

INDEXING NARRATIVE METALEPSIS IN GERMAN CONVERSATIONAL STORY-TELLING: THE CASE OF “VON WEGEN” AND “NACH DEM MOTTO”¹

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Abstract

The purpose of this study is to show that direct speech in narratives introduced by "von wegen" ('like') and "nach dem Motto" ('along the lines of') can be analyzed as a powerful means to transform a stretch of talk into a massive "stance index" which transcends the boundaries between the narrator's world and the narrated world in terms of narrative metalepsis. "Von wegen" and "nach dem Motto" are non-canonical reporting frames which are syntactically flexible and semantically facilitate a transformation of direct speech into a "category-animation". For these reasons, they can be employed spontaneously in spoken talk-in-interaction and make it possible to shape a stretch of direct speech creatively in order to position oneself, other discourse participants and narrated characters as committed or non-committed to what is seen to be a relevant normative point of reference. The way direct speech introduced by "von wegen" and "nach dem Motto" can be used to construct positions in order to evaluate discourse participants and narrated characters can be grasped schematically by means of a slightly revised and extended version of Du Bois' "stance triangle".

Keywords: Direct speech; Conversational story-telling; Narrative; Positioning; Stance-taking; Stance triangle; Category-animation; Narrative metalepsis; Increments.

1. Introduction

It has long been recognized that everyday story-telling² provides "one widely available means by which people create, interpret, and publicly project culturally constituted images of self in face-to-face-interaction" (Miller, Potts, Fung, Hoogstra, and Mintz 1990: 292). One of the most common and most complex means interactants employ in the course of story-telling is direct speech.³ In order to grasp direct speech holistically, one needs to bridge the conceptual gap between the analysis of direct speech as (i) a

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² See Labov & Waletzky (1967), Labov (1972, 1997), Jefferson (1978), Norrick (2000, 2007), Bamberg (2011a, b, forthcoming), and others.

³ Cf. Tannen (1986, 1989), Brünner (1991), Holt (1996, 2009) and Günthner, (1997, 1999, 2002), amongst others.

narrative device for re-enacting past experiences or fictional sceneries, (ii) a *positioning device* for the imaging of selves and others, and (iii) a *sequential device* for the establishment of a local "order at all points" (Sacks 1984: 22 and Sacks 1964-1972/2005, I: 484). For this reason, this study will discuss the two main approaches to direct speech in narrative "talk-in-interaction"⁴ (section 2) and then try to bring together aspects of the sequential analysis of direct speech (Psathas 1995; Schegloff 2007; ten Have 2007; Hutchby & Wooffitt 2008), the local conversational "microgenesis" of stance and positions (Kärkkäinen 2006; Du Bois 2007; Bamberg 1997; Korobov & Bamberg 2004; Lucius-Hoene & Deppermann 2000, 2004) and an incremental grammar of spoken interaction (Ford, Fox & Thompson 2002; Couper-Kuhlen & Ono 2007; Auer 2005, 2006). Against this background, I will advance the view that narrative direct speech introduced by "von wegen" ('like') and "nach dem Motto" ('along the lines of') is an effective resource for positioning and stance-taking with regard to what is seen to be a relevant normative point of reference: Since "von wegen" and "nach dem Motto" are both non-canonical "reporting frames" (Bolden 2004: 1073) which are syntactically flexible and semantically unrestrictive with regard to the conceptualization of the direct speech they introduce, they facilitate spontaneous and evaluative forms of narrative metalepsis, i.e. the creative and context-driven intervention of the narrator in the narrated event.

2. Approaches to direct speech

2.1. Direct speech as a mimetic act

Not only traditionally, but in some contemporary grammars as well (cf. Greenbaum/Nelson 2002: 189 and Duden 2009: 525, for example), narrative direct speech ("oratio recta", quoted speech) is considered to be the verbatim reproduction of a certain past speech event for which the reporting speaker does not claim authorship (cf. Coulmas 1986: 11f) and which s/he does not evaluate while reproducing it (cf. Li 1986: 39). Approaches holding this view can be characterized as advocates of a "copy theory of mimesis" (cf. Sternberg 1982). According to the copy theory of mimesis, one can clearly distinguish between an original utterance and its author on the one hand and the impartial reproduction of this utterance by the reporting non-author on the other. Furthermore, such a view holds that direct speech is necessarily interpreted "de dicto" (Coulmas 1986: 4) and is a cognitively "plain" activity (at least from the reporting speaker's point of view) since it is essentially an imitation of a prior utterance (cf. Plank 1987: 298):⁵

Was bei der direkten Redewiedergabe vom wiedergebenden Sprecher eigentlich ja nur zu leisten ist, ist, den Wortlaut möglichst getreu wiederzugeben; die Bürde, daraus den richtigen Sinn zu entnehmen, lastet am ehesten auf dem Adressaten der Redewiedergabe. [It's the reporting speaker's task simply to reproduce the wording (of the original utterance); the burden of reconstructing the proper sense is primarily on the addressee of the quoted speech. *My translation, J.B.*]

⁴ See Psathas (1995) with regard to the notion "talk-in-interaction".

⁵ Li advances this view of direct speech as simply mimicking a former utterance as well (cf. Li 1986: 40).

Even if traditional followers of a copy theory of mimesis take the theatrical and playful character of direct speech into consideration, they tend to explain it in terms of simply assuming the role of the author of the original utterance in order to re-enact her/him (cf. Wierzbicka 1974: 272, for example).

Explaining direct speech as a verbatim reproduction of an original utterance often goes hand in hand with the assumption that its formal characteristics can be sufficiently described in terms of a *low degree of syntactic "fusion"* (Li 1986) between reporting frame and direct speech as well as the presence of a *deictic shift*, i.e. the space of deictic reference changes (cf. Banfield 1973: 18, for example):⁶

The requirement that the quoted speaker's exact words appear in the new E [= "expression", *J.B.*] of direct speech also means that adverbs such as *now, today, tomorrow, yesterday, here*, etc., as well as the present tense morpheme, have meaning with reference to the time and place of the quoted speech.

The traditional copy theory of mimesis yields a rather restricted view of both the forms (low degree of syntactic fusion between reporting frame and direct speech; presence of a deictic shift) and functions (mimicking of a prior speech event) of direct speech in everyday conversation.⁷ Since it is often based on invented examples or, at best, on examples from written literary texts, the forms are primarily discussed with regard to canonical clausal reporting frames with verbs of saying or thinking while non-canonical reporting frames as well as prosodic features are left aside, and its functions are primarily discussed with regard to a supposed relationship of etic similarity⁸ between the "quoting event" and the "quoted event". These insufficiencies gave rise to corpus-driven studies of direct speech in everyday talk-in-interaction as the "natural home of narrative" (Norrick 2007: 127). Such studies do not restrict themselves to the canonical

⁶ Just as syntactic fusion, deictic shifting can be described in terms of a continuum. Plank (1987), for example, proposes a two-tiered deictic hierarchy to distinguish several intermediate stages between full deictic anchoring in the reporting speech act (indirect speech) and full deictic anchoring in the reported speech act (direct speech). This makes sense from a cross-linguistic point of view, too, since languages encode syntactic fusion and deictic anchoring in multifarious ways.

⁷ In accordance with this, the traditional distinction between direct speech and indirect speech basically amounts to the *functional* distinction between mimicking (direct speech, high degree of etic authenticity) and paraphrasing (indirect speech, low degree of etic authenticity) and to the *formal* distinction between a low degree of fusion plus a deictic shift (direct speech) and a high degree of fusion plus deictic continuity (indirect speech). Sometimes, this distinction includes assumptions about transformational relationships between direct and indirect speech which, in the majority of cases, can hardly be supported by empirical data. Cf. Banfield (1973), Hall Partee (1973), Wierzbicka (1974) for a discussion of a transformational approach to direct and indirect speech within the framework of Generative Semantics. In contrast to this, Günthner (2000: 279ff) and others have shown that the distinction between direct speech and indirect speech should not be regarded as a dichotomy but rather as a continuum.

⁸ The notions "emic" and "etic" were first used by Pike in 1954 (cf. Pike 1967) and by Harris (1964, 1976), albeit differently (cf. Headland, Pike, and Harris 1990 with regard to an overview of the different positions within the "insider/outsider debate"). In the context of this study, I regard a notion of authenticity as *etic* if authenticity is ascribed to the data in terms of a "second level construct" (cf. Schütz 1954) and is measured according to a "real" or "ontic" degree of similarity between two utterances. An *emic* notion of authenticity, in contrast, is concerned with the local and interactional construction of authenticity by means of conversational activities. It refers to authenticity as the way "subjective meaning-structures" (Schütz 1954: 270) are brought about and made intersubjective by certain interactional practices, i.e. it treats authenticity as a "first level construct".

forms and functions of written direct speech as described in the traditional copy theory of mimesis but treat direct speech as a narrative act in its own right.

2.2. *Direct speech as a narrative act*

The majority of studies which treat direct speech as a fully-fledged narrative act are influenced by *sociolinguistic studies of oral narrative genres* (especially Labov and Waletzky's works on story-telling, see Labov & Waletzky 1967; Labov 1972, 1997), by *Conversation Analysis* (cf. Sacks 1964-1972/2005; Psathas 1995; Schegloff 2007; ten Have 2007; Hutchby & Wooffitt 2008) and by *Discourse Analysis* (cf. Schiffrin 1993; Schiffrin, Tannen and Hamilton 2003). These studies take the view that direct speech is first of all tied to local contextual circumstances rather than to characteristics of prior speech events (cf. Tannen 1986, 1989; Macauley 1987; Mayes 1990; Mathis & Yule 1994; Holt 1996, 2009; Günthner 1997, 1999, 2002; Kotthoff 1997, 2005, 2008; Vincent & Perrin 1999; Bredel 1999; Golato 2000, 2002; Buchstaller 2001 and Ehmer 2011, amongst others). Tannen, for example, presents a multitude of examples from everyday talk-in-interaction which show that narrative direct speech often does not refer mimetically to a given utterance in a past speech event but represents a performance of the speaker which is immediately tied to the given context (cf. Tannen 1989: 110ff)⁹ – a performance which has been shown to express "involvement" (Tannen 1986: 324), to add "liveliness" (Macauley 1987: 29) or "vividness" (Romaine & Lange 1991: 228) to the narrative, to "dramatize key elements" (Mayes 1990: 348; Holt 2000: 447), to "act as evidence" (Mayes 1990: 354; Holt 1996: 230), to create animated "mental spaces" (Ehmer 2011) or to "typify" the kind of utterance or thought that is made in the situation someone is talking about (Mazeland 2006: 354).

The empirical studies of direct speech in everyday narrative conversation do not only show that the copy theory of mimesis yields a restricted view of the *functions* of direct speech; they also reveal the multifarious *forms* it can assume in spoken talk-in-interaction. Formally, spoken direct speech differs from written direct speech in at least two important respects:

- (i) Spoken direct speech allows for *non-canonical reporting frames* such as "*be like*" (Schorup 1982a: 32ff; Tannen 1986: 321; Meehan 1991; Romaine & Lange 1991; Yule, Mathis, and Hopkins 1992; Ferrara & Bell 1995; Tagliamonte & Hudson 1999; Macauley 2001; Buchstaller 2001; Cukor-Avila 2002; D'Arcy 2004; Lamerichs & te Molder 2009), "*go*" (Butters 1980; Schorup 1982b; Tannen 1986: 317; Yule, Mathis, and Hopkins 1992; Cukor-Avila 2002) or "*zero-framing*" (Tannen 1986: 318ff; Yule, Mathis, and Hopkins 1992; Mathis & Yule 1994; D'Arcy 2004) in English, "*ba*" (Eriksson 1995) in Swedish, "*NP + so*" (Golato 2000), "*(so) von wegen*" (Bücker 2008: 16ff) and "*(so) nach dem*

⁹ Tannen suggests rejecting the traditional notion of "reported speech" in favour of the notion of "constructed dialogue" which, from her point of view, expresses the constructive and dialogical character of direct speech much better (see Günthner 1997 as well). See also Kotthoff (2006: 165f) concerning "Dialoganimationen" ('dialogue animations'). I use the term "direct speech" in this study since it is the established linguistic notion.

Motto" (Bücker 2009) in German or "*van*" (Mazeland 2006) in Dutch.¹⁰ Some of these studies offer important new insights into language change processes which are different from grammaticalization as described by Lehmann (1995) and others (cf. Meehan 1991; Romaine & Lange 1991; Eriksson 1995: 30ff; Tagliamonte & Hudson 1999: 149ff; Golato 2000: 33ff; Buchstaller 2001; D'Arcy 2004 and Güldemann 2008, for example).

- (ii) Spoken direct speech can be *stylized prosodically*. Whereas traditional approaches tend to marginalize the role of prosody in direct speech, Günthner (1997, 1999, 2002), Klewitz/Couper-Kuhlen (1999) and Deppermann (2007) show that prosodic features such as shifting the pitch register are effective stylistic devices for *individualizing figures* (cf. Ehmer 2011 concerning "animated speech", too) and marking the *beginning* ("quote") and the *end* ("unquote") of reported speech in talk-in-interaction.

The "narrative act" approach to direct speech is a striking and convincing alternative to the traditional copy theory of mimesis since it puts the study of direct speech in narrative talk-in-interaction on a solid empirical basis. It shows convincingly that the narrator's perspective cannot be separated from the narrated events (see Günthner 2000: 279ff). Nevertheless, the basic distinction between the *narrator's world* and the *narrated world* should not be rejected since person deictics, for example, either refers to a person relative to the narrator's "ego-hic-et-nunc" or to a character relative to a narrated "ego-hic-et-nunc" (Bühler 1934/1978). Hence, I will stick to these notions while I will focus on the following functional and formal dimensions of direct speech within the multitude of forms and functions which have already been observed:

- (i) From a narrative and Positioning Theory point of view, direct speech is a powerful means for *narrative metalepsis* (more or less obvious kinds of intervention of the narrator in the narrated event)¹¹ in order to *position* both discourse participants in the narrator's world and characters within the narrated world with regard to a normative point of reference (see section 3).
- (ii) From a syntactic and semantic point of view, reporting frames such as "von wegen" and "nach dem Motto" in German are an effective means for metaleptical positioning under the conditions of spoken talk-in-interaction (ephemerality, linearity, dialogicality): Their high degree of syntactic autonomy provides for *positional flexibility* while their *lack of lexicalized restrictions* allows for a profoundly *ekphrastic*¹² transformation of the new Bakhtinian "voice" (Bakhtin 1984) they introduce (see section 4).¹³

¹⁰ Cf. Schorup (1982a: 32ff) for reporting frames in Tok Pisin, Lahu, Buang and Sanskrit, Bolden (2004) for reporting frames in Russian, Ebert (1986) for reporting frames in Chamling, Nepali and Newari, and Güldemann (2008) for reporting frames in several African languages, too.

¹¹ Even though the concept of narrative metalepsis has been introduced within literary criticism first (see Genette 1972, 2004), this phenomenon is important for everyday talk-in-interaction as well. The traditional rhetorical notion "metalepsis" refers to a certain figure of speech and has a different meaning.

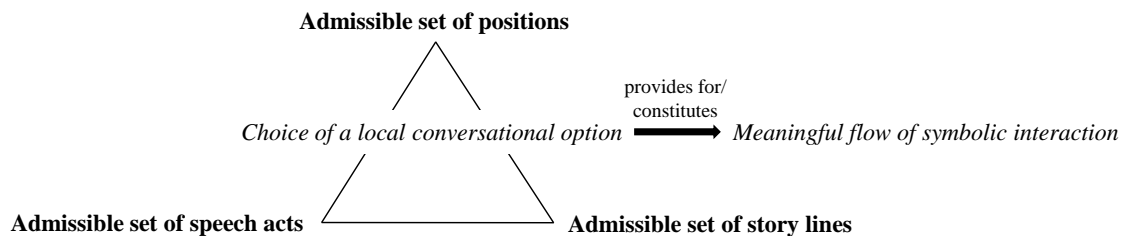
¹² I use the notion of "ekphrasis" in a broader rhetorical sense here, adopted to the specific case of narrative conversation; that is I regard ekphrasis as a narrative way of bringing the experience of a narrated event to the audience by means of a highly detailed embodied and vivid performance in order to establish a common ground (Clark & Brennan 1991; Clark 1996) with someone who has not encountered the narrated situation/event.

¹³ In accordance with Bakhtin's works, I will not restrict the notion of "voice" to phonological and prosodic features of utterances but regard a voice in narrative discourse as the full panoply of

3. Direct speech as a means for metaleptical positioning

Positioning Theory is concerned with the "microgenesis" of flexible local systems of sense-making (Korobov & Bamberg 2004), i.e. emergent conversational activities which ensure the meaningfulness of symbolic interaction and displays of identities.¹⁴ In traditional approaches to Positioning Theory, positioning is regarded to be primarily a choice between local conversational options which are provided by discourse in a given moment ("*being positioned*" approach, cf. Bamberg 2004: 136ff; Korobov & Bamberg 2004: 475ff). These options can be represented in terms of a "positioning triangle" (cf. Harré & van Langenhove 1999: 6ff; Harré & Moghaddam 2003: 5ff) which, for a given moment in story-telling, correlates (i) a local set of available *positions*, (ii) a local repertoire of admissible *speech acts* and (iii) one or more *story lines* the participants of the speech event are interactively working on more or less continuously:

Figure (1) Positioning triangle



In contrast to such a "being positioned" approach, Bamberg, Deppermann and others relate themselves to a "*positioning itself*" approach to Positioning Theory and argue convincingly that positional options in talk-in-interaction are not subjected to discursive determinism but are purposefully constructed by the interactants as a part of a conversational context which is basically "the outcome of participants' joint efforts to make it available" (Auer 1992: 22). Hence, positioning can be regarded as being accomplished interactively and locally in the course of everyday narrative talk-in-interaction (cf. Bamberg 1997; Korobov & Bamberg 2004; Lucius-Hoene & Deppermann 2000, 2004; Deppermann & Lucius-Hoene 2008; Günthner & Bückler 2009). Furthermore, according to Du Bois (2007: 163), positioning is a constitutive act in the complex language game of *stance-taking*:¹⁵

Stance is a public act by a social actor, achieved dialogically through overt communicative means, of simultaneously evaluating objects, positioning subjects (self and others), and aligning with other subjects, with respect to any salient dimension of the sociocultural field.

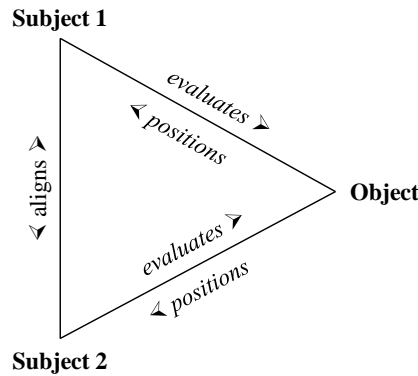
conversational practices which show that the local business at hand is positioning narrated characters as well as discourse participants.

¹⁴ See Davies & Harré (1990), Harré & van Langenhove (1999), Harré & Moghaddam (2003), Harré, Moghaddam, Pilkerton, Cairnie, Rothbart, and Sabat (2009), Bamberg (1997, 2004), Korobov & Bamberg (2004), Wolf (1999), Lucius-Hoene & Deppermann (2000, 2004), Deppermann & Lucius-Hoene (2008), Goblirsch (2005), Tirado & Gálvez (2007) and Günthner & Bückler (2009).

¹⁵ See also Kärkkäinen (2006), who studies stance-taking in spoken talk-in-interaction.

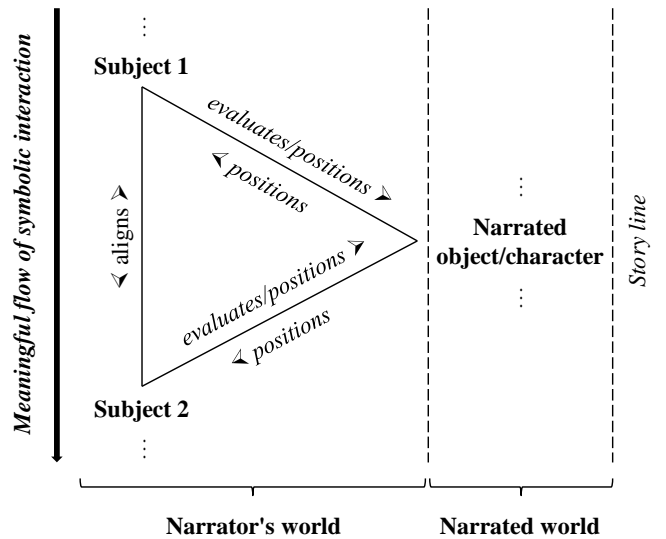
Du Bois (2007: 144) defines positioning as "the act of situating a social actor with respect to responsibility for stance and for invoking sociocultural value", and he suggests representing the relation between positioning and stance-taking graphically in terms of a "stance triangle" (cf. Du Bois 2007: 163):

Figure (2) The stance triangle



Du Bois' stance triangle provides a useful analytic tool for the analysis of conversational positioning and stance-taking, but it needs to be modified and extended slightly in order to adapt it to the specific case of narrative talk-in-interaction. In particular, it is useful to integrate the distinction between the narrator's world and the narrated world into the scheme:¹⁶

Figure (3) Positioning within stance-taking in narrative talk-in-interaction



¹⁶ Furthermore, I replaced "subject 1 evaluates > object" with "subject 1 evaluates/positions > narrated object/character" and "subject 2 evaluates > object" with "subject 2 evaluates/positions > narrated object/character"; it seems to be more appropriate to me to distinguish between the *evaluation* of a narrated (nonhuman) *object* and the *positioning* of a narrated (human) *character*.

Figure (3) accounts for the fact that direct speech is a multifaceted narrative and interactional means that a narrator (= subject 1) can employ to (i) accomplish a certain story line, (ii) to position a character in the narrated world and (iii) to position himself and another discourse participant (= subject 2) in the narrator's world (bilateral positioning).¹⁷ Since the performance of direct speech is a creative and constructive act in its own right, it provides for the possibility of *narrative metalepsis*, i.e. it can be put to use with the objective of intervening purposefully in the narrated event while positioning a character in the narrated world and discourse participants in the narrator's world.¹⁸ Such *metaleptical positioning* is usually an integral part of a *normative* kind of stance-taking, namely the local and interactional constitution of everyday behavioural norms (cf. Günthner 1997, 1999, 2000). This has been shown, for example, with regard to narrators "playing with the voice of the other" (Deppermann 2007) in order to position themselves and characters they are talking about as committed or non-committed to what they see to be a locally relevant normative or moral point of reference.¹⁹ Hence, analyzing direct speech as a means for metaleptical positioning and normative stance-taking in narrative talk-in-interaction makes it possible to add the conversational construction of everyday morality as a specific dimension to the Labovian notion of "evaluation" (Labov & Waletzky 1967; Labov 1972, 1997) which is considered relevant in many "narrative act" studies of direct speech.²⁰

There are basically four reasons that the view of positioning-in-interaction represented in figure (3) might be more appropriate to account for positioning activities by means of direct speech in everyday narrative conversation in comparison to a more traditional approach (see figure 1):

- (i) It is based on the *mutual activities of (at least) two speaking agents* (subject 1, subject 2) who jointly develop a certain story line, not on supposed sets of propositions and illocutions provided by discourse and chosen by semi-agentive

¹⁷ However, direct speech can also be put to use with regard to "nonhuman speakers" (cf. Tannen 1989: 118f).

¹⁸ Since narrative metalepsis transcends the borders between the narrator's world and the narrated world, the dividing line between both spaces is dotted in order to show that the boundary is fuzzy sometimes. Bamberg (1997: 339) calls attention to the difference between the positioning of characters in a narrative event and the relationships between narrator and audience, too. Furthermore, this view of positioning-in-interaction as a part of stance-taking can be related to the three levels of Positioning Analysis that Bamberg (2004, 2011a, b, forthcoming) distinguishes: We can analyze how a speaker employs certain narrative and interactional means (Positioning Analysis level 2) in order to position a character in the story line as well as himself vis-à-vis his conversational partner (Positioning Analysis level 3). The conversational partner can, in return, accept or negotiate the presuppositions and identity claims of his predecessor speaker (Positioning Analysis level 1).

¹⁹ Cf. Harré, Moghaddam, Pilkerton Cairnie, Rothbart, and Sabat (2009: 6) as well who emphasize that "[p]ositioning theory adds a previously neglected dimension to the processes of cognition – namely concepts and principles from the local moral domain, usually appearing as beliefs and practices involving rights and duties".

²⁰ Many studies of direct speech following Labov and Waletzky's narratological framework add aspects such as the creation of "involvement", "liveliness" or "vividness" to the criterion of reportability. Such dimensions of entertainment can be an important element of direct speech in everyday story-telling. Günthner, Kotthoff and Deppermann, for example, have shown that telling a story and reconstructing dialogue can result in little performances in the course of which the audience participates actively and acknowledges the story-teller with applause to make the performance an interactional success (cf. Günthner 2000: 244ff; Kotthoff 2006; Deppermann 2007). Furthermore, Kotthoff (2006) characterizes jokey communication as "talk-shows" in the literal sense due to its interactional accomplishment by both the speakers and the audience.

discourse participants. Prototypically, one of the speaking agents is the narrator and the other is the audience, but these roles are neither fixed nor to be understood in terms of a passive role (audience) and an active role (narrator). Instead, they are continually accomplished by both speakers and, hence, can merge and rotate flexibly if required (for example, a member of the audience can become a co-narrator; see Günthner 2000: 254ff).

- (ii) It is *turn-based* (subject 2's turn follows subject 1's turn), i.e. the activities of the interlocutors and the microgenesis of flexible local systems of sense-making are represented as integral parts of the temporal and sequential order of talk-in-interaction.²¹ In doing so, positioning is treated not as a precondition but as an integral and sequential part of the meaningful flow of narrative interaction.
- (iii) It distinguishes between the two *main spaces of deictic reference* in narrative conversation (narrator's world and narrated world), and it connects both spaces in terms of the evaluating and/or positioning activities of the interlocutors who both refer to a certain narrated object or character in the story line. This makes it possible to account for narrative metalepsis as the creative and context-driven intervention of the narrator in the narrated event in order to establish a normative point of reference. It has already been shown that prosody is an important resource for the contextualization (Cook-Gumperz & Gumperz 1978; Gumperz 1992; Auer 1986, 1992; Schmitt 1993) of narrative metalepsis – it allows for a multitude of ways to stylize narrated characters and to position them as succeeding or failing to conform to a certain norm (Günthner 1997, 1999; Klewitz & Couper-Kuhlen 1999; Deppermann 2007). In the following, I will try to show that non-canonical reporting frames such as "von wegen" and "nach dem Motto" are an effective means to indicate narrative metalepsis, too.
- (iv) It shows that the meaningfulness of positioning-in-interaction is a "*joint project*" (Clark, 1996) of discourse participants who synchronize their activities on the affective, topical and interactional level within the complex language game of *stance-taking* (cf. the alignment between subject 1 and subject 2).²²

4. Metaleptical positioning by means of "von wegen" and "nach dem Motto"

In the following, I would like to discuss two conversational examples of how narrators can perform direct speech in order to position a narrated character, themselves and other discourse participants within a local language game of stance-taking. In both examples, the direct speech is initiated by means of a non-canonical reporting frame which is common in spoken German but rather rare in written language. I would like to show that both examples can be represented and analyzed by means of the revised and

²¹ Analysing positioning from a sequential point of view is necessary because assessments, as an integral part of positioning (Bamberg 1997: 340ff), have shown to be sequentially implicative: Once a first assessment is uttered a second assessment in one of the following turns is expected as well as subject to local preference structures; hence, its absence would be noticeable and leave the assessment sequence uncompleted (see Pomerantz 1984).

²² I'm following Sarangi, who considers alignment as "both well-synchronised turn-taking and a display of shared understanding of what is talked about and what participant roles are expected at a particular point in time" (cf. Sarangi 2010: 179).

extended version of Du Bois' stance triangle in section (3) (cf. figure 3). The examples are taken from the "Linguistische Audio-Datenbank (IAuDa)" database, which is hosted and maintained at the University of Münster (Germany). They are transcribed following the "Gesprächsanalytisches Transkriptionssystem 2" (GAT 2; cf. section 6 and Selting et al. 2009). The data is made anonymous.

4.1. Two case studies

The first example comes from a German radio phone-in talk show broadcasted by the Western German regional public broadcaster "Westdeutscher Rundfunk" (WDR). In the show, listeners call in and chat with the host, Jochen Dehling, about their experiences, opinions, problems, concerns and issues (thematical restrictions apply at times). The aim of the show is to offer a stage as well as some kind of counselling service or life coaching to the callers, but the host also aims to make the conversations interesting and entertaining to his wider audience. In the following excerpt Dehling (D) and Christoph (C) talk about a large lottery jackpot Christoph has won. Christoph has not informed anyone yet with the exception of his grandparents, and Dehling is rather sceptical right from the start of their talk: He asks Christoph repeatedly for evidence of the truthfulness of his story, thereby implicitly challenging Christoph's reliability as a narrator (cf. lines 1-4 and 11-12). For this reason Christoph not only answers Dehling's question concerning a telephone call with the lottery incorporation in order to verify his lottery prize (cf. lines 13-15) but he also restages his call by means of direct speech (cf. 17-19):

Example (1-1) Lottery jackpot

- 1 D: =äh du bist aber ↑SICHer.
 eh but you are sure
- 2 dass das wirklich STIMMT,
 that this is really true
- 3 dass das nIch IRgendwie;
 that this is not somehow
- 4 manch[mal beKOMM-]=
 sometimes (one) gets
- 5 C: =[JA_ja;
 yeah yeah
- 6 JA_ja;]
 yeah yeah
- 7 NÄ;;
 No
- 8 das is ALles Absolut;
 all of this is absolutely
- 9 das is ALles stAAtlich;
 *all of this is state-run*²³

²³ It is not completely clear if "staatlich" really means "run by the state" or rather "above board".

- 10 und das [isses;]
 and that's it
- 11 D: [h_hast] du denn mit dEnen noch mal telefon↑I:ERT?
 have you talked to someone on the phone yet?
- 12 oder [irgend-]=
 or some(how)
- 13 C: =[JA_ja;]
 yeah yeah
- 14 da stand ne teleFONnummer drUnter;
 there was a telephone number under it
- 15 und ich hAb da auch ANgerufen_ne;
 and I called it
- 16 D: [ach SO;]
 I see
- 17 → C: [von wegen] <<character voice> HÖRNse mA!;
 like "listen"²⁴
- 18 → was SOLL das hIEr;
 "what's that supposed to mean"
- 19 → wIE wIE [fangen] sie eigentlich ihre !KUN!den;>
 "how are you trying to trap your customers"
- 20 D: [hm,]
 hm
- 21 C: hAb ich geSACHT;=NE?
 (that's what) I said, right

What Christoph is doing here can be described in terms of metaleptical positioning: By demonstrating vividly how he has questioned the validity of his winning notification in the course of the telephone call, he positions his narrated self in the *narrated world* as a sceptic who assumes to be deceived by a fake winning notification designed to win new customers; simultaneously, he positions himself in the *narrator's world* vis-à-vis Dehling as a reliable narrator whose credibility has been challenged but who had thoroughly verified the validity of the subject-matter he is talking about.²⁵

Dehling, in return, reacts by means of "change-of-state tokens" (Heritage 1984) in lines (16) and (20), and his follow-up turn oscillates between an "account" (Heritage 1988) concerning his scepticism and a further attempt to question the believability of his story (cf. lines 22-27):

Example (1-2) Lottery jackpot

- 22 D: ja.=mAnchmal bekommt man auch_so auch_so so_WERbematerial.

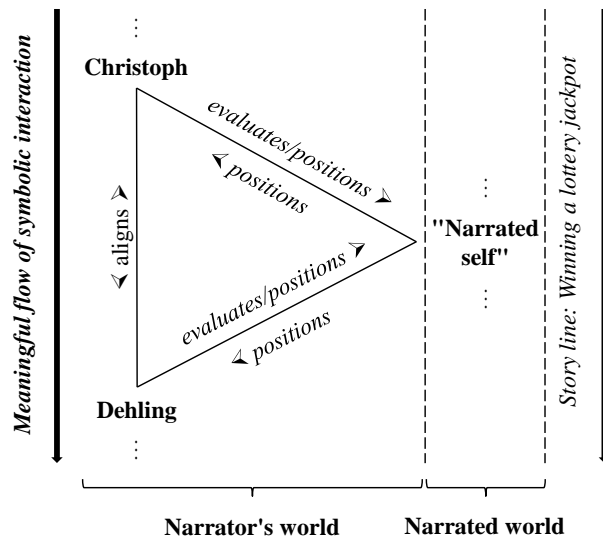
²⁴ The quotation marks indicate the narrated character of the stretch of talk they embrace.

²⁵ Rhetorically, this could be analyzed as a kind of "ethos"-driven argumentation in the sense of Aristotle which is aimed at Christoph's narrative reputation (cf. Barnes 1984; Perelman & Olbrechts-Tyteca 1969 with regard to a rhetorical approach to the notion of "ethos").

- yeah sometimes one gets advertising material*
- 23 sIe ham geWONnen?
"you have won"
- 24 aba (.) dann stEhen da noch tausend sachen DRUNter?
but followed by thousands of hints
- 25 öh (.) man würde eventuell öh_öh gewInnen WENN.=ne,
eh maybe one would eh eh win if, right
- 26 kOmmt dann RAUS,=
(this) becomes apparent
- 27 =HINterher.
afterwards
- 28 C: [ja:-]
Yes
- 29 D: [<<all> aba bei] DIR is es dEfinitiv.>
but in your case it is definitive
- 30 C: bei MIR is das dEfinitiv.
in my case it is definitive

Christoph's prolonged response token "ja:-" ('yes') in line (28) indicates upcoming disagreement, but Dehling quickly occupies the turn again in order to offer Christoph the possibility to ratify the validity of his story (lines 29-30). After Christoph has confirmed the validity of his story in line (30), Dehling accepts Christoph's claim that his story is true for the rest of their conversation, i.e. he does not directly challenge his narrative credibility again. Hence, both discourse participants manage to align their activities against the institutional context of the radio phone-in talk show by negotiating their positions – they bring Dehling's claim to be a candid and attentive conversational partner into agreement with Christoph's claim that his story is true. Christoph's metaleptical positioning in lines (13-21) is an integral part of this alignment. Its contribution to the accomplishment of the story line and the negotiation of local identities that orient themselves to the moral claim of narrative sincerity can be illustrated as follows:

Figure (4) Positioning within stance-taking in example (1)



The second example also shows that metaleptical positioning is context-driven and a matter of negotiation. It comes from a private conversation between two female university students talking about their studies. Both are rather dissatisfied with the current situation at their university and exchange stories detailing their experiences. For most of the conversation, Inge (I) is talking while Stefanie (S) is more concerned with asking questions. In the stretch of talk presented here, Inge complains about overcrowded classes (cf. lines 1-9). After a pause (line 11), both Inge and Stefanie start to talk (cf. the overlap in lines 12 and 13), but Stefanie prevails and brings up a new aspect – lecturers who are demotivated due to the situation as well and are unwilling to examine their students in an acceptable manner (cf. line 14):

Example (2) Academic studies

- 1 I: du sitzt Irgendwo in der letzten REIHe,
 you are sitting somewhere in the back row
- 2 verSTECKST dIch,
 hide
- 3 wenn du überHAUPT_n stUHL kriss,
 if you get a seat at all
- 4 woDRAUF du sitzen darfst,
 on which you may sit
- 5 [Oder] sitzt irgendwo auf_m BO:den,
 or (you) sit somewhere on the floor
- 6 S: [hm;]
 hm
- 7 I: Oder im FENSter,
 or in the window recess
- 8 Oder (.) °h keine AHnung,
 or... (I) don't know
- 9 dIE erfahrung haben wir zumindest AUCh alle gemacht,

at least we all have had this experience as well

- 10 S: hm,
hm
- 11 (-)
- 12 [hm;]
hm
- 13 I: [und] ähm;
and ehm
- 14 S: da haben die do[zEnten] auch nicht wirklich mehr bock dann
vernünftig zu PRÜfen_ne;
*the lecturers are not really in the mood to examine (us) in an acceptable manner then
either*
- 15 I: [ja;]
yeah
- 16 ja;
yeah
- 17 <<dim> und ich mein du ARbeitest dann selber auch nicht
wirklich mit,
and I mean you don't really participate actively either
- 18 davOn mal ganz ABgesehen;>
apart from that
- 19 S: nä;
nope
- 20 (.)
- 21 wenn die das dann EH nach Unterrichts oder,
when they do it like school anyway or
- 22 ich ich nach dem mOtto wie ne VORlesung machen,
I I along the lines of do it like a lecture
- 23 → <<character voice> ICH zieh meinen stOff durch,
"I march through my material"
- 24 → und sEht zu wie ihr KLAR kommt,>
"and you figure it out yourselves"
- 25 wei:l ich glaub die sind ja auch ALLE nicht mehr wirklich
bereit;=
because I think they are all not really willing anymore
- 26 =dann (.) Achtzig HAUSarbeiten zu lesen_ne;
to read eighty student papers then, are they
- 27 I: hm-
hm

Stefanie's argumentation differs from Inge's argumentation to the extent that she does not only consider the impact of bad conditions on the students but also takes the lecturers' point of view into consideration. Inge, in return, agrees but focuses again on the perspective of the students, who are demotivated as well and, thus, often do not take an active role in their courses (cf. lines 17 and 18). Note that Inge both uncouples her argument from Stefanie's preceding argument ("davOn mal ganz ABgesehen;" 'apart from that', line 18) and plays it down prosodically by continuously turning down her voice. This indicates that Stefanie has left Inge's preferred line of argument (which focuses on the students' perspective) but that Inge does not want to force Stefanie to follow this line.

After that, Stefanie adopts Inge's view by means of an agreement token and a collaborative turn format (Lerner, 1991, 2004): She produces a turn-constructive unit which syntactically and semantically depends on Inge's preceding turn (cf. "<<dim> und ich mein du ARbeitest dann selber auch nicht wIrklich mit [...]" ⇔ "[...] wenn die das dann EH nach Unterrichts oder, ich ich nach dem mOtto wie ne VORlesung machen," 'and I mean you don't really participate actively either [...]' ⇔ '[...] when they do it like school anyway or I I along the lines of do it like a lecture'). In doing so, Stefanie integrates her turn immediately into Inge's preceding turn and expands Inge's position²⁶ in order to produce an argumentative "Datum" (Toulmin 1958) and a "Greek chorus" type of direct speech (cf. Tannen 1986: 313f and 1989: 113f): She restages a chorus of lecturers saying in one voice that they won't consider their students' needs and demands (cf. lines 23 and 24). This makes it possible for Stefanie to repeat her preceding argument (line 14) in a slightly varied form (cf. lines 25 and 26)²⁷ and to embed it into Inge's line of argument. By means of this, Stefanie displays that she regards her argument to be a cohesive, coherent and supportive part of what Inge has said. This is also shown by the fact that Stefanie tries to support her argument by means of a reference to Inge's personal experiences (see lines 28-37); this, however, fails since Inge cannot confirm that she has experienced what Stefanie has described (line 38):

- 28 S: wie HAM se das_das bei EUch geregelt?=
how do they deal with it in your case
- 29 =mIt den: (0.5) mIt den SCHEIN mIt dem SCHEINerwerb?
concerning the concerning the credit concerning the achievement of credits
- 30 I: ((schmatzt)) inwieFERN jEtzt.
(smacks) in what way now
- 31 S: JA dUrch-? WAR das nich auch irgendwie sO,
well through wasn't it somehow like
- 32 dass du so vIEle LEUte hattest,
that you had so many people
- 33 und dEr dann gesACHT hat.
and then he said
- 34 NEE ich_ich lass keine hAUarbeiten schreiben?

²⁶ Cf. Mazeland (2009) with regard to "position expansions" ("Positionsexpansionen").

²⁷ Cf. Tannen (1989), Wong (2000), Norrick (2000: 57ff) and Perrina, Deshaies, and Paradis (2003) concerning different forms of repetition in conversation.

35 *"nope I I don't let essays be written"*
 (1.0)

36 sondern nUr nUr nUr klauSÜren?=
"but only only only exams"

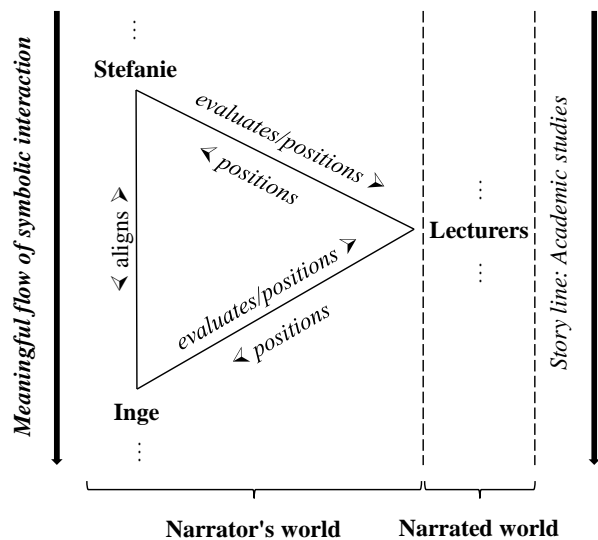
37 =oder wie auch Immer?
or whatever

38 I: nee in literatUr (jetzt) hatten wa das eigentlich noch
 NICH?
 nope that has not been the case in literary studies (now)

39 S: hm.

Just like in example (1), a performance of direct speech is employed in example (2) in order to position characters in the story line and discourse participants in the narrator's world with regard to a local moral point of reference (= proper ways of dealing with the academic needs of students). Stefanie positions the lecturers in the story line by means of direct speech as persons who are not interested in their students' issues. Simultaneously, she positions herself vis-à-vis Inge as a supporter of her line of argumentation, thereby establishing argumentative convergence. Inge, in return, does not clearly accept Stefanie's narrative "category-animation" (Deppermann 2007: 336ff) as a contribution to her argument. Hence, Stefanie's metaleptical positioning (illustrated in figure 5) becomes a matter of negotiation, similar to Christoph's metaleptical positioning in example (1).

Figure (5) Positioning within stance-taking in example (2)



4.2. "von wegen" and "nach dem Motto" as flexible and ekphrastic exponents of a "grammar-of-talk"

The preceding section has shown by way of two examples how direct speech can allow for metaleptical positioning, i.e. the creative and concurrent positioning of characters in the narrated world and discourse participants in the narrator's world within a larger language game of normative stance-taking:

- (i) In the "lottery jackpot" example, Christoph defends his narrative credibility against Dehling's requests, thereby indicating a high degree of commitment to the story he is telling. He is doing direct speech in order to provide vivid "evidence" (Mayes 1990: 354; Holt 1996: 230) for his claim of authenticity. In doing so, he reveals that he regards narrative authenticity and sincerity as a locally relevant normative point of reference.
- (ii) In the "academic studies" example, Stefanie expresses the high degree of commitment to her argument by means of repeating it in a slightly modified form. She does direct speech in order to establish a joint line of argument after Inge indicated her perception of an argumentative disjunction, thereby showing that she regards the students' point of view on a proper way of dealing with their academic needs as the locally relevant normative point of reference: Her "category-animation" allows her to follow Inge's line of argument, which adopts the students' point of view.

Syntactically, both speakers employ non-canonical linguistic resources to accomplish their current interactional business: In the "lottery jackpot" example, Christoph uses "von wegen" as a part of the reporting frame (cf. Bückler 2008) while in the "academic studies" example, Stefanie is initiating direct speech by means of "nach dem Motto" (see Bückler 2009). Both reporting frames have advantages over their common written counterparts (especially clauses with verbs of saying or thinking) due to the medial characteristics of spoken conversation (ephemerality, linearity, dialogicality):

- (i) "Von wegen" and "nach dem Motto" introduce syntactically independent turn-constructive units which do not adhere to the subcategorization specifications of preceding verbs. Nonetheless, they are able to tie these turn-constructive units back to the preceding predicate in terms of a modalizing relation. Due to this, "von wegen" and "nach dem Motto" can be realized spontaneously, "incrementally" (Ford, Fox, and Thompson 2002; Auer 1996, 2006; Couper-Kuhlen & Ono 2007) and without syntactic restrictions subsequent to syntactically already finished turn-constructive units in order to continue and expand them whenever necessary.
- (ii) "Von wegen" and "nach dem Motto" are able to shift the deictic focus from the narrator's world to the narrated world in order to introduce a new voice but they do not subject this voice to lexicalized semantic restrictions. For example, the new voice is not restricted to expressing an item of speech or a thought as would be the case if one were to use a clause with a verb of saying or thinking – note

that constructions such as "er starrte mich an (*so*)²⁸ nach dem Motto/(*so*) von wegen 'Hau bloß ab!'" 'he stared at me *along the lines of/like* 'Get lost!' which do not have a verb of saying or thinking are perfectly fine and common in spoken German. Due to this, "von wegen" and "nach dem Motto" make it possible to ascribe a stretch of direct speech to a narrated character even if the preceding verb clearly shows that there actually has not been a prior speech event and that the direct speech is the creative and constructive result of the narrator intervening in the narrated world.

Thus, the high degree of syntactic autonomy provides for *positional flexibility* (it is possible to expand virtually every turn-constructional unit with a predicate by means of "von wegen" and "nach dem Motto" plus a new voice as long as the new voice can be tied back modally to a preceding predicate), while the lack of semantic restrictions allows for a profoundly ekphrastic transformation of the new voice into a "category-animation" (Deppermann 2007: 336ff) and a "stylization" (Günthner 1997, 1999, 2002): "Von wegen" and "nach dem Motto" make it possible to switch to a new voice spontaneously and to shape it according to certain local needs and demands, thereby not only "creating spectacular fragments of language" (Rampton 1999: 423) but also expressing an "internal" or "embedded evaluation"²⁹ in the sense of Labov and Waletzky (Labov & Waletzky 1967; Labov 1972: 371; Mayes 1990: 349f).³⁰ For this reason, "von wegen" and "nach dem Motto" can be considered to be flexible and ekphrastic exponents of a "*grammar-of-talk*". They are specialized in a normative kind of narrative metalepsis in spoken conversation, namely the intervention of the narrator in the story line by means of direct speech in order to position characters in the narrated world as well as discourse participants in the narrator's world with regard to a normative point of reference he considers to be locally relevant. Note that this perspective on the formal characteristics of direct speech is contrary to Thieroff's (2007: 224f) point of view that "[d]ie formalen Eigenschaften der direkten Rede sind optimal, da gegenüber der Primärrede praktisch nichts geändert werden muss [...]" (the formal characteristics of direct speech are optimal since practically nothing needs to be changed with regard to the Primärrede³¹ [...]). My translation, *J.B.*). In my opinion, it is more appropriate to put it just the other way around, at least concerning direct speech in spoken conversation: The formal characteristics of direct speech are optimal since they allow for the fundamental transformation of a stretch of talk into a massive "stance index" depending on the local demands and needs in talk-in-interaction.

²⁸ Both "nach dem Motto" and "von wegen" are often used in combination with the optional non-deictic particle "so", which is different from the obligatory deictic particle "so" in constructions such as "(und) ich so" (cf. Bückler 2009: 241).

²⁹ Labov and Waletzky regard "internal" or "embedded evaluation" as a kind of evaluation which is provided "on-line" and simultaneously during the course of the story line, that is the evaluation is accomplished without leaving the narrative frame.

³⁰ Cf. Günthner (1997, 1999, 2002), Klewitz & Couper-Kuhlen (1999) and Deppermann (2007) concerning the important role prosody plays for double-voicing and normative assessments in spoken conversation.

³¹ According to Thieroff, the "Primärrede" is the "speech act" which is represented by a stretch of direct speech (cf. Thieroff 2007: 212).

5. Conclusion – towards a linguistic narratology of direct speech in conversational story-telling

Since the traditional "copy theory of mimesis" approach to direct speech yields a rather restricted view of both the forms and functions of direct speech in everyday narrative talk-in-interaction, this study followed recent "direct speech as a narrative act" approaches and advanced a view of direct speech as a means to position oneself and others metaleptically with regard to a normative point of reference. The analysis of two examples taken from spoken conversation has shown that interactants can position narrated characters, themselves and other discourse participants, thereby revealing which normative point of reference they consider to be locally relevant. In doing so, they can employ reporting frames such as "von wegen" and "nach dem Motto" which deviate from canonical written reporting frames in several respects but which are, for this very reason, perfectly designed to be used under the conditions of spoken talk-in-interaction (ephemerality, linearity, dialogicality): Their high degree of syntactic autonomy provides for positional flexibility while their lack of lexicalized restrictions allows for a profoundly ekphrastic shaping of the new voice being introduced. Hence, "von wegen" and "nach dem Motto" can be considered to be flexible and ekphrastic exponents of a grammar-of-talk which are specialized in a normative kind of narrative metalepsis in spoken story-telling. Since they are typical for oral forms of interaction they require a *linguistic narratology of direct speech in conversational story-telling* which is based on natural data from spoken talk-in-interaction and which analyzes direct speech, positioning and stance-taking as integral parts of local sense-making in terms of a conversational and narrative "order at all points" (Sacks 1984 and Sacks 1964-1972/2005, I).

Transcription conventions

The examples cited in this study are transcribed according to the standards set out in the "Gesprächsanalytisches Transkriptionssystem 2" (GAT 2; cf. Selting et al. 2009). The following list comprises only those transcription conventions which occur in the samples:

Table (1) Selective list of transcription conventions following GAT 2

(i) Sequential features

| | |
|-----|--|
| [] | Two or more pairs of brackets mark a temporal overlap among turns produced by two or more speakers |
| = | The equal sign marks the end and the beginning of two intonation units which follow each other without an intervening gap ("latching") |

(ii) Pauses

-
- (1.8) Time specifications enclosed in parentheses indicate a timed pause measured in seconds and deciseconds
- (.) A period enclosed in parentheses indicates a micropause of less than 0.25 seconds
- (-) One or more hyphens enclosed in parentheses indicate a pause ranging from 0.25 to 0.75 seconds (the length of the pause is indicated by using one, two or three hyphens)

(iii) Pitch contour and pitch change

- ,
- A comma indicates a slightly rising pitch contour at the end of an intonation unit
- ?
- A question mark indicates a rising pitch contour at the end of an intonation unit
- ;
- A semicolon indicates a slightly falling pitch contour at the end of an intonation unit
- .
- A period indicates a falling pitch contour at the end of an intonation unit
-
- A hyphen indicates a neither rising nor falling pitch contour at the end of an intonation unit
- ↑ ↓
- Horizontal arrows indicate a sudden pitch change to a higher (↑) or a lower (↓) pitch level

(iv) Accentuation and volume

- GRANDfather
- Capitalization of a syllable indicates that the syllable carries the primary accent within the respective intonation unit
- grAndfather
- Capitalization of the nucleus of a syllable indicates that the syllable carries the secondary accent within the respective intonation unit
- ! !
- Exclamation marks indicate a syllable which is strongly stressed

(v) Further conventions

- °h
- A degree sign followed by an "h" indicates an audible inhalation of breath (the length of the inhalation is indicated by using one, two or three "h's")
- :
- Colon(s) indicate a sustained enunciation of a syllable (the length of the sustained syllable is indicated by using one, two or three colons)
- << operator> scope>
- Greater than/less than signs are used to define an operator which is valid for a stretch of talk within its scope; the operator "dim", for example, indicates a voice which is continuously turning down ("diminuendo")
-
- An underscore character indicates two turn-constructive units which follow each other without an intervening gap within an intonation unit
-
- Vertical arrows indicate important lines in the transcript

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