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**From the many voices to the subject positions in anti-globalization discourse: Enunciative pragmatics and the polyphonic organization of subjectivity**

**Johannes Angermüller** \*

*University of Mainz, Department of Sociology, Colonel-Kleinmann-Weg* 2, *D-55099 Mainz, Germany*

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This contribution presents enunciative pragmatics as a methodological orientation to account for how written texts are contextualized in the act of reading. As an offspring of the pragmatic turn among French-speaking linguists, the enunciative approach is mobilized to analyze the cover page of a cartoon on the anti-globalization legend jose Bove. Focusing on the complex interpretive problems of political discourse, the enunciative-pragmatic approach shows how readers construct subject positions following the text's complex indexicality.lt reveals the polyphonic play ofvoices orchestrated by the enunciative markers. Therefore, enunciative pragmatics promises to bridge the gulf that separates text-based and process-oriented approaches to language in use as weil as between micro- and macrosociological Ievels of analysis.

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**1. lntroduction: toward a multidisciplinary understanding of pragmatics**

If pragmatics is commonly defined as the study of language in use, two conceptions of pragmatics need to be distinguished.1 According to a narrow understanding, pragmatics designates a subfield of linguistics looking into the way in which texts reflect and orient their uses in context.In this vein, linguistic pragmatics deals wi th phenomena such as deixis, presupposition, implicature and performative verbs (Levinson, 1983).In a moregenerat sense, however, pragmatics covers various approaches in the social sciences and humanities studying the social production of meaning in the interplay of language, praxis and knowledge (Verschueren et al., 1996; Cummings, 2005). Following such a broad understanding, pragmatics not only focuses on language, i.e. the formal organization of written and oral texts in view of discursive activity, but it also deals with meaning-producing practices (including symbolic acts and interactive processes) as weil as with knowledge mobilized in the interpretive process (including genres, contexts and settings).

Comprising linguists, social scientists and philosophers, pragmatics broadly understood is characterized by a number of disciplinary cleavages (Angermüller, 2011b). From a linguistic point of view, pragmatics broadens the analytical purview of linguists beyond the Ievel of words, sentences and texts so as to account for the contexts in which language is used. In the social sciences, by contrast, pragmatics has given important impulses to the question of the "actor". Inspired by pragmatist thought from North Anlerica and analytical tendencies in philosophy, process-oriented tendencies ofpragmatics such as symbolic interactionism (Strauss, 1959), the ethnography of communication (Duranti, 1997), sociolinguistics

\* Tel.: +49 16097623314; fax: +49 6131 3923728.

*E-mail address:* [angermue@uni-mainz.de.](mailto:angermue@uni-mainz.de)

*URL:* [http:jjwww.johanne](http://www.johannes-angermueller.de/)s-[angermueller.de](http://www.johannes-angermueller.de/)

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(Gumperz, 1982; Auer et al., 1999 ), ethnomethodological conversation analysis (Sacks et al., 1974; Schegloff, 1997 ) and Goffman's sociology (e.g.1981) typically highlight the practical competence of actors engaged in negotiating identities and social order. In this view, there is no pre-given structure which determines what the actors say, do and think. In the interactive situation, the actors are confronted with problems that call for their creative practical solutions. Society, in other words, needs to be practically achieved by actors who do more than just carry out recipes or scripts.

In the light of the disciplinary (and national) cleavages between text-based approaches to written texts and process­ oriented approaches to talk in interaction, the contours of pragmatics as an interdisciplinary field are difficult to delineate. While linguistsoften draw from pragmatics to call into question grammatical and normative approaches to language, their counterparts in the social sciences usually have a stake in the constructivist turn in social theory. As constructivists, these social scientists not only refuse to see society as a reality existing independently of the practical achievements of the actors but they also often conceive of the actors themselves as an effect of the interpretive process. Thus, pragmatic ideas have indeed crucially informed the microsociological turn to the "actor" in qualitative social research as weil as the "linguistic turn" in social theory more generally (Watzlawick et al., 1967; Habermas, 1985; Luhmann, 1998; Boltanski, 1991).

Yet the constructivist implications of pragmatics in the social sciences arenot always taken into account. While many linguists have mobilized pragmatic insights to account for the social and historical dimensions of language use, they generallystop short of the practical problems actors encounter in negotiating social meaning.Critical Discourse Analysts, e.g. mobilize macrosociological theory to situate linguistic activity "in society". With his "three-dimensional model", Fairclough, e.g. suggests relating texts to the social practices (Fairclough, 1992:86), i.e. the political forces of the broader historical context (Wodak, 2007:207ff; Jäger, 2007 ). Conversation analysts, however, have suggested that social order is no reality the actors just need to adopt. While they generallywarn not to subsume empirical observationsunder prefabricated theoretical categories, they usually focus on the way in which social order between the speakers is practically achieved in interactive processes. Even though several attempts have been made at negotiating between both positions (cf. van Dijk, 2008; van Leeuwen, 2005), the question of the social context, it seems, has given rise to a conflict between, on the one hand, the macrosociological focus on !arge social groups, power and inequality and, on the other hand, the microsociological focus on the local dynamics of conversations in which the speakers are deployed in turn-taking sequences.

Representatives of CA usually Iimit their scope of analysis within the bounds of a face-to-face situation whereas CDA scholars tend to pass over the practical problems involved in contextualizing texts. To close the gap, I will discuss the contribution of French enunciative pragmatics *("enonciation")* to the analysis of written texts in context ( cf. Lorda, 2010; Angermüller, 2011a) and delineate an enunciative-pragmatic model for the analysis of subjectivity in written texts.

While it is weil known that in France the social study of meaning has been crucially influenced by the structuralist

controversy during the 1960s, the enunciative-pragmatic tendencies that have succeeded structuralism since the late 1970s have gone largely unnoticed outside France (but see Williams, 1999; Fairclough, 2003). More than interactionist or conversationalist strands of pragmatics, enunciative discourse analysis insists on the opaque materiality of written texts.As a text-based, "materialist" variant of pragmatics, this variant of pragmatics focuses on how the text's formal markers *(marques, reperes)* testify to the subjectivity of the discourse participants and thus instruct the readers about the contexts needed to develop an understanding of who speaks. In this sense, the special added value of enunciative pragmatics is to account for how actors are positioned and deployed in (written) discourse through the markers of enunciation. By showing how texts orchestrate a polyphonic concert of discursive speakers, I will present an enunciative analysis of the textually reflected rules according to which the readers of texts construct knowledge about the discursive contexts in which text are used-the local situative contexts of specific discursive acts up to wider sociohistorical contexts which form the background of the discursive activity of !arger social groups.

Bringing text-based and process-oriented approaches into a productive exchange, this contribution attempts to present the theory and method of enunciative pragmatics in three steps. I will begin witha short overview ofthe major trends in enunciative pragmatics that have developed in the wake of pioneers such as Benveniste, Ducrot and Foucault.I will then give an example of an enunciative analysis by looking at a comic about the French "anti-globalization" activistjose Bove. By putting emphasis on the markers of polyphony of the cover page, I will point out its complex indexical organization which allows the reader to construct the contours of a "global" scene of anti-globalization discourse with subject positionssuch as "capitalists" versus "anti-globalization activists". I will then delineate a three-floor model of subjectivity according to which subject positions are considered as practical accomplishments of readers who follow the text's enunciative markers to cope with the numerous voices of political discourse.As a conclusion, I will suggest enunciative pragmatics as a methodological orientation for empirical discourse research complementing constructivist developments in social theory. With its focus on the markers of enunciation, enunciative pragmatics provides a text-based approach to the construction of subjectivity in written texts.

**2. The enunciative-pragmatic turn in French linguistics**

It is well-known that in France Saussure's structurallinguistics reached an apogee during the 1960s. The structural model promised to explain an unlimited number of linguistic phenomena by a limited number of grammatical rules and constitutive units. As its scope of application was extended to social and cultural life more generally, a number of transdisciplinary fields of research were established such as discourse analysis and semiotics,sometimes inspired by Marxist and psychoanalytical ideas. In the course of the 1970s, the structuralist hegemony was challenged by approaches in linguisti cs turning araund the problern of enunciation *(enonciation).*With the turn to pragmatics, the Sa ussurian opposition

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between *langue* and *parole* fell into decline as linguists discovered the problern of *enonciation* and *enonce,*"enunciation" and "utterance." Enunciative-pragmatic strands commonly emphasize the heterogeneity of a discoursein which texts are linked with specific contexts in the act of enunciation.Against purely semiotic approaches, which conceive of discourse as a closed system of differences, enunciative pragmatics insists on the various enunciative modalities in which utterances exist as weil as the different ways in which they are associated with their contexts of enunciation.

What are the major currents in the debate about "enunciation" (cf. a detailed presentation in chapter 4 of Angermüller.

2007)? A first contribution comes right out of structurallinguistics. Defining the enunciation as "the enactment of language by an individual act of utilization", Benveniste (1974:80) asks how language reflects the act of reading or writing. Language operates with deictic expressions like /, *here.*now that constitute the "formal apparatus of enunciation". It is through these elements that subjectivity is inscribed into language (Kerbrat-Orecchioni, 1980).

Drawing from Benveniste, but also from Lacanian psychoanalysis ( Lacan, 1998,lecture of April 22, 1964) and Bakhtin's theory of the novel (1984). a second current of enunciation theory has developed araund the topic of the "split" subject. Following a polyphonie-argumentative strand of enunciative pragmatics, producing an utterance, therefore, means orchestrating various voices. According to Ducrot (1984). an utterance *(enonce)* operates with various speakers *(enonciateurs)* which are kept at more or less distance by its "author" *(locuteur).* In this view. utterances are viewed as ensembles of nested voices chained tagether in light of their argumentative value ( Amossy, 2005). Texts. therefore.instruct their readers about who speaks (see the elaboration of this approach by ScaPoLine. the Scandinavian Theory of Linguistic Polyphony, Ncl!ke et al., 2004; Rabatel. 1998).

Finally, approaches in the tradition of Anglo-Saxon pragmatics revolve araund speech acts (see Recanati, 1987; Berrendonner, 1981; Reboul and Moeschler, 1998). Unlike language-based strands, this version of pragmatics typically insists on the active role that the discourse participants play in the process of communicative action ( Charaudeau, 1995). Accordingly, the role of conversational maxims (Sperber and Wilson, 1993) have been highlighted as weil as sequential organization (Kerbrat-Orecchioni, 2005) and the interactional setting of communication (Winkin, 1981).

More than many Anglo-American strands in pragmatics, enunciative approaches insist on the text's opaque materiality as weil as on the heterogeneity of discourse (Authier-Revuz.1995). Like text-based strands in pragmatics. it takes its point of departure from the formal-linguistic traces or markers *(marqueurs. reperes enonciatifs,* which need tobe distinguished from discourse markers of oral discourse. Fraser. 1999) which instruct the reader about the sources. speakers and contexts of enunciation. Special emphasis is put on the way in which the speakers. their subjectivity and their position are formally imprinted onto the text. Like process-oriented strands in pragmatics. enunciative pragmatics highlights the need to orchestrate and position the discursive speakers in a context. However, as the analytical focus is on written texts, the question is how to account for those who do not speak here and now. The presence of these other discourse participants is testified by the enunciative markers which orchestrate a complex polyphonic spectacle of speakers taking position against each other. Therefore, for enunciative pragmatics, linguistic acts are not directly observable for the reader who needs to follow the instructions given by the enunciative markers to contextualize what is said (cf. Fl0ttum, 2010). In the enunciation *(enonciation).*the individual needs to "construct a space, to orient. determine and establish a networkofreferential values" in order to situate the utterance (*enonce)* in a system of contextual parameters such as a subject of enunciation S0 or a time of enunciation T0 (Culioli. 1999:49). To utter *(enoncer).* therefore. means setting a zero point from which a communicative space unfolds whose contextual parameters (time. space, person) need to be determined by the reader. Accordingly, for Maingueneau. utterances generally presuppose a generic "scene" which is presupposed by the act of producing a discourse (1993). In that sense. utterances cannot be put to workwithout the reading, speaking, writing individual placing them in a wider discursive context.

As a text-based approach to the construction of discursive subjectivity, enunciative pragmatics resonates with certain strands of poststructuralist discourse theory. With his plea for an "enunciative analysis", Foucault was among the first ones to introduce speech-act theoretical ideas in France (1989:93ff). The enunciative and pragmatic dimension of discourse has been pointed out by French ( Lyotard. 1984) as weil as international discourse theorists (e.g. Butler. 1997). In this line. enunciative pragmatics prolongs and radicalizes the poststructuralist critique of the speaking subject by affering a pragmatics ofwritten texts. In the enunciative-pragmatic view. a subject position is no Ionger considered as a structurally defined place in the symbolic but as a practical achievement ofthe readers who need to deal with a multitude ofvoices and references. attempting to answer the question: Who speaks?

In order to show how texts help readers construct their social context from the enunciative-pragmatic perspective. I will

have a closer Iook at an example: a comic on the French anti-globalization icon jose Bove.

**3. jose, Michael and their body-guard sheep: spealdng in an open space**

In 1999, anti-globalization protests erupted during the WTO ministerial conference in Seattle.Triggering a series of mass demonstrations (e.g. in Genoa in 2001) and a hurst of grassroots activity (such as the international social forums in Porto Alegre in 2001). this event is commonly regarded as the beginning of a new social movement: *altermondialisme* or "anti­ globalizationism".2 In France, as elsewhere. these events testify to the increasing role of post-national references in the

2 I will understand the term "anti-globalization" according to the French and German u ses in the sense of"alter-globalization", i.e. as the political critique

*of* globalization and not necessarily as its rejection.

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political debate. As a consequence, the discourse of political parties and unions is no Ionger limited to the framework of the nation-state and its representatives. New civil society actors such as Attac have emerged who act in the name of global political problems. In this situation, jose Bove, a French peasant and union Ieader, became a well-known voice of the anti­ globalization movement. His public career began when he protested against the global food industry by entering a McDonald's restaurant with his tractor. In the ensuing trial. Bove argued that he defended French Roquefort cheese against what he perceived tobe the global plague of cheeseburgers. As his behavior was understood tobe vandalism. he was sent to prison in 2002.Since his release. he has enjoyed considerable media presence as a spokesperson for grassroots organizations like Attac, which advocates political regulation of financial markets on a global Ievel.

As opposed to national and parliamentary forms of political debate, anti-globalization discourse does without established institutions of political representation. While many political theorists emphasize the Iimits of democratic political action beyond the nation-state, discourse generally does not stop on national borders for discourse analysts. Thus, with the enunciative discourse model, it can be argued that the participants of political discourse construct political spheres whenever they attempt to interpret political texts. As the readers' objective is to understand who takes position against whom, every act of reading and writing political texts involves constructing spaces in which the discourse participants occupy certain (subject) positions. From this perspective. political positions are not institutionally given but discursively constructed.

The analysis of a cover page of a comic book. the title ofwhich isjose *Bove must be killed* (2005).will reveal how a limited selection oftextual material orient the readers with respect to the political space in question. What is the comic book about? It teils the story of a capitalist conspiracy against anti-globalization Ieaders such as jose Bove and Michael Moore.The story begins when Bove refuses to have little Bove puppets marketed as anti-globalization merchandise and a group of evil businessmen plot a plan to assassinate him. They commission a professional killer, who attends the social forums and political meetings in order to trackdown his victim. The killer finally bumps into a remote-controlled clone of Bove which had been created by the more technologically oriented faction of capitalists in order to spread confusion within the social movement. In the end, the real Bove manages to escape all attempts at his life and the capitalist conspiracy breaks apart.

On the cover page (see annex) we see a scene of two opposing camps-on the left a colorful bunch of demonstrators.

including the film director Michael Moore. holding up a placard "The world is not a commodity!", on the right a group of cigar-smoking business men grimly displaying a poster "A different world is not going tobe possible!" There is also a little yellow balloon with the Attac sign on the left as weil as a McDonald's symbol on the right. In between these two groups, we see jose Bove surrounded by sheep with machine guns.Since he is depicted through the target Jensofa gun. we understand that his life is in danger. This is what the title confirms: "jose Bove must be killed".

The questionwill now be how even small textual fragmentssuch as this one mobilize the differentiated knowledge about the "global" social and political context of enunciation. Even though the means of symbolic and visual expression arerather simple, it creates a complex scene which allows the reader to associate diverse components of ramified discourses. Special attentionwill be given to the polyphonic organization of a discourse consisting of different enunciative layers and containing traces of other discourses.

**4. An enunciative-pragmatic analysis of the discursive scene**

What are the steps to analyze the depicted scene? If texts are the opaque products of a discursive activity ("enunciation") to which no direct access is possible. there is no way for the readers (nor even for the author himself) torevive the "original" context of enunciation and live through what was "really" meant. However, by reading along, the readerswill try to construct a discursive scene by drawing from the contextual knowledge available to them.Byfollowing the enunciative organization of the scene, we will investigate how the reader, by contextualizing the visual-textual material according to its formal instructions, constructs the discursive space in which the personae ofthe story are embedded.What is necessary, therefore, is a readerwho develops an idea about the wider political space, its positions and protagonists which the cover page evokes explicitly as weil as implicitly. Ifthe cartoon indeed addresses readers who want to situate themselves in the political s pace, it contributes to the construction of this space by combiningvisual and symbolic elements.The question. therefore, is how to account for the formal markers of enunciation by means of which the reader can contextualize what is said in the text by whom.

While the visual scene represents two groups with Bove in the middle. more scenes are presupposed by the utterances with which the cover page operates. These utterances are constituted by different voices that allow the reader to construct a scene in which different discursive beings occupy different positions. In this way, little symbolic material can produce a complex scene of nested voices before the eye of the reader. Following Ducrot (1984) and ScaPoLine (cf. N0lke et al., 2004). the being responsible for an utterance is called the "locutor" *(locuteur);* this is the utterance's stage director or "puppet­ player" ultimately taking into charge what is said. The beings which are staged by the locutor in ordertobe accepted or refu sed, by contrast. are called "enunciators" *(enonciateurs).* the speakers and voices which inhabit discourse on a subperso nal Ievel. Every utterance can. therefore, be regarded as a "mini-drama" in which the locutor as a hidden director stages a scene where he gives a voice to different enunciators. Since the enunciators that make up an utterance may not represent the locutor-director's point ofview. they account for the fact that an utterance usually says more than what its a uthor means to say. Therefore.even few discursive bits and pieces can stage complex scenes of enu nciation i n which some bei ngs are attributed with a name (s uch as jose Bove. who explicitly mentioned in the title) and others arenot (the implied personae and protestors on both sides).

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Let's first have a Iook atthe utterance on the right side: (1) "Adifferentworld is not going tobe possible"*("Un autre monde*

*{:a va pas etre possible."),* which isadassie example for polyphony a Ia Ducrot The negator *not* ("[ne].. *.pas")* requires the

reader to play out a drama in which two voices ( or "enunciators") are opposed, one saying p: "A different world is possible",

and another whose task consists of rejecting the position of the first. The point of this exercise is that instead of simply inversing the contents in a way that a positive figure is transformed into a negative one by some logical or mathematical calculation. negation reflects the non-unity of the utterance whose source is split into several enunciators. By triggering a polyphonic play ofvoices. the negator *not* invites the reader to solve two tasks: (1) to discover the communicative instances which are ultimately responsible for the enunciators (such as the locutor and the allocutor); (2) to give these instances. if possible. a name or address in the social world.

In order to interpret an utterance, the reader has to solve the task of discovering who says what and situate its speakers in

a space. The reader can safely assume that every utterance has a locutor, which is ultimately responsible for what the utterance says. However, the locutor is not necessarily responsible for everything that is said. Therefore, the reader's task consists not only of determining who is the locutor but also who are all the other discursive beings which the locutor Iets speak. As the stage director ofthe drama, the locutor gives a voice to various enunciators whose points ofview he shares or not.While the enunciators accepted by the locutor L are his images 11...., *n•* the rejected ones become the images a1, ..., *n* of the other or allocutor A. By orchestrating several voices, the utterance can constitute a scene of opposing enunciators Ox or ax) each with their specific point of view (povx).Therefore, according to ScaPoLines's formal terminology, the utterance (1) "A different world is not going tobe possible" turnsout a layered bundle of enunciative perspectives (povx) and voices Ox or ax). which can be represented in this way (for a detailed presentation see chapters 4 and 5 in Angermüller. 2007):

pov1(1):

pov2(1):

[a1 ] (TRUE (p)). whereby p = "A different world is possible."

[h] (NO (pov1)).

Therefore, in the utterance "Adifferent world is not going tobe possible", the marker nottriggers a dialog of somebody (h representing the locutor L) who rejects somebody else (ad claiming that "a different world is possible". Yet the readernot only has to come to terms with the utterance's "internal" discursive beings (the enunciators lx and ax which are mobilized by the locutor of the utterance). but also with its "external" discursive beings (the discursive subject positionsLand A under whose umbrellas the various enunciators of a discourse are grouped together). By carrying out the cognitive work required by the negator, the readerwill try to fill the slots in the conflict between two sides (i.e. between a locutor and an allocutor). He does not know.however. who are the beings involved.In order to determine the locutor, the readerwill have to mobilize a context of enunciation, e.g. the visual representation of the scene. Even though the reader usually determines the locutor L at lightning speed, this is no banal operation.The naming of the locutor and thus the meaning of the utterance depends on the context available to the reader. By determining the name of the author, he or she may assume that a businessman locutor (La) is cited by an author locutor (L1). Therefore, while the contents p of the utterance can theoretically be enunciated by an unlimited number ofnested locutors (Ln. . .(L1(Lo:p))). the interpretive process will in factstop as soon as the reader thinks he or she "understands". However. more contextual information can always make the reader change the results of his or her interpretative efforts. In this way, the utterance (1) operates with a number of enunciative positions that the reader needs to associate with his or her knowledge about the context. The following diagram represents the various "internal" enunciators and "external" subject positions which the utterance (1) opens. Since one enunciator is bound to represent L0 (here the businessmen). the reader cannot but associate h with Lo. which is why we synchronize their indexes (h o).

pov 1(1) : [a1](TRUE( p)), whereby p = "A different world is possible."}



{pov2 (1) : [lt o](NO(povr)).

Negation is an important discursive device in political discourse. By means of negation.a dialog is condensed as it werein one and the same utterance. In the same way, polyphony seems at work even in the adjective *different,* which,like all binary adjectives, resembles the polyphonic logic of negation since for somethingtobe different you will need something elsetobe the samein the first place. The polyphonic voices that an utterance operates with can be "tested" by splitting them up into single utterances. Thus, utterance (1) "A different world is not going tobe possible." can generate (1') "A different world is possible" (=pov1) and (1") "No, it is not true that (1')" (=pov2 ). This process can be reversed by merging a number of utterances into one utterance, for instance by means of negation ("This world is not X.") or argumentation ("It is true that this is the world, but a different one is possible."). By splitting up and reuniting the voices of an utterance, its enunciative structure is inflected. It is this process of enunciative inflection that sets the polyphonic machine of discourse in motion.

The formalization of the utterance's polyphonic structure allows us to see the various enunciative slots (Ax. Lx.ax.lx•. . .) which need tobe filled with their contextual knowledge. This task is solved with more or less imagination as the readers associate these positions with the actors, movements, and currents of political discourse that are cognitively available to them. To the extent in which the readers mobilize different background knowledge, they are likely to understand different political messages. An "uninformed" or "naive" reader, who is not familiar with the political context of this cartoon or simply does not have the time and energy to engage in the necessary interpretive work, will have to restriet himfherself to the immediate context that comes along with the written manifestation of the utterance, i.e. to the visual representation of a

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conflict between a group of alternative, punk-like demonstrators and a group of suit-bearing demonstrators. A more informed or patient reader, however, may draw from his or her encyclopedic knowledge and may know thatA *differentworld* is *possible!* is a popular motto of grassroots networks in France like Attac. Such an interpretation is strengthened by the yellow Attac balloon on the left.

Yet our discursive fragment does not only involve explicit utterances.Thus. the business men's explicit utterance refers to

another. implicit utterance that is presupposed by the first for it is clear that the businessmen's utterance is meant as a negative response to somebody sayingA *differentworld ispossible!,*which is nowhere tobe found, but still present in a certain way.Thus. the whole visual scene turns around an implicit utterance enunciated by somebody eise whose identity the reader has to determine with his or her encyclopedic knowledge. In this way, explicit utterances are tied to implicit utterances. These dispersed utterances of discourse are loosely !mit together so as to form a discursive formation. Following Foucault, a discursive formation is no stable homogeneous order of discourse. It should be considered as a rather fragile patchwork of utterances which are linked with new utterances as the reader processes the interpretative tasks of the textual material.

If we have a closer Iook into the utterances which make up the discursive scene depicted on the cover page, we can distinguish their enunciative modalities. Unlike the presupposed utterance of Attac discourse, the business men's utterance is uttered in a peculiar way, which reveals the distance the locutor can take vis-a-vis what is said. This distance may result from the double negation organizing the discourse of the business men.The meaning of their utterance - the plea for the status quo- is staged in the very oppositional terms of globalization critics. Thus.with regard to the sense oftheir utterance, the business men's oppositional stance produces the ironical effect of qualifying the position of the anti-globalization demonstrators as a dominant doxa. In our case. the enunciator rejected by the locutor would correspond to the "anti­ globalization" position. But of courseit is not the business men themselves who mean tobe ironical, and there must be a third voice speaking through these two voices. To the degree that this third voice encompasses the whole scene, it can be termed an authorial voice. If the authorial voice is represented perhaps by the name on the very top of the page:jul, this voice is neither an ultimate source of meaning nor a speaking subject to which allthesedifferent voices can be reduced. As just another voice within the swarming multitude of voices, the authorial voice coexists with even more voices, such as the generic voice or "archenunciator", ifwe follow Dominique Maingueneau's terminology (1997:141f). which Iets speak the cartoon genre as a whole. Thus. the illusion of a speaking subject, of original meaning, of inner unity rapidly unravels ifwe consider the ironical cleavages and divisions that run through the businessmen's utterance and call for ever more suturing acts of discursive praxis.

While the analysis of the right side aimed to describe how utterances are tied together with other utterances to form a discursive formation, the analysis of the left side was to reveal how an utterance draws on certain aspects of its context of enunciation by way of deictic reference. This is how the dispersed utterances of a discursive formation are coupled with aspects of a world "here" and "now". Therefore, if the utterance on the right is tightly connected to another utterance (the presupposed motto "A different world is possible!", which is commonly associated with the Attac movement). the slogan on the left ("The world is not a commodity!") in turn operates with some sort of non-symbolic entity, the surrounding world which is "just there" ("the" world). The businessmen's utterance is inscribed into a series of utterances. whereas the protestors on the left presuppose a specific context of enunciation. While both utterances refer to an object called "world", the worlds of the two utterances are not of the same discursive nature. In the Attac utterance, a utopian world is evoked which does not exist whereas the demonstrators refer to "their" world. The crucial operation here is the switch from the indefinite tothedefinite article, as a result ofwhich the context ofthe person who speaks is rendered visible in discourse. By means of deictic reference the world of the protestors is shown in the enunciation rather than by rendering a given signification. In contrast to the world of the businessmen, the world of their adversaries is shown by deictic reference; "the" world is this world, today's world, our capitalist world of misery and pain, *the* pointing to certain aspects of the context in which the utterance is uttered.

Given that *the* world remains entirely unspecified in the Attac utterance, it is precisely this Iack of specification which makes it necessary to produce more utterances filling the utterance's empty slots and thus to involve the readers in some sort ofinterpretive praxis. Perhaps the use of language, underspecified in terms of its signifying contents.explains the symbolic efficiency of this discoursein transnational political space. Indeed, if political texts are to address a "global" public sphere. they cannot be too specific about the contexts in which they are read. Therefore, it is up to the individual readers to contextualize these texts according to their formal instructions. An active and creative reader is needed who constructs the meaning of contextually underspecified texts.This is why the texts of political discourse are often not only ambiguous but also productive in terms of the utopian energies they mobilize. If discourse does not stop evoking alternatives to the status quo, the readers are called to spell out its critical potentials. The readers need to conquer the meaning of global texts by inscribing them into their local contexts.

***5.* A three-floor model of subjectivity: from the many voices to the subject positions of discourse**

Against an enunciative-pragmatic background, I have analyzed the polyphonic organization of a cartoon on the anti­ globalization movement. The question has been how the textual material instructs the reader about who speaks in whose name against whom.etc. Rather than expressing a single point ofview. it instructs the readers about how to construct the many subject positions that make up the sociopolitical space ofrepresentation. In this process. the readers attempt to come to terms with the polyphonic complexity of discourse by const ructing a (limited) number of subject positions.

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There is a long tradition of dealing with the construction of subject positions in process-oriented strands of discourse analysis. Since Sacks' pioneering impulses conversation analysts have studied the construction of membership in talk (Schegloff, 2007) while discursive psychologists have looked into the negotiation of fragile identities (Potter and Wetherell,

1987). As a text-based approach to subjectivity, enunciative pragmatics, too, deals with subjectivity but it takes its point of departure from the formal markers by means of which subjectivity is inscribed into the textual material. Against this background, subjectivity can be conceived of as the result of interpretive processes leading the reader up three floors. The construction process starts on the first floor- the Ievel ofthe enunciators lx and ax- where the reader needs to cope with the many voices with which the utterances of discourse operate. Thus, while the businessmen's slogan "A different world is not going tobe possible" betrays an implicit dialag with an anti-capitalist other, it presupposes utterances such as the Attac slogan "A different world is possible" whose dialogical organization draws the reader's contextual knowledge about "Attac" and its other. On this Ievel, the reader is confronted with too many speakers and points of view, many of them anonymous, ephemeral and ambivalent, for a clear overall picture of the overall scene to be possible.

Therefore, on the second floor- the Ievel of the locutor Lx and its Others Ax -, the readerwill attempt to assign the many

speakers to a limited number of subject positions spanning the various utterances of a discourse. Thus, thanks to enunciative markerssuch as *not* and the visual representation of the scene, she can assume that the author of the business men's slogan is against the allocutor A saying "A different world is possible!", who, in turn, is close to Michael Moore, etc. If the modal verb *must* suggests that the author of "jose Bove must be killed", the whole scene is pervaded by the author's irony. If the enunciative organization of the scene clears up on the second Ievel, it is still not specified enough for the reader to lmow who says what against whom.

Yet what remains ofthese complex interpretive operations is the knowledge she constructs on the third and last Ievel, viz.

the socially codified subject positions between "capitalists" and "critics of globalization", i.e. an interpretive scheme according to which Bove, Moore, the colorful demonstrators, Attac and also jul are in one camp (of left-wing globalization critics) and the businessmen and the killer in another camp (ofright-wing capitalists). On the third Ievel, the manyvoices of the scene are reduced to two subject positions bearing a name and having a clear and recognizable function in the shared representations of the political community. Here, the polyphonic play of communicative positions turns into relatively stable cognitive schemas existing independently of specific acts of reading. Subject positions become "ideological" in that they become common sense knowledge which is shared by a !arge discursive community and difficult to be called into question. Thanks to "ideologicized" knowledges such as the post-revolutionary narrative ofthe struggle between the people and governmental power the depicted scene can unfold its symbolic efficiency in political discourse. Thus, the ideological force of the represented conflict is crucially informed by conventional interpretive schemes, such as the struggle between the people and the powerful in French Republicanism, the antagonism between workers and capitalists, or, more generally speaking, between Left and Right. In the light of polyphonic theory it must also be concluded that this conflict draws from the multitude ofvoices underpinning the presupposed formation ofutterances. In narrativizing its voices political discourse can be appropriated by readers attempting to define their position in an opaque space of representation. By casting the polyphonic structure of the initial utterance into narrative form, the swarming multitude of voices are reduced to some sort of ready-made expression to be appropriated by individual or collective actors. This is indeed the dilemma of political contestation: While there can be no contestation without freeing the othervoices of discourse, without liberating its utopian potentials, the polyphonic play ofvoices cannot go on and on without undermining the readability of the political message.

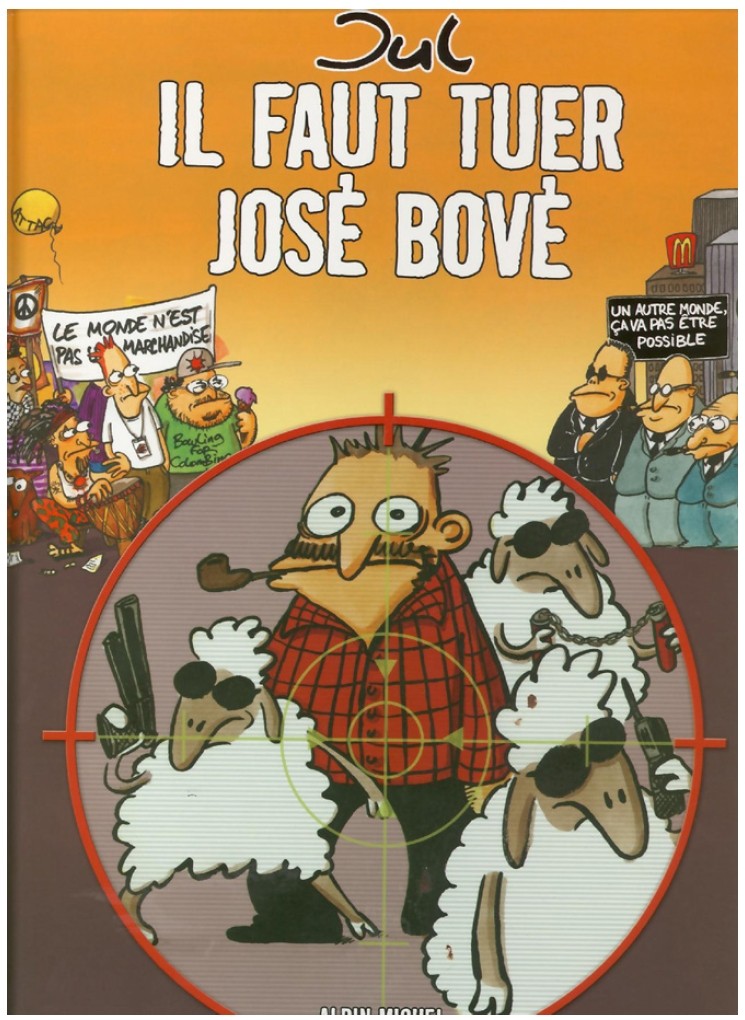
In face of this dilemma, jul, the voice of the archenunciator is heard on the very back page of the volume where the polyphonic machine of discourse starts up once again. With Bove and Moore sitting tagether after the political struggle has ended, we see the exclamation stamped on the page: "This book is not a commodity!" so as to hold the story, that marketable story in a reflexive suspense. The story stops here, but discourse of course does not as it invites the reader to keep dealing with the many voices of political discourse and to keep constructing a discursive space of representation in which the participants of political discourse have a voice and occupy a certain position.

**6. Conclusion**

In this contribution, I have attempted to show how small discursive fragments like the cover page of an anti-globalization comic book help the reader construct a "global" conflict between capitalists and critics of globalization. According to the three-floor model of subjectivity of enunciative pragmatics, the readers produce representations of a wider sociohistorical context by starting with the sub-personal perspectives and voices triggered and orchestrated by the utterances' enunciative markers. Therefore, to account for social order beyond the face-to-face situation, it is suggested that the constitution of subject positions be seen as the result of a bottom-up construction process starting from the many anonymaus speakers, voices and enunciators of discourse over a limited number of subject positions to ideologically consolidated knowledge about the actors of political discourse. In this process, the reader attempts to reduce the complex indexical organization of texts to interpretive schemes which represent the relevant subject positions of discourse. While this approach reminds macrosociological discourse analysts that social order needs to be practically achieved by readers, it encourages microsociological discourse analysts to go below the Ievel of the actors and Iook into how the discourse participants assign the many textually encoded voices to different subject positions. With its insistence on the many sub-personal voices of discourse, the enunciative approach presented in this article conceives of discourse as the dynamic result of a process in which readers associate contextually underspecified texts with their contextual knowledge. By bridging the gap between

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text-based and process-oriented approaches to language use, it is particularly suitable for the analysis of polysemous written discourse in an open institutional space where interpretive processes and practices are not directly observable and are inferred through its enunciative markers.



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**johannes Angennülleris** an assistant professor ofsociology at the University ofMainz. In 2003, he obtained his PhD from the Universities ofMagdeburg and Paris

12. Warking an intellectual and higher education discourses as weB as political discourses, he has coordinated the DiscourseNet since 2007 ("Methodologies and

methods of discourse analysis", see http://www.discourseanalysis.net ). His publications include *After Structuralism. The Discourse ofTheory and the Intellectual*

*Field in France,* Bielefeld: transcript 2007 (in German). More information an [http://www.johannes-angermueller.de.](http://www.johannes-angermueller.de/)