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7. Functional Pragmatics[1]

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In this article I shall give a brief overview of the origins (Section 1.), the theoretical background and the essential concepts, and methodological approaches of *Functional Pragmatics* (Section 2.). In Section 3., I shall present applications of the theory regarding non-institutional communication (3.1.), institutional communication (3.2.) and plurilingualism and language policy (3.3.).

1. Origins

Functional Pragmatics (FP) is a linguistic theory that has been developed during the past 35 years. Its origins date back to the beginning of the 1970s when pragmatics gained a high profile in Europe. In the context of these developments (e.g., Maas and Wunderlich 1972; Wunderlich 1972a; Ehlich 1972; Ehlich and Rehbein 1976a, 1979a) and based on the works of John L. Austin and Karl Bühler, Konrad Ehlich and Jochen Rehbein set out to develop a *theory of linguistic action*. This theory conceives of language as a complex of form-function-nexus anchored in reality as societal practice. In a way similar to Leont'ev and Vygotskij, Functional Pragmatics views language as something specific to and constitutive of the human species, i.e., as something that arose from a qualitative leap of communicative devices during the formation of human societies, thus allowing for a knowledge-based appropriation of reality (Hoffmann 2007). Hence, Functional Pragmatics does not focus on evolutionary (pre-)forms of language or neurobiological mediations, but on the emergence of linguistic structures within the formation of societies and on the adaptation of these structures to societal needs. Functional-pragmatic analyses are thus deeply embedded in societal practice[2] (Ehlich 1999a), but not in an "applied linguistics" sense, for Functional Pragmatics is about the reconstruction of the systematicity of language as a form of historically-societal action (Ehlich and Rehbein 1979b; Rehbein 1977) in a way that increases the language consciousness of societal actants (Ehlich and Rehbein 1977a, 1977b).

Methodologically, this reconstruction is to be achieved through *reflected empiricism*, i.e., *hermeneutic analysis*. Categories are to be derived from an analysis of authentic language data, and theoretical insights are then to be checked against new data. This dialectic theory formation (Rehbein 1994a) is one of the central differences between Functional Pragmatics and, for instance, early Systemic (Functional) Linguistics, in which Halliday (1973), in his pio-

neering work, matches functional categories with linguistic structures and their hierarchy in an a priori manner. In a way similar to Critical Discourse Analysis (Wodak and Meyer 2001; Fairclough 2003), Functional Pragmatics views society as central to understanding language, but tries to avoid the danger of short circuiting linguistic forms and ideological functions, by reconstructing in great detail linguistic and mental processes. The linguistic sign is thus not a basic category, as linguistic devices are seen as historically and societally proven means for the pursuit of repetitive purposes in repetitive constellations. *Signs* are therefore seen as the medial concretizations of action paths, i.e., of societally elaborated ways of pursuing purposes.

2. Theoretical characteristics and methodological approaches

2.1. Functional Pragmatics as an integral language theory

Functional Pragmatics is an *integral language theory*, i.e., it attempts to recognize all systematic dimensions of language. Since Functional Pragmatics views language as a societal action form, it is an *action theory of language* (Rehbein 1977). The conception that Functional Pragmatics holds of pragmatics is thus fundamentally action-bound. Pragmatics is not conceived of as "pragmalinguistics", i.e., as a language-in-use-module to be added to language as a semiotic system (Ehlich 1996). On the contrary, Functional Pragmatics attempts to reconstruct language as an – abstract – societal action form through an analysis of authentic linguistic interaction. To do so, Functional Pragmatics expands Bühler's *organon*-concept and employs *purpose* as a central category in a twofold manner: *extralinguistic purposes*, as they are pursued by societal actants, and *linguistic purposes*, according to which language itself is shaped (Ehlich 1981). Representation, for instance, is a central linguistic purpose that, however, is pursued with different means in different languages. The recognition of such purposes has led to a theory of linguistic fields (cf. Section 2.2.) that underlie language specific word classes and thus allows for a different perspective on typological differences between languages (Redder 2005, 2007).

Due to the integral character of Functional Pragmatics, research is not only undertaken in the core disciplines of *speech action analysis*, *discourse analysis,* and *text analysis*, but there are also studies in functional pragmatic *grammar* (Redder 1990a; Redder and Rehbein 1999; Rehbein, Hohenstein, and Pietsch 2007), as well as in *syntax* (Matras 1994; Hoffmann 2003), *semantics* (Ehlich and Rehbein 1972a; Thielmann 1999a, 2004; Ehlich 2001; Eggs 2006; Forschner 2006), *phonology* (Ehlich 1986; Ehlich and Schnieders 1998; Liedke 2007), and *written language* (Ehlich 1983a, 1994a; Berkemeier 1997). Within Functional Pragmatics, these "classic" distinctions are not conceived of as – virtually autonomous – "levels" of language, but as form-function-nexus inherent in the phenomena, i.e., possible interfaces, so to speak, for linguistic research. The same applies to the reality of linguistic action. Functional Pragmatics investigates, in an "applied" manner, language as part of societal practice. But it also investigates the historical dimension of language (e.g., the genesis of textual forms, Ehlich 1989a; the linguistic consequences of reformation, Ehlich 1993a, 1998a; language adaptation, Ehlich 1989b); it undertakes research in language sociology (Ehlich and Rehbein 1994), and has produced a wide range of studies on communication in institutions (published since 1980 as the *Kommunikation und Institution* series by Gunther Narr, Tübingen). Similar to Fairclough's Critical Discourse Analysis, these studies have been based on a historical-materialistic and dialectic social theory. Language – as "practical consciousness" (Redder 1998; Rehbein 1979) and as a communication form that directs the mental processes of the speaker as well as of the hearer, thus serving to work their knowledge and understanding (cf. Section 2.2.) – requires philosophical, sociological, and psychological approaches. Functional Pragmatics attempts to do justice to these requirements within its category formation and language analysis, and, so far, has made major contributions in the areas of language psychology and sociology.

2.2. Categories and units of linguistic interaction

Overviews of central categories of Functional Pragmatics can be found in Ehlich (2000b), Rehbein (2001a), and Rehbein and Kameyama (2004). Furthermore, a German-English-Dutch glossary of functional pragmatic terms (Ehlich et al. 2006) and handbook entries on pragmatics (Ehlich 1993b) are available.

Functional Pragmatics employs society and individual as central categories: *Society* is the sociohistorical base category from which the category of the *individual* is derived (not vice versa). Individuals, as societal actants, pursue *purposes*, i.e., repetitive societal needs to be satisfied through *actions*. (In contrast to *acts*, actions transform deficiency into sufficiency.) Actants' personal *goals* are thus always structurally related to purposes. As reality is *societal* reality, actants' needs for action arise in repetitive *constellations*. Such a constellation, for instance a knowledge deficit, may be dealt with through linguistic action. The paths for such actions are societally elaborated as *linguistic action patterns* (Ehlich and Rehbein 1979a). The basic illocutionary device of the question-answer-pattern, for instance, starts with a knowledge deficit of the *speaker*. The speaker asks a question. The *hearer* commences a mental searching process and, if he[3] possesses the knowledge requested, answers the question. The speaker, if he can propositionally integrate the knowledge transferred by the answer, then closes the pattern. *Speaker* and *hearer* are thus systematic categories of action

patterns, not turn-related categories of the linguistic surface. Linguistic action involves three dimensions of reality: *extralinguistic reality* (capital letter P), for instance, the constellation that gives rise to the speaker's knowledge deficit; *mental reality* (Π-area) within which the speaker determines his precise non-knowledge so that he can ask a question; and *linguistic reality* (small letter p), i.e., the speaker's linguistic action, the question. For a model specifying the relations of the three components, see figure 1:

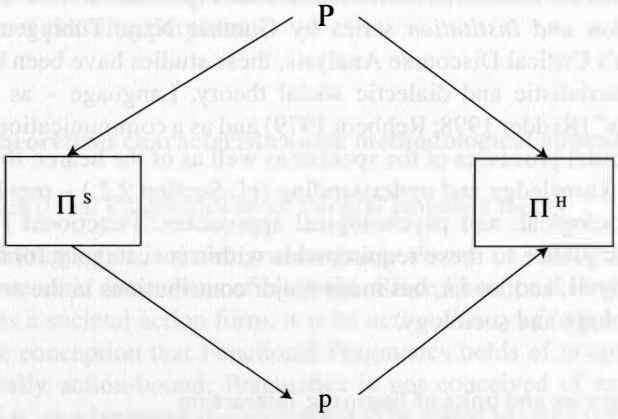

Figure 1. The basic linguistic model (Ehlich and Rehbein 1986: 96)

In short, the fundamental aim of Functional Pragmatics is to analyze language as a sociohistorically developed action form that mediates between a speaker (S) and a hearer (H), and achieves – with respect to constellations in the actants' action space (Rehbein 1977) – a transformation of deficiency into sufficiency with respect to a system of societally elaborated needs.

Language, as a special kind of action, i.e., as an action form, relies on cooperation (Ehlich 1987). This can be gauged from the fact that S and H do not constantly re-invent their action paths in communication[4], but avail themselves of societally elaborated *linguistic action patterns* (see above). The inner structure of these patterns is determined through the purposes they serve and is an abstract deep-structure of language. To visualize these structures, Functional Pragmatics uses flow chart diagrams, see figure 2:

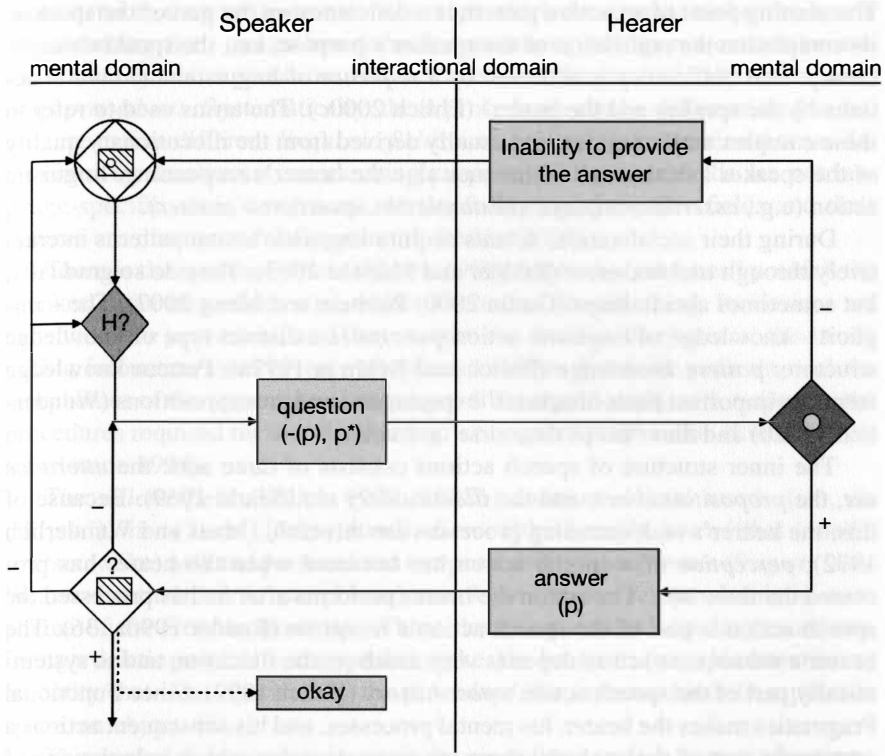

Figure 2. The question-answer-pattern (cf. Redder and von Bremen 2007)

starting point of the action pattern (outer circle), including the speaker's knowledge (rhomb), his knowledge gap (small inner circle), and his complementary knowledge (crosshatched rectangle)

decision node (including, e.g., the participants' knowledge structures, action modes, etc.)

internal structure of H's decision node: H's knowledge; search for knowledge elements in response to S's knowledge gap; verbalization of these knowledge elements as propositional content.

action: interactional (particularly: speech action) or actional

(-(p), p*) structure of propositional content: certain non-knowledge (-(p)); complementary knowledge (p*)

The starting point of an action pattern is a deficiency on the part of the speaker, its completion the realization of the speaker's purpose, i.e., the speaker's sufficiency. This sufficiency is achieved by a *sequence* of linguistic and mental actions by the speaker and the hearer[5] (Ehlich 2000c). The terms used to refer to these complex action patterns are usually derived from the illocutionary quality of the speaker's initial, and sometimes also the hearer's responding, linguistic action (e.g., *assertion, request, substantiation, question – answer*).

During their socialization, actants acquire linguistic action patterns interactively through trial and error (Redder and Martens 1983). They do so gradually, but sometimes also in leaps (Garlin 2000; Rehbein and Meng 2007). The – implicit – knowledge of linguistic action patterns is a distinct type of knowledge structure: *pattern knowledge* (Ehlich and Rehbein 1977a). Pattern knowledge forms an important basis of actants' expectations and presuppositions (Wunderlich 1972b) and thus "keeps discourse on track".

The inner structure of speech actions consists of three acts: the *utterance act*, the *propositional act*, and the *illocutionary act* (Searle 1969). Because of this, the hearer's understanding processes are threefold (Maas and Wunderlich 1972); *perception* of a speech action has occurred when the hearer has processed the three acts. The action the hearer performs after he has processed the speech action is part of the speech action's *reception* (Redder 1990a: 36). The hearer's subsequent action depends very much on the illocution and is systematically part of the speech action's *post-history* (Ehlich 1972). Since Functional Pragmatics makes the hearer, his mental processes, and his subsequent actions a systematic part of the analysis, there are no *perlocutive acts* or calculations of efficacy as in speech act theory (Hagemann and Rolf 2001).

The success of speech actions requires a *synchronization of the speaker's and hearer's* Π*-areas* with respect to topics, focus of attention, previous (speech-)actions, etc. To achieve this synchronization, there are language-specific devices, but also devices that can be found across several languages (Kameyama 2004). Such devices can consist of speech actions that repair a deficiency of a previous action constellation such as *apology*, *justification* (Rehbein 1972), or *substantiation* (Ehlich and Rehbein 1986) and *elucidation* (Bührig 1996). As for German, also a rich inventory of smaller synchronization devices has been investigated, such as the *interjections* HM, HE, and NA (Ehlich 1986), "secondary interjections" (Reisigl 1999), the particles *aber* (roughly 'but'; Ehlich 1984a), *also* ('hence, so, at least'; Redder 1989), *denn* ('for') and *da* ('since, as'; Redder 1990a; Melián 1997), *doch* ('but, though'; Graefen 1999) and *determiners* (Ehlich 2003a; Kovtun 2003). Deictic expressions achieve a synchronization of the speaker's and hearer's attention focuses (Bühler 1934; Ehlich 1982a).

Since language is an *organon* (Bühler 1934), not only speech actions themselves, but also the linguistic devices that constitute them possess instrumental character, i.e., they are instruments through which the speaker makes the hearer do something (i.e., makes him focus his attention, call upon a certain knowledge, modify his expectations, etc.). Functional Pragmatics calls these small units *procedures*. Systematically, these procedures can be differentiated as belonging to five different *linguistic fields*, i.e., belonging to functional areas determined by an abstract, overarching purpose. While these fields are not language-specific, their devices are. In the following, these five fields and their devices are illustrated for German (cf. Redder 2005).

There is the *incitement field* (Ehlich 1986) that harbors devices by which the speaker, in an immediate way, makes the hearer do something. Its devices are called *incitive procedures* and they consist in – tonal – interjections, the strong falling intonation contour on verb stems or other symbolic radicals, and the morphemes of the imperative. Languages differ significantly with respect to the procedures required for the "fine-tuning" of linguistic interaction (Liedke 1994; Rasolosson 1994).

The *deictic field* (Ehlich 1979, 1982b) contains deictic words (*ich*, *du* ('I, you'), *hier* ('here'), *jetzt* ('now'), *dieser* ('this (one)'), *jener* ('that (one)'), *so* ('so; (alike) as') and personal and temporal deictic morphemes (*frag-**st*** ('ask-'hearer-directed deictic morpheme), *mach-**t-e*** ('make-'temporal-deictic morpheme of the German preterite). These devices are called *deictic procedures*. Using a deictic procedure, the speaker makes the hearer re-focus his attention on an entity that is categorized by the procedure, for instance himself, a point in space, an object, etc.

The *symbol field* consists in *symbolic procedures* such as nouns, adjectives, verbs, and basic prepositions in their *spatial* sense. Employing symbolic procedures, the speaker makes the hearer call upon societally constituted knowledge complexes. Because of division of labor, individual participation in this knowledge ranges from general to expert knowledge (Rehbein 1998a,1998b; Thielmann 1999a, 2004).

The *operative field* consists in devices that assist the hearer in processing the structure of an utterance with regard to the syntactic function of its constituents, its propositional content, and its status in terms of discursive expectations (Ehlich 2000b; Redder 1990a, 2002a). Hence, determiners, (subordinating and coordinating) conjunctions, connectives such as *dabei* (in some instances: 'thereby'), *deshalb* (in some instances: 'therefore'), particles such as *schon* (in some instances: 'already'), *doch* (sometimes: 'but'), interrogatives, case and gender morphemes, and sentence intonation are *operative procedures*.

The *tinge field* harbors *expressive procedures* such as "picturesque" intonation contours or expressions such as *toll* ('*great*') or *wunderbar* ('wonderful') or *by god!* (Ehlich 1998a; Redder 1994a; Zifonun et al. 1997). Its purpose is the *emotional alignment* of the speaker and the hearer.

Speech actions consist in complex *procedural combinations* or *procedural integrations* the precise description of which is a task of functional pragmatic grammar. Apart from these, there are also self sufficient, i.e., syntactically autonomous procedures such as *Nà* (sometimes: 'well'), *Hej* (sometimes: 'come on'), *Ach (so)* ('I see') (Bredel 2000) or self sufficient (bi-)procedural combinations such as *Lauf*! ('Run!'), *Feuer*! ('Fire!'), *Mann (oh Mann)!* ('Oh man!') (Redder 1999a), and *Da*! ('Look (there)!') that are not expanded into speech actions. It is possible that entire text and discourse phases consist of partial action units such as "*Sie hin, er weg, alles umsonst*" (lit.: 'She hither, he yon, all for nothing') (Redder 2006). The concepts of *speech action* and *procedure* thus allow for a new interpretation of the notion of ellipsis (Hoffman 2006) and make it possible to expand traditional sentence grammar into a grammar of discourse and text (Redder 2003a).

Discourse and *text* are the largest units of linguistic action. They consist in *ensembles* of speech actions that are organized, in a complex manner, with respect to an overarching purpose. Their inner structure can thus be fully explored by speech action analysis. Approaches which focus on illocutionary hierarchies (Brandt and Rosengren 1991), on turn structure or the local sequencing of discourse, or which, when concerned with texts, remain at the propositional level (Brinker 1997; Heinemann and Viehweger 1991), may not fully do justice to the phenomena as they do not acknowledge purpose as a central category. To describe certain discourse structures, Functional Pragmatics has developed praxeograms (restaurant discourse, Ehlich and Rehbein 1972b; doctor-patient-communication, Rehbein 1986a; job interview, Grießhaber 1987; international sales talk, Rehbein 1995a; genetic counseling, Hartog 1996). *Discourse types* – the *genres* of systemic theory – are hence differentiated according to their purposes (Ehlich 1990). *Discourse* is characterized by the *co-presence* of speaker and hearer, *text* by the lack thereof, i.e., by a diachronically and diatopically *dilated* speech situation (Ehlich 1983b). *Texts* are therefore ensembles of speech actions whose actional potential has been suspended to bridge a spatial and/or temporal gap and structurally overcome short-time memory. Hence, the actional potential of texts is only realized during reception – a fact that has substantial consequences that are also of interest to literary studies (Krusche 2007; Riedner 1996). Technological advances have created certain in-between forms: a phone conversation is discourse under a diatopic constraint; chat communication appears to be a "para-discourse" (Hoffmann 2004a). Dramas, on the other hand, are texts designed for discursive performance (Redder 2003b).

Texts do not become texts through writing alone – the oral message sent through a messenger reaches the recipient through a temporal and spatial gap and is therefore as much a text as written instructions left behind for someone else. Hence, the categories of spoken and written language do not capture the differences between discourse and text (transcriptions, for instance, are discourses made available through writing to overcome their effervescence). Because of the diatopic and diachronic constraint, texts demand a specific use of procedures of certain fields (Ehlich 1994a). Koch and Oesterreicher's (1994) conception of spoken and written language, however, would translate into Functional Pragmatics' categorical framework as specific choices in the realization of linguistic action and thus as style (Rehbein 1983).

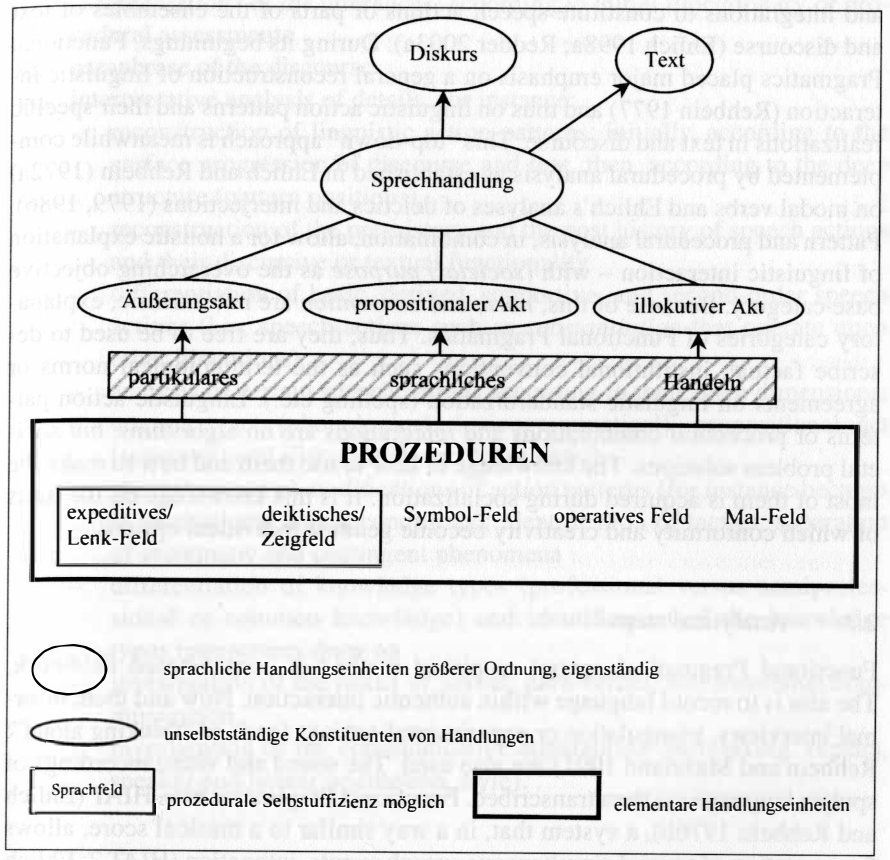

Figure 3. Units of linguistic action (Redder 2005: 47)

Figure 3 visualizes micro and macro units of linguistic action and their potential interrelations, and is therefore not to be interpreted as a strict hierarchy or an algorithm. Discourse and text, as the largest linguistic forms, consist in very different ensembles of speech actions or procedural integrations. Vice versa, procedures can be used as self-sufficient units or as procedural combinations

and integrations to constitute speech actions or parts of the ensembles of text and discourse (Ehlich 1998a; Redder 2003a). During its beginnings, Functional Pragmatics placed major emphasis on a general reconstruction of linguistic interaction (Rehbein 1977) and thus on linguistic action patterns and their specific realizations in text and discourse. This "top-down" approach is meanwhile complemented by procedural analysis as established in Ehlich and Rehbein (1972a) on modal verbs and Ehlich's analyses of deictics and interjections (1979, 1986). Pattern and procedural analysis, in combination, allow for a holistic explanation of linguistic interaction – with *(societal) purpose* as the overarching objective base category. Because of this, *norm* and *convention* are not intrinsic, explanatory categories of Functional Pragmatics. Thus, they are free to be used to describe factual, institutional conventions such as the terminological norms or agreements on linguistic standardization (spelling etc.). Linguistic action patterns or procedural combinations and integrations are no algorithms, but societal problem solutions. The knowledge of how to use them and how to make the most of them is acquired during socialization. It is this knowledge on the basis of which conformity and creativity become genuine individual options.

2.3. Analytical steps

Functional Pragmatics' central empirical method is corpus-based fieldwork. The aim is to record language within authentic interaction. Now and then, informal interviews, triangulation or experimental settings (such as "thinking aloud"; Rehbein and Mazeland 1991) are also used. The sound and video recordings of spoken language are then transcribed. Functional Pragmatics uses HIAT (Ehlich and Rehbein 1976b), a system that, in a way similar to a musical score, allows for a notation of several simultaneous speech events, intonation (HIAT 2; Ehlich and Rehbein 1979c), emphasis, nonverbal communication, etc. (HIAT 3; Ehlich and Rehbein 1981a, 1981b; for a short introduction into HIAT in English, cf. Ehlich 1993d). The process of transcription transforms recorded language into data available for linguistic analysis (Redder 2001a). The transcription software EXMARaLDA[6] is linked to a database that supports certain search options. In Functional Pragmatics, the main steps of empirical data analysis are the following (cf. Ehlich and Rehbein 1977a, 1986; Redder 1984; Rehbein 1995a; Graefen 1997; Ehlich 2000c, 2007c; Hoffmann 2001):

i. sound or video recording of spoken language or selection of written data
ii. computer based transcription according to HIAT of written data
iii. filling in the transcription cover sheet (information on the actants, the constellation of interaction, pre-history and post-history of the interaction)
iv. "phasing" of the discourse or text, i.e., determining macrostructural units according to discourse or text type

v. "segmentation" of the utterances[7] according to initial illocutionary or procedural assessments
vi. paraphrase of the discourse
vii. interpretative analysis of details, for instance:
  - reconstruction of linguistic action patterns; initially, according to the surface progression of discourse and text, then, according to the deep structure (pattern positions)
  - reconstruction of the pre-history and the post history of speech actions and their discursive or textual functionality
  - differentiation of basic, derived, supportive, and second-order speech actions (i.e., speech actions such as *substantiation* that operate upon other illocutions)
  - analysis of certain speech actions according to their three dimensions: utterance act (phonological, lexicogrammatical), propositional act (semantic) and illocutionary act (pragmatic)
  - reconstruction of modifications of action patterns (for instance because of institutional action conditions); identification of tactics; separation of systematic and contingent phenomena
  - differentiation of knowledge types (professional versus semiprofessional or common knowledge) and identification of the knowledge types interactants draw on
  - investigation of the nexus of verbal, para-verbal, and nonverbal communication
  - investigation of the communicative apparatuses (turn-taking, repairs, speaker and hearer orientation, style).

3. Applications

Reality is an action space constituted through societal formation. Modern societies are characterized through a far-reaching institutionalization of their practice. Even ordinary practice, everyday life, cannot do without institutions. Hence the attributes *ordinary* or *everyday* can be used to describe common practice devoid of any anomalies, but they do not apply to the distinction between non-institutional and institutional action, since non-institutional action space is very narrow. As a suitable word for *non-institutional interaction*, Ehlich and Rehbein (1979a) coined the term *homileic discourse* (from Ancient Greek *homilein*: 'to talk while walking'), a term that can also be used for textual action.

The following is an overview of functional-pragmatic analyses on homileic (Section 3.1.) and institutional (Section 3.2.) linguistic interaction. Section 3.3. is an overview of works within the area of plurilingualism and language policy.

3.1. Homileic discourse and text

Homileic discourse as well as homileic text are particularly characterized by an archaic form of linguistic action: story-telling (narration). The purpose of discursive and textual narration is the *transfer of experience* that overcomes individual isolation and creates a shared knowledge base with regard to forms of societal practice and their potential for change (Ehlich 1980: 20). Narration allows hearers to sympathetically participate in a bygone experience, while speakers, through a transformation of experiential knowledge into a story, stabilize their experience and thus make it available for reflection in the form of a moral, a doctrine (Rehbein 1982a), or any other qualitative knowledge-shift. Narration counteracts the fragmentation and particularization of experience and fosters social generalization and identity. Hence, functional-pragmatic analyses of narrations frequently focus on aspects of knowledge management. There are studies on the mental aspects of *exemplary* versus *explorative* narrations during times of societal change (Bredel 1999), on biographical narrations across inconsistencies of societal practice resulting from migration (Roll 2003; Meng 2001), from a lack of language skills (Rehbein 1986b), or from a psychological blockage of action patterns (Flader 1995; Redder 2002b). Reconstructing institutional knowledge from biographical narrations (Ehlich and Rehbein 1977a; Becker-Mrotzek 1989; Rehbein 1989a, for tertiary institutions) is another area, which also allows for methodological reflections on the narrative interview.

Narrating or *story telling* are frequently used as general terms for various types of linguistic action, such as *giving an account of something*, *communicating*, *reporting, portraying,* etc. (Ehlich 1983c) which constitute special "reconstructive" discourse and text types (Rehbein 1989a). Their differences can be revealed through form-function analysis: *narration* is a rendering of events for the purpose of hearer participation. In contrast to narration, a *report* focuses on the result of a chain of events, and its purpose is to assist the decision-making process in the result's post-history (Rehbein 1984a, 1989a; Hoffmann 1984a). *Description* (rendering of events according to their structure; Rehbein 1984a), *portrait*, *illustration*, *confession*, *biographical justification*, *apologia,* and *chronicle* each reveal a characteristic use of procedural elements (Rehbein 1989a).

Frequently the actants use ensembles of speech actions belonging to one of these forms or another so that amalgamations arise. Nevertheless, homileic narration covers a wide range of different forms, from a trivial concatenation of events to renderings of experience of some linguistic virtuosity, such as expressive renarration (Redder 1994a). The immediacy of experience may be recreated by non-sentential forms of expression in homileic and literary narration (Redder 2003a, 2006). Other devices used by experienced narrators, namely by professional authors, to increase hearer participation are a special use of deictics (Ehlich 1982a, 1985, 1992b; Riedner 1996; Krusche 2001; Schiedermair 2004); special devices can be identified as description of events vs. description of perception vs. communication of perception (Redder 2000a) or ambivalent knowledge management at epistemic interfaces (Redder 2000b). The discursive and textual forms of narration are language and culture specific. The same applies to style and to the devices used to govern reception (cf. the comparative analyses of Rehbein 1982b and Fienemann 2006).

Narrative competence is procedurally complex (Rehbein 1987; Ehlich 2005a). The speaker needs to anticipate the hearer's knowledge and understanding; the hearer has to perform the necessary linguistic actions to keep the speaker going, to ask for clarification etc. (Meng 1988; Hoffmann 1989a). School seems to counteract the acquisition of these linguistic devices through expectations derived from literature (Ehlich 1984b). At the same time, this acquisition process is further undermined by the institutional conditions of interaction at school (Flader and Hurrelmann 1984). Hence, the didactics of narration require some reflection (Ehlich 1984b). Narrations in institutions, for instance in a medical practice or before a court of law, are therefore a special area for functional-pragmatic investigation where the functionalization of narration becomes apparent (Rehbein 1980, 1986a; Flader and Giesecke 1980; Hoffmann 1980, 1991; Koerfer and Köhle 2007).

3.2. Institutions

Institutions are – in a way different from action patterns and discourse/text types – a complex and purpose-driven "structural type of repetitive societal actions" (Ehlich and Rehbein 1994: 317). In accordance with Poulantzas (1975), Functional Pragmatics views an institution as *societal apparatus* and reconstructs institutions as mediatory instances of societal reality – a theoretical challenge (Koerfer 1994). From its very beginnings, Functional Pragmatics has dedicated itself to revealing the nexus of language and institutions in order to make actants conscious of the institutional conditions of their actions and to make these actions accessible to practical criticism. Functional Pragmatics conceives of linguistic knowledge as *actional consciousness* (Redder 1998). *Creativity*, when societally relevant, aims at a change of repetitive practice and does so in acknowledgement of the affirmative momentum that lies in the reproduction of society through institutional apparatuses.

The papers collected in Redder (1983, 1994b), Ehlich (1994b), Brünner, Fiehler, and Kindt (2002) and the annotated bibliography by Becker-Mrotzek (1999) give a good overview of functional pragmatic research into language use in institutions.

In institutions, the action spaces of actants are frequently separated in a characteristic manner (Ehlich and Rehbein 1977a): *agents* (i.e., actants who act on behalf of an institution) realize institutional purposes and usually act on the

basis of *second degree institutional knowledge*, i.e., an institutional theory such as educational sciences provide for the institution *school*. *Clients*, on the other hand, are actants who avail themselves of institutional purposes for their individual goals. They possess *first degree institutional knowledge* that is, more or less, based on their experience. In their paper on knowledge structure types available to actants of the institution *school*, Ehlich and Rehbein (1977a) reconstructed six types that have meanwhile been found to apply to other institutions also: *incidental experiential knowledge, assessment, image, sentential knowledge, maxim, pattern knowledge,* and *routine knowledge*. The concept of *stereotype* appears to lump together the knowledge structure types of *assessment*, *image (picture, Bild)* (a compound of several assessments made by one actant), "*image*" (an image shared by several actants), and *sentential knowledge* – which might have contributed to the interesting career and ideological functions of that notion in the social sciences (Redder 1995a). Ehlich (1998b) addresses the implications of this concept in terms of knowledge sociology. In an empirically based study across several institutions, Schubarth (2001) shows that *irony* is a very functional device of institutional cooperation: the speaker presents the hearer with a knowledge element to test its validity and to achieve a common ground via shared evaluation. The knowledge types involved in this are mainly sentential knowledge and maxim, but also general institutional knowledge.

The following sections give an overview of the results of functional pragmatic research on language use in institutions and its implications for applied linguistics (Sections 3.2.1. through 3.2.6). Verbal and nonverbal communication, spoken and written language, are especially dealt with in Sections 3.2.1. and 3.2.2. on institutions of knowledge transfer. Interactional aspects such as politeness and interculturality are addressed in 3.3.

3.2.1. Schools

Irrespective of all pedagogical reforms, the purpose of school consists in passing on selected societal knowledge to the next generation – a fact also conceded by studies focusing on aspects concerning individuals (Becker-Mrotzek and Vogt 2001). Ehlich and Rehbein (1986) therefore differentiate between *discourse of teaching and learning* (which can occur outside school) and *instructional discourse*. Based on the transcriptions of several school lessons three of which have been published in Redder (1982) and another in Ehlich and Rehbein (1986), they reconstruct several action patterns pertinent to linguistic interaction at school: *problem solving, task-completion pattern, puzzle solving, question – answer,* and *didactic question* with *directing question* as its derivative. Empirical analysis reveals a particular institutional adaptation of linguistic action patterns: a didactic question is a question, but it is asked to elicit institutionally relevant knowledge – a "tactical" use of a linguistic action pattern

(Ehlich 1982c). For the purpose of *e*-learning, Redder and von Bremen (2007) suggest a digital model of representation for several types of questions (ordinary question, teacher's question, questionnaires, doctor's questions and their mental presuppositions as well as outcomes).

However, instructional discourse also has its own linguistic action patterns such as teacher-specific *repair patterns* (Rehbein 1984b) and *rephrasings* (Keller 1978). *Rephrasings*, as Bührig (1996) demonstrates, belong to the class of *reformulations* that – especially in institutional contexts – reorganize the knowledge of speaker and hearer. Bührig shows that reformulations are an ambivalent device that can be counterproductive when used without linguistic awareness. Such ambivalence and inconsistency is also characteristic of instructional discourse in mathematics (task-completion pattern), as von Kügelgen (1994) reveals in his empirical comparison of classroom discourse and authentic societal problem solving – a study that could also be interpreted as an anticipatory explanation of some of the observations made in the current PISA evaluation. *Teamwork* – a collective task-solution pattern – does not appear to offer a fundamental solution to these problems, but offer insights into the various mental processing spelled off by bilinguals in different languages (Rehbein and Grießhaber 1996). In contrast to instructional discourse, vocational teaching and learning discourse shows some modifications of the task-completion pattern and more emphasis on physical action, as Brünner (1987) points out. According to Brünner, this is the case because this discourse is closely tied to industrial practice and students are very focused on their objectives.

In instructional discourse, teachers use modal verbs as a very functional device to organize the turn apparatus, phasing, the realization of patterns, and the restoration of discipline (Redder 1984). Since modals categorize perspectives on action (alternative action paths or actional objectives), they can be used to "steer students through a pattern". Actants know, on the basis of their *first degree institutional knowledge*, which action paths are available to them – it is this kind of knowledge students acquire quickly when starting school and that also forms an integral part of text books (Redder 1990b; Brünner and Becker-Mrotzek 2006).

Classroom discourse can be differentiated into *main discourse* and *parallel discourse*. The latter consists of *accompanying discourse*, which is related to the main discourse, and *side discourse*, which is homileic (chatting etc.). The systematics of these discourses offer a basis for the analysis of several patterns: students' *abduction* with a punch line (Ehlich 1981a), *admonition* with its characteristic options of increasing or decreasing the illocutionary force (Füssenich 1981), and *admonitions* in incultural comparison (for German – Egypt, cf. Nagi 2007). Students' criticism is dealt with "according to plan", i.e., according to how teachers have planned phases of the main discourse (Redder 1987).

Nonverbal actions during instructional discourse can accompany this discourse or constitute actions in their own right. In their empirical investigation of "eye communication", Ehlich and Rehbein (1982) demonstrate that when students "avert their gaze in deliberation" or teachers evaluate students' contributions in a way where verbal and nonverbal communication patterns do not agree, this is due to institutional conflicts of maxims (Ehlich and Rehbein 1977a).

3.2.2. *Universities and research*

Albeit somewhat challenged by the Bologna process, one purpose of universities still is to guide students towards thinking independently and thus towards innovating academic knowledge. Hence, universities are not just institutions of knowledge transfer, but they attempt to introduce academic novices to academic knowledge as "work in progress" (Redder 2002c; Ehlich 2003b). The different epistemic status of academic knowledge, when compared to school knowledge, becomes apparent in students' assessments of this knowledge, which go through several quantitative and qualitative steps (Redder 2002c). Sometimes, different epistemic qualities are even revealed at a grammatical level, as Chen (1995) shows in her study on the use of the two German passives in university laboratory discourse. The choice between *sein/werden* (*to be/to become*) + past participle determines whether a state of affairs is anticipated or is communicated as a constellation that offers potential for further action (Redder 1995b, 1999b).

It is widely known that the characteristics of seminar discourse are discipline and culture dependent. In German-speaking countries, discursive forms of academic knowledge mediation still play a major role, even though this may change in the near future because of university reforms. Wiesmann's (1999) analyses of academic discourse in several disciplines show a central set of frequent and operational illocutions. Patterns such as *substantiation*, *explanation*, *elucidation*, *assessment*, *exemplification,* and *objection* have to be professionally handled by speakers and hearers – a rewarding challenge for foreign and German students alike (Wiesmann 2001; Hanna 2001, 2003).

Lectures and seminars, as discursive forms of knowledge mediation that are aimed at changing and networking students' knowledge, create receptive difficulties. This becomes apparent in text types such as *seminar minutes* (*Wissenschaftliches Protokoll*) (Moll 2001) or *lecture notes* (*Mitschriften)* (Breitsprecher 2007) the purpose of which is a type of reduction that preserves the integrity of the academic argument. Moll and Breitsprecher thoroughly compare original discourses and their textual reconstructions and thus reflect the transfer from spoken into written language. They show that students tend to abstract from nexus of argument, critical considerations, and digressions in favor of

information gathering based on the propositional content of the utterances regardless of their illocutionary dimension. These findings may point to a reception practice of the – so called – "knowledge society", a practice that may be encouraged when, as a result of "modularization", universities focus more on canonic knowledge transfer than independent, hermeneutic thinking. Programs such as *Effektiv studieren* ('Studying effectively') (Redder 2002d) have made practical use of such findings to counteract these tendencies.

The attitude towards and the mediation of academic knowledge is very culture dependent – a general problem with regard to the internationalization of German universities and a specific challenge for the mediation of German as a foreign academic language. The degree to which a certain society regards academic knowledge as authority based has an impact on the forms of discursive argumentation and the knowledge structure types involved (Trautmann 2004; Shoaib 2007 on Germany vs. Egypt). Such differences also reveal themselves in students' oral presentations (Guckelsberger 2005) and term papers (Stezano 2006, in press). Furthermore, they become apparent in the reception of academic writing (cf. Ehlich 1981b; Ehlich and Steets 2003, on *excerpts*; Schramm 2001, on reading processes in a foreign academic language). These insights provide a sound basis for the linguistic assistance of foreign students (Ehlich 1995; Ehlich and Graefen 2001; Steets 2003; Graefen and Moll 2007) and for comparative projects involving several European universities.

In contrast to terminology-oriented Language for Specific Purposes research, functional pragmatic studies of academic communication focus on "ordinary" linguistic devices. It is these ordinary linguistic devices (i.e., formulations like "meanwhile it is widely held", "it seems/appears") resulting from historical processes of language adaptation that form a *metalanguage* of science and research and constitute the crucial differences between "academic languages" (Ehlich 1997), i.e., the academic varieties of, say, French, German, English, Russian, or Japanese. These differences are to be investigated within comparative linguistics of academic languages (Ehlich 1993c), i.e., a critical analysis of different conceptions of academic knowledge (Ehlich 1998c) and of – discipline specific – academic styles (Ehlich 2000a). The research undertaken within this comparative framework has meanwhile produced results on different discourse and text structures ("genres") and ensembles of illocutions (Thielmann 1999b, 2003, 2006 and Fandrych and Graefen 2002, on German and English; Hohenstein 2006, on German – Japanese). Symbolic procedures characteristic for academic language are investigated in Fandrych (2001, 2002, 2005), on German and English speech action verbs; Wiesmann (2001, 2003), on German and Spanish *verba sentiendi*; Hohenstein (2004), on German and Japanese matrix constructions; and Fandrych and Graefen (2002) and Redder (2001b), on German and English modal verbs. The use of deictics in academic language is investigated in Ehlich (1992b) and Graefen (1997), an exemplary

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study of the use of deictics in German research papers. The differences described in these empirical studies point to a significant challenge for interactants and educational and language policies alike (see Section 3.3., below).

3.2.3. *Medicine*

The pivot of doctor-patient communication is the knowledge difference between agents and clients – a difference that cannot be sufficiently subsumed under the notions of *professionalism* and *laymanship* (Brünner and Gülich 2002). This is because educational German TV programs on medical issues such as "Sprechstunde" ('consultation hour'), which are conducted as an interactive teacher monologue (Partheymüller 1994), have an impact on patients' knowledge: patients do not just have incidental experiental knowledge of their illness, they also, because of such programs, draw on "pseudo-professional" and "semi-professional" knowledge when communicating their afflictions (Löning 1994). Doctors, when hearing a "professional" term, tend to misinterpret such terminology use as an indication of professional knowledge.

Doctor-patient communication shows yet another institutional adaptation of the question-answer pattern, as questions are asked to elicit information to be subsumed under a narrowing categorical grid (Rehbein 1993a, 1994b). A special discursive form, the *elicited portrait*, is also typical for such communication. As Löning (1993) demonstrates, the internal structure of this form – questions, responses, and their evaluations – leads to characteristic knowledge differences between the interactants that result in discursive loops. The illocutionary and discursive structure of anamneses reveals frequent confusion about the interactants' current pattern position (Rehbein 1986a). With migrants as patients, such asynchrony can lead to discursive ruptures, especially when doctors are not aware of intercultural differences in the conception of illnesses and therapies, or offer – well meant – linguistic assistance ("patronizing") (Rehbein 1985a, 1994c). A detailed analysis of the illocutionary structure of *clinical anamnesis* reveals interactive modifications as phenomena of internal division of labor between the medical agents – a situation which leaves diagnostic evaluations of the patient's utterances pending for the medical team (Redder 1994c); at the same time, patients attempt to communicate a certain knowledge structure type, an *image* (see Section 3.2., above) of themselves. Hartog (1996) investigates, on a rich empirical basis, the – fairly recent – discourse type of *genetic counseling*. She is able to show that the "expert knowledge" clients seek does not at all possess the expected structure and certainty – a deficiency resulting in significant discursive dissonances or even complete failure of the consultation. According to Rehbein (1997), such failures may result from the importance that statistics has gained as a new epistemic framework. It is therefore important to instigate and keep

alive an interdisciplinary discussion of such framework shifts – and of intercultural framework differences – to ensure continuing client-focused practice.

3.2.4. *Law*

Hoffmann's (1983) empirical studies of *communication in the courtroom* are the first functional pragmatic analyses of the entire discourse type, its phases, its illocutions and propositional contents. He also investigated institutional adaptation of patterns (Hoffmann 1980), misunderstandings during the establishing of facts (Hoffmann 1989b) and pattern knowledge and strategies (Hoffmann 1991). Institutional purposes are also dominant in the text type *legislation* (Hoffmann 1998), which is why these texts do not cater for ordinary reader expectations (Hoffmann 1992). In a similar manner, *instruction leaflets* do not correspond to such expectations, as they have to simultaneously fulfill medical and legal purposes (Hoffmann 1984b).

Appeals, where the accused is heard after the decision of the lower court has been read out, display a peculiar amalgamation of spoken and written language (Rehbein 1989b). Seibert (1981), an attorney, arrives at similar results in his empirical study of *files*: *files* result from an institutional interpretation of interrogation discourse; and this interpretation has an impact on the court's decision making. The principle that decisions can only be based on what has been said aloud during proceedings (*Mündlichkeitsprinzip;* 'principle of orality') is always threatened by the primacy of the written word (Seibert 1989) as its default status in bureaucratic organizations.

3.2.5. *Business*

Despite the difficulties of empirically based research into business communication, functional pragmatics has been quite active in this field (Brünner 2000). Brünner's (1987) investigation of vocational teaching and learning discourse was followed by numerous studies and transcript-based trainings on ordinary business communication and conflict management (Brünner 1994, 1998, 2007; Becker-Mrotzek and Brünner 1999, 2002).

Rehbein's (1995a) empirically based praxeogram of buying and selling among large businesses in Europe shows a cooperative discourse structure characterized by *negotiation* as a specific phase. The structure of *negotiation* is language and culture dependent and, at the same time, subject to institutional conditions (Rehbein 2001c).

Dannerer (1999) analyses business communication amongst institutional agents; Schnieders (2005), a study of telephone reclamation discourse, reveals a professionalization of German clients. The structure of the reclamation pattern is cultural dependent (cf. Ohama 1987, on Japan, and Schnieders 2007, on

Indonesia); cultural dependent aspects of external business communication are investigated in Schlickau (in press).

The works of Grießhaber and Schilling on job interviews are based on quite "explosive" material. Grießhaber's study (1987) on job interviews in retail businesses shows the characteristics of *decision-making discourse* and demonstrates the limitations of role-play based trainings for migrants. Schilling's (2001) investigation of interviews with academically qualified applicants cast some light on a different economic sector. Her study centers on the decisive phases of the discourse, where personnel managers insist on justifications and substantiations of the applicant's career decisions. On this empirical basis, Schilling can draw some important consequences for the teaching of key qualifications to German and foreign students.

3.2.6. Administration and politics

Functional Pragmatics has so far focused on agent-client discourse in administrative institutions, narrations in administrative contexts, and mass communication and political discourse.

Ehlich, Becker-Mrotzek, and Fickermann's (1989) early transcription based project on the communication between local government and citizens in Dortmund (Germany) resulted in a brochure "communication guide for institutional agents" and made transparent the general structure of this discourse type. Migrants' narrations during social counseling are frequently subjected to institutional re-categorizations (Rehbein 1980). A praxeogram of such discourse and the cognitive structures of the terminology involved have been presented in two handbook entries (Rehbein 1998a, 1998b) where the institution-specific use of ordinary linguistic devices and the epistemic drifts resulting from such use are analyzed.

Functional pragmatic contributions to mass communication and political discourse include illocutionary characteristics of the language of fascism (Ehlich 1989c; Hoffmann 2001), the knowledge structures involved in anti-Semitism (Hoffmann 2004b; Ehlich 1998d, 2002a), and migration discourse (Rehbein 1993b).

3.3. Plurilingualism and language policy

Plurilingualism and language policy is also a central interest of functional pragmatic research as documented by the papers collected in House and Rehbein (2004), Kameyama and Meyer (2006), Ehlich and Hornung (2006), and Ehlich and Heller (2006). These papers are concerned with plurilingualism in academia, in the workplace, in schools, families, and hospitals, and thus contribute to functional pragmatic language typology and language sociology. The contrastive analyses mentioned in Section 3.2.2. are complemented by studies in language contact and plurilingualism in practice: Ehlich (2005b) investigates language contact in Europe and the impact of language contact on communicative ruptures (Ehlich 1994b), and re-analyzes sociolinguistic categories such as *integration* and *identity* (Ehlich 1991). Rehbein's broad empirical studies in German – Turkish language contact focus on contact-induced modifications of linguistic structures such as verbal planning and hearers' constructions-in-advance based on finite verb positioning (Rehbein 1995b), verbalized or assumed connectivity (Rehbein 2001a), and the increase in structural potential of the variety of Turkish spoken by migrants in Germany (Rehbein, Herkenrath, and Karacoç 2003). Matras (2007) touches the interrelation of contact, connectivity, and language evolution. Pragmatic modifications under plurilingual conditions are investigated in Afshar (1998), on bilingual communication in families; and Rehbein and Grießhaber (1996), on bilingual language learning; Kameyama (2004, 2006), on German-Japanese planning discourse in architectural practices; Rehbein (2007a), on the reflection of plurilingualism in workplace narratives and Rehbein (2007b) on biographical experience of bilingual children.

Further aspects of plurilingualism addressed by Functional Pragmatics are *translating* and *interpreting*, *politeness*, and *intercultural communication* and *plurilingualism in academia*:

The mental aspects of translating and interpreting, i.e., "reproducing actions", are very complex (Bührig and Rehbein 2000). Durlanik (2001) investigates note taking and verbal planning in consecutive translation. The use of *ad-hoc* interpreting when informing patients about the consequences of an invasive medical procedure (Meyer 2004) may result in various verbal and crossmodal (verbal and pictorial) strategies to achieve *consent* (Bührig and Meyer 2003; Bührig 2005).

Politeness is investigated by Ehlich (1992d) as a hearer evaluation process resulting from problem solving regarding historical changes in societal formation. Rehbein and Fienemann (2004) complement this analysis by reconstructing the overall *linguistic apparatus of politeness* on the basis of broad empirical investigations in plurilingual settings.

Intercultural communication requires a re-analysis of the notion of *culture* to make available the concepts' critical potential, as is attempted in Redder and Rehbein (1987), based on the analytical methods of historical materialism. On the basis of such reflections, the pragmatics of "interculture" (Koole and ten Thije 1994) and intercultural communication become analytically accessible (Rehbein 1980, 1985b, 2001b, 2001c, 2006; Schlickau 2005).

Ehlich (1997) discusses potentials, perspectives, and limitations of plurilingualism in international academic communication from an epistemic perspective and in terms of science history, i.e., the abandonment of Latin as Europe's "universal" scholarly language in favor of European vernacular languages

(Ehlich 2002b). Against this background, the adaptation of European vernacular languages for the purposes of science and research can be seen as an engine of innovation, since language specific adaptation paths (Ricken 1995; Rabin 1989; Pörksen 1989; Ehlich 1989b; Weinrich 1995; Menzel 1996; House 2002; Fabricius-Hansen 2007; Thielmann 2004, 2006) have lead to language specific epistemic resources within and beyond European languages (cf. Section 3.2.2., above). Despite these comparative studies of academic languages – which explore terminology and syntax as well as speech actions and their sequentiality in text and discourse – the innovative potential lying in these epistemic resources is only barely described and understood; at the same time, the linguistic future of science and research is seen in English as the – institutionally promoted – new "universal" language. As Clyne (1987, 2004) and Ehlich (2004, 2007c) point out from the Australian and German perspectives, these developments may endanger Europe's innovative potential for several reasons: the epistemic potential of academic plurilingualism is abandoned in favor of a single language that, to non-native speakers, is only available as a *lingua franca*, i.e., as a functionally restricted idiom unsuitable for academic purposes. At the same time, such developments create major obstacles for academic knowledge transfer within non-anglophone societies. Finally, academic varieties being an ongoing source of linguistic expansion for the languages that support them (for instance French, Italian, German, Russian), their loss would result in a fundamental reduction of the functional range of these languages.

4. Conclusion

Rather than a conclusion, I shall supply one final remark: this brief – and therefore somewhat technical – summary might have left the reader with the impression that Functional Pragmatics views people as something like robots, devoid of creativity and freedom, whose linguistic exchanges are encased in linguistic action patterns readily provided by society. Functional Pragmatics does not. But the linguists working within this framework have recognized that the trodden paths also extend to the things people do with language. These trodden paths, linguistic action patterns, are deep structures that underlie our linguistic pursuits. Like the *grammar* of a language, they are – societal – problem solutions. We are free to avail ourselves of these patterns, even to deviate from them to some extent. But if individuals would constantly attempt to reinvent them, they would be as successful as they would trying to communicate in a private language. And thus, they would abandon their potential for partaking in creativity and change.

Notes

1. I would like to express my warm thanks and acknowledgements to Winfried Thielmann (München/Dresden) who prepared the translation of a draft of this article. I would also like to take this opportunity to express my wish that, at some time in the near future, publishers may realize the difference – in terms of the time required – between the translation of a dense academic paper and a work of crime fiction. I take responsibility for any remaining inaccuracies.
2. It is not by accident that the first and to date most widespread transcription system in Europe, HIAT, was developed within Functional Pragmatics (Ehlich and Rehbein 1976a). Two volumes of transcripts created with this system have been published (Redder 1982; Redder and Ehlich 1994).
3. For the sole purpose of economy of expression, the generic masculine is used throughout this paper.
4. Otherwise, strictly surface-based analyses would not have found any regularities.
5. A sequence of linguistic actions involves a systematic change of turns; several linguistic actions by one speaker are called a *concatenation* of speech actions.
6. A site with further information on EXMARaLDA from which the free software can be downloaded is available at http://www1.uni-hamburg.de/exmaralda/ (last access: October 16, 2007).
7. *Utterance* is the pre-analytical category for each self-sufficient unit of linguistic interaction (speech action, procedural combination, procedure) whether this unit is spoken or written.

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