

Chapter 3

Methodology

In this chapter, the execution of the study is explained. First, the source of the data, the sampling of the data, and the convention of the transcription are explained. Second, the description of the procedure of data processing is provided. Third, classifications of disagreement, identification of the pragmatic strategies and linguistic markers used to code disagreement are presented.

3.1. Data Collection

The data for the present study are conversations extracted from the NCCU Corpus of Spoken Chinese (NCSC) and Prof. Hui-chen Chan's personal collection. All of the data are casual and spontaneous face-to-face conversations. Topics and issues discussed in the conversations are restricted to the interlocutors' daily life. Participants in the conversations are acquaintances to each other, and the interpersonal relationships between the two interlocutors in the conversations are close friends, neighbors, relatives, or couples.

Those data used in this study were collected in different ways. The data from Prof. Hui-chen Chan's personal collection are tape-recorded, whereas the data from NCSC are video-recorded. However, since the visual image of the data is not open to the public, only audio data are provided in NCSC. The entire recording time of each conversation lasts at least 45 minutes, but the excerpts differ in length. The short data from NCSC last from 18 to 22 minutes, and the long data from Prof. Hui-chen Chan's personal collection are much longer, which last from 45 to 60 minutes. In total, 12 conversations—5 short ones and 7 long ones—are analyzed in this study.

3.2. Social Distribution of the Data

The 12 conversation data are chosen randomly according to the social factors to be examined in the study—age. The age of the participants in the study belongs to two general groups: the participants in the younger group (coded as Y) are 20 to 33 years old, and those in the older group (coded as O) are 45 to 60 years old. In the present study, three types of age combination are examined—O-O, Y-Y and O-Y.

The gender of the interlocutors in the conversations is composed of three types: male-male (or M-M), female-female (or F-F), and male-female (or M-F). Although gender is not the factor discussed in this study, for the purpose of data balancing, gender is put into consideration when selecting conversation data. The 12 conversations by age and gender are given below in Table 3.

Table 3. Distribution of the interlocutors' age and gender in the 12 conversation data (O=old, Y=young, M=male, F=female)

Conversations	Length of Conversation	Age-Gender
1	Long	OM-OF
2	Long	OM-OM
3	Long	OF-OF
4	Long	OM-YM
5	Long	OM-YF
6	Long	OF-YF
7	Long	OF-YM
8	Short	OM-OF
9	Short	YM-YF
10	Short	YM-YF
11	Short	YM-YF
12	Short	YF-YF

3.3. Data Transcription

Originally, the data from the two sources are transcribed by two different systems. The data from NCSC are transcribed in conventions devised by Du Bois et al.

(1992), but Prof. Chan's data follow Tannen's (1986) transcription system. Though different in the conventions of the transcription, for convenience of data analysis, the transcriptions of the three conversations provided by Prof. Chan were converted into Du Bois et al.'s system. Therefore, the twelve conversations are conformed to the same transcription system.³

3.4. Procedure of Data Processing

The 12 conversations to be analyzed in the present study were carefully examined by the researcher at least twice before marking out the disagreements in the data. Afterwards, they are classified into two types, content-based disagreement and evaluation-based disagreement, each with several subtypes. Then, those disagreements identified in the data are further grouped by pragmatic strategies and linguistic markers involved. Also, all the data have been discussed with and confirmed by Prof. Chan before they are put into calculation.

3.5. Classification of Disagreement

Previous studies (Kuo, 1992; Pan, 1994; Lin, 1999; Scott, 2002) have rarely touched upon the referential content in disagreement. However, the researcher believes that a categorization of disagreement based on the referential content is required and by doing so, a clearer view on the construction of disagreement can be perceived. Disagreement can be differentiated into two types: disagreement based on content and disagreement based on evaluation. For convenience of presentation and discussion, **content-based disagreement** is abbreviated as **C-disagreement**, and **evaluation-based disagreement** as **E-disagreement**.

C-disagreement focuses on the truth and falsity of the message content. Opposition is aroused primarily because the interlocutors cannot agree upon the assumed facts, statements, or matters in the world in the speech content. For

³ For reference, the conventions by Du Bois et al. (1992) are presented in Appendix 1.

C-disagreement, there lies a clear answer to the discussed issue to which the interlocutors can refer. In other words, there lies inter-subjectivity between the interlocutors. When a disagreement is caused by failure of consensus on content, there are two possible reasons to explain such communicative break-down. First, the interlocutors may disagree upon the accuracy of content. For example, when a person says, "Today is Tuesday," and you, after checking the calendar, find that today is Wednesday, you would disagree with your interlocutor simply because his/her message content is inaccurate. Second, the clarity of the message content is flawed. To be specific, when interlocutors disagree upon the clarity of the discussed issue, disagreement often results from certain ambiguity or vagueness in the message content. Due to ambiguous content, interlocutors are unclear about the target they disagree on. And if the content is vague, the speaker and the hearer simply have no specific target to show opposition.

Evaluation can be categorized into two types: personal judgment and social-cultural evaluation. When a personal judgment is made during disagreement, interlocutors find it hard to seek consensus because what one considers is right or wrong, valid or invalid, good or bad, should or should not is purely subjective. Different value systems owned by the interlocutors bring about the disagreement. Under such circumstances, the strength of disagreement may become strong because no inter-subjectivity can be located, nor is there any outside norm or rule to regulate the judgment.

Another kind of evaluation difference comes from social-cultural evaluation. When disagreement is made due to social-cultural evaluation, participants in the conversation disagree with the others because one has violated the social-cultural norm. For example, in Chinese society, showing respect to old people is the norm which should be followed by every person. Therefore, if a young person on a seat sees

an old person on the bus or metro, he/she is likely to follow the social-cultural etiquette to give the old person his/her seat. By doing so, he/she will be praised because he/she has obeyed the norm set by social-cultural evaluation. Disagreement of this kind is often evaluated by the public's standard, which would vary from generation to generation.

Whether the evaluation is based on personal preference or social-cultural expectations, disagreement can be further subcategorized into three groups: right or wrong, should or shouldn't and good or bad. Right or wrong in disagreement is subjectively considered as true or false. Should or should not is subjectively thought as degree of possibility or one's obligation on something that ought to do, be done, or not. Good or bad is subjectively preferred or dispreferred. Figure 2 demonstrates the possible categorization of the disagreement family.

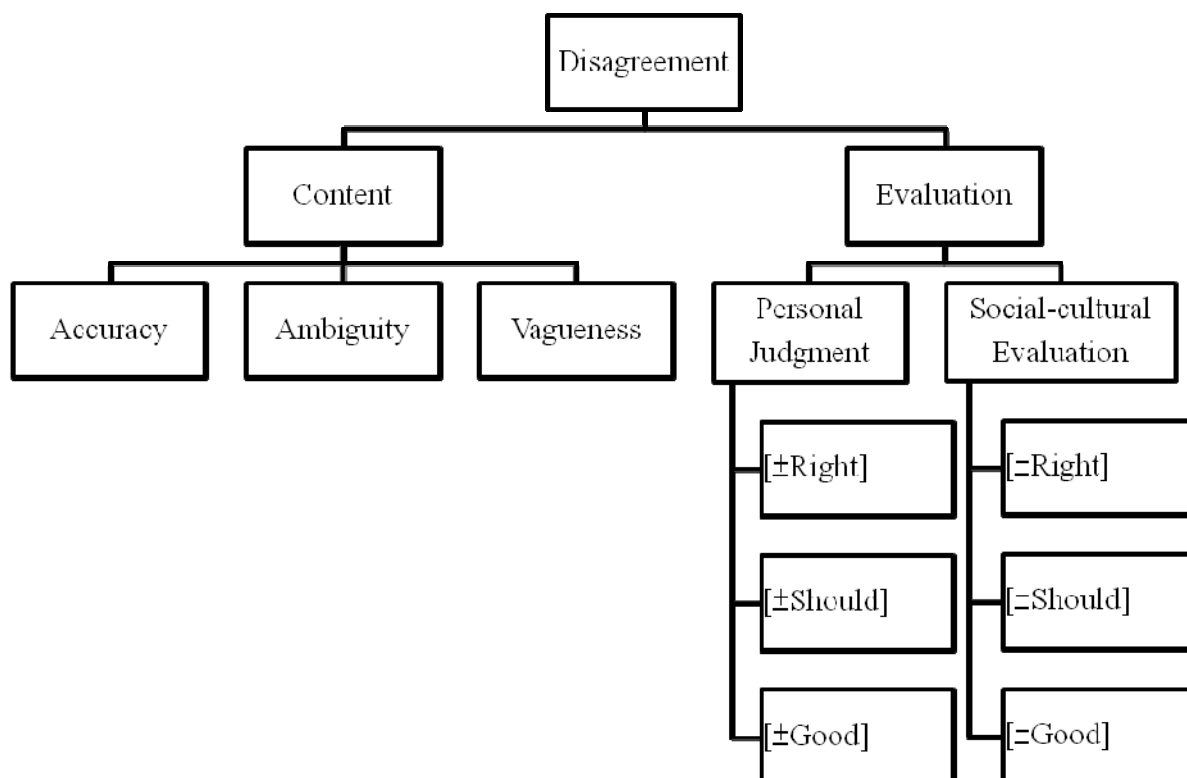


Figure 2. Categorization of disagreement

3.6. Pragmatic Strategies of Disagreement

After the disagreement activities have been categorized into content or evaluation, a further classification is made based on their pragmatic performance. Through the categorization of the different pragmatic strategies used in disagreement, we can then analyze the linguistic markers used in the different strategies. The categorization of the strategies has taken previous studies' (Beebe and Takahashi, 1989; Muntigl and Turnbull, 1998; Lin, 1999) categorization into consideration. This study takes Lin's (1999) categorization of pragmatic strategies in disagreement as the foundation because her study is by far the most completed. According to the present data, 9 pragmatic strategies are found to be used in disagreement. These strategies include correction, account, challenge, defense, partial disagreement, clarification, suggestion and confirmation. Confirmation is additionally found in the present data. However, under different subject matter, referential content or evaluation, the same pragmatic strategy could be applied differently. Table 4 is a preliminary graphic representation of the categorization of these pragmatic strategies found in the 12 conversations. Definitions and examples of these pragmatic strategies and linguistic markers are presented afterward.

Table 4. Distribution of pragmatic strategies used in C-disagreement and E-disagreement

Disagreement	C-disagreement	Accuracy	Correction / Account Challenge / Defense Partial Disagreement Clarification / Confirmation	
		Ambiguity	Clarification / Confirmation	
		Vagueness	Confirmation	
	E-disagreement	Personal Judgment	[±Right]	Correction / Account Challenge / Defense Partial Disagreement Clarification Confirmation Suggestion
			[±Should]	Correction / Account Challenge / Defense Confirmation Suggestion
			[±Good]	Correction / Account Challenge / Defense Partial Disagreement Clarification Confirmation Suggestion
		Socio-cultural Evaluation	[±Right]	Correction / Account Challenge / Defense
			[±Should]	Account
			[±Good]	<i>none</i> ⁴

3.6.1. Correction

Disagreement happens when the speaker in turn 2 (T2) corrects or substitutes the prior speaker's statement in turn 1 (T1) due to incorrect information. Correction aims at correcting the prior speaker's information of incorrect content. This implies the prior speaker's incompetence whether in content or in judgment. The implied

⁴ Theoretically, subtype of [±Good] on socio-cultural E-disagreement is possible, but in the present 12 conversations, no token of [±Good] on socio-cultural E-disagreement has been found.

meaning of incompetence is very face-threatening. Three examples of different types of disagreement strategy adapting correction are given.

Example (1) targets at *the accuracy of the content*. B tells A about her spoiled brother who bought a house but could not pay the loan. Therefore, her elder sister is now paying the loan. When A says she knows that not until B's mother gave birth to 4 daughters did she had this son, B corrects A's misinformation and gives her the right information. Thus, by correcting A's statement, B disagrees with A.

(1)

B: 對啊..是因為他認為...他這個房子要...要..不要了..要給我姊姊.....可是他的前面頭期款他又沒辦法...拿出來給我姊姊..所以他就...他是被我們寵壞的小孩

T1A: (0) 嗯..我知道因為你說..生了...幾個..四個

→T2B: (0) 五..五..五個..才..才有他...所以..他就是...不知道..有些事情進..後續會不會給人家造成很大的問題

Correction is also used in *personal preference of good or bad*. In example (2), A says that the meat flavor sandwiches in Subway are not so tasty, which is bad. B baldly disagrees with A's statement by saying the meat flavors are very tasty. In his evaluation, he thinks A's opinion about the meat flavor of Subway is wrong. Therefore, he corrects it.

(2)

T1A: ..我覺得最好吃的其實是鮭魚..然後過來是素食堡..然後其實..他們肉類都沒有很好吃

→T2B: (0) 不會啊我覺得很好吃

When a person evaluates an issue, different *perspectives on right or wrong* could also lead to correction. B describes her trip to Angkor Wat to A in example (3). In this example, after the depiction, B assures A that he would marvels if he sees it. A agrees

with B's depiction by judging Angkor Wat as a beautiful place. B corrects A's statement because she thinks the word beautiful is not enough to describe the magnificent Angkor Wat. The right praise for the architecture is to marvel.

(3)

B: 喔你會很讚[嘆]
 T1A: [很漂亮]
 →T2B: (0)唉呀什麼漂亮..會驚嘆

3.6.2. Account

The strategy of account is adapted when an explanation is needed for the disagreement in the conversation. Using account in disagreement is less face threatening because the intention to disagree must be further inferred. Four examples of different types of disagreement adapting account are given.

In example (4), disagreement on *the accuracy of the content* is explained. A tells B that the Taiwan businessmen who work in Indonesia are so stressful that they need to go dancing with friends and take drugs to bring them ecstasy. B believes that if the money involved in the business was not so much, the situation of taking drug could be prevented. Afterwards, A disagrees with B by explaining to him that the drug is used for turning down the volume of the music to the perception in the dance club, which is too loud to bear. In other words, A points out that the businessmen's taking drug has nothing to do with the pressure brought by doing business, and that B misunderstood her.

(4)

T1B: 生意不要談那麼大就好了
 →T2A: (0)不是..他們..是去跳然後又要吃那個說...要不然噪音太大了....沒有吃那個人會受不了

Example (5) continues the argument given in example (2). After being corrected, A accounts for why he claimed that Subway's meat flavor sandwiches are not so tasty for their containing too much vegetable. Through this explanation, A disagrees with B. In this example, the account is based on *personal judgment on good or bad*.

(5)

A: ..我覺得最好吃的其實是鮭魚..然後過來是素食堡..然後其實..他們肉類都沒有很好吃

T1B: (0)不會啊我覺得很好吃

→T2A: ...(2.4)肉類來吃起來很沒吃肉的感覺..因為菜還是很多

Account is applied when a person disagrees with a subject matter because he/she *subjectively judges as right or wrong*. In example (6), A thinks Indonesia is a nice place except for the language barrier. B disagrees with A's perspective. He challenges A that many stores in Indonesia speak Chinese, Japanese, and English. A disagrees with B through her personal experience by explaining that whether at the hotel or at the optical shop owned by her friend, she and her husband still failed to communicate with others.

(6)

A: 印尼..其實印尼喔....就是..風..就是反正就是..風景不錯啊然後吃又吃的習慣..就是言語不通就是沒辦法

T1B: (0)喔..可是聽說它現在都.....很多商家都會講中文還會講日文英文都可以啊

→T2A: (0)喔我覺得..我覺得我們..我們都不行....因為像我們去了都接觸到他們就..在飯店也...也是言語不通啊然後就是在..在像蔣先生他們的店啦就是眼鏡店也是言語不通啊.....就是沒辦法溝通

Example (7) shows that explanation is made to support the disagreement evaluated with *possibility and necessity of should or shouldn't*. When A, B and their mutual friends are going out for dinner, B says that the agreed time to leave is five

o'clock, but A disagrees with him because he thinks they should leave earlier. A's account for his disagreement with B is provided with a conditional clause.

(7)

T1B: (0)那是五點出發

→T2A: ..他說暫時約五點..可是..我覺得應該還是可以..可以更早一點
..如果..如果要開車的話..應該會塞車

3.6.3. Challenge

Challenge happens when the speaker in T2 disapprove of the prior proposition made by the speaker in T1. By showing his/her disagreement, the speaker in T2 would pose a rhetoric question to his/her hearer and the speaker does not sincerely need the answer from the hearer. Challenge is a serious face threatening act because it always sounds forceful and suppressive. Six examples of different types of disagreement adapting challenge are given.

Challenge sometimes occurs when interlocutors have disagreement in *the accuracy of the message content*. In example (8), A asks B that whether B's husband's company is still going to operate. B gives A an uncertain but positive response. A disagrees with B by challenging her to the fact that the company is now in debt and questioning the possibility of keep operating the company. In other words, the content of accuracy is being challenged.

(8)

A: @@真的嗎.....hehehe...現在...現在...現在..大家都回來的就有點難講了..你說是不是....好..那..好那...那..那這樣子爸爸的公司是不是還要繼續

T1B: (0)應該會吧

→T2A: (0)還要繼..不是說虧錢嗎還要繼續喔

Challenge primarily happens with evaluation. Example (9) depicts disagreement that indicates *judgment on a subject matter's being good or bad*. In this example, A and B talk about the rice wine which has a mark-up due to Taiwan's join in of WTO. A says that rice wine only costs around 20 NT dollars in the past, but the news at that time shows it has raised to 130 NT dollars per bottle. Then she tells B that a big brother in the family would drink the rice wine stealthily. B challenges A's statement by disagreeing with the fact that rice wine is not good to drink. Such challenge is embedded in a rhetoric question implying that he thinks the rice wine is bad to drink.

(9)

A: 像之前你看..以前..以前米酒一罐不是才二十幾塊嗎以前哪....那你看之前那個 XX 說..一罐一百三我是沒買過啦一百三..喔.....太貴了啦

T1A: 那他們也是買啊.....那還有那個什麼..大哥哥還會偷喝耶..然後就說

→T2B: 米酒不是很難喝嗎

When *judging the subject matter's right or wrong*, challenge is used as a strategy to show disagreement. In example (10), B tells A that hiring a driver in Indonesia only costs you 300 NT dollars per day. A challenges B in the truth value (right or wrong) of the information through his personal judgment that 300 NT dollars per day is too cheap.

(10)

B: 好像那邊請司機也蠻便宜的啊..像<L3 XX L3>請他開車

A: (0)喔

T1B: (0)一天也只要.....三百塊台幣吧

→T2A: (0)那麼便宜喔..一整天耶

In example (11), A is asking B to go to a speech with him. B tells A that he has no spare time to do so. A challenges B by asking why, indicating that he thinks B should have spare time to go to the speech. In this example, disagreement is based on

personal judgment on the possibility of should or shouldn't.

(11)

T1B: ..我沒有那種時間
 →T2A: ..怎麼會

Sometimes, the speaker in T2 challenges the prior speaker's statement in T1 in an offensive and forceful way. Cussing words or phrases and performative verb that signal overt opposition are frequently applied to intensify the force of disagreement. The emotional challenge is primarily applied with *personal judgment on right or wrong*, and the following two examples belong to this kind.

In example (12), A is inviting B to a speech. B tells A that he does not have the time to do so. A first challenges B's statement by using a rhetorical question *怎麼會*. When B answers A's question by saying that he has other things to do, A offensively challenges B with a cussing word *放屁*. Afterwards, he asks B whether it is because of the poster he has to make.

(12)

B: ..我沒有那種時間
 A: ..怎麼會
 T1B: ..我有我自己的事情要忙
 →T2A: ..你放屁..做海報喔

In example (13), B tells A that there are ways to immigrate to the US. One way is by financial immigration, and another way is by technical skill immigration. A partially agrees with B, but she tells B that she has an Indian friend whose technical skill is not unique enough. Therefore, even though he stayed in the US for six years and made it to a manager's position, he was not able to get the green card. B asks A whether it is true that her Indian friend did not get it. A confirms with his question and tells him that her friend went back to India afterward. B then poses a rather mild

challenge 好奇怪 indicating that he disagree with what A has said.

(13)

A: (0)他是很優秀沒有錯所以他在美國待了六年

B: (0)嗯

A: ...然後都當經理喔..那種是最高職位的那種經理那樣

B: (0)嗯嗯

A: ..然後他沒有辦法拿到綠卡呢

B: (0)其實..拿不到嗎

T1A: (0)拿不到..他後來就回印度去了

→T2B: ..好奇怪

3.6.4. Defense

Defense emerges when the speaker in T2 protects what he/she said prior to the statement made in T1. In other words, he/she supports the statement previously made, which the speaker in T1 challenges. Defense and challenge are two sides of the same coin. Therefore, a presupposed challenge occurs before defense. Since face threatening in challenge is strong and forceful, defense, which shows disagreement by protecting the current speaker him/herself to reject the challenge, is also a strong face threatening act. Four examples of different types of disagreement are given below.

Example (14) is a demonstration of disagreement with *accuracy of the content*. In this example, A tells B that things sold in the airport are very expensive. B questions A's claim by saying the items are duty-free in the airport, and implies that they would not be expensive. A agrees with B that things in the airport are duty-free, but she disagrees with B in the latter half of B's previous statement (namely, things that are duty-free would not be expensive), and defends herself.

(14)

A: 對啊..然後香港那邊..就是機場那邊東西又很貴..逛是：可以逛啦就是東西反正就是...都買不起..就是都很貴.....其實..澳門也是很貴..
反正機場的東 西都很貴

T1B: 機場不是都是免稅的商店嗎

→T2A: 對啊可是好像都不便宜

Defense is also used when a *personal judgment is made about good or bad* of the subject matter. In example (15), B shows A the poster he made. B tells A that he will modify the color. B then questions A if he will change the color only. A uses a partial disagreement by telling B that the color and the typesetting will both be modified. A thinks the poster seems to be a work by Xiao-Guai, an acquaintance of them, and implies that the work is bad. B disagrees with A saying that he thinks the poster he made is not that bad compared with Xiao-Guai's work.

(15)

A: 你只會調顏色嗎

B: (0)顏色跟排版都會調..結果我這樣子給他說這是草圖看一下
..他們說很棒

A: ..很棒這樣這樣就很棒了

B: ..對啊..就是..要..要求不高...(0.6)但我還是會改一下

T1A: ..我覺得很像小怪做的東西

→T2B: ..哪沒有那麼差

With a *personal judgment involving judgment of right or wrong*, defense is often used. A and B talk about the currency value of Cambodia and Thailand in example (16). B tells A that one NT dollar equals to 100 Riel (i.e. Cambodia currency). A says that it is about the same as THB (i.e. Thailand currency). In B's evaluation, the currency value of THB is not as low as Riel. In other words, and she uses defense to indicate that she thinks A's judgment is wrong.

(16)

- B: 給你猜一塊錢..我們台幣一塊錢換他幾塊...你猜看看
 A: ..五百
 B: <L3 無 L3>啦一百
 A: (0)一百喔
 B: @@
 A: 一百....差不多....泰幣也[差不多啊]
 B: [啊那個紙]..那個錢好像我們的玩具鈔票 nei.....這樣
 T1A: (0)泰幣..泰幣<L3 嘛是真薄 L3>
 →T2B: ..但是..泰幣還好啊他那個東幣啊..

Defense also occurs when *personal judgment involves possibility and necessity of should or shouldn't* of the subject matter. In example (17), A tells B that the recovery of a hard drive charges at least \$10,000 NT dollars. B exclaims that it is too expensive. A disagrees with B by saying that if B's thesis was store in the hard drive, the hard drive should be repaired regardless of the money. In saying so, A defends his evaluation which is challenged by B.

(17)

- A: (0)對然後如果你用..軟體去跑的話那個硬體部份壞掉的..跑不回來啊..然後他說..通常都是..至少..一萬..起跳
 B: ...(1.8)什麼意思..你說修理
 A: (0)費用啦如果要..要照這樣修的話
 T1B: ..好貴喔
 →T2A: ..可是如果你論文..畢業前突然壞掉...(0.6)你還是會去修

3.6.5. Partial Disagreement

Partial disagreement happens when the speaker in T2 is not totally against the proposition made by the speaker in T1. What has been stated in T1 is agreed by the two interlocutors, but that in the second turn is not. Although the interlocutors both agree in part of the proposition, the emphasis is placed on the disagreed part of the proposition. The focus on partial disagreement is the disagreed part, which makes it

intrinsically direct and face threatening. Two examples of different types of disagreement adapting partial disagreement are given.

Partial disagreement is often used when the interlocutors show discrepancy in *the accuracy of content*. In example (18), B shows A the draft he made for the poster. When A asks B if he would only modify the color of the poster, B disagrees with A that he could modify both the color and the typesetting. In other words, B agrees with A that the color should be changed, but he, at the same time, also disagrees with A because A missed typesetting, which B would modify as well. Therefore, the content of statement made by A is not accurate because he only has it partially correct.

(18)

- T1A: 你只會調顏色嗎
 →T2B: (0)顏色跟排版都會調..結果我這樣子給他說這是草圖看一下
 ..他們說棒

In example (19), *personal judgment on good or bad* is considered. A tells B that her relatives like to go sight-seeing in Mainland China because expenditure is very low. B disagrees with A by stating that the public security in Mainland China is bad. Though agreeing with B's statement, A shows her disagreement is only partial by stating that the public security in Shanghai is ok. Therefore, A disagrees with B because although the public security in the entire Mainland China is bad, which is poorly evaluated by B, the public security in Shanghai, according to A, is OK.

(19)

- A: 就是....好像也去過好幾次了啊.....還有..還有他們也喜歡去大陸
 啊...他們說這消費都很低啊
 T1B: (0)喔..可是大陸...治安不好啊
 →T2A: (0)對啊.....上海是還好啦..上海是比較沒有不會那麼..那麼嚴重

3.6.6. Clarification

Clarification happens when there is misunderstanding or uncertainty between the speaker's real intention and his/her interlocutor's perceived meaning. The disagreement is made in order to clarify the information that the hearer has perceived.⁵ Therefore, by using clarification, the current speaker directly disagrees with his/her prior speaker. Two examples of different types of disagreement adapting clarification are given.

In example (20), A and B discuss about B's daughter, who is married and with a child, and is living with her son-in-law. Traditionally, the son and his wife are supposed to live with his parents after marriage. Therefore, living with the wife's family is a violation to the norm in Chinese culture. When A asks B how they brought this issue to her son-in-law's parents, B states that they have not directly talked about the issue yet. A, then, questions B if the parents of her son-in-law have not known the news yet. B makes a clarification that the parents of her son-in-law have known it already, but not through her and her husband, but through their son. B's disagreement in *the accuracy of the content* is expressed through clarification.

(20)

B: 對...曾經問過我你..你說..啊怎麼跟..那個親家公親家母提這個事

A: (0)hei 啊

B: (0)我們到現在都還沒直..接的

T1B: (0)他不知道嗎

→T2A: (0)不..當然知道我是說我們親家跟親家之間啦

Clarification is adapted when the content is *ambiguous*. In example (21), when B says A was at home yesterday, A corrects B's inaccurate information by saying he was

⁵ Clarification and correction differ in the appearance of preceding content. Clarification is adopted when preceding content is disagreed. However, correction is applied without the occurrence of the preceding content.

studying at school. B then confirms with A that A said he has to dine at home, so he was not able to go to cram school, when B asked him to go to cram school together. A clarifies that it was true that he had to dine at home; however, he was studying at school and he did not leave the school. The clarification extends to two turns.

(21)

- B: (0)你咧..你也你也去上課..啊沒有你昨天在家
 A: ..昨天禮拜..一沒有我昨天在學校唸書啊
 T1B: ..啊我不是找你去補習你就說..[要吃飯]
 →T2A: [喔對啊]..對啊可是我在那個啊可是我在學校唸書啊
 B: ..嗯
 →T2A: (0)就是我沒有離開學校啊..對啊..就衝點[進度]
 B: [好吧]

3.6.7. Suggestion

Suggestion happens when the speaker in T2 disagrees with the prior statement in T1 in an indirect way by giving opinions and advice. However, since the disagreed meaning must be inferred in suggestion, this pragmatic strategy is considered less direct and face threatening. Two examples of different types of suggestion are given.

In example (22), A and B are discussing about the temperature in Indonesia. A tells B that the average temperature is around 20 degrees Celsius high. B then makes a statement that there is no need to bring any long-sleeved shirt to the destination. However, A disagrees with B by suggesting to him to bring a thin long-sleeved shirt instead of nothing. A disagrees with B's judgment because she thinks he is wrong and suggests to B to bring a long-sleeved shirt with him. *Personal judgment on right or wrong* is the base of this suggestion.

(22)

B: 噢那邊的溫度怎麼樣..每年哪四季如夏喔

A: (0)對啊...都差不多二十幾度吧..至少(sneeze)...反正..[反正]

T1B: [不用帶長袖去]→T2A: (0)就是..薄薄的帶一件嘛...薄的

In example (23), *personal judgment on whether the subject matter should be done* evokes disagreement. B tells A that a mutual co-worker they both know is going to retire in the post office. A is surprised by the news, and suggests to B to go for higher position. B disagrees with A's suggestion. He suggests that A should consider more about personal safety and soundness, not the promotion in the post office. He further explains that safety indeed makes money.

(23)

B: 而且<L3 你現在 L3>...張志清要退了...什麼事都嘛交給他

T1A: (0)哇..<L3 看可不可以再 L3>更上一層樓→T2B: (0)啊呀不要想平安就好.....真的..還想這麼多..你覺得呢@@平安就好了...對不對..平安就是賺錢

3.6.8. Confirmation

Confirmation has not been discussed in previous studies (Beebe and Takahashi, 1989; Muntigl and Turnbull, 1998; Lin, 1999) and it is a new pragmatic strategy found in the present study. Confirmation is applied in T2 for the speaker to verify the prior statement he/she heard in T1. Questions used to confirm the disagreed proposition are real questions, which the speaker hopes the hearer would answer. The disagreed meaning of verification need to be inferred, and thus, confirmation is indirect and less face threatening.

In example (24), the disagreement is both about the accuracy of the content and personal judgment on right or wrong. A asks B why he did not make the vase larger. B tells A that the vase was big when the clay was wet, but it shrank when it is burned. A

doubts B's words by posing a question 燒了會縮小. B confirms A's doubt and tells him that the pottery would shrink about 30%. A verifies B's saying twice, first by saying "Really?" 真的假的, and then by asking another question. B answers A's questions with explanation by saying that the clay shrinks due to the evaporation of the moisture it contains.

(24)

- A: (0)這爲什麼不做大一點做那麼小
 T1B: (0)他本來很大啊...燒起來變那麼小
 →T2A: ha?...[燒..燒了...燒了會縮小]
 B: [它本來一個這麼大]
 T1B: 會縮啊....縮差不多三十 pa
 →T2A: (0)真的假的....燒了不是應該會...熱漲冷縮會變大嗎
 B: 他土是濕的啊...燒了水分不見他就縮起來

3.7. Linguistic Markers in Disagreement

In the data, it is found that disagreement can be verbally realized in several ways, either on sentential level or lexical level. Categorizations of previous studies (Wang, 1997; Lin, 1999; Scott, 2002) have been put into consideration, but only substantial linguistic forms are examined in this study; therefore, hesitation markers, such as pauses, silence, and pause filler, are excluded from the present study of disagreement. Six different types of linguistic markers are identified in this study: in sentential level: negations, questions and affirmations; in lexical level: pre-announcement markers, degree markers and modals. Related definitions and examples are given below.

3.7.1. Negation

Negation has been considered as a crucial disagreement marker in various studies (Pan, 1994; Wang, 1997; Lin, 1999; Scott, 2002). The speaker in T2 may show his/her direct disagreement through negative sentences, and they are often introduced by negation markers such as 不是 and 沒有. In example (25), B shows A the picture she drew for the therapy class. A tells B that she did not draw any soil in the picture

and she only drew some grass here. B corrects A by using negation cues 沒有 and 不是 to correct A's interpretation of her drawing. What A sees as grass is not grass.

(25)

T1A: [[你只有]]這邊畫小草
 →T2B: ...(1.4)沒有..那不是小草

3.7.2. Affirmative

Affirmative has not been considered as an important linguistic marker for disagreement in previous studies (Wang, 1997; Lin, 1999; Scott, 2002). However, in the data collected, disagreement has often been uttered in affirmative sentences when a disagreement reacts to the previous negative propositional content, and thus, affirmative form needs to be considered. Affirmative statements in disagreement are used when the speaker in T2 corrects the prior speaker's negative proposition in T1, and when a positive answer is needed to the prior question. In example (26), A asks B why fortune-telling cannot be taped by audio equipment. B says the hidden design of fate cannot be revealed. However, A challenges B by saying that taping fortune-telling is not revealing the hidden design of fate. B defends his prior claim by saying an affirmative 有啊.

(26)

A: (0)算命爲什麼不能錄音
 B: (0)不可以
 A: (0)爲什麼
 B: (0)洩漏天機..不行
 T1A: (0)哪有洩漏天機
 →T2B: (0)有啊...不行

3.7.3. Question

Question is often used to challenge the prior speaker because the speaker in T2 disagrees with the prior statement (Muntigl and Turnbull, 1998). Different types of question forms are seen in the data, for example, Yes-No questions, Wh-questions and A-not-A questions. Genuine questions and rhetorical questions are found in the data as well. In the present study, all types of questions are generally considered as question form. In example (9), repeated below as (27), A tells B that a big bother in the family drinks the rice wine. B uses a rhetoric Yes-No question to challenge A's statement to show his disagreement.

(27)

A: 像之前你看..以前..以前米酒一罐不是才二十幾塊嗎以前哪....那你看之前那個 XX 說..一罐一百三我是沒買過啦一百三..喔.....太貴了啦

T1A: 那他們也是買啊.....那還有那個什麼..大哥哥還會偷喝耶..然後就說

→T2B: 米酒不是很難喝嗎

3.7.4. Pre-announcement Markers⁶

Pre-announcement marker is placed in the initial position of propositions, utterances or sentences. According to Lin's (1999) definition, pre-announcement marker is a kind of discourse marker and its appearance foretell the upcoming disagreement and introduce the opinions or information in the speakers mind. Several subtypes of pre-announcement markers are found in the data: *Expressive markers*⁷, such as 我覺得, 我是說, etc.; *contrast markers*, such as 但是, 可是 and 其實; *causal markers*, such as 因為 and 所以; *emotional markers*, such as 幹, 屁啦, 亂說, 漏氣, 奇怪, 啊呀, 唉呀, 哼, etc.; and *performative verb* 抗議. Causal markers, emotional

⁶ Wang (1997)'s original *discourse marker* has been re-named as *pre-announcement marker* by Lin (1999).

⁷ Lin (1999) regards these markers as pre-announcement markers, and they are distinguished from contrast marker.

markers, and performative verbs have not been discussed as pre-announcement markers in previous studies, but they are found in the data and examined in the present study. In example (6), repeated below as (28), A disagrees with B's prior challenge by expressing her opposition twice through pre-announcement marker 我覺得 and the following opposite account.

(28)

- A: 印尼..其實印尼喔....就是..風..就是反正就是..風景不錯啊然後吃又吃的習慣..就是言語不通就是沒辦法
- T1B: (0)喔..可是聽說它現在都.....很多商家都會講中文還會講日文英文都可以啊
- T2A: (0)喔我覺得..我覺得我們..我們都不行.....因為像我們去了都接觸到他們就..在飯店也...也是言語不通啊然後就是在..在像蔣先生他們的店啦就是眼鏡店也是言語不通啊.....就是沒辦法溝通

Contrast markers are often used to show disagreement by giving counterclaim to the prior statement. In example (17), repeated here as (29), B thinks the cost of repairing a hard drive is too expensive. A disagrees with B by using contrast marker 可是 and a conditional sentence to show his counterclaim to the subject matter.

(29)

- A: (0)對然後如果你用..軟體去跑的話那個硬體部份壞掉的..跑不回來啊..然後他說..通常都是..至少..一萬..起跳
- B: ...(1.8)什麼意思..你說修理
- A: (0)費用啦如果要..要照這樣修的話
- T1B: ..好貴喔
- T2A: ..可是如果是你論文..畢業前突然壞掉...(0.6)你還是會去修

A speaker often uses causal markers to signal the beginning of an account, which explains the reason why he/she disagrees with the prior statement. In example (5), repeated here as (30), A and B talk about Subway's meat flavor sandwich. When B

disagrees with A's claim that none of the meat flavor sandwich in Subway tastes good, A supports his prior statement by saying the meat does not taste meaty. He uses the causal marker 因為 to give his reason: there is too much vegetable in the sandwich.

(30)

- A: ..我覺得最好吃的其實是鮭魚..然後過來是素食堡..然後其實..他們肉類都沒有很好吃
 T1B: (0)不會啊我覺得很好吃
 →T2A: ...(2.4)肉類來吃起來很沒吃肉的感覺..因為菜還是很多

Emotional markers reveal the speaker's opposition in a mocking initial marker.

In example (3), repeated here as (31), A and B are talking about the architecture of Angkor Wat. When B disagrees with A's description, she uses an initial marker 唉呀 to signal her disagreement with A.

(31)

- B: 喔你會很讚[嘆]
 T1A: [很漂亮]
 →T2B: (0)唉呀什麼漂亮..會驚嘆

Emotional markers can become direct and offensive when in addition cussing words are used in order to show forceful disagreement. In example (32), A tells B that he does not know the NBA basketball player Wade. B strongly disagrees with A's statement by using a cussing word 幹 to show his strong disbelief and opposition.

(32)

- T1A: [不是]那個<L2WadeL2>((球員))..那個<L2WadeL2>((球員))
 我根本不認識他
 →T2B: ..幹你怎麼會不認識
 A: ..我就沒有在看籃球啊..我就從小就是宅男
 A: 然後孤僻然後就在家窩啊

Performative verb 抗議 appears in direct and aggravated challenge. In example (33), A and B are discussing about A's body height. When A tells B that she could reach 160 centimeters tall if she does not suffer from scoliosis, B disagrees with A's statement with a forceful and direct confrontation word 抗議. He further shows his disagreement by telling his interlocutor twice that he does not want to talk about the issue of body height anymore.

(33)

T1A: ..我告訴你..如果我脊椎調正的話..搞不好我都有 160 了...(2.2)@@
 →T2B: ...(1.9)抗議...我不想講話了...不想講話了

3.7.5. Degree Markers

Degree markers, such as 那麼, 很, 超, 蠻, 還, etc., are markers to show degree of disagreement. Although mitigators and alleviators are both types of degree markers, they are considered as the general concept of degree marker in this study. They are often applied in partial-disagreement. In example (34), A and B are discussing the money they would pay for each round of the poker game. When B suggests 30 dollars per round, A partially disagrees with B by adopting intensifier 那麼 and final particle 啦 in the disagreement.

(34)

A: ..十三支啦
 T1B: ..好啊..一把..一把三十
 →T2A: ..不要那麼多啦

3.7.6. Modals

Modals, such as 應該, 可能, and 好像, are used by the speaker to reduce the strength of disagreement by showing uncertainty. In example (35), A tells B that she and the labor union of the postal office are going to Mazu for sightseeing by ship. B

tells A that if she got seasick on the way to Mazu, she will not be able to enjoy her time for a couple of days. A defends herself and corrects B's statement by saying that they should not have seasick because they will take the Luxury Ferry to Mazu. In A's disagreement, she uses both contrast marker 但是 and modal 應該 to show her opposition to B's prior comment.

(35)

T1B: 去要坐船你一去萬一暈了那後面那幾天不用玩了...

→ T2A: 但是<L3 現在 L3>豪華輪應該不會

3.7.7. Intrinsic Nature of Linguistic Markers in Disagreement

Generally speaking, syntactic patterns are less indirect and much more face threatening than lexical markers because they change the proposition holistically.

When considering the pragmatic force of linguistic marker in disagreement, except for negation, all the other linguistic markers are considered indirect. The conventional tie between disagreement and negation makes negation the most direct and face threatening marker of all. Most studies have stated the conventional link between disagreement and negation (Pan, 1994; Wang, 1997; Lin, 1999; Scott, 2002). Affirmative takes the opposite stance of negation; however, since it is not conventionally linked with disagreement, the face threatening force is weaker than that of negation. Question is the least direct and face-threatening syntactic pattern because it provides options, and thus, does not place imposition on the hearer. By intrinsic natures of syntactic patterns, the researcher hypothesizes that the hierarchical orders of face threatening force are: negation > affirmative > question.

As for lexical markers, the original proposition changes to another different propositions when different modals are adapted. Degree markers are formulaic markers used to show degree differences of the same propositional content. Both

markers have more or less changed the propositional content, which is more serious and influential than peripheral addition in disagreement. Pre-announcement markers attach to the peripheral of the proposition and they are situationally controlled. They are more indirect because they do not directly change or modify the propositional content. By intrinsic natures of lexical markers, the researcher hypothesizes that the hierarchical orders of face threatening force are: modal > degree marker > pre-announcement marker.

3.8. Summary of Pragmatic Strategies and Linguistic Markers in Disagreement

From the above examples, it is noticed that not all pragmatic strategies are used to express all different types of disagreements. Also, the same linguistic marker may be used to serve more than one pragmatic function. In the next section on data analyses, clearer distributions of pragmatic strategies, linguistic markers and their interaction will be discussed.