Language borders and discourse

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Crossing the Border, Closing the Gap: Otherness in Language Use

La proximité de l'autre en tant qu'autre est une énigme.
Emmanuelle Lévinas

Abstract: Identität spiegelt sich im Konzept des Anderen, *Alter*, wider. *Ich* bzw. *wir* stehen dem *Du* und *ihr* gegenüber. Der Andere ist einerseits so wie ich selbst ('sameness', Raible 1998), gleichzeitig aber anders als ich ('otherness'; Schlieben-Lange 1998). Die Spannung zwischen beiden Dimensionen feuert die Forschung zu *Alter* an. Sprachgebrauch ist an den Anderen adressiert. Meine These ist, dass das dialogische Prinzip allem Sprachgebrauch inne wohnt und ihn zu allererst auszulösen vermag. Damit begründe ich die hierarchische Voranstellung der Alterität vor den anderen Universalien der Kreativität und Semantizität, die gefolgt von der Historizität und der Exteriorität Sprache bestimmen.

Soziale Interaktion ist in der dyadischen Konzeptualisierung von Sprache aufgehoben (Jungbluth 2005). Der andere ist ein *Alius,* so lange er außerhalb ('*outside*') steht und nicht zum *Alter* im Gespräch wird. So ist es in *face-to-face* Gesprächen nicht üblich, dass eine Grenze zwischen den Gesprächsteilnehmern gezogen wird. Vielmehr wird in der Interaktion ein ungeteilter Raum innerhalb ('*inside*') geschaffen, der das *hier* begründet und ein gemeinsames Handeln, sprachlich und in Taten, für das Erreichen gemeinsamer Ziele erst möglich macht.

Das Konzept der Alterität ist nicht beschränkt auf Paare oder kleine (Gesprächs-)Gruppen, sondern kann auch auf große soziale Gruppen, darunter auch ethnische Gruppen angewandt werden. Diskursgemeinschaften, aber auch ganze Sprechergemeinschaften teilen ein kollektives Gedächtnis. Auf dieser Ebene ist der Kontrast zwischen *uns* ('*we*') und den *anderen* ('*they*', e.g. the *others*) über Unterschiede beispielsweise zwischen Religionen, Gesetzgebungen, politischen und sozialen Institutionen (einschließlich kultureller Praktiken in den jeweiligen Diskursdomänen), der jeweiligen Geschichte, Literatur, Kunst und Sprache bestimmt. Im Kontext der Diskurse auf gesellschaftlicher Ebene können wir aber auch an Stelle der Differenzen die Gemeinsamkeiten in den Vordergrund stellen. Alterität setzt immer auch Gleichsein voraus, Identität ist ein anderes Wort dafür.

Schlagworte: Pragmatik, Sprachgebrauch, Alterität, Ethnizität, Gesprächsdyade, außerhalb, innerhalb

Keywords: pragmatics, language use, alterity, ethnicity, dyad of conversation, outside, inside

Introduction

The concept of otherness may be investigated in the context of small groups, pairs engaged in face-to-face communication, or at the level of large social groups, such as those defined by ethnicity. Communities of discourse or whole language communities share a collective memory. In these contexts, the opposition between us and the others is constructed upon differences of religion, law, political and social institutions (including behavioral conventions in the respective domains of discourse), history, literature, art and language to mention just a few. In the context of conversations within society at large, instead of focusing what is different, we may as well underscore what we have in common.

In this paper, my focus on the one hand is on the general, ahistorical level of language use as such, regardless of the historical language spoken (e.g. English, German, Spanish etc.). Here, alterity represents, as I claim, the first of five universals. Furthermore, I shall develop the activities of speakers and hearers reciprocally when they speak to one another. The hEARing of the listener is as important as is the utterance of the speaker. When one of them fails to go on, people fall silent. Responsivity is fundamental and mirrors alterity at the level of dialogue.

I start with the general view, discussing alterity as the double-faced first universal of language. In the second part, I develop the difference between the other as *Alius* and the other as *Alter*. Furthermore, sameness and otherness are unpacked. In the third part, language use seen as acts of identity which are considered to show alterity in some sense are presented, and the application of the respective terminology is discussed. I claim that acts of alterity are just the other side of all acts of identity, as language use is always directed towards the other. Finally, I will integrate the dynamics of the conversational work into the triangle of Bühler by sketching out the activities of the speaker and hearer, who are both simultaneously making references to the world.

1. Alterity: the double-faced 1st universal of language

Otherness in language use puts into focus alterity as one of the five universals alongside creativity, semanticity, historicity and exteriority (Coseriu 1975), which define language as such. Later on, a hierarchy between the five was established, where the genuinely ahistoric aspects of alterity, creativity and semanticity are taken as primordial, whereas historicity and exteriority are considered as derivational (Schlieben-Lange 1998, 44). Based on research of language use in interaction in a

broad understanding, where language use forms only one part of the ongoing communication, I claim that alterity is the very first of the five universals[1].

Alterity is a condition for language use, as any speech act is directed from one subject towards another (cf. Coseriu 1975, 154; see Benveniste 1946/66, 230[2]). In other words, speaking and listening happen between EGO and ALTER, on the first level, whereas creativity on one side refers to the self[3], and semanticity, on the other, to the world. It is not by chance that the edges of the underlying triangle formed by the speaker, her hearer and the world determine the signs themselves, namely the linguistic signs (see the famous model of the *organon*, Bühler 1934). People have to speak "as the others", which refers to historicity of language as the fourth universal, and "towards the other/s" which covers the expression perceivable by others. Its substance is the materiality of language use being crucial for exteriority of language. Examples of it may be stored in form of data, and compiled to smaller or bigger corpora, thus turning the ongoing flow of language use into érgon (see below), apt for linguistic purposes.

Figure 1: Five universals of language at three levels

1. EGO & ALTER	**Alterity**		
2.	**Creativity**	**Semanticity**	WORLD
	as the others	*double faced*	*towards the other/s*
3.	Historicity	Exteriority	

(cf. Schlieben-Lange 1998, p. 44)

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1   Blank (1997) claims that semanticity has to be considered as superior with regard to the others. See *conclusions* at the end of this paper.

2   It is in using language that a human being constitutes [her-/]himself as a subject, because language alone founds in reality – in its reality which is the one of being– the concept of ego (Benveniste1956/1966, p. 259; my translation).
Language is only possible when every speaker positions her-/himself as a subject [...in her/his discourse]. In doing so, I position another person, exterior to myself, echoing myself by calling her/him you and [s]he calls me you. (Benveniste1956/1966, p. 260, my translation; cf. Jungbluth 2005, p. 22).

3   In social psychology, the difference between EGO and self may be exemplified by the following citation: «One of the most noteworthy features of Mead's account of the significant symbol is that it assumes that anticipatory experiences are fundamental to the development of language. We have the ability [to] place ourselves in the positions of others—that is, to anticipate their responses—with regard to our linguistic gestures. This ability is also crucial for the development of the self and self-consciousness. For Mead, as for Hegel, the self is fundamentally social and cognitive. It is to be distinguished from the personality, which has non-cognitive dimensions» (cf 2.3.; Mead 1980, Aboulafia 2012).

In this contribution, I will give preference to the first and second levels. Concerning the third level, I refer the readers interested in these topics to my dissertation on Catalan (Jungbluth 1996). There, historicity of language is unfolded using the example of the continuity of the use of Catalan in spoken, and – even more importantly with regard to those times – written language. Products of orality and literacy taken together make exteriority of language manifest. The so called *libri di famiglia*, a European discourse tradition performed since the golden times of Florence, are the research object of this monograph. They confirm the unbroken use of this 'small' Romance Language during the so-called *decadència* by providing evidence of the continuity of Catalan writing since the times of Ramon Llull (1232–1316) until today (see 1.2.). Different from that approach, this paper places the focus on alterity, creativity and semanticitiy, while the other two universals will be left to be mentioned in passing (see 2. & 3.).

1.1. Alterity and Creativity

Focusing on the double-faced nature of alterity, creativity looks at the actor of language use and her way of expressing herself[4]. Every utterance is unique, and even the same speaker will not be able to reproduce it in the same way again. The creativity of language use is not limited to experts – as for example authors of the various literary genres – as some authors believe, but is an important aspect of language use of everyone who speaks and maybe writes. Following Humboldt, language is *enérgeia*[5], a creative activity which is done due to *dýnamis,* a competence in the sense of Aristoteles, and may only be fossilized to become *érgon* by linguists (Albrecht/Lüdtke/Thun 1988; Lehmann 1988). Whereas alterity strengthens the uniform use of a certain historical language, creativity ensures its difference, which may end up creating a variety in its own right. In the aspect of creativity, the freedom of language is particularly tangible. This nature of its object of research determines the way in which linguists may draw their conclusions:

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4   Derrida's use of <u>*différance*</u> instead of *différence*, may be used as an example of this freedom, showing the creative use of language to express a particular, unique idea. See 1.3.

5   „Die Sprache in ihrem wirklichen Wesen aufgefasst, ist etwas beständig und in jedem Augenblick Vorübergehendes … sie selbst ist kein WERK (ÉRGON), sondern eine TÄTIGKEIT (ENÉRGEIA)…. sie ist nämlich die sich ewig wiederholende Arbeit des Geistes, den artikulierten Laut zum Ausdruck des Gedankens fähig zu machen. Unmittelbar und streng genommen ist dies die Definition des jedesmaligen Sprechens; aber im wahren und wesentlichen Sinn kann man nur die Totalität des Sprechens als die Sprache ansehen." (Humboldt 1827–29/1963, pp. 196–97; emphasize added).

> In one sense linguistics does not have to "become" an exact science, as it is already one. And in another sense it does not become one as the nature of its object does not permit it. Linguistics must give up the irrational intention to look for causality in the space of freedom.[6] (Coseriu 1974, p. 205, my translation).

Following Humboldt (1827–29/1963), the two forces which the language user experiences are contradictory:

> [..] the normativity of the language exercises pressure on him, whereas the principle of freedom roots in his retroactive reaction[7] (Humboldt 1963, p. 228).

A good deal of this normativity is exerted by semanticity, the other universal and the topic of our next section. People usually communicate in order to achieve understanding by using the same language[8], which identifies them as members of one and the same language community.

1.2. Alterity and semanticity

There is no doubt that speaking, and language use in general, inherently express meaning. Derived from the aforementioned competence, the activity of language use performed between the speaker (or author) and her listener (or reader) may be divided in the following three sub-activities: First, we know how to refer to the world (referentiality). It goes without saying that one has to know the things «Kenntnis der Sachen» (Kabatek/Murguía/Coseriu 1997) in order to refer to them properly. After having learned how to subsume the objects and states of affairs in form of linguistic signs, such as words in our first language, we can apply this practice to all of them. Another universally valid aspect of language use is the possibility to talk about langue itself (reflexivity). Finally, without an intention underlying our talk, we keep silent. The interest to change the world by speaking to the other gives meaning as an overall aspect of the ongoing social activity (finality).

Focusing on language use of a certain historical language, e.g. German or English, meaning refers to the systematic and normal use of words as part of its lexicon, and of their combination as part of its grammar. This way of speaking

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6   «In einem Sinne also braucht die Sprachwissenschaft nicht zu einer exakten Wissenschaft „werden", da sie es bereits ist. Und in einem anderen Sinne kann sie es nicht werden, weil die Natur ihres Gegenstandes es ihr verbietet. Die Sprachwissenschaft muss auf die irrationale Absicht verzichten, im Bereich der Freiheit Kausalgesetze aufstellen zu wollen.»

7   in dem auf ihn ausgeübten Einfluss liegt die Gesetzmässigkeit der Sprache, in der aus ihm kommenden Rückwirkung das Princip ihrer Freiheit.

8   Sometimes they use more than one language, and this bi/multilingual usage characterizes their linguistic community.

represents the language-specific form of expressing references to the respective surrounding world. The practice forms part of the tradition which is passed from generation to generation, thus giving continuity to the language and maintaining its use. Of course, concrete meaning is only achieved when materializing the linguistic sign through its actualization in a certain discourse[9]. In doing so, the reference to a concrete part of the world takes place, and the participants of conversation can judge whether or not it makes sense in the ongoing context. The point of reference is the conventionalized way to use the language, its *érgon* products being lexicon and grammar, aiming to speak as the other/s.

1.3. Double faced alterity & its two relations
   [as the others : for the others]

It is this tension between speaking as the others and speaking for the others which determines the use of language in discourse. We experience that our understanding is vague, and that the identities involved in conversation remain incommensurable (Schütze 1980). At the moment of discourse itself, we put these findings aside and trust the symbols and gestures, though the ongoing negotiations of the meaning of our utterances remain incomplete. We have in mind that the pronounced signs are less than what was actually meant by the speaker, and less than what was understood by her hearer, and even not the same when several hearer/s are involved. Every subject has to "fill in" the utterance – to *suppléer* in Derrida's terms (1976, p. 323) – or has to insert something extra in order to achieve full understanding. The *différance*[10] [sic!] explained by Derrida refers to the several – in principle endless – meanings which every utterance, every use in context, every reading or listening produces at the base of the apparently same *signifiant(s)*. The not-understanding, which is one of the sources of the difference, forms part of every understanding:

> When a word is uttered, nobody thinks in that moment exactly the same as the other and the difference, even the very small one goes on trembling through the language as a whole similar to a drop of water with its circle. Every understanding is always a not-understanding,

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9   I do not discuss here the aspect of discourse traditions which themselves represent certain meanings of the discourses they gather, e.g. the above-mentioned *libri di famiglia*, accounting documents, novels, poems etc. (see Weiand 1993, Wilhelm 2001, Schlieben-Lange 1983, Jungbluth 1996).

10 Cf. French *différence*. Although the pronunciation of the two is the same, the *'significats'* are not.

a truth which may be readily used in every-day life too, all convergence in thoughts and sentiments involve simultaneously some divergence[11] (Humboldt 1827–29/ 1963, p. 227).

The balancing act between talking as the others and for the others has to be mastered by any language user involved in a dialogue. The creative use of language in order to express my own stance by constantly performing *acts of identity* (Le Page / Tabouret-Keller 1985) has to comply with the norms of the language/s shared by my interlocutors, by you. The performance is directed towards the other participant/s of conversation. You, my partner/s in dialogue, have to be able to recognize the acts as such in order to achieve a reciprocal understanding.

2. Alterity: closing the gap

Who is/are this/these strange other/s? Is the other someone as oneself or someone different? Does it matter whether the other is someone you talk to or someone else? Is there a difference between the involved second person and the third person, not involved in conversation?

2.1. Sameness versus Otherness

On one hand, speaking like the others means using the same language spoken by your family or by your ancestors, by the language community you belong to. The sameness is rooted in historicity, as the historical language refers to the way its users embedded in their environment have acquired the knowledge and routines to speak it (and maybe were taught to write it) at a certain moment in time. The opposition of sameness is otherness.

> That, what actually binds us with others and serves as a unifying bond of a social or group identity, is shared living experience[12].[...] otherness and sameness are dialectical concepts presupposing one another. [...] To this corresponds the fact that, contrary to mathematics, in real life ‹being other› or ‹being different› implies at the same time ‹having much in common›. [...] To look at identity in the social sphere means foregrounding sameness, whereas alterity emphasizes otherness (Raible 1998, pp. 16–21).

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11 „Keiner denkt bei dem Wort gerade und genau das, was der andere, und die noch so kleine Verschiedenheit zittert, [wie ein Kreis im Wasser], durch die ganze Sprache fort. Alles Verstehen ist daher immer zugleich ein Nicht-Verstehen, eine Wahrheit, die man auch im praktischen Leben trefflich benutzen kann, alle Uebereinstimmung in Gedanken und Gefühlen zugleich ein Auseinandergehen" (Humboldt 1963, p. 227).

12 See shared cultural memory '*kulturelles Gedächtnis*' (Jan Assmann 1992; Aleida Assmann 1999).

All acoustic or written signs of some language variety are directed towards the hearer/reader. This aspect mirrors the 5th universal: exteriority. Even to oneself, speakers are talking as if they are speaking to another, the Alter Ego[13] (4.1.). Responsivity precedes the dialogue, it makes language use happen (4.2.; Lévinas 1986; Mersch 2007; Jungbluth forthcoming). With responsivity we refer to the basic principle that speakers and authors use language to communicate with their audience. Without the other, imagined or real, they fall silent and no utterances are done at all.

2.2. Alter ≠ Alius

Important in our context is the difference between the other/s, who you talk to, and the other/s outside, who are not involved in the ongoing conversation. The choice of the other as ALTER, as the one you want to talk to, is the result of several preceding activities. In order to establish a space of interaction (Müller / Bohle 2007[14]) where the talk may take place later on, one starts to show oneself to the other. If the other pays attention, the two or more of them may take reciprocal notice of each other. The committed partners move to get closer and to form a dyad of conversation (Jungbluth 2005, pp. 19–23, 59–84, 129–137, 157–180, 202–204, 206; forthcoming). Only when these initiatives are completed felicitously may the communication start, for example by exchanging greetings with the other participants of the conversation.

Both Alter and Alius, who is the other, the one not involved, are Not-Ego. But the fact of selecting one or some of the Alius to become Alter makes them different with regard to Ego.

> However, You is [s/]he turned towards myself. While Ego and [s/]he (=Alius) appear due to internal and external perception, You is created by the spontaneity of election. You is Not-Ego too, but not as [s/]he in the sphere of all beings, but in a different one determined by the shared interaction. The [s/]he [her-]himself is not only a Not-Ego, but also a Not-You, and [s/]he stays not only in opposition to one of them, but to both[15] (Humboldt 1827–29/1963, p. 228).

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13 Take for example the writing of a diary, where the future recipient is often imagined as the author herself, albeit the author at a later moment in time.

14 „Spaces of interaction are multimodally constituted and establish the frame for focused interaction". (Müller / Bohle 2007, p. 136).

15 „[Ich und Er sind an und für sich selbst verschiedne, so wie man eines von beiden denkt, nothwendig einander entgegengesetzte Gegenstände, und mit ihnen ist auch Alles erschöpft, denn sie heissen mit andren Worten Ich und Nicht-ich.] Du aber ist ein dem Ich gegenübergestelltes Er. Indem Ich und Er auf innrer und äusserer Wahrnehmung beruhen, liegt in dem Du Spontaneitaet der Wahl.{18} Es ist auch ein Nicht-Ich,

Together with the speaker-EGO, the partner vis-à-vis is inside of the dyad of conversation. The Alius is the foreigner somewhere else, not involved in the ongoing activity, socially excluded, outside of the space of interaction, outside of the dyad of conversation.

2.3. I/WE: closing the gap

Sameness emphasizes features we share, which are treated as the same. The „lone" EGO includes her/his ALTER in a group of WE[16]. The specific generalized other (Mead 1980) refers to the experienced other in a social encounter or group. The relationship between the two or more of them gives rise to the self. The self depends on the other – it is the social part of the EGO as a result of the roles taken in a specific social context. The generalized other (Mead 1980) is close to the EGO in opposition to THEY, who are treated as different. Repeating Humboldt's words (see citation above) similar to HE, THEY are neither WE, nor YOU.

For example, in sports or politics, when two parties are competing against one another, the opposition between we and they is foregrounded. The otherness between the players or politicians belonging to the same team or party is treated differently from the otherness of the opponent:

> In political discourse, there is a deep-going opposition between 'I/We' and 'They'. [..The relationship] can be reduced to the politician's acceptance of his allies' alterity and rejection of his opponents' alterity[17] (Boicu 2007, p. 1).

The gap between the otherness (*'allies' alterity'*) of those belonging to one and the same team or party and oneself is filled by giving preference to the sameness[18] of all those who form part of one's own group. They are selected as YOU, depending on the context they may form part of WE, in either case they form part of the *inside* space. In doing so, the opponents are left *outside*. I rejects their alterity as Boicu states which is shown by calling them THEY.

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aber nicht, wie das Er, in der Sphäre aller Wesen, sondern in einer andren, der eines durch Einwirkung gemeinsamen Handelns. In dem Er selbst liegt nun dadurch, ausser dem Nicht-Ich, auch ein Nicht-Du, und es ist nicht bloss einem von ihnen, sondern beiden entgegengesetzt (Humboldt 1827–29/1963, p. 228).

16 Compare the *I & I* reference replacing *WE* in Rasta-talk, used for ex. by the Bobo Ashanti Rastafari people.

17 *allies* 'friends, partners, collaborators' (antonyms: 'enemies, opponents, antagonists') ≠ *alii*!

18 See Tajfel 1981.

3. Voices [Identity versus Alterity]

The gap towards the '*opponents' alterity*' is, on the other hand, even more deepened. For example, 'citations' – or voices of the "other" party – are integrated "for the most part [by] words of another that are never found in the mouth of another" (Hastings/Manning 2004, p. 306).

3.1. Performances and roles

In many of the interviews centering on the groups perceived by the Greek community in Georgia[19], intentionally performed mismatches between the roles of the author, the speaker and the perspectives on the issues uttered (called *principal* by Goffman), as well as the figures (Goffman 1974), the social persona indexed, play a role in the rhetorical strategies that establish who the *alii*[20] in this specific context are.

> Goffman divides the category of figure into 5 subcategories [natural figures, staged figures, printed figures, cited figures, mockeries or say-fors]. (Levon 2010, p. 16)

Remembering that the second refers to routines at the theatre and the third foregrounds fiction writing, all

> [..] first three figures are characterized by the fact that there is only one figure on the stage at a time. In contrast „double-voicedness" is characteristic for the last two of them (Hastings/Manning 2004, p. 304).

The difference between the latter is rooted in reporting either the content in the case of citation while

> [t]he final figure type, mockeries, is like cited figures in that it entails the quotation of speech explicitly attributed to another. Yet unlike straightforward citation, mockeries involve a focus on the form of an utterance, not its content, as a way of ridiculing the category of people of which that form is ideologically characteristic (Levon 2010, p. 16; see *crossing* Rampton 1995, *style* Coupland 2007).

Comparing the (true, really uttered) words of the others and the voices present in the cited figures of mockeries may be an important method to bring up the differences.

I agree with these authors on their analysis and strongly recommend taking these differences in the interpretation of our data into consideration, but I hesi-

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19 See Stavros Skopeteas (University of Bielefeld) and Konstanze Jungbluth (European-University Viadrina), *The impact of current transformational processes on language and ethnic identity: Urum and Pontic Greeks in Georgia*, VW-Stiftung "Between Europe and the Orient" 2013–2016.

20 Plural of Alius.

tate to reserve the term 'acts of alterity' to the last two figures. As any utterance is directed towards the other/s, it may always be analysed in terms of acts of identity and acts of alterity, whatever content or form it may take. The very selection of the words depends on the other (or in written discourse on the imagined other). Their materiality chosen, e.g. the performance is different when directed towards a child or an adult, a layman or an expert, a person of the same mother tongue or a stranger. The indispensable importance of the other for language use[21] is obvious. In other words, one may refer to the thing in the world using different terms, and their selection depends on the horizon of understanding the speaker assumes on the side of her/his interlocutor/s. Once again, alterity is shown to be primordial even with regard to semanticity.

3.2. Borders & Spaces [inside versus outside; speaker-side versus hearer-side]

Coming back to the borders drawn or changed in order to prepare the ground for starting a conversation, the committed (future) interlocutors interactively establish an inside and outside space. As has been outlined above (2.2.), there are several preceding activities depending on the context and its concrete embedding in certain social frames with their recognized routines (e.g. institutional frames). The selection of the Alter (or Alters) includes the decision on those who are left as Alius outside of the interaction that is about to begin.

To give a very instructive example, I refer to Müller and Bohle (2007; see 2.2), who meticulously describe the steps of approximation of a tango teacher pretending to give a lesson to one of the dance pairs moving around the floor. Taking into consideration the recognition of the roles of the involved persons (e.g. students, teacher) and the routines established between them due to earlier experienced instruction, the context of the interaction may be considered as a comparatively well-structured one. Nevertheless their research data show that an ongoing stepwise effort of the teacher is required until the attention of the dancing pair moves

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21 The inclusion of the other represents an important step in the scientific development of different models taught in linguistics. Following Saussure (1857–1913) the materiality of the double-faced leaf of paper may be used to show the inseparable relationship between sign and referent (linguistic symbol: see 4.1. citation of Tomasello/Moll 2010), between the sound chain uttered by the speaker and the world. Based on this two-sided idea and on the observation of language use in interaction and communication in general, the three-sided model introduced by Bühler (1879–1963) and visualized in the form of a triangle adds the hearer to the speaker and the world at the same level (see Figure 2 below).

towards him. Both have to look at him and have to decide to open their constellation at a certain moment with the aim to integrate the teacher as the third person in their inner circle, which I call inside space. In doing so, they prepare together the situation where the teacher gives his instructions and the pair is ready to follow him. In other words the teacher being Alius has to be accepted as Alter by the two persons of the dance pair.

The same holds for encounters in previously less structured surroundings. My findings on data collected in activity embracing language use in Spain show that the establishment of an undivided inside space between the interlocutors[22] is fundamental (Jungbluth 2005). Different from earlier assumptions (cf. Croft 1990), even in the case of deictic terms which inherently refer to spaces at different distances[23], the underlying finality to act together usually gives preference to establishing a shared inside space without internal borders. The outside space surrounds this inside space and is endless. Of course, ongoing activity may change the earlier established space, and the involved participants may allow a former bystander (Alius) to become an Alter – an interlocutor in the following conversation. The example of the tango lesson shows the step-by-step opening up of a space belonging to a pair, to one extended between three persons.

Concerning further subdivisions, namely the establishment of a hearer-side space in opposition to a speaker-side one, there are only very few contexts where the drawing of a border-line dividing the inside space in two parts may be observed. The most obvious case is a turned-away position of the hearer towards the speaker. In the context of instruction at the work place, teachers are often standing behind their students, focusing on their activity and involved in a face-to-back[24] conversation (Jungbluth 2005, pp. 64–70; forthcoming). Both are looking in the same direction, while the observed people are receiving advice on how to use tools on a workbench, or how to move computer tools when focusing together on activities on a screen. Another context which still needs further research may be a strongly hierarchized relationship between the involved interlocutors. In face-to-face conversations, some routines seem to suggest that touching things or possession may evoke the establishment of a hearer-side space in contrast

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22 The space of interaction is not a space of concentric circles around the 'lonely' speaker (Hottenroth 1982; Diewald 1991).

23 See for example three term systems of demonstratives in Spanish, Finnish or Japanese (Jungbluth 2005, pp. 209–215).

24 The side-by-side space, rooted in a third positioning of speaker and hearer, is not discussed in this paper (cf. Jungbluth 2005; forthcoming).

to a speaker-side one. The same holds to be true for contexts of quarrelling or disagreement.

Summing up, the different relations between EGO and ALTER, independently of being defined by spatial, social, among them personal parameters, determine the establishment of the relevant spaces. In face-to-face conversation, the undivided shared inside space is the unmarked case typically to be expected when spaces of interaction are established.

4. Alterity (universal!)

Most importantly, language use is directed towards the other. Without the interlocutor, even if imagined as Alter Ego, there is only silence. In the random case of speaking to oneself as if to another, the very name, Alter Ego, refers to the unmarked case of talking to another. The interlocutor is always Alter, elected by the speaker from the huge number of Alii, others who are not involved and therefore remain outside. The familiar – and at the same time minimal – constellation is the dialogue where two interlocutors talk to one another. Bigger groups of conversation are also common, and in general follow the patterns ritualized in dialogue.

Written language use is no exception. Even when writing, the dialogical practice is copied: the author has a future reader in mind. As the moment of reception may be chosen by the reader quite independent of the spatial-temporal anchored moment of writing, this form of communication may be understood as a (written) dialogue expanded within space and time[25]. The splitting-up of the acts of production and reception often needs re-actualization of the message to be adjusted to the new context determined by the addressee. Research on the delivery of legal documents, for example testaments, in (semi-) analphabetic societies[26] transferred by messengers from the town to the countryside show that they accompany their action of handing over the text at another time and, if it is the case, at another place by explanations of the content to the recipient/s in order to support their understanding.

4.1. Dialogue: speaker and hearer in the dyad of conversation

The dialogue brings speaker and hearer together; they form the dyad of conversation.

> Specifically, humans have evolved unique motivation and cognitive skills for understanding other persons as cooperative agents with whom one can share emotions, experience, and collaborative actions (shared intentionality) (Tomasello / Moll 2010, p. 331).

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25 Cf. "zerdehnte Sprechsituation" Ehlich 1984.
26 See Jungbluth 1996 and references there.

As other species also do, humans «coordinate their behaviors with that of the others in space and time», but what seems to be unique to humans «is the "togetherness" or "jointness" that distinguishes shared cooperative activities from other sorts of group actions» (Tomasello / Moll 2010, p. 334).

> [Human cognitive skills] result from an ability enabling humans to put their heads together, so to speak, in cooperating and communicating with one another in ways that led to the creation of complex cultural products, including both material and symbolic artifacts, such as linguistic symbols (Tomasello/Moll 2010, p. 333).

In my opinion, this togetherness is the result of being able to differentiate between Alius and Alter. Only with the latter does one put heads together[27] or does accept instructions (see 3.2.: students and their tango teacher; Müller/Bohle 2007). In doing so, the ground for togetherness is prepared. At least for the time of cooperation and communication, the otherness of the Alter is suspended in favor of establishing a shared space of interaction. The dialogue which takes place in this social context serves to prepare and coordinate all kind of joint actions and definitely precedes and further on accompanies the creation of material and symbolic artifacts. They are not only created but handed over from one to another, from one culture to another and passed down from one generation to another. In doing so, the tradition of material and symbolic artifacts takes place ensuring continuity of culture.

4.2. Responsivity: altering – expressing – referring

The three universals examined in this paper, alterity, creativity and semanticity, lead to the three activities realized by the speaker as part of Bühler's triangle: altering, expressing and referring. By changing the order of the three basic activities characteristic of any language use in such a way that their first letters form the word EAR, the importance of the simultaneous activities of the hearer and her efforts to create understanding are foregrounded.

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27 This is the case even in discourses of disagreement which are rooted in a shared space of interaction, too.

Figure 2:   *The three basic activities of the speaker: expressing, altering, referring are directed towards the hearer (see triangle of Bühler, 1934). Her activities of reception start with the perception of the signals by her ears.*
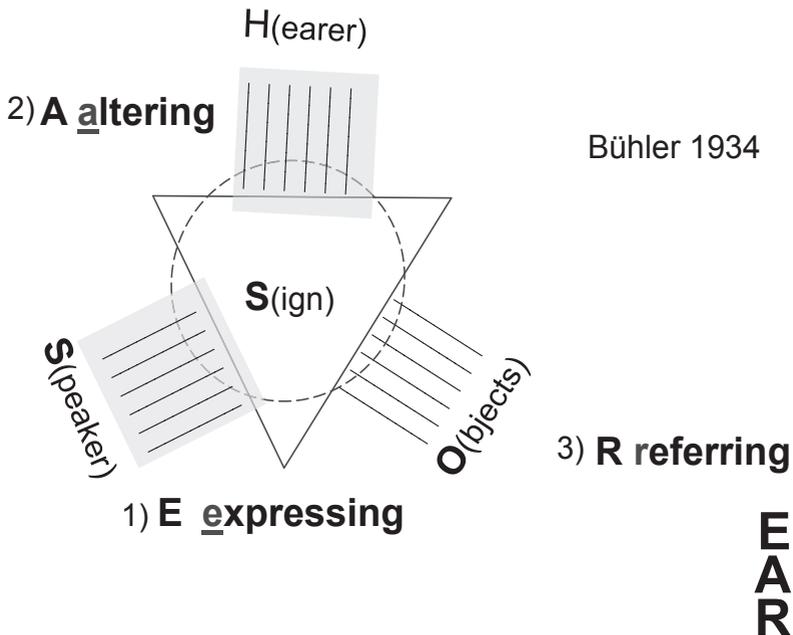
Conclusions

Language use, whether spoken or written, is always directed towards the other, the Alter. The dialogical principle inherent to language confirms that alterity must be given priority among the language universals, preceding creativity, semanticity, historicity and exteriority. When the speaker participating in an ongoing conversation no longer carries out her activities of **a**ltering, **e**xpressing and **r**eferring, or the h**ear**er stops her reception of these activities, the dialogue does not continue. They may go on with their social interaction, but they no longer use language. The real or imagined presence of the other is fundamental to any language use.

With regard to the internal hierarchy between the five universals, it is not by chance that the edges of Bühler's triangle mirror the first three of them: alterity represented by the hearer, creativity by the speaker, and semanticity by the world one refers to. With regard to the latter, the very choice of words referring to one and the same thing or state of affairs in the world depends on the interlocutor

(see 3.1.), which proves the priority of alterity over semanticity to be true. At the same time, this dependency also determines the ways the speaker may express herself. The utterances are different when directed towards children, as it varies in a characteristic way when experts are discussing research between themselves or when general public is present. While historicity, one of the two other universals, foregrounds the rooting of the prominent artefact *language* in the collective memory, exteriority emphasizes the materiality of language use in its spoken or written form. Both refer to concrete historical languages such as Georgian, Pontic Greek or Urum, which are examples of human language use within a concrete space or spaces at a certain moment in historical time up to now.

Alterity comes into play when the respective communities perceive themselves as different from one another, instead of their equally possible option to give preference to emphasize the sameness of some or all of them. To the ones they select as same alterity is given, the others are left outside and stay as *alii* ('they'). The concept of otherness is not restricted to pairs or small groups of people, but may be extended to large social groups such as those defined by ethnicity. This concept is often rooted in the use of one and the same language, thus giving evidence of the collective memory; however, other parts of the collective memory may override the difference even between mutually exclusive languages. The example of the Greek community in Georgia obviously does so. They foreground other parts of sameness to render their shared collective memory. In the context of discourses within society at large, instead of focusing on what is different, we may as well underscore what we have in common. Otherness always presupposes sameness; identity[28] is just another word for it.

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28 See Raible 1998 and the English translation of the German word Identität in English […sameness (identity)].

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The permeability of language borders on the example of German-Polish language mixing

Abstract: In dem vorliegenden Artikel werden Prozesse der Öffnung und Überschreitung von sprachlichen Grenzen basierend auf der Analyse der deutsch-polnischen Korpusdaten beschrieben und erklärt. Die in diesem Beitrag dargelegte Diskussion bildet einen Teil von einem interdisziplinären Ansatz zur Verschränkung des kulturwissenschaftlich geprägten Begriffs der Grenze mit ihren drei Dimensionen – der *Durabilität*, *Permeabilität* und *Liminalität* – in die linguistische Untersuchung von Sprachkontaktphänomenen. Der Fokus des vorliegenden Artikels liegt insbesondere auf der Diskussion des Aspekts der Permeabilität. Der permeable Charakter der sprachlichen Grenzen wird an unterschiedlichen strukturellen Stellen des Sprachwechsels – von der Satz-, über Phrase- und Wort- bis hin zur Morphemgrenze – erörtert.

Das Ziel des vorliegenden Artikels ist es, einen integrativen Ansatz vorzuschlagen, welcher die Theorie der Grenze in die linguistische Analyse integriert und somit einen interdisziplinären Einblick in die Erforschung der strukturellen Aspekte des Sprachkontakts liefert.

Schlagworte: Sprachgrenze, Permeabilität, deutsch-polnische Sprachmischung

Keywords: language border, permeability, German-Polish language mixing

1. Introduction

The processes of opening, crossing and blurring of language borders in the context of globalization and migration processes have become a common part of everyday communication in multilingual contexts. Such multilingual settings include border regions characterized by language contact beyond national borders. An example of intense cross-border language contact in various social and situational contexts is the German-Polish border city pair of Frankfurt/Oder and Słubice, considered to be one of the most important points of German-Polish contact in the border region (cf. Kimura 2013, p. 111).[1] Through educational, cultural and economic collaboration, Polish and German speakers come into contact with each

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[1] Kimura, Goro Christoph : "Strategie komunikacji językowej na polsko-niemieckim pograniczu." In: Koutny, Ilona / Nowak, Piotr (eds.): *Język. Kommunikacja. Informacja. Language. Communication. Information.* (Poznań), 8/2013, pp. 109–124.

other in various institutions (for example, in secondary schools with exchange programs, or at the European University Viadrina, with 75 % German and 10 % Polish students), but also during everyday social interactions of inhabitants from different ages groups and social backgrounds.

This intense language contact often leads to creative use of German-Polish mixed language forms and constructions established and practised in the spontaneous everyday language routine. Such language mixing phenomena[2] show that language use in multilingual contexts provides a scope for permeability between language systems: "At the same time phenomena such as code-switching or code-mixing in the language use of multilingual speakers show that languages offer a room for permeability"[3] (Cunha et al. 2012, p. 13, my translation).[4] From this perspective, I consider the emergence of language mixing phenomena as a result of the opening and crossing of language borders. The language border is regarded here as the structural border between two language systems, mostly phonetically manifested as the site of language switch. Following Greco/Renaud/Taquechel (2013), it can be interpreted from the dialectological tradition as the dividing line between two "language spaces" which can be passed through by moving from the use of one language to another.[5] If the language contact is extensive enough that it leads to convergence – and maybe fusion – of morphosyntactic language structures, and in consequence to the emergence of hybrid language forms, it may even lead to the dissolution of language borders.

But what does it actually mean to open and cross a language border? How can these concepts – which have thus far primarily been regarded metaphorically – be

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2   I use the term *language mixing phenomena* according to Földes (2005, pp. 68–69, 71) as generic term for a variety of language contact inducted phenomena characterized by synchronic lexical and structural combination of two languages (or varieties). They include:
   a) the alternating use of more than one language by a single speaker within a conversation
   b) the language-contact-induced *phonological, morphological, syntactic* and *lexical* influence between the languages.

3   "Gleichzeitig zeigen Phänomene wie beispielsweise Code-switching oder Code-mixing bei multilingualen Sprechern, dass Sprachen Spielraum für Durchlässigkeit bieten."

4   Cunha, Conceição et al. (eds.): *Über Grenzen sprechen. Mehrsprachigkeit in Europa und der Welt*. Königshausen & Neumann: Würzburg 2012.

5   „More in resonance with the viewpoints and ambitions of linguistic anthropology (Duranti 1997), we therefore finally converged on the dialectological tradition, on that is familiar with the concept 'speech variety' (fr. *parler)* and its problematic borders (Straka/Gardette 1973) and sensitive in its empirical approach to the organisation by the witnesses themselves of their day-to-day experience of linguistic diversity and its 'borders' or 'discontinuities', crossed in moving from one way of speaking to another as well as in the geographical traversal of a fragmented space (Walt et al. 1973, Poche 1996)" (Greco/Renaud/Taquechel 2013, p. 44).

described and explained from a linguistic perspective? Which processes actually take place at the language border between two languages in contact, and what are the structural consequences of these dynamic phenomena? How can the previously mentioned permeability of language borders be systematically examined?

In the following article, I submit a proposal for describing and explaining the concepts of opening and crossing language borders based on the discussion of German-Polish language mixing data selected mainly from Frankfurt (Oder) and its twin city of Słubice. Thus, the term of the border is relevant in two aspects of the study. Firstly, the empirical data are mostly collected along the German-Polish border; secondly, the language border character in the data itself is the main object of research. Based on the analysis of selected examples, I will discuss the permeable character of language borders at different structural sites of language switch, beginning with the language switch at the clause border, followed by the phrase border, word border, and finally the morpheme border.

The data will be analysed by applying the concept of the *border* from the perspective of cultural science studies (cf. Audehm / Velten 2007, Jungbluth 2012)[6],[7]. Applying this heretofore-underused approach in linguistics, I propose a cultural-studies influenced viewpoint in the investigation of language mixing, and contribute to the theory of borders from the linguistic perspective.

The paper is divided into six sections. After presenting the theoretical framework in chapter two, the object of investigation and the methodological approach will be described in chapter three. The data analysis approach will be presented in chapter four. The fifth section is dedicated to the discussion of some examples of German-Polish language mixing. Chapter six summarizes the article with conclusions.

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6   Cf. Audehm, Katrin / Velten, Hans Rudolf (eds): *Transgression, Hybridisierung, Differenzierung, Zur Performativität von Grenzen in Sprache, Kultur und Gesellschaft.* Rombach: Freiburg 2007.
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7   Further cultural science studies focussing on the concept of the border are among others: Faber, Richard / Naumann, Barbara (eds.): *Literatur der Grenze – Theorie der Grenze*. Königshausen & Neumann: Würzburg 1995.
Rolf Parr: „Liminale und andere Übergänge. Theoretische Modellierungen von Grenzzonen, Normalitätsspektren, Schwellen, Übergängen und Zwischenräumen in Literatur und Kulturwissenschaft". In: Geisenhanslüke, Achim/Mein, Georg (eds.): *Schriftkultur und Schwellenkunde*, transcript: Bielefeld 2008, pp. 11–64.
Geisen, Thomas / Karcher, Allen (eds.): *Grenze: Sozial – Politisch – Kulturell. Ambivalenzen in den Prozessen der Entstehung und Veränderung von Grenzen*. IKO-Verlag: Frankfurt am Main 2003.

2. The concept of the border and contact linguistics

2.1 Language mixing as a result of crossing of language borders

The concept of language mixing as a crossing of language borders has already been mentioned in the language contact literature as "Sprachgrenzen überspringen" ("to jump over language borders") (Hinnenkamp / Meng 2005),[8] "Überschreiten von Sprachgrenzen" ("crossing the language borders") (Cunha et al. 2012, p. 13) or "crossing" (Rampton 2005).[9] Gogolin (1998)[10] calls the language mixing routine of multilingual speakers "sprachliches Grenzgängertum".[11]

Földes (1996)[12] illustrates language mixing as a crossing of language borders:

> One of their essential characteristics is that the bilingual speaker (in the bilingual discourse or interaction mode) regularly takes elements, structures and patterns from the other language (or variety) and/or alternately uses the languages, which leads to the emergence of different types of language mixing. […] Members of bi- or multilingual communities do not usually keep their languages separated, but rather creatively cross the language borders in their spoken communicative everyday practice by using communicative patterns of different linguistic and cultural systems for their effective communication.[13] (Földes 1996, p. 12, my translation)

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8   Hinnenkamp, Volker / Meng, Katharina (eds.): *Sprachgrenzen überspringen. Sprachliche Hybridität und polykulturelles Selbstverständnis*. Narr: Tübingen 2005.

9   Rampton, Ben: *Crossing: language and ethnicity among adolescents*. St. Jerome Press: Manchester 2005.

10 Gogolin, Ingrid: „Sprachen rein halten – eine Obsession". In: Gogolin, Ingrid / List, Günther / Graap, Sabine (eds.): *Über Mehrsprachigkeit*. Stauffenburg-Verlag: Tübingen 1998, pp. 71 – 96.

11 "'Linguistic border crossing', as one of the central results of our study, is a common feature of the linguistic practice of multilingual speakers. Blending of or switching between languages not only occur 'out of necessity' or unnoticed by the speakers itself [...]. It is rather, as it seems, a 'stylistic device' of multilingual people and often a result of a conscious choice." (Gogolin 1998: 75, translation D.Z.R.)
    „‚Sprachliches Grenzgängertum' so eines der zentralen Ergebnisse unserer Untersuchung, ist ein gewöhnliches Merkmal der sprachlichen Praxis Mehrsprachiger. Das Vermengen von oder Wechseln zwischen Sprachen geschieht keineswegs nur ‚der Not gehorchend' oder als von den Sprechenden selbst unbemerkt vollzogene Routine […]. Vielmehr ist es, wie es scheint, darüber hinaus ein ‚Stilmittel' mehrsprachiger Menschen, nicht selten Ausdruck einer bewussten Wahl." (Gogolin 1998: 75)

12 Földes, Csaba: *Mehrsprachigkeit, Sprachenkontakt und Sprachenmischung*. (Flensburger Papiere zur Mehrsprachigkeit und Kulturenvielfalt im Unterricht; 14/15). Flensburg 1996.

13 „Eines ihrer hervorstechender Merkmale besteht darin, dass der bilinguale Sprecher (im zweisprachigen Diskurs- bzw. Interaktionsmodus) z. B. regelmäßig aus der jeweils

Greco/Renaud/Taquechel (2013) provide an interesting approach in which the authors analyse linguistic practices in multilingual workplaces, taking a conversational analysis perspective. They consider the alternating use of two or more languages within one conversation as "border-crossing", understood as "leaving one language space for another" (Greco/Renaud/Taquechel 2013, p. 36).[14]

However, in the aforementioned citations, the concept of the language border and the processes of its crossing are considered mostly metaphorically. The actual character of the language border and its dynamic change during the "crossing" and "moving" has not been a direct object of systematic investigation. Jungbluth (2012) offers an important contribution to the discussion of the character of language borders. She discusses and compares the alteration and grade of language border violation at different structural points of language switch in several language pairs, including Spanish-German, Italian-German, Brazilian/Portuguese-German, English-German and Polish-German.

2.2 Durability, permeability and liminality of language borders

In this chapter, the three essential concepts for the language borders analysis – durability, permeability and liminality – will be introduced. The following schematic diagrams are simplified illustrations representing the concepts of durability, permeability and liminality. The three circles stand for the three levels of analysis in my corpus data: phonetic (P), morphological (M) and syntactic (S).

Durability refers to the density and the stability of borders. Durable language borders are clearly identifiable and constitute an impermeable barrier between two languages. There is no reciprocal phonetic, morphological or syntactic influence between the language systems, and they are consequently assumed to be clearly

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anderen Sprache (bzw. Varietät) Elemente, Strukturen und Muster übernimmt und/oder die Sprachen abwechselnd benutzt, was zu verschiedenen Arten von Sprachmischung führt. […] Mitglieder zwei- bzw. mehrsprachiger Gemeinschaften trennen nämlich ihre Sprachwelten in aller Regel nicht strikt, sondern überschreiten in ihrer gesprochensprachlicher kommunikativen Alltagspraxis kreativ die Grenzen einer Sprache, indem sie kommunikative Möglichkeiten aus mehreren sprachlichen und kulturellen Systemen in den Dienst einer effektiven Kommunikation stellen."

14   „Inspired by the tradition of dialectological investigations and by forming an analogy with the concept of ‚dialect variation areas', we examined, in the 'language space' opened by any interaction, the implementation of phenomena we have called 'border crossing', which can signify on the one hand the limit reached by specific 'ways of doing', and on the other the anchoring of this process in a new 'language space' categorised and treated as referring to other 'ways of doing'" (Greco/Renaud/Taquechel 2013, p. 34).

separated from one another. The language switch is often anticipated through flag-
ging (cf. Poplack 1980)[15] – realised as pause, interjection, explicit metalinguistic
commentary, laughing etc. – which draws attention to the following switch.

Figure 1: Durability of language borders
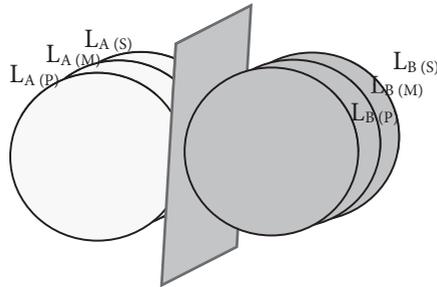
Permeability refers to the opening and transgressing of borders. Permeable lan-
guage borders are still observable, but they are not stable and impassable. They
constitute a penetrable threshold which enables reciprocal phonetic, morphologi-
cal and/or syntactic impact between two languages in contact.

*Figure 2: Permeability of language borders*[16]
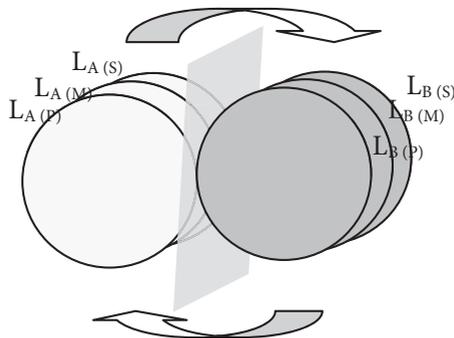
15 Poplack, Shana: "Sometimes I´ll start a sentence in Spanish y termino en Español:
Toward a typology of code-switching". In: *Linguistics* 18, 1980, pp. 581–618.
16 As we will see in the analysis of the examples of German-Polish language mixing, the
transfer of the phonetic, morphological or syntactic elements will be rather asymmetrical.

The concept of *liminality* was coined by Turner (1964, 1998),[17] and reflects the idea that borders are not simply lines, but that they also constitute border zones. These border zones can be considered as transition areas, overlapping spaces, "lieux de passage" (Erfurt 2005, p. 19) or "grey areas" (Clyne 2000, p. 273;[18] McCormick 2002).[19]

Figure 3: Liminality of language borders
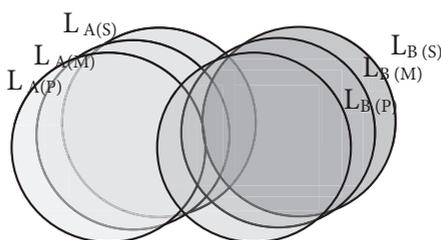
Border zones can also be understood as "third spaces" and "in-between spaces" according to Bhabha (1994).[20] Such overlapping spaces can also arise at the border between two languages in contact, forming "new spaces of multilingualism" (Erfurt 2003, p. 6) or "third spaces in the language" (Gugenberger 2005).[21]

In these liminal spaces, as I will call them, hybrid, syncretic, and sometimes even autonomous language forms may emerge as a result of the reciprocal influ-

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17 Turner, Victor W.: "Betwixt and Between: The Liminal Period in Rites de Passage". In: Helm, June (ed.): *Symposium on New Approaches to the Study of Religion: Proceedings of the 1964 Annual Spring Meeting of the American Ethnological Society.* American Ethnological Society: Seattle 1964, pp. 4–20.
    Turner, Victor W.; "Liminalität und Communitas". In: Belliger, Andréa / Krieger, David J. (ed): *Ritualtheorien.* Westdeutscher Verlag: Opladen/Wiesbaden. 1998, pp. 251–262.
18 Clyne, Michael: „Constraints on code-switching: how universal are they?" In: Wei, Li (ed.): *The Bilingualism Reader.* Routledge: London 2000, pp. 257–80.
19 McCormick, Kay: *Language in Cape Town's District Six.* Oxford University Press: Oxford 2002.
20 Bhabha, Homi: *The Location of Culture.* Routledge: London 1994.
21 Gugenberger Eva: „Der dritte Raum in der Sprache. Sprachliche Hybridisierung am Beispiel galicischer Migrant/inn/en in Buenos Aires". In: Cichon, Peter/ Czernilofsky, Barbara/ Tanzmeister, Robert/ Hönigsperger, Astrid (eds.): *Entgrenzungen. Für eine Soziologie der Kommunikation.* Praesens: Wien 2005, pp. 354–376.

ence and blending of grammatical structures. Here, it is no longer clear where exactly the language border runs. The classification and allocation of linguistic elements to one language or the other becomes difficult.

In this paper, I will concentrate on the analysis of the aspect of permeability. Two other qualities of the border – durability and liminality – are discussed in Zinkhahn Rhobodes (forthcoming) as well as in my dissertation (Zinkhahn Rhobodes, forthcoming).

3. Methodology

The data collection was carried out in three investigation sites. The first two are both educational institutions situated in Frankfurt (Oder) and Słubice. The initial part of the empirical study took place at the European University Viadrina, where Polish students have established a German-Polish mixed speech. This mixed language routine is widely practiced as their common group code in everyday interactions. Its speakers call this language routine *Viadrinisch* (from the name of the University) or *Poltsch* (from the names of languages involved *Polnisch*/*polski* and *Deutsch*). The audio recordings were conducted with Polish law and cultural science students during several semesters. All of the informants are Polish native speakers from different parts of Poland who learned German as a foreign language in secondary school.

Data from the second location were collected in Frankfurt (Oder) at the Karl-Liebknecht-Gymnasium. The informants are pupils of the 10th and 11th grade who – like the students of the European University Viadrina – are Polish native speakers. They mostly come from Słubice or Polish villages and towns near the border region.

The third investigation site is the Robert-Jungk-Oberschule in Berlin, which is also a secondary school particularly known for its German-Polish educational profile (SESB – Staatliche Europaschule Berlin). Similar to the Karl-Liebknecht-Gymnasium, the interviewed pupils of Polish origin attended the 10th and 11th grade. However, contrary to the students and pupils in Frankfurt (Oder), they attended primary school, and some even went to kindergarten in Germany.

In these three educational institutions, Poles study and learn in German together with German classmates and use the linguistic material of the Polish and German languages as a resource for their everyday communication, and in doing so, they form creatively mixed German-Polish forms.

The basis for the qualitative part of the investigation is a series of audio recordings. The interviews were conducted with 36 informants and provided language

material totalling 12 hours. The informants were asked, among other things, to describe their typical day at school or university, as well as their favourite subjects and hobbies. The interviews were conducted mostly on the school/university campus with groups of 2–5 Polish native speakers.[22]

In the following chapter, some examples from the corpus will be discussed. The analysis forms part of my dissertation and represents the current stage of work on my thesis.

4. The approach

In order to examine the concept of language mixing with its wide spectrum of language contact-induced phenomena, I focus on its characteristics at different levels of increasing morphological, syntactic and phonetic cross-linguistic influence. The examples of language mixing from the corpus are thus divided into four groups, following the continuum of increasing impact on language structures. The starting point in the continuum is a language switch at the clause boundary. The second group contains examples of language switch taking place at the intra-sentential level – at the phrasal boundary. In the next group, language switch affects the language structures even more – it occurs at the word boundary. And the last level includes examples with highest impact on language structures: the language switch at the grammatical unit of the morpheme boundary.

Aside from the differentiation of language switch at different structural borders, the character of these language borders is analysed at each of the mentioned levels, applying the three introduced aspects of the border theory: namely durability, permeability and liminality. Thus, language switch at each of four structural borders is discussed according to its durable, permeable and liminal characteristics:

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22   Data were collected during the time period 05.2012 – 03.2013.

Figure 4: Analysis model

	CLAUSE border	PHRASE border	WORD border	MORPHEME border
durability				
permeability				
liminality				
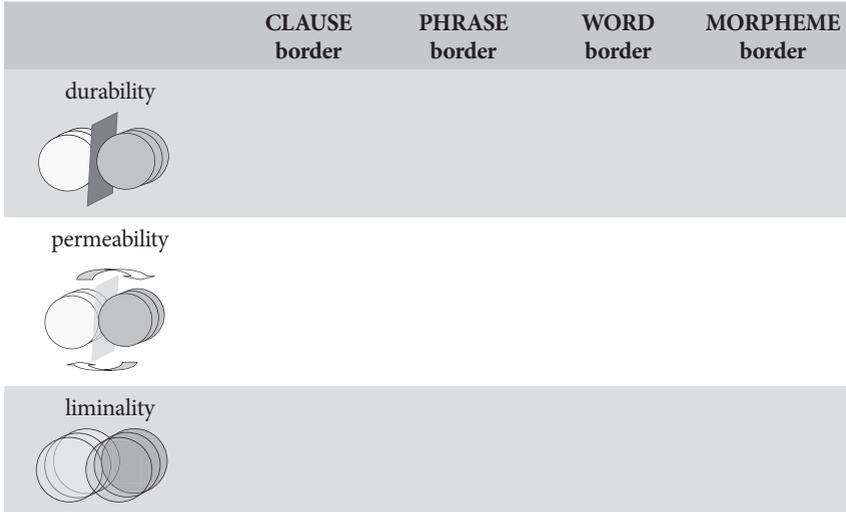
In the following, the aspect of permeability will be discussed based on selected examples from the corpus. Concerning the analysis of the remaining two qualities of language borders – the durability and liminality – I refer interested readers to Zinkhahn Rhobodes (forthcoming) where I discussed the durable, permeable and liminal character of language switch at the morpheme border as well as to my dissertation (Zinkhahn Rhobodes, forthcoming), where the complete model is presented and each of its levels is thoroughly discussed showing various examples from the corpus.

5. The analysis of selected examples

5.1. Language switch at the clause border

Example 1: Mamy Potenzregel

R.11.KLG.[23]	Mamy	Potenzregel.	No **ona** mówi o tym, że ((1,5s)) xn • to sie równa ((1s)) n
[translation]	We have	power rule.	Well it states that, ((1,5s)) xn • equals ((1s)) n

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23 Abbreviations: A – first latter of the informants name, 12 – class/semester, RJO – acronym of the school/university name (Robert Jungk Oberschule), KLG (Karl-Liebknecht Gymnasium), EUV (Europa-University Viadrina).

Let's focus on the character of the language border between the German-Polish mixed clause *Mamy Potenzregel*, and the Polish clause *No ona mówi o tym, że* (…). The switch between the German noun *Potenzregel* and the Polish clause can be considered as alternation (Muysken 2000, p. 7), as there is no embedding of a constituent from one language into a construction of another. However, although Polish and German are clearly separated from each other, there is a cohesion across the language border between the German *Potenzregel* and Polish clause *No ona mówi o tym, że*. This cohesion is created by the Polish pronoun *ona* (she), showing a number and gender agreement with the German noun *Potenzregel* from the previous clause. We observe a clear agreement in gender between these two elements: *Regel* is feminine (as well as its Polish counterpart *reguła*) and the pronoun *ona* in the next clause reflects the same gender. Furthermore, there is no distinct pause anticipating the language switch, which can thus be considered as "smooth"[24] according to Poplack (1987, p. 54).[25] Accordingly, due to building of cohesion and transfer of grammatical features across the language border at the site of language switch between the German noun and the Polish clause, the language border in this example can be considered as permeable.

5.2 Language switch at the phrase border

Let's analyse the language switch at the phrase border between the Polish demonstrative pronoun and the German nominal phrase in the following example:

Example 2: Taki große Übung

M.3.EUV	taki	*große Übung*	i yyy dostajemy tak jakby przypadek.
[Translation]	(such) a	big excersise	and uh we receive a sort of a case.
[Phonetics (data)]		ɡrɔsɛ ɨbʊŋ	
[Phonetics (Ger. norm)]		ɡʀoːsɛ ʔyːbʊŋ	
[Syntax][26]	[NP[PDAT: taki][ADJA: große][NN: Übung]]		

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24 "Characteristics of smooth CS include copious occurrences, smooth transitions between languages, and lack of rhetorical effect." (Poplack 2004, p. 593)

25 Poplack, Shana: "Contrasting patterns of code-switching in two communities." In: Wande, Erling / Anward, Jan / Nordberg, Bengt / Steensland, Lars / Thelander, Mats (eds.) *Aspects of multilingualism. Proceedings from the Fourth Nordic Symposium on Bilingualism,* Brtstrom: Upsala 1987, pp. 51–77.

26 The data is annotated with the *Stuttgart-Tübingen Tagset* (see the list of abbreviations at the end of this article)

The German nominal phrase *große Übung* is integrated into the sentence through the Polish demonstrative pronoun *taki*. Interestingly, the ending *-i* in the pronoun *taki* expresses the masculine gender, whereas the noun *Übung* is feminine. It could be interpreted as a violation of congruence, but in fact we can observe here an interesting way of building bi-lingual gender agreement. The masculine morphological ending in the pronoun *taki* can be explained by applying Polish norms of gender assignment with the phonological criterion playing the key role: the final sound of the lemma determines its gender (cf. Kreja 1989: 89).[27] The masculine flexion morpheme of the pronoun is related to the consonant final sound – in this case *g* – of the German noun, which is decisive for masculine gender in Polish.[28] Thus, the German noun is considered by a speaker as a Polish element, and integrated into the sentence according to Polish norms of gender assignment.

Accordingly, the language border between German and Polish at the site of language switch between the Polish pronoun and German nominal phrase reveals a permeable character, as it allows a transfer of grammatical features that are decisive for the integration of the German phrase. It is still observable, but it constitutes a penetrable and passable "threshold".

Interestingly, although the German noun *Übung* is introduced through the Polish pronoun *taki* with the masculine ending *-i,* the following German adjective *große* has a feminine suffix *–e*. So, we observe here a mixed nominal phrase with two different gender assignations to the same noun.

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27 Kreja, Bogusław: *Z morfonologii i morfotaktyki współczesnej polszczyzny*. Ossolineum: Wrocław 1989.

28 Pohl (1987) explains the gender assignement of German loanwords in Polish as follows: „This decision is usually not made according to the gender which the particular loanword has in German, but according to its morphophonemic representation. The final sound of the German noun plays a a key role here. If the final sound is a consonant, the loanword will very probably receive the masculine gender (…)."(Pohl 1987, p. 192–193. my translation).
„Diese Entscheidung wird jedoch – in der Regel – nicht aufgrund der Kenntnis des Genus getroffen, das das jeweilige Lehnwort im Deutschen hat, sondern aufgrund seiner morpho-phonetischen Repräsentation. Dabei spielt der Auslaut des deutschen Nomen die entscheidende Rolle. Lautet das Lehnwort z. B. konsonantisch aus, so wird ihm – in der Regel – das Genus Maskulinum zugeordnet (…)."

5.3 Language switch at the word border

Example 3: Ten Prüfung cały

E.K.6.	Mieliśmy ten	Prüfung	cały
[morpheme for morpheme translation]	(We) had this	test	whole
[Phonetics (data)]		[ˈprɨfʊŋ]	
[Phonetics (Ger. norm)]		[ˈpʀyːfʊŋ]	
[Syntax]	[S[NP[PPER: (my)]][VP[VAFIN: mielismy] [NP[PDAT: ten] [NN: Prüfung] [ADJA: caly]]]]		

In the example above, the German noun *Prüfung* is integrated as an element of the Embedded Language into the morphosyntactic frame of the Matrix Language of Polish (vgl. Myers-Scotton 2010 (2002)). This type of language switch may be interpreted according to Muysken (2000) as *insertion*: "a single constituent <u>B</u> (with words <u>b</u> from the same language) is inserted into a structure defined by language <u>A</u>, with words <u>a</u> from that language" (Muysken 2000, p. 7). Insertions display an A…B…A nested structure and their striking structural characteristic is the morphological integration into the Matrix Language.

An interesting aspect is that, according to Poplack's (1980) Equivalence Constraint,[29] the language switch between the noun *Prüfung* and the adjective *cały* should not be possible, as it violates word order in German (NP → Det ADJ N).

The integration of the German noun occurs according to the Polish rules of gender assignment, with the phonological criterion as the most significant: although *Prüfung* is feminine, it receives – due to its consonant final sound – the masculine gender. This attributed masculine gender is then decisive for the agreement established through the demonstrative pronoun *ten,* as well as the adjective *cały*. Thus, the consonant-final sound of the German noun influences the form of Polish pronoun and the adjective by determining their masculine singular morphological endings *-i* and *–y,* respectively. Through their inflectional forms, they match the aforementioned ascribed values of the grammatical categories of the noun *Prüfung*. This grammatical relationship achieved through gender and number agreement is an indication of the permeability of the language border at

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29 "The Equivalence Constraint: Code-switches will tend to occur at points in discourse where the juxtaposition of L1 and L2 elements does not violate a syntactic rule of either language, i.e. at points around which the surface structure of the two languages map onto each other." (Poplack 1980, p. 586)

the analyzed site of language switch. The language border between German and Polish constitutes a "membrane", which allows a transfer of grammatical features between these two languages.

5.4 Language switch at the morpheme border

An example of the permeable character of the language border at the language switch between lexical stem and bound morpheme is the substantive *Bundesverfassungsgerichtem*:

Example 4: Bundesverfassungsgerichtem

P.2.EUV	Trzeba to udowodnić przed	*Bundesverfassungsgericht**em***
[Translation]	It has to be proved for	Federal Consitutional Court
[Phonetics (data)]		bʊndɛsfɛrfasʊŋsɡɛrɪçtɛm
[Phonetics (Ger. norm)]		bʊndəsfɛɐ̯ˈfasʊŋsɡərɪçt
[Morphology]		Bundesverfassungsericht-INSTR.SING.M
[Syntax]	[PP[APPR: vor][NP[NN: Bundesverfassungsgerichtem]]]	

The German noun *Bundesverfassungsgericht* receives the Polish morphological ending –*em*, which marks the instrumental case, singular number and masculine gender. The process of the assignment of this exact declension morpheme can be clearly traced back to Polish morphological rules.[30] As in the examples 2 and 3, the noun *Bundesverfassungsgericht* receives a masculine gender due to its consonant-final sound. The instrumental case is determined by the preposition *przed* and its

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30　This example confirms the mechanism of morphological adaptation of German nouns in Polish described by Laskowski (1987): „(...) The foundation for the inflectional adaptation is the reinterpretation of the German noun in its first person singular form into the nominative form of the first person singular in Polish. The primary factor is hereby the phonological form of the final sound in the nominative singular in the source language, the gender of the borrowed noun plays merely a subordinate role." (Laskowski 1987, p. 129, my translation)

"(…) istota mechanizmu fleksyjnej adaptacji sprowadza sie die reinterpretacji niemiec-kiej formy mianownika 1.poj. danego rzeczownika jako formy mianownika 1. poj. w jezyku polskim, przy czym podstawowym czynnikiem determinujacym kierunek tej reinterpretacji jest fonologiczna postac wyglosu formy N.sg. w jezyku zrodlowym, podczas gdy rodzaj gramatyczny zapozyczonego rzeczownika odgrywa jedynie role podrzedna."

case government. According to Polish declination rules, a noun which ends with the consonant *-t* acquires the *–em* ending in singular instrumental (cf. Tokarski 2001).[31]

In this mixed utterance, we notice the opening of the word boundary for the integration of the morpheme. However, at the same time, we can observe that the language border is still maintained: the lexeme and morpheme from both languages "meet" each other at an easily identifiable dividing line.

Another interesting example is the noun *Readera*. It presents an even clearer opening of the internal word border accompanied by a further increased degree of permeability:

Example 5: Readera

T.6.EUV	Idę skopiować	*Reader**a***
[Translation]	I go copy	reader
[Phonetics (data)]		ridəra
[Phonetics (Engl./Germ. norm)]		Engl. riːdəɹ / Germ.: riːdeːɐ̯
[Morphology]		Reader-GEN.SING.M
[Syntax]	[S[NP[PPER: (ja)]][VP[VVFIN: idę][S[VP[VVINF: skopiować][NP[NN: readera]]]]]]

The English noun *reader* – incorporated from English into German and frequently used at German universities – is altered through the addition of the Polish declension ending *–a*. In contrast to the prior example, the rules of morpheme assignment are no longer so unambiguous. Let's proceed exactly like in example 4, examining the three decisive aspects for the declension ending in Polish, namely case, number and gender. As the noun *reader* ends with a consonant, its gender according to Polish norms is masculine. The valence of the verb *skopiować* is accusative. It is very interesting that the speaker uses the morpheme *–a*, because according to the Polish declension rules, inanimate masculine substantives have no ending at all in the accusative. The ending *–a* undoubtedly violates Polish morphological rules; however, in current spoken Polish, the use of the morphological ending *–a* in the accusative with inanimate substantives is indeed very frequent

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31 This example can be considered as insertion according to Muysken (2000), as the noun *Bundesverfassungsgericht* is modified morphologically and embedded into the structure defined by Polish as the Matrix Language providing the case morpheme *-em*.

(Bugajski 2008).[32] Thus, it is interesting to notice that language mixing also reflects language variation in the current Polish language.

Aside from morphological alternation, there is also a phonological change: the consonant *r* at the border between the English loanword and the Polish morphological ending is rolled and pronounced according to Polish phonological rules as [r] instead of English alveolar approximant [ɹ] or German [ʁ]. The phonological influence and the morphological integration are indications of the permeable character of the language border. In fact, the phonological influence beyond the language border may be even interpreted as sign of the emergence of a liminal space as the sphere of impact between these two languages increases and does not stop at the morpheme border, but in fact goes beyond. This example can thus be located between the categories of permeability and liminality.

6. Conclusion

The aim of this article was to deliver an insight into German-Polish language mixing, and to propose a theoretical framework illustrating and explaining the language contact-induced processes of language border opening and crossing.

The data analysis shows that – in the process of border crossing – the permeability of language borders enables transfer of grammatical features from two languages in contact through building of a coherence and agreement, morphological integration or phonetic alternation.

The presented data analysis reveals that especially the theory of the border can be fruitful for the discussion of language-mixing phenomena. This approach gives an innovative opportunity to bring together phonetic, morphological and syntactic aspects into the analysis, which so far have been rarely integrated into a single framework (cf. Muysken 2013, p. 193). Through the incorporation of the concept of the border into the linguistic analysis, I provide interdisciplinary insight into the investigation of structural aspects of language mixing, and contribute to the theory of the border from a linguistic perspective.

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32 Bugajski, Marian: „Puszczam strzala, bo mam stresa". In: Dąbkowski, Grzegorz (ed.): *Reverendissimae Halinae Satkiewicz cum magna aestimatione*. Warszawa 2008, pp. 67–75.

List of gloss abbreviations

ADJA – attributive adjective

APPR – preposition

GEN – genitive

INSTR – instrumental

M – masculine

NN – common noun

NP – nominal phrase

PDAT – attributive demonstrative pronoun

PP – prepositional phrase

PPER – non reflexive personal pronoun

SING – singular

VAFIN – auxiliary verb, finite

VP – verbal phrase

VVFIN – full finite verb

VVINF – full infinitive verb

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Boundary, a metalinguistic concept at the core of language deformability

Abstract: In diesem Artikel wird das Konzept der Grenze als methodologisches Instrument zur Erklärung sprachlicher Phänomene behandelt. Der Fokus liegt hierbei auf der Betrachtung der Art und Weise, in der dieses metalinguistische Konzept eine Bezeichnungsdomäne integriert, die ein kompositorisches Konstrukt ist und deren Definition durch ein relationales Netz der Repräsentationen auf unterschiedlichen Ebenen determiniert wird. Ferner wird ihre Operationalität in der Beschreibung der linguistischen Alterität verifiziert, die direkt von der metalinguistischen Differenzierung abhängt.

Der reflexive Charakter der metalinguistischen Aktivität verlangt den Bezug auf das Repräsentationssystem, welches eine Art von symbolischer Übersetzung bilden kann. Laut der Theorie *Predicative and Enunciative Operations* (PEO), welche von dem französischen Sprachwissenschaftler Antoine Culioli vorgeschlagen wurde, bezieht sich die metalinguistische Repräsentation hauptsächlich auf die Konstruktion der Grenzen, um das Funktionieren von Sprache zu erklären. Dieses Model zeigt die Form einer topologischen Struktur (cf. Culioli / Declés 1981), die durch Mathematik inspiriert wird. Die Anwendung der Topologie und ihrer Terminologie zeigt einerseits ihren Status unter unterschiedlichen Methoden der metalinguistischen Repräsentation insbesondere auf kognitiver Ebene und andererseits die linguistischen Produktions- und Reproduktionsprozesse, die den Sprachgebrauch ausmachen.

Schlagworte: Aussageform, Grenze, Bezeichnungsdomäne

Keywords: Enunciation, Boundary, Notional Domain, Language Deformability

Introduction

When examining the way languages work, we are led to believe that language activity is generally understood as appealing to metalinguistic representational parameters. At this abstract, cognitive level, and in an attempt to discover phenomena and to explain them, there is primarily a boundary between what is immaterial – "what we mean" – and what has materiality (verbal materiality in this case) – "what we say". As we speak and communicate with each other, we try to match those two things, but we do so by using multiple modulations, and often with many mistakes and even with misunderstandings.

I start by considering the boundary as a primitive cognitive concept which shapes the way we represent the world. This way of representing the world naturally results from our perception of otherness; more specifically, it results from the phenomenon of transition, which is identifiable first of all in space-time (after Einstein, no more categories dissociated). Therefore, we have an abstract sense of boundary, taken here as a topological primitive notion corresponding to an operational concept in the framework of Predicative and Enunciative Operations (PEO), proposed by the French linguist Antoine Culioli. Through this theoretical framework, Culioli proposes a metalinguistic representation in order to explain the global functioning of language.

"Enunciate" / Utterance and language deformability

The understanding of how language works allows us to identify the concept of "enunciate", a term with which we can designate linguistic sequences. As Culioli states (2002, p. 27), the choice of the term "enunciate" instead of the English term "utterance" can be justified. "Enunciate" is an old term. Seneca translates the term *lekton* (what the Stoics called to something incorporeal, i.e., something without materiality) with the word *enuntiativum*. After the Middle Ages, there was the relationship between the *dicibile* (the speakable) and the *dictum* (the said). The Middle Ages scholars conceived a *dictum* and a *modus*, that is, a sort of thought content or propositional content. Therefore, we have the conception of an immaterial representation, an abstraction. The term *enuntiativum*, employed by Seneca to explain what *lekton* is, has *enuntiare* as the verb, with the meaning of "making out" or "to bring up". That's why "enunciate" assumes the significance of a transition from something "speakable" to something "said". The concept of "enunciate" includes this sense corresponding to something which is not *a priori*; on the contrary, it is constructed by an "enunciator" and reconstructed by a "coenunciator". In English the available word is "utterance" (which, for simplicity, we will use from now on). *Utter* means "to externalize" (etymologically, *ut* = *out*), but with an emphasis on the agent. In contrast, "to enunciate" puts the emphasis on the enunciating act, on the construction or the production of something.

Consequently, the enunciator responsible for the utterance's production is not identified with the speaker or the sender. The enunciator is the subjective origin, which results necessarily as an intersubjective entity. Thus, underlying any statement, there is always an enunciator and a coenunciator as theoretical entities – not as flesh and blood entities. In contrast, pragmatically speaking, the speaker and the sender (in the sense of Jackobson's proposal) are individuals and flesh and blood entities – in the specific case of the sender, with a focus on coding.

We can therefore look in this manner at language activity: conceiving the relationship between something abstract and inaccessible because of its immateriality, and something accessible and materialized. In other words, language operates between something cognitive or mental, and an utterance. In linguistic activity, we move from the "speakable" to the "said"; in order to understand the way it functions, we raise at least two questions: about the way one operates this transition, and about the way we can manage the boundary between these two dimensions.

Thus, the enunciator is the agent, the responsible entity for this transition, and the one who constructs meaning. However, as the constructed meaning is also reconstructed, it would be interesting to realize the way this non-symmetric mechanism works between both enunciator and coenunciator – the fact that, very often, there is no perfect understanding or transparency on this issue is due to this asymmetry. Benveniste (1966) theorizes about the "formal apparatus of enunciation", but the question on how a subjective activity can be intersubjective remains without a conclusive answer.

When speaking about intersubjectivity, we speak of the otherness inscribed at the core of linguistic activity, which lies at the boundary between entities in their radical individuality. As many authors have stated, the explanation for the constant modulation that characterizes any language lies in the concept of intersubjectivity. An utterance is always modulated. These modulations acquire the form of a game of grammatical categories, which obtain different values of referential determination. Thus, we have a subjective game, a mode game, a time game, and even an intonational game.

Look for instance at this interactional sequence of utterances (adapted from Culioli 2002, pp. 219–220):

(1)

A- *In gyms people don't really practice sports. They run, they stretch, they jump... People who really practice any sport make their exercises in a judicious and targeted manner.*

B – *Yes, but why not say that running, stretching and jumping the way people do in gyms is already practicing sports? After all, it is to stir. Don't you think it is better to stir a little bit than not doing anything?*

The construction of the different values happens through a number of modulations. This is a simple example of how we are always facing representational deformability, discontinuities, and heterogeneous phenomena, and this sequence illustrates exactly what enunciation is: namely, something other than strict syntax, semantics or pragmatics. As a construct resulting from intersubjective modulation and adjustment, enunciation crosses all these dimensions, enunciation is transcategorical: it

is simultaneously prosodic, syntactic, semantic and pragmatic. In this sense, the heterogeneity of the intersubjective modulation or adjustment phenomena cause the barriers (boundaries) of the traditional linguistics sub-disciplines to fall.

The focus of our interest should fall on the effects of non-coincidence – on the necessary adjustments between speakers – because through linguistic activity we operate a transition from a non-material representation to a material representation. In other words, through linguistic forms, we operate a transition from an abstract and cognitive representation to the visibility and tangibility of linguistic forms.

The explanation of how this "embodiment" allows an adjustment between the speakers requires an anthropological linguist's perspective. It demands that we consider all interactional phenomena, not excluding the prosodic and pragmatic phenomena. Thus, on the basis of transcategoriality, we can examine another boundary: the one often established between what is linguistic and what is not linguistic – or extra-linguistic. Considering that referring is one of the language activity dimensions, the question is to know whether reference is external to linguistics. Any answer has to consider the fact that reference to the situation is not foreign to language activity, as it will contribute to the production and the recognition of utterances. In order to prove this, we only have to look at how the big questions of reference are internal to language activity – for instance, something exists or doesn't exist, something is set or isn't set, etc.

Culioli, in a published interview (2002, p. 73), compared reference to what happens when you show children a movie and ask them to tell you what they saw. On the one hand, children know that what they're telling you didn't actually happen: it's a film. On the other hand, there is always "the illusion of the film": they narrate it as if the events actually happened. We can recognise it in the temporal values attached to the linguistic forms they construct. In fact, in terms of what language allows us to refer: both, something that happened (a trip that I made to Paris, for instance) and something that did not happen (a film or a dream that I report) are referential. From the linguistic point of view, both are real events because they refer to representations that don't have the status of reality. Therefore, we always speak about the visible and the invisible, taking into account that everything is relevant to language. The linguistic forms are by definition constructed on those issues that we tend to consider not being linguistically relevant, such as inference or, as Culioli (ibid.) expresses it, what we designate as "common and shared knowledge".

Moreover, when we consider the transcategorical nature of the study of language, we study the complex relationship between what is inside the text (the intratextual relationships) and the situational context. The fact that language is not a homogene-

ous concept proves this complexity. As a representational activity, language allows us to build representations. As a referential activity, language allows us to construct reference (i.e., it refers to what "we speak about"). On the other hand, language is a regulatory activity; thus, in addition to the regulations that are internal to language (meaning that all languages are characterized as both stable and deformable), there are regulations between speakers. We as speakers always want to lead the other to the representations that we aim at, and in doing so incur the risk of failure, and for that reason we resort to any necessary adjustments in order to avoid this failure.

Linguistic forms play a key role in this intersubjective game of building-re-building representations and reference. Linguistic forms are markers of cognitive and linguistic operations simultaneously, and they underlie the utterances and referential values. For instance, the use of the indicative or the subjunctive mood in propositional complements of subjective verbs (as *to believe* or *to think*) is a case of this cognitive and linguistic operations marking. In Portuguese, as in other Romance languages, the opposition indicative / subjunctive marks intersubjective values, described as modality values.

In the following utterance, the use of the indicative mood (*telefonou*) in the subordinate clause indicates the enunciator's belief. The enunciative distance naturally implicated by any belief (which is not a certainty) is marked by the verb (*acredito*) in the main clause.

(2) *Acredito que a Ana telefonou* _{indicativo} (I believe that Ana called.)

In the utterance (3), the use of the subjunctive mood in the subordinate clause (*tenha telefonado*) indicates that the enunciator drifts away from his belief.

(3) *Não acredito que Ana tenha telefonado* _{conjuntivo} (I don't believe that Ana called.)

In a negative interrogative sentence like (4), the use of the indicative mood in the subordinate clause is oriented to what the enunciator believes, and simultaneously to what he believes his interlocutor should believe in. Consequently, it expresses the enunciator's belief, presupposing "I believe". That's exactly the reason why this sentence has a controversial interpretation.

(4) *Não acreditas que Ana telefonou* _{indicativo}*?* (Don't you believe that Ana called?)

It is very common that a small linguistic mark – even a simple intonation mark – is enough to trigger various types of operations and, consequently, to introduce a relevant change.

(5) *Foi um belo dia.* (It was a wonderful day.)
(6) **Se foi um belo dia.* (literally: If it was a wonderful day.)

(7) *Ah! Se foi um belo dia!* (literally: Oh! If it was a wonderful day! – which in
     English would be "Oh! It was really a wonderful day!")

We observe that the first utterance (6) isn't acceptable, whereas the last utterance
(7) is acceptable. Through the ascending intonation mark, (7) corresponds to the
determination of a high degree of value for the property of being "um belo dia"
(a wonderful day). Consequently, it acquires an appreciative modal value. This same
linguistic construction, without this specific intonation characterization (as in 6),
wouldn't have this modal value: it would be an assertion and wouldn't be acceptable.

Notional Domain: a metalinguistic representation

Heterogeneity is inherent to any language, and represents a challenge to developing theories about it. If heterogeneity of phenomena arises primarily, any theory
must address the problem of how this transition from homogeneity to heterogeneity operates. Through this process, you are on the way to finding some form
of homogeneity. Therefore, theorization shows nothing more than a "deformable
consistency" (Culioli 2002, p. 88). When we emphasize this deformability, we
choose a specific epistemological perspective consisting of observation of the
data, identification of the relevant problems, and consequently, conception of
a descriptive and explanatory reasoning. The linguistic facts reveal that there is
always a "subjective grammar", a set of lexical and adjustment operations. Therefore, it is essential to adopt a scientific paradigm based upon the classical logic.
Actually, linguistic phenomena cannot be reduced to a binary perspective or to an
exclusivity of values, as conceived by the trait theory of structural grammar. But
the boundary between those apparent exclusive values is not something dimensionless. So it is evident that there is a need for devising a gradient which enables
"a more or a less value". It enables, more specifically, the existence of some values
which are neither one thing nor the other: that is to say, some values which do
not correspond to a certain property any longer, but also do not correspond yet
to another property. This gradient becomes an appropriate metalinguistic feature
to account for the deformability of cognitive representations.

   The next utterances show empirically how this proposal of a dimensionless
boundary is absolutely operative in a metalinguistic reasoning.

(8)   *John is tall.*
(9)   *John is very tall.*
(10)   *John is really tall!*
(11)   *John is tall, tall!*
(12)   *John is a tower!*

(13) *John is not really tall.*
(14) *John is kind of tall.*
(15) *John is not tall.*
(16) *You can't say that John is tall, but you can't say that he is small.*

(17) *This is not a house, this is a hole.*
(18) *This one, yes, is a real house / one of those houses!*
(19) *This is not a house; this is the house!*
(20) *This is not really a house even if it has everything to be it.*

In both groups of utterances – from (8) to (16) and from (17) to (20) – we're dealing with the cognitive representations of what we lexicalize as "tall" in the first group, and as "house" in the second. The modulations and the consequent deformability are introduced through small linguistic marks. The stability in all these utterances is definable in terms of each of these notions: *tall* and *house* correspond both to representations constructed culturally, and simultaneously dependent upon the enunciator's individual experience. But we can recognize above all a relevant modulation, explainable by operations, both of language and cognitive order.

Many of these empirical facts cause complex problems in the study of languages. Structuralism worked on the "all or nothing", hence with a clear defined boundary with no extension. However, as a matter of fact, and as these empirical data show, we don't have a two-value system. In these utterances, we have the "really tall" value (10), but we also have the "not really tall" (13) and the "kind of tall" (14) values.

We can understand this different configuration of boundaries through empirical data from texts produced in an interaction on cooking, as proposed by Culioli (2002, pp. 217–218), recalling Claude Lévi-Strauss (*Le cru et le cuit* 1964 / *The raw and the cooked*, 1969).

Culioli begins by referring to the fact that cooking is a cultural issue, a question of representation cognitively inscribed in our minds. As a representational construction, cooking involves two states: the "unbaked" and the "baked". A potato, for instance, is unbaked before baking, but from the moment it begins to bake, it is no longer strictly unbaked, but it is not yet baked. During baking, the potato becomes more and more baked. So, when a potato is baking, the more baked it is and the less unbaked it becomes. Thus, there is a moment in which it is still not fully baked, even if it is no longer truly unbaked. After a while, there is a moment when it's already baked. We consider the process to be unidirectional because, according to our knowledge, it is no longer unbaked at all, and once it is baked, it is definitively baked. According to our cultural knowledge, baked is an irreversible state: we don't have something like "*debaked", as we have, for instance, "defrosted".

The relevant piece from this empirical example pointed in Culioli (2002, p. 218) is that, as a consequence of this process, we have (exactly when baking hasn't started) "unbaked" at the beginning, and then at the end of baking we say "it's baked". Thus, there is one last moment when it is still unbaked, even in to a minimal degree, the same way there is a moment when we declare "it's baked". So we build a state at one pole (unbaked), and on the other pole we build another state (baked). The condition of being baked results from a process that includes an intermediate state with a first point in which it isn't already totally unbaked, and one last point in which it is still not truly baked.

Using this empirical situation, Culioli demonstrates that we cognitively build a first point of "baking" and a last point of "unbaking", but in between these two values we construct a boundary which integrates a gradient, and which includes both attractors (unbaked / baked) and the values of less and less unbaked and more and more baked.

In this case, the complementary arises in a completely different way than in the case of systems having two values, where each value is necessarily the opposite of the other. Within this dispositive, the complementary of "unbaked" can be "baked", but can also be the boundary of "baked". In other words, the complementary of "unbaked" is defined as the time from when it is no longer unbaked (in the strict sense), and when it is also not yet baked.

Notion of UNBAKED (adapted from Culioli 2002, p. 118)

Interior	Boundary	Exterior
Gradient		
X ----------------------------[- – ------------] -------------------------------- X		
Truly unbaked	not yet truly unbaked	truly not unbaked (= baked)

We could take into account the case of the complementarity between unbaked and baked, and incurring the recognition of binary opposition just as the structuralism did. However, we can consider the complementary in a way that it corresponds to "unbaked" and the boundary to the other value. In some cases, we can even take into account the boundary isolating it as we wish in relation to "unbaked and / or baked". For instance, "The spaghetti is *al dente*" (*al dente* being the point of baking *pasta* ("pasta al dente") when it is baked "perfectly", offering a slight resistance to the bite).

As Culioli acknowledges, we realize that in order to describe these phenomena, a classification isn't enough. It is necessary to make a calculation. These are phenomena that have led Culioli, with the help of Jean Blaize Grize (in logical-mathematical aspect) and François Bresson (cognitive psychology), to introduce

a topological structure which corresponds to a primitive cognitive devise. All notions (of *unbaked*, *baked* as well as any other notion like *home*, *coming*, *eating*, etc.) are representable by a domain – a Notional Domain – with topological properties. In addition to the dimensioned Boundary, the Notional Domain consists of an Interior and an Exterior. As the notion is /P/ (here as a variable), the Notional Domain is (p, p ')[1].

The Notional Domain allows one to distinguish topologically what is internal (what belongs to it), what is external (what does not belong to it – that is, the alterity), and what is on the boundary of this domain. As a topological structure, the Notional Domain is representable in space coordinates as having an Interior, an Exterior and a Boundary.

The Interior zone (I) is where what is truly /P/ (i.e., with all the properties /P/) is situated.

In both utterances, (8) and (9), the enunciator builds a linguistic occurrence of the notion /TALL/ located within the notional domain.

(8) *John is tall.*
(9) *John is very tall.*

The Interior defines an open area that is organized around an Organizing Centre which functions as the Attracting Centre, where the notion's high degree properties are located. Thus, the Organizing Centre is where you find the Type Occurrence of a notion.

In the following utterances (10), (11) and (12), the enunciator makes use of various linguistic resources to build linguistic occurrences of the same notion, /TALL/, located precisely in relation to the Attracting Centre. Consequently, these linguistic occurrences have the value of high degree. Producing these utterances, the enunciator says that "John" (the enunciate subject) has all the properties inherent to "being tall".

(10) *John is really tall!*
(11) *John is tall, tall!*
(12) *John is a tower!*

The same thing happens in utterances (18) and (19), with the difference of being related to another notion, /HOUSE/ also presenting different linguistic resources in order to construct the high degree. For instance, in utterance (19), the definite

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1   In (p, p'), p represents what is /P/ (the validation zone); p' represents what is not /P/ or is /non-P/ (the complementary or non-validation zone).

article is the mark of this identification operation between the linguistic occurrence and the notional Attracting Centre.

(18) *This one, yes, is a real house / one of those houses!*
(19) *This is not a house; this is the house!*

In the Interior of the Notional Domain, all the notion's occurrences are indiscernible, i.e. identified one with the other through the relation they all have with the Type Occurrence. So, it is not possible to establish a final occurrence. This metalinguistic reasoning is marked by the indefinite article in (19) – "a house".

Turning back to the example of cooking, it is interesting to show that, in order to mean "unbaked" before even the slightest change, we say something like:

(21) *It's unbaked, really unbaked.*

The possibility of an utterance like (21) means that we can construct a value through a self-localization, that is to say, referring to "what is unbaked, justifiably referred to as unbaked". This leads to an inaccessible representation, which can only be said and cannot be shown which corresponds precisely to the construction of the high-degree.

Continuing the topological explanation of the different values that we can associate to a linguistic construction, we can define a Gradient in the Interior of the notional domain, through which the degree of approximation or detachment of the linguistic occurrence in relation to the Organizing Centre is regulated. This situation is illustrated in utterances (13) and (14):

(13) *John is not really tall.*
(14) *John is a bit tall.*

However, the Notional Domain also includes the Exterior zone which contains what is not truly /P/ concerning the construction of a linguistic complementary, i.e. everything that doesn't show the inherent properties of the notion. Therefore, the established relations between the values of a notion in its Interior, and the values in the Exterior, are complementary.

(15) *John is not tall.*
(17) *This is not a house, this is a hole.*

In (15), the fact of excluding the properties of the notion /TALL/ implicates the construction of its complementary notion: if "he is not tall", then it is presupposed that "he is small". In (19), the enunciator constructs the complementary of something "not being a house" as being "a hole". The complementary is, in these cases, linguistically constructed.

Utterances (16) and (20) illustrate the construction of an occurrence in the Boundary zone of the Notional Domain, the zone containing what is no longer /P/ and yet is not really /not-P/.

(16) *You can't say that he is tall, but you can't say that he is small.*
(20) *This is not really a house even if it has everything to be it.*

From a topological perspective, this issue is also applicable to the metalinguistic representation of the linguistic occurrences which are constructed in relation to a time axis (cf. Dufaye 2009, pp. 109–110).

(22) *I have lived here for 5 years.*
(23) *I have lived here since my son was born.*

In utterances like (22) and (23), how can we represent the boundary between the linguistic event ("have lived here") and the time interval specified by the adverbial? We would say that, once again, it depends on the point of view: in the first case, the boundary belongs to the linguistic event "have lived here", whereas in the second case it belongs to the time interval specified by the adverbial "since my son was born."

Final remarks

One of the most crucial characteristics of this metalinguistic device lies exactly in the design of the boundary, not as a dimensionless threshold, but as having a structure itself and therefore also having a dimension. The result is a more complex system that mainly helps to explain the diversity of specific configurations in the utterances' determination, thus providing some metalinguistic representations that help to build the "story" of linguistic representations. Therefore, it doesn't deal with objects as isolated entities with clear-cut boundaries. In this sense, it is a procedure of abstraction: the objects are abstractly constructed, acquiring a theoretical status and showing how language refers to itself and not to an extra-linguistic object. The utility of this approach also lies in the fact that it reveals language to be more complex than a compositional analysis proposes. One starts from the principle that, in order to build utterances, we are all provisioned with the same device of construction-deconstruction, which allows us to identify linguistic units as traces of operations. It also reveals that we all have a stock of common operations at our disposal, and that is why we can re-construct what has been produced by others.

Therefore, there is a mental activity to which we can give a kind of crude representation, but we'll always face difficulties in realizing it. As Culioli suggests,

we know that what happens in and through language is not linear; it can only be represented in a very complicated geometric organization. Through linguistic activity, we're always building a certain type of object that is provided with formal properties. This object will be anchored in a reference space and be subjected to a permanent intersubjective adjustment.

This perspective also allows us to deal with another type of boundary: the diversity of languages. Investigating the diversity of languages, and trying simultaneously to build a theory of language, involves addressing the problem of the comparability between languages, or always looking for what is common among their diversity. Addressing the problem of comparability between languages necessitates a higher level of abstraction. Each language is unique even if we can translate it. Thus, because of its comparability, it is possible to find a set of operations that exists in all languages. On the one hand, we have the lexical and grammatical notions based on operations; on the other hand, we have the characteristic markers of a given language. What varies from language to language is the correspondence between markers and operations which are specific to a given language.

Therefore, a language is neither a code nor a nomenclature. We deal with procedures, categorization processes, representation and adjustment resources, all defining a deformable system. This deformability means that there are no finished utterances. Every utterance is produced by an enunciator, such that the coenunciator will by himself reconstruct representations through the markers. The coenunciator never avoids that the phenomena such as polysemy, ambivalence, vagueness, and therefore an eventual misunderstanding can occur.

Such a view on the functioning of language leads us to some interesting questions, particularly about how language relates to reality. According to this reasoning, the question of the outside and the inside, and thus the concept of the Boundary is put another way, and as with any other categories, it cannot be forcibly put into the perspective of "all or nothing". This kind of approach leads to an increase in significance, as it is contrary to the ancient linguistic rationality that doesn't address the issue of the unsayable, because it doesn't consider the relevance of intersubjectivity and adjustment.

In this sense, and also due to this idea of Boundary as a metalinguistic concept with dimension, language is unlimited. Because of the deformability principle, we can theoretically say anything, even the unsayable, and there is never a final word. It is this operation is that allows for the existence poetry, and that reveals the system's complexity which results from constant adjustments.

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