13th annual conference of the Centre of Excellence in Estonian Studies



Subjectivity and Intersubjectivity in Language and Culture

May 12-13, 2022, Tartu

Abstracts

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Estonian Literary Museum Centre of Excellence in Estonian Studies

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Dear participant,

On behalf of the Centre of Excellence in Estonian Studies we warmly welcome you in Tartu. We hope that your stay in Tartu will be a success and that you will take back many inspiring ideas and colourful memories.

Subjectivity refers to the fact that speakers and writers, authors and presenters do not only convey content, but also express themselves, weaving attitudes, assessments and emotions into their texts and works. Intersubjectivity refers to relations with the discourse partner(s) woven into the text or work: the listener, reader, audience, co-presenter, another character in the work, or another work. Thus, these phenomena can be found in different spheres of activity of the Centre of Excellence in Estonian Studies. The aim of the conference is to discuss what is common and what is distinctive in (inter)subjectivity in language, literature, folk culture, music, philosophy, and computer interaction, as well as what connections can be identified between different types of (inter)subjectivity.

The presentations handle different aspects of (inter)subjectivity, for example:

- (means of) expression of modality, deicticity, expressiveness, and emotionality
- entrenchment of (inter)subjectivity in grammar
- discourse actions and their means of expression in language and creative work
- (inter)subjectivity in computer interaction
- corpus studies of (inter)subjectivity
- politeness and impoliteness
- truth-telling and lying
- authentic, imitated and altered (inter)subjectivity
- (inter)subjectivity in different genres, text types, and registers
- (inter)subjectivity in beliefs and mythology
- performance as collaboration

PLENARY TALK ABSTRACTS

Dialogicity, Egophoricity, and Epistemicity: Ontologies and Domains

Henrik Bergqvist (Stockholm University)

Epistemicity constitutes a conceptual-functional domain that concerns knowledge representation and knowledge attribution. It originates with the speech-act participants and their dialogic exchanges. Egophoricity (i.e. reference to the speech-act participants) is the obvious starting point for an exploration of this domain. Dialogicity allows for analyses of epistemic forms that extend beyond the mental state of a solitary consciousness, and include interactional concerns that shape how knowledge is represented and claimed. All true epistemics are deictic, meaning that their referential value is anchored in the speech situation, and as such, epistemics situate propositions with respect to the beliefs and knowledge of the speech-act participants in a way that is analogous to how demonstratives are used to situate people, objects, times, and places to the speaker and the addressee. The cultural constraints on linguistic interactions that feature some aspect of epistemicity are clearly visible in lexical and grammatical forms, and patterns. It is within a dialogical framework of analysis that the negotiation of epistemic rights, responsibilities and obligations becomes visible as the speech-act participants assume their respective stances to events and propositions in the world of discourse.

This talk outlines an approach for the study of epistemics that uses the speech-act participants' origo as starting point, and which pays attention to the distribution of epistemic forms across turns. It is argued that the contextualized use of forms is crucial to their analysis and that the exploration of epistemology in language benefits from interactional and socio-cognitive approaches. As our knowledge of indigenous minority languages from all over the world grows, so does our awareness of the rich diversity of epistemic marking systems that promise to inform our understanding of what is true and known. The multitude of possible perspectives and communicative settings, which at times challenge both our imagination and our methods, are important parts of this exploration.

(Inter)subjectivity in Humour: How the Speaker's Unsaid Becomes the Hearer's Funny

Władysław Chłopicki (Jagiellonian University)

In this talk, I will rush through various concepts of intersubjectivity prominent in philosophy (other minds), social psychology (relationship), social anthropology and intercultural research (phatic communion, high context, face), and move on to communication models (channel and noise), the linguistic concepts of ideal (model) speaker and hearer (as argued by Chomsky, Eco, or Raskin), and pragmatic notions of intentionality (Grice) and (over)interpretation (Eco). This background will inform the discussion on the nature of humorous communication. It is disputed (esp. by cognitive linguists and humour scholars) whether humorous texts involve different inferential strategies than non-humorous texts - I will claim that the strategies are similar but not identical, the major difference being the pivotal role of the unsaid (cf. Dolitsky's early work on the notion, Freud's tendencies and humour taboos, and Raskin's concept of sophistication); it hinges on the assumption of intersubjectivity in the sense of availability of shared knowledge of participants in a humorous interaction, subjective as the sense of the funny may be from the point of view of individual speakers/hearers. Relatedly, the identification of humour or metaphor processing (cf. work by Chłopicki and Laineste) has been shown as dependent on the specifics of contextual interaction as well as the ease of inferrability of concealed references; both rely on a greater or smaller degree of intersubjectivity, although the latter is of more immediate use in humour as without it the message remains uninterpretable. One simple way to deal with the question of intersubjectivity in humour (on the example of the humour involving the visual) is filling the information gaps by asking three simple questions: What do we see here? Which (public) issue is being addressed? What does humour do? Interesting attempts to do just that are available on the recent website humorinpublic.eu.

ABSTRACTS

Deriving Bias from Intonation in Bangla Negative Questions

Samir Alam (University of Southern California)

Negation in English polar questions can be preposed or in-situ. Preposed (Isn't John coming?) the question carries the bias that the speaker expects the proposition without negation to be true. In-situ (Is John not coming?) this bias is not mandatory. A body of literature has derived the bias the syntactically high position of preposed negation in Biased Negation Questions (BNQs) as opposed to in-situ in Non-Biased Negation Questions (NNQs) from negation scoping over an operator and creating an unbalanced partition. This operator has been posited to be a context managing operator (Romero & Han 2004; Krifka 2017) or an epistemic necessity modal (Silk 2019; Goodhue 2021). While this literature has largely focused on English, clause-peripheral negation is associated with speaker-oriented bias in other unrelated languages such as Japanese (Ito & Oshima 2014; Shimoyama et al. 2019), Hungarian (Gyuris 2017), and Korean and German (Romero & Han 2004). Although the cross-linguistic association of bias with clause-peripheral negation supports the view that bias is derived from negation scoping over a leftperipheral operator, the lack of an overtly pronounced rendition of this operator in any language might raise scepticism as to its existence. Bangla has no overt height distinction in negation between NNQs and BNQs, with sentence final-negation in both. NNQs have an HL% boundary tone and an optionally pronounced Q particle ki, while BNQs have an H% boundary tone and cannot have ki. I propose that Romero's and Han's (2004) VERUM operator is overtly pronounced in Bangla BNQs as an H% boundary tone, and an account where negation can scope both above and below VERUM is necessary to capture two morphologically distinct BNQ constructions in the Bangla perfect aspect and with stage level predicates.

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What Exactly is Interesting Here? An Interrogative Sentence Type under Question

Marri Amon (University of Tartu)

My presentation will focus on a non-canonical interrogative sentence type in Estonian composed of the adjective *huvitav* (interesting) and an interrogative clause (polar or wh-question). These sentences are described in Estonian grammar as interrogatives that function as complements (indirect questions), where a subject clause is subordinated to an elliptical main clause (Erelt 2017: 686–687).

Huvitav, kust see komme pärit on? 'Interesting, where does this tradition come from?'

These clauses are said to come always as a reaction to previous information (ibid.) and are formed either as interrogative or assertive clauses. Based on interactional data, L. Keevallik (2011) has argued that instead of considering these constructions as typical subordinate clauses, they could be seen as independent clauses preceded by an epistemic device. In her data, these clauses are always treated as questions by the speakers. These clauses seem to share properties with a number of interrogative clauses: rhetorical questions, self-addressed questions, tentative questions (Farkas 2020), and information requests. Based on 70 written examples from fiction and non-fiction texts from the Estonian-French bilingual corpus and a comparable number of examples of public speech (verbatim reports and video recordings of sittings of the Estonian Parliament), I will discuss the grammatic, pragmatic, and semantic features of these constructions. Comparison with translations from or into French will help to shed light on different ways of treating these interrogatives, depending on the type of discourse (direct speech in dialogue/inner speech of the narrator/reported speech), the communicative purpose of the sentence, and the presence/absence of the addressee and his/her assumed knowledge status.

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Traditional Udmurt Greetings, and Modern Greetings on the Internet

Nikolai Anisimov^a, Galina Glukhova^b (^aEstonian Literary Museum, Tartu, Estonia; ^bUdmurtian University)

The report examines Udmurt greetings and good wishes as a separate phenomenon of modern Udmurt culture, which has become one of the brightest genres of modern folklore and actively functions in the Internet. The source of the study is material from two VKontakte pages "Lymshor bere. 'Mynam Udmurtie' Radio" ("Afternoon. 'My Udmurtia' radio") and "Zechkylanyos" ('Greetings'). These communities were chosen for two reasons: 1) they are very popular today with the Udmurt Internet community; 2) there is a constant accumulation of greetings texts, which creates a rich source base for the study. The genre of traditional good wishes, which is transforming into modern greetings, is actively projected into the virtual space. Analysis of modern greetings in Udmurt in the Internet as a post-folkore genre allows us to draw some preliminary conclusions. The genre of Internet greetings has a stereotypical structure, stable themes and motifs, common formal features representing positive emotional concepts and an important system of values for the modern Udmurt. The study shows that traditional good wishes are being replaced by cliched greetings, in which an emotional-expressive and aesthetic saturation of the text prevails, aimed at evoking joyful, pleasant feelings in the addressee(s), with a belief in the magic power of words receding to the background.

Vampiric Intersubjectivity in Late 1980s Estonia

Epp Annus (Tallinn University)

This presentation proceeds from the premise that any subjecthood is relational and is grounded on intersubjective networks. I analyse intersubjective networks in Mati Unt's postmodern novel *Doonori meelespea* ('Donor's Guidelines' 1990). Unt's novel is a clever and ironic rewriting of Bram Stoker's *Dracula*. Unt mixes the vampire narrative with contemporary political events, thus presenting a literary image of the era's cultural excitement. His vampire story plays with ideas of national independence and refers to heated discussions on the topic of a self-governing Estonia. Unt's contemporary Dracula figure forswears his sanguinary predilections in deference to Estonians' "strivings toward liberty" and their "natural right to determine [their] own course and conduct business in [their] own fashion, their undeniable wish to be a free people in a free country".

In Unt's novel, the kiss of the vampire, an affective bodily encounter, provides the model of an intersubjectivity that is erotically charged, contagious and destructive. By the end of the novel, however, the vampire is "tamed" and the contagion disrupted. This presentation ruminates upon the curious "taming of the vampire" in the context of Unt's postmodern aesthetics. I conclude by outlining some dominant subject positions and the accompanying intersubjective networks in the late 1980s Estonian cultural sphere.

Intersubjective Aspects of Language acquisition: The Puzzle of Second-person

Reili Argus^a, Anne Tamm^b (^aTallinn University, ^bKaroli University)

The major debates in linguistics have for decades centered around the learnability of language, with scholars positioning themselves between the opposite poles of the role of nature and nurture in their views on language acquisition. On the basis of pilot studies of Estonian and Hungarian CHILDES corpora, we present the puzzle of the second-person in child language. We present a discussion the pros and cons of the approaches available to solve the puzzle.

What is the puzzle of the second-person in child language? On the basis of the CHILDES files of Bodor (Hungarian) and Kapanen (Estonian), it is evident that while caregivers' grammar abounds in second-person forms, children's speech spectacularly lacks them. Why should this be so? The presentation discusses the following hypotheses:

- Hypothesis 1: Children lack the structures or concepts for second-person at an early age.
- Hypothesis 2: The low frequency of second-person forms in the caregiver language.
- Hypothesis 3: Second-person forms are more complex than the massively used first-person forms.
- Hypothesis 4: Children lack the second-person because of cognitive constraints; specifically, they lack the necessary interpersonal communication (Theory of Mind) capacities to take the viewpoint of the interlocutor, the caregiver.
- Hypothesis 5: The caregiver/child communication culture regulates the use of second-person by caregivers and children.

Hypothesis 1

"Children lack the structures or concepts for second-person at an early age" can be discarded on the grounds that there is nothing seemingly innate that would prevent children from forming second-person forms as opposed to first-person forms, which appear rather early.

Hypothesis 2

"The low frequency of second-person forms in the caregiver language" can also be discarded. The abundant caregiver input shows that frequency is not among the reasons for the lack of second-person forms in output. One explanation could involve a later start for the production of verbs as opposed to nouns, but even once verbs start to be used, they are typically first-person or roots (see Argus 2008). In the analysed corpus fragment of the children aged 2;2, the only instances of verbs were *szopi* (*szopi*-) 'suck', an inflectionless form, and *deom* (*tudom*: know-1SG.DEF) 'I know it' (Hungarian has a conjugation class for transitive verbs with definite objects). The caregiver uses 46 verbs in the same fragment, of which one is second-person plural, two are infinitives, four are first-person singular, 11 are third-person, and 26 are second-person singular. In the Estonian corpora children use the first verbs at age 1;7 (two verbs *ei saa* 'can.1.SG.NEG', *ei taha* 'want'1. SG.NEG', two verbs without person suffixe -b uju- 'swim', pese- 'wash'). There are 52 different verbs in caregivers' speech (no first-person forms, second-person forms from 20 verbs, third-person forms from 20 verbs, 1.PL from 8 verbs, 3.PL from 6 verbs).

Hypothesis 3

"Second-person forms are more complex than the massively used first-person forms." Indeed, the Hungarian second-person singular forms could be regarded as somewhat more complex phonologically or morphologically as the forms of definite and indefinite conjugations frequently involve more syllabic variety than the first-person (*tudok* 'I can/know', INDEF, bisyllabic vs *tudom* 'I know', DEF, bisyllabic and *tudsz* 'you can/know', INDEF, monosyllabic vs *tudod* 'you know', DEF, bisyllabic). However, the complexity of second-person forms would not explain why they are missing as opposed to third-person forms, which are equally complex with regard to complexity, viz. syllabic variation in Hungarian (*tud* 's/he can/know', INDEF, monosyllabic vs *tudja* 's/he can/know', DEF, bisyllabic). However, Estonian second-person singular forms are not more complex than the first-person.

Hypothesis 4

"Children lack second-person because of cognitive constraints; specifically, they lack the necessary interpersonal communication (Theory of Mind) capacities to take the viewpoint of the interlocutor (the caregiver)." Based on Cadinu and Kiesner (2000), we would expect children to understand the mental processes of the second-person at the age of three (cf. De Villiers 2007). However, even if the necessary Theory of Mind to take the other's perspective is present, children's use of the second-person still does not match the amount of the caregiver's use in the corpora, not even at a later age.

Hypothesis 5

"The caregiver/child communication culture regulates the use of second-person by caregivers and children." Since we have exhausted other options, this hypothesis seems most plausible and deserves further elaboration. The elaboration at this stage means looking for methods, data from different cultures, and theories to verify, refine, or reject the hypothesis. One way to explain the second-person puzzle is via the framework of natural pedagogy (Csibra and Gergely 2011), which allows a combination of the previous hypotheses. Initially, the more complex forms and the viewpoint of the interlocutor may hinder the use of second-person singular by a child vis-à-vis the caregiver, although the discrepancy is rather explained by the typical features of caregiver language that reflects the quest to find out the communicative intent of the child and the need to instruct the child.

We can expect the parental communication cultural norms to explain the lag in the production of second-person singular forms on the side of the child, far beyond the adequacy of the cognitive or linguistic capacities. In this case, we would expect cultural variation in the ratio of the use of second-person by children vis-à-vis CDS as a function of the parents' social and cultural background.

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Childes.Bodor950227.cha

Other/Hungarian/Bodor/950227.cha,hun|Bodor|PAN|2;2.13|female|||Child||| Childes. Kapanen.

Dialectal Variation of Udmurt Discourse Particles

Timofey Arkhangelskiy (Universität Hamburg)

Udmurt (Uralic > Permic) has a number of very frequent modal or discourse clitics. Zubova (2019) has shown that language variety and register affect how they are used in Udmurt, at least frequency-wise. In this talk, I am going to present the preliminary results pertaining to geographic distribution of discourse particles in Udmurt and their syntactic properties. The talk is based on my fieldwork data collected in 2021 in 10 settlements across Udmurt-speaking areas (including all four supradialects), as well as on several Udmurt corpora. I am primarily interested in particles that in the standard language have the form *uk* 'after all'; *na* 'still', 'else'; ńi 'already'; and a 'question particle'. The main points I am concerned with are the following:

- Different dialects have different repertoires of particles. Apart from minor variation across dialects, such as ńi / ińi / ni / ini / iń, southern peripheral varieties tend to use *aj/ej* instead of *na*. Tatyshly Udmurt (Bashkortostan) also has *eś* instead of *uk*; some other southern varieties seem to have no equivalent to *uk* at all. Additionally, ńi can be seen as equivalent to inde in Tatarinfluenced areas.
- 2. Despite the difference in form, the meanings of particles such as *aj/ej* and *na* seem to be rather similar. This means that there is a significant overlap in the repertoire of functions of modal particles across Udmurt dialects, even if the sets of particles look different *prima facie*.
- 3. Different pairs of particles have different mutual orderings when used with the same host, for example =*uk*=*na* vs. =*na*=*uk*. The distribution of orderings between *uk*, *na* and ńi is geographic and does not depend on the context within each dialect. This means their ordering is template-like and does not reflect their scope (unlike with some other pairs of particles).

Finally, dialects differ in whether they prefer to attach the clitics to the negative verb or to the main verb (or both) in sentences with negation.

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Masculine (Inter)Subjectivities and the Ocean in Plus rien que les vagues et le vent (2014) by Christine Montalbetti

Sara Bédard-Goulet (University of Tartu)

Plus rien que les vagues et le vent (2014), a contemporary novel by French author Christine Montalbetti, borrows from the road novel genre to intertwine the itineraries of several characters who end up in a small town on the coast of Oregon. Quickly, we learn from the narrator of these characters' stories that "all of that, is to blame on the ocean" (Montalbetti 2014: 86), while several passages in the novel describe the relentless violence of the ocean. The novel builds up tension until the final outcome, when the narrator is beaten up by the local boss' henchman for no apparent reason. Set in the aftermath of the economic crisis of 2008, it shares similarities with testimonial narratives, although the narrator remains an outsider to the community that he describes. Plus rien que les vagues et le vent provides a striking depiction of the dynamics between the individual and the community, where social issues and homosociality partake in the construction of contemporary masculine subjectivities tied with toxic practices. Moreover, the central presence of the ocean, tightly enmeshed with the characters' bodies, insists on the bodily implications of gender performativity while challenging the common feminine representations of waves. In this paper, I argue that the ocean and its materiality form a model to think current "hybrid masculinities", i.e. (inter)subjectivities that emerge from a hybridity of patterns in an ongoing process of negotiation. On the basis of "wet ontologies", i.e. relational ontologies of becoming, I show how male figures in Montalbetti's novel develop in a world "that is unreliable, inconsistent, wholly provisional, and unstable" (Anderson 2012: 575), where "normative constraints are shifting but [...] sustai[n] existing ideologies and systems of power and inequality" (Bridges & Pascoe 2014: 247), so that (inter)subjectivity cannot be equated to a simple opposition between the individual versus an overarching system.

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Vy mne khamite: A Corpus-Based Analysis of Inappropriate Communicative Behavior in Russian

Marco Biasio^a, Victoriya Trubnikova^b (^aUniversità degli Studi di Padova, ^b Peoples' Friendship University of Russia (RUDN))

Khamstvo is a complex socio-cognitive attitude at the intersection of several impoliteness-based relational behaviours ("khamstvo est' ne čto inoe, kak grubost', naglost', nakhal'stvo, vmeste vzjatye, no pri etom – umnožennye na beznakazannost": cf. Dovlatov 2005), which has often been claimed to be a cross-Slavic sociocultural constant (Ogiermann & Suszczyńska 2011: 201–202) and, more specifically, a defining characteristic of Russian communication etiquette, either verbal or semiotic *lato sensu* (Khimik 2012). The conversational instantiation of khamstvo has to do with a substantial mismatch between the Speaker's and the Hearer's mutual socio-communicative expectation, that is, a deliberate disregard of the interlocutor's subjectivity and his or her role in the speech act event (Sbisà 2021), which hampers the process of presupposition accomodation between the core and the emerging components of the common ground (Grice 1975; Kecskés & Zhang 2009).

Since the linguistic expression of khamstvo is not uniquely associated with one or more formal features (Burjakovskaja 2019; Volkova 2013) but, rather, can be brought about by a variable combination of lexical (for example, blasphemies, mat), suprasegmental (for example, unusual intonational curves and voice raising) and non-verbal strategies (for example, facial expressions), purely linguistic studies may face several difficulties in detecting and disentangling khamstvo within a specific communicative situation. The present contribution aims thus to provide a holistic approach to khamstvo within a dynamic pragmatic framework by analysing a statistical sample of 500 examples of varying length from the Russian National Corpus (NKRJa). Examples are sorted on the basis of explicit metapragmatic comments, remarks, and cues on the contextual presence and nature of khamstvo perceived as such by the Speaker(s), the Hearer(s), or both, which include the use of kham-based keywords (among others, kham-X 'boor', kham-stv-X 'boorishness', kham-sk-X / kham-stv-enn-X 'boorish', kham-ski 'boorishly', pokham-ski 'in a boorish manner', conjugated forms of kham-it'[IPF] and na-kham-it'[PF] 'to be boorish', and the like).

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Intersubjectivity and the Expressivity of Subjectivity in Languaging for Specific Purposes: The Case of Multimodal Corpora in the Light of Enactivism and Enactive Linguistics

Didier Bottineau (CNRS/ École normale supérieure de Lyon)

This study is based on multimodal corpora currently being designed or developed, such as CLAPI-ELE (interactivity for specific purposes in professional environments in Spanish) and a corpus about how speakers of the same language experience and confront their dialects (and the subjective and collective representations that stem from intercultural confrontations). The goals of these corpora include at least the following two lines of research:

(i) Theoretical and empirical research in enactive linguistics: how does verbal embodied interactivity specify and distribute the co-emerging subjectivities and their expressions by multimodal channels (linguistic forms as vocal activity in association with prosody, gesturing, gazing, mimicking, attitudes)?

(ii) The didactics of foreign languages for specific purposes (language learning and teaching in engineering schools): how do such corpora provide insights and resources for an improved understanding of the aims of training (with a view to introducing 4 E cognition views – embodied, embedded, enactive, extended in language teaching and evaluating practices)?

In this paper, I will show that these corpora provide illuminating samples of how experienced and observable subjectivities (construed from interactive viewpoints) are shaped by ongoing embodied interactivity which is itself profiled by the distributed outlooks on the specific purposes of the conversation in its social, cultural, institutional and professional context. The theoretical import is that markers of subjectivity (defined as such from a third-person phenomelogical perspective) could also be envisaged as operators (from a first-person perspective) which operate in distributed ways both multimodally (verbal and non-verbal processes, described as first and second-order constructs) and intersubjectively (these operators coordinate emerging viewpoints).

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Perception of Questions with a Bouletic Bias

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In everyday communication we use different ways to express desires. One way to indirectly express desires is by asking questions with a bouletic bias (1, 2), for example, "May I sit here?". In the absence of lexical markers, speakers use prosody to mark this bias (3): positive bias is frequently produced with a rise-fall-rise (L+H* L-H%), negative bias with slow speech rate and a final high plateau (H* H-%) and neutral polar questions with high final rise (L* H-^H%). The present study tested the effect of nuclear tunes and speech rate on listener's perception of bouletic bias, using three semantic differentials [4]: openness, agreement, and politeness (for example, 5).

We created 8 syntactically unbiased positive polar questions (PolQs), which were presented with 4 nuclear tunes (L* H- H , L* L-H%, L+H* L-H%, H* H-%, based on production data), crossed with 2 speech-rate conditions (fast vs. slow), both manipulated within-subjects and withinitems. The 64 questions were judged on three different seven-point Likert scales (between-subjects) by 36 native German participants (on-line experiment).

PolQs with high boundary tones (L* H-^H%) were more often judged as open, compared to low rises (L* L-H%) or high plateaus (H* H-%), but we found no effect of speech rate. Regarding agreement, questions with a slow speech rate and a final high plateau were more often judged as "speaker expects no as an answer", while a rise-fall-rise contour (L+H* L-H%) lead to more "speaker expects yes as answer" responses. Regarding politeness, questions that end in a high plateau (H* H-%) were judged less polite than questions with a final rise, but again speech rate had no effect.

These judgments suggest that German listeners are aware of the prosodic cues speakers use when signaling that an uttered question carries a positive or negative bouletic bias and interpret its meaning accordingly.

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What Makes a Question Rhetorical? Evidence from a Multiple-cue Perception Experiment

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The present study investigates the well-formedness of German rhetorical questions (RQs) based on different prosodic cues and their combinations. Previous production data show that RQs – compared to information-seeking questions – are realised with longer durations/slower speaking rates, an initial breathy voice quality and a specific intonational profile. Wh-questions: a steep-rising (LH)* accent and an almost obligatory fall (L-%); polar questions: a steep-rising (LH)* accent and a midhigh plateau (H-%) (Braun et al. 2019; Braun et al. 2020). Furthermore & Dehé et al. (submitted) found that speakers preferred wh-questions over other syntactic structures, when producing RQs.

To test whether there is a constitutive combination of prosodic events for polar and wh-RQs, we created 12 polar and 12 wh-questions, which were realised with a large range of combinations of prosodic features (four prenuclear accents, six nuclear accents, four edge tones, two voice qualities and two speech rates), resulting in 768 conditions (9,216 target items). To reduce the human labelling effort, target items were implemented in an Active Learning System (AL; Einfeldt et al. 2021). Each participant labelled 88 items as RQ or non-RQ. The system learned the cue weights from successive users of the system.

Preliminary results from 17 participants show that stimuli were more likely to be rated as RQs in cases of the following combinations of cues: (i) H-^H% or L-H% edge tones, breathy voice quality, no prenuclear accent and (LH)* nuclear accent; or (ii) (LH)* nuclear accent, breathy voice quality and long duration, based on random forest models. Hence, certain combinations of prosodic cues seem to be more suited for RQs than others, particularly regarding combinations including (LH)* accents and breathy voice quality. These results corroborate earlier production data, providing insights into the relevance of cue combinations for RQs.

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Irrealis Marked Interrogatives as Negative Rhetorical Questions

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This paper discusses two flavours of Rhetorical Question (RQ) in Sm'algyax (Tsimshianic) based on novel fieldwork. The first type (1) is morphosyntactically isomorphic to Ordinary Questions (OQs) — the wh-expression appears in a prepredicative position (contra baseline VSO), and extraction morphology indexes the grammatical role of the extracted element. The second type (2) shares this wh-movement and extraction morphology, but is additionally marked with the irrealis subordinator *dzi*. Type 1 questions are felicitous in information seeking contexts, where the Speaker assumes there is someone who can fly, and non-information seeking contexts, where the question functions as a non-interrogative speech act, suggesting that nobody can fly. Type 2 is only felicitous in the latter context.

- (1) Naa in =t baa -'n gipi'aayk'nsk who AGT.EXTR =3.1 run -CAUS Who can fly a plane?' OQ/RQ
- (2) Naa dzi in =t baa -'n gipi'aayk'nsk
 who IRR AGT.EXTR =3.1 run -CAUS
 Who can fly a plane?' = nobody can fly a plane RQ

In (2) we thus find a construction in line with analyses of RQs as negative statements distinct from OQs (Sadock 1974; Han 2002; see also Oguro 2014; 2018 for a similar obligatorily rhetorical question construction in Japanese). This finding runs counter to the claim in Caponigro and Sprouse (2007) that RQs are semantically/syntactically OQs but differ from them pragmatically (for RQs both the Speaker and Addressee are assumed to know the answer to the question).

I compare Type 1 and Type 2 questions in terms of answerability, ability to function as positive RQs, and appropriateness across a range of contexts, and suggest that Type 1 RQs can be analysed as pragmatically

distinct OQs (in line with Caponigro and Sprouse); Type 2 RQs I analyse based on independent analysis of interrogatives and the irrealis element *dzi*, which also appears in disjunction, conditionals, embedded polar questions, and subjunctive/irrealis clauses.

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Surprise Questions in English and French

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This talk addresses a specific type of non-canonical question, namely questions expressing surprise in English and French. Such questions are not information-seeking. In view of unexpected information, they conflate the expression of surprise and a request for an explanation. By focusing on what the hell questions in English, qu'est-ce que ['what + interrogative particle'] questions and c'est quoi ['it is what'] + right dislocation questions in French, it is argued that surprise may be encoded through various means that rely on the different interrogative structures available in each language. This has implications on the type of expressivity. In English, what always selects an argument and the interrogative phrase is directly modified by the hell, which is defined as an emotive modifier (Huddleston & Pullum 2002) or an attitude intensifier (Hoeksema & Napoli 2008). The what the hell phrase is necessarily in fronted position. It may occur in embedded or appositive position and express the subject referent's attitude, rather than the speaker's. In other words, expressivity can be displaced (Celle & Jugnet & Lansari 2021).

Although a comparable interrogative pattern does exist in French with a similar emotive modifier (diable 'devil') followed by subject-verb inversion, it is not the pattern that is chosen to convey surprise in contemporary spoken French. Que diable allait-il faire dans cette galère? ['why on earth did he get mixed up in this?'] (Molière) sounds typical of XVIIth century French. In contemporary spoken French, weak interrogative que followed by subject-verb inversion is uncommon. Several studies have pointed to the parallel development of (qu')est-ce que questions, with a fronted interrogative phrase and uninverted subject verb order, and in situ (quoi) questions, viewed as "allo-questions" (Boucher 2010), possibly reflecting conflicting norms in spoken and written French (Druetta 2018). In any case, diachronic data suggest that the in situ construction is no longer related to a specific pragmatic value in present-day French (Larrivée 2019) and that c'est quoi? questions far outnumber qu'est-ce que c'est ['what is it?'] questions in spoken French data (Lefeuvre 2015). Against this background, qu'est-ce que questions and c'est quoi questions may be regarded as two competing options to ask about the identity of an argument. This paper explores how each structure can be used to express surprise based on the data of several corpora (French Ten Ten, OFROM, ESLO) (Celle in press) and on the findings of a production experiment that compared string-identical information-seeking questions and surprise questions (Celle & Pélissier 2022). Syntactically, only non-argumental *qu'est-ce que* unambiguously encode surprise (*qu'est-ce que tu te plains?* 'why are you complaining?'). In the argumental use (*Qu'est-ce que tu racontes?* 'What are you talking about?'), as in the in situ question (*c'est quoi, ce discours?*, lit. "it is what, this speech?"), the surprise construal depends on the combination of several factors – lexical, indexical, discursive, prosodic – to allow for a non-referential reading of the interrogative word. In both cases, surprise appears to be encoded prosodically to differentiate between string-identical structures. This suggests that surprise questions are a complex speech act.

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Incredulity Questions as Challenging Speech Acts

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In this contribution to the non-canonical interrogatives workshop, we deal with one particular question expressing surprise, the so-called incredulity question (Postal 1972; Cole 1974). This question reacts to a previous speech act of arbitrary type, such as an assertion or command, with a close-to-verbatim repetition of that act, expanding the pitch range to a focus that identifies the locus of astonishment, as in:

- S1: I will get the job.
 S2: YOU / WHO will get the job?
- S1: Shut up!
 S2: SHUT UP? Don't talk to me like that!

On contrast to echo questions (Artstein 2002), incredulity questions do not request clarification of the locutionary part of the speech act, as this was well understood. In contrast to miratives such as You got the job! (cf. Rett 2021) they request a reaction by the first speaker.

We argue that incredulity questions express astonishment that the first speaker performed the initial illocutionary act, and elicit further motivation. The initial illocutionary act is present in the situational common ground, and is referred to by the incredulity question. We model illocutionary acts as changes in the situational common ground, which enables us to account for cases that do not involve initial speech acts, such as:

3. (On seeing strawberries at a farmer's market in winter) Strawberries in WINTER?

We represent incredulity questions as expressions of astonishment combined with an elicitation of a reaction. In (1), S2 effectively asks "In which of my belief/normative worlds does S1 assert that S1 will get the job?", which in this context is a rhetorical question as it is to be answered negatively (Cohen 2009). The expected communicative effect is that S1 is asked to give additional support for the initial illocutionary act, as in:

4. (1) + S_1 : Yes, because I speak three foreign languages.

Requesting reactions we model in Commitment Spaces (Krifka 2021).

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The Prosody of Non-canonical Questions in Plenary Sessions of the German Parliament

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Plenary sessions of the German Parliament are one of the vital components of the legislative process and are used as a platform to discuss new laws and present the stance of MPs regarding different issues and matters of state (Ismayr 2012). The speeches held within these sessions are usually monologues uttered with a persuasive intent and they present a widespread use of interrogative sentences which tend to lose their primary information-seeking function and are instead produced with a rhetorical intention (rhetorical questions, RQs) or in order to aid the narration or to keep the audience engaged (topic-setting questions, TSQs).

Both RQs and TSQs have peculiar structural and pragmatic features (Meibauer 1986, Bechmann 2007, Grèssillon 1980) which allow them to be defined as non-canonical (NCQs). In addition, prosody plays a key role in the realisation and marking of NCQs (Wochner *et al.* 2015, Braun *et al.* 2019) and also in the context of the plenary sessions an acoustic analysis of RQs and TSQs showed non-default intonational patterns and marked prosodic traits especially in pre-nuclear position (Damiazzi 2021).

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The Emergence of Interpersonal and Intertextual Forms in COVID-19 Storefront Communication

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This paper considers COVID-19 storefront communication in one specific context, the return to business after mandatory store closures. Our examples (214 photographs) were gathered in July and August 2020, just as stores and malls started re-opening in Vancouver, Canada. We compared the signs we saw with pre-COVID standard storefront signs (such as *Come in! We're Open* or *Sorry, we're closed*, see Dancygier 2021) and found that business interaction has shifted to a range of interpersonally-motivated forms, while also relying intertextually on the published rules imposed by health authorities.

Our research considers the following aspect of this communicative re-construal:

- relevant aspects of the underlying frames of safety and harm (Sweetser 1999);
- metaphorical re-construal of the concept of distance;
- the role of imperatives and negative statements (which intertextually evoke or literally quote well-publicised rules of safe behaviour);
- re-construal of the deictic dimensions of space and time, and
- of the interpersonal relationship between the Speaker (the store) and the Hearer (the customer).

Our analysis addresses a range of grammatical and lexical changes in storefront communication. For instance, instead of continuing to welcome shoppers (*Come in, We're open*), stores use a range of conditional constructions, where customers are asked not to enter unless they fulfil intertextually accessible conditions of safe conduct (*Stop – do not enter if you are sick or required to self isolate*). We also show how regulating entry into the store is accompanied by expressions of interpersonal involvement, which would have been inappropriate in pre-COVID times (*We care..., We've missed you, We are happy/excited*, etc.). Finally, we demonstrate how businesses play metaphorically on the required physical distancing and stress the intertextually accessible responsibilities

of all the parties involved (Stand together by standing apart, We believe in the healing power of together (from 2 metres apart), Together but 6 feet apart). Overall, we propose an interpretation of these shifts in storefront communication in terms of frame evocation, fictive interaction (Pascual 2014; Pascual and Sandler 2016) and fictive deixis (Dancygier 2021). We show how these concepts shape the interpersonal and intertextual aspects of the emergent forms.

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Naiste kogemus Tallinna pungiskeenedes üleminekul sovetlikust ühiskonnast postsovetlikku

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Vaatlen oma ettekandes naiste kogemust Tallinna punkskeenedes hilistel nõukogude aastatel (1970–1980) ning seejärel postsovetlikul perioodil (1990–2000). Keskendun sellele, kuidas jõudsid naised pungini, kuidas kogesid oma identiteeti punkskeenes ja peavoolukultuuris, samuti Tallinna linnaruumi rollile skeenede kujunemisel. Eriline rõhk on naiste skeenekogemuse püsivatel ja muutuvatel aspektidel ühiskonnas, mis oli tunnistajaks nõukogude võimu lagunemisele. Teoreetiline taust pärineb esmajoones subkultuuride ja soouuringute vallast. Analüüsimaterjali pakuvad süvaintervjuud skeenede liikmetega, samuti meediaanalüüs ning osalusvaatlus, mis tuleneb omaaegsest skeenekogemusest. Materjali analüüsimiseks olen valinud kvalitatiivse sisuanalüüsi, mh kontekstianalüüsi ja põhistatud teooria.
Rethinking Non-canonical Interrogatives: Instances of Rethorical Questions in Italian

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"The speech act of questioning involves a request for information" (Dayal 2016: 1). As described in the literature (Dardano & Trifone 1983; Prandi & De Santis 2019), in Italian, interrogatives are characterised by rising intonation (or a question mark in the written form) in order to formulate questions to which the addressee is asked to respond (for example, B: quanti siamo? D: dieci; Eng. B. how many of us are there? D: we're ten).

On the other hand, rhetorical questions (cfr. Koshik 2005), the answers to which no one is expected to give, are often considered the main example of non-canonical interrogatives (for example, B: *ma che paghiamo*? C: *no ma il discorso e' questo quando vengono a leggere*? Eng. B: 'we, paying?' C: 'anyway, when will they come to read?'). Because of the implicitness of their answers, linguists tend to exclude rhetorical questions from the set of the real questions, considering them linguistic devices of emphasis. Though as occurs in standard interrogatives – for which para- and extra-linguistic answers are valid replies – non-canonical questions (i.e. requests) can seek and obtain answers, included para- or extra-linguistic answers.

The aim of this paper is to propose a reassessment of the epistemological foundation of the categories of canonical and non-canonical questions (cfr. Farkas 2019; 2020). In this sense, it would be useful to classify questions considering the degree of participation, with canonical or non-canonical responses, of the addressee(s). So, analysing data extracted from an Italian spoken corpus (for example, VoLIP) we will focus on rhetorical questions *stricto sensu*, questions asked to the speaker him/herself, in order to investigate the "indeterminacy" of these interrogatives (Fava 1996) and the possible effects they aim to achieve, such as mitigation (Caffi 2007) or conversely impoliteness (Taylor 2016).

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From Plain Word Lists to Long Stories: The Expressivity in Wine Tasting Texts

Christine Demaecker (Université Libre de Bruxelles)

Wine tasting descriptions appear in various media and target many types of consumer; their expressivity varies considerably. These texts can be very short and limited to the enumeration of a series of wine descriptors but their structure can also be more elaborate and even describe imaginative scenarios. What is most striking in their expressivity is their unique terminology which lacks clear definitions and rests essentially on metaphors (Demaecker 2017).

The precise meaning of these descriptions often eludes the reader, whereas some critics sometimes qualify them as being esoteric and as if their creativity escaped any logic. Nevertheless, their rationale is cognitive, because they all express conceptual metaphors as described by Lakoff & Johnson (1980).

The analysis of a bilingual corpus compiled from two iconic wine guides (*Parker's Wine Buyer's Guide* and *Le Guide Hachette des Vins*) demonstrates that in English and French, wine tasting metaphors express identical conceptualisations, though with different grammatical elements. These differences reflect the stylistic characteristics of each language. The combination of various metaphors within the same tasting note generates a 'conceptual integration' or 'blend' as defined by Giles Fauconnier and Mark Turner, providing a unique mental image aimed at reproducing the taster's sensory perceptions.

Deriving an Ironic Reading in Expressive Interrogative-like Contexts with *ote* in Basque

Arantzazu Elordieta (University of the Basque Country (UPV/EHU))

The Basque modal particle ote has been described as a particle with an epistemic conjectural value (see especially and more recently Monforte 2020a-b). In its canonical use, it typically occurs in main as well as embedded questions, although in this work I focus on an undescribed dialectal use of this particle in exclamative contexts (see (1) below). Its main interest lies on two facts: on the one hand, as suggested by the compulsory presence of the *-en* complementiser, it displays the syntax of an embedded sentence, despite the (obligatory) absence of a main verb. On the other hand, its interpretation differs from the canonical ote in that the former forces an interpretation on the proposition which expresses the opposite of what is uttered. In this sense, it resembles ironic rhetorical questions. The question arises as to what licenses the presence of that particular complementiser (as opposed to other declarative complementisers), and what triggers the opposite reading on the proposition.

I compare these utterances with other uses of the particle in canonical questions, and sketch an approach to the syntactic and semantic behaviour of this special use of ote on the basis of previous analyses on the particle in Basque and on (rhetorical) exclamatives in other languages (a.o. Zanuttini & Portner 2003; Castroviejo 2008; Villalba 2008; Andueza & Gutierrez-Rexach 2010; Andueza 2011; Escandell & Leonetti 2014; Bosque 2017; Trotzke & Villalba 2021). Since these constructions imply neither a focal nor a (high) degree interpretation on a gradable property or quantity, I posit that they are not canonical exclamatives, but rhetorical questions with an exclamatory content, and derive their syntax and (negative) interpretation by postulating an elided main V akin to duda egin 'doubt'.

(1)

A	.:	Anak esan dit			diskotekak	01:00etan	itxiko	dituzte-la
		Ana say aux discos		01:at	close	aux-COMP		
	'Ana told me that discos will close at 01:00'							

B:	(Bai!)	Neu	joan	ote	naiz-en	diskoteketara	egoera	honetan	
	(yes!) I go OTE aux-COMP		discos.to	situation	this.in				
	(Lit.: Yes/Really! whether I go to discos in this situation!)								
	('Really!) I would never go to discos in this situation!'								

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Rhetorical Questions in Varieties of Italian

Maria F. Ferin (University of Konstanz)

Rhetorical questions (RhQs) are non-canonical questions the intended answer to which is considered to be obvious to both speaker and addressee (Biezma & Rawlins 2017; Caponigro & Sprouse 2007). When compared to canonical information-seeking questions (ISQs), RhQs may be marked by additional linguistic cues, for example prosody (Dehé et al. 2021), particles (Coniglio 2008), lexical elements, or gestures (Ippolito 2021). Although some studies have investigated RhQs in Italian from a pragmatic point of view (Anzilotti 1982; Stati 1982), few have addressed their linguistic form (Fava 1994; 1995), mostly focussing on a formal variety of Italian. To date, no study addressed what cues mark RhQs in informal, spoken varieties of Italian. Given the high amount of regional variation in Italian, the goal of this study is to explore a) what lexical and morphosyntactic cues mark RhQs in Italian, and b) whether regional variation can be found.

Eighty-nine Italian native speakers took part in an elicited production study, carried out online through SoSci Survey (Leiner 2019). Participants read a context and were given one or two words. They had either to record (oral elicitation) or translate from English (written elicitation) an RhQ or an ISQ containing the given words.

The adversative sentence-initial particle *ma*, 'but', was the most frequent cue in the dataset. This cue is a marker for non-canonical question that express a conflict with the context of utterance (Ippolito 2021). Very frequent were also cues that relate to information structure, for example, clitic right dislocation (which marks a familiar topic) and cleft constructions (which mark a contrastive focus). Other cues included particles (*mai* 'ever', *e* 'and') and a morphological modification of the verb (conditional mood, future tense, reflexive form). In this talk, I will present the cues in more detail and discuss how each cue could relate to RhQs, exploring regional variation in use.

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Playing with Language to Create Humour in Estonian and Belarusian COVID-19 Memes

Anastasiya Fiadotava, Piret Voolaid (Estonian Literary Museum)

Wordplay is one of the most recurrent techniques used to create humour. Puns, rhymes and other types of wordplay are often the first forms of humour to appear as a reaction to disastrous events (Kuipers 2005). Such jokes are often difficult to translate into other languages. However, the global context of the coronavirus pandemic, as well as the universality of the SARS-CoV-2 virus colloquial name in many languages ("coronavirus" in English, "koroonaviirus" in Estonian, "коронавирус" in Russian, "каранавірус" in Belarusian) has made COVID-19 language jokes suitable material for comparative analysis.

This presentation is the first attempt to categorise COVID-19 wordplay jokes and internet memes according to the type of wordplay that accounts for the humorous effect. Wordplay humour will be analysed with the help of linguistic theories of humour and folklore studies approaches. The analysis reveals that most of the wordplay humour in memes is intentional (for example, wordplay which is based on paronymy, homonymy with its subtypes of homography and homophony, metathesis, etc.). In addition to looking for universal types of wordplay humour in our dataset, we will also focus on how global pandemic terms have been adapted to local language contexts.

We also consider the diachronic aspects of the spread of this humour, and will look at how the previously known cultural texts (for example fixed language units such as proverbs and idioms) are reused to make humorous memes (see also Hiiemäe et al. 2021). In our analysis of memes we pay attention also to the visual elements and the role of multimodality (Yus 2019) in meaning-making, and to the intersubjectivity of humorous internet discourse, which allows for asynchronous dialogue between meme creators and sharers.

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A Semantic Investigation of Biased Interrogatives in Camuno

Matteo Fiorini (University of Utah)

The paper offers a formal analysis of the properties of biased interrogatives (Krifka 2011) in Camuno, a Gallo-Romance variety spoken in Vallecamonica (northern Italy). By using the particle *po*, a conventional implicature is added to the question (Potts 2015).

In declarative structures, *po* conveys the surprise of the speaker over the discrepancy between their beliefs and those of the addressee (cf. also Cognola & Cruschina 2021). In wh-interrogatives two readings can be identified. In (1), the speaker initially believes that given y-->□p, but learns from some relevant source that p=0. *Po* triggers the implicature in (1b).

laure-la	Ndoe	ро	la	ho	htfèta?		
work=cl.3sg.f	Where	ро	det	his	daughter		
'Where does his daughter work?'							

a.

b. +> Since she always has lunch in Breno, I was sure she worked there, and I can't think of other possibilities.

In (2), the speaker knows that the addressee wants to send his son to bording school. However, the speaker is not aware of an event that warrants such a punishment. The implicature triggered by "po" is given in (2b).

a-l	Fat	kè	ро	al	to	fiol?	
have.3sg=cl.3sg.m	do.prt	what	ро	det	your	son	
'What did your son do?'							

a. b. +> it must be something serious that I don't know about.

The felicity conditions for po are related to the existential presuppositions in (3a) and (3b) for (1) and (2) respectively:

- (3) a. $\exists x | (y -> x)$, where $x \neq p$.
 - b. $\exists x | (x >q)$, where $x \neq p$.

Other observations discussed in the paper are that (i) discourse particles are not directly related to the illocutionary force of the clause; (ii) the interrogative readings are obtained by the simple existential addition to the declarative formalisation given in (Fiorini in press); (iii) the implicature in (3) motivates the ungrammaticality of *po* in polar questions.

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On the Overlapping Discourse Functions of Spanish "cómo que" and French "comment ça (que)" Interrogatives

Jan Fliessbach, Lisa Brunetti, Hiyon Yoo

Both French and Spanish use "cómo/comment" 'how' not only to question the manner/means of an event, but also to question the reasons for the possibility of the event, in which case the question comes with a counterexpectational effect (Fleury & Tovena 2018; Brunetti et al. in press; Rosemeyer 2021). Moreover, the forms "cómo que" 'how that+complementiser' for Spanish and "comment ca" 'how that+demonstrative' for French have an echo/clarification use in that the nucleus of the question repeats textually given linguistic material, as in (1) and (2) (Rosemeyer 2021). The interrogatives in the two languages differ in some respects. Syntactically, "cómo que" is an elliptical clefted interrogative (Rosemeyer 2021), whereas French "comment" is accompanied by the demonstrative "ça", which is coreferential with the subsequent citation. Furthermore, whereas Spanish "cómo que" does not occur as a sluice (Ross 1969) (3), this is the norm for French "comment ça" (4). The possibility of an ex-situ, non-sluiced/non-stripped use of "comment ca" (2) has only recently been acknowledged (Smirnova & Abeillé 2021). Such differences raise the guestion of the amount of overlap in the discourse functions of the two interrogatives.

Based on data from the OPUS Open Subtitles corpus (Lison & Tiedemann 2016; Tiedemann 2012), we present evidence for an overlap in discourse functions between the two constructions. We also present preliminary evidence for the possibility that "comment ça que", as used in (5), has less discourse-functional overlap with "cómo que" than "comment ça", in that a citation of a directly preceding segment is less common.

- a) Parece que sí.
 'It seems so.'
 b) ¿Cómo que parece que sí?
 'What do you mean, it seems so?' (Rosemeyer 2021)
- (2) a) Allez, Mlle Milligan, il faut vous décider.
 'Come on, Mlle Milligan, you need to decide.'
 b) Comment ça il faut me décider?
 'What do you mean, I need to decide?'

- (3) *¿Cómo que?
- (4) Comment ça?
- (5) a) Le gars à qui vous devez de l'argent !
 'The guy you owe money to!'
 b) Comment ça que tu sais ça, toi ?
 'How come you know that?'

Ukrainians as Reflected in the Hungarian Discourses in the Past and Present: Anthropology of Encounters in Neighbouring Cultures

Sándor Földvári (Debrecen University; Academy of Sciences of Hungary)

The taste of readers and their approach to foreign (especially neighbouring) cultures (i.e., to literature and language and culture in whole, considering the anthropological aspect) depends on the texts that are translated due to preferences of the cultural policy of the respective epoch. Beginnings of the reception of Ukrainian literature in Hungary evolved around the turn of the 19th century, when the emblematic author of the time, Ivan Franko, published his "History of Ukrainian Literature" in the Hungarian language, in a four-volume academic "General History of Literatures", issued in Budapest. Franko's friend Hiador Sztripszky translated many works by Franko into Hungarian. However, works of modernism and early symbolism in Ukrainian literature, such as those by Lesya Ukrayinka, were translated in an extremely limited quantity - albeit her reception flourished later on, in the second half of the 20th century. Around the turn of the 19th century, the folk-oriented literarians and historians, led by Sztripszky, edited a journal under a Latinized name "Ukrania" in 1916, thus in the culmination of World War I, with a purpose to make Hungarian readers acquainted with this neighbouring culture (Földvari 2014a, 2014b, 2019; Franko 1910; Gáspár 1964; Heinrich 1903-1911).

After WWI, the "taste-industry" changed. Departments of Slavic philology were closed during the Horthy-epoch, between the two world wars. Then, in the 1950s-60s, translations from Ukrainian literature were provided by the communist regime within the frameworks of Soviet literature (Isaevich 2006). However, the best and most gifted translators of Ukrainian poetry excellently interpreted the poetic forms, too. These were, for example, Sándor Weöres (translator of the whole *Kobzar* by Shevchenko), who translated from about a hundred languages, and was an excellent master of prosody and language games in literature as, for example, his peer in Estonian literature, Ain Kaalep; they both were polyglots, polyhistors, and masters of complicated literary forms. However, the translators of Ukrainian literature were talanted poets who read and understood the Ukrainian language; they took effort to distinguish the closely relative Russian and Ukrainian, as for the poetic and language forms. Lately, during the last decade, average Hungarians have disliked Ukrainians the most among all their neighbours, according to a statistical survey about the evaluation of neighbours by the Hungarian population.

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(De)terminologisation Processes in Wine Tasting Notes: How Expressive are Canonical and Noncanonical Hedonic Markers?

Laurent Gautier (Université de Bourgogne)

This talk analyses the so-called 'hedonic content' of wine tasting notes in German. Following the proposal of Gautier (2018), an important part of the terminology of wine tasting notes is made up of hedonic markers that cannot always be treated as terms – in the traditional meaning of technical/specialised terms – as they lack a consensual definition acknowledged by field experts. The main challenges of such markers concern at least the following three dimensions: (i) they are directly linked to the gustative experience of the taster/speaker and his/her experiential memory; (ii) they are also linked to the field knowledge and the degree of expertise of the taster/speaker, be it "true" knowledge or his/her ability to imitate expert discourse and (iii) they are mainly situated at the interface between sensory descriptors and 'pure' hedonic expressions.

More specifically, this study will discuss the semantic processes at work along this dividing line between terms and non-terms by analysing both terminologisation and determinologisation paths. It relies on a corpus of tasting notes in German, collected from online websites. The case study will be dedicated to the very interesting marker *mineralisch* (mineral), widely used to describe some types of white wine for about 15 years, and which exactly illustrates our research questions (cf. also Temmerman 2017). According to the degree of expertise, this term functions at both levels (sensory and/or hedonic marker) and thus presents a different load of expressivity.

Conjecture or Non-Intrusion? Hungarian "Vajon" and Rhetorical Questions

Hans-Martin Gärtner, Beáta Gyuris (Hungarian Research Centre for Linguistics and Eötvös Loránd University, Budapest)

Reflective Questions (RQs) are characterisable as "posings" rather than "askings" of questions (4), involving a suspended or otherwise modified "call on the addressee" (5). Refinements of this picture have been proposed in work on "Conjectural Questions" (CQs) by (1) and "Non-Intrusive Questions" (NIQs) and how they differ from CQs by (2). Here we test the predictions of these approaches regarding Hungarian "vajon"-Int(errogative)s, taken to be limited RQ-uses (3).

Crucial evidence for the status of "vajon"-Ints comes from their apparent compatibility with rhetorical uses (RHQs) ((i) "Van-e vajon más választása Magyarországnak, mint az Unióhoz való csatlakozás?" "Does Hungary have any other choice than joining the Union?"). According to (1), the parameters underlying CQs, roughly, the simultaneous absence of speaker, and addressee competence, are incompatible with RHQs. At the same time (2) takes Romanian "oare"-Ints, the paradigm example for NIQs, to support RHQ construal. Thus, on top of the canonical addressee options of resolving the question, "oare" would induce an NIQ-effect by adding the option of not resolving it. However, such "weakening addressee compliance" seems redundant where due to the "obvious answer" characteristic of RHQs, resolution automatically boils down to a single option, whence RHQs "are normally left unanswered" anyway. What's more, the same redundancy is considered responsible for banning "oare" from declaratives. Interrogative-based NIQs differ, though, in that their addressee options are "projected" before inconsistent ones are "discarded," so "oare" could operate at the projection stage.

As far as "vajon"-Ints go, the latter strategy seems problematic. "Vajon" cannot occur in bona fide RHQs ("Am I you mother?", declining response to childish request). In addition, the putative RHQ in (i) retains some degree of unresolvedness, as evidenced by context. Thus, in addition to further exploring the NIQ-RHQ-nexus (including self-address), we discuss affinities of "vajon"-Ints with CQs, arguing for an "equality of expertise"-constraint on conjecture.

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Pragmatic Particles, Roles and Registers: The Case of Estonian

Tiit Hennoste, Külli Prillop, Külli Habicht, Helle Metslang, Kirsi Laanesoo, Liina Pärismaa, Elen Pärt, Andra Rumm, Andriela Rääbis, Carl Eric Simmul (University of Tartu)

The topic of our presentation is the use of discourse particles in various Estonian language registers. Our data contains about 44,000 particle uses from the pragmatic corpus of our research group.

In our presentation, we analyse the use of 35 particles in eight registers (everyday conversation, institutional interaction, instant messaging, internet comments, fiction, printed media, popular science, and science).

We argue that

a) Different particles are used at different frequencies. The most frequent particles in our data are vist, ilmselt, ehk 'probably', lihtsalt 'simply', tegelikult 'actually', võib-olla 'maybe', äkki 'suddenly', kindlasti 'certainly'. Most of them are modal particles which express uncertainty.

b) The particles occur in different registers with different frequencies. Spoken registers, internet registers, fiction and printed media are particle-rich, while science and popular science use many fewer particles.

c) There are particles which are preferred in everyday registers and particles which are preferred in institutional registers.

In our paper, we also compare how synonymous particles are used in different registers.

Metadiscourse Can Be Found Everywhere, Even in Estonian Academic Texts

Helen Hint, Helena Lemendik, Ilona Tragel, Nele Karolin Teiva, Djuddah Leijen (University of Tartu)

Academic texts, representing a formal written register, are characterised as necessarily precise and objective (Rienecker & Jörgensen 2017). However, writing being a social and communicative engagement, all writing includes expressions that also refer to the producer or receiver of the text, to the evolving text itself, and thus to the personalities and attitudes of the communicators (Hyland 2005). This view of writing is captured in the notion of metadiscourse. Probably the best-known model of metadiscourse was developed by Hyland (2005), who makes a distinction between interactive (transitions, frame markers, endophoric markers, evidentials, code glosses) reader guiding and interactional (hedges, boosters, attitude markers, self mentions, engagement markers) reader involving metadiscourse categories.

Metadiscourse markers in Estonian academic texts have not gained much attention yet (but see Hennoste et al. 2020; Hennoste et al. 2021; and Reinsalu 2017 for related observations). We aim to give an insight into the first attempt to find and classify the most common metadiscourse markers in Estonian academic discourse. The importance of our work also lies in testing Hyland's (2005) metadiscourse model with a non-Indo-European language that has considerably different structure and usage patterns of metadiscourse devices.

We address two questions: i) which metadiscourse markers are most common in Estonian academic texts? and ii) is the distribution of metadiscourse markers even in research papers, or are certain markers clustered in certain (sub)sections of the text?

Our data includes 30 Estonian research articles, published in three journals over 10 years (2011–2020). Following a thorough reading of the articles, each metadiscourse marker is manually coded and tagged for the following factors: marker category, subtype of the marker category, section in the text, and the linguistic form. For the presentation, a multifactorial analysis will be conducted, and the results will be presented and discussed.

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"Olen nagu tuli toores puus, ei kustu ega põle!" Ühe vangi portree kirjades

Maarja Hollo (Eesti Kirjandusmuuseum)

1932. aasta detsembris tabas Eesti piirivalvur Narvas kaks ebaseaduslikult piiri ületanud noormeest, kellest ühel õnnetus põgeneda. Teine noormees vahistati ja sõjaringkonna kohus määras talle karistuseks kuus aastat sunnitööd. 1933. aasta oktoobris hakkas ta vanglas kandma karistust, mis lõppes 1938. aasta augustis seoses sama aasta mais välja kuulutatud amnestiaseadusega. Koos seitsme teise kommunistiga saadeti Fromhold Veidenberg tagasi NSV Liitu. Ettekande aluseks on Veidenbergi kirjad Võrus elanud tütarlapsele, kes oli ilmselt tema kauge sugulane. Kokku on säilinud 22 vanglast ja hiljem arestimajast saadetud kirja; esimene kiri on kirjutatud juunis 1934 ja viimane augustis 1938. Tütarlapse kirjad otsustas Veidenberg enne oma vabastamist hävitada. Ettekandes käsitlen Veidenbergi kirjades sisalduvaid eneseesitluse ja tunnete avaldamise viise, mis võimaldavad tõlgendada tema kirju armastuskirjadena.

Kirjades moodustuv ruum: Valev Uibopuu kirjavahetus paguluses

Anna Hukka (University of Helsinki)

Kirjad moodustavad oma, erilise ruumi, kus saatja ja adressaadi temporaalne ja füüsiline vahe tekitavad uusi ja erinevaid väljendusvorme (Lahtinen & Leskelä-Kärki & Vainio-Korhonen & Vehkalahti 2011: 21). Ettekandes arutlen kahel teemal, mis on seotud paiga mõistega: vaatlen seda, kuidas kirjade ruumi on võimalik luua kirjasõprade füüsilise distantsi ja paiga tekstuaalse väljendamise kaudu ning seda, kuidas pagulusest sõltuv füüsiline distants võib tekitada kirjades toe ja läheduse ruumi. Uurimismaterjalina kasutan eesti pagulaskirjaniku Valev Uibopuu (1913–1997) kirjavahetust tema esimese abikaasa Tuuli Reijoneni ning Eestis elanud lähedastega.

Teoreetiliselt lähtun arusaamast, et inimeste olemasolu on olemasolu kusagil. Olemasolu on seotud nõnda paigaga; paik on maailmast arusaamise viis (Cresswell 2004: 11–23). Paika luuakse keeleliselt – jutustustes ja tekstides nagu kirjades. Ettekanne põhineb väitekirjal, mille kallal parasjagu töötan. Minu väitekiri on topobiograafiline uurimus, kus arutlen Uibopuu paiga ja kodu kogemuse üle paguluses.

Uibopuu kirjavahetuses Reijoneni ja perega kujunes transnatsionaalne ruum, kus uus ja vana, oma ja teise ümbruskond olid korraga kohal. Füüsilisest distantsist hoolimata oli kirjade abil võimalik asetada saatja ja adressaat tekstuaalselt korraga mitmesse paika. Uuest paigast, kodust, ümbruskonnast ja oludest jutustamine lõi uut paika ning kaotatud kodu mäletamine ja sotsiaalse sideme säilitamine koju jäänud lähedastega hoidis alles endist kodu. Kirjades ehitati ühist ruumi läheduse ja toetuse tekstuaalsete väljenduste abil.

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Analüütiline religioonifilosoofia ja uskumuste intersubjektiivsus

Roomet Jakapi (Tartu Ülikool)

Ettekande teemaks on religioossete uskumuste filosoofilise uurimise metodoloogia ja üldiseks lähenemisviisiks nüüdisaegne analüütiline religioonifilosoofia. Selles filosoofiatraditsioonis on religioosseid uskumusi tavaliselt käsitletud üksikisiku vaimuseisunditena, vaadeldes isikut justkui isoleerituna kogukonnast, milles ta oma usku praktiseerib. Põhjalikult on arutletud selle üle, millistel tingimustel on subjekti religioossed uskumused ratsionaalsed ja õigustatud, kuidas seonduvad need tema teiste uskumustega ning kas subjektil on võimalik teada, et mingi religioosne väide on tõene. Nende arutelude autoriks on tihtipeale olnud kristlikud filosoofid, kes püüavad tunnetusteoreetiliste vahenditega kaitsta oma religioosseid uskumusi (vt nt Swinburne 1981; Plantinga 2000). Vastukaaluks säärasele kristliku subjekti uskumusi põhjendavale apologeetikale on mõned filosoofid esitanud pluralistlikke käsitlusi, milles püütakse näidata erinevate religioonide metafüüsilist ja tunnetuslikku ühisosa, nõnda et ühtki konkreetset religiooni ei asetata eelisseisu teiste ees (vt nt Hick 1989). Esimese, subjektile keskenduva lähenemise puhul on probleemiks see, et uskuja lahutatakse teoreetiliselt kogukonnast ja temast saab abstraktne, tunnetusteoreetiline konstruktsioon, mis on liiga erinev tegelikest kogukonna liikmetest. Teise, paljusid religioone hõlmava käsitluse probleemiks on religioonide ja uskumuste võrdlemine liiga üldisel tasandil ja vastavalt suurte spekulatiivsete skeemide loomine. Leian, et kirjeldatud probleeme on võimalik vältida, kui religioosseid uskumusi käsitleda intersubjektiivses võtmes, tuginedes religioossete praktikate ja neis sisalduvate uskumuste "tihedatele kirjeldustele" (vt Knepper 2013). Ettekandes pakun välja filosoofilise mõistevõrgu, mille abil saab sisukalt analüüsida religioosse kogukonna liikmete uskumusi nende praktilises kontekstis ja vastastikuses toimes.

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Intersubjectivity behind Euphemism

Zhuo Jing-Schmidt (University of Oregon, USA)

Euphemism refers to (1) "That figure of speech which consists in the substitution of a word or expression of comparatively favourable implication or less unpleasant associations, instead of the harsher or more offensive one that would more precisely designate what is intended", and (2) "An instance of this figure; a less distasteful word or phrase used as a substitute for something harsher or more offensive" (OED, http://www.oed.com/). Euphemisms come in handy whenever we cannot say what we really mean because what we really mean is verboten, offensive, or simply sounds jarring. Scholarly insights on euphemism converge on the recognition of the deliberate nature of euphemisms (for example Allan & Burridge 1991; Brain 1979; Burridge 2012; Hughes 2006; Lutz 2000; inter alios). That is, there is an intent to influence the perception of what is being said by manipulating the words used to express it. In other words, euphemism is a linguistic strategy used to regulate behaviour and manage social relations. At the heart of this intricate strategy is the human ability to reason about epistemic mental states, namely beliefs, desires, emotions, and intentions. This cognitive capacity, commonly referred to as "theory of mind" or mindreading, is a foundation of human sociality (Penn & Povinelli 2007; Apperly 2011). Theory of mind has been described as intersubjectivity in normative accounts of inference and implicature in philosophy and linguistic pragmatics (for example, Grice 1957, 1989; Sperber & Wilson 1995).

This presentation draws on cross-linguistic data in addressing the role of intersubjectivity in the pragmatics of euphemism as intended for politeness, aggression, deception, or charity, and other social functions. By analysing the intersubjective mechanisms underlying euphemistic language use and how semantic and pragmatic strategies are employed in various languages to accomplish the intersubjective goals intended with euphemistic language, I show that euphemism provides a unique angle from which to understand intersubjectivity.

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Magic in the News: Representation of Magic and Witchcraft in Estonian Newspapers Between 1850 and 1980

Tõnno Jonuks^a, Kristiina Johanson^b (^aEstonian Literary Museum, ^bUniversity of Tartu)

A 15th century record from Tallinn describes how men walking in the town and carrying witches' signs, which could make them invisible, were perceived as dangerous enough to be arrested. This story became an inspiration for this presentation. Even though the same record mentions that entertainers were present in the town at the time (men who probably belonged to the same group) the fear of the uncontrollable and unknown, as well as counterintuitive reactions, became decisive.

This story raised interest in how people reacted to magic and witchcraft during the later periods when we have a more comprehensive corpus of sources. We have chosen Estonian newspapers form the beginning of native-language newspapers to 1980 as the main source. Three different kinds of reaction seem to appear over this period of more than a century: ridiculing magic, searching for help from authorities, and turning magic into a valuable cultural heritage. All three categories will be discussed in more detail during this presentation, while the thread that runs through the presentation continuously asks what is behind the concept of magic/witchcraft/superstition, words that are so freely used by journalists, and how are these terms associated with what we as scholars conceptualise as magic?

The Dative of Attitude (*Dativus Ethicus*) and (Im)politeness in Latvian

Andra Kalnača, Ilze Lokmane (University of Latvia)

The dative of attitude or attitude dative (term used in Haddad 2016, 2018, also the ethical dative or dativus ethicus, for example, Berg-Olsen 2005; De Knop & Mollica 2017) is an optional dative pronominal clitic that functions as an interpersonal pragmatic marker. A distinctive feature of attitude dative is its use in structures where the verb valency requires no dative object (Givón 2013; De Knop & Mollica 2017). In terms of register, the dative of attitude normally occurs in informal interaction and shares similar structural, semantic, and pragmatic characteristics in several languages (among others, Berg-Olsen 2005; De Knop & Mollica 2017; Haddad 2016, 2018).

In Latvian, two basic types of attitude dative are attested:

- speaker-oriented attitude dative that takes the form of first person singular (man 'to me'), less frequently first-person plural (mums 'to us') and refers to the speaker (or the speaker and the hearer);
- hearer-oriented attitude dative that takes the form of second person singular (tev 'to you'), less frequently, second-person plural (jums 'to you') and refers to the hearer or a group of hearers.

A speaker who uses a speaker-oriented attitude dative marks himself or herself as a form of authority in relation to the Hearer and/or the content of the utterance (Haddad 2016, 2018). A Speaker-oriented dative of attitude is mainly used in directives requesting or, more frequently, ordering:

(1) Mājas priekša kāda izskatās!

Trotuāru	Jūs	man	ar	ziepēm	mazgāsiet!
Side-walk.Acc.sg	you.NOM.PL	I.DAT	with	soap.INS.PL	wash.FUT.2PL

'What a mess has been made of the façade! (There is paint spilt on the street.) You shall clean the pavement with soap!' (G. Priede)

(2)			
Ти	Man	skaties,	met
you.NOM.SG	I.DAT	look.IMP.2SG	give_up.IMP.2SG
to	Dzeršanu	pie	malas!
that.Acc.sg	drinking.Acc.sg	PREP	side.GEN.SG

'Look here, you should give up drinking.' (LVK2018)

Therefore, the dative of attitude might be treated in reference to the semantic domain of impoliteness. According to Culpeper (2011; see also Culpeper & Tantucci 2021), impoliteness comes about when: (1) the Speaker communicates face-attack intentionally, or (2) the Hearer perceives and/or constructs behaviour as intentionally face-attacking. Thus, impoliteness depends not only on what is said but also on how it is perceived and how it relates to the situation.

The research question of the presentation to be discussed is: what is the relationship of the dative of attitude with (im)politeness in formal and informal communication?

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Past and Future in French and Japanese Non-canonical Self-addressed Questions

Makoto Kaneko (Aoyama Gakuin University)

Several recent works (for example Eckardt & Beltrama 2019) show that the presumptive future serves to express self-addressed questions. This study argues that a similar effect is obtained by past tense or a combination of past and presumptive future, based on French and Japanese data. While it is the addressee who should resolve the issue raised in canonical questions, in self-addressed questions it is the speaker, or the conversational community formed by the speaker and the addressee (Farkas 2020). The two cases are called exclusively and inclusively self-addressed questions. The exclusive type is illustrated in a disguised way by "Qu'est-ce qu'elle voulait, la dame?" including the imperfect and uttered by a seller to a customer. Following Bres (2005), I analyse this example as a free indirect question the indirect counterpart of which includes "I asked myself": the seller pretends to raise this monologic question in the past where the customer was not yet the addressee. The inclusive conjectural type is exemplified by "Comment il s'appelait déjà?", the imperfect of which conveys, with déjà, that the answer was already part of common ground (Sauerland and Yatsushiro 2017). Unlike the previous type, this question is posed to the conversational community in the present and is therefore para-phrased with I wonder. This analysis is consistent with the fact that this question is translated into Japanese with past auxiliary "ta" and presumptive auxiliary "deshoo". The combination of "ta" and "deshoo" may also be used when a cashier politely asks a customer if the latter has the shop's fidelity card, pretending that the answer was already in the common ground, but she has forgotten it. A use of French conditional in "Vous auriez un stylo, s'il vous plaît?", uttered by a hotel guest to a receptionist, may be equally analysed as a combination of past and presumptive future yielding a similar effect.

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Representation of Subjectivity in Narratives of Childbirth in Contemporary Latvian Fiction by Women

Zita Kārkla (University of Latvia)

There is a relatively small niche for female experience in the cultural space: not many books are dedicated to female sexuality, childbirth, childcare or women's daily work and worries, thus making female experiences almost invisible. This tendency is largely explained by traditional Western conceptions and the fear of the female body. The female body, which has never served as a strict boundary to distinguish itself from the other, but has maintained a fluid and changing relationship between the two categories, is one of the determinants of the plurality of female subjectivity. Focusing on Simone de Beauvoir's ideas on subjectivity as inherently embodied and profoundly ambiguous when authentically lived, both rooted in materiality and immersed in transcendence, and using Sara Cohen Shabot's philosophical perspective on labour pain as a crucial element in the production of subjectivity, I will analyse the representations of birth lived and experienced by women in contemporary Latvian fiction by Inga Abele, Inga Gaile and Anna Auzina. I will also consider how the representation of the subjectivity of women in labour in the 21st century is closely intertwined with the history and socio-cultural practices of Latvian society.

Seeing Is Believing: The Multisensorial Emergence of Evidential Constructions with *näed* 'you see' in Estonian Interaction

Leelo Keevallik^a, Marri Amon^b (^aLinköping University, ^bUniversity of Tartu)

Verbs of perception are known for their prolific use in various non-literal functions that are usually argued to have developed from their abstract denotational semantics (for example, San Roque et al. 2018). In this study we document the interactional practices involving the Estonian second-person verb form näed, 'you see', to demonstrate that its usage as a pragmatic particle (Keevallik 2008) is anchored in face-to-face situations where the speaker guides a co-present other's visual attention to a specific contextual aspect, achieving intersubjectivity through multimodal means. We show how näed is uttered in close coordination with the participants' body orientations, gestures, and gazes to achieve visually available proof for one's current arguments, rendering it an evidential meaning even in its most "literal" uses when a co-participant is invited to consider the visual evidence (see also Kendrick 2019). We argue that these spatially and materially anchored uses constitute a natural habitat for verbs of seeing, as visual perception is a mutually calibrated interactional accomplishment across participants. Related syntactic constructions emerge in real time where näed is either preceded or followed by full-clause specifications of what is to be seen, eventually rendering it as a turn-initial or turn-final particle. This contrasts with the prevailing argument (Brinton 2008; Fitzmaurice 2004) that this type of verb necessarily starts out as syntactic elements in full clauses to then grammaticalise into other uses.

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"Trööstige ja aidake mind, kallis Herra!" Intersubjektiivsus Jaan Saalvergi kirjades Jakob Hurdale

Katre Kikas (Eesti Kirjandusmuuseum)

Ettekanne keskendub talusulase ja rahvaluulekoguja Jaan Saalvergi (1874–1932) aastatel 1896–1905 Jakob Hurdale saadetud kirjadele. 19. sajandi lõpu rahvaluule kogumise aktsioonid olid epistolaarsed sündmused – kogutu liikus kohalikust kogukonnast kogumistöö organisaatorini postisüsteemi vahendusel ning reaalsed kohtumised kahe osapoole vahel olid pigem erandlikud. Kogude epistolaarse konteksti meeles pidamine toob uurija jaoks esiplaanile selle, et kogutu on arhiivi jõudnud teataval ajalisel teljel, teljel, millele võib jääda nii tihedama kontakti aegu kui ka pikemaid katkestusi; teljel, kus mahukamate saadetiste vahele satub kirju, mille ainsaks eesmärgiks on kinnitada, et kogumistööst pole veel loobutud, et suhtlus jätkub.

Üheks rahvaluule kogumise aktsioone ümbritseva epistolaarsuse eripäraks on suhtluse ebasümmeetria – üks osapool (kohapealne koguja) kirjutab märkimisväärselt enam kui teine (kogumistöö organisaator), kes piirdub sageli vaid napi vastusega avalikus aruandes. Arhiivi tasandil see ebasümmeetria tugevneb veelgi, kuivõrd organisaatorite poolseid kirju on säilinud väga napilt.

Tõsi – see, kuidas see epistolaarsus erinevate kogujate puhul realiseerus on erinev, on neid, kes lisavad saadetistele pikki ja põhjalikke kirju, kui ka neid kes lisavad vaid napi tervituse saadetise viimasele lehele. Jaan Saalverk on üks neid, kes lisavad kogutule pikki ja väga isiklikke kirju. Ettekandes keskendun tema kirjade intersubjektiivsele poolele. Viimane avaldub neis kahel moel – esiteks Hurda ja Saalvergi vahelise suhtena, teiseks aga Saalvergi ning tema kohaliku kogukonna suhtena. Mõlemaid tasandeid ühendab Saalvergi rahvaluulekoguja positsioon.

(Im)polite Forms of Address in Tatar Spoken in Finland and Estonia

Orsolya Kiss (University of Tartu / University of Ankara)

Tatar minorities have lived in Finland and Estonia as a multilingual diaspora for more than a century. This study explores how the different generations of Tatars living in Finland and Estonia perceive polite forms of address, focusing on the choice of informal and formal second-person pronouns and the use of kinship terms.

Previous studies showed that extensive language contact could generate changes in preference for and practice of address forms (Pajusalu et al. 2010; Wide et al. 2019).

The research material includes 7 hours 20 minutes of semi-structured interviews and 2 hours 40 minutes of role-play material conducted with 9 Tatars from Finland and 10 Tatars from Estonia. The results suggest a parallel tendency of variation in the address forms among the Finnish and Estonian Tatar minorities. Specifically, the Tatars in Finland are more likely to use the informal second-person pronoun than the Estonian Tatars. This is similar to Finnish, where the informal second-person pronoun is more extensively used than in Estonian and in Russian (Pajusalu et al. 2017), which are the main contact languages of Tatar in Estonia.

The results also propose that Finnish and Estonian Tatar diaspora members use kinship terms less as a polite form of address and accept being addressed by their first name. However, in standard Tatar, it is perceived to be impolite to address the interlocutor by only their first name without a kinship term or title (Romazanova 2007).

Many of the participants were also aware of these pluriareal differences in the use of second-person pronouns and kinship terms in Tatar, suggesting the existence of meta-linguistic awareness among Tatar speakers in terms of polite language use.

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Notorious No and Nu in Kamas

Gerson Klumpp (University of Tartu)

Kamas was spoken in the South Siberian Sayan mountains, although some of its elements connect it tightly with Europe. Among these elements are the discourse particles no and nu, which are members of Auer and Maschler's (2016) family of discourse markers NU/NÅ. In sources until 1914, the Kamas no is attested as a turn-initial prompt, as in (1). In later sources, no continues in this function, as for example in (2). In addition, nu appears, which may have a resumptive function as in (2), or other functions, among which the function of a turn-initial prompt as in (3) clearly overlaps with no. As in other Uralic languages (for example Ingrian, Livonian, Beserman), the question arises if we deal with one marker, which for whatever reason to be specified shows two realisations – no and nu –, or if we deal with two different markers, possibly overlapping in part of their functions. The present contribution tries to answer this question for Kamas on the basis of the ca 180 instances in the INEL Kamas corpus (Gusev et al. 2019).

(1)

no,	i-?	ťora-?!	bar	mĭ-li-m	sumna-m.
DP	NEG-IMP.2SG	cry-CONN	all	give-FUT-1SG	five-1SG

'Come on, don't cry! I'll give you all five.' (AA_1914_Corpse_flk.071 003.036-037)

(2)

dĭgəttə dĭ kuštu kuza šo-bi. dĭgəttə: "nu, tǎn šo-bia-l?" Then DEM strong man come-PST then DP you come-PST-2SG

"šo-bia-m."	"no,	to?nar-də	pa!"
come-PST-1SG	DP	hit-IMP2SG.OC	tree

'Then came this strong man. Then: "Well, have you come?" "I've come." "Come on, hit the tree." (PKZ 196X SU0226.142–145)

(3)

nüke-m	bar	kudonz-la?bə:	"nu	kana-?	ma?nə!"
wife-1SG	DP	scold-DUR.PRS	DP	go-IMP2SG	home

'My wife is scolding: "Come on, go home!" (PKZ_196X_SU0227.164– 165)

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The Language of Tinder Descriptions: Autopresentation, Euphemism, Emoji, and Sex Talk

Kamil Kopacewicz, Tymoteusz Krumholc (University of Warsaw)

Almost every aspect of social life has been digitised and subjected to the authority of algorithms. This also applies to relationships and erotic life (David & Cambre 2016; Cohen 2015). In this research, we explore the language and communication strategies of Tinder users. We analysed 774 descriptions written by hetero- and non-heteronormative males, spatially distributed across major Polish urban areas. The main goal of the study was to build a descriptive profile of the language used on Tinder. Working in the general framework of Critical Discourse Analysis (van Dijk 1997), we annotated qualitatively linguistic, pragmatic, and discoursive strategies using Atlas.ti QDA software. We have discovered that users try to maximise their matching success by developing communication strategies that are commonly understood within the context of the application. Among those are euphemisms (Kuczok 2017), conveyed by metaphors, emojis, metonyms, and interdiscoursive references. For example, emojis are widely used to denote sexual innuendo (Li & Yang 2018; Thomson et al. 2018). We also observed multiple hedging strategies. We speculate that the plethora of linguistic means used constitute a sociolect, confined within the conceptual boundaries of the dating application. This sociolect is characterised by a nondirect, euphemistic style with strongly codified communication rituals.

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Emphatic Identity Particle in Hill Mari and beyond

Aleksej Kozlov (Moscow)

The goal of my talk is to outline the cross-linguistic landscape of what I call exhaustive focus particles both within and beyond the Finno-Ugric linguistic family.

We will look at three particles in three Finno-Ugric languages: Hill Mari =ok, Beserman =ik, and Northern Khanty i. The first two languages belong to the Volga-Kama linguistic area, and in both of them the particles were apparently borrowed from Tchuvash. Thus, they bear considerable similarity with respect not only to their phonetic form, but also to their functions. Northern Khanty i, on the other hand, while sharing only some of the core functions of =ok and =ik, lacks certain others and thus can serve as a basis for typological comparison.

The main function of the particles we will focus on is exhaustive, i.e. that of introducing a not-at-issue semantic component excluding all relevant focus alternatives except the one expressed by the sentence itself. This function can be conveyed by English translations containing an *it*-cleft; for example, an example such as You=PRT did this will usually have a salient interpretation along the lines of 'It was you who did this'. In other words, such sentence will have a not-at-issue inference that nobody else from the relevant set of people participated in "doing this". All the three particles have this function; however, they choose to add to it further different discourse requirements, namely those of topicality of the associate of the particle and/or discourse givenness of it denotation.

Magic and Religion: The View from Inside

Mare Kõiva (Estonian Literary Museum)

Estonian folklore boasts several unique collections, with one of the most interesting being the manuscripts of the Congregation of Brethren (Moravian Brethren), the earliest of which dates back to the beginning of the 18th century. Some of these manuscripts have over time spread to different communities where they were used both for religious purposes, in healing, and in magical practices. In addition to *manu propria* biographies, spiritual verses and letters from heathens, or excerpts thereof, were of importance and were protected during various crises.

There is also a significant collection of handwritten texts by healers from the 19th to 21st centuries and compilations of (magical) techniques, in addition to which detailed descriptions of the techniques used in course of treatment and information exchanged are important in this topic. During this period, older methods of medicine, new esoteric schools, and several intermediate variants coexisted. For example, so-called human self-healing, which was supported by techniques of hydrotherapy, massage, plant therapy, acceleration of blood circulation, etc., some of which were closely related to the folk etiology and worldview explanations of disease. Transferring diseases to natural objects and extracting healing energy from nature were known practices, while electrotherapy was introduced as a new technique. In the presentation, I will characterise the combinatorics of various techniques that the healers themselves and their patients did not associate with magic. What techniques were used, how did healers characterise their techniques, and what did their patients think?

Uudisteoste hindamine kohalikus ja üleliidulises loomeliidus 1960. aastate algul: Jaan Räätsa "Kosmilise sümfoonia" ja Arvo Pärdi "Nekroloogi" juhtum

Anu Kõlar (Eesti Muusika - ja Teatriakadeemia)

Nõukogude perioodil olid kõigi heliloojate liidu (HL) liikmete uute teoste esimesed hindajad kolleegid, kes kujundasid oma seisukoha helitöö esmakordse kuulamise (ja noodi jälgimise) käigus loomeliidu töökoosolekul. Pärast uudisteose kõlamist kas salvestiselt või elevas ettekandes said kõik kohalviibijad jagada oma muljeid ja arvamusi, mille põhjal tegi koosoleku juhataja lakoonilise otsuse helitöö heakskiitmise või (ajutise) tagasilükkamise kohta. HL-i positiivne hinnang tähendas teose legitimeerimist: seda võis avalikult esitada ja levitada, ning kultuuriministeeriumil lubati sõlmida autoriga leping käsikirja ostmiseks.

Eeltoodud taustainfost lähtudes keskendun ettekandes järgmistele teemadele:

a. Eesti NSV HL-i töökoosolekute protokollide põhjal toimus 1950. aastate teisel poolel uudisteoste hindamisel selge muutus nii hindamiskriteeriumides, kasutatud sõnavaras kui ka loomeliidu üldises õhkkonnas. Arutlen muutuste põhjuste, põhjalikkuse ja tagajärgede üle.

b. Jaan Räätsa sümfooniat nr. 4 ("Kosmiline", loodud 1959) ja Arvo Pärdi "Nekroloogi" (1960) ühendab asjaolu, et mõlemaid hinnati esimesel kuulamisel Eesti NSV HL-s kõrgelt, kuid peatselt said need korduvalt terava kriitika osaliseks Moskvas, NSV Liidu HL-i kongressil, pleenumil ja NLKP keskkomitees. Nii osutusid Räätsa ja Pärdi teosed heliloojate liidus antud hinnangute tõsiseltvõetavuse proovikiviks ning peegeldasid kõnekalt sulaaja ideoloogilise paradigma vastuolulisust ja muutuste peapealispindsust.

c. Peamine kriteerium, mille alusel Räätsa ja Pärdi teoseid Moskvas kritiseeriti, oli "kaasaegsus" – ambivalentne, hägusa tähendusväljaga mõiste, mis kujunes sulaperioodi nõukogude loomeideoloogia ja -poliitika põhiliseks kategooriaks ja loomingu hindamise aluseks.

Mutual Meaning Construction Questions in Students L1/L2 Zoom Interviews

Marge Käsper (University of Tartu)

The paper will analyse the non-canonical interrogatives L1 French speaking students used to help their conversation partners, Estonian students studying French as L2, to co-construct meaning, to find missing words or to express their surprise or other emotions during the interviews they conducted via zoom with these students. Respondents' use of the non-canonical interrogatives is also considered.

The digital interviews project was set up knowing that in pre-Covid times, the Erasmus exchange provided a very useful language practice experience for our students, while also being an important factor to develop their general intercultural understanding (Dervin 2008). While in the context of pandemic, the possibilities of Erasmus mobility became greatly hampered, on the other hand, telebridging practices using Zoom, Skype, etc., became widely used. Thus, an experimental intercultural and interdisciplinary digital communication project was set up, to put a group of Estonian students of French language and culture who needed language practice in touch with a group of French students of Social and Environmental Responsibility, who needed to learn how to conduct interviews as well as develop their cross cultural awareness and understanding of the Other. The pairs of students (n=13) conducted mutual semi-structured video interviews, searching to define the differences as well as similarities in living conditions, values and generational everyday practices of young people in Covid-period France and Estonia. In the latter sense, the project is also part of Estonian Research Council grant PRG 934 Imagining Crisis Ordinariness. As for the interrogatives, the study permits students to update their cross-cultural studies in mass media written communication (Münchow & Rakotonoelina 2006) in the paradigm of the virtual oral communication studies that emerged during the pandemic (Köster 2021).

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"Kunst on nagu puu, mis kasvab maa pääl valguses". Marie Underi ja Ivar Ivaski kirjavahetusest 1957. ja 1958. aastal

Marin Laak, Tiina Ann Kirss (Eesti Kirjandusmuuseum)

Eesti Kirjandusmuuseumi kultuuriloolises arhiivis leidub tuhandeid kirjavahetusi, mis dokumenteerivad eesti kultuurilugu kandvaid inimlikke kontakte enam kui sajandi vältel. Leidub sügavaid mõttevahetusi, ent kõige enam aeti postiga saadetud kirjade teel siiski argiseid asju. Erilisel kohal on eesti pagulaste nn kultuurikirjavahetused, mis ulatudes perekonnaringist välja, sidusid loovisikuid ühiste kirjanduslike ja kultuuriliste huvide alusel. Paratamatult olid needki subjektiivsed, põimitud kirjutajate väärtuste ja hoiakutega. Kirjanduslooliseks ehteks võib pidada Marie Underi ja Ivar Ivaski kirjavahetust aastatel 1957–1973. Mõlemad on eesti kirjanduses austatud, suure sümboolse kapitaliga autorid – Under armastatud poetessi ning Ivask õpetlase, hiljem maailmakirjanduse ajakirja Books Abroad / WLT peatoimetajana. Ettekandes võtame lähema vaatluse alla selle kirjavahetuse algusaastad, jälgides, kuidas kirjutajate väärtused ja hoiakud avaldusid kirjade retoorilistes mustrites ning millised intersubjektiivsed suhted olid neisse mustritesse kätketud.

Kirjavahetuse esimesel aastal 1957–1958 tõlkis Under läti luuletaja Čaksi teoseid: arutati tõlke rõhuasetusi, tõlkes kaotatud (või võidetud) väljendusvormi ehedust. Mõlemad kirjapartnerid pooldasid tihedamaid sidemeid Balti kirjanike vahel: nii tõlked kui autoreid tutvustavad pikemad esseed ajakirjas Books Abroad olid selleks olulised vahendid. 1957. a alustas tegevust ka ajakiri Mana, mille esimestes numbrites ilmusid ka Underi luuletused ning kuigi mõlemad suhtusid Mana suundumustesse algul kriitiliselt, ei takistanud see nende kaastööd ega tähendanud ka taandumist seitse aastat varem asutatud Tulimulla kaastööliste ringist. Kirjanduslikud suhted püsisid jätkuvalt kirjade keskse teemana, 1958. aastal valmistuti Underi 75. juubeliks. Vaatamata suurele vanusevahele jagasid Under ja Ivask sarnast kunstilist-kirjanduslikku pagasit ning laia lugemust, millest tulenesid sarnased esteetilised vaated. Näiteks kirjutas Ivask Underile 24. nov 1957: "Ka varem oli teada, et kunst on nagu puu, mis kasvab maa pääl valguses, kuid juurdub eluandvas allmaa pimeduses." Kirjavahetuse esimene aasta on justkui hologramm selle edaspidistest rõhuasetustest. Selle peegelduses arutame autorite kirjandusliku tegevuse üle ning püüde üle jõuda lähemale eesti luule "tõlgitavusele" rahvusvahelisel areenil.

Responses to the Discourse Marker (ma) arvan (et), '(I) think (that)', in Directives

Kirsi Laanesoo (University of Tartu)

The presentation focuses on verbal and non-verbal responses to directives that include the discourse marker (ma) arvan (et), '(I) think (that)'. The directive is a first pair part of an adjacency pair that makes relevant a certain second pair part, fulfilling the directive. The data reveals that interactants respond verbally to the directive either by challenging it or by agreeing with it. As a non-verbal response to the directive, interactants may start fulfilling the directive. Additionally, interactants can react non-verbally specifically to the dicourse marker (ma) arvan (et). According to the video data, in some cases, when uttering the discourse marker, the interactant's gaze moves to the speaker. This happens for example when (ma) arvan (et) marks an unexpected transition to a new phase in the conversation. There are also cases in the data of the discourse marker or the directive getting no reaction or response from interactants. In my presentation, I will demonstrate what happens in interaction when there is no response to the directive. The data is drawn from the corpus of spoken Estonian at the University of Tartu and includes everyday and institutional interaction. I applied the principles of interactional linguistics and conversation analysis to analyse the data.

Particles in West Circassian Non-canonical Questions

Yury Lander, Irina Bagirokova, Anna Sorokina (HSE University)

In this talk, we describe particles that participate in non-canonical (non-information-seeking; cf. Farkas 2020) questions in West Circassian, a polysynthetic language of the Northwest Caucasian family. Most data come from written and spoken corpora (Arkhangelskiy et al. 2018–2022; Bagirokova et al. 2020), but we also used elicitation.

In general, West Circassian questions are marked by morphological means, mainly by an interrogative suffix appearing on predicates. Wh-questions contain question words, which normally constitute predicates of pseudoclefts (Sumbatova 2009). Tag interrogatives usually involve a suffix that possibly originates from a combination of a negation suffix and the question marker (Smeets 1984). Naturally, tag questions, being another example of non-canonical question (Farkas 2020), are also widely used as exclamatives.

We focus on the expression $\hat{s}^{w} \partial^{w} e / \hat{s}^{w} e$, which mainly appears in wh-questions but can also appear in yes/no questions:

səd-a	ŝ™?™e	a-xe-r	zə-λə-χ ^w ə-š'tə-ʁe-xe-r?
what-Q	PTCL	that-PL-ABS	REL.IO-LOC-look.for-AUX-PST-PL-ABS

'(I am curious) What were they looking for?'

The marker $\hat{s}^{w_2 w_e}/\hat{s}^{w_e}$ originates from the imperative $\hat{s}^{w_2 w_e}$ 2PL-say but is already grammaticised to some extent. First, it does not take additional morphology available to the original imperative form. Second, it has a fixed position after the predicate (including the question word) and can function as a clitic. Third, it underwent phonological reduction to \hat{s}^{w_e} , although it is still usually written as $\hat{s}^{w_2 w_e}$. We argue that this specifically marks the question as non-canonical, i.e. tentative or self-addressed. In fact, in written speech it is even found in the description of thoughts:

s-je-dawe-me		wase-m	qə-š'-jə- ʁe-čٜ'e-n-a,	ŝ [∞] e?
1SG.ABS-DAT-bar	gain-COND	price-OBL	DIR-LOC- 3SG.ERG- CAUS-lack -MOD-Q	PTCL
thace-m	gʷə-č́'e	ze-r-jə-? ^w e- ž'-jə		
greedy-OBL	heart-INS	RFL.IO-DAT- 3SG.ERG-say- RE-ADD		

'If I bargain with him, could he reduce the price? – the greedy man mentally asked himself...'

Apart from $\hat{s}^{w}?^{w}e$, we also discuss some other particles, such as $\hat{s}aw$ (marking annoyance), the use of which is not restricted to questions, but which may explicitly mark questions as non-information-seeking.

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Do All Human Beings Have the Same Value? Polar Questions, Biased Questions and Argumentative Orientation in a Samhällsnytt Street Interview

Houda Landolsi, Birgitta Hellqvist (Uppsala Universitet)

In a digital era, digital forms of communication appear and become known through social platforms and networks (videos posted on YouTube, Facebook, Instagram, TikTok, Twitter, and so on), as well as through their own websites. The actors in these sectors are, for the most part, journalists, but also militants who commit themselves, more or less publicly, to a collective cause. The Swedish Samhällsnytt website forms part of this sector, presenting itself as being without ideological or political leanings. However, Samhällsnytt has formed an alliance with the Swedish extreme right and with the Swedish Democratic Party (Sverigedemokraterna, SD in Swedish), whose politics are conservative and anti-immigration.

Samhällsnytt, which has adopted the strategy of questioning as a rhetorical and argumentative art, presents itself as an alternative forum. It has chosen to have direct contact with citizens in order to question them on their most important beliefs regarding fundamental questions of identity, equality and how they see themselves and others.

We have 15 video sequences posted by Samhällsnytt that we have classified as part of a very specific journalistic sub-genre, namely the genre of street interview. The videos were posted online, on the You-Tube platform, between 2014 and 2020 (the majority being posted in 2020). The entire sub-corpus is 112 minutes (the longest video sequence lasts 15 minutes, 42 seconds, and the shortest 4 minutes, 1 second).

The present study aims to be qualitative and focuses on a single text, to which the website gives the title 'Är alla människor lika mycket värda?' ('Do all human beings have the same value?'). The total number of words transcribed is 1,175. https://www.youtube.com/ watch?v=dlzwzLfosXo.

The presentation aims to offer a semantic and pragmatic analysis of the discursive and argumentative functions of polar and complex questions that occur in this interview. We shall attempt to identify and classify the questioning strategies used by the interviewer, who is the one controlling and orienting the conversation, before discussing the replies of a number of interviewees in order to see how these answers are either integrated into the interviewer's argumentative strategy or deviate from his argumentative schema.

The study aims to show that the use of questions and the order in which they appear are subordinated to a pragmatic and argumentative purpose, which is not to evaluate public opinion on a topic, nor to inform, but rather to orient the argument towards a precise conclusion.

The study opens with a short description of the corpus and character of the text being analysed, which belongs to genre of street interview, together with a brief theoretical introduction which sets out the types of question used: questions used to elicit information vs non-canonical questions and their sub-genres, namely polar, rhetorical, conducive and complex questions (Caponigro & Sprouse 2007; Agha & Warstadt 2020: 18; Illie 1999: 979; etc.).

The analysis itself is composed of three parts, each of them examining a chain of verbal interaction, meaning that the question asking and question answering sequence will be seen as a unit. In each part, we will seek to identify the characteristics of the questions, which are mainly polar in form, together with the responses to these questions from a pragma-argumentative and rhetorical perspective. What pragmatic and argumentative functions do questions fulfil in order to reach a specific conclusion?

Alongside this, we shall also examine and analyse the question asking and question answering sequences from a syntactic and semantic perspective. How are syntactic and semantic choices adopted to strengthen argumentative purposes?

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Constructing Concepts on Politeness in Interview Interaction

Hanna Lappalainen (University of Eastern Finland)

The aim of the paper is to analyse how Finnish interviewees describe their concepts of politeness, impoliteness and over-politeness as part of their linguistic life stories and construct their views in the interview context. In my earlier research I have investigated what kind of politeness the interviewees appreciate in service encounters (Lappalainen 2020). In this paper, I focus on interaction between an interviewee and an interviewer. When analysing the data, I will pay attention not only to the way in which the interviewee describes his or her concepts of and opinions on politeness, but also to the interviewer's questions as well as her responses to the interviewee's answers. My aim is to show how participants construct intersubjectivity in these sequences.

The data comes from a research project in which over one hundred linguistic life stories were collected through interview (https://blogs. helsinki.fi/100finnish). The interviewees represent different social and age groups from different parts of Finland. In addition to native Finnish-speaking informants, linguistic and ethnic minorities are represented in the corpus. The majority of the data has been collected through crowdsourcing by over 80 students. In spite of a common questionnaire, there was variation in how the questionnaire was applied making it relevant to look at the differences in strategies applied by the interviewers.

In my analysis, I approach politeness as a discursive and constructive phenomenon (see for example Locher & Watts 2005). My methodological framework relies on interactional sociolinguistics, which utilises tools of conversation analysis but which also takes sociocultural knowledge to be part of the interpretation of linguistic forms.

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The Good, the Bad and the Ugly Weather: A Corpus-based Analysis on the Use of Expressivity Markers in Spoken Weather Reports

Vince Liégeois (Université de Bourgogne, Heinrich-Heine Universität Düsseldorf)

Talk nr. 5 looks at variation in the use of expressivity markers across different kinds of spoken television weather report. Weather reports are widely known as a classic example of a text genre and form of external specialised communication, meaning domain-specific information is communicated to a lay audience (Krycki 2009; Brinker et al. (2001) 2018). However, this domain-specific discourse tradition has been almost uniquely studied in its capacity as a text genre and from the perspective of text genre linguistics (Ger. Textsortenlinguistik). This implies that linguists have mainly focused on the static discursive features within this discourse tradition, rather than looking at variation and more dynamic features (cf. Gautier 2009).

With this in mind, this paper proposes a more variationist and context-sensitive analysis of French and German spoken television weather reports. More specifically, the paper looks at the presence of expressivity markers (for example belles éclaircies, beau temps, grand soleil in French) in this domain-specific discourse tradition and considers to what extent these discursive features show qualitative (i.e. regarding the type of expressivity markers) and/or quantitative (i.e. regarding the number of expressivity markers) variation across different types of television weather report (weather reports within news broadcasts, as their own program, within ohter programs, etc.). Within the domain of meteorology, such features are exclusive to external and lay communication and are not used within internal specialised discourse. Consequently, an important question regarding these expressivity makers arises, which the proposed talk will contextualise more in depth: To what extent are these expressivity markers functional from a communicative perspective and when do they become disfunctional - or distortions (cf. Polese & D'Avanzo 2014: 200) - and unnecessary within weather reports?

Discourse Subjectivity and Expressivity in the Past and Future of LSP Research: Theoretical Questions and Methodological Challenges

Vince Liégeoisª, Laurent Gautier^b (ªUniversité de Bourgogne / Heinrich-Heine Universität Düsseldorf, ^bUniversité de Bourgogne)

The organisers will start the workshop with some opening remarks, in which they seek to (i) present and discuss the state of the art mentioned above and (ii) explain the structure of the workshop by introducing the different speakers and talks, as well as point out their relevance to the previously defined research questions. Particular attention will be given to the history of LSP research on the one hand, and the development of research traditions (not exclusively situated within the domain of LSP research) interested in the subjectivity and expressivity features of discourse. The major role played by linguistic data will also be discussed since the studied domains featured in this conference – oenology, meteorology, literature, hate speech, engineering – do have an experiential basis.

Desire in In den Wäldern des menschlichen Herzens by Antje Rávic Strubel

Hella Liira (University of Tartu)

Desire brings with it a division, a duality of the subject and the object: the one who desires and the one who is desired. Desire restricts the other's subjectivity as much is projected onto the other. In *Fragments d'un discours amoureux* Roland Barthes (2001: 3) suggests that desire creates "a discursive site: the site of someone speaking within himself, amorously, confronting the other (the loved object), who does not speak". The one desiring has an image, a scene, a fragment. The co-occurrence of the dichotomies of self–other and subject–object can create a fruitful tension in the context of love and desire. While the perception of the other requires their perception as a subject, the other may become the object of desire.

In *In den Wäldern des menschlichen Herzens* by Antje Rávic Strubel, the author has divided the novel into 13 episodes, each occurring in a different place: from a snowy ski campsite in Finland to the Mojave Desert in California. Each episode is set further on an indistinguishable future timeline with each featuring a different set of characters. Seemingly, the text recreates Artur Schnitzler's *La Ronde*, in which partners change in each episode, but as the past is never erased, desire itself remains pliable. In each episode, one connecting commonality is a string of desires linking a pair of characters, like an arrow, pointing them towards someone else, present or past.

Desire raises the question of alienation. In the divided subject-object of desire seeing the other as an object seems to contradict the intersubjective perception of the other as a subject. What becomes interesting in Strubel's episodic novel is the parallel of self-other and subject-object. Presented through intertextual references, the stories are meant to be perceived as retellings of fixed cultural entities.

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The Use of Second-person Singular Forms in Seto: To Whom Does You Refer?

Liina Lindström, Maarja-Liisa Pilvik, Helen Plado (University of Tartu)

Second-person singular – *sa/sina* 'you' in Estonian – is a typical speechact person, the addressee. Its use is prototypically related to situations in which the addressee is present, for example, *Kas sa lähed täna poodi*? 'Are you going to the shop today?'.

It is known from other languages, however, that sg2 can also be used impersonally (Siewierska 2004), leaving the person reference open. The phenomenon is well studied in Finnish (Helasvuo 2008; Suomalainen 2020) and Finnish dialects (Seppänen 2000; Uusitupa 2017; Forsberg and Uusitupa 2020) but has not gained much attention in Estonian linguistics. However, both sg2 uses can also be found in Estonian. Jokela and Plado (2015: 89) have shown that in Estonian, sg2 forms are preferred when speakers refer to an experience of their own that also applies to anyone else.

Kui lähed mööda rabaäärset teed kaugemale maa poole, näed võsa vahel kerkimas uusi müüre.

'If you follow the path along the bog farther inland, you'll see new walls rising in the bushes'

The present paper is a pilot study based on data from the south Estonian Seto. We take a closer look at the functions of sg2 verb forms in Seto, using spoken conversational data held in the Corpus of Estonian Dialects (CED) and the Interdisciplinary Corpus of Seto (SetKo). More specifically, we will seek answers to the following questions:

- How frequent are sg2 verb forms in spoken dialect interviews?

- To whom do the sg2 verb forms refer?
- In what constructions are the sg2 verb forms used?

- How often are sg2 verb forms accompanied by the subject pronoun and why?

We expect that generic use of sg second-person forms is common in Seto and that they typically refer to human referents. We compare our results with Finnish and Border Karelian data to provide a wider geographic background.

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Miina Härma retseptsioon ja selle muutumine trükisõnas aastatel 1882–1941

Anita Maasalu (Eesti Muusika- ja Teatriakadeemia)

Käesolevas ettekandes keskendun Miina Härma (1864–1941) kui Eesti esimese kutselise naissoost organisti, helilooja ning koorijuhi kuvandile ja selle muutumisele ajas. Käsitlusel on periood alates Härma õpingutest Peterburi Konservatooriumis 1880. aastatel kuni aastani 1919, mil tähistati 25 aasta möödumist tema muusikaalase karjääri algusest. Allikatena on ettekandes kasutatud ajakirjandusväljaandeid Postimees, Eesti Postimees, Päewaleht, "Linda", Sakala, jpt, aga ka 1934. aastal Anna Haava, Miina Härma ning Aino Tamme 70. sünnipäevaks ilmunud koguteost.

On tähelepanuväärne, et 19.–20. sajandi vahetusel, mil naise positsioon ühiskonnas oli kaugelt erinev tänapäevasest, õnnestus Härmal oma aktiivse ja mitmekülgse tegevusega luua jõuline kuvand eesti rahva lauluemast, mis on jäänud püsima tänase päevani. Sellega seoses pakkus mulle huvi, kuidas suhtumine Härma isikusse ja loomingusse tema eluaja jooksul tekkis ja muutus ning millised omadused tema isiksuse ja tegevuse kirjeldamisel omaaegsest meediast välja kooruvad. Keskendun sealjuures peamistele märksõnadele ja ideedele, mis artiklitest esile tulevad.

Nelja põhilise kategooriana joonistuvad Härma omaaegses vastuvõtus välja professionaalsus, rahvuslikkus, soolisus ning ühiskondlik aktiivsus. Kõige kõnekam ja ambivalentsem neist on sealjuures professionaalsuse küsimus – kas saame Peterburi konservatooriumi haridusega Härmat nimetada professionaalseks heliloojaks või on tema isik ja looming kirjutatud ajalukku eelkõige tänu oma rahvuslikule ja ühiskondlikule tähendusele?

Психологические характеристики повторов в политическом дискурсе

Мисгар Мамедов (Азербайджанский Университет Языков)

Цель повтора в политическом дискурсе – закрепить запоминание заученного материала в виде задания, а также создать уверенность в идее, выраженной в повторе. Дискурсивное действие сосредоточено на убеждении. Современные психосемантические исследования, например, Б. В. Петренко (2009: 214-215) рассматривают роль убеждения во множественных идентификациях в сближении личной картины мира. Понимание и интерпретация картины мира в политическом дискурсе основывается на парадигме убеждений, объединяющей две картины в отношениях субъект-субъект. Веря, понимать, понимая, оценивать приобретает меру достоверности в политическом дискурсе с повторами. Прагматический выбор лексических средств, используемых при повторах, - это вербализованные действия субъекта убеждения в дискурсе. Реальной точкой опоры плоскости субъекта является семантика речевой деятельности, которая выражается в политическом дискурсе как выражение индивидуального сознания.

Поэтому в политическом дискурсе повторы также выступают в качестве условий для идентификации картины мира. В таком случае повторы выполняют функцию умения дискурсивно общаться, а не знания в политическом дискурсе. Лексемы, выбранные для реализации повторяющегося знания, как прагматическая ценность повышают эффективность политического дискурса, выполняя функцию самого субъекта, трансформации знаний и умения. Тезаурус выбранных лексем как выражение семантики политического дискурса отличается богатством, простотой и достоверностью в индивидуальном сознании.

Субъект может использовать семантику тезауруса для создания уверенности в себе в индивидуальном сознании и направить повторы на цель дискурса, в то время как лексемы, рекомендованные для дискурсивной коммуникации, выступают в качестве носителей формальных функций коммуникации в соответствии с частотой участия в речи. Частота участия лексем в процессе повторений является творцом первичных форм общения, а для следующего уровня дискурсивной деятельности эти повторы мотивируют творческую активность в дискурсе. Повторы в политическом дискурсе повышают

достоверность лексического убеждения. Лексическая структура дискурса формируется на основе убеждений, основывается на лексике, которая выражает свои убеждения через дискурс и коммуникативную общность, реализует информационные, регулятивные, взаимодействующие функции общения с помощью повторов.

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Repetition in Discourses across Languages and Genres

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This paper explores some of the most intriguing issues in the study of repetition and its functions in discourses across languages and genres. Repetition has been widely and extensively studied from various perspectives (Halliday & Hasan 1976; Tannen 1989; Pilkington 2000). We have decided to revisit this topic with a new approach to this phenomenon, which can reshape our understanding of the role of repetition in text and discourse. Hopefully this approach can also help to understand better the role of the individual, subjectivity and knowledge in discourse production prioritised by the sociocognitive approach (van Dijk 2014).

Thus, the paper focuses on the phenomenon of repetition at the level of language based on the method of discourse analysis (with the elements of critical discourse analysis Cap 2020) and on the level of cognition based on the method provided by Contemporary Metaphor Theory (Lakoff 1993; Casassanto 2009; Engstrom 2009). This methodology considers repetition in language as one of the core elements in the series of choices senders make based on their individual and social preferences. Different types of direct phonetic, morphological, lexical and syntactic repetition extensively used in discourses across languages and genres are under analysis in terms of their textual (poetic, rhetoric and construal) and cognitive functions. The paper therefore aims to explore different types of repetition from the perspective of their multiple functions in discourses across languages and genres.

During the process of discourse production, both explicit linguistic devices and implicit relations play crucial roles in the construction of cognitive structure. In this connection, repetition in language is one of the most important linguistic devices in any genre of discourse. Repetitions give strong impetus to discourse participants for relevant associations and eventually for strong cognitive operations. It is a choice made by senders, first of all, based on their subjective individual rather than social preferences. Subjectivity in discourse implies a subjective interpretation of meanings constructed by participants, while the use of repetition motivates certain formal discoursive behaviours. Thus, our study of repetition in discourse provides us with a new strong argument in favor of the sociocognitive approach which prioritises the role of individual factors in discourse production.

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The Multifunctional Clitic *-ki* in the Ingrian Language

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In this paper, I would like to discuss the Ingrian clitic -*ki* and its negative polarity counterpart -*kaa*/-*kää*. The functions of this particle have never been described for Ingrian, although various usages of cognate particles in the related Finnish and Estonian languages have been addressed in many publications (Hakulinen et al. 2004; Karttunen & Karttunen 1976; Keevallik 2011; Metslang 2002).

The particle -ki is truly multifunctional, and the semantic relations between its different meanings are not always obvious. On the one hand, -ki often occurs in the data as a focus particle expressing additivity and scalar additivity. It also forms indefinite pronouns and adverbs, which is a cross-linguistically common functional extension for particles with the additive meaning (Forker 2016). On the other hand, -ki is widely used as a modal particle marking particular changes in the speaker's state of knowledge or the distribution of knowledge between the speaker and the addressee.

These two groups of functions of *-ki* are distributed partially in correlation with syntactic parameters, mainly the type of host. Although this clitic can be attached basically to any part of speech, in its modal usages it can only be hosted by a verb.

In the presentation I will illustrate the different usages of *-ki* found in my materials and speak about their possible relations. The data for this research come from the field materials recorded from the last speakers of Soikkola Ingrian in 2006-2020. I rely mainly on the corpus of recorded texts (about 4 hours), but also look at the elicited examples.

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Intersubjectivity and the Disconnection in Patricia Lockwood's No One Is Talking About This (2021)

Raili Marling (University of Tartu)

Intersubjectivity has long fascinated thinkers who have challenged the notion of the unitary subject and have, instead, developed different theories of the relational self. This intersubjective self is permeable and reciprocal, open to and shaped by others. Questions of intersubjectivity have perhaps become increasingly urgent as a result of the rise of social media which is often metaphorically viewed as a shared mind, with its connectivity, sharing, and dialogicity. The synthetic nature of this intersubjectivity does not reduce social media's affective pull and its effect on our perception of subjectivity.

This paper is rooted in the thinking of Simone de Beauvoir and Eve Kosofsky Sedgwick, two philosophers who also wrote fiction and for whom fiction was a form of philosophy. Specifically, I am interested in Beauvoir's use of autobiography as a means of engagement with the other and the practices of relationality that Sedgwick explores in her autobiographical writing (cf. Tidd 1999; Bradway 2013). Fiction is invaluable in recreating the web of intersubjectivity that we experience in our daily lives. It also allows us to perceive the narratable nature of the self (cf. Cavarero 2000; Butler 2005). This narratability, I argue, today needs to be viewed in the context of our deep engagement with the Internet, with its combination of normativity and individual expression.

This theoretical apparatus on intersubjectivity and the narrated self is applied to Patricia Lockwood's novel *No One Is Talking About This* (2021). The novel seeks to create the affective flow of a consciousness drowned in social media. The text, like the reality it seeks to capture, is written in fleeting fragments, echoing the limited attention span of social media reality. Lockwood captures the immersiveness of social media and its ability to create a web of addictive relationality. This becomes particularly relevant in the second half of the novel where the narrator encounters real-life trauma. The very opacity of the novel allows us to probe into the question of what intersubejctivity and the narratable self might mean in the age of social media.

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Seenioride kõnekorpuse loomine ja esmane akustiline analüüs

Einar Meister, Lya Meister (Tallinna Tehnikaülikool)

Süvanärvivõrkude kasutuselevõtt viimasel kümnendil on oluliselt parandanud automaatse kõnetuvastuse kvaliteeti. Nii näiteks on vigade määr eestikeelsete raadiouudiste tuvastamisel langenud 28,5%-lt 2010. aastal 8,5%-le 2021. aastal. Lisaks süvanärvivõrkude rakendamisele on kõnetuvastuse vigade vähenemisele kaasa aidanud käsitsi transkribeeritud treeningmaterjali regulaarne kasv. Praeguseks on kõnetuvastuse treeningmaterjali maht kasvanud *ca* 800 tunnini. Kõnetuvastuse arenduse ja võimalike tulevaste rakenduste jaoks on vajalik kõnekorpuste mahu edasine kasvatamine ja laiendamine korpustes vähem esindatud kõnelejarühmade kõnenäidetega. Kõnetuvastuse testimisel on leitud, et eakate kõne puhul on tuvastusvigade määr (18,8%) oluliselt suurem kui keskealiste kõnelejate puhul. See on eelkõige tingitud sellest, et treeningmaterjal koosneb valdavalt nooremate keelejuhtide kõnenäidetest.

Võrreldes keskealistega on vanemaealiste inimeste kõnes täheldatav kõne põhitooni keskmise sageduse kasv meestel ja langus naistel, muutused kõne spektraalsetes tunnustes (spektri kalle, vokaalide formandid) ja kõnetempo aeglustumine. Need erinevused on tingitud vanusega seotud kõnetrakti füsioloogilistest muutustest, artikulatsiooni täpsuse taandarengust ja üldisest kognitiivsete ning neuromuskulaarsete protsesside aeglustumisest, samuti mõjutavad hääle vananemist hääle kasutamise intensiivsus, suitsetamine, alkoholi tarbimine ning tervislik seisund.

Ettekandes tutvustame vanuses 60+ inimeste kõnekorpuse loomist ja selle akustilise analüüsi esmaseid tulemusi. Korpus sisaldab 100 mehe ja 100 naise spontaanse kõne salvestusi, igalt keelejuhilt keskmiselt 23 minutit kõnet koos käsitsi tehtud transkiptsiooniga. Kõne akustilise analüüsi osas uurime kõne põhitooni, pikaajalise spektri ja kõnetempo muutusi sõltuvalt vanusest ja soost.

The (Im)politeness of Colloquial Language Features in Latvian and Finnish

Emīlija Mežale (University of Latvia)

There are several similar features in Latvian and Finnish spoken and colloquial language, although they are often viewed differently from the connotative and usage points of view. Latvian colloquial language is generally viewed from the lexical point of view (Rozenbergs 1995: 75, 167), although in the recent literature (see Lauze & Auziņa 2019) it has been noted that grammatic features can be found in the informal spoken discourse as well. Spoken and colloquial Finnish is traditionally viewed not only from the lexical, but also from the grammatic point of view (see Berg & Silfverberg 1997; Etelämäki 2009; Tiittula & Nuolijärvi 2013): there are several grammatic features in the spoken language that differ from the literary language norms.

Some of the similar features in Latvian and Finnish can be viewed differently from the politeness/impoliteness point of view. For example, the use of demonstrative pronouns when referring to a person is usually viewed neutrally in Finnish informal discourse (Hakulinen et al. 2004: §720; Tiittula & Nuolijärvi 2013: 61), whereas in Latvian it is generally viewed as impolite (Paegle 2003: 81; Nītiņa 2013: 441):

(1) Finnish: Pärmäkoski pysyi hyvin Björgenin vauhdissa mukana, kun tämä kiristi tahtia matkan puolivälin Murhamäessä. ('Pärmäkoski kept up with Björgen's pace as *this stepped up in Murhamäki halfway through the distance', yle.fi).

(2) Latvian: Padomju savienībā tādus "zagšanas lielmeistarus" uzreiz lika pie sienas, šitie brauca skoloties uz pašu Amēriku! ('In the USSR such "stealing masters" were dealt with immediately, [but] they went to study in the USA itself!', nra.lv)

In this presentation, colloquial and spoken language features in Latvian and Finnish will be viewed from the point of view of impoliteness/politeness. The author analyses the features of informal written discourse, in for example online posts and comments, by studying the differences and similarities in connotation between colloquial features in Latvian and Finnish.

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The Estonian Discourse Marker (ma) kardan (et) 'I Fear (That)' in Different Registers and Text Types

Helle Metslang, Carl Eric Simmul (University of Tartu)

In Estonian, the discourse marker (*ma*) *kardan* (*et*) 'I fear (that)' has developed from a complement-taking predicate expressing fear, similar to the English 'I am afraid'. Shifts in meaning involve shifts from subjective to intersubjective (cf. Kitis 2009). However, there have been no studies of the variation in usage of the marker in different registers of the same language. Our analysis aims to fill this gap.

Our research question is: what functions does the marker perform in different text types and with which factors is it associated?

Our approach is usage-based and corpus-driven, the research material comes from the Pragmaatika corpus (see Prillop et al. 2021), which covers 11 text types from three registers: edited print and online texts, online discourse, and spoken discourse. The analysis model takes into consideration the sentence's 1) semantic structure, 2) function in the text or discourse, 3) subjective function, and 4) intersubjective function.

Our initial results indicate that the *kardan* marker occurs primarily in online, and spoken, discourse. In informal discourse, the marker serves to involve the listener/reader in the concerns of the speaker/writer and softens unpleasant information. In formal discourse it is frequently used by service people to soften unexpected information. In print media and comment sections it is used to highlight suspicious facts when criticising, polemicising, and using irony.

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Intersubjectivity and Intertextuality in Johann Gutslaff's Short Report and Lesson... (1644)

Merili Metsvahi (University of Tartu)

In 1641 and 1642 the weather in Livonia was extremely poor and the harvests were destroyed. Among the peasanthood a strong belief set in that bad weather conditions were the revenge of Pühajõgi ('sacred river'), who had been offended because of a dam and mill built on it recently. The peasants from Sõmerpalu and other places next to the river decided to improve the situation and destroyed the dam and the mill and purified the river in summer 1642.

After the peasants were punished for taking part in the revolt the landlord of Sõmerpalu manor Hans Ohm felt that his family's life was under threat. This was the main reason why he ordered the book from the local pastor Johann Gutslaff (d. 1657) and financed its printing. The book, *Kurtzer Bericht und Unterricht Von der Falsch-heilig genandten Bäche in Lieffland Wöhhanda* ('Short Report and Lesson on the Võhandu River, Wrongly Regarded as Sacred in Livonia', 1644), constitutes the best source of Estonian peasant folk belief of the 17th century.

Gutslaff renounced the animistic beliefs that the local peasants held. His book is largely based on Christian teaching with the main source of reference being the Bible. In my presentation, however, I am going to shed light on other references that Gutslaff used in his book, from ancient Greek philosophers Epicurus and Aristoteles to the chapbook about the Schildbürger. The other question that I am going to answer in my presentation is who was the intended readership of Gutslaff's book, and how we know about the book.

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Literary Myths and Intertextuality in the Multimedial Environment

Anneli Mihkelev (Tallinn University)

The paper analyses literary myths from Estonian literature which works as reference texts in Estonian culture. There are also several other texts based on these verbal myths. It is possible to speak about Tammsaare's myths in his short prose piece "Poiss ja liblik" ('The Boy and the Butterfly', 1915), "Tõde" ('Truth') and the play *Judith*, etc. In addition to these myths there are also films, pictures, paintings and musical works based in them (short prose pieces, novels, etc). Andrus Kivirähk is another writer who has written very popular novels and other literary works which have become reference texts for films, pictures and new art works in different genres. These verbal texts also contain intertextual connections and connotations, creating new meanings and possible new texts in different genres (visual, audio, etc.). It is also possible to compare these with literary texts from neighbouring countries (Finland, Latvia, etc.). The most important question is how literary contact works in different genres, in film, pitures, music, etc.

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Subjektiivsuse väljendumisest muusikakriitikas erinevas ühiskondlik-poliitilises kontekstis Aurora Semperi kontserdiarvustuste põhjal

Meeta Morozov (Eesti Muusika- ja Teatriakadeemia)

Avalikkuses esitatavat muusikat on alates 18. sajandist saatnud avalik muusikakriitika, mille funktsioonid ja sisu rõhuasetused on periooditi muutunud, kirjutaja subjektiivsus seejuures aga olnud suuremal või vähemal määral alati kohalolev, loomulik ning žanri kontekstis isegi eelduslik. 20. sajandi hakul alguse saanud ning 1930. aastateks institutsionaliseerunud regulaarne eestikeelne muusikakriitika leidis väljenduse peamiselt kontserdiarvustustes, mille lähenemisviis sõltus ühelt poolt taoliste kirjutiste väljakujunenud struktuurist, fookusest ning valitsevatest esteetilistest põhimõtetest, teisalt oli see seotud autori eelistuste, haridusliku tausta, silmaringi ja maailmavaatega.

Ettekanne vaatleb eesti ühe esimese naisarvustaja Aurora Semperi kujunemislugu muusikakriitikuna, uurides, kas ja kuidas mõjutas erinev ühiskondlik-poliitiline kontekst Semperi subjektiivsete hinnangute, maitse ja elukogemuse avaldumist kontserdiretsensioonides. Aurora Semper (1899–1982) oli aastatel 1938–1940 Postimehe arvustaja, nõukogude perioodil ilmusid Semperi retsensioonid peaasjalikult ajalehtedes Sirp ja Vasar (1957–1965) ning Rahva Hääl (ebaregulaarselt 1949–1982). Ettekande keskmes on küsimus, mil määral said Semperi 1930. aastateks välja kujunenud subjektiivsed esteetilised arusaamad, näiteks kammermuusika paigutamine muusikažanrite hierarhia tippu, või hariduslik taust, sh klaveriõpingud ning Lääne-Euroopa muusikaelu kogemus väljenduda riigikorra ajal, mis dikteeris kriitikale helitööde ja nende ajaloolise konteksti ümberhindamist, lähtudes marksistlik-leninistliku ideoloogia kriteeriumidest.

"Oh My Mother, Old Wife, You Have Been Buried in the Earth so Long": Intersubjective Connections Between Female Singers and Generations in Contemporary Runo Singing in Finland

Heidi Henriikka Mäkelä (University of Helsinki)

During the last two decades in Finland, young professional folk musicians have re-vitalised an old genre of oral poetry. This genre, Kalevala-metric runo singing, has been a central poetic language used in the Baltic-Finnic area, and is also one of the most nourished symbols of Finnish nationalism. The sung poems have travelled a long – and to some extent rather colonialistic – journey from the lips of nineteenth-century Viena Karelian singers to the concert halls of today's Helsinki. With the extensive collections of textualised folk poems, the organised archival institutions and the spread of systematic folkloristic research as a background, runo singing has become a salient part of the professional new folk music field.

The new runo singing is seen as a tool to create a connection between tradition and modernity and old and new generations. Most of the contemporary musicians are female, and they argue that runo singing provides a channel to understand the ancestors' (especially female ancestors') mental landscape and history. They also state that, through runo singing, a chain of mothers can be recreated, and that the bodily dimensions of the former singers' lives can be experienced.

In this paper I shall examine how these connections are made, and how contemporary musicians perform gender and sexuality in relation to questions posed by runo singing, heritage and maternal inheritance.

Intersubjektiivsus teise isiku vaatepunktist ja rahvapsühholoogia

Bruno Mölder (Tartu Ülikool)

Filosoofias on terminit "intersubjektiivsus" kasutatud laialdaselt ja eri tähenduses. Antud ettekandes keskendun intersubjektiivsuse sellele aspektile, mis seondub inimestevahelise mõistmisega. Teiste inimeste mõistmise puhul eristatakse sageli kahte perspektiivi – suhet kolmanda isiku ja teise isiku vaatepunktist. Kolmanda isiku vaatepunktist vaadeldakse teisi kõrvalt justkui empiirilisi objekte ning neid tunnetatakse järelduslikult (Hutto 2004). Teise isiku vaatepunktist saab võimalikuks teistlaadi, vahetum ja interaktiivne suhe teistega (Gallagher 2001, 2009). Ka seda suhet on kontseptualiseeritud eri moel (De Bruin et al. 2012). Veel üks keskne mõiste seoses teiste inimeste mõistmisega on "rahvapsühholoogia". Rahvapsühholoogia on mõistete võrgustik, mis hõlmab vaimunähtusi tähistavaid mõisteid ja seoseid nende ja maailma vahel. Rahvapsühholoogia rakendamine hõlmab endas võimet kasutada seda mõistet e võrgustikku teiste inimeste mõistmiseks, põhiliselt nende käitumise mõtestamiseks neile vaimuseisundite omistamise kaudu (nt Mölder 2016). Ettekandes keskendun rahvapsühholoogia rollile teiste inimeste mõistmises just teise isiku vaatepunktist. Täpsustan erinevaid võimalusi selle rolli käsitlemiseks ja analüüsin võimalikke lahendusi. Seeläbi täpsustub ka rahvapsühholoogia osatähtsus vaimu mõistmisel.

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Expressive Sentential Formulae in Contemporary Novels in French

Iva Novakova, Agnès Tutin (Grenoble Alpes University)

In the field of phraseology, some expressions are closely related to the conditions of enunciation. They have often been called "conversational routines" (Coulmas 2011) or "speech formulae" (Cowie 2001), since they appear particularly frequently in oral communication and interaction. Among these prefabricated expressions we find expressive formulae such as *c'est un comble* ('that is the last straw') or *c'est dommage* ('it's a pity'), which manifest the following characteristics: 1) they are complete sentences; 2) they have a lexical and syntactic frozenness; 3) they have an expressive function, expressing joy, sadness, annoyance, etc.

Our aim is to compare some frequent expressive sentential phrases (ESP) – for example *bon sang* 'dammit', *tu parles*! 'you bet', *ma foi*! 'well', *ma parole*! '(upon) my word', *bon Dieu* 'for Christ's sake' – used in dialogues of contemporary novel corpora, compiled for the Phraserom project (Tutin and Gharbi 2020; Novakova and Siepman 2020; Diwersy et al. 2021), for which we will be working with a corpus of approximately 1,000 novels (published from the 1950s to the present) in French. We assume that, the 'represented' speech in fictional dialogue sequences is a particularly interesting object of study for pragmatics and stylistic studies (Rouayrenc 2010).

Our hypothesis is that the ESPs used in dialogues of the 'lowbrow' fiction are not the same as those of general ('highbrow') fiction. For example, in general fiction, characters have a stronger tendency to use phraseology that has to do with the verbal expression of an introspective movement and corresponds to a more marked reflexivity of the narrator–character (cf. *je me dis*, 'I say to myself' (Gonon & Sorba 2019)). In contrast, in 'lowbrow' fiction, which makes extensive use of "the formulaic and the conventional" (Frow 2005), we found more expressive formulae, such as *bon sang*! ('dammit'). In answer to the second and third research questions of this workshop, we will investigate the pragmatic functions (perception, emotions, subjectivity, etc.) that these ESPs fulfill, and their structuring role in dialogues.

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The Different Intersubjective Statuses of Storytelling and Describing in Fiction: A Fruitful Approach to the Study of the Modernist Novel?

Indrek Ojam (University of Tartu)

Intersubjective communicability, and indeed also most of the political and cultural resonance of literary fiction is usually thought of as depending on the universality of basic narrative structures. Hence also the fruitfulness and success of narratology in literary studies. The poetics of description however seems to function in a qualitatively different semantic way than that of narrative. Juxtaposition of narrative and description of course goes back to classical treatises that opposed mediums of literature and painting (G. E. Lessing). The first important modern essay to restart the debate over the status and autonomy of descriptions is György Lukács's Narrate or Describe?, which appeared in the 1930s. In last 10 to 20 years, French philosopher Jacques Rancière's notion of the aesthetic regime of literature (2011a, 2011b) and American literary scholar Fredric Jameson's notion of pure, non-narrative "scenes" (2013) in modern literature both suggest that study of nonnarrative descriptions and mute things is of utmost importance to the historical understanding of fiction. My PhD work studies the tension between the causal dimension of narrative and the neutrality of description in various Estonian prose works from Jaan Oks to Ene Mihkelson (2021). This presentation aims to describe the theoretical structure of the problem and suggest a basic methodology for new readings.

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Kunstnik sõjas. Olev Mikiveri rindekirjade analüüs

Triinu Ojamaa (Estonian Literary Museum)

Ettekanne annab lühiülevaate uurimusest, mille keskne teoreetiline mõiste on 'vastupidavus' / 'sitkus' (*resilience*). Toetudes Folkele, määratlen sitkust süsteemi või protsessi võimena absorbeerida häireid (Folke *et al.* 2010), mida võivad esile kutsuda mingid muutused ehk kõrvalekalded tavapärasest olukorrast. Minu uurimuses on selleks olukorraks sõda. Sitkus eeldab võimet muutustega mitte ainult toime tulla, vaid nende tõukel ka edasi areneda, seega võib absorbeeritavaid häireid käsitleda jätkusuutliku arengu partnerite, mitte vaenlastena (nt Holtorf 2018). Holtorfi huvitab kultuur laiemalt, kuid see lähenemisviis on rakendatav ka üksikisiku puhul.

Ettekandes analüüsin Olev Mikiveri (1922–1994) mentaalset toimetulekut rindeoludes ning selle seost ja mõjutusi tema kunstnikuks ja humoristiks-vestekirjanikuks kujunemisele, mis sai alguse juba Teise maailmasõja eel Tallinnas tegutsemist alustanud rühmituses Elbumus.

Uurimus põhineb Mikiveri rindekirjadel (EKM EKLA, f 352, m 20:4), mis ta kirjutas Jätkusõja ajal 1943–1944 Soome sõjaväe õppelaagris ja Karjala rindel. Võrdlusmaterjalina kasutan memuaarseid vesteid, mis ilmusid Rootsi eestlaste ajalehes Teataja 1988–1994 ning hiljem ka raamatuna (Mikiver 2004).

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Silent Estonians, Politeness and Small Talk

Renate Pajusalu, Miina Norvik (University of Tartu)

Small talk is often described as a formulaic or superficial mode of talk used to establish social contact rather than provide information. Although its value is acknowledged it tends to have negative connotations. Small talk deserves to be considered in connection with silence. As Jarowski (2014: 114) puts it, "small talk and silence are probably sociolinguistic universals, but there appear to be important cross-cultural differences in how they are used or tolerated". In our presentation we analyse how Estonians tolerate silence, what they think about small talk, and also how these phenomena are connected to (im)politeness and intersubjectivity. According to Pajupuu (1997), Estonians tend to dislike superficial conversation and often fail to bring up different topics. In this light, we were also interested in finding out whether this also holds true today.

In our presentation, we analyse two types of data: (i) more than 30 interviews carried out mainly in 2020-2021, mostly with Estonians living in Estonia, ages 9 to 69; (ii) additional data consisting of short interviews, written comments, etc. It is important to note that these are not examples of small talk but respondents' reflections on what they think about engaging in small talk.

Our analysis reveals that there are differences in what respondents perceive as small talk. Preliminary results show that what is defined as small talk and what kind of strategies are used to engage in it at least partly depend on the generation and profession. In any case, whichever way our respondents define small talk, the majority of them admit that they feel uncomfortable in such situations; several of them can name some techniques that are of help.

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Armastuse keeled: Maria von Herberti ja Immanuel Kanti kirjavahetus Madis Kõivu solipsismipõhjenduses

Eduard Parhomenko (Tartu Ülikool)

Söandaksin läheneda Madis Kõivu näidendile "Filosoofipäev" kui katsele põhjendada solipsismi filosoofilise vältimatusena ja elulise saatusena. Immanuel Kanti näol, kellele näidend pühendub, paneb Kõiv proovile intersubjektiivsuse nii afektiivse isikutevahelise suhtena kui ka kopulaarse relatsioonina loogikas. Kantilikule metafüüsika võimalikkuse üle otsustavale küsimusele, kas ja kuidas on võimalik sünteetiline otsustus a priori, paistab Kõiv sisse sõitvat küsimusega, kas üldse ja kuidas saab filosoof(ia) päästa ühe naisterahva. Selleks küsimuseks ammutab ta inspiratsiooni Kanti kirjavahetusest Maria von Herbertiga. Ajalooliselt on Maria von Herberti ja Kanti kirjavahetuse aineseks küsimus valetamisest ja rääkimata jätmisest: kas armastuse nimel võib jätta midagi rääkimata või võib lausa valetada või siis tuleb hoopiski rääkida tõtt ja ainult tõtt hoolimata tagajärgedest. Kanti teisigi kirjatöid lugedes saab ehk väita, et omal moel on nii valetamine kui tõerääkimine Kantil armastuse keeleks. Mida aga teeb Kõiv näidendis? Tõerääkimise ja rääkimata jätmise intersubjektiivsusest, mida Kant oma vastuses püüab moraalifilosoofilise refleksiooniga subtiilselt ohjata, Kõiv ei hooli. Maria kirjadest Kantile ammutab ta rahuldamatuse otsekohesuse metafüüsilist hullust ainult.

Kirjandus

Madis Kõiv. Filosoofipäev.

Maria von Herbert ja Immanuel Kant. Kirjavahetus.

Immanuel Kant. Arvatavast õigusest inimarmastuse pärast valetada.

Immanuel Kant. Alusepanek kommete metafüüsikale.

Immanuel Kant. Kommete metafüüsika.

Immanuel Kant. Puhta mõistuse kriitika.

Synchronic (Mis)placement of Songs: Intersubjective Approaches to Ainu Music Revival in Japan

Savannah-Rivka Powell (University of Tartu)

During my master's studies, I was directed to examine 29 Japanese folk recordings that had been submitted to the Estonian Folklore Archives in the mid-1990s. The metadata in these files is sparse, and there is no detail about the contributor, date of accession, or song type. In 2019, while conducting fieldwork in Japan I was able to ascertain titles, origins, and some of the singers with the assistance of an Ainu researcher at Hokkaido University. Half of the songs were identified as staged performances of Ainu music from Hokkaido. My contact recognised stylistic markers indicative of the Ainu cultural revival movement of the 1970s. Early documentation of Ainu music, a tradition dating to the 12th century, was sparse due to processes of colonisation and assimilation by Japan. The impact of the circumscription of contact with past singers due to the lack of documentation on Ainu music revival has been profound with efforts beginning in the mid-20th century. Contemporary singers draw largely on textual documentation such as those compiled and translated from Ainu into Romanised script by the family of Chiri Yukie. While some endeavour to reproduce a 'pure' form of music, others engage with processes of (re)creation based on traditional formulas. During a 2019 interview with Ainu musician Yuki Koji, he outlined an approach to composition that is rich in intersubjective discourse between ancestral teachings, personal interpretations, and interactions with contemporary communities. The murmur of anachronous voices appears to resonate from recordings of distant origins while expectant singers ponder on songs (mis)placed. The nature of Ainu intersubjectivity has resulted in a multifarious approach to music revival. Following the source from Hokkaido to the archives of Tartu which led me to living performers in Japan, I will provide an analysis of how singers relate to documented materials in contemporary revival movements.

Intersubjective Aspects of 'Annoying' Language in Linguistic Life Stories

Katri Priiki (University of Turku)

The presentation examines how discussion of 'annoying' features of language proceeds as a joint action of the interviewer and the interviewee. The data are linguistic life stories collected for the Hundred Finnish Linguistic Life Stories research project (see Hippi & Lappalainen & Nuolijärvi 2020).

Non-linguists usually talk about language with metaphors. The Finnish verb ärsyttää 'annoy', 'irritate' is a metaphor that describes a reaction. The verb occurs frequently in discussions about words or features that non-linguists deem to be 'bad language' or to be otherwise dislikeable. The predetermined questions of the linguistic life story interviews include the question, "Are there features or words in the language used by other people that annoy you? If yes, what are they?" Interviewees do not always accept this choice of wording: some of them mitigate the verb (for example ärsyttää vähän, 'annoys a little'), and some explicitly said that they would not use the verb ärsyttää, 'annoy', despite answering the question.

The topic links to politeness and intersubjectivity, since, when considering a language feature annoying, people typically judge language used by other people. However, there are a few examples where interviewees describe phenomena that annoy them in their own language use or talk about instances of someone else commenting on their language use.

This presentation focuses on the intersubjective aspects of the features of language considered annoying. In interviews, most of the interviewees give some reasons for their feelings. Some phrases annoy them especially when they are used in the 'wrong' context, for example, when swear words are used in professional situations or youth slang is used in the media. This suggests the importance of an intersubjective aspect. Are 'annoying' features always also impolite?

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Finnish Pronouns and Particles in the Light of Intersubjectivity

Katri Priiki (University of Turku)

Intersubjectivity is a fundamental feature of human communication, and intersubjective relations are formed in interaction (Sorjonen et al. 2021). In this presentation, I introduce recent studies done on Finnish discourse markers that originate in deictic elements and reflect the intersubjective aspects of these studies.

Finnish has several discourse particles that are originally forms of demonstrative and personal pronoun, such as tuota, sitä and häntä (from tuo 'that', se 'it' and hän 'he, she'), which have become fixed in their singular partitive (Hakulinen 1975; Vilkuna 1989; Etelämäki & Jaakola 2009; Priiki 2021); -han/hän, which has become clitic and begun to adjust to vowel harmony (Laitinen 2005); and niin, the instructive form of the plural *ne* 'they', used as a response word (Sorjonen 2001). Added to these, certain expressions involving personal pronoun references, *tiät sä* 'do you know' and *mä aattelin* 'I thought' have become fixed and may be used in particle-like functions (Laury et al. 2020; Suomalainen 2020).

Pronoun references are inherently intersubjective because they are indexical. Understanding deictic elements requires that the producer of an utterance and the recipient share enough information about the context of the interaction. With pronoun-originating particles, a question related to intersubjectivity is whether and how much they preserve or lose of their indexicality in the process of becoming a particle. In discourse particle function, are their intersubjective features still connected to indexicality or rather to other aspects of turn and action design? Is losing referentiality essential to become a 'proper' particle. What are 'proper' particles after all? Should being a particle be understood rather as a function than a grammatical category?

In studies of Finnish grammar, the term particle has traditionally been used to refer to a miscellaneous class of word that does not fit other definitions. Studying spoken interaction has turned the attention to the need for a more descriptive terminology. Particles have been divided into subgroups according to their functions, such as pragmatic particles, modal particles, discourse particles or discourse markers. (Hakulinen et al. 2004: §793) The last of these terms, discourse marker, does not take a stand on whether the words belonging to it really form a distinct group. What do recent studies say on the role of particles in Finnish grammar?

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Millega nublu meid ära hookis*?

Marju Raju (Eesti Muusika- ja Teatriakadeemia)

*Konks (i.k hook) on räpplaulu meeldejääv refrään.

Nublust on viimaste aastatega saanud Eesti üks tuntuim meesartist, keda armastatakse kõigis vanuserühmades. Räppmuusika on osa hiphop kultuurist, kus asjaosaliste väärtusruumi kannab mitte ainult muusika ja selle sõnumid, vaid ka tants, riietus ja muud aksessuaarid, žestid ja suhtumine. Räppmuusika kõige iseloomulikumaks tunnuseks on enamjaolt retsitatiivne laulmisstiil monotoonse või väheste muutustega rütmitausta saatel. Räppmuusika ülesehitus on tsükliline, kus põhirõhk on sõnadel. Räpplaulude sõnad on nagu väikesed ajakapslid, minikokkuvõtted ühiskonnas olulistest teemadest nii mainstreami kui spetsiifilisemate subgruppide jaoks. Enamjaolt tegeletakse uuringutes laulusõnadega, sest muusikaanalüüsi mõttes on räpp tülikas uurimisobjekt, mis ei ole loodud taasesitamiseks kirjaliku allika põhjal, kuid muusika on siiski piisavalt keerukas ning pelgalt kuuldelisest analüüsist jääb väheks. Samas on nii retsitatiivset stiili kui ka valdavalt rütmiinstrumentidel mängitavat tausta keerukas noodikirja panna. Ettekandes analüüsitakse Nublu varast loomingut (2018. a laulud) ning püstitatakse hüpotees, et üheks tema populaarsuse põhjuseks on lummutav laisk hääletämber, regilaulu meenutav retsitatiivne esitusstiil ja oma sõnumite oskusklik põimimine juba tuttavate meloodiatega. Lisaks antakse ülevaade kvalitatiivuuringu tulemustest Nublu muusika meeldivuse kohta. Tulemustest ilmneb, et nii ekspertide kui ka erinevas vanuses publiku hinnangud saab jagada nelja suurde kategooriasse: (1) Nublu isik; (2) hääl; (3) laulusõnad; (4) muusika/laulude struktuur. Nii ekspertide kui ka publiku hinnangutes leidub märkimisväärseid kattuvusi, eriti selles, mis puudutab Nublu laulude sõnu ja tema üldist väljenduslaadi ja hääletämbrit. Seega toetavad tulemused püstitatud hüpoteesi. Seda, kas Nublu jääb (muusika)teadlaste huviorbiiti ka tulevikus, näitab aeg, kuid antud subjektiivsel ajahetkel peame tunnistama, et suure osa meist on ta oma konksu otsa saanud.

Vokalistide võimalused teksti arusaadavuse parandamisel – uurimisprojekti tutvustus

Marju Raju^a, Allan Vurma^a, Jaan Ross^a, Einar Meister^b, Lya Meister^b, Tuuri Dede (^aEesti Muusika- ja Teatriakadeemia, ^bTallinna Tehnikaülikool)

Käesoleval aastal algab Eesti Muusika- ja Teatriakadeemia ja Tallinna Tehnikaülikooli ühine teadusprojekt "Vokalistide võimalused teksti arusaadavuse parandamisel: probleemid ja teaduslik baas", mida rahastab Eesti Teadusagentuur. Töörühma juht on professor Allan Vurma.

Ettekandes anname ülevaate projekti eesmärkidest, planeeritavatest empiirilistest uuringutest ja meetoditest. Tegemist on teemaga, mis ühendab nii praktiliselt kui teaduslikult huvitavaid küsimusi vajadusega tuua klassikalisse lauluõppesse rohkem teaduspõhiseid meetodeid. Miks on poplauljate laulude sõnad lihtsamini arusaadavad kui klassikalise laulustiili puhul? Ja miks suudavad mõned ooperilauljad ikkagi laulda nii, et sõnadest saab aru, aga teised mitte? Vokaaltehniliste aluste põhimõtteline erinevus Lääne klassikalise laulustiili ja kommertsstiilide puhul võib olla üheks teksti arusaadavust määravaks teguriks. Laulmisel tuleb vokalistil täita puhtmuusikalisi ülesandeid, aga kuulaja jaoks peab olema selgelt arusaadav ka lauldav tekst. Muusikast tingitud piirangute tõttu ei pruugi laulmisel alati toimida võtted, mis parandavad arusaadavust kõnelemisel. Lauljate endi arusaamad, kuidas tagada hea tekstiselgus, on vastuolulised, teaduslikke uurimusi aga napib. Käesoleva projekti eesmärk on teadusliku aluse loomine häälemoodustamise ning artikuleerimise optimaalsete strateegiate väljatöötamiseks, mis tagaksid laulmisel hea tasakaalu tekstiselguse ja muusikaliste kvaliteetide vahel (nt kantileensus, fraaside pingekaared) sõltuvalt ruumi akustilistest tingimustest ja mõjust, mis lähtub instrumentaalsaatest. Oluline on ka teksti arusaadavusprobleemi erinevus mees- ja naislauljate võrdluses, eelkõige seetõttu, et naiste puhul saab hääl olla umbes oktavi võrra kõrgem. Meetodiks on vokaalsete esituste akustiline analüüs ja süstemaatiline helitöötlusvahendite abil modifitseeritud foneetilist materjali sisaldavate vokaalstiimulite tajukatsete läbiviimine. Tulemused on kasutatavad vokalistide treeningus, aga need on abiks ka tekstiautorite ja heliloojate töös.

On the Perception of Religion among the Non-religious

Atko Remmel (University of Tartu)

Since Wilfred Cantwell Smith's *The Meaning and End of Religion* (1962), a school of thought has emerged which criticises the concept of religion as having grown out of the Protestant tradition, its universality thus being questionable and its usefulness as an analytical concept equally so. On the empirical side, there is a growing body of data suggesting that the distinction between the religious and the secular may be too constraining. Thus, a whole range of alternative conceptions have been proposed in order to bypass the religious–secular dichotomy, even so that one could speak of a conceptual crisis in the study of religion.

This paper contributes to this topic. Taking interviews with non-religious people in Estonia as a point of departure, the paper explores the understanding of the religion-related field among the population to whom religion is not the primary concern. There are notions which indicate that the discourses related to religion may have changed to such an extent that traditional definitions of religion in academia, and understandings of the context in which religion is situated and what its functions are, may be outdated.

Intersubjective Politeness in a Charlie Chan Detective Story: A Case of Intercultural Face Work

Dora Renna, Francesca Santulli (Ca' Foscari University of Venice)

Charlie Chan is a famous (and controversial) detective from 1930s novels by E. D. Biggers, made even more popular by his cinematic representation. He is linked to the Chinese stereotype of the model minority (Huang 2010; Ma 2014), which implies a series of traits, including modesty and self-representation (Renna & Santulli 2022). As in other Golden Age detective stories (Zhang 2001), in Charlie Chan's novels the plot development hinges on dialogues mostly involving the main character and his suspects. Chan's dialogues carry a further communicative function, as they are also used to display the expression of Chan's (stereo) typical politeness.

Against this background, the aim of this presentation is to analyse the dialogic interactions from one of Bigger's novels, *The Black Camel* (1929) and its homonymous cinematic version (1931). The investigation will be focused on the interaction of Chan with Tarneverro, an ambiguous character whose role will only be revealed at the end of the story. As a matter of fact, Tarneverro offers his assistance to Chan, while at the same time being one of the main suspects. In the dialogues, the two characters resort to recurring strategies which will be analysed in the framework of politeness theory (Leech 1983), with specific focus on the relevant linguistic traits typical of each character. On the one hand, face work depends on the different roles they play in the investigation; on the other hand, different set of strategies. The analysis will also consider potential intermedial differences between novel and film.

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Questioning the Conversation: Non-canonical Interrogatives in LINDSEI-EST

Kärt Roomäe (University of Birmingham)

This presentation analyses non-canonical interrogatives in the Estonian subcorpus of the Louvain International Database of Spoken English Interlanguage (LINDSEI-EST). The corpus is the first of its kind in Estonia and my involvement in its compilation sparked my interest in the data. The focus is on the formal and functional properties of the interrogatives, hypothesising that the dynamicity of grammar (cf. Hopper 1987: 144) leads to irregularity.

Conversations in LINDSEI-EST are intersubjective, based on interviews of approximately 15 minutes. Three tasks are involved: a monologue on a topic chosen from three options, spontaneous discussion, and picture description. The corpus is a work-in-progress: we currently have recorded and transcribed 25 interviews (approximately 346 minutes in total). The interviewees are third- or fourth-year students of the English Language and Literature BA program in Tartu and native speakers of Estonian. I am interested in the effect of the setting, which is on the one hand informal, but on the other hand presents a relatively guided narrative, limiting the spontaneity of the interview.

By doing a qualitative study on the interrogative utterances in the interviews, I am expecting to see formally and/or functionally non-canonical structures. Irregular word order, repetition, ellipsis, like the alternative interrogative <A> <overlap /> did you spend there the whole year or or (Interview 20), but also functional characteristics such as the tag in <A> (mm) but you are on your third year of BA studies right now right (Interview 10) highlight the complexity of conversations. As Dayal (2016: 268) points out, the non-canonical features can also be combined within a single interrogative utterance.

Non-canonical interrogative utterances in LINDSEI-EST also show the complementarity of discourse and syntax. My analysis considers interaction, therefore largely following the premises of Interactional Construction Grammar (for example, Fischer 2015; Imo 2015), and adds to this new field of study.

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The Functions of the Particle *lihtsalt*, 'just', 'simply', in Estonian Emergency Calls

Andriela Rääbis, Andra Rumm (University of Tartu)

The topic of our paper is the particle *lihtsalt*, 'just', 'simply', in Estonian emergency calls. The aim of the paper is to find the functions of the particle lihtsalt and to find out if callers and call-takers use it for different purposes. The analysis draws on corpus data consisting of Estonian emergency calls. For this paper, 75 emergency calls containing 83 occurrences of the particle lihtsalt were analysed following the principles of interactional linguistics.

The analysis shows that the particle lihtsalt in emergency calls is used both to downgrade and to upgrade. Callers use lihtsalt to downgrade (56 examples), upgrade (6 examples) or in both functions at once (6 examples). Call-takers use the particle lihtsalt only to downgrade (15 examples).

Callers downgrade with the particle lihtsalt to express the accidentality of the incident (for example a car accident) or reduce its severity. However, callers may also downgrade to contrast with an alternative offered by the call-taker, without reducing the severity of the problem. Callers also downgrade to distance themselves from the incident (or from the culprit) or express vagueness. However, call-takers use lihtsalt to downgrade on two main occasions: to reduce the caller's problem, and to mitigate a directive, a long search, or not finding the necessary information.

Callers may also upgrade with the particle lihtsalt to show an urgent need for help, thus using lihtsalt as an intensifying particle. Callers also upgrade to make accusations or persuade.

The analysis shows that lihtsalt is always in a contrastive context. To sum up, lihtsalt in our data is not used in its direct meaning of 'not complicated' and the particle is often phonetically reduced (for example, *lissalt*), both indicating that *lihtsalt* is grammaticising.

The Impolite Norwegian 'Politeness Marker' Vennligst

Kristin Rygg^a, Stine Hullberg Johansen^b (^aNHH Norwegian School of Economics, ^bOsloMet)

This corpus-based study contributes to the ongoing discussion on conventional politeness markers, such as please, by being the first to examine how the corresponding Norwegian lexical item vennligst 'please' is used. The study is also the first of its kind to apply the new ritual frame analysis model proposed by Kádár and House (2019, 2020a, 2020b) to Norwegian. The results show that although the pragmatic function of vennligst is described as being that of a polite request, the majority of instances in our data (68%) were less directly related to individualistic politeness and functioned as indicators of a ritual frame. Nevertheless, the results also show that in situations where the social roles of the interlocutors are unclear, vennligst may be used both to strengthen and to lessen the requestive force. By showing that vennligst may be used as a marker of politeness, as an indicator of a ritual frame as well as a request marker to underline the requestive force of the statement, the study also challenges the view of conventional politeness markers as either indicators of politeness or indicators of ritual frames.

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Those Other Singers: Less Active Participants in the Runo Singing Tradition

Liina Saarlo (Eesti Kirjandusmuuseum)

The focus of the collection and research of folk songs is on so-called active singers, active specialists of a particular singing tradition in its syncretic diversity, i.e. texts, melodies and performance practices. These singers also have specific personal qualities, such as the ability to perform and the need to show their skills. On the one hand, they kept the tradition focused, on the other hand, they were a kind of avant-garde of the tradition, introducing innovations. The repertoire of the singers testifies that they had embraced a newer musical culture.

The collection of Estonian runo-songs, with certain important regional exceptions, took place during a period when their active use and public performance had already disappeared or was retreating, and syncretism and functional coherence to the human lifecycle had been replaced by stage presentation or reproduction of memories. The meaning of the performance has changed: the folk song is no longer presented as a natural component of life, as a religious, pragmatic, therapeutic or entertaining function, but as knowledge or a public entertainment.

Once very popular image of a runo singer as a Bohemian standing on the periphery of society is certainly related to the peak of the folklore collection which coincided with the period when the runosinging was passed on to the peripheries of a community's cultural self-expression.

The persons of so-called passive tradition carriers have been excluded from the focus of performance studies. However, their repertoire can be very rich and varied, reflecting a good knowledge of tradition.

The paper focuses on the quiet voices of these unpretentious singers, their emotions about runo songs and performance, and their relationship with their community and beyond. I will discuss Different and common objectives, possible conflicts and the intersubjectivity of performers and listeners.

Surprise Questions vs. Exclamations in Estonian: A Prosodic Comparison

Heete Sahkai^a, Eva Liina Asu^b, Pärtel Lippus^b (^aInstitute of Estonian Language, ^bUniversity of Tartu)

There are various connections between non-canonical questions and the expression of mirativity. Echo-questions and declarative questions are two well-known types of non-canonical questions that can, among other things, express surprise (e.g. Bartels 2013; Gunlogson 2003). This paper examines the prosody of surprise questions (SQs, see example 1) - a less-studied type of mirative non-canonical questions - in comparison with wh-exclamations (EXCs) in Estonian.

(1) The speaker finds a bottle of red wine in his/her shopping bag and is surprised because s/he thought that s/he had bought a white wine. The speaker says:

Mis	vein	see	on?
what	wine	this	is

'What wine is this?'

The examined surprise questions are syntactically canonical interrogative sentences but they are not canonical information-seeking questions (ISQ): they do not request an answer from an addressee presumed to be knowledgeable (cf. Farkas 2020). They can be uttered when the speaker is directly witnessing the answer to the question, as in (1), or when the speaker does not know the answer but does not presume the addressee to know it either. Instead of a request for information, they express the surprise of the speaker caused by unexpectedness or counter-expectation. Such SQs bear many similarities with EXCs in Estonian in that both express mirativity and are syntactically identical with canonical ISQs.

In this paper, based on our earlier analyses (Asu et al. submitted, Sahkai et al. to appear, Sahkai et al. to appear), we will show that SQs and EXCs share many prosodic features that distinguish them from canonical ISQs: both are characterised by a lower mean pitch, longer duration, wider pitch range, and contain a larger proportion of nonmodal voice quality than ISQs. At the same time they display the same intonational pitch accent types and boundary tones as ISQs. There are, however, some differences in terms of the distribution of pitch accents.

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The Disquieting Ambiguity of Intersubjectivity Positioning in *The Reluctant Fundamentalist*, by Mohsin Hamid

Mohamed SAKI (University of Western Brittany)

It has now become a truism to maintain that language is not the solipsist act of an isolated monad, but rather is an intersubjective, co-produced act that posits the necessary existence of the Self and the Other. It is with this premise that I will explore in this paper the disquieting ambiguity of intersubjective positioning in The Reluctant Fundamentalist, in which a Pakistani character, Changez, tells the story of his life to a nervous American interlocutor, whose identity remains unknown, in a café in Lahore, Pakistan. The novel, which takes on the form of a dramatic monologue, is a tale of personal infatuation and disappointment with America and, more generally, a reflection on the actual and the imaginary fault-lines in East–West relations, and on mutual cultural prejudice and misrepresentation, hence the pervasiveness of the unsaid, the unsayable and the ineffable that characterise the intersubjective relationship between Changez and his absent-present interlocutor. To bring this to the fore, I will analyse the various intersubjectivity markers to shed light on the nature of the relationship that exists between Changez, who endeavours to sound as affable and urbane as possible, and his interlocutor, whose confidence he seeks to win by dispelling his mistrust and suspicion. I will show that in spite of the efforts of depicting the interaction between Changez and his American interlocutor as a peaceful discussion founded on a harmonious intersubjective relationship, this relationship remains deeply asymmetrical since Changez keeps destabilising his interlocutor, thus raising questions about his sincerity and his real intentions. Finally, I will show that this intersubjective relationship is tinged with a disquieting ambiguity as Changez sounds, alternately, caring and considerate on the one hand, and threatening and disturbing on the other.

The Discourse-interactional Functions of the Udmurt Val and Vylem

Mari Saraheimo^a, Rebeka Kubitsch^b (^aUniversity of Helsinki, ^bHungarian Research Centre for Linguistics / University of Szeged)

The presentation discusses the pragmatisation (cf. Frank-Job 2006) of the past tense forms of the verb be (val and vylem) in Udmurt. The nontemporal uses of such forms have already been addressed in previous works to some extent, such as modal attenuation, primarily in non-declarative moods and in modal constructions (Tarakanov 1998; Winkler 2011; Kubitsch 2020), while in the analytic past tenses the marking of unfulfilled actions or contrast between two events (Zaguljajeva 19; Kubitsch 2021; Saraheimo forthcoming) and retrospective shift (Arkhangelskiy 2014) have been mentioned. When val and vylem are not used in their propositional meaning, in addition to the above-mentioned modal uses, discourse-interactional functions can also be observed, among others: adding content to an already addressed topic (additive), suggesting that the content is false in the context or performed under a false belief (adversative), and marking that the new content is in contrast to the old topic (contrastive) (cf. Zeevat 2006). Similar use of a past form of the be verb has been attested in two major contact languages, Tatar and Russian (cf. Timberlake 2004; Serebrennikov 1963; Greed 2014). Considering the discourse-interactional functions, Serebrennikov (1960) mentions the function of referring to a previously discussed topic, although he attributes this use to the remote past. We argue, however, that val and vylem should be analysed separately as particles, primarily because of their non-propositional contribution and syntactic detachability. According to Evans (2006), particles encoding meanings like common ground, engagement and confirmation or expectation of prior knowledge are common throughout the languages of the world, and knowledge and attention marking in discourse relates the topic to intersubjectivity.

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Repetition and Variation in a Finnish Musical Discourse: A Case Study

Benjamin Schweitzer (University of Greifswald)

Among the different ways to approach discourse structuring patterns, the concept of 'Grundfigur' (basic figure) as outlined for example by Busse (1997) and Scharloth (2005) is a versatile tool that helps us understand the semantic framework of discourses. Topoi, metaphors and other argumentative and figurative elements can be traced back to basic concepts, as these authors have shown with the opposing figures 'own' and 'foreign', 'nature' and 'artificiality'.

Jäger (2009: 196–200) underlines that the main patterns of a discourse are often established relatively early and are then repeated and varied as the discourse takes shape. My paper identifies the repetitions and variations of such 'Grundfiguren' in the Finnish discourse (mainly consisting of concert reviews and musicological essays) on Jean Sibelius' 4th Symphony, specifically I look at austerity and difficulty. I aim to show how these concepts are first established and how they can be traced both in verbatim repetitions and variations over a span of more than a century. I intend to analyse how a combination of intensity (qualitative impact, influential ideology brokerage) and broad coverage (quantitative impact) coin the image, or framing, of an artwork among both the public and the scientific community.

My approach is based on the hypothesis that a constantly varied repetitionofcertainpatterns and similarly structured semantic frames is especially effective if those patterns are linked to established cultural (auto-)stereotypes. By looking at these, I also attempt to highlight the tension between presumably "subjective" utterances as found in for example concert reviews, and possibly traceable collective symbols (Link 1984) behind them.

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The Affective Power of Laments

Viliina Silvonen (University of Eastern Finland / Finnish Literature Society)

Laments are a strongly emotional genre of oral poetry. In laments, emotions are expressed, experienced and transmitted. In addition to the performer, the affective power of a lament takes the audience under its influence. I examine intersubjectivity between a lamenter on an archival audio tape and a contemporary scholar, two people from different spatiotemporal and sociocultural contexts.

I approach laments as a performance and an affective practice. The practice theoretic aspect supplements the performance theoretic viewpoints with bodily aspects. The concept of affective practice treats emotions as sociocultural and biopsychological formation of human experiences: the practice theory basis combines the bodily and sociocultural aspects understanding them as inseparably intertwined. Thus, the emotions and affective power of laments are socially and culturally organised but at the same time in performance (and practice) they are bodily actions, reactions and experiences. In the process of meaning making, practice and performances have their foundations in tradition. Furthermore, tradition is also the basis of the emotions and affectivity.

The affective power of laments is the capacity of performance to create intersubjective emotionally invested connections between the performer and the audience. This affective power stems from 1) the so-ciocultural formation meanings of the tradition, 2) the expectations of the participants (i.e. performer and audience), and 3) the sociocultural and biopsychological formation of human emotion.

In this presentation, I outline the intersubjective method that enables new ways of interpreting and analysing archival material, especially laments, and historical emotion cultures.

The Lived Experience of Reading

Susanna Soosaar (University of Tartu)

In a 1964 essay, Simone de Beauvoir sought to answer the question "What can literature do?" Approaching the topic with her own interpretation of phenomenology, Beauvoir claimed literature to be the only place capable of allowing us to experience another world and another self. In the essay, Beauvoir argues that only through reading literature can the totality of human experience be encountered. Literature, then, is "the privileged place of intersubjectivity", a place created in collaboration between text and reader where imagined events become lived events (Beauvoir 2011: 201). Continuing in the literary phenomenological mode of thinking, Georges Poulet (1969), in his seminal essay about the "Phenomenology of Reading", similarly explores the role of literature and argues that literature begins to exist through the act of reading, in the space co-created by text and reader.

The same discovery - that literature allows reader and text to exist in a reciprocally communicative relationship and share the deepest intimacies - has been made repeatedly through the years in studies of the act of reading (Iser 1978a, b). However, the initial involvement with phenomenology has by now been replaced by other methods. Taking into account the advancements in studies of reading, this paper will once again turn to phenomenology to review the reciprocity of the act of reading. The phenomenologists of the 20th century believed phenomenology to operate on a level that explains subjective experience in the most fundamental manner. Proceeding from this perspective, Husserlian phenomenology will be adapted to examine literature as an object existing in the world (Husserl 1991). Especially relevant to this enquiry into the experience of reading are Husserlian concepts of intentionality, and primary and secondary memory. With a particular focus on time and temporality, this paper will explore reading as not only what we come to know but what we come to live. Reading will be considered as the privileged place of intersubjectivity where meanings are assembled and shared through communication between reader and text.

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Dialogue Between Word and Image in Estonian Contemporary Poetry

Joosep Susi^a, Agnes Neier^b (^aUniversity of Tartu / Tallinn University, ^bUniversity of Tartu)

In our presentation we focus on the emergence of multimodality in contemporary Estonian poetry, specifically on the dialogue between photography and lyric poetry. We analyse some of the most interesting cases where the picture and the word are in an intense dialogue, as a result of which the reader is confronted with twofold meaning making: the intertextual meaning that is created between the photographic image and the lyrical poem tied to it, and the intersubjective meaning stemming from the result of the word and image co-operation process.

We take a closer look at how historical photographs create fictionality (Tõnu Õnnepalu) and how photographs of the author together with poems shape family-national memory (Kristiina Ehin), mental health disorders of a lyrical subject (Tõnis Vilu) and the stereotypical understanding of the role of women in a patriarchal society (Kelly Turk).

We question how the incorporation of a physical representation of the author affects the reading and meaning making process, how it alters our understanding of the lyrical speaker, and why we don't see an influx of photographic images in collections of poems. Focusing on contemporary Estonian poetry and citing examples from world literature, we look at what kinds of reading strategy are useful in order to estimate the complexity of word and image relationships.

The Intensifying Function of the Udmurt Particle uk

Iuliia Zubova (University of Tartu)

The Udmurt particle *uk* is listed as a marker of uncontroversial information in Panov (2020) and roughly corresponds to the German *ja*, *doch*, the Russian *ved*', *že*, and the Estonian *ju* in declarative sentences. Previous investigation revealed that the particle demonstrates unusual features when used in questions. It is ungrammatical in questions that contain the yes/no question particle *a*. When used in wh-question constructions, the degree of acceptance of the particle *uk* varies. I suggest that the acceptance of the particle in wh-question constructions depends on the accessibility of the intensifying interpretation. Batinić et al. (2015: 2) following Bradac et al. (1979: 258) define intensity as "the quality of language which indicates the degree to which the speaker's attitude toward a concept deviates from neutrality".

In my presentation, I will show that apart from wh-question constructions, the particle *uk* in the intensifying (specifically, amplifying (Quirk et al. 1985)) function is found in constructions of different types. Thus, example (1a) can be paraphrased as (1b). I will present an analysis of the particle *uk* in different types of exclamative constructions in comparison with several other intensifying particles (*dak*, *ved*', *ik*).

(1a)

Kyče	SO	šuźi	uk!	
what	3SG	idiot	UK	
What an idiat bais!				

'What an idiot he is!

(1b)		
Šuźi	uk	so!
idiot	UK	3SG

'He's such an idiot!'

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Songs as Public Cultural Resources and Experiences of Togetherness

Aušra Žičkienė (Institute of Lithuanian Literature and Folklore)

Songs, in their various forms, ways and intentions, are constantly present in different spheres of life. They are used as resources in the perpetual creation of a polyphonic cultural text, in the updating and reconstruction of cultural meanings, and in the play and manipulation of meanings. The title of a well-known song, a quotation from the text or a creative reworking of it, a melodic motif, becomes a recognisable associative reference, an intertextual fragment, and immediately attracts attention, stimulates emotional reactions, and creates a field of shared experience and common knowledge. The presentation analyses specific Lithuanian examples from the 21st century: how songs are used in other songs, how song quotations are used as proverbs in the flow of language, how song fragments are used in media production, how they are transformed into brand names, etc. All of this is undoubtedly a powerful commercial tool and at the same time a factor for the maintenance and continuity of local culture. Songs as cultural resources do not reveal content features or musical facts, but experiences of community and reflections on human relationships.

Expressive Meaning of Slurs: Taboos, Speaker Attitudes, Emotions

Björn Technau (Goethe Institut)

The talk concerns the use and (expressive) meaning of group-based slur terms in the domain of hate speech contexts. Such slur terms (*faggot, chink, kike*) are suitable for hate speech contexts and serve as efficient tools for xenophobic speakers to represent an entire group of people as despicable just because they belong to that group. They are, however, characterised by a multitude of different modes of use that are all emotionally charged, including hate speech, appropriation (Bianchi 2014), and banter (Technau 2018).

When analysing authentic examples of use, one finds various motivation factors and speaker attitudes underlying such uses (Bartlett et al. 2014). For instance, speakers express intergroup emotions in such contexts; they mark their group membership, and they declare a sense of belonging. As slurs are considered taboo (or prohibited), speakers conventionally achieve high levels of expressivity when using them.

This paper explores the expressive meaning of slur terms in more detail, applying conversation analysis to examine empirical data taken from both German and English-speaking contexts, with particular attention towards the use of expressivity markers in oral contexts. In this way, we will see that, in contrast to most approaches in the literature (attitudinal semantics), the attitudes of speakers using slurs are not necessarily negative (Kaplan 2004). Consequently, an analysis model that is more open and adjusted to the reality of our speech communities will be presented, covering all conventions of use, and thus redefining the expressive meaning of slurs (Technau 2020).

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Discourse Markers in the Reported Speech of Finno-Ugric Languages and Their Connection to the Perspective Shift

Denys Teptiuk (University of Tartu)

Reported speech as "speech withing speech, utterance within utterance" (Vološinov 1973: 115) does not entail propositionality of its content (cf. Holvoet 2018: 248). Even smaller parts of speech such as interjections and discourse particles can form a verbalised demonstration of a discourse situation, embedded in the current speech, for example 'he was like wow; he said, maybe'. In non-standard written communications online, the list of discourse markers can be supplemented by emoticons and already conventionalised non-standard shortenings (1), or punctuation (2). Such symbols often stand for silent emotions, suggesting that RS is more than a verbal(ised) demonstration.

(1) Estonian (etTenTen19)

Küsin, ett "kas me mahlamäelt sõitsime juba läbi?" "jah, ammu"... mul oli nagu et ":O wtf"...

"I ask 'Have we already passed Mahlamäe?' 'Yes, a long time ago'... I was like ':O wtf'...'

(2) Finnish (Internet-keskusteluaineistoja, korp.csc.fi)

At an Elton John concert:

...se otti (...) mua kädestä (sormista) sillain ihan ohimennen kiinni ja mä olin ihan et......!!!!!!

"...he took my hand (fingers) just like he was passing by, and I was like.....!!!!!!"

In this study, I explore such discourse markers in reported speech. I show how they add new layers to demonstrations of discourse situations in written form and contribute to their complexity, for example the emoticon :O in (1) demonstrating non-verbalised surprise. I argue that the use of discourse markers is tight to either the reporter's or reported speaker's perspective, similarly to canonical shifters such as personal and spatial deictics, temporal and modal categories (see Jakobson 1971). Furthermore, I investigate how they interact with such canonical shifters from a functional perspective and add to the methodological programs for the research of reported speech (Aikhenvald
2012; Spronck 2020). I use corpus data from six Finno-Ugric languages (Hungarian, Estonian, Finnish, Erzya, Udmurt, and Komi) derived from new media sources such as blogs, forums, comment lines.

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nu and no in Livonian: Functions and Differences

Marili Tomingas (University of Tartu)

The particles *nu* and *no* (also written as *nå*) are present in many Indo-European languages, for example, Danish and Swedish *vnå*; Dutch *nu/ nou*; German nu(n); Czech, Slovak, Polish, Serbian and Russian *nu* and *no*, Latvian *nu*, and others. The particle *nu* is known to originate from Proto-Indo-European *nŭ 'now' and is also a temporal adverb in some Indo-European languages. The origin of *no*, however, is unclear, but is generally thought to have a different origin than *nu*, as *no* has no temporal meaning. (Auer & Maschler 2016: 2, 6–7) Therefore *nu* and *no* cannot be considered synonyms, although some of their functions may overlap.

nu and no have also been borrowed into various contact languages, for example, Estonian and Finnish no, as well as Livonian nu and no, which are both used in contemporary Livonian, although according to the spoken language data nu has become more popular (see Tomingas 2022: 103). This development may be explained by the influence of the close contact language Latvian where nu serves both as an adverb 'now' and as a discourse particle (Madisson et al. 2015). The current presentation is focused on describing the functions of nu and no particles in Livonian based on the spoken recording data from the University of Tartu's Archives of Estonian Dialects and Kindred languages (AEDKL), using qualitative methods. After the analysis, I make conclusions as to whether one of the particles appears significantly more in a certain context or function than the other, for example, starting a new topic or an explanation, marking a contrasting opinion to the interlocutor's, continuation of a narrative, etc. I also distinguish different uses of nu and no in monologues and dialogues, based on the tendencies in Tiit Hennoste's description of the Estonian particle no (2000).

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Päikesekujundid Arnold Schönbergi, Artur Kapi ja Dmitri Šostakovitši muusikas: ekstaas, panegüürika ja poliitika

Aare Tool (Eesti Muusika- ja Teatriakadeemia)

Ettekandes analüüsin kolme kantaati – Arnold Schönbergi "Gurre-laulud" (1900–1911), Artur Kapi "Päikesele" (1912) ja Dmitri Šostakovitši "Meie kodumaa kohal särab päike" (1952) – 19. sajandi lõpu ja 20. sajandi esimese poole päikeseteemaliste teoste üldtaustal. Päike (või üldisemalt öö ja päeva vaheldumine) oli postwagnerlikus muusikas meelismotiiv, mille populaarsusele andis erilise tõuke ööpäeva allegooriale üles ehitatud Friedrich Nietzsche "Nõnda kõneles Zarathustra" (1883–1885). Jens Peter Jacobseni luulel põhinev "Gurre-laulud", mis päädib koorifinaaliga "Seht die Sonne!" ("Näe päikest!"), väljendab ilmekalt sel perioodil päikesega seostatud orkestraalset monumentaalsust ja ekstaasi.

Kuivõrd viited päikesele on olnud utoopilise ja panegüürilise kirjanduse püsimotiiv (Tommaso Campanella "Päikeselinn", 1602), moodustavad ka 20. sajandi päikeseteemaliste kantaatide seas omaette kategooria poliitilise alltekstiga teosed. Estonia teatri- ja kontserdimaja avamise puhul 1913. aastal esitatud Artur Kapi "Päikesele" põhineb Mihkel Veske (1843–1890) luuletusel, kus päikesekujund kannab endas rahvusromantiliselt mütologiseeritud minevikukaemust ja vabaduse teemat. Päikesekujundi panegüürilise käsitluse kujukas näide on Dmitri Šostakovitši "Meie kodumaa kohal särab päike", mille tekstis ülistatakse Jevgeni Dolmatovski sõnadega stalinliku Nõukogude Liidu põllumajanduslikku ja tööstuslikku võimsust. Seda Šostakovitši loomingu vastuolulisemat osa esindavat kantaati on oluline vaadelda just seostatuna 19. sajandi lõpu ja 20. sajandi alguskümnendite päikeseteemaliste teoste kompositsioonipraktikaga.

Alates 19. sajandi lõpust kirjutatud päikeseteemalistes teostes, olenemata nende loomise vägagi isesugusest ajendist ja alltekstist, on sagedased järgmised tunnused: 1) helimärgistamise (*tonal signification*) võtted, sh kolmkõlade tertsisuhtelised (oktatoonilised või heksatoonilised) järgnevused; 2) retrospektiivsust rõhutavad "nostalgilised" harmooniavõtted (näiteks modaalharmoonia, eriliselt esile toodud täiskadentsid); 3) päikesetõusu piltlikult jäljendav faktuuri- ja dünaamikakujundus; 4) monumentaalne orkestratsioon kui päikese hiilguse võrdkuju; 5) muusikalise jutustuse kulg, milles eristuvad kolm etappi: üleskutse/kirjeldus (Artur Kapi kantaadis "Päikesele": "Vaata, mis paistus sealt Peipsi piirelt..."), marsilik lõik tagasivaatavate tekstiseostega ("Päike, küll tunned sa Eesti lugu...") ja apoteoos ("Kaob kord eestlaste keele kõla – ära siis sinagi tõuse ja ela!").

The Intertextuality of COVID-19 Signs

Ilona Tragel, Külli Habicht (University of Tartu)

Over the more than two years of the pandemic era the world has got a new genre of signs: COVID-19 signs. These signs are communication acts: messages from a sender who is obliged to inform addressees about certain measures.

We consider the COVID-19 sign as a genre of its own with special (viral) discourse roles and specific purposes. The framework for the analysis is derived from Swales 1990 (genre), Barron 2012 (public signs), Shohamy & Gorter (eds.) 2009 (linguistic landscapes), Fairclough 2003 (critical discourse analysis, discourse roles), Jones (ed.) 2021 (viral discourse), Genette 1997 (transtextuality (intertextuality)) and Lylo 2017 (ideologemes, cf. Kristeva 1986).

In this presentation we will take a closer look at the COVID-19 signs, which the author has analysed from the point of view of the interrelations of texts. The messages of the signs includes reference to other genres such as literature (poetry), traffic signs, legal texts, etc. By including reference to other texts in the sign the author also establishes a discourse community with the reader of the sign, i.e. the author predicts that the reference is accessible and understandable to the reader (addressee). Examples of architextuality (*anna käppa ka* 'give your paw'. lit. 'disinfect your hands', a phrase from a famous children's song); metatextuality (*kui sa tuled mulle lähemale kui 2 meetrit, siis me oleme paar* 'if you come closer than 2m we are a couple', a joke about strict social distancing rules); and other types of transtextuality (according to Gennette's classification) will be analysed.

We also give examples of ideologemes (cf. Lylo 2017) present on the signs and show the choices of the author of the sign from among the available ideologies, for example citing the government regulation or requiring the shared responsibility of wearing a mask for the sake of community health.

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Estonian and French Kuidas/Comment ('How') Questions in Surprise Contexts: A Comparative Corpus Study

Anu Treikelder, Marge Käsper (University of Tartu)

In recent years, linguists have drawn attention to a type of non-canonical question that is dedicated to expressing surprise or can receive a surprise reading in certain contexts (cf. Celle et al. 2021). Surprise effect has also been associated with French comment questions with a reason reading, i.e. questions not inquiring about the manner or means of a situation but rather about the reasons or the circumstances of the event expressed in the proposition, as in *Comment Max lit le courriel* de Jean? ('How is it that Max reads Paul's mail?') receiving the answer Il est curieux ('He is a nosy person') (cf. Fleury and Tovena 2018 and Brunetti et al. 2021). Metslang (1981) points out a similar use for Estonian kuidas questions. The experimental study of Brunetti et al. (forthcoming) shows that, depending on several linguistic and contextual factors, the interpretation of reason comment questions varies on a scale from seeking some kind of information to making a rhetorical statement. The surprise effect conveyed by these questions can also appear to different degrees. In addition, manner comment questions can also have an expressive nature "with a surprise flavour" (ibid.).

Our comparative study aims to discuss the surprise dimension of *kuidas/comment* questions in both readings (manner and reason). The study is based on a corpus of *kuidas* questions and their French correspondents extracted from the dialogues of fictional texts in the Estonian–French parallel corpus (CoPEF). In our talk, we examine and compare the linguistic and contextual elements that favour and reinforce the surprise reading of these questions in both languages. Our corpus enables us to examine, in addition to the situation triggering kuidas questions, their subsequent context, i.e. possible responses to these questions and their role in the identification of the surprise effect.

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EXCURSIVE QUESTIONS

Tue Trinh, Itai Bassi (Leibniz-Zentrum Allgemeine Sprachwissenschaft)

1. Observation – Our empirical focus is a phenomenon which, to the best of our knowledge, has hitherto escaped attention: questions such as B's in (1) (cf. Schmitt 2021). We call these excursive questions (EQ). An EQ represents a digression, i.e. excursus. In the exchange in (1), B does not answer A's question directly, but instead asks A another question. A's answer to B's question amounts to asking B a new question which B then answers at the end. Note that EQs can ask not only yes/no questions but also wh-questions, as evidenced in (2).

Here are some grammatical properties of EQs. First, EQs show syntactic connectivity effects: they are constrained by the argument structure of the relevant verb (cf. (4) - (6)). Second, EQs show reconstruction effects: they can contain variables bound by the subject (cf. (7) - (8)). Third, EQs show A-bar dependency effects: they are unbounded (cf. (9)) and island sensitive (cf. (10)). Fourth, EQs show definiteness effects: the wh-phrase can relate to a definite but not an indefinite noun phrase (cf. (11) and (12)). The last two properties show that EQs are not cases of echo questions or sluicing, as echo questions are not island sensitive (cf. (13a)) and sluicing is not limited to definites (cf. (13b)).

2. Analysis – We assume that speech acts are grammatically represented (cf. Ross 1970; Krifka 2001, 2015; Sauerland & Yatsushiro 2017). Specifically, the LFs of questions contain a performative prefix of the form X ASK Y. Thus, the first two utterances of the exchange in (1) have the LFs in (14A) and (14B). EQs are cases of elipsis, and full-fledged EQs are derived formally from the question immediately preceding them. Starting from the LF of A's question (β), the LF of ''s question (δ) is derived in the following steps: (i) late insertion of *when* into the lowest TP; (ii) whmovement of *when* to the edge of β , forming γ ; (iii) merging of B ASK A to γ , forming δ . We will call A's question the antecedent, B's question the EQ, and *when* the EQ remnant. The full meaning of B's EQ can be paraphrased as in (15), which corresponds to our intuition.

Analysing EQs as involving wh-movement explains the connectivity effects (cf. (4) - (6)) and reconstruction effects (cf. (7) - (8)) as well. The A-bar dependency effects of EQs (cf. (9) - (10)) will also follow straightforwardly, given the standard locality condition that movement must

not cross more than one bounding nodes, and that TPs are bounding nodes (cf. Chomsky 1981, 1986), and our analysis of peformative prefixes as elements which do not introduce TPs. The wh-movement of when in (14) crosses exactly one TP, while the wh-movement of when in the derivation of the EQ in (10), for example, would have to cross two TPs, incurring a violation of Subjacency, as shown in (16). The fact that the EQ remnant can bind a definite noun phrase but cannot bind an indefinite one (cf. (11) - (12)) follow from two assumptions. The first is that definites of the form *the* NP, but not indefinites of the form *a*/some NP, may be interpreted as the trace of which NP (cf. Fox 2003; Sauerland 2004). Thus, (17a) is interpretable but (17b) is not. The second assumption is that the derivation of the EQ from the antecedent may involve insertion of new materials but may not involve replacement of old materials. Thus, (11B) can be derived by inserting which book directly into the operator position and interpreting the book as its trace. However, this option is not available in the case of (12B), as a book cannot be interpreted as the trace of which book. The other alternative would be to replace *a* book with which book and then move the latter to the operator position, but this procedure violates the contraint against replacement mentioned above.

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Examples

(1)A: Did John use the car yesterday?B: When?

A: In the evening. B: No. (He only used it in the morning.) (2) A: Who used the car yesterday? B: When? A: In the evening. B: John did (3) A: When do people eat dinner? B: Where? A: In Spain. A: Late at night. (4)a. They sank the ship with a torpedo. b. #The ship sank with a torpedo. (5) A: Which ship did they sink? B: With what? A: A torpedo. B: The Japanese ship. (6) A: Which ship sank? B: #With what? A: #A torpedo. B: #The Japanese ship. (7)A: Did every boy1 write a letter? B: To which of his1 relatives? A: To his1 uncle. B: No. (8)A: What did every boy1 write? B: To which of his1 relatives? A: Hist uncle. B: A letter. (9) A: Does Bill think John used the car? B: When? A: Yesterday. B: No. (But he does think John used the car last week.) (10)

A: Does John know the man who used the car?

B: #When?

A: #In the evening.

B: #No. (John only knows the man who used the car in the morning.)

(11)

A: Did John read the book? B: Which book? A: Barriers.

B: No.

(12)

A: Did John read a book? B: #Which book? A: #Barriers.

B: #No.

(13)

a. Does John know the man who used the car WHEN?

b. John read a book, but I don't know which book.

(14)

A: [β A ASK B [α WHETHER [TP John used the car yesterday]]]

B: [δ B ASK A [γ when1 [β A ASK B [α WHETHER [TP John used the car yesterday t1]]]]]

(15)

B is asking A which time t is such that A is asking B whether John used the car at t yesterday

(16)

B ASK A when 2A ASK B WHETHER [TP John saw the man who1 [TP t1 used the car t2]]

(17)

a. ... [which book]1 ... [the book]1 ...

b. *... [which book]1 ... [a book]1 ...

Greek Min-questions Are Biased Questions

Evripidis Tsiakmakis, Joan Borràs-Comes, M. Teresa Espinal (Universitat Autònoma de Barcelona)

In this study we compare standard Greek polar questions (1) to polar questions introduced by the particle min (Chatzopoulou 2018), which seem to have roughly the same interpretation.

(1) Pires xapia?

took-25G pills

(2)	Min	pires	xapia?
	MIN	took-2SG	pills
	'Did	you	take pills?'

By means of an experimental study consisting of three experiments, we gathered evidence that: (i) standard questions admit overtly realised propositional alternatives, but *min*-questions do not, (ii) *min*-questions convey higher speaker certainty with respect to the expressed proposition p than standard questions, and (iii) standard questions are mainly associated with the lack of bias whereas *min*-questions correlate significantly with positive speaker bias.

Our findings suggest that the question particle min is interpreted as an epistemic modal that conveys that the speaker is positively biased with respect to the expressed proposition. We formalise our proposal by implementing the epistemic modality framework developed by Giannakidou & Mari (2017, 2021):

(3) [[min p]] Ms is defined iff Ms is non-veridical; if defined,

 $[\![\min p]\!]Ms = 1 \text{ iff } \forall w' \in \mathsf{BEST:} p(w')$

In words, a construction in which min scopes over a proposition p can be interpreted with respect to the modal base M of a speaker s only if both p and its polar alternative $\neg p$ are compatible with what the speaker knows. This precondition is always satisfied in our examples by the non-veridical (Giannakidou 1997) question operator scoping above min. When min p can be interpreted, the construction conveys that all the possible worlds w' that are closest to what the speaker knows (BEST) are worlds where p is true. This ranking of p worlds as closer than ¬p worlds triggers the inference of the positively biased speaker that is reflected in the results of our experiments.

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Intersubjectivity and Intertextuality in Juhan Smuul's Play Atlantic Ocean (1955)

Kadri Tüür (Tallinna Ülikool)

Juhan Smuul (1922–1971) is one of the most prominent Estonian writers from the middle of the 20th century. He wrote poetry and prose, but also some plays that are all rather exceptional both in form and content. Smuul's first play, Atlandi ookean (1955) is set on a herring trawler that works in the North Atlantic. Critics have never managed to say anything substantial about the play, as it has multiple characters, no clear storyline, no clear problem and no clear answer. However, there is much to be discovered about the play that is revealed in the songs that are sung or merely mentioned in the play by the characters/crew members. The rich array of popular songs from the 19th century as well from the year 1955, as well as some examples of classical music, make the play a truly intertextual and multi-dimensional space. At the same time, music helps to create interpersonal ties and highlight the dynamics of interpersonal relations between the characters. Songs form the crucial element in the play and contribute to the overall understanding of the play as such. In the presentation, I will explore the intertextual and intersubjective aspects of the play in greater detail.

Creative Language Use and Linguistic Humour in Hungarian COVID-19 Memes

Katalin Vargha (Research Centre for the Humanities)

The global COVID-19 pandemic has affected the lives of people worldwide, and different forms of both official and vernacular COVID-19 communication have provided research material for a number of disciplines. Humorous discourse changed constantly, reflecting the current pandemic situation; and thus the "first global humour cycle" (Kuipers & Boukes 2021) unfolded before our eyes. Creating and sharing Internet memes has become an important form of communication, and has helped people to cope with the fear of COVID-19 as well as the difficulties of lockdown, distance learning, etc. (see Hiiemäe et al. 2021; Sebba Elram 2021; Meder 2021).

Internet memes followed a similar timeline and shared a lot of common topics and forms worldwide.

But by relying heavily on visual formats, memes also provide a field for creative language use and linguistic humour (see Aslan 2021). This paper discusses the topic based on a corpus of ca 400 Hungarian COVID-19 memes. Punning and figurative language is touched upon as well as examples of more formulated texts including (anti-)proverbs, jokes, humorous lists and updated easter rhymes.

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Seto vanema rahvalaulu kirjeldused 19. sajandil ja tänapäeval

Karin Vau (Eesti Muusika- ja Teatriakadeemia)

Käesolevas ettekandes uuritakse seto lauluesituste retseptsiooni 19. sajandil ja tänapäeval. Uurimuse lähteallikaks on seto lauluesituste kirjeldused, mis on tehtud folkloristide poolt rahvalaulude kogumise ja üleskirjutamise käigus 19. sajandil. Neid kirjeldusi võrreldakse tänapäevaste analoogsete vastustega, mis on saadud 2021. aasta kevadel läbiviidud kuulamisküsitluse käigus. Kuulamisküsitluse läbiviimiseks kasutati nii otsekontaktis tehtud kui ka sünkroonsete veebiintervjuude läbiviimise meetodit. Andmete võrdlemise eesmärk oli välja selgitada, mille poolest erinevatel ajastutel tehtud seto laulude kirjeldused kõige enam erinevad ning milliseid muusikalisi aspekte on vaadeldavates laulukirjeldustes kõige enam välja toodud. Võrdluse tulemusena selgub, et seto rahvalaulude muusikalise struktuuri kirjeldamisel mainitakse kõige rohkem eeslaulja ja koori vaheldumise printsiipi ning lauljate ekspressiivset hääletämbrit. Erinevusena võis märgata rahvalaulude olemusliku väärtuse muutust igapäevaelu osana.

English Discourse Particles in Estonian: Towards a Continuum

Anna Verschik, Helin Kask (Tallinn University)

The borrowing of pragmatic particles is widely attested in the literature on contact linguistics, although traditional borrowability hierarchies tend to ignore them. The reasons for particle borrowing are functional and cognitive (Matras 1998): particles proper and conjunctions are crucial for shaping discourse and information packaging, and having one set of them diminishes the cognitive load that bilinguals may experience. Thus, pragmatic particles come from a pragmatically dominant language, which is not always the sociolinguistically dominant language.

The paper explores English pragmatic particles in Estonian blogs and vlogs. The research questions are: (1) what kinds of pragmatic particles are copied from English in the terms of function (Wertheim 2003); (2) what types of code-switches (CV) do they present in Muysken's terms (2000).

Forty-five blogs and 8 vlogs were analysed (365,973 and 73,858 tokens respectively). The majority of English particles are of insertional CV (one-word items) (*anyway*). However, some particles seem on the surface to be code alternations (longer stretches in another language) (*Täna sai lõpuks Kiired ja vihased 7 ära vaadatud. It was so good!*) but from the functional point of view can be classified as particles.

Our findings confirm a continuum between insertional and alternational CS, postulated by Demirçay (2017), where particles are placed in between. No conjunctions were attested, which leads to the question why in some bilingual communities are only particles proper borrowed?

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Non-canonical Enquiries in Spoken French

Ramona Wallner (University of Konstanz)

Spoken Continental French (SPF) exhibits inquisitive utterances with a non-fronted wh-word.

There have been different approaches to non-fronted wh-questions in the literature, with no consensus on what contextual restrictions truly govern them (i.e. whether there are constraints concerning presupposition, givenness or intervention).

I argue that a lot confusion can be uncloaked by separating two different non-canonical constructions for non-fronted wh-utterances from true wh-interrogatives and present empirical evidence supporting this claim. Non-fronted wh-utterances in SPF fall into three categories: regular wh-interrogatives (WhQ), echo questions (echos), and whDeclaratives (WhDec).

WhQs (1) are regular interrogatives that can be used out of the blue (see Ginzburg & Sag 2001).

B stops a random pedestrian on the street and asks:
B: Excusez-moi, je peux ça acheter où, un journal italien ?
'Excuse me, where can I buy an Italian newspaper?'
*Excuse-me, I can buy an Italian newspaper where?'

Contrasting with WhQs are WhDecs as described by Biezma (2020). Wh-Decs are not interrogatives but declaratives the inquisitive meaning of which is brought about dynamically from the alternatives evoked by the focus of the wh-word. WhDecs have specific discourse requirements. When used, WhDecs trigger a discourse-structural presupposition that the corresponding WhQ is already present in the preceding discourse.

B is helping to tidy up after dinner at her friend's house and enters the kitchen carrying a big pot. She asks:
B: Ça va où?
'This goes where?'

The last group, echos (3), as described by for example Bartels (1999), are utterances enquiring about what has just been said:

(3) A: I ate ostrich for dinner.B: T'as mangé quoi?'You ate what?'

I provide an analysis of all utterance types and show empirical evidence: regular interrogatives with a non-fronted wh-phrase have to adhere to constraints of prosody and AGREE, laid out in Richards' (2016) Contiguity Theory framework. WhDecs are declaratives and do not underly these constraints. Echo questions fluctuate between the two.

This differentiation gives new insights into how to treat French non-fronted wh-questions.

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Activities of Rudeness as a Phenomenon of Intersubjectivity: Displaying Social Stance by Neglecting Face in Staged Error Correction in Sibling Face-to-face Interaction

Elisa Wessels (Westfälische Wilhelms-Universität Münster)

The paper discusses staged error correction as an interactional and intersubjective activity of rudeness among juvenile siblings. It will show how participants stage error correction by "copying" (Couper-Kuhlen 1996: 368) the trouble source in order to provoke each other and thus display social stance and status. I will argue that in the case of staged error correction "face" (Brown & Levinson 1987) and the "preference for self-correction in the organization of repair" (Schegloff & Jefferson & Sacks 1977) are neglected. The sequential analysis of the ongoing interaction shows that the participants aim to act out the failure of their partner rather than repairing it. In this sense activities of rudeness will be understood and outlined as interactional products of the inherently intersubjective process of "action ascription" (Levinson 2013). The study draws on a corpus of 34 hours of face-to-face interaction and follows interactional methodology.

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"More or Less? You Be the Judge!": An Intersubjective Study on an Underspecified Interrogative Construction in an Early Daoist Text

Mingjian Xiang (Nanjing Tech University)

This paper analyses rhetorically intended questions marked by the conjunctive particle 'kuàng' (lit. 'how much more/less') in the *Zhuangzi* (4th century BC), the second foundational text of the Chinese Daoist philosophical and religious tradition. Consider:

(1) 夫支离其形者, 犹足以养其身, 终其天年, 又况 [kuàng] 支离其德者乎? (12/4/85-86)

'With a crippled body, he's still able to look after himself and finish out the years Heaven gave him. How much better [kuàng], then, if he had crippled virtue?' (Watson (1968) 2013: 32)

In (1), the particle 'kuàng' triggers a comparison between two embedded elements (Pulleyblank 1995: 146), specifically, 'crippled body' vs 'crippled virtue' in terms of their potential benefits. Since a crippled body is already sufficient for a man to survive in the world, it seems quite natural to infer that a man with crippled virtue would be much better off. This motivates the translator to render the underspecified scalar implicature as "how much better", in which the adjective in the comparative form generally describes a tendency to move further up toward the upper end of the scale, thereby highlighting a mentally enhanced intensifier.

In this paper, I treat 'kuàng' as a marker of intersubjectivity, indicating a presupposed viewpoint alignment between the addresser and addressee and analyse kuàng questions as constructions of intersubjectivity (Verhagen 2005; Xiang & Ma & Pascual 2021). In a text abundant with mixed viewpoint scenarios, where real or fantastic discourse characters speak for the writer, the interpretation of kuàng questions requires the reader to make mental contact with the writer's common ground and engage in sophisticated perspective-taking. Given kuàng questions evoke silent answers of matched polarity in the reader's mind, I further propose to view rhetorical questions as a radial category (Rosch 1973) with kuàng questions as a non-prototypical member.

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