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THE DEICTIC *nii* 'SO, IN THIS WAY' IN INTERACTION

0. Introduction

The adverb *nii* 'so, in this way' is a frequent and multifunctional item in Estonian. This paper focuses on its usage in face-to-face interaction, a type of data that has been left almost unconsidered in the Estonian dictionaries and major grammars, which is why the functions of *nii* described in this paper have not yet been fully accounted for. In non-literary settings, *nii* is frequently used as a pragmatic particle that achieves specific communicative ends, primarily by being a crucial part of demonstrations and carrying out action transitions. The first type could be characterized as deixis *par excellence* while the second one can be considered discourse deixis. However, as will be shown below, even the latter one has considerable exophoric deictic values.

According to the explanatory dictionary of literary Estonian (EKSS) and the comprehensive Estonian Grammar (EKG), *nii* occurs as an adverb of manner, meaning 'in this way', as an intensifying adverb 'very', a causal conjunction 'because of that', and a syntactic correlate, among other things. In studies of spoken language, *nii* has been described as action deixis (Pajusalu 1999), a topic closer and opener (Pajusalu 1996, 1999; Hennoste 2000) or an action transition device (Keevallik 2000), and as a continuer (Keevallik 1999; Hennoste 2000). The current paper will primarily deal with three patterns in the above lists of functions: the adverb of manner and the related action deixis, as well as action transitions.

This study will move away from the so far predominant logo-

centric approach to *nii* and attempt to account for interaction as a whole. It is based on sequences of real-life interaction, and it takes into account the multifaceted nature of human encounters, in which people routinely engage in sense-making with the help of language as well as other means, such as gaze, gestures, posture, contextual resources, and cultural knowledge. On the one hand, this is the only way to capture the full complexity of *nii*, and on the other hand, we thereby arrive at a description that does not artificially single out language, as it is not the only communicative resource available for co-present participants. Targeting the question of the dichotomy between the self-contained language and context, I will rely on the sequential analysis of actions within the methodological framework of a branch of micro-sociology, conversation analysis.

1. Conversation analysis and the production of context

Conversation analysis (CA) is a qualitative field of research that focuses on the detailed analysis of interactional sequences as they occur in human encounters (for an introduction, see for example Goodwin & Heritage 1990; Heritage 1984 : 233–292; Sacks 1992; Sacks, Schegloff & Jefferson 1974). It was first developed by sociologists interested in the management of social order in everyday life, as it is manifested in the organization of interaction, down to the level of sequencing turns in conversation. CA researchers are devoted to precise analysis of what is achieved in every turn, and this methodology appears very useful when analysing distinctly pragmatic linguistic items such as *nii*.

The points of departure for this type of analysis are the elementary properties of human actions rather than language alone (Schegloff 1992 : 215). The placement of bodies, gestures, gaze, prosody, voice quality, features of the space around those interacting may all function as resources in human interaction and become crucial means of sense-making. At the same time, they do not necessarily do that. Thus, context and other background characteristics of the speakers can be brought into the analysis only

if they have demonstrably been oriented to by the participants themselves via their behaviour (for an insightful treatment of this stance, see Duranti & Goodwin 1992). Occasionally, for example, features of turn-taking expose the fact that the encounter happens between a representative of an institution and a layman, as one of them is entitled to ask questions and initiate sequences while the actions of the other are restricted to responses and clarifications. This is straightforward proof that the participants' roles of representative and layman are relevant at the moment, while other features such as the participants' age or sex may not be of any relevance whatsoever. As identities are claimed and made relevant discursively, the task of the analyst is to disclose ways in which certain social categories or contextual features are relevant for the participants at the particular moment when they engage with each other in talk.

In terms of deixis, this understanding of the production of context is crucial, as it has been claimed that deixis is a means of connecting text to context. CA understands context as something constantly changing and renewable, also by deictic means that may make a contextual feature demonstrably relevant to the interactional event. Verbal deixis is a central aspect of the social matrix of orientation and perception through which speakers produce context (Hanks 1992 : 70). One could say that we produce context out of the multiple resources at our disposal in any given setting. More concretely, *nii* has the ability to draw participants' attention to the fact that there is something outside the verbal production that is relevant for making sense of the current moment, much like the German *so* (Streeck 2002 : 581–583). Section 2 outlines how this is done and why deixis could be seen as a means of coordinating multiple modalities in interaction, taking advantage of the surroundings and even our bodies, for that matter.

One of the basic principles of CA methodology is its focus on participant orientation. As it is, some analysis, understanding or appreciation of the prior turn will be displayed in the recipient's next or ongoing turn. By looking closely at what interpretations are displayed in the subsequent turns and actions by participants, the researcher has empirical access to what the participants are

orienting themselves to and what they have made of the previous turn. Through the displayed understandings of the participants, the intersubjective meaning and function of the items can be disclosed. Subsequent participant behaviour is thus the ultimate resource as well as proof of the analysis. Looking into the details of the placement of a linguistic item in sequences of actions is of special relevance in the analysis of *nii* as an action transition device in section 3.

In short, CA methodology with its dynamic understanding of context and careful accounting for the multitude of communicative means seems to be very well suited for the task of describing the role of *nii* in ordinary interaction in Estonian.

2. Demonstrations with *nii*

In the brief accounts on *nii* in the Estonian linguistic literature, it has been pointed out that it can be used as *tegevuslik deixis* ('action deixis'). The term has been coined to encompass the Estonian *nii*, the Russian *tak*, and the Finnish *näin*, *niin*, and *noin*, which may all be used to refer to a gesture that the speaker is producing or will produce (Pajusalu 1999 : 32–33, EKSS). Imaginable examples include:

Tee nii! 'Do it like this!' (as the speaker is doing, has done or will do)
Pane käed nii! 'Put your hands like this!' (as the speaker shows)

While the classification of *nii* as action deixis is certainly accurate, nobody has actually looked into the nature of the gestures or their exact timing in encounters between speakers of Estonian. For example, it turns out that the embodiments that encompass the corresponding particle *so* in German may start before the particle is produced (Streeck 2002 : 582–583). Unfortunately I have not yet been able to find an example of *nii* that refers to gestures or body movements in their own right, or in other words where reference is made to a bodily action and not to some other matter merely described by the gesture (for the difference between these

two types, see also Pajusalu 1999 : 33). It might be the case that the types of activities where body movements are referred to are mostly confined to instructional situations in which these movements are taught, such as a swimming class, which I lack in my corpora.

There are, however, plenty of examples available of closely related types of demonstrative deixis. When the meaning of *nii* as a proadverb of manner is considered, it is not at all surprising that *nii* does not always refer to gestures or body movements, or in other words actions. It can just as well refer to anything that is demonstrable, including states of affairs. Crucially, it refers to things that are results of some kind of action. A recollected example will have to illustrate this claim: a colleague of mine, when trying out a new dish-washer, closed the compartment for the washing-powder and asked after that *nii vää?* 'like this or?'. Thus, *nii* seems to be able to refer to something that has already happened, and is as such a perfect means of drawing participants' attention to a common focus outside the realm of speech. This ultimately helps the participants to accomplish the task at hand, in this particular case that of arriving at a judgement about whether the compartment was properly closed.

A videorecorded example 1 of a conversation between women at a café illustrates how several instances of the demonstrative *nii* referring to continuing states are coordinated with descriptive hand gestures. Here, Anna is describing the squint in her eyes she developed as a result of an accident. The three instances of *nii* refer to her hands describing iconically the way she sees the world. The exact moments of crucial hand movements are indicated with square brackets immediately under the text line in Estonian.

[1]

1 Piret: no ma saan aru jah=
 I see

2 Anna: =aga see kõõritamine on niiviisi, et see ei: ole
 paigal nagu.
 [opens hands
 but the squint is this way that it is not stable

- 3 mul ei ole alati mitte *nii*, vaid see võib *nii* min[na ja,]
 [hands in parallel position [R hand up
 it's not like this all the time but it may go like this
- 4 Liina: [mhmm::]
- 5 Anna: [*nii* mi]nna [ja:, (.) lii]kuda ükskõik kuidas.
 [L hand up [hands up and down [hands in the lap
 and like this and move in different ways
- 6 Liina: [mhmm.]
- 7 Piret: [ahaa.]
 right

Long before the first deictic *nii* is produced, Anna starts to get ready for the manually assisted demonstration at the end of line 2, and her hands arrive at a steady position on reaching the word *alati* 'always' in line 3. It could be argued that the word *paigal* 'in the same place' at the end of line 2 produces the relevant context for the interpretation of two parallel hands held steadily in front of the speaker, while *nii* explicitly makes use of the positioned hands, as it would otherwise be impossible to produce or interpret the pronoun. Both the verbal and gestural means in this case contribute to making sense of how Anna does not see the world. The steady gesture also provides a perfect starting point for the following demonstrations.

The first *nii* in line 3 is synchronized with the achievement of ultimate extension for Anna's raised right hand, which demonstrates her two eyes seeing pictures as if from different heights. The same nice synchronization happens on second *nii* in line 3, where *nii* is produced at the very moment that Anna's right hand reaches back down and her left hand is at its highest point. The movements towards these ultimate positions have thus started earlier, while the ultimate extensions themselves are precisely coordinated with the verbal production of *nii*.

In the above example, *nii* seems to be used for demonstrations of steady states. Interestingly, however, Anna then makes use of her hands to produce a demonstration of the up-and-down

movements of the pictures in her eyes, starting on the last syllable of the word *minna* 'go' in line 5. The verbal accompaniment *liikuda ükskõik kuidas* 'move in different ways' appears first after a brief pause, but the coordinated implementation of language and gestures so far have already provided the participants with an interpretational basis for the up and down movements of her hands when it happens. Consequently, the deictic *nii* is in this sequence used as one means among others to achieve an explanation of Anna's manner of seeing the world. It specifically incorporates and coordinates the manual activity as a relevant resource for the other participants to take into consideration.

As soon as we start looking at the data from real face-to-face interaction, it becomes clear that the coordination of various usages of *nii* with gestures goes far further than merely references to actions or demonstrations of manner. One major group seems to consist of references to measures and amounts. The following examples (2–5, 9) are from the Tartu corpus of spoken Estonian (<http://psych.ut.ee/~linds/>), which unfortunately does not have digitized videos available for quick reference. The analysis will thus have to be based on the transcripts, which are detailed enough to prove the existence of a gesture but do not allow for study of its exact placement. Example 2 consists of a description of a switch box, the size of which is demonstrated with a (most probably iconic) gesture accompanied with *nii*. Example 3 is a sequence from an excursion to a destroyed monument, the amount of which remains is demonstrated with a pointing gesture and the words *nii palju* 'as/that much'¹. In these cases, *nii* is a part of the quantor phrase and it is probable that the frequent connotation 'very' of *nii* arises from this usage.

¹ Here, *nii* simultaneously appears as a correlate for the following sentence *ku siin näha on* 'as can be seen here'.

[2]
 1 K: (1.8) ja siis on `nisukene (0.6) noh umbes
 `nii suur ((näitab
 and then there is a- a red box, about
 that big ((shows

2 kätega)) (.) punane siukene `karp ä, (0.8)
 with hands))

[3]
 1 V: see `sammast on nüüd (.) `uus, (0.8) `vanast
 `sambast on (.)
 this monument is new, what has remained of
 the old one is

2 ((osutab kivihunnikule)) **nii** `palju ku siin
 `näha on. (1.0)
 ((points at the pile of stones)) as much as you
 can see

In addition, the Tartu corpus allows us to reveal a recurrent pattern of vocal demonstrations carried out with the help of *nii*, which may here be analysed as a quotative marker almost on a par with the English *like* (Romaine & Lange 1991) and the Swedish *bå* (Eriksson 1995). Similarly to the English *be like* or the more informal *go like*, *nii* occurs in combination with an often relatively content-empty verb, such as *teeb* 'does' in example 4. It does not occur alone with the subject, though.

[4]
 1 J: õ siga on siuke loom. (.)
 pig is an animal
 2 T: jah teate küll teeb **nii** < ruii ruii rui rui
 [rui ruii] >
 yeah, you know it does like this oink oink
 oink

In the case of vocal demonstrations, *nii* is always pre-posed. Traditionally, *nii* would here be analysed as a correlate to the following quoted sentence, and indeed, it can also be used to initiate

verbal quotations, for example *ütles nii* 'said like that'. From the perspective of interactional analysis, one could see *nii* as a recurrent means of initiating different demonstrations, such as the imitation of a mastiff's attack in example 5.

[5]
 1 M: kui oli mingi kokkutulek oli sis tuttavad
 kõik tulid et nooh et
 there was a gathering and the acquaintances
 came in
 2 (.) tulid niimoodi sisse aiast ja no no tere
 musi, sis vaatasin
 from the garden and hi sweetie and then I saw
 that
 3 dogi ründab **nii** < krauh > ((imiteerib väga natu-
 raalselt dogi ründehäälitsust))
 the mastiff attacked like crash ((imitates the
 sound))

On the basis of the above examples, I would like to argue that *nii* is a means of making different kinds of demonstrations in Estonian, involving references to among other things body movements, measurable sizes, sounds, manner, processes and results of processes or actions. These usage patterns correspond quite nicely to the typical functional areas of the adverb of manner, as all of them answer the question *how?*. Crucially, *nii* has an ability to incorporate multiple modalities into talk-in-interaction, including the body of the speaker, gestures, vocal imitation sounds, states in the surroundings such as the closed compartment of the dishwasher, or stable entities such as the size of a pile of stones.

There has been a logocentric tendency in linguistics only to start looking for information in the context when the words are not sufficient to make sense of what is going on. From an alternative action and participant-centred perspective, it can be argued that speakers make use of all the means at their disposal to make themselves understandable to other participants, thus implementing coordinated words, gestures and other body movements, while also taking ad-

vantage of the physical setting by producing it as the context (as in « I bought a dress as white as this page »). It is sometimes virtually impossible to know where the context begins or ends: nonvocal behaviour can create context for talk but talk can also create context for the appropriate interpretation of nonverbal behaviour (Duranti & Goodwin 1992 : 3). From this wider holistic perspective, *nii* is an important part of a complex means of making demonstrations, be they verbal, vocal, other bodily activities, or the state of an object that is demonstrated. *Nii* is not always implemented before the demonstrable entity is produced, which is only necessary in vocal demonstrations. As we have seen, *nii* may also make use for example of the hands that have already been in position for a while or the pile of stones that has been lying around for a considerable amount of time, thereby being a neat means of producing context.

3. Transition to a new action

On the basis of data from phone conversations and radio interviews, it has been claimed that *nii* is a topic closer and opener, and that it marks the boundaries between different parts of a text (Pajusalu 1996 : 152–153; 1999 : 71; Hennoste 2000 : 1799–1800). Example 6 presents a case in point. In line 2, the telemarketer confirms the client's offered understanding of the payment procedure, and after an approving reaction by the client, the telemarketer continues by initiating a new sequence of checking the delivery address.² The boundary between the two stages of a telemarketing call, clarifying payment procedures and checking the address, is marked by a turn-initial *nii*.

[6]

1 K: ja maksekorraldus tuleb mulle [koju.]
and the money order will come to me at home

2 M: [jaa,] t- see tuleb
jälle teile
yes, it will come to you

² The address only has to be checked, as the client has already had a complimentary subscription to the newspaper.

- 3 posti teel koju [jah.]
by post again
- 4 K: [vä]lga kena
very good
- 5 M: .h *nii*, ma ainult täpsustan: aadressi. see on Puh-
ja maantee
NII I'll only double check the address it's
Puhja road
- 6 nelikümmend kaheksa kolmkend] kaks.
forty eight thirty two
- 7 K: [kolmkend,]
thirty
- 8 K: jah.
yeah

As I have briefly suggested elsewhere, this usage could be treated as a subtype of a more general pattern of action-transitions implementation by *nii* (Keevallik 2000 : 350). In contexts where other modalities of interaction are cut off, such as in phone calls and radio interviews, verbal means obviously prevail, and *nii* appears to be a handy means of topic disjunction or a means of progressing from one issue to another. However, if we also consider face-to-face interaction or any interaction that involves non-verbal activities, it becomes clear that the logocentric textual pattern is merely a part of a larger picture, where *nii* can be described as an action transition device.

Let us consider example 7, in which one of the participants in the phone call has to do something that involves him leaving the phone. In line 1, V promises to look for a fax number, and apparently disappears from the phone. When he returns, the very first thing he utters is *nii*, indicating that the searching has come to an end and that he is now ready to dictate the number, which is also proved by the immediate initiation of the utterance *minu faks töö juures on* 'the fax number at my work is'. However, the sentence remains unfinished, because V is unable either to locate or see the

number in whatever source he brought to the phone (lines 4–8). Again, the searching activity is finalized by *nii* (in line 9), and the dictation of the number follows.

[7]

1 V: oot ma otsin kohe faksi numbri sis.
wait I'll bring the fax number

2 (21.0)

3 V: nii. minu faks töö juures on e-
NII the fax number at my job is

4 (0.7)

5 mis ta nüüd on. ei nää nüüd siin kohe,
what is it, I can't see it right now

6 (0.7)

7 mis ta nüüd on kohe,
what is it

8 (0.9)

9 nii. viis kuus kuus kaks,
NII five six six two

10 H: jah,
yeah

11 V: neli viis kaheksa.
four five eight

Clearly, this is not a case of topic closing and opening, or a shift in a textual phase. Rather, *nii* could be treated as a transition device leading to a new action or phase of action. When the search for the number source and the number itself have been finished, and the speaker is, or believes himself to be, ready to utter the fax number, he uses *nii* to accomplish the transition.

This account of *nii* is a result of the fact that the current analysis takes social actions as its starting point, as opposed to merely lan-

guage. It departs from what people are doing and what they want to achieve at every moment in the encounter, and aims to disclose how and with what means the speakers accomplish their actions, regardless of whether this involves verbal or non-verbal means. Carrying out actions with audible means only, as in phone calls and radio interviews, can most probably be considered a somewhat special and certainly restricted type of interaction compared to the cases in which participants are physically present. From the rich possibilities available in co-present interaction, speakers are likely to extract the adequate and efficient ones for audio-only contexts.

Nii is a frequent and handy means of structuring events in everyday life, as is neatly witnessed by the following example 8 of children in the middle of a game. The two girls are staging a picnic for themselves and their toys, an activity that involves many non-verbal components, of which the crucial ones for the example have been described in double parenthesis. The first *nii* in line 3 is produced immediately after Miina has finished putting pearls into her teddy bear cup, indicating that she is ready to do something else. She then notices something that has to be fixed – too many pearls in another cup. When she finishes picking over the pearls to her own cup, she again marks the end of the action with *nii* (in line 8) and comments that this was necessary in order to give everybody the same amount of milk. At the same time, she discovers that one of the pearls has rolled onto the saucer. After lifting it into her cup, she once again utters *nii* (in line 10) and now explicitly commands everybody to eat.

[8]

1 Triin: [su]hkrut on ka.
there is sugar too

2 Miina: ((puts some pearls into teddy's cup))

3 nii? (0.5) .hh ota me võtame ühe niukse.
NII wait, we'll take this one

4 meil ei ole vaja neid. siit (X[X]
we don't need them

5 Triin: [(XX)]

16

- 6 Miina: (X) need on minu omad (0.2) (XXXX)
these are mine
- 7 ((puts the pearls into her own cup))
- 8 *nii?* (0.3) nüüd on küll piim sama palju?
NII now everybody has got the same amount of milk
- 9 ((puts the pearl that had rolled onto the saucer
into her cup))
- 10 *nii?* (.) nüüd akkame sööma.=
NII let's start eating now
- 11 Triin: =oota, ma: e b:a- (0.2) panen nats:
suhkrut sisse panema.
wait, I have to add some sugar

Scrutiny of examples from co-present interaction reveals that *nii* is primarily used to indicate the end of an activity, which enables a transfer to a new one: the three instances of *nii* in the above example 8 all occur immediately after an activity has been carried out and there is now space for the next action expected to follow, that is to say starting to eat after the « milk » has been distributed. Correspondingly, *nii* occurs in turn-initial positions, where the new expected activity is initiated immediately after it in the same turn (as in example 6, and line 3 in example 7). As it appears, it is often the person who has carried out the action and/or the one who then initiates the next activity who utters *nii* to indicate his or her readiness to move on. There are, however, regular exceptions to this tendency. Especially in institutional settings, one of the participants may have the authority to define the actions and the transitions between them (which Miina might also have had in the above example, as Triin was a guest).

An asymmetric example comes from a parents' meeting, where the transfer from the less organized phase of gathering at the venue to the general talk by the teacher is marked by *nii*. Example 9 is the very beginning of the talk, where *nii* is applied even before the greeting word *tere* 'hi'. And the gathering parents have mainly been carrying out the previous activity of small talk. This usage of *nii* by the

teacher is not surprising if we analyze it as an action transition device – it defines the unfocused gathering as finished and thereby accomplishes a transition to the next expectable action, the teacher's talk. By uttering *nii*, the teacher also reinforces her role as the one who has the right to define the phases of the event as well as her role of the one who is going to continue speaking after producing *nii*.

[9]

- 1 T: *nii* tere sis veelkord 'kõigile? (0.5) mul on
väga hea 'meel=et
NII hi again everybody, I'm very pleased that
- 2 (.) väga palju (0.5) 'lapsevanemaid on täna sin
'kohal=ja=et
there are so many parents present and that
- 3 teil ikkagi on 'huvi (.) selle vastu kuidas sis
lapsel (.)
you are still interested in how your child is
doing
- 4 koolis 'läheb. (1.5)
at school

As an action transition device, *nii* has preserved at least some of its exophoric deictic quality since it defines the state of affairs as being literally 'in this way, like this' and thereby stable. In other words, whatever has been going on has now come to an end, or is defined by the current speaker as finished. This deictic quality also seems to have been a necessary factor in the likely development of *nii* from an adverb of manner into a pragmatic particle, or a discourse marker, as some prefer to call it. The usage patterns of *nii* treated in this paper can thus be seen in the following continuum:

adverb of manner > action transition device > textual disjunction

Unfortunately, it has not been possible to discuss the continuer *nii* in this paper, which would nicely fit in the middle of the above continuum: a continuer indicates that the previous talk has been received and the participant is now ready for a continuation.

4. Conclusion

In the above, I have described two specific but related usages of the Estonian deictic *nii* in interaction. On the one hand, *nii* coordinates the employment of various sense-making resources in face-to-face encounters, similarly to the German *so* (Streeck 2002). On the other hand, *nii* creates new context by defining something that has been going on as terminated and indicating readiness to move on to the next expectable activity.

In asymmetric situations, it is typically the person in charge who has the right and obligation to define activities as successful or terminated. So the teacher has to initiate her talk at the parents' meeting and the telemarketer has to go through the necessary moves of a telemarketing call. By using *nii* as an action transition device, they among other things define their social roles in the concrete situation. Nevertheless, the action of one speaker closing down an activity by defining it as a state makes it possible for other participants to contest the interpretation and to negotiate it, as happens at the end of example 8. When other participants do not take that chance, the previous activity is collaboratively defined as finished.

Characteristically, *nii* is not a resumption marker or a particle that initiates summaries and conclusions, which is the role of *nii et* in Estonian (Keevallik 2000 : 345–351). Similarly, it does not prompt an upshot as *so* does in English (Raymond 2004). *Nii* is used at junctions where transfer is made to the next expectable action, such as eating after laying the table, or to an action that may be cast as the next appropriate one by the institutional representative, such as checking the address. Cultural knowledge plays a part in our common understanding of what the next appropriate action could be and who is to define that.

Clearly, these transfer junctions may occur inside text or discourse as well as in merely physical actions such as laying the table and eating. Therefore, I would like to underline the importance of working with pieces of recorded data in order to get access to the richness of our daily behaviour and understand the nature of various linguistic means. It is important to consider all the different resources we use for making sense and creating order in our everyday lives, among them words.

Transcription conventions

underlining, 'before the word	– emphasis
-	– truncation
[]	– overlaps
=	– latching
(0.5)	– pause length
(.)	– micropause
:	– lengthening
((snort))	– comments
<parenthesis>	– marked voice quality
.hh	– breathing in
(XXX)	– not audible, X corresponds to a syllable
boldface	– the focused item in the excerpt
CAPITAL LETTERS	– an untranslatable particle
.	– pitch fall
?	– pitch rise
,	– level pitch

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Rudolf Mahrer et Ulla Tuomarla

« VOICI UNE SOLUTION À VOS PROBLÈMES DE COUPLE ». ORALITÉ ET DÉICTICITÉ

0. Introduction

Récemment (été 2004), nous avons entamé un projet de collaboration autour d'une problématique qui est au centre de nos travaux respectifs : les influences des pratiques orales du discours sur les pratiques écrites, mais que nous développons sur des corpus différents – la presse écrite pour l'une, la littérature pour l'autre.

Dès le début de notre travail de mise en commun se sont imposées à nous des relations étroites entre les *énoncés écrits produisant des effets d'oralité*¹ et la *fonction indexicale du langage*.

La présente communication formule les premiers constats relatifs à la densité des déictiques dans les séquences textuelles oralisées et indique quelques pistes théoriques qui nous semblent devoir être battues.

Conformément à la dimension exploratoire de ce travail, nous allons nous centrer sur des exemples, tirés de nos corpus, qui illustrent cette parenté entre oralisation de l'écrit et *deixis*, – ce mode opératoire particulier et fondamental par lequel un sujet construit ascriptivement un monde de référence (dont il fait partie lui-même, en la qualité très spécifique de « sujet »).

1) Le parenthésage. Bien qu'il ne ressortisse pas strictement des pratiques orales du discours, le parenthésage, par la rupture qu'il

¹ En bref, nous parlons d'*effet d'oralité de l'écrit* lorsqu'un lecteur reconnaît dans un énoncé écrit des caractéristiques des énonciations orales.

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Centre d'Etudes Francophones Robert Schuman

STUDIA ROMANICA TARTUENSIA IVa

Lausungist lausumiseni ja vastupidi.

**Multidistsiplinaarsed
vaated deiksisele**

De l'énoncé à l'énonciation et vice-versa.

**Regards
multidisciplinaires
sur la deixis**

From utterance to uttering and vice versa.

**Multidisciplinary views
on deixis**

Edité par Daniele Monticelli, Renate Pajusalu et Anu Treikelder

Tartu 2005

