SPEECH PATHOLOGIES
Narrative perseverations in MCI patients

Luciana BRANDI, Stefania LUCCHESINI
DiLCo Laboratory - University of Florence
Via S. Reparata 93-95, 50129 Florence
luciana.brandi@unifi.it, stefania.lucchesini@unifi.it

Abstract

Narrative perseverations, defined as those repetitive verbal behaviours that appear to be intentional attempts at fully propositional utterances and narrative texts within conversations, are examined in six patients affected by Mild Cognitive Impairment (MCI). The role of the connections between the classical language areas is considered so to explain echolalic types of language productions.

Keywords: auto-echolalia; fronto-temporal degeneration; neurolinguistics.

1. Persistence in normal speech

Persistence of activation is a normal feature in the language processing system, and its effects are observable in the domain of speech production: at word level, in word-naming tasks, at phonological level, in speech errors, and at syntactic level (Levelt, 1989; Bock & Loebell, 1990; Dell et al., 1997a,b). Recurrent linguistic strings in spontaneous oral stories (Wray & Perkins, 2000) represents the modality to assure linguistic economicity and efficacy of the produced text and hence they constitute a sort of ‘recitative speech’ which makes communication easier. These perseverative effects in normal speech production may be related to the role and function of formulaic language in communication, seen as a blending of generative and formulaic sequences, each one resulting from the selected choice, for the speaker, of a holistic or an analytic processing strategy at any given moment. The very existence in normal subjects of such perseverative effects is of great consequence for interpreting the verbal perseverations produced by brain damaged patients, as in aphasia, mild cognitive impairment or dementia: the role of the impairment would not be to newly generate a protracted activation of previous utterances but only to disclose and abnormally maximize the shared verbal behaviour through the pathological form of overt perseverations.

2. Persistence in abnormal speech production

In the literature, recurrent perseveration is defined as the inappropriate occurrence of a previous response following the intervening presentation of a new stimulus within the context of a task set (Christman et al., 2004). Information processing models account for the phenomenon of recurrent perseveration as for the involuntary reactivation of an old memory trace in the context of a purposive attempt to respond to a new stimulus in a given task. Normally, memory traces retain a certain amount of post activation strength that either decay naturally over time or undergoes active cognitive inhibition. Hence inhibition failure can explain perseverations in the sense that once a response is produced, it is retained in working memory as an active trace that is subsequently available for rehearsal processes, with the effect that it disrupts the registration of new material in working memory and compromise search and retrieval from long term memory (Goldstein, 1948; Sandson & Albert, 1984; Cohen & Dehaene, 1998; Bayles et al. 1985, 2004; McNamara & Albert, 2004).

3. Narrative Perseverations

In the present study, narrative perseverations are defined as those repetitive verbal behaviours that appear to be intentional attempts at fully propositional utterances and narrative texts within conversations in patients with Mild Cognitive Impairment (MCI), a clinical construct that describes individuals with mildly impaired performance on objective neuropsychological tests but relatively intact global cognition and daily functioning (Petersen et al., 2001). MCI has been validated as qualitatively different from both normal aging and dementia (Petersen, 2004) and is a risk factor for the development of dementia (Smith et al., 2003). The invented recurrent utterances in recurrent texts recall the Verbatim texts in Becker's (1975) basic six category taxonomy of adult native speaker formulas, but their textual dimension and the temporal distance intervening between the recurrent texts make it questionable that the explanation would rest on priming effects and in general on a simple information processing or memory processing hypothesis (Brandi, 2011).

3.1 Methods and materials

The study was conducted in six patients (2 males and 4 females), aged from 70 to 78 years. They fulfilled the criteria for M.C.I. The data were collected as recorded spontaneous speech in familiar conversations (in the period 2009-2011): the corpus is filed at DiLCo Lab. The choice: given the curvilinear relation between severity of dementia, task type and frequency of perseveration, we decided to ecologically examine recurrent perseveration in spontaneous speech so that no task effect would be present.

3.2 Results

The corpus is characterized by the perseveration of quite extended narrative texts, that is extended linguistic sequences through which the patient is telling about an episode of his/her life. We show that perseveration does

not range over words or phrases alone but also over sentences and sequences of sentences, that is texts. Their main features are: the recurrent perseverations of narratives originate from later reiterations of the patient’s own previous narrations, where previous means a) within the same conversational unit, hence in temporally near or concomitant stages; b) in different conversational units, temporally at a distance of days or even weeks.

With respect to perseverations in aphasia tests, narrative perseverations are not due to a problem of working memory because of the temporal span involved: infact they occur:

- in the same story text at distance of few minutes;
- in the same story text at distance of days;
- in the same story text at distance of weeks.

Ex:

Patient M. F.

01.06.2011
A. C.: Do you remember your sisters’ name?
M. F.: Nives and Nisarde, strange names, Nives is beautiful, but Nisarde is very ugly. I don’t realize how my mother could choose a similar name. Maybe she read it, there isn’t any other, in P. and V. and it is an ugly name, while Nives is a beautiful one. Nives, but it is difficult to pronounce because of its final s, and we don’t stop at it, we say Nivesse.

09.07.2011
M. F.: Nisarde, I don’t know, probably my mother read it, nobody in the valley has the same name, while Nives is difficult to pronounce, we never stop at the s, we say Nivesse.

16.07.2011
A. C.: And your sisters?
M. F.: Nives and Nisarde, a very strange name, I don’t realize how my mother could choose it, there isn’t any other in whole T., maybe she read it somewhere, Nisarde, is very ugly
S. L.: No, I like it, it has a nice sound
M. F.: No I didn’t like it, while Nives is a beautiful name, we have to stop at the s but it’s difficult, and many people said Nivesse

Patient P. M.

28.02.2011
[02.00] Of course I go, we were on shift together, but, you you I don’t stay for dinner, so they prepare a little pizza for me and one of these boys bring me home.
[11.00] When we were on shift, then they stay for dinner, while I don’t stay, no, they prepare a little pizza for me and I go home, they prepare a little pizza and one of these boys bring me home.

[31.06] I was on shift with these boys, I was on shift with these boys, but they bring me home because I don’t stay for dinner, they prepare for me something to eat and bring me home.

Long-term memory can be differently affected in MCI patients: as narrative perseverations show:

- semantic memory is fully spared;
- old episodic memory is spared;
- new episodic memory is partly affected.

The patient R.S. is able to give specific features and details in talking about the birth of his nephew, held eighteen years before, while C.B. may relate only generically on his very recent trip to USA:

24.03.2011
R. S.: It was wonderful when E. was born, we were at the Careggi, at the Mayer, no, my daughter was… no, at the Mayer, and she was under the doctor of the maternity ward, first we saw all the newborn babies over a trolley, then I said to my wife he is the one, and she replied how can you say that? And I: you will see. The others were dark with hairs, he was the only one blonde without hair.
A C.: Was he the one?
R. S.: When we went to see him I said to M.P.: Was he the one? and she: yes, you were right. And even if think back I was right, he was the one.

Patient C. B.

13.10.2011
C. B.: Colorado is beautiful, beautiful, beautiful, beautiful… Go there if you can…. Every kind of animal, there’re there’re… they pass between the cars, last july my friend from Piombino called me: Do we go to Colorado? Colorado? right, we do go to Colorado. We were fourteen people in a minibus, we saw something…. So, beautiful, natural, I am surprised that Americans left a place in that way, so… natural.

As the process involved is an inability to inhibit the iterate repetition of one’s own previous productions, even as external stimuli change, the proper term would be auto-echolalia – i.e. the accurate reproduction of his own/her own previous uttered texts:

A neurolinguistic model is required, linking the observed linguistic behaviour to inferred dysfunctions within distributed neural networks. Narrative perseverations may be explained as changes in functional brain integration due to progressive white matter loss.

The perisylvian network for language involved
mirrors the language territories for echolalic autism. Following the analysis from Catani and ffytche (2005) for the arcuate fasciculus, the connections between the classical language territories, that is Broca’s and Wernicke’s area, show a more complex structure, adding to the known direct pathway two indirect ones. Specifically, the indirect pathway appears to relate to semantically based language functions (such as auditory comprehension and vocalization of semantic content), whereas the direct pathway relates to phonologically based language functions (such as automatic repetition).

This is not to say that these functions are restricted to perisylvian areas, but merely that within the parallel pathways we describe, the two functions are anatomically dissociable (Brandi, 2005; Lucchesini, 2010).

Given that the evolution/devolution of the blending between echolalic and creative language strongly correlates to the neural processes of connectivity and lateralization involving the arcuate fasciculus, the occurrence of auto-echolalic perseverative language in the speech of M.C.I. patients and of echolalic speech in children with autism could be traced to the same assumptions. If the echolalic speech of the autistic child has to be due to lack of maturational processes in neural connectivity its features could be related to hyperfunction in the direct pathway connecting Broca’s and Wernicke’s territories (Catani & ffytche, 2005). Perseveration in M.C.I. can be seen as a sort of auto-echolalia equally descending from loss of neural connectivity within the same language territories.

4. Acknowledgements

This research was funded in part by Fondazione Cassa di Risparmio di Pistoia e Pescia.

5. References


A interação conversacional entre afásicos e não afásicos

Érica de Araújo COUTO, César REIS

Laboratório de Fonética
Universidade Federal de Minas Gerais
Av. Antônio Carlos, 6.627 - 31270-901 - Belo Horizonte - Brasil
ecoutobhz@gmail.com, creisufmg@ufmg.com

Abstract

Em uma situação comunicativa o interlocutor não afásico interpreta e dá significado aos segmentos estereotipados do sujeito afásico, a partir da variação da entonação e de outras formas de expressão como os gestos de apontar, mímica facial e a escrita. O interlocutor não afásico utiliza ainda outras estratégias comunicativas como perguntas e afirmações, provocando a concordância ou não do sujeito afásico, tornando possível a comunicação e a interação social. Buscando compreender a interlocução entre afásicos e não afásicos na estereotipia verbal, delineou-se um estudo onde foram realizadas entrevistas semi estruturadas com os familiares não afásicos de 4 indivíduos afásicos que utilizam a estereotipia não lexical e gestos como forma de expressão. O grau de parentesco é cônjuge (3) e irmã (1) e que foram convidados a participarem do estudo considerando o contato diário com o afásico em atividades cotidianas, acompanhamento a médicos e atividades de lazer. Como conclusão observa-se que: o interlocutor não afásico se sente como um tradutor da expressão do afásico; a variação da entonação é importante mas não o suficiente para uma comunicação efetiva; o contexto e familiaridade são essenciais e finalmente relatam uma dificuldade na compreensão de uma informação nova fornecida pelo afásico.

Palavra-chave: afasia; comunicação; gestos; escrita.

1. Introdução

Durante uma interação comunicativa entre sujeitos afásicos e não afásicos observa-se que o interlocutor não afásico interpreta e dá significado aos segmentos estereotipados do sujeito afásico, a partir da variação da entonação e de outras formas de expressão como os gestos de apontar, mímica facial, a escrita, o desenho. O interlocutor não afásico utiliza ainda outras estratégias comunicativas como perguntas e afirmações provocando a concordância ou não do sujeito afásico tornando possível a comunicação e a interação entre afásicos e não afásicos.

A estereotipia verbal é uma alteração da expressão oral em afásicos caracterizado pela emissão de segmentos sonoros que são automaticamente repetidos todas as vezes que o indivíduo tenta se comunicar. As estereotipias verbais se dividem em não lexicais, constituídas de uma sequência de fonemas, palavras sem significado e emissões ininteligíveis; e lexicais, constituídos de palavras com significado, frases e partículas sim/não. Muitas vezes as estereotipias verbais não lexicais são compostas de sílabas com estruturas simples como consoante-vogal (CV) ou consoante-vogal-consoante (CVC).

Uma das características mais marcantes da estereotipia é a entonação. As estereotipias parecem interagir com a entonação e com elementos do contexto, possibilitando uma interpretação parcial, senão total, do enunciado em uma situação específica de fala. Na ausência de elementos sintáticos e semânticos significativos e associados a habilidades pragmáticas, a prosódia possibilita a manutenção de habilidades comunicativas como a alternância de papéis na conversação.

Um número de afasiologistas tem expressado a visão de que pacientes com estereotipia podem utilizar sua entonação para transmitir significado: eles habilidosamente modulam sua estereotipia para expressar necessidades, pensamentos, sentimentos (Lebrun, 1993) A observação clínica indica que os indivíduos afásicos produzem uma expressão fluente com variações de entonação, com a intenção de transmitir informação comunicativa. Code (1994) também aponta para o fato de que, na prática clínica, o indivíduo parece manter habilidades pragmáticas como a alternância de papéis na conversação, o que torna a interação possível, apesar da ausência de elementos sintáticos e semânticos.

Outros estudiosos, no entanto (Pell & Baum, 1997; Bleser & Poekel, 1985), apontam para o fato de que afásicos com estereotipia com alto grau de severidade apresentam um baixo desempenho nas tarefas de compreensão oral, o que não lhes permitiria desenvolver e exercer um controle cognitivo sobre suas emissões. Em uma situação de conversação com um interlocutor não afásico, muito provavelmente este interlocutor irá se adaptar ao baixo nível de informação transmitido e, com o auxílio de certo grau de compreensão verbal e não verbal e estratégias não verbais, interprete a resposta do parceiro afásico utilizando a variação da prosódia como adequada. Os estudos mencionados acima também apontam para a existência de uma troca de turnos conversacionais nesses pacientes, tornando possível a interação conversacional apesar da ausência de elementos semânticos e sintático.

2. Método

Buscando compreender a interlocução entre afásicos e não afásicos na estereotipia verbal, delineou-se um estudo onde foram realizadas entrevistas semi estruturadas com os familiares não afásicos de 4 indivíduos afásicos que utilizam a estereotipia não lexical e a utilização de gestos como forma de expressão. O grau de parentesco é cônjuge (3) e irmã (1) e que foram convidados a participarem do estudo considerando o contato diário com o afásico, em atividades do cotidiano, acompanhamento a médicos e atividades de lazer. Os familiares eram entrevistados pela pesquisadora e as entrevistas gravadas. Em algumas perguntas eram dadas alternativas caso o entrevistado demonstrasse alguma incerteza ou incompreensão. Uma análise descritiva das respostas dos entrevistados foi realizada e os resultados encontrados foram divididos em...
estratégias comunicativas utilizadas pelos afásicos e estratégias comunicativas utilizadas pelos não afásicos.

1) Como você se comunica com o seu familiar?
    (1) fala e faz gesto.
    (2) fala somente.
    (3) faz gesto somente.

2) Como ele se comunica com você?
    (1) fala e faz gesto.
    (2) fala somente.
    (3) faz gesto somente.

3) Quando vocês estão em algum lugar que alguém se aproxima e inicia a conversação:
    (1) você deixa ele responder mesmo com dificuldade.
    (2) responde por ele.
    (3) explica para a pessoa que ele tem dificuldades para falar e então responde por ele.

4) Você entende o que o seu familiar fala ou tenta adivinhar? perguntando ou fazendo algum gesto ou ação?

5) Seu familiar afásico:
    (1) inicia a conversa.
    (2) espera você iniciar.
    (3) mantém a conversa mesmo com dificuldade.
    (4) encerra a conversa se alguém não entende.
    (5) fica nervoso, com raiva, tímido triste.

6) Você acha que ele sabe que está falando de forma diferente? Aparenta ter vergonha do jeito que fala?

7) Que atividades o seu familiar faz sozinho?

Quadro 1: Roteiro da Entrevista

3. Resultados
As estratégias comunicativas utilizadas pelos afásicos, descritas pelos interlocutores foram: estereotipias verbais onde a variação da entonação se destaca; gestos de apontar; mímica facial; gestos de ação e da forma do objeto; escrita e desenho. Relatamos que os afásicos não iniciam a conversação; que quando a compreensão da expressão do afásico por parte do interlocutor torna-se difícil há o abandono do processo comunicativo; que os afásicos não se utilizam de modalidade (prosódia linguística), mas apresentam a prosódia afetiva. Quanto ao interlocutor não afásico este se utiliza das seguintes estratégias em sua comunicação com o afásico: combinação de diferentes formas de comunicação como gestos, mímica facial e escrita, juntamente com a variação da entonação e apoio do contexto; utilização de estratégia comunicativa do tipo “hint and guess”,onde o interlocutor não afásico sugere e ou adivinha o significado do enunciado e o afásico confirma ou não.

4. Conclusão
Como conclusão que em uma situação comunicativa onde a estereotipia verbal é a forma de expressão oral do afásico, o interlocutor não afásico assume o papel de um tradutor desta forma de expressão. A variação da entonação é importante, mas não o suficiente para uma comunicação efetiva sendo o contexto e familiaridade com o tópico da conversação essenciais para uma boa compreensão do que é expresso através da estereotipia verbal. E finalmente, os interlocutores não afásicos relatam muita dificuldade em compreender uma informação nova dada pelo afásico.

5. Referências
Prosody and communicative function in verbal stereotypy of aphasic individuals

Érica de Araújo COUTO, César REIS
Phonetics Laboratory - Universidade Federal de Minas Gerais, Belo Horizonte, Brasil
Av. Antônio Carlos, 6627 - Belo Horizonte/MG - Brasil
ecoutobhz@gmail.com, creisufmg@ufmg.com

Abstract

Prosodic aspects in aphasic adults were assessed to gain insight into aphasic verbal stereotypy in Portuguese-speaking subjects. We employed language tasks with repetition and naming to test the hypothesis that aphasic individuals, who use stereotypes as a form of expression, appropriately use prosodic features to communicate effectively. Our results suggest that there is a strong individual component in the development of stereotypy at both the segmental and prosodic level. The intonation pattern of studied aphasic individuals did not match the expected intonation pattern of normal speech, and their acoustic parameters showed variability with highly specific characteristics. We suggest the existence of stereotyped prosody in aphasics that results from automatic processing and a lack of cognitive control and communicative intent.

Keywords: aphasia; prosody; verbal stereotypy; communication.

1. Introduction

In speech and language disorders of acquired neurological origin, such as aphasia, there is a variety of changes in oral and written language skills. These can involve both understanding and expression and are due to dysfunction in specific brain regions. One oral expression disorder that has captured the attention of clinicians and researchers is the emission of sound segments that are automatically repeated every time the individual attempts to communicate. These sound segments, also called “recurring utterances,” “permanent verbal stereotypies,” and “speech automatisms,” differ considerably from patient to patient and may occur for days, weeks, months, or even years.

One of the most striking features of verbal stereotypy is intonation. Stereotypies seem to interact with intonation and context elements, enabling the partial, if not total, interpretation of a statement in a specific speech situation. In the absence of syntactic and semantic elements associated with meaningful and pragmatic abilities, prosody enables the maintenance of communication skills, such as alternating roles in conversation.

In an attempt to gain greater insight into this feature of stereotypy, we sought to answer the following questions: which communicative role has the intonation in the speech of aphasic individual? Is it a communication strategy developed by aphasic individuals or is it the product of automated processing as published studies suggest? Is this variation intentional, i.e., is it emitted by aphasic individuals for conveying meaning? Or, is the non-aphasic listener inferring meaning from the prosodic issuance variations by aphasic individuals?

According to Code (1989), verbal stereotypies are divided into non-lexical, consisting of a sequence of phonemes; nonsense words and unintelligible emissions; and lexical, consisting of meaningful words, phrases, and yes/no particles. Often, non-lexical verbal stereotypies are composed of syllables with simple structures, such as consonant-vowel (CV) or consonant-vowel-consonant (CVC). Stereotypies are always pronounced in the same way, but they may have temporary phonetic variations. They are produced easily, smoothly, and without apparent effort for an indefinite period, predominantly as a verbal expression of the individual or, in some cases, as their only form of expression. Each aphasic individual has a limited, individual repertoire of verbal segments with specific variations in frequency, intensity, and pace, but we cannot affirm whether these prosodic features contain any meaning, e.g., rising and falling intonations to distinguish questions and assertions.

A number of aphasiology professionals have expressed the view that patients with stereotypy can use their intonations to convey meaning; they skillfully modulate stereotypy to express their needs, thoughts, and feelings (Lebrun, 1993). Others, however, such as Code (1994) observe that changing intonation is possible for some patients, but this does not follow the intonation pattern proposed for non-pathological speech. We believe that non-stereotypic individuals have unique intonation patterns, and patients that cannot vary intonation make changes at the level of arrangement.

With the aim of increasing understanding of prosodic functioning in aphasic patients, especially those with stereotypies, we sought to confirm the hypothesis that aphasic individual who uses stereotypes as a form of expression make appropriate use of prosodic resources to communicate effectively.

2. Methods

We assessed non-lexical stereotypies with linguistic tasks that enabled the collection of data and subsequent quantitative and qualitative analysis. The tasks chosen were repetition and confrontation naming where the participants were presented with a picture and were asked to name the object or its function. Repetition implies that the subject’s processes of encoding and decoding segmental and non-segmental aspects of speech are preserved, and we expected them to reproduce different intonations of utterances. Additionally, repetition allows greater control over utterance duration and the number of pauses, syllables, and accents. During the repetition task,
the content to be repeated was comprised of 6 short and long illocutionary speech acts, assertion (I am very tired/I am very tired because these bags are too heavy), question (Do you want to dance with me/?Do you want to dance with me this last song?), and order (Get out!/Out!/Get out of here! Get out; you’re making a mess in here). The phrases were chosen based on modality and length.

The naming task was designed to induce a more spontaneous emission and allow us to assess whether the subjects’ responses resembled the control word with regard to duration, number of syllables, reproduction of the word’s emphasis, and prosodic organization. The stimuli consisted of 11 words with different numbers of syllables and accents.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>WORD</th>
<th>CLASSIFICATION</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Trem</td>
<td>monosyllable, with accent on the whole word</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Vaca</td>
<td>disyllable, with accent on the penultimate syllable</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Boné</td>
<td>disyllable, with accent on the last syllable</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Ônibus</td>
<td>trisyllable, with accent on the antepenultimate syllable</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Cadeira</td>
<td>trisyllable, with accent on the penultimate syllable</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Macarrão</td>
<td>trisyllable, with accent on the last syllable</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Professora</td>
<td>four syllables, with accent on the penultimate syllable</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Helicóptero</td>
<td>five syllables, with accent on the antepenultimate syllable</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Escorregador</td>
<td>six syllables, with accent on the last syllable</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Aspargo</td>
<td>trisyllable, with accent on the penultimate syllable</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Ábaco</td>
<td>trisyllable, with accent on the antepenultimate syllable</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Esfinge</td>
<td>trisyllable, with accent on the penultimate syllable</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Table 1: Words used in Nomination Task

The experimental group (EG) was comprised of 8 aphasic patients (5 males and 3 females) with chronic global aphasia and non-lexical verbal stereotypy who were able to understand the linguistic tasks. The control group (CG) consisted of 4 subjects (3 females and 1 male) without language impairment.

Utterances of both groups were analyzed using the Pratt computer program for acoustic analysis; CG assessment was based on Halliday’s Theoretical Model of Intonation (1970), and the aphasic group analysis was based on the findings of Rizzo (1981) and his claim that intonation plays an important role in speech acts. In our study, we found that aphasic individuals, who had control over prosodic parameters, were able to use them appropriately in different communication situations. The utterances of both groups were described in detail and descriptively analyzed at the segmental and prosodic levels. For each utterance an orthographic transcription, an orthographic transcription adapted to the pronunciation, and a phonetic transcription, was made, as demonstrated below:

![Figure 1: Example of utterance transcription](image)

We also generated a table with the analyzed prosodic parameters and their values. The following parameters were measured, and their experimental values were compared to the control values: duration, number of pauses (in the repetition task), maximum F0, minimum F0, tessitura, initial F0, final F0, and intensity.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>S</th>
<th>D</th>
<th>P</th>
<th>FO Max</th>
<th>FO Mn</th>
<th>Tes</th>
<th>FO In</th>
<th>FO fin</th>
<th>I</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>C</td>
<td>1.964</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>210</td>
<td>108</td>
<td>102</td>
<td>90</td>
<td>143</td>
<td>42</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>G</td>
<td>2.730</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>156</td>
<td>65</td>
<td>91</td>
<td>125</td>
<td>65</td>
<td>72</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Table 2: Repetition Task–Assertion

We note that the term word was defined as the segmented speech sequence consisting of one or more

---

1 The meaning of the labels are as follows: S- subject; D- duration; P- pause; Fo Max- maximum fundamental frequency; Fo Min- minimum fundamental frequency; T- tessitura; Fo In- initial fundamental frequency; Fo Fin-final fundamental frequency; I- intensity
syllables that was preceded and followed by a pause. In the case of stereotypes, these show a basic repeated structure, e.g., V, CV, and CCV. Utterances were defined as a process for spoken enunciation between 2 pauses; the term was used to refer to speech production that had a sound sequence between pauses greater than 0.168 seconds. This length was selected because it is the shortest duration between words.

3. Results
For the repetition task the length of utterances of EG were sometimes higher and sometimes lower than the utterance duration of CG, leading to the conclusion that knowledge about the physical size of the utterance is not preserved. We found that the tessitura pattern varies both between individuals and between utterances of different sizes and modalities. Considering the parameter F0, one can say that stereotypes have a standard falling intonation in all utterances, regardless of the modality. The intonation pattern presented is unique to each individual and can be considered stereotypical. With respect to intensity, the subjects studied showed an upward-descending curve, which is considered standard for normal speech. It was difficult to fit the pace of stereotypy within patterns of accentual and syllabic rhythm. Most of the time, what we observed was the production of sequences of syllables that we refer to as syllabic pace.

In general, the nomination task was similar to the repetition task. The intonation pattern was mostly ascending in the first syllables and descending in the last ones. The duration of the utterance remained long, with values much higher than the target words. Word organization, with reference to the number of syllables, was not observed, and there was no correspondence between the target word and utterance.

4. Conclusions
Our hypothesis that aphasic individuals who use stereotypes as a form of expression make appropriate use of prosodic features to communicate effectively was not confirmed. The evidence indicates that stereotypes are strongly influenced by automatic processing, without the interference of a cognitive control suggested by Bleser & Poeck (1985) and Blanken, Wallesh, and Pagano (1990) and that only through the development of this control would it be possible to reverse the stereotype. The data also suggest that there is a strong individual component in the development of stereotype at both the segmental and prosodic levels. The intonation pattern presented by the studied aphasic individuals does not match the expected intonation pattern of normal speech, and the acoustic parameters show variability with very specific characteristics. The results point to a stereotyped prosody, i.e., resulting from automatic processing, limited in repertoire, and without the interference of cognitive control and communicative intent. However, we consider that the prosody in stereotypic speech may contribute to the dialogue by providing clues about the information to the non-aphasic listener, who together with other forms of language, such as gestures, facial movements, and discursive resources, interprets and infers meaning. Understanding the nature of the structure of linguistic behavior in its segmental and non-segmental aspects can provide us with valuable information about the condition of language as a system and about its restructuring and adaptation processes.

5. References
Análise de processos multimodais na interação multipartilhada entre afásicos e não afásicos

Heloísa MACEDO, Ana Lucia TUBERO, Sandra CAZELATO
C贡ITES, IEL, UNICAMP
R. Sérgio Buarque de Holanda, 571, 13083-859 - Campinas - SP - Brasil
sandracazelato@afasia.com.br; heloisamacedo@afasia.com.br; anatubero@afasia.com.br

Abstract

This study investigates the relationship between language and cognition and discusses the importance of multimodal processes in the construction of meaning in multiparty interaction between aphasic and non-aphasic participants in the Centro de Convivência de Afásicos (CCA – IEL, UNICAMP). Aphasics exhibit impairments in language, as much in terms of expression as understanding, as a result of a brain injury. Nevertheless, these impairments do not mean that the aphasic isn’t able to interact linguistically in the construction of meaning. From a multimodal perspective, speaking and writing are not the only ways that bring relevance to interaction. Gestures, gaze, voice, prosody, facial expression, mime, head and hand movements, posture, distribution of persons within a space of interaction and the context of interlocution characterize themselves as other modes that are brought into action and co-occur the other aspects of language reference in the construction of meaning, dislocating language as the most relevant mode in the continuum proposed by Norris (2006). Analyzing data from the interaction of aphasics and non-aphasics from a socio-cognitive perspective with a textual-interactive base, we are seeking to build a sufficiently accurate corpus to give heightened visibility to the co-occurrence between verbal and nonverbal processes in the construction of meaning.

Keywords: multimodality; aphasia; multiparty interaction.

1. Introdução

Este trabalho se inscreve na agenda atual de questões teórico-metodológicas relativas ao campo de estudos neurolinguísticos – que investiga as relações entre linguagem, cérebro e cognição em contextos normais e patológicos – e, especificamente, discute a relevância de processos multimodais na construção da significação na interação multipartilhada entre afásicos e não afásicos. Nossos dados – verbais e não verbais – compõem um corpus bastante especial uma vez que trabalhamos com linguagem afásica em práticas de grupo, o que impõe um rigor metodológico na coleta, constituição, transcrição e análise dos dados.

2. Objetivo e justificativa teórica

Tendo como objetivo discutir as questões metodológicas acionadas na composição desse corpus específico, focamos nosso trabalho nos processos multimodais interatuentes na comunicação de afásicos e não afásicos. A afasia se traduz em alterações da linguagem oral e escrita, tanto em relação à expressão quanto à compreensão, o que não significa que o afásico não possa interagir linguisticamente na construção da significação. No caso das afasias, o sujeito costumemente enfrenta no campo mesmo da linguagem dificuldades metalinguísticas (reparos, formulações, prosódia, repetições, hesitações, promptings orais do interlocutor, etc.) e, além disso, lança mão de semioses não verbais (como gestos, direcionamento do olhar, postura corporal, etc.) que atuam de maneira solidária à linguagem na configuração ou na interpretação da referência.

De acordo com Norris (2006), a multimodalidade, em uma perspectiva discursiva e interacional, implica a noção de mediação semiótica (de inspiração bakhtiniana e vygotskiana), de densidade modal “that makes up a specific higher-level action” (Norris, 2006: 402) e de continuidade entre figura e fundo nas atividades de atenção e conhecimento (op.cit.: 401) – que, reunidas, poderiam ser identificadas como o que tem sido chamado de contexto em perspectivas textuais-interativas (cf. Koch, 2002). Ainda que não se oponha ao papel relevante reivindicado para a linguagem na constituição das interações pelos estudos da conversação e do discurso, Norris chama a atenção para o caráter semioticamente plural da comunicação.

Portanto, a adoção de uma abordagem multimodal da linguagem não implica apenas admitir que os processos linguísticos estão ligados a recursos semióticos, mas sim e sobretudo que estes seriam desprovidos de sentido se fossem tomados de maneira descontextualizada e alheia às rotinas ou práticas simbólica e socialmente significativas.

Consideramos, então, que a linguagem verbal não é necessariamente o único modo que carrega a relevância na interação (Norris, 2006). Fala e escrita são modos de linguagem verbal, mas também os gestos (dêiticos, icônicos, metafóricos), o olhar, a voz (risadas, ruídos, entonação), a prosódia, a expressão e a mímica faciais, os movimentos da cabeça e das mãos, a postura, as posições das pessoas em relação umas às outras, a distribuição das pessoas no espaço da interação (Mondada em 2008, por exemplo, apontou a importância da disposição dos corpos no espaço para a criação de um território de interlocução) e o contexto da interlocução se caracterizam como outros modos que são mobilizados e coocorrem com os demais aspectos referenciais da linguagem na construção do sentido (Norris, 2006; Mondada e Markaki, 2006; Holler e Beattie, 2006). A abordagem multimodal permite dar visibilidade a estes outros modos também relevantes para a significação, seja em contextos patológicos ou normais, em interações específicas.

Ao observarmos, nos encontros do Centro de Convivência de Afásicos (CCA – IEL/UNICAMP) e,
portanto, no contexto de interação entre afásicos e não afásicos, a ocorrência de diferentes semioses configurando diferentes processos multimodais é possível afirmar que tanto os afásicos quanto os não afásicos lançam mão de vários processos multimodais, de maneira conjunta ou não à própria fala ou à de seu interlocutor, na busca de uma melhor construção do elemento referencial.

Em nosso corpus – caracterizado pela ocorrência e cocorrência de processos multimodais – selecionamos alguns episódios cuja análise permite observar que os processos multimodais vão desde os gestos mais estandarizados, formais, como os gestos dêiticos e apontamentos que se conjugam – ou não – com a fala (aqui, lá) ou os movimentos de cabeça indicando negação, até gestos elaborados (icônicos, pantomínicos e metafóricos) com tal completude de sentido que tornam desnecessárias as palavras (mesmo que essas sejam ditas por um outro – o interlocutor). Além disso, a análise dos dados permite considerar os aspectos entoacionais, as posições ocupadas pelos interlocutores no espaço da enunciação, o direcionamento do olhar, dentre outros elementos multimodais, como reconhecidamente parte da cena enunciativa. A decisão metodológica por uma abordagem multimodal do corpus levou-nos a considerar tantos modos quantos necessários para mostrar a coreografia das interações entre afásicos e não afásicos.

Os diferentes processos multimodais que participam na construção de objetos de discurso mostram-se altamente frequentes e presentes, sendo mesmo fundamentais na compreensão da significação pretendida, na manutenção do tópico discursivo, na introdução de novo tópico, na tomada de turno, nos processos de referenciação e de inferenciação, mas não por isso devem ser tomados como compensatórios, estratégicos ou simplesmente complementares das dificuldades linguísticas dos afásicos. Neste contexto, questionamos a noção que descreve os processos multimodais como elementos não linguísticos – extralinguísticos ou paralinguísticos – e apostamos numa relação de continuum (Marcusch, 2003; Koch, 1998, 2002) entre as partes que constituem o discurso, em que qualquer dos elementos pode ocupar, a depender das condições de interlocução, uma determinada relevância na construção da significação veiculada no contexto comunicacional.

3. Metodologia

Para ilustrar nossa discussão e, sobretudo, para dar visibilidade aos diferentes processos multimodais que participam na construção de objetos do discurso, selecionamos dois episódios extraídos de encontros realizados no CCA, que foram recortados e nomeados de acordo com o tópico discursivo neles desenvolvido (introdução, manutenção e desenvolvimento tópico).

Os dados que compõem o corpus pertencem ao AphasiAcervus. Para sua constituição, i. selecionamos 5 encontros videogravados no CCA; ii. identificamos os processos multimodais cocorrentes, atribuindo nomes aos quadros enunciativos construídos; iii. selecionamos excertos cujo tratamento multimodal permitiu incorporar modos comunicativos relevantes na análise das interações em foco e iv. refinamos a transcrição para discussão e análise multimodal.

4. Apresentação dos dados

Para exemplificar nossa reflexão, analisamos e discutimos um mesmo gesto realizado por SP, JC e EM em duas cenas enunciativas distintas em que participam os sujeitos afásicos SP e MS, e os sujeitos não afásicos HM, EM e JC.

O gesto – esfregar repetidas vezes o dedo polegar contra o dedo indicador, com a palma da mão posicionada para cima e os demais dedos fechados contra a palma – apresenta um sentido convencional, teoricamente cristalizado nas práticas conversacionais cotidianas brasileiras.

4.1 Dado 1: AphasiAcervus (07/04/2005) – Hospital Particular

Neste episódio, SP explica ao grupo e mais especificamente à EM e à HM, coordenadoras das atividades do grupo) que provavelmente fará uma cirurgia para a retirada de um cálculo renal e por isso não sabe se poderá ou não participar de uma atividade de fisioterapia. SP quer desenvolver um pouco mais este tópico, informando aos demais onde realizará a cirurgia ou os exames que irão decidir pela necessidade ou não de intervenção.

SP usa a conjugação dêitica do gesto de apontamento com o dedo indicador e a produção de “lá” (em algum lugar outro que não “aqui”, Unicamp ou Campinas) para se referir ao local da provável cirurgia, produzindo depois São Paulo lá lá também conjugado ao gesto de apontamento com o dedo indicador.

Tabela 1: Excerto de AphasiAcervus (07/04/2005) – Hospital Particular

Em seguida, SP tenta construir um novo referente mobilizando vários gestos que, apesar de conjugados à fala, não são suficientes para a construção da significação pretendida. HM entende, a partir dos gestos mobilizados por SP, que ele está se referindo a exames. Mas a produção verbal de SP permite a HM mobilizar o referente Hospital Sírio Libanês. HM demonstra ter um conhecimento prévio a respeito de São Paulo e de hospitais de São Paulo, pois acede ao referente implícito...
na fala de SP: Sírio Libanês, o hospital. SP, por sua vez, sabe que HM é paulistana e, apesar de atual moradora de Campinas, viveu sempre em São Paulo. É por isso que ele direciona seu olhar e volta seu tronco para HM, marcando com isso seu interlocutor. Em seguida, sua postura é mais uma vez relevante para determinar a troca de interlocutor, sugerindo que a sequência se diria com EM.

| Tabela 2: Excerto de AphasiAcervus (07/04/2005) – Hospital Particular |

Podemos afirmar que SP, ao realizar o gesto que convencionalmente significa “dinheiro” – esfregar repetidas vezes o dedo polegar contra o dedo indicador, com a palma da mão posicionada para cima e os demais dedos fechados contra a palma – promove uma recategorização do mesmo, levando à construção do referente “hospital ou consulta particular”, e faz com que a materialidade do gesto ganhe uma nova significação referencial, construída na interação, por meio de processos inferenciais explicitados e mobilizados pela ocorrência conjunta entre o gesto, a verbalização, as trocas de olhares e o conhecimento partilhado entre os sujeitos em interação na cena conversacional.

4.2 Dado 2: AphasiAcervus (07/04/2005) – Paraíso Fiscal

Neste segundo episódio, o grupo conversa sobre a morte do Príncipe Rainier, tópico introduzido por SP a partir de uma notícia no jornal. Aqui, o mesmo gesto que convencionalmente significa dinheiro – esfregar repetidas vezes o dedo polegar contra o dedo indicador, com a palma da mão posicionada para cima e os demais dedos fechados contra a palma – é usado por três sujeitos diferentes, JC, SP e EM acionando, porém, distintas significações.

JC, sentada em uma das extremidades da mesa, conjuga semelhanças verbal e não verbal ao fazer um comentário sarcástico sobre o status econômico do Principado de Mônaco. Refere-se a Mônaco como – insignificante – fazendo uso da prosódia para marcar ironia e produz “econômico” conjugado ao gesto referente a dinheiro, acionando aqui o sentido de riqueza.

J.C. EU num sei nã:::\môna[co é insignificante do ponto de vista econômico:]\+JC +esfrega repetidas vezes o dedo polegar contra o dedo indicador, com a palma da mão posicionada para cima e os demais dedos fechados contra a palma+ SP +lá no outro:::\+ SP +movimento com a mão esquerda fechada e com o indicador para frente+ SP +semana lá te::m o::: [corrida]+ SP +apontando com o dedo polegar para o jornal sobre a mesa à frente de EM+ JC [então] é isso que conta\ (\...) EM é:::\ famosa né/ MS -ê\ ahh/ HM nas ruas/\ ms ((voz imitando o barulho do motor de um carro e gestos da mão esquerda aberta verticalmente fazendo movimentos como curvas)) EM +de Mônaco/+ em +fazer gestos de curvas com a mão direita aberta como MS+ SP é XX ((o mesmo gesto da mão aberta descrevendo curvas, como o gesto de MS)) MS isto\ ((imita, novamente, o barulho do carro de corrida)) EM AH\o AYRTON SEnna: né-\ (.) ganhou um prêmio lá num foi// MS MUITO\ ahh\ ((levantando o polegar da mão esquerda em positivo e faz movimento de afirmação com a cabeça)) EM +ELE MORAVA também PA:rze [da: a vida dele]+ em +volta-se para SP e faz movimento com o dedo indicador direito+
A progressão tópica acima se dá a partir da semioses não verbal acionada por MS. É a partir de seus gestos que HM produz “aquela curvinha”, acionando o conhecimento de mundo relativo a uma certa curva do Circuito de Mônaco que foi determinante para a vitória do campeão brasileiro Ayrton Senna sobre seu rival Alain Prost. EM reconhece o sentido veiculado na fala de HM, pois evoca, então, o nome de Ayrton Senna. É neste contexto da interação que SP vai fazer uso da mesma semioses não verbal referente a dinheiro: esfregar repetidas vezes o dedo polegar contra o dedo indicador, com a palma da mão posicionada para cima e os demais dedos fechados contra a palma. Mas a significação pretendida por SP com o uso deste gesto – que EM retoma em dois momentos distintos da interação – só será compreendida ao longo da progressão tópica: Mônaco é um paraíso fiscal.

5. Análise dos dados

Analisamos os dados de acordo com a abordagem multimodal proposta por Norris (2006), buscando compreender o significado e a relevância das ocorrências multimodais nas cenas enunciativas em que foram produzidas. Observamos que:

1. as ocorrências dos processos multimodais vão desde os gestos mais estandarizados, formulaicos, como os gestos dêiticos e apontamentos que se conjugam com a fala (aqui, lá) ou os movimentos de cabeça indicando negação, a gestos elaborados (icônicos, pantomímicos);
2. os aspectos entoacionais, as posições ocupadas pelos interlocutores no espaço da enunciação, os direcionamentos de olhares dentre outros elementos multimodais são reconhecidamente parte da cena enunciativa;
3. o mesmo gesto – esfregar repetidas vezes o dedo polegar contra o dedo indicador, com a palma da mão posicionada para cima e os demais dedos fechados contra a palma – mobiliza sentidos diversos que se deslocam pela interlocução de maneiras diferentes, construindo objetos de discurso (Mondada, 2001) distintos nas atividades de referenciação e inferênciação ou introduzindo novo tópico discursivo. O gesto de SP no dado 1, desloca a linguagem como modo mais relevante e se reveste de alta densidade modal, tornando-se foco de atenção e figura – e não mais fundo – no continuum proposto por Norris. Já o mesmo gesto feito por JC e EM, no dado 2, tem baixa densidade modal, sendo apenas fundo com função de enfatizar a fala que acompanha.

6. Comentários e conclusão

O levantamento e a análise dos processos multimodais coocorrentes na referenciação, aqui apresentados, nos permitem refletir sobre a relação das semioses verbais e não verbais na construção da significação. Se se reivindica para a linguagem um papel relevante na constituição das interações e se as semioses não verbais são tidas como elementos não linguísticos, nossa análise deixa entrever a relação solidária entre as semioses verbais e não verbais na referenciação.

Semioses verbais e não verbais, como a fala, a escrita, o gesto, o olhar, a prosódia, a expressão e a mímica facial, os movimentos de cabeça e das mãos, as posições das pessoas em relação umas às outras, o contexto da interlocução etc., são produzidas e interpretadas no processo de referenciação,
devolvendo-se e transformando-se a partir dos contextos e através de operações linguístico-cognitivas realizadas pelos sujeitos na interação.

Observamos que os processos multimodais são mobilizados e coocorrem com outros aspectos referenciais na construção do sentido, sendo fundamentais na compreensão da significação pretendida. Os gestos dos sujeitos afásicos e não afásicos – SP, MS, EM, HM, JC – deslocam a linguagem como modo mais relevante e se revestem de alta densidade modal, tornando-se foco de atenção e figura – e não mais fundo – no continuum proposto por Norris. Portanto, uma abordagem teórico-metodológica que não considere a multimodalidade – tanto na constituição quanto na análise de um corpus – possivelmente encobrirá ou distorcerá as múltiplas ações nas quais os sujeitos em interação estão simultaneamente envolvidos (Norris, op.cit.).

Enfim, podemos afirmar que uma perspectiva sociocognitiva de base textual-interativa que considere os processos multimodais permite construir um corpus suficientemente acurado para dar visibilidade à coocorrência entre os processos de significação verbais e não verbais na construção do sentido, como observado neste estudo nos episódios de interação entre afásicos e não afásicos.

7. Referências


8. Apêndice

Notação utilizada na transcrição (baseada no Sistema de Notação do AphasiAcervus):

i. Iniciais em maiúsculas (SP) – identificam os participantes, correspondendo às iniciais dos nomes e indicam os turnos de fala

ii. Iniciais em minúsculas (sp) – descrições de aspectos não verbais sincronizados aos turnos de fala

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>OCORRÊNCIAS</th>
<th>NOTAÇÃO</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>overlap</td>
<td>[ início do overlap ] fim do overlap</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>micro pausas &lt; 0,3s</td>
<td>(.)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>pausas</td>
<td>(0,4), (1,0), (2,3)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>alongamento silábico</td>
<td>:</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>truncamento de palavras</td>
<td>-</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>entonação ascendente</td>
<td>/</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>entonação descendente</td>
<td>\</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ênfase particular</td>
<td>sublinhado</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>volume forte de voz</td>
<td>MAIÚSCULA</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>volume baixo murmúrio de voz</td>
<td>o o</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>comentários do transcritor</td>
<td>((comentários))</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>segmentos inaudíveis ou incompreendidos</td>
<td>X</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>inaudíveis ou incompreendidos são indicados com</td>
<td>XX</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>a letra X, correspondendo, sempre</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>que possível, ao número de sílabas produzido</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>+ + delimitam o tempo de duração dos aspectos</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>não verbais sincronizados aos turnos de fala</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Tabela 3: Notação utilizada na transcrição
Correlatos acústicos e perceptivos de qualidade vocal e dinâmica vocal: dados a partir da fala de criança com deficiência auditiva e de criança ouvinte

Aline PESSOA, Zuleica CAMARGO

Laboratório da Análise Acústica e Cognição (LIAAC) do Programa de Linguística Aplicada e Estudos da Linguagem - PUC-SP
aline.nevespessoa@gmail.com, zcamargo@pucsp.br

Resumo

Esta pesquisa origina-se da clínica fonoaudiológica com crianças com DA e usuárias de implante coclear (IC). Utilizou a análise fonética (correlatos acústicos e perceptivo-auditivos) para descrição dos ajustes de qualidade vocal e elementos de dinâmica vocal, com enfoque dos elementos prosódicos da fala. Estudou-se a fala espontânea de crianças ouvintes e de crianças com DA (66.67%) e da ouvinte (91.67%).

1. Introdução

A análise fonética (acústica e percepitiva) tem se configurado como uma ferramenta clínica auxiliar no entendimento das características de fala de crianças com deficiência auditiva (DA). A descrição dos ajustes de qualidade vocal e dos aspectos de dinâmica vocal pode levantar inferências sobre o processo de aquisição de linguagem oral nesta população e, especialmente, sobre a intervenção terapêutica.

Esta pesquisa origina-se de questões clínicas do atendimento fonoaudiológico de crianças com DA, usuárias de implante coclear (IC), que visa aquisição de linguagem oral-verbal (Yoshinaga-Itano, 2003; Xu et al., 2003). As investigações têm relacionado as esferas da percepção e da produção de fala, diante das interações que se estabelecem entre elementos segmentares e prosódicos (Albano et al., 1997; Benninger, 2011), a partir de corpus estruturado em coletas seriadas em situação de terapia (Pessoa et al., 2010a; Pessoa et al., 2011; Pessoa et al., 2012).

Neste contexto, instrumentos de análises perceptivo-auditiva e acústica têm sido utilizados. Tais análises têm permitido correlações com detalhamentos em instâncias de longo termo da fala.


Do ponto de vista acústico, aspectos de qualidade e de dinâmica vocal têm sido explorados por meio da combinação de um grupo de medidas acústicas (Barbosa, 2006, 2007, 2009) referentes à frequência fundamental (f0), primeira derivada de f0, intensidade, declínio espectral e espectro de longo termo (Camargo e Madureira, 2010; Madureira e Camargo, 2010; Rusilo et al., 2011; Pessoa et al., 2010a, Pessoa et al., 2010b; Pereira et al., 2010; Pessoa et al., 2012a; Pessoa et al., 2012b; Camargo et al., 2012).

Tais correlações, pautadas em modelos dinâmicos e procedimentos metodológicos de Fonética Experimental, remetem ao conhecimento da produção da fala em contextos de falantes com e sem alteração na aquisição de linguagem.

Além disso, podem prover a aplicabilidade dessas ferramentas como instrumento de acompanhamento da evolução de linguagem oral do sujeito no processo terapêutico, bem como para aprofundamento do conhecimento de marcadores de desenvolvimento do estado (aquisição dos sons da língua e da estruturação dos elementos prosódicos) também em crianças ouvintes.

2. Objetivo

Caracterizar a qualidade vocal e dinâmica vocal de criança com DA usuária de IC em comparação a uma criança ouvinte, a partir de correlatos acústicos e perceptivo-auditivos.

3. Material e Método

A gravação do corpus de fala em contexto terapêutico (em curso) acontece em sala de atendimentos fonoaudiológicos. As coletas ocorreram de forma a registrar em um contexto...
lúdico, as vocalizações e as produções de fala típicas do espaço terapêutico, de maneira que a coleta foi planejada para promover o mínimo de interferências na situação em questão. No caso da criança ouvinte, o mesmo espaço foi utilizado com os mesmos materiais, porém de forma lúdica, sem o respaldo de um plano de terapia.

O Quadro 1 apresenta dados da caracterização audiológica dos sujeitos participantes da pesquisa.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Sujeto</th>
<th>Dados audiológicos</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Criança ouvinte</td>
<td>Limiares auditivos melhores do que 15dB nas frequências de 0,25; 0,5; 1; 2; 3; 4; 6 e 8 kHz, em cabine audiométrica.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Criança com DA usuária de IC unilateral e Aparelho de amplificação sonora individual (AASI) na orelha contralateral.</td>
<td>DA congênita, diagnóstico no primeiro ano de vida com adaptação de AASIs bilateralmente e cirurgia para inserção de IC aos 2 anos de idade. Respostas mínimas auditivas em cabine audiométrica com IC: limiares melhores do que 15dB nas frequências de 0,25 ; 0,5; 1; 2; 3; 4; 6 e 8 kHz.</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Quadro 1: Caracterização audiológica dos sujeitos

Para o presente estudo foram selecionadas amostras de fala de duas crianças (uma com DA - usuária de IC e outra ouvinte) do sexo masculino, irmãos gemelares, de 6 anos de idade. O instrumental utilizado refere-se a um microfone unidirecional ML 70-D Lapela (Le son) e a gravador digital MD Sony modelo MZ-R70. Os processos de edição, tratamento e análise das amostras foram realizados no Laboratório Integrado de Análise Acústica e Cognição (LIAAC) da PUC-SP. O material é digitalizado na frequência de amostragem 22050 Hz e 16 bits, extensão wav, a partir do software Sound Forge Edit (versão 7.0) e analisado por meios acústico e perceptivo.

A análise perceptivo-auditiva foi realizada por meio do roteiro VPAS-PB (Camargo & Madureira, 2008), por dois juízes experientes, a partir dos itens de qualidade vocal e de dinâmica vocal.

A análise acústica foi realizada a partir da aplicação do script ExpressionEvaluator (Barbosa, 2009) ao software Praat,. O script gera dados de mediana, semi-amplitude entre quartis, quantil 99,5% e assimetria de frequência fundamental (f0); média, desvio padrão e assimetria de primeira derivada de f0; assimetria de intensidade; média, desvio padrão e assimetria de declínio espectral; desvio padrão de ELT (espectro de longo termo).

Tais dados multivariados foram correlacionados estatisticamente (Lattin et al., 2011), enquanto tendências de agrupamentos na análise aglomerativa hierárquica de cluster, bem como de correlações aos dados da esfera perceptiva (roteiro VPAS-PB) por meio da análise de correlação canônica e de análise discriminante (Rusilo et al., 2011), buscando-se comparar a distribuição das informações dos dois falantes (com e sem DA e uso de IC).

A pesquisa em questão foi aprovada pelo Comitê de Ética em Pesquisa da Instituição onde é realizada (nº 135/2009).

4. Resultados e Discussão:

Para esta etapa de apresentação de dados, a análise pautou-se na correlação entre achados acústicos e perceptivo-auditivos, aplicada em pareamento entre dados advindos de criança com DA, usuária de IC, e de criança ouvinte.

Os resultados da análise perceptivo-auditiva são apresentados na Figura 1.

Figura 1: Análise perceptivo-auditiva – Roteiro VPAS-PB: fala da criança ouvinte (X) e da fala da criança com DA usuária de IC (□)

Na análise aglomerativa hierárquica de cluster para dados perceptivo-auditivos (Figura 2 e 3, para criança ouvinte e com IC, respectivamente) verificou-se, para criança ouvinte foram agrupados em quatro classes: classe 2 (ponta de língua avançada), classe 3 (corpo de língua abaxiado, continuidade interrompida), classe 4 (denasal) e demais mobilizações agruparam-se na classe 1. No caso dos dados de criança usuária de IC, os julgamentos foram agrupados em seis classes: classe 2 (extensão diminuída de lábios, extensão diminuída de mandíbula), classe 3 (ponta...
de língua avançada), classe 4 (corpo de língua abaixado, nasalização, ajuste denasal, hipofunção laríngea, falsete, voz crepitante, continuidade interrompida, suporte respiratório inadequado ), classe 5 (extensão diminuída de corpo de língua ), classe 6 (pitch hábitual elevado) e demais ajustes agruparam-se na classe 1.

Os trabalhos anteriores revelaram o agrupamento de ajustes de maior grau de hiperfunção laríngea e de aumento do pitch hábitual, combinados com diminuição de amplitude de movimento de articuladores, especialmente de lábios, mandíbula e de língua (Pessoa et al., 2010a; Pessoa et al., 2011a; Pessoa et al., 2012b; Ubrig et al., 2011), com exceção dos ajustes de tensão laríngea, hipofunção em lugar de hiperfunção, e no plano supraglótico, ponta de língua avançada, em lugar de ponta de língua recuada. Neste estudo, tais combinações foram notórias em ambos os casos. Tais dados encontram respaldo na literatura de estudos de inteligibilidade que têm como enfoque o plano segmental, especialmente para mobilizações de língua em vogais e consoantes (Ubrig et al., 2011; Coelho, 2011).

Neste estudo a distribuição dos julgamentos perceptivos revelou que a criança usuária de IC diferenciou, em relação ao ouvinte, em número maior de classes de julgamentos, especialmente no que se refere aos ajustes de diminuição de movimento de articuladores (lábios, mandíbula e corpo de língua). No plano da análise perceptivo-auditiva, foi possível identificar maior especificidade na descrição diferenciada dos falantes (com IC e ouvinte), especialmente a partir da de descrição dos graus de manifestação do mesmo ajuste.

Os resultados da análise acústica são apresentados na Tabela 2, quanto aos valores gerados por meio do script ExpressionEvaluator.

Tabela 1: Valores de medidas acústicas de f0 (mediana, semi-amplitude entre quartis, quantil 99,5% e assimetria), primeira derivada de f0 (média, desvio padrão e assimetria), declínio espectral (média, desvio padrão e assimetria) e espectro de longo termo (desvio padrão) da criança ouvinte (acima) e da criança usuária de IC (abaixo)

Os valores de mediana de f0 apresentaram-se próximos aos valores de dados de f0 de crianças ouvintes brasileiras, ouvintes, saudáveis, de 6 e 7 anos do sexo masculino (258Hz, com desvio padrão de 25Hz), conforme apresentado por Andrade (2009). Os valores de f0 médio da criança ouvinte (299Hz) encontram-se aumentados em relação aos da criança com DA (276,8Hz).

Os valores obtidos em média da primeira derivada de f0, que representam a taxa de variação do parâmetro,
sinalizam para variações suaves de f0 no fluxo da fala, e não abruptas. Assim, ambos os sujeitos apresentaram variação suave de f0. Os valores de derivada de f0 e de ELT foram parecidos nas amostras das duas crianças. Diferente desses dados, na literatura são referidas comumente variações extremas e abruptas de f0, tanto para falantes usuários de AASI como de IC (Cukier et al., 2005; Baudonck et al., 2011).

Os valores de semi-amplitude entre quartis de f0 (com média de 121 Hz em ambos os casos) revela aspectos de variabilidade de julgamentos de extensão de pitch comumente descritos na fala de DAs com ou sem IC. Variações extremas ou restritas são descritas para esta população (Stuchi et al., 2007; Ubri et al., 2011).

Dados de ajustes de qualidade vocal e mobilizações de dinâmica vocal foram descritos pela análise aglomerativa hierárquica de cluster aplicada aos dados de medidas acústicas da criança ouvinte (Figura 4) e da criança com DA usuária de IC (Figura 5) revelaram diferenciação na distribuição de medidas das duas crianças. As medidas acústicas das amostras da criança ouvinte segregaram-se em: classe 3 (desvio padrão de ELT, quantil 99,5% de f0, média de declínio espectral) e classe 2 (média de derivada de f0) e demais medidas agruparam-se na classe 1. Já as medidas acústicas dos dados da criança com IC revelaram a formação de 4 classes: classe 1 (mediana de f0, semi-amplitude entre quartis de f0, assimetria de f0, desvio padrão de primeira derivada de f0, assimetria de primeira derivada de f0 e assimetria de intensidade, média e desvio padrão de declínio espectral), classe 2 (mediana de f0, assimetria e declínio espectral e desvio padrão de ELT), classe 3 (mediana de primeira derivada de f0).

Ambos os falantes revelaram segregação dos valores médios de derivada de f0 numa única classe. Tais dados reforçam a importância do enfoque na variabilidade de f0 no fluxo da fala.

Figura 4: Criança ouvinte: dendrograma dos dados acústicos de fala

A análise de correlação canônica dos dados acústicos e perceptivo-auditivos da criança ouvinte (Figura 6) e da criança usuária de IC (Figura 7) revelaram que nas amostras de fala da criança com IC, os ajustes de lábios arredondados, laringe abaixada e pitch habitual diminuído correlacionaram-se com as medidas de assimetria de f0, media de derivada de f0, semi-amplitude entre quartis de f0 e quantil 99,5% de f0, assimetria, mediana e desvio padrão de declínio espectral e desvio padrão de ELT. Neste grupo, destacaram-se tendências diminuição de extensão do trato vocal. Os ajustes de voz crepitante, pitch habitual elevado, falsete, hipofunção laringea, ponta de língua avançada, diminuição de extensão de corpo de língua, mandíbula e lábios correlacionaram-se com as medidas de desvio padrão e mediana de f0, além de assimetria de intensidade. Neste grupo as mobilizações concentravam-se em ajustes com redução de área de cavidades ressoadoras.

Nas amostras de fala da criança ouvinte, as medidas de declínio espectral (assimetria e desvio padrão), de intensidade (assimetria) e de mediana de f0 agruparam-se com os ajustes de corpo de língua abaixado, continuidade interrompida e suporte respiratório inadequado. As medidas de mediana de declínio espectral, desvio padrão de ELT, média de derivada de f0, desvio padrão de f0, assimetria de f0, quantil 99,5% de f0 e semi-amplitude entre quartis de f0 e de f0 agruparam-se com os ajustes densal e ponta de língua avançada, apesar de apresentarem ajustes de qualidade vocal similares em sua natureza, a combinação deles no fluxo da fala, bem como o seu grau de manifestação puderam diferenciar os falantes em termos de combinação com medidas acústicas.

Figura 5: Criança usuária de IC: dendrograma dos dados acústicos de fala
situação terapêutica. Tais dados poderão colaborar de forma a estimular o enfoque dos elementos prosódicos no estudo da fala de crianças usuárias de IC desde idades precoces.

6. Agradecimentos
À FAPESP, pelo auxílio à pesquisa (Processo 2009/10644-7). À Profa Dra Sandra Madureira. Ao Prof Dr Plínio Barbosa, pela autorização para uso do Script Expression Evaluator. Ao Prof Dr Luiz Carlos Rusilo, pela assessoria estatística.

7. Referências

5. Conclusão
Ressalta-se a descrição dos ajustes de qualidade vocal, aspectos de dinâmica vocal e medidas acústicas em correlação, cuja composição do corpus de fala se dá em


Figura 7: Análise de correlação canônica: correlatos perceptivo-auditivos e acústicos (sublinhados) da fala da criança usuária de IC.

Finalmente, na análise discriminante, os resultados de validação cruzada revelaram que os julgamentos por meio do roteiro VPAS-PB possibilitaram a segregação das amostras de fala da criança usuária IC (66,67%) e da ouvinte (91,67%). O ajuste de ponta de língua avançada foi o que apresentou significância (p=0,001) em relação aos outros ajustes utilizados pelas duas criança. Assim, na análise discriminante, as medidas acústicas não segregaram as emissões dos dois falantes.

Particularidades das combinações de ajustes de qualidade vocal e aspectos da dinâmica vocal, além das medidas acústicas, foram identificadas para cada falante estudado. Salienta-se que os achados de julgamentos perceptivos permitiram segregação das amostras de ambos os falantes, com maior potencial para detecção da criança ouvinte.


SPEECH AND PRAGMATICS
The voice and emotion: a tribute to rhetoric
Eliana Amarante de M. MENDES
Universidade Federal de Minas Gerais
Av. Antônio Carlos, 6627 - Belo Horizonte/MG - Brasil
mendes@ufmg.br

Abstract
Various authors today are interested in the quality of the voice and, mainly, in the relation between emotion and voice. It is known that the human voice is an extremely flexible medium and one of the most important forms of transmitting and exchanging information between people and that the voice’s messages tend to be more or less “colored” by emotional meanings which constitute an important source of voice variation. This topic has been widely researched, both theoretically and empirically, from diverse foci, but rarely in these studies is there any mention of the great contribution of the classics to this theme. In relation to emotion, one cannot forget that Plato, Aristotle and the Stoics were the precursors of this study. But, mainly the rhetorical studies on pathos and persuasion and on the importance of the voice in the transmission and reception of emotions were chiefly important. In this study, I intend to return to the contributions of classical rhetoric on this theme, through a survey of the primary sources of this ancient art, with the aim of showing the great importance and opportunity of the classical studies today.

Keywords: voice; emotion; rhetoric.

1. Paper
We live in a period of great developments in linguistic studies on orality, phonetics, phonology and prosody, which, allied with the parallel developments in the studies of cognition, pragmatics, the corpora, the contributions of phono-audiology and the new technologies, are demonstrated to be more and more exhaustive, complex, and sophisticated.

In this context, important as well are the studies on the quality of the human voice. It is known that the human voice is an extremely flexible medium and one of the most important forms of transmitting and exchanging information between people. It is also known that the voice’s messages tend to be more or less “colored” by emotional meanings, positive or negative, subtle or strong, which constitute an important source of voice variation. Thus, the voice acts like a powerful messenger not only of the linguistic content of speech, but also of the physiological and psychological state of the speaker.

The notion that changes in the expression of the voice can be caused by emotions is normally attributed to Charles Darwin. According to Darwin, as he demonstrated in his work The Expression of the Emotions in Man and Animals (1998: 235), emotional expression externalizes an individual’s reaction and action propensity and passes this information for the social environment. Emotion is found in many species, particularly in mammalian and in species which have a complex social life based in interactions among their members. Body posture, facial features and vocalization are involved in emotion communication.

Concerning facial expression, Ekman (1973) gathered evidence on the universality across cultures. Likewise Izard (1971) and Ekman; Friesen; Ellsworth (1972) found in their studies rich information content of emotion in facial expressions.

According to Scherer (1995), research on animal communication developed by many scientists “demonstrated that in many species affective states, generally linked to changes in physiological arousal, are externalized in vocalizations and serve specific communication functions, often involving acoustic patterns that are similar across species. In close parallel to animal affect vocalizations, we still find rudiments of nonlinguistic human affect vocalizations, often referred to as ‘interjections’, such as ‘ouch’, ‘ai’, ‘oh’, ‘yuck’, etc.”

Kleinpaul, in 1888, had already claimed that these reflexive "nature and feeling sounds" sound very much the same when uttered by speakers in different cultures. He distinguishes between interjections or exclamations expressing an emotional state and calls or shouts intentionally uttered for communicative reasons. (Kleinpaul, 1972 [1. ed. 1888] apud Scherer, 1995)

More recently, great interest for “emotion” arouse, as well as for its history, in reason of the development of areas as philosophy, sociology, communication studies, cultural studies, psychoanalysis, linguistics, and phonetics, among others.

But the current theories of the emotions do not share a consensus. For example, there are theories that divide the emotions into primary (basic) and secondary. Others include factors such as valence and activity; still others distinguish emotion from affect. They understand that affect is bio-physiological, is a more primitive response to a stimulus, and that emotion is of a cognitive nature.

Whether primary or secondary, affect or emotion, these manifestations, as mentioned, emerge in different forms: by facial expression, by gestures and by the quality of the voice.

Various authors today are interested in the quality of the voice and, mainly, in the relation between emotion and voice. This topic has been widely researched, both theoretically and empirically, from diverse foci. For example, there are studies that are dedicated to the study of the relation of voice, emotion and culture; of voice, emotion, and personality; of voice, emotion, and smile, of
voice, emotion, and gender. There are studies related to the production and reception of emotion in the voice and to the phonetic description of emotion in the voice. There are studies that analyze the interaction between acoustic data and linguistic data for the recognition of emotion in the voice; experiments for the automatic recognition of emotion in the voice, studies for emotion in speech variation, the simulation of emotion of the voice in speech synthesizers.

Despite all this wealth, rarely in these studies is there found any mention of the great contribution of the classics to this theme. Its primary reference to vocal sound as the vehicle of human utterance dates to at least the fourteenth century BC.

In relation to emotion, one cannot forget that Plato and mainly Aristotle were the precursors of this study, with the latter, due to his contribution, being considered the father of human psychology. Nor can the important contribution of the Stoics to the emotions be forgotten.

According to Plato, in his The Republic (Book X Part 1) the soul consists of three parts, three basic energies — reason, emotion, and appetite. Reason is the most valuable. Emotion and mainly appetite are considered "lower passions". For Plato, the soul that is governed by reason controls the emotions and appetites, that is, the lower passions must submit to reason.

In Plato’s time the Sophists were philosophers who invented moral subterfuges to get people out of obligations or to excuse what was considered immoral behavior. Plato’s theory of the soul, in contrast, defends that people must live morally.

The aristotelian rhetorical studies on pathos and persuasion were chiefly important. Aristotle defines rhetoric as "[...] the faculty of discovering in any particular case all of the available means of persuasion (Aristotle, Rhetoric, I, 2).

For him, there are three means of persuasion: appeals to logos, to ethos and to pathos.

Concerning pathos Aristotle says:

"The Emotions are all those feelings that so change men as to affect their judgements, and that are also attended by pain or pleasure. Such are anger, pity, fear and the like, with their opposites. We must arrange what we have to say about each of them under three heads. Take, for instance, the emotion of anger; here we must discover (1) what the state of mind of angry people is, (2) who the people are with whom they usually get angry, and (3) on what grounds they get angry with them. It is not enough to know one or even two of these points; unless we know all three, we shall be unable to arouse anger in any one. The same is true of the other emotions” (Aristotle, Rhetoric, II, 1, emphasis added).

"[…] persuasion may come through the hearers, when the speech stirs their emotions. Our judgements when we are pleased and friendly are not the same as when we are pained and hostile. It is towards producing these effects, as we maintain, that present-day writers on rhetoric direct the whole of their efforts” (Aristotle, Rhetoric, I.2, emphasis added).

Beyond these two great philosophers, also the Stoics, contemporaries of Aristotle, had interested for the emotion. But, differently of Aristotle, they thought that the emotions must be prevented, and according to this point of view, that the language would have to be neutral.

The Stoics were the first philosophers that defined passion. Considering the different facets of the term, they defined passion as:

1. An excessive impulse;
2. An impulse disobedient to reason;
3. A false judgment or opinion;
4. A fluttering of the soul.

The first two definitions saw passion as a kind of impulse. The first of these focuses on force. The second, as Chrisippus said, “passion is like a person running downhill and unable to stop at will.” The third and fourth definitions emphasize the logical side of the term. According to these definitions, passions are contrary to reason because they are unruly, based on equivocation or erroneous opinions (Schmitter, 2010).

These earlier sources deeply influenced the early modern studies of the passions. Particularly Aristotle was very important influencing many theories of emotion in this period. But Stoicism and the neo-Stoicism (16th century) also influenced the early modern theories of emotion.

In this period, the philosophers used diverse terms for discussing the emotions. Perhaps because of the influence of Descartes (Passions of the Soul, 1649) the most used term was “passion”. But others terms were also common: ‘affect’, ‘sentiment’, ‘perturbation’ and ‘emotion’ (Schmitter, 2010).

The practice of creating long lists of emotions and the many forms of classification are also indebted to these early sources – “all without anything like citation of sources.” (Schmitter, 2010, emphasis added).

But, concerning the relation voice and emotion – the importance of the voice in the transmission and reception of emotions – the rhetorical studies were undoubtedly the most important.

For Aristotle,

"It is, essentially, a matter of the right management of the voice to express the various emotions -- of speaking loudly, softly, or between the two; of high, low, or intermediate pitch; of the various rhythms that suit various subjects. These are the three things -- volume of sound, modulation of pitch, and rhythm -- that a speaker bears in mind. It is those who do bear them in mind who usually win prizes in the dramatic contests; and just as in drama the actors now count for more than the poets, so it is in the contests of public life, owing to the defects of
our political institutions” (Aristotle, *Rhetoric*, III, 1.4, emphasis added).

And Aristotle advises, in order to persuade the audience:

“[..] if your words are harsh, you should not extend this harshness to your voice and your countenance and have everything else in keeping. If you do, the artificial character of each detail becomes apparent; whereas if you adopt one device and not another, you are using art all the same and yet nobody notices it. (To be sure, if mild sentiments are expressed in harsh tones and harsh sentiments in mild tones, you become comparatively unconvincing.) Compound words, fairly plentiful epithets, and strange words best suit an emotional speech. We forgive an angry man for talking about a wrong as 'heaven-high' or 'colossal'; and we excuse such language when the speaker has his hearers already in his hands and has stirred them deeply either by praise or blame or anger or affection, as Isocrates, for instance, does at the end of his Panegyric, with his 'name and fame' and 'in that they brooked'. Men do speak in this strain when they are deeply stirred, and so, once the audience is in a like state of feeling, approval of course follows. This is why such language is fitting in poetry, which is an inspired thing” (Aristotle, *Rhetoric*, III, 7).

However, although the undeniable importance of Aristotle, it was mainly Cicero, in his work *De Oratore*, who applied the aristotelian ideas, showing how the orator can use the resources to move an auditorium, including the role of the orator’s voice.

“We know that in oratory, Catulus, is more important than to win for the orator the favour of his hearer, and to have the latter so affected as to be swayed by something resembling a mental impulse or emotion, rather than by judgement or deliberation. For men decide far more problems by hate, or love, or lust, or rage, or sorrow, or joy, or hope, or fear, or illusion, or some other inward emotion, than by reality, or authority, or any legal standard, or judicial precedent, or statute” (Cicero, *De Oratore*, II, 178, emphasis added).

And Cicero continues:

“Now, since the emotions which eloquence has to excite in the minds of the tribunal, or whatever other audience we may be addressing, are most commonly love, hate, wrath, jealousy, compassion, hope, joy, fear or vexation, we observe that love is won if you are thought to be upholding the interests of your audience, or to be working for good men, or at any rate for such as that audience deems good and useful. For this last impression more readily wins love, and the protection of the righteous; and the holding-out of a hope of advantage to come is more effective than the recital of past benefit”. (Cicero, *De Oratore*, II, 206, emphasis added)

He advises us:

“For it is not easy to succeed in making an arbitrator angry with the right party, if you yourself seem to treat the affair with indifference; or in making him hate the right party, unless he first sees you on fire with hatred yourself; nor will he be prompted to compassion, unless you have shown him the tokens of your own grief by word, sentiment, tone of voice, look and even by loud lamentation. For just as there is no substance so ready to take fire, as to be capable of generating flame without the application of a spark, so also there is no mind so ready to absorb an orator’s influence, as to be inflammable when the assailing speaker is not himself aglow with passion” (Cicero, *De Oratore*, II, 190).

Also Quintilian, in *Institutio Oratore*, following Cicero, but dedicated mainly to the teaching of rhetoric, mentions more than 130 times the term “voice”: its importance for the orator and its importance for the persuasion through the *pathos*.

“Now I ask you whether it is not absolutely necessary for the orator to be acquainted with all these methods of expression which are concerned firstly with gesture, secondly with the arrangement of words and thirdly with the inflexions of the voice, of which a great variety are required in pleading. But eloquence does vary both tone and rhythm, expressing sublime thoughts with elevation, pleasing thoughts with sweetness, and ordinary with gentle utterance, and in every expression of its art is in sympathy with the emotions of which it is the mouthpiece” (Quintilian, *Institutio Oratore*, I,24, emphasis added).

And Quintilian goes on:

“It is by the raising, lowering or inflexion of the voice that the orator stirs the emotions of his hearers, and the measure, if I may repeat the term, of voice or phrase differs according as we wish to rouse the indignation or the pity of the judge. For, as we know, different emotions are roused even by the various musical instruments, which are incapable of reproducing speech” (Quintilian, *Institutio Oratore*, I,25, emphasis added).

As can be seen, rhetorical works such as these by Aristotle, Cicero and Quintilian provided (and still provides) a great deal of material for taxonomizing and manipulating the emotions.

But rhetoric was also soundly rejected by some of the most famous philosophers, starting with Descartes. Under the influence of the positivism of Descartes, in
discussions of the mind people have believed that logic can function well only in the absence of emotion, that emotion interferes with reasoning ability. Many philosophers and scientists, even today, are dubious about the role of emotion in the mind. (Pfeifer; Scheier, 1999).

Although the early rhetoricians have claimed that powerful emotional oratory, using voice effects beyond verbal appeal is able to induce emotion, and such effects seem evident, modern scientists require empirical evidence that, indeed, listeners are able to correctly recognize the speaker's emotional state from vocal cues alone, independent of information from situational context or other expressive cues, such as facial expressions, gestures, or posture. So far, these scientists placed the emphasis on the recognition of a speaker's emotion from the voice. They assume that there is a clear criterion for the nature of the emotion present (or, as in most research studies, of an actor's encoding intention). (Scherer, 1995)

According to Copeland (2012), we must recognize that the history of rhetoric opens another window onto the historicized understanding of the emotions – a window into the past:

“[…] and current interest in historicizing emotional responses underscores the continuing relevance of rhetorical thought, whether in its pre-modern formations or the broader cultural constructions of rhetoric in our own era. The opportunities are wide open for thinking concretely and historically about rhetoric’s role in mobilizing and giving formal expression to the passions” (Copeland, 2012).

As could be seen, it is indisputable the importance of the contribution of the classical rhetoric for the studies on emotion and on voice and emotion.

But it was not my intention to disparage the present state of art – there are very important studies, mainly the ones that subsidize the development of the voice synthesizers and recognizers and the ones concerning emotional intelligence. My intention was to contribute to the recognition of the importance and current relevance of the work of the ancients, showing that there are many today, to a certain extend, “reinventing the wheel.”

In the words of Kelly, (1969):

“There has been a vague feeling that modern experts have spent their time in discovering what other have forgotten; but as most of the documents are in Latin, [and Greek and not all documents are translated into our modern languages] moderns find it difficult to go to original sources. In any case, much that is being claimed as revolutionary in this century is merely a rethinking and renaming of earlier ideas and procedures” (emphasis added).

2. References


Italians speaking English: the contribution of verbal and non-verbal behavior

Maria Grazia BUSÀ, Luca ROGNONI
Università di Padova, Italy
mariagrazia.busa@unipd.it, luca.rognoni@studenti.unipd.it

Abstract
This paper reports the preliminary findings of an investigation of the transfer and interpretation of non-verbal features from the L1 to the L2, focusing in particular on Italian speakers of English. The following hypotheses were tested: 1) Italian speakers of English transfer non-verbal features (i.e., gestures) from their L1 into the L2; 2) the transferred non-verbal features are not understood correctly by non-native Italian speakers. The paper also presents a protocol for eliciting the production and evaluation of emblems in L2 communication. 10 (Northern) Italian speakers of English were filmed during two speech tasks that were expected to elicit their use of emblems, that is: 1) the retelling of a fable; and 2) the enactment of a short dialogue. From these audio-video recordings, short video clips were extracted to create the stimuli for a two-part visual perception study aimed at getting evaluations of the speakers’ gestures. In the first part, Italian native speakers (INS) and English native speakers (ENS) watched muted productions of INSs and were asked to tell what language was spoken in the clips. In the second part, the same subjects were asked to choose the correct meaning of selected gestures presented in the clips. The results suggest that INS recognize and correctly understand the meaning of the gestures produced by Italians when speaking English. ENS, however, do not interpret the meaning of Italian emblems correctly. This may lead to misunderstandings in L2 communication.

Keywords: Emblems; transfer of non-verbal-features; Italian L1; English L2.

1. Introduction
In communication, a great deal of meaning is exchanged through non-verbal language. This includes prosodic aspects of the speech signal (pitch, voice quality, tone of voice, volume, etc.), as well as body language (eye gaze, facial expressions, hand gestures and body movements) (Mehrabian, 1972).

While there may be a universal basis that cuts across cultural and linguistic differences, non-verbal behavior is, to a large extent, culture specific. Thus, individuals learn it as part of the process of learning to communicate in a socio-linguistic community (Ekman, 1972; Feldman & Rime, 1991; Gudykunst & Mody, 2001; Harper et al., 1978; Kendon, 1981). It is therefore not surprising that speakers should transfer the non-verbal behavior acquired during their first language acquisition to the second language when they learn it and use it. In fact, recent research has proposed that non-verbal behavior should be studied as part of the interlanguage of an L2 learner (e.g., Gullberg, 2006; Pika et al., 2006).

As with any aspect of linguistic behavior, non-verbal behavior that is not congruent with the one of the target language may have an effect on the outcome of cross-linguistic communication. This is because cultures differ in the semantic meaning attributed to body postures, interpersonal space, and all other components of non-verbal behaviors, which comprise an important part of the communication process (Burgoon & Bacue, 2003; Matsumoto, 2006; Wang & Li, 2007). Also, the use of heavy gesturing during speech may be common and/or accepted in some linguistic communities but be considered distracting, cause annoyance to the listener, or project an image of the speaker of which the latter may be unaware of (Axtell, 1991; Efron, 1972; Ekman & Friesen, 1969; Graham & Argyle, 1975; Okada, & Brosnahan, 1990).

However, much is still to be learned about how non-native speakers’ non-verbal behavior contributes to the meaning and interpretation of cross-linguistic communication, and to what extent it may affect it. To shed light on this important issue, more research is needed to investigate the interplay of linguistic and non-linguistic features in interlinguistic communication. Also, protocols should be devised to study the interpretation of non-verbal language experimentally.

The aim of this paper is to provide a preliminary investigation of how Italian non-verbal behavior in English L2 is interpreted by English native speakers. The following hypotheses were tested: 1) Italian speakers of English transfer non-verbal features (i.e., gestures) from their L1 into the L2; 2) the transferred non-verbal features are not understood correctly by non-native Italian speakers. This study also presents an experimental protocol that can be used for eliciting the production and evaluation of emblems in L2 communication.

2. About Italian Gestures
Italian has been defined as a high frequency gesture language (Pika et al., 2006). This means that gestures play a crucial role in conveying meaning and pragmatic force. Italians especially use emblems, that is, gestures that have an arbitrary connection with a meaning (i.e., substitute for words or expressions) (Poggi & Magno Caldognetto, 1997; Kendon, 2004). Emblems are culture- and language-specific, and so are unlikely to be interpreted correctly by people that are not familiar with them. The richness of the repertoire of Italian emblems is evidenced by the wide variety of “Italian gesture dictionaries” (available both online and on paper) aimed at helping the traveler to Italy to understand the spoken language.

Italians also use Italian emblems when speaking an
L2, assuming that the meaning of their gestures will be understood by their interlocutors. It is possible, however, that the use of Italians’ emblems in the L2 may not be understood by non-native Italians. In addition, it may contribute to reinforcing the stereotypes of Italians being people who gesture a lot when they’re speaking.

The aim of this study is to apply an experimental protocol to test whether Italians can be recognized as such for their gesturing and whether Italian gestures in English are in fact understood by English-native speakers.

3. The experiment
A study was conducted to test the following hypotheses: 1) Italians transfer culture- and language-specific emblems from their L1 to the L2; and 2) the use of culture- and language-specific emblems is not understood correctly by speakers of different cultures/languages.

3.1 Selected emblems
Based on the first author’s observation of her students’ gesturing patterns when speaking English L2 in class, two frequently used emblems were targeted for the experiment. These were:
- The “Once Upon A Time” gesture (OUAT) (Fig. 1);
- The “What Are You Doing?” gesture (WAYD) (Fig. 2)

Figure 1: A speaker using the emblem meaning “Once upon a time” (OUAT)

Figure 2: A speaker using the emblem meaning “What are you doing?” (WAYD)

Both of these emblems can be considered part of the Italian language, and have been described in the literature on Italian gestures (Diadoti, 1991; Poggi & Magno Caldognetto, 1997; Caon, 2010).

3.2 Emblem elicitation
To study emblems experimentally, the first problem to face is how to elicit a reasonably large number of any single type of emblem so that this can be part of a structured corpus and can be used in production and/or evaluation studies. A widely accepted elicitation protocol that has been used in gesture studies is based on the narration of the events seen in a short cartoon (McNeill, 1992). However, while this protocol is suitable to elicit iconic and co-speech gestures, it is not very effective to elicit emblems. In addition, this method is best suited to be used with native speakers or highly proficient L2 speakers, while L2 speakers with low levels of proficiency may not have the linguistic skills necessary to tell the details of a story they have watched.

Thus, to elicit the target emblems, two tasks were used. In the first task, the speakers were asked to learn, and re-tell aloud, a version of the Aesop’s fable “The Fox and the Crow”, adapted by the authors. This task was used to elicit the OUAT emblem, triggered by the narration of the events in the past. In the second task, the speakers had to learn and enact a short dialogue picturing an everyday situation (“A meeting at the pub”) written by the authors. This task was used to elicit the WAYD emblem, triggered by the question-and-answer exchanges in the dialogue. In both tasks, the speakers were instructed to speak and act as naturally and expressively as possible.

Both sets of productions were recorded using a digital video camera and were then transferred onto a computer.

The subjects were 10 graduate female students from the University of Padua. They were all Italian native speakers, born and living in the Veneto region, in North-Eastern Italy. Their average age was 23.

3.2 Evaluation of overall gestures and emblems
Two experiments were created to test: 1) whether an Italian speaker’s overall gesturing may look ‘foreign’ to non-native Italian speakers; and 2) whether the Italians’ emblems are understood correctly by non-native Italian speakers.

3.2.1. Stimuli
The video recordings obtained in the elicitation task were used to create clips (with Final Cut Pro) for the two evaluation tasks described below.

The first clip, used in the first evaluation task, consisted of one muted 19-second video showing two speakers interacting with gestures in a dialogue.

The second clip, used in the second evaluation task, consisted of two repetitions in a row of each of the following muted stimuli: 3 samples of the OUAT emblem, 3 samples of the WAYD emblem, and 3 gestures that were used as distractors in the stimulus presentation sequence. The gestures that were selected to work as distractors were iconic gestures recurrent in the data, as they had been produced by some of the subjects to describe the landing of the crow on the cheese in the fable “The Fox and the Crow”. The resulting set consisted, thus, of a total
of 9 stimuli produced 2 times (9x2) by 9 different speakers. The total duration of the clip was approximately 5 minutes.

3.2.2. Procedure and subjects
The two clips were cropped together and presented as part 1 and part 2 of a short video, embedded in the web-based survey and test presentation tool eSurveysPro (http://www.esurveyspro.com/). The evaluations were obtained via web in Italy and abroad.

The clips were evaluated by a group of 30 English native speakers (INS, average age: 36) and a group of two 30 Italian native speakers (INS) for control (average age: 27). In both groups, the subjects were either university students or professionals.

3.2.3. Evaluation Task 1
In this task, designed to test whether an Italian speaker’s overall gesturing may look ‘foreign’ to non-native Italian speakers, the subjects were presented with the muted 19-second video clip showing two speakers interacting with gestures in a dialogue.

After watching the clip, the subjects were asked to guess the language spoken by the people in the video by choosing between 5 options: “Italian”, “Spanish”, “German”, “English”, “I don’t know”.

3.2.4. Evaluation Task 2
In this task, designed to test whether the Italians’ emblems are understood correctly by non-native Italian speakers, the subjects were presented with the clip showing the 2 target emblems and the distractor. After each stimulus, the subjects were asked to select the meaning of the speaker’s gesture from 5 options: “A long time ago”, “I’m hungry”, “It’s hot in here”, “What’s the problem?”, “No meaning”.

4. Results

4.1 Transfer of emblems
The procedure we used to elicit emblems proved successful. The target emblem OUA T was obtained in 4 out of 10 instances, while the WAYD emblem was produced in 4 out of 5 dialogues. Because emblems are used in connection with a particular meaning, to trigger emblems it is necessary to create elicitation tasks where the situation will make specific reference to the targeted meaning. Thus, in our case, the fable’s beginning ‘Once upon a time’ created the condition for the production of the emblem meaning ‘a long time ago’. On the other hand, in the mini-dialogue, the subjects were instructed to ask each other questions related to why they were in the pub at that particular time and day; the amount of questioning involved in the dialogue triggered the production of the emblem meaning ‘why/what’. In both cases, our previous attempts at eliciting emblems using the widely accepted protocol for the elicitation of iconic gestures (McNeill, 1992) had not been successful.

The results of the elicitation tasks show that, as expected, the Italian subjects did use Italian emblems when speaking English. Also as expected, the subjects did not seem to be aware that they were using Italian gestures in English whose meaning might not be understood by non-Italian speakers.

4.2 Transfer of emblems

4.2.1. Evaluation Task 1
The results of the first evaluation task show a clear difference in the responses given by the INS, on the one side, and the ENS, on the other side. While 50% of the INS thought that the muted speakers in the video clip were speaking Italian (although the dialogue was, in fact, in English), the ENS gave their answers randomly. The percentages of answers given for each category by the INS and the ENS are shown in Figures 3 and 4.

4.2.2. Evaluation Task 2
The results of the second evaluation task also show a clear difference in the evaluations made by the INS, on the one side, and the ENS, on the other side. These results are shown in Figure 5. The INS identified the correct meaning of the OUA T and the WAYD emblems in 91% cases, and identified the distractor correctly as carrying no particular meaning in 80% cases. The ENS gave much lower percentages of correct responses for both the emblems (the OUA T was identified correctly in 31% cases, the WAYD in 68% cases), and the distractor (53% correct responses). The difference in the general accuracy scores.
for the performances of the INS’ and the ENS’ evaluation tasks was significant to a paired t-test (mean ENS: 60.55556, mean INS: 87.44444, t = 4.8634, df = 8, p-value = 0.001250).

This study shows that Italian speakers transfer non-verbal features from their L1 into the L2, and that the transferred non-verbal features are perceived as foreign, and are not well understood by the target language speakers. This may have consequences in interlinguistic communication by affecting the successful outcome of interactions between speakers of different mother tongues. Thus, non-verbal behavior should be taught and learned in L2 courses as part of the learners’ attainment of a complete linguistic competence.

This study also suggests that the use and interpretation of emblems can and should be studied experimentally. A protocol for the elicitation and evaluation of emblems is proposed here, which, with some corrections, appears suitable to be used in experimental research on gestures.

6. References


Paired fiction writing: the dialogal text as a structure that triggers “verbal erasure”

Eduardo CALIL, Cristina FELIPETO
Federal University of Alagoas
Rua Prescilião Sarmento, s/n, residencial Oceanis, quara B, lote 3, 57044-130, Maceió, Alagoas, Brazil
eduardocalil@hotmail.com, crisfelipeto@hotmail.com

Abstract
Considering contestation from a dialogic and socio-historical point of view, this paper describes some types of comments made by a student about lexical items proposed by her partner during paired fiction writing processes. The nature of this investigation is quantitative, qualitative and longitudinal. For two years we followed the teacher’s proposals of text production in the classroom. We adopted ethnolinguistic methodological procedures. Once a month, we filmed two students (6 to 7 years old) who were good friends and had recently become literate and our corpus was composed of 16 proposals of text production. We identified the occurrence of comments with structures of autonymic modalization enunciations in which the pupils return to a term expressed earlier and comment on it, justifying why it could or could not be written in the current text. Our results indicate that the meta-enunciative characteristic of the comments focuses on specific elements of the narrative, such as story titles, character names and terms related to the characterization of these characters. In addition, we found that the contestation between the students, expressed by the comment that follows the word spoken by the other, highlights the meaning that a term has for each of them.

Keywords: school; writing; narrative; dialogism; autonymic modalization; memory; text generation.

1. Introduction
Investigations into collaborative writing in the school context (Daiute & Dalton, 1993; Vass, 2002; Vass et al., 2008; Dale, 1996; Calil, 2008, 2009; Felipeto, 2008) highlight the importance of the social context and the preservation of its ecological conditions for the analysis of its core components (planning, formulation and revision), as well as its creative processes, in real situations of use. Among the different types of didactic situations, those that choose paired collaborative writing argue that peer interaction differs in many aspects from teacher-student interaction, mainly because the pairs do not intentionally and deliberately assume the position of “teacher,” the one who will teach and assess her students.

Another significant difference lies the fact that collaborative writing promotes “contestation,” i.e., the emergence of a confrontation of points of view, when students reflect on what was said, questioning their partner. This may elicit a variety of comments involving explanations, arguments, and justifications about the text that is being written. As Daiute noted, “The partner would then participate in constructing an opening sentence, for example, or raise questions about it – whether such a sequence should be there at all or whether it should be phrased in some other way” (Daiute & Dalton, 1993: 320).

“Contestation” presupposes “dispute,” “dissension,” or “controversy,” and points to the negotiation of meanings between students. Although this confrontation, in this specific interactional situation, may indicate what each student is thinking, some types of comments refer to the meaning of what was said. Therefore, considering the importance of contestation in the collaborative writing process, but delimited by the dialogic and socio-historical field (Bakhtin, 1986), our interest lies in the genetic processes of fictional writing by beginning writers. The comments made in these co-enunciative conditions are of paramount importance in understanding these processes.

Our studies (Calil, 2003; Calil & Felipeto, 2006; Felipeto, 2008, among others) on Textual Genetics (Grésillon, 1994) and Enunciation Linguistics (Authier-Revuz, 1995, 2004), discuss writing in real time, in the context of the classroom, based on these didactic practices of collaborative writing. By focusing on the process of text creation, we value the written erasures, and above all the oral erasures left throughout the manuscript in progress. Through the filmed record (videotape) of the ecological situation in which two newly literate students make up fictional narratives together, we highlight the importance of spontaneous speech in the dialogic text (Bres, 2005) that is established. In this paper we discuss specifically how a dyad, followed for two years, comments about the meaning of some terms that emerge as they make up these fictional stories. We will begin by

---

1 In her work, Felipeto (2008: 17) calls this moment “altercation,” but defends its importance in the production of “language misunderstanding” (Milner, 1978).

2 These studies are linked to the School Writing Laboratory (L’ÂME) located at the Federal University of Alagoas (Brazil), whose objective is the documentation, archiving and preservation of school manuscripts and writing processes originating from different school contexts.

3 As described in Calil (2012), the verbal erasure is characterized by linguistic operations of “substitution,” “addition” or “displacement” of the elements that may be part of the manuscript that is being produced. These erasures may involve the speech of the speaker herself or that of the interlocutor, accompanied or not by different kinds of comments. The peculiarity of this type of rephrasing stems from the fact that the properties of the written text genre interfere in the enunciative act of students that say something to be written. (Calil, 2003: 31-32).
presenting the frequency of these occurrences, and then analyze some forms of comments that these terms are given.

Based on this longitudinal corpus, our first hypothesis related to the qualitative study of the data was that, during the process of collaborative writing of fictional narratives, students produce verbal erasures linked to the meaning of a term. We call this type of erasure “Semantic Verbal Erasure”, or simply “SVE.” With respect to the quantitative nature of our data, our second hypothesis assumed that these comments would appear with greater frequency as the students appropriated the linguistic and formal properties of the genre in question. These hypotheses led us to describe and analyze this type of verbal erasure, indicating its occurrences in each writing process, the objects of discourse to which they referred, and the linguistic and enunciative structures presented by the students involved.

2. Dialogic text, spontaneous speech and autonymic modalization

From the enunciative standpoint, “dialogic text” (Bres, 2005; Bres & Nowakowska, 2006) – taken as a unit of analysis in these paired writing processes – is directly related with spontaneous speech. The interchange in praesentia of spoken exchanges, the successiveness of the statements, their breaks, digressions, pauses, hesitations, syntactic threads and thematic resumptions of the highlighted objects of discourse, marked primarily by the voice of each speaker in the here and now of his utterance, in a real, everyday and immediate situation, not planned or premeditated, are constituent elements of dialogic text. Add to these the immediate context and the conditions of production given socio-historically, the idiosyncratic expressive elements of each of the interlocutors (body movement, gestures, glances, facial expressions...) sitting face-to-face and engaged in shared and collaborative writing.

The “dialogical” condition, in which each speaker responds directly or indirectly to the utterance of the speaker, is proposed by Bres (2005) from a rereading of Bakhtinian dialogism. Related to interlocutive dialogism, the dialogic text created in the flow of speech of the interlocutors would include, among its multiple dialogical characteristics, the speaker’s comments about what was said prior to his own or the other’s utterance.

From the dialogic text recorded by camcorder, we will highlight the co-enunciative threads marked by the emergence of a term, its resumption, denial and comments, which are structured as follows:

a) Speaker A: [X].
   Speaker B: [X] (NO) + Z

b) Speaker A: [X].
   Speaker B: [X]?
   Speaker A: [X] (NO) + Z

In these structures, the formula “[X] (NO) + Z” formalizes the statement that may be made about an uttered word. “X” represents a word or expression related to the object of discourse (OD) highlighted by one of the speakers. The denial, which may or may not be linguistically marked, is usually followed by a comment. “Z” is the comment or gloss referring to the term uttered previously and therefore to the OD in question.

As we showed in our analysis of writing processes of fictional stories in Calil (2008), the OD refers to the elements of various orders (linguistic, narrative, textual, orthographic, communicational...), while the resumption of these elements by the interlocutor and his commentary may express a reflexive position about it. The resumption and semantic comment about what was said by the interlocutor indicates the recognition of a difference between the “sense of what was said” and the “sense of what was heard” and indicate, through the questioning and suspension of the use of X, the discovery, by the enunciator, “of ‘something’ that does not go unnoticed and to which his comment responds” (Authier-Revuz, 1995: 29). In other words, the SVE may elicit a type of comment whose structure resembles the enunciative non-coincidences identified and described by Authier-Revuz as forms of autonymic modalization in which the interlocutor recognizes the enunciative heterogeneity and seeks to mitigate it, in a deliberate effort of negotiation starting from the contestation of what was stated⁴.

Thus, autonymic modalization, which is one of the forms of manifestation of the constitutive heterogeneity of speaking, has to do with the way in which the subject represents and demarcates the phenomena of non-coincidence, which may appear in four different forms:

i. Non-coincidence of words with themselves, in which the subject, in a number of ways, eliminates or admits other meanings of a word or of other words that, through the play of polysemy, homonymy, etc., affect his utterance;

ii. Non-coincidence of the discourse with itself, in which the words of other(s) discourse(s) “present themselves,” “invade” the discourse of the subject;

iii. Interlocutory non-coincidence in which the subject, in his relation with the utterance of the other, highlights in his own enunciation non-shared meanings, a distancing between an utterance that “is mine” and one that “is not mine” or, if convenient, that can be accepted, shared;

iv. Non-coincidence between words and things,

⁴ Figueira (2003), in his study about the reflexive property of language in the speech of children, identifies some initial forms of autonymy at around age 4.
when it involves indicating that the words employed do not correspond exactly to the reality they should represent, culminating in the impossibility of an object being totally “completed” by the play of the designation.

As will be seen in the presentation and analysis of our data, verbal erasure may also occur through autonymic modalization, through repetition (resumption of another’s words or one’s own, involving the use of the term), with an additional comment about this use (reflective comment in which the mention of the use of “X” intervenes). Thus, we believe that SVE resembles the phenomenon of autonymic modalization in that its enunciation comprises two main components of modality: use and mention.

3. Fictional stories and paired writing: didactic guidelines and methodological procedures

The choice of the paired writing process in the classroom context as an object of study requires an approximation between the investigative objectives and the didactic context 5 of which the school and the participating classroom are part. In this case study, a private school 6 in the city of São Paulo was selected, located in a middle class neighborhood whose residents have high purchasing power and access to cultural and consumer goods. The parents were architects, lawyers, university professors, businessmen, and liberal professionals (dentists, medical doctors, psychologists...) linked to the artistic (musicians, plastic artists, actors...) or political milieu.

A group of students were learning to read and write and were observed for two years. Among these students, we selected two girls (Isabel and Nara) who met the three criteria for their choice: they were friends inside and outside school; they were extroverted and articulate; and they were newly literate. In April 1991, when we started collecting data, Isabel was 6 years and 5 months old and Nara was 5 years and 10 months old. In November 1992, when we recorded the last proposal, Isabel was 8 years and 1 month old and Nara was 7 years and 5 months old. Sixteen text production proposals were filmed, six during the first year and ten during the second year 7 , with the video recordings taking place on average every 30 days.

In all the proposals, the 1st and 2nd grade teachers both followed a similar procedure: they usually talked about the stories that had already been written, pointed out some learning contents 8 , and lastly presented the text production proposal. The genre chosen for the production of text was fictional narrative, which the teacher referred to as a “made up story.” The majority of themes were free, without any indication of title, character or plot. The didactic procedures sought to encourage planning of the story, asking the students to agree about what they would write. After that, they would ask the teacher for pens and paper to write down the text.

The video recordings were later transcribed using the ELAN program, a tool that facilitates the synchronization of captured images and sound, and allows for the definition of tracks with linguistic types related to the chosen object of study. Considering dialogic text and the co-enunciative nature of verbal erasure, we sought to identify the semantic comments made by the dyad during the recorded writing processes.

4. SVE, between quantity and quality

The two students participated actively in all the writing processes that resulted in their respective manuscripts. They discussed, invented and agreed upon character names, titles, plots, outcomes... narrative elements typical of traditional fictional narratives, such as the presence of “fairies,” “stepmothers,” “magic,” “happy endings”, mixed with other elements related to contemporary fictional narratives (comics, TV commercials, and modern children’s literature). The articulation of these elements revealed some surprising and creative aspects, as shown in Calil (2009) 9 .

SVE is one of those phenomena that reveal the text creation process, in that it highlights the competition between terms, occupying the same position in the syntagmatic chain to be written or indicating problems of unity of meaning when they refer to previous elements. A good example of this is Isabel’s contestation of the term “Zumbacalabumba!” suggested by Nara to represent the noise a fairy makes. Immediately after Nara’s statement, Isabel says: “It’s like this, listen! Let’s make a more beautiful one, OK?! Zabumbacalabumba... for a fairy?”

This SVE, accompanied by Isabel’s comment, indicates that the value of “Zumbacalabumba” is not fitting, not suitable for the type of character, a fairy. It marks the difference between Nara’s words and those of Isabel, causing the latter not only to reflect upon the relationship between the character and what characterizes it, but also and especially to look for a word that can

5 We understand the “didactic context” as all that which characterizes a school, from its infrastructure to the school community involved, and including its socioeconomic and cultural conditions. Specifically, this context involves equally the didactic practice established between the teacher and her students.

6 It should be noted that this school adopts “constructivist pedagogy” based on the ideas of Piaget and Vygotsky, and particularly so in regard to the teaching of reading and writing, according to the studies of Emilia Ferreiro and Ana Teberosky in the 1980s (Ferreiro & Teberosky, 1985).

7 The smaller number of recordings in the first year was because our data collecting started only in April 1991 and the fact that we missed three recordings due to technical sound problems.

8 Mainly in the second year of data collection, these contents had to do with spelling, punctuation, separation of words, etc.

9 We refer to the stories “The glutinous queen,” (original title in Portuguese: “A rainha comilona”); “The three chocolate milks and madam flavor” (original title in Portuguese: “Os três tochinhos e a dona sabor”; where madam flavor stands for mother) and “The muddled F family” (original title in Portuguese: “A família f atrapalhada”, where F stands for the names of the father, mother and son in the story, which are “Fumó”, “Fina” and “Fim”, respectively), whose analysis revealed the wealth of these aspects.
ensure the unity of this relationship and the naming of the character’s action.

It is this type of SVE and these forms of comments that we attempt to identify during the videotaped and transcribed proceedings. The graphs below indicate the number of SVEs per writing processes in each year of the data collection.

Graph 1: Comments per writing process in 1991.

Graph 2: Comments per writing process in 1992.

An analysis of these graphs allows for a few significant considerations. First, we note that this type of verbal erasure with gloss is neither frequent nor systematic. Its occurrence is low, i.e., ranging from one and four events per writing process. In addition, SVE did not occur in most cases, i.e. the 4th, 5th, 7th, 8th, 10th, 11th, 12th, 15th and 16th processes were devoid of SVEs.

Three points should be noted in the processes in which the presence of SVEs was identified:

1. There was no increase in SVEs related to the learning time, i.e., there does not seem to be a direct relationship between the increase in the mastery of rules of grammar and text in written production, such as punctuation marks, paragraphing, use of uppercase and lowercase letters, assimilation of the spelling system, differentiation between direct and indirect discourse (the narrator and characters’ lines), teaching objects valued by the school (and the teacher), emphasized over the two years, and this type of verbal erasure. In fact, from one year to the next, we find that the occurrence of SVE decreased from seven occurrences in six writing processes (1991) to five events in ten processes (1992).

2. Unlike this trend, three SVEs were recorded in the first three writing processes (Nara and Isabel approximately 6 years old). In a single process recorded at the end of that year, there were four SVEs, all uttered by Isabel.

3. Upon determining which of the two students produced more SVEs, we did not find a consistent predominance of one over the other. During the first year, Isabel made six SVEs compared to one by Nara, but in the following year Nara made three of the five SVEs.

5. Conclusion

The dialogue between the dyad favors contention, debate, confrontation, and also potentiates reflexivity about the word put into play, producing meta-enunciations, and thus indicating some important metalinguistic operations to understand the process of text creation by beginning students.

In general, the interaction between this dyad proved very useful in the production of verbal erasures. Specifically with respect to those that focus on the meaning of a term, semantic verbal erasures, we did not find a large number of erasures. However, the number of SVEs produced by the students appears to be related to the complexity that a reflexive comment involves as well as to the school period when formal issues such as grammar and textual rules, punctuation, paragraphing, etc., become relevant.

Peer interaction during these writing processes not only favors reflection about narrative elements, but also allows for the rediscovery of significant moments in the genetic processes of text creation by beginning students.

6. Acknowledgements

This research was supported by a grant (401277/2011-9) from the National Council for Scientific and Technological Development (CNPq). Article translated from Portuguese by Beatrice Allain.

7. References


Il progetto LIRA: un repository multimediale per lo sviluppo delle competenze pragmatiche in parlanti non nativi d’italiano

Elena NUZZO, Greta ZANONI
Università di Verona; Università di Bologna
elena.nuzzo@univr.it, gzanoni@ssmit.unibo.it

Abstract
This paper discusses some of the issues concerning the preparation of a set of e-learning modules on how to use the Italian language appropriately from a pragmatic point of view. These modules are part of a wider project called LIRA – Lingua/cultura Italiana in Rete per l’Apprendimento (Italian language/culture for learning on the Net) involving four Universities (Bologna, Modena and Reggio Emilia, Perugia, and Verona). This project mainly aims at creating a multimedia repository of materials that can help the recovery, preservation and development of linguistic, pragmatic and cultural competences by second and third generation of Italians living abroad. After analysing the characteristics of the target users, this paper addresses one crucial issue associated with the teaching of pragmatics, namely, how to combine the intrinsic variability of this area with the need to resort to a standard reference system and to provide learners with clear corrective feedback. Then it briefly presents the materials and the activities included in the modules in order to show how LIRA deals with this and other issues related to the teaching of pragmatics.

Keywords: Multimedia repository; pragmatics; L2 Italian.

1. Il progetto
Il progetto LIRA (Lingua/cultura Italiana in Rete per l’Apprendimento), cui partecipano le università di Perugia Stranieri, Bologna, Modena e Reggio Emilia, e Verona, ha l’obiettivo di favorire il recupero, il mantenimento e lo sviluppo di competenze pragmatiche e culturali da parte di italiani di seconda e terza generazione residenti all’estero tramite la creazione di un repository multimediale. Essa è un ambiente intelligente di contenuti digitali. Una volta ultimato, questo strumento, fondato sulla condivisione di risorse multimediali, sulla costante interazione fra i membri della comunità virtuale e sulla loro partecipazione alla creazione dei contenuti, permetterà agli utenti di accedere a materiali adatti al loro profilo e altamente rappresentativi della lingua e della cultura italiane, e di auto-valutare i progressi nell’apprendimento. In questo contributo intendiamo presentare alcuni nodi teorici – e le relative ricadute didattiche – legati all’insegnamento di aspetti pragmatici dell’italiano L2 così come saranno emersi nell’ambito del progetto e in particolare nel corso del lavoro svolto dalle unità di Bologna e Verona; non saranno invece trattati gli aspetti legati alla cultura italiana e al testing, di cui si occupano le altre due unità del progetto.

LIRA è un repository di materiali multimediali misto, ma prevalentemente orientato verso l’uso orale della lingua: anche se non mancano esempi di lingua scritta, i testi raccolti, accuratamente selezionati con lo scopo di mostrare alcune specificità linguistico-pragmatiche dell’italiano, sono costituiti soprattutto da brani di parlato. Si tratta di un repository con elevato grado di generalità: non è stata scelta una tipologia specifica di testi, perché si cerca di offrire all’utente una gamma il più possibile variegata di usi linguistici e di contesti. Anche se la grande varietà di testi presenti nel repository permette di considerare i materiali raccolti come rappresentativi di molti tratti e proprietà dell’italiano, rispettando quindi una delle caratteristiche dei corpora di linguistica ovvero la rappresentatività, LIRA non può essere considerato un corpus in quanto non ne soddisfa un altro requisito fondamentale: l’estensione. Inoltre, vale la pena di ricordare che i testi raccolti nel repository LIRA non sono codificati omogeneamente per essere interrogati in modo avanzato all’interno della piattaforma, a differenza di quanto accade per i corpora.

2. I destinatari
Si è detto che i destinatari principali di LIRA sono gli italiani di seconda e terza generazione residenti all’estero. Questi utenti sono per molti versi più assimilabili ad apprendenti intermedi o avanzati dell’italiano L2 che ai parlanti nativi, e, via via che il momento dell’insediamento nel nuovo paese si allontana nel tempo, per molti di loro la lingua degli antenati risulta essere sempre più un lingua da imparare ex novo piuttosto che da consolidare o da arricchire dopo l’apprendimento in casa (per una riflessione sul rapporto tra lingua seconda e lingua etnica cfr. Montrul, 2008). Questa tendenza è stata riscontrata anche per l’italiano: i risultati di numerosi studi dedicati all’argomento (ricordiamo, tra i più recenti, i lavori condotti da Scaglione, 2000 e De Fina, 2003 negli Stati Uniti; da Krefeld, 2004 in Germania; da Ciliberti, 2007 e Bettoni, 2008 in Australia) evidenziano uno stato di perdita funzionale e di erosione formale dell’italiano sempre più avanzato tra le nuove generazioni nate all’estero. Ciò rende dunque proficuo anche il paradigma di indagine scientifica dell’acquisizione di una seconda lingua, oltre a quelli dell’interferenza strutturale e del code switching, tradizionalmente adottati nell’analisi dei fenomeni linguistici legati all’emigrazione. Se questi paradigmi infatti insistono negativamente su quello che si va perdendo, quello dell’acquisizione valorizza positivamente quanto può ancora venire recuperato da parte dei parlanti delle nuove generazioni.

Pur nell’ampia e variegata casistica che si può ricondurre alla definizione di lingua etnica, è possibile

---

1 Sono da attribuirsi a Elena Nuzzo i §§ 2, 3 e 6, e a Greta Zanoni i §§ 1, 4 e 5.
individuare alcune caratteristiche linguistiche ricorrenti nei discendenti di immigrati. Si osserva per esempio che molti di loro non sviluppano completamente la gamma dei registri padroneggiati dai parlanti nativi e che, anche quando sono fluenti nell’eloquio, non dominano alcuni di quegli aspetti della lingua che vengono generalmente appresi tardi, tra cui elementi di semantica e di pragmatica (Clyne, 1994).

3. Insegnare la pragmatica
Quando si desidera insegnare una struttura grammaticale è generalmente possibile fare riferimento a una o più regole che definiscono in maniera univoca le relazioni tra le forme linguistiche e le loro funzioni. Si possono incontrare delle difficoltà nel rendere tali relazioni comprensibili agli apprendenti, ma per l’insegnante il punto di riferimento nella lingua d’arrivo è chiaro. Quando invece ci si occupa di insegnamento della pragmatica, il riferimento alla “norma” è una questione molto più delicata e complessa. Per fare un esempio, ogni insegnante sarebbe in grado di dire come funziona in italiano l’accordo di genere e numero tra gli elementi nominali, ma forse non di spiegare come si fa una protesta o un complimento, perché i modi sono tanti quanti sono i contesti in cui ci si può trovare a compiere questi due atti linguistici: nonostante i vincoli legati alla salvaguardia della “faccia”, i parlanti possono scegliere in quale misura attenuare o intensificare un atto anche in base al peso che personalmente attribuiscono alle variabili contestuali. Si possono naturalmente individuare alcuni schemi ricorrenti nelle situazioni più comuni, nonché alcuni strumenti linguistiche che hanno una funzione pragmatica prevalente – per esempio il condizionale o le espressioni dubitative sono spesso usati in italiano per attenuare l’intensità di un atto linguistico –, ma non è possibile compilare un manuale di pragmatica così come si può creare un manuale di grammatica o un vocabolario. Il punto di riferimento più affidabile è quindi costituito da documenti autentici che mostrino l’uso effettivo della lingua nel contesto di reali interazioni.

4. Le fonti dei materiali didattici per LIRA
Partendo da questi presupposti, per la creazione del materiale didattico sugli atti linguistici destinato a LIRA si è scelto di utilizzare prevalentemente dati provenienti da corpora di parlato spontaneo e (semi)spontaneo (come ad esempio riprese video e registrazioni di role-play guidati) e da frammenti di trasmissioni radiofoniche e televisive (soprattutto fiction). L’ampio ricorso a materiale video consente di focalizzare l’attenzione non solo sulle strutture più propriamente linguistiche, ma anche sulle componenti paraverbali e ambientali della comunicazione. I video sono accompagnati nella maggior parte dei casi da trascrizioni, che sono pensate per aiutare gli utenti a comprendere le scelte linguistiche dei parlanti piuttosto che i tratti formali del parlato come gli aspetti fonetici e prosodici. Tali scelte sono in linea con le finalità didattiche – e non di ricerca – del sito. Come già sottolineato, LIRA è un repository misto: ai numerosi campioni di parlato si alternano esempi di lingua scritta, come brevi estratti di articoli di giornale o di romanzi, ma anche messaggi tratti da forum, chat e blog. Questi ultimi sono stati volutamente inseriti nel repository perché, pur essendo testi in forma scritta, presentano spesso, come è noto, tratti e caratteristiche del parlato spontaneo. Su questo materiale autentico vengono proposte varie attività, il cui formato si ispira sia ai test più frequentemente usati negli studi sull’apprendimento e sull’insegnamento della pragmatica – come il Discourse Completion Task (DCT), le scale di appropriatezza e le simulazioni di ruolo più o meno guidate (cfr. per es. Ishihara & Cohen, 2010) –, sia agli esercizi comunemente impiegati nell’insegnamento delle lingue seconde, come i questionari a scelta multipla, gli abbinamenti, i cloze, il riordino di parole o frasi, il completamento di schemi o tabelle con elementi tratti dal testo ecc.

Il progetto prevede anche lo sviluppo di funzioni, attualmente ancora in fase di elaborazione, che consentano di far caricare direttamente agli utenti (apprendenti, ma anche insegnanti di italiano per stranieri) ulteriori contenuti, in modo da favorire la partecipazione attiva degli utenti alla vita della piattaforma e il continuo incremento del materiale disponibile.

5. Struttura e contenuti del repository
I materiali LIRA per lo sviluppo delle competenze linguistico-pragmatiche sono raggruppati in 7 macro aree tematiche. Nell’individuare le tematiche da sviluppare si è cercato di comprendere le funzioni e gli usi linguistici maggiormente presenti nelle situazioni comunicative ma allo stesso tempo problematici dal punto della gestione delle variabili contestuali. Le aree tematiche affrontate comprendono l’uso delle forme di cortesia e le forme pronominali Tu e Lei, le espressioni cristallizzate in routine comunicative legate a particolari situazioni o eventi (saluti, auguri, condoglianze ecc.), le routine comunicative che seguono formule meno standardizzate (come ad esempio gli complimenti, le scuse, le modalità per iniziare una conversazione con sconosciuti o per offrire il proprio aiuto), la funzione comunicativa legata alle richieste (come richiedere qualcosa, come accettare o rifiutare), le modalità per mettersi o non mettersi d’accordo (inclusa la fase di negoziazione tra gli interlocutori che spesso può risultare complessa), tutte le funzioni relative alla conflittualità tra i parlanti (dalla critica all’accusa, dalla protesta alla minaccia, dal litigio all’insulto) e infine un’area dedicata in generale alle modalità per esprimere le proprie opinioni, per mostrare e osservare alcuni tratti della conversazione (introdurre e chiudere un argomento di conversazione) introducendo elementi come lo scherzo e l’ironia. Ogni macro area è strutturata in modo da presentare inizialmente il contenuto generale oggetto dei percorsi e poi articolare il problema con specificità in grado di far comprendere gli usi linguistici attuali, compresi quelli più atipici. Se si considera ad esempio l’area dedicata alle forme di cortesia, troviamo sia attività e approfondimenti dedicati all’uso standard delle forme pronominali Tu e Lei sia usi meno frequenti dei pronomi con valenza ironica o
offensiva; nell’area dedicata alla conflittualità, accanto ai materiali esplicativi delle offese e degli insulti si trovano anche testi che mostrano l’uso delle stesse strutture lessico-grammaticali in senso scherzoso, amichevole e ironico. Ogni macro area è articolata in più percorsi che contengono un contenuto-stimolo culturalmente e linguisticamente significativo (ad esempio un breve filmato, un brano tratto da fonte scritta o un’immagine) e un numero variabile di attività, che hanno l’obiettivo di rendere consapevole l’utente della varietà e della variazione degli usi linguistici proposti nei diversi percorsi. Alcune delle attività si focalizzano specificamente sul contenuto pragmalinguistico del percorso didattico, mentre altre hanno una funzione di supporto alla comprensione, sia globale sia di singole strutture lessico-grammaticali. La struttura del repository così articolata permette all’utente sia una navigazione lineare, e quindi più controllata, secondo la sequenza suggerita dagli autori, sia una navigazione libera, con passaggio immediato da un percorso all’altro ed eventualmente anche da una macro area all’altra. Per consentire questa modalità di navigazione meno lineare, la piattaforma offre la visualizzazione simultanea e gerarchizzata dei contenuti principali e di quelli correlati, permettendo all’utente, attraverso il ricorso a un sistema ragionato di tagging, di muoversi agevolmente tra i contenuti tra loro collegati.

6. L’interazione con gli utenti
Poiché il repository di LIRA è uno strumento pensato prevalentemente per l’autoapprendimento, il riscontro fornitogi da computer dopo lo svolgimento dell’attività rappresenta per l’utente un aiuto essenziale per capire e imparare. Sebbene infatti l’ambiente preveda anche degli spazi dedicati a brevi spiegazioni ed esemplificazioni dei diversi fenomeni, è soprattutto dalla correzione delle attività che l’apprendente può cogliere il legame tra forme e funzioni nei diversi contesti. Poiché, per la natura stessa della pragmatica di cui si è discusso prima, non è possibile fornire all’apprendente un’unica soluzione corretta, occorre piuttosto offrire alcuni modelli di riferimento sulla base di ciò che vari parlanti nativi, magari provenienti da regioni diverse, hanno effettivamente detto nelle situazioni presentate all’interno delle attività, invitando l’apprendente a riflettere sui mezzi linguistici che consentono di attribuire agli enunciati diverse sfumature pragmatiche. Da questo punto di vista un validissimo contributo è offerto dalle potenzialità della Rete e in particolare dal tipo di ambiente in cui si muovono gli utenti di LIRA, che si propone come un social network più che come un semplice magazzino di contenuti e attività. I percorsi didattici sono integrati in spazi di condivisione (forum) nei quali gli apprendenti sono stimolati a discutere, porre quesiti e offrire opinioni sui documenti e sulle attività proposte. L’utente ha la possibilità di confrontare la sua risposta non solo con le soluzioni proposte dagli autori, ma anche con le risposte fornite dagli altri membri della comunità virtuale e da parlanti nativi, operando tra queste una selezione in base alle caratteristiche socio-biografiche fornite al momento della registrazione. Effettuando il primo accesso a LIRA, infatti, gli utenti sono invitati a completare un breve questionario che consente al sistema di associare a ogni utente un profilo contenente dati anagrafici, interessi, conoscenze e abitudini relative all’uso della lingua italiana. Il controllo delle proprie conoscenze pragmalinguistiche è dunque rappresentato da un confronto con opinioni diverse piuttosto che da una tradizionale correzione. L’apprendente non è quindi soltanto un utente di materiali didattici on line, ma anche un membro della comunità virtuale che condivide l’interesse per l’uso concreto dell’italiano nei diversi contesti. Discussioni e riflessioni collettive offrono la possibilità di acquisire quella consapevolezza sui fenomeni pragmatici della lingua che possiamo considerare l’obiettivo fondamentale dell’apprendimento della pragmatica di una lingua seconda (Bettoni, 2006).

7. References


1. Introduction

In BP, there are many different ways to reply to ‘Thanks!’: De nada! (of nothing), Por nada! (for nothing), Às ordens! (to-the orders), À disposição! (to-the disposition), Disponha! (be-PRES-1PL to-the disposition), Estamos à disposição! (be-PRES-1PL to-the disposition), Eu é que agradeço! (I is that thanks-PRES-1SG), and so forth.

In English, we find several options as well: “You are welcome!”, “No problem!”, “Not at all!”, “My pleasure!”, “No worries!”, etc. Nonetheless, in contrast to English in which “Thank you!” is used with a pronoun, BP obrigado eu is closer to French merci which is independent from pronominal categories. Recently though, in BP, variants other than those listed above have drawn attention especially due to their pronominal make up, as follows in the examples with obrigado você (thank you) and obrigado eu! (thank I) where “A” stands for attendant and “C” for customer.

(1) A: É agora tá tranquilo.¹
    ‘Yeah! It is easy now ...’
   C: É.
    ‘Yeah.’
   A: ... pra tirar saldo, extrato ... Tá bão?
    ‘... to have your balance, bank account statement ... All right?’
   C: Brigado.
    ‘Thanks.’
   A: Brigado eu, tchau!
    ‘You are welcome, bye!’
(2) A: Deix’eu te dá um recibinho, aqui. Só isso mesmo?

¹ The dialogues in (1) and (2) were taken from Pereira (2012).

‘Let me just give your receipt. Is there anything else I can do for you?’
C: Só. Brigado.
‘No. Thanks!’
A: Brigado você².
‘You are welcome!’

According to Aston (1995: 59), thanking “may function more as formal marker of discourse structure than as an indication of genuine gratitude [...] Rubin (1983) assigns it a ritual ‘role’ in closing service encounters”.

As such, obrigado você! and obrigado eu! which mean respectively “It is to you that I have to say ‘thanks’” and “It is I who have to say ‘thanks’” play “an important role in conversation management” (Aston, 1995: 59).

However, some doubts come up when these structures are studied:

- Why is that obrigado (‘thanks’) sometimes shows an intransitive argument (obrigado a você – ‘thanks to you’), but has been used without preposition, as in (2A)?
- Which is the syntactic status of ‘I’ in obrigado eu (‘thank I’)? Is it a subject?
- Is there anything beyond a relationship of synonym between obrigado (‘thanks’) and agradecer (‘to thank’)?
- What are the syntactic and semantic differences between obrigado and agradecer?
- How can obrigado (‘thanks’) be past participle of obrigar (‘to obligate’), its cognate, and assume arguments of agradecer at the same time?

Keywords: Brazilian Portuguese obrigado eu/você; reanalysis; analogy; counter service utterances.

References

Aston, 1995. Differently, in order to understand the ir formal configuration and the changes undergone by them in a synchronic perspective, the discussion will be based on theoretical assumptions made by Hopper & Traugott (1993) and Harris & Campbell (1995). obrigado is used in two contexts either when thanking or when replying to thanks. I hypothesize that obrigado, as an interjection, has been reanalyzed from the past participle of obrigar (‘to obligate’). In response to “thanks”, obrigado shows verbal valences usually attributed to agradecer (‘to thank’). This feature probably rises by analogy with agradecer eu (‘thank-1SG I’) and agradecê você (‘thank-1SG you’).
• How can a corpus-based analysis be helpful in answering these questions?

This paper will discuss these queries and investigate explanations for them.

2. Theoretical review

According to Harris & Campbell (1995: 61),

“Reanalysis directly changes underlying structure, which we understand to include information regarding at least (i) constituency, (ii) hierarchical structure, (iii) category labels, (iv) grammatical relations, and (v) cohesion [...] Semantic change is involved also in many of these reanalyses” (Harris & Campbell, 1995: 61).

It will be shown that the changes undergone by obrigado are related to: (i) category labels, such as past participle and interjection, (ii) grammatical relations, such as valence and argument position, and (iii) semantic change indicating thankfulness or simply a discursive device for ending a commercial encounter.

Analogy is

“a process whereby irregularities in grammar [...] were regularized. The mechanism was seen as one of ‘proportion’ or equation. Thus, given the singular-plural alternation cat-cats, one can conceive of analogizing child-children as child-childs” (Hopper & Traugott, 1994: 56).

According to Hopper & Traugott (1994:57), “Kiparsky (1968) [...] views analogy as generalization or optimization of a rule from a relatively limited domain to a far broader one”. My hypothesis is that, having the meaning of thankfulness, just like agradecer, obrigado has borrowed the argument structure from agradecer, surfacing with either an accusative pronoun or a post-verbal subject.

A traditional example of reanalysis and analogy is the Romance perfect which has developed from an adjectival form (3). In (3), accusative agreement is overt (vos ... fatigatos). In (4), however,

“there is indeterminacy whether there is or is not agreement, since neuter singular (nihil [...] is the ‘default’ gender/number marker in Latin” (Hopper and Traugott, 1993: 57).

It turns out that lack of agreement between object and participle is extended to other contexts, as in (5). “These unambiguously non-agreeing forms presumably arose by analogy (=rule generalization) from neuter singular contexts to other contexts” (Hopper & Traugott, 1993: 57).

(3) Metue enim ne ibi vos habebam fatigatos.
feur-1sg for lest there you:acc:pl have-1sg tired-acc:pl

‘For I fear that I have tired you’ (Hopper & Traugott, 1993: 57).

(4) Promissum habeo nihil [...].
Promised-neut/sing have-1sg nothing-neut/sing
‘I have promised to do nothing’ (Hopper & Traugott, 1993: 53).

(5) Haec ominia probatum habemus
Those-acc-pl all-acc-pl tried-part have-pl
‘We have tried all those things’ (Hopper & Traugott, 1993: 57).

Concerning obrigado (‘thanks’) and its translation into English, it is appropriate to point out that, while ‘thanks’ and ‘to thank’ are cognate words, obrigado and agradecer are not. Despite this, it seems that BP speakers have been attributing grammatical patterns of agradecer to obrigado by analogy after it has undergone reanalysis as an interjection.

3. Methodology

This work was carried out by collecting data in commercial conversations, transcribing their final excerpts and providing them with a formal description of the phenomenon.

In a commercial establishment of a small city, in Minas Gerais state, three attendants conceded authorization to have their utterances recorded. Having got a corpus with 2 hours of counter service utterances, I have found more tokens withbrigado cê than withbrigado eu, which was restricted to the responses of only one of the three attendants recorded. The customers generally preferbrigado cê when they reply to attendants’ thanks. That is why there was no occurrence of obrigado eu among the customers.

With this methodological approach, I am interested in data effectively produced by speakers. In Kennedy’s (1998: 271) words,

“In contrast to Chomskyan approaches to language, corpus-based descriptions are based on non-elicited linguistic performance as the source of evidence for theories of language, and so far have largely focused on particular languages rather than universals of language. However, although the goals and focus of study have typically differed, the two approaches can be seen as complementary rather than conflicting”.

Therefore, a spoken corpus will be used to study the structures above mentioned, though intuition data will not be excluded.

4. A possible analysis

Some dictionaries attribute to obrigado a meaning like obliged or grateful, as in (6), in the sense that a person is obligated to someone else. This is the meaning derived from its cognate verb obrigar (‘to oblige”).
(6) “Fico-lhe muito obrigado pelo que me fez” (Ferreira, 1999).
Stay-1Sgnominative-3Sgdative very obliged by what me did
‘I am much obliged for what you did for me.’

However, in contemporary Brazilian Portuguese, speakers do not understand obrigado as the past participle of obrigar (‘to oblige’) at all. That is why other dictionaries point out the neutralization in gender and number agreement, with the forms obrigada(s) (thank-FEM-PL) and obrigados (thank-MASC-PL) out of use in the vernacular. Following Luft (2007: 357),

“the insistence in calling attention to this rule of agreement [in gender and number] proves that the invariability is common, usual: _ (Muito) obrigado, meu querido ( _Much thank-0), my-MASC-SING darling-MASC-SING); _ Vamos bem! (Muito) obrigado (GO-PRES-1PL well! Much thank-0). In this case, we have an interjective and invariable expression3 (my translation).”

In addition to the lack of agreement, another evidence for the fact that obrigado (‘thanks’) is not understood as the past participle of obrigar (‘to oblige’) is its meaning. Obrigado is much closer in meaning to thankfullness, like agradecer (‘to thank’), rather than to obligation. Though it is true, the participial configuration of obrigado in BP gives us a clue for understanding its intransitive argument in (8), because the past participle of obrigar has intransive valence ‘obliged to’. Nonetheless, its participial configuration does not explain the postposition of eu (‘I’), which is allowed in (1), repeated below as (7), but not in (9).

(7) C: Brigadu4.
 ‘Thanks’.
 A: Brigadu eu, tchau!
 Thanks I, bye!
 ‘You are welcome, bye!’
 (8) (Estou) obrigado a você.
 BE-PRES-1SG thank-past to you
 ‘I am obliged to you’.
 (9) *Estou obrigado eu.
 BE-PRES-1SG thank-past I

A very plausible explanation for the configuration of structures like (10) and (11) is assuming that “say” and “say to” were left out.

3 “a própria insistência em alertar para essa regra de concordância prova que a invariabilidade é frequente, usual: _ (Muito) obrigado, meu querido; _ Vamos bem! (Muito) obrigado. Trata-se neste caso de expressão interjetiva, invariável” (Luft, 2007: 357).
4 The dialogues in (7-9, 12-13) were taken from Pereira (2012).

(10) Obrigado (digo) eu.
 Thanks (say-PRES-1SG) I
 ‘It is I who say ‘thanks’.
 (11) Obrigado (digo) a você.
 Thanks (say-PRES-1SG to) you.
 ‘It is to YOU that I have to say ‘thanks’.

However, what we intend to investigate in this paper is whether obrigado undergoes any kind of reanalysis and analogy in the responses obrigado eu and obrigado você. We have already seen that historically obrigado (‘thanks’) derives from obrigar (‘to oblige’), but nowadays it is used as an interjection, having its agreement neutralized. In addition, obrigado (‘thanks’) has independent status, being able to surface alone in a sentence, like other interjections, such as: olá (‘Hi!’), oi (‘Hi!’), saúde (‘Blessings!’), etc. Therefore, this is one of the linguistic changes undergone by obrigado: that is, the past participle of obrigar was reanalyzed into an interjection.

A second change taken place is the use of obrigado in responses to ‘thanks’, as seen in the examples (1) and (2) given in the introduction and discussed so far. According to Hopper & Traugott (1999: 61),

“Reanalysis and analogy (generalization) have different effects. Reanalysis essentially involves linear, syntagmatic, often local, reorganization and rule change. It is not directly observable. On the other hand, analogy makes the unobservable changes of reanalysis observable”.

An unobservable change is the fact that, having gratefulness more than obligation meaning, obrigado (‘thanks’) becomes interchangeable with agradeço (‘thank-1SG), as given below in the comparison between (12) and (13).

(12) A: Só isso mesmo?
 ‘Is there anything else I can do for you?’
 C: Só, Brigadu.
 ‘No. Thanks!’
 A: Brigado ocê.
 ‘You are welcome!’
 (13) A: Só isso mesmo?
 ‘Is there anything else I can help do for you?’
 C: Só, eu agradeço.
 ‘No. Thanks!’
 A: (Eu que) agradeço você.
 ‘You are welcome’.

Through analogy, irregularities in grammar are regularized (Hopper & Traugott, 1994: 56). Therefore, because obrigado becomes interchangeable with agradeço, obrigado may probably be used structurally like agradeço having either complement (followed by preposition), as in (14b), or a post-verbal subject, as in (15b). As a consequence, eu in (15a) looks like a grammatical subject because its position rejects the dative
mim and the accusative me, as seen in (16).

(14) a. Obrigado (a) você!
   Thanks (to) you
   ‘You are welcome!’
   b. Agradeço (a) você!
   Thank-PRES-1SG (to) you
   ‘You are welcome!’
   (15) a. Obrigado eu!
   Thanks I
   ‘You are welcome!’
   b. Agradeço eu!
   Thank-PRES-1SG I
   ‘You are welcome!’
(16) *Obrigado mim/me.
   Thanks to-me/me

Therefore, by analogy, obrigado, in responses to ‘thanks’, seems to follow the rules of agradece argument structure. As a result, obrigado just like agradece may have different pronouns as arguments, such as in agradeço (você) (thank-1SG you), agradeço vocês (thank-1SG you-PL) and agradeço o senhor (thank-1SG the sir - ‘You are welcome, sir’). The examples (17), (18) and (19) below show obrigado with all these pronouns and without the preposition a (‘to’).

(17) A: Deix’eu te dá um recibinho, aqui. Só isso mesmo!¹
   ‘Let me just give your receipt. Is there anything else I can help you with?’
   C: Só. Brigadu.
   ‘No. Thanks!’
   A: Brigado ocei.
   Thank you.
   ‘You are welcome!’
(18) A: Sessenta e três. Mais alguma coisa?
   ‘Sixty-three [Reals]. Something else?’
   C: Só. Beleza.
   ‘No. It is fine!’
   […]
   ‘So, it is ok. Thanks.’
   C: Então, beleza. Brigadu ocei aí.
   So, nice. Thank YOU-PL there
   ‘So. It is fine. Thank you all’.
   A: Até mais.
   ‘Bye!’
(19) A: Mais alguma coisa, seu L.?
   ‘Something else, Mister L.?’
   C: Só isso.
   ‘No. It is fine’.
   A: Muito obrigado.
   ‘Thanks’.
   C: Muito obrigado o senhor, então.
   Much thank the sir, so.
   ‘Thank YOU, sir’.

So far, I have been investigating two mechanisms of change probably operated on obrigado. The first one is its reanalysis from the past participle of obrigar to an interjection. The second one is the analogy with the verb agradece which makes obrigado surface with post-verbal arguments either nominative or accusative.

According to Harris & Campbell (1995: 72),

‘the conditions necessary for reanalysis to take place are that a subset of the tokens of a particular constructional type must be open to the possibility of multiple structural analyses, where one potential analysis is the old one [...] and the other potential analysis is the new one’.

Considering the first mechanism above mentioned, obrigado is open to a reading where it is a variable participle of obrigar meaning obligation, as in (20), and to another reading where it is an invariable interjection meaning thankfulness, as in (21).

(20) “Ficamos-lhe muito obrigados pelo que nos fez.”
   Stay-1PL-3SGative very obliged-FEM-PL by what us did
   ‘We are much obliged to what you did for us’.
(21) “Vamos bem! (Muito) obrigado.”
   GO-PRES-1PL well! Much thank-0
   ‘We are fine, thanks.’

Considering the second mechanism above mentioned, obrigado, as a response to thanks, shows argumental structure of agradece. For convenience, I show in the next page a table with a summary of these processes of change.

It is interesting to mention that the structures studied in this paper are also productive in European Portuguese. Having done a very brief research on the Reference Corpus of Contemporary Portuguese⁶, I found nine sentences with obrigado eu, as seen in the following examples:

(22) O Orador: Muito obrigado, Sr. Presidente.
   Assim sendo, terminei.
   ‘The speaker: Thank you so much, Mr. President.
   Being so, I have just finished it’.
   O Sr.Presidente: Muito obrigado eu, Sr.
   Deputado.
   ‘The President: You are welcome, Mr. Deputy.’
(23) Vozes: - Muito bem! Muito obrigado!
   ‘Voices: - Congratulations! Thank you!’
   O Orador: - Muito obrigado eu, e seria assim, volto a agradece a V. Ex.*, a todos os Srs.

⁶ “The CRPC contains texts from the second half of the 19th century up until 2006, but most of the texts have been produced after 1970” (information taken from the Reference Corpus website).
‘The speaker: - You are welcome. That is all. Once again, I thank Your Excellency and Gentlemen’.

(24) O deputado: Muito obrigado, Sr. Presidente.
‘The deputy: Thank you very much, Mister President.’
O Sr. Presidente: -Muito obrigado eu, Sr. Deputado.
‘The president: - You are welcome, Mister Deputy.’

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>past participle of</th>
<th>Reanalysis</th>
<th>Analogy</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>obrigar</td>
<td>&gt; interjection (Thanks!)</td>
<td>&gt; interjection (You are welcome!)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>(6) and (20)</td>
<td>(1C, 2C, 17C, …)</td>
<td>(1A, 2A, 17A, …)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>dependent form</td>
<td>independent form</td>
<td>independent form</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>(auxiliary plus main verb)</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>variable</td>
<td>invariable (neutralization of agreement)</td>
<td>invariable (neutralization of agreement)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>(agreement)</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>indirect</td>
<td>without arguments</td>
<td>direct arguments</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>argument</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>obligation</td>
<td>thankfulness meaning</td>
<td>used in responses to thanks in order to close service encounters</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>meaning</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Table 1: Summary of the changes undergone by obrigar

5. Conclusions and further developments

With spoken data collected in counter service utterances, I have investigated the hypothesis according to which obrigado has undergone reanalysis while obrigado eu and obrigado você has undergone analogy. The first mechanism changed the past participle into an interjection. The second one changed syntactic properties of obrigado which shows accusative arguments and also postposition of eu like a post-verbal subject. This hypothesis is still very preliminary, but it seems to apply not only to BP but also to EP which have similar data.

It is also worth pointing out that there are other structures in BP where the regency of certain verbs seems to be, in a certain way, transferred to another verb. For instance, when a speaker says something like (25), where the verb comentar is used unexpectedly with a direct object, he is transferring the valence of contar (me contou –me told) or dizer (me disse – me said) para comentar (me comentou – me commented). This happens through analogy, because dizer (‘to say’) and contar (‘to tell’), both speech verbs, have a pronominal direct object. The same seems to happen in (26) where the valence of verbs bearing company meaning, such as casar com (‘marry with’) and ficar com (‘stay with’), seems to be transferred to namorar (‘date’).

(25) Ele me comentou que você estava namorando.
‘He me comment that you were dating
He me comment that you are hanging out with someone’.

(26) Quando eu namorava com o João, não podia vestir saia curta.
When I dated with João, not could wear short skirt
‘When I dated João, I was prevented from wearing short skirts’.

Kurilowicz (1945 apud Hopper & Traugott, 1994: 57) considers analogy or generalization as a “tendency to replace a more constrained with a more general form”. Therefore, examples (1) and (2), as well as (25) and (26), should be viewed as a trend of BP to have either verbal or nominal valences regularized.

6. References

Pereira, B. (February 2012). Counter service recordings. Perdões.
You’re so not talking to me like that: analysing conflict talk in a corpus of sitcom discourse

Barbara Malveira ORFANÔ
Federal University of Sao Joao Del-Rei
Campus Dom Bosco, Praca Dom Helvecio, 74- Fabricas- CEP:36301- Sao Joao del-Rei
bmalveira@yahoo.com.br

Abstract

Koester (2006) explains that it is difficult to analyse arguments due to the fact that usually participants do not feel comfortable in allowing their arguments to be recorded and that may be the reason for the sparse amount of research on the subject. However, arguments have been addressed by many scholars in a variety of contexts within different approaches including: sociolinguistics, pragmatics, discourse analysis and conversation analysis. In the present study dialogues containing an argument will be analysed from two different perspectives: (i) Muntigl and Turnbull’s (1998) model for the study of arguments and (ii) politeness (hedges). By combining the two approaches, we can determine how speakers in the sitcom orient themselves in the dialogues containing arguments in the narrative of the show. We concluded that in Friends speakers use more contradiction and counterclaim utterances which results in a high frequency of arguments that contain a low cost of face to participants. Even when act combinations are used, the least face aggravating type of arguments are preferred by speakers. The results together with a close examination of the examples present in the data contribute to the ongoing discussion on the representation of real language in media discourse.

Keywords: argumentation; politeness and corpus; media discourse.

1. Introduction

According to Grimshaw (1990), arguing is a common practice among humans, and any adequate account of the nature of spoken interaction needs to be able to describe how arguments are produced and managed. When analysing the dialogues from the sitcom Friends, it is observed that the main structure of the sitcom implies that arguments are in a certain way part of the show. The classical structure of a sitcom involves: familiar situation-disruption- and refamiliarisation with the current situation. This suggests that arguments are likely to be part of the disruption phase of the show. Examples from the Friends corpus will be analysed focusing on the types of arguments found in the sitcom and also on the ways in which a resolution is negotiated by speakers in the data. It is likely that negative politeness will be of importance in this study, reinforcing the claim that the sitcom discourse is influenced by its global audience.

1.1 Definition of Argument

Argumentation theory has its roots in classical Graeco-Roman writings on rhetoric, legalistic reasoning and persuasion. The term argumentation derives from this formulaic and rationalistic approach. Within conversation analysis and related perspectives, a different notion of argument has developed. While studies of argumentation and rhetoric see arguments as a function of reason, an activity of the intellect, conversation analysis views arguments as events unfolding in a real time flow of turn-taking, in which adversary positions evolve in the light of utterances as they are emitted into the interactional space (Hutchby 2001: 124). Although Hutchby’s (2001) view of arguments is of importance, it is important to emphasise here that dialogues in the sitcom are already written and decided by scriptwriters, thus, argument dialogues in Friends are carefully chosen by the show’s writers who ultimately decide the outcome of each argument considering the main purpose of each episode of the show.

2. Literature Review

Arguments have been addressed by many scholars in a variety of contexts within different approaches including: sociolinguistics, pragmatics, discourse analysis and conversation analysis. Koester (2006) explains that it is difficult to analyse arguments due to the fact that usually participants do not feel comfortable in allowing their arguments to be recorded and that may be the reason for the sparse amount of research on the subject. Conversation Analysis has provided a good framework for the study of arguments and we shall rely on the most prevalent studies to support the analysis in section 9.3. Pomerantz’ (1984: 64) work on agreement and disagreement in assessment sequences gave interesting insights to the study of arguments. She distinguishes a preferred-action turn shape from a dispreferred-action turn shape and concluded that disagreements were a dispreferred activity and their occurrences were often minimized through delays in the production of a disagreement and prefaces that mitigated the disagreement (see also Levinson 1983 and Sacks 1987). In Kotthoff’s (1993) study, he observes that initially disagreements with dispreferred turn shapes occur, but as arguments develop, disagreements are expressed in a more unmodulated way, thus becoming the preferred response. However, Goodwin (1990), analysing children’s disputes in a multiparty setting, observes that participants organise their talk highlighting opposition. Rather than being preceded by delays or hedges, turns containing oppositions are produced immediately. In addition, such turns frequently contains a preface which announces right at the beginning that an opposition is being produced (see Goodwin, 1990: 145). Coulter (1990) examines the structure of arguments and states that
arguments have a minimal adjacency pair structure consisting of an assertion and a counter-claim. In another study, Muntigl and Turnbull (1998) propose a minimal three-part structure consisting of a claim, a disagreement and a counter-claim. Up to this point, we have surveyed the most prevalent studies on argumentation and it is fair to say that CA has brought interesting insights to the study of conflict dialogues. In this article dialogues containing an argument will be analysed from two different perspectives: (i) Muntigl and Turnbull’s (1998) model for the study of arguments and, of particular importance in this chapter, (ii) politeness as emphasised in chapter eight (hedges and boosters). By combining Muntigl and Turnbull’s (1998) framework for the analysis of arguments in casual conversation with Brown and Levinson’s (1987) study on politeness, we can determine how speakers in the sitcom orient themselves in the dialogues containing arguments in the narrative of the show. Before we move to the analysis, we briefly comment on the two.

2.1 Muntigl and Turnbull’s model (M-T model)

Muntigl and Turnbull’s (1998) research on arguments focuses on naturally occurring conversational data from two sources. The first is from ten hours of taped discussion of university students in naturally occurring conversation. The second consists of the recording of twenty-one families in which parents discuss a moral issue with their sons or daughters. In total their data comprises 155 dialogues and 4 types of disagreement utterances were identified: Counter claims, contradictions, challenges and irrelevancy.

i. Counter claims: They are usually preceded by pauses, prefaces, and mitigating devices. Muntigl and Turnbull (1998) consider them the least face threatening of all types of disagreement acts. When using counterclaims, speakers can propose an alternative claim that does not directly contradict or challenge another’s claim allowing further negotiation of the previous claim.

ii. Contradictions: They are considered less aggravating than irrelevancy claims and challenges due to the fact that they do not directly attack the competency and rationality of the other speaker. Contradictions often occur with a negative particle such as no or not, signalling that the contradiction of the previous turn is true.

iii. Challenges: They are often introduced by reluctant markers that display disagreement with the prior turn and they often have the syntactic form of an interrogative, co-occurring with wh-questions such as when, what, who, why, where and how. Challenges usually question an addressee’s prior claim. They expect that the addressee will provide evidence for his/her claim, while suggesting that he/she cannot do so.

iv. Irrelevancy claims: They are, according to Muntigl and Turnbull (1998), the most face threatening type of conflict act. Irrelevancy claims express extreme opposition that limits any further discussion. Muntigl and Turnbull (ibid.) explain that in uttering an irrelevancy claim the speaker asserts that the previous claim is not relevant to the discussion, by disagreeing in overlap or without pauses to the preceding.

Muntigl and Turnbull (ibid: 230) claim that the type of disagreement acts used by speakers can be determinant to participants’ face. They put forward the idea that disagreements are inherently face-threatening as many times they can convey disapproval of another person. Thus, face concerns can be expected to influence the conversational structure of arguing exchanges. Brown and Levinson (1987) developed a theory of politeness that acknowledges positive politeness and negative politeness.

Throughout the analysis sections we will pay attention to the role that both positive and negative politeness play in determining the kinds of disagreements and resolutions found in the sitcom.

3. Data and Methodology

The Friends corpus consists of transcripts of fourteen shows from the seventh season (2000-2001) and amounts to approximately 40,000 words. The episodes were transcribed by many online fan clubs after being aired. The transcripts from (http://members.lycos.nl/frtrk/) comprise the data present in this study. Generally, the transcripts were correct containing detailed information of the scenes and actor’s performance in parentheses. After downloading the episodes and saving them in a text file, the dialogues with the actual videos of the shows were checked and the mistakes were corrected (see Orfano, 2010). The Friends corpus was searched manually for dialogues that contained a dispute. These dialogues were isolated for analysis and classified under Muntigl and Turnbull’s (1998) framework for the analysis of arguments in casual conversation. From the 27 dialogues containing an argument, 22 contain only one type of argument utterance and 5 dialogues contain more than one type of argument utterance and were classified as act-combination argument utterances following Muntigl and Turnbull’s (ibid.) framework.

4. Analysis

In this part of the analysis, we focus on the types of disagreements found in Friends according to the type of utterances used by speakers. Figure 1, in the next page, shows the distribution of disagreement utterances in the sitcom in comparison to Muntigl and Turnbull’s (1998) model.

As can be seen in figure 1, speakers in Friends use more contradiction claims when arguing than speakers in the M-T model. There is also a difference between the number of counter claims used by the sitcom and the data file, the dialogues with the actual videos of the shows were checked and the mistakes were corrected (see Orfano, 2010). The Friends corpus was searched manually for dialogues that contained a dispute. These dialogues were isolated for analysis and classified under Muntigl and Turnbull’s (1998) framework for the analysis of arguments in casual conversation. From the 27 dialogues containing an argument, 22 contain only one type of argument utterance and 5 dialogues contain more than one type of argument utterance and were classified as act-combination argument utterances following Muntigl and Turnbull’s (ibid.) framework.

4. Analysis

In this part of the analysis, we focus on the types of disagreements found in Friends according to the type of utterances used by speakers. Figure 1, in the next page, shows the distribution of disagreement utterances in the sitcom in comparison to Muntigl and Turnbull’s (1998) model.

As can be seen in figure 1, speakers in Friends use more contradiction claims when arguing than speakers in the M-T model. There is also a difference between the number of counter claims used by the sitcom and the data
used by Muntigl and Turnbull’s (1998) framework. In the sitcom, speakers use fewer counter claims when compared to Muntigl and Turnbull’s (1998) data. This might be an indication that when arguing in order to sound more assertive speakers in Friends prefer to contradict their opponent’s turn, while speakers in the casual conversation data prefer to use counter-claims. This needs to be further investigated when analyzing the dialogues in the subsequent sections taking into consideration the issue of politeness. After examining the types of argument utterances present in the sitcom, we have classified the arguments in Friends according to the face cost imposed for participants during the argument as lower face cost, moderate face cost and high face cost.

(i) Lower face cost: Dialogues containing counter-claims and contradiction utterances
(ii) Moderate face cost: Dialogues containing challenge utterances
(iii) High face cost: Dialogues containing irrelevancy claims

As can be seen in figure 2, 85% of the arguments in Friends belong to the lower category which means that participants in the sitcom when arguing prefer to be less assertive and are aware of face issues. In the M-T model, speakers are also concerned with face issues, 74% of the types of disagreement utterances in the M-T model belong to the lower face aggravating category. This preliminary finding supports the discussion carried out in chapter eight that hedges and negative face are critical politeness markers in casual conversation. If they were removed, the dialogues in the sitcom would look very unreal and therefore, the audience would not authenticate the show.

4.1 Lower cost of face
In this category we analyze the dialogues containing counter-claims and contradictions. The two types of argument utterances combined account for 85% of the arguments in the sitcom. Predominantly the show is comprised of arguments that present a low cost of face to participants which reinforces the claim that negative politeness is important in the sitcom. Thus, the use of contradiction utterances in conflict dialogues is an indication that speakers in the sitcom try to avoid strong face threatening acts while involved in verbal conflicts and when they do use threatening acts, they are often preceded by mitigation devices like hedges.

4.2 Moderate cost of face
In this section looks at the dialogues containing challenge utterances. As Muntigl and Turnbull (1998: 244) observe, ‘they are highly face aggravating since, by implicating that the other cannot back up his/her claim, they attack the competency of the other’. Maybe for that reason they are not frequent in the sitcom. Speakers in Friends are very concerned about their interlocutors face and avoiding face threatening acts against participants during a conversation is common among characters in the show.

4.3 High cost of face
Muntigl and Turnbull (1998) state that the most face threatening type of disagreement occurs when speakers use irrelevancy claims. As we can see from figure 1 speakers in Friends do not use much of irrelevancy claims, instead, they prefer to use much lesser face threatening acts by using contradiction and counter-claims utterances. There are only 2 examples of irrelevancy claims in the sitcom (8%).

4.4 Act combination acts
In extended conflicts where there are more than two people arguing we find examples of what Muntigl and Turnbull (1998) call act combination conflicts. Their study shows that the most frequent act combination is contradiction followed by a counter claim (CT+ CC).

Although Muntigl and Turnbull (ibid.) have not analysed any other type of act combination in their data, after searching for argument dialogues in Friends, we
found five different act combinations in the sitcom. Table 1, in the next page, suggests a different organisation of act combination types of argument utterances as found in the sitcom data.

As can be seen in table 1, the sitcom follows a different organizational framework in relation to the acts found in Muntigl and Turnbull (1998). This might be due to the fact that the sitcom needs to comply with its audience who need to understand and ratify the dialogues of the show.

| 1 | counter-claim + challenge |
| 2 | irrelevancy claim + counter claim |
| 3 | contradiction + challenge |
| 4 | contradiction + challenge + irrelevancy claim |
| 5 | challenge + contradiction |

Table 1: Act combinations in Friends

5. Conclusion

The analysis above suggests that in Friends the most common type of argument utterance used by speakers usually imply a low cost of face for participants. This is represented by the prevalent use of counter-claim and contradiction utterances in the dialogues containing an argument in the sitcom. The reason for this might be the fact that both of them carry the least face aggravating acts. This indicates that negative politeness plays an important role in the arguments present in the sitcom. Muntigl and Turnbull’s (1998) model shows that speakers also prefer to use the least face aggravating types of argument utterance in their dialogues in order to lessen the impact of their utterances on their interlocutors. This suggests that the sitcom follows a similar structure to the one used in casual conversation. However, there are differences regarding the type of utterances used in each study. In the M-T model speakers prefer to use counter-claims while in the sitcom speakers show opposition using contradiction utterances. This might be due to the fact that contradiction utterances portray an argument in a better way for the TV medium making the argument clear to the audience.

6. References


How a story is told in Italian and in Italian Sign Language. Deictical, anaphoric and gestural strategies in Italian and LIS

Maria ROCCAFORE1, Giulia PETITTA2, Alessio DI RENZO2, Paola MARIA GIUNCHI1

1Università “Sapienza” di Roma, Dipartimento di Scienze Documentarie, Linguistico-filologiche e Geografiche; 2Istituto di Scienze e Tecnologie della Cognizione (ISTC), CNR, Roma

maria.roccaforte@uniroma1.it, giulia.petitta@tiscali.it, alessio.direnzo@istc.cnr.it, paola.giunchi@uniroma1.it

Abstract

The present study derives from a FIRB research project which was designed to implement a e-learning environment for Italian deaf learners both teens and adults. Our task was to investigate which aspects of LIS and Italian are comparable and which are idiosyncratic. The aim was to assess to what extent salient and distinctive features of LIS can interfere and hinder the process of learning Italian by deaf learners. We focused on narrative texts in Italian and LIS and more specifically on deictic and anaphoric features which allow for the textual cohesion of these texts. We asked six subjects to watch a story and then tell it to other people. This story was simple and short and it required the narrators to resort to a variety of communicative strategies. The study showed how deixis/anaphora overall appeared and how it was linked to a gesture in LIS and in Italian verbal narrations.

Keywords: Italian Sign Language; deixis and anaphora; gesture; LIS-Italian comparison; speech.

1. Introduction

In last ten years, studies on deixis1 and anaphora have been conducted both on signed and spoken languages looking at person reference, co-verbal gestures, discourse organization and cohesion devices.

The study of discourse organization both in spoken and sign language provide crucial findings about semiotic issues related to human language. It is important to note that speech and signed discourse share properties and organization features related to the face-to-face modality. Sign languages are indeed not written languages representing a means to understand more about “oral” communication and speech.

In comparing spoken and signed performances, we have to face some methodological and theoretical issues. First of all, in spoken face to face narratives we find two ways of expression, saying (by words) and saying-while-showing (by gestures, among others).

In sign languages, deictic-anaphoric reference can be carried out by means of complex manual and nonmanual units. These are marked by specific eye-gaze patterns, and exhibit highly iconic features. These units are often used in simultaneous signed units, representing a challenge in comparing spoken and signed languages (Volterra et al., 2005; Pizzuto 2007).

In signed languages two major types of units have been identified: “conventional”, or “frozen” signs (which are comparable to lexems in spoken languages) and productive signs, described by researchers with a variety of compositional and highly iconic labels. The latter type of structures display a mode of saying which “show” how an action, a process or a state manifest themselves. This showing mode, with a depictional intent and demonstrative expression, is intralinguistic: signs can say and show at the same time (and signers use gestures too). For example, a speaker could say “pear” pointing up to express the position of a pear on a tree. A signer could instead sign modulating space and position of the reference, providing some spatial information while articulating the sign meaning “pear”.

Signs perform two distinct functions. They can convey a specific meaning or can provide information about size, shape, spatial relations, and/or process. When signs express meaning they are called frozen signs, they provide the dictionary definition without expressing size, shape and aspect. When signs provide information about size, shape, spatial relations, and/or process, they are called Highly Iconic Structures (HIS). HIS are only partially comparable to gestures in spoken languages and are unavoidable cohesion devices. They are indeed frequently used in signed discourse and, as Pizzuto (2007) pointed out, deixis, anaphora and person reference strategies include different distribution of these signs: HIS are frequently used both with an anaphoric role and to express person reference, while LU are commonly used to introduce an object for the first time in the discourse.

In verbal languages, deictic-anaphoric reference can be carried out through verbal units, a combination of word + gesture and gestures only. Like in signed languages it could be are marked by specific eye-gaze patterns, and through highly iconic gestures.

2. Aims

The aim of this paper is to provide elicited data to compare structures in relation to the cohesion devices used in face-to-face narratives, both spoken and signed.

Our aim was to study deictic and anaphoric strategies concerning language, body movements,
gestures, and gaze adopted in the act of telling in a cross-language and cross-modality perspective to highlight both functional and structural similarities in deixis and anaphora in signed discourse and speech.

In fact while in oral speech we can use gestures and words to express different sense units, Sign languages are so structured as to allow to simultaneously express actions subjects and objects. Using HIS is for example in signed languages it is possible to simultaneously coarticulate signs with hands and non manual elements which are frequently used as cohesion devices.

In order to investigate the discourse organization, we asked six subjects (three deaf and three hearing italian speakers with an age range from 35 to 50) to watch twice the Chafe’s Pear Story and then tell it to other people in Sign language (deaf) and in Italian (hearing). The storytellings were videotaped (Chafe, 1980). We created a common Excel file table with relative percentages of the deictical and anaphorical occurrences of references in the two linguistic systems and annotated the various modalities in which the information was expressed.

We chose to transcribe speech using the Jeffersonian transcription system (Jefferson,1984) which allows to take into account breaks, shooting, hesitations and false starts and to take note of extralinguistic behavior.

To transcribe and annotate LIS stories, we chose Sign Writing (hereafter SW), a specific writing system designed for signed languages. This is a sort of “iconic alphabet” (Sutton, 1995) not only allows for an adequate representation and observation of signs features but also a form-meaning multilinear notation which covey specific sign language properties (Antinoro Pizzuto, Chiari & Rossini, 2010). SW glyphs can indeed encode both manual and non-manual components (facial expression, eye gaze, mouthing and mouth gestures 3), shoulder orientation, etc.), providing accuracy of description, multilinear organization of signed units, representation of discourse organization and face-to face modality features.

In spoken narratives we have analyzed gestures breaking them down into two distinct categories, deictic gestures and representational gestures. Deictic gestures are those that refer to something in the narrative - pointing, showing an object, or reaching for something. Representational gestures have meaning independent of the objects. (Iverson et al., 2008).

We compared UL deictical/anaphorical occurrence expressing the vocal deictic reference with the verbal + gestural or gestural explanation only (Table1).

![Table 1: ITA-LIS comparison](image)

Three signers produced a face-to-face signed rendition of the Pear Story (recounted to another experienced signer). This text was subsequently transcribed with the help of the SW system. Analyses were performed on the SW-encoded transcript, checking the original video recorded narrative as needed. The analysis focused on the different strategies adopted by signers in telling a story they had seen. We observed the linguistic devices used by signers to introduce for the first time in discourse people and objects they were talking about, their position and their spatial-temporal characteristics (deictic reference) and to refer, later in their signed narratives, to the same people and objects (anaphoric reference) specifying their actions, states, locations (reference maintenance). While HIS are frequently adopted to express anaphoric reference and reference maintenance, they can also be used to convey deictic reference. Instead, frozen signs can only express deictic or anaphoric reference and are more frequently used for deictic reference.
HOW A STORY IS TOLD IN ITALIAN AND IN ITALIAN SIGN LANGUAGE. DEICTICAL, ANAPHORIC AND GESTURAL STRATEGIES IN ITALIAN AND LIS

3. Results

The collected data show the prominence of HIS as referring expressions in signed discourse. Although HIS seem to function primarily as text cohesion device (‘specialized’ for anaphoric reference and reference maintenance, both animate and inanimate) they are also used for deictic introduction of referents in discourse.

Although in spatial deixis we find both frozen signs and HIS, it is important to note that sign language use often requires a spatial information addict. It is impossible to articulate a sign without moving in space, and there are constraints related to direction, verse and space. These constraints make signers articulate their discourse with a lot of spatial marked points, so, the phenomenon of deixis regards on average 7% of spoken Italian and 21% for the LIS one.

Furthermore, there are some crucial issues regarding the units of analysis and the differences between spoken and signed discourse. It is likely that the multilinear organization of signed discourse exhibits two or more sense units per sign, each including deictic or anaphoric reference. On the other hand, spoken speech exhibits only one sense unit per word, except for coverbal gesture coarticulated units. It is important to note that visual-gestural linguistic multilinearity affects the units count, and further research is required in an across modalities perspective to understand discourse organization.

In the three spoken tellings we have 195 gesture manifestations. As the table (Table 3) shows more than 40% of these gesture occurrences are linked with deixis. In narrations approximately 8 minutes long we have in average 42 extralinguistic manifestations.

Furthermore each hearing teller produced 240 deictic/anaphoric references against the 230 occurrences in LIS. While the result appears similar in both languages, but in LIS we found a huge lack of homogeneity in comparison with ITA narrators.

4. Conclusions

The Pear Story by Chafe allowed us to compare the differences in communicative strategies used in LIS and Italian. We found similar results in the use of deictic and anaphoric devices adopted in the oral narration by our LIS and Italian subjects. However when the LIS subjects told the Pear Story, they used a more accurate and functional set of communicative devices to refer to space and people. The high number of occurrences of these linguistic features in LIS seemed to fill the information gap which is usually counterbalanced by the use of gestures in Italian. This phenomenon applied to 20% of the cases. We observed that in some crucial instances LIS speakers adopted HIS strategies while Italian speakers relied on gestures. It is as if words and frozen signs would not be good enough to fully render the message. The percentage of anaphorical personal references (both animate and inanimate) was very high in comparison with deixis because of the constant reference to the person in the speech. Maintaining this reference is a hallmark of some of the marked structures, such as transfers of person. The majority of deictic-anaphoric references consists of HIS, in line with the results of Antinoro Pizzuto et al. (2008). Many units are simultaneous with the co-articulated expression of several referents. For instance, this is the case when the narrators needed to refer to one of the boys who help the character of our story to pick up the pears he
has stolen from the ground. The only feature that distinguishes the three boys is that only one of them is playing paddleball, a game played with a paddle attached to a little ball by a string. In this specific instance LIS speaker relied on HIS and specifically on the transfer of person (TP) where the signer embodied the boy playing with the paddle to refer to him anaphorically. Speakers who had to tell the story in Italian had to mime the ball play while saying, “When of the three boys ….” The challenge was due both to the difficult task of referring to a specific person, out of three, and to the fact that none knew the name of the game. In addition, when the speakers had to identify the farmer, they made use of the bandana which he wore around his neck and had taken off to clean the pears; they introduced the bandana in their narrative commenting that it was around the farmer’s neck and used to clean the pears. All three of the LIS narrators presented the bandana by means of HIS while only one of the three Italian speakers was able to achieve this communicative goal (Figure 3).

Figure 3: Italian speaker shows just trough the gesture the farmer’s bandana position

These were only two examples where LIS was shown to be a more accurate system to convey special deixis, person and situational references, when compared with Italian where the speakers tended to rely on extralinguistic means such as gestures.

5. References


Resonance, subjectivity and intersubjectivity in Brazilian Portuguese everyday talk

Maria Elizabeth Fonseca SARAIVA
Faculdade de Letras da Universidade Federal de Minas Gerais
Av. Antônio Carlos, 6.627 - 31270-901 - Belo Horizonte – MG
bethsaraiva@uol.com.br

Abstract

One of the assumptions of functionalist approaches is that form tends to respond to communicative or cognitive functions. Thus, this paper aims at finding motivations that would justify the emergence of resonant utterances in spontaneous conversations in Brazilian Portuguese. By resonance I mean, following Du Bois (2001), a speaker’s retake of linguistic devices that have just been used by the interlocutor. Such phenomenon causes the establishment of lexical-structural and cognitive mapping relations between both utterances. In search of the motivations for this phenomenon, first I focus on the manifestation of the speaker’s subjectivity by means of the resonant utterances. The next step consists of demonstrating that, beyond subjectivity, resonance iconically reveals the moments of greatest interpersonal involvement of the interlocutors. This intersubjective alignment, in turn, subsumes various degrees of tuning in (or not) between the co-participants’ perspectives in the spontaneous dialogue.

Keywords: Resonance; subjectivity; intersubjectivity.

1. Introduction

One of the principles shared by all functionalist approaches is that form is mostly motivated by communicative and cognitive functions. Assuming this to be the case, in this paper I take up again the study of lexical-structural resonances in spontaneous conversations in Brazilian Portuguese, trying to answer this question: what motivates speakers to produce resonances?

Before that, it should be understood what I mean by resonance, a term introduced by Du Bois (2001). In face-to-face dialogue interactions, it can be noted that, at times, the speaker reuses, in his/her utterance, linguistic devices (patterns, structures, lexical items, etc.) that have just been used by the interlocutor, thus creating formal and conceptual mapping relations between both utterances, as suggests the data in boldface in example (1), whose translation follows in (1’):

(1) (Pedro e sua noiva Bia estão vendo fotos de paisagem)

1 – Pedro: qual que ocê quer ver primeiro?
2 – vôo ver das paisagens...
3 – Bia: nô que lin::do né?
4 – Pedro: nossa ficou lin::do...
5 – Bia: nossa essas andorinhas aí tão maravilhosas...

Translation:

(1’) (Pedro and his fiancé, Bia, are seeing photos of landscapes)

1 – Pedro: which (one) do you wanna see first?
2 – let’s see (the ones) of the landscapes...
3 – Bia: wa how beau::tiful, isn’t it?
4 – Pedro: wow (it) turned out beau::tiful...
5 – Bia: wow these swallows there are wonderful...

In the example above, Bia manifests her appreciation of a photo, especially through the following linguistic devices: interjection/admiration marker – “nô” (“wa”), a reduced form of “nossa” (“wow”); adjective of evaluation-affection with vowel stretching – “lin::do” (“beau::tiful”); and a tag-question “né?” (“isn’t it?”), which indicates a search for approval in discourse. Pedro, in 4, retakes Bia’s utterance (see the use of the same interjection in full and the repetition of the adjective with vowel stretching), to demonstrate his agreement with his interlocutor’s evaluation. Upon such stimulus, in the utterance of line 5, she notes another detail in the photo – “essas andorinhas aí” (“these swallows there”), completing her evaluation with the same linguistic devices used before by herself and Pedro. This time, however, the chosen adjective is “maravilhosas” (“wonderful”), which has a more expressive power than “lindo” (“beautiful”).

A noteworthy fact is that the quantification of lexical-structural resonances in spontaneous dialogues in Brazilian Portuguese shows a frequency of 24,5% (Matta, 2010). Therefore, we can attest the prominence of such utterances in discourse, following Givón (1995: 64): “(...) salient experience is clearly the less frequent figure, standing out on the more frequent ground.” Thus, the question raised in the first paragraph is justified, for which

---

1 The data in this paper were obtained from transcriptions of four spontaneous conversations in Brazilian Portuguese, which are part of the database of the Grupo de Estudos Funcionalistas da Linguagem (CNPq – Conselho Nacional de Pesquisa). The transcriptions were made according to the norms of the NURC-SP project (Castilho & Pretti (Eds.). 1986), being divided into semantic-intonational units. In the data presented, the following conventions should be noted – omission of a passage: (...); any pause: ...; voice superposition: [laughs]; question: ?; the transcriber’s descriptive comments: ((laughs)); vowel stretching: ::.

2 In this paper, an approximate translation of each example into English will follow its introduction. In the translation, the elements in parentheses do not appear in the original.
an answer will be searched in the next section, based on the socio-cognitive notions of subjectivity and intersubjectivity.

2. Resonance, Subjectivity and Intersubjectivity

A first tentative answer to the question of the motivation that leads speakers to resort to the linguistic device of lexical-structural resonances has already been suggested in Saraiva (2008), following Thompson and Hopper (2001): in spontaneous conversations among friends and acquaintances, it is not our main goal to speak objectively about events and actions. Rather, we are interested in expressing our values, points of view, feelings and emotions, in evaluating people, attitudes and situations, weighing our perspectives against those of our dialogue partners. In short, in that study the emphasis was placed on the manifestation of subjectivity by means of resonant utterances. We tried to list a number of the linguistic marks that manifest subjectivity in those utterances, such as: use of evaluative-subjective adjectives; interjections showing surprise, admiration, reproach, etc.; modal verbs, adverbs and epistemic fragments; affective invocation; the use of verbs that describe internal situations of the participants in an interaction (evaluative, affective, cognitive, etc.), etc. However, in that article, nothing was mentioned in relation to the various devices that speakers of Brazilian Portuguese use to create a light environment of humor and play. As I see it, though, these are situations where subjective intentionality manifests itself very clearly, since they distance from the ordinary, the predictable. Note the example below:

(2) (Pedro, sua noiva e sua sogra Dalva estão vendo fotos)

1 – Pedro: isso ai é um jatinho né?
2 – que eu deixei um jatinho lá fora agora
3 – pra sempre que a gente para passear lá...
4 – Dalva: ah então eu vou ter... cadeira cativa?
5 – Pedro: lógico...
6 – ai quando tiver lá em cima o que eu faço?

((risos))

7 – Dalva: abre a janela e me joga...

[ 

8 – Pedro: abro a porta e jogo ela pra fora...

Translation:

(2') (Pedro, his fiancé and his mother-in-law Dalva are seeing photos)

1 – Pedro: this is a jet, isn’t it?
2 – ’cause I left a jet outside now
3 – for whenever we go there...
4 – Dalva: ah so I’ll have… a permanent seat?
5 – Pedro: of course...
6 – so when (you)’re up there, what do I do?

((laughs))

7 – Dalva: open the window and throw me...

(3) (Fred e Carla, dois amigos, estão conversando enquanto preparam um lanche)

In (2), the mood of play and laughter permeates the whole example, having been set since the beginning with Pedro’s turn from line 1 to 3. For our purpose, however, I emphasize the fact that the climax of the playful mood happens at those moments in which resonance emerges (see 7 and 8). Pedro’s rhetoric question (line 6) about what he intended to do with his mother-in-law once they were up high, in a jet, uttered with laughter, gave her the opportunity to anticipate a humorous answer in the utterance in line 7 – “abre a janela e me joga...” (“open the window and throw me (out)…”). Pedro, in turn, resonates Dalva’s answer in voice superposition (see line 8), stretching the mood of intimacy and play. Thus, we can see that humor is a creative way of revealing subjective affection.

On the other hand, the data in (2) gives me the opportunity to demonstrate that, besides expressing subjectivity, resonance reveals, iconically, as I see it, the great intersubjective involvement of the interlocutors. In fact, in spontaneous dialogues, intersubjective and subjective relations permeate the whole interaction. However, the point I want to make is that their materialization is brought to full potential at those moments when the interlocutor retakes the other’s “words”. In the example above, Pedro and Dalva get aligned in the interaction itself by means of the humor they co-create. This is then a local activity of the participants of that interaction, which constitutes one of the aspects of intersubjectivity. But intersubjective relations also show another facet: that of the system of beliefs, values and socio-cultural expectancies shared by co-participants in a dialogue. In (2), this dimension can be noted by the emergence of a cultural stereotype (the one, according to which, mothers-in-law are undesirable), “against” which the interlocutors react when they use it to create humor. As we know, humor is a light and creative form to manifest disagreement with a position, belief, value, etc.

Finally, according to Du Bois (2007), we note that the intersubjective alignment materialized by the resonances subsume a number of pragmatic/discourse functions. Although the author mentions the fact without exploiting it further, the analysis of the data in Brazilian Portuguese revealed a gradient in the weighing of perspectives, which range from less predictable and expected functions, such as the creation of play, humor, irony, etc., as in (2), to more conventional and predictable ones, as in the case of the use of resonances to respond to a question, to ask for clarification, or to manifest that an interlocutor is following the other’s train of thought (phatic function), etc. Note the following data:
The resonance exemplified in (3) can be classified as one of the responsive kind (Matta, 2010), so it is one of those functions of greater predictability. However, we can add that, in this example, there is more than a mere information request (through a “yes/no question”), which is attended to by the interlocutor. When Fred asks Carla if she “tá sacando” (digs) the neighbor’s karaoke, he demonstrates his care towards her at the same time. Carla feels moved by such an interest, and thus responds affirmatively. Notice that the consent markers “uhn... uhn...” already function as an affirmative answer. But Carla prefers to “qualify” them, emphasizing them with “tô ouvindo...” already function as an affirmative answer. By means of a resonance, she aligns with her interlocutor’s interest interactively. The phatic function mentioned above can be illustrated by example (4):

(4) (Bia está explicando a sua sogra, Vera, a razão de não poder assistir à apresentação de um ballet)

1 – Bia: she agrees, by retaking Bia’s own “words” and replacing the adjective “vazio...” (1), Bia suggests 8 a.m. as a good time: “oito horas é cheio...” (“eight o’clock is full”). Vera, however, disagrees, by retaking Bia’s own “words” and replacing the adjective “vazio” (“empty”) by its antonym “cheio” (“full”): “oito horas é cheio” (“eight o’clock is full”).

As for the data in (1), they illustrate the convergence of the interlocutors’ evaluation by means of the device in focus in this paper: lexical-structural mappings, as already mentioned.

In short, the data analyzed in this section confirm the gradient of intersubjective alignment materialized by resonances. In one end of this “scale”, there are the more predictable and expected functions, such as the function of offering an answer to a question. Next in this “scale”, there are the varying degrees of convergence or divergence between the interlocutors’ perspectives. Finally, in the other end of the less conventional and least expected functions, there are the cases of creation of irony, humor, play, etc.

3. Conclusion

Assuming the functionalist principle that very often form is iconically motivated by communicative (or cognitive) functions, in this paper I defended the idea that the linguistic device of resonance (i.e. insertion of the interlocutor’s utterance in one’s own utterance, partially or totally) reveals, in a transparent fashion, the moments of greatest intersubjective involvement of the co-participants in an interaction.

4. References


Charisma perception in political speech: a case study

Rosario SIGNORELLO1,2, Francesca D’ERRICO2, Isabella POGGI2, Didier DEMOLIN1, Paolo MAIRANO1
1GIPSA-Lab, UMR 5216 CNRS, Grenoble INP, UJF, U. Stendhal (Grenoble, France); 2Dipartimento di Scienze dell’Educazione, Università degli Studi Roma Tre (Rome, Italy)

Abstract
The charisma of the leader is conveyed through multiple aspects: his ideas and vision and his perceivable verbal and non verbal behaviors. Among these perceivable behaviors there are the acoustic characteristics of speech. We present here a study on the perception of charisma in political speech. We collected speech statements with different illocutionary value taken from two speeches given by Umberto Bossi, the leader of an Italian party, before and after a stroke which caused him a voice disorder. Stimuli from the two condition differed significantly in the acoustic-prosodic features. In the first part of the study 40 French listeners rated normal speech stimuli (20 pre- and 20 post-stroke) and in the second part 22 French (11 pre- and 11 post-stroke) and 31 Italians (15 pre- and 16 post-stroke) rated the de-lexicalized version of the same stimuli. Results for the first part of the study show that pitch contour in Bossi’s pre-stroke speech positively influence the perception of his speech as charismatic, as opposed to those some years after the stroke. Results for the de-lexicalized speech confirm for French listeners our hypothesis of the influence of the pitch contour in Bossi’s charisma perception but they are controversial for Italian participants that seem to perceive Bossi as more charismatic in the post-stroke condition.

Keywords: charisma; political speech; intonation; illocution; voice disorder; speech synthesis.

1. Introduction
Charisma was firstly described by Weber as an “extraordinary quality” of a person who is believed to be endowed with superhuman properties thanks to which s/he gets ac- knowledged as a leader Cavalli, 1995: 5). Though no specific objective description of the “extraordinary quality” was given in Weber’s studies, some works started to study the perceivable behaviors of charismatic leaders: some, e.g., (Boss, 1976), focus on what we called the “charisma of the mind” (Signorello et al., 2012), that dwells in the strength of a leader’s ideas, others, e.g., (Atkinson, 1984) try to find visually or acoustically perceivable aspects of a leader’s behaviors that we called “charisma of the body” (Signorello et al., 2012). We suggest that both aspects of charisma, either jointly or independently, are responsible for its conveying and perception.

In the present study we focus on one aspect of the charisma of the body: the speech. We assume here that some of the perceivable acoustic-prosodic characteristics of a leaders speech are specifically responsible for conveying charisma. Our general goal is to characterize acoustically and distinguish perceptually a charismatic speech from a non- charismatic one.

Within previous work investigating the relationship be- tween the acoustic-prosodic characteristics of a political leader’s speech and the perception of his/her charisma, Rosenberg and Hirschberg, 2009) studied the correlation between acoustic, prosodic, and lexico-syntactic characteristics of political speech and the perception of charisma; Touati (1993) investigated the prosodic features of rhetoric utterances in French political speech in pre and post-elections discourses. Other works examined the relationship between prosodic features and the perception of a speaker as a “good communicator” (Strangert & Gustafson, 2008) or analyzed the pitch contour of French political leaders’ speech and its idiosyncratic and contextual variations (Martin, 2009).

2. A hypothesis about charisma
According to Poggi (2005), in persuasive discourse the speaker tries to convince the audience to do some action by exploiting the three strategies posited by Aristotle (2011): Logos (the rational argument), Pathos (the appeal to the audiences emotions), and Ethos (the character of the speaker). According to the theory of Poggi (2005) and Poggi et al. (2011), the dimension of Ethos also includes, for the political leader, three sub-dimensions: Benevolence (the tendency to act in the interest of the audience), Competence (the capacity for rational foreseeing and planning), and Dominance (the power to prevail in a competition).

The notion of charisma we proposed in (Signorello et al., 2012) is based on this theoretical framework. We de- fined charisma as a set of characteristics of a leader that include his “having a vision” (a goal towards which he wants to lead his followers), a “high level of dominance” (look strong, persistent and fighting) and “emotional intelligence” (the ability to feel and transmit emotions, and to be and look empathic). The combination of these features makes a leader charismatic, and is displayed by his/her non-communicative and communicative behavior.

3. What makes a speech charismatic?
To investigate the perception of charisma in political speech we analyzed the acoustic and prosodic characteristics in the speech of Umberto Bossi, an Italian politician who in 2004, during his political career, had a stroke that resulted in severe speech impairment. We collected two samples taken from two speeches performed, respectively, in 1994 (the pre-stroke condition, PRE) and in 2011 (the post-stroke condition, POST). Our hypothesis was that the important differences in
acoustic-prosodic characteristics of Bossi’s speech, in samples of political speeches preceding and following the stroke, give rise to a different perception of charisma. If this hypothesis is validated perceptually we might conclude that information about charismatic qualities are borne by the acoustic-prosodic characteristics that differ in the two samples.

In order to describe the charisma phenomenon through common language adjectives we conducted a qualitative study collecting adjectives describing what charisma is and what it is not (a brief summary is presented in section 3.1.. For the extensive study see (Signorello et al., 2012). We then analysed Bossi’s acoustic-prosodic features in the PRE and POST and conducted a language-independent perceptual study on French participants (section 3.2.4.). We then de-lexicalized our stimuli by synthesis only preserving the pitch contour, the duration and the intensity and conducted a perceptual study on French and Italian listeners. In isolating the pitch contour we could verify if this is the aspect that influences the perception of charisma in Bossi’s speech (section 3.3.).

3.1 Describing charisma

In a previous work (Signorello et al., 2012) we constructed a questionnaire aimed to assess the perception of charisma in the samples of Bossi’s speech required to previously make up a list of adjectives that express charismatic and non-charismatic qualities. To find out such adjectives in an empirically grounded way, we administered a questionnaire through Internet to 58 French participants (42 female, 16 male, mean age 30), asking to freely generate adjectives connected to the idea of what charisma is and what it is not. We obtained a list of French adjectives, 106 describing charisma positively and 105 describing what charisma is not. In order to make a manageable questionnaire, we further selected 67 adjectives (Table 1) retaining only those occurring more than once, 42 positively and 20 negatively related with charisma. We then classified those adjectives in a multidimensional scale of charisma under five dimensions describing this phenomenon. An extended report of this multidimensional scale of charisma and on how adjectives describing charisma are classified in it can be founded in (Signorello et al., 2012).

3.2 Normal Speech

3.2.1. Stimuli

Previous works about the perception of a speaker as a good (Strangert & Gustafson, 2008) or charismatic speaker (Rosenberg & Hirschberg, 2009) rely on the acoustic analysis and the perceptual evaluation of stimuli classified per speaker, topic and genre of speech. Our approach is different. We chose 3 stimuli per condition (PRE and POST) according to their illocutionary value: an assertion, an in- citation and a rhetorical wh-question. As we know the speaker shapes prosody differently in relation to different speech acts (Firenzuoli, 2001). Our hypothesis is that all three types of speech acts are perceived as more charismatic in the PRE condition thanks to prosodic features. Further we argue that intonation might be perceived as more charismatic than rhetorical question which in turn might be perceived as more charismatic than assertion. Below we describe the acoustic-prosodic features of our stimuli.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>DIMENSION</th>
<th>PRE</th>
<th>POST</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Paths</td>
<td>passionate, empathetic, enthusiastic, reassuring</td>
<td>cold, indifferent</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Ethos Benevolence</td>
<td>extrverted, positive, spontaneous, trustworthy, honest, fair, friendly, easygoing, makes the others feel important</td>
<td>untrustworthy, dishonest, egocentric, individualistic, introverted</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Ethos Competence</td>
<td>visionary, organized, smart, sagacious, creative, competent, wise, enterprising, determined, resolute, who propose, seductive, exuberant, sincere, clear, communicative</td>
<td>inefficient, inadequate, uncertain, faithless, unclear, menacing</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Ethos Dominance</td>
<td>dynamic, calm, active, courageous, confident, vigorous, strong, leader, authoritarian, captivating, who persuade, who convince</td>
<td>apathetic, timorous, weak, conformist, unimportant, who scare</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Emotional Induction</td>
<td>charming, attractive, pleasant, sexy, bewitching, eloquent, influential</td>
<td>boring</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Table 1: The 67 positive and negative adjectives related with charisma collected among the native French participants (in English for clarity purposes). Reprinted from Signorello et al., 2012)

3.2.2. Overall F0 measures

The PRE speech presents higher F0 means than the POST speech: PRE (F0 mean 178.89 Hz; min 101.84 Hz; max 241.10 Hz), POST (F0 mean 120.20 Hz; min 91.78 Hz; max 155.99 Hz). All means from the PRE differ significantly from the POST (p<0.0001). Our findings confirm and extend (Murry, 1978)’s findings on significant differences in F0 measures between normal and disordered voice. We argue that F0 values might be positively correlated to charisma perception.

3.2.3. Pitch contour description

The assertion in the PRE condition (Figure 1a below) presents a syntactic focus on “questo” [this], emphasized by a high fall and separated by a pause from the rest of the sentence. The right-side part of the tonal unit presents a falling contour with a small peak on the last tonic syllable. Instead, in the POST condition (Figure 2a below) the
sentence presents a moderate falling and flat pitch contour with a peak on the third lexical word. The incitation in the PRE condition (Figure 1b) includes two parts, each with a pitch contour starting with high frequency and falling sharply in the last tonic syllable. In the POST condition instead the incitation (Figure 2b) presents two rising-falling contours in the first part and falls gradually in the right part of the tonal unit. The rhetorical wh-question in the PRE condition (Figure 1c) presents two contiguous pitch contour movements: the rising part corresponds to the wh-element, the falling part corresponds to the verb. A gradual falling movement comes on the right side of the tonal unit. In the POST statement (Figure 2c) a falling contour corresponds to the wh-element and a rising contour to the verbal element, with a gradual falling movement on the right side of the tonal unit.

3.2.4. Perception experiment

Forty French participants with no knowledge of Italian rated the stimuli presented in the section above via a HTML/PHP browser-based interface. Twenty of them listened to the PRE condition and twenty to the POST condition stimuli. The test took place in an anechoic chamber and participants wore a Sennheiser HD 25-13 headphone. After listening to each stimulus a participant had to answer to some check questions to verify that the perception of the acoustic signal was optimal and that the semantic content was not understood. Then they had to express their judgment about the stimuli through our 67-adjective inventory on a 7-point Likert scale (0 = “totally disagree”, 7 = “totally agree”), with some adjectives from the list substituted by their reverses (e.g., warm instead of cold) to avoid answer habituation. The average duration of the test was of 20 minutes.

3.2.5. Results

From our check questions it resulted that perception was good and there was no semantic comprehension. Hence, the differences between PRE and POST, that are mostly significant (t-test, p<0.05), must be due only to acoustic and not to semantic features. Out of the 67 adjectives used to measure the perception of charisma, about 33 and not to semantic features. Out of the 67 adjectives used to measure the perception of charisma, about 33

![Figure 1: Intonation contour, transcription, translation, duration and F0 measures of PRE stimuli per speech act.](a) Assertion. “Questo amici ereditiamo” [This, my friends, is what we inherit]. 3.51s. F0 mean 52.62 Hz; SD 12.40 Hz; min 95.25 Hz; max 210.94 Hz; range 13 ST. (b): Incitation. “Si ritorna all’attacco, fuori dalle trincee” [Let’s take up again the offensive, get out of the trenches]. 4.27s. F0 mean 225.51 Hz; SD 38.58 Hz; min 107.74 Hz; max 270.36 Hz; range 16 ST. (c): Rhetorical wh-question. “E come facevamo a farlo?” [How could we have done it?]. 1.81s. F0 mean 138.28 Hz; SD 27.98 Hz; min 96.07 Hz; max 189.39 Hz; range 11.72 ST. Spectrogram and pitch contour graphics obtained with WinPitch software (Martin, 2011)
to Ethos Benevolence results are quite inconsistent: the adjectives attributed to the PRE speech include egocentric, dishonest and individualistic, which in our previous qualitative study (Table 1) are non-charismatic qualities.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>DIMENSION</th>
<th>PRE</th>
<th>POST</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Pathos</td>
<td>passionate (5.02), enthuastic (3.25)</td>
<td>indifferent (2.83)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Ethos Benevolence</td>
<td>egocentric (4.51), dishonest (3.95), makes the others feel important (3.68), individualistic (4.29)</td>
<td>trustworthy (3.51), introverted (2.41)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Ethos Competence</td>
<td>competent (4.83), smart (4.52), organized (4.75), determined (5.51), exuberant (4.57), faithless (3.57), clear (4.65), communicative (4.25), seductive (3.17)</td>
<td>wise (3.90), unclear (3.37)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Ethos Dominance</td>
<td>dynamic (5.13), authoritarian (5.73), confident (5.89), leader (5.87), captivating (3.57), convincing (4.40), captivating (4.78)</td>
<td>calm (4.29)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Emotional Induction Effects</td>
<td>attractive (3.10), eloquent (4.68), charming (4.78)</td>
<td>boring (3.63)</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Table 2: Adjectives describing the perception of charisma in the Bossi’s speech by condition with rating values (t-test, p<.001)

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>ADJECTIVES</th>
<th>PRE</th>
<th>POST</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>dynamic</td>
<td>5</td>
<td>4.58</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>authoritarian</td>
<td>6.1</td>
<td>4.52</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>calm</td>
<td>2.66</td>
<td>4.61</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>extraverted</td>
<td>1.66</td>
<td>2.14</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>timorous</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>3.95</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>wise</td>
<td>2.85</td>
<td>3.95</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>individualistic</td>
<td>4.81</td>
<td>4.61</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>active</td>
<td>4.9</td>
<td>5.66</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>introverted</td>
<td>1.52</td>
<td>2.81</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>menacing</td>
<td>4.57</td>
<td>5.33</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>energetic</td>
<td>5.14</td>
<td>6.09</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Table 3: Adjectives describing the perception of charisma in the Bossi’s speech by speech act (A=assertion, I=incitation, Q=rhetorical wh-question) and condition with rating values and one-way ANOVA’s values (p<.001). Higher rates in bold

As for the dimensions of Ethos Competence and Ethos Dominance our hypothesis is almost completely validated: the speaker is perceived as competent, smart, clear, seductive, etc. in the PRE and as unclear in the POST; as dynamic, authoritarian, confident, leader in the PRE and as boring in the POST speech. These results validate our hypothesis on the attribution of charismatic qualities to the PRE as opposed to the POST speech.

Taking into account the different types of speech act both in the PRE and in the POST speech the different illocutionary act elicits a different perception. The incitation is the one that influences the most the perception of charisma. In particular for the dimension of Ethos Competence the incitation elicits adjectives as competent (F(2, 123)=3.114; p<0.048), resolute (F(2, 123)=6.767; p<0.002), enterprising (F(2, 123)=8.515; p<0.001), clear (F(2, 123)=3.046; p<0.05), exuberant (F(2, 123)=4.232; p<0.017) and communicative (F(2, 123)=2.705; p<0.05). More than other speech acts the incitation has a significant effect on the perception of the speaker’s emotional state (see adjectives as passionate (F(2, 123)=2.999; p<0.05), influential (F(2, 123)=9.359; p<0.001) and enthusiastic (F(2, 123)=4.765; p<0.01)).

The assertion on the other hand evokes more non-charismatic qualities like indifferent (F(2, 123)=3.459; p<0.035) and unclear (F(2, 123)=3.662; p<0.029). Finally the rhetorical question seems to not influence a specific dimension of charisma. However, if we consider effect of both condition and a particular speech act the results are quite different. Through a one-way ANOVA we crossed the results of the condition (PRE vs. POST) and the different types of speech act (assertion, incitation and rhetorical wh-question) to study the influence of the different illocutionary acts on the perception of Bossi’s charisma (see Table 3). The incitation makes Bossi to be perceived as more dynamic, authoritarian, active, menacing, and energetic in the PRE condition and as extraverted and wise in the POST condition. Through the Assertion he has been perceived as individualistic in the PRE speech and as calm and introverted in the POST speech. As for the rhetorical wh-question the only significantly results is timorous in the PRE speech.

3.3 Synthesized speech

3.3.1. Stimuli

We decided to carry out a perceptive test on de-lexicalized stimuli in order to further validate our hypothesis that the pitch contour is a relevant element for the perception of charisma. In fact, our de-lexicalization procedure enables us to isolate the pitch contour of a sentence from the semantic content, segmental features and voice quality characteristics. In this way, listeners are therefore forced to give their judgments solely on the basis of intonation, all other linguistic information being eliminated. The de-lexicalized procedure we chose has been developed for the AMPER (Atlas Multimedia Prosodique de l’Espace Roman) project developed by Albert Rilliard on the basis of scripts originally elaborated by Antonio Romano (see Contini et al., 2002 for details). It consists in synthesizing a periodic waveform with the original pitch, intensity and duration values of the actual sentence (this is done by taking three measures per vowel, respectively at the onset,
middle and offset-consonants are replaced with silence). This procedure has been used by several authors working on the AMPER project and has already proved its efficacy.

3.3.2. Perception experiment
Twenty-two French (11 PRE, 11 POST) and thirty-one Italian (15 PRE, 16 POST) listeners participated to a perception analysis with the same methodology described in section 3.2.4. Thus the only differences were the de-lexicalized stimuli.

3.3.3. Results
The first results for the de-lexicalized stimuli perception, compared to results for normal speech perceptions, confirm in one hand our hypothesis of the influence of the pitch contour in Bossi’s charisma perception for French participants but they are, in the other hand, controversial for Italian participants. In fact French listeners describe Bossi as charming, who propose, timorous, confident, pleasant, introverted in the PRE speech and as inadequate, spontaneous, active, leader in the POST speech (t-test, p<0.05). For Italian participants we only performed the perceptual test of de-lexicalized stimuli in order to avoid semantic and ideology influence on the perception of Bossi’s speech. Italian listeners perceived the speaker as boring, indifferent and unimportant in the PRE speech and as attractive, visionary, sexy, cold, passionate, seductive in the POST speech (t-test, p<0.05). From these preliminary results it seems that the pitch contour-only stimuli elicit a different type of of Bossi’s charisma for Italians listeners. In fact the POST speech is described with adjectives positively related with charisma and the PRE speech with adjectives describing charisma negatively, a trend in results that goes against our theory of pre-stroke speech as more charismatic than the post-stroke.

4. Conclusion
In this study we aimed to demonstrate that the perception of charisma in political speech is partly determined by the acoustic characteristics of speech. To do so, we first analyzed samples from the speech of the Italian politician Umberto Bossi before and after a stroke; through a qualitative study we singled out 67 adjectives describing charismatic and non-charismatic qualities. Finally we run a perception study asking participants to rate Bossi’s samples in terms of those adjectives. As resulted from the acoustic analysis, the PRE speech, with its intonation features as focus words, tonal jumps, and higher values, dramatically differs from the POST. And since the results of the perception study validate our hypothesis that Bossi’s speech after the stroke is perceived as less charismatic than before, we may reasonably conclude that the characteristics of intonation that differentiate Bossi’s PRE and POST speeches are an important factor in the perception of charisma. And this hypothesis has been validated once more through a perceptual experiment in which we only tested the intonation contour influence on the Bossi’s charisma perception. We also de-lexicalized stimuli and preserved original pitch, intensity and duration values and we tested French and Italian participants. Results validate our hypothesis on the intonation contour relevance on charisma perception of the PRE speech for French participants but are controversial for Italians. In any case our results on synthesized speech are preliminary and they will be statistically analyzed more in depth. Naturally we are aware that the acoustic characteristics of speech also include voice quality, which we think is relevant too. In future work we will investigate the importance of voice quality in determining the perception of charisma, while trying to distinguish it from the contribution of intonation, also through synthesis of speech fragments.

5. Acknowledgements
We would like to thank Christophe Savariaux (GIPSA-Lab, CNRS, Grenoble, France) for his technical support in acoustic analysis. Research partly supported by a Doctoral Fellowship from the French Ministry of National Education and Research (years 2010-2013) and by the 7th Framework Program, European Network of Excellence SSPNet (Social Signal Processing Network), Grant Agreement N. 231287.

6. Acknowledgements


Collaboratively built utterances in the C-ORAL-ROM-Corpus: temporal organization, prosodic design and forms of participation

Britta THÖRLE
University of Siegen
Adolf-Reichwein-Str. 2, D-57076 Siegen
thoerle@romanistik.uni-siegen.de

Abstract
This paper focuses on the collaborative production of single utterances, that is, utterances that are begun by one speaker and, before being syntactically, semantically or pragmatically completed, are continued by one or more different speakers. When regarding a coproduction defined in this way as a product, one notices that in general such coproductions are syntactically coherent entities that satisfy the criteria of grammatical well-formedness and as such, when the change in speakers is disregarded, hardly differ from monologically given utterances. However, when regarding them as a process, it becomes clear that coproducing is an ordered conversational process where the interaction partners place their spoken activities in relation to and in coordination with each other. Speakers utilize structural resources, such as syntactic or prosodic projections, that allow the communication partners to anticipate the continuation of the utterance as well as the moment when they can make their own contribution to the production. In addition, speakers command a repertoire of means by which they locally coordinate their activities. Depending on how they negotiate this local organization, different forms of participation within collaboratively built utterances, such as “helping out”, “pre-empting” or “speaking in chorus” with the current speaker, can be distinguished.

Keywords: conversation analysis; coproduction; dialogic syntax; list construction; projection; prosody; timing.

1. Introduction: the coproduction of talk
The term coproduction is best known from the film industry where it refers to a film project in whose production more than one producer is involved. Similarly, in the history of literature the phenomenon of co-authorship can be found in numerous cases, as seen for example, in collaborative fiction or in the writing games of the Dada movement. In the new media, collaborative writing is common practice as can be observed with Wikipedia. In all these instances, a common text product is created in coproduction that on the surface does not show any distinction from a text that would have been produced by a single author. The same phenomenon exists in spoken language. Here the joint production of (oral) texts can perhaps even be considered as the normal way. A text is created through alternating contributions of the participating speakers, whereby the roles of producers and recipients cannot be strictly separated from each other. It is, for example, common practice in oral storytelling that those whose original role assignment is that of listener also participate – quite independent of whether they know of or were involved in the event being talked about. This joint text production goes so far that a single oral utterance is created by several speakers together. This is the case in the example below, an excerpt from a conversation between two men talking about contaminated meat and the role of the media:

Example 1: ...

1 *SRB: [...] questo problema che è sempre esistito / 2 e esiste / e su tanti altri settori / tuttora // 3 però / &he / su tante cose / cioè nessuno le prende in considerazione / perché no [/] 4 non fa audience / non fa interesse della 5 gente / per cui cioè / magari si mangia un

7 qualcosa che [/] che puo far male / che fa
8 schifo / però / cioè / nessuno se ne rende
9 conto / e nessuno lo prende in
10 considerazione / perché +
11 →11 *SMN: non fa notizia<&> // 12 *SRB: <non> fa notizia // (C-Oral-Rom : ifamdI06 macellai0)

What we can observe here is an utterance of speaker SRB which is syntactically not complete: e nessuno lo prende in considerazione / perché + (l. 9-10) and a completion of this utterance by another speaker SMN: non fa notizia (l. 11) which is repeated and thus ratified by the current speaker SRB: non fa notizia (l. 12). In short, and put simply, we could say that a coproduction is the production of a single utterance by more than one speaker.

In previous studies this phenomenon has been called locuteur collectif (‘collective speaker’) (Loufrani 1984; Blanche-Benveniste et al., 1990) – a term that focuses on the fact that collaboratively built utterances hardly differ from those produced by a single speaker. Indeed, when regarding a collaboratively produced utterance as a product, one notices that in general it represents a syntactically coherent entity that satisfies the criteria of grammatical well-formedness. However, once the process is also considered, it becomes clear that coproducing is an ordered conversational process in which the interaction partners contribute their spoken activities in relation to and in coordination with each other.

The question that is addressed in this article is how speakers succeed in coordinating their activities in the coproduction of an utterance. In the following, we will analyse some examples of a larger set of coproductions extracted from the Spanish and Italian subcorpora of C-ORAL-ROM (Cresti & Moneglia, 2005). In section 2 we argue that the shared knowledge about language structure is a resource of oral coproduction because it
allows speakers to project the possible continuation of the ongoing utterance. Section 3 analyses the way in which participants coordinate their activities when they coproduce an utterance. This section focuses on differences concerning the precision timing and prosodic design of the coproduced element according to which different forms of participation within the collaborative production of utterances can be distinguished.

2. Language structure as a product and a resource of oral coproduction

Language structure can be regarded as a result as well as a resource of discourse production or, as Humboldt (1836, 1999: 63) puts it, “language belongs to me, because I bring it forth as I do; and since the ground of this lies at once in the speaking and having-spoken of every generation of men, so far as speech-communication may have prevailed unbroken among them, it is language itself which restrains me when I speak.” This conceptualization of language is very similar to the perspective taken by Interactional Linguistics where language structure is regarded as being actively (re)produced and thus emerging in interaction and, at the same time, as a shared knowledge which serves as a resource for the construction of discourse: “Rather than conceptualizing language as an abstract and balanced system of pre-established discrete elements which are combined with one another into ‘sentences’ that are then realized in speech, interactional evidence suggests that language forms and structures must be thought of in a more situated, context-sensitive fashion as actively (re)produced and locally adapted to the exigencies of the interaction at hand. In this sense they can be conceived of as arising or emerging in use. [...] In this view, syntax, just like prosody and semantics, is resource that can be relied on as shared knowledge in the speech community and that can be ‘distributed’ across speakers in collaborative productions.” (Couper-Kuhlen & Selting, 2001: 4f)

The coproduction of utterances provides obvious evidence of this double principle – language structure as a result and a resource of speech activity. Looking again at lines 9 to 12 in the excerpt above, the construction which results from the coproduction (è nessuno lo prende in considerazione perché non fa notizia) can on the one hand be seen as an interactive achievement. On the other hand, the emerging construction (or the construction so far) serves as a resource for the “second speaker” who processes synchronically the emerging construction and realizes what is said and done by the “first speaker” only with a minimal temporal delay (Auer, 2000). The synchronic processing of SRB’s ongoing utterance as well as the shared knowledge about constructions in Italian establish “discourse expectations” (Langacker, 2001) or “projections” (Auer, 2005) allowing SMN to anticipate the possible continuation of the utterance and to coproduce it. So the perché at this moment of the utterance production can be interpreted as a subordinating conjunction which projects a subordinated clause. In accordance with the grammatical projection, the prosodic characteristics of the ongoing utterance mark the utterance as incomplete. Thus, syntactic and prosodic projections allow a possible “collaborator” to anticipate the potential continuation as well as to predict the moment at which a particular continuation has to be uttered.1 However, this does not imply that he actually supplies this continuation, and it does not explain either how the current speaker will handle this contribution to his utterance. In the following, we therefore deal with the participant’s methods of the local organization of coproduced utterances.

3. Temporal organization, prosodic design and forms of participation

In this section we address the question of how speakers coordinate their contributions to one single utterance regarding in particular the temporal organization of these contributions as well as their prosodic design. As Jefferson (1973) shows, recipients of some ongoing talk have the technical capacity to produce their talk with precision in relation to that ongoing talk.2 In the following, we argue that speakers display quite different forms of participation within the collaborative production of utterances according to the precise timing and design of their contributions. We will treat as examples of such forms of participation: helping collaboration, pre-empting and choral-coproduction.

3.1 “Helping” collaboration: saying something instead of the current speaker

The analysis refers again to excerpt 1. When we look at what happens before the “second speaker” starts, we observe a break of nearly one second. This break (in the C-ORAL-ROM transcription interpreted as “+”, a prosodic break marking an interruption) can be interpreted as a hesitation of the current speaker and a signal for the interlocutor to participate in the construction of the utterance.

1 For syntax as a resource for the coproduction of utterances see Thörle (2011). In this example, projection is not the only resource. There is a number of constructions in the previous discourse which could possibly function as a model for the utterance under construction: The speaker SRB himself seems to take up a construction in lines 3-4 which he varies twice in line 8-9 and 9-10:

| SRB: cioè nessuno le prende in considerazione // l. 3-4 |
| SRB: cioè nessuno se ne rende conto (l. 8-9) |
| SRB: e nessuno lo prende in considerazione // l. 9-10 |

His interlocutor SMN does the same and takes up previous constructions of SRB:

| SRB: perché no / fa audience / l. 4-5 |
| non fa interesse della gente (l. 5-6) |
| SMN: non fa notizia (l. 11) |

Du Bois (2010: 13) might have thought of examples like this when he wrote: “Again and again, we witness dialogic co-participants speaking as though they were drawing on paradigmatic alternatives within a semantic field, seemingly exploiting just the kind of structure described by the great structural linguists from Saussure on.”

2 See also Müller & Klaeger (2010).
9  *SRB: [...] e nessuno lo prende in considerazione //
10  perché + (break of 0.8 sec)

The break is followed by the completion of the utterance by the interlocutor, ending with a conclusive prosodic break ("//").

11  *SMN: non fa notizia //

While the interlocutor is uttering non fa notizia, the “first speaker” does not continue. We have a very short overlap only at the very end of the interlocutor’s contribution, when the original speaker starts repeating what SMN has said before.

11  *SMN: non fa notizia <a> //
12  *SRB: <non> fa notizia //

It is important to note that SRB repeats the completion provided by SMN in a prosodically very similar manner as regards rhythm and melody. His repetition can thus be interpreted as a ratification of the interlocutor’s contribution to the utterance.

In this example the coproduced design is intended to “fill a gap” in the utterance of the current speaker and as being said in his place. This is perhaps the most typical case of collaborative utterance construction which Ferrara (1992:220f) calls “helpful utterance completions”. A “second speaker” detects a difficulty of the speaker in accessing an item in the mental lexicon and offers a minimal contribution – often not more than one or two words in length – which the “first speaker” typically ratifies by repetition.

### 3.2 Pre-empting: saying something before the current speaker

The next example is taken from an informal conversation between two women who talk about the dental problems of the mother of one of them:

**Example 2:**

1  *INM: lo que le estaba dando problemas / es la muela esa //
2  *PAT: la que no han quitado [/] la que le han quitado el nervio //
3  *INM: la que no le habían quitado el nervio //
4  *PAT: la que no //
5  *INM: con lo cual / ahora tienen que volverle a [/] a levantar / toda la dentadura / matarle el nervio //
6  *PAT: y ponérsela otra vez // ¡madre <mía>!//
7  *INM: y ponérsela otra vez // [pausa] //
8  *INM: y ponérsela otra vez // ¡madre <mía>!//
9  *INM: y ponérsela otra vez // ¡madre <mía>!//
10  *PAT: y ponérsela otra vez // ¡madre <mía>!//
11  *PAT: y ponérsela otra vez // ¡madre <mía>!//
12  *INM: y ponérsela otra vez // ¡madre <mía>!//

What we are interested in here is the completion of an utterance, which is obviously not complete at the moment when the interlocutor provides her contribution. But, in contrast to the case analysed in the last section, the current speaker does not seem to interrupt herself but to be pre-empted by her interlocutor. Although the transcription of the C-ORAL-ROM-Corpus interprets the transition again as a prosodic break marking an interruption ("+") there is a fundamental difference between these two examples, which lies in the temporal and rhythmical design of the utterances.

In lines 7 to 9 INM is constructing what we could call with Jefferson (1990) a list construction. Lists are described by Sánchez-Ayala (2003: 325-332) as recurrent lexico-grammatical patterns in colloquial speech which are characterized, amongst other things, by prosodic features such as a robust parallelism between their prosodic and lexicogrammatical constituents, lengthening of the ultimate lexical stress of each intonation unit, and that a second part of the list projects a third-as-final part structure of the list (cf. also Lerner 1996: 242f).

In lines 7 to 9 INM is constructing what we could call with Jefferson (1990) a list construction. Lists are recurrent lexicogrammatical patterns in colloquial speech which are characterized, amongst other things, by prosodic features such as a robust parallelism between their prosodic and lexicogrammatical constituents, lengthening of the ultimate lexical stress of each intonation unit, and that a second part of the list projects a third-as-final part structure of the list (cf. also Lerner 1996: 242f).
realized with the original speaker or in her place but before her. It seems to be a sort of friendly “competition” about who realizes the end of the story first as it may occur in the genre of “women’s friendly talk” described by Coates (1997).6

Until now we have dealt with examples in which the contribution of the “second speaker” seemed to conform not only structurally to the ongoing utterance but also more or less semantically to what the current speaker would have uttered by himself. As the next excerpt shows the same procedure can be exploited to utter something obviously divergent from the current speaker’s intention. This is an extract from a political debate in an Italian talk show:

Example 3:

1 *BER: [...] il regime precedente / quello di Hoxha / era  
2 / un regime / autoritario / chiuso / dispotico /  
3 *BUT: comunista //  
4 *BER: <che ha> che si diceva comunista // e non  
5 aveva / alcuna traccia / delle ragioni per cui  
6 siamo comunisti // [...]  
(C-Oral-Rom: imedts 03 porta a porta)

What we can observe here seems at first to be very similar to the previous examples. BER (Fausto Bertinotti, at that time secretary of the communist party PRC) constructs a list which is characterized by a particular rhythmical and melodic pattern: autoritario - (falling intonation) – break of 0.44 sec – chiuso - (falling intonation) – break of 0.27 sec – dispotico - (rising intonation). The rising and non-conclusive intonation of dispotico makes us expect a continuation of the enumeration. Indeed, this continuation is produced by BER himself (che ha ...), but his interlocutor pre-empts him, proposing his continuation of the list (comunista) just an instant before the moment in which the next list element was expected to appear. In contrast to the previous examples, this time, the reaction of BER shows us that the contribution of the interlocutor obviously does not correspond to his own intentions: He does not complete his own next element of the list and interrupts himself to take up his interlocutor’s contribution (comunista) that he subsequently reformulates (che si diceva comunista ...), relativizing by this means the validity of the resulting proposition. This shows that the procedure of anticipatory completion of utterances can also be used to distance oneself from what the other is saying (Mondada 1999:25f).

In the examples in this section, the contributions of the “second speakers” to ongoing list constructions are clearly designed to pre-empt the current speaker. They exploit the semantic, syntactic and prosodic features of these lists to project the moment at which a probable last list element will be uttered in order to provide such an element before the current speaker does (or is expected to do so).

3.3 Choral coproduction – saying something with the current speaker

Finally, we present examples of coproductions where the element provided by the interlocutor is designed to be uttered simultaneously – in chorus – with the current speaker. According to Lerner (2002: 22) we call this phenomenon choral co-production which the author describes as “voicing the same words in the same time’ as another speaker – or at least demonstrating that one is aiming at that result”.

Example 4:

1 *VIR: entonces / como decías / el que / el VIH / el  
2 virus del SIDA / sea capaz / de / atacar  
3 específicamente a las células / fundamentales  
4 del sistema de las defensas / del organismo  
5 deja / al organismo / <indefenso> //  
6 %alt: (19) toces  
→ 7 *BLA: [<>] <indefenso> //
8 *VRI: pero es que por otra parte / tiene un periodo  
9 de incubación / muy largo / o sea desde que  
10 una persona se infecta / hasta que desarrolla la  
11 enfermedad / pasan ocho o diez años / como  
12 término medio / con lo cual / cuando surge /  
13 en mil novecientos ochenta y uno / la primera  
14 descripción de / una enfermedad nueva / que /  
15 luego / &eh / se llamó SIDA / etcétera y se / ha  
16 investigado / enormemente / pues ya había  
17 millones y millones / de personas <infectadas>  
18 // no ? precisamente  
→19 *BLA: [<>] <infectadas> //
20 *VRI: por ese / periodo de incubación tan largo  
(C-Oral-Rom: imedts11 el virus del SIDA)

In this extract taken from a Spanish television interview the interviewer frequently coproduces the terminal items of the interviewee’s utterances:

5 *VIR: deja / al organismo / <indefenso> //  
7 BLA: [<>] <indefenso> //
17 *VRI: pues ya había millones y millones / de personas  
18 <infectadas> // no ? precisamente por  
19 *BLA: [<>] <infectadas> //
20 *VRI: por ese / periodo de incubación tan largo //

If we look at the organizational features of this coproduction, we observe that there is no hesitation marker in the utterance of the interviewee, that the interviewee does not stop speaking so that the contribution of the interviewer produces an overlapping of speech, and that there is no ratification of the coproduced element. Focussing on the temporal organization, we note that the contribution of the interviewer seems to be designed to be realized not before
the current speaker but simultaneously: Even if the contributions of the interviewer do not start exactly at the same moment (infectadas a little bit earlier), the interviewer does not seem to try to pre-empt the current speaker. Rather, he speaks very calmly and adapts the projected conclusive intonation structure of the interviewee’s utterance. What BLA is doing here when he coproduces VIR’s utterances corresponds to a back-channel signal. He accompanies the discourse production of the current speaker showing that he is following and understanding the argumentation.7

4. Conclusion
In this article, oral conversation has been analysed as a highly collaborative practice in which a single utterance can be produced by several speakers together. When doing so, “second speakers” exploit the syntactic, semantic and prosodic projections established by the utterance of their interlocutor to produce their own contribution with precision in relation to the ongoing talk. It has been argued that speakers use this general capacity for precise placement together with prosodic means to display quite different forms of participation, such as “helping”, “competing” or “being in chorus” with the current speaker and, in so doing, achieve different pragmatic aims.

5. References


7 In our example, the choral coproduction is clearly not turn competitive. Nevertheless, as Lerner (2002: 239f) puts it, choral coproduction “can be used as a method for gaining sole speakership. [...] In this case, turn-sharing is a first step to sole turn occupancy.” In our corpus this is sometimes the case in radio programs where callers call in to and moderators co-produce terminal items in chorus to get the floor and to lead to the next caller.
A construção da cadeia referencial em sequências narrativas orais

Gustavo Ximenes CUNHA
Universidade Federal de Minas Gerais (UFMG/CNPq)
Av. Antônio Carlos, 6627 - Belo Horizonte/MG - Brasil
ximenescunha@yahoo.com.br

Abstract

The point of this paper is to study the informational continuity and progression in two narrative sequences extracted from an interview sociolinguistics. This study resulted in the mapping of referential chain of sequences, to understand the management of referents, as well as what are the linguistic clues (pronouns and nominal expressions) that signal this management. Following the method proposed by Modular Approach to Discourse Analysis, the study found that the progressions occur within each episode of the sequences. About the linguistic clues, each episode of the sequences featured many topical clues that facilitate understanding of referential chain. But the sequences did not show a predominance of full or empty expressions.

Keywords: referential chain, narrative sequence, modularity.

1. Introdução

O objetivo deste trabalho é investigar o processo de construção da cadeia referencial em sequências narrativas orais. Especificamente, o trabalho estuda o modo como ocorrem a continuidade e a progressão de informações nas duas sequências narrativas extraídas de uma entrevista sociolinguística, que integra o corpus do “Projeto Mineirês” (Ramos, 2007). Esse estudo implicou o mapeamento da cadeia referencial das sequências, na busca por compreender como a sua produtora, uma belo-horizontina de 54 anos com formação superior, faz a gestão dos referentes, introduzindo-os, preservando-os, modificando-os e reintroduzindo-os no discurso, bem como quais são as marcas linguísticas (pronomes e expressões nominais) que sinalizam essas diferentes ações.

O estudo foi feito com base na perspectiva teórica e metodológica do Modelo de Análise Modular do Discurso (Roulet, Filliettaz & Grobet, 2001). Seguindo o método proposto por esse modelo, a análise se desenvolveu em três etapas. Na primeira, os fragmentos selecionados foram caracterizados como sequências narrativas. Em seguida, na segunda etapa, analisou-se a forma como é feita a construção da cadeia referencial nas duas sequências. Por fim, os estudos realizados nas duas primeiras etapas foram combinados, na busca por compreender o modo como, nas sequências narrativas estudadas, ocorre a construção da cadeia referencial e a sua marcação linguística.

Neste artigo, realizamos inicialmente uma breve caracterização do gênero de discurso entrevista sociolinguística, ao qual pertencem as sequências estudadas. Em seguida, será apresentado o corpus de análise. Posteriormente, será feita uma apresentação do referencial teórico adotado, o Modelo de Análise Modular do Discurso. Por fim, o artigo expõe as três etapas da análise realizada.

2. O gênero de discurso entrevista sociolinguística

A entrevista sociolinguística é um gênero pertencente à esfera acadêmica, já que a sua função básica é permitir a um pesquisador da área de Linguística colher dados autênticos de língua oral com fins de pesquisa e análise.

A produção de um texto pertencente a esse gênero implica a participação de pelo menos dois interlocutores. De um lado, está o entrevistador, cuja função é propor os tópicos a serem abordados. Nessa interação, o entrevistador, diferentemente das entrevistas que ocorrem em outras esferas, como a jornalística, assume o papel social de pesquisador. Do outro lado, está o entrevistado, cuja função é desenvolver os tópicos propostos pelo entrevistador. Nesse gênero, a função social assumida pelo entrevistado é a de falante de uma dada língua natural. Nesse sentido e também diferentemente do que ocorre em entrevistas televisivas, por exemplo, importa mais a forma como o entrevistado utiliza a língua/linguagem para se expressar do que propriamente suas opiniões ou sua visão de mundo acerca dos fatos tratados (Tavares, 2004).

Na entrevista sociolinguística, há um certo grau de formalidade. Essa formalidade se deve a alguns fatores. O primeiro deles se refere à esfera acadêmica e que esse gênero pertence e em que se constituiu.

O segundo fator responsável pela formalidade da entrevista sociolinguística está ligado ao primeiro e diz respeito à imagem que o entrevistado pode construir acerca do entrevistador. Em nossa sociedade, o papel social que este exerce, o de pesquisador, é um papel considerado de prestígio (Mondada, 1995). O conhecimento que supostamente só o pesquisador e seus pares possuem e para o qual a fala do entrevistado será fonte de estudo pode ser um fator de inibição, que talvez leve o entrevistado a se comportar de maneira mais formal.

A formalidade da entrevista sociolinguística se deve ainda ao fato de que entrevistado e entrevistador não se conhecem. Em outros termos, entre eles, há pouca ou nenhuma intimidade, o que pode favorecer uma interação mais formal, menos espontânea.
Esses três fatores responsáveis pela formalidade da entrevista sociolingüística, bem como a função própria desse gênero terão impacto sobre a estruturação da entrevista. Assim, ao contrário do que ocorre, por exemplo, em conversações espontâneas entre amigos, os participantes de uma entrevista sociolingüística abordam fatos vivenciados apenas pelo entrevistado, raramente tematizam o contexto imediato em que se dá a interação e, caso os interlocutores mobilizem conhecimentos partilhados, estes serão informações introduzidas em momentos anteriores da própria entrevista ou informações compartilhadas de modo geral pelos membros da sociedade a que os interlocutores pertencem, exatamente porque estes não se conhecem ou se conhecem pouco.

Neste trabalho, conduziu nossas análises a hipótese de que essas características do gênero entrevista sociolingüística têm impacto sobre a forma como o produtor de sequências narrativas orais pertencentes a esse gênero realiza a ativação e a reativação de referentes e utiliza recursos linguísticos, como pronomes, expressões nominais e elipses, para sinalizar essas operações de ativação e reativação de referentes.

3. Corpus de análise
Tendo em vista os objetivos deste trabalho, a análise focalizou apenas um turno produzido por uma belo-horizontina de 54 anos com 3º grau completo. Na passagem selecionada para análise, a entrevista desenvolve o tópico “infância”, já iniciado em turnos anteriores e sobre o qual a entrevistadora ainda pede esclarecimentos. A transcrição do par de turnos produtor de sequências narrativas orais pertencentes a esse gênero, foram produzidas por entrevistado e entrevistada, segue abaixo¹.

Entrevistadora: Ah certo, i eram quantas mulheres assim, cé falou que eram dez irmãos.

(01) Eram seis mulheres i quatro homens (02) i era interessantí pelo seguinti, (03) porque igual os homens tinha brincadeira deles, (04) mais, como eu já falei, (05) agenti brincava tamém com eles, (06) agora quando igual agenti ia brincá di buneca (07) agenti num pudia: (08) agenti chamava, (09) quiria que eles fossem pai, (10) que batizassem i tudi, (11) mais eles não gostavam di bricá di buneca, (12) mais quando as brincadeiras davam errada (13) tamém eles criticavam, (14) eles riam muitu, (15) eu lembro muitu minha irmã mais velha ganhou uma buneca +, (16) ela era apaixonada com uma buneca grande (17) i a minha mãe num tinha condições di comprá buneca pra todo mundo, (18) intão compró, (19) i as amigas, nossas amigas todas tinham bunecas boas, bunecas famosas, im material bom i tudu, (20) i a minha mãe num pudia dá seis bunecas, (21) intão comprou uma buneca di papelão pra minha irmã +, (22) só qui a buneca era muitu bunita, (23) o rosto muitu bem pintado, (24) e:; pudia troçar as roupas dela (25) que ela tinha essa opçao i tudi (26) porque os bracinhos moviam i tudi, (27) mais um dia (28) juntamos lá com outras amigas (29) pra [busçá] brincá di buneca (30) cada uma com uma buneca mais linda (31) fomos todo mundo brincá di buneca (32) i tudi qui uma fazia a outra fazia, (33) aí uma amiguinha nossa inventou di dá o banho, (34) nós tava brincanu num, (35) nós tínhamos ido num lá:: { }, (36) até existi ainda, (37) é uma área qui tem lá no hospital da baleia + (38) qui tinha água corrente, tinha as grutas qui as águas disciam, (39) i lá agenti pudia i, (40) a entrada era livre, (41) num pagava, (42) intão era um lugar qui a genti ia todo final di semana pa brincá por lá, (43 i lá num tinha prigo, (44) num passava ônibus, (45) tinha segurança (46) par causa do hospitali (47) i tinha uns riachozhinos ondi curria uma água, (48) i aí combináramos di brincá di dá banho nas bunecas +, (49) i aí foi todo mundo (50) i lá naquele processo (51) cada uma arruma o banho da sua, (52) tira a ropa (53) e aquela confusão toda (54) i foi todo mundo pru riacho dá banho nas bunecas +, (55) quando a minha irmã pôs a dela na água, (56) a dela era di papelão, (57) ela não sabia, (58) a buneca começou a dismanchá +, (59) i ela começou a chorá (60) i aquele disipero (61) i as outras meninos com dô (62) i os meninos riam riam riam (63) i lá foi a buneca si disfazendi toda. (64) Issu foi uma decepção muito grande pra ela, (65) ela choró muitu, (66) mais tamém quando chego im casa qui nos comentamuu, (67) contamu, (68) meu pai providenció logo outra buneca, (69) aí já ele mesmo já num quis outro buneca di papelão +, (70) viu qui foi muita humilhação pra ela (71) i aí já deu uma buneca daqueli plástico, (72) era um material plástico, (73) mais um material duru i bom (74) tamém do rosto muitu bunita, bem pintado, (75) i isso foi motivu assim di crítica dus meninos um tempo longo (76) porque toda vez qui falava das bunecas (77) a história da buneca di papelão surgia.

Para realizar a análise do turno produzido pela entrevistada, utilizaremos como referencial teórico e metodológico o Modelo de Análise Modular do Discurso, modelo que apresentamos no próximo item.

4. Referencial teórico e metodológico
Em sua versão atual (Roulet, Filliettaz & Grobet, 2001; Filliettaz & Roulet, 2002; Filliettaz, 2004; Marinho, Pires & Villela, 2007), o modelo modular constitui um instrumento de descrição e explicação da complexidade discursiva e compõe um quadro teórico e metodológico que visa a reunir, em uma mesma abordagem da complexidade da organização do discurso, as contribuições de pesquisadores que se centraram em aspectos isolados dessa organização.

¹ O trecho foi reproduzido da forma como está disponibilizado no site do projeto “Mineirês” (Ramos, 2007). Apenas a numeração não consta no texto original. Ela foi por nós inserida e indica que o trecho foi segmentado em atos. O ato é a unidade mínima de análise adotada pelo modelo modular.
Nesse modelo, identificam-se inicialmente os módulos que entram na composição dos discursos. Na produção e na interpretação de toda forma discursiva, as informações de origem modular se interrelacionam em unidades complexas de análise, que são as formas de organização.

Neste trabalho, a análise do modo como se dá a construção da cadeia referencial em duas sequências narrativas orais será feita a partir da combinação do estudo de duas formas de organização elementares: a sequencial e a informacional.

Na forma de organização sequencial, estudam-se os tipos de discurso e as sequências discursivas. O objetivo aqui é, basicamente, o de segmentar as produções discursivas nas sequências (narrativas, descritivas e deliberativas) que as compõem. Sobre a sequência narrativa, o modelo, baseando-se nos trabalhos de Labov (1972, 1997) e Adam (1992), considera que a estrutura típica uma sequência narrativa se compõe dos episódios sumário, estado inicial, complicação, reação (avaliação), resolução e estado final (Filliettaz, 1999; Cunha, 2010).

A análise da forma de organização sequencial, estudou-se a construção da cadeia referencial, a fim de tratar a continuidade e a progressão informacionais. O objetivo aqui é, basicamente, o de segmentar as produções discursivas nas sequências (narrativas, descritivas e deliberativas) que as compõem. Sobre a sequência narrativa, o modelo, baseando-se nos trabalhos de Labov (1972, 1997) e Adam (1992), considera que a estrutura típica uma sequência narrativa se compõe dos episódios sumário, estado inicial, complicação, reação (avaliação), resolução e estado final (Filliettaz, 1999; Cunha, 2010).

Na forma de organização informacional, estuda-se a construção da cadeia referencial, a fim de tratar a continuidade e a progressão informacionais. O objetivo aqui é, basicamente, o de segmentar as produções discursivas nas sequências (narrativas, descritivas e deliberativas) que as compõem. Sobre a sequência narrativa, o modelo, baseando-se nos trabalhos de Labov (1972, 1997) e Adam (1992), considera que a estrutura típica uma sequência narrativa se compõe dos episódios sumário, estado inicial, complicação, reação (avaliação), resolução e estado final (Filliettaz, 1999; Cunha, 2010).

Mais particularmente, o objetivo é, valendo-se de contribuições de Danes (1974) e Chafe (1994), analisar a estrutura informacional de cada unidade mínima de referência (o ato), descrevendo como cada ato se ancora em uma informação previamente estocada na memória discursiva, o tópico. Nessa forma de organização, estuda-se ainda a inserção de cada ato na estrutura do discurso, com base na análise dos tipos de progressão informacional entre os atos. No modelo, os tipos de progressão considerados são progressão linear, progressão com tópico constante e encadeamento à distância (Grobet, 2000).

A seguir, serão apresentados os resultados da análise do corpus. Inicialmente, apresentamos a análise da forma de organização sequencial. Posteriormente, apresentamos os resultados da análise da forma de organização informacional. Por fim, serão combinados os resultados das análises das formas de organização sequencial e informacional.

5. Análise da forma de organização sequencial

A análise da forma de organização sequencial do turno produzido pela entrevistada revelou que esse turno constitui uma grande sequência narrativa. Do ponto de vista referencial, essa sequência narrativa atualiza uma estrutura praxeológica formada por todos os episódios componentes do tipo narrativo. Assim, essa sequência, que chamamos de sequência narrativa 1, apresenta sumário (01-14), estado inicial (15-54), complicação (55-63), avaliação (64-65), resolução (66-74) e estado final (75-77).

No sumário (01-14), a locutora resume o tópico que será abordado nos episódios seguintes: “brincadeiras infantis entre os irmãos” ou, mais especificamente, “brincadeiras com bonecas entre os irmãos”. Em seguida, o estado inicial (15-54) traz muitas informações sobre as personagens envolvidas na história (a própria narradora, suas irmãs, sua mãe, suas amigas), bem como sobre o lugar onde se passou o fato principal da narrativa (“uma área lá no Hospital da Baleia”). Após o estado inicial, a locutora narra, na complicação (55-63), o acontecimento principal da narrativa, o acontecimento que justifica a sua própria ação de narrar: ao ser colocada na água, a boneca de sua irmã mais velha desmanchou, porque era feita de papelão. Depois, a locutora faz, na avaliação (64-65), um comentário, esclarecendo que esse acontecimento foi uma decepção muito grande para sua irmã. Feita avaliação, a locutora informa, na resolução (66-74), qual a consequência do acontecimento expresso na complicação: a irmã ganhou do pai outra boneca, mas agora uma boneca de plástico. No estado final (75-77), a locutora informa como tudo ficou após os acontecimentos centrais da narrativa, apresentando uma nova situação de equilíbrio.

A análise da forma de organização sequencial do turno revelou ainda que o estado inicial da sequência narrativa 1 constitui uma sequência narrativa encaixada, a qual chamamos de sequência narrativa 2. Do ponto de vista referencial, essa segunda sequência se constitui dos episódios estado inicial 1 (15-26), complicação 1 (27-33), estado inicial 2 (34-47), complicação 2 (48-53), resolução (54).

No estado inicial 1 (15-26), são informados os personagens que vão participar da história (a própria narradora, suas irmãs, sua mãe, suas amigas). Depois, vem a complicação 1 (27-33), episódio no qual é revelado o acontecimento central dessa narrativa encaixada: quando as meninas brincavam de boneca, uma das amigas inventou de dar banho nelas. Após essa complicação, um segundo estado inicial (34-47) descreve o local da brincadeira: “uma área lá no Hospital da Baleia”. Depois desse estado inicial 2, que funciona como uma espécie de parênteses, a locutora dá sequência à complicação 1, informando, na complicação 2 (48-53), como se desenrolou o processo da brincadeira de dar banho nas bonecas. Finalmente, a resolução (54) informa o final desse processo, que foi a ida de todos para o rioacho. Essa resolução é a etapa que antecede imediatamente a complicação da sequência 1, em que se encaixa toda essa sequência 2.
6. Análise da forma de organização informacional

Por motivo de espaço, não apresentaremos a análise completa da estrutura informacional de todo o turno produzido pela locutora. Abordaremos apenas os aspectos que nos pareceram mais relevantes.

Nesse turno, há uma grande concentração de traços tópicos, que são as marcas linguísticas, como expressões nominais e pronomes, que fazem referência ao tópico do ato em que ocorrem. Do ponto de vista quantitativo, verificou-se que 57 dos 77 atos do turno apresentam alguma marca linguística remetendo ao tópico. Essa marcação intensa pode ser ilustrada com a parte inicial do turno:

(01) Eram seis mulheres e quatro homens [irmãos]   Progressão linear
(02) (irmãos) e era interessante pelo seguinte,   Tópico constante
(03) porque igual os homens [irmãos] tinha brincadeira deles,   Tópico constante
(04) (agenti brincava tamém com eles) mais, como eu já falei, 
(05) agenti [agenti – seis irmãs] brincava tamém com eles,   Tópico constante
(06) agora quando igual agenti ia brincá di buneca   Tópico constante
(07) agenti num pudia:   Tópico constante
(08) (agenti chamava,   Tópico constante
(09) (agenti) quiria qui eles fossem pai,   Tópico constante
(10) (agenti quiria) qui batizassem i tudou,   Tópico constante
(11) mais eles [irmãos] não gostavam di bricá di buneca,   Progressão linear

Tabela 1: Excerto da entrevista com análise informacional

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Atos</th>
<th>Tópicos</th>
<th>Formas de progressão</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>(01)</td>
<td>Tópico</td>
<td>Progressão linear</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>(02)</td>
<td>Tópico</td>
<td>Tópico constante</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>(03)</td>
<td>Tópico</td>
<td>Tópico constante</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>(04)</td>
<td>Tópico</td>
<td>Encadeamento à distância</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>(05)</td>
<td>Tópico</td>
<td>Tópico constante</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>(06)</td>
<td>Tópico</td>
<td>Tópico constante</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>(07)</td>
<td>Tópico</td>
<td>Tópico constante</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>(08)</td>
<td>Tópico</td>
<td>Tópico constante</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>(09)</td>
<td>Tópico</td>
<td>Tópico constante</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>(10)</td>
<td>Tópico</td>
<td>Tópico constante</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>(11)</td>
<td>Tópico</td>
<td>Progressão linear</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Nesse turno, há uma grande concentração de traços tópicos, que são as marcas linguísticas, como expressões nominais e pronomes, que fazem referência ao tópico do ato em que ocorrem. Do ponto de vista quantitativo, verificou-se que 57 dos 77 atos do turno apresentam alguma marca linguística remetendo ao tópico. Essa marcação intensa pode ser ilustrada com a parte inicial do turno:

(01) Eram seis mulheres e quatro homens [irmãos]   Progressão linear
(02) (irmãos) e era interessante pelo seguinte,   Tópico constante
(03) porque igual os homens [irmãos] tinha brincadeira deles,   Tópico constante
(04) (agenti brincava tamém com eles) mais, como eu já falei, 
(05) agenti [agenti – seis irmãs] brincava tamém com eles,   Tópico constante
(06) agora quando igual agenti ia brincá di buneca   Tópico constante
(07) agenti num pudia:   Tópico constante
(08) (agenti chamava,   Tópico constante
(09) (agenti) quiria qui eles fossem pai,   Tópico constante
(10) (agenti quiria) qui batizassem i tudou,   Tópico constante
(11) mais eles [irmãos] não gostavam di bricá di buneca,   Progressão linear

Tabela 2: Excerto da entrevista com análise informacional

Em todo o turno, a locutora mobiliza uma grande quantidade de marcas, cuja função é permitir à interlocutora identificar o tópico do ato. Em outros termos, essas marcas têm como função guiar a interlocutora em seu processo interpretativo. Assim, no trecho acima, as várias ocorrências da expressão pronominal “agenti”, de pronomes como “eles” e “deles” e de expressões nominais como “os homens” e “seis mulheres e quatro homens” permitem a compreensão de que os atos em que ocorrem se referem a objetos de discurso previamente estocados na memória discursiva.

A relevância desse resultado está em fornecer uma evidência que contesta a hipótese de que na linguagem oral o locutor não se preocuparia em explicitar os referentes mobilizados, por serem esses facilmente acessíveis ao interlocutor. Na verdade, a necessidade de explicitação de referentes parece decorrer mais das condições de produção do texto do que da modalidade (oral ou escrita) do texto.

Quanto ao tipo de progressão informacional, verificou-se que dos 77 atos 18 se ligam ao tópico por progressão linear, 20 por encadeamento à distância e 39 por tópico constante. Dessa forma, no turno analisado, há um predominio de progressão por tópico constante, que ocorre quando uma série de atos se ancora em um mesmo tópico. Ou seja, nesse tipo de progressão, o locutor trata de um mesmo tópico em todos os atos, acrescentando informações a ele. Exemplo:

(35) nós tínhamos ido num lá:: { },     Tópico constante
(36) (lá) até existi ainda,           Progressão linear
(37) é uma área [lá] que tem lá no hospital da baleia +  Tópico constante
(38) qui [uma área] tinha água corrente,  Tópico constante
(39) i lá agenti pudia i,             Tópico constante
(40) a entrada era livre,            Tópico constante
(41) (a entrada da área) num pagava,  Tópico constante
(42) intão era um lugar [uma área] qui a genti ia todo final di semana pa brincá por lá,     Tópico constante
(43) i lá num tinha pirigo,           Tópico constante
(44) (uma área) num passava ónibus,  Tópico constante
(45) (uma área) tinha segurança       Tópico constante
(46) (lá) tinha segurança pur causa do hospitali     Tópico constante
(47) (uma área) i tinha uns riachozinhos ondi curria uma água,     Tópico constante

Tabela 2: Excerto da entrevista com análise informacional

Nesse trecho, o local onde se passou a brincadeira (“uma área lá no Hospital da Baleia”) é o tópico. A esse tópico a locutora acrescenta uma série de informações, que têm como fim caracterizar o local.

O predomínio de progressão por tópico constante se explica pelo fato de que, ao narrar fatos de sua vida, a locutora não propõe mudanças radicais de tópicos. Essa estratégia de construção textual é eficaz, porque, como a locutora aborda fatos que não vivenciados pela interlocutora, a progressão por tópico constante trata de informações facilmente acessíveis a esta, o que permite a reconstrução adequada da cadeia referencial proposta.

7. Combinando as análises das formas de organização sequencial e informacional

Essa etapa da análise combina os resultados das análises sequencial e informacional, apresentadas nos itens anteriores, a fim de verificar como se dá o processo de construção da cadeia referencial no interior das duas
sequências identificadas. Essa etapa se guiou por algumas questões, cujas respostas somente poderiam ser alcançadas mediante a combinação das análises efetuadas anteriormente. Essas questões são:

- Quais e quantos tipos de progressão há dentro de cada episódio?
- Quantos traços tópicos há no interior de cada episódio?
- No interior de cada episódio, quantos traços tópicos são expressões referencialmente plenas e quantos são expressões referencialmente vazias? A continuação deste item tem como fi

**7.1 Quais e quantos tipos de progressão há dentro de cada episódio?**

No interior de cada episódio das sequências 1 e 2, verificou-se o predomínio da progressão por tópico constante. O predomínio de progressão por tópico constante no interior de cada episódio se explica pelo fato de que dentro de um episódio não costuma haver mudanças radicais de tópicos, e o locutor costuma tratar de informações facilmente acessíveis ao interlocutor.

A única exceção foi a complicação da sequência 1, que exibiu uma quantidade elevada de encadeamentos à distância, que é quando o tópico de um ato tem origem não no ato precedente, mas em um ato mais distante. Entretanto, em muitas ocorrências desse tipo de encadeamento na complicação, esses encadeamentos são bastante locais, isto é, as informações que funcionam como tópicos têm origem em atos localizados dentro do próprio episódio. Exemplo:

| (55) quando a minha irmã [minha irmã mais velha] pôs a dela na água, | Encadeamento à distância |
| (56) a dela [boneca] era di papelão, | Progressão linear |
| (57) ela [minha irmã mais velha] não sabia, | Progressão linear |
| (58) a buneca começou a dismanchar +, | Encadeamento à distância |
| (59) i ela [minha irmã mais velha] começou a chorar | Encadeamento à distância |

**Tabela 3:** Excerto da entrevista com análise informacional

Nesse trecho, que é parte da complicação da sequência 1, os atos (58) e (59) se ligam aos tópicos por encadeamento à distância, mas esses tópicos têm origem em atos muito próximos, (56) e (57) respectivamente.

**7.2 Quantos traços tópicos há no interior de cada episódio?**

Nas sequências narrativas estudadas, há uma grande concentração de traços tópicos em cada episódio. Na sequência narrativa 1, verificamos o seguinte resultado: sumário (11 traços em 14 atos), estado inicial (30 traços em 40 atos), complicação (9 traços em 9 atos), avaliação (2 traços em 2 atos), resolução (3 traços em 9 atos), estado final (2 traços em 3 atos).

Na sequência 2, os resultados são: estado inicial 1 (10 traços em 12 atos), complicação 1 (5 traços em 7 atos), estado inicial 2 (9 traços em 14 atos), complicação 2 (5 traços em 6 atos), resolução (1 traço em 1 ato).

Como exposto na análise da organização informacional, esses resultados contrariam a crença de que na linguagem oral o locutor não se preocupa em explicitar os referentes mobilizados, por serem estes facilmente acessíveis pelo interlocutor.

Na entrevista, a locutora fala de uma situação não vivenciada interlocutora e não tematiza o contexto imediato em que se dá a interação. Por esse motivo, a locutora não pode contar com conhecimentos da ouvinte sobre a situação narrada. Essa propriedade interacional da entrevista sociolinguística é a responsável pelo uso intenso de marcas ou traços remetendo aos tópicos de cada ato.

**7.3 No interior de cada episódio, quantos traços tópicos são expressões referencialmente plenas e quantos são expressões referencialmente vazias?**

Na sequência narrativa 1, não se verificou o predomínio no uso de expressões referenciais plenas (expressões nominais) ou vazias (pronomes)⁶. Nela, 29 traços são expressões plenas e 28 são expressões vazias.

Na sequência narrativa 2, também verificou-se um equilíbrio no uso de expressões referenciais plenas e vazias. Nessa sequência, 17 traços são expressões plenas e 13 são expressões vazias.

Esse resultado contraria uma hipótese sobre a linguagem oral: a de que nessa modalidade usam-se mais expressões vazias do que plenas, tendo em vista a quantidade de conhecimentos compartilhada entre os interlocutores, permitindo ao locutor usar pronomes como traços tópicos por ser o referente facilmente recuperável pelo interlocutor.

Mais uma vez, o uso mais ou menos intenso de expressões referenciais plenas ou vazias tem a ver mais com as condições de produção do texto do que com a modalidade (oral ou escrita) do texto. Como foi dito, na entrevista, as interlocutoras se conhecem pouco, e a locutora conta uma história não vivida pela interlocutora, o que explica esse equilíbrio no uso de expressões referenciais plenas e vazias.

**8. Considerações finais**

Na etapa final da análise, a combinação dos resultados obtidos nas duas primeiras possibilitou extrair as observações a seguir sobre o processo de construção da cadeia referencial nas sequências narrativas estudadas.

---

⁶ A distinção entre expressões plenas e vazias se refere à carga semântica do nome-núcleo dessas expressões. Enquanto nas expressões plenas esse nome apresenta um “conteúdo descritivo denso”, nas expressões vazias esse nome apresenta um “conteúdo descritivo fraco” (GROBET, 1996, p. 84).
Sobre as progressões informacionais, os encadeamentos no interior de cada episódio das sequências são bastante locais, ainda quando há encadeamentos à distância. Nesses encadeamentos, os atos não se ancoram em tópicos ativados em atos mais distantes, localizados em outros episódios. A proximidade entre o ato e o tópico explica o predomínio dos encadeamentos com tópico constante nas duas sequências.

No interior de cada episódio das sequências narrativas, verificou-se a marcação intensa dos tópicos, facilitando a reconstrução da cadeia referencial por parte da interlocutora. Além disso, não se verificou um predomínio do uso de expressões referenciais plenas ou vazias.

Esses resultados são importantes, porque relativizam algumas “crenças” acerca da língua oral. Conforme apontado já há alguns anos por Marcuschi (2001), os gêneros de discurso se distribuem ao longo de um contínuo, que leva em conta os graus de formalidade de uso da língua e as condições de produção dos textos e não a modalidade escrita ou falada. Assim, tanto na modalidade oral quanto na escrita, existem gêneros mais ou menos formais, o que se reflete na linguagem empregada.

No gênero entrevista sociolinguística, as propriedades de suas condições de produção (a finalidade do gênero, a esfera acadêmica a que pertence, os papéis sociais dos interlocutores, etc) são as responsáveis, em grande medida, pela forma como a produtora da “história da buneca di papelão” constrói a cadeia referencial ao longo dos episódios das sequências narrativas.

9. Referências

Face and head comments. Taking the floor without words

Francesca D’ERRICO, Laura VINCZE, Isabella POGGI
Department of Education, Roma Tre University
Via Milazzo 11 B - 00185 - Roma - Italy
fderrico@uniroma3.it, laura.vincze@gmail.com, poggii@uniroma3.it

Abstract

The paper aims to define the notion of comment as a communicative act not requested by the previous turn. In our corpus of political debates, comments convey a negative evaluation of the opponent and are generally addressed to the audience. Comments can be conveyed both through speech and body, through body posture, gestures or facial expression (body comments). In the present qualitative study we focused on facial and head comments, our aim being to single out the possible goals of the commenter when expressing negative evaluations of his opponent.

Keywords: comments; metacomments; head and face signals.

1. Introduction

Literature in Conversational Analysis has long studied the rules for turn taking. When people talk to each other, their utterances are felt as filling slots in a ping-pong game where a first throw is followed by another, and the latter responds to the former. Utterances lock with each other in a systematic sequencing, so much so that when an utterance does not fit the sequencing rules we clearly feel it odd, unrequested, out of the stream. Thus, a question is generally followed by an answer, a statement by an acknowledgment, and so on. And while peculiar cases of utterance sequences are allowed by particular roles in conversation, like for example the three turns sequence – question, answer, judgment (in teacher-student interaction), this sounds odd in other types of dialogue or discussion in which the role and status relationship between interactants does not imply one judging the other.

In political debates, debaters in principle are on the same level, and it is up to the Moderator to give them the floor and allow them to express judgments on the other’s statements: i.e. to provide a comment concerning another’s turn.

Yet, if a debater has something to add concerning another’s communication, but s/he is not entitled or explicitly allowed to take the turn, s/he may comment on the present speaker’s turn by exploiting another communicative modality: for instance, by making a gesture or a grimace, or by gazing at someone in a particular way. So, a comment that cannot be delivered through linguistic means can be expressed by body signals.

In a previous work we defined the notion of comment and analyzed cases of comments delivered during political debates by verbal or body modalities – gesture, gaze, face and posture. In this paper we focus on comments expressed only by a debater’s head and face: head movements, facial expression, eye-gaze. After providing our definition of comment, we analyze a corpus of face and head comments in political debates and propose an account of their communicative and persuasive functions.

2. Comments

2.1 The notion of comment

We define a comment as (Poggi, D’Errico & Vincze, 2012)

a. a communicative act of an informative kind (i.e., an act aimed at providing information), with the information provided generally being
b. aimed at communicating an evaluation or at facilitating an interpretation on the object of previous turns

c. additional with respect to the previous turn,
d. pertinent but not requested by it, and somewhat unexpected.

Let us illustrate this definition.

a. A communicative act of comment has the goal of giving information, that is, providing an Addressee with some beliefs bc assumed by the Sender concerning some belief bt that is the topic of the communicative interaction at hand. The content of the comment – the set of beliefs bc provided – may be of two kinds, which make the communicative act be either an “interpretative” or an “evaluative” comment, respectively.

b. In an “interpretative” comment, the beliefs bc provided by the Sender are aimed at helping the Addressee to “interpret” belief bt: they are useful to understand bt better, by connecting it to other beliefs through inferential chains that set explanatory links (of space, time, class-example, cause, goal, condition) with each other. For instance, a literature critic who provides information about the author of a literary work, his biography, and the cultural milieu in which he operates (bc), provides an interpretative comment to the literary work, in that he helps the reader framing it within his time and culture.

In an “evaluative” comment, the beliefs bc provided by the Sender while dealing with the topic bt concern the Sender’s opinion about bt: his subjective beliefs stemming from his peculiar point of view, that is...
The information provided by a comment, though not requested by the turn-taking structure, is however pertinent to the topic at hand. In any case, the new belief $bc$ connects to belief $bt$, and the topic $bc$ is shared by participants in the present communicative interaction: even if participants are not presently talking about it, it must be part of previously shared knowledge, and possibly evoked during the interaction, i.e., recalled in the participants’ working memory. For example, see this comment by A:

(2) Two friends agreed to go for a picnic. The morning is sunny and A tells B: “Perfect for a picnic!”.

For all these reasons, as we make a comment our interlocutor is highly aware that we are adding an unrequested information, and, depending on our current interaction, s/he may take it as a blatant violation of turn-taking rules, or as a rude intrusion, almost in the same vein as an overlapping or an interruption. Yet, if the comment is performed not by words but “simply” by bodily signals, it may seem less intrusive and, at least formally, not be taken as an undesired contribution.

A such case is in TV broadcasted debates.

### 2.2 Body comments

As A has finished talking, B, the former Interlocutor takes the turn, so A now becomes the Interlocutor; if A has something to comment about B’s talk, s/he is no more entitled to speak until B leaves the floor. Therefore A may comment not by words, but by body signals, since s/he knows that someone – whether the audience in studio or people watching TV at home - can see his/her face, hands or body.

In TV mediated multimodal interaction, various participants that can hear and generally see each other are present at the same time: two or more debaters, with or without a moderator, interacting sometimes directly in studio, sometimes only through videorecording or phone call from home; and further, spectators at home and possibly in studio. While people in the studio have a reciprocal full-body acoustic and visual perception, those at home – both debaters and the audience – depend on what is caught by camera or microphone. In such a scenario, participants in a debate may often perform not only verbal but also bodily comments, relying on the fact that their gestures, poses or facial expression may be – and probably are – grabbed by malicious cameramen.

### 2.3 Meta-comments

That a gesture, grimace, gaze or posture can be a comment, and be acknowledged as such by the present speaker, moderator, or the audience, is witnessed by cases in which the present speaker, while seeing a body comment, in his turn meta-comments on it. Like in the following discussion between Francesco Boccia, a politician from the Democratic Party, and Marco Travaglio, a journalist of the newspaper “Il fatto quotidiano”.

(3) Concerning the wiretapping of the Italian President during an important investigation in Palermo, the President has reminded that according to the Italian law, the contents of his phone calls must not be published, while the newspaper “Il fatto quotidiano” and its journalist Marco Travaglio have argued for a complete transparency. Francesco Boccia, whose party defends the President’s position, is now provoking Travaglio, arguing that the investigation conducted by the judges from Palermo, Ingroia and De Matteo, is very similar to a further investigation over two other investigations for mafia: thus he is implying that Ingroia and De Matteo are superimposing themselves to other judges and other trials. Travaglio engages in a detailed answer, accompanied by iconic gestures, listing the misdeeds dealt with by the two trials of Caltanissetta and Firenze, and finally distinguishing the trial of Palermo from them: Travaglio: L’inchiesta di Palermo si occupa di un altro fatto, o meglio di una serie di fatti
(Palermo investigation concerns another event, or better, a series of events)

Boccia: *di tutt'e due* (it concerns both events)

*Travaglio: accaduti intorno* (occurred around)

Boccia makes a dental click ending with a small laughter, then he looks at the camera with an amused smile

*Travaglio: Non s’indaga per strage. S’indaga su...* (They do not investigate about the massacre. They investigate on)....

(Then, seeing Boccia’s smile): *Beh vedo che, vedo che... la mette di buon umore questo argomento. Complimenti, come se le avessi raccontato una barzelletta.* (Well, I see, I see that... this topic puts you in a good mood about. Congratulations, it’s as if I had told you a joke)

In this fragment, Boccia smiles to display his skepticism about Travaglio’s answer. And Travaglio is so aware of Boccia’s smile, and of its being a comment on what he is saying, that he sarcastically congratulates Boccia for smiling. Thus he performs a “meta-comment”, that is, a comment over Boccia’s facial comment: an insinuation about Boccia being very cynical, given that he smiles about mafia massacres.

3. Face and head comments. An observational study

We present an observational study on comments in political debates, focusing on a qualitative analysis of comments performed by head and face.

3.1 Method

In a corpus of 16 videorecordings from Italian political talk shows (interviews and political debates), we selected 46 fragments for a total of 150 minutes. 46 visible behaviours (face, hands and body movements or poses) were analyzed in the coding scheme of Table 1. In Table 1 (in Appendix), column 1 contains the time in the video and the name of the present Speaker, col. 2 contains the verbal message, col. 3 the sender of the non verbal comment and its addressee (interlocutor, audience, moderator), col. 4 the description of the commenter’s body signals. In column 5 we specify the body modality used to convey the comment. In col. 6 we focus on the meaning of the comment; col. 7 illustrates whether the evaluation conveyed by the commenter concerns the person (the Speaker himself) or the content of the Speaker’s turn; col. 8 contains the emotion possibly conveyed by the commenter through his body movement, col. 9 specifies the commenter’s goal: discrediting, ridiculing the opponent, or showing his own dominance.

A such case is in TV broadcasted debates.

3.2 Results

Among all the fragments analyzed, we collected 45 comments performed by face, head, or both head and face. As to the object of the comments, we found out they are almost equally distributed between those concerning the person and those concerning the content of the other’s turn. As to the communication modality, the comments conveyed through both head and face are the most frequent (59% = n.27), followed by only face 28% (13) and 13% (6) only head. As to the comment goals, we found that 54% are clearly oriented to discredit the opponent, and within this total amount, 26% are performed by ridiculing the other (Poggi et al., 2012). About 24% of analyzed facial and head comments are done in order to show that the sender has more power compared to the opponent (dominance comments).

Of course, there is quite of a subtle difference between a comment of discredit and one of dominance, in that discrediting the other is a way to lower his power and hence, indirectly, to enhance one’s own. It is necessary to specify that in our work we distinguished the comments of dominance from the ones on discredit considering a first level of meaning in the face and head signals; of course in the second level of analysis the goal of discrediting someone is close to the expression of power but we can consider this level not necessarily useful at this stage of analysis. We also found out two more goals in our comments during political debates: disagreement, i.e., the expression of a negative evaluation of the other’s opinion, and the simple disconfirmation of a fact stated by the other; 22% in total. (For a definition of opinion and fact see a recent work on agreement, Poggi et al., 2011).

As we can see from the example below, in these last two cases the most frequent head signal is the shake; but while in the case of a disconfirmation, it is short and performed in a simple horizontal direction, in the case of disagreement it is more emphasized.

The most common facial and head comments are those oriented to discredit someone or some content expressed during the debate. Discredit can be defined (D’Errico and Poggi, 2012) as the spoiling of the image of a person (B) in the eyes of other people (C), caused by a person (A) performing communicative acts that mention or point at actions or qualities of B that are considered negative by the third party C. While in principle discredit may be cast either deliberately or not (A may mention some feature of B without knowing it is negative for C), in the comments we analyzed, those discrediting the other are presumably all deliberately aimed at doing so.

From this point of view we start to differentiate the spoiling of the opponent’s image by means of direct attack to a person or to the debate’s object.

An example of the first type is the taken from “Ballarò”, an Italian political debate broadcasted in 2005 when the Right-Center party was in power but going through a critical moment. In fact, in the selected video, Berlusconi has just lost the regional elections and instead of explaining the reasons of this failure, is trying to defend himself by blaming the Left party, represented in studio by its leader D’Alema.

(4)Berlusconi says: “La disoccupazione che abbiamo ereditato da voi che era al 21% oggi è al 16%”. (The unemployment we inherited from you, that was 21%, today is 16%)

In correspondence to the sentence “we inherited
from you”, D’Alema, recognizing this as a strategy for making the other guilty, typical of Berlusconi, on the verbal side says, with a very low voice intensity: “Non ce la fa proprio” (he really can’t resist it). At the same time he makes a facial and head comment of discredit: he performs very small head shakes while raising eyebrows up, thus expressing his disbelief and surprise of how irresistible is for Berlusconi to refrain from accusing the others by making them guilty. Then he lowers his head, and makes a particular kind of smile: the “miserable smile” (Ekman, 1982) that conveys bitterness and resignation as it hides the sender’s sense of impotence. All of these body actions – in accordance with D’Alema’s typical body communication style – convey an ironic attitude. Both the surprise expressed by eyebrows up, and the sense of impotence and resignation conveyed by headshakes, head lowering and the miserable smile, are displayed ironically, thus communicating: “Oh poor thing, he really cannot refrain from doing so”; and hence implying (antiphrastically) that Berlusconi is incorrect in accusing others.

Another way to discredit a person is by showing one’s own impatience when s/he is speaking.

(5) During “Tetris”, a political talk show broadcasted by the Italian TV La7), while talking of the attitude of Muslims towards their women, the Right ... politician Daniela Santanchè is praising her own feminist actions: “Io che mi sono battuta per leggi di libertà, per liberare le donne musulmane” (I, who had fought for laws of freedom, to release Muslim women from repression).

The Leftist minister Fabio Mussi, while hearing such self-praise, suddenly turns his head away from Santanchè, raises his eyebrows and shuts his eyelids, while raising lip corners with closed mouth: he thus conveys a sense of smugness, (i.e., it is not important what you have done). 

(6) While looking at the Speaker, Cacciari is leaning on the back of the chair, hence communicating relaxation, his eyelids are half-closed, almost as if sleeping. The fact that he can’t keep his eyes open communicates a total lack of interest in the speaker’s saying. At the same time though, his head and chin are high, denoting superiority. Cacciari snorts loudly several times during Cota’s turn, and his head comes forward while snorting, emphasizing his annoyance towards what he hears. While listening, he shakes head with closed mouth and horizontally stretched lips with slightly pouches corners, a facial behaviour which typically communicates “No way ...”.

Another example of communicating boredom is in front of the speaker’s sayings, though less emphasized, is the one of Brambilla, that we analyzed in the annotation scheme.

So far we have seen two cases of discrediting the content of the opponent’s discourse by means of communicating boredom. But through the communication of boredom the listener can imply that he is bored by the speaker himself, besides by his sayings. A very common way to discredit the opponent in political debates, also during a non requested turn is ridiculization.

Ridiculizing someone is in general performed by deliberately singling out a feature or an act of another person and pointing at it in front of other people as worth being laughed at (Poggi et al., 2012).

In different cases a ridiculizing comment mostly done by the face is displaying surprise in a clear and marked way while listening to the opponent’s words.

(7) Matteo Renzi, the mayor of Florence, now candidate to primary elections in the Democratic Party, is talking of his electoral program, but he does so in such a complicated way that he is making himself incomprehensible and hence ridicule. Marco Travaglio, a journalist debating with him, promptly takes advantage of this and underlines Renzi’s incomprehensible sentences: he makes a large smile and opens his eyes wide displaying surprise, then he frowns and lowers his lip corners while looking at the other participants present in the studio, as if stating: “Did you understand anything? I didn’t!”

Travaglio in another debate makes grimaces to ridicule the opponent Daniele Capezzone.

(8) Capezzone, a former deputy of a Left-wing party who moved to a Right-wing party and became the spokesman of Berlusconi, is talking of this change proudly, saying i
contrary, it was a convenient opportunistic change, ridicules him through ironic grimaces: he suddenly raises eyebrows and lip corners, thus showing surprise and amusement, but then by eyes gazing downward he seems to imply “you cannot dupe me”. The global meaning of these signals might be “For God’s sake, don’t exaggerate”; and lack of eye contact plus a sudden restrained smile indicate amusement but also a negative evaluation, that diminishes the nobleness of Capezzone’s “sacrifice”.

The goal of ridiculing is witnessed by more or less explicit laughter along the whole debate.

(9) Travaglio refers to Capezzone and Berlusconi as “Tu e il tuo padrone” (you and your master). Capezzone replies to the offence by threatening: “Sei cascato male stasera, io non mi faccio insultare da questo signore” (You are in the wrong place tonight, I will not stay here to be offended by this gentleman), and Travaglio, with raised eyebrows, makes a loud laughter. Laughing after a threat is a typical signal of ridiculization that conveys “I am not afraid of you”, hence “I am stronger than you are”. Further Travaglio opens his mouth wide as in surprise, thus making the serious thing the other is saying ridiculous; finally his tongue in cheek conveys allusion to apparently serious but in fact comic.

Another possible goal of the commenter is to communicate his dominance over the speaker.

(10) Renata Polverini, a Right Party politician and current president of Lazio region addresses a direct reproach to Massimo D’Alema, the former national secretary of the Democratic Party of the Left. First D’Alema interrupts eye contact with the speaker and looks down, as if wanting to collect his thoughts before answering, then, still with lowered gaze, performs a light smile and the non verbal vocalization “hm” with raising intonation while simultaneously shaking head. The fact that he still does not stare at Polverini while going “hm” might be meant to signal that he is talking to oneself, expressing his irritation to himself and not trying to communicate to the audience. Nonetheless, we know that signals of anger and irritation caused by the interlocutor’s deeds or sayings are hardly ever meant to be kept secret. We may therefore interpret D’Alema’s reaction as communicative and not a simple expression of his inner states. D’Alema is now ready to provide his answer in the form of a false act of praise: “Tu sei straordinaria perché tu sei sempre all’opposizione anche quando stai al Governo” (You are extraordinary because you are always on the opposition side even now when you make part of the Government). He then displays a false laughter, much louder and more pronounced than a normal sincere one, reminding us of the laughter purposely introduced in the comedy sitcoms to signal that now it’s time for the audience to laugh. In fact the audience does laugh and Polverini laughs as well, wanting to prove that she does not take it personally. D’Alema goes on: “Quindi ti sei ritagliata un ruolo spettacolare, vieni qui e fai l’opposizione pur essendo al Governo con i voti di Berlusconi. Ora non vorrei dire che è troppo comodo, diciamolo, ecco, troppo comodo”. (You adopted a spectacular role, you come here and play the part of the opposition, although now you are a member of the Government with Berlusconi’s votes on your side. I wouldn’t like to say that it [your behavior] is too convenient, too convenient”. While stating troppo comodo (too convenient), D’Alema performs a headbutt towards Polverini, a non verbal signal metaphorically disqualifying his opponent for not playing according to the rules of the game.

4. Conclusion

When people argue in debates, they sometimes do not give up opposing or maintaining the opposition even when they are not entitled to take the turn. They still do so by a particular kind of turn: comment, which allows them to be in a sense over and above the competition and to win over their opponent. Such a detour from the rules of conversation is more subtle but, if possible, even more effective when comments are conveyed by body signals like head and facial actions.

Although comments, both facial or verbal, may convey either positive or negative evaluations about people, opinions, behaviors or about the state of the world, in this particular context of political debates, comments generally convey negative evaluations of the opponent. In this paper we focussed on the commenter’s goals when communicating negative evaluations of the opponent and from a total of 46 face and head comments in our corpus, we observed that, excluding a few cases of (not requested) disconfirmation and disagreement, most of the body comments are made to discredit, ridicule and to express dominance. We noticed a certain tendency in our corpus to combine the communication of certain goals by displaying certain emotions, particularly: when discrediting, the commenter often shows boredom and impatience, when ridiculing: enjoyment and surprise, while when showing dominance: irritation and ironic enjoyment.

From our qualitative analysis of face and head comments it comes out that they are more frequently used to discredit the present speaker, also by making fun of him/her, and to display one’s dominance also regarding to what s/he is saying. As Aristotle, Schopenhauer and more recently van Eemeren (2010) pointed out, in political debates there is a continuous tension between the dialectic and the rhetoric goal: one aims at finding the truth and the other at winning the contest, by showing that a participant is more intelligent, more competent than the other. From our work, the use of head and face comments seems more oriented to the latter than to the former.

Further analysis, conducted on a larger corpus, will
better explain the co-occurrence of commenters’ goals, associated emotions and power relations perceived between sender and addressee.

5. Acknowledgements

Research supported by SSPNet Seventh Framework Program, European Network of Excellence SSPNet (Social Signal Processing Network), Grant Agreement N.231287.

6. References


7. Appendix

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th></th>
<th></th>
<th></th>
<th></th>
<th></th>
<th></th>
<th></th>
<th></th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Brambilla</td>
<td>beh, non è un reato andare a una festa, (well, it’s not a misdeed to go to a party)</td>
<td>Brambilla → Audience</td>
<td>Rubs her forehead looking at S. obliquely with half-closed eyelids</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>It is not a misdeed to go to a party I’m bored, what my interlocutor Seracchiani is saying is neither new nor interesting to me</td>
<td>Boredom</td>
<td>Discredit</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Table 1: Corpus coding scheme