g. the “ahs” and “ughs” of casual conversation. This phenomenon is referred to as **abstractive relevance**.

The triangle may also cover the space beyond the circle. This indicates that part of the message may be lost, due to either misspellings or omissions on the part of the sender, or because the channel is subjected to noise. In this case, the interlocutors are still able to fill in the gaps to retrieve a meaningful message. This phenomenon is called **apperceptive enlargement**.

Buhler’s model has had a profound influence on Jakobson’s constitutive factors model (1960), which, in fact, is a model of communicative functions:

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**CONTEXT**
(REFERENTIAL)

**MESSAGE**
(POETIC)

**ADDRESSER**
(EMOTIVE)

**ADDRESSEE**
(CONATIVE)

**CONTACT**
(PHATIC)

**CODE**
(METALINGUAL)

The emotive function focuses on the addressee and is very similar to Buhler’s expressive function. The addressee’s own attitude towards the content of the message is stressed. Examples are emphatic speech or interjections.

The referential function is concerned with the informational content of an utterance, that is, with what is said or written without considering the addressee.

The conative function is focused on the addressee, that is, on the second person. It is realized especially by two grammatical categories – the vocative and the imperative.

The phatic function is intended for the establishment and maintenance of social contacts and relations, and as such is in charge of the channel of communication.

The poetic function is equated with the aesthetic function of language. It valorises the signifier, foregrounding the decorative value of the message. It is a message for its own sake, thereby reducing the referential function.

The metalingual function is concerned with the verbal code itself, that is, with language speaking of itself. In this way the interlocutors clarify the way in which the verbal code is used.

In comparison with Buhler, Jakobson introduced a greater number of functions and included context as an explicit category of his model. The model, however, does not indicate the phase of feedback, and the addressee seems to be a passive recipient of the message, which of course is not true in view of what Jakobson wrote about the code and the processes of encoding and decoding utterances. In his opinion, a common code is not a sufficient condition for the process of communication. This view is now quite common in various inferential approaches to the process of communication.

Buhler’s model has also had great influence on V. Mathesius (see e.g. 1947, 1961, and 1975) and other prominent members of the Prague School of Linguistics (see e.g. Vachek 1975). Following is Mathesius’ model of utterance production and comprehension which was slightly modified by Vachek:
In the Prague School of Linguistics this model has become a basis for linguistic analysis referred to as ‘linguistic characterology’. The concept linguistic characterology was introduced by Mathesius (see e.g. 1947) and can be found also in his university lectures published after his death (see Mathesius 1961, 1975). It has also been adopted by Vachek (e.g. 1975) and other Prague school scholars.

In contrast with various linguistic schools, the point of departure for this kind of linguistic analysis was not the way in which we receive language, but how we produce it, that is, how people express the world around them and inside them. In other words, how people express factual content.

The dominant position within the diagram is occupied by the process of encoding some information content, that is, the message. Mathesius knew that the process of encoding was very complicated, but what is of greater importance, he was able to discern its two main stages. Undoubtedly, the first stage is concerned with the process of naming things, processes, abstractions, etc., by means of naming units (the stage of designation), and the second stage has to do with putting naming units together (the stage of correlation) by means of predication, word order, etc. The two encoding processes are the object of study of two unified language levels, viz. functional onomatology and functional syntax. Functional onomatology deals mainly with the structure and semantics of lexical units, cases of conversion, as well as grammatical categories. Functional syntax focuses first of all on the functional structure of the sentence and the organisation of the utterance (e.g. the functional sentence perspective complex condensation phenomena, nominalisations, etc.).

The two-stage process of encoding messages is to some extent justified and supported by the knowledge obtained in the area of speech disorders (aphasia). In one type of aphasia the subject is unable to produce words, in another type (Broca’s aphasia), the patients have problems with sentence organisation. Both cases of aphasia, in fact, prove the existence of the two processes in our linguistic consciousness.

Hladičký-Ružička (1996:24) noticed two obvious shortcomings in Mathesius’ diagram, viz. that it does not consider the context and type of contact. Apart from this, the diagram does not encompass feedback, the negotiation of meaning, etc. However, it is beyond any doubt that despite its shortcomings, the model represents a process approach to language. It is a forward-pointing model indicating basic communicative activities. Since it involves both encoding and decoding processes, it also implies inferential processes. Buhler’s organon model has also inspired Malmberg’s conception of the communication process and communicative functions (see e.g. Malmberg 1963). His description of the communication process has resulted in the following scheme:
The model represents a blueprint for an exchange of information between the sender and the receiver. Its strength lies in the integration of the different components. I will illustrate it using a simple case of oral communication between two participants – the sender (the speaker) who conveys a message to the receiver (hearer). The sender is to the left, the receiver is to the right, and the arrows indicate the direction of the message. The circle above is the code, that is, the set of linguistic units of content and expression, stored in the brain of both interlocutors. The relations between the code and the two participants are supposed to be the same. The circle below contains the extra-linguistic phenomena to be communicated (with reference to the two interlocutors). The arrow from no.8 back to no. 5 is the so-called auditory feedback, i.e. the guidance of the muscular movements of the speech apparatus through the auditory impulses from one's own speech.

The communication chain begins with the phase of encoding extralinguistic continuum into a sequence of discrete elements. This phase implies: 1. structuration, grammatically and semantically, of something (i.e. the content) which is neither, being composed of non-linguistic events and facts; 2. the building up of sequences of figurae, pre-existing in the code and subject to pre-established rules of combination (i.e. the expression); 3. the combination, according to the prescriptions of the code, of a given content unit with a given sequence of expression units (i.e. the sign); 4. the building up of sequences of signs in accordance with the distributional laws of the same code (the sentence and the sequence of sentences). It is in no.4 that we have a complete message, but the communication is not established until the linguistic sequence of discrete elements has been again put into some kind of relationship with an extralinguistic reality, which for obvious reasons is not always identical with the one which was present for the sender when he sent his message (it is indicated by the broken line in the scheme). According to Malmberg there is no complete identity between the speaker's and listener’s codes; they each have their own idiolect.

The next step in the communication chain is the transfer of the coded message through nerve impulses. It implies an encoding into another set of discrete elements, the neurons responding only into a yes-no way to the stimuli presented to them. In fact, it is a transposition from one code to another. Nerve impulses stimulate speech systems and this results in continuous movements of the organs of articulation producing a continuum of sound waves. The vibrations reach the ear drum, and this triggers the process of decoding. It implies that the reference to a code permits a re-interpretation of the continuous sound-wave.

The process of decoding consists of three basic stages. In the first stage, the hearer recognizes the acoustic stimuli as manifestations of known linguistic units, belonging to the set stored in his brain. The second stage is concerned with the identification of the phoneme sequences as signs (morphemes, words) and sequences of signs, according to the rules prescribed by the code. In the third stage, the interrelations between these signs are in turn interpreted as sentences and sentence sequences according to the distributional rules of the code.

The receiver may, or may not, interpret the message correctly (i.e. in accordance with the sender's communicative intent). His interpretation of the message depends on a number of factors, for instance on the context, his previous experiences and knowledge, his personal capacity, etc. In this connection, Malmberg (1963:18) mentioned one important thing which, in my opinion, has a bearing on the theory of inferential processes. He says that: The interpretation is guesswork, the success of which is a question of probability. The degree of understanding is to a very large extent correlated to the degree of predictability of the elements communicated (i.e. the amount of redundancy ...). The next step in the communication chain is the transfer of the coded message through nerve impulses. Being an integrated model, Malmberg’s scheme has a number of positive features. It involves two channels of communication - sound and visual, feedback, encoding and decoding processes and their descriptions, extralinguistic reality, etc. As such, it was a dominant model in the structural linguistics inspired by L.Hjelmslev. The process of communication is virtually inherent in the very core of systemic-functional grammar. In it language is viewed as a meaning potential. As such, it
is a systematic resource for expressing meaning in context and linguistics, in Halliday’s view, is the study of how people exchange meanings through the use of language. It also implies that language exists and therefore must be studied in contexts such as professional settings, classrooms, various institutions, etc. In short, it is a dynamic perspective on language, and central to it is the notion of language function. In this respect language is analysed and described in terms of five constituents: context of culture, context of situation, semantics, lexicogrammar and phonology-graphology (see the following diagram).

Each constituent in the diagram represents practically one dimension in the communication chain. It indicates how we move from higher orders of abstraction to lower ones. The context of culture refers to ideology or the cultural meanings, i.e. social hierarchies and role relationships, institutional activities, and the related distribution of language use within these. It also includes genres which at an abstract level represent verbal strategies used to accomplish social purposes of many kinds. (Martin 1985: 251). In other words, it is a purposeful socially-constructed communicative event. Context generates communicative situations. Halliday and Hasan (1985:12) define them in terms of three variables. The Field refers to the subject matter or topic, in short, to what is going on. Tenor concerns the social roles and relationships between the participants, including permanent and temporary relationships of one kind or another. The Mode refers to what part language is playing, what it is that the participants are expecting the language to do for them in that situation, the symbolic organization of the text, the status it has, and its function in the context, including the channel (is it spoken or written or some combination of the two?) and also the rhetorical mode, what is being achieved by the text in terms of such categories as persuasive, expository, didactic and the like. Situation types are described in the form of registers. Semantics is the interface between the language and context of a situation (register). It consists of three metafunctions that are involved with the three situational variables. Interpersonal metafunction realises Tenor, ideational metafunction realises Field, and textual metafunction is concerned with Mode. Lexicogrammar is a resource for wording meanings, realising them as configurations of lexical and grammatical items, i.e. organising them into utterances. It follows then, that lexicogrammar is closely related to the realisation of the three metafunctions. For instance, transitivity as a rule expresses the ideational metafunction, the system of mood and modality refers to the interpersonal metafunction, etc.

Halliday’s theory has influenced a number of linguists who have contributed to the process definition of language, e.g. Fawcett (1980), Martin (1985), Melrose(1995), etc. The following is Melrose’s process model (1995:47) which, in fact, is almost identical with the model of the communication process:

The above model can only be fully understood when we explain and define its individual constituents. The first constituent refers to the context of culture which includes not only genres but also thematic systems and social action semiotic. A thematic system is defined as semantic relations consisting of the ’" participant roles and process types with which an entity(semantic items) is associated typically in a particular set of texts, together with the other entities that enter into some lexical or grammatical cohesive relation with that entity.’(Melrose 1995: 42) This in fact is tantamount to the semantic roles of clause elements, e.g. actor, affected, recipient, causer, attribute, experience and the like.

Unlike thematic systems which organize the non-institutionalized discourses of a culture, the social action semiotic organizes its non-discursive practices. It refers to the ways in which we are expected to behave, i.e. to the meaning relations within and between the various recognized kinds of social practice in a community. Here we are concerned with the relationships between men and women, colleagues, superiors and subordinates, between hosts and guests, visits to various institutions, writing conventions, etc.

The second constituent of the communicative model of language is the context of situation, i.e. situation types, or simply communicative situations. Halliday, Martin, Melrose and many others make a distinction between a situation type and a situation as an environment in which the text comes to life. A situation type is an abstract representation of a situation, which is a difference in the degree of abstraction and not the difference in quality. The concept of the situation is very difficult to define, and it is no wonder that there are numerous definitions of it. As I have already mentioned, Halliday defines situation types in terms of three variables (field, tenor, mode), and Melrose has
adopted a similar theoretical stance. He underscores two basic characteristic features of a situation type, that is, it is a social phenomenon generated by culture, and this phenomenon is part of participants’ knowledge provided they come from the same culture. Communicative situations are divided into transactional, which are concerned with an exchange of goods and services (e.g. at the post office, shopping, visiting a restaurant, medical examinations, etc.), and interpersonal, which are concerned with the establishment and maintenance of social contacts. In communicative situations, participants or communicants realise their personal objectives. Melrose speaks about two kinds of objectives: pragmatic (e.g. control, information, heuristics, etc.) and relationship quality (e.g. power, respect, closeness, etc.).

The third constituent of the model – interactional processes – concerns the articulation of a given communicative situation and its distribution between the sender (emitter) and the recipient. The main component of interactional processes is the interaction sequence. Neville well, the verbal strategies, the sense of passing through stages to accomplish a social purpose; and the elements of situation that it articulates are above all social situation and purpose.’(52) In accordance with the standard subdivision of communicative situations there are also two types of interaction sequences: service encounters ‘which derive from the schema of the ongoing social activity (i.e. shopping), and can therefore be seen as SCHEMATIC; and those like casual conversation which, since they do in fact constitute the ongoing social activity (i.e. socializing), derive from social discourses and practices, and can therefore be seen as DISCURSIVE,’ (53).

An interaction sequence representing a social encounter (e.g. socializing) may consist of the following exchanges and moves: Invocation+Orient+Accept+Offer+Offer+Refuse. Melrose uses the following dialogue to illustrate this dialogic sequence:

1. (a) Neville: (i) Jackie)! (ii) It’s coffee time!
2. (c) Neville: Well, this is the cafeteria.
3. (e) Neville: Would you like a cup of coffee?
4. (f) Jackie: Yes, please.
5. (g) Neville: And a biscuit?
6. (h) Jackie: (i) No thanks. (ii) Just a coffee.

It is evident that the dialogue takes place in a workplace and that the two speakers are colleagues. There are two other processes at work in a communicative event in addition to interaction sequence: Attitude and Shared knowledge. By means of attitude we articulate social relationship or purpose, or a mixture of both (e.g. friendly/tentative, casual/enthusiastic, etc.). Attitude is not necessarily co-terminous with a given situation”…since two or more attitudes may be found in one interaction sequence, or one attitude may spread over two or more interaction sequences” (Melrose 1995:53)

Shared knowledge is a system that consists of the following components: context of co-text (the immediate or remote textual environment of a move in the on-going interaction, context of situation (the relevant non-verbal environment of the move), visible (immediate) or invisible (removed), context of culture – social (relevant discursive formations, thematic systems and social action semiotic), and personal (idiomsynctics discourses, practices and experiences of small units such as families or groups of friends). The choice of a particular option derives from social relationship, purpose and symbolic function (the part assigned to language in the interaction). These three factors determine the extent to which shared knowledge can and will be evoked and taken up in the course of interaction. The situation type, mediated by the interactional processes of interaction sequence, attitude and shared knowledge, is formally realized by lexico-grammar but also (or alternatively) by non-verbal signs such as proxemics (the relative distance or closeness of participants in a communicative event) and tone of voice.

The model is two-way in the sense that it represents not only the act of producing a communicative event (as indicated by solid downward-pointing arrows), but also an interpretation of a communicative event, starting from language and other codes (as is indicated by broken upward-pointing arrows). This also implies that there may well be some mismatch between producer and interpreter because:” nothing guarantees that the interpreter will ‘read’ the interactional processes, situation type and social discourses and practices in the way the producer ‘meant them’” (Melrose 1995:56)

The process model of language gives a better perspective of language as a tool of communication. It is a model which determines all factors and processes functioning in communication from the point of view of interlocutors. It shows how language encodes our perception of reality, ways of thinking, cultural values, etc. The model accounts for interpersonal negotiation, a constant changing of situations and fluidity of meanings. It precisely determines the role and place of language (verbal and non-verbal codes) in relation to the articulation of various situation types. In short, it is a dynamic perspective indicating the production of communicative events. In contrast, static definitions of language, even though they imply the process of communication, are retrospective in character. They look backward at an already existing product. The process model of language has also been successfully applied in functional grammatical descriptions and some textbooks. For example, G.Lock’s Functional English Grammar (1996) is based on a sequence of steps which as a whole constitute the encoding of a message. In this sense, grammar is viewed as a resource for representing things, various kinds of processes, interacting, expressing attitudes and judgements, organizing messages, etc. As such it is a useful reference book for foreign and second language teachers. Unfortunately, this publication is little known in this country. The same holds true for A Communicative Grammar of English by G. Leech and J. Svartvik (1975) which has also resulted from the process model of language. However, this model slightly differs from Melrose’s model, but it was also fully influenced by Halliday. Drawing on his metafunctions, Leech(1983), who is the author of the model, describes a linguistic act of communication as constituting a transaction on three different planes: “as (a) an interpersonal transaction, or Discourse; as (b) an ideational transaction or Message-Transmission; and as (c) a textual transaction or Text.”(59) The three transactions are hierarchically ordered, that is, the discourse includes the message, and the message includes the text.

The grounding of language in social interaction and discourse is a central if not defining notion in various functionalist approaches to language. The same holds good also for the functional-cognitive grammar represented by Langacker (see e.g.2001) His concern is’
to articulate how Cognitive Grammar and discourse might be brought together, as a matter of principle."(144) This, in fact, can be equated with the communication process.

In this connection, he posits a usage event as an instance of language use and says that all linguistic units are abstracted from usage events. Langacker postulates two processes which are involved in the production of each usage event: a comprehensive conceptualisation and an elaborate vocalisation, in all its phonetic detail.

The process of conceptualisation includes the interlocutors’ apprehension of their interactive circumstances and the very discourse they are engaged in. It thus incorporates the apprehension of the *ground*(G), which consists of the speech event, the speaker(S) and hearer(H), their interaction and the immediate circumstances( the time and place of the speech), and the *current discourse space*(CDS). The CDS comprises* "*those elements and relations construed as being shared by the speaker and hearer as a basis for communication at a given moment in the flow of discourse."(144)

The various facets and aspects of a usage event are spelled out more in detail in the following figure:

![Figure 1](image1)

**Figure 1:** A usage event as part of a discourse is a process realized by at least two communicants – the speaker (S) and the hearer (H). The speaker(S) acts as the initiator of the communication process, the hearer (H) acts in a responsive capacity. Of course, their roles change as the discourse unfolds. Both participants carry out joint activities, i.e. they have to coordinate with each other to succeed. The speaker’s and hearer’s action involves the directing and focusing attention (---) and the immediate circumstances (the time and place of the speech), and the current discourse space (CDS). The CDS comprises those elements and relations construed as being shared by the speaker and hearer as a basis for communication at a given moment in the flow of discourse. 

Langacker describes and explains a whole range of processes taking place as the discourse unfolds:

- **Conceptualization Channels**
  - **Ground** (current discourse space)
  - **Objective Situation**
  - **Segmental Content**
  - **Information Structure**
  - **Speech Management**
  - **Vocalization**
  - **Intonation**
  - **Gesture**

The viewing frame representing a usage event comprises both conceptualizing and vocalizing activity. Moreover, at each pole we can distinguish multiple channels which are coordinated in complex ways. The information structure encompasses such factors as emphasis, discourse topic and status of information as given versus new, that is, the concepts currently used in functional linguistics. Speech management is also a very frequent term in functional linguistics. It refers to the process of updating the current discourse space. It also includes a series of previous usage events, as well as subsequent events that might be anticipated.

Usage events are bipolar which is evident from the following figure:

![Figure 3](image2)

**Figure 3:** The viewing frame representing a usage event comprises both conceptualizing and vocalizing activity. Moreover, at each pole we can distinguish multiple channels which are coordinated in complex ways. The information structure encompasses such factors as emphasis, discourse topic and status of information as given versus new, that is, the concepts currently used in functional linguistics. Speech management is also a very frequent term in functional linguistics. It refers to the process of updating the current discourse space. It also includes a series of previous usage events, as well as subsequent events that might be anticipated.

I have outlined only some basic concepts and ideas used by Langacker in his account of the process of communication, but he gives a more elaborate view of how linguistic structure relates to interactive language use. He views linguistic structures as instructions for manipulating the current discourse space. They serve to update the CDS, and ‘when attentional frames correspond to clauses, major updating of the CDS proceeds on a clause-by-clause basis’. He presumes that the process of updating takes place on numerous time scales, corresponding to different levels of structural and conceptual organization. 

According to Langacker it is "more substantive, more concrete, and more at the center of our attention than the other channels."(146) It is true but at least some characterization of the objective situation might be helpful in this connection.

In this connection, I have attempted to outline in quite clear contours the unfolding of discourse in light of the continuous updating of the CDS. In my opinion, however, there is one problem which should be considered in more detail. It is concerned with how ‘meaning flow’ in discourse is shaped, that is, what ‘guides’ the navigation of meanings through the discourse situation. According to various authors (see e.g. Danesi 1999) it is the connotative meanings that are the primary shaper of the cognitive flow of meaning during discourse. This goes counter to classical theories of meaning that claim that denotative meanings are the primary form of meaning-encoding. This problem is worth studying by itself, but it is beyond the scope of this paper.
Conclusion
The above survey has demonstrated quite clearly that the process of communication is at the core of various functional approaches to the study of language. The individual theories – functional structuralism, systemic functional grammar and functional cognitive grammar – differ only to a limited degree in the ways of conceiving the process of communication and its implementation in the description of English and discourse. In all of them the intermingling of the system of language and its use in the process of communication, that is, language and its instantiation in discourse, has always been a fundamental tenet and principle. This, in fact, implies the unification (or integration) of the Saussurian langue-parole dichotomy. The process of communication, or better sentence (speech) production and interpretation, is also reflected in the organization of grammar in generative linguistics (see e.g. Radford 2004). This problem, however, is also beyond the scope of this paper.

Bibliography and references
Academic Interaction: Adapting Complexity and Coherence to the Readership

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Abstract
Academic English is related to the conference themes interaction and politeness in various ways. Of course, effective or good academic interaction requires information and language management; and good management requires that the speakers and writers of Academic English are aware of their audience and readership and adapt their texts, knowing conventions of the appropriate medium-, culture- and audience-/reader-specific form. In this perspective, a wide notion of politeness can also be interpreted as conscious addressee-adaptation, the endeavour of the speaker or writer to facilitate understanding by the hearer and reader through balanced management of complexity and coherence, the essential foci of this contribution.

By distinguishing different types of complexity (e.g. structural vs. processing complexity), and different types of coherence (e.g. lexical vs. grammatical coherence), we are able to sketch an interesting relationship between the addressee-specific presentation of specialist and non-specialist academic texts. In very general terms, the specialist writing the scientific content will have increased complexity compared to the non-specialist version expressing (more or less) the same content; whereas cohesive elements signalling coherence can be relatively low in scientific texts because the listeners or readers share a very broad common basis; in popular, non-specialist academic texts, the level of coherence must be increased by the writer to facilitate understanding by the addressee.

Two academic texts, from the lower and from the upper end of the spectrum of academic writing, illustrate the central concepts of coherence and complexity in academic interaction. Whereas lower level academic texts often rely on overt conjunctive relations, imposing a more or less rigorous meta-structure on a text, higher level academic texts. However, it must also be pointed out that reader adaptation is only one element in a much wider perspective of adaptation and the discussion of what readers perceive as “good” and “correct” texts as a whole.

Key words
Academic English, academic writing, politeness, linguistic complexity, EAP

1. Introduction

1.1. The growing importance of specialised and popular Academic English
It goes without saying that with increasing cooperation on the European (ERASMUS) and international level the issue of an international lingua franca at universities has become much more urgent than in previous decades when universities had more or less only to work and survive in regional or national contexts. The national research cooperation is, of course, greatly facilitated by an explicit awareness of the possibilities and problems of international exchange in the worldwide academic lingua franca English, so that publications especially on the international level and in the appropriate journals with a high impact factor have become much more accessible for individual scholars and university departments. But today, academic reputation does not seem enough. In addition to their research and teaching efforts, scholars are forced to be their own public relations specialists today. Thus it becomes an added advantage if scholars are aware of the differences between specialised and popular academic discourse, which is of immediate concern for their standing in the academic and non-academic contexts they act in. Politicians and the general public increasingly demand justification for expenditures in academic texts that are accessible to them as academic laymen in addition to the international research publications. Thus the awareness of genre- and reader-specific text production becomes vital - and if one does not want to follow the conventions, awareness of psycholinguistically sound and appropriate presentation forms are vital for success in academic discourse.

1.2. Theoretical perspectives: academic writing as integration in discourse communities
In general we can distinguish between more traditional and more constructivist perspectives on academic discourse. The currently most influential perspective is often called social constructivist, since it implies an initiation into the culture and practices of various “discourse communities” (Swales 1990) and emphasizes that writing is always a personal and socio-cultural act of identity whereby writers both signal their membership in a range of communities, as well as express their own creative presence (Hyland 2006: 35).

Reeves (2005: 116-124) distinguishes several types of “translators” of science for the general public:

- journalists
- public officials
- advertisers
- scientists themselves
- quacks or pseudo-scientists

In this context, journalists and scientists are essential and the latter may even be subdivided further according to whether their “translations” are mainly geared towards intra- or inter-community discourse. The genre conventions can be seen as culture-specific in two senses, the national culture as well as academic field/discipline culture. The fact that academic writing and discourse communities are culture-specific has been emphasized for a long time. The expression of opinion in particular may range from “controversial” to “taken for granted” (cf. Strauss 2004). Even speakers from relatively closely related cultures like English and German may encounter moments of miscommunication (cf. Ware/Kramsch 2005), so it is not surprising that in a world-wide perspective Academic English may be difficult to understand when different discourse communities are involved.
At least three levels of communities and thus types of Academic English can be distinguished within the wide field of English for Academic Purposes (EAP):

- Student English (student EAP): The academic novice may come from an "Anglophone" background where English is used for a variety of international functions, including teaching at secondary schools, but still: academic writing requires additional training, for it necessitates the independent search for appropriate information, its critical evaluation and media-specific presentation. The traditional genre at this level is the academic essay of 2,000 to 5,000 words (occasionally also a corresponding media-supported oral presentation).

- PhD English (doctoral EAP): In contrast to student writing with its focus on "digesting" research by others, doctoral students have to develop their own ideas, to pursue their own research agenda and to write up everything in a major contribution that is the result of some sophisticated innovative project that keeps the writer busy over a long time.

- (International) Research English (research EAP): Although written exchange of academic results has a long tradition (in Britain at least since the Philosophical Transactions of the Royal Society in the 17th century), the importance of international scholarly articles has increased enormously over the last twenty years, partly through the increasing competition among universities and scholars and partly through the new electronic media. This led to the standardization of peer-review procedures and the corresponding discussion of subject- and genre-specific conventions. Unfortunately, most university courses labelled "English for Academic Purposes" are geared towards non-native speakers of English who would like to study English at an English-medium university, usually in an English-speaking country. The "higher levels" of EAP are often left to individual talent or training, except in US universities where writing classes have a long tradition.

In contrast to student EAP, the latter two categories, doctoral and research EAP, are more specialised in the sense that they (have to) follow more subject-specific conventions. This applies to individual research journals as well as whole research communities, e.g. in the natural sciences or in mathematics. This is a necessary reflection of the complexity of reality. That is why academic descriptions and explanations of more complex phenomena have to be rendered into complex language structures. However, human comprehension and communication is based on abstraction and simplification, so that the complexity of language has to be reduced in different ways:

- In-group communication, like scientific and technical writing, has a high level of shared declarative knowledge and thus complexities do not always have to be repeated and can be taken for granted. Inter-group communication, for instance, expert-to-layperson or popular academic English in our case, must be more explicit, redundant and repetitive because the listener or reader has to adjust his/her understanding to a less familiar field.

- For an analysis of complexity in this context, we have to subcategorize complexity into several concepts with different effects. Structural complexity is created by the mapping of complex realities. On this basis it may be necessary to add linguistic devices of cohesion in order to assist the reader to construct coherence, making language structurally more complex and more explicit. Explicitness is desirable in all language work that includes language awareness, because it increases the linguistic impact on the language processing. It reduces the processing complexity, for instance, when in a lexical field a noun group of items higher in the ontological hierarchy is equivalent to one more specific noun lower in the hierarchy (the transparency of a compound like eye-doctor makes it easier to process than a very special and complex word like oculist or ophthalmologist). Processing complexity on the other hand is the correlated cognitive effort for language comprehension and production. More complex linguistic structures require more efforts. Repetition of items in language, for instance, increases the structure complexity but reduces the processing complexity, nominalization, on the other hand, reduces the surface complexity but increases the processing complexity because it requires some mental effort to refer back to a previous phrase or clause. This suggests that there is
a certain balance between these two different types of complexity: As Fig. 1 illustrates, specialised texts allow higher levels of structural and processing complexity, thus they do not need many grammatical and lexical "signposts" to help the reader construct coherence; popular texts allow only lower levels of structural and processing complexity and need more explicit devices. In the following examples, we would like to pursue this idea further.

Fig. 1: The relationship of types of complexity and coherence in specialized and popular academic writing

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Complexity and Coherence</th>
<th>Specialized</th>
<th>Popular</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Structural</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Lexical</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
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<tr>
<td>Processing</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Grammatical</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

3. Examples of academic texts and their reader adaptation

3.1. Student EAP

The following text (A) is an example from the lower end of the EAP spectrum. Although some positive text features can be discovered, it is not easy to prove its shortcomings, e.g. in terms of the Maxims listed above. The Maxim of relation, for instance, requires a coherent presentation of relevant information. However, here the writer does not always make it easy for the reader to follow the overall argumentation, although many parallel constructions can be found using the key terms of the essay, bilingual(ism), two languages, English and French, for instance. Generally, the concepts are developed, correctly, in the same direction. This can be seen when we consider the first sentence as setting the topic (T) and then judge the following sentence according to whether they provide new (N+) underlined) information or not (N-), similar to the traditional functional sentence perspective developed by the Bmn school, for instance (cf. Firbas 1992).

A) BILINGUALISM IN CAMEROON: An Evaluation of its Effectiveness

According to WEBSTER NEW INTERNATIONAL DICTIONARY, bilingualism is the habitual use of two languages (T). It goes to state that to be bilingual means, having, or using two languages, especially as spoken with the fluency characteristic of a native speaker (N+). For a country to be called a bilingual country therefore, its citizens must be able to speak two languages fluently (N+). Here, I do not just mean any two languages, but those that are officially recognized as languages for education, commerce, industry, politics and any other thing that is of official character in the nation (N+). In the case of Cameroon it is French and English (N+). My intention in this paper is to show how French and English are used in Cameroon in both formal and informal situations (N+). By formal situation I am referring to how the two languages are used in schools (primary, post-primary, and higher institutions of learning) (N+). By informal situation also to how French and English are used in public offices and gatherings, and the relations of monolinguals to the other language they do not understand (N+). To better appreciate the bilingual situation in Cameroon, I have made an attempt to show how the situation looks like in other bilingual communities in the world, such as Canada, Belgium and Czechoslovakia (N+). I have also shown what Cameroon has benefited within the territory from its bilingual status (N+). The paper concludes by evaluating in a nutshell, government policy on bilingualism in Cameroon as well as given personal suggestions on what could be done to achieve perfect bilingualism in Cameroon in the foreseeable future (N+).
repetitions. The most obvious problem is to identify the four things promised in S4, since S5 and S6 are only elaborations [2] and exemplifications [3] of the degree of understanding and mastering languages, mentioned already in the last clause of S4 [1]. The second thing seems to be intervention [4], which is ill-defined however [5]; maybe it is taken up by the technical term interference later [6], again weakly defined in [7], until the last thing, functions, is listed [8]. The incomplete sentences reflect the incomplete logical sequence. The final part of the text S13 to 16 is more convincing: although it is S15 is really is a conclusion from S14 (e.g. partial bilingualism is also a type of bilingualism) or only a repetition, as in the concluding clause of the paragraph, S16, where repetition is logical.

8) <Bilingualism in Kenya>

S1/>Bilingualism is an ability of individual of using more than one language correctly (T). <S2/>In this situation individual could use more than one language interchangeably and appropriately (N+). <S3/>This means one could use language according to the context of situation. S4/>In bilingualism there are four [1-4] things which should be <borne> in mind and this is [1] degree of understanding and mastering languages (N+?). <S5/>That is [2] to what extent individuals know both language (N+). <S6/>]<Forexample> [3] one who is bilingual in both English and Kiswahili how far / to what extent he knows both language and he masters them in the normal conversation (N+). <S7/>Another thing is [4]<intervention>, that is how one could use language <-/with out> any problem (N-Rep). <S8/>><What is [5] the freedom and <opportunity> one has when he use both language (N+). <S9/>><Interference (N). <S10/>><How one could [6] <interfer> both (N+). <S11/>>That is [7] how he could change from one language to another with great confidence (N+). <S12/>><Function what are [8] the functions in which language may used (N+). <S13/>]<A part from those <mentained> characters which help individuals to be <-opportunists> in using bilingual, the degree of being bilingualist differ from one individual to another (<forinstance> (N+). : ). <S14/>>There are some people who have ability on both <-/writing>, listening reading and speaking, where some able to speak and listen respectively (N+). <S15/>>However those people are considered to be bilingualists (N+/Rep). <S16/>>In short bilingualism is an individual capacity of using more than one language (N-/?/Rep).

These two examples are from the Cameroonian Corpus of English (http://www.tu-chemnitz.de/philo/english/cce) and the East African Corpus of English (http://ell.philo.tu-chemnitz.de/ice-search/), respectively. Although certain culture-specific trends may have contributed to our problem of interpreting the text coherently as European readers, various strands of logical argumentation lead us to believe that it is possible for the careful writer to construct a similar text that is easier for the reader to process than the example presented here by simply adding cohesive "signposts" like the conjunctions and adverbs listed above.

3.2. Research EAP

The higher end of the EAP continuum, research EAP, is very specialised, so that certain features characterise it as in-group discourse, that is only partly accessible to the general (academic) public; this is why the corresponding category popular EAP had to be developed. The following set of texts (which is also discussed in a different perspective in Haase 2007) offers a clear contrast between the two text-types because they contain essentially the same content, since they report about the same research findings. The specialised academic text (in C) is not easy either in many respects and it includes the complex lexical features of specialised discourse, like polysyllabic foreign technical terms (oligonucleotide, photocarcinogenesis), abbreviations and acronyms (DNA, pTT, WT, Xpc, etc.), heavy noun groups (esp. in the headline), etc. In contrast to the "textbook example" above, it does not use many standard cohesive devices (e.g. adverbs like previously and here or references like these, all in bold in Text C below) to structure the texts, but is has very clear lexical patterns in so far as the topic DNA damage is concerned.

The following text D is the corresponding popular version of the specialised academic text above. It is less complex lexically and syntactically: lexically, it uses simpler lexical items like protective instead of protective mechanisms, ultraviolet, and ultraviolet light, or even every-day compounds like afternoon sun and skin cancer (in bold italics), although more specialised vocabulary (DNA damage/repair) and abbreviations (TT dimer) not avoided (in bold); syntactically, it does not have an elaborate clause-linking structure through standard cohesive devices, but rather through lexical devices like the direct comparison of percentages (88 vs. 22) and the lexicosemantic parallels between treated and untreated mice or the lexical parallels across word-class boundaries (exposed – exposure, tests – testing underlined). The text is adapted to the more popular reader through "warning" lexemes like called, the integration of the reader through the personal pronoun you is signalled in the first sentence already. However, the tentative claims are maintained by the use of modal auxiliaries (might, could) at the beginning of the text, this means that the self-protective hedge that are usually considered typical for academic writers in their intra-group communication are surprisingly well maintained in the popular version. Faking out the hedges to "sex up" the story could be a feature of the even more popular versions in the general press. In our categories of coherence and complexity sketched above, the surface complexity is reduced although the coherence is created well on the semantic and
pragmatic levels, so that a well-constructed academic text is created in the minds of the readers.

D) Suntan lotion primes the skin’s defences
It might be possible to develop suntan lotions that kick-start the skin’s protective mechanisms against cancer before you hit the beach. The key ingredient could be a fragment of DNA just two bases long, called a TT dimer, that mimics one of the signs of DNA damage from ultraviolet light. Barbara Gilchrest’s team from Boston University and colleagues in the Netherlands exposed hairless mice to a mild ultraviolet radiation, the equivalent of half an hour of afternoon sun. They found that genes involved in DNA repair were more active in mice that had the TT dimer rubbed on their skin before exposure. And only 22 percent of the treated mice developed skin cancers after 24 weeks compared with 88 percent of untreated mice. (Proceedings of the National Academy of Sciences, DOI:10.1073/pnas.0306389101). People who want a tan may not even need to go out in the sun. Mouse skin does not produce melanin but earlier tests on guinea pigs suggest that the TT dimer also triggers the tanning response. The team has not yet begun testing it on people.

4. A wider perspective
In this contribution, we have argued and illustrated that adapting complexity and coherence to the readership can be seen as a special form of politeness in interaction and that in academic writing different descriptive approaches can be used to demonstrate that genre conventions have to be developed in academic writing. At the bottom end, the student level, the expected coherence is not achieved. At the top end, the professional level, the expected coherence is achieved through more diverse means (mainly lexical) than emphasised in the text book. Generally, the coherence in our texts is achieved through more subtle means than in the obvious surface connectors “recommended” in introductory writing handbooks. At least in the top-level academic articles, complex semantic links seem more important than grammatical links in conjunctions and adverbs. For the reader who has to construct coherence from the text, the deep structure connectivity seems to work even without the explicit surface connectors to create the impression of a good academic text.

Finally, our key concept of pragmatic politeness as “reader-adapted language” has to be put in a wider perspective of good and correct language (as illustrated in Fig. 2).

Of course, adaptation to readers is only one (possibly the most central) form of adaptation; texts also have to be adapted to situation or context, to the medium, etc. Only when all these dimensions are considered can we speak of really good texts – and even that seems difficult to pin down in “purely objective” criteria. Many aspects of language awareness are subjective, in the sense that their development depends on individual exposure and experience. Finally it has to be emphasized that good language is not even the same as correct language. Although in most cases language awareness as the basis of good English will have checked texts according to the background of current usage norms, but in extreme cases swearing and “marked” language can be good and appropriate. In the figure above incorrect but reader-adapted language is stereotyped as “slangy” (colloquial or in-group-specific) and correct but insufficiently adapted language as “bureaucratic” (mechanistic or pedantic). The most important element is always the writer’s language awareness that predicts the readers’ perception appropriately to ensure successful academic interaction.

Fig. 2: “Reader-adapted” language in a wider context

Bibliography and references

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Politeness Issues from a Slovak Speaker's Perspective (When in Rome..., Nitra 2003, Revisited)

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Abstract

Communication in the second language brings along many examples when politeness proves to be culture-specific. The paper deals with three basic ideas: (1) politeness is culture-specific, (2) politeness is typical of a culture, (3) politeness is about understanding the society's values. The idea that "politeness is about understanding the society's values" is delved into through discussing directness, informality, time patterns, speaking and refraining from speaking, invitations and request. Politeness, the focal point of the paper, is predetermined by the conventionalized norms and rules, not necessarily explicitly stated and institutionalized. Subconscious conformity to certain models of conduct and linguistic behavior may be baffling for a language learner. Interference of the first language and culture is unavoidable especially at an early stage of the encounter with the second language. For this reason the conclusion summarizes the topic through pointing to the relevance of incorporating the discussed ideas into the teaching/learning process. The paper provides a summary of starting points for research in the field of politeness. The covered areas are very much related to an American society; hence they reflect the American way which is due to the personal experience of the author.

Key words
politeness, culture-specific, the society's values, directness, informality, time patterns, speaking and refraining from speaking, invitations, verbal 'faux amis'

Introduction

'When in Rome, do as Romans do' does not necessarily refer to the behavior of visitors to Rome, Italy. The proverb can be interpreted in two ways; either as a statement advocating a stranger to adopt the Italian/English/Slovak /etc. way when touring the country, or as a pointer meant, in general, to remind a language user to be sensitive to the culture of the language used. Either way, if a speaker does not fully understand the local culture, or display that knowledge, they are prone to fail in projecting the image of a mature language learner. What is more, their behavior, both verbal and non-verbal, can be considered impolite or rude. We have to agree with W. Brembeck that "to know another's language and not his culture is a very good way to make a fluent fool of one's self" (Levine, Adelman, 1993: 63). Tárnyiková points out, "there is a generally shared consensuses that while native speakers are more tolerant of grammatical mistakes, pragmatic failure is very often regarded as intentionally impolite or offending" (Tárnyiková, 307). Identifying one's actual behavior as inept may have different reasons. There are many features that a culture shares and if not mastered by a second language user it is perceived as improper. The following statements are focal points of the presented paper.

- Politeness is culture-specific.
- Politeness is typical of a culture.
- Politeness is about understanding the society's values: directness, informality, time patterns, speaking and refraining from speaking, invitations.
- We need to be aware of verbal 'faux amis'.

Key concerns of the paper

(1) Politeness is culture-specific
At the heart of the matter is the fact that politeness is culture-specific. The reason is we can find out what is polite and proper and what is not only through realizing that each society, each culture has different understanding of what is considered proper or polite. When learning a foreign language one can acquire vocabulary and grammar rules studying a coursebook or taking a course. However, politeness cannot be explained and defined in a similar way. The best way is to observe the behavior (whether linguistic or non-linguistic) of native speakers of a certain society for each society has its own conventionalized rules, both those of social behavior and those of verbal (linguistic) behavior.

Some forms of behavior in some cultures viewed as perfectly tolerable are in others deemed inappropriate or even illegal. This can be exemplified by the following situations. Making sounds while eating or drinking is considered absolutely improper in the English culture (alongside others). In Bulgaria, for instance, one will never join two people (e.g. having dinner) who appear to be a couple, even though the three are acquaintances. In Korea, ladies are not allowed to sit with their legs crossed. Koreans will never blow their nose in public; they rather go to the restroom for that purpose. Faux pas like showing the bottom of a shoe (e.g. when sitting with one's ankle resting on the thigh) or patting one's back with a left hand (for this is a 'dirty' hand in a Muslim culture) may spoil a business meeting with representatives coming from Arabian and Muslim cultures respectively. Certain signs formed with fingers may represent foul language in a particular culture (the sign formed with a thumb and an index finger meaning ‘great’/’perfect’ in the Slovak culture is offensive in Albanian culture). Throwing out the chewing gum anyplace in a street in Singapore, or kissing in public in Brazil and Russia is conceived of as a violation of the law. Social behavior can be helpful in establishing social contact, yet it can have an ill-effect if not adjusted to the culture proper.
Communication in the second language brings along many examples when politeness proves to be “... one of the most culture-sensitive elements in conversation” (Dornyei, Thurrell, 1992: 134). Politeness is predetermined by conventionalized norms and rules, not necessarily explicitly stated and institutionalized. Subconscious conformity to certain models of conduct and linguistic behavior may be baffling for a language learner. Interference of the first language and culture is unavoidable especially at an early stage of the encounter with the second language.

(2) Politeness is typical of a culture

If we asked a native and non-native speaker of English what is typical of polite behavior in the English language, it would be much easier to answer it for a non-native speaker of English.

• a non-native speaker might immediately provide examples like:
  - thanking for everything, plenty of times, even repeatedly for the same thing
  - sending thank you cards, or calling the host to express thanks for the dinner
  - congratulating a man on the engagement etc.
• a native speaker might pause before answering it, because the way he/she behaves is natural, observed since they can remember such behavior (whether verbal or non-verbal) since they were able to perceive the reality.

The reason is that a non-native speaker (a Slovak speaker) finds this different from the social behavior he/she has been exposed to. We can understand what something is typical only if we compare it with something else. If we want to sound natural, we need to view the reality through the glasses of the language we are speaking and leave behind how the reality is understood in any other language. If we ignore, often unintentionally, conventions of the English language, our behavior or production bears traces of the Slovak language. What non-native users see as typical of the language they study, native users view as common. Nothing out-of-ordinary. Whenever we classify something as typical of language, it tends to be different from the conventions of our mother tongue; whenever we classify a language phenomenon as typical, we are about to provide a comparison of two languages.

(3) Politeness is about understanding the society’s values

We can understand a certain culture only if we understand the values that have shaped the society. Culture can be interpreted also as shared background of a nation. That background includes beliefs, attitudes, customs and values. It is highly probable that a language learner is influenced by the principles of politeness they employ in the mother tongue. It is partly the national characteristics that manipulate the learner’s verbal behavior. We need to get acquainted with that background if we want to feel comfortable in conversation, and know certain do’s and don’t’s and behave accordingly. The following remarks will reflect the American way.

Overt manifestation of politeness presupposes saying ‘Excuse me’, ‘Sorry’, ‘I’m afraid’, ‘Please’, or ‘Thank you’. Drawing on the fact that conversation follows the patterns imposed by the culture concerned, indubitably, these forms are essential when conversing in English. To put matters at their basic, the golden rule ‘use Please and Thank you as often as you can’ can be complemented with ‘apologize for the harm (to be) caused whenever you feel so’. For the latter, if regret is not expressed, the remark ‘Excuse you’ from the part of the harmed one may remind the person of improper behavior. The values blatantly present in the social behavior of Americans are tied to the American ones: directness, informality, time patterns, speaking and refraining from speaking, invitations and some verbal ‘faux amis’ of the second language. The ‘false friends’ include the following issues: expressing t-v address, starting a conversation with a question in English, compliments, negative questions, expressing offer, invitation and request.

Directness in American English

In conversation, Americans are direct and assume other people are honest and direct too. This is clear enough in offers and responses to offers. At a dinner party, for example, the host does not repeat the offer more than once. If the guest is hungry or thirsty, their answer to the question Would you like some more coffee or dessert would definitely be yes. If he said no, the host may well think the guest is being honest and does not want anything to drink or eat. Such behavior is in sharp contrast to what Slovaks would do. We would decline three times and only then accept the offer. For this reason, we might find it rude if we saw someone help himself without an offer. Americans find it perfectly OK. To feel comfortable, a Slovak needs to realize the difference between what is polite in Slovakia and in the States. So as not to be left hungry, for example, one has to force himself/herself to be what we may call rude and pushy, what they call honest and direct. Naturally, there are limits to how much directness a person is allowed, especially with people of higher status such as teachers or employers, or with respect to the situation – directness or honesty is inappropriate when we do not want to hurt anyone’s feelings or we simply do not want to say or do something. As an example might serve the following situations (Levine, Adelman, 1993: 63):

- A polite way to evade a question that you don’t want to answer (e.g. What do you think of the government in your country)? “Oh, I don’t know. I’m not very interested in politics.”
- If someone offers you some food that you really don’t like, you might say: P “I’ll have just a little bit, please.”, “Thanks, but I’m really full.”
  x “I hate that.” “Sure. I’d love some more.”
  - You have just been asked out to dinner but you really don’t want to go with the person who invited you. You might say:
    P „Thanks a lot but I’m busy tonight.”
    x „No, I really don’t enjoy being with you.”,
    „I’m dieting so I mustn’t go out to eat.”
  - If someone uses a foreign word or phrase you don’t know, you might: P Say, “Excuse me, but what does ______ mean?”
    x Say nothing and pretend that you have understood.
  - If someone gives you directions in a second language so quickly that you don’t understand, you might respond:
    P „Excuse me, I’m still learning the language. Could you repeat that a little more slowly?”
    x „Thank you. I appreciate your help.”

Informality of English

Americans tend to use informal language more often. When meeting someone who is the same age or younger, the conversation is more informal. Speakers use reduced words and sentences, simpler language (It’s nice to meet you becomes Nice to meet you; How are you doing? becomes How ya doing?), no titles or
last names. Even though people meet for the first time, the conversation has a friendly tone and resembles our usage of t-pronouns. Often when there is a difference in status or age between two individuals, formal titles and last names are used unless the person of lower status or younger in age is told to use the first name, which is often the case. There is a tendency to reduce status differences by using first names. Such behavior may be hard to acquire especially for people from cultures like ours, where social relations are based on formality rather than in formality.

- When introduced to a man your age or younger, what would you say?
  P: “Pleased to meet you” and shake his hand.
  x: “How do you do?”
- When introduced to a woman your age or younger what would you say?
  P: “Hello, it’s nice to meet you” and then shake hands.
  x: “How do you do?”
- When introduced to an older professor or to a friend’s parents, what would you say?
  P: “Hi, I’m ______________. What’s your name?”
  x: “May I introduce myself to you?”

Time Patterns
Different cultures may have different understanding of time. For example in Bulgaria, tardiness is accepted and excused; in general, Bulgarians are known for not being punctual. The American society values achievement and progress. Promptness is very important for American business, academia or social occasions; respecting deadlines is also important in academic and professional circles. So people who keep appointments are considered dependable; if they are late for job interviews, appointments or classes, they are often viewed as unreliable. This may be the reason why there is a saying Time is money, or why a person receives a reminder call a day before their appointment with a dentist or a hairdresser; or why it is expected of a person to call in the case of possible late arrival to the appointment. Example situations might be as follows:
- If you were invited to another family’s house for dinner how much later after the scheduled time would you arrive?
  P: you should not be late but 15 minutes is OK
  x: not more, otherwise, we need to call and explain
- If you were having a party for the students in your class, how many days in advance would you invite them?
  P: several days or a couple of weeks in advance
  x: on the day of the party or one day in advance
- How would a host indicate to a guest that it was time to leave?
  P: The host would start yawning.
  x: The host would announce, “It’s time to leave.”, The hosts would start cleaning up.
- At a party or a social occasion, how would you indicate that it was time for you to leave someone’s home?
  P: I would say, “It’s getting late and I’d better be going.”
  x: I would wait until the host said something.

Speaking and refraining from speaking
Each culture has different speech patterns and understanding of when to speak and how to interpret silence. Many Americans interpret silence in a conversation to mean disapproval, disagreement, or unsuccessful conversation, which is quite the opposite of the Slovak saying That who remains silent, agrees. Americans often try to fill silence by saying something even if they have nothing to say. This may well be the reason why discourse markers are so often used in English. Especially at an earlier stage of studying the English language, they are completely absent from the verbal production of Slovak learners for whom this is a new area to study.

Invitations
Extending and accepting or declining invitations is a frequently misunderstood area in American verbal interaction. Someone or we may say something that may sound like an invitation but never results in an actual meeting with someone. At the end of conversation, expressions like Why don’t you drop by my house sometime are mere polite expressions and are not meant to end up as an appointment or visit. A genuine invitation includes a definite plan, e.g. How about Friday? Say about 6? Generally, when the invitation is extended, the response is expected; this is particularly true of formal invitations.

Verbal faux amis
Expressing t-v address
Expressing t-v address, searching for alternatives of v-forms and dealing with the issues and/or recognizing t-situations and v-situations in English is a troublesome area for non-native speakers whose mother tongue strongly emphasizes formality in particular social situations. This is also reflected in academic writing; e.g. the Slovak language requires v-forms for referring to one’s research and findings since v-forms are a sign of technical style. English, on the contrary advocates the usage of t-forms when referring to research findings since this refers to the number of people involved (which is one); otherwise non-personal structures are preferred.

Starting a conversation with a question in English
For example, the question How are you? might seem almost a cliché to us, non-native speakers, due to its universality. Most of the time it is not meant sincerely, it is used to replace a greeting (in which case we do not expect an answer) – e.g. immigration officer at the airport, a patrolman in the street, or an officer in the parking lot booth. In general, it certainly is one of the most common phrases that initiate conversation, whether meant sincerely or used instead of a greeting.

Compliments
Accepting compliments and complimenting is another culture-specific or person-specific area. The Japanese culture can serve the purpose of exemplification. In the Japanese society, particularly among Japanese women, modesty is most powerful principle governing the communicative situation. It almost becomes a rule to deny the truth of a compliment. Leech (1983: 136-7) provides the following extract to illustrate the point:

A: My, what a splendid garden you have here – the lawn is so nice and big, it’s certainly wonderful, isn’t it?
B: Oh no, not at all, we don’t take care of it at all any more, so it simply doesn’t always look as nice as we would like it to.

Such submissive behavior is unheard of in the English-speaking societies. For example, when someone compliments the watch you are wearing, you would:

P: Say, „Thanks” and smile.
x: Say, „Oh this cheap thing? It’s not worth much.” or similar reactions denying the truth of the compliment.
Complimenting, in the American society is welcomed and in some situations sort of expected. For example, if a guest does not praise the quality of a dinner, the host might think that the guest did not like it. Not enough compliments may be interpreted as a sign of apathy or dislike, while too many compliments can be interpreted as insincere.

A negative question
A notoriously misleading structure is a negative question. The conventions of the Slovak syntax, particularly a negative question formation, seem to be deep-rooted and to have strong influence over forming a parallel structure in English.

Haven't you seen my keys? Aren't you his sister? Can't you open the window, please? In English, ... such questions typically denote surprise, or even disbelief in what appears to be the case (Leech, 1983: 168). The speakers of English will never interpret such structure as a plain inquiry since, for instance, ... a question with can't can be a complaint or an impolite request. Can't you sit down? You're blocking my view (Eastwood, 1999: 100).

That is why, the alternative of the Slovak polite expression Nie je tu Peter? is the English question Is Peter around? Since here we request information. The reverse is true of negative questions that are in fact exclamations, e.g. Isn't that great?

Expressing offer, invitation and request
For expressing offer and invitation we have an opposition of verbs, e.g. lend and borrow. Leech considers offer and invitation to be polite, and this is so for two reasons: firstly, because they imply benefit to the hearer, and secondly and less crucially, because they imply cost to the speaker. (ibid, 134) In his view, we should "minimize benefit to self" and "maximize cost to self" (ibid, 133). The interpretation may be as follows: anything that is beneficial to hearer but at the same time implies cost to speaker is considered polite. For example: I could lend you my bicycle, if you like is more polite than You could borrow my bicycle, if you like.

Request, then, inherently implies cost to hearer, and as such is considered impolite. Thus, it is more polite to say Could I borrow this electric drill? than Could you lend me this electric drill? In offering food to a guest, for example, a Japanese may say 'Please have one (peanut)', and in doing so apparently impair the image of a generous host. The reverse is true, though. The principle of modesty overweighs that of generosity, that is to say, to offer more than one means to suggest that the food is worth eating. (ibid, 138) Such submissive behavior is unheard of in the English-speaking societies and, as Leech affirms, "it is normally considered more polite to offer a large quantity: Have as many as you like" (ibid).

Conclusion
It is highly probable that a second language speaker is influenced by the principles of politeness they employ in the mother tongue. It is partly the national characteristic that manipulates the speaker's verbal behavior. It may be helpful to anticipate that people on the whole prefer to sound polite rather than impolite and in accordance with this belief to interpret the utterances made by inexperienced second language users who fail to suppress the effect of the first language conventions. "Language learners tend not to realise that a lack of cross-cultural awareness and sensitivity can cause more serious misunderstandings, and indeed communication breakdowns, than an incorrectly used tense or wrong word order" (Dornyei, Thurrell, 1992: 113). Language learners should strive to get familiarized with the culture-dependent aspects of the studied language and in doing so avoid possible offence or misunderstanding. Ignorance of habits of the English language may cause the Slovak speaker's production to bear traces of the local language. As mentioned above, what is accepted in the first language society does not always have the same implication in the second language society. This necessitates willingness to immerse oneself into the second language culture and cope with culture-dependent information.

Teachers should be attentive to the issue of politeness and help learners understand the importance of that dimension of language learning. If not assisted, sooner or later, learners not adhering to the second language politeness strategies become engaged in a displeasing conversing experience when their confidence appears to be undermined due to a native speaker's grin, an echo question, or reserved manners on the part of the hearer. As a consequence, although confident and talkative in the familiar class environment, they feel apprehensive whenever supposed to speak up under 'real' conditions. Familiarization with politeness and other strategies of the second language should take place step by step, giving space for increasingly sensitive assessment of second language behavior models. Information of this kind should come at the very beginning of the learning process and should be presented in an incessant-inflow-of-information manner. Subconscious perception of culturally determined linguistic behavior throughout the stages of the language acquisition might as well be beneficial and invaluable for a second language user.

Bibliography and references

Politeness in Advertising

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Abstract
Politeness can be studied from the point of view of diverse principles proposed by authors like Lakoff, Leech, Brown and Levinson so as to explain the functioning of mechanisms of human communicative interaction. Advertising is crafted in a specific society and reflects its values and customs. The role of this paper is to point out to the mechanisms of politeness integrated in advertising, show certain effective means advertising uses to meet its end and demonstrate how social norm surpasses language form if the two of them clash.

Key words
Politeness, advertising, communicative, social, society, discourse, selectiveness principle, Grice's conversational maxims, clarity, image, pragmatics, linguistic acts.

1. Introduction

1.1 Advertising as a social phenomenon
Advertising is encountered everywhere in today’s society. Everywhere our eyes look, they can spot an ad. Advertising had become an essential part of everyday life of the human race. We “cannot walk down the street, shop, watch television, go through our mail, log on to the Internet, read a newspaper or take a train without encountering it” (Cook 2001: 1). Different people hold different attitudes towards advertising; however, despite the diversity of views, there never seems to be a person who would necessarily seek to watch or see ads whether on TV or in the newspaper or anywhere else. Ads just appear and disappear in front of our eyes and we can either take them or ignore them. The genre of advertising seems to be primarily a concern of those who are directly involved in them; otherwise, people do not “pay” to see them as they would to see films or painting exhibitions or read books, etc. Ads are “free”. Everyone can have them without spending a penny. Advertising is “one of the most controversial of all contemporary genres, partly because it is relatively new, but also because it is closely associated with the values of the competitive high-growth global market economy in which it thrives” (Ibid. 1-2). Advertising urges people to consume more. It appeals to people’s greed, worry and ambition. On the other hand, some ads may be considered as “skillful, clever and amusing” (Ibid. 2). The presence of advertising now “seems so unshakable and secure, even to its opponents, that the possibility that it could suddenly be swept away, by either revolution or reaction, seems to have retreated” (Ibid. 2). Advertising can strongly influence society for good as well as for bad.

Ads use various devices to enter the minds of people more easily and to be easily remembered. Some of these devices are fictions, word play, story telling, stylized acting, photography, cartoons, puns and rhythms (Cf. Ibid. 3). The relationship between the ad and the person is usually a “love-hate relationship: one which frequently causes unease, and in which the love is often denied. It seems that with many ads, we suffer a split, contradictory reaction: involuntary spontaneous enjoyment, conscious reflective rejection. With other genres we usually know where our loyalties lie; with ads we are just confused” (Ibid. 3).

1.2 Advertising as discourse
Ads can be studied in light of discourse analysis from two different points of view: text and context. Text is “used to mean linguistic forms, temporarily and artificially separated from context for the purposes of analysis” (Ibid. 4). According to Cook (2001) context includes a) “substance: the physical material which carries or relays text; b) music and pictures; c) paralanguage: meaningful behavior accompanying language, such as voice quality, gestures, facial expression and touch (in speech), and choice of typeface and letter sizes (in writing); d) situation: the properties and relations of objects and people in the vicinity of the text, as perceived by the participants; e) co-text: text which precedes or follows that under analysis, and which participants judge to belong to the same discourse; f) intertext: text which the participants perceive as belonging to other discourse, but which they associate with the text under consideration, and which affects their interpretation; g) participants: their intentions and interpretations, knowledge and beliefs, attitudes, affiliations and feelings. Each participant is simultaneously a part of the context and an observer of it. Participants are usually described as senders and receivers. (The sender of a message is not always the same as the addressee, however, the person who relays it. In a television ad, for example, the addresser may be an actor, though the sender is an advertising agency. Neither is the receiver always the addressee, the person for whom it is intended. The addressees may be a specific group, but he receiver is anyone who sees the ad.; h) function: what the text is intended to do by the senders and addressees, or perceived to do by the receivers and addressees”.

In The Discourse of Advertising, G. Cook dedicates a whole chapter to the study of discourse analysis of ads. He explains how discourse is text and context together, “interacting in a way which is perceived as meaningful and unified by the participants” (Ibid. 4) and how the task of discourse analysis is to describe “both this phenomenon in general and particular instances of it, and to say how participants distinguish one type of discourse form another” (Ibid. 4). To do this requires as well paying special attention to a given culture.

1.3 Politeness in Advertising
The above paragraphs deal with advertising as a social phenomenon and as a discourse. In the following section we will pay more attention to politeness as an effective advertising device. Let us remind ourselves
that the major function of advertising is conative, i.e. aiming to persuade people to do something or act in a specific way. Hardin (2001) considers politeness as one of the most effective and influential pragmatic devices used in advertising.

1.3.1 The Principle of Selectiveness
Being selective while in language communication means to say “the right thing at the right time and place” (Zhang 2004: 127). Selectiveness is essential for successful interaction and it is part of language competence: “the more skillfully one uses the principle of selectiveness, the more tactful and effective one becomes in language communication” (Ibid. 128).

Being selective in advertising is crucial, since “no one would advertise the negative aspects of its products unless required to do so” (Ibid. 130).

The reasons why people are selective in interaction with other people may be various: a) our society requires saying the right thing at the right time, “by conforming to this protocol, one can fit nicely into our society” (Ibid. 130); b) selectiveness is a “tactful and effective communicational device” (Ibid. 13). Advertising relies on selectiveness for business profits, while “in everyday life people use it for showing politeness, keeping face, etc., as long as it is suitable at a specific moment” (Ibid. 13). One may argue whether using selectiveness in language communication is legitimate or whether people who are selective are actually lying. According to G. Zhang it is legitimate, because we “do not deny the facts…all we do is to utilize the principle of selectiveness to do the right thing” (Ibid. 130). We may conclude that selectiveness is a legitimate, tactful, effective and pervasive communicational device which fits in with Grice’s conversational maxims.

G. Zhang (2004) summarizes how the principle of selectiveness is used in advertising (with the focus on real estate advertising) in the following three points:

a. Speaker is being selective in giving certain information and using certain words to suit certain purposes (e.g. advertising or politeness). They say A and mean A.

b. Both speaker and hearer are aware that the speaker, either intentionally or unintentionally, is being less informative on certain aspects. Usually the hearer is aware that the speaker may withhold certain information.

c. The speaker hopes that the hearer cannot work out the information they are trying to withhold.

In the case of using the principle of selectiveness in order to be polite, “both parties know that the speaker is just being polite by not saying anything bluntly” (Ibid. 140). It is not “a matter of using a correct language form to state the fact; but a matter of pragmatic requirement (not being rude)” (Ibid. 140). It is important that the hearer is able to use a common sense and share background knowledge with the speaker so that he may, by the process of inference, guess the information withheld by the speaker.

G. Zhang concludes that when language form and cultural form clash, “culture norm supersedes language form in — at least, in a particular context” (Ibid. 141). The principle of selectiveness is observed in everyday conversations; otherwise one may not “fit into society successfully” (Ibid. 141).

Clarity and politeness
Clarity is considered one of the essential principles of any type of communicative interaction as well as an expression of politeness (Cf. Lakoff. 1973). To clearly present our ideas means to be understood easily and rapidly. Therefore, clarity plays an important role in advertising, in which economy, brevity and clarity are frequently implemented so as to be easily imprinted on the minds of the recipients. Advertisers are conscious about the importance of politeness when addressing the recipient and the necessity of helping the recipient feel comfortable.

On the other hand, this clarity shown by Grice (1998) as one of the maxims of the principle of cooperation can be easily violated in order to achieve other communicational effects. This often occurs in advertising. Sometimes we encounter messages that find support in obscurity and ambiguity which may be in favor of the recipient’s implication. In such cases, it is common trying to persuade through suggestion even if this may result in the lack of clarity of the message (Cf. Escribano, 2006: 274). According to Lakoff (1993), the three essential characteristics of politeness that condition the construction of advertising messages with the persuasive intention are the following:

The first fundamental principle of politeness is avoiding the imposition of oneself on the interlocutors. This may occur especially in the situations in which one of the interlocutors is predominant over someone else (socially, professionally, etc.). In those cases, one of the most efficacious recourses is the indirect linguistic strategy (Cf. Ibid. 274) in which the command appears wrapped in a very careful linguistic format which seeks to avoid offending or humiliating the person. This recourse may sometimes result in violating the principles of brevity and clarity. Nowadays, interlocutors are exposed to a great number of advertising messages in series due to the fact that they have created certain resistance to ads and tend to distrust the messages that are being emitted. However, the advertiser still needs to seek means that will help him persuade the possible buyer of the advertised product. Therefore, politeness expressed by indirect linguistic communication is often used as a powerful advertising means.

The second principle of politeness is manifested in letting the recipient make a choice, offer different options, thus avoiding a possible refusal of the imposition.

The third principle of politeness is manifested in the possibility to act as if both interlocutors were hierarchically equal. This is a way of facilitating comfort to the receptor and reinforcing cordial ties between the emitter and the receptor. In all everyday situations, in which this principle is applied, the objective is to strengthen good relationships through mechanisms that show preoccupation and interest in the other person. In advertising, this proximity between the advertiser and the recipient can be established on the basis of many series of ads. In these cases the advertisers direct the advertising discourse towards the emotions and undertakes that the recipient should feel comfortable.

The above principles can be demonstrated on a series of ads for Coca-Cola, as they were created and published over the past century. The series of Coca-Cola advertisements seek to establish and reinforce a close relationship between the emitter and the receptor. The slogans of each advertisement are short
and clear as well as tactful and not imposing on the potential consumer. They appeal to the rational (It had to be too good to get where it is; Around the corner from everywhere), emotional (Friends for life) and sensual (Delicious and Refreshing; Revives and Sustains; Thirst asks nothing more; Good to the last drop) part of a person and present the product as one enhancing familiarity, hospitality (Where There’s Coke There’s Hospitality), friendship (Friends for Life), and social image (What you want is a coke; Sign of Good Taste; Always Coca-Cola; Official Soft Drink of Summer; You Can't Beat the Real Thing; Catch the Wave (Coca-Cola); Look Up America) of those who consume it.

Table 1

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Year</th>
<th>Description</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1886</td>
<td>Drink Coca-Cola</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1904</td>
<td>Delicious and Refreshing</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1905</td>
<td>Good to the Last Drop</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1907</td>
<td>Done Everywhere</td>
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Coca-Cola Revives and Sustains
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Year 1</th>
<th>Year 2</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td><img src="image1.png" alt="Image" /></td>
<td><img src="image2.png" alt="Image" /></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Thirst Knows No Season</td>
<td>Refresh Yourself</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><img src="image3.png" alt="Image" /></td>
<td><img src="image4.png" alt="Image" /></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Six Million a Day</td>
<td>It had to be good to get where it is</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><img src="image5.png" alt="Image" /></td>
<td><img src="image6.png" alt="Image" /></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Around the Corner from Everywhere</td>
<td>The Pause That Refreshes</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Year 1</td>
<td>Year 2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>--------</td>
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</tr>
<tr>
<td>1935</td>
<td><img src="image1.png" alt="Picture" /></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td><strong>Friends For Life</strong></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1939</td>
<td><img src="image2.png" alt="Picture" /></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td><strong>Thirst Asks Nothing More</strong></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1942</td>
<td><img src="image3.png" alt="Picture" /></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td><strong>The Only Thing Like Coca-Cola is Coca-Cola Itself</strong></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1948</td>
<td><img src="image4.png" alt="Picture" /></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td><strong>Where There's Coke There's Hospitality</strong></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1949</td>
<td><img src="image5.png" alt="Picture" /></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td><strong>Along the Highway to Anywhere</strong></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Year 1</td>
<td>Year 2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>--------</td>
<td>--------</td>
</tr>
<tr>
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<td>1957</td>
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<tr>
<td><img src="image1.png" alt="Image" /></td>
<td><img src="image2.png" alt="Image" /></td>
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<tr>
<td><em>What You Want Is a Coke</em></td>
<td><em>Sign of Good Taste</em></td>
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<td>1959</td>
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<tr>
<td><img src="image3.png" alt="Image" /></td>
<td><img src="image4.png" alt="Image" /></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><em>The Cold, Crisp Taste of Coke</em></td>
<td><em>Be Really Refreshed</em></td>
</tr>
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</table>

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Year 1</th>
<th>Year 2</th>
</tr>
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<tr>
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<td>1969</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><img src="image5.png" alt="Image" /></td>
<td><img src="image6.png" alt="Image" /></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><em>Things Go Better with Coke</em></td>
<td><em>It's the Real Thing</em></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
For some authors (Brown and Levinson, 1987) politeness responds to the society’s necessity to regulate the natural aggressiveness of some of its members (Cf. Escribano, 2006: 290). This would be a socially useful way of orienting and taking advantage of the natural violence and a way of facilitating the coexistence which, in other way, would be impossible. In this sense, there are two capacities through which each member manifests his or her communicative behavior: the rationality directed to know what is being wanted and direct one’s behavior towards its acquisition; and the public image that everyone wants to project of himself/herself before the rest of the individuals with whom he/she coexists and wishes to maintain because it is vulnerable (Cf. Ibid. 290).

The first constituent of this communicative capacity is one of the best applied recourses in advertising which
wants to come to the consumer while appealing to his reason. This way of informative or denotative advertising is associated, above all, with products related to technology or with products which are the result of an intense research (Cf. Ibid. 290). It is a type of objects that are being published for their ingredients or technical characteristics as opposed to those that appeal to the emotions for their aesthetism. On the other hand, there is the social and personal preoccupation about one’s image related to capacity to know what one wants and how to achieve it. Every human being desires to keep his or her good image before the others. With this aim, they carry out a series of actions in order to protect it and maintain it before the rest of the individuals who create the social environment in which they live. This concept, half way between psychology and linguistics, is also manifested as being an efficient means used in advertising. In order to achieve the increase of selling a product, the advertisers often associate a product with a consumer model socially appreciated. In this manner, they achieve connecting the object with this image (e.g. of a famous person) and whoever wants to identify himself/herself with this model will want to obtain the advertised product.

Table 2

In the picture above (Table 2) we can see a famous ice-hockey player Crosby in his full hockey outfit playing ice-hockey on an ice-rink. In the bottom right corner we can see an ice-skate and the logo of the company producing the ice-skates, Reebok. In the middle of the picture there is a sign I am what I am strongly appealing to the emotional part of a person who is interested in ice-hockey and/or is Crosby’s fan. That means “if I want to be like Crosby, I have to buy those same ice-skates!” Kids and other hockey fans or admirers of Crosby will want to use the same kind of ice-skates he uses, even the same brand – Reebok, so as to identify themselves with the model, the hockey player. The slogan I am what I am in the advertisement suggests that the image (Crosby) is such a successful hockey player because of the type of ice skates (which are an essential part of his hockey equipment) he uses.

The slogan (I am what I am) is concise, clear and strongly appealing to the receptor.

Table 3

The picture and the text in the advertisement above (Table 3) suggest that the navigation system advertised here is high quality and probably for “high class” people. The forearm of the pilot pointing to the navigation system in the aircraft looks elegant and the outfit (sleeve of the jacket) shows that it is a hand of a pilot. Flying may still evoke the idea that normally rich people can afford this comfortable way of traveling, which is at the same time the most advanced and sophisticated means of transportation. From the text (The same technology guiding this plane is available for your car.) it is obvious that if a navigation system designed for a car is of the same quality as a navigation system of an airplane, it must be good and trustworthy. Therefore, a person who thrives for quality as well as for maintaining a high social image will want to buy the product (navigation system for their car).

By using an image in advertising the advertisers intend to help the receptor associate the product with a chosen socially valued consumer. This way, the advertiser tries to reinforce a positive image of the product. The menace of the public image is manifested in different ways through manifold communicative strategies (Cf. Ibid. 294). Politeness in advertising resides in seeking the strengthening of the image of the product being advertised either through the association with certain socially well considered environments or through the construction of a very positive image of the consumer. From the linguistic point of view, politeness plays an important role when it comes to creating an advertisement. Indirect speech acts seem to fit best, since in most cases an indirect expression offers a less aggressive image of the product than a direct strategy of presenting the virtues of the product (Cf. Ibid. 295).
Linguistic politeness in advertising is presented through many different expressions that seek to sell through the elaboration of a good image of the producer or the product itself, even if that may often violate Grice's maxims of clarity and quantity (Cf. Ibid. 295). When it is important to transmit information, Grice's conversational principles prevail; however, if the social dimension is more relevant, politeness will prevail in our discourse.

2. Conclusion
In conclusion, it may be stated that Grice's maxims cannot be taken as absolute rules when taking into consideration the principle of selectiveness in advertising. When language form and cultural norm are opposed to one another, cultural norm is observed in the first place in advertising and other situations in which politeness is required. Selectiveness is a choice that the speaker makes when informing another party according to the circumstances and need. Among those means that enforce politeness there are such which help the recipient feel comfortable (e.g. avoiding imposition, giving options, facilitating relationships, manifesting appreciation for the customer, etc.). At the same time, these means are the basic requirements that any announcer must observe if (s)he wants to sell his/her product. To achieve this end, advertising makes use of interrogation, open sale strategies or creating close relationships with the receptor. The examples in the body of the paper show that the implementation of verbs describing social, indifferent, or competitive social acts have a powerful effect on successful sale. Social acts are frequent in this kind of communicative situation. The advertisements promoting social image or competition make use of appealing or interrogative means. It is common practice that the advertisements try to associate a product with a socially valued thing or person so as to connect the consumer with a socially positive image.

All in all, advertising is created in a specific social environment and, therefore, reflects its customs and values as well as utilizes the principles of courtesy that govern this society.

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Both linguistic and non-linguistic aspects of TV advertising is important for the comprehension of an advertised message. This is crucial impact on the politeness strategies adopted in these commercials. No matter how much the cooperation of both linguistic and non-linguistic aspects of TV advertising is important for the comprehension of an advertised message, the non-linguistic aspects such as the visual elements and the intonation patterns are omitted for the purpose of the paper.

Abstract
As a discourse of mass communication the main function of which is to sell a product, advertising offers enough space for face-threatening acts (FTAs), especially for those that threaten its receivers' faces. Nowadays, advertising has a tendency towards offering, giving advice and suggestions, and also towards promising, which is reflected in FTAs as well as in mitigators of these acts. TV commercials on cosmetic products that are studied in this paper address female audience (ranging from the age of twenty to fifty) to who they sell commodities that are of rather intimate nature. The medium, the topic and the target group have a crucial impact on the politeness strategies adopted in these commercials. No matter how much the cooperation of both linguistic and non-linguistic aspects of TV advertising is important for the comprehension of an advertised message, the non-linguistic aspects such as the visual elements and the intonation patterns are omitted for the purpose of the paper.

Key words
advertising, politeness, FTAs, persuasion

1. Introduction
The present paper studies the face-threatening acts (FTAs) in modern TV advertising. It applies findings of those scholars that study the notion of politeness, mainly Brown and Levinson (1978), and those that examine the advertising discourse, mainly Leech (1966) and Čmejrková (1993). To comprehend the use of FTAs in advertising, it is important to take into consideration the nature of the language of advertising, and to understand the relationship between politeness and persuasion within the advertising discourse.

2. Persuasion in the Advertising Discourse
Advertising is a social interaction the purpose of which is to sell a product by offering it to as many people at the same time as possible. One of the problems that advertisers have to deal with is the fact that products of 'social needs' (Vestergaard and Schrøder, 1985: 5), for example perfumes, make-ups and other similar products that satisfy people's social needs but without which people can live, are not necessarily needed. Therefore, the prior purpose of advertisements offering such products is to persuade their receivers to acquire these products (Fuertes-Olivera et al., 2001: 1295). In order to arouse this need, it is not only a product itself, but it is also the social values and social positions that are advertised. Vestergaard and Schrøder (1985: 8) call this desire-arousing process an 'aestheticization' of a product.

The aestheticization of a product depends on what type of narrative structures is adopted. In her article, Čmejrková (1993) speaks about six types of narrative structures from which two of them can serve the best for the aestheticization since the narrating concentrates more on the attributes of the owner of a product rather than on the attributes of a product itself. In other words, they are persuasive by being emotive. She calls these two narrative structures lifestyle and fantasy; the other structures – product demonstration, presenter, testimonial and slice of life (translated by Čmejrková) – operate, on the other hand, with pointing out the qualities of a product and thus they are persuasive by being informative.

Advertising presupposes that every single member of society has personal problems and thus it offers solution to any kind of problems, for example estate agencies and banks offer solution to the problems with living and financing mortgages respectively, cosmetic companies offer solution to stop the signs of aging and so on. Not only does advertising transmit the offers of products and services available on the market, but at the same time it manipulates with its receivers' opinions. This manipulation results in an appeal to receivers to go and get a product/service. On the other hand, advertisers have to keep in mind that nobody likes being manipulated and therefore it is necessary to keep the persuasive function at the background of an advertised message and that is the reason why nowadays advertising does not use direct commands like buy it but it wants its receivers to remember a product name and its slogan, which is usually a catchphrase, that receivers can recall when doing their shopping.

Another problem advertisers have to deal with is the fact that people prefer to share their personal problems with their closest friends or family members somewhere intimate and friendly. Being a type of mass communication, advertising has to overcome the barriers of the mass and to present itself as being a partner with whom one can share his or her personal problems; in other words, it offers its receivers a dialogue because dialogue is undoubtedly the best communicative device to deal with one's personal problems. As a result, nowadays advertising pretends to be an offer, an invitation or a piece of advice rather than an appeal. On the other hand, no matter how much advertising pretends to be an offer, an invitation or a piece of advice, the appeal to buy a product remains the core of an advertised message.

In order to achieve a successful dialogue, advertising adopts a number of strategies to disguise the features of mass communication. The term Fairclough (1989) uses for these strategies is 'synthetic personalization'. It adopts the usage of personal pronouns, T/V distinction, hedges and features of spoken language in general. Adopting the synthetic personalization helps advertisers to make receivers feel that they are treated individually. Consequently, synthetic personalization is a communicative device that shortens the social distance between advertisers and receivers and thus the former can afford to offer, invite or give advice to those in need.
To sum up, the aestheticization of a product, narrative structures and synthetic personalization are important features that support advertisers to achieve their goals. These features are adopted in appropriate politeness strategies that help advertisers to address the proper target groups. However, these strategies are determined, in turn, by the character of advertising language.

2. Language of TV Advertising
In order to study politeness strategies in advertising, it is possible to characterize the language of advertising since it is a language with a distinctive nature. Urbanová (2002: 12) speaks about ‘a hybrid form of communication’ because of its combination of features of both spoken and written language, which definitely has an impact on how polite advertising is.

Comparing various types of media that transmit an advertised message, television has the advantage of combining motion pictures, sound, music, and spoken (in the form of commentaries) and written (in the form of ‘supers, the texts superimposed on the screen [Leech, 1966: 31]) language. The cooperation of these audio-visual features contributes to a complexity and compactness of an advertised message. Due to the dynamic pictures, a product being advertised is not only shown and described but it can be also demonstrated how it works. Advertising a product of social needs focuses on the attributes a potential consumer can obtain by buying the product.

Considering the role of pictures and words, Čmejrková (2000: 256) says ‘while a word as a sign can imply more than one meaning simultaneously (cross-reference) and stand for more than one object at once, a picture, on the other hand, illustrates but one of the meanings of a message, as a rule’ (translated by Čmejrková). Text and dynamic pictures of TV advertising complement one another; of course, if text prevails, the picture supplements it and vice versa, but in general, it can be claimed that the interplay and the mutual contextualization of verbal and non-verbal features are the greatest advantages of TV advertising.

Following Leech (1966: 96), ‘the combinatory power of visual and auditory features allows to give speech a relatively minor role in total communication’, which is reflected in the nature of the advertisements that are used. He speaks about ‘disjunctive language’ which deals with a ‘message of abnormally simple nature’ (1966: 90).

Imiolo (1998: 152) speaks about the ‘segmentation’ of an advertising text, which is reflected in the superiority of nominal phrases and non-finite sentences that work as independent units.

The text of an advertisement is scripted by a creative team of an advertising agency and then is read out by a commentary voice off the screen plus there is a text superimposed on the screen. These key words are mostly the names of the products and companies, slogans and final appeal to the receivers. Being a type of language that combines features of spoken and written language, being a language that is broadcast in the spots of commercials, being a language that operates mainly with key words of an advertised message, which means a language that spots (reveals) the key words and helps the audience spot the product being advertised in a set of TV spots, why not call it a ‘spoftern’ language?

All the characteristic features of the language of TV advertising (the disjunctiveness, the combination of the elements of spoken and written language, the contextualualization of verbal and non-verbal features) have an impact on the politeness strategies adopted by the advertisers.

3. Politeness
Politeness is a social behavior people perform in their everyday interaction. The cooperation of these features is aware of one’s personal feelings; when talking, they respect each other and try not to be offensive. According to Brown and Levinson (1978), politeness theory is based on the notion of face, face threatening acts (FTAs), and politeness strategies.

Brown and Levinson (1978). Leech (1983). Holmes (1995) and others agree that politeness is a culture-specific phenomenon that depends on the speaker-hearer relationship, on the conversation topic, on the situational context and on ‘the ranking of impositions in the particular culture’ (B&L, 1978: 79). Holmes (1995: 6, 39) suggests that women tend to be more polite than men and since the present paper studies commercials targeted on female audience, it can be assumed that both negative and positive politeness strategies are crucial devices as far as the persuasion is concerned.

4. Hypothesis
The task of the commercials on cosmetic products is to persuade a potential consumer that the products they offer are the most suitable and convenient one available on the market. In order to achieve their task, the advertisers first need to persuade a female audience that they really need the product being advertised. This need for a product is underlined by the necessity of maintenance of one’s physical appearance. The stimulation of interest in an ‘unnecessary’ product raises the threat of being out of the ordinary, e.g. that
it seems almost socially unacceptable to do nothing with the increasing signs of aging. As a matter of fact, the hypothesis can be that advertising cosmetic products on improving one’s physical appearance must include face threatening acts since the advertisers suppose their audience do not like the product yet and in order to change this state they have to address potential buyers, draw their attention to the existence of the product, arouse their interest and make them go and buy the product. Therefore, each advertisement has the presupposition of face threatening acts. The question is what kind of speech acts do the advertisers use to threaten women’s faces when offering a cosmetic product. On the other hand, they also have to use politeness strategies that mitigate the power of the face threatening acts. Considering all the points mentioned in the previous sections, it can be supposed that the commercials under investigation contain definitely speech acts that threaten the addressee’s/receiver’s faces. They might also contain acts that threaten addressee’s/advertiser’s faces because of the monologic indirect type of advertising (see 5.1) in which the characters speak about their personal experience with a product.

5. Materials
In my research, I have analyzed 32 American TV commercials on cosmetic products:
- 12 commercials on hair cosmetic including shampoos, conditioners and colors;
- 12 commercials on skin cosmetics including moisturizers, cleansers and lotions;
- 8 commercials on make-ups including mascaras, lipsticks and make-up foundations.

One third of these commercials is included in the author’s corpus of her final thesis researching into the persuasive devices in U.S TV commercials. It is not possible to cover all the accompanying discourses (Cook, 1992: 29) such as the characterization of the TV channels and programs on and during which the commercials were broadcast, moreover with what other commercials they were broadcast in sets. The present paper separates these features, no matter how much the author is aware of their significance, and therefore, the attention is focused mainly on the sociopragmatic characterization of the linguistic features of the analyzed commercials. It can be mentioned marginally that all of the analyzed commercials were broadcast on U.S. TV channels and during TV programs that focus on entertaining younger adult audience and the recording took place in August 2003 and in October 2005. The commercials take from ten to thirty seconds.

5.1 Advertising Situation
The commercials on cosmetics focus on persuading women that they need products that help them to improve their natural beauty, such as to prolong their lashes or to reduce the signs of aging etc., or to imitate their fashion ideal, e.g. to wear the same perfume, to have the same perfect hair color and so on. Since the maintenance of one’s physical appearance is a rather intimate topic, it is necessary to create a friendly atmosphere as if two close friends were talking to each other and therefore, advertising adopts a dialogue-like form, which means that the advertiser/the addressee ‘speaks’ with the potential consumer/the addressee in a dialogic form, but in fact, it is only a one-way interaction due to the addressee’s lack of verbal response. In the analyzed commercials, there prevail two types of an advertising situation. One of them depicts a female character on which the qualities of a product are demonstrated; the character itself does not speak, but there is a male or female commentator voice off the screen that describes the product verbally. The other situation is similar to the first one but the character depicted is not silent; in most cases it is a celebrity, mainly an actress, or an authority, e.g. a professional hair stylist, usually a male one, or it is just an ordinary person that refers to their personal experience with the product, and their speech is accompanied by the commentator voice as well. Both types use the written texts that either highlight the key words of the spoken text, including the slogan of a product or a company or provide additional information, such as the web pages. Leech (1966: 39-56) labels the former type ‘direct address advertising’ and the latter one ‘monologic indirect address advertising’.

6. Results
The number of words under investigation is 2006, including words uttered in the comments and superimposed on the screen, and the number of speech acts in spoken commentary is 250, including 193 statements, 39 commands and 18 questions. However, these numbers need to be considered numbers due to the dubiousness of some words, e.g. should the reference to a web page be considered one word, e.g. almay.com or two words almay and com. As far as the utterances superimposed on the screen are mentioned, it is difficult to decide whether it is possible to classify them as speech acts at all because these numbers are provided by the advertisers themselves. Moreover, the aim of this work is to study which face-threatening acts appear in nowadays advertising and what are the strategies of mitigating them.

6.1 Face-threatening Acts
As a discourse that persuades to buy a product, the most frequent FTAs are those that threaten addressee’s negative face among which promises prevail. Brown and Levinson (1978: 71) defines promises as speaker’s commitment to a future act for hearer’s benefit, e.g. We’ll take your lashes up, up and amazing (‘Almay Bright Eyes Mascara’) or you’ll get the finest hair

Leech (1966: 39-56) adds ‘a dialogue form of the indirect address advertising’ when a product is offered via a mini-story that is transmitted by a form of dialogue between the characters. While a consumer is involved in the first two situations as a participant with an active role, in the last situation, he or she is just a passive participant, a spectator that ‘happens’ to see the dialogue between the characters.
6.2 Mitigators of FTAs

The elements that mitigate the degree of face-threatening acts found in the analyzed commercials correspond with the ones that are devices of synthetic personalizaion. Among them, the most frequent one is the use of personal pronouns. 15 out of the 32 analyzed commercials use /i/we-you/ dichotomy where I represents a celebrity, a professional or an ordinary person recommending the product (e.q. "Loreal" commercials), and the inclusive we represent a company (e.g. "Olay Regenerist" commercials). In these commercials, /i/we-you/ are used explicitly. 13 commercials use the same dichotomy, but only one of the pronouns is used explicitly, the other is used implicitly, which means that advertisers that it will be them who will do a future act, they should be considered as promises since they commit advertisers to the credibility of the facts they speak about. In other words, advertisers should be the ones that are responsible for the facts they provide in advertising.

The other acts that threaten addressee's negative face used in the analyzed commercials are suggestions/advice and orders. Suggestions/advice are either expressed by questions, e.g. Why settle for great lashes when you can be fabulash? ("Revlon Mascara") or by commands, e.g. Use a product, e.g. Pantene Pro-V Complete Therapy), by using modality, e.g. I think you should know about this less drastic approach ("Olay Regenerist") or by commands, e.g. Watch my skin. This is what can happen over three days if I use new Clearasil Ultra ("Clearasil Ultra") where the command entails order me to watch my skin. The rest of the commercials prefers to keep a certain distance and thus they use the commands, e.g. Olay Infallible makes it, only you make it unforgettable ("Revlon Moisturous Lipcolor").

Vocabulary is another important device of mitigating. In the analyzed commercials, ordinary words like shiny, cool, great and so on prevail. On the other hand, some of the companies have a tendency to include terms such as Amino-Peptide complex, soy protein, nutrilium, kromashine, microdermabrasion etc. The terminology is found mostly in the commercials that use the /i/we-you/ dichotomy. The reason might be that on one hand, the commercials want to sound friendly and familiar, on the other hand, they have to keep a certain degree of credibility (Cook, 1992), so they compensate the friendliness with the credibility of terminology. Moreover, the use of terms contributes to a higher level of informativeness of a commercial.

The expressions that lessen the impact of the orders that threaten addressee's negative face are hedges like Simply spray on, wait and wash it off ("Veet Mousse"), or Relieve beautiful problem skin ("Olay Regenerist Microdermabrasion"), and textual orientators, e.g. First, massage ... next apply ("Olay Regenerist Microdermabrasion"). The weightiness on FTAs is of course mitigated by the intonation pattern and visual features such as body language.

Asking personal question, e.g. Still shaving? ("Veet Mousse"), Make-up melt down? ("Loreal Infallible") or Hair color a little dull? ("Clairol Natural Instinct") is a threat of addressee's negative face the impact of which the advertisers realize very well because they prefer using elliptical questions, a feature of spoken language. Moreover, a question is a speech act that is used in most of the analyzed commercials in the introductory phase which is important for getting addressee's attention and arousing their interest and as such, it is a useful device for starting a dialogue even with a stranger, for the members of the target audiences definitely are. However, within the TV advertising discourse there is no space for excuses like would you mind if I ask you a question due to the nature of being broadcast in sets of commercials.

7. Conclusion

The nature of the language of TV advertising, the intimate topic of the commercials on cosmetic products and the notion of female audience have an impact on the politeness strategies adopted by the advertisers. To achieve their goals, they use mostly speech acts that...
threaten addressee’s negative face (promises, suggestions/advice and orders); the addressee’s faces are threatened only in those commercials that are based on the confessions of famous celebrities. Although the appeal to buy a product remains the main function of an advertisement, there is a tendency to use a number of mitigating devices, especially elements of spoken language, that facilitate the weightiness of FTAs. At the same time, they are devices of synthetic personalization that disguise the features of mass-communication.

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Politeness in Nursing Discourse

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Abstract

The article illustrates communicative strategies which members of future nursing staff have to use in task-based face-to-face encounters with patients or clients in order to achieve planned nursing goals. The study is a part of a doctoral thesis focused on nursing discourse. Eight introductory textbooks have been analysed so far – two of them were midwifery books, one related to dental hygiene a five were nursing textbooks. The study draws upon the sociolinguistic and anthropological theory of politeness, suggest characteristics of patient-nurse communication and discusses face-work in patient-nurse dialogues and devices used by nurses to mitigate power and control communication.

Key words
face-to-face encounter, nurse-patient communication, politeness, face-work, face-threatening acts, power, interactional control

1. Introduction

The study deals with face-to-face encounters of nursing personnel (nurses, midwives, dental hygienists etc.) with patients or clients presented as communication strategies presented in introductory textbooks. As far as the textbook corpus is concerned, eight introductory textbooks were studied. Two of them were midwifery books, one related to dental hygiene a five were nursing textbooks.

2. A brief characteristics of nurse-patient communication

Patient-nurse communication differs considerably from other interpersonal dialogues. Effective communication within the nurse-patient relationship is not so much a natural process as a learnt skill. The main subject of communication is one of the participants - the patient and his or her experiences and conditions. In nursing literature it is referred to as therapeutic communication (Craven, 2006). Of course not every communication is therapeutic. But most dialogues are task-oriented as they have to do with the planned outcomes of care. Therapeutic communication is based on patient’s needs, not on personal or social interests. Its course and efficiency depend on skills and experiences of the speaker – nurse, and willingness of the hearer - patient to share information.

In addition to factors such as person’s sociocultural background, education, age and language, nurse-patient communication can be influenced by impaired mental state, sensory deficit or paralysis caused by e.g. brain damage, sedation etc. In their therapeutic roles, nurses often are required to violate the personal space of the patient (intimate distance communication), e.g. when giving injections or helping with personal hygiene.

Features that seem important to face-to face nurse-patient encounter include politeness, power and interactional control including turn-taking.

3. Politeness in therapeutic communication

Politeness as a culturally defined phenomenon can be expressed as the practical application of good manner and etiquette. To this effect it is a part of nursing code of ethics and standards of professional performance. Politeness means that we try to avoid embarrassing the other person, or making them feel uncomfortable or less respected. It refers to a set of practices used by the discourse participants to mitigate “loss of face”, or to promote their “positive face”, (Faircough, 1992 in Murray, 2000)

Positive face refers to the desire to be appreciated as a social person, to have a positive image accepted by others, to be liked or understood, to maintain self-esteem in public or private situations.

Negative face is generally understood as the need for autonomy or the need to be free from some obligation. Face seems to be a highly pertinent concept for nursing interactions. There is the number of situations that threaten patient's face: the patient may become embarrassed at the loss of bodily or emotional control, the difficulty of conveying distressing news, etc. (Spiers, 2002).

Corresponding to these two face-types, nursing community develops strategies to save the patient’s face and deal with acts that threaten their face.

4. Face threatening acts in the nurse-patient face-to-face communication

Threats centre on the risk of what the nurse may ask the patient or what the nurse may want the patient to do. The most important FTAs in the nurse-patient encounter are:

- commands
  (“Strip to your waist.” “Get onto the examination coach.”)
- requests to do something which may be felt embarrassing
  (“Can you give me that urine sample now?”)
- request of explanation
  (“What does your typical diet look like?”)
- advice
  (“If I were you, I would decide for the operation.”)
- warnings
  (“If you don’t take the medicament regularly, your blood pressure will not improve.”
- belittling of patient’s feelings
  (“You really don’t need to be afraid.” “I know just how you feel,” “Everyone gets depressed at times.”

By telling the patient what he should do, the nurse imposes her own opinions and solutions on his. It does not help the patient to arrive at his own conclusions.

warings
(“If you don’t take the medicament regularly, your blood pressure will not improve.”

belittling of patient’s feelings
(“You really don’t need to be afraid.” “I know just how you feel,” “Everyone gets depressed at times.”

The patient is usually primarily concerned with himself and his own problems, telling him that others have experienced or are experiencing the same feelings will seldom do much to comfort him.
viewing the patient as his or her disease rather than some one who has this disease

4. Techniques to show politeness in nurse-patient encounter and deal with FTAs

a) Positive politeness protecting patient's positive face:

- Asking one question at the time
  Nurses should avoid multiple questions so that the patient understands what piece of information is desired and does not feel confused. (example of a question that may cause embarrassment: "Does any member of your family have diabetes, heart disease, sickle cell anaemia, .... or .... ?)

- Choosing the language style best understood by the patient
  When interviewing patients, medical terminology that the patient may be unfamiliar with, should be avoided. ("Do you have any problems with breathing?" instead of "Do you have any respiratory problems?") Nurses have to switch from medical terminology used in doctor-nurse, nurse-nurse dialogues, as well as in written nursing discourse to colloquial expressions.

b) Negative politeness protecting the patient's negative face:

- Indirectness
  It is a polite feature of discourse (Kettunen, 2001) as it enables patients to continue a discourse according to their own wishes. It can be expressed in the form of questions or indirect comments of a nurse instead of questions. Embedded questions are used when talking about body parts and functions, especially in the areas of urination, bowel movements, and sexuality as they threaten the patient's negative face to a great extend. Being indirect functions as a signal that it is the patient's decision and willingness to comply. Though grammatically correct answer is "Yes" or "No", the type of question is encoded by the patient as polite request for giving a more detailed information. ("Can I ask you about your problem with waterworks?"") The expected answer is not "Yes, I can." but e.g. "Yes...... I leak urine when I sneeze or cough."

- Apologizing
  The phrase "I'm afraid ...." is used to introduce news which is unwelcome or bad. ("I'm afraid we have to do the test again.")

- Diminishing nurse's active participation in face-threatening acts by use of:
  - nominalization
  - change of verbs into nouns
    - ("My asking you not to smoke while you are in hospital is required by the hospital regulations.")
  - statement of face threatening act as a general rule
    - ("The form says marital status. Are you single or married?")
  - change of verbs into nouns
    - ("Hospital regulations require a written consent with the operation."")
  - use of plural "we" instead of "I" ("What we need now is to carry out the test we have spoken about....")

- Use of hedges as a mitigating device to lessen the impact of an utterance ("Can I possibly/perhaps ask you...")

- Use of tentative formulations with "would like to" gives the discussion an air of voluntariness. It indicates discretion and tact and is aimed at not embarrassing the patient.

5. Power

Communication with health care personnel can threaten the patient's negative face, his need for autonomy and freedom for several reasons.

- Hospital staff, doctors and nurses, are generally viewed by patients as superior in knowledge.
- Communication include participants who are not equal in terms of the faces theory. Possibility of threatening patient’s face is more likely as they are more vulnerable. Due to their illness, their self-image and self-esteem may be disturbed.
- The health history interview is a very personal conversation during which concerns and feelings are shared because they are not required. It gives the nurse the legitimate power to request information about the patient’s private life. (van Ryn and Heaney, 1997 in Kettunen 2001). Here the nurse can mitigate her power by establishing rapport with the patient during the nursing interview which represents the very first patient-nurse encounter and later on during each contact with the patient. The generally recommended strategies are as follows:
  - making a self-introduction
    - Saying the name, position, and role in caring for the patient. ("I'm ....... I'll be looking after you today,
  - asking how the patient wants to be addressed
    - ("And what would you like us to call you?")
  - explaining why certain questions are necessary
    - Mitigating nurse's power or power sharing may be manifested also by use of feedback sentences showing the nurse is listening attentively
      - ("I see.", "Go on.", "Um-hum.", "Right.", "Of course.")
  - links between the questions
    - ("You said/mentioned....", "We talked about ...", "Now what about ... or I've got one more question ....")
  - repeating a few of the patient's words
    - The patient is encouraged to tell more details. (Pt.: "I don't think I can cope any more." Nurse: "Can't cope?")
  - occasionally by completing patient's sentences

6. Interpersonal control and turn-taking

Analysis of interactional control, as defined by Faircough, considers how and by whom interactions within a discourse are controlled, whether control is negotiated or imposed, and asymmetry of interaction

39
between participants. In the nurse-patient communication, as it is task-based, it is the nurse who mostly starts conversation (except for situations when the patient calls the nurse for some reason, such as emergency) and manages the discussion thematically. She controls the conversation and selects the appropriate type of questions. Open and closed questions are both useful in interviews. Asking closed questions can help to keep interviews focused. They are used when specific details are needed. (“Are you allergic to any medicines?” “Have you ever had any surgery?”) Open questions and statements with “tell me about” enable more detailed answers, encourage the patient to speak and participate better in the dialogue. (“What do you mean by feeling off-colour?”) The patient determines the content of the conversation.

7. Conclusion
Except nursing procedures, communication plays the most important role in delivery of health care. Therefore strategies of nurse-patient encounter create an inseparable part of nursing textbooks. They serve as models of conversational behaviours that arise out of the specific conversational situation and are intended to achieve certain goals. In sum, I suggest that politeness theory is very useful as a tool for study introductory textbooks as a written genre of nursing discourse. As the textbook plays an important role in English language teaching, particularly in teaching English for specific purpose, where it provides the primary and often the only pragmatic information, further interesting possibility of research could also be to what extend the politeness strategies are included into the English textbooks for health care personnel.

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Advertising Slogans in Pragmatic References

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Abstract
Advertising slogan is a part of an advertising communication between a sender and a recipient. This can be viewed in terms of pragmatic research. Creating the slogan is the locutionary act where the sender has good reasons to formulate his/her ideas the way he/she does; the decoding of the message is an illocutionary act the recipient performs after reading the text.

Key words
advertising language, pragmatics, locution, illocution, communication, recipient, sender.

Introduction
Pragmatics of a printed advertising slogan, namely its composition, decoding and subsequent activity, is the focus of attention of this article. Since all the definitions of advertising stress it is a marketing communication between a subject and a recipient, this paper looks at an advertising slogan as a communicative act where the sender chooses his/her words carefully to communicate his/her intention while the recipient decodes the message. Once this is done, the follow-up commercial activity, which is the ultimate goal of the communication, will, or may not happen, depending on what the speaker said and how the recipient translated it. This process can be pragmatically labeled as 1.) a locutionary act – what the sender says, 2.) an illocution – what he/she wants the recipient to understand and 3.) perlocution – the possible commercial activity of the recipient afterwards.

Elements of an advertising communication
An advert speaker operates in an extremely competitive world of advertising. His/her task is equivalent to the sole function of advertising that is to sell. Communicating a message to the recipient comes with a clearly defined speaker’s intention: the text must get to the recipient and make him/her spend money. In everyday speaker-hearer interaction this intention usually does not stretch that far: the speaker’s intention may be to inform, to bond, to entertain, to persuade, to explain, to educate. These intentions are numerous and varied. They all can appear as first-rank intentions in advertising as well, since the advertising texts seem to teach us, entertain us or explain; the ultimate intention though is the one to sell. A good explanation as well as good joke can eventually lead recipient to spending his/her money. An advertisement can appeal to one’s values, can influence one’s philosophy of life; in the end, however, it sells. It can educate but that’s not its primary mission.

An advert recipient is a person with an extremely complicated and delicate net of individual’s gender, age, needs, motivation, intelligence, emotions, habits, and values, social and cultural background. Primarily, though, in the eyes of an advert speaker he/she is a being with extremely limited time to be dedicated to reading the text, limited attention span, patience and very much the willingness to perceive the message. Most advertisement today is of unsolicited type attacking recipient’s involuntary and subconscious perception processes. In this view the speaker’s role to make the recipient aware of the product and make him/her respond by buying it is a gargantuan task. Still, when looking around us, it’s obvious this task is being fulfilled, in many cases with extreme success.

Advertising message can be of two major types: the graphic and the textual one. Combination of these in varying picture/text ratio is the most frequent case in today’s marketing. Their combinatory scheme depends on what the speaker wants to say. Pictures are understandable without regards to foreign languages, they depict the advertised object with higher precision and in more concrete way, they are used to describe the state of the situation. Text, on the other hand, communicates the action better, it describes the object in a deeper sense, it easily depicts the function, characteristics and usage, and it also communicates the abstract ideas better. Generally though, when it comes to decoding the message, the meaning of the text cannot be fully understood without considering the visual part of the advert.

Locution as the process of ad writing
The locution, or the exact choice of words for the slogan, must be done with high awareness of many elements of the recipient’s mind. His/her motivation, needs and emotions count among the most important in the subsequent decoding process. The advertising agencies in the role of a sender study the motivation, the needs and emotional attitude of their potential target recipients in great detail. The motivation must be supported by the advertisement to overcome the time gap between its perceiving and subsequent possible shopping activity. The slogan should thus stay in the mind of the recipient for a relatively long time. It must confirm to the needs of the recipient – among them are the needs of self-realisation and creativity. This means the speaker knows the recipient WANTS to employ his/her own brainpower to get from the direct to the intended meaning. The recipient’s motivation will be stronger if he/she has to decode the playful, witty, smart message because his/her needs get satiated in the process of decoding.

Illocution as the decoding process
What the speaker says is the first part of the advertising communication. The recipient, ideally, reads the text. He/she faces a challenge then: deciphering the message and understanding what is meant by the slogan – an illocution. The advertisement text, for many reasons partly mentioned above, is
often playful, ambiguous and does invoke a challenge for the recipient's brain. Ambiguity is one of the most frequent creative possibilities used in an advert message. The recipient, in order to decipher the message correctly, must primarily understand the ambiguous messages as a witty, playful and "smart" message. This particular advertisement seems to be the case of intentionally using the ambiguous message in the locutionary act to satisfy the recipient’s needs in the process of illocutionary processing thus closely approaching the goal of the communication.

The second advertising slogan presented here exemplifies a different possibility of approaching the advertising goal. The text of the advertisement slogan for a female non-engagement diamond ring goes as follows: "Your left hand dreams of love. Your right hand makes dreams come true. Your right hand lives happily ever after. Your right hand lives happily here and now. Women of the world, raise your right hand. The diamond right hand ring. View more at diamondisforever.com." This text requires the recipient to decode – this time, though, it is not an ambiguity. The recipient here faces a figurative use of language, an allusion. This slogan is aimed at exploring and making use of the recipient's emotions. It is the one aimed at women and through the contrast and figurative comparison evokes the positive attitude to a certain issue – that is being an independent, possibly a single woman. By building the positive attitude the recipient’s motivation to buy the product will be very strong. The allusion drawn here is the one between a married and unmarried woman. Without understanding the cultural background of the U.S. culture, though, this text has limited impact on the reader. By knowing that married women wear a diamond ring on their left hand in the U.S.A. the reader decodes the text easily. The left-hand diamond ring is the fairy-tale: dreams, lives happily ever after. The right-hand one is the reality - a much easier to grasp and enjoy: dreams coming true, living happily here and now. The appeal is even stronger in the last sentence: Women of the world, raise your hand. Generally people raise their right hand when they ask to be heard – and wanting to say something is exactly what the recipient should do. The statement made would be even stronger if the recipient wore a diamond ring on the raised hand at the same time; at least that is what the metaphorical and allusional reference says. This metaphor, connecting the idea of the right hand with the need to communicate one’s ideas to the masses is the other case of making the slogan work: the sender uses the figurative language for the locutionary act. This requires the recipient to decode it, process it and along with the subconscious background cultural knowledge it builds positive emotional attitude in the process of illocutionary decoding.

The third case of an advertising text (accompanied by a picture of the product) propagates an off-road vehicle, Hummer, which following its two extra-large models introduces a third one, slightly smaller Hummer H3. The text itself reads: "Any smaller and it would be "European". Hummer H3. ". The strategy the sender uses is making a direct, non-figurative, non-ambiguous reference to the cultural differences between “us”, the American people (since this ad was observed in an American magazine) and “non-us”, the Europeans with their small cars. The recipient here feels “bonding”, belonging to a group that is the more positive one, the allusion is the one between a married and unmarried woman. Without understanding the cultural background of the U.S. culture, though, the allusion drawn here is the one between a married and unmarried woman. By building the positive attitude the recipient’s motivation to buy the product will be very strong. The allusion drawn here is the one between a married and unmarried woman. By building the positive attitude the recipient’s motivation to buy the product will be very strong. The allusion drawn here is the one between a married and unmarried woman. Without understanding the cultural background of the U.S. culture, though, this text has limited impact on the reader. By knowing that married women wear a diamond ring on their left hand in the U.S.A. the reader decodes the text easily. The left-hand diamond ring is the fairy-tale: dreams, lives happily ever after. The right-hand one is the reality - a much easier to grasp and enjoy: dreams coming true, living happily here and now. The appeal is even stronger in the last sentence: Women of the world, raise your hand. Generally people raise their right hand when they ask to be heard – and wanting to say something is exactly what the recipient should do. The statement made would be even stronger if the recipient wore a diamond ring on the raised hand at the same time; at least that is what the metaphorical and allusional reference says. This metaphor, connecting the idea of the right hand with the need to communicate one’s ideas to the masses is the other case of making the slogan work: the sender uses the figurative language for the locutionary act. This requires the recipient to decode it, process it and along with the subconscious background cultural knowledge it builds positive emotional attitude in the process of illocutionary decoding.

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ambiguity, figurative language and literary reference to cultural differences to attack the recipient’s needs, motivation and emotions. What is worth noticing, though, is the fact that all cases mentioned here, all of them being chosen rather randomly; make use of cultural or social background knowledge of the recipient.

Conclusion
To conclude, the ultimate success of an advertising message is fulfilling its function – prompting the recipient to perform the perlocution which in marketing terminology reads as spending the recipient’s money on the advertised product. This issue runs deeper than different fields of linguistic science can reach; the decision to buy or not to buy is heavily dependent on neural, psychological, social and other closely related reasons. However, reading the ad, absorbing the linguistic material, processing it and behaving accordingly is the first step that leads to the following activity. This is a crucial knowledge for any follow-up study of our consumer behavior.

Bibliography and references
Many linguists maintain that the entity unifying macrotextual units (such as paragraphs) as well as all texts, ensuring their integrity or coherence, and, among others, facilitating interaction, is their Theme (also referred to as Textual or Discourse Theme, Textual or Discourse Topic / Macrotheme / Hypertheme / and related concepts). To understand by the concept. Etymologically, it denotes something laid down (see, e.g., Webster’s 1993). To our knowledge, the Theme has been defined as pragmatic aboutness, as a single referent, as an FSP function, as a proposition, as a topic sentence, as a topic, as a main idea, as a proposition, as a single referent, as an FSP construction) “reduce the complex, detailed meaning structure of a text into a simpler, more general and abstract (higher level) meaning of a text.” (ibid) Moreover, they are recursive and “may apply again at each level of abstraction to produce even shorter abstracts. The result is a hierarchical macrostructure, consisting of several levels, each level consisting of a sequence of (macro-)propositions that ‘summarize’ a sequence of lower level (macro)propositions.” (1985: 76) van Dijk takes the Topics for cognitive units. The propositional view has been adopted by other linguists as well (e.g., Giora 1985: Tomlin, Forrest, Pu, Kim 1997). For example, according to Giora (1985: 21) the Discourse Topic should be formulated “in terms of propositions or argument-predicate nominalizations, and not in terms of NPs alone”.

Though the propositional treatment has been rather influential, some authors (e.g., Brown and Yule 1983) have rejected it. They have established their criticism mainly on the grounds that there is no appeal to the context in which the text was produced, that its notational mechanism is unnecessarily complicated, and last but not least, that the Theme arrived at in this way is rather subjective. They maintain that “semantic representation cannot be ‘the topic.’” (ibid: 109)

To understand the Discourse Topic, Brown and Yule propose a whole Topic framework defined as follows:

**Approaches to the Textual Theme**

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**Abstract**

Many linguists maintain that the entity unifying macrotexual units as well as all texts and inducing their coherence is their Theme (Textual Theme, Hypertheme, Discourse Topic, Macrotheme and related concepts). This function, to most treatments superposed to utterance themes, may be broadly described as the pragmatic aboutness of texts. Surveying diverse approaches to the Textual Theme, the paper discusses its various aspects, functions, layers and dimensions.

**Keywords**

Corpus linguistics, English for Academic Purposes, Hedge expressions, Stance, Vagueness in language, Academic writing.
“Those aspects of the context which are directly reflected in the text, and which need to be called upon to interpret the text, we shall refer to as activated features of context and suggest that they constitute the contextual framework within which the topic is constituted—that is the topic proper.” (ibid: 75). For them, the Topic framework represents “the area of overlap in the knowledge which has been activated and is shared by the participants at a particular point in a discourse.” (ibid: 83). Furthermore, they maintain that the Topic framework is consonant with the presupposition pool (by Vennemann), in that it includes a number of discourse subjects. “Within the presupposition pool for any discourse, there is a set of discourse subjects and each discourse is, in a sense, about its discourse subjects.” (ibid: 80) By Topic Entity, on the other hand, they refer to a prominent discourse subject, a part of Discourse Topic, such as the “main character” in a novel. They discuss a number of studies which have shown that such foregrounding has a clear effect on interpretation as well as on subsequent recall. Focussing mainly on conversation, the authors further introduce the concept of the Speaker’s Topic, constituted within the Topic framework, maintaining that “each participant expresses a personal topic within the general topic framework as a whole.” They note that in most conversations, “topics are not fixed beforehand, but are negotiated in the process of constructing” it (ibid: 88-9). Also exploring conversation, Downing, (2003: 120) views the Global Topic as a macro-speech act, whereas Episodic Topics are in her view “built up in the expansions which cluster round the core utterances and their responses.”

Though surveying mainly monological texts, Čmejrková, Daněš and Světlá (1999: 105) nevertheless stress that the Theme is a textual function deliberately selected by the author as relevant: “Theme is thus understood as a specific textual function which the author assigns to elements of content selected by him/her, which s/he takes to be significant, relevant from the point of view of the construction of the sense of the text. This way the author organizes the whole thought content of his/her message.” (translated by R.P.) Other authors see it as a content and strategic starting point of communication (e.g., Kofensky et al. 1987). In treatments presumably inspired by the rhetorical tradition, the Theme is occasionally co-extensive with the topic sentence (e.g., Martin 1992; Martin and Rose 2003). For instance, Martin (1992: 437) proposes a hierarchy of Themes, viz. macro-Theme, hyper-Theme and Theme. The first is correlated with the whole text, the second with the paragraph, and the last one with a clause: “A hyper-Theme is an introductory sentence or group of sentences which is established to predict a particular pattern of interaction among strings, clauses and Theme selection in following sentences; ... the term macro-Theme can be defined as a sentence or group of sentences (possibly a paragraph) which predicts a set of hyper-Themes; this is the introductory paragraph of school rhetoric.”

In most recent Rose (2003: 182) this concept is further elaborated to form a dichotomy: “While hyperThemes predict what each phase of discourse will be about, new information accumulates in each clause as the phase unfolds. In written texts in particular, this accumulation of new information is often distilled in a final sentence that thus functions as a hyperNew to the phase. HyperThemes tell us where we’re going in a phase; hyperNews tell us where we’ve been. ...As a general rule, writing looks forward more often than it looks back. So hyperThemes are more common than hyperNews; there’s more ‘prospect’ than ‘retrospect’.” (ibid: 182) Further on, the co-authors note: “The Theme gives us orientation as to what is to come: our frame of reference as it were. Beyond this, the hyperTheme is predictive; it establishes expectations about how the text will unfold.” (ibid: 181) It should be noted that a related approach is adopted by Dubois (1997). Some authors consider it a salient abstract idea (e.g., Baldick 2001; Cuddon 1999). For instance, Baldick (1990/2001) maintains that the Topic is “a salient abstract idea that emerges from a literary work’s treatment of its subject matter or a topic recurring in a number of literary works.” According to Wales (1994: 462), in literary criticism the Theme is “the ‘point’ of a literary work, its central idea, which we infer from our interpretation of the plot, imagery and symbolism, etc.” In a similar vein, Cuddon (1999: 913) defines the Topic as follows: “Properly speaking, the theme of a work is not its subject but rather its central idea, which may be stated directly or indirectly. For example, the theme of Othello is jealousy.”

In some treatments, especially the lower-rank Themes are related to more topics (see, e.g., Cervenka and Sejkova, 1999). For example, for Quinn (2000: 323) the Themes represent “a significant idea in a literary text, sometimes used interchangeably with motif. Theme is also used to describe a recurring idea in a number of texts...One problem with the varied uses of the term is the tendency to employ it as the equivalent of moral...” Some authors treat the Theme with respect to foregrounding and backgrounding (Hausenblas 1969, 1971; Jones 1971; Tomlin et al. 1997). For example, Jones, L.K. (1971: 63) argues: “The essence of theme is to make something prominent at the expense of other things, which are therefore backgrounded.” Other researchers identify the Theme (Hypertheme) as a FSP function (e.g., Firbas 1995; Svoboda 1981; Adam 2002). Firbas (1995: 63) maintains that all the FSP thematic elements in a text form the thematic layer, which is in turn composed of further layers according to the individual thematic functions, viz. “those of hypertheme, theme proper and diatheme.” (ibid: 62) He distinguishes between “such constituents as appear in the thematic layer for the second time and such as have become more firmly established in it after two occurrences. The former are referred to as themes proper, the latter as hyperthemes.” (ibid: 63) Similarly, Svoboda (1981: 129) claims that “both themes proper and diathemes may participate in constituting hyperthemes, i.e., thematic elements that several clauses have in common. Hyperthemes form strings of various lengths; composed of various thematic elements...Even a string of two elements represents in fact a hypertheme with regard to the two clauses concerned.”

Some treatments have identified the Theme with a cognitive structure. For instance Tomlin, Forrest, Pu, Kim (1997: 90) maintain that “a well defined global theme facilitates text comprehension: it functions as an advance organizer (Frase, 1975), scaffolding (Anderson et al., 1978), or anchor point (Pichert and Anderson, 1977) by evoking a mental model (representation) in the comprehender. Such a representation might be called schema (Rumelhart, 1980), frame (Minsky, 1975), script (Schlank and Abelson, 1977) or scenario (Sanford and Garrod, 1980).” According to Downing and Locke (1992: 224), Superordinate—Topics are in cognitive schemata. Discussing Thematic means as part of the structure of communication, Hausenblas (1993: 53) argues that they are “carried” by linguistic means, constitute a higher level of the semantic structure of a communication, but do not necessarily depend on
some particular linguistic means." Similarly, Daneš (1995: 32) argues that "the basis of thematic units is to be seen in semantic (cognitive) structures and that the basis of their thematic functions are of textual character; they are assigned to the semantic structures on the basis of the ‘relevance in the given text world’.

By no means unrelated appears the treatment of Topic based on contextual information (Sperber and Wilson 1986) or stock of shared knowledge (e.g., Hajičová 1993). For instance, Sperber and Wilson (1986: 216) write: "As regards the pragmatic role of topics, there is a general assumption that the function of topics is to provide access to what in our terms would be contextual information crucial to the comprehension process. Thus the classic discourse topics are titles and picture captions, whose role is precisely to give access to encyclopaedic information crucial to the comprehension of the accompanying texts or pictures."

Hajičová (1993: 84) argues that "when speaking about ‘topic’ of (segments of the) discourse, one rather has in mind items of the stock of knowledge the organization of which is not strictly regulated by rules or principles, assigned to the semantic (cognitive) structures and the relationships of the items of the stock of knowledge to linguistic expressions in the given utterances are less immediate and less perspicuous." In a similar vein, as we have seen above, in one of their definitions, Brown and Yule (1983: 83) delimit the complex Topic framework within which the Topic is constituted as "the area of overlap in the knowledge which has been activated and is shared by the participants at a particular point in a discourse."

One of the most comprehensive accounts of Theme in Czech linguistics is provided by Hausenblas (1969; 1971). In his definition, the Theme is what is laid down to the fore, to the centre of the ‘visual’ area of reasoning and communicating, but simultaneously, is subjected to further processing in discourse. (1971: 60)

Hausenblas (1969; 1971) accords the Theme two distinct functions, namely a perspectival and a prospective function. In the delimitation of the former, he was inspired by Mukafovskyý (1938). The function consists in perspectivizing (hierarchizing) elements of the content structure. This means that some thematic entities, assigned to the semantic (cognitive) structures are of some relevance to the particular discourse and are not presupposed and throughout the discourse will not be manifested by explicit exponents. In other words, the representation of this layer is always intentional and selective. It is never exhaustive, given the openness of texts (see van Peer 1989: 277).

We have seen that the author always selects to encode as U-themes various elements both from the broadest layer of Theme (communicative framework) as well as from the central layer (Theme-and-content structure). There are cases when he or she remains rather focused in his/her choices, and as a result, this consistency in choices assigns the item selected (and enacted as the main Thematic discourse subject) extra prominence.

Therefore, in the narrowest sense, however, the content aspect of the Theme may be identified with some of the most salient elements of the Theme-and-content structure, or, right away with its dominant, e.g., the subject of scrutiny in a scientific monograph; or a protagonist in an autobiographical novel (though itself a second-order sign).

It should be noted, however, that even if a particular discourse subject remains the centre of attention throughout the discourse (through rather principled choices), it is always foregrounded against the respective background (i.e., whole semantic (cognitive) structure, the dominant of which it is taken to represent), whatever the degree of such foregrounding.

Even if the background remains only implied, the present approach to textual theme
cooperative participants in the communication act will activate the portions of world knowledge structures (frames, schemata, scenarios, etc.), pertaining to the dominant discourse subject and relevant for it. Presumably, the aforementioned tiers, among other things, suggest which elements constituting the complex Theme are typically foregrounded and which are not. It seems that each tier as such is incorporated in the immediately succeeding broader counterpart as its somewhat foregrounded constituent. Despite these tiers in the delimitation of the Theme, we tend to think of the Theme as a complex cognitive entity which unites rather than separates, has an integrative force, lends sense to the selection and arrangement of hierarchically lower Themes, or even subsidiary Themes, motivating them.

It seems that all texts apart from athematic ones exhibit at least the first two layers of the Theme. Athematic ones, presumably, display only the broadest layer. The centrality of the middle Theme-frame layer, presumably leads Downing and Locke (1992: 224) to the delimitation of what they call “Superordinate Topics” as cognitive schemata. Martin and Rose (2003: 181) identify them as “frames of reference.” The representation of this layer, however, may be backgrounded, whenever the choices from among its constituents are principled to such an extent that they lead to the unequivocal foregrounding of some of the Theme’s conspicuous discourse subjects, i.e., the Theme’s dominant.

**Conclusion**

From the foregoing survey of approaches, which by no means claims to be exhaustive, it is apparent that there is much disagreement among authors as regards Theme and that much more research will presumably be needed before the notion is fully understood. Despite the differences in point of view, most linguists contend that the notion is more abstract (e.g., Duszak 1994) or much vaguer than its utterance counterpart (e.g., Sperber and Wilson 1986). Furthermore, whatever the approach adopted, most authors agree on its being superposed to the themes of individual utterances. Thus, we may presuppose, with Hausenblas, Daneš, and others, that as the U-themes the author selects elements which are at least to some degree relevant to the Textual Theme (or Hyperthemes of various ranks). For instance, as Uhlířová (1987: 108) argues, “the very existence of the hypertheme, against which all the sentence themes are in a particular, even if implied relation, is one of the necessary conditions for a number of consecutive sentences in a text to form a continuous, coherent text.” Indeed, the Theme stabilizes and “grounds” the discourse and is relevant for the perception of its coherence. That is presumably why it is shown to decay from memory more slowly than other processing levels (see, e.g., Kintsch et al., 1990 cited in Brown 2005). Furthermore, unnegotiated changes in Theme tend to be identified as disturbance in coherence (see Bublitz and Lenk 1999: 166-172).

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The Debatable Status of U.S. Presidential Debates (Controversy over the Memoranda of Understanding)

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Abstract
The article focuses on U.S. presidential debates as detailed in the documents called Memoranda of Understanding, which are secret agreements resulting from pre-debate negotiations of two American major parties, viz. the Republican and Democratic parties. The campaigns of both parties set particular conditions which are binding for a producer of debates – the Commission on Presidential Debates. Critics claim that the outgoing debates are then rather press conferences than real debates, mainly because of the restrictive conditions formulated in the Memoranda. The overall effect of these political debates upon the viewership/electorate is created rather by pre-debate negotiation/management of formats via the Memoranda than debates themselves. The article presents its readers with a picture of debates’ manipulation based on the discussion of the relationship between politics and the mass media and its related issues and on the brief analysis of 1992, 1996 and 2004 Memoranda of Understanding. As a result, it can be seen that U.S. presidential debates are controlled by the major parties and the Memoranda represent the strategy by candidates to avoid any ‘unsafe’ situation in the sense of inappropriate verbal performance.

Key words
debate, negotiation, strategy, politeness, manipulation, Memoranda, mass media.

This article focuses on U.S. presidential debates or, to be more precise, on secret agreements preceding these debates. Before every presidential election, the campaigns of the Republican and Democratic parties meet to negotiate the conditions governing up-coming televised debates. The result of these negotiations is a binding document called the Memorandum of Understanding, which contains restrictive rules compulsory for candidates as well as for the producer of debates – the Commission on Presidential Debates. The overall effect of these pre-negotiated debates upon the electorate is then created by the manipulation of debates’ formats. Consequently, critics claim that the outgoing debates are rather press conferences than real debates. The purpose of this article is to show how U.S. presidential debates are manipulated by two U.S. major parties, viz. the Republicans and the Democrats. It should prove the assumption that the Memoranda represent the strategy by candidates to avoid any ‘unsafe’ situation in the sense of inappropriate verbal performance. This will be done through the discussion of the relationship between politics and the mass media and its related issues within the perspective of U.S. presidential debates, and also via the brief analyses of 1992, 1996 and 2004 Memoranda.

Within the perspective of pragmatics, language is seen not only as a means of communication, but also as a tool for ‘making things happen’. In the case of U.S. presidential debates, it is voters at whom these debates are aimed. It is important to realize that these debates are political debates which do not really involve ‘debate’ in the sense of a ‘pro forma’ debate, not a real contest of debaters’ arguments with the best one winning. This type of a debate is a tool for gaining the voter or the press to their advantage, and aptly adapted to the new situation created by the rising power of the mass media. Dominant political images can create a world of its own – the more some news is reported, the more credibility it gets, and subsequently becomes ‘official.’ Thus, it can be said that inability to control the news is almost equal to political failure (Bennett 1996: 80-82). A possible, and in fact quite common, way to control the situation is to anticipate moments of spontaneity and prevent them. Bennett (1996) illustrates this with existing practice of some public officials who agree to be interviewed only if certain rules are agreed to by journalists. However, when the press does not cooperate, its intimidation is the next best strategy to control the situation. Thus, the press and politicians live in a state of mutual dependence – they need each other, yet, they often stand in opposition (Ibid.: 91-103). It can be seen especially during election campaigns. Just as Jackson and Crotty (2001) wrote: “Politics equate to TV in contemporary campaigns. The media is approximately 16 years before another televised debate took place. Since then, many voters have awaited them, especially in close contests, to decide for whom to vote (Patrick, Pious and Ritchie. 2000: 139). There have been 24 debates so far < See: “Debate Transcripts.” (Accessed: August 2005) >.
American politics today." (Ibid.: 220). These sentences truly describe the real state of a present role of the mass media in the United States, where the political campaign is unimaginable without the use of television. The power of the mass media has influenced a pre-election communication and, in result, U.S. presidential candidates of the Republican and Democratic parties realized the importance of setting the rules of televised debates. Gradually, television networks have been pushed away from the whole process (Ibid.: 12).

In televised presidential debates, the usual role of the media as "gatekeepers" (White, D. M. 1950: 383-390) is bypassed, and the electorate has a rare chance to see the candidates in a face-to-face contest and judge their personal qualities, programmes, and issue positions directly. Thus, televised debates serve the nominees of major parties to present themselves as examples of the "right" leaders of the nation. Here, it means creating the "right" image, which is often more about rhetoric than any content to it (Graber 1992: 241). In this connection, Woodrow Wilson, the US president from 1913 to 1921, talked about a rhetorical campaign, which would prepare the Americans for "a new kind of governance - the rhetorical presidency." (Tulis 1987: 183) The development of this 'kind' of presidency was supported by the modern media by giving presidents a wide space for communicating their messages to a large national audience, which also means that "more control from written message to verbal dramatic performance" (Ibid.: 186). It is obvious that modern presidents concentrate more on how their message is said than on what it contains. The modern mass media play an important role here.

As it is obvious from what has been written so far, the control over the media and a debate format can be determining in the general election campaigns. Similarly, as a renowned debate scholar, Sidney Kraus (2000), wrote: "More control over the events increases the probabilities of impressing the electorate, gaining advantages over the opponent, and winning the election." (Ibid.: 77). Thus, it is quite understandable and logical that presidential candidates have, ever since the famous Kennedy-Nixon debates of 1960, tried to find ways to control the production of televised debates. Critics claim that they have managed to do it via the "control contracts" negotiated before every presidential election campaign since 1988. Presidential debates were originally sponsored by the League of Women Voters /the LWV/ and television networks, but in 1987, the Republican and Democratic representatives created the Commission on Presidential Debates /the CPD/ to be a new organizer. In 1988, these two organizations were both asked to sponsor the debates, but as the LWV did not agree with the Republican and Democratic candidates' conditions, the CPD became the only organizer (Farah 2004: 32-34). This event is still criticized as a Republican-Democratic takeover, as much of the CPD's members are supporters, and former or present members of the two major parties, though the CPD claims to be an independent organization (Ibid.: 6-8).

Presidential debates' critics presented "seven major problems with the CPD":

1. The CPD was created by the major parties to strengthen the major parties.
2. The CPD is primarily financed by multinational corporations.
3. The CPD awards the candidates absolute control over the debate format.
4. The CPD excludes popular candidates.
5. The CPD employs uninspiring formats.
6. The CPD shields the major party candidates from public accountability.
7. The CPD violates FEC and IRS regulations.

These seven problems are interconnected with the criticism of U.S. presidential debates themselves. The criticism is aimed at following aspects (Brennan Center for Justice, et al. 2004):

1. unsuitable sponsor
2. bipartisan negotiations
3. lack of transparency
4. format manipulation
5. candidate exclusion
6. issue exclusion
7. corporate sponsorship

All points of criticism can be divided into two groups, those against the CPD as a sponsor, and those pointing at the manipulation by the two major parties resulting in a disagreeable debate format. Farah (2004), the executive director of Open Debates, blames the CPD and two major parties for 'stealing' the debates from the LWV - according to him a truly independent sponsor - and changing it into a press conference of the Republican and Democratic parties. He claims that the CPD is a bipartisan organization, which shields the two parties from public accountability for unsatisfactory forms of debates. He strongly criticises the secret negotiations resulting in the Memoranda of Understanding, in which all details of debates are written down and then implemented by the CPD (Ibid.: 1-39). As to the actual form of debate, Farah claims that vital issues are excluded, and, which is more serious, formats of debates as set in the Memoranda eliminate any real discussion (Ibid.: 75-97).

In the Memoranda, all the details are written down, therefore it can be said that formally, these documents are presidential debates themselves, though, some deviations can still occur in practice. Based on the findings of Farah (2004: 17-22), from 1976, when a new history of debates began, there have been six Memoranda of Understanding. In 1976 and 1980, there were no such documents. In 1984, then sponsor of debates – the League of Women Voters – participated in negotiations and creation of the respective Memorandum. In 1988, the Republican and Democratic campaigns drafted the secret contract themselves for the first time (Brennan Center for Justice et al. 2004), however the LWV refused to accept it and issued a press release blaming the two campaigns for trying to "perpetrate a fraud on the American voter" that would lead to "hoodwinking of the American public." After the exchange of the LWV for the CPD, major parties' candidates themselves began to negotiate the conditions of the Memoranda. The CPD has never intervened in this process (Farah 2004: 17-22).

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1 Organizations such as Open Debates, Brennan Center for Justice, Center for Voting and Democracy, Common Cause, Democracy Matters, Judicial Watch, National Voting Rights Institute, etc.
3 Federal Election Commission.
4 Internal Revenue Service.
On the other hand, the CPD published Guide to Hosting Your Own Debate, where it attributed a high importance to candidate negotiation. Here, it is pointed out that “the debate sponsor and the participants must agree on the details and terms of a debate.” It has to be noted that the consensus is really important. Both sides follow their own purposes, whether the best impression on the side of a candidate, or the voter education on the part of the CPD, and they have to communicate to create the best possible product. Otherwise, no debates would take place and the election campaigns would be impoverished. However, what is also important is – as also the CPD wrote in its guidelines – to be “a firm and fair facilitator.” Here lies the problem; in order to make the negotiations smooth, the CPD has given up many of its possibilities to influence this process and actually has not functioned as a firm mediator. The actual role of the sponsor as a provider of voters’ education should be balancing the requirements of the candidates and the voters in order to create a valuable debate.

Generally speaking, all Memoranda start and in the same manner. At the beginning, there is a common description or introduction of the document stating that it “constitutes the agreement between” the respective campaigns “regarding the rules that will govern” any debates taking place during the given election. It also states that this contract “will be binding upon” the campaigns and also the sponsor, identifying it as the CPD in case it agrees to this document. All the Memoranda end, except for the necessary signatures, with the statement regarding amendments of the agreement, saying that it “will not be changed or amended except in writing signed by both persons who signed this Agreement or their designees.” It is obvious that the Memoranda determine the form of debates. They clearly state that they are binding agreements governing the debates and that all parties, i.e. the campaigns and the sponsor, have to follow it. They even seem like legal documents describing all the necessary details and being signed by designated persons. There is even written how they can be amended. That is why they can separately serve as a kind of matrix of particular year’s debate.

In 1992, there were three televised presidential debates sponsored by the CPD. George Bush was a Republican candidate and also incumbent fighting for re-election; and Governor Bill Clinton was the second major party candidate – the Democratic one – who took part in the debates. There was a relatively strong independent candidate, Ross Perot, who was also included in that year’s televised debates. It was the only time in the history of presidential debates when there were three candidates involved. Perot was a Texan millionaire, who later formed the Reform Party, one of important recent third parties (Malamud 2004: 6).

The document stipulates that there would be three presidential debates lasting ninety minutes, and the parties cannot take part in any additional ones. The sponsor can be changed by the two campaigns if it does not agree with the given agreement. A third-party candidate is also required to accept “the terms of this agreement”. The Memorandum can be made public only if it is agreed by the campaigns.

As to the format, there will be three forms of debate: panel format, moderator only format, and moderator and audience participation format. All debates will have different moderators, who will be responsible for enforcing time limits, balancing the questions, and adhering to particular formats. Panelists and moderators have to be agreed by the major parties’ campaigns.

Concerning the actual questioning, each format has strict time limits for questions, responses, and rebuttals. Panel format involves a panel of three persons, agreed on by the campaigns, asking the questions with “no direct candidate-to-candidate questioning”. Time limits for the scheme question – response – rebuttal are: up to fifteen seconds – two minutes – one minute. It means that a panelist asks a question which is not longer than 15 seconds and the first candidate have 2 minutes for the answer. The two remaining candidates comment on his answer or on the question, each having 1 minute. The order of questioning is decided before the debates by a draw. Each candidate will also have 2 minutes for his closing statement.

According to Farah (2004: 87), short responses mean rehearsed answers, which, together with no candidate-to-candidate verbal contact, exclude a real discussion. As to cross-questioning, candidates have time for rebuttals during which they can react to their opponents’ speech. On the other hand, this way, they can also avoid too personal comments, which can lead to unnecessary negative attacks. This can be seen as unintended politeness strategy. It is quite questionable whether the candidates themselves or their audience want them to avoid confrontation. It can be said that in political debate, it is quite desirable to make one’s

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7 Ibid.
8 Ibid.
9 For the purpose of this article, three Memoranda were analysed, namely those of 1992, 1996, and 2004. These were chosen because all three were sponsored by the CPD, and there was an incumbent fighting for re-election. Thus, the common ground for comparison was created. The CPD has sponsored the debates from 1988, but in 1988 and 2000, both candidates were new ones seeking election. As the strategies of incumbents and challengers differ /“There are two broadly generic, fundamental approaches to campaigning: the incumbent style and the opponent style. Basically, one is to defend a record, protect a political base and fend off the challengers...A challenger attacks...The advantage lies with the incumbent; in effect, it is his or her race to win or lose.” (See: Jackson III, J.S., and W. Crotty. 2001. The Politics of Presidential Selection. New York: Addison-Wesley Educational publishers Inc., p. 139: 212/), this fact also influences the pre-debate negotiations as well as the debates themselves. Thus, the Memoranda from these years were excluded from the analyses.
11 Ibid.
12 Ibid.
15 Ibid.: 2.
16 Ibid.: 1-22.
17 Ibid.: 12.
18 Ibid.: 5-11.
opponent feel uncomfortable. Face threatening acts have their place here. So why do candidates want to avoid them? Basically, it is hypocrisy on the side of major party candidates. They cannot know what would be the reaction of one’s opponent. While a moderator has to be objective, candidates themselves are highly subjective. Thus, by accepting the condition of no cross-questioning, a candidate can lose a mighty weapon, but he can feel more ’safe’ and that is the aim of Memoranda.

The second 1992 debate aspired to be less rigid and more informal, introducing for the first time in the history of televised presidential debates the format called also a town hall format. It was Bill Clinton who actually came up with the idea as he was considered to be a skilful communicator with ordinary people (Farah 2004: 82). Town hall format includes potential voters sitting in the audience and asking questions about anything they want, which enables the public to raise issues everyday Americans want to talk about. What is also positive about this format as detailed in the Memorandum of 1992 is that follow-up questions were allowed. Truly, it created interesting exchanges and real confrontation appeared:

**Audience question (AQ):** ...How has the national debt personally affected each of your lives?...

**Bush (incumbent):** Well, I think the national debt affects everybody.

**AQ:** You personally.

**Bush:** Obviously it has a lot to do with interest rates -

**Simpson (moderator):** She’s saying, “you personally”...

**Bush:** I’m sure it has. I love my grandchildren...

**AQ:** How?

**Bush:** ...Are you suggesting that if somebody has means that the national debt doesn’t affect them?23

Here, face threatening act can be seen on the side of an asking audience member. President Bush answers by off-record politeness strategy trying to maintain his positive face and not to create the impression of attacking the questioning audience member. That is why in next election years, candidates tried to minimize any possible confrontation on the side of asking audience member.

In 1996, there were only two presidential debates. They had just two participants: a Democratic candidate, President Bill Clinton, and a Republican nominee, former Senator Bob Dole. No third-party candidate was invited to join the major parties’ candidates in televised debates. As to the major parties’ pre-debate negotiations, 1996 Memorandum of Understanding was different in many ways than that of 1992. As mentioned before, no third-party candidate was invited or addressed, while in the previous Memorandum, third-party candidates were mentioned several times. Comparing 1992 and 1996 Memoranda further, the most striking difference is the length. While in 1992, it had 37 pages, in 1996, it was only 11 pages long. Consequently, 1996 Memorandum is more precise, up-to-the-point, and also more economic concerning the unnecessary repetition.

Concerning the formats, 1992 panel format was not included, while the moderator only and moderator and audience participation (town hall debate) formats were chosen. In both formats, candidates have two minutes each for opening and also for closing statements. In 1992, there were no opening statements. This may be seen as an extra time from the total of 90 minutes given directly to candidates. Thus, the actual time for discussion was 82 minutes.

As to a moderator debate, after opening statements, a moderator asks a question not exceeding 30 seconds. The first candidate has 90 seconds to answer, the second candidate has 60 seconds for a comment, and then the first candidate can react having 30 seconds for doing so. In 1992, the timing was 30 seconds for a question, 120 seconds for an answer, 60 seconds for a comment, and 30 seconds for response of the questioned candidate. It can be seen that the candidate which is asked a question lost 30 seconds for response comparing it with 1992 timing. There is also another difference which is much more interesting. In 1992, the moderator could ask any follow-up questions, while 1996 Memorandum stipulates: “No follow-up questions by the moderator will be permitted and no cross-questions by the candidates or cross-conversation between the candidates will be allowed under these rules.” Obviously, this was meant to create ‘safer’ situation for debaters. This proved to be quite naïve as the candidates found ways how to react or comment on each other during the rebuttal time given to them:

**Lehrer (moderator):** Mr. President, first question. There is a major difference in your view of the role of the Federal government and

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Here, it can be seen that there are ways how to avoid restrictive conditions of Memoranda if candidates choose to. It should be mentioned that in town hall format timing was the same but brief clarifying follow-up questions by a moderator were allowed.

In 2004, only major parties’ candidates were included in all three televised presidential debates. Then-President George W. Bush was a Republican nominee, and Senator John Kerry was a Democratic candidate. 2004 Memorandum has 32 pages and it is the first agreement that was made public by the campaigns themselves. It means that ordinary Americans could see how the major parties’ candidates controlled the debates. The whole Memorandum was sufficiently described by Jim Lehrer, a moderator, at the beginning of the first presidential debate:

Lehrer: Good evening from ... I’m Jim Lehrer of “The News Hour” on PBS.

And I welcome you to the first of the 2004 presidential debates between President George W. Bush, the Republican nominee, and Senator John Kerry, the Democratic nominee. These debates are sponsored by the Commission on Presidential Debates. Tonight’s will last 90 minutes, following detailed rules of engagement worked out by representatives of the candidates, I have agreed to enforce their rules on them.

The umbrella topic is foreign policy and homeland security, but the specific subjects were chosen by me, the questions were composed by me, the candidates have not been told what they are, nor has anyone else. For each question there can only be a two-minute response, a 90-second rebuttal and, at my discretion, a discussion extension of one minute.

A green light will come on when 30 seconds remain in any given answer; red at 15 seconds, and then flashing red means time’s up. There is also a backup buzzer system if needed.

Candidates may not direct a question to each other. There will be two-minute closing statements, but no opening statements.

There is an audience here in the hall, but they will remain absolutely silent for the next 90 minutes, except for now, when they join me in welcoming President Bush and Senator Kerry.

As it can be seen, the moderator announced that the debate was detailed by the candidates themselves and their role is to follow those rules. One of them includes his role as a person who solely poses questions unknown to candidates. The questioned candidate has two minutes for his answer and then the second one has ninety seconds for his comment. Audience is supposed to observe the debate in silence.

Contrary to 1992 and 1996 debates, the first debater does not have extra time for response to the opponent’s comment. Only the moderator can decide whether there will be further discussion lasting up to one minute, which really was done several times during the actual debate. Similarly as in 1992 and 1996, candidates cannot question each other, but they can, as the Memorandum stipulates, “ask rhetorical questions.” This way, they can react on each other indirectly.

The above described rules were applicable to the first and the third debates, which involved moderator for the format. There were three debates altogether, the second one being in a town hall format. All three lasted 90 minutes and there was a different moderator for each debate.

Concerning the town hall format, it is different than those of 1992 and 1996. The main difference from that of 1992 is that there are time limits on responses and comments. A questioned candidate has two minutes for response and the second debater has ninety seconds to comment on his answer. Discussion can be extended up to one minute by the moderator, while “The audience members shall not ask follow-up questions or otherwise participate in the extended discussion, and the audience member’s microphone shall be turned off after he or she completes asking the question.” It means that though the audience can ask the questions, it is their only possibility to enter the discussion. They cannot react by pressing the candidate to desired specific answer, so there is a large space for the questioned candidate to avoid answering the question.

Other important difference is that according to 2004 Memoranda, questions are selected solely by a moderator. The Memorandum stipulates that “the moderator will further review the questions and eliminate any questions that the moderator deems inappropriate.” This gives a moderator greater power and more important role than that of an asking member of the audience. This seems to be against the principles of a town hall format, where the audience has the main word. Here, it seems that it changed into a moderator only format, which is again a step towards a safer debate for participating candidates.

To sum it up, the Memoranda are very interesting documents, which can tell a lot about U.S. presidential debates. The most important fact is that the major parties’ candidates have a huge influence on the actual form of debates. They employ strategists to fight for their cause in the pre-negotiation stage. Candidates


16 Ibid.

17 Ibid., p. 12.

18 Ibid.
know what their weaknesses are, and therefore try to set such conditions as to avoid unwelcome situations during the televised debates. Thus it can be said that the actual political debate takes place during pre-debate negotiations before actual televised debates are broadcast.

In the context of politics and the mass media, a political debate will never be a discussion with the aim of finding a solution to a given problem. Here, debaters do not really communicate with each other; rather they talk to people watching. Power over the media presentation can help politicians to gain support and win the office. U.S. presidential candidates have already realized it and that is why there are such documents as Memoranda of Understanding.

Bibliography and references

What is a compliment and why is it used?
A compliment can be defined as an expression of praise, admiration or respect, in other words the speaker expresses some favourable judgment or opinion, says something nice to another person with the aim to disarm him or her, encourage, etc. Seen from the Brown and Levinson’s theory of politeness point of view, compliments primarily threaten the addressee’s negative face want and they can be characterized as acts predicating “some desire of S toward H or H’s goods, giving H reason to think that he may have to take action to protect the object of S’s desire, or give it to S.” (Brown and Levinson 1987: 65, 66).
Compliments make the world a better place. We (women) know that. You come home, tired after a long day at work and it is here again, waiting for you: listening to your children’s troubles, helping them with their homework, feeding the pets, preparing dinner for the children and finally for your husband. You would not do all that for any money. But when your partner says, “You make a house feel like home”, at that moment you forget that you were deadly tired and you would be able to spend some more hours working. There are, of course, hundreds of situations when a handful of nice words can do magic. So what is it behind compliments that give them the power? Although I have read many articles on compliments, I still have not found the answer but I hope that dealing with the theory and practical research may take me closer to the heart of the matter.

Compliments in ELT
Unlike other politeness manifestation (e.g. ways of addressing, thanks, excuses, apologies, etc.), compliments are not usually taught. Last year I analysed the course books that we use at our department (i.e. the Department of English at the Faculty of Education in Olomouc): Landmark and Proficiency Masterclass, trying to find out whether they help to develop the sociopragmatic competence of our students. In Landmark course book the emphasis seems to be on grammar and vocabulary, the information concerning the ways of how to use language in a communicatively appropriate way is restricted to discourse markers, “vague” language, interrupting, agreement and disagreement, or expressing opinions in a tentative way.

The structure of compliments
The structure of compliments is considered formulaic and this fact is supported by the findings of Nessa Wolfson and Joan Manes (1981), who studied the corpus of 686 naturally occurring compliments in American English. The majority of their corpus belonged to one of the following structures:

1) NP (is, looks) (really) ADJ Your hair looks nice.
2) I (really) [like, love] NP I love your hair.
3) PRO is (really) (a) ADJ NP That was really a great meal.
4) You V (a) (really) ADJ NP You did a good job.
5) You V (NP) (really) ADV You really handled that situation well.
6) You have (a) (really) ADJ NP You have such beautiful hair.
7) What (a) (ADJ) NP! What a lovely baby you have!
8) ADJ (NP)! Nice game!
9) Isn’t NP ADJ! Isn’t your ring beautiful!

(Manes and Wolfson 1981: 120)
compliments makes them identifiable in any context, which might be very important for non-native speakers to help them react correctly.

The positive semantic load is usually carried by adjectives (546 compliments of the whole corpus), the most common being nice, good, beautiful, pretty and great together with sixty-seven other adjectives which occurred only once or twice. The range of semantically positive verbs is rather limited in comparison with the adjectives. Those which do occur in the corpus were like, love, admire, enjoy, and be impressed by. Surprisingly rare are the compliments where the positive element is an adverb (e.g. You do this kind of writing so well.) or a noun (e.g. You’re just a whiz at sewing.). Intensifiers can also function as semantically positive items (e.g. Your talk was the one that really went over.)

As for the structure of compliments in Czech, I must admit that I am at the beginning of the research; however, based on my previous experience with the Czech equivalents of English address forms or translations of discourse markers oh and well, I expect that Czech native speakers will avoid stereotypical ways of complimenting.

Compliment topics
The choice of the topics of complimenting is socio-culturally determined, with a common denominator, i.e. to foreground positively-valued entities, events, personality features, etc., regarded worth complimenting in a given socio-cultural community. R.K. Herbert compared Polish with the results obtained by Manes and Holmes in English. While appearance seems to be the most common topic in English (America and New Zealand), Polish data were strikingly different - 50% of the sample concerned the category of possessions:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Category</th>
<th>English</th>
<th>Polish</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>appearance</td>
<td>50.7%</td>
<td>32.25%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ability/performance</td>
<td>30.6%</td>
<td>11.75%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>possessions</td>
<td>11.2%</td>
<td>49.25%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>personality/friendship</td>
<td>4.8%</td>
<td>1.25%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>other</td>
<td>2.7%</td>
<td>2.5%</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

( Herbert 1997: 492)

Two comparable researches
Now I would like to discuss the data obtained from two different university-based researches in Czech carried at two faculties of my home institution, i.e. Palacký University. The first was carried at the Faculty of Education by me, the other one at the Philosophical Faculty - as a part of the research seminar under the supervision of professor Tárnýková. Different methods were used to show whether the results would be comparable (in case of shared parameters) and compatible (in case of different parameters taken into view).

Research One
To obtain relevant data in Czech, I distributed a questionnaire among 51 university students in which they were given an example of a compliment in Czech and were asked to list the most recent compliments they had made, received or witnessed. This type of a questionnaire is considered a preliminary one used first to gather the most common topics of compliments in Czech and second to gather scenarios which will be later used in DCT (discourse-completion-task format questionnaire). I cannot but agree with the fact that “questionnaires cannot measure social action; they can only collect self-report of recall past action or of prospective or hypothetical action.” (Rose and Kwai-fun 2001:155) but pragmatic tests seem to be the only relevant way to measure the politeness strategies.

The 353 Czech compliments obtained from the questionnaires were then divided into the categories proposed by Herbert (cf. above):

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Category</th>
<th>Czech</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>appearance</td>
<td>40%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ability/performance</td>
<td>37%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>possessions</td>
<td>13%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>personality/friendship</td>
<td>5%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>other</td>
<td>5%</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

The category of appearance could be further divided into the subcategories the most numerous of which would be “the overall impression”, followed by the subcategory “hair”, “figure” - slim but there were even examples of compliments on weight gain, “smile”, “eyes”, etc.

The category of ability/performance included compliments on the ability to solve problems, pass an exam, play some instrument, dance, organize a party, draw, drive a car, and sing. A fair number of cases were connected with the ability to cook well - not accidentally do the Czechs belong to the most obese nations in Europe, they value this ability by 6%.

Possessions were mostly equalled to things people wear - sweaters, trousers, shoes, coats, glasses, earrings, etc.

The category referring to personality/friendship was connected with the positive personal character.

The last category of “other” was used for those compliments which did not clearly refer to any of the above mentioned topics or might refer to more than one (e.g. Jsi zlatá! Nádherné voní! Jses borec! Tak je coo! Ty brdó! Úuuú! Dobrý).
The research was, as I have already mentioned, composed as gender sensitive. At this stage of the research it would be too daring to draw objective and applicable conclusions but even this table shows the widely spread opinion on what men and women compliment on. Not only according to this research women pay compliments referring to fashion and the overall appearance while men tend to focus on work, achievements, intelligence and other personal merits of the addressee or a targeted person.

In order to be able to compare the results obtained from the above mentioned questionnaires, I tried to put the objects of compliments from the table into the categories introduced by Robert Herbert.

I included "appearances/looks, clothes, hairstyle, losing weight, body (eyes, hands, etc.), make-up and up" into the category "appearance".

The category of "ability/performance" referred to "achievements/work, intelligence, school success, cooking, sport, behaviour" and I also included the compliment object of "sex", which did not appear in my original questionnaire, into this category.

The "possessions" category was again connected with things people usually wear, e.g. jewellery, shoes, accessories, perfume or cars, which, not surprisingly, were compliment objects aimed at men.

Positive personal characteristics, in other words the category of "personality/friendship" is represented by "humour" only. There were no other features suggested by the respondents.

The category "other" might include "partner" and "children" as topic compliments as none of the above mentioned categories would be suitable for their inclusion.

The comparison of both the questionnaires on the compliment topics in Czech is as follows:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Topic</th>
<th>Questionnaire 1</th>
<th>Questionnaire 2</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>appearance</td>
<td>40%</td>
<td>55%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ability/performance</td>
<td>37%</td>
<td>29.5%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>possessions</td>
<td>13%</td>
<td>7%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>personality/friendship</td>
<td>5%</td>
<td>3%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>other</td>
<td>5%</td>
<td>2%</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Although the results obtained from the researches are quantitatively different in the respective parameters, we can say that the overall distribution of Czech compliment topics seems to be closer to English than Polish. In his explanation of the Czech number of compliments on possessions in Polish Herbert says that "it is tempting to speculate on the relationship between the high frequency of possession compliments in Polish and life within the consumer-troubled society of Poland under communism." (Herbert 1997:493). In my opinion, the results might be similar in Czech if the questionnaires had been distributed several years ago when people were still influenced by the same experience or if it were distributed among people who are 40 and above and who can still remember how difficult it was to acquire the consumer goods. The shift of compliment topics of younger generation may show the shift of culture values and even the "unifying" tendencies in the world.

As mentioned before, I want to use the results of this preliminary research to prepare scenarios by means of which students will be given concrete situations and will be asked to write what people would say in those situations and what the reactions might be. This procedure should provide the typical structures of Czech compliments as well as their responses. Based on the studies of Robert Herbert and Janet Holmes, I would also like to study the gender differences in compliment behaviour in Czech and compare them with the results of the above mentioned authors.

The purpose of my comparative studies is to prepare a material for our students who want to study abroad to make them aware of the fact that the "norms" of politeness have to be seen as cultural manifestations of culture-bound choices and preferences that are very often far from being intercultural in their communicative impact on the respective language users. Consequently, any automatic transfer of the politeness strategies from one language community to another may result in unwanted "culture bumps".

**Conclusion**

To conclude this preliminary stage of the research on compliments, we may say that both the structure of compliments and the categories of compliment topics in English are clear enough not to cause difficulties in the overall system of politeness to be taught. The comparative study proved the similarity of compliment topics in English and in Czech, which may be considered a good guide to cross-language studies, but definitely not a safe guide unless we are familiar with the communicative strategies behind complimenting in the respective language communities, giving us the key to the "what – when – why" aspects of complimenting.

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The Performative Verb in Legal Texts
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Abstract
The paper presents the results of the analysis of performative utterances in legal texts. It focuses on the performative verb which serves as a linguistic means expressing the force and effectiveness of a law and through which a speech act is performed in the investigated texts. The author examines the performative verb via the selected verb categories such as tense, voice, and mood. She also concentrates on the analysis of the most frequent morphological forms of the performative verb in legal texts.

The analysis has proved that even though there is (a) certain predetermined model/s of a 'legal language' act structure, there is still some maneuvering room which is provided for the addressee's disposal and creativity. The findings have confirmed our expectations - almost exclusive occurrence of utterances in the indicative mood. The number of speech acts performed by the imperative and subjunctive is incomparably lower than the number of acts performed by the indicative. The study of morphological characteristics of the performative verb has shown that legal language act does not have to be necessarily conducted by the performative verb in the model structure, i.e. in its base form and with the subject expressed through a pronoun in the first person singular or plural but it can be performed by other morphological forms. The findings we gained from our piece of research have proved that the adverb hereby is a frequent but not an inevitable companion of the performative verb. We consider it surprising that this adverb accompanies the verbs in the passive voice.

In both types of the analysed texts performative verbs predominantly occur in the present simple tense in a positive as well as negative verb phrase.

Key words
illocutionary force, legal language act, performative utterance, performative verb, categories of the verb, mood, present simple tense, present perfect tense, voice.

This paper presents results of the research conducted in terms of speech act theory into legal language, namely: into legislative texts (randomly selected British bills and acts found on the Internet) and into certain types of legal documents such as contracts, last wills and testaments, and affidavits.

The investigation was encouraged by the statement of John Gibbons (1994) who in General Editor's Preface presents simple tense, present perfect tense, voice.

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expandable or analysable into a form with a verb in the first person singular present indicative active*.

We would like to mention the importance of the adverb hereby in legal performative utterances. According to Melnikoff (1963: 305) "hereby gives the flavour of the law". We find it surprising that the adverb accompanies the verbs even in the passive voice. In our view, it enhances the illocutionary force of the act and adds the passive verb a certain kind of ‘performativeness’. We think that in the legal performative utterance with the verb in the present simple tense, both in the passive and active voice, the adverb hereby undertakes the role similar to the one played by the progressive aspect in other discourse types. As the function of the adverb hereby is to emphasise the performativeness of an utterance, this adverb is also a decisive marker in our speech act analysis. The findings we gained from our piece of research prove that the adverb is a frequent but not an inevitable companion of the performative verb.

Based on our analysis we claim that the most common performative verb such as tense, voice and mood. The tense is one of the examined characteristics of the performative verb. In the analysed texts performative verbs predominantly occur in the present simple tense in a positive verb phrase. A: I hereby give and bequeath the sum of One Hundred Thousand Dollars ($100,000) to my nephew, JOSEPH DIMAGGIO (son of my deceased brother, MIKE DIMAGGIO). (The Last Will and Testament of Joseph P. DiMaggio)

We also discovered several negative verb phrases. We believe that they can also be used to perform legal language acts. According to our findings the usage of a negative performative verb form is semantically preconditioned. If a negative form of one performative verb has the meaning that may be expressed by a positive form of another performative verb, then, in our view, it is capable of performing a legal language act.

The Engineer’s approval of the documents does not hereby give the Contractor from any responsibility for the obligations included in the Contract. Based on our analysis we claim that the most common morphological verb form in bills and acts is the present tense indicative mood - s form. The same applies to the analysed contracts and agreements.

The Contractor hereby undertakes to submit to the Fund by... (the date) at the latest a Final Report. The Lessee hereby acknowledges delivery and acceptance of the aforesaid Property upon terms and conditions of this Lease. The Trustee, by joining in the execution of this Agreement, hereby signifies his acceptance of this trust. In last wills and testaments, and affidavits the most frequent verb form is the present tense indicative mood base form with the first-person pronoun subject I. In the analysed legal documents it is used mostly but not inevitably with hereby.

I, (the name of the person), of (the residence), do hereby sell and convey to (the name of a person), and his heirs, executors, administrators, successors and assigns the following property (the description of the property follows).

I, (the name of a person), (the address), do hereby certify the attached is a true and correct copy of the certificate of incorporation of (the name of the company), filed in this office on ... (the date).

Sometimes the deictic expression now emphasises the present place and the present moment of the act being performed.

I do now hereby revoke said Trust, with all the principal thereof reverting absolutely to me, with all right and title thereto.

The performative verb in the present tense, progressive aspect is not generally considered to be able to perform a speech act. In the examined contracts and agreements a few examples of a performative verb in the present continuous tense were observed. Allan claims, “a performative may occur in either the simple or perfect tense, e.g. hereby undertakes the role similar to the one played by the progressive aspect in other discourse types.”

There is also a generally held view that the present perfect tense cannot be used to perform speech acts. However, Kurzon (1986: 10) admits the possibility of performing a speech act by a performative verb in the present perfect tense. During our analysis we found several examples of performative verbs in the present perfect tense and we also consider them to be the devices for carrying out legal language acts.

Since the amount of the unsettled obligations and debts between the contractual parties is different, the Contractual Parties have agreed that they will perform a mutual inclusion of debts and obligations in the amount of (the amount of money) and the difference in the amount of (the amount of money) against... Company, which is payable until (the date). WHEREAS, Europay has also agreed to provide to Licensee certain maintenance and support services for the Software... In some legal documents the use of the present perfect tense may well be explained as a lapse on the lawyer’s part due to his language misapplication but his intention – to perform a legal language act – is clear in the analysed document; while the use of the present perfect tense in the old enacting formula, still valid in British Finance Acts seems to be intentional.

Most Gracious Sovereign, We, Your Majesty’s most dutiful and loyal subjects, the Commons of the United Kingdom in Parliament assembled, towards raising the necessary supplies to defray Your Majesty’s public expenses, and making an addition to the public revenue, have freely and voluntarily resolved to give and grant unto Your Majesty the several duties hereinafter mentioned; and do therefore most humbly beseech Your Majesty that it may be enacted, and be it enacted, etc.
The voice is another examined category of the performatieve verb in the present research. Although the model structure of the performatieve utterance is claimed to contain the performatieve verb in the active voice, in both studied types of texts, examples containing performatieve verbs in the passive voice are found. Kurzon (1986: 6) indirectly admits the existence of the performatieve verb in the passive voice by providing the following example of a potential speech act you are authorised to pay, which may be rewritten into /we hereby authorise you to pay.

It is BS are differentiated that any reference in this section to a term of a contract includes a reference to a term which although not contained in a contract is incorporated in the contract by another term of the contract. (Sale of Goods Act 1979)

An Economic and Social Committee is hereby established. (EC Legislation, Chapter 3, Article 193) Citizenship of the Union is hereby established. (EC Legislation, Chapter 2, Article 8)

A European Investment Bank is hereby established, which shall act within the limits of the powers conferred upon it by this Treaty and the Statute annexed thereto. (EC Legislation, )

(33) the enactments specified in Schedule 6 to this Act are hereby repealed to the extent specified in the third column of that Schedule. (Sale of Goods Act 1979)

Consistent with the goals of the present paper we feel the need to provide a more detailed description of the verb category of mood. Huddleston (1984:164) takes the view that “there is no inflectional system of mood in Modern English”. Traditionally the term mood is applied to grammatical systems of the verb or verb phrase whose terms are differentiated semantically primarily in the contrast between factual assertion and various kinds of non-factuality and/or non-assertion. It expresses contrasts among indicative, imperative and subjunctive. According to certain grammarians interrogative too falls under this definition.

We use the term mood in the traditional understanding. In our view, it is one of the verb categories, and it signals a sentence type. It is used with reference to indicative, imperative, subjunctive, and interrogative. General definition can be given as follows: Indicative is the undeclined term in the system that is characteristically used in factual assertions. The imperative is used for the verb form figuring in requests and commands. Subjunctive is used for the verb form associated with subordinate clauses involving non-factuality.

Owing to the frequent occurrence of verbs in the indicative mood we do not present the examples of them. They are provided in parts on tense and voice. Linguists dealing with legal speech acts do not mention the usage of the imperative. Kurzon (1986: 10) considers be it enacted in the enacting formula (still valid in British Finance Act) the passive imperative and also admits the existence of passive imperative in legal documents by saying “The only case of a legal document in which a performative occurs in the form of a passive imperative seems to be probate declarations: ‘be it known that…’ (see examples). Kurzon (ibid) does not mention the occurrence of the active imperative in legal documents. However, analysing legal documents we came across the expression KNOW (YE) ALL MEN BY THESE PRESENTS, which means be informed by this document and is often used to emphasise a statement. In our view it is clear evidence of presence of the active imperative in legal documents, and its purpose is to express the act of assertion.

Passive voice

Be it enacted occurs in both enacting formulas, the old one (still used in the Finance Act) as well as the new enacting formula.

Most Gracious Sovereign, We, Your Majesty’s most dutiful and loyal subjects, the Commons of the United Kingdom in Parliament assembled, towards raising the necessary supplies to defray Your Majesty’s public expenses, and making an addition to the public revenue, have freely and voluntarily resolved to give and grant unto Your Majesty the several duties hereinafter mentioned; and do therefore most humbly beseech Your Majesty that it may be enacted, and be it enacted, etc.

BE IT ENACTED by the Queen’s most Excellent Majesty, by and with the advice and consent of the Lords Spiritual and Temporal, and Commons, in this present Parliament assembled, and by the authority of the same, as follows:-

BE IT KNOWN, that (the name of a person), (hereinafter referred to as ‘Releasee’), for and in consideration of the sum of … and other valuable consideration received from or on behalf of (the name of a person), (hereinafter referred to as ‘Releasee’), the receipt of which is hereby acknowledged...

Active voice

KNOW YE ALL MEN BY THESE PRESENTS, that, I, the name of the person …., of … the residence, for and in consideration of payment of the sum of …, the receipt of which is hereby acknowledged, do hereby, grant, bargain, sell and convey to …., and his heirs, executors, administrators, successors and assigns the following property...

Analysing the texts we came across examples containing the subjunctive. The subjunctive mood is a carrier of formality and archaism. We agree with Rodney Huddleston (1988: 350) who says: ‘we have to say that the correlation between the syntactic (form) and semantic (function) categories is significantly less direct with subordinate clauses than with main clauses. The uttering of a subordinate clause does not usually constitute an illocutionary act; it is only in uttering the main clause of which it is part that such an act would be performed’. We consider the following examples those of mandative subjunctive.

The Court may order that a witness or an expert be heard by the judicial authority of his place of permanent residence.

I direct that my executor pay all my funeral expenses, all state and federal estate, inheritance and succession taxes, administration costs and all my debts subject to statute of limitations except mortgage notes secured by real estate, as soon as practical.

It seems that defining of the subjunctive mood causes problems. According to Kurzon (1986:10) be it enacted as well as be it enacted that in the enacting formulas are the examples of the passive imperative. Greenbaum, Leech, and Svartvik in A Comprehensive Grammar of the English Language (1991: 156) present the following example of formulaic subjunctive: Be it noted that this offer was made in good faith. Thus, according to them, be it enacted and be it known should be considered the formulaic subjunctive. In Maley’s understanding (1994: 20) “be it enacted is the remnant of old jussive subjunctive”. He justifies it by saying, “The archaic jussive subjunctive form expresses clearly the relationship between the text and the source of the discourse – it is expressed as if it were a perpetual, speaking command from the sovereign power to its subjects.” Our viewpoint takes into consideration the present form of the above-mentioned examples. Accordingly, we favour the Kurzon’s opinion.
Most Gracious Sovereign, We, Your Majesty’s most dutiful and loyal subjects, the Commons of the United Kingdom in Parliament assembled, towards raising the necessary supplies to defray Your Majesty’s public expenses, and making an addition to the public revenue, have freely and voluntarily resolved to give and grant unto Your Majesty the several duties hereinafter mentioned; and do therefore most humbly beseech Your Majesty that it may be enacted, and be it enacted, etc.

The results of our analysis prove that legal texts are a fruitful soil for performative utterances containing a performative verb. The study of the performative utterance and morphological characteristics of the performative verb occurring in legal texts proves that many performative utterances do not occur in the standardised structure, such as *I pronounce you man and wife*. A performative verb is also found in other morphological forms (as defined by Greenbaum and Quirk, 1995: 25) than that. Naturally, there are some borderline circumstances in which it is difficult to define whether a given utterance is performative or is not performative.“ A major task for the theory of speech acts is to account for how speakers can succeed in what they do despite the various ways in which a linguistic meaning underdetermines use”(Bach). In everyday communication, addressers may do almost anything with the meanings and forms of the words they use in order to achieve their intention under the context conditions. They have almost unlimited devices for expressing their intentions to the extent of being certain that the meaning and the form they use will be recognized by addressees. In the legal setting the creative space of addressers is considerably restricted by conventions, traditions and expectations of addressees. It is often the matter of convention “that utterance in a certain form counts as the performance of an act of a certain sort.” (Bach, http://userwww.sfsu.edu/~kbach/spchacts.html) We believe that even though there is (a) certain predetermined model/s of a legal language act structure, there is still some maneuvering room that is provided for the addresser’s disposal.

NOTE: All the claims presented here are made with reference to the analysed legal texts.

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Appendix: Analysed texts
Tony Blair archive – 2007 Speeches (T.B.)
http://www.number-10.gov.uk/output/Page10688.asp
Mikuláš Dzurinda archive – 2006 Speeches (M.D.)
Specific Nature of Question-answer Exchanges of Television Political Interview in English

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Abstract
The author of the paper deals with television political interview as with a dialogic genre enabling to develop in advance agreed current social topics. Conventional roles of the interviewer and the interviewee are specified as well as their contribution to the interview topics development. These aspects are influenced by the rules of the institutional setting and by the properties of the given genre. The dialogic exchanges are from the BBC World Hard Talk programme and the analysis focuses on different strategies of questioning and answering. The analysis is the basis for politeness implications of asking questions in interview, more specifically for identification of the acts threatening negative and positive face of the interviewee.

The selected dialogic turns are from the interview lead by the interviewer Tim Sebastian in 2003. The guest of the programme was Jeffry Donaldson, a representative of the Northern Ireland Ulster Union Party. The paper deals with the importance of the topic and the ways of its development, conventional roles of the participants of television political interview, the role of the audience, so-called third party, and finally, with 4 specific ways of dialogic exchange, i.e. “controversy”, “fight”, “evasion” and “change of guards”.

Key words
Media communication, television political interview, interaction, interviewer, interviewee, dialogic exchanges, questions, answers, topic, topic development, roles of participants, the third party, controversy, fight, evasiveness, change of guards, politeness

Introduction
The study considers the television political interview a dialogic genre based on the interaction that enables the participants to develop the agreed topics. Conventional roles of the interviewer and the interviewee are specified as well as their contribution to interview topics development, which is influenced by rules of the given institutional setting and genre. The analysis of the exchanges selected from the BBC World TV programme Hard Talk focuses on different questioning and answering strategies of interview participants. This analysis is the basis for politeness implications of interview questioning, more specifically, for identifying the acts threatening negative and positive face of the interviewee. The selected dialogic exchanges are from the TPI conducted by the interviewer Tim Sebastian (TS) on the TV channel BBC World in July 2003. The guest of the programme Hard Talk was Mr. Jeffry Donaldson (JD), who shortly before the interview, together with two other representatives of the Northern Irish Ulster Unionist party, resigned from a British Parliamentary Committee.

Media Communication
Media communication involves varied ways of public interaction, covering daily written and oral discourse, their specific linguistic and extralinguistic features, their impact on the addressee and the spreading of media discourse message via alternative understandings provided by individual recipients. Ample studies have tried to grasp the essence of media communication, to analyse its individual genres and to provide their essential features. These studies often come to the conclusion that constantly changing media discourse do not allow approach it is one cohesive unit. Therefore, investigators have to devote their attention to specific media genres. The genre we have decided to explore in more details is TPI, i.e. television political interview.

Television Political Interview in Recent Years
Television political interview has become an influential means of presenting attitudes and opinions of politicians and other publicly influential personalities. In our opinion, it is useful to be aware of the basic properties of TPI as this knowledge can contribute to more active comprehension of listeners and viewers. In the current period of political struggles and omnipresent rigmarole, it is important that recipients try to decipher the implied meanings of the messages contained in individual public appearances of politicians. As TPI has a strong potential to influence opinions and attitudes of society members, this socially important kind of communication is demanding for its participants. An interesting comment was made by J. Kraus, who maintains that the current public communication redisCOVERs the importance of oral communication: Current TV viewers, like the audience in the Ancient Greece agora or in the Roman Forum, can perceive each gesture and each shade of the voice of people talking to them in an effort to persuade them, to gain their support, to remain in their memory (1998, p. 12).

Dialogue Led in a Decent Way
Decent dialogue is currently inevitable on all social and professional occasions; whether it is necessary to overcome problems, or to find right solutions, or to present one’s opinions. D. Crystal and D. Davy (1969, p. 7) require that language users get familiar with different varieties of their own language and master its functions. There is no doubt that people entering public communication should be acquainted with the rules of genres as they contribute to their forms by their own performances. This requirement is to be met also by higher educational institutions whose task is to prepare their students in the field of effective communication. This task cannot be fulfilled without a detailed study of individual speech genres and without learning their current features. Our objective is to contribute to the understanding of the interaction between / among interlocutors of the interview in television media setting. In this paper a special attention will be devoted to the topic and the ways of its development via basic interactive structure of the Interviewer’s question and the Interviewee’s answer.
Topic Development

In the political interview topic is developed and discourse is shaped in the interaction of its active participants. The way of their responses to each other’s turns depends on the extent of the knowledge of the audience. For this purpose, the established structure through the interviewer’s questions and the interviewee’s answers. S. Clayman and J. Heritage (2002) explain this process as the unfolding interactional game: “The news interview is, first and foremost, a context of interaction in which the participants contribute to a turn-by-turn basis, for the most part by asking and answering questions. Of course, particular themes are expressed within each successive contribution, but these contributions are not merely understood in terms of their thematic content. They are also understood in terms of how they bear on the unfolding interactional game being played by interviewer and interviewee.”

Conventional Roles of TPI Participants

Political interview has a broadly balanced, impartial, or neutral stance towards the accountable in the eyes of the public. (L. Mullany, 2002) claims that physical presence of the interviewer is to cooperate and interact in order to uncover the communicative purpose of the interview, i.e. to uncover the main interview topic and its aspects. Conventional roles of political interview participants significantly influence turn taking mechanisms of this specific media genre. According to D. Greatbatch the role of the interviewee is limited to answering questions and the role of the interviewer is to be in control of the topic and time, while keeping the position of neutrality. S. Clayman and J. Heritage explain neutrality of the interviewer in the political interview as a broadly balanced, impartial, or neutral stance towards the statements and opinions presented by the interviewee (2002, p. 119).

Such an ideal distribution of competencies is commonly broken by evasive answers of politicians, consequently resulting in pressure strategies of interviewers. As a result, political interviews are often of controversial, sometimes even hostile character. Nevertheless, political interview participants are well aware of their mutual dependence and of binding conventions. Dull guests who do not know how to interact might not be invited to TV studios again, losing an opportunity to promote themselves; then, both politicians and the public might criticize interviewers for having been either too aggressive or too passive. Both parties have to keep in mind that the political interview is a democratic arena aimed at holding politicians accountable in the eyes of the public. (Clayman, Heritage 2002, p. 2-5).

The Third Party

The importance of the target addressee in media interview is emphasized in ethnographical studies. D. Hymes (In: A. Packard, 2000) claims that physical presence of the interviewer does not mean that he or she is the addressee as this role is given to the audience, i.e. to the public. The public is aware of specific features of media institutional environment, in which questions and answers often serve as both attacks and defenses. Among the audience’s expectations ranks the controversial character of the interview that allows breaking of basic communication and politeness rules.

Analysis of TPI Exchanges

In the following examples we will study the selected exchanges from the point of view of the above-mentioned characteristics of TPI. We will be interested in the following aspects of question-answer exchanges of the political interview:

- their contribution to topic development
- compliance with the basic structure and rules of TPI
- interruptions
- neutrality of the interviewer
- evasiveness of the interviewee
- examples of FTAs

Example 1 – Setting the mood - the role of the initial interviewer’s turn

1. TS: (a) major split in the Ulster Unionists’ party seems to increase the instability in the Northern Ireland and delay the peace process at the issue of the joint Declaration three months ago by the British and Irish governments that aimed to boost delivery of the final provisions of the Good Friday Agreement (b) my guest today is an Ulster Unionists MP who was suspended from the party for resigning the Whip (c) is he doing more HARM than good (pause and the programme jingle) (d) Jeffrey Donaldson very warm welcome to the programme (e) two weeks ago you tried and failed to get the Ulster Unionists’ Council to reject the joint Declaration (f) is it time for YOU to resign now form your own alliance or party or just shut out

The first example serves as an illustration of the interviewer’s power over setting the mood of the whole interview and over initiating the argumentative character of topic development. The initial utterance (1a) provides the information on the main underlying event: A MAJOR SPLIT IN THE ULSTER UNIONISTS’ PARTY. Such a formulation can be considered an adequate one as it sets the framework of the global topic for the interview. The first interviewer’s turn could be considered purely informative, which is enhanced by the way the interviewer presents it – reminding of reading TV daily news. Lacking emotions or emphasis, the interviewer formally promotes the neutral stance required from him.

Nevertheless, deeper insight reveals that the facts are not presented quite neutrally and the first turn contains also evaluative elements. The interviewer’s attitude is not explicitly stated, but is present in the choice of activated aspects of the global topic. The selected aspects predict the argumentative position of the interviewer and his open disagreement with the interviewee’s recent acts, especially when he emphasizes that SPLIT results in instability and it delays the peace process. The given resolute stand is hedged by the use of the copula verb seems. As a result, the interviewer does not break the requirement of mutual engagement and joint negotiation (J. Mullany, 2002) at the very beginning; anyway, he introduces an air of suspected controversy of dialogic exchanges, and gives a signal that his way of leading the interview will not comply with general rules of politeness in conversation. Moreover, the audience and the interviewee can even expect the breaking of the limits common in the genre of political interview, which is confirmed later on during the interview.

Example 2 - Controversy

2. JD: well these are things that I considered after the meeting of the Ulster Union’s Council but I receive strong support from members of the party
because 46 percent of the Ulster Unionists' Council ee by no means em an insignificant ma – minority voted to reject the joint Declaration and indeed many of the members who voted with Mr Trimble who didn't say they were going to support the joint Declaration but they would decide at the decision until there were further developments how the _____ concerns as I have about the declaration↑

3. TS: but the fact is you lost your latest challenge is…. In this exchange the interviewer interrupts his guest just after the interviewee has had enough space to formulate his answer. The basic structure of the interview is thus kept as the interviewer is justified to interfere even if the other party does not show any signals (pause or intonation) of closing the turn. Such interactional behaviour is in contradiction with Grice's cooperative principles in communication, but complies with an acceptable way of communication in the political interview. As for the topic development, the interviewer reaffirms his negative evaluation of the main topic of the interview, which is the impact of Jeffrey Donaldson's recent action on the peace process in Northern Ireland. Tim Sebastian's introductory statement sounds like a summary of Jeffrey's argumentation; this reinforces a negative image of the guest, despite his effort to prove the opposite. Guest's positive face is strongly threatened, or better to say completely neglected, as his latest action is interpreted the ultimate loss.

Example 3 – Fight
26.TS: so why collapsed the process 27.JD: Last week... 28.TS: you do your best to collapse the process 29.JD: that's not 30.TS: you do your action [_____________] 31.JD: [that's not _____] just last week we had the largest car bomb ever found in Northern Ireland that was destined to create multiple utterance emphasizes that his statement is in accordance with reality (but the fact is). This is the reference to the generally known information, i.e. the reference to the third party, which is one of the interviewers' strategies aimed at keeping the stance of neutralism. At the same time the interviewer's statement sounds like a summary of Jeffrey's argumentation; this reinforces a negative image of the guest, despite his effort to prove the opposite. Guest's positive face is strongly threatened, or better to say completely neglected, as his latest action is interpreted the ultimate loss.

This exchange starts with the interviewer's turn that complies with his questions setting role. His wh-question explicitly challenges Jeffrey Donaldson to explain reasons of the collapsed peace process in Northern Ireland. Despite being asked a clear question the interviewee has to fight for the answering ground. He is interrupted by the interviewer in his first attempt (turn 27), as the interviewer answers his own question from the turn 26 himself. The turn 28 you do your best to collapse the process contributes to the topic development, but it is the interviewer's contribution; thus, several basic rules of TPI are in this case broken. First of all, the interviewer neglects the requirement for the interactional development of the topic as he prevents the guest from answering by the series of interruptions. He also does not respect the required neutralism of his turns as he explicitly accuses the guest of wrongdoing. From the perspective of politeness theory, the repeated interruptions (in the given interview 69% of the interviewee's turns are interrupted) show that the interviewer does not care about his guest's either positive or negative face at all. The third analyzed exchange suggests that the nature of the political interview can be deeply controversial, even hostile and it is questionable to apply the rules valid in other types of oral communicative events to this kind of interactional game.

Example 4 – Evasiveness 51.JD: we have to examine THE POSSIBILITIES but at the moment we= 52.TS: =what are THE POSSIBILITIES 53.JD: at the moment I might say that the Ulster Unionist party because David Trimble has kept me and my two colleagues out↑

54.TS: =but let's examining him of his obligation to provide a direct and full answer. The fourth exchange provides a positive example of the interviewer's questioning strategies, when encountering evasiveness of the interviewee. In the turns 51 – 58 all the interruptions of JD’s answers are due to his general or evasive answers. The initial signal of evasiveness is a discourse marker but used by JD in the turn 51, which is understood by TS as a decline from the suggested aspect of the topic. TS insists on disclosing the unknown information to the public and on specifying what is meant by a general word possibilities. The interruption and the question related to the same issue seem to be in the interest of the audience. TS formulates his questions in a way that puts pressure on JD, and here his questions threaten interviewee's negative face by reminding him of his obligation to provide a direct and full answer.

Example 5 – the Guard Change 176.TS: the more people have jobs the less they will pick up guns and shoot each other. 177.JD: no well except they're still doing it and we know they're still doing it and that has to be tackled no look I lost two members of my family during the the violence and the terrorism so I don't need lectures on returning to violence I live in a home that is heavily protected I don't need to be told about returning to terrorism↑

178.TS: that's the price you pay for being a politician 179.JD: well um well is it? ... ee many of my colleagues in the house of Commons don't have to live the kind of life style I have because of the threat from terrorists I want to rid of terrorism but I believe that the Joint Declaration is not the basis upon that↑

The last analyzed exchange demonstrates another of endless options that TPI interactional game provides. While in the previous examples the power dominance in the dialogue is on the interviewer's side in this example the interviewer is maneuvered into the second, from the argumentative point of view, defensive position. The change can be observed in the turn 175 when the interviewer expresses sharp disagreement with the interviewer’s constant accusations of his activities. The interviewer’s persuasive arguments contradict not only the interviewer's previous turn but also his argumentative position that concerns the main topic of the whole interview. In the turn 176 it is TS and not JD who provides the explanation to the appeal of the interviewer's turn and, on the contrary, in the turn 179 it is JD who casts doubt on the interviewer’s attempt to provide the explanation.
This exchange is an example of the reversed TPI structure, which should be abandoned as soon as possible in order not to endanger the interview. This exchange also represents a rare example of an act threatening positive face of the interviewer as the interviewee challenges his statement:

178. TS: that’s the price you pay for being a politician
179. JD: well um well is it?

Conclusion
The study of five exchanges from Hard Talk BBC World Television has shown a variety of interactional and politeness strategies that TPI participants apply in this type of media dialogue. Even a few at random selected examples have shown how difficult it is to provide reliable characteristics of this genre due to ample factors that influence its discourse existence. S. Clayman and J. Heritage in their thorough study of the news interview emphasize the importance of the interviewer’s neutralism. The acclaimed interviewer’s attitude to the topic and to the interviewee in the studied exchanges does not provide support of this requirement. On the contrary, the interviewer’s pressure strategies are often too personal and openly express his opinions and attitudes. An interesting finding concerns politeness strategies. Our tentative study suggests that acts threatening negative face of the interviewer are necessary part of TPI while acts threatening his/her positive face might lead to the reversed structure of the interview; although might contribute to the infotainment nature of TPI.

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Politeness Universals in an Interview

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Abstract
The pragmatic and socio-relational aspects of information exchange result in specific strategies, the identification of which contributes to our knowledge about genres and enables their recognition also in indirect contexts. This paper illustrates 1) the existence of these universal strategies in interviews; and 2) their identifiability and crossover reflected in the use of direct quotations in newspaper articles which make reference to interviews. Such strategies are identified through the differential use of questions in two types of interviews, their subsequent transfer through analysis of inferred questions to answers presented in the form of direct quotations, which, in turn, may be seen as a specific strategy on the part of the journalist. Contrasting two types of interviews illustrates a correlation of the mutual relationship of the interactants and the purpose of the interview with the strategies used by the interviewer and reflected in the linguistic form of the questions asked.

Key words
politeness theory, participant strategies, questions, quotations, interview, form-function relation

1 Introduction
The pragmatic and socio-relational aspects of information exchange, which are at the basis of Brown and Levinson’s (1987) Politeness Theory, result in discernible strategies constituting various types of interviews. The identification and recurrence of these strategies contributes to our knowledge about the individual genres and enables their recognition also in indirect contexts. This paper illustrates 1) the existence of these universal strategies in interviews; and 2) their identifiability and crossover reflected in the use of direct quotations in newspaper articles which make reference to interviews.

The polysemy of the term interview in the title highlights the fact that this word covers a rather broad and varied area of human interaction, as illustrated by the following dictionary definitions, and also by the number of the corresponding Czech equivalents, such as “pohovor”, “rozhovor”, “konzultace”, and “výslech”:

**interview**
1 an oral examination of an applicant for employment, a college place, etc.
2 a conversation between a reporter etc. and a person of public interest, used as a basis of a broadcast or publication.
3 a meeting of persons face to face, esp. for consultation.
4 a session of formal questioning by the police (**Oxford Compendium 1995**)

The major features which seem to differentiate and determine these sub-genres are the purpose of interaction, and the social relationship between the interactants. Since Brown and Levinson’s Politeness Theory focuses on these factors and because it predicts a direct correlation between the amount of face work the speakers perform and the particular situational variables, namely power, social distance and the gravity of imposition, the theory provides a viable framework for analysing different types of interviews.

The type of interview to be discussed in this paper is listed as the second definition above, i.e. a conversation between the reporter and a person of public interest. The aim is to illustrate how the above-mentioned variables determine the strategies adopted by the participants and their reflex in the linguistic forms employed, and how this mutually conditioned ‘strategy - form’ relation may span to more indirect contexts and be put to use as a device for a specific strategy on its own, as will be illustrated by the use of direct quotations in news reports.

Sociolinguistics is interested in the differential use of pragmatic resources such as hinting, hedging, by different categories of speakers in different situations. Accordingly, the data on which the following observations are based consist of two groups: (a) printed interviews or interviews which appear in electronic media, and (b) news reports which make reference to live interviews, e.g. press conferences etc., in both printed and electronic. The first group includes interviews of two types: interviews with politicians on the one hand and interviews with artists or pop-stars on the other hand. The sample of newspaper articles includes news reports on doping, mainly in skiing and cycling. For the current purposes other factors, excepting the interactants and the topic, are disregarded (e.g. the type of interview based on the editorial policy, length, truthfulness to the actual spoken data - none provides any kind of transcription in the proper sense, the intended readership, etc.).

Section 2 illustrates the differential use of questions in the two types of interviews, and is followed by one analysis of inferred questions to answers presented in the form of direct quotations, and the use of quotations as a specific strategy on the part of the journalist in Section 3.

2 The structure of questions in interviews
The differential use of the linguistic resources in interviews can be illustrated by looking at questions, i.e. the first members of adjacency pairs of which an interview prototypically consists. Two types of interviews, which involve different sociological variables, are used, namely interviews with politicians and interviews with artists. The type of interview, i.e. the participants and the topic, determines the strategy of conducting the interview by the interviewer (on-record ↔ off-record), which results in a corresponding linguistic form of questions.

In what might be called a “serious” interview, with the interviewee being a politician or some officer responsible to the public, a journalist uses an on-record strategy through asking direct questions. The structure of the interview is, in consequence, clear-cut, the questions are direct, prevailingly interrogative in form.
Other forms that appear are tag questions (it hasn’t worked, has it?), and imperatives of explicit performative verbs (Tell me about the sort of problems that ...). The following two excerpts illustrate the point.

EX 1

Four Corners interviews General Sir Michael Rose, Former Director UK Special Services on 9 March, 2003. General Rose also commanded the United Nations Protection Force in the former Yugoslavia in the mid 1990s.

Four Corners (FC): The first question, the fundamental one is: should Australia and Britain be involved in this war?

Rose: I think we've got to be involved and it's just a question of the strategy you employ. And I'm not convinced that the current strategy we're employing is the best one.

FC: Why not?

Rose: I think we've got our priorities in the wrong order... (answer totalling 198 words)

FC: Why do you think that set of priorities has been laid in stone?

FC: Are you glad you are not in command at the moment? ...

FC: Would you find it impossible to carry out those sort of orders?...

FC: Do you think that in that position you might even be forced to resign? ...

FC: Is this an immoral way?...

FC: What are your worst fears? ....

FC: Tony Blair has always said as we get closer to conflict we will turn round the population, they will come on-board. It hasn't worked, has it?

FC: The problems politically of course, if there are heavy casualties. Tell me about the sort of problems that you think in terms that heavy casualties will create back home. ...

EX 2

http://www.african-geopolitics.org/show.aspx?ArticleId=3050

Interview with Olusegun Obasanjo, the President of Nigeria

African Geopolitics (AG) - President Obasanjo, let's begin this interview by getting directly into what we can call the Nigerian paradox. Africa's most populous country, with 120 million people, by rights its most powerful nation, for many years has been poorly governed. What are the reasons for this? Olusegun Obasanjo - Nigeria in the last decade and a half failed to manage its resources for improvements in the quality of life of its people. (answer totalling 142 words)

AG: Do you feel people were justified in feeling disgust with government officials?

AG: What measures are you taking to turn Nigeria around? Do you expect the program of reform that you have instituted to be widely accepted by your countrymen and to have the desired effect?

AG: You are aiming to bring growth to Nigeria; are Nigerians ready?

AG: What concrete measure are you taking to eliminate corruption?

AG: You mentioned the assumption of the national debt by the new regime. Isn't this a crippling burden? ...

Both these examples have a distinct question-answer structure, the strategy of the interviewer is patently going on-record, asking badly without a redressive action (for a more detailed discussion, see below).

By contrast, interviews with artists display different strategies. The reason is twofold: the purpose is different because, typically, the person interrogated is not responsible to the public in the way politicians are, and her negative face to the effect that bad news may be brought about the the interactant is not threatened; the interview thus mainly enhances the positive face of the interviewee and the journalist as well. Because the motives are different (the interviewer wants to be seen as someone who has close and friendly relations with the artist), the interviewer's strategies in conducting the interview are less face-threatening, ie more off-record. This can be observed in example 3, which is a part of an interview with a famous actress by a renown critic.

EX 3

http://film.guardian.co.uk/interview/interviewpages/0,,1577158,00.html

Geoff Andrew interviewing Catherine Deneuve

...Geoff Andrew: It's funny because my next question was going to be: do you have a secret to your acting? I've interviewed many actors over the years and it's true, it's very difficult for actors to describe what they do because it's so intuitive. You've mentioned that these diaries were written as company in places where you were by yourself. The first clip we showed was of Repulsion, which was shot here in London, and it's about someone who is very alone. In the clip we showed, there are no words, just you walking around the flat.

Catherine Deneuve: Yes, I remember when I read the script, thinking that if only my lines were in the script, it would be a very, very thin script, because I speak very, very little in Repulsion.

GA: But what's great about that scene and the scene from Belle de jour is that your acting is very understated. And I think that if there is a secret to your acting, it is that you tend to underplay.

CD: Yes, but sometimes, I think, too much. Directors have to push me because I never start [high] and then need to be pushed down; I have to be pushed up. Not all the time, but often. ... But until I met Jacques Demy I was not sure if I was going to carry on being an actress.

GA: The Umbrellas of Cherbourg was really the film that lifted your career to an amazing extent.

CD: But even if the film had been different, meeting with him as a director and seeing the way he worked and the relationship we developed before, during and after the shoot, that became something really important in my life. It made me see film in a different way.

GA: It wasn't until Demoiselles de Rochefort that you got to act with your sister. So that must have been a very special film. ... GA: The thing I like about it is that it has such vitality and energy. And you looked like you were having fun. ...

GA: So we go from him being very demanding to Luis Buñuel, who I always have the impression...

GA: That's the thing - you always expect him to be very rigorous and precise, and slightly difficult because of his deafness. ...

GA: You've worked with other experimental filmmakers. I've already mentioned Ruiz and we're showing Genealogies of a Crime here, which is a very bizarre film...

CD: Very bizarre. But that's what I like about film - it can be bizarre, classic, normal, romantic. Cinema is to me the most versatile thing. ...

The different purpose of the interview and the relative equality of both interactants is reflected in the fact that over a half of the forty-six turns on the interviewer's side are not interrogative in form, but can be viewed as
a kind of comments which elicit other comments. The first members of an adjacency pair tend to be lengthy, comparable in size to the second member of the pair. The signals typing the first member of an adjacency pair as a question are varied and indirect, and include various epistemic markers (e.g. So that must have been a very special film; And you looked like you were having fun; which suggests that you like to be told), unfinished sentences (continual tone indicated by "..."), or the use of evaluative expressions (which is a bizzare film).

These interviews represent a deviation from the norm of journalistic talk (or, conversation). The following short analysis sets out to illustrate these universal strategies of questions/answer pairs and what enables their identification in one type of direct quotations. It will be shown that direct quotations themselves are used as a politeness strategy on the part of the writer.

3 The pragmatic use of quotations referring to interviews

What follows is a pragmatic analysis and an illustration of how our knowledge of the above observed universal principles can be relied on in an indirect environment, i.e. the use of interviewee’s turns in direct quotations by journalists.

Gricean ideas about information quantity and relevance help us deal with problems of utterance interpretation. This approach presents us with a view of discourse as a conversation-like type of discourse. This direct comparison of the strategies (forms) indicates that the interviewers use derive from the sociological variables in relation to the purpose of the interview. The following short analysis sets out to illustrate these universal strategies of questions/answer pairs and what enables their identification in one type of direct quotations. It will be shown that direct quotations themselves are used as a politeness strategy on the part of the writer.

1. "I don't understand this result. I've been skiing for 10 years in World Cups and I've been through 25 controls, and there's never been a problem," Muehlegg said Sunday in a Spanish radio interview.
2. He also was asked what his levels were. "I think that's a secret," he said.
3. When asked if Dr. Filina and Lazutina were drug-free, Scott replied: "No comment."

The three examples differ in that in the case of 1., the question leading to the comment is not explicitly mentioned in the article. It can, however, be assumed that it was some kind of a relatively neutral question, such as Would you like to comment on ..., What do you think about ..., What do you have to say about ...? Such a conclusion (inference) can be derived from looking at the other two examples and from the context. The other two initiating questions were: for 2. What were your levels? and form 3. Were Danilos and Lazutina drug-free? Before proceeding to analyze the answers, let us consider the role of these questions in the context of their utterance.

Even though the question preceding 1. is assumed to have been "neutral", it still represents a face threatening act (FTA) and is considered as threatening H's negative face because "S does not intend to avoid impeding H's freedom of action ..." (Brown&Levinson 1999: 324). Questions predicate some future act A of H, ie the answer. They also threaten H's positive face, by bringing of bad news about H (S is willing to cause distress) or raising of dangerously emotional topics (doping in our case). This is also true about the interviews by journalists with politicians, cf. above.

In the context of an interview by a journalist several factors must be borne in mind. First, both parties differ in the vulnerability of face, therefore the strategies they use differ diametrically. A journalist, in general, is less vulnerable in that most of the time he is protecting his positive side only, his self-image as somebody who is objective, witty and seeking the truth. His position allows him to perform FTAs (questions) on record, and baldly, without redress. He, however, does not try to save his positive face to be appreciated by the other interactant (the interviewee) but by the audience. This unequal position is facilitated by the fact that the interviewee had agreed to participate in the interview. (Again, the mere proposal to somebody to be interviewed is a FTA, threatening H's negative face.)

This situation contains a sociological variable of the relative power, H and S are in an asymmetric relation. A journalist may have other strategies available, but bald-on-record has the essential payoff of clarity, non-manipulativeness and efficiency (ibid: 331). He can afford this strategy because given his status, his face is not jeopardized. On the part of the interviewer, the following wants seem to dominate: (a) the want to communicate the content of FTA x; and (b) the want to perform efficiently and urgent. The (c) want to maintain H's face seems to be superfluous and is compensated for by the setting (the interviewee had agreed to be in that situation). Under this setting “any rational agent will tend to choose the same genus of strategy under the same conditions.” (ibid: 329; cf. the interviews with artists, where the (c) want seems to be dominant).

All these factors and explicit questions in examples 2. and 3. allow us to generalize and infer the nature of the question in 1. To sum up, the questions in this type of interview are generally FTAs, threatening H's both negative and positive face, usually on-record, and
When asked if Danilova and Lazutina were drug-free, Scott replied: "No comment.”

Scott’s positive and negative faces have been threatened. Her strategy in this situation is going off-record. Even though her intent could be unambiguously interpreted as S’s having no desire to communicate her opinion, in the whole context of the interview, it can be interpreted also as “I think they were not but I cannot say it out loud now and here because I don’t want to be held responsible for claiming this.” In connection to the preceding question, this reply is a violation of the maxim of manner (is ambiguous) and also quantity. The flow of the other character, combined with H’s assumption that S is being cooperative, leads to the implicature. S, in this case, gives no direct answer but relies on implicatures on the side of the hearers. In this respect this case differs from the two preceding ones in that it is not issued only to avoid a direct answer, but rather to imply the answer.

The off-record pay-offs are made use of in answers by S to avoid the accountability for his/her action. It is doubtful that, by going off-record, S in 1. and 2. can avoid responsibility for the potentially face-damaging interpretation. On the contrary, his indirectness (flouting of maxims) leads eventually to an implication, though not intended by him, but inferred, which is different from the answer in 3. This difference can be also demonstrated by an attempt to incorporate the last answer in an indirect quotation, which would require the use of an explicit performative verb (want, dare, ...?), resulting in the loss of the intended implicature. The meaning of such answers used as direct quotations can be described as negotiable and thus requiring the form, ie direct quotation. Quotations perform multiple functions, e.g. they are supposed to add topicality, trustworthiness, reliability, dynamics, or liveliness. In Bakhtin’s sense, a text with quotations is polyphonic (includes other voices). It is also intertextual, ie depends on the writer’s and (reader’s) knowledge of previous discourses; this characteristic was already observed above in the reader’s ability to understand a specific question/answer relation even when a question was not explicitly mentioned. A text containing quotations is also dialogic: ‘the dynamism and tension of criticism comes from the engagement of the writer with the quotations since (s)he may or may not agree with them’ (Wales 1989: 388).

Taking politeness theory, relevance and maxims into account, a more specific function of the writer’s ‘engagement’ with quotations stands out – that of the journalist’s avoiding the interpretation of statements, providing the wording and context (background knowledge). The dialogicality (tension and dynamism) thus arises between the source of the quotation and the ultimate reader, the journalist functioning as the mediator and exercising his criticism through the choice and positioning of quotations in the article. It was shown that in quotations from interviews where the interviewer’s strategy is on-record the answers to direct questions are rather direct and their interpretation relied heavily on the context. In such cases, the writer opts to go off-record using the quotation. Undoubtedly, he influences the eventual understanding by positioning the quotation in a particular place in the discourse of his article but using the quotation he avoids his responsibility for doing so.

4 Conclusion
Contrasting two types of interviews illustrates a correlation of the mutual relationship of the interactants and the purpose of the interview with the strategies used by the interviewer and reflected in the linguistic form of the questions asked. The knowledge of the strategy-form relation can be exploited in making reference to interviews through direct quotations in newspaper articles. In interviews which are carried out using the on-record strategy, answers that violate the maxims are found difficult to be represented in indirect quotations and the final inference of the meaning is left to the readers via the technique of using a quotation. The specific function of recording this type of FTAs verbatim represents an off-record strategy on the side of the writer/journalist.

Bibliography and references
APPENDIX

Muehlegg, Lazutina stripped of gold medals

Three athletes test positive, Russians to appeal ban

CBC SPORTS ONLINE - A drug scandal has rocked the world of cross-country skiing on the final day of competition in Salt Lake City. Just hours before the Closing Ceremonies, International Olympic Committee (IOC) director general Francois Carrard announced Johann Muehlegg and Larissa Lazutina had tested positive for the drug darbepoetin and were each stripped of a gold medal. Muehlegg failed an out-of-competition test on Thursday -- two days before winning gold in the 50km. He will lose that medal, but be allowed to keep the gold medals he won in 30km freestyle and 10km pursuit.

1. Like Muehlegg, Lazutina will have to return one of the three medals she won at the Games.
2. Earlier Sunday, Lazutina appeared to have earned a place in the record books just hours before the announcement, with a sixth career Olympic gold in the women's 30km classical race.
3. Lazutina will have to return the medal to the IOC, but is allowed to keep her two silvers.
4. Lazutina's Russian cross-country teammate, Olga Danilova, also tested positive for darbepoetin, but she will be allowed keep the gold and silver she won at the at the Games.
5. Russian Olympic chiefs said they will appeal the ban against Lazutina to the Court of Arbitration for Sport, which is based in Lausanne, Switzerland.
6. "We know that she is innocent and we are prepared to fight this doping conviction in court," said Viktor Mamatov, Russia's chef de mission.
7. According to Carrard, all three athletes have been sent home from the Games and will not participate in the Closing Ceremonies.
8. While not on the IOC's list of banned substances, darbepoetin is commonly used for the treatment of anaemia. It stimulates the production of red blood cells, which help carry oxygen.
9. "The substance is not listed on the banned list because it is so new," said Arne Ljungqvist, chairman of the International Olympic Committee's medical commission. "This is a strong statement to those who say we are far behind. We are on their heels."
10. Earlier Jordi Segura, a member of the IOC's medical committee, explained that the recently-developed drug is similar to the banned substance erythropoietin (EPO), but more powerful. He went on to say "most people" erroneously believe darbepoetin can not be detected in laboratories.
11. As a result of Muehlegg's disqualification, Russia's Mikhail Ivanov wins the gold in the men's 50km classical, with silver going to Andrus Veerpalu of Estonia and bronze to Odd-Bjørn Hjelmeset of Norway.
12. Just before the race, Muehlegg failed -- then passed -- a blood test.
13. He was tested for high levels of hemoglobin, an oxygen-carrying molecule found in red blood cells.
14. "I don't understand this result. I've been skiing for 10 years in World Cups and I've been through 25 controls, and there's never been a problem," Muehlegg said Sunday in a Spanish radio interview.
15. Cross-country skiers have to give blood before races to measure the level of red blood cells. If they are above a certain level the skier is not allowed to compete on health grounds.
16. Muehlegg's levels were above the limit for the first test, but beneath the threshold for a second test administered five minutes later.
17. Muehlegg said he thought a change in his diet three days before the race might have altered his blood levels.
18. He also was asked what his levels were. "I think that's a secret," he said.
19. Muehlegg's race-day blood test was similar to the one failed by Lazutina prior to women's 4x5-km relay.
20. Lazutina was disqualified from the event, and because there wasn't enough time to replace her, the Russian team withdrew.
21. In the women's 30km classical the gold goes to Italy's Gabriella Paruzzi, with compatriot Stefania Belmundo taking silver and Bente Skari of Norway winning the bronze.
22. Interestingly, the drug crackdown comes just days after Canadian cross-country bronze medallist Beckie Scott lashed out against the World Anti-Doping Agency and its chief Dick Pound.
23. In an interview with CBC Radio, Scott laughed off Pound's assertion that the derth of positive drug tests at the Salt Lake Games was proof that the problem of drugs in sport was improving.
24. "Honestly, I think the whole country ski community laughed out loud when we heard [Pound's comments] because we're just like, you've got to be kidding," Scott told CBC.
25. Scott won a bronze medal in 2x5-km pursuit. Danilova won the gold, Lazutina captured the silver.
26. When asked if Danilova and Lazutina were drug-free, Scott replied: "No comment."
Turn-taking Management During Cross-Examination: Lay People as Cross-Examiners

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Abstract
Unlike in conversation where there are no pre-specified restrictions for turn-taking strategies, during cross-examination the type of turn and turn order are fixed (Atkinson, Drew 1979: 37, 62). When self-represented litigants conduct cross-examination, they tend to use the turn-taking system common in everyday conversation. As a result, they may find themselves in a disadvantaged position. The paper compares the turn-taking management of self-represented litigants with the turn-taking management of a professional lawyer. The aim is to see to what extent lay people’s turn-taking is different and how it influences their cross-examination management. The data are drawn from the libel case McDonald’s Corporation v. Helen Steel and David Morris, which was tried in Great Britain.

Key words
cross-examination, litigants-in-person, courtroom discourse, institutional talk, turn-taking management, transition relevant places, speaker transition, type of turn, turn order, turn size, distribution of turn, overlapping speech, pre-specified aspects of turn-taking, locally-managed aspects of turn-taking, speaker selection, three-part structure of interaction

Introduction
The study draws upon the research into the turn-taking strategies in conversation and courtroom examination (Atkinson, Drew 1979; Stenström 1984). The aim of the paper is, however, not to contrast the turn-taking system in conversation with the turn-taking system in cross-examination. The main aim is to examine a borderline case when lay people find themselves in the position of cross-examiners. In order to be successful cross-examiners, lay litigants-in-person have to adjust their habitual conversational turn-taking to the turn-taking strategies used in courtroom settings. The two types of turn-taking display significant differences. In casual conversation speakers try to cooperate with each other whereas cross-examination is a hostile speech event (O’Barr 1982: 88). Well-established procedural conventions are therefore crucial for retaining the order in court and maintaining the authority of a judge, lawyers and other legal professionals. These conventions are reflected in the predetermined aspects of the courtroom turn-taking system. In their article on turn-taking in conversation Sacks et al. (1974: 701) make an assumption that in institutional dialogues, turn order and turn size are not locally managed (as it is the case with everyday conversation), but pre-specified. Atkinson and Drew’s analysis (1979: 60) shows that apart from the turn order, it is the type of turn and distribution of turn (but not the turn size) that are fixed in courtroom examination. The type of turn in cross-examination turn-taking is predetermined to question-answer sequences. This is, however, only a minimal description since questions and answers can fulfill various interactional tasks (Atkinson, Drew 1979: 60 – 62). The fixed type of turns is closely connected to a pre-allocated character of the distribution of turns. The questioning task is pre-allocated to a counsel or another legal professional, whereas the answering is pre-allocated to a witness or defendant, i.e. a less institutionally powerful participant (Drew, Sorjonen 1997: 102). The turn order is also fixed since the counsel who initiates the examination self-selects after each answer turn (Atkinson, Drew 1979: 62). The tendency to maintain the pre-allocated aspects of the turn-taking system is so strong in institutional settings that any deviations from the distribution of turns or type of turns are immediately repaired with various remedial techniques (Heydon 2005: 93 – 96). Maintaining the orderliness of turn-taking during cross-examination helps lawyers to retain the authority and power over witnesses or defendants (Thornborrow 2002: 37 – 43). Given the differences in pre-allocated aspects of the turn-taking management in conversation and cross-examination, cross-examination overlaps should not happen very often as lawyers have a powerful tool for controlling the turn size of a witness or defendant by asking either close-ended or open-ended questions (Gibbons 2003: 93 – 94). Moreover, in cross-examination the speaker selection order is pre-determined and therefore the pressure for self selection is much less than in conversation (Atkinson, Drew 1979: 66). On the other hand, O’Barr (1982: 87 – 88) argues that overlaps are more frequent in cross-examination than in examination-in-chief because during the latter one there is no need to compete for a particular version of events. The results of the experimental study by O’Barr (1987: 89 – 91) show that subject jurors perceive frequent overlaps during cross-examination as moments in which a lawyer loses control over the situation and the turn of events in general. But at the same time whenever simultaneous speech is dominated by a witness, the lawyer is perceived as a wise professional who allows the witness to present his or her testimony. Thus it is better to avoid overlapping speech and in case it does happen, lawyers should not try to control it too much as it might turn against them. Lawyers often employ such remedial techniques as cut-offs or re-starts to restore the turn order (Atkinson, Drew 1979: 67). As far as lay litigants-in-person are concerned, they might have difficulties
with the speaker transition places and employing remedial techniques. There is yet another aspect of courtroom turn-taking which is locally managed. As it was mentioned above, the pre-allocated types of turn are minimally characterized by question-answer sequences. But the interactional tasks fulfilled within the individual turns are managed interactionally. Atkinson and Drew (1979: 69 – 70) stress that even though during cross-examination questions and answers can perform various functions (e.g. challenges, accusations, justifications, rebuttals), a question-answer character of examination may be attended to as a constraint on what should properly occur in speakers’ turns (75). Interactional work is therefore taken as an illegitimate action. Nonetheless, skillful lawyers can still conceal additional pragmatic meaning into a series of questions which make a witness narrow down the replies (Stenström 1994: 173).

The only drawback of Atkinson and Drew’s study (1979) on courtroom turn-taking is that they consider the adjacency pair question-answer sequences as the only model of interaction. Writing about classroom language and teacher-students and parents-children interactional patterns, Mishler (1975: 100) argues that a question-initiated discourse necessarily consists of a sequence of three utterances: a question, a response and a confirmation. It is hardly possible to expect a confirmation in such a hostile event as cross-examination. Stenström (1984: 67) uses a term ‘follow-up’ for third turns. According to her, follow-ups are an optional but important part of question-response sequences. The results of Stenström’s (1984: 258) quantitative study of a civil case show that follow-up turns occur in one out of six question-answer sequences, which means that in cross-examination discourse they are not as frequent as in everyday conversation. Gibbons (2003: 124) mentions that evaluative third parts is a powerful device for challenging or supporting the testimony. Thus the management of third turns is an additional aspect of turn-taking that lay litigants-in-person can have problems with.

Data and Methods
The present study is a single-case study. The data are drawn from the libel case McDonald’s Corporation v. Helen Steel and David Morris. Judicial proceedings started after McDonald’s sued Helen and David, volunteers from London Greenpeace organisation, for being involved in the preparation and distribution of the fact sheet “What’s wrong with McDonald’s? Everything they do not want you to know”. The fact sheet accused McDonald’s of treating the employees badly, directing their advertisements at children, providing deceptive information on the nutritional value of their products, etc. The case aroused publicity as it took lay litigants-in-person more time to cross-examine the witnesses. During that period the lawyer asked 668 question turns by R. Rampton (1896 question turns by H. Steel and D. Morris and 668 question turns by R. Rampton). Such an imbalance in question turns by H. Steel and D. Morris and 668 question turns by R. Rampton. Overlapping speech is, for instance, indicated by most court reporters with dashes (see extract 1). According to Walker (1986), “this method is ambiguous as to continuity of the voice stream” (212) since it is impossible to find out how many speakers were speaking simultaneously and for how long. It was therefore necessary to take these inaccuracies into consideration when drawing conclusions on turn-taking strategies.

Results
Given the character of the analysed features (i.e. the frequency of overlapping speech and the frequency of the evaluative third parts), the statistic results cannot be counted exactly. Even though the statistics in this study are approximate, it is still possible to draw general conclusions from the results. A more detailed summary together with examples is provided in the discussion part.

The sample for the analysis comprises eight days of cross-examinations of four witnesses cross-examined by Helen and David. There are 896 question turns in Helen’s cross-examinations and 967 question turns in David’s cross-examinations. Altogether the sample includes 1896 question turns for both of the litigants-in-person.

The sample of Richard Rampton’s cross-examinations comprises 6 days of cross-examinations of three witnesses. During that period the lawyer asked 1896 question turns by H. Steel and D. Morris than the number of the question turns produced by R. Rampton (1896 question turns by H. Steel and D. Morris and 668 question turns by R. Rampron). Such an imbalance in the number of questions is also caused by the fact that it took lay litigants-in-person more time to cross-examine witnesses.

As far as overlapping speech is concerned, in Helen and David’s cross-examinations it occurred approximately twice as often as in Rampton’s. In contrast to the cross-examinations conducted by the self-represented litigants, in Rampton’s cross-examinations overlapping speech never occurred in more than two turns in a row (compare extract 1 and extract 2).

When counting the frequency of evaluative third parts, it was not possible to take into consideration the evaluative parts which are incorporated into questions (see extract 5) due to the ambiguity of their function.
Thus only explicit evaluative parts (see extracts 3 and 4) were included in the statistics. The results show that Richard Rampton incorporated explicit evaluative parts in approximately 3% of the turns, whereas H. Steel and D. Morris included them in 9% and 8% of turns correspondingly. As it was expected, the frequency of evaluative third turns is higher during Helen and David’s cross-examinations.

**Discussion**

This part aims to analyze the features of cross-examination turn-taking that were discussed above. Extract 1 illustrates a sample of overlapping speech that occurred in David’s cross-examination. The sample is taken from the first period of the trial when lay litigants-in-person weren’t as confident with cross-examining as they became later. In this extract David cross-examines a hostile expert witness Dr. Arnott and he starts by reading out from one of the reports that were submitted by other expert witnesses.

1. M (reading out from a report): “Many countries have, therefore, [to deal with those
diseases I first mentioned, including cancer], published dietary guidelines, general
recommendations concerning diet which are aimed at the whole population in order to
prevent these diseases and to promote good health.” Would you say that is a bit strong
to say that, prevention of those diseases?
2. W: No, they are just stating a fact.
3. M: That the dietary guidelines ----
4. W: That certain countries have published guidelines which, presumably, those countries
believe might reduce the risk of diseases such -----
5. M: Might prevent or reduce the risk?
6. W: They are not saying ----.
7. M: An example of that is the one we were reading before, the US National Academy, “It
is important to remember that although diet is an important contributory factor to
these diseases”. Would you say that is a bit strong or that is an important contributory
factor?
8. W: I think, certainly as far as coronary artery disease is concerned, diet is important.
9. M: But it says “to these diseases”, so presumably all those diseases?
10. W: Well, you know, I would agree with some of it but not as far as cancer is concerned,
because I do not believe we have the evidence to support that.
11. M: So would you say therefore that that statement ----?
12. W: They are talking about obesity and we know the influence that obesity has on the
outlook of patients with cancer, so in that sense it is important.
13. M: So you can say that diet is linked to cancer through obesity but not necessarily through
other ----?
14. W: There is a linkage, but not necessarily in terms of causation.
15. M: Right.
16. W: I mean, it seems logical to assume that aspects of our diet are involved in the causation
of certain illnesses.
17. M: Yes.
18. W: But my argument ----.
19. M: Including cancer?
20. W: Including cancer, but my argument is we do not have the scientific evidence to support
that at the moment. We have conflicting evidence, some of which suggests that there
is a relationship between certain items in the diet and cancer, and equally convincing
evidence from other studies which fail to demonstrate that.

In line 8, Dr. Arnott interrupts D. Morris, who seems to have self-selected too soon without allowing Dr. Arnott to finish the idea he commenced in line 6. Thus the interruption in line 8 is caused by the expert witness’s wish to finish his idea himself (i.e. the idea from line 6). The competition for the floor emerges from the participants’ wish to present their own understanding of the facts. In line 10, Morris interrupts the witness to ask a specifying question and immediately after that in line 12 he prevents Dr. Arnott from saying what he wanted by interrupting the witness once again. In this extract Morris is very coercive at the expense of retaining the orderliness of the interaction. In lines 20 and 23, the situation is different. David continuously tries to phrase his question but he is interrupted by the witness two times in a row. By this time the fact of overlapping speech is firmly established and the cross-examination seems to lack a fixed structure. In lines 26 and 29, David does not respect the principle of the pre-allocated type of turn and instead of asking questions, he provides supportive follow-up comments. In line 31, David interrupts the
witness once again and the witness has to restart his answer to the previous question (see line 32). The frequency of overlaps in this cross-examination is unnecessarily high. As a result, the facts are presented in a disordered way. If the case had been tried in front of a jury, D. Morris would have been perceived as a powerless cross-examiner. Another problem that might arise in cross-examination with frequent overlapping and evaluative third parts is connected with the pace of cross-examination. The pace necessarily slows down and the intelligibility worsens if participants have to restart their turns.

In Rampton’s cross-examination, overlapping speech does not occur very often and if it does occur, the lawyer makes sure that it does not last for a long time. He either makes it clear to a witness that he or she is expected to acquiesce, or lets the witness finish his or her turn. Since R. Rampton is a professional lawyer, witnesses seem to admit his authority more readily than the authority of lay litigants-in-person. In Extract 2, Rampton clearly establishes the situation in which he wants to explain the facts in his own words to see whether he understands everything correctly. After several tries at interrupting the lawyer (see lines 2 and 7), the expert witness Dr. Barnard conforms to the conditions set by Rampton (see line 7). In line 10, Rampton again manages to finish his explanation despite Barnard’s interruption.

Extract 2: R. Rampton (R) cross-examines Dr. Barnard on 12 October 1994

1 R: That, as I understand it, Dr. Barnard -----
2 W: That is half the response.
3 R: That is half the response, but can I deal with that and make sure I really do understand it?
4 W: Please.
5 R: That is because in post-menopausal women the ovaries and the adrenal glands no longer produce oestrogen themselves?
6 W: That is not -- well, go ahead, sorry.
7 R: There is a production post-menopause of something called androstenedione?
8 W: That is correct which has ----
9 R: That has a tendency to increase the level of oestrone?
10 W: Yes, that is correct.
11 R: Which is observed to have a tumour promoting effect both in humans and in animals;
12 W: It seems to be correct, yes.

From the first two extracts it is evident that the main difference between D. Morris’s turn-taking and R. Rampton’s turn-taking system lies in the frequency of overlapping speech and the orderliness of cross-examination. While David’s cross-examination is ordered similarly to everyday talk, Rampton’s cross-examination is organized more efficiently.

H. Steel has the same problems with cross-examination turn-taking as D. Morris. Her cross-examination in Extract 3 reminds of a discussion rather than cross-examination. Helen does not elicit information from the witness by asking questions, she simply lets the witness present his view. In lines 6, 15 and 18 she violates the principle of the pre-allocated type of turn and instead of asking questions, she expresses agreement and shows the witness that she can follow him. This strategy, however, deprives Helen of her privilege as a cross-examiner to control the testimony of a witness. The reactions to the witness’s replies (i.e. ‘yes’, ‘right’) can also be considered as follow-ups since they follow after question-reply sequences. Helen’s follow-ups are not challenging and her cross-examination turn-taking is thus close to conversational turn-taking.
As it was mentioned in the introductory part of the paper, the evaluative third parts are not frequent during court examination, but they can be used in a very effective way. Their use might not always be approved of in court though, and an opposing lawyer may raise an objection. A good use of an evaluative third part can be found in Extract 4, in which David cross-examines Dr. Arnott about the connection between obesity and cancer. The evaluative third part in line 9 is of a different character from the follow-ups in Helen’s cross-examination in Extract 3. In line 9, David manages to challenge the reply of the witness saying that the interpretations of the same facts can vary.

In Rampton’s cross-examinations evaluative parts are most often incorporated into close-ended questions (see lines 7, 9, 14 and 16 in extract 5). The character of follow-up questions is reinforced by the use of the conjunctions ‘but’, ‘nor’ (lines 7, 9 and 16) and the relative pronoun ‘which’ (line 14). By incorporating the evaluation into the questions, Rampton does not lose the pace of the cross-examination. In fact, as it can be observed from the following extract, his cross-examination comprises of clearly defined question turns, which elicit specific information and do not allow the witness to digress. Therefore the pace of his cross-examinations seems to be quicker than .
Extract 5. R. Rampton (R) cross-examines Dr. Barnard (W) on 12 October 1994

1. R: We notice from this section of your book that you do not mention the number of children, parity, which has a correlation epidemiologically with the incidence of breast cancer, does it not?
2. W: It may. This is a book about how to eat food, not how many children people should have. And, from my reading of the literature, what is certainly important epidemiologically has to do with the interval between puberty and first pregnancy.
3. R: But the number of children you decide to have has nothing to do with your diet, has it?
5. R: Nor has the height to which you may eventually aspire has or may have something to do with diet, yes?
6. W: It may.
7. R: It may.
8. W: It also has obviously a lot to do with intrinsic pituitary function.
9. R: Yes, which in turn may be a function of heredity, may it not?
10. W: I cannot tell that those factors have really been elaborated.
11. R: But height is certainly recognised as a factor, a positive factor, in the risk of getting breast cancer?
12. W: Taller women do ------

As it was shown above, competitive settings lead to interruptions and competing for the floor. But in courtroom settings it is necessary to retain the order of the turn-taking. Otherwise, a cross-examiner loses control over the cross-examination and the participants have to re-start or cut-off their turns. As it was expected, Helen and David’s turn-taking is similar to the conversational turn-taking due to frequent overlaps and follow-ups that are sometimes too supportive and not challenging enough. In contrast to the litigants-in-person’s turn-taking management, R. Rampton preserves the pre-allocated aspects of the cross-examination turn-taking, i.e. turn order and distribution of turns.

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