

**A CONTRASTIVE ANALYSIS OF ARGUMENTATIVE
DISCOURSE IN ENGLISH AND GERMAN**

WHAT ARE THE IMPLICATIONS FOR TEACHING?

by

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A dissertation submitted to the

School of Humanities
of the University of Birmingham
in part fulfilment of the requirements
for the degree of

Master of Arts

in

Teaching English as a Foreign or Second Language (TEFL/TESL)

This dissertation consists of approximately 12,000 words
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March 2004

Abstract

This contrastive discourse study was prompted by frequent reports of misunderstandings in intercultural discussions between German and English speakers.

By analysing samples of mono-cultural exploratory argumentation, conventions (and therefore expectations) regarding argumentation in the two language communities could be described. Stretches of argumentative discourse in each language were investigated using discourse analysis tools to identify argumentation structures and the discourse markers used in introducing argumentation components. Results indicated that turn-shapes, argument structure and argument conventions differed between the two languages, as did modality, politeness and construction of discourse markers, suggesting that English and German speakers have two distinct cultures of argument.

The areas of mismatch identified by the study provided starting-points from which recommendations for classroom practice could be made. The final part of the study looks at issues and aims in learning about argument and culture, before going on to suggest exercises and strategies for addressing difficulties and adjusting learner expectations, increasing awareness of discourse patterns and culture, and for developing listening and speaking skills specifically for participating in discussions.

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1. ISSUES & AIMS IN ARGUMENTATION ANALYSIS

1.0 Introduction

‘The English are far more polite than we [Germans] are, so we often think too soon that we have won them over.’

(BMW Group 1999a:7, own translation, Appendix 1)

‘The English are nice and smile, but they never put their foot down. That means you can never tell what they really want.’

(BMW Group 1999b:5, own translation, Appendix 1)

‘Germans expect people to be forthright in their opinions. Being wishy washy is the worst thing you can do.’

(BMW Group 1999b:7, Appendix 1)

The above comments made by German and British business-people about each other come from a document produced by one of my Munich-based corporate clients following difficult business relations maintained in English with their British counterparts. Apparent lack of clarity on the part of the British, as well as misconstrued politeness signals and the seeming brashness of Germans are typical of the problems encountered by learners and their counterparts in discussions of all kinds, and they prompted the following questions in my mind:

- How are opinions presented by English and German speakers in argumentative discussions?
- How are compatibility and incompatibility of opinions dealt with in discussions?
- How is a cooperative atmosphere created and sustained in discussions?

In order to shed light upon the possible causes of communication difficulties, I carried out a contrastive analysis of argumentative discourse in English and German.

1.1 Aims of this study

It has been suggested that:

‘each language and culture has its own discursive and rhetorical conventions which can cause problems for speakers of other languages due to argumentative interference and interpretation difficulties.’
(Jahnel 2000:9, own translation)

The aim of this dissertation is to characterise the main discursive and rhetorical conventions in English and German argumentation, and to ascertain whether they may be said to account in any way for the difficulties cited above. A broad match between conventions would imply that communication difficulties are not culture-related. A mismatch, however, would suggest that discussants of the two nationalities approach argumentative discussion with different expectations determined by experience of such interactions in their own culture. If this is the case, I shall attempt to ascertain how divergent expectations may account for the communication problems that the two nationalities experience and consider possible solutions.

1.2 Issues in argumentation

Argument is a discourse type that is directed toward the elimination of differences of opinion (van Eemeren & Grootendorst 1984:1). This occurs through the exchange of views, and the attacking and defending of positions between speakers (*ibid*).

For this study, I have collected from German and English television samples of discussions in which journalists comment on political events and current affairs (appendix 2). A brief glance at the data reveals some of the issues involved in argumentation.

Utterances produced in discussion groups are considerably longer than those in casual conversation, averaging 133 words in the English data and 182 words in German, compared with the 4.6-word average counted in the data of Sacks *et al*, 1978. This not only has implications for floor-holding strategies, but also for the delivery of an utterance which will consist of claims, reasons, concessions and counterarguments (Toulmin 1957:98ff, Herrick 1995:6) presented in identifiable relation to each other and to the subject at hand, and delivered with very limited reliance on back-channels, requests for clarification or other signals on the part of the interlocutors. Consequently, the ability to produce or interpret spontaneously long stretches of almost monologic talk is among the issues that face the discussant.

At the same time, talk in discussions has much in common with dialogue. The argumentative process in exploratory discussions is highly interactive, with participants seeking ‘understanding and acceptance’ (van Eemeren & Grootendorst 1984:24) as they express and react to opinions. Discussion can be described as:

‘fundamentally a cooperative process rooted in an agreement – the agreement to advance and hear arguments.’
(Herrick 1995:13)

Discussants therefore need to have mastered appropriate use of signals of respect and acknowledgement, as well as a high degree of competence in the area of politeness in order to avoid loss of face where conflicting opinions may pose a threat to interaction.

1.3 Conclusion

This analysis is intended to reveal how lexico-grammatical features of argumentative talk may reflect some of the issues and conventions of exploratory argumentation in the English and German-speaking cultures. The study is divided into two main parts. An initial theoretical section focuses on a selection of discourse analysis literature used to devise an analytical framework for the analysis of arguments in discourse. The chapters that follow deal with the study itself: in Chapter 3 data, methods and problems of analysis are described, and in Chapter 4 argumentative components are classified and characterised. Chapter 5 looks at practical implications of the study in the teaching of English as a foreign language, dealing with issues facing the learner and looking at possible ways to develop skills appropriately.

2. DEVISING AN ANALYTICAL FRAMEWORK

2.0 Introduction

For this study, an analytical framework was devised which was to identify the argumentative components contained in utterance segments while fulfilling these criteria:

- The framework should identify information components and reveal argument structures within utterances (e.g. claim – reason or concession – opinion) without recourse to lexical signals associated with them, because:
 - relations between utterance parts are not always explicitly signalled
 - lexical signals do not stand in a one-to-one relation with their functions
 - equivalent signals may be used differently in the two languages
- It should enable conclusions to be drawn on features of cooperative interaction in exploratory argumentation.

In order to devise such a framework, I drew upon a variety of discourse and conversation analysis techniques suitable for approaching a discourse type which is neither purely monologic nor dialogic (Schiffrin 1987:17).

2.1 Clause relations

In accordance with the first of the above criteria, clause relations enable the identification of links between utterance parts without recourse to lexical signals.

‘Clause relations is a study of the various relations which connect one sentence with another as members of sequenced discourse’
(Winter 1977:2)

Winter identified connections between sentences or ‘members’ of discourse by projecting monologue into dialogue form to

‘make the relation explicit by showing what (typical) questions were being answered by the second sentence of a pair’
(Winter 1977:37).

The principle can be demonstrated by applying it to my data.

The **assessment – basis relation** (Jordan 2000) reflects a clause relation central to argumentative discourse, where discussants express opinions and explain the grounds for doing so (Toulmin 1957:11). ‘Assessment’ is defined as:

‘any thoughtful conclusions, decision, judgement, review, opinion or view about a topic’
(Jordan 2000:163)

‘Basis’ is defined as the reason for thinking, believing or doing/not doing as a result of a conscious decision (ibid). The question being answered in the second relation component is ‘What are the reasons for this assessment?’ (Jordan 2000:163), a suggestion compatible with the question ‘What have you got to go on?’, proposed by Toulmin in his influential theory of argumentation (1957:98).

The following example from my data demonstrates how the dialogic questioning is implemented to identify the basis – assessment relation:

[assessment] ‘I think people don’t know how they feel right now
(question What are the reasons for this assessment?)
[basis] I mean, this is, this is what I sense from just talking to people...’
(transcript 4, line 114-115)

As well as enabling the identification of argumentative components in discussion, clause relations can help identify internal structures of those components by distinguishing levels of detail within them. Hoey (1983:159) describes the ‘branching out’ of discourse to give details of details of details as follows:

‘The Detail Tree exists wherever a discourse or passage is made of more than one level of detail, each level being connected to the one above by some form of general-particular relation’
(Hoey 1983:159)

My data show that argument components are often introduced in a general – particular progression which Hoey calls the **preview – detail** relation. The preview – detail relation can be tested for using the request ‘Give me some more details of *x*’ or ‘Tell me about *x* in greater detail’ (Hoey 1983:138). An example from my data:

[preview] ‘The question is, um, Blair will face the same challenge that Bill Clinton faced
(question Give me some more details of that challenge)
[detail 1] which is to hold the centre politically
[detail 2] and continue your popularity...’
(transcript 4, line 44-46)

Further common clause relations determining the internal structure and presentation of assessments and their bases include:

1) The **concession** – **assertion** relation (Thompson & Zhou 2000), used to pre-empt counter-arguments or address reservations before stating an opinion. The pattern of this relation consists of:

‘a proposition expressing the writer’s evaluation of the truth value of the proposition, followed by another proposition which is presented as true but without an evaluation of its truth’
(Thompson & Zhou 2000:125)

For example:

‘I think he faces some real challenges of how he’s going to articulate the labour point of view
[concession] Even riding on this popular wave that he has right now
[assertion] given the economy that he’s going to be facing in the next...’.
(transcript 4, line 54-58)

Although Thompson and Zhou cite disjuncts such as *admittedly* and *certainly* as characteristic of the concession – assertion relation (2000:125), my data show that these devices are by no means necessary.

2) The **denial** – **correction** relation (Hoey 1983:129) involves a statement which is denied, and then corrected, e.g.:

[denial] ‘..not only on foreign policy, on Iraq,
(question If not that, then what?)
[correction] I think to some extent on foreign policy’
(transcript 4 line 125-127)

3) The **condition** – **consequence** relation is characterised by a hypothetical condition in which the writer/speaker ‘does not give his assent to the truth’ and a consequence (Hoey 1983:128), e.g.:

[condition] ‘If they do that by email
(question What will be the consequence?)
[conseq.] they know it will come out...’
(transcript 5, line 84-85)

4) The **situation – evaluation** relation enables speakers to comment upon concrete or real situations. Hoey tests for the relation by asking ‘What do you think of these facts?’ (1983:55):

[situation] ‘I mean, what you’re talking about are very small numbers...
(question What do you think of this fact?)
[evaluation] strikes me as something very insignificant’
(transcript 4 line 88-90)

5) The **phenomenon – reason** and **cause – effect** relations (Hoey 1983:19) imply causal relations between members and are essentially the reverse of each other. For example:

[phen.] ‘I think [Blair] is stronger than ever
(question What is the reason for his strength?)
[reason] I think what’s happened is the middle has continued to expand..’
(transcript 4 line 41-42)

6) The **situation – response** relation consists of a description of an ‘aspect of situation which requires a response’, and the response offered (Hoey 1983:51):

[situation] ‘dieser Widerspruch ist ein Dilemma
 this contradiction is a dilemma
(question What is the response?)
[response] Das kann man nur dadurch auflösen, daß man länger arbeitet
 and the only way you can solve it is to work longer

Although the clause relations described above could account to a high degree for the identification of argumentation components, rhetorical devices such as unsolicited repetition, comment and emphasis remained unaccounted for. Monologue analysis shed light on these issues.

2.2 Coulthard: ‘The Structure of Monologue’

Coulthard differentiates between **main discourse** (1981:36), which treats the subject matter of the discourse (in this case the argumentation), and **subsidiary discourse**, which is directed to the reception of the main discourse. Of the subsidiary discourse types identified by Coulthard, **glosses** (1981:36ff) seemed particularly relevant to this study since they enable the discourse to unfold without recourse to back-channels, para-linguistics and requests for clarification from the interlocutors.

Three gloss-types identified are:

1. **restate:** a repetition or reformulation of the immediately prior member which can be introduced by phrases such as ‘in other words’ and ‘that is’, or simply comprise lexical repetition and/or anaphoric reference.
2. **qualify:** a modification of the general applicability of the immediately prior member. Typically marked by ‘actually’, ‘in reality’ and ‘at least’ etc.
3. **comment:** used to evaluate or comment on stretches of discourse, generally consisting of this/that + attributive form.

Monologue analysis and clause relations facilitated identification of information structure at clause level in a way that satisfied the first of the criteria cited in the introduction to this chapter. Now let us consider the second criterion:

- The framework should enable conclusions to be drawn on features of cooperative interaction in exploratory argumentation.

2.3 Conversation analysis

Conversation analysis provides guidance for the analysis of turn-taking and turn-structure in discussions. One of the main focal points of this study is the lexico-grammatical devices used in claiming and relinquishing the floor.

2.3.1 Turn-entry devices

Turn-entry devices are of both functional and pragmatic relevance: while signifying intention to speak, they also ‘maximize cooperation and affiliation and [...] minimize conflict’ between speakers (Richards & Schmidt, 1983:55).

Turn-entry devices are responsible for linking a new utterance to the preceding one (Sacks *et al* 1978:32), an idea that is developed by Stenström who identifies **uptakes**, which evaluate the predecessor’s utterance, and **links**, consisting of conjunctions such as *so* and *because* (1994:71). Turn-entries can be **clean**, using an introductory device such as *well*, or **hesitant**, using verbal fillers or pauses to give the speaker time to prepare (Stenström 1994:70).

Stenström (1994:74) also identifies **metacomments** as turn-entry devices. These comment on the talk itself and are described as face-saving devices which can allow a speaker to object without sounding too brash, (e.g. *Can I just say something?* Stenström 1994:75) or enable him/her to ‘structure the conversation prospectively in some way’ (Francis & Hunston 1992:129). I shall use Francis’ and Hunston’s term ‘**meta-statement**’ to refer to these devices, in order to avoid possible confusion with ‘comments’ described in 2.2.

The pragmatic relevance of uptakes, links and meta-statements is explained in more detail in Pomerantz' examination of preferred and dispreferred turn-shapes. She suggests that while agreements (preferred) have agreement components occupying the entire turn, disagreements (dispreferred) are often prefaced (Pomerantz 1983:65). The present study will reveal the degree to which this principle applies to argumentative discussions.

2.3.2 Sequencing utterances

Interaction in argumentative discussions is often characterised by question-answer sequences initiated by the Chair, and in part by independent interaction between discussants. Sacks *et al* suggest that turn-taking is regulated by the following mechanisms.

The **adjacency pair** (Sacks *et al*, 1978: 31) can be said to account for the question-answer exchange between the Chair and discussants. The term denotes a two-part exchange mechanism in which the second, response utterance is predicted by the first.

Sacks *et al* identify two further 'turn allocation components' (1978:12).

1) **Allocation by the current speaker** describes the pre-selection of the next speaker by the current one. In moderated discussions, turn-allocation of this sort is largely the responsibility of the Chair, but the data suggest that discussants can allocate each other in discussions.

2) **Self-allocation** occurs when a new speaker claims the floor by choice, usually on completion of a sentential, clausal, phrasal or lexical unit by the current speaker (Sacks *et al* 1978:7) or at any point of 'syntactic completeness' within an utterance (McCarthy 1997:127). In a moderated discussion, the Chair will be entitled to allocate himself/herself as the next speaker at any such point, although self-allocation by discussants is also possible, as the data analysis will show.

2.3.3 Turn-exit devices

Exit devices signify the end of a turn (Sacks *et al* 1978:30). In conversation, these often consist of question-tags, first-pair parts and appealers which prompt a response from the interlocutor (Stenström 1994:79). In discussions, however, where the Chair is responsible for coordinating interaction, such devices are unlikely to occur. Characteristics of exit devices used in discussions are analysed and described in 4.3.

2.4 Conclusion

The approaches to discourse described in this chapter can be usefully combined to shed light upon the nature of argument in English and German: while clause relations and monologue analysis enable the identification of argument components and rhetorical expression, we can identify aspects of turn-structure and features of turn-segments by superimposing models of conversation analysis. The analysis will reveal how and where components of argument are embedded in the discourse of exploratory discussions.

As the framework is applied to the data, similarities and differences emerge, giving an insight into the mechanisms and attitudes underlying argumentative discussion in English and German.

3. APPLYING THE FRAMEWORK: DATA, METHODS AND ISSUES

3.1 Data

Data for this study were taken from two discussion programmes, *Presseclub* (45 minutes, ARD television, Germany) and *Dateline London* (30 minutes, BBC World), in which 4 – 5 national and international journalists discuss political issues and current affairs. Although these exploratory discussions are moderated by a Chair, power relations between participants themselves are uniform.

The data for this study consist of five extracts lasting between ten and fifteen minutes taken from these two programmes. Criteria for selection of utterances for analysis were:

1. Provision of similar quantities of native-speaker produced utterances in each language:
Seven males provide eighteen utterances in two German extracts;
Six English-speakers provide twenty contributions in three English extracts
(Four American males, one British male and one British female)
2. Consecutiveness:
In order to reflect the interactive nature of argument, continuous stretches of discourse were chosen where possible.
3. Comparable quantities of each utterance type in each language:

Utterance type	German	English
Informing, 2nd pair part	8	12
Informing, self-allocated	4	4
Rebutting, self-allocated	6	5
Total	18	21

Fig. 3.1 Overview of utterance types provided in data

Although the representative nature of such a small, virtually single-sex group of speakers is questionable, the data suffice to give guidance on acceptable (if not typical) modes of behaviour in the two cultures.

3.2 Problems of analysing televised discussions

Televised discussions are conveniently comprehensible to a wide-ranging audience of non-expert viewers. However, the unnatural studio setting has limitations. The focus is largely on the discussant speaking at a given moment, which means that signals from other participants may be filtered out, possibly obscuring attempts to contribute.

Although these signals are vital to the functioning of a discussion, their omission does not hinder the analysis of lexico-grammatical devices used to structure and present arguments.

3.3 Method

3.3.1 Data collection and transcription

The data were transcribed and punctuated following conventions used in writing to facilitate comprehension and reflect intonation wherever possible. Although pauses were not transcribed, fillers and false starts were included as possible politeness signals (House & Kasper 1981:168). Where audible, overlapping speech was transcribed and marked with an asterisk (*).

Utterances were transferred into tabular form for analysis (Appendix 2):

spkr	(move type)	C	level of detail			Utt.no
w/c	utterance	R	1	2	3	line#
Ch	(eliciting)					1
	Well, it turns out that the British Conservative party has a pulse after all....					1 2

The first column shows speaker's initials and word-count. The second shows move-type (in brackets) and the transcribed utterance. The final column provides utterance numbers (in **bold** print) and line-numbers for reference purposes. The remaining columns identify members of the discourse using the clause relation and monologue analysis framework described in Chapter 2. Transcript references given hereafter will consist of transcript number and line number (e.g. 4-16) or a transcript number with utterance number in **bold** (e.g. 4-**10**).

3.3.2 Data classification

The first step in the data classification process was the categorisation and labelling of utterances as 'eliciting' and 'nominating' (for the Chair) and 'informing' and 'rebutting' (for discussants). Interrupted utterances are marked '>' (e.g. 'informing>') and their continuations are referenced with '>' and numbered accordingly, (e.g. move **8a**, move **9** (interruption), **8b**). Where the continuation is prefaced with a reaction to the interruption

before the speaker resumes argumentation, double-labelling occurs (e.g. rebutting/>informing). Utterances that do not refer to the immediately preceding utterance (e.g. 4-10) are additionally referenced with the initials of the addressee (hence, ‘4-10 rebutting EG’ signifies ‘transcript 4, utterance 10, rebuttal of the last contribution by Eunice Goes).

Next, utterance parts or ‘members’ were identified and labelled (see 2.1.). Each one was given a new line in the table and its discourse marker was highlighted in bold print.

Classification of members began with the identification of claims in each utterance. These were marked with a ‘C’ in column C/R (Claim/Reason), and the reasons supporting them were labelled R. Close examination of lexical development and pronouns enabled further classification of ‘C’ members as main claims or sub-claims:

spkr	(move type)	C	Level of detail			
w/c	Utterance	R	1	2	3	
AR	I mean, the problem is , I’m not quite sure about who’s really in charge in Washington. If you listen to the more hawkish voices there, they are very, very, very alarming and uh I just hope that they can be restrained because , you know, some of these are adventurers and, ...	C	ass			89
		R	bas1	situ	cond	90
				eval	cons	91
				ass		92
		C				93
						94
						95

Here, ‘relexicalisation’ of the themes (McCarthy, 1991:69) through pronouns and quantifiers progresses from general (l.89) to specific (l.94):

who’s really in charge – the more hawkish voices –they – they – some of these

This indicates that the first of the two claims is of broader relevance while the latter is more limited, referring to only *some* people in Washington. Line 94 is therefore a sub-claim, while line 89 is a claim. The unequal weight carried by the two claim-types is reflected in their labelling at the first level of detail (for claims) or second level (for sub-claims).

Other clause relations were determined and indexed at appropriate levels of detail following the same principle in order to reflect the internal structure of (sub)claims and reasons. Thus, the ‘basis’ starting in line 91 of the table consists of a situation – evaluation relation at level 2, whose ‘situation’-member consists of a condition – consequence relation at level 3. Labelling was reviewed repeatedly for greater precision.

3.3.3 Data Analysis

Once argumentative components had been classified, their discourse markers were characterised, mainly with reference to use of modality markers as both politeness signals and indicators of speaker attitude, interactive markers and use of reinforcing and hedging devices. They are described in Chapter 4. The examination of these largely topic-

independent items may go some way toward describing how arguments are presented and ascertaining how a cooperative atmosphere is maintained.

3.4 Problems of data classification

Although this method of classification was highly constructive for the analysis of argumentative discourse, there were some short-comings. Whilst three levels of detail provide a clear overview of relations of argument components to each other, they do not reflect the true complexity of the utterance. More refined levels of detail were omitted for the sake of clarity, leaving some members unanalysed, e.g. 4-88ff, where the detailed analysis of an anecdote would not have contributed to this analysis of argumentation strategies. In general, however, the classification system provides sufficient detail for conclusions to be drawn about overall utterance structure and lexico-grammatical features of argumentative discourse.

Basic distinctions such as claim/reason were not easy to make, since claims were often supported by sub-claims which could equally well be classified as reasons. Consequently, Herrick's description of 'reasons' as evidence stemming from systematic observation (statistics, surveys), expert opinion, eye-witness testimony and examples was followed (1985:10), with non-verifiable reasons being classed as sub-claims and labelled 'ass' at level 2. As a result, there are many examples in my data of assessment – basis relations where the (non-verifiable) basis is labelled 'assessment' at level 2 or 3.

Sub-claims can precede or follow reasoning blocks. Those preceding the reasoning block are labelled 'ass' (assessment) while those following it are 'conc' (=conclusion). 'Conclusions' in the middle of an utterance therefore denote a conclusion of a sub-point within the utterance, rather than of the utterance as a whole.

Information structures common in spoken discourse posed a further challenge to the framework. Often the onset of an assertion is indicated by devices such as *the interesting thing about this is...* (5-76), but the assertion itself only occurs after numerous meta-statements, qualifiers or concessions have been inserted. In such cases, the onset of the assertion has been marked 'ass>' and its continuation is indicated by the next '>' on the same level of detail:

<p>but I think that there is a legitimate question: we've got rid if this ugly regime in Iraq, we've given the Iraqi people the opportunity at least to determine their own destiny, - we may not like what they come up with, it may be troubling for us - but nonetheless I think an argument can be made - and it's been made in Washington - is that this is an improvement, this is, this adheres to our real principles, and the Iraqi people will sort it out.</p>	C	ass	assert>		85
	R		b1		86
	R		b2		87
					88
			cncss		89
			(rest)		90
	C	>	>	prev	91
			(com)		92
	C	conc	>	det1	93
			>	det2	94

3.5 Conclusion

The framework and method described here enable the discourse analyst to break down complete utterances into small components for classification and description of lexis, modality/politeness markers and interactive features. Characterisation of individual components, component combinations and overall turn-shapes help the analyst to draw conclusions about the nature of argumentative discussion in different cultures.

4. ANALYSIS & DESCRIPTION OF ARGUMENTATIVE DISCOURSE COMPONENTS

Each section of this chapter begins with a table showing the examples of argumentative components provided in my data. Discourse markers associated with starting turns, introducing opinions, giving reasons, evaluations and conclusions are highlighted in *italics* in the tables and will be discussed in each section. Transcript and utterance or line-numbers are provided for reference. German discourse markers are translated during the discussion for the convenience of non-German-speaking readers.

4.1 Turn-entry devices

The three types of turn-entry discussed in this section are second pair-part turn-entries and devices used by self-allocating speakers for informing and for rebutting.

4.1.1 Second pair-parts

Fig. 4.1: Turn-entries – second pair-parts			
Ref	German	Ref	English
1-2	Eine Milchmädchenrechnung <i>ist es sicherlich</i> nicht.	3-2	It <i>does seem like it</i> and it's <i>really interesting to watch</i> what's happening...
1-4	<i>Nein.</i> Sie sichern <i>ja</i> ihre Arbeitsplätze damit	3-4	<i>Well, I don't think</i> there's any quick solution to it.
1-6	<i>So rum und so rum</i> ist sie das.	3-6	<i>I think</i> it's beginning to dawn on some people ...
1-8	Da bin ich <i>fest</i> davon überzeugt.	4-2	<i>I think it could have been</i> a lot worse, and, <i>as you say</i> , it saved his job.
2-2	Saudi Arabien ist ein <i>gutes</i> Beispiel zu zeigen, wie...	4-4	<i>Well, I think</i> the system has changed.
2-4	<i>Ich glaube</i> , es gibt ein übergreifendes Muster, ...	4-6	<i>It's interesting that I think</i> Blair is more popular than ever
2-9	Man macht eine <i>ganze</i> Menge.	4-9	<i>Yes. I think one of the puzzling things is</i> that, <i>as you say</i> , we're....
2-12	Also man kann <i>auf jeden Fall</i> mal feststellen, sie hatten	4-14	<i>I think people</i> don't know how they feel right now.
		5-2	<i>Well, my impression</i> of Alastair Campbell was that he was....
		5-6a	<i>I just think</i> the last few years have been great for leaks.
		5-9	<i>Well</i> , it makes me determined, at least with my employer...
		5-11	<i>Well, the, the</i> you always, It's become routine
		(3-8a)	(<i>You know, in some ways I think</i> they have)

The second pair-parts referred to in the table are all responses to eliciting moves by the Chair except 3-8a, which is a response to a challenge by a fellow discussant.

Perhaps the most striking difference between English and German turn-entries concerns modality and topic-centricity. In the German data, six out of the eight turn-entries are topic-fronted, proffering impersonalised statements about the subject under discussion. All but one of these statements is reinforced using one of the following ‘modality markers which increase the impact of an utterance’ (House and Kasper 1981:169):

1) ‘**overstaters**’ (ibid.) or emphatic modal words (Bublitz 1978:33) such as *sicherlich* (=certainly) enable the speaker to ‘overrepresent the reality denoted in the proposition in the interests of increasing the force of his utterance’. (House & Kasper 1981:169), e.g.

1-2: ‘..ist es *sicherlich* nicht’ it *certainly* isn’t ...

2) ‘**intensifiers**’ ‘intensify certain elements of the proposition’ (ibid.) e.g.

2-9: ‘Man macht *eine ganze Menge*’ There’s *a whole lot* being done

3) ‘**rhetorical appeals**’ are used by X to ‘debar Y from not accepting the proposition’ (House & Kasper 1981:170). Two examples:

2-12: ‘Also man kann *auf jeden Fall* mal feststellen’
Well, *at any rate* one can say that..

1-6: ‘*So rum und so rum* ist sie das’
It’s like that *whatever way you look at it*

Other emphatic devices include the ‘affirmative modal word’ *ja* (‘bejahendes Modalwort’, Bublitz 1972:31):

1-4: ‘Nein. Sie sichern *ja* ihre Arbeitsplätze damit’
No, because *of course* they’re securing jobs by doing that.

2-12 is the only example of a topic-centred turn-start containing softening elements. The downtoner *mal* (House & Kasper 1981:167) and the hedge *kann* are, however, used in combination with the upgrading rhetorical appeal described above.

The remaining two turn-starts in my data begin with two differently modalised speaker-centred expressions of opinion:

1-9: ‘Da bin ich *fest* davon überzeugt’ I am *absolutely* convinced of that
2-4: ‘*Ich glaube*, das ist ein’ I *think* that is a ...

In 1-9 the ‘adverbial modifier’ *fest* (=firmly) is ‘used ...to intensify certain elements of the proposition of the utterance’ (House & Kasper 1981:169). In contrast, the hypotheticality of *Ich glaube* (=I think) in 2-4 can be said to soften the proposition being put forward (Bublitz 1978:213) or to ‘lower[s] the degree to which X commits himself to the state of affairs referred to in the proposition [and] explicitly characterises his utterance as his personal opinion’ (House & Kasper 1981:167).

The turn-entries produced by German speakers contrast strongly with those of the English-speakers in my data. Eleven of the thirteen English examples are personalised expressions of hypotheticality marked by epistemic qualifiers such as *I think* or *My impression was...*. Bublitz (1978:178) suggests that such qualifiers are not only modalising devices, but also interactive devices used by speakers to appeal to the listener for confirmation. Impact of utterances is additionally played down by *just* and other hedging devices (*in some ways* and *it does seem like it*), which enable the speaker to ‘impose his own intent less forcefully’ (House & Kasper 1981:167). Understatements such as *could have been... worse* (4-2), further reduce impact by inviting conversational implicature (Brown & Levinson 1999:218) rather than stating opinion directly. Non-committal expressions such as *it’s interesting/fascinating/puzzling that...* occur in three examples in my data and may be said to appeal to the interlocutor to consider the point in question. None of the discourse markers in my English data use reinforcing devices. Overall, speaker commitment to the proposition appears less forceful in English than German at this stage of the utterance.

Three further significant features of English turn-starts are:

1. The response marker *well* – 4 examples (Schiffrin 1987:105), which is said to occur when the response is indirect in nature (Bublitz 1978:194). The German equivalent *also* is used once in my data.
2. The addressee-focused politeness marker *you know* is used twice in my data to develop common ground and appeal to shared knowledge (Brown & Levinson 1999:120), invite inference (Fox Tree & Schrock 2002:736), or save face by indicating speaker imprecision to allow addressees more room to express their opinions (ibid). Significantly, *you know* occurs in 3-8a, a response to a challenge by a fellow discussant, and in 5-11 as a filler and interactive marker.
3. *As you say* – this expression of agreement with a previous speaker is used in two examples as a positive politeness strategy (Brown & Levinson 1999:112).

Findings can be summarised in figures as follows:

	% of German examples	% of English examples
Construction		
Topic-centred	75%	0%
Speaker-centred	25%	100%
Modality		
Reinforced	75%	0%
Softened	0%	78%
Both	12.5%	8%
Unmodalised	12.5%	14%
Interactive markers		
Response markers	12.5%	39%
Shared knowl./agreement	0%	31%

Fig. 4.2 Features of second pair-part turn-entries

4.1.2 Self-allocation in informing moves

Self-allocation often occurs through paralinguistic signals which could not always be identified for reasons mentioned in 3.2. I have therefore included in this section all responses by speakers who can be assumed to have signalled the desire to speak which may or may not have been confirmed through a nominating move by the Chair.

Table 4.3 (overleaf) indicates that there are significant differences between the devices used by German and English speakers to claim the floor.

All German examples in my data use meta-statements to take the floor.

- 1-12 *Vielleicht noch mal zu diesem einen Punkt*
Perhaps just regarding this one point
- 1-15a *Vielleicht sollte man auch noch eins sagen*
Perhaps one should say one more thing
- 2-10 *Entschuldigung – darf ich hier das Stichwort Glaubwürdigkeit aufgreifen?*
Excuse me, may I pick up on the word ‘credibility’ here?
- 1-12 *Das bezieht sich auf den Metallbereich, das was Sie zitieren*
What you are saying refers to the metalworkers

The first two meta-statements are strongly downgraded: *Vielleicht* (‘perhaps’) is combined with *noch mal* (=just) in 1-12 and *sollte* (=should) in 1-15a. In both examples reference to ‘einen Punkt’ (=one point) or *noch eins* (‘one more thing’) prospectively reduces the scope

Fig 4.3: Turn-entries - self-allocation for informing moves			
Ref	German (4 examples)	Ref	English (4 examples)
1-10	<i>Vielleicht noch mal zu diesem einen Punkt...</i>	3-7	<i>What worries me about it is ...</i>
1-12	<i>Das bezieht sich auf, das was Sie zitieren...</i>	5-4	<i>I'm quite interested that, ...</i>
1-15a	<i>Vielleicht sollte man auch noch eins sagen.</i>	5-14	<i>Surely</i> the enquiry itself.
2-10	<i>Entschuldigung – darf ich hier das Stichwort ... aufgreifen....</i>	5-15	<i>Who, who can ..., and</i> seeing the right emails anyway

of the utterance to a single issue. In 2-10 the apology *Entschuldigung* (=excuse me) is followed by a request for permission to speak on the specified subject ('credibility') which may be a politeness device aimed at ensuring 'freedom of imposition' for the interlocutors (Brown & Levinson 1999:188). In 1-12 an unmodalised meta-statement is used to qualify the previous speaker's utterance before the current speaker adds his own information. Speaker commitment is not clear at this early stage in any of the utterances.

English turn-entries produced by self-allocating speakers resemble those described in the previous section in that three-quarters of them start with speaker-centred rather than discourse- or topic-centred expressions: there are two expressions of the speaker's state of mind (3-7 and 5-4) and one suggestion prefaced by *Surely*, an interactive marker implying certainty but implicitly addressing uncertainty regarding a proposition that requires confirmation (Bublitz 1978:178). The marker is used to begin a response to an exploratory question posed by a fellow discussant (5-15). In all three of the aforementioned examples, the turn-start is almost phatic in nature, appearing to attempt binding speaker and hearer through sentiment (Cheepen & Monaghan 1990:22). The last of the four examples is a 'hesitant start' characterised by repetition used to hold the floor while the speaker prepares the utterance (Stenström 1994:70).

A summary of findings:

	% of utterances in German	% of utterances in English
Construction		
Discourse-centred	75%	0%
Speaker-centred	0%	75%
Discourse & speaker-centred	25%	0%
Other	0%	25%
Modalisation		
Reinforced	0%	25%
Downgraded	100%	25%
Neutral	0%	50%
Interactive markers	0%	25%

Fig 4.4 Features of turn-entries of self-allocating speakers in rebutting moves

4.1.3 Self-allocation in rebutting moves

This section deals with turn-starts for rebutting as well as rebutting/informing moves. Rebutting moves represent an uninterrupted rebuttal of a preceding argument, while rebutting/informing moves are continuations of interrupted informing moves where the informing components is prefaced by a rebuttal of the interruption and labelled **b** (e.g. 3-9b).

Fig 4.5: Turn-entries – self-allocation in rebutting moves			
Ref	German (6 examples)	Ref	English (5 examples)
1-14	<i>Es gibt auch, es gibt auch, es gibt auch ein ...problem</i>	3-9b	<i>I can't argue with you there</i>
1-16	Holland – <i>da muss man</i> aber was dazu sagen...	4-10	<i>I would ask a very similar question, which is: wasn't this....</i>
2-5	<i>Na ja, wenn Sie sagen, da muss ich sagen das stimmt nun gar nicht.</i>	4-11	<i>What, what, I mean again, I think</i>
2-7	<i>Ich glaube, dass, Herr Rutz, dass ...</i>	4-12	<i>It's always been an issue, but what's interesting about it is...</i>
2-11	<i>Nicht wir...die... wir sind...</i>	5-6b	<i>'Voluntarily' is an interesting word – there's pressure been put on...</i>
2-12b	<i>Ja Moment mal, wenn ich von ... rede dann...</i>		

Data indicate that very different strategies are used to begin rebuttals in German and in English.

As with the self-allocated turns discussed in the previous section, three out of six German rebuttals start with meta-statements to take the floor:

1-17 Holland – *da muss man aber was dazu sagen*
Holland – *one has to add something there*

2-5 *Na ja, wenn Sie sagen das eine steht in Konsequenz des anderen, da muss ich sagen das stimmt nun gar nicht*
Well yes, but if you're saying one thing results from the other, *I have to say that just isn't true at all*

2-12b *Ja Moment mal, wenn ich von Völkerrecht rede, dann rede ich von....*
Hang on a minute - when I talk about international law, I'm talking about...

Often the predecessor's key word or issue is addressed before the need to contradict is expressed using phrases such as *must say* or *must add* (in 1-16 and 2-5). The imminence of the attack is indicated by the inclusion of certain items in the discourse marker: the contrastive conjunction *aber* (=but) in 1-16, the markers *na ja* (=well yes, but...) in 2-5 and *ja moment mal* (=hang on a minute) in 2-12 signal imminent rebuttal. Alternatively,

the preceding speaker's key issue can be addressed, denied and corrected by the new speaker:

2-11 *Nicht wir..die..wir sind..*
It's not us that's...we're..

Slightly less direct rebuttal may be implied in 1-16, where the impersonal *man* construction may have been employed as an 'agent-avoider' in order to avoid direct attack (House & Kasper 1981:168, Brown & Levinson 1999:191). This strategy, however, does not appear strictly necessary, since in 2-5 and 2-7 reference is made via personal pronouns to the speaker himself as well as the originator of the viewpoint under attack. Furthermore, the attack itself can be introduced by a strong expression of disagreement, such as *stimmt nun gar nicht* (= is just not true at all, 2-5). However, softened implications of disagreement are also possible, as in

2-7 *Ich glaube, dass, Herr Rutz, dass der Irak-Krieg*
Mr Rutz, I think that the Iraq War ...

where the epistemic qualifier and the naming of the addressee may be a sign of deference (Brown & Levinson 1999:108).

In contrast, English turn-entry strategies used in rebutting moves seem to confirm Pomerantz' suggestion that disagreement occurs late in turns. My data show four methods of prefacing disagreement:

1) **Forewarning device** (House & Kasper 1981)
This device is intended to

'forestall ... possible negative reactions [and is] typically a meta-comment about what X is about to do, a compliment paid to Y as a preliminary to a potentially offensive utterance, or an invocation of a generally accepted cooperative principle which X is about to flout.'
(House & Kasper 1981:167)

In example 4-10 the forewarning consists of a meta-statement agreeing with the Chair's preceding suggestion and a question used as a rhetorical assurance of doubt to refer to the viewpoint that is the object of the rebuttal (Brown & Levinson 1999:161). There is no overt signalling of disagreement. The question is heavily marked for politeness through the use of a conditional construction (*I would ask...*) and of 'point-of-view distancing' through the use of past tense (Brown & Levinson 1999:202).

2) **Agreement** (Pomerantz 1983:65)

Two types of agreement are used to preface disagreement in my data: 4-12 begins with impersonalised **exaggerated agreement** through repetition of the previous speaker's lexis and strong confirmation of its rightness before the contentious issue is addressed – a negative politeness strategy (Brown & Levinson 1999:104). In 3-9, however, *I can't argue*

with you there offers a personalised expression of **partial agreement** (Pomerantz 1983:65, Brown & Levinson 1999:39).

3) **Uptakes** (Stenström 1994: 71)

In 5-8b the previous speaker's word 'voluntarily' is picked up and evaluated as 'interesting' before the disagreement is briefly presented and the speaker goes back to the point she was making before the interruption.

4) **Non-committal expressions**

The rebuttal in 4-12 is prefaced by an agreement with the previous speaker combined with the non-committal *what's interesting about it is...* .

Although there are usually no lexico-grammatical markers that may lead us to assume that disagreement is imminent, intonation will probably play an important role here.

One strategy which is common to English and German discussions is malformulation, 'used to impress on Y the fact that X has qualms about performing the ensuing act' (House & Kasper 1981:168) or employed as a 'hesitant start' to give the speaker time to prepare while taking the floor (Stenström 1994:69):

1-14 *Es gibt auch, es gibt aber, es gibt auch ein Kostenproblem*
There's also a, there's also a, there's also a cost problem

4-11 *What, what, I mean again, I think* asylum is the great exception

While the German malformulation is topic-centred, the English example is speaker-centred and includes *I mean* and *I think* – markers which emphasise the hypotheticality of the proposition (Bublitz 1978:178).

In summary, we can say that German-speakers tend to self-allocate using discourse-centred meta-statements in which lexico-grammatical signals indicate that rebuttal is under way or imminent. English-speakers, however, may signal imminent rebuttal through intonation, but their speaker-centred turn-starts tend to express varying degrees of agreement with the point under attack or the previous speaker. Features of statements can be summarised in approximate figures:

	German	English
Construction		
Meta-statement	50%	0%
Topic-centred statement	17%	40%
Speaker-centred statement	17%	60%
Correction of previous spkr	17%	0%
Agreement		
Token agreement, strong	0%	40%
Token agreement, neutral	0%	20%
Token agreement, weak	0%	40%

Fig. 4.6 Features of turn-entries used by self-allocating speakers in rebutting moves

4.1.4 Summary of turn-entry characteristics

So far, evidence suggests that when invited to give opinions, German speakers prefer reinforced topic-centred statements as a clear indication of the speaker's position to start a turn. In contrast, English speakers tend to begin turns with more speaker-centred, downgraded items that may be introduced with the response marker *well* and include interactive markers that seek or express agreement, solidarity or confirmation by fellow speakers.

In contrast, floor-claiming turn-entries of self-allocating speakers appear more tentative in German than in English. Self-allocating German-speakers typically begin turns with softened meta-statements that limit the scope of the utterance to follow. English counterparts, however, prefer speaker-fronted expressions of sentiment or opinion.

In German discussions, similar devices are used to start rebutting moves: softened personalised or impersonalised meta-statements including repetition or correction of the predecessor's issues can be followed by strong expressions of the need to add or contradict in rebutting moves. In contrast, English turn-entries are often prefacing devices indicating a degree of agreement. Malformulation is used to take the floor in both languages.

4.2 Turn-medial segments

This section looks at how the main components of argument are embedded in discussion. We shall begin with claims and sub-claims and then go on to examine reasons and evaluations. As suggested in 3.2.2, two distinct types of claims will require examination.

4.2.1 Claims

The claims summarised in table 4.7 (overleaf) are identified as assessments or assertions at level 1 of detail. Line numbers are given for single claims in an utterance. Multiple claim announcements (which can occur when additional information is inserted between the marker and the actual claim) are indicated through utterance references (**bold**) and '>'.

This examination of claim markers will focus on vocabulary and epistemic qualifiers, modalisation and conjunctions, in order to ascertain common as well as distinguishing elements of English and German discourse.

Two main areas of commonality between English and German claim markers are personalised expressions and vocabulary.

Almost half of German utterances in my data announce claims through epistemic qualifiers or personalised expressions of opinion: *Ich glaube* (=I think), *für mich* (=to me, in my view), *meiner Meinung nach* (=in my opinion), *ich meine* (= I mean/ I think) and *was mir fehlt* (=what I'm missing is). A similar quantity of English utterances include comparable devices (*I (don't) think, I assume that* etc.).

Vocabulary used in German utterances often resembles that used in English. German-speakers refer to claims as *Punkt* (=point), *Problem* or *Argument*, the significance of which is emphasised using the adjective *entscheidend* (=deciding) in two examples:

1-83	'Das entscheidende ist bloß'	but the deciding (factor) is
1-11	'der Punkt...der Punkt da ist'	The point ...the point there is
1-221	'für mich ist das entscheidende Argument'	For me the deciding argument is
1-8	'Es hat ja zwei Elemente. Das eine ist... Der zweite Punkt ist...'	There are...two elements to this. The first is...The second point is..
2-9	'Ich meine, eins der Probleme ist...'	I mean one of the problems is...

English equivalents are *issue*, *point*, *argument* and *thing*. As in German, these can be modified by adjectives such as *big* (*issues*) 4-77, which is comparable to German 'entscheidend' used for emphasis, or they can be neutralised through non-committal adjectives such as *interesting* (*thing*) 5-76.

Fig 4.7: introducing claims			
Utt/line ref	German	Utt/line ref	English
1-4	1) <i>Und wenn...dann, gerade dann...weil dann können sie ...</i> 2) <i>Oder möglicherweise ...</i>	3-25	1) <i>But there has been a real ...</i>
1-83	3) <i>Das entscheidende ist bloß,-</i>	3-4	2) <i>I think we're seeing ...</i> 3) <i>And really it's about</i>
1-8	4) <i>Es hat ja meiner Meinung nach zwei Elemente. Das eine ist></i> > <i>Der zweite Punkt ist,</i>	3-6	4) <i>But I think there is a legitimate question ></i> > <i>But nonetheless I think an argument can be made,</i> > <i>and it's been made in Washington...</i>
1-11	5) <i>Der Punkt>..</i> > <i>Der Punkt ist da: was ist ...</i>	3-8b	5) <i>But the question is,></i> > <i>And the question is a follow-through, isn't it?</i>
1-172	6) <i>Es gibt auch...</i>	4-2	6) <i>It's not ... in the sense that...</i> 7) <i>but I don't think it was ...</i>
1-221	7) <i>Für mich ist das entscheidende Argument>...</i>	4-44	8) <i>The question is ..</i> > <i>There's a big difference though.</i>
2-65	8) <i>Ich glaube, dass</i>	4-77	9) <i>And one of the big issues:</i>
2-9	9) <i>Ich meine, eins der Probleme ist, dass</i> 10) <i>Ich glaube schon></i>	4-87	10) <i>Wasn't this election greatly over-analysed?</i>
2-168	11) <i>Ich glaub, dass:</i>	4-11	11) <i>I think Eunice is right:</i> > <i>I think ...</i>
2-12	12) <i>Ich glaube, dass das sozusagen</i> 13) <i>... und auch dass...</i> 14) <i>und dass...</i> 15) <i>Ich glaube, dass</i> 16) <i>Und ich glaube auch, dass...</i> 17) <i>und dass auch</i> 18) <i>Also was mir fehlt></i>	4-12	12) <i>But what's interesting about it is ...</i> 13) <i>So what I mean is ...</i>
		5-23	14) <i>And I assume that ...</i>
		5-41	15) <i>But...the point is that ...</i>
		5-76	16) <i>The interesting thing about this is ..do governments...need a right...?</i>

An examination of modality reveals that hedging devices and modal verbs expressing assumption/possibility are less frequent in German than in English: in German items such as *möglicherweise* (=possibly), *sozusagen* (= so to speak) and *können* (=can) hedge one viewpoint in my data, while 62% of English utterances use one or more of the following similar devices: a qualifying statement beginning *in the sense that* (4-13), reference to the claim as *question* (3 examples), modal verbs of possibility (3-6) and non-committal expressions such as *what's interesting about it is* (2 examples).

Reinforcing devices appear in both English and German markers: German data provide one example of *dann, gerade dann* (=then, that's exactly when, 1-4) to introduce a claim, while in English we have *And really it's about...*(3-54), where an attitudinal disjunct indicates certainty (Bublitz 1978:178), and *there's a big difference though* (4-6), emphasised through the adjective *big*. However, while German statements can be reinforced only, English reinforcers are used in combination with hedging devices in all cases: in 4-6 the point is previously referred to as *question*, while in the *issue* in 4-77 is only *one of the big issues*.

A common feature in English data, (but less common in the German) is the use of contrastive conjunctions *but* and *though* which occur in almost half of English utterances. There are two such examples in the German data: in 1-83 *bloß* and in 2-131 *Ich glaube schon* (= but I do think). Such markers suggest incompatibility with expectations set up by the preceding discourse. A cross-check with the transcripts confirms that such conjunctions follow one of these items:

1) **Concession**

3-6 begins with an uptake signifying partial agreement with the previous speaker before the onset of a claim is indicated. Numerous concessions are inserted before and after the second indication of the claim. The claim is only finally realised after the third announcement of its onset. Each announcement of the onset of the claim is preceded by *but* and there is a lexical build-up to the claim across the utterance as the speaker refers to it first as a *legitimate question*, later as *an argument* [that] *can be made* (introduced by the two adversative conjunctions *but nonetheless*, Halliday & Hasan 1976:249) and finally as an argument that *has been made*.

2) **A turn-entry device implying concession**

In 3-6 and 5-41, claims with *but* follow agreements in the turn-entry

3) **Assertion by the speaker which is to be modified in the ensuing claim**

4-2 'it wasn't a good result ...but I don't think ... it was a great result for anyone'

In summary, results indicate that lexis used to refer to issues is similar in both languages, as is the distribution of speaker- and topic-centricity. However, while there is a roughly equal distribution of reinforced, hedged and unmodalised devices in my German data, the English examples show a stronger tendency toward hedging, even when the statement contains a reinforcer of some kind. There are no examples of claims being reinforced only in the English data, which suggests that again, opinions may be expressed with slightly more force in German than in English.

4.2.2 Sub-claims

Fig. 4.8: introducing sub-claims			
Utt / line ref	German	Utt / line ref	English
1-2	1) <i>Das ist ...</i> 2) <i>Und da muss man natürlich sagen ...</i> 3) <i>Und ich glaube, dass ...</i> 4) <i>Das heißt ...</i>	3-79	1) <i>The aftermath is very difficult.</i>
1-6	5) <i>Ich glaube, dass...</i> 6) <i>Wir sehen ja gerade an diesem Beispiel, dass...</i> 7) <i>Das heißt ...</i>	3-104	2) <i>Because, you know, some of these are adventruers...</i>
1-8-119	8) <i>Und dieser Widerspruch ist ein Dilemma ...</i> 9) <i>aber wenn man sagt ..., dann...</i> 10) <i>das ist nicht der entscheidende Punkt, sondern der entscheidende Punkt ist, dass..</i>	4-4	3) <i>I think that...</i> 4) <i>And that by default raises the question of...</i>
1-10	11) <i>Nur, wenn ..., dann ...</i>	5-10	5) <i>Nick, it was astonishing for</i>
1-14	12) <i>Aber Sie haben auch ein Kostenproblem...</i> 13) <i>Wie wäre es wenn man einfach sagen würde....weil dann</i>	5-55	6) <i>But on the other (hand) ... the wonderful egalitarian prospect..</i>
1-15b	14) <i>Aber die Niederlande werden ja immer ...</i> 15) <i>Also ...</i>	5-13	7) <i>Erm, you know...but this would have been...</i>
1-16b	16) <i>...Aber ...</i> 17) <i>es gibt...</i>		
2-2	18) <i>aber gleichwohl ...</i> 19) <i>Und das ist eben das Problem: dass ...</i>		
2-76	20) <i>Und... (denial) ich glaube... (corr)</i>		
2-9	21) <i>Wir haben es hier mit ...zu tun...</i> 22) <i>Das heißt...</i> 23) <i>Und da ...</i> 24) <i>Aber gleichwohl ...</i> 25) <i>Das heißt ...</i> 26) <i>Also ...</i> 27) <i>Und da...</i>		
2-10	28) <i>Alles ...</i>		
2-12a	29) <i>Also ich bin davon überzeugt, dass...</i> 30) <i>Also man muss ...</i> 31) <i>Wir brauchen...</i> 32) <i>Wir...müssen ...</i> 33) <i>Das führt dann natürlich, muss man auch sagen, dann konsequent zur Frage: was...?</i> 34) <i>Hier brauchen wir ...</i> 35) <i>Dann müssen auch wir ...</i> 36) <i>Und wir können uns nicht wieder...</i>		

In the transcripts, sub-claims are labelled ‘C’ in the C/R column, and are marked at level 2 or 3 of detail as ‘conc’ (conclusion) where they follow a reasoning block, ‘ass’ (assessment) where they precede it, ‘corr’ (correction) where they are part of a denial-correction pattern, or ‘assert’ (assertion) where they follow concessions. Their pronouns, lexis and conjunctions indicate reference to previous or up-coming discourse and they often provide conclusions to minor argumentations within the utterance which support the main claim.

A glance at table 4.8 shows a great discrepancy between the frequency and distribution of sub-claims in English and German data. They occur in two-thirds of all German utterances analysed in my data, but in only one-fifth of English utterances. While English utterances contain no more than one sub-claim, German utterances with sub-argumentations contain an average of three sub-claims, but can have up to eight. This may account for the increased length and complexity of German utterances.

As conclusions to sub-argumentations, sub-claim markers are characterised by markers of anaphoric reference and causal conjunctions (Halliday & Hasan 1976:249):

‘Also’	and so
‘das heißt’	and so / which means
‘alles’	and all of that
‘Und da’	and that / as far as that is concerned,
‘Und dieser Widerspruch’	and this contradiction...
‘das’	that
‘dann’	then

Three-quarters of German utterances include such sub-conclusions.

About half of German utterances contain sub-claims in which adversative conjunctions give indications about the preceding discourse. Examples are:

‘aber’ / ‘aber gleichwohl’	but (6 examples)
‘nur’	but/only (1 example)
‘sondern’	but (as in ‘not x but y’, 1 example)

These examples are either preceded by concessions (6 examples: 1-8, 1-10, 1-14, 1-15b, 1-16b, 2-2, 2-9) or they are the second member of a denial-correction relation (1-8 and one in 2-5). In contrast to English utterances it seems, therefore, that concessions or reservations are more likely to be addressed in connection with sub-claims than with claims.

An examination of modality markers shows that the impact of a German sub-claim is more likely to be increased than reduced: two examples are introduced as hypothetical with *ich glaube* and one sub-claim is hedged using the conditional form and a downtoner: *wie wäre es wenn man einfach sagen würde...weil dann hätte man ...* (=how about if one just said

...because then you would have..., 1-14). On the other hand, six sub-claims are given increased impact. One expression of opinion is intensified: *ich bin fest davon überzeugt* (=I am firmly convinced of that) while five sub-claims are reinforced using modal words and particles such as *ja* and *gerade* (=exactly, just) in 1-6, *natürlich* (=of course) in 1-2, 2-12a, *ja immer* (=of course always) in 1-15b, and *eben* (emphatic device) in 2-2 (Bublitz 1978).

Where the claim is a ‘proposition of policy’ (i.e. it ‘urge[s] that action should be taken or discontinued’, Herrick 1995:16), it can be introduced using modal verbs of obligation or necessity:

2-12b-224	‘wir brauchen’	we need
2-12b-246	‘wir müssen’	we have to
2-12b-265	‘wir können nicht’	we can’t

The data provide only few examples of sub-claims in English, making it difficult to draw conclusions about them. However, we can see that devices used to introduce them are similar to German: 5-55 and 5-95 both begin with the contrastive connector *but* as they are preceded by concessions. In 3-104 the speaker hedges using *some*. There are no examples of propositions of policy in the English data. However, lexis such as *wonderful*, *astonishing*, *difficult*, *adventurers* (which occur in the proposition itself and not in the discourse marker) indicate the strongly evaluative nature of sub-claims in English.

Over all we can say the high frequency of sub-claims in the German data indicate a different approach to argument involving the proffering of sub-argumentations in support of a main claim which has often been announced early in the turn. This appears uncommon in English.

4.2.3 Reasons

Reasons support claims in an argument (Toulmin 1957:98) and were distinguished from sub-claims (which also have the function of supporting the main argument) in 3.3.3. They are generally coded as ‘b’ for basis in an assessment – basis relation at any level of detail. Where a single discourse marker introduces several reasons, preview-detail relation indicated in the transcript is reflected in table 4.9 (overleaf) through the inclusion of detail markers in brackets.

Table 4.9 shows that there are many similarities in the devices used by the two speaker-groups to introduce reasons. In both languages listener involvement is increased by the use of first and second person pronouns in discourse markers, suggesting relative proximity between speaker and hearer (Levinson 1985:62). In addition, both languages use *if* constructions to invite listeners to consider examples (*if you look at / listen to / talk to*: used twice in the German 2-9; and twice in English), and both languages use *have* constructions (*we have, wir haben, here you have*). In 2-10 and 2-12 the naming of fellow

Fig. 4.9: introducing reasons			
Line ref	German	Line ref	English
1-2	1) <i>Man muss nur sehen,... natürlich... (bei) (Im anderen Fall..)</i> 2) <i>Um nur ein Beispiel zu nennen:</i>	3-17	1) <i>I mean...</i>
1-73	3) <i>Wir sehen das ja (bei...) (Auf der anderen Seite..)</i>	3-57	2) <i>Here you have ...which is (and) (and)</i>
1-198	4) <i>Schauen Sie,</i>	3-6	3) <i>We've ..., 4) we've ...</i>
1-218	5) <i>In Europa haben wir</i>	3-101	5) <i>If you listen to 6) And, you know, they talk about...</i>
2-2	6) <i>Sie haben...</i> 7) <i>wir haben...</i> 8) <i>wir haben....</i> 9) <i>wir haben....</i> 10) <i>wir haben.....</i> 11) <i>da erinnere ich mich noch relativ gut</i>	3-8b	7) <i>I mean we...</i> 8) <i>And we...</i>
2-4	12) <i>das ist auch was</i> 13) <i>es ist auch das Muster, das sich jetzt...</i>	4-19	9) <i>I think ...</i>
2-7	14) <i>nicht weil (den)... ich möchte Ihnen ganz kurz eine Geschichte erzählen...(corr)</i>	4-88	10) <i>I mean, what you're talking about are..</i>
2-9	15) <i>Wenn wir auf ...zurückgucken</i> 16) <i>Wenn wir ... sehen</i> 17) <i>Wir haben ...</i> 18) <i>Und was wir jetzt festgestellt haben ist.</i> 19) <i>Weil ...,</i> 20) <i>weil ...</i>	4-14	11) <i>I mean this is what I sense from just talking to people.. (If you talk to people about, for example, there is...) (They know, for example that ...)</i>
2-10	21) <i>..habe ich nicht gesehen dass...</i> 22) <i>Herr Rutz, Sie entsinnen sich...</i>		
2-12	23) <i>Herr Ilhau hat schon einige solche Staaten aufgezählt...ich zähle dazu...</i> 24) <i>aus der Erkenntnis heraus, dass</i>		

discussants as confirmation of the reasons may add credibility to reasons presented by German discussants.

Repetition of discourse markers is a further feature common to the rhetoric of both languages. In 2-2 *Wir haben* (=we have) occurs four times. *Wenn wir* (=if we) and *weil* (=because) occur twice in 2-9 and *es/das ist auch* (=and it's/that's) occurs twice in 2-4. In English, repetition of *talk to people* in 4-14 and *we've* in 3-6 is a comparable rhetorical device which may be aimed at increasing listener involvement (Tannen, 1989:17).

There are, however, some features that distinguish German formulations from English ones. The use of demands and statements including verbs of obligation, modal reinforcers and imperative constructions is relatively common in German utterances:

1-15	Man muss nur sehen	<i>literally</i> : One has to see
1-198	Schauen Sie	<i>literally</i> : Look
1-73	Wir sehen das ja	<i>literally</i> : Of course we see

These devices are not found in the English data.

A further difference between the two sets of data concerns the frequency of reasons in utterances. Just over half of all German utterances include an average of 2.4 verifiable reasons, while in English only 36% of utterances contain an average of 1.4 reasons. A closer look at the transcripts reveals that quality of reasons proffered can also be said to differ: while interlocutors can be called upon to consider or vouch for statistics, historical facts and evidence presented in German (2-10, 2-12), English-speakers tend to use speaker-centred expressions including the epistemic qualifier *I think* or the speaker-centred *I mean* to introduce reasons appearing to stem from less systematic or precise observation (e.g. *just talking to people* 4-14, *the more hawkish voices, ...some of these* 3-101).

In conclusion, we can say that German-speakers seem to place more value upon substantiation through concrete evidence than English-speakers. However, the language used indicates a high degree of similarity between the two speaker-groups, notably in the used of rhetorical appeals to the listener for verification or endorsement of reasons.

4.2.4 Evaluations

If argument consists of the advancing and responding to arguments (Herrick 1995:13), evaluation will play an integral part, permeating the discourse through connotative lexis, adverbial indicators, adjectives, metaphors, idioms and expressions of opinion (Jahnel 2000:70). Because of the very wide scope of this area, this brief examination of evaluation will be limited to a discussion of clauses labelled in the transcripts as ‘eval’ (evaluation) or ‘(com)’ signifying evaluative comments at main and subsidiary discourse level respectively (Coulthard 1981:36).

The overview in table 4.10 (overleaf) shows that although speakers of both languages use first person constructions to present their evaluations (30% in German, 100% in English), the force of speaker judgments differs greatly between the two languages. While *Ich glaube* (=I think) in 1-24 indicates a degree of hypotheticality, the other personalised constructions simply emphasise the subjective nature of the evaluation:

finde ich	I find (2 examples)
das halte ich für	I consider that a (1 example)
das nenne ich	I call that a (1 example)

The evaluations following these three markers of subjectivity are strongly reinforced through repetition:

1-88	das halte ich für einen <i>großen Unsinn</i> / und eine <i>Riesen-Volksverdummung</i> I consider that a great load of nonsense / and enormously patronising to the population
------	--

Fig. 4.10: introducing evaluations			
Line ref	German	Line ref	English
1-24	1) Und das ist, <i>glaube ich</i> die Forderung, die entscheidender ist	3-52	1) <i>I don't think</i> it really <i>would</i>
1-6	2) <i>Und das alberne</i> an der politischen Diskussion... nur zu sagen ... > <i>das halte ich für einen großen Unsinn</i> und eine <i>Riesen-Volksverdummung</i> ... 3) <i>Und es funktioniert, wo es geregelt wird</i>	3-6	2) <i>I mean, there's no question about that And I don't know that we ever will, I think...</i>
1-10	4) <i>Also von daher gesehen sehr gut</i> ... 5) In der Woche eine Stunde <i>finde ich ja so lächerlich wenig</i> , ... 6) <i>Nur</i> diese 4 Stunden sind natürlich ...sehr teuer	3-103	3) And I just hope they can be restrained
1-12	7) <i>Das nenne ich</i> ein flexibles und intelligentes Modell <i>und</i> ein vernünftiger Umgang mit Arbeitszeiten	4-90	4) Strikes me as something that is very insignificant
1-200	8) <i>Find ich Quatsch</i> , eine <i>falsche</i> Forderung	5-6b	5) And there's two sides to this. One the one hand you have.. But on the other hand..
1-248	9) <i>und es ist ja eigentlich auch</i> logisch:	3-125	6) Which is really what we do best
2-73	10) <i>Und wir können</i> einer solchen Terrorlandschaft nicht unbeteiligt zuschauen		
2-124	11) <i>Das geht, das funktioniert</i> mittlerweile.. 12) <i>Das klappt in Europa ganz gut</i> ... 13) Die Amerikaner sind <i>da recht erfolgreich</i>		
2-172	14) <i>Das hat noch Sinn gemacht vor 20 Jahren</i>		
2-243	15) <i>Das kann nicht so bleiben. Wir brauchen...</i>		

1-200 *Finde ich Quatsch/eine falsche Forderung*
I think it's *rubbish/a wrong demand*

1-179 *Das nenne ich ein flexibles und intelligentes Modell und ein vernünftiger Umgang mit Arbeitszeiten*
I call that a flexible and intelligent model and a sensible way of dealing with working hours

Adjective-pairs such as *groß* and *Riesen* (indicating great dimensions), pairs of near-synonyms such as *intelligent* and *vernünftig* (indicating sensibleness) or other related words such as *Quatsch* (=rubbish) and *falsch* (=wrong) add great force to the evaluations, as do dual combinations of adverb-adjective:

- 1-150 ...finde ich ja so *lächerlich wenig*
I mean, that's really *a ridiculously small amount*

Another 30% of the evaluations in my German data consist of impersonal, unmodalised present-tense, topic-centred statements which may include modifiers such as *ganz* and *recht* (=quite):

- | | | |
|-------|---|--|
| 1-91 | Und es funktioniert, wo es geregelt wird | and it works where it's regulated |
| 1-148 | Von daher sehr gut | very good in that respect |
| 2-151 | Das klappt <i>ganz</i> gut | that works <i>quite</i> well |
| 2-153 | Die Amerikaner sind da <i>recht</i> erfolgreich | the Americans are <i>quite</i> successful in that. |
| 2-172 | Das hat noch Sinn gemacht vor 20 Jahren | That still made sense 20 years ago |

All of the examples above are positive evaluations.

Remaining examples in my data add force through the use of the denial correction or use contrastive conjunctions to distinguish the evaluation from a preceding concession:

- | | | |
|-------|--|---|
| 2-73 | Und wir können einer solchen Terror-
landschaft nicht unbeteiligt zuschauen
...sondern | We can't just sit and watch this
kind of terrorist goings-on |
| 2-243 | Das kann nicht so bleiben. Wir brauchen... | Things can't stay that way. We need |
| 1-10 | Nur, diese vier Stunden sind natürlich...
sehr teuer. | But of course those four hours
are very expensive |
| 2-73 | Und es ist ja eigentlich auch logisch | And it's logical really |

These evaluations contrast strongly with the English examples in my data, most of which are speaker-centred expressions of opinion. Negative evaluations occur as expressions of doubt introduced with *I don't think...*, *I don't know...*, *I just hope....*. These are often combined with further hedging or distancing devices such as a conditional construction (3-52), modal verb *can* indicating possibility (3-103) and an additional verbs of hypotheticality - *I think* (3-84), and *strikes me as...*(4-90). The strongest evaluative expression in my data is 3-81 in which a 'rhetorical appeal' (House & Kasper 1981:170) is used to deny doubt. Since this evaluation is part of a concession, however, it can be said to be of interactive value since anticipated counterarguments of fellow discussants are being

strongly endorsed through it. The evaluation in 5-**6b** cautiously weighs up negative and a positive perspectives to a problem.

Over all, one can say that evaluation styles contrast strongly. English speakers tend to prefer epistemic qualifiers and conditional constructions in their expressions of opinion or doubt. German-speakers, however, present topic- or speaker-centred evaluations which can be reinforced through repetition and are seldom hedged. The appearance of evaluations in 55% of German utterances but only 25% of English ones may confirms the strong tendency for German-speakers to make their position on an issue clear.

4.3 Turn-final segments

Fig. 4.11: conclusions			
utt ref	German	utt ref	English
1-2	<i>Also es gibt einen Zusammenhang</i>	3-2	<i>How... and whether ... is I think still an open question</i>
1-4b	<i>Also das ist sicher eine arbeitssichernde Maßnahme erst einmal und auf Sicht möglicherweise eine Maßnahme, die zu Arbeitsplätzen führt, zu neuen.</i>	3-4	<i>I think we're ... I'm normally optimistic in life, but I'm afraid on this I'm very, very pessimistic</i>
1-7	<i>Das ist richtig so und das ist gut so und alles andere wäre ziemlicher Unsinn</i>	3-6	<i>this is an improvement, this is, this adheres to our real principles and the Iraqi people will sort it out</i>
1-8	<i>und diese Vorteile müssen wir uns sichern</i>	3-7	<i>And there has to be a realisation in Washington ... that there is a limit to how you can exercise imperial power and they've reached their limit</i>
1-10b	<i>Und das ist eine sinnvolle Maßnahme</i>	3-8b	<i>And so we're never going to be a comfortable imperial power and in many ways that may be our saving grace</i>
1-12	<i>Sowohl...als auch...ist Unsinn. Intelligenter Umgang mit Arbeitszeit ist das Richtige</i>	4-2	<i>And I don't think any of the parties think that's the case</i>
1-14	<i>Weil dann hat man das Kostenproblem gelöst</i>	4-4	<i>And I think Blair's probably got it.</i>
1-15b	<i>Diesen Zusammenhang, der immer so als Subtext hergestellt worden ist in den Äußerungen bisher, der besteht offenbar so nicht. Darauf wollte ich hinaus</i>	4-6	<i>I think he faces some real challenges of how he's going to articulate the Labour point of view. Even riding on this popular wave ... given the economy...</i>
1-16b	<i>Also Holland ist kein Beispiel</i>	4-9	<i>So that leaves you with having to make the argument that you'd be better at it</i>
2-2	<i>Ich glaube auch ein Teil der Krise und ein Teil der Missverständnisse, die wir haben, hängt damit zusammen, dass halt über Sachverhalte geredet wird, ohne dass man das so meint.</i>	4-10	<i>And that if you over-analyse, if you search too much for issues here, I think you're kind of clutching at straws here.</i>
2-5	<i>Und Deutschland wird in der Lage sein müssen, diese Opfer mitzubringen</i>	5-2	<i>And suddenly, when you see how governments chat about their problems, they can be an amazing spectacle</i>
2-7	<i>Und es sieht so aus als wenn das passieren könnte</i>	5-6b	Information is freedom
2-9	<i>Gleichwohl ist das was wir getan haben seit dem 11. September eine ganze Menge</i>	5-11	<i>and if they do that by e-mail they know that it will come out and they are going to look very stupid</i>
2-10	<i>Da werden die Amerikaner das nächste Glaubwürdigkeitsproblem bekommen, wenn sie nämlich wählen lassen und es einen Schittischen Schurkenstaat gibt</i>	5-13	<i>So will they start legislating to protect certain documents? Can you do that?</i>
2-14	<i>Dann unterstützen wir diesen Gedanken einer Supermacht erst richtig</i>	5-15	<i>Because surely those e-mails exist – somewhere!</i>

Table 4.11 (previous page) shows an overview of the concluding statements found in my data. These are labelled ‘conc’ at level 1 of detail and occur only in uninterrupted utterances.

Almost half of turn-final segments in the German data are summarising remarks in which turn-initial elements are relexicalised or repeated. In the examples below, turn-initial lexis is indicated in italics in brackets and followed by the turn-final segment containing the relexicalisation (*italics*):

1-4b	[<i>sichern Arbeitsplätze damit</i> Also <i>das</i> ist sicher eine <i>arbeitssichernde</i> <i>Maßnahme</i> erst einmal...	[<i>securing jobs like that</i> So that’s definitely a job- securing measure for the moment
1-14	[<i>Kostenproblem</i>] Weil dann hat man das <i>Kostenproblem</i> gelöst.	[<i>cost problem</i>] ’cause then you’ve solved the <i>cost problem</i>
1-15b	[<i>ist 2 mal gesagt worden</i>] Dieser Zusammenhang, <i>der immer so als</i> <i>Subtext hergestellt worden</i> ist...der besteht offenbar so nicht. Darauf wollte ich hinaus.	[<i>has been said twice</i>] The connection <i>that is always</i> <i>being suggested here</i> obviously doesn’t exist as such. That’s what I’m getting at.
1-16	[<i>Holland ist kein Beispiel</i>] Also <i>Holland ist kein Beispiel</i> .	[<i>Holland is no example</i>] So <i>Holland is no example</i>
2-9	[<i>Man macht eine ganze Menge</i>] Gleichwohl ist das was wir <i>getan</i> haben seit dem 11. September <i>eine ganze Menge</i>	[<i>whole lot being done</i>] Even so, what we’ve since 9/11 is a <i>whole lot</i>
2-10	[<i>Glaubwürdigkeitsproblem</i>] Da werden die Amerikaner das nächste <i>Glaubwürdigkeitsproblem</i> bekommen, ...	[<i>credibility problem</i>] That’s where the Americans will have their next <i>credibility problem....</i>
1-2	[<i>Milchmädchenrechnung</i>] Also es gibt einen <i>Zusammenhang</i> .	[<i>without rhyme or reason</i>] So there is a <i>connection</i> behind it

The implications of such repetitions are two-fold: on the one hand they add force to the utterance through their often unmodalised structure, as did the two-part evaluations discussed in 4.2.4. Only two examples are modalised: in 2-10 *werden* (=will), an indicator of assumption, and in 1-15b *offenbar* (=apparently, obviously) reinforces an assumption (Bublitz 1978:34). On the other hand, however, repetition of turn-initial devices may indicate a circular utterance form in which an opening statement is made, confirmed

through ensuing arguments and finally repeated. Data indicate that this strategy is not common in English-speaking environments.

In general, conclusions in either language can consist of evaluations, assessments and predictions which may occur in combination with each other.

Evaluative summaries of ideas occur in 30% of German and English utterances. For the purpose of this study I would like to focus on two main types of evaluation. The first is the 'x is y' structure:

- 1-7 Das ist richtig so und das ist gut so und alles andere wäre ziemlich
Unsinn.
That's right and that's good and anything else would be quite nonsensical
- 1-10b Und das ist eine sinnvolle Maßnahme
and that is a sensible measure
- 1-12 Intelligenter Umgang mit Arbeitszeiten ist das Richtige
intelligent dealing with working times is the right (thing to do)

English equivalents are 3-6 (*This is an improvement*) 5-2 (*They can be an amazing spectacle*) and 5-6b (*Information is freedom*). The statements are generally unmodalised, with the exception of 1-4b which is reinforced with the adverbial modifier *sicher* (=certainly, definitely) and 5-2 which is hedged through *can*.

The English data show an evaluation-type that does not occur in the German data. It concerns the use of idiom. In 3-8b (*and in many ways that may be our saving grace*) and 4-10 (*I think you're kind of clutching at straws*), idioms are hedged and their appearance in these two rebutting moves seems to confirm the suggestion that idiom can be used to gain acceptance by concealing evaluation behind institutionalised metaphors (Moon, 1994:134).

Assessment of situations concludes 53.3% of German utterances and 40% of English ones. Examples include 1-2, 1-4b, 1-14, 1-15b and 1-16 (described above) as well as:

- 1-8 Und diese Vorteile müssen wir uns sichern
And we need to secure ourselves those advantages
- 2-2 Ich glaube auch ein Teil der Krise und ein Teil der Missverständnisse, die
wir haben, hängt damit zusammen, dass halt über Sachverhalte geredet wird,
ohne dass man das so meint
And I think some of the misunderstandings we have are connected to the
fact that we talk about certain things without really meaning it that way
- 2-14 Dann unterstützen wir diesen Gedanken einer Supermacht erst richtig
because then we'll really be supporting the idea of a superpower

There are five similar examples in the English data: 3-4, 3-7, 4-4, 4-9, 5-15. They do not appear to follow any particular pattern.

Topic-centred prediction is the last main type of concluding remark found in both languages. As well as 2-10 which has been described in the section on relexicalisation above, there are two further examples:

- 2-5 Und Deutschland wird in der Lage sein müssen, diese Opfer mitzubringen
 And Germany will have to be in a position to make such sacrifices
- 2-7 Und es sieht so aus, als wenn das passieren könnte
 and it looks as though that might happen

The modal verb *wird/werden* (2-5) indicates assumption (Bublitz 1978:) and is comparable to the English *will* and *going to* used in 3-6, 3-8b, 4-6, 5-11 and 5-12. The German *es sieht so aus...könnte* and *möglicherweise* are hedging devices whose equivalents are not found in the English data.

Following evaluative idioms, a second type of close that can be found in English but not in German is the open question. This can either be formulated as an interrogative (5-13), which is subsequently answered by a fellow discussant, or it can be announced as an *open question* (3-2). There are no such open-ended utterances in the German data.

An examination of modality indicates that again, English conclusions are characterised by a higher degree of speaker-centricity than German ones. Nearly half of English examples are marked as opinions through the epistemic qualifier *I think/I don't think* compared with one example in the German data (2-2). These items are generally accompanied by other signals of speaker attitude in English: for example, in 3-6 the speaker confirms the subjective nature of his own conclusion by with *I'm normally optimistic..., but I'm afraid on this I'm very, very pessimistic* (3-4).

Around 33% of utterances in English also include hedges such as *probably, in many ways, may be, kind of, can be*. These occur in 20% of German utterances through *möglicherweise* (=possibly), *ein Teil der Krise* (=part of the problem), and *es sieht so aus als wenn...könnte* (=It looks as though that might...). However, a quarter of German utterances contain reinforcing devices: (*sicher* for 'certainly' in 1-4b, *offenbar* for 'obviously' in 1-15b, *müssen* indicating strong obligation in 2-5, and *erst richtig* meaning 'really' in 2-14). 20% of English utterances (3-7, 4-6, 5-15) are upgraded in this way.

In summary we can say an examination of conclusions reveals certain language/culture-specific elements. A circular turn-structure that is specific to German discussions indicates that German-speakers often use argument to defend and confirm the opinion announced at the outset. In contrast, the specifically English use of idiom and open questions to end a turn indicates that argumentation need not necessarily lead to conclusions or judgments. Three main conclusion-types that were identified as being common to both languages were evaluations, assessments and predictions.

4.4 Conclusion

Let us summarise the findings of the analysis by returning to the three questions posed in the introduction to this dissertation:

- How are opinions presented by English and German speakers in argumentative discussions?

Evidence suggests that conventions in expressing opinions differ in German and English.

German-speakers can begin expressing their commitment to a viewpoint early in a turn, often through topic-centred, reinforced constructions. The viewpoint is often defended throughout the turn and can be confirmed through reiteration at the end. Self-allocating German-speakers who begin the turn with a meta-statement introduce their opinion slightly later, but usually with equal force. Where evaluation occurs, it is likely to consist of an unmodalised statement or a speaker-centred statement of opinion with repetitions.

In English, expressions of opinion are usually speaker-centred constructions which very often include an element of hypotheticality or are hedged. Main arguments tend to be addressed later using topic-centred expressions and following reasons, counterarguments and reservations. Evaluations are also usually speaker-centred and where they are negative, speakers often distance themselves through devices such as conditional constructions.

Reasons given to support viewpoints are often more easily verifiable in German discussions, while in English they tend to stem from less systematic observation or include unnamed sources (perhaps assuming prior speaker knowledge).

This examination of the expression of opinions seems to confirm suggestions by Tannen (1998:264) and Kramsch (1994:84) that German and Anglo-American argument cultures differ. With reference to American English-speakers interacting in an academic context, Kramsch suggests that they:

‘...are generally much less committed to defending their opinion than German students would be.... where opinions are more likely to be *Stellungnahmen* (personal stands) that are worth justifying and defending. In American classrooms teachers generally shy away from too conflictual a clash of opinions.’
(Kramsch 1994:84)

My evidence suggests that the culture of ‘personal stands’ or ‘adversarial argument’ (Tannen 1998:246) can be seen among other things in turn-shapes (where speaker commitment is expressed early, unequivocally and often repeatedly), and in relatively forceful evaluations in German, compared with speaker-centred explorations and softened evaluations in English.

- How are compatibility and incompatibility of opinions dealt with in discussions?

In English, compatibility of opinions is preferred to the overt divergence often found in exploratory discussions in German.

Throughout discussions in English, agreement with previously stated opinions of interlocutors is frequently highlighted, and imminent disagreement played down through prefacing with partial agreement and/or conditional and interrogative forms. In German discussions, disagreement can be made explicit and even intensified, in a topic-centred statement. Expressions of agreement with previously stated opinions are very rare in my German data. In addition, while German speakers can signal deference by naming the addressee whose argument they are rebutting, English speakers do not, since such a face-threatening act is usually executed with great redress in English, possibly to the point of obscurity for non-native speakers.

We can therefore conclude that in English speech communities, emphasis is laid upon conflict reduction through frequent identification of and reference to areas of common ground. Commonality appears less important in German discussions.

- How is a cooperative atmosphere created and sustained in discussions?

Adequate dealing with incompatibility of opinions is one aspect of cooperation in discussions that distinguishes the discourse conventions of the two language groups. There are, however, further aspects to the issue of cooperation.

In German, cooperation may be reflected partly in the desire for order, which is indicated by the use of meta-statements (often requests to speak on one particular point) by self-allocating speakers to start turns, possibly as a way of expressing qualms about overriding the Chair to take control of the discussion. The use of meta-statements as face-saving devices as suggested by Stenström seems questionable since the attack that may follow can be reinforced and direct.

In English, cooperation may be said to occur on an interactive level. Discussants seek common ground by using expressions such as *you know*, *as you said*, *I agree with x*. They also soften disagreement, and they make more frequent reference to each other's utterances than German-speakers do.

Conventions regarding turn-starts may also be of relevance to cooperation in discussions. While English-speakers tend to begin with down-graded, personalised statements often preceded by *well* or even including phatic expressions of sentiment, German turns tend to begin with upgraded, topic-centred expressions of commitment which may or may not follow a meta-statement.

The cooperative atmosphere can therefore be said to be developed on different levels in the German and English-speaking worlds: while German-speakers take care to signal deference to the Chair more than English-speakers do, their interaction between equals is less marked with politeness.

5. IMPLICATIONS FOR TEACHING

5.0 Introduction

Results of the present study indicate significant mismatches between conventions of argumentation in the German and English-speaking worlds, some of which may cause miscommunication and therefore require attention if learners are aiming to interact with native speakers of English. For example:

- English-speakers tend to express opinions as personalised statements of viewpoint, which German-speakers may find wishy washy. If German-speakers transfer their convention of making strong statements about the topic under discussion during the turn-entry, this may be misconstrued as imposition by their foreign counterparts. Increased familiarity with the argument culture of foreign counterparts may help resolve matters.
- English-speaking discussants appear to value commonality, frequently referring to points of agreement, even when disagreeing with counterparts. This can confuse German-speakers who are not accustomed to such efforts at reducing potential for conflict and emphasising agreement.
- English-speakers tend to address reservations and counterarguments ‘on the way’ to announcing their own opinions, which are often introduced late in the turn through hedged expressions. German discussants, who are accustomed to an earlier and more outright expression of opinions may need help in recognising which elements of an utterance are reservations and counterarguments, and where the main point is addressed.
- English-speakers tend to hedge their evaluative statements whereas German-speakers usually reinforce them through repetition and similar rhetorical devices. One training element should therefore be aimed at characterising evaluations and other hedged items in English and possibly helping learners produce similar expressions for use in English discussions.

In order to improve discussion skills of German speakers of English, two main steps need to be taken. The first, and possibly the most important, is to familiarise learners with the argument culture and discourse patterns of Anglo-American counterparts in order to reduce miscommunication. The second step focuses on skills development.

This section of the dissertation focuses on exercises and awareness-raising activities that focus on the above points of mismatch and help learners to achieve closer approximations of native-speaker discourse.

5.1 Developing cultural awareness and discourse skills

5.1.1 Issues and aims in teaching argument culture

Inaccurate and de-contextualised representations of target structures in most EFL books may cause learners entering into English discussions to approach these encounters with unrealisable expectations. Furthermore, the presentation of language dissociated from its cultural background may be responsible in part for the inappropriate transfer of functional elements identified by Kramsch (1994:84). It seems therefore that an element of culture-teaching through exposure to native-speaker language would be helpful in adjusting learner expectations of intercultural discussions.

Although culture-teaching is a contentious issue (Phillipson 1992), I feel that omitting it for the sake of democratic pluralism would be misguided (cf. Kramsch 1994:228). Culture-instruction does not force learners to deny their own culture or adopt new ways of acting, nor does it preclude efforts by English-speakers to learn about their counterparts' culture. However, well-informed learners will know that when dealing with foreign counterparts:

‘(they)...cannot be certain how to interpret the speech of the other. That, in turn, means that they should hesitate to draw any negative conclusions about the actions of the other since they cannot be sure whether they have correctly interpreted the other's intentions.’
(Scollon & Scollon 2001:23)

Indeed, Scollon & Scollon suggest that:

‘confusion in goals or interpreting the main point of another's speech is caused by the fact that each side is using different principles of discourse to organise its presentations.’
(Scollon & Scollon 2001:1)

The present study seems to substantiate this suggestion: the prefacing of disagreements may have caused the German discussant cited in the introduction to this dissertation to believe s/he had won the counterpart over. Similarly, turn-structure and strong expressions of speaker commitment may cause English discussants to feel that expression of opinions by Germans is unduly ‘forthright’. Ill-matched expectations and realities mean that information is not perceived by counterparts as intended by the speaker.

Consequently, it is my view that learners should be familiarised with argumentative discourse and culture through maximum exposure to and detailed analysis of natural interaction between native-speakers in the target situation. As Byram (1994:43) suggests, anchoring experience of the target culture into the learners' existing categories of experience via contrast and comparison is a useful technique. However, I feel we must avoid treating cultures as polar opposites (cf. Scollon & Scollon 2001:168), since exaggerated representation of ‘otherness’ can obscure values and ideologies underlying a

culture and increase rather than reduce the learner's perceived distance to the new culture. I therefore suggest that culture-learning should aim to convey a balanced picture of the target culture using naturally-occurring native-speaker discourse as a basis. Some techniques for achieving this are suggested in the following sections.

5.1.2 Approaching culture and discourse: the learner as discourse analyst

Riggenbach (1999) approaches discourse by allocating learners the role of observer and discourse analyst. I feel this role-allocation is particularly useful for three main reasons; firstly, learners will be using and modifying their existing constructs by isolating for analysis their own chosen (and therefore meaningful) discourse features. Secondly, learners-as-observers can re-assess their view of language not only as a tool for communicating information, but also as a carrier of culture with which values, world- and self-views are expressed. Thirdly, improved observation skills will be transferable to other contexts, enabling learners to discover other aspects of culture in different discourse contexts.

Riggenbach's discussion analysis activity is a good starting-point for various activities aimed at raising awareness of argument culture and discourse. Based on her programme (1999:101), I have devised some exercises that take learner expectations as a starting-point for comparison with L2 interaction in the target situation. Video equipment and a recording of a naturally-occurring discussion between native-speakers are required for the analysis. The trainer coordinates discussions and acts as informant, and prepares data-analysis sheets based upon the learners' own ideas to guide learner activities.

Stage 1: Prediction: Expectations with which the learners approach discussion are made explicit through brainstorming activities (Riggenbach 1999:101). Learners consider activities and techniques in discussions, the role of the Chair and characteristics of good and bad discussions. If culture- and language-awareness of learners is limited, the flow of ideas can be stimulated using a short video-extract of a German discussion. Ideas are used to compile a data analysis sheet for students to use as guidance in the learners' analysis.

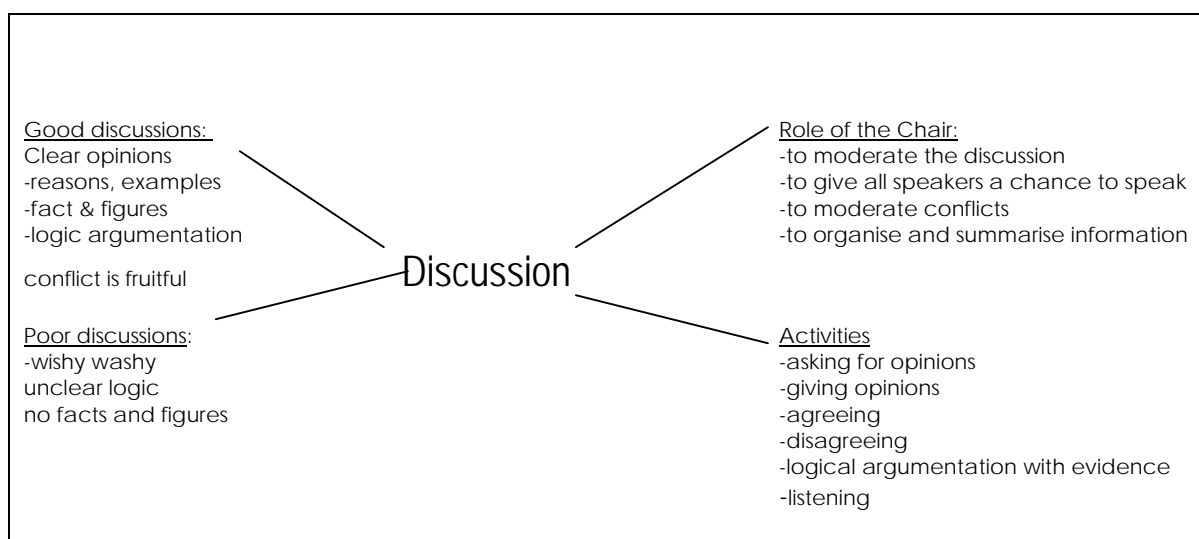


Fig. 5.1: Ideas typically generated at the Prediction stage

Stages 2 & 3: Planning and Data Collection: Possible sources for naturally occurring speech samples that include the target structures are identified and recorded for analysis. In an EFL context, where sources are limited, the trainer's own collection of audio and video-recordings may be the only data available.

Stage 4: Analysis: Learners analyse the English data using an analysis sheet generated by the trainer from the ideas discussed in step one. The sheet may include exercises similar to the following.

Exercise 1

Fig 5.2 shows an evaluation scale based on ideas discussed in stage 1, with which learners can judge the quality of the discussion after the first viewing according to their own suggested criteria.

Here is an evaluation scale that includes characteristics of good and bad discussions that we talked about.

How would you rate the discussion you have just seen? Why?

Position an 'x' on the line to reflect how good or poor you found the discussion.

<div style="border: 1px solid black; padding: 2px; display: inline-block;">Good</div>	<div style="border: 1px solid black; padding: 2px; display: inline-block;">Poor</div>
<ul style="list-style-type: none"> ✓ clear opinions ✓ successful defence/rebuttals through: ✓ fact & figures ✓ logical argumentation ✓ reasons & examples 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> ✗ unclear opinions ✗ no logic ✗ no facts & figures ✗ no examples

Reasons for your evaluation:

.....

.....

Did you find any speakers particularly good? Which one(s)? Why?

.....

.....

Did you find any speakers particularly bad? Which one(s)? Why?

.....

.....

Fig 5.2: Data analysis sheet: exercise 1

Divergence between learner expectations of quality and the degree of realisation in English-speaking discussions may provoke an interesting discussion about aspects of argument culture. As suggested in Chapter 4, for example, German learners are likely to expect a higher degree of explicitness where conflicting opinions are addressed, and a greater degree of certainty in expressions of speaker commitment, and may therefore find an English discussion less satisfactory. As informant, the trainer will bridge the gap between expectations and reality.

In subsequent viewings learners go into more detail. Degrees of success in tasks will vary according to their understanding or experience of exploratory discussions in L2 and depending upon the extract chosen for analysis.

Exercise 2

Fig 5.3 shows an exercise for Riggensbach's suggested task of identifying items of functional language predicted in stage 1:

We discussed the idea that speakers perform certain activities in a discussion. Watch the video in detail. What words do participants use to perform the following activities?	
Express their opinion	Agree with other speakers
.....
.....
.....
Disagree with other speakers	Mention reasons/examples etc.
.....
.....

Fig. 5.3: Data analysis sheet: exercise 2

The exercise may prove difficult if politeness signals are misconstrued. For example, if transcript number four (appendix 2) of my data were the object of analysis, utterances 10-13 may confuse learners as strong indicators of agreement are used to preface disagreement. Classification of items such as the repetition of pseudo-agreements such as *It's always been an issue, but what's interesting about it is...* will provoke discussions of the discourse and culture and demonstrate how a mismatch between learner expectations and native-speaker discourse can be responsible in part for miscommunication.

Exercise 3

Another possible task for detailed viewing involves ascertaining what information is presented in informing moves, how it is structured, and what language is used (see fig. 5.4 overleaf). Items such as *I think*, for example, may be misconstrued as a signal of uncertainty. Similarly, the introduction of the main point relatively late in the turn through *the question is...* may also mislead German learners into expecting a question rather than a statement of opinion to follow. Learners should analyse several informing moves and make inferences about the nature of giving opinions. Again, the trainer can act as informant, helping learners put their experiences into context and ensuring that no misguided conclusions are drawn. Learners may like to formulate questions following recommendations of Levine *et al.* (1987:193), who suggest describing observations and interpreting them before asking for the trainer's interpretation. Here, trainer input may serve to highlight similarities or differences between learner and teacher interpretations of the same event.

You said that clear opinions are important in discussions.
Select a speaker who is asked by the Chair for an opinion and answer the following questions.

What is/are the speaker's main point(s)?

.....
.....

Can you hear any phrases that are used to introduce these points?

.....
.....

What is the first thing that the speaker says? Write the phrase down here. How sure does the speaker sound to you?

.....
.....

What is the last thing that the speaker says? How sure does the speaker sound to you?

.....
.....

Fig. 5.4. Data analysis sheet: exercise 3

Stage 4: Generating: The final stage of Riggensbach's activity provides learners with the opportunity to generate the target structures. Skills development will be further discussed in 5.2 and 5.3., but first let us look at further ideas put forward for the development of discourse skills.

5.1.3 Speech act realisations

In the prediction stage of Riggensbach's programme, activities (or speech acts) carried out in discussions are identified by learners as points for analysis and can be used as the basis for an exercise suggested by Judd (1999:154). Judd suggests raising learner awareness of different possible realisations of the same speech act in the target language by having learners assess several realisations of a chosen speech act. Discoveries can be contrasted with expectations or examples of L1 realisations elicited in the prediction stage. The trainer acts as informant in the final stage of the exercise.

5.1.4 Politeness

Odlin suggests that incorrectly transferred politeness signals can endanger communication (1989:58). Given the mismatch of politeness strategies identified in the previous chapter, action may be required in order to avoid misconstruing of politeness signals. Awareness of politeness in discourse can be raised using one or more of the following ideas based on suggestions presented by Fantini (1997):

- 1) Fantini suggests heightening awareness of appropriacy using transcribed 5-minute conversations containing faux-pas. Learners should list inappropriacies and discuss their implications (1997:96). In a variant devised for the purpose of developing discussion skills, transcripts used could be derived from discussions performed by learners themselves or from word-for-word translations of German discussion extracts into English. Alternatively, learners can be given three extracts for analysis, only one of which is a transcript of authentic English-speaker interaction. They should then identify which one out of three extracts represents 'original' English interaction and give reasons for their choice.
- 2) The author also suggests 'exploring relationships in conversations' (1997:101), an exercise which involves learners analysing transcribed dialogues to identify the relationship of the speakers to each other. To improve discussion skills, the exercise can be adapted to include transcribed stretches of discussion with problematic speech acts such as disagreeing. Students can then analyse how a cooperative and respectful atmosphere is maintained in the face of conflicting opinions.

5.2 Developing listening skills

Most of the above exercises, which involve listening for detail, have gone some way toward improving 'bottom-up' comprehension skills by familiarising learners with discourse elements such as signals and links that indicate larger patterns of text (Cook, 1989:79). However, this will not suffice for successful interaction with native-speakers in the target situation, where larger stretches of discourse need to be understood. General development of listening skills will need to be supplemented with top-down listening comprehension exercises for exploratory argumentation.

Here, a wide range of listening experiences is vital (Underwood 1994:21) for learners to be able to make inferences and generalisations about how communication of arguments occurs in the target culture. In order to make listening purposeful and to ensure comprehension has taken place, I feel that tasks should be designed to involve learners in the discussion as far as possible. Suggestions for top-down comprehension exercises based on the discussions in the appendix of this dissertation include:

- 1) Learners are given a brief description of the political orientation of each of the newspapers represented by the journalists in the video. Learners should attempt to allocate the journalists to the appropriate publications and give their reasons for their choice.
- 2) Individual learners or small learner groups are given four circles of card, each with a different speaker's initials on. Each card represents one speaker. The Chair's card is of a different colour. Learners should arrange the cards in such a way that the viewpoints of the speakers in question are reflected. For instance, areas of commonality between two speakers can be reflected by overlapping circles, while areas of opposition should be reflected by the positioning of circles in opposition to each other. Learners then give reasons for their choice and relevant video extracts

are played repeatedly until all learners agree on the positioning. The exercise is an interesting way of discovering learner perceptions of degrees of compatibility of opinions.

- 3) Learners summarise each speakers' utterance in a single sentence. Sentences are then compared in order to ascertain whether all learners included the same salient points. This may provoke a discussion on how salient points can be recognised in the discourse.

Such exercises in listening for saliency can also be used as a starting-point for improving speaking skills.

5.3 Developing speaking skills

5.3.1 Attitudes to the spoken word

Part of the process of improving speaking skills can involve encouraging a constructive attitude toward the spoken word.

The process of presenting arguments, explaining, evaluating and concluding is highly complex as it involves the speaker selecting, organising and articulating information in a logical fashion within a limited time to suit his/her aim. This study has shown that there are differences between how English and German speakers achieve this, including turns that are approximately 35% longer in German than in English, a preference for 'clean' starts in German and clear expression of opinion at the outset. Clyne (1981:73-7) suggests that attitudes to spoken word are strongly influenced by the education system. German education is strongly based on the spoken word and as a result German-speakers have been seen to:

‘demonstrate their general knowledge in and expertise in public exhibitions of eloquence’
(Clyne 1981:77)

In order to develop speaking skills for argumentation, learners should be encouraged to use shorter, less complex turns and a more informal style which will relieve pressure on learners to produce perfect language where processing conditions are unfavourable. Observation of native-speaker interaction will provide guidance on how to achieve this.

5.3.2 Improving turn-starts

The examination of turn-starts in chapter four showed that in contrast to German turn-starts, English speakers do not express their commitment at the start of a turn, but they do often express speaker-hearer solidarity (*you know*), show reserve in advancing viewpoints (*I think*) and acknowledge the rightness of a predecessor's utterance (*as you said*). These devices are therefore vital for successful participation in discussions.

A practical exercise for developing reaction skills involves one or more learners defending their position on a controversial issue in the face of challenges from the rest of the class. The speakers' task is to introduce the turn with a cautious expression of opinion, avoid silences by using 'time-creating devices' (Bygate 1997:18) and appear cooperative by employing interactive markers. Situations enacted could be a televised election 'duel' in which learners act as presidential candidates answer questions from the public about issues and problems facing the country. The speakers' aim is to answer challenges from the interlocutors fluently by incorporating signals of acknowledgement and politeness as well as suitable verbal fillers and response markers such as *well*. A quick-fire game of this type will be beneficial in two main ways: firstly, reactions will be speeded up as learners practice using fillers and interactive devices to play for time. Secondly, learners wishing to 'acquire' the foreign culture to any degree can test how comfortable they feel when using such devices to soften the impact of their turn-starts. As Jahnel suggests (2000:57), some politeness devices which are considered desirable in English discussions can suggest to German-speakers that the speaker may be 'currying favour' with the addressee.

A second possible exercise involves learners interacting with the video, making this a simultaneous listening and speaking exercise. Learners can interact by watching a speaker and indicating appropriately the desire to comment on views expressed if and when they wish. The trainer, acting as Chair, stops the video and invites the learner to make his contribution. A second learner can be nominated to take on the role of the addressee and defend his/her position. When all learners have contributed as they like, they can return to watching the video.

A third quick-fire improvisation game for practicing prefacing-devices in the turn-start involves brainstorming agreement markers beforehand. For the game itself (suitable as a warm-up activity) a pair of students is chosen to sit on the 'hot seats'. They are given a key word with which they must start a conversation that will last one minute. Turns may not be more than one sentence long and must always start with a show of agreement with the predecessor.

5.3.3 Structuring turns

Clyne's suggestion that German-speakers tend to opt for more complex sentence-structure (1987:71) seems detrimental to successful argumentation in a foreign language. In contrast, Bygate (1997:14) emphasises the need to use less complex syntax when speaking. Exposure to native-speaker interaction can be used to guide learners to the discovery of simple coordinating conjunctions like 'and', 'or' and 'but'. In addition, techniques for prefacing disagreements and the positioning of the main point later in the turn after counterarguments, reservations and reasons have been addressed are areas where observation of native-speakers can help learners.

McCarthy suggests that for structuring stretches of discourse, some knowledge of 'procedural vocabulary' is useful. He defines procedural vocabulary as structural 'words that enable us to do things with the content-bearing words' (1997:78). Students can be familiarised with such words by listening to native-speaker interaction and doing exercises

devised to draw attention to these items. For instance, using utterance 4-6 and 4-9 from the transcript as examples, learners could be given the following linguistic items:

- 4-6 I think...
 The question is...
 There's a big difference though...,
 I think ...
- 4-9 I think one of the puzzling things is that , as you say...,
 and one of the big issues...
 so that leaves you with ...

and asked to number them reflecting the order in which they hear them. After repeated listening, learners may add the schematic (content-bearing) vocabulary and consider what elements of procedural vocabulary are useful for introducing which parts of utterances. For instance, frequent use of *I think* for presenting opinions will be easily noticed by learners; the use of the structure *one of the puzzling/interesting/fascinating things is that...* as a non-committal opening to address a point will be a useful filler; and *so that leaves you with* can be identified as introducing a logical result. Mastery of such devices will be invaluable for structuring arguments.

Theories can then be put into practice using a wide range of discussion activities. Discussions, debates or enactments of TV programmes such as those that were used for the present study can be performed by learners and analysed. For any practical speaking exercise, however, feedback on accuracy, cultural appropriacy and application of previously observed practices is vital. It can be given by students observing fellow students, by the trainer, or by the performing students themselves if performances can be video-taped for subsequent analysis. Trainer feedback should include discussions of how language used would have been interpreted by an English-speaker (cf. Kramsch 1994:44), while feedback from learners on their own performances should include reference to the degree to which learners feel comfortable slipping into a new cultural identity, for example as they practice partial agreement-prefacing and emphasising commonality. Learners who are willing to experiment with new ways should be careful not to exaggerate. Learners less willing to adapt their behaviour will need trainer feedback on how acceptable their behaviour will be to members of the target community.

5.4 Conclusion

This study has shown that different nationalities can be said to have different argument cultures and styles. Consequently, the acquisition of language for discussions with native-speakers involves more than simply a superficial learning of words and phrases; it involves gaining a deeper insight into the self- and world-views underlying those words and phrases, in order to achieve a better understanding of the true meaning behind them. It follows that a degree of culture-training should be closely linked to language-training for learners intending to interact with native-speakers of English.

I have suggested that the best way to integrate relevant culture-teaching into a language training programme is to expose learners to as much native-speaker interaction as possible and develop their observation skills and understanding. Reasons for this are two-fold: firstly, acquainting learners with discourse patterns that they have not experienced in their own culture will enable them to approach intercultural discussions with more realistic expectations. This improved match of expectations and reality will facilitate communication greatly. Secondly, learners should develop sensitivity toward those discourse features that reveal important and relevant aspects of the host culture, as this too will facilitate interaction by reducing the occurrence of misconstrued signals. However, I have also suggested that the culture component must be incorporated judiciously into the language-learning programme: learners should not be expected to adopt completely new behaviours in order to 'fit' into the target culture. Instead, I feel they should increase their cultural awareness through deeper language study and adjust as far as is comfortable for them. Trainer feedback to learners on how their actions would be interpreted in an English-speaking environment is vital if learners are to find a comfortable middle-way for communicating successfully between cultures.

The incorporation of a culture-related element will therefore be invaluable to most learners hoping to interact with native-speakers of English. Most of all, however, learners who have sharpened their cultural awareness and come to understand the deeper meaning of language and discourse will be better equipped to deal with any intercultural encounter, as they will be aware of the implications of match and mismatch between expectations and reality.

APPENDICES

APPENDIX ONE

‘Es ist doch mehr anders als man denkt’
‘It’s more different than one thinks’

Following difficult business relations with British counterpart, BMW Group produced a document entitled ‘Es ist doch mehr anders als man denkt’. It consisted of a collection of comments by English and German staff on their intercultural business encounters.

The document, which was compiled for internal use, appeared in two versions. The three pages in this appendix give an idea of some of the difficulties reported by learners which inspired this study.

APPENDIX TWO

Transcripts of five televised discussions used for this analysis.

Key to abbreviations for clause relation labels in main discourse:

ass – b1, b2...	assessment – basis 1, basis 2...
prev – det1, det2...	preview – detail 1, detail 2 ...
cncss – assert	concession – assertion
den – corr	denial - correction
cond – cons	condition – consequence
situ – eval	situation – evaluation
phen – reas	phenomenon – reason
caus – eff	cause – effect
situ – resp	situation – response

Key to abbreviations for gloss labels in subsidiary discourse:

(rest)	restate
(com)	comment
(qual)	qualify

Further notes

ms metastatement

Interrogative forms are labelled ‘?’

Discourse markers are highlighted in **bold**

X denotes the onset of a preview – detail relation not described completely for the sake of clarity of labelling

Transcript No. 1

Presseclub, 02.11.03

VERDIENEN WIR ZU VIEL? ARBEITEN WIR ZU WENIG?

(Do we earn too much? Do we work too little?)

Participants:

Chair: Peter Voß

Discussants: Native speakers:

Stefan Baron	Wirtschaftswoche
Michael Inacker	FAZ am Sonntag
Nikolaus Piper	Süddeutsche Zeitung
Peter Zudeick	Freelance Journalist

Non-native speaker:

Melinda Crane	Freelance Journalist USA
---------------	--------------------------

<u>Data:</u>	Move type:	Quantity:
---------------------	-------------------	------------------

Informing (second pair parts)	4
----------------------------------	---

informing (self-selecting)	3
-------------------------------	---

rebutting (self-selecting)	2
-------------------------------	---

Total no. of moves analysed	9
--	----------

	weil die Auftragsbücher so voll sind, daß sie sie gar nicht abarbeiten können.			reas		61 62
Ch	(inaudible)					
SB:	(>)					4b
	Also das ist sicher eine arbeitssichernde Maßnahme erst einmal, und auf Sicht möglicherweise eine Maßnahme, die zu Arbeitsplätzen, zu neuen, führt.	C	conc (com)			63 64 65
Ch	(eliciting)					5
	Über das Wachstum - wie viel Wachstum brauchen wir denn? Und was brauchen wir dann an Maßnahmen, neben allen Reformen, die schon diskutiert werden, Steuerreformen - ist der, ist die Arbeitszeit eine Stellschraube so rum oder so rum, um ein Wachstum herbeizuführen?					66 67 68 69 70 71
PZ	(informing)					6
245	So rum und so rum ist sie das. Wir sehen das ja: Firmen handhaben das unterschiedlich: bei Telekom und bei Opel wird, um Arbeitsplätze zu sichern, weniger gearbeitet. Ich glaube, dass alle Wirtschaftswissenschaftler darüber sich zumindest einig sind, dass das in bestimmten vorübergehenden Zuständen ganz wichtig sein kann. Auf der anderen Seite, bei Conti und bei anderen kann aus genau dem Grunde - nämlich, um Arbeitsplätze zu sichern - längere Arbeitszeiten notwendig sein. Das entscheidende ist bloß, - und das alberne an der politischen Diskussion, die da geführt wird - nur zu sagen 'Ja, jetzt müssen alle - Frau Merkel und Herr Westerwelle und wie sie alle heißen - wir müssen alle, wir arbeiten zu wenig, wir müssen alle eine Stunde oder 2 Stunden mehr in der Woche arbeiten' das halte ich für einen großen Unsinn und eine Riesen-Volksverdummung. Wir sehen ja gerade an diesem Beispiel, daß das flexibel und intelligent in den Betrieben geregelt werden muss. Und es funktioniert, wo es geregelt wird. Der Chef von Conti hat ja auch gesagt 'ja, wir müssen alle mehr arbeiten', und was tut er? Er handelt mit seinen Leuten, mit seinem Betriebsrat aus, wie er jetzt für die nächste Zeit bis Weihnachten ein Modell finden kann, das seine Lage verbessert. Das heißt, die Auftragsbücher sind voll, es geht nur darum, wie sie bestimmte Regelungen innerbetrieblich finden können, damit die Arbeitszeit verlängert werden kann. Das ist richtig so und das ist gut so u. alles andere wäre ziemlicher Unsinn	C R C R C C R C C	ass b1 ass> X conc	prev det1 ass det2> den corr b1 conc	 prev det1 situ eval situ eval situ eval	72 73 74 75 76 77 78 79 80 81 82 83 84 85 86 87 88 89 90 91 92 93 94 95 96 97 98 99 100 101
Ch	(eliciting)					7
	Herr Piper, nun ist es ja nicht zu bestreiten, daß die Deutschen immer noch recht gut verdienen im internationalen Vergleich und gleichzeitig die kürzesten Arbeitszeiten haben auch im internationalen Vergleich etwa zur Schweiz, in Frankreich weiß man nicht so genau wie man da rechnet, gegenüber den Amerikanern insgesamt. Ist denn über die Arbeitszeit selber eine Steuerung Richtung Wachstum überhaupt möglich?					102 103 104 105 106 107 108 109 110
NP	(informing)					8
207	Da bin ich fest davon überzeugt. Es hat ja meiner Meinung nach zwei Elemente. Das eine ist - also im Titel dieser Sendung heißt es ja 'Verdienen wir zu viel? Arbeiten wir zu wenig?' Ich weiß gar nicht, ob wir zu viel verdienen. Ich glaube, es gibt viele Leute in Deutschland, die zu wenig verdienen und trotzdem ist aber die Arbeitsstunde zu teuer. Und diesen Widerspruch, dieser Widerspruch ist ein Dilemma. Das kann man nur dadurch auflösen, daß man länger arbeitet - nicht jeder -	C C C C	ass ass X ass ass	prev det1 den corr ass	 cncss assert situ resp cncss	111 112 113 114 115 116 117 118 119 120 121

	insofern gebe ich Ihnen Recht, also die Diskussion ist , wenn man sagt ‚Ihr müsst alle länger arbeiten‘, das ist Quatsch. Aber wenn man sagt ‚Ihr dürft arbeiten, die Regelarbeitszeit wird länger‘ - das ist einfach eine Möglichkeit, die Arbeitskosten zu senken. Und der zweite Punkt ist , man gewinnt dadurch auch Flexibilität. Wenn Sie sich erinnern an den Streik im Osten, das war ja einer der Punkte, daß die Ostdeutschen Arbeitgeber gesagt haben, auf ein paar mehr Euro drum und nun kommt es nicht drauf an - das ist nicht der entscheidende Punkt , sondern der entscheidende Punkt ist , dass wir durch die längeren Arbeitszeiten im Osten Flexibilität gewinnen, dass wir einfach die Aufträge schneller erledigen können als die Konkurrenz und diese Vorteile müssen wir uns sichern.	C		>	(com) den corr	122 123 124 125 126 127 128 129 130 131 132 133 134 135 136
	(nominating)					9
Ch:	Wer soll den...Ja Herr Baron					137
SB	(informing)					10
200	Vielleicht noch mal zu diesem einen Punkt ‚Wir müssen alle länger arbeiten‘. Zunächst mal müssen wir unterscheiden zwischen Ostdeutschland und Westdeutschland. Das müsste man vielleicht nachher noch mal im einzelnen ... Die arbeiten 100 Stunden im Jahr länger im Durchschnitt, nicht, die Arbeiter im verarbeitenden Gewerbe in Ostdeutschland als in Westdeutschland, und liegen was die Arbeitskosten angeht, in der Höhe bei Italien oder Irland etwa. Also von daher gesehen sehr gut. Der Punkt bei der Forderung, eine Stunde mehr in der Woche oder am Tag - in der Woche eine Stunde finde ich ja so lächerlich wenig - also wenn schon, dann sollte man schon eine Stunde am Tag damit es sich wirklich auch kräftig auswirkt. Der Punkt ist da: was ist der Tarif, die tariflich fixierte Arbeitszeit? Natürlich kann man länger und kürzer arbeiten, nur, wenn der Tarif niedrig ist dann bedeutet länger arbeiten höhere Kosten, weil sie überstunden bezahlen müssen. Es werden ja faktisch in Deutschland nicht 35.7 oder was gearbeitet wie sie die Solltarifzeiten vorsieht, sondern fast 40 Stunden im Schnitt, nur diese 4 Stunden sind natürlich, die 4 Stunden die der *Unterschied sind, die sind natürlich sehr teuer	C	ms ms ms C C C C C C C	prev prev det1 det2 prev det1 det1 situ eval	situ> (qua) > eval den corr cncss assert den corr	138 139 140 141 142 143 144 145 146 147 148 149 150 151 152 153 154 155 156 157 158 159 160 161 162 163
Ch	(eliciting)					11
	*das heißt eine Anhebung der Regelarbeitszeit im Normalfall ist eigentlich nur eine Absenkung der Kosten für Überstunden					164 165
SB	(>)					10b
	So ist es. Und das ist eine sinnvolle Maßnahme	C	conc	situ eval		166 167
PZ	(informing)					12
157	Das bezieht sich auf den Metallbereich, das was Sie zitieren. In der Tat , die arbeiten – wo 35 Stunden in der Woche festgelegt sind, über 39 Stunden, und das wird ausgeglichen eben durch Überstunden. Es gibt das andere Modell, das bei der Chemie, die von vorneherein sagen: wir haben 37.5 Stunden, wir öffnen aber unser System sodass das runterfahren werden kann auf 35 Stunden wenn es notwendig ist und hochgefahren werden kann auf 40. Das nenne ich ein flexibles und intelligentes Modell und ein vernünftiger Umgang mit Arbeitszeiten – sowohl das starre festlegen auf eine kürzere Arbeitszeit - davon hat man sich viel versprochen, ich habe auch zu denen gehört die sich davon was versprochen haben.	C	ms C C C C	prev det1 det2 situ eval den	prev det1 det2	168 169 170 171 172 173 174 175 176 177 178 179 180 181 182 183

	Das ist so nicht ausgekommen. Vor allen Dingen sind die Arbeitsplätze nicht entstanden. Sowohl das nach unten als auch das nach oben, woran jetzt auch noch ein paar besonders schlaue Politiker noch schrauben wollen, ist Unsinn. Intelligenter Umgang mit Arbeitszeit ist das Richtige.	C	(com) (rest) > > (com) > conc	(rest) corr		184 185 186 187 188 189 190 191
var	(inaudible)					
Ch	(nominating)					13
	Ja?					192
NP	(rebutting / informing)					14
142	Es gibt auch ein, es gibt auch ein.. Es gibt eine auch ein Kostenproblem. Ich glaube, das ist ein wichtiger Punkt. Also, ich stimme Ihnen zu: intelligente Handhabe, vollkommen richtig, aber Sie haben auch ein Kostenproblem. Schauen Sie, die nächste Tarifrunde Metall zeichnet sich ab in Baden-Württemberg, kommt IG Metall mit 4% - find ich Quatsch, eine falsche Forderung. Man kann sich schon darauf einstellen.: wir werden eine lange Auseinandersetzung drum haben, die 2 vorm Komma, vielleicht sogar die 3, wenn wir lange drum kämpfen vielleicht gibt's sogar Streik. Wie wäre es wenn man einfach sagen würde: 'OK, ihr kriegt die 2 Prozent, aber dafür eine Stunde länger arbeiten'. Dann hat man ein Kostenproblem gelöst und die Leute haben trotzdem mehr Geld in der Kasse. Das wäre ein Weg, zu dem man die Gewerkschaften raten kann, weil dann hat man das Kostenproblem gelöst.	C C C R C C C	ass ass C C conc	situ eval cncss assert b1 ass conc	prev det1 det2 situ eval (rest) prev det1 det2 det3 det4 cond cons cons cond cons	193 194 195 196 197 198 199 200 201 202 203 204 205 206 207 208 209 210 211 212 213
Ch	Damit sind wir – ja, Entschuldigung					
MC	Damit hat man aber keine neue Jobs angeregt.					
NP	Aber man hat Wachstum					
MC	Tendenziell, aber es geht um viel mehr. Es geht auch darum, dass Wachstum kommen muss, das über die Beschäftigungsschwelle hinausgeht. Das heißt, das wirklich auch neue Jobs fordert und das wird man sicher nicht mit Arbeitszeitregelungen finden. Es muß sehr viel mehr geben, es muss Investitionen geben es muss mehr technologischen Fortschritt geben. Wenn man dieses Phänomen in Amerika tatsächlich anguckt, wie kam's zu höherem Wachstum über diese vielen Jahren? Wie kommt es auch zu den viel größeren Produktivitätszuwachsen im Amerika? Amerika ist Deutschland seit vielen Jahren sehr weit im Voraus. Es war lange nicht so. Das hat mit Investition und Technologie zu tun, und nicht alleine...					
NP	Und Nachholbedarf					
MC	Und Nachholbedarf, sicherlich auch.					
Ch	Aber um zu investieren muß man ja Geld verdienen und dabei spielen doch die Lohnkosten eine Rolle ob das nun durch weniger verdienen oder schwächeren Anstieg oder mehr Arbeit					
MC	Sicherlich. Eine Arbeitszeitverlängerung gleicht einem Lohnreduzierung letztendlich und diese Flexibilisierung ist sicherlich kritisch, aber dies ist die gesamtwirtschaftliche Lösung. Es kann durchaus bei gewissen Betrieben notwendig sein, Arbeitszeiten zu verkürzen, wenn nicht genug Nachfrage da ist, das muss wie Herr Zudeick gesagt haben, flexibel gehandhabt werden. Das ist sicherlich auch die Lösung, wenn man sagt, Wie schaffen das die Amerikaner? – das ist sicherlich ein Weg.					
PZ	(informing>)					15a
	Vielleicht sollte man auch noch eins sagen. Es ist zweimal gesagt worden, wir sind ganz am Ende wenn's um die Arbeitszeit geht. Das stimmt zum Beispiel nicht. In Europa haben wir Norwegen und Niederlande, die noch unter uns sind.	C R	ms ms b1	situ eval		214 215 216 217 218

	Ich weiß nicht ob...					219
SB	Bei der Wochenarbeitszeit					
PZ	Bei der Wochenarbeitszeit					
SB	Nicht bei der Jahresarbeitszeit,					
PZ	Jaja, wir sprachen aber von *der Wochenarbeitszeit*					
SB	*Das interessante ist aber* die Jahresarbeitszeit					
PZ	Darf ich eben mal den Satz, dann können Sie losschimpfen wie Sie wollen.					
SB	Ja		?			
PZ	(informing)					15b
127	Also Norwegen und Niederlande noch unter uns. Für mich ist das entscheidende Argument – ich weiß gar nicht wie sehr man Norwegen mit unserer Wirtschaft vergleichen kann – vermutlich gar nicht, aber die Niederlande werden ja immer gezeigt als Vorbild wie man gefälligst zu wirtschaften hat, wie man Arbeitsplätze schafft. Also , die Arbeitslosigkeit ist deutlich geringer als bei uns und sie arbeiten weniger. Diesen Zusammenhang, der immer so als Subtext hergestellt worden ist in den Äußerungen bisher, der besteht offenbar so nicht. Darauf *wollte ich hinaus*	R C C C ms	(rest) ass> >> conc conc ms	prev cncss cncss assert (rest) conc prev det1		220 221 222 223 224 225 226 227 228 229 230 231 232 233
var	(inaudible)					
SP	(rebutting>)					16a
122	Holland - da muss man aber was dazusagen		ass			234
Ch	(????)					
	Ja, und dann Herr Inacker.					235
SP	(>)					16b
	*Holland ist natürlich, Holland ist ein, ist kein Beispiel Holland hat – da ging's mir früher auch so, ich dachte , es ist eigentlich, das machen die ganz gut mit sehr viel Teilzeitarbeit. Aber sie haben einen hohen Preis dafür bezahlt: es gibt kein Wirtschaftswachstum. Das Schlusslicht was das Wirtschaftswachstum angeht ist im Moment Holland. Es gibt eine intensive Diskussion in den Niederlanden, dass man sagt ‚So können wir nicht mehr weitermachen, so haben wir dadurch einfach unsere Reserven stillgelegt‘ . Und es ist ja eigentlich auch logisch: wenn ich einen Menschen, der gerne viel arbeiten möchte, wenn ich den daran hindere viel zu arbeiten, dann kostet das Wachstum und wirklich produktive Reserven. Also *Holland ist kein Beispiel*	C C C C C C C	ass ass> >> >> conc	cncss (rest) assert (rest) ass> eval	prev det1 det2 situ	236 237 238 239 240 241 242 243 244 245 246 247 248 249 250 251 252

Transcript No. 2

Presseclub, 18.05.2003

**SIND WIR NIE MEHR SICHER?
DER WELTWEITE TERROR BEDROHT UNS ALLE.**
(Will we never be safe again? Worldwide Terror is a threat to us all.)

Participants:

Chair: Monika Piel

Discussants: Native speakers:

Olaf Ilhau	Der Spiegel
Hans Leyendecker	Süddeutsche Zeitung
Michael Rutz	Rheinische Merkur

Non-native speakers:

Katajum Amirpur	Journalist
Melinda Crane	Freelance Journalist, USA

<u>Data:</u>	Move type:	Quantity:
	informing (second pair parts)	4
	informing (self-selecting)	1
	rebutting (self-selecting)	4
	Total no. of moves analysed	9

spkr	w/c	level of detail			Utt. no
		1	2	3	line no.
Ch	(eliciting)				1
	Herr Leyendecker, wir müssen mal gucken , welche Verbündete haben die Amerikaner im Nahen Osten bei ihrem Kampf gegen den Terror? Wenn wir uns mal Saudi Arabien angucken , auch Bush hat gerade noch mal gesagt Saudi Arabien steht weiter mit uns Seite an Seite und Saudi Arabien ist die Heimat von Osama Bin Laden, da waren in Riad jetzt die Terroranschläge und man weiß auch, daß die Saudis immer islamistische Gruppen im Ausland unterstützt haben. Können die Amerikaner auf die Saudis nicht verzichten als Brückenkopf oder warum gibt es da diese ungleiche Behandlung?				1 2 3 4 5 6 7 8 9 10 11 12
HL	(informing)				2
279	Saudi Arabien ist ein gutes Beispiel um zu zeigen , wie falsch Amerikaner Politik machen, wie sie manchmal Freund mit Feind verwechseln. 15 der 19 Attentäter waren Saudis. Darüber ist kaum gesprochen worden, der Leute vom 11. September. Sie haben eine breite Unterstützung bis hin zu Tschetschenien, das sind (inaudible) in Saudi Arabien sitzen. Wir haben eine Bevölkerung, die auch mit dem Regime unzufrieden ist und die Islamisten zum Teil unterstützt. Wir haben Fußsoldaten, wir haben Offiziere, wir haben in Tschetschenien jemanden, Abu Walli, der aus Saudi Arabien stammt, der jetzt doch für die Anschläge, die wir ja auch im Moment ja nicht so im Fokus haben, also von daher tut man sich immer ein bisschen schwerer mit wer gerade Freund/Feind ist. Wenn das richtig ist, dass Powell nicht mehr davon spricht, dass der Irak zu der Terroristen-Agenda gehört, da erinnere ich mich noch relativ gut, was am 5. Februar war: da haben wir noch eine breite Erklärung bekommen im UN Sicherheitsrat, dass es Al Zarqawi gibt, das ist ein Mensch der stammt aus Jordanien, ein gefährlicher, schrecklicher Mörder. Nur , alle Geheimdienste, die jetzt nicht zu den Amerikanern gehört haben, haben jetzt gesagt der hat nichts mit dem Irak zu tun, aber gleichwohl wurde das gemacht. Also man macht das so wechselweise und das ist eben das Problem – dass man den eigenen Ankündigungen nicht mehr glauben kann, dass das was heute gesagt wird morgen schon nicht mehr gilt. Und Politik hat auch ein bisschen mit Vertrauen zu tun. Ich glaube auch ein Teil der Krise und ein Teil der Missverständnisse, die wir haben, hängt damit zusammen, dass halt über Sachverhalte geredet wird, ohne dass man das so meint.	C R R R R R R C R C C C C C	ass (rest) b1> (com) > b2 b3 b4 b5 b6 conc b7	 cncssX cond consX assert conc conc ass ass conc	13 14 15 16 17 18 19 20 21 22 23 24 25 26 27 28 29 30 31 32 33 34 35 36 37 38 39 40 41 42 43 45 46 47
Ch	<i>Frau Amirpur, Sie haben einen iranischen Hintergrund, deshalb an Sie meine Frage zum Iran. Da wurde jetzt in den letzten Tage noch mal ganz deutlich gemacht mit Warnung der Amerikaner an den Iran, sie würden weiter Terroristen unterstützen, muss man im Iran fürchten, dass man nach dem Irak der nächste Kandidat ist?</i>				
KA	<i>Ich kann es mir nicht vorstellen. Also ich glaube nicht, dass sowas wirklich international durchsetzbar wäre. Selbst die Briten hätten da doch starke Bedenken wenn die Amerikaner etwas formulieren würden. Und ich denke, Rumsfeld hat das relativ gut in Worte gefasst. Da wurde im November gefragt, ob der Iran das nächste Ziel sei and daraufhin sagte er es sei im Iran gar nicht so nötig, das Land würde eh von innen kollabieren und es hätte genug interne Probleme, so daß die Bevölkerung das vielleicht selbst besorgt. Und dabei glaube ich möchten die Amerikaner der iranische Bevölkerung - zumindest ihre Politik - ob die Bevölkerung nun wirklich so denkt ist noch eine andere</i>				

	Regierungen und Staaten. Und das ist sicherlich dann auch wiederum den Zusammenhang zu Irak-Krieg. Man hat diese Verschnaufpause durchaus benutzt, um zu regenerieren, um sich stärker zu machen - dies wurde auch in einem interessanten Bericht diese Woche bestätigt von einem berühmtes Institut in London, von der IIS, das International Institute for Strategic Studies, das sagt Al Kaida ist heute stärker als vor einem Jahr. Das hat durchaus damit zu tun, dass die Amerikaner in den letzten Jahr ihre Kräfte für ein anderes Ziel eingesetzt haben, das durchaus nicht mit unbedingt direkt dem Terrorbekämpfung zu tun hatte.					
Ch	(nominating)					6
	Herr Ilhau, das ist nicht Ihre Auffassung?					85
OI	(rebutting MR / informing)					7
166	<p>Ich glaube, dass, Herr Rutz, dass der Irak-Krieg den Hass auf den Westen bei vielen Arabern verstärkt hat</p> <p>und daß gerade bei den jüngeren Leuten sich das kanalisieren lässt mit Hinwendung zum Islamismus.</p> <p>Nicht weil man jetzt unbedingt dem Regime in Bagdad nachtrauert, das tun die meisten nicht – es war ein verbrecherisches Regime, ein laizistisches.</p> <p>Ich möchte Ihnen ganz kurz eine Geschichte erzählen: vor 2 Monaten hatten wir zuletzt im Bagdad den Ramadan, das ist ein Vize-Präsident von Saddam getroffen, und der hat uns dann erzählt als alles vorbei war, wir wissen, dass wir keine Chance haben, die Amerikaner wollen den Krieg wollen, sollen sie ihn kriegen, wir werden ihn ganz schnell verlieren, aber danach geht der Schlamassel für sie los, denn der ganze Nahe Osten wird kochen, und dann kommen diese verrückten Islamisten ans Ruder und als erstes Land wird Saudi Arabien, dessen Gesellschaft auf allen Ebenen durchsetzt ist von potenziellen Islamisten daran glauben müssen,</p> <p>und es sieht so aus als wenn das passieren könnte.</p>	C	ass			81
		C	ass	phen		82
						83
		R	b1	reas	den	84
					(com)	85
					(com)	86
				ms	corr	87
				ass		88
						89
						90
						91
						92
						93
						94
						95
						96
						97
		C	conc	pred		98
Ch	(eliciting)					8
	Herr Leyendecker, wenn wir sagen , man muß was dagegen unternehmen, man muss was tun, also , dass der konventionelle Krieg mit diesen Strukturen nicht fertig wird, das ist glaube ich unbestritten . Was kann man denn tun? Weil die...					99
						100
						101
						102
						103
HL	(informing)					9
389	Man macht eine ganze Menge.	C	ass			104
	Ich meine, eins der Probleme ist , dass sich diese Gruppierungen gar nicht äußern.	C	ass	prev		105
	Wenn wir auf die Geschichte des Terrorismus zurückgucken , hat es immer Rechtfertigungen gegeben.	R	b1	cncss		106
	Man hat sich erklärt dafür, egal ob wir jetzt in Russland waren oder wo, im Terrorismus 'warum mach ich das?' (inaudible)			(rest)		107
	Wir haben es hier mit Mördern zu tun, die das für nötig haben sich zu legitimieren.			assert	prev	108
	Die fahren irgendwo vor, die unterscheiden auch nicht 'schuldig' oder 'unschuldig', auch in ihrer merkwürdigen Optik nicht.				det1	109
	Das heißt , wir haben es mit einer Gruppe zu tun, die wir wirklich mit allem bekämpfen müssen,	C		conc		110
	mit allen Mitteln, die ein Rechtsstaat hat,			(rest)		111
	und da hat sich in der Vergangenheit eine ganze Menge getan.	C		conc		112
	Wenn wir die Zusammenarbeit sehen zwischen den Ländern, die früher nicht zusammen gearbeitet haben,	R	b1X			113
	wenn Sie einfaches Rechtshilfegesuch früher hatten,			situ	cond	114
	war damit der Fall erledigt,				cons	115
	weil da kam keine Antwort.				cons	116
	Das geht, das funktioniert mittlerweile.	C		eval		117
	Wir haben die Zusammenarbeit zwischen den Geheimdiensten.	R	b2	prev		118
	Geheimdienste haben viele Schwächen, haben wir gelernt im Irak-Krieg wieder,			det1	cncss	119
	aber gleichwohl , es gibt da auch wichtige Erkenntnisse und sie werden mehr ausgetauscht.	C			assert	120
	Das heißt , der Verfolgungsdruck ist größer geworden,	C		conc		121
	ich glaube schon ,	C	assX			122
	wir wissen alle nicht so genau wer Al Kaida ist,			cncss		123
						124
						125
						126
						127
						128
						129
						130
						131
						132

	<p>wie sie genau funktionieren, wir nehmen immer wieder Bilder und merken, es verändert sich.</p> <p>Aber sie sind sehr gefährlich, sie müssen gestoppt werden</p> <p>und was wir, was wir jetzt festgestellt haben ist, dass sie scheinbar in der Lage sind auch Leute zu ersetzen, die gerade weggefallen sind.</p> <p>Wir haben immer gedacht, wenn der eine weg ist, dann passiert eine ganze Weile nichts – das, dieser Scheich Khalid Mohammed, der so wichtig sein sollte angeblich für Operationen, ist der weggefallen, machen andere die Operation.</p> <p>Also wir haben es mit einer Gruppierung zu tun, die wirklich brandgefährlich ist,</p> <p>weil sie vor keinem Mord zurückschreckt,</p> <p>weil es ihnen im Kampf gegen die Ungläubigen nichts ausmacht jedermann zu treffen,</p> <p>und da ist halt gefordert,</p> <p>dass wir einen sehr starken Verfolgungsdruck ausüben – das klappt in Europa ganz gut.</p> <p>Die Amerikaner wissen sehr viel, die Amerikaner sind auch da recht erfolgreich,</p> <p>nur sie haben ein bisschen eine andere Strategie als wir, sie machen nämlich Prävention.</p> <p>Sie machen nicht Strafverfolgung.</p> <p>Das bringt innerhalb der Behörden ein paar Probleme mit sich.</p> <p>Gleichwohl ist das was wir getan haben seit dem 11. September eine ganze Menge.</p>	<p>C</p> <p>C</p> <p>R</p> <p>R</p> <p>C</p> <p>C</p> <p>C</p>	<p>(rest)</p> <p>(rest)</p> <p>assert</p> <p>(rest)</p> <p>b1</p> <p>den</p> <p>(rest)</p> <p>corr</p> <p>conc</p> <p>b1</p> <p>b2</p> <p>concX</p> <p>situ</p> <p>eval</p> <p>conc</p>	<p>cond</p> <p>cons</p> <p>situ</p> <p>eval</p> <p>den</p> <p>corr</p> <p>(rest)</p> <p>cncss</p> <p>assert</p>	<p>133</p> <p>134</p> <p>135</p> <p>136</p> <p>137</p> <p>138</p> <p>139</p> <p>140</p> <p>141</p> <p>142</p> <p>143</p> <p>144</p> <p>145</p> <p>146</p> <p>147</p> <p>148</p> <p>149</p> <p>150</p> <p>151</p> <p>152</p> <p>153</p> <p>154</p> <p>155</p> <p>156</p> <p>157</p> <p>158</p> <p>159</p>
Ch	<p><i>Frau Amripur, der Jordanische König meint 90% der Ursachen für alle Terroranschläge sei im Konflikt zwischen Palästinensern und Israel zu sehen, und wenn der gelöst würde, dann wäre ein ganz großer Teil des Nährbodens entzogen. Ist das zu optimistisch von ihm gedacht, oder muss man das so sehen?</i></p>				
KA	<p><i>Nein, es ist sicherlich in weiten Teilen richtig. Es gibt natürlich auch die Möglichkeit, dass sich die Islamisten dann einfach auch andere Vorwände suchen, um das zu tun, was sie jetzt tun. Aber natürlich gerade in der normalen arabischen Bevölkerung, die gar nicht gewaltbereit ist, ist das der Nährboden für eine anti-westliche Haltung. Und natürlich bei allem was Sie gerade beschrieben haben, Herr Leyendecker, man kuriert damit immer nur die Symptome aber man müsste wirklich an die Wurzeln des Ganzen herangehen und da ist die Idee der Amerikaner, das es besser ist, den Nahen Osten zu demokratisieren, eine demokratische Nahen Osten zu haben, um dem Terror den Boden zu entziehen, an sich ja gar nicht schlecht. Also man muss nicht immer unbedingt über die Motivation dieser Politik reden, denn die ist ja nicht den Arabern an sich beschuldete, es geht ja nicht um die Araber an sich, sondern um die eigene Sicherheit, aber die Idee, dass der Nahe Osten fast durchweg von korrupten diktatorischen Regimen beherrscht wird ist natürlich ein Problem das gelöst werden muss. Insofern ist diese Idee gar nicht schlecht, aber Amerika hat nun mal im Nahen Osten ein unglaublich großes Glaubwürdigkeits-problem, und sie sind im Moment nicht dabei das wirklich zu beheben. Wenn wir allein schon die Definition ansehen, die die Amerikaner haben von dem Begriff Terrorismus oder von Terroristen, das ändert sich nun auch je nach Lage oder je nach der Art wie es den Amerikanern gerade passt. Nehmen wir zum Beispiel die Volks-Mudschaheddin, eine Gruppe, die von irakischem Boden aus Jahre lang Terror-anschläge im Iran verübt hat. Iraner und Amerikaner waren sich in den letzten Jahren nur in diesem einen Punkt in Ihrer Politik einig - dass dies eine terroristische Organisation sei. Sie erscheint in Amerika lange auf der Liste terroristischer Vereinigungen, wo sie das in Europa noch nicht war. Inzwischen geht man hin und schliesst mit diesen Gruppierungen einen Waffenstillstand, weil man sie einsetzen möchte gegen die Iraner. Die Iraner sind einem wiederum zu gefährlich geworden mit ihrer Unterstützung der Schiiten. Das sind natürlich Sachen, die werden sehr genau wahrgenommen. Man fragt sich wo...warum ist denn das jetzt heute ein Freiheitskämpfer, die Volks-M wo sie vorgestern noch die Terroristen per se waren, Also das sind....</i></p>				

Ol	(informing)					10	
279	<p>Entschuldigung - darf ich hier das Stichwort Glaubwürdigkeit, weil das ein Schlüsselwort ist, aufgreifen.</p> <p>Es geht mir genauso.</p> <p>Die Amerikaner sagen jetzt, sie wollen die Demokratie im Nahen Osten.</p> <p>Na gut.</p> <p>Nach dem Sieg in '91 habe ich nicht gesehen, dass in Kuwait oder in Saudi Arabien irgendwelche demokratischen Anstrengungen gemacht worden sind.</p> <p>Ich glaub, daß die Amerikaner ein Grundproblem haben.</p> <p>Sie haben eine Abneigung, eine Aversion in dieser aber auch in anderen Gegenden gegen laizistische, säkulare, eventuell als links geltende Regime.</p> <p>Das hat noch Sinn gemacht vor 20 Jahren.</p> <p>Herr Rutz, Sie entsinnen sich:</p> <p>Vor 20 Jahren haben wir uns alle im Afghanistan-Krieg gewundert, wen die Amerikaner da unterstützt haben.</p> <p>Es kam dieser Hek Matja da her, einer der übelsten radikalsten Wahabiten und so weiter,</p> <p>die Amerikaner, kann man sagen, haben sie damals machen lassen, weil sie die Sowjets raustreiben, die Kommunisten raustreiben wollten.</p> <p>Schön.</p> <p>Dann nach zehn Jahren zogen sich die Russen zurück und da war dieser arme Nadschi Bullah,</p> <p>der wollte eigentlich eine Volksfrontregierung machen.</p> <p>Das haben die Amerikaner verhindert</p> <p>und dann nach einem fürchterlichen Bürgerkrieg mit hunderttausend Toten sind die Mudscha-Heddin eingezogen</p> <p>und wurden zwei Jahre später von den noch schlimmeren Taliban ersetzt</p> <p>- alles mit amerikanischer Hilfe.</p> <p>Und - ein Gedanke bitte noch:</p> <p>und heute im Nahen Osten haben Sie eigentlich noch drei Länder mit laizistisch- säkularen Trennungen von Religion und Politik -</p> <p>die Palästinenser, waren das aber werden jetzt radikalisiert,</p> <p>leider, weil sie gar nicht zum Zuge kommen;</p> <p>die beiden Staaten mit der Baath Partei, Syrien und Iran.</p> <p>Und im Irak, Schluss: Glaubwürdigkeitsproblem ,</p> <p>da werden die Amerikaner das nächste Glaubwürdigkeitsproblem bekommen</p> <p>wenn sie nämlich wählen lassen</p> <p>und es einen Schiitischen Schurkenstaat gibt.</p>	C	ass	ms	cncss		160
			ms				161
			ms				162
			ms				163
			b1				164
							165
							166
							167
			ass				168
							169
							170
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							199
Ch	(eliciting)						11
	<p>Herr Rutz, da wollte ich darauf hinaus.</p> <p>Das hört sich ja zwingend logisch an.</p> <p>Wir demokratisieren oder wir helfen dabei, die Staaten zu demokratisieren.</p> <p>Möchten denn die Bewohner dieser Staaten eine Demokratie nach westlichem Muster?</p> <p>Oder gerade im Irak, möchten sie nicht tatsächlich wieder eine islamische Gesellschaft, die aber wieder nicht im Sinne des Westens ist?</p>					200	
							201
							202
							203
							204
							205
							206
							207
MR	(informing)						12a
336	<p>Also man kann auf jeden Fall mal feststellen, sie hatten eigentlich keine richtige Chance, für sich zu bestimmen, ob das eine oder das andere wollen.</p> <p>Ich glaube, dass das sozusagen naturrechtlich im Menschen liegt, dass er in gewisser Weise nach Freiheit strebt</p> <p>und auch dass die Geschlechter nach Gleichberechtigung streben,</p> <p>und dass es eine Reihe von Dingen gibt, die wir in unserem westlichen Verfassungsstaaten in den Verfassungen festgebunden haben.</p> <p>Also ich bin überzeugt davon, dass vieles davon auch in diesen Staaten gewollt wird.</p> <p>Herr Ilhau hat schon einige solche Staaten aufgezählt, die auf solchen Wegen sich gerne bewegen würden.</p> <p>Andere Staaten, ich zähle auch noch den Iran dazu, der sicherlich auf diesem Weg sich noch intensiver gerne begeben möchte.</p> <p>Also man muss den Menschen einmal diese Chance geben.</p>	C	ass				208
							209
							210
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							218
							219
							220
							221
							222

	<p>Ich glaube, dass in der Demokratisierung dieser Länder viele Chancen liegen, nicht zuletzt auch aus der Erkenntnis heraus, dass demokratische Länder gegeneinander noch nie Kriege geführt haben. Das ist bei der Betrachtung der Geschichte nach wie vor wichtig, und richtig, und ich glaube auch, dass man in einer Demokratie die Rechte von Minderheiten besser schützen kann und ausgleichen kann und dass auch Splittergruppen, die sich jetzt ihre Wege mit den Mitteln der Gewalt suchen, vielleicht besser zum Zuge kommen können als das die Lage ist gegenwärtig. Also was mir fehlt, ich will's auch mal auf der Ebene des Völkerrechtlichen sehen – wenn wir das Völkerrecht heute anschauen, so schützt das Völkerrecht Staaten und Staatslenker, die Inhaber von Macht, und zwar die Bösen im gleichen Maße wie die Guten nach unseren Maßstäben. Die Diktatoren, die ihre Völker knechten genauso wie die Demokratie. Das kann nicht so bleiben. Wir brauchen eine Weiterentwicklung des Völkerrechts und müssen durch normative Maßstäbe das Völkerrecht entwickeln. Das ist ein Prozess auf den wir uns unmittelbar begeben müssen, bzw. die Vereinten Nationen beginnen diese Debatten jetzt, das führt dann natürlich, muss man auch sagen, dann konsequent zur Frage was machen wir denn dann, wenn wir feststellen, dass irgendwo diese normative Grundsätze verletzt werden? Und darauf...</p>	C	ass	phen		223
		R	b1	reas		224
				(com)		225
		C		ass		226
		C		ass		227
		C	ass>	ass	ms	228
					ms	229
					situ	230
		C				231
		C	>	ass	eval	232
		C		(rest)		233
		C		ass		234
		C		(rest)		235
		C		ass	cause	236
					effect	237
						238
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						249
						250
						251
						252
OI	(disagreeing)					13
14	Nicht wir... die ...wir sind... die Supermacht entscheidet ja über die Völker.... nicht Sie		ass	corr		253
				den		254
	(Laughter)					255
MR	(rebutting)					12b
81	<p>Ja Moment mal wenn ich von Völkerrecht rede, dann red' ich von uns, dann red' ich von der Gemeinschaft der Staaten, die das Völkerrecht prägen, und hier brauchen wir die normative Maßstäbe und anschließend rede ich wieder von ‚wir‘ denn, wenn es darum geht Maßnahmen zu ergreifen, dann müssen auch wir mit helfen und wir können uns nicht wieder an die Seite stellen und sagen, ‚aber jetzt - da wollen wir dann nicht mitmachen‘. Dann unterstützen wir diesen Gedanken einer Supermacht erst richtig.</p>		ms	cond		256
			ms	cons		257
				(qua)		258
		C		ass		259
				ms		260
		C		ass	cond	261
		C		ass	cons	262
		C		ass		263
						264
						265
						266
		C	conc			267

Transcript No. 3

Dateline London, 16.05.03

WAR ON TERRORISM

Participants:

Chair: Gavin Elsner

Discussants: Native speakers:

Glenn Frankel Washington Post

Adam Raphael The Economist

Non-native speakers:

Nazenin Ansari Kayhan London

Uday Bajekal Vijay Times

Data:

Move type:

Quantity:

Informing 4
(second pair parts)

informing 1
(self-selecting)

rebutting 1
(self-selecting)

**Total no. of moves 6
analysed**

spkr	(move type)	Level of detail			Utt. no.	
w/c	utterance		1	2	3	line no.
Ch	<i>Terrorist attacks in Morocco and more especially Saudi highlighted the big problems of domestic security in broadly pro-Western Arab countries. They reminded us that whatever happened in Iraq, the war on terror is not over. Is this the time when the house of Saud will crack down on Islamic extremists from within? Nazenin, what do you think, they are in terrible difficulties I would have thought in the house of ...</i>					
NA	<i>They are in terrible difficulties and it's not started recently, but the House of Saud and the Wahabi movement, the Wahabi sector of it, are the 2 pillars of society and there are also the Salofies, which are the radicals around the government. Now, it has been basically a power struggle between the two, and up to now Crown Prince Abdullah has been very appeasing of the whole militant movement especially since 1978 - 79 when there was the Islamic Revolution in Iran. That was quite a shock for the Saudis and a threat by the Saudis that - here is a Shiite country with an Islamic republic that will take ascendancy of the Moslem world, and so what they've done since the 1970s and the 1980s is to appease the elements, the radical elements, and at the same time even helping some of them. For example, I remember in Washington itself there were a lot of mosques that were started by the Saudis themselves and there were a lot of people sent in to the prisons to start integrating more of the down-trodden to Islam so at the moment there are fundamental problems in Saudi itself as far as the economy is concerned, the system of the distribution of wealth, the Saudi population has increased whereas the GNP and the GDP has decreased, so it is a system that is rife for...</i>					
Ch	<i>Do you think, though, that this is a watershed moment in which perhaps they will see that appeasement won't work because they are going to be the targets whatever they think?</i>					
NA	<i>Definitely, and appeasement should, will not work any more in the Middle East itself and elsewhere, and that's where I think that's where the US policy has changed, because up until now most of the administrations that have succeeded after President Carter they tried to appease terrorists, they tried to manage the movement itself and there were times that even terrorism paid. But I think since 9/11 especially there has been a change that no more appeasement and we're going to take them head-on, but its going to take a lot of hard work and effort and also there's going to be a lot of difficulties within not only Saudi Arabia, but you have Jordan, you've got Morocco and other nation states in the Middle East as well.</i>					
Ch	(eliciting)					1
	Of course there was today's bombing in Israel, which is not strictly connected to this but is part of a pattern. Glenn, do you think, I mean , a very interesting point Nazenin made about the question of appeasement - I mean , there'll be no more Iran-Contra affairs, no more American officials going to, in that case, Iran or any other country and talking behind the scenes to people who might sponsor terrorism. That has all gone. -this really has been a watershed to the US and to the rest of us?					1 2 3 4 5 6 7 8 9 10 11 12
GF	(informing)					2
240	It does seem like it and it's really fascinating to watch what's happening to the American-Saudi relationship because that's putting incredible pressure on the Saudis, I mean , for years we turned them partly a blind eye. We have a relationship with Saudi Arabia which goes way back ... Prince Bandar, the ambassador in Washington, sort of embodies that relationship, the ability to jump from administration to administration and always be at the heart of the establishment and he still is. you know , Prince Bandar still is able to see George W. Bush	C C R	ass ass b1	prev det1 prev det1 det2 (rest) det3	prev det1 cncss	13 14 15 16 17 18 19 20 21 22 23

	and we have a, we have a new approach after September 11th, that's	R	b2			117
	very aggressive and very tough on these things,					118
	and the question is follow-through, isn't it?	C	ass>	prev		119
	We don't really want to be an empire,			det1	den	120
	we don't really want to run our empire,				(rest)	121
	we just want to <u>sort of</u> get rid of the bad guys as it were		>	det2	corr	122
	and then move back to making a lot of money and buying electronics			(rest)		123
	and, you know , ignoring the rest of the world,			(rest)		124
	which is really what we do best,			(com)		125
	(laughter)					126
	and so we're never going to be a comfortable imperial power	C	conc	pred		127
	and in many ways that may be our saving grace.		eval			128

Transcript No. 4

Dateline London, 05.05.03

CONSERVATIVE VICTORY IN LOCAL ELECTIONS

Participants:

Chair: Gavin Elsner

Discussants: Native speakers:

Charles Sennot Boston Globe

Ned Temko Jewish Chronicle

Non-native speakers:

Bernard Burrell Radio Jamaica

Eunice Goes Expresso Portugal

Data: **Move type:** **Quantity:**

Informing 5
(second pair parts)

informing 0
(self-selecting)

rebutting 3
(self-selecting)

**Total no. of moves 8
analysed**

spkr	(move type)	level of detail			move
wd	utterance	1	2	3	line#
Ch	(eliciting)				1
	Well, it turns out that the British Conservative party has a pulse after all. A patient that has looked sick for years won more than 500 seats in local elections ensuring that Ian Duncan-Smith gets to keep his job. But after leading his country to victory in Iraq is Tony Blair now having difficulties at home? Core labour voters or a least some of them didn't go to the polls. Let's begin with the Conservatives first, Ned, I mean do you think this is a really good result for Ian Duncan-Smith?				1 2 3 4 5 6 7 8 9 10
NT	(informing)				2
98	I think it could have been a lot worse and as you say it saved his job. It's not a good result in the sense that I don't think even the most enthusiastic Tories would pretend they're a government in waiting – at least off air they wouldn't. But I don't think it was - I don't think it's a great, uh, it was a great result for anyone. I think Blair's greatest strength is there isn't a- another figure on the British political stage that is a credible leader for this country and I don't think any of the parties think that's the case.	C C C C R C	ass ass ass (qual) (qual) ass b1 conc		11 12 13 14 15 16 17 18 19 20 21
Ch	(elicit)				3
	There's an interesting kind of presidential point - and I'm not trying to make a cheap point about President Blair - but it is interesting that we do seem to see more and more of politics in terms of who the leader of the party is rather than the policies				22 23 24 25
NT	(informing)				4
39	Well, I think the system has changed. I think that ideologically the parties are occupying increasingly similar ground and that, by default, raises the question of who's better at prosecuting that ground, and I think Blair's probably got it.	C C C C	ass ass conc	ass caus eff	26 27 28 29 30 31
Ch	Eunice, are you impressed by the Conservative performance?				
EG	Oh not at all, not at all, well, it saved Ian Duncan-Smith's job for the next maybe until the next election, but in the long run it, it really, he won't win the next election and also the results that came last Thursday were not as good as William Hague obtained at the last election, so it saved Ian Duncan-Smith's job for the moment but there's already plotters in the Conservative Party trying to find a new a new leader, so his problems won't finish and as Ned was saying there is a problem at the in the British political system in the sense that we have three main parties or the two main parties occupying the centre ground and we have a lot of disenchantment. I think it's not an accident that we have a lot of people not voting at all.				
Ch	Yes, that's something we'll pick up on in a second. Bernard, I mean, this Conservative 500 seats is Ian Duncan-Smith keeping his job good news or otherwise for the Conservative party?				
BB	I wish I could predict if he's going to keep and I wish he could predict if he's going to keep his job, but as Ned says, I'd think this isn't any good news for any of the political parties except I would say it was not-too-bad news for the Liberal Democrats, because their percentage of the vote was absolutely incredible, I think it was 30% of the vote or 34 % I can't remember which, but I think that was good in terms of political performance. But I always think the political issue tells us local election in Britain is never a good indicator of what's going to happen on a national level so I think Ian Duncan-Smith still is in the woods and he's still got to work, you know, to actually get out and find out what's going to happen with him in the ...				

Ch	<i>d'you know, do you not think it must be an awful job, you know, I mean frankly leading an opposition party given what happened to them..</i>					
BB	<i>But as Ned pointed out to , I think the ideological sort of way of looking at politics and political leaders and ideol.. um policies has changed so much so now it becomes more of the leader almost like the American presidential style thing rather than the policies. So hence Tony Blair stands head above everybody else and around him there's really no-one to make any comparison at the moment and so, I think that's where people are looking, you know, 'Who's more credible?' 'Who can we believe?' 'Who can we look up to as potential leader to take us forward?'</i>					
Ch	(eliciting)					5
	Charles, it's interesting, isn't it , when the economy is not doing too well, I mean I know there's been a world-wide slowdown, but the British economy is not doing fantastically well, there's all kinds of doubts about the government – we're six years into this government there's been a very controversial war and yet still , the Labour Party can say 'it's not too bad, this election result, it's not too bad for us as a Labour Party'.					32 33 34 35 36 37 38 39
CS	(informing)					6
157	It's interesting that I think Blair is more popular than ever, I think he's stronger than ever, I think what's happened is the middle has just continued to expand and you know , you have the centre is where all of the growth is. The question is , um, Blair will face the same challenge that Bill Clinton faced, which is to hold the centre politically and to continue with your popularity in the way you would express your points of view and keep your party together, essentially , through eloquence. There's a big difference, though: Clinton had a strong economy behind him to do that; I think Blair doesn't have that right now, I think he faces some real challenges of how he's going to articulate the Labour point of view. Even riding on this popular wave that he has right now, given the economy that he's going to be facing in the next, in the next few years.	C	ass	phen (rest) reason (rest) prev		40 41 42 43 44 45 46 47 48 49 50 51 52 53 54 55 56 57 58
Ch	(eliciting>)					7
	Um, just in terms of the plotters that Eunice was saying , they're kind of old news in a way, there are, plotters in the Conservative Party, good grief,					59 60 61 62
NT 10	but as you said , why would they want the job? <i>(laughter)</i>		ms ?ass			
Ch	(>)					8
	Well exactly , I mean it's, the problem's not presumably not with the leader; It's the party itself. What, what is the message? Why do we have a Conservative Party? What do we stand for as Conservatives? must be the thing that continues to exercise without having any clear answer.					63 64 65 66 67 68 69 70
NT	(informing)					9
108	Yes. I think one of the puzzling things is that , as you say , we're six years into this government and the Tory party doesn't seem to have come up with a new message that will put 'clear blue water' (that famous phrase) in between them and the Tories <i>(sic)</i> and one of the big issues is , Labour's got their old policies, or some of them, they <i>(the Tories)</i> don't have a leader that's sufficiently credible	C	ass	prev ms det1 det2		71 72 73 74 75 76 77 78 79 80
		C R	ass	prev det1 (qua) det2	caus	

	and they <i>don't really have identifiable policies except</i> , interestingly enough, 'Let's deliver on public services' which is a New Labour message. So that leaves you with having to make the argument that you'd be better at it.	R		det3		81
		C	ass	conc	eff	82 83 84 85
BB	<i>Bu, it goes, it goes, it goes beyond the policies, I think, because there are so many people -as indicated by, for example, the British National Party BNP that got so many votes in some areas - I think people also want to know that the parties are listening, and I think the results indicate that people don't actually believe that the current 3 main parties are listening to them. Irrespective of the points that they might have, they still have specific views that they have that the main parties aren't addressing, so I think beyond policy there's also other issues that are really affecting, that are really important to people.</i>					
Ch	<i>That's why Eunice was saying, you know, that's one of the reasons behind that issue, isn't it? If you really do want to protest it's difficult to know - if you don't like this government, what should you do? Do you vote for the Conservatives? Well are they not saying 'Me too' on a lot of issues?</i>					
BB	<i>But the question is, I mean, the people who for example voted for the British National Party, the BNP, was it a question of they don't like the policies or was it a question of 'you're not listening to me'? I think there's far more fundamental reasons and issues going on with these voters, I mean some people say they're racists, some people say they are protesting voters, protest voters, whatever, but I think there's far more going on, you know, rather than a simple racism</i>					
Ch	<i>well what do you think is going on then? Is this disconnected from all politics?</i>					
BB	<i>I think a lot of people just get... I talk to a lot of people - sometimes you travel on the London Underground - and this is one of the good things about being a journalist - you've got your ear on the ground you can hear people talk about, um, 'you're not listening to me' um 'Look at all these people come and take over my house, my job', you see, there's so many things that, you know, simple things which are not intellectually politically of any great significance to them, but for the ordinary lads it's important and I think the BNP has found a niche and are sort of going into it and say 'Look at these things,' you know, you know, 'we can actually provide the answers', you know.</i>					
EG	<i>But the mainstream parties like, we, you know, especially the government and the Conservative Party they have a great uh great responsibility on the rise of the BNP in the sense that the issues of asylum seeking, immigration and the whole issue of social deprivation in the areas where the BNP is strong hasn't been addressed, the whole issue of immigration, asylum seeking has been addressed by the government as if the whole country is constituted by Daily Mail readers instead of addressing the issue in an honest, you know, bringing...what is the real cost for the British economy for the asylum seeking system? What are the real costs of immigration or the benefits of immigration? If there was a less hysterical, more honest discussion about these issues, probably the BNP wouldn't be winning and they are winning with a quite racist and xenophobic message, which is very, very dangerous and if we follow the trail the consequences can even be more dire than at the moment.</i>					
Ch	<i>I hate to put it this way, but do people really think the BNP is such a big deal? I mean there are actually a.. Do you... do you...</i>					
CS	(rebutting)					10
77	I would ask a very similar question which is: wasn't this election greatly over-analysed? I mean , what you're talking about are very small numbers, ten thousand seats (<i>sic</i>) to go in the direction of one per cent strikes me as something that is very insignificant, a very marginal shift in the political landscape of the country, and that if you over-analyse, if you search too much for issues here I think you're kind of clutching at straws here...	C R C C	ms ass b1 conc	situ (rest) eval (rest) cond cond cons		86 87 88 89 90 91 92 93 94

NT	(rebutting)					11
41	What, What, I mean again, I think asylum is the great, the great exception. I mean , that's potentially a national issue and I think Eunice is right: I think both the major parties have kind of lacked the self-confidence to deal with it.	C C	ass ass	phen reas prev det1		95 96 97 98 99
CS	(rebutting)					12
52	It's always been an issue, but what's interesting about it is the two parties are increasingly agreeing on how to deal with it. So what I mean is politically these issues seem to have no resonance for either party and that's what I mean by ...	C C	cncss assert conc	caus eff		100 101 102 103 104 105
NT	Both parties are increasingly moving to the right.					
CS	(>)					12b
	Exactly or converging in the centre, and...		(qual)			106 107 108
Ch	(eliciting)					13
	Does that explain – to go back to Eunice's big point which is why 2 out of 3 of us who could have voted in England at least and there are slightly different patterns in Scotland and Wales just 'Forget it! Why even bother?'					109 110 111 112 113
CS	(informing)					14
160	I think people don't know how they feel right now. I mean , this is, this is what I sense from just talking to people, as you say , in the subway or going to gatherings of friends. If you talk to people about the future of Iraq, for example , there is a liberal conundrum that every Labour voter would feel, which is 'Well, I don't really like George Bush. I don't like the way he handled this diplomatically, but I guess at the end of the day it was the right thing to do and they did a good job'. I think that kind of confusion is really where voters rest - not only on this issue of foreign policy, on Iraq, I think to some extent on domestic policy. They know, for example that the hospitals, the transportation are in deep trouble, but do they think the Conservatives could do a better job with that? They don't. So there's a.....	C R R C R C	ass b1> ms > b2 conc den (qua) corr b1 conc	cond cons prev det1 det2 det3 det4 cncss ?assert		114 115 116 117 118 119 120 121 122 123 124 125 126 127 128 129 130 131 132
Ch	You could have actually substituted the words Tony Blair there.....					133

Transcript No. 5

Dateline London, 31.08.2003

THE HUTTON ENQUIRY

Participants:

Chair: Nick Gowing

Discussants: Native speakers:

Lauren Booth New Statesman

Michael Goldfarb WBUR Washington

Non-native speakers:

Mustafa Karkouti Gulf News

Marion Hens Journalist, Spain

Data: **Move type:** **Quantity:**

informing 3
(second pair part)

informing 3
(self-selecting)

rebutting 1
(self-selecting)

**Total no. of moves 7
analysed**

	communication.					
Ch	Is there shock in the gulf that this is happening?					
MK	Well, it is in a way, yes, it does, it does give the impression that the situation is too grave to the extent that a Prime Minister will give a statement in the enquiry. Uh, if it wasn't so grave I don't think it would be that kind of situation. There is this kind of feeling, I think.					
Ch	(eliciting>)					5a
	OK, well the reality Lauren is that this is happening, and the kind of things that the historians would be reading about in thirty years, we're now reading about. Again, another 9000 pages released overnight *on the internet.					27 28 29 30
LB	*Can we bear it?*					
Ch	(>)					5b
	of things* that have been happening over the last few weeks in the government.					31 32
LB	(informing)					6a
196	I just think the last few years have been great for leaks and, and of lot of that is down to the email. People type *these things that are easy to pass on.	C	ass	phen reas	phen reas	33 34 35
Ch	(informing)					7
	But these, but these, *but lets be clear though: what is on the internet here is coming through the Hutton Enquiry submitted by those voluntarily					36 37 38
LB	(disagreeing /> informing)					6b
	'Voluntarily' is an interesting word - there's been pressure put on, but they, once it's there, the point is that once we shoot these things off they no longer belong to us, they're not entre-nous there's no privacy. And there's 2 sides to this: on the one hand, as an employee you're quite scared of losing the right to email your friend a couple of funny pictures from your holiday. We know that telecommunications companies, I think it's in Ireland, Marion was telling me, that they can keep communications for up to three years - the telecommunications companies. So on the one hand we feel that we're being watched, the whole big brother thing, our emails are on the internet. But on the other, the wonderful egalitarian prospect that we can look at theirs as well, that the government must be more answerable, that the bosses are being watched as well, that we will hear this, that it's across the board. Information is freedom	C C C	ms ass ass (rest) (rest) (rest) conc	situ evalX ass	cncssX b1 (rest) (rest) (rest) assertX (rest) (rest) (rest) (rest)	39 40 41 42 43 44 45 46 47 48 49 50 51 52 53 54 55 56 57 58 59 60 61
Ch	(eliciting)					8
	What about Michael's point, the fact that an email is a conversation, which is actually in print now - the kind of thing we would have talked about at the water cooler or in the café is in print now for others to see. This is quite, it makes you gulp, doesn't it, Michael?					62 63 64 65 66
MG	(informing)					9
	Well, it makes me determined - at least in dealing with my employers - to be exceptionally, um, *circumspect		ass> (qua) >			67 68 69
Ch	(eliciting)					10
	Are you having 2nd thoughts about writing emails?					70
MG	(informing)					11
122	Well, you know, the, the, you always, it's become a routine: If a comedian talked about pressing the done button or the send button too soon or hitting the send button and sending to exactly the wrong person a message that flames them. The interesting thing about this is -	C C	ass ass	prev det1 det2 phen	prev	71 72 73 74 75 76

	<p>to pick up on Lauren's point – do governments, let alone businesses – the leaders of governments need a right to privacy to think through a policy and discuss it in a way that allows them to know that it won't come out. Because this is just the process of thinking through it, and if they do that by email, they know that it will come out and they are going to look very stupid.</p>	C C	> (qua) > conc	reas ass	ms det1 cond cons	77 78 79 80 81 82 83 84 85
MK	<i>In comparison with Scandinavian countries, I mean this country is very, very secretive. In Scandi..., in Sweden, for example, this kind of information are at the public domain and, you know, you can access it, you can phone you minister and a even the cab offices as well and demand a kind of a position on any issue. It's very, very open. My question is really: doe s this revelation we have at the moment now, these thousands and thousands of pages, would it be would it be looked at as a step towards this kind of situation, the Scandinavian, opening up</i>					
Ch	But that would mean changing the whole culture of Whitehall					
MK	<i>Exactly.</i>					12
Ch	...and the BBC and institutions. That's, it's the culture of secrecy, or at least confidentiality, let's put it like that.					86 87 88 89
LB	(informing/eliciting)					13
77	<p>I'm quite interested that, how many pages make a document? It's that thing when is a dossier not a dossier? When does it become secret? Em, you know, the odd email saying 'Are you going to be late?' – you can understand those coming out , but 9000... we've had..., we've got this huge..., this would have been protected, as you say, for 30 years. So will they start legislating to protect certain documents? Can you do that?</p>		?ass (rest) (rest) b1 ?conc ?conc	cncss assert		90 91 92 93 94 95 96 97 98
MG	No...					
MH	<i>I think one of the main problems obviously is that uh legislation is lagging behind to catch up with technology in respect that the pace of technology is too fast for the pace of legislation. And even if you put across laws to either protect the privacy of users uh, or support companies etc. , eh, they will always be too late. By the time an email has come out and is read out, the reputation of somebody might be in tatters. And even if then a judge says 'I'm sorry, but you can't use that email', then it's still going to be too late.</i>					
MK	<i>My question: who is benefiting out of that? Is it the government? Is it the enquiry itself? Is it the public?</i>					
LB	(informing)					14
30	<p>Surely the enquiry itself. For having that amount of information, not feeling that you've suddenly got someone saying 'I do not recollect that' – It's like 'Hahaha! In your email dated...'</p>	C R	ass	phen reas (rest)	cause effect	99 100 101 102 103
MG	(informing)					15
47	<p>Who, who, can..., and seeing the right emails anyway – I want to see the emails that Tony Blair is writing to Alistair Campbell now about George Bush and how he's bumbling things in Iraq and making his life a misery. Because surely those emails exist - somewhere!</p>	C C	ass conc	prev det1 det2		104 105 106 107 108

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