

- West, C., & Zimmerman, D. (1985). Gender, language, and discourse. In van Dijk (1985), vol. 4, pp. 103–124.
A good brief overview of the major issues.
- Nierzbicka, A. (1991). *Cross-cultural pragmatics: The semantics of human interaction*. Berlin: Mouton de Gruyter.
Thorough treatment of pragmatic issues in cross-cultural communication. Examines speech acts, cultural values, conversational routines, and many other kinds of speech patterns and shows how they are realized in different cultures.

DISCOURSE PARTICIPANTS

The discourse participants include the **producer(s)** and the **interpreter(s)**. The producer is typically the one who writes or speaks a text. This person may or may not be the actual **source** or author of the information. Instead, the producer may be an editor, illustrator, artist, photographer, or designer of any text or part of a text. In fact, a single text may have several producers, as in the case of news media texts. In the case of an advertisement, the producer is probably an individual or team hired for the purpose of creating the text. The source, on the other hand, is the management of the company whose product is represented in the text. Sometimes this kind of source is referred to as an **institutional producer**.

As illustrations, consider the following two texts:

- (5) As soon as we came in, an older, thin peasant woman, probably the housekeeper, who at once recognized Mother, started to talk furtively in a thick dialect, and in her bewilderment flapped her arms like a wild duck. She was terribly excited and beside herself, and after a minute or so Nacia, who had heard the fuss, came running in.

She was a lovely, dark blond young woman: slim and graceful, like a ballerina. And though she was very simply dressed, to me she instantly became the Princess of all the fairy tales I had ever known.

(Baum, 1990, p. 115)

- (6) Under Washington law, we are attorneys solely for [client] and owe duties solely to her.

(From a personal letter, signed by an attorney)

In Example 5, the producer is the narrator (writing as “I”).¹ Little information can be obtained about her from the passage itself. However, further research would reveal that the story from which this

¹For more information on the position of narrators in relation to their texts, see part II, chap. 7.

passage is taken, together with the other stories appearing with it, are true stories written from memory by a Jewish woman named Anna Baum. She lived in Poland during the Nazi period and was one of those who suffered at the hands of the Nazis, along with the others she portrays in her book. It is possible that in preparing these stories the author clarified her memories by discussing her stories with other Holocaust survivors. These other people are not coproducers of the stories, but they could have influenced the production process. Among the other people who contributed more directly to the production process of these stories and who may be said to be producers in their own right are an artist, who created drawings to illustrate some of the stories, and other persons, including editors and designers.

In Example 6, there is a source, or institutional producer (“we”), represented by the actual producer who signed the letter. If the text of the entire letter was presented, it would be possible to identify both the institutional producer (the law firm) and the actual producer (the signer).

In some kinds of texts, such as advertisements, it is often impossible to identify the actual producer. In others, such as instructions from cabin crews to airline passengers, it is not always possible to identify the source.

The producer directs the text to one or more interpreters. The interpreters are the intended receivers of the text, typically readers or listeners. The interpreter may or may not share the same cultural concepts as the producer, and may or may not have a shared knowledge of related texts. Take Example 5, for instance. The interpreter of that text is any mature reader. The text is probably intended for readers in their teens or older who have some knowledge of events in Europe during World War II. Readers from Africa or India might not share the same cultural concepts of place in the world and perception of the world with the producer of this text. Readers may or may not have read *The Diary of Anne Frank* or other works concerning the Holocaust. Some may have studied world history of the 20th century, and others may know only their local history. These readers will come away from the text with somewhat different interpretations.

Just as there are different kinds of producers, there are also different kinds of interpreters. The **addressee** is the interpreter to whom the text is directed, and the **target** is the interpreter whom the text is intended to affect. For instance, in Examples 5 and 6, the addressees and targets are probably the same people. However, consider a will

language and showed how different elements of the grammar come into play to realize these viewpoints. Studying the section on narrative viewpoints in chapter 7 of this book is recommended before attempting Chaïe's work.

- Fairclough, N. (1989). *Language and power*. London: Longman.
A Marxist approach to the kinds of power relations that can exist between discourse participants.
- Scollon, R., & Scollon, S. (1995). *Intercultural communication: A discourse approach*. Oxford, England: Blackwell.
See especially chapter 3 ("Interpersonal Politeness and Power") and chapter 5 ("Topic and Face").

SETTING

Setting includes time and place. There are two main kinds of setting: **textual setting** and **metatextual setting**. The textual setting is the setting contained in the text itself, and metatextual setting is the setting of the text. As an example, consider a motion picture such as *Doctor Zhivago*. The opening scene of that film depicts the Steppes of Russia (textual setting), but the scene was actually filmed in the Canadian Prairies (metatextual setting). The novel and the film based on it portray the period of the Russian Revolution (textual setting); however, Pasternak wrote the novel many years after the revolution had ended (metatextual setting). Discussions of setting in this book are concerned primarily with textual setting, although occasional references to metatextual setting are necessary. A third type of setting is the time and place of the interpreter(s).

Time, as shown earlier, is greatly dependent on culture for its definition. Western cultures are among those that may indicate time in discourse through descriptions of clothing, furniture, weather, landscapes, music, and other objects or art forms commonly associated with a particular period, season, time of day, and so on. In the languages of these cultures, time is expressed primarily through tense and aspect, time adverbials, words such as "then" and "now," and time prepositions.

A typical example of the use of time in discourse is the following text, the first two paragraphs of which were given in Example 5 Baum, 1990, pp. 115–116):

- (16) As soon as we came in, an older, thin peasant woman, probably the housekeeper, who at once recognized Mother, started to talk furtively in a thick dialect, and in her bewilderment flapped her arms like a wild duck. She was terribly excited and beside herself, and after a minute or so Nacia, who had heard the fuss, came running in

She was a lovely, dark blond young woman: slim and graceful, like a ballerina. And though she was very simply dressed, to me she instantly became the Princess of all the fairy tales I had ever known.

After some time her mother, old Mrs. Norski, trudged in, dressed all in black, leaning heavily on her cane. Crippled by arthritis, she walked slowly. I noticed her immaculate hair-do, and only now I assume that undoubtedly, it must have been a wig. And I could not help noticing the well polished, old-fashioned, tightly laced shoes reaching to her midcalf, a type that I had only seen in old photographs. We were taken at once to greet Mr. Norski himself, who presided in a heavy armchair at a massive rectangular oak table laden with well-worn Hebrew books. Dressed in black, broad-shouldered, he appeared to be very tall, even while sitting. Though he certainly must have been advanced in years, his thick beard was not all that gray.

This text employs the usual narrative past tense, which does not in itself tell much about the period being described. The contrast in Sentence 7 between “I noticed” and “only now I assume” suggests the passage of a significant amount of time in the life of a person, but remains imprecise. The fact that the old couple are both dressed in black might suggest in some cultures a period of mourning, but in others it simply may be the preferred color of dress for members of the older generation. The mention of “old-fashioned” shoes similar to those appearing in “old photographs” places it after the mid-19th century. The mention of arthritis may bring it closer to the present. If interpreters were to read the rest of the story and the other stories that appear with it in the collection from which it comes, they would see that the time is the period during World War II.

The other part of setting, **place**, is related to the cultural concept of territory. It is expressed primarily through adverbials, including words such as “here” and “there”; location verbs and nouns, such as “site,” “locate,” “place,” “position,” and so on; and prepositional phrases indicating location. In Example 16, the larger setting (if the whole story was read) turns out to be mid-20th-century Poland, and a small subset of that setting is the Polish-Jewish household depicted in that text.

The language of the text reveals a number of spatial clues. One of the most important is the pointing adverb “in” near the beginning of the text. Other examples of the same usage include “came running in” and “trudged in.” All of these reinforce the concept of an enclosed space, such as a house. Other verbal clues that activate frame knowledge are “presided,” “in a heavy armchair,” and “at a massive rectangular oak table.” This image is of a study—one of the rooms in a

house. The fact that the people mentioned include typical household members such as a daughter, her mother, the mother's husband, and a housekeeper, again suggests a house into which the outsiders "we" have entered. Cultural items such as clothing and furniture and particularly the "well-worn Hebrew books" provide some further information, but again it would be necessary to read the entire book to see how this household fits into the larger setting.

The elements that comprise the situation are rarely static. Participants, time, place, and other variables of the situation to be discussed in later sections may change as the discourse progresses. If this happens, any words that refer to these elements will be subject to continually changing definitions. A typical example is the following:

- (17) R: Why don't we all have lunch
 C: Okay so that would be in St. Jude's would it?
 R: Yes
 (0.7 second pause)
 C: Okay so:::
 R: One o'clock in the bar
 C: Okay
 R: Okay?
 C: Okay then thanks very much indeed George=
 R: All right
 C: // See you there
 R: See you there
 C: Okay
 R: Okay // bye
 C: bye
 (Quoted in Levinson, 1983, pp. 316-317)

Here, place is referred to alternately as "St. Jude's," "the bar," and "there." In this text, these words all mean "where we will have lunch." However, the context evolves with the varying specificity of the place words. "St. Jude's" is less specific than "bar." On the other hand, "there" has varying degrees of specificity because of being a pointing word. Depending on the situation, "there" could refer to "St. Jude's," the "bar," or even part of the street near the restaurant. Unlike the place element, the time element in this example does not evolve. The only reference to time is the specific designation, "one o'clock."

Conversations such as this text often contain the most complex examples of evolving contexts. Producer and interpreter exchange roles in every move, and usually the different elements of the situ-

Consider how the elements in the following text conform to van Dijk's criteria for normal ordering:

- (23) Not only the floors, but the walls ... as well, were full of colourful coverings, which, to Mother's eye, seemed to be original Persian rugs. They were fascinating, not thick, but of a dense weave. The rich soft colours and intricate designs were a feast to the eyes. The one on the dining room wall felt like rich velvet to the touch, and must have been a representation of the eternal Garden of Eden, with exotic trees, some never-seen flowers, and splendidly featured mythical birds, drinking and flapping their magnificent wings around small aquamarine pools. (Baum, 1990, p. 71)

Table 1.2 indicates some of the items in this text that contribute to the pattern of normal ordering. To establish that normal ordering is crucial to texture, try reversing the order of some of the elements in this text. A great deal of explanation and clarification will be necessary to maintain an acceptable degree of texture, as in the following (partial) attempt: "Flapping their magnificent wings around small aquamarine pools, splendidly featured mythical birds *appeared among* exotic trees and some never-seen flowers. *All this, from what must have been a representation of the eternal Garden of Eden, was portrayed in a hanging,* velvet to the touch, on the dining room wall." Note that the added phrases, given in italics, contain prepositions, which are needed to establish the relations between items that are no longer in normal, or expected order. Even so, it is obvious that texture has suffered somewhat in this experiment. Normal ordering of topic information is clearly a part of what is perceived as texture.

Topic structuring varies across several different kinds of discourse. Examine once again the text given as Example 19:

TABLE 1.2
Normal Ordering in Example 23

<i>Mentioned first</i>	<i>Mentioned next</i>
floors, walls (general)	coverings (particular)
Persian rugs (whole)	thickness, weave (components)
Persian rugs (set)	one on dining room wall (elements)
Garden of Eden (including)	trees, flowers, birds (included)
mythical birds (possessing)	wings (possessed)