

Argumentativity in Everyday Conversation

— Examples from Japanese, English, German and other languages —

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0. Introduction

This introduction will lead you through our paper. If you are interested only in some particular parts, you may go directly there, although we would recommend you follow the argument in a linear fashion, especially since there are some parts, which are hardly imaginable for readers of differing cultural backgrounds.

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0.2. Outline of this paper

The first section consists of notes on arguments and argumentation, where we exclude some areas from our consideration. Following that, some definitions related to our paper are provided. This is followed by a list of argumentative elements recurring in everyday argumentation. An extreme example from German illustrates the starting point of this paper. Finally we hint at the limits of argumentativity.

The second section begins with an example of how exchanges share many features of argumentative conversations. The beginning of Eric Segal's *Love Story* is interpreted in terms of an American native speaker's understanding. If seen from a Japanese everyday conversation view point, a host of problems arise. In particular, the situation within an institution makes an everyday understanding difficult.

Section three deals with examples of pocket money negotiations. In one case, quite atypical of German conversations, argumentative utterances are few in number and the speech is somewhat monologic. This conversation resembles many Japanese negotiational talks. Similar pocket money negotiation scenarios were elicited from Japanese students' personal experiences. These scenarios can be classified into four types, differing mainly in their argumentative parts.

The fourth section considers argumentative elements in everyday communication in Japan. One example from a telephone call whose purpose is mere socializing shows argumentativity used in an unproblematic case. Another example shows argumentative elements in a discussion between two families.

Section five contains excerpts from textbooks and a comparison of curricula in Germany and Japan. One can recognize the importance of argumentation within the school context.

In the concluding sections, (6) the impact on conversational understanding of some expressions as well as (7) an overview of the roles, distributions and some of the characteristics of argumentativity in everyday conversation across various cultures are reviewed.

0.3. Summary

The point of this paper is that argumentativity can take up different roles in everyday conversation in various societies and that we can order some of these on continua according to various criteria, ranging from most direct, important and offensive in German to rare, mostly phatic and usually integrative in Japanese. Therefore, we do not consistently apply one fixed methodology, but employ various approaches according to the points under consideration. Furthermore, we do not start from any particular theoretical basis, but try to develop one which can encompass the different roles of argumentativity across various cultures.

Keywords : argumentation, argumentative elements, everyday conversation, interaction, institution

0. 4.

In order to give a smooth flow of reading, we apply in this paper a manner of presentation, in which bibliographical data and notes are integrated into main text.

1. Approaching everyday argumentation

1.1. Tree pruning: arguments and argumentation

Arguments are elements of many fields, such as mathematics, logic, and law. In linguistics and psychology, arguments are often equated with conflict cf. Brown/Levinson (1987:333). Argumentations are used in logic, law, rhetorics and the like. In linguistics, Toulmin (1969) and Perelman/Olbrechts-Tyteca (1971) try to explain argumentation. Pander Maat (1985:3) gives the following definition:

“Argumentation (bzw. Argumentieren) ist der Versuch eines Sprechers, den Hörer mittels unterstützender Äußerungen dazu zu bewegen, eine strittige oder möglicherweise strittige Handlung bzw. Sprechhandlung zu akzeptieren.”

“Argumentation (or argumenting) is an attempt by the speaker, to make the hearer accept a contentious or possibly contentious action or verbal action, by using supportive utterances”.

In this paper we will use the term “argumentativity” to refer to both the use of such argumentation and the use of argumentative elements. Argumentativity in everyday conversation is different in various cultures. One must consider full fledged argumentations (e.g. in the TS (transcript) MH *wegbleiben* (staying over)), less consequential examples (the beer table in Schwitalla (1987: 120-123)), coffee break discussions (Kaffeeklatsch, HD), argumentative elements (Marui (1993a), see also below), and also developing aspects (Hofer, Fleischmann & Pikowsky (1991) and Golder (1992)). Argumentative elements may not be understood the same way across cultures, e.g. *because* is not equal to *dakara*: see section 6. below.

Also, not all elements in an interaction may be available for argumentativity just because they are there: Cf. the use of various elements, even implicatures, in *Love Story* below in section 2.

The following questions may serve as filters. Some of these may not be as contradictory as they look at first sight, but should perhaps be considered as forming a continuum: 2, 3, 4, 5.

1) Is there a point for negotiation (to fight about)?

We hold that there has to be a certain degree of incompatibility. This is not necessarily the position or standpoint of a person but often a local difference in opinion is sufficient. This is also the case, when a certain topic posts no conflict, but results from argumentative style as conversational practice.

2) Purported non-unanimity in opinions.

Are the attitudes (cf. Billig 1989) towards the matter:

the same vs. totally different?

3) Are the facts concurrent vs. non-concurrent?

4) Do the interactionists act as if they are consensus-oriented (co)?

totally co vs. non-co

5) Is argumentative treatment

wanted/favored vs. disfavored/unwishedfor?

In our paper we do not consider the following areas: Speaking in public institutions, e.g. TV discussions (except for an introductory extreme example, see 1.4. below). Also public addresses and academic discussions are not examined. Verbal exchanges at the work place and in the family are included in the discussion, whereas formal occasions, which are mostly ritualistic anyway, are not discussed.

1.2. Some helpful definitions

The following definitions are relevant for our discussion and introduce some vital aspects.

a) Golder (1992: 51) :

“argumentative discourse is defined here as construction, by the speaker, of a discourse representation or schematization which is aimed at changing addressee representations on a given discourse topic”.

b) Spranz-Fogassy / Hofer / Pikowsky (1992: 352) :

“Argumentation ist eine komplexe, motivational gebundene kognitive Struktur zur interaktiven Lösung eines Konfliktes oder eines Problems, in der die Argumente Elemente dieser Struktur sind”.

“Argumentation is a complex, motivationally linked cognitive structure for the interactive solution of a conflict or problem in which the arguments are parts of this structure.”

c) Hofer / Pikowsky / Fleischmann / Spranz-Fogassy (1990: 2) :

“Ein Argument (lat. argumentum, Beweis, Beweisführung) wird definiert als eine Menge von Propositionen, die aus einer oder mehr Propositionen und einer weiteren Proposition besteht, die mit der (den) anderen in eine begründende Beziehung gebracht wird/werden”.

“An argument, (lat. argumentum, proof) is defined as a set of propositions, which consist of one or more propositions plus one more proposition, which is brought into a reasoning relationship with the other (s)”.

In the same paper we are told that

““informale” Argumente . . . bestehen aus Aussagen, die von Gründen gestützt werden. Informale Argumente werden weniger nach wahr/falsch beurteilt. Ihre Bewertung erfolgt nach mehr oder weniger überzeugend, stichhaltig oder plausibel (engl. sound). Für informale und formale Argumente (Syllogismen) gilt, daß aus Prämissen Schlußfolgerungen gezogen werden. Als konfliktäres Argument bezeichnen wir eine kognitive Struktur, die eine Person in einer Konfliktsituation aktiviert, um ein Ziel oder ein anderes Argument zu stützen oder zu schwächen. Als Ziel bezeichnen wir den Wunsch einer Person, daß sie selbst oder die andere Person eine Handlung tut oder unterläßt (deontische Proposition). Dabei ist konstitutiv, daß die Ziele der beiden Personen als nicht vereinbar empfunden werden” (ibid).

“informal arguments consist of statements (propositions, RR.) which are supported by reasons. (Such) arguments are judged less according to their truth or falseness. They are assessed as to whether they are more or less convincing, valid or sound. It holds for informal as well as for formal arguments (syllogisms) that conclusions are drawn from premisses. A conflicting argument is a cognitive structure which is activated by a person in a conflict situation to support a goal, or to support or weaken another argument. A goal is a person's wish that he/she her/himself or some other person does or does not perform some action (deontic proposition). It is constitutive that the goals of the participants are perceived as irreconcilable”

d) Schwitalla (1987: 119/120) gives the following definition of "argumentation":

- 1) "two parties as opponents ... indicate ... a different point of view".
- 2) "the argumentation is an act of persuasion" ..
- 3) "the communicative goal of the interaction is to resolve a conflict",

We would hold that all of these only have to be fulfilled to a very small degree, if at all, to enable an argumentative conversation, cf. also Schwitalla in the same paper, where none of 1) to 3) exist, but argumentation is used to "construct and affirm ... shared knowledge" (120).

e) Billig (1989: 205f) (our underlining):

"commonsense is 'dilemmatic', in that it contains contrary themes. In consequence, people will normally possess these contrary themes as part of their common-sensical stock of knowledge;"

"intersubjectivity is a basic assumption of social life: everyday reasoning assumes that viewpoints should be substitutable for each other and that nonsubstitutable viewpoints are seen to constitute a threat to the assumption of the reality of the world, and therefore differences between viewpoints need to be accounted for .." (205).

"multisubjectivity of the discourse of views. It is often claimed that 'attitudes' are inner emotional states and this would imply that attitudinal discourse will be fundamentally an expressive discourse" (205).

"Holding a view in a social issue involves taking an argumentative stance in relation to counter views. ... The individual, who takes a stance, is not merely describing the self and the self's reactions, but is counter-posing alternative views. In this sense, one would expect the discourse of views to be an argumentative discourse. In arguments, one does not merely state a position, but typically one argues for the superiority of one's own position over that of the rival position." (206).

f) Quasthoff (1978: 7) subsumes argumentation under action schemata, or speech events and shows its relationship to stereotypes.

1.3. List of argumentative elements

A. Schwitalla (1987: 122/3)

1. "because" (weil), "therefore" (darum), "thus" (deswegen),
 "if ... then" (wenn ... dann), "hence" (also)
 "the more ... the greater" (je ... desto) "indeed" - (ja)

2. Mutual Argumentation

- affirmative repetitions of the speaker's conclusion
- Speaker B paraphrases an inference derived by Speaker A.
 "also mit anderen Worten" (with another words)
- a conclusion in the same mental direction
- adds another link to the chain of the same conclusion or
 premise at the same time

Example (for a premise, following a 3-second pause):

A: If however the entire wood is hole.

B: Yeah-ah, if-f now the entire wood were hole.

(A: Wenn dann aber das ganze Holz Loch ist.
B: Ja-a, w-w-wenn jetzt's ganze Holz Loch wär.)

B. Hofer / Pikowsky / Fleischmann / Spranz-Fogassy (1990: 24) (EX1)

The authors give the following categories (only headings translated) :

(1) INITIATIVEN (initiatives)

Aufforderungen	auf je:den fall des machst-du dann fertig
Informationsfragen	was hältst du denn davon
Begründungsfragen	warum kommst Du damit nicht aus
Handlungsvorschläge	dann geh halt ins andere bad

(2) REAKTIVEN (reactives)

Zustimmung	mach ich
Ablehnung	nein, nein
Akzeptieren	da hast du recht
In-Frage-stellen	das stimmt aber nicht

(3) BEWERTUNGEN (assessment)

Positiv	weil deutsch eigentlich ein schönes fach ist
negativ	dein motorrad ist blöd

(4) PRÄFERENZEN (preferences)

vorziehen	lieber lese ich dann aktuelle Bücher
ablehnen	aber durch den weinberg gehe ich nicht gern

(5) FAKTEN (facts)

Selbstbezug	ich bin die ganze woche in mannheim
Partnerbezug	du weißt du darfst abends weggehen
Bezug Beide	wir gehen ja öfter miteinander fort
Bezug Außenwelt	das motorrad ist aber schnell

(6) KONNEXE (connectives)

wenn du aus einem haus rauskommst
dann hast = du e gleich einen
schlechten namen

(7) NORMEN (norms)

Territoriumsnorm	das ist mein geschmack "und" wenn dein geschmack anders ist "dir gefällt was anderes und ich hab mein geschmack
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Erziehungsnorm	und dein bett muß = du halt auch mal mache das muß du ja lerne
Soziale Norm Gleichheitsnorm	so kann = man doch nicht fortgehe zum beispiel der ding" der alex nimmt auch zwanzig mark mit
Verantwortlichkeitsnorm	ich bin doch selbst verantwortlich für meine noten

(8) METAKOMMUNIKATION (meta-communication)

das es blöd i/ist*blöd
ist kein argument

1.4. An extreme example from German

We start with a German example. Germans have become, especially after World War II, renowned for very straight responsive behaviour and strong negations and argumentation. The following is an example from a TV discussion, where the discussants' behavior would usually be at least somewhat restricted.

(Reinelt 1992: 106) (EX2)

Rd: also ich mein,
Rd: im Porsche, Bu der hat doch harte Federn, da
Bu: das hat mit dem Porsche jetzt
Rd: merkt man den Puckel nicht so sehr, Herr Becker, Herr
Bu: nichts zu tun.....

Rd: well, I mean, in a Porsche, Mr. Bu, but it does
Bu: now that has
Rd: have strong springs, so You wouldn't feel a bump
Bu: nothing to do with the Porsche.....
Rd: so much, Mr....
Bu:

In this show, the host (Rd) cannot even bring his argument to an end. He is immediately interrupted by one of the invited guests (Bu) who flatly denies the validity of the host's argument. All parts of this TV discussion are heavily marked for argumentativity. It shows how extremely direct discussions in German can be, even on a public level, not to speak of private conversations. To be able to survive such a verbal interchange is a social requirement for all participants, because face loss is always imminent, if arguments are not countered as soon as possible. Such conversations are in no way as unusual (cf. Günthner 1993) or as offensive as they might seem. They do not converge (e.g. to avoid conflict), but rather aim at exposing the differences. Interlocutors do not even stop after another speaker has interrupted (but cf. Sacks/Schegloff/Jefferson 1974). This way of speaking is about as offensive as it can get (without imminent danger of fighting). It is however highly cooperative in that the interlocutors have to keep strictly to the point (whose validity may be flatly denied, as in the excerpt above).

1.5. On the brink of argumentativity

While we can include wide areas of everyday speech in our definition of argumentativity, it is hard to define the borderline. The following example may serve as a hint:

(Goodwin 1993: 113/114) (EX3)

- 1 Tony: Why don't you get out my yard.
 2 Chopper: Why don't you make me get out of the yard.
 3 Tony: I know you don't want that.
 4 Chopper: You're gonna make me get out the yard but you
 5 can't.
 6 Tony: Don't force me.
 7 Chopper: You can't. Don't force me to hurt you.
 8 ((snickering)) Khh Khhh!
 9 Tony ((to his team)) Now you gotta make your
 10 your noodles.
 11 Chopper You hear what I say boy?

In this series of exchanges argumentative elements are used (why don't you, see also below section 6), but the context reminds us rather of (ritual) insults (Labov 1972). The authors will leave the analysis of threats, orders, repetitions and the like to be done in a different research context. This example does however show how important the mutual cooperation of the participants is: Chopper's approach fails simply because Tony turns to another activity. The situation is left without "clear demonstration that one of the protagonists has gotten the upper hand over the other" (Goodwin 1993: 114).

2. Love Story

2.1. Introduction

The following is an excerpt from a famous movie scene. It is so familiar as not to pose any problems of interpretation. Yet, discussed from the perspective of Japanese everyday interaction, it is extremely hard to follow. This is not a case of inadequate background information. The scene need to be supplemented for almost everyone not familiar with the rich schools of the Eastern US, i.e. the Ivy League. Before we begin our discussion, note that the situation considered makes a good story for most audiences, although probably for a variety of reasons. For the native speaker of American English and for many accustomed to a "topping style" in first contacts (cf. Reinelt 1983, Labov 1972, Eder 1993), it is an interesting and overelaborately difficult way to make a first contact in everyday life.

For Japanese readers or movie watchers it is an example of the funny things that foreigners do when talking to each other, and which the Japanese would not be able to do themselves in their everyday life, as we will show below. Following the abbreviated excerpt, we have added some notes on how the scene may be understood in English. Then we will take a look at the same situation from the viewpoint of Japanese everyday conversation. This will introduce the reader to the general problem of understanding everyday argumentation. Excerpt p. 2 Line 3 to 12 and 18 to 33 are from *Love Story*. Lines 13 to 17 contain inner thought, they merely heighten the readers' attention to the out-smarting situation. Other expressions which may be used to describe the situation, and which are all applicable to some extent, are: out-smarting, outshining, topping, getting the better of., to go one up on., and one-upping.

2.2. Text

A fictional conversation from *Love Story* by Erich Segal 1970/1988:

(EX4)

Place: The Radcliffe library, the check-out counter. L is a Radcliffe student and part-time librarian, V is a male student at Harvard.

1. V "Do you have The Waning of the Middle Ages?"
2. L "Do you have your own library?"
3. V "Listen, Harvard is allowed to use the Radcliffe library."
4. L "I'm not talking legality, Preppie, I'm talking ethics. You guys have five million books. We have a few lousy thousand."
5. V "Listen, I need that goddamn book."
6. L "Wouldja please watch your profanity, Preppie?"
7. V "What makes you so sure I went to prep school?"
8. L "You look stupid and rich."
9. V "You're wrong, I'm actually smart and poor."
10. L "Oh, no, Preppie. I'm smart and poor."
11. V "What the hell makes you so smart?"
12. L "I wouldn't go for coffee with you."
13. V "Listen - I wouldn't ask you."
14. L "That is what makes you stupid."

2.3. An American native speaker's interpretation

Below we reconstruct parts of the American native speaker understanding:

(EX5)

Line 1-2 Question is answered by a question

3 Legalizing

4 Legalizing averted, Preppie
Ethics foregrounded

Note the worsening: Question - Preppie (You-many vs. we-few lousy)

5 re-focussing on book + curse

6 reaction : curse (not: book) + Preppie (further delay)

7 foregrounding Preppie (not : book !)

8 attributes of preppie : negatives

9 negation: opposite of prep

10 attributes fit her, not him

Note: Leaving the argumentation at that point would be a total loss for him and seen as weakness.

Choices: Bounce back or inquire

11 inquiry + curse

12 giving reason

13 taking her reason as his argument

14 taking his argument as proof of 7: stupid

Pretending: Suddenly wants to take her for coffee

Accepting his loss, he gets the book. He accepts his - partial - loss, i.e. "He stoops to conquer".

Note that the interpretations given for 12 to 14 are oriented on the surface. These lines are also easily, and perhaps more likely, interpretable as the woman stating negatively what she would like, i.e. a way of saying the opposite of what one wants: "I would rather go for coffee with you" (12), "I would also like to but,," (13) and "that is what makes you so smart (or what I like about you)" (14). In this scene both partners use many elements which may be called features of

argumentative discourse: There is negotiation, there are conclusions drawn and averted and proven. Overall, although a number of topics are up for talk, the same area is stuck to, and the exchange (about legality, cf. reminiscent of the debate about legality vs. ethics at that time during the Viet Nam war) even attains some depth. Institutional binding, however, only appears in the first three exchanges. It is this aspect which will come to be seen as crucial in the difficulties of understanding from the point of view of Japanese everyday conversation.

2.4. An interpretation based on Japanese everyday conversation - difficulties inherent in a Japanese reading of the text

Here we look at the same excerpt from the viewpoint of Japanese everyday conversation. This will be used as a simulation for detecting and generating differences in argumentativity in everyday conversation.

There is an odd conversation between a library user, a male student (V), and a female student working as a part time librarian (L). The following are possible interpretations of the exchanges as an alleged everyday event (under the condition that the young man went to the librarian sincerely intending to borrow a certain book with the expectation of normal library service). The following problems P1 to P7, here partly put into question form, may arise (EX6):

P1. Why didn't L simply give V what he wanted? It is her duty as an employee of the library to help clients.

Otherwise she should not be working there (related to lines 1/2).

She has to take full responsibility as an employee of this institution. That is what she is paid for.

P2. Why did L have to talk about "ethics" with a customer who is allowed to use the library including borrowing books?

Did she have any reasons for not wanting to lend the book to V? (related to lines 3/4).

Also, there is usually no involvement of personal ethics in an institution, and if they are (to be) queried, this is a task for "higher-ups".

P3. Although V stated his wish again, L replied in the same way.

It is almost impossible to give a consistent sense or interpretation to L's utterance in line 6, except to assume that L was trying to tease or trip up V. It seems that L wanted to sabotage V somehow.

Moreover it seems that L was trying to humiliate V (lines 5/6).

P4. !??? Are these words addressed towards the user of a library!

Was there any personal contact before the two were talking there?

If not, L must have an extremely eccentric personality. It is doubtful whether the library authorities are doing right to employ such a person. (line 7/, espec. 8)

Customers and members of an institution are usually expected to be (or at least act as if they were) strangers. i.e. unrelated.

There could be circumstances justifying insults such as in this utterance (8). Even then, strangers are supposed to suffer through them rather than engage in further contact. (7)

Usually no personal contact is expected at such service counters.

Finally, the thematic consistency goes on for much too long a time.

This is too insistent and importunate.

P5. What is the use of fighting at the reception desk in a library between the librarian and a user about who is actually clever or poor?? This is childish (line 9/10).

P6. ??? Well, L wanted only to kid the young man, rather than to do her job (lines 11/12).

Or did she want to make up to him?

P7. The height of impertinence (lines 13/14)! Maybe she is trying to make up to him. This is not the right place and occasion.

This reconstruction is partly based on evaluating utterances made by students and teachers of foreign language courses at Ehime University.

Overall, we can see a preoccupation with the institutional context, which makes all other actions implausible through its inherent preconceptions about unequal distribution of rights and duty between clients and employees. Furthermore, the length and depth to which a topic is pursued poses problems. This is also somewhat the case in English and German, but is not important here, i.e. it depends on the speaker's personal preference. This is not the case in Japanese. Sticking to a single theme is regarded as troublesome. (Non Japanese) Readers may then be able to understand that the very crucial points in this text which make the first contact between the two main figures of this story so impressive can be hardly recognized by Japanese readers and movie watchers.

3. Pocket money: mothers and daughters

3.1. Cooperative confrontation

A project by a Mannheim group of linguists and psychologists has been looking into the development of argumentative abilities and the verbalization of conflicts between mothers and daughters. Most of the talks recorded were very lively and confrontative, even more than the conversation in section 1 above. The following exchanges demonstrate some of the means used by the participants and show how confrontative argumentativity can be, even when recorded as in the Mannheim project.

(EX8)

T: da und überhaupt andere dürfen Auch länger und dann würden die mich sowieso heimbringen dann ist doch net so schlimm du hast gsagt wenn ich net allein heimgehn muß dann kann ich auch n bißl länger bleiben und dann darf ich aber trotzdem immer nur so kurz!

T: and anyway others can stay longer and they will see me home anyway, so it's not so bad, you said, if I don't have to go home alone, then I could stay a little longer, but still I have to be home early

M: was findsch = en du kurz überhaupt?

T: neun Uhr ist viel zu

M: What do you mean by early?

T: 9 o'clock is much too early

T: kurz * da geh ich ja normal schon ins bett!

T: that's when I go to bed anyway normally.

M: es geht net dadrum wann du ins bett gehst sondern in deinem alter entsprechend!

M: It's not about when you go to bed but what is fitting for your age!

T: aber in meinem alter dürft ich normal schon bis ZEHN

T: But at my age I should be allowed to stay out until ten

T: wegbleibn des IS so # ha # (LACHEND)

M: wer sagt des!

T: normally that's the way it is (laughing)

M: Who says so

M: ja und wenn ich aber net weiß wo du bist und mit wem du bist?

M: But if I don't know where you are and who you are with

T: ah ich hab = s dir doch gesagt letzt?

T: But I told you last time

M: ja letscht hasch = des gesagt aber?

T: ja aber DU hast gesagt ich

M: Yeah, last time you did but

T: Yeah but you said I could

T: darf nur bis neun bloß der pappi hat dann gesagt ich darf bis um zehn

T: only stay out until nine, but Dad said I could stay until ten

M: ja aber des geht au nur in de ferien des geht net normal wenn schul is!

M: but that is only in the summer vacation, not usually in school time

T: ah warum net von samstag bis sonntag?

T: and why not Saturday and Sunday

M: ja was wollt er = n da überhaupt machn?

M: and what do you want to do?

In this excerpt the daughter elaborates on reasons why she should be allowed to stay out longer. She gives reasons and conditions which the mother herself, the present partner in the conversation, had set, i.e. being brought home, telling with whom, not on school days, and the usual time limit for her age. The mother tries to defend her position by referring to age, companions and days off. Besides the confrontative dealing with the contents (stating, questioning, devaluating etc. in the first exchange), other argumentative features can be observed:

- adversatives: *aber* (but)
- questions in justifications and other transferred uses
- confronting the partner with his/her own former utterances
- refuting the validity of a topic: *es geht net dadrum*.

In summary, the partners confront each other directly in their utterances and in and with the contents of each other's previous utterances. The exchange is highly **cooperative** insofar as the mother stays with the daughter's topic but brings up various aspects.

Most cases in the Mannheim corpus seem to follow this kind of interaction. One case stands out, however, in that the daughter is very quiet and undecided. She does however get her pocket money raised, so we have to say that her strategy was successful, in achieving the best result possible.

3.2. A Japanese-like conversation in German

Everyone in the West is familiar with argumentation in everyday life. We are familiarized with this way of speaking from early on. Children everywhere ask *why?*. But later on, socializations differ.

In the West, and recently in the Eastern parts of Germany, children have had to expand their argumentative abilities. Asking questions and using them for argumentation is on the curriculum

from very early on and continues through to the end of school, a time by which abilities in quite elaborate styles and rhetorics of speaking are expected. The same holds for writing and the difficulties children have with it, e.g. in the US. (Cf. a proposed curriculum for the new eastern states of Germany (Mettenleiter 1992) and for history German school books (section 5), for problems in the US Crowhurst 1990).

In Japan as in many East Asian societies, from a certain age onwards children are discouraged from asking why. Such questions are considered to show remaining traces of childhood (childishness), and are often unbearable in adult-adult contact, unless worded carefully. (Cf. also the curriculum comparison in section 5). And yet not all conversations with defined intentions, and certainly not all others in the West, are argumentative.

The following is an example which resembles many Japanese exchanges with the same purpose.

This transcription (TS) is part of a longer TS from a mother-daughter interaction about the daughter's pocket money, which the daughter wants to have raised. Note the lack of argumentative elements on the daughter's part, and the generally slow flow of talk. (Note: this is a simulation. However, the following discussion of Japanese negotiations also uses simulations, so comparability is not out of the question.)

Transkription (TS) Mother and Daughter (EX9)

The original text is taken from "Projekt: Argumentation im familiären Dialog: TS Geld (1988)". Numbers indicate breaks in seconds.

M: a guck mal wenn ich dir doch schon ab und zu die hefte kaufe *3* ne das is ja schon=n entgegenkommen von mir *2*

M: and look, if I buy you the notebooks sometimes *3* well that is a favour on my part *2*

T: ja *3* ja äh ich mein st/bei mir *2,5* wie soll ech des
T: well, *3* eh, well I mean/me, *2,5* how should I say

T: jetzt sagen *4,5* mh *7,5* ha (----)
M: ja wieviel bräuchtest du denn da heidi
T: *4,5* mh *7,5* e (----)
M: and how much would you need, Heidi

M: was hast du dir denn vorgestellt *1,5* fünfundzwanzig mark im monat dreißig mark oder was? *3,5*

M: How much did You imagine, 25 marks a month, 30 marks, or what? *3,5*

T: ha ich weiß = es aus a/ *1,5* mh *8*
T: I eh, I don't know eh *1,5* mh *8*

T: mh
M: ja wenn = de ne forderung an mich hast dann mußte schon wissen, worum es geht und was wieviel du haben möchtest! *1,5*

M: well, if You want money from me, You at least have to know, what it is for and how much You would like!

T: ja ich *hm** kann jetzt au nicht so auf antrieb * sagen 8das) * also * (----) *2* ja *6,5*

T: Well, I, have, I can't tell You instantly right now, well,---

M: ja gut ich ** geb zu daß * zwanzig mark für vier wochen un/und * du bezahlst ja wirklich einige sachen * aber ich denke das kommt auch daher weil du dir in in der schule dann was zu schnuckeln kaufst noch von dem geld ne und daß du da (deshalb) wegen einfach nicht zurecht kommst damit!

M: well then, I admit, 20 marks is for four weeks an/and You have to pay for some things * but I think you are also spending the money on candy at school, (which is why) you can't keep it for long

T: ja (kann=mer) auch sagen!
(würd ich)

T: Yeah (You could) say so.

M: ja *2* ich denke du kannst dir = n schulbrot mitnehmen und was zu trinken mitnehmen es ist ja alles da!

M: Yeah, I think, You could take some bread to school and something to drink, we have everything here.

T and M talk about an increase in pocket money. T would like to have it raised from the present amount of 20 marks. The reason she gives is that she has to give presents to friends. Her mother asks her how much, but T does not specify. M adds that T also receives money from her grandmothers, but T does not want to have this counted. In the TS, M declares her buying of notebooks as a favor, and tries to find out T's demands, but T refuses any specification. M admits she has a low level of pocket money, acknowledges T's purchases and speculates on the use of the money for food, which T could also take from home. After the excerpt, the talk continues in a similar vein, with the mother finally proposing a raise of five Marks, which is accepted by the daughter. The daughter is successful in this exchange, although she is very reserved.

Generally the daughter speaks in a very low voice. She shows very little argumentativity, only intimations. The mother more or less argues for her, somewhat monologically. Some of the Japanese examples bear a resemblance to this and a simulation produced the following results.

3.3. The role of argumentativity in Japanese negotiations for pocket money

The following shows the results of an experiment on argumentativity in reconstructed negotiations between teenagers and parents, especially daughters and mothers in Japan. (There were a few male students among the participants).

3.3.1. Materials

Participants in an intensive course in intercultural communication (students of 4th, 6th and 8th terms) were asked to reconstruct their own experiences of negotiations with their parents, especially their mothers, about an increase in monthly pocket money. This was designed as an exercise in sensitization to some aspects of conversational events, such as influences of personal relationships, sequential development of events, and thematic consistency. Instructions were given orally towards the end of a session: The students were asked to recall a time when they were a 16 or 18-year old senior high school students and wanted to get more monthly pocket money.

They were asked to reconstruct the exchanges between themselves and their mother or father as authentically as possible in the form of a conversation transcription. The students had been introduced to this notion previously in the course. 39 reconstructions were handed in the next day.

3.3.2. Types of argumentativity

The reconstructions by the students were analysed in regard to whether an example showed any tendencies towards argumentation. We have found four major types and one possible subset of the fourth.

Type 1 (genuine argumentation; 12 cases)

The first type is characterized by obvious indices of argumentation. Two are even fully fledged examples. Except for one case all others show varying but clearly marked results of negotiation: the wish of the daughter or son was fully granted or finally refused or the partners came to a compromise e.g. a lesser amount than wished for was granted. Argumentative elements were identified as being more used on the side of parents than of children.

Abbreviations:

d = daughter, case number with “ ’ ” = male students, f = father,
 full = wishes were fully granted, comp = compromise, neg = negative result,
 transfer + (m, f) = ordered by mother to go to father,
 beg (d) - refuse (m) = imploration of daughter was refused by mother

(EX10a)

Case No.	argumentativity	result	transferral	notes
5	+	+(neg)	-	full fledged
6	+	+(full)	-	
7	+	+(full)	-	with f
9	+	+(comp)	-	
11	+	+(full)	-	
12	+	+(comp)	-	full fledged
13	+	+(comp)	-	
15	+	+(full)	-	
16	+	+(comp)	+(m, f)	
17	+	+(neg)	-	
18	+	+	+(m, f)	
27	+	+(comp)	-	with f

Type 2 (break up of argumentation; 8 cases)

Cases of the second type show more than a single consistent exchange of argumentation especially in the form of “why - because” sequences, but the negotiations-by-argumentation-processes were interrupted forcefully and one-sidedly by the mothers, with negative results for the children despite their subsequently performed regressive imploration, perhaps similar to an earlier stage of their childhood. The authority of mothers seems to be regarded as invincible.

Abbreviation : interrpt (m) = interrupted by mothers

(EX10b)

Case No.	argumentativity	result	transferral	notes
1	+(interrpt (m))	+(neg)	-	beg (d), refuse (m)
2	+(interrpt (m))	+(neg)	-	beg (d), refuse (m)
3	+(interrpt (m))	+(neg)	-	
20	+(interrpt (m))	+(neg)	-	beg (d), refuse (m)

23	+ (interrpt (m))	+ (neg)	-	beg (d), refuse (m)
24'	+ (interrpt (m))	+ (neg)	-	beg (d), refuse (m)
25	+ (interrpt (m))	+ (neg)	-	beg (d), refuse (m)
33	+ (interrpt (m))	-	-	

Type 3 (without consequence; 6 cases)

The third type is unresolved one. There is an attempt to introduce an argumentative process, but related utterances find no consequential reactions on the side of the opponent, or the process comes to a stop after at most one or two minimally argumentative exchanges. In the end the participants did not obtain any immediate results. Some cases of this type ended with instruction for referring to another authority, in most cases to the father. It seems that a final decision was to be avoided, at least in the students' conceptions of normal everyday life. In two cases the parents send the daughter to each other: 21/21a and 29/29a.

(EX10c)

Case No.	argumentativity	result	transferral	notes
10	(+?)	-	-	
21	(+?)	-	+ (m, f)	
21a	(+?)	-	+ (f, m)	with f
22	(+?)	-	-	open end with jokingn (d)
26	(+?)	-	-	no statement of ending
29	(+?)	-	+ (m, f)	
29a	-	-	+ (f, m)	with f
32'	(+?)	-	-	give up (d), no marking

Type 4 (no argumentation, with happy result; 12 cases).

This type is characterized by a total absence of argumentative elements. Each case offers a happy scenario where the overall request of the daughter or the son was accepted. The only exception is one case in which the mother showed a rapid reaction resulting in a mutual agreement to consult the father.

(EX10d)

Case No.	argumentativity	result	transferral	notes
4'	-	+ (full)	-	
8	-	+ (full)	-	
14	-	+ (full)	-	
28	-	+ (full)	-	
30	-	+ (full)	-	
31	-	+ (full)	-	
34	-	+ (full)	+ (*)	* at beginning with f f & m consulting mutually
35	-	+ (full)	-	with f
36	-*	+ (full)	-	* showing dramatically urgent need of money
37'	-	+ (full)	-	
38	-	+ (full)	+ (*)	* at beginning with f f & m consulting mutually
39'	-	-	+ (m, f)	

Type 5 (Subset of Type 4?; 1 case)

The last type, consisting of only one case, is an exceptional one, caused by a disparity between the conditions given in the instruction and the experiences reported by the student. She wrote that she had never asked her parents to give her more pocket money. The amount was fixed. However, when she occasionally needed more money, she could get it without any negotiation. Hence this case could be classified as type 4.

(EX10e)

Case No.	argumentativity	result	transferral	notes
19	-	(+)	(-)	

3.3.3. Further observations and notes

Below an overview of the five types of pocket money negotiations is given. The distribution of argumentativity intensity corresponds fairly well with the commonly shared expectation toward possibilities of conversational exchange based on some kind of argumentativity in such situations as considered. We can formulate this expectation as following: the less argumentative, the more successful. Then the best tactic for the dependent party in order to achieve their goal would be not to argue but to let the provider know that there is a demand on the side of the dependent. This sort of dependency relationship often remains for a considerably long time among Japanese young people and their parents. On the other hand it must be noted, that the possibility of an argumentative manner in exchanges between mothers and children as discussed is ensured even through the (often mutual) dependency relationship. Here we can see a characteristic role of argumentativity in Japanese situations. There must be peculiar conditions which enable the exchanges to be argumentative in one very special, i.e. non confrontative manner. We know little about these conditions excepting a few suggested above. It should also be added that for university students the fully fledged type of argumentation is as such no curiosity.

Overview (EX10f)

Type	characteristics	number
1	more or less argumentative with varying but clear-cut results	12
2	minimally argumentative interrupted by authority with negative results	8
3	unclear signs for argumentation unresolved, no immediate results	6
4	no argumentativity, with positive results	12
(5)	(like type 4)	1

3.3.4. Examples of mother-daughter conversation

(D = daughter, M = mother)

Type 1: No. 9 (Ex10g)

D: nee okanega tarinkara okozukai agete

D: Mom I need some more money can you give me more pocket money

M: nanni tukaun?

M: for what?

D: iroiro koosaihitoka shokujidaitoka...

D: for many things, for going out with friends, for lunches and so on

M: ageruyoona okanewa utiniwa nainyakara kenyakusinasai

M: we have no extra money to give you you must save your money

D: demo tarinnoyamon

D: but it is not enough

M: ja baito sinasai

M: then get a part time job

D: datte mongenga atte yoru osokumade baito dekinkara okanega tamaranshi saakurumo arukara murijawaa

D: no it's impossible because you want me to stay home in the evening and as well I have my club activities

M: ja kashitagemasu

M: well I'll lend you some money

D: ja itu kaeseruka wakarankedo karitokuwa.

D: ok I don't know when I can give the money back I'll have to borrow it.

Type 2: No. 20 (Ex10h)

D: okaasan kyoo minnade kozukaino hanashi shiyotte kiitottara minna watashiyori ippai moraiyoruu

D: mom today we talked about pocket money, everybody says they all get much more than I do

M: hoo sorya sorya yosowa okanemotinee

M: Wow! they must be rich

D: watashimo motto hosii

D: I want to get more, too

M: hitowa hitoya soreni gakkode irumonowa zenbu dashite ageyoruyaro

M: We are not others, and you we get you everything you need for school

D: sonnan yattara dokonimo asobini iken= naa naa

D: if that's all I get, then I cannot go anywhere to have fun oh mammy

M: urusai

M: don't bother me

D: sukoshide eeken ageteyoo

D: just give me even a little bit more

M: shitukoi

M: you are getting on my nerves

4. Argumentative elements in Japanese everyday conversation

But then again, Japanese do sometimes use an argumentative style in their interactions. Two examples are given below. They demonstrate what and where the differences are and give hints as to how they can be explained.

4.1. The text: Don't worry

The following example is from a telephone conversation between A, who has been to Germany before, and B who has just received notice of a travel grant. A has called B up, in short to say "yoroshiku(hello)", i.e. to state that social relationships are as usual. A is a teacher at a senior highschool and B at a local university, but they are not very close friends. The excerpt starts almost in the middle of the call, after A congratulated B (surface reason for the call), tells about her problems at the start and that B wouldn't have them as a German teacher.

Example 1: Marui (1989,106) (EX11)

- A soodesune ano dotiranohoodesuka
 B watashi-ne
- A yeh well where are you going
 B well, I think I will
- A aa soodesu-ka
 B hanburukue ikookanato omotte ee
- A oh, will you?
 B go to Hamburg yeh
- A daitokaidesune ee
 B soodesu-ne
- A it's a big city yeh
 B it certainly is
- A soodesyoone
 B nanka soreni zuibun samuirasiidesune
- A I suppose it is
 B and they say it's very cold there
- A demo ano doko ittemo daitai onazikurai
 B ee soodesuka
- A but em wherever you may go it's gonna be just as cold
 B yeh oh really
- A myunhenmo samukattadesukarane kaette koo yamani
 B ee
- A it was cold in Munich too it lies rather near the
 B yeh
- A tikakutte dakedo mukoowa mukoode mata kitadakara - (...)
 B ee
- A mountains but in Hamburg you are in the north
 B yeh

4.2. The flow and background

– Reconstruction of pseudo-argumentation in A's utterance –

B: (I'm worrying about that) it will be cold in Hamburg where I'm going to live.

A: After all it's cold everywhere in Germany, like in Munich because it's located near the mountains. On the other hand, because Hamburg lies in the north, it must be cold there too: so it is not only your problem, but everyone's who goes there to live. So don't worry about it.

– Background –

a) B is a German teacher, who knows more about circumstances in the German speaking countries than her partner, who has taught A German before.

b) In mentioning her own worry B shows that she is ready to cooperate with A in a specific manner common to everyday conversation between (female) acquaintances in Japan: showing ritualistic mutual "self-degradation".

c) Because there are no genuine disagreements under discussion, A can treat the topic in an argumentation-like manner.

This kind of argumentation, where there is no real problem, but overt use of sufficient argumentative elements and clauses, resembles soothing talk to children who have been frightened by or have dreamt of animals in their sleep. In both cases, there is no real reason for argument, but there is a statement or a question that needs to be answered with information. The reaction, instead, contains a convincing part. In this case it should mean: Do not worry, it won't be any colder than usual. Note that the argumentation as a whole takes on this function. The argumentative part is only construed artificially. Overall, there is no real background for a fight or competitive treatment or reasoning. Such mock argument is not uncommon, and seems unproblematic even between relatively unacquainted people.

4.3. The text: Rice machine argumentation

The next example is from a family gathering very similar to the one described in Tannen (1984). The participants know each other very well, share a lot of reform-oriented interests, and engage in several activities. One afternoon at the house of BB (husband) and DD (wife), AA (husband)'s wife CC is engaged in talk about using a rice threshing machine for grinding wheat.

TS Marui (1993): Reismaschine (EX12)

CC: iya dakarane kononakanone ano ko = yu = hano bubunga arudesyo

AA: hn

CC: well you see there is something like a blade in here, ok

AA: hm

CC: areo syutto hikidasityauto zenbu otityauno

when you pull it out then all the parts come out with it

AA: haga daizyo = bu

BB: u = n dakedo sono =

CC: daizyo = bu utinowa sugu arega toreruyo

AA: but the blade's ok ?

BB: hhm but ehm

CC: it's no problem with ours

BB: komugini kansitewa mondainakedo komeo yattara gohan takuto
there is no problem for wheat but when you do it with rice and cook it (afterwards)

BB: dooittara iikana (etc.)
how can I say

4.4. The flow and background

— Reconstruction of arguments —

The disputed point: The use of a rice cleaning machine for making wheat flour (flour is to be produced like removed bran of rice grains)

CC is in favour of using the machine, she gives the following arguments:

Ac1: after using the machine it can be cleaned up (in support of Ac2)

Ac2: no problem afterwards, when it should be used for rice cleaning

BB is against using the machine in that way:

Ab1: there is a considerable problem for the use of the machine
afterwards as a rice cleaner (against Ac2)

— Background —

AA and CC (female), and BB (male) and DD (present but not speaking here), are married couples. The families have been acquainted for quite some time. BB and CC have talked to each other less than to the other interlocutors. The point at issue has been well aired before this exchange took place, because DD asked BB about it. At the beginning of the dispute, however, DD had to initiate the talk with BB in order to get CC to join in the discussion. After one issue has been discussed and a concession was made, i.e. that the machine could indeed be used for making wheat flour, all the participants, including AA, compensated for the tension in the dispute by consorted laughing. Now they are having a second discussion, to which the transcript above is related. At the end of the argumentation, CC and BB come to the unified conclusion that the machine can be used for a purpose not intended, but only under the condition that the blade part be cleaned well after use. After that, CC asked DD (nota bene: not BB): "Do you understand?" She came back to the framework of talk introduced by DD. The close commitment inevitably caused by the argumentation process had to be broken off by an utterance addressed to someone not directly involved.

The careful avoidance of confrontation in argumentative treatment of topics is characteristic for many Japanese situations. We can talk about integrative manners of argumentation. This can be observed in the transcription text above in that BB shows his readiness for the non confrontative style with discourse markers or phrases signaling hesitation like "*u = n dakedo* (hmm but)", "*sono = (ehm)*" or "*dooittara iikana* (how can I say it)". Especially his slow entry into the argumentation flow is notable.

5. Argumentativity training: examples from the educational context

Children learn argumentation from somewhere. Educational institutions in Germany feel that some kind of training is necessary, and this is reflected in the textbooks used in school. We give examples from two subjects, German language and history, and compare curricula in Japan and Germany on the inclusion of argumentation.

5.1. Two Examples

A. Why talk to each other (Woischnik 1975: 79) (EX13)

Warum muß man miteinander reden?
 Mutter: Grüß dich, Peter!
 Peter: (verhalten) Grüß dich.
 Mutter: Du bist ja heut so spät dran! Hat die Schule länger gedauert?
 Peter: Nee, wie immer.
 Mutter: Was machst du denn für ein Gesicht? War was Besonderes?
 Peter: Nee, wie immer.
 Mutter: Na, dann ist's ja gut. Komm, wir wollen gleich essen.

Why do we have to talk to each other?
 Mother: Hello, Peter!
 Peter: Hello.
 Mother: You are late today. Has the school schedule changed?
 Peter: No, it's the same
 Mother: Why are you making such a face? Has something happened?
 Peter: No, it's the same
 Mother: Oh, I see, everything is o.k. Come on, lets have lunch.

B. History book (Tenbrock / Kluxen 1978: 173) (EX14)

"11. Begründen Sie den französischen Widerstand gegen eine einheitliche Verwaltung Deutschlands; berücksichtigen Sie dabei die geschichtlichen Erfahrungen des französischen Volkes seit 1870."

"Question for practice: 11. Give reasons for the French opposition towards a unified administration of Germany (after WWII); also consider the historical experiences of the French people since 1870."

Structure of presentation of adjoining text on the same page:

"Der Neubeginn des politischen Lebens vollzog sich in den einzelnen Zonen von Anfang an unterschiedlich" ...

"The start of new political life was different right from the beginning in each of the (occupied) zones" ...
 on which follows an article on East Germany:

"(Paragraph) Im Gegensatz dazu schritt der Neuaufbau des politischen Lebens in den Westzonen langsamer voran .."

"In contrast, the rebuilding of political life proceeded slowly in the Western zones .."

5.2. Curricula for argumentation

The examples in 5.1. are not isolated cases but rather part of an attempt to implement argumentation and argumentativity in the educational process in Germany (and similarly in other Western countries, cf. Crowhurst 1990). This aspect is conspicuously missing from, for example, Japanese school curricula (while other curricular issues are included which are not represented in Western countries).

In everyday communication argumentation happens more often in Western countries than in Japan. One of the reasons for this language behavior difference probably lies in language education. Here we compare a curriculum proposal for the new East German states with the Japanese Ministry of Education Teaching Manual, the de facto curriculum of Japanese schools.

(EX15)

Material: Vorschläge zur Jahresplanung innerhalb eines Deutschunterrichts Klassen 5 bis 12 (Proposals for annual planning in German language lessons: class 8-12) *Deutschunterricht* 45, 3, 1992, 114-127 and 4, 1992, p. 208-216, (Mettenleiter 1992), and *Kotogakko-gakushushido-yoryo* (Manual for teaching in high schools), 1989, p. 108-118.

Grades 8-12 at a German school correspond approximately to the three final years at a Japanese high school. As a result of recent proposals in Germany, the subject of argumentation is introduced by grade 6 and taught at times throughout the school year and through all subsequent grades. Linguistic means for argumentation and typical texts are to be introduced.

In Japan, on the contrary, argumentation is not introduced as an important subject in any Japanese (or English in high school) curricula. "Attitude towards active communication" is mentioned as one of the goals of high school education, but neither specific methods nor hints at suitable teaching materials are provided. This attitudinal goal which can possibly include readiness for (confrontative) argumentation is specified only for foreign languages.

6. *Dakara* and reasons

What we have said so far also has ramifications on less general levels than argument and argumentation. On the lexical level, phrases which originally serve to show inner coherence between arguments can take on a totally different communicative function. In short, that part of meaning which links the contents of arguments is abstracted and only a communicative linking function is retained.

All languages have markers which link sentences. One kind serves to give reasons, i.e. A is the reason for B, or vice versa: B is/happens, because of A. (for a German-Japanese comparison see Ohno (1993), also for a hint at the reduced validity of *kara* ("because") in everyday conversations p. 142.)

Such conjunctions are universal: Without them, no language would be able to express everything its speakers would want to say and the ability to express oneself is a fundamental part of the "conditio humana". Thus, while there may be individual differences, the overall use of such conjunctions is very similar in official contexts everywhere in the world, e.g. in institutions such as schools.

Formally, we could say that the following holds:

Two things, say, propositions A and B, are linked by an element, which makes sure that there is a coherence (of whatever kind) in context between A and B. This holds for most "conjunctions" (!). In everyday conversation, however, different uses are possible. For one thing, we cannot always reason our utterances in full detail; that would lead to an eternal regress. Furthermore, to be able to function appropriately, every society has a number of communicative short cuts such as concepts, predispositions, stereotypes, and routine formulae which are shared by everyone and are taken to be valid without question, and do not have to be referred to explicitly even if used in reasoning.

Thus the use of conjunctions is not always necessary. If used, they do however still carry the characteristic of continuation. In many parts of everyday conversation, it is not advantageous to carry on about one and the same topic over longer stretches, or to go deeper into certain topics. This is true not only for taboos, but for almost anything which can be put into a clausal, or

conditional relationship within a conversation; speakers need markers to change topics.

As long as people engage in only monologic talk, there are no problems with changes in topic, because there is no turn-taking. In dialogue, however, the partners have to follow somehow.

The linguistic elements which keep the mark of continuation at least as a surface feature, are the above-mentioned conjunctions. Since these conjunctions are not really necessary for establishing coherence, they can then be used in a new, totally different sense, somewhat opposite to their original meaning.

In many cases, expressions like *dakara* ("because"), *dakedo* ("but"), or local variants like *hoyaken* and *hoyakedo*, come to indicate that the following will not in any sense have any coherential relationship with the former. That is, these conjunctions have become dialogic indicators of a change in topic, while formally the connection is still guaranteed. In the extreme, formal-logic "meaning" and dialogue function "contrast" with each other in many cases in everyday conversation.

Note that in German *also* ("therefore") sometimes has a similar function. Some Japanese elements have such a function originally: *nde* = ("and") and similarly *soo-desu-ne* ("it is the case") in the first example in 4 above. On the surface, the latter hints at a recognition of what was said (and possibly the consequences thereof), while in dialogues it is often a marker for the closing of one topic and the opening of another unconnected topic. Certainly, *soo-desu-ne* does not mean *yes*.

Similarly, *Why don't* in 1.5. is in no way a request for reasons. Whatever answer is given, it will in turn be questioned. Rather it functions as an order, which has to be refused unless the hearer gives in and loses face. Other uses include recommendations and suggestions.

7. Overview

From what we have seen so far, we can arrive at the following conclusions:

1. Full-fledged argumentations are a vital part of how people communicate with each other. This is especially true within institutional contexts.
2. "Monologic" argumentations are common in German, English, and Japanese and many other societies. There is also a wide range of usage. They can be used to show off in hierarchical societies or constellations as well as in very personal settings e.g. in verbalizing what one is thinking. A further use is in scientific discourse for an intensive treatment of themes.
3. The main differences arise in dialogic uses. Various conditions underlie and various effects result from the use of argumentation in everyday communication. Seen across cultures, the main points seem to be differences in distribution of some of the factors considered above. This holds not only for full-fledged argumentations but also for the use of argumentative markers. The latter are widely used in Japanese, but their dialogic function may be different than in languages such as German. In that, additional conditions, such as "perseverance time" of topics (see section 2) may apply. As a result, argumentative dialogues do occur as in the family example above (4. 3.), but require conditions such as being non confrontative (i.e. keeping an integrative manner) and are often heavily compensated for, e.g. by laughing at or addressing others.

In addition to the research presented in this paper we would like to mention two extremes: In the Jewish communities researched by Schiffrin (1984) (and likewise in Germany, we might add)

argumentativity as such and the ability to perform it are among the final conditions needed for an individual to be accepted as a social member and to sustain social relations. At the other extreme, we have Liberman (1982)'s Pitjantjatjara, where upholding social relationships is almost impossible when argumentation is used. Continuing a topic is evidence of poor character (p. 37).

Including the latter two aspects we may assume a filter which we cannot elaborate about here. It seems to be independent and prior to all the points discussed here and in Marui's related (1993) paper. This filter functions as follows: for social and a host of other reasons still to be defined, the following holds: if there is verbal interaction, it tends to take on one of the following two characteristics: 1) Even in very small parts, it is argumentative rather than not, or 2) it tends to be converging, running along the line of fixed phrases, especially in short stretches, rather than argumentative.

The former tendency has only recently been researched by "Billig (1987) and Billig et alii (1988), who have demonstrated that human thought and social discourse are made up of oppositions - dilemmatic elements - that are both explicit and implicit. Shaver & Shaver (1992) made use of "Bourke's (1966) theory that oppositional discourse structures the perceptions of participants by composing master metaphors that are agonistic (i.e., contesting and combative) (ibid. 2).

The latter tendency is compatible with "the traditional social psychological view that human thought is controlled by consistent, internal schemata or templates" (Shaver & Shaver 1992:2). On the surface of linguistic behaviour this is realized in utterances with converging contents, as has been supposed by linguists so far (e.g. Levinson 1983).

Ironically these were developed mostly in the Western context. Which of these tendencies becomes dominant or whether intermediary or other systems are developed in a speech community or a society or group of speakers, depends on criteria which are beyond the scope of this paper. Of course, this filter does not prevent any choice of argumentative exchanges in the latter stages of an interactional event. It only seems to hint at a (weak) disposition to one or the other even before conditions and criteria for argumentative speaking come into play. Two examples may demonstrate the position of this "dispositional" filter.

The first example for German demonstrates the "presence" of this filter even when there is no conscious mutual contact. (EX16)

S stops very briefly in front of a pub. Voice from inside "Hier ist doch nicht Oberammergau" (This is not Oberammergau (i.e. a place to watch (the passionate theater))).

Even this extremely short contact contains very strong argumentative elements: *doch* (negative reaction toward a preceding negating turn) and a reproach without the other even having a chance to act or react.

On the other hand, Liberman (1982, 41) demonstrates the importance of converging utterances to create the "congenial environment" in the Pitjantjatjara's phatic communion. This may even go as far as the following:

(EX17)

"In Western Desert society, frequently the speaker may not be considering the semantic content of his utterance (he may not even have been listening to the utterance immediately preceding his

phrase of approval), but the comment provides a ready vocal medium to convey his emotional tenor to the group.

Yuwa! Yuwa, Yuwanmara, yuwangkara.
 (yes) (yes) (agreeing) (all agree)" (Lieberman 1982:41)

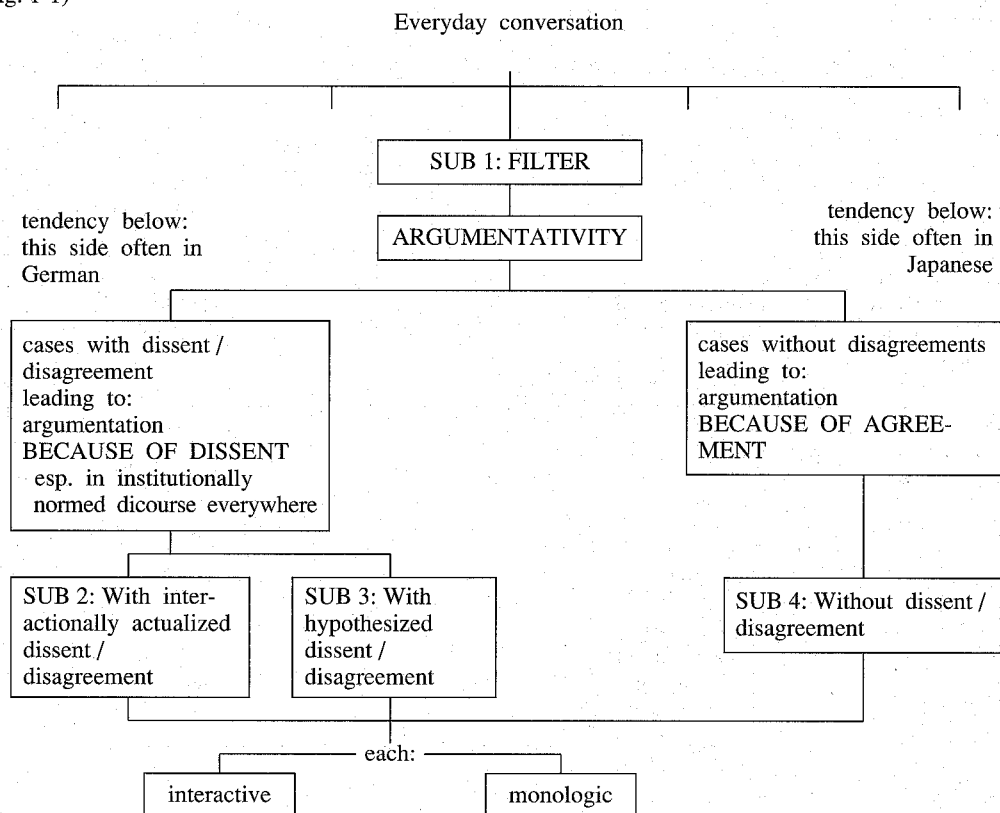
Certainly, a speaker who, as usual element of his or her required societal behavior, gives such approval would be outright astonished if he or she were asked, for example to take responsibility for the "propositional" contents of her/his utterance. Such approvals seem to be a "disposition" of all participants in these cultures. Of course, they do in no way preclude later disapprovals or the like. We can summarize the background and different types and conditions of argumentativity especially for everyday conversation in the following framework, which also includes some of the results presented in Marui (1993) and other related papers.

Fig. 1: A preliminary systematics of argumentativity in everyday conversation

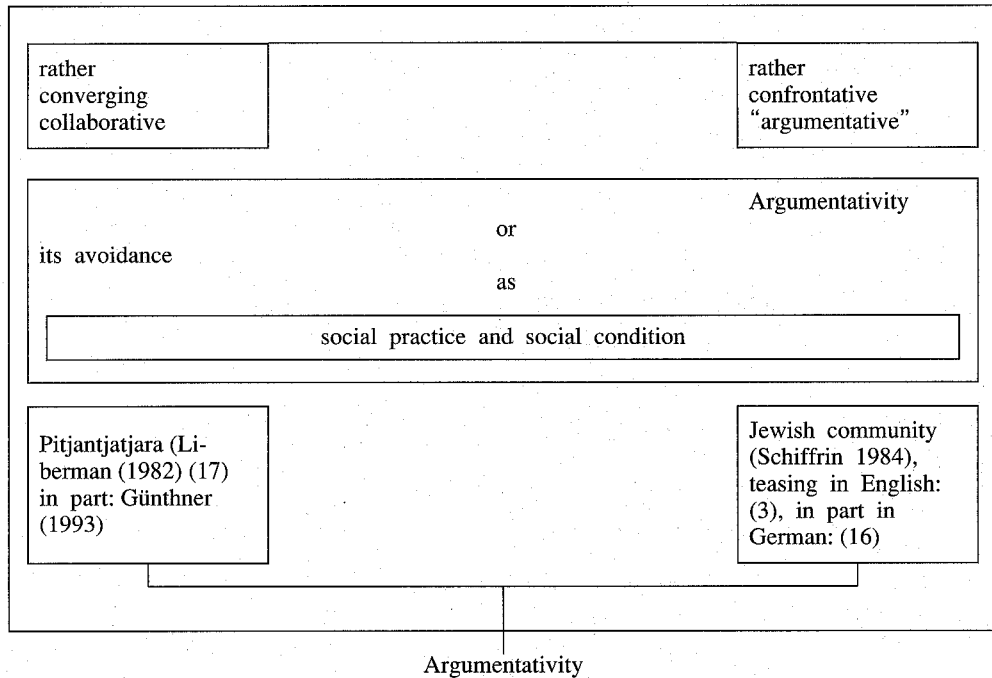
Abbreviations:

D = dissent, Da = interactively actualized dissent, Dh = hypothetical dissent, interac. = interactive, monolg. = monologic, cmp. = competitive, intg. = integrative
 AD = Argumentation because of dissent, DH = Argumentation with hypothetical dissent, AC = Argumentation because of consent
 (Numbers in brackets refer to examples in the main part)

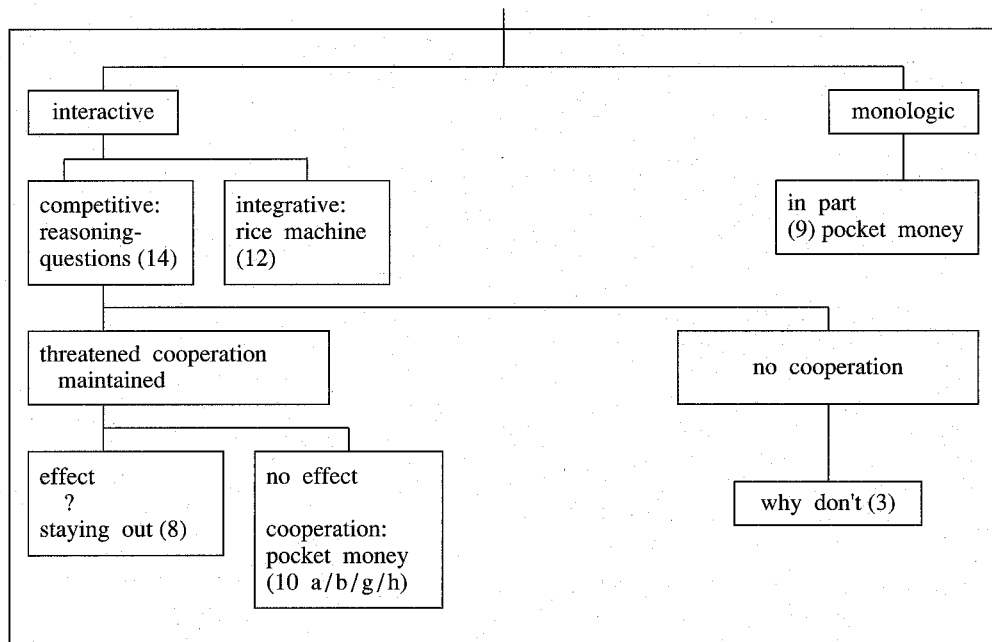
(Fig. 1-1)



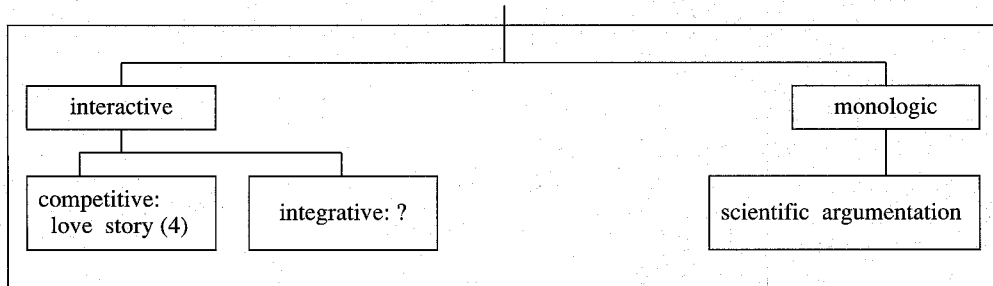
(Fig. 1-2) SUB 1: FILTER



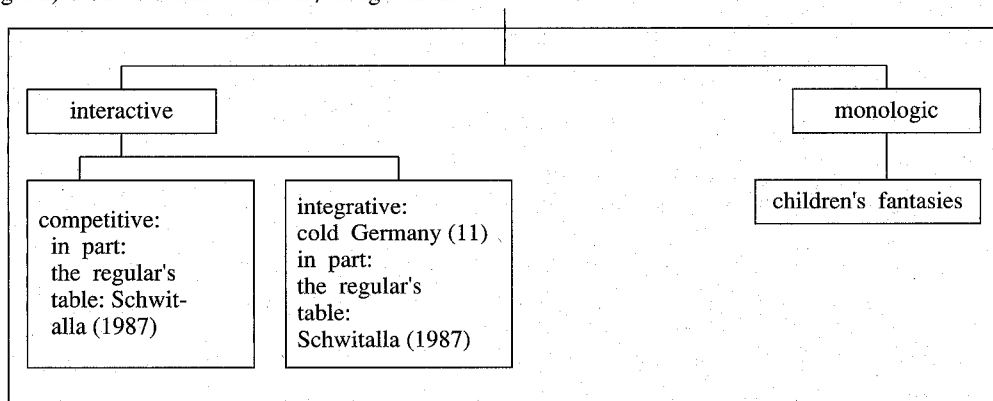
(Fig. 1-3) SUB 2: With interactionally actualized dissent / disagreement



(Fig. 1-4) SUB 3: With hypothesized dissent / disagreement



(Fig.1-5) SUB 4: Without dissent / disagreement



In our paper we tried to show some of the intermediary steps necessary to explain the roles and varying shapes and degrees of everyday argumentation and argumentativity as either a social necessity or an almost unimaginable occurrence.

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