Interrogating Person Reference as a Marker of Conversational Genres

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1 Introduction

Different genres help to effectively communicate particular ideas, accomplish social actions, and frame social practice. Genres, in a sense, act as schema, or canvases, on which one can draw a full picture with all of its references to the common sense and previous discourse, and, at the same time, expect a very special type of response from the audience.

When talking to people, we tend to use already developed frameworks of participation (Goodwin & Goodwin, 2005) to accomplish particular needs. These frameworks help organize and structure conversation, by allowing speakers exploit particular linguistic varieties and devices. In this paper, I explore the connections between person reference in interaction and interaction as a continuum of conversational genres(?). Previous research shows that differing forms of person reference have differing structural and functional premises in face-to-face interactions. So, structural premises of person reference suggest that a form of reference directly depends on the structure of the conversation and the particular utterance it appears in. From this point of view, the semantic and metapragmatic meanings are irrelevant to speaker's choice of a reference form. Functional premises are such rules in reference form selection that arise from the cultural constraints on talking about people. In this perspective, the form of person reference is not necessarily established by the organization of a conversation as much as it is prescribed by the politeness rules of a speech community. Interestingly, genre is also the category that also can be defined by the structural or functional properties of discourse: genre categorizes text[1] or events either based on their construction or based on their function in larger discourse (Georgakopoulou & Goutsos, 2000; Swales, 1990; Briggs & Bauman, 1992). However, studies of interaction do not use this categorization model to

[1]In this paper I use the term 'text' in the same manner it is often used in discourse analysis to refer to any type of spoken and written discourse in general (Cameron & Panović, 2014)

examine the macro structures of conversation beyond (narrowly defined) social actions and speech events. Rather, theory of genre is most often employed in Discourse Analysis and Anthropology as a way to recognize conventional models of textual production and event representations. Here, I propose that the concept of conversational genre can be employed to talk about the organization of an interaction with regards to its efficacy in accomplishing particular social goals. Following the Georgakopoulou and Goutsos (2000) framework of narrative analysis, this paper argues that forms of person reference is one of the indices that help constitute the different conversational genres which are used to accomplish particular social goals and provide commentary on an established social practice.

The distinction of narrative and non-narrative types of text is described as essential in discourse, even if it is common to misidentify their boundaries. According to Georgakopoulou and Goutsos (2000), narrative is often theorized as a basic rhetorical text mode that opens possibilities for other ones. Because the distinction between these two modes is considered "latent" in this line of thought, these authors suggested to attend to multiple levels of analysis in order to decide their boundaries. Specifically, textual and contextual properties such as internal time sequences, assessments and some other features can differentiate text into the mentioned rhetorical modes. Especially important in this configuration, I suggest, is the use of terms of references as narrative and non-narrative modes operate with items of different semantic accessibility. So, because non-narrative tends to relate to the instantaneous mentions, it is expected that more absolute references would be most common and preferred. The instantaneous mentions here refer to the type of mentions that meet all of the required principle of reference, and, thus, absolute are the type of references that are the preferred ones according to the principles, or in other words, the types of references that *identify* a referent. However, since narratives aim to construct a certain view of reality, the identities of referred-to people need to be constructed in the duration of speech. As a result, it is hypothesized that more relational types of references, references that narrow down from

a field of possibilities (e.g., descriptors), would prevail. Nonetheless, the variation in the distribution of relative and absolute types of references would also indicate the blurred lines of these rhetorical modes and consequently, the conversational genres. [The paper is structured as follows:]

2 Theoretical background

Theories of genre dominate in the literary studies but have also been adopted in a range of social sciences and in humanities. Categorization of text or performance, approaches its analysis from two different perspectives simultaneously. On the one hand, genres imply internal structural similarities and differences. So, verse in poetry characterizes the poetic organization of the text. On the other hand, genre is also a functional categorization: a particular genre is often associated with the content and context of its text as well as the expected effect on the audience. Nonetheless, this concept is not particularly favored in linguistics due to its close conceptual proximity with other terms identifying linguistic variation, such as register, style, etc. Drawing from different approaches on genre in linguistic anthropology and discourse analysis, this section offers to accentuate the connection between genre and social practice (Hanks, 1987).

2.1 Genre vs. register

In linguistics, the focus on the metaprgmatic and metalinguistic aspects of text conflates genre with speech events and register, which prompted Swales (1990) to report that linguistics generally finds genre "indigestible" (p. 41). Similarly, Hymes (1974) also noted this conceptual similarity but argued that genres and speech events are different analytical tools: while he restricted speech events to the activities governed by rules for the use of speech, the concept of genre he associated with types of speech sharing similar structures but being

invoked at various situations. In his understanding, genre lacks functional component and texts and performances of same genre can be used with the same effect in different situations. As Swales (1990) noticed, this approach would mean that when a sermon is given outside of a funeral for satiric or political purposes, it remains to be a sermon with all of its effects and meanings. Meanwhile, according to Bakhtin, Holquist, McGee, and Emerson (1986), thinking that a genre remains same in different contexts, disregards the conventionalism and intertextuality as the essential features of genre and even lack functional properties . By emphasizing the functions and conditions of speech and utterance, Bakhtin suggested that genres appear in response to speech, differentiating self from style and grammar.

Similarly, the functional distinction seems to be a major aspect of confusing register and genre. Biber (2012, p. 191) defined register as "text varieties of a language associated with a particular situation of use," also suggesting that register corresponds with the differences in linguistic features according to the desired function of text. In order to differentiate it from genre, Biber suggested that genre analysis looks "beyond the sentence" unlike the studies in the register. Furthermore, he proposed also to distinguish the functional and conventional functions of genre: since both register and genre are defined as language variations dependent on the accomplishment of a particular effect, the main difference between them is that of a conventional use of genre. In other words, Biber argued that linguistic variation according to genre is socially expected to conform to particular rules of language use rather than distinct situational contexts (p. 193).

Following the "Hallidayean" approach to genre, Swales (1990) further disambiguated this distinction, stating that register and genre are on different levels of analysis. Register is described as *a tripartite system* in which each part (field, tenor, mode) responds to different level of text management (correspondingly: ideas, personal relations, and discourse). Importantly, the realization of the text management on each level can only be accomplished by language. Consequently, genre is proposed to be "underlying to register" – a level on which

things get done (Swales, 1990, p. 40). Thus, the relationship between genre and register is complementary, each of them is chosen independently in order to achieve the predetermined social goals.

Thinking of genre, **bakhtin1984** argued that generic differences appear from repetition of speech or utterance in different contexts. Such a view also suggests that it is nearly impossible to find such a speech or utterance that has not yet been produced to some degree at some time. Yet, what makes it different each time is the manipulation of the content by speakers to ensure expected outcome of the speaking. So, narrative genres in particular, Hyvärinen (2015, p. 181) suggested, "function as frames of orientation for the language users themselves within certain social practices." In other words, the main advantage of employing genre in analysis is the ability not only to categorize text or performance, but also observe their meaning and reception by a speech community. Ultimately, use of a particular genre in speech leads to creating and maintaining social practice by its employment of intertextuality (Briggs & Bauman, 1992) and iterdiscursivity (Wortham & Rhodes, 2015). *Intertextuality* can be defined as a structural principle of textuality that remains constant or recognizable across speech events (Wortham & Rhodes, 2015). Being produced and reproduced, distinguishing attributes of text may have specific effects in the speech community by triggering the available ideologies and relating them to the previous discourse (Bakhtin et al., 1986). *Interdiscursivity* specifies how ways of talking can establish chains of speech events, and eventually become associated with certain social types and evaluations creating the trajectories of accomplishing social processes (Agha, 2003, 3-4). Having the intertextual knowledge, audience is able to produce the appropriate reaction to text or a performance, which can be either realized in action, a verbal response, or even rejected. So, manipulations of genre are available not only to the authors, who can mix different ones and change the expectations of a reaction for the effects of humor, for example, but also to the audience who may not recognize features of intertextuality and reject the text (Bax, 2011). Importantly, the expectation of a reaction

indicates the field of possibilities based on the previous talk. In other words, every speech or utterance in the Bakhtinian view is "linked" to other ones that have come before it either verbally or orally (Bakhtin et al., 1986, p. 69)

2.2 Genre as social practice

Furthermore, in connecting genre to social practice, Hanks (1987) insisted that genres actually form the*linguistic habitus* of a speech community. In particular, he noted that genres cannot persist without the community who understands its conventions, intertextuality, and social meaning, which allows them to be recognized as the core of social practice. As an action within a community of practice, genre is conditioned by a set of symbolic characteristics forming a mental schema shared by the representatives of the community. Thus, Hanks concluded, genres like any other schema exist prior to any event of practice, organizing the linguistic habitus and yet prone to change and innovation with the changes in the society.

The variations in text and commonality in genre categories indicate that the two of them are different concepts of presentation. Text, being determined by registers and styles of speech, is a concrete product, whereas genre is only ideational because it can only outline or frame the main concepts of text depending on the context and the audience (Bax, 2011). The convenience of genre is expressed by its classificatory functions of text and in its overwhelming applicability to different types of speech events. Genre ultimately allows to distinguish similar patterns in structure, expectations, and presentation of text, and categorize texts with similar features together. The complexity of text, however, shows that genre categorization is not as unequivocal as it appears to be because of the fuzzy boundaries of textual categories and the possibilities of genre mixing. The capability of authors and speakers to mold their text in response to a varieties of factors makes hybridity of genres inevitable and complicates proper categorization of texts (Bax, 2011). On the other hand, Bakhtin et al. (1986) saw genre hybridity, or as they called it "flexibility," as an inherent feature of communication.

The creativity of speakers is essential in communication, which leads to pure impossibility of a comprehensive list of all of the speech genre. At the same time, they noted, that the better knowledge of genre opens up better possibilities in more ways of using them for social communication.

2.3 Discourse modes

A step toward creating a list of genre lays in the understanding of the varieties, conventions, and purposes of communication. So, the idea of discourse modes as the possible varieties of these processes describes distinct possibilities of using written and oral text for the purposes of achieving different contextual effects. Bax (2011, p. 54) explained that discourse modes are different from genre in a more abstract, pre-existing sense, by defining the possibilities of using the language rather than simply extracting its semantic meaning. Depending on the approach to discourse modes, they are usually recognized by what they are attempting to do: narrate, describe, and argue. An additional mode that is often included in this list is conversation, or dialog, which is also often conceived to be the essential abstract form of human communication (Bakhtin et al., 1986; Bax, 2011). As Bax explained it, genre can implement several discourse modes, so for example, in a novel one can find both conversations and narratives, neither of which change the structure or function of the novel genre.

Because narrative and interaction are considered essential in communication, they are highly accessible and available to all interlocutors. In fact, when trying to outline discourse modes, Georgakopoulou and Goutsos (2000) simply distinguished between narrative and non-narrative discourse. The simplicity of such an approach may not account for the variation in arguments and interaction, yet, it emphasizes the primacy of narrative in the everyday communication. Narratives fulfill multiple functions in our social activities, including socialization, processing of events, organization of the community, and ensuring the

cohesion of the culture (Georgakopoulou & Goutsos, 2000). The term "narrative" is being used in its broadest sense as a rhetorical mode that recounts or represents "some temporally instantaneous event" (p. 123). The main defining feature of this discourse mode is its referentiality: informed by the context of an interaction, narrative attempts to reconstruct the reality while non-narrative, or conversation, aims to verify or validate it. So, one thing that non-narrative modes, such as conversations, have in common is their tendency to establish truth by the means of different interactional techniques, such as interrogation, evaluation, argument, etc. While these techniques are also available in a narrative, they cannot be used without reproducing a durative event in the heights of the story.

Textually, both of the discourse modes differ in the pattern of their structures. Bakhtin et al. (1986) proclaimed dialog the most basic form of communication due to the simplicity of its structure: turn-taking in conversation, according to them, creates clear-cut boundaries between utterances while also maintaining the contextual relationship between them. So, speakers are aware that after a question in a conversation, the answer follows, organization so rigid that it is not observed anywhere else in language[2]. However, in narrative, a different structure emerges, indicating a specific pattern characteristic to this discourse mode. Because of its attempt to reproduce durative events in somewhat time-related manner, narrative discourse tends to have an internal time sequence organization that can be narrowed to orientation, complication and resolution (Labov & Waletzky, 1967). Additionally, non-narrative discourse uses a variety of features to organize itself, such as intonation, gaze, gesture, anaphora, pauses, interaction-specific syntax, etc., while narratives rely primarily on the features of its content (time, place, characters), rhythmic units, such as verse and stanza, and inferred or explicit causal connectors (Georgakopoulou and Goutsos 2000). With these considerations in mind, one would also expect more fine-grained distinctions in the way

[2]That is, a speaker cannot with full certainty predict what will follow after a word or a sound has been produced. The foreseeable relationships have only been described with regards to some colloquial terms and indioms and face-to-face interaction.

each of these modes uses language: in particular, with reference to style and register.

Having outlined the main concepts of each of these two discourse modes, I must also note that these modes are not exclusive, since conversational narrative is also a possibility that comes with a variety of its own structural, contextual and referential features. Norrick (2000) indicated that sequentiality of time, while often relevant, can be omitted in the narrative to appeal to a particular point. Moreover, the boundaries of a narrative are much less distinctive in a conversation because the narrative pattern may not follow the expected route (e.g., in a collaborative conversational narrative the sequence of events can unfold in a non-linear order) and may not have distinctive boundaries even in the beginning and the end. Yet, previous research on conversational narrative showed it to be a particular type of discourse differentiated from other modes with register unraveling some of the minor differences between them.

In general, when talking about discourse, the previous research argued that it consists of different levels of performance differentiated by the function and structure of talk together contributing to the creation of social meaning. Here, I discussed how the concept of genre can be understood in relation to the broader concept of discourse, and based on the previous studies I suggest that it takes an intermediate position between discourse modes and registers. Discourse modes, unlike genre, outline only the contextual and textual features of the text which normally refer to the general structure and specific devices that it uses. Unlike genre, rhetorical modes are not patterned by agreed-upon conventions and do not influence social practice. On the opposite, they merely function as a frame of text presentation and genre may combine them. Registers, on the other hand, function as minimalistic representations of linguistic variation. By employing certain linguistic repertoires and varieties depending on the context, registers add metalinguistic information to the text. Genres are said to be in the intermediate level of text production as they combine the information provided by the registers and apply it within a particular discourse mode. Speakers know how to alternate

structural composition of text in order to achieve a particular response from the audience. Conceptualizing genres as conventional mental schemes, this approach accentuates the role of society in the production and reproduction of genre. In a sense, genres are presented here as "socially endorsed" as though only the speech community can agree upon their functions and features, while individual speakers have no control over them (Bax, 2011, p. 60).

So, while defining "genre," some of its features must be especially emphasized in order to distinguish it from other linguistic concepts such as speech event, register, style, and mode. What comes from the discussion above is that key aspects of genre are its functionality and conventionalism. So genres, unlike other concepts, perform particular discursive functions and are defined by socially accepted conventions on the presentation of the text and the proper reaction to it. Because of this strong connection between genres, conventions, and speech community, genres are argued to form part of the linguistic habitus of a speech community. Genres are also defined by their particular structures, which conform to the previously known productions of text. In their construction, genres can use a variety of linguistic devices in order to correspond with the appropriate expectations for production and reception, such as particular registers, styles of speaking, and varying grammatical features. At the same time, correlations of registers and genres can also indicate the successful comprehension and effect of text on social practice. With that, it is important to highlight that the connection between genre, registers, and styles of speaking is often mutually reinforcing and complex.

2.4 Conversational Genre

The concept of conversational genre is not a new one, and was previously introduced by Bakhtin as speech genre [3] to account for variation in style and organization of every-

[3]In the original, Mikhail Bakhtin named these *речевые жанры* which was translated as 'speech genres.' It is important to note that 'speech' or *речь* in this context does not refer to a practice of giving speeches. Rather, this notion treats speech as a process of speaking whether it is *to* or *with* someone. So, in my

day interactions. When introducing speech genres, Bakhtin et al. (1986, p. 65) compared them to "drive belts from the history of the society to the history of language," with which he emphasized the historical nature of the establishment of speech genres. In order for an utterance to become typical of a speech genre, it needs multiple repetitions, polishing, and experimenting. Importantly, according to this historical approach, speech genres are intricately connected with the society who creates and judges the acceptance of a new speech genre. This discussion proposes a concept of conversational genre as a subtype of speech genre and as an important analytical tool for the discussion of face-to-face interactions. The main goal of this concept is to interrogate them as necessary for deriving the social meaning of the full interaction. Because the conversational genres express the cultural rationale for structuring the talk and engaging in the sociocultural commentary of ideology and practice, it is argued that they are defined by culture and society itself and mimic the goals of the speech community.

In his original framework, Bakhtin et al. (1986) distinguished primary and secondary speech genres as a functional definition between them. The primary ones are what Bakhtin called 'simple' speech genres. Although he did not clearly define them, it appears from his juxtaposition that the primary speech genres as in fact the type of utterances that arise from verbal interactions that are not mediated and not contextualized in a particular style. Secondary, or complex, speech genres, Bakhtin argued, have roots in more organized and developed[4] forms of communication which also often have features of artistic, sociopolitical, and sophisticated nature. Such known genres as novels, scientific research, presidential address, etc. are considered secondary speech genres as they embody a complex of "unmediated speech" and correspond with the historical and sociopolitical contexts of their construction.

interpretation of Bakhtin, I use the term 'conversational genres' to account for the spoken aspect of speech and its interactional and emergent features.

[4]However, I would argue with Bakhtin that any form of communication is highly organized, even though it may appear simple, e.g. conversation.

With this, I can now clarify that the *conversational genres* that are being investigated in this paper are the primary speech genres in Bakhtin's framework, and they correspond with unmediated oral spontaneous discourse.

In a recent study of contemporary speech genres in Russian, Dementyev (2015) suggested to analyze speech genres with regards to diachronic and synchronic features. An ability to distinguish diachronic features of a genre would indicate sequential nature of its appearance. So for example, many of the contemporary spech genres found on the Internet today are secondary to the oral communication. So an instant messaging conversation online would be considered a secondary speech genre developed from face-to-face interaction and mediated by the means of technology. Synchronic features are precisely those features that distinguish between style and register – existing in the same timeline as the discourse, register and style define some of its elements and help to categorize the genre of speech. The development of new speech genres is not only historically determined (especially with the secondary ones), but it also relies on such linguistic processes as borrowing, semantic shift, and axiological factors. So Dementyev (2015, p. 81-82) argued that just like words or grammatical constructions, speech genres can be borrowed across languages, that their meanings can change change due to the dissonance between the factual and implied social meaning, that the knowledge of proper use of a speech genre is much more important than the knowledge of the genre itself. All of these factors that determine development of speech genres highlight that a speech genre is a complex of structural and functional elements, combination of which creates a discourse with particular social meaning grounded in the sociopolitical history of the speech community.

Outlining the methodology for studying speech genres, Dementyev (2015) suggested to use a set of parameters based both on the linguistic and discursive content of speech (Table 1). This methodology clearly bridges the gap between the functional and structural features of genre, and conceptualizes discourse as consisting of common structures, themes, modal-

Table 1: Parameters of speech genre according to Dementyev (2015, p. 84).

Parameter	**Description**
Subject of speech	indicates the main theme of a speech genre according to Bakhtin (1986)
Style	refers to the mode of communication which can relate either to the expressivity or pragmatics of the discourse
Lexicon	is composed of the key phrases used in the genre, its unofficial name and etymology
Syntactic structure	defines the composition of the discourse
Goal setting	refers the projected social meaning of the utterance or discourse
Primacy	whether the discourse is of primary or secondary speech genre
Social factor	the value (moral or aesthetic) that the utterance or discourse have in a given community
General cultural paradigm	cultural context which consists of language ideology, language policy, cultural isolation, and globalization
Communicational spheres	are the modalities salient for this discourse, including the information about the participants of this talk
Sources of material	historical and diachronic features of discourse

ities, styles, while pursuing a particular social goal in the ever-changing cultural context. As an example, Dementyev (2015) analyzed a speech genre of 'heart-to-heart conversation' (*разговор по душам* which is a common conversational speech genre practiced as a form of intimate talk between any acquainted or not acquainted people. In his analysis, Dementyev limited his data to the instances of it appearing online on discussion forums and found that nearly all parameters of this speech genre are mimicked online. There are three features that he emphasized as crucial for this speech genre: the axiological nature of this talk, lexical component, and the participants of talk. So from the point of view of the value of such type of talk, he found that heart-to-heart conversations are crucial to people sharing this cultural value. In particular, grounding this practice in the traditions of Russian culture, he analyzed this speech genre as pervasively positive based on his data. Only some negative connotations of it surface when such speech genre is juxtaposed in the social contexts of modernity. Structurally speaking, the researcher argued that such conversation almost universally begins with one of the speakers saying the key phrase (and some of its variations) *Что же*

на душе так хреново / погано / паршиво? 'Why is my heart so heavy?' (p. 100). In face-to-face conversations, Dementyev postulated, such an opening acts as an invitation to an intimate conversation. Online, he found, it has a similar goal: it invites other forum users to initiate a conversation, ask what happened, sympathize with the person who is feeling down, and cheer them up. Unlike in face-to-face conversations, the medium of the internet which allows asynchronous and anonymous communication also licences rude responses that would be at least frowned upon (if not impossible) in face-to-face talk, e.g., a symmetrical complaint (*а у меня не лучше!* 'my life isn't better!') or an advice (*забей!* 'forget it!'). In other words, by changing the communicative sphere of this speech genre and extending it on the web, speakers fulfill the requirement of talking to strangers, but also encounter hostility and dispreferred responses. In general, the purpose of such genre is phatic communication, and it is acheived regardless of the medium.

Other important components that Dementyev distinguished in his research are the *dominant* and the *norm* of a genre. *Dominant* can be loosely defined as the semantic or pragmatic head of the communication, its driving feature. So *heart-to-heart conversation* has a dominant of *sincerety* (when speakers engage in this practice, they hope that the conversation remains serious and sincere which contribute to highly moral evaluations of this type of talk in the Russian culture), whereas *small talk* has a dominant of *politeness* (p. 85). *Norm*, on the other hand, seems to define the patterns of talk and its sociocultural context. So, norms of *heart-to-heart talk* would include *conditional routine, familiarity, trust, and simplicity*, whereas *small talk* is defined by *formality, friendliness, and strangeness*. Dominants and norms can be useful features in understanding the goal of speaking as their corresponding matching between the expectation and reality would indicate the overall tone of the conversation. These parameters in general can bridge the divide between the speech genres and speech acts – the intentions of an utterance.

2.5 Examples of speech genres

The categorization of different speech styles into genres relevant in a particular speech community allows to define its discourse frameworks. However, Dementyev (2015, p. 102) underestimated its significance by suggesting that the speech genre is less useful in studying the discourse of Native American speech communities as only limited oral traditions are available. Meanwhile, research in Native American communicative practices demonstrated unique types of speech genres, not common in other speech communities around the world and useful for the understanding of the social discourse of indigineity. In this subsection, I want to recount some of the examples of speech genres described for North American indigenous communities. The communities that I have chosen merely correspond with the depth of the previous research done on their communicative practices, that is not every Native American indigenous speech community can boast an ethnography of speaking on their account.

In her ethnography of communicative practices among Severn Ojibwe, Valentine (1995) found that the abundance of discourse genres in this community is extremely hard to investigate. In particular, she complained that it is next to impossible to categorize speech into genres just looking at its linguistic features. Instead, Valentine noted, each genre is tightly connected to social institutions, and an analysis of speech must begin with the analysis of social institutions. She did so by effectively combining methods of ethnography and discourse analysis. She noted that with storytelling, there are at least three common genres that are distinguished by the structure of a narrative and particular syntactic and lexical componenents in the introduction. In her analysis of a first-person narrative, she found that the speaker often declares the genre they are about to reproduce, and unlike in the myth-legend type of story, they have more freedom with the use of the pronouns, with the establishment of the timeframe of the story, and with the grammatical features employed in the text. What remains similar between these genres, as Valentine argued, are the perfor-

mative features of the storytelling as well as some minor syntactic and semantic details of text. So, with regards to storytelling discourse, Valentine was able to distinguish at least three types of genre which differ from each other by its functions and structural features. Of course, this is just one context – the performance, – but other similar distinctions were also noted in interaction (with the differentiation of conversation into musical performance).

The discovery of different genres in the Severn Ojibwe community also posed some analytcal problems. Valentine's dissatisfaction with the genre are in part due to the high variations in her data as well as the multiple approaches available to its analysis. Recognizing that not all of the speech in her data are conversations or narratives, Valentine used different frameworks of analysis and have found it impossible to use either just CA, just ethnopoetics, or just discourse analysis to get to the bottom of the linguistic variation in the discourse. Indeed, it is merely impossible to apply CA to analyze narrative, and one cannot rely on ethnopoetics in the analysis of interaction. However, more than twenty years later, genre studies seem more approachable today at least with the availability of sociocultural linguistics (Bucholtz & Hall, 2008), which will be discussed in the final section of this paper.

B. This research fills the gap of using the approach of genres in conversation analysis to connect it with the linguistic variation in the discourse and creation and support of important social themes/discourses.

2.6 Continuum of Speech Genres

Connecting the previous discussion of the speech genres and genre theory, here I would like to propose my idea of spoken genre continuum. In developing this, I am 1. Definition of CG.

2. Possibility of employing a nested categorization: structure on one end/level –> function on another level.

3 Person Reference

The feature of person reference is a well-researched topic in conversation analysis. Besides being interesting from the point of view of membership categorization, person reference is also a useful indicator of internal structure, recognitionality, and semantic frameworks available in the conversations. Although most of the studies in person reference have been performed on English, some recent researches also looked at referring practices in lesser studied languages, expanding our view on the principles of referentiality. In general, there seems to be an agreement between the researchers that person reference have both structural and cultural principles behind their choice. Here, I would like to discuss the logic for the principles in the current research. I aim to demonstrate that beyond their grammatical, structural, categorizing, and referential principles, terms of person reference also play key role in identification and construction of the conversational genres.

Choice of person reference terms depends on the conversational structure as well as familiarity of the interlocutors with the referent. The research on this subject demonstrates several significant attempts to describe the principles of that choice which can be roughly narrowed down to structural, cultural, and grammatical principles. Importantly, while these principles are not reductive, they have never been put together to demonstrate referentiality, rather they appear as competing theories. Meanwhile, treating these principles as separate and reductive would essentialize referential practice.

3.1 Structural Premises

The two major principles underlying the choice of person reference terms are described in the initial study by Sacks and Schegloff (2007). According to them, a successful term of person reference should be short but at the same time semantically loaded to be recognized from the first attempt at pronouncing it (p. 24):

1. "On occasions when reference is to be done, it should be preferredly be done with a single reference form."

2. "If they are possible, prefer recognitionals."

Having numbered these principles, Sacks and Schegloff, nonetheless, emphasize that recognitionality is most important and must be achieved first. They argue that ignoring the principle of recognition may cause extra work of disambiguation to the speakers and become counterproductive in conversations. In general, recognitionality or recognizability implies that in any given moment in conversation the speaker must be aware of the knowledge of the referent by the addressee. This statement makes recognitionality a feature of recipient design that can structure conversation by implications of shared knowledge or by requiring additional clarifications and disambiguations.

The term "recognitional" is a vague one and can be better described by the presupposition of inherent knowledge of speakers. While it is often equated to "identifiable," the two have different properties. "Identifiable" is a term applicable to objects and subjects that are uniquely distinguished from one another (Clark & Wilkes-Gibbs, 1986; Chafe, 1976). "Recognitional," however, refers not just to the identification of the object, but also connotes the shared mutual knowledge of the object's properties (Clark & Wilkes-Gibbs, 1986; de Fornel, 1987; Sacks & Schegloff, 2007). As Chafe (1976) notes, for something to be recognitional, it needs to be semantically available in the domain of talk. So, for a speaker to use a reference to a person not previously brought up in the conversation, there needs to be substantial semantic and pragmatic background. An example often cited from Schegloff (2007) is the anaphoric use of the third person singular pronoun when speaking about John F. Kennedy shortly after his attempted assassination. While "he" is an identifiable pronoun, the reference is recognizable because shortly after the event, the tragedy was on the minds of many people in the U.S. and "he" was a mutually shared understanding of the President. In sum, recog-

nitionality of a referent is a collaborative achievement: while the speaker must make such a referent identifiable based on the understanding of shared common knowledge, the addressee either must provide information beforehand about the possibility of understanding, or must recognize that reference without needing additional disambiguation.

The principle of recognitionality is tied in with the structural properties of a conversation which can determine the more proper form of reference. In her study of the anaphoric reference, Fox (1987) demonstrates that a speaker would not use a minimal reference term unless that referent has already been introduced and reoccurs in the still open sequential construction. Fox argues that interlocutors track whether the sequence is still closed or open before they choose the appropriate form of person reference, demonstrating the dependence of the reference term on structural organization of the conversation. Employing the concept of "return pop" borrowed from natural language processing, Fox explains how the structure of a conversation can be understood and negotiated by the interlocutors. So, a minimal reference term such as a pronoun is not just the indicator of an open sequence, but it can also mark the importance of the closed adjacency pair for the conversation by reintroducing same referent anaphorically. In a sense, the organization of non-story talk is activated by the person reference terms and is also shaped by them.

Similarly, in a different research Schegloff (1996a) also demonstrates the connection between the forms of person reference and the structure of talk. In order to define preferentiality in the form of reference, he distinguishes between initial and subsequent terms and positions. Schegloff considers locally initial forms such reference terms that identify the referent for the first time (i.e., full noun phrases or names) and locally subsequent forms are the terms of reference that merely point back at the already identified and recognizable referent (i.e., anaphoric devices such as pronouns). As he demonstrates, the coordination of the position of reference in talk and the term of reference has implications on the structure of the conversation. Table (2) summarizes Schegloff's findings with regards to matching and mismatching

Table 2: Structural features of reference forms and positions according to Schegloff (1996).

	Locally Initial Form	**Locally Subsequent Form**
Locally Initial Position	Preferred	- availability of the referent to both interlocutors; - indicates continuation of talk; - re-opens the sequence.
Locally Subsequent Position	- indicates sequence boundary; - shows disagreement; - often a recycled element in the overlap; - used to restart a term.	Preferred

the positions and reference forms.

Importantly, while Schegloff notes that mismatch in the position and form is possible, he argues that it is a conscious choice of a speaker who offers more than just a simple reference term. Reference *simpliciter*, as Hacohen and Schegloff (2006, p. 1307) describe it elsewhere, is the most essential function of a reference term which does "just referring" and nothing else. The additional meanings of reference can include negotiation of conversational structure, disagreement, change in a speech act as well as membership categorization of a referent. In outlining the preference for locally initial and subsequent forms and positions, Schegloff (1996a) is precisely referring to these potential functions of a disprefered reference.

When it comes to the potential forms of reference, several have already been mentioned here, such as full noun phrases, names, and pronouns. In general, they can be differentiated into descriptive, neutral, and anaphoric mentions. As it follows from the discussion above, anaphoric mentions are usually the ones that do not require establishment of an identity of the referent, and thus, they most often appear in the subsequent discourse. Neutral reference terms would be names, or somewhat arbitrary terms for referring to people that do not convey any additional meanings of empathy. Descriptive terms, however, go beyond establishing the identity of a referent and introduce membership categorization, stance, affinity, physical

presence, linguistic presence, etc. – creating the "semantic silver lining" of person reference (de Fornel, 1987, p.132). The main difference between reference by name and reference by a descriptive term is that descriptors tend to attend to a property of a referent, also offering a judgment of the person and evaluating that mentioned property. Essentially, descriptive and neutral terms of reference are not interchangeable, and de Fornel (1987, p.136) suggests that they operate based on the third principle of preference for the relevant role: "choosing the relevant role is at the same time tacitly bringing into play contextually appropriate properties which are linked to the role within a social frame." In other words, the choice between name and descriptor relies both on successful recognitionality and the sufficient information conveyed by the term. Since names are empty of property evaluations, they cannot be used in certain speech acts.

In general, names are the preferred first time reference term in English conversations because they offer the most economic reference to a person and yet the most recognizable reference to a person (Downing, 1996). As Downing points out, names are a unique reference term category which can only be employed when the speaker is certain of identifiability of the referent. It means that using a name by itself can prove useless either to such interlocutors who do not know the referent by name or to such situations where referent has not yet been "activated" (p. 97). In such situations, speakers may use a full proper name or modify it by adding a noun phrase. In addition, speakers are shown to have other devices available to signal uncertainty about identifiability, such as try-markers (Sacks & Schegloff, 2007), noun phrases, or even explicitly negotiate the identifiability of a referent. The latter can be done by informing the addressee about such uncertainty before bringing in the proper name reference:

The pre-introduction of the reference term in the first utterance serves to avoid identifiability issues caused by the use of a full name. In general, reference by name is an important linguistic feature as it has a meaning beyond the communicative understanding: using name

Figure 1: Explicit negotiation of referent's identifiability (Downing 1996, p. 100).

CEC S.1.5: 141
C: I don't think you've met Nelly 'Cartwright \^upstairs
A: \^No
C: I won't /pri:... ə:m/ ... ... \^what's the 'word
... \^Pre-persuade you
but /ə:/ ... ... she's not of the most \^helpful .. /^variety

references not only identifies new referents in a conversation, but also outlines the knowledge boundaries of both interlocutors. In other words, personal names while serve to be the default terms of person referent, are also incredibly useful markers of epistemic stance. As default reference forms, names serve few pragmatic functions in the conversation. In her study of "alternative recognitionals," Stivers (2007) demonstrates that speakers tend to use these types of reference when accomplishing a particular social action. She argues that some reference forms are a better fit for some speech types because by using such terms, speakers are able to claim a certain degree of familiarity with the referent and even align or misalign with them. So, while names are neutral and can be used across different speech acts and social situations, some references, for example, kinship terms with possessive personal pronouns become especially useful for affiliating with the referent or the speaker depending on the task being accomplished. In the following example Stivers demonstrates how such disaffiliation with the referent can be achieved by placing him in the responsibility domain of the addressee with the second person possessive pronoun:

While a neutral term 'dad' is also possible here, Stivers argues that it would have not achieved the same result because it would have not framed the utterance as a complaint. So, the speech act of complaint is intensified by using this alternative recognitional form. In sum, this study suggests that person reference is not just a semantically loaded expression in the conversation, but it is a tool used in conveying social meaning.

Figure 2: Example of disaffiliation from the referent (Stivers 2007, p. 80).

```
 1 Emma:   Well this is ree(.)DIculous fer a ma:n that age. =s=I've
 2         I: said the=u-haa-'oh::: come o:n no:w: this is
           reediculous;'
 3         'n='e s'ys 'no:' 'e says (.) .hhhhh 'I don'wan' any- (.)
 4         (y)no Thanksgiving |party.' =ah s'z 'oh::,h' (.).t.hhh
 5 Emma:   SO I J'S THOUGHT WHAT THE HE:LL sh'd I: go'n (.)tiptoe fer
 6         HI|:m.
 7         (0.2)
 8 Lot:    Ye[:ah.
 9 Emma:     [hh SO THEN I CA:LL'Barbr 'n I said loo:k. (0.8)
10         Yer FATHER LE:FT ME THE OTHER night_ 'n he siz well yer
11         always |bitchin' en: |this:'n tha:t; ...
```

This summary of the research arguing for the structural premises in person reference demonstrates the depth with which this topic has been studied. While all the mentioned works argue for the connection between the form of reference and their relative position in the conversation, it becomes clear that speakers use reference terms beyond referring to manipulate the flow of the conversation and take certain conversational positions. The three principles that have been mentioned thus far, principle of recognition, economy, and role relevance, shape the reference term in accordance to the already available information conveyed by the organization of talk. However, as other research shows, some cultural principles also play a major role in establishing the reference even though they are perceived independent of the conversational structure.

3.2 Cultural Premises

Research on person reference in languages other than English also demonstrates that besides these structural principles, culture also determines the types of reference forms that are allowed. Some of such principles recognize the difference in person reference terms that may be more amicable (such as "mommy" instead of "my mother"), that may stem from bilingualism of the speakers ("John" vs. "Juan"), that may be defined by avoidance rules, that are differentiated in the community due to multiple names policies, etc. In general, these

restrictions can be summarized by the principles of circumspection, introduced by Levinson (2007) and association, introduced by Brown (2007). Along with the structural principles, they form a system of person reference that is argued to be common across languages yet variable across cultures. In the following pages, I will outline the main ideas behind the cultural preferences and contextualize them in the research on their relative competition in conversations.

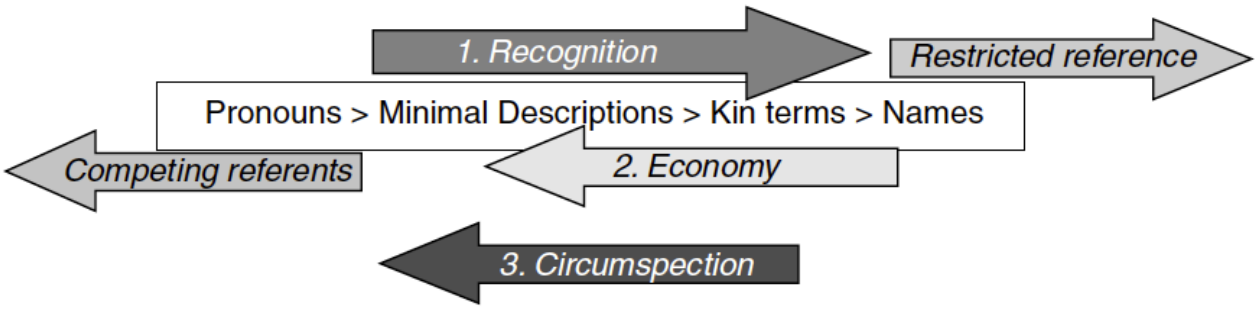
The existence of these two cultural principles reflect constraints on expression of relationships between people in a given community. Circumspection is a response to the rules of avoidance in the community, and association is a response to valorization of kinship. While they are both restricting principles, which means instead of fully identifying the referent they tend to restrict the set of possible referents, they are complementary (Blythe, 2009). So, unlike principles of minimization and recognition, circumspection and association do not compete, rather they aid each other in restricting the reference. With regards to their collaboration with the structural principles, the competition between all principles is determined by cultural predispositions. This means that different speech communities prioritize some principles over others in establishing reference, which can only be described in terms of salient features of person identification (Enfield, 2013).

Avoidance type relationships are said to form the principle of circumspection. This principle prescribes to "show circumspection by not over-reducing the set of referents explicitly" (Levinson, 2007, p. 31). This principle suggests limiting the number of the possible referents due to the avoidance or taboo rules common in a specific culture. As Levinson explained, in some of the indigenous Australian cultures, there are taboos associated with the dead that would not allow one to pronounce any lexical item phonetically close to the dead person's name. Or on some occasions one would not want to fully identify the person because it may cause an adversary effect (e.g., punishment for doing something wrong or start an unwanted gossip). Instead speakers would rely on vague hints or general descriptors to establish

reference.

In general, the principle of circumspection can be understood as going against the grain from the principle of recognition outlined by Sacks and Schegloff (2007). Levinson (2007) clarified, however, that all these principles are applied together and together they optimize the person reference. So, by aligning the types of possible references from the most ambiguous (pronouns) to the most restricted (names), Levinson suggested that each of these principles pulls the choice indicator to different direction in order to find the most appropriate reference term: while the principle of the recognition directs the speaker to use the types of references that are most recognizable, such as kin terms or names, the principles of economy and circumspection pull this choice towards the less recognizable and more ambiguous terms. These principles are still not ideal in reference, and Levinson demonstrated

Figure 3: The process of competing principles in person reference (Levinson 2007, p. 34).



it with his analysis of other-initiated repair. So, when a reference term is used but it is still ambiguous the addressee can ask the speaker to clarify it. According to Levinson, due to the principle of circumspection, speakers slowly upgrade a reference term turn-by-turn only if necessary: The example in Figure (4) demonstrates escalation of the person reference term from "zero" in the first utterance to a descriptive term due to the other-initiated repair (*n:uu* 'who') and later to a name due to subsequent misunderstanding signaled by gaze. So, while the cultural principles of avoidance are followed in avoiding the referent directly, the

Figure 4: Upgrade of reference term in Yélî Dnye due to circumspection principle ambiguity (Levinson, 2007, p. 58).

K- *awêde nga anî tóó, u pyinê d:a ngmêê, ngmepe,*
'I am here today, I'm looking for its repaying. <-Zero
law nkwodo até nî kmungo.
'I took it up to the law' (eye-points)

T- *n:uu ye ngmepe?* <- person-specific NTRI
'Who is paying back (to you)?'

K- *:aa?* <- general NTRI

T- *n:uu ye ngmepe?* <- repetition of person-specific NTRI
'Who is paying back (to you)?'

K- *kî pini dy:eemi knî* <- Minimal Description + Kin term
'that man with his brothers in law'
(3.0 seconds) <- prolonged mutual gaze
Kopwo <- Name 1
(2.0 seconds) <- prolonged mutual gaze

T- *n:uu?*
'who (else)?'

K- *Wuyópu* <- Name 2

T- (nods)

K- *tapî, dîpî kede wo*
a Tapî coin

principle of recognition takes over causing the ambiguity and leading the speaker to clarify the reference. According to Levinson, the principles forming person reference are closely interconnected and their balance is best observed in the default references such as first names in the English-speaking cultures and kin terms in some others. In general, the cultural principles determine the default types of person reference, and the deviation from the unmarked has been studied as conveying additional social work. In her study of non-minimal types of reference in Tzeltal, Brown (2007) outlined the default reference practices and ties them with another principle – association: "associate the referent as closely as possible to

the current conversation participants" (p. 200). Unlike in English, in Tzeltal kin terms are the unmarked or default forms of reference to people in conversations which, Brown argued, causes the formulation of the new principle. So, it is preferred to refer to a person in such a way that would establish the connection between the referent, addressee, and the speaker. If one cannot formulate such a reference term, then it should be done by displaying the kin relation of the referent and the addressee. Although such references may violate the principle of economy, Brown argued that it is more important in that social community to establish the relationship in favor of recognition.

Studying Yucatec Maya language, Hanks (2007) argued that an appropriate reference is determined by a set of cultural and discourse factors. While the descriptive terms are unmarked in this language, similar to Tzeltal, the kin terms are the default forms of person reference. Yet, the way that one would choose to establish the relationship depends on the type of relationship, associated respect, participation framework in the interaction, and the discourse context of the reference. So, to define a propositus of the kin term, or the point of reference, the speaker essentially needs to decide which social background information is the most relevant to the talk: person reference is a "construal of person" (Hanks, 2007, p. 149) which in individuating the referent attends to the shared background knowledge of the speaker and the addressee about them. This means that by the construction of a reference term, the speaker also negotiates important matters of the subject's identity, chooses to claim a relation or responsibility to them, and defines the overall social discourse of the talk. The practices described for the Yucatec, and especially the discussion of emotions of respect evoked by kin terms of reference ground the association principle. However, in his discussion of Yucatec person reference, Hanks does not speculate on the social functions of certain names or reference terms, leaving this important issue unattended.

Working with another Mayan language community, Haviland (2007) studied the possible alternatives in reference in Tzotzil. Having found that kin terminology is also the default

form of person reference, he argued against Schegloff (1996a) and suggested that reference is never simple, but it is always used to index social relationship – "referring dupliciter" (p. 232). The data that he examined perfectly demonstrates that each mention of a person reference tends to create a projection of relationship between the speaker, the hearer, and the addressee. In fact, one of the most important findings of this research foregrounds the principle of association suggesting that it is, perhaps, the most fundamental principle in reference.

The possibility of discerning the meaning from a marked form of reference has been already discussed along with the structural principles. In a study of reference variation in Murriny Patha conversations, Blythe (2009) added that reference introduces meaning both on macro and micro levels of discourse. Besides merely creating references through association, speakers also express their stance towards cultural values, such as clan membership. So by choosing a form that corresponds with the principle of circumspection and association simultaneously, speakers also define their own position towards the cultural prescriptions of avoidance while placing the referent in the recognized network of social connections.

With regards to the meanings invoked by some forms of person reference, in addition to the phenomenon of alternative recognitionals (Stivers, 2007), a new concept avoidance recognitionals was introduced to account for the restrictions of references accomplished by the cultural principles (Blythe, 2009). Since speakers of the language like the speakers of the mentioned Mayan languages make up a relatively small closed community in Northern Australia roughly any type of identifying construction can be considered recognitional. However, existence of avoidance rules leads to using avoidance recognitionals – the type of "recognitionals that are used when a referent's name is restricted and "avoidance" needs to be performed" Blythe (2009, p. 213). Here, the most frequent types of references are the ones that exploit association by "triangulating" the reference – connecting it both to the speaker and the addressee by the means of kin terms. Blythe advanced Hanks's *construal*

of a person to discern the meaning behind triangulating references according to a particular propositus. In his analysis, self-association allows speakers to claim knowledge and authority of the referent and the events surrounding them by establishing the "stamp of epistemic authority" (Blythe, 2009, p. 231). Addressee-associated triangulations, on the other hand, are the forms that simultaneously satisfy association, recognition and specification which secures the recognition of the referent by the addressee allowing speakers to emphasize relevant social networks involved in the constructed relationships. Additionally, research shows that altercentric person reference also establishes epistemic significance by placing the referent into the addressee's domain of responsibility (Stivers, 2007). So, the research shows that the triangular forms of reference using the association are able to not just connect the referent to the addressee or the speaker, but they also provide the ground to comment on the cultural foundations of the community.

The cultural principles driving person reference indicate the great amount of variation possible across languages and communities. The major important feature of these principles shows that reference in conversations has both macro- and micro-interactional meanings. On the small scale, references establish the identity of the person being talked about either by identifying them or by restricting the set of possible people. On the large scale, person references reflect the speaker's stance towards cultural predispositions about social networks. In general, cultural principles while argued to be generally universal, are prioritized differently across languages, with some languages and communities favoring circumspection and others favoring association. Importantly, they never determine the form of reference individually, in that they are only active in combination with structural principles.

3.3 Intersection of Structure and Culture in reference formation

The area where both these determining sets of principles have traditionally met is *ethnography of communication*. In this anthropological approach to description of social and lin-

guistic practices, researchers have been most interested in how text or interaction contributes to creation of social meaning (Hymes, 1989). Ethnography of communication is also the sub discipline that with the greatest detail investigated the meanings of kinship terminology and kin relationship in speech as well as performativity of talk. In the following description, I would like to attend to the few important studies that investigated variation in person reference based on the broader meaning it produces. In particular, I will talk about the use of anaphorical mentions in talk, indexicalities of references, problematizing reference through repair, and associated membership categorization.

As it has been mentioned, anaphorical reference forms do not need to appear in locally subsequent positions (Schegloff, 1996b). But as Hanks (2007) argued, while their occurrence in anaphorical chains can be traced back to the previous discourse, their occurrence outside of one presupposes background knowledge or prior experience drawing the pragmatic frame of the interaction. In other words, anaphoric mentions outside of the anaphoric chain, or not in the locally subsequent positions, index the relationship between the referred person and the established discourse. Furthermore, to interpret the whole schema employing these indices, one needs to be familiar with both the pragmatic framework and the indices themselves. In other words, the proper understanding and interpretation of reference terms cannot be achieved without understanding the discourse and its sociocultural underpinnings, precisely the area targeted by ethnography of communication.

Thinking of indexicality of reference terms, an important research by Harkness (2015) comes to mind. In his study of different forms of address in a Korean Christian church, Harkness observed not just the connection between the reference term and associated pragmatic framework, but direct correlation between reference and behavior of individuals evoked in it. So, in his study, the members of a Korean Christian church preferred to use kinship terminology (especially such terms that evoke relationship of siblings) when addressing each other. Besides establishing family-like relationships between unrelated individuals, this also

sanctioned the behavior seen only in kin folk. In its most basic interpretation of Harkness, terms of reference contribute to *the enregisterment models* of kin relationship which consequently license particular types of behavior. What is important from this study is that relationship, when channeled in interaction, simultaneously comments on the alignment and affect of the individuals involved in it.

The principle of association, discussed earlier, can now be re-interpreted from the point of view of indexicality. If kin terminology directly signifies the relationship between the speaker and/or the addressee and the referent, the evoked relationship also serves to validate certain types of behavior, or discourse. Secondarily, the evoked relationship also indicates the speaker's content with the culture that outlines this type of behavior and discourse. So, when using the principle of association, speakers not only create the connection with their addressee or the referent, but also open a discourse of proper relationship models between these people. From the point of view of ethnography of communication, studying the occurrence of kinship terms as forms of reference would provide insights on the saliency of kin relationship between people, and the re-creation of kin network by the means of social interaction.

In her study of a small Gaelic community in Ireland, Lele (2009) noticed that despite having several different name forms for each person, one of them, the informal *ainm áitiúil* 'local name' in addition to referring also contextualizes a particular discursive mode. Using the concept of indexical orders (Silverstein, 2003), Lele argued that local names have other indexical functions than just naming or referring to people: acting as metapragmatic descriptors, local names indicate a very particular epistemic stance, showing that the speaker not only knows the referent, but also knows the *Gaelcht* community, history, and geography. So, according to that research, the second order of indexicality of the local names establishes the general register of kinship and social intimacy (Lele, 2009). While official names have the connection with authority and invoke the sentiments of bureaucracy, nicknames may reflect

on the social context of the person, and local names are perfect for drawing the relationship between the speaker and the referent by kin ties (genitive marker in such names is present), by acknowledgment of history of families (often a salient feature of a progenitor is mentioned in name), their geographical belonging (descendants of one progenitor mentioned in name are usually from same village). The indexical meanings discerned by Lele are argued to be circulating in conversational and institutional discourse, allowing Gaelic speakers to navigate various spoken genre by the means of variation in register.

Having said that recognition is one of the most important features of reference, it needs to be mentioned that studies of failed recognition and subsequent repair are crucial to the understanding of reference. As Sidnell (2008) demonstrated, CA methodology can be especially helpful for sociocultural linguists in examining and interpreting social organization through the lens of repair organization. So, using the principle of association can guide speakers to form a referent, the construed identity of who is never set and remains a subject to negotiation. Blythe (2009) argued that the polarity of association can be changed and challenged in interaction to problematize both the reference and the association. A request to repair the reference allows interlocutors to agree on the most relevant form to establish the discourse and re-imagine the pragmatic framework of talk-in-interaction. Yet, other-initiated repair is a potentially face-threatening act towards the speaker, and when used, it adds a new social meaning to the utterance. The rules of politeness determine when and among who such repair is possible, as politeness in repair is directly associated with the responsibility for the trouble (Sidnell, 2008). Thus, construal of person is not finished until both interlocutors have agreed on the referential, functional, and social meaning of the reference.

From purely CA standpoint, Bolden, Mandelbaum, and Wilkinson (2012) noted that problematic references can be analyzed as to what exactly is problematic. In their study of person reference repair in English and Russian, Bolden et al. (2012) found that repairs occur due to different problem – either speaker or listener oriented, – and speaker's response to

the problem differs accordingly. With indexical references, authors argued, speakers want to merely repair the indexical form itself, leaving the action of the utterance same. Structurally, such indexical repairs also affect the organization of the conversation by pursuing a more adequate response either after or ahead of the problem, obscuring the turn transitional moments. So, research by Bolden et al. (2012) demonstrated that organization of turns in repair of indexical reference can serve as a cue to understanding the locus of the problem. Using this CA method can also contribute to our understanding of appropriate reference type and construal of referent's identity.

4 Person Reference as an index of Conversational Genre

The importance of organizational changes is two fold for the current research: on the one hand, such repairs indicate problems with some sort of comprehension of the utterance, while on the other hand they also renegotiate the type of talk speakers are engaged in. By marking the addressee's response inadequate, the speaker may take longer turns in order to achieve adequate response changing the genre of the discourse.

5 Conclusion

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