

Rybarczyk, Magdalena. 2011. "*My sister vs. your daughter. Perspective changes and their implicit impact on communication*". *Anglica* 20, 121-136.

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MY SISTER VS. YOUR DAUGHTER.
PERSPECTIVE CHANGES AND THEIR IMPLICIT IMPACT
ON COMMUNICATION

1. Introduction

The present paper is part of an ongoing project which aims at identifying and describing some 'hidden' patterns of influencing the speaker-hearer relation in discourse (see Rybarczyk 2006, 2007, 2008a, 2008b). A large part of the research concerns discourse situations in which the interlocutors avoid explicit mention of their relationship, yet they comment on this relationship indirectly while talking about a "third party." The investigation into patterns of reference to a third party has revealed their potential for significant impact on the interlocutors' mutual relations. Certain emotions, attitudes, and the interpersonal distance between speech act participants may be implicitly negotiated through a specific form of address used in reference to a third party. I have argued that the choice of one pattern rather than another depends not only on the relation between the speaker and the third party, but rather on the configuration of relations holding between the interlocutors and the individual in question (diagrammed in Figure 1). Such referential patterns can, thus, be exploited for interpersonal purposes. For example, in Polish, the choice between a proper name, a nickname, or the polite form *Pan* 'Sir' / *Pani* 'Madam', used to refer to some individual, may communicate solidarity or distance towards our interlocutor (see Rybarczyk 2006: 42–47; the same problem was later developed by Kočańska 2007).

The present paper focuses on a more subtle manifestation of this general mechanism (see Rybarczyk 2007, 2008a, 2008b). Basing on the contexts when members of the same family refer to a third-person individual who is related to each of them via family ties, I shall illustrate how the speaker may exploit

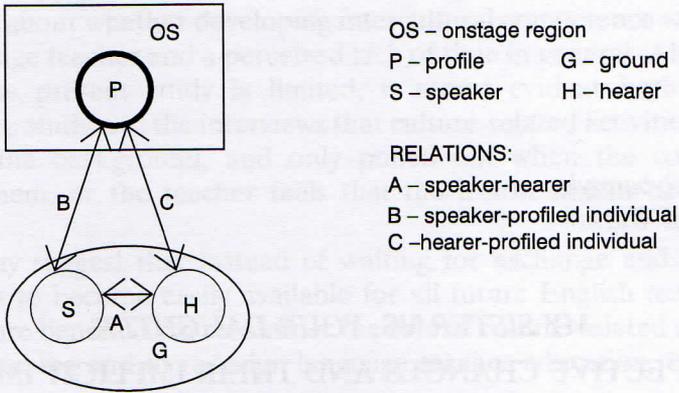


Figure 1. Interpersonal relations.
 Relations A, B, and C provide context for communication

referring expressions, specifically alternating proper names with certain kinship terms, in order to communicate some emotion or attitude towards the hearer. The discussion centres around factors which pertain to the speaker-hearer relation and which may influence the imposition of a particular perspective from which the third-party individual is apprehended. It is argued that certain aspects of perspective can be associated with interactive circumstances, which, in turn, may be employed by the speaker to implicitly communicate interpersonal goals towards the hearer. The utterances under analysis are common English and Polish sentences retrieved from memory to substantiate the proposed claims. The discussion focuses on the English data. Minor differences in the analysis of the English and Polish sentences arise due to different “grounding systems” of Polish and English (see Langacker 1991: 96–142). Because of the limited scope of the present paper, the differences will not be spelled out especially since, as will become evident from the examples from the two languages, the general mechanism presented here crosscuts the geographical and cultural boundaries.

2. A conceptualist, imagistic, and usage-based view of meaning

Considering that people communicate through discourse rather than isolated sentences, Cognitive Linguistics as the study of language in use, provides excellent grounds for the study of discourse. It advocates the interactive nature of language and the usage-based character of our conventionalized linguistic knowledge (Langacker 1988, Barlow and Kemmer 2000, Tomasello 2000). Linguistic units are abstracted from actual instances of language use, and as such they often retain traces of interactive circumstances in which they were originally acquired. Most importantly for the present research, linguistic

units of varying complexity (from single lexical items to whole discourse sequences) evoke, with different degrees of salience, the idea of the speech event participants and their mutual relation. Different lexical and grammatical choices may thus influence the speaker-hearer relation without mentioning this relation explicitly.

Meaning in Langacker's Cognitive Grammar amounts to conceptualization which evolves dynamically through time and is inseparable from context. Meaning construction relies on human conceptual abilities. Crucial for the present analysis is the ability to describe the same conceived situation by numerous alternative expressions, each of which embodies a distinct image (see Langacker 1985: 110). The term that has come to be used for different ways of viewing a particular situation is "construal" (see Langacker 1995: 159). A linguistic expression evokes a situation and, at the same time, construes or structures the way this situation is cognitively represented. In other words, an expression's meaning comprises both the cognitive content and the construal imposed on that content. Alternate images embodied in linguistic expressions and employed to structure conceived situations result from varying focal adjustments (e.g. selection, perspective, or specificity) – parallel to those present in the visual domain (see Langacker 1995: 153–163). Just like the same conceived situation may be visually captured in multiple ways, focusing on various elements, reflecting different angles, differing in scale and clarity, it may also be described by numerous alternative expressions which provide various ways for categorizing the situation, its participants, and the relations between them.

The present paper makes use of the aspects of construal such as "perspective", "subjectivity", or "point of view" (Langacker 1985, 1995). As observed by Verhagen, "these notions capture aspects of conceptualization that cannot be sufficiently analyzed in terms of properties of the object of conceptualization, but, in one way or another, necessarily involve a subject of conceptualization" (2007: 48), i.e. the speaker and the hearer. Recent studies have shown an increasing acknowledgement of the correlation between the speaker's stance (epistemic or emotional), and his choice of words and constructions (Fillmore 1990, Verhagen 2005, Dancygier – Sweetser 2005). The crucial aspect of the present analysis is the speaker's attitude towards the hearer suggested in the mode of directing and focusing attention on an individual other than speech act participants.

3. Perspective patterns

It has already been indicated that one of the central claims of Cognitive Grammar is that meaning is critically dependent on construal, i.e. on our

ability to conceptualize and describe the same situation in various ways. As Langacker explains:

Owing to construal, expressions that describe the same objective situation and convey the same conceptual content (or have the same truth conditions) can nevertheless be semantically quite distinct (2002: 3).

As will be argued throughout this paper different interpretations of the same cognitive content may arise as a result of different ways of referring to the same individual. One aspect of construal that is especially significant for the present purposes is “perspective.” Even though the speaker and the hearer each apprehend the world from their own perspective, in a speech event they may, and they do, assume each other’s point of view to talk about conceived entities. This requires that, first, the speaker and the hearer acknowledge the fact that each of them “apprehends the world at their own I-here-now” (Langacker 2007: 173), and secondly, that they imagine one another’s mental experience and act linguistically taking this experience into consideration (see Langacker’s discussion of intersubjectivity 2007).

Two aspects of perspective, “vantage point” and “subjectivity”, will be relied on in explaining the data. Sections (3.1) and (3.2) illustrate the fact that a particular vantage point as well as a particular degree of subjectivity with which the “profile” and the “ground” are construed, correlate with a specific type of relation holding between the interlocutors. In Langacker’s Cognitive Grammar, a “profile” corresponds to an entity or relation which an expression designates, while the “ground” encompasses the speaker, the hearer, and the immediate circumstances of the speech event (1985: 110–113). In section 4, I shall use an example of family interaction context to discuss how manipulating the vantage point and subjectivity may prompt some dynamics of the speaker-hearer relation.

3.1. Vantage point

One aspect of perspective is the position from which the scene is perceived – the “vantage point.” The choice between assuming the speaker’s or the hearer’s vantage point is often motivated by the kind of relationship which holds between the speech act participants. Consequently, the choice of a particular vantage point may become conventionally linked with a particular type of the speaker-hearer relation. Vantage point figures in the meaning of a variety of linguistic expressions, such as e.g. relational nouns. The choice of an expression referring to the entity which is the focus of attention results in invoking one vantage point rather than another. This, in turn, may be employed in negotiating the speaker-hearer relationship. To illustrate this, let

us now consider selected aspects of how kinship terms are used in discourse depending on the particular type of relationship between the speaker and the hearer engaged in a verbal exchange.

Kinship terms belong to the family of relational nouns. Undeniably, the existence of a relation is conditioned by the existence of the participants in the relation. We use the term “trajector” to refer to the primary participant, i.e. the one that somehow stands out in the relation, and the term “landmark” to refer to the secondary participant, another salient entity in relation to which the trajector is viewed (see e.g. Langacker 1995: 160). We cannot conceive of an individual designated by a kinship term without conceiving of the second individual, with whom the profiled individual is linked via a particular kinship relation: an individual is a mother only in relation to a particular “ego” (see Langacker 1993: 9). In other words, mother is the trajector who is defined via its connection to the specific landmark “ego.” Both the connection in question and its landmark participant, despite being fundamental to the semantic value of the kinship term, remain implicit, as the profile encompasses only the nominal entity evoked as its trajector. Figure 2 below represents a fragment of the kinship configuration, where each node is

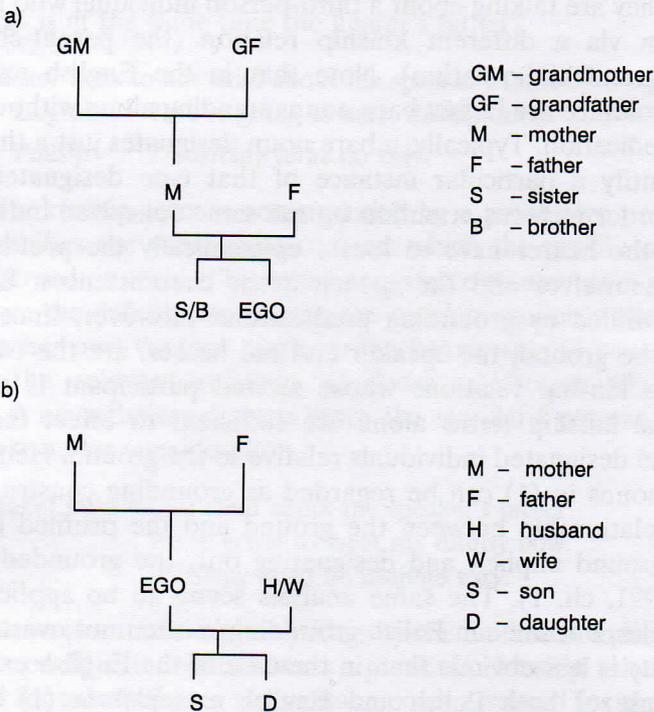


Figure 2. Kinship configuration

labelled in accordance with its being conceived of from the vantage point of EGO at the configuration's lowest level (diagram a) or from the vantage point of EGO at the middle level (diagram b).

Let us now consider the English examples and their Polish equivalents in (1) below, which illustrate how the relationship obtaining between the speaker and the hearer motivates their choice of kinship terms in discourse. (For the sake of clarity the Polish examples are not accompanied by word-for-word translations. The Polish phrases relevant to the analysis are direct equivalents of their English counterparts):

- (1) a. The speaker talks to his/her child about the speaker's mother/father
- English: We're going to visit **grandma/grandpa** on Saturday.
Polish: W sobotę jedziemy odwiedzić **babcie/dziadka**.
- b. The speaker talks to his/her parent about the speaker's grandmother/grandfather:
- English: When are we going to visit **grandma/grandpa**?
Polish: Kiedy odwiedzimy **babcie/dziadka**?

In (1), the speaker and the hearer stand in the parent-child relation vis-à-vis each other. They are talking about a third-person individual who is related to each of them via a different kinship relation (the parent-child or the grandparent-grandchild relation). Note that in the English examples the nominals in boldface are in fact bare nouns standing alone without any overt grounding predication. Typically, a bare noun designates just a thing type. In order to identify a particular instance of that type designated by a full nominal (in order to focus attention on the same conceived individual), the speaker and the hearer have to locate epistemically the profiled instance relative to themselves and the speech event circumstances. Usually that function is fulfilled by grounding predications. However, since in (1) the elements of the ground, the speaker and the hearer, are the two potential EGOs in the kinship relations whose second participant is the profiled individual, the kinship terms alone are sufficient to effect the epistemic location of the designated individuals relative to the ground. Hence, the uses of the bare nouns in (1) can be regarded as grounding constructions: they specify the relationship between the ground and the profiled entity while leaving the ground implicit and designating only the grounded entity (see Langacker 1991, ch. 1). The same analysis seems to be applicable to the Polish examples, but since in Polish grounding is often not overtly signalled, its applicability is less obvious than in the case of the English examples.

In the case of both Polish and English examples in (1) a successful identification of the expression's referent seems to rely on the selection of the suitable vantage point, that is, the EGO from whose perspective the second

participant of the particular kinship relation is specifically conceptualized as such. In turn, the way in which the vantage point is chosen appears to be directly linked to the type of the speaker-hearer relation. In (1a), the speaker assumes the vantage point of the hearer. In (1b), on the other hand, the vantage point is that of the speaker. We could conclude that in examples analogous to (1), that is, when the participants are members of the same family remaining in an asymmetrical relation, the hearer's vantage point is assumed when the hearer is lower in the relation in question. In other words, at the given level in the kinship hierarchy, older generation family members assume their interlocutor's vantage point when talking to younger generation family members. When the relation is reversed, it is the speaker's own vantage point that is conventionally chosen. The pattern is different when the speaker is interacting with his child and talking about the speaker's grandchildren. The point, however, is that certain patterns in the choice of the vantage point can be recognized, without claiming that they are exhaustive. The described pattern of selecting a vantage point seems to be a conventionalized default choice to the extent that a sentence like (2a) or (2b) is "uncommunicative" in the context at hand: the speaker and the hearer are bound to end up focusing attention on two different individuals (respectively, the speaker's father and the speaker's husband, who is at the same time the hearer's father).

(2) The speaker talks to her child about the speaker's father:

- a. English: ?We're going to meet **daddy** now.
- b. Polish: ?Jedziemy teraz do **taty**.

However, if a kinship term is accompanied by a possessive pronoun, which explicitly specifies the vantage point from which the profile of the kinship term is construed as such, it becomes acceptable to assume a vantage point different from the default one. In (3), the speaker explicitly states that she is talking from her own vantage point, so the hearer should have no problems identifying the relevant referent of *daddy*. Although (3) is perfectly acceptable, it nevertheless departs from the standard pattern of reference in the context under consideration.

(3) The speaker talks to her child about the speaker's father:

- English: We're going to meet **my daddy** now.
- Polish: Jedziemy teraz do **mojego taty**.

Since possessive pronouns explicitly identify the landmark individual relative to whom the profiled individual bears a particular kinship relation, they can be exploited for manipulating the vantage point assumed for the observation of the same conceived individual. Consequently, they may be used by the speaker for achieving certain interpersonal goals towards the hearer.

3.2. Subjectivity

Another aspect of perspective, that is, the subjectivity/objectivity of construal, concerns the asymmetry between the ground and the objective scene and pertains to the degree to which ground elements figure as objects of conceptualization, in addition to being their subjects. Langacker explains the notions in the following way:

An entity is construed objectively to the extent that it is distinct from the conceptualizer and is put onstage as a salient object of conception. (...) An entity receives a subjective construal to the extent that it functions as the subject of conception but not as the object (2002: 17).

Thus, continuing with examples from the domain of family relations, the expression *my sister* portrays the referent individual more subjectively than the proper name *Dorota*. The ground itself in the two construal relationships is more subjective when *Dorota* is used instead of *my sister*. A proper name allows the speaker and the hearer to observe the profiled individual with maximum degree of objectivity, thus retaining the maximum subjectivity of the ground. On the other hand, in the descriptive phrase *my sister* the possessive puts the speaker onstage as the landmark in the relation it profiles, and thereby the ground itself becomes an element of the object of conception and in effect the asymmetry between the subject and the object of conceptualization (the observer and the observed) is decreased. A closer look at the data in (4) suggests that a particular degree of subjectivity/objectivity with which the profile and the ground are construed might be associated with specific interactive circumstances.

- (4) a. The speaker talks to his/her child about the child's sibling:
English: Share the cake with **Dorota/Piotrek**.
or Share the cake with **your sister/brother**.
Polish: Podziel się z **Dorota/Piotrkiem**.
or Podziel się ze (**swoja/swoim**) **siostrą/bratem**.
- b. The speaker talks to his/her parent about the speaker's sibling:
English: **Piotrek/Dorota** is watching TV.
but **?My brother/my sister** is watching TV.
Polish: **Piotrek/Dorota** ogląda telewizję.
but **?(Mój) brat/(moja) siostra** ogląda telewizję.

In the interactive frame of (4b) it seems a little bit awkward for the speaker to use kinship terms, unless in a special context (e.g. as an answer to the parent's question *Where's your brother/sister?*). Other interactive circumstances, for example a context when a parent talks to a child about the

other parent, render the kinship term much more adequate than a proper name.

The above discussion was meant to illustrate the fact that certain aspects of the construal can reflect, or be associated with, certain interactive circumstances. This could suggest that the manipulation of various aspects of perspective, especially when accompanied by other factors (e.g. lexical choices), may produce interpersonal effects. An analysis of examples in the following section is aimed at illustrating the dynamics of the speaker-hearer relation brought about as consequences of a particular structuring of conceptual content evoked by the speaker's use of linguistic expressions.

4. Perspective changes in a sample interactive frame

As speakers, we often choose a particular expression to refer to some individual from the range of available options, on the basis of our relationship with the hearer. The specific interactive frame that I shall use to discuss the problem is that of a daughter talking to her mother about the speaker's sister, who is the hearer's other daughter. By choosing a referring expression, the speaker can manipulate the construal of the conceptualization in order to affect the hearer's emotions or the interpersonal distance between the two. I shall concentrate on the use of different nominals with reference to the same individual. A nominal profiles a grounded instance of a thing, that is, it profiles an instance of a thing, but at the same time locates epistemically that instance relative to the interlocutors in discourse and their circumstances. The interpersonal goals described in the present section reside in the mode of directing and focusing attention on an individual (other than the speech act participants). The examples under consideration are similar to those in the previous section in that they involve the use of kinship terms or proper names in the context when members of the same family refer to a third-person individual who is related to each of them via family ties. While the examples in the previous section involved the use of kinship terms without any overt grounding predications (except for 3), the ones discussed below contain either proper names (which subsume grounding) or kinship terms overtly grounded by possessive pronouns. Consequently, in the present section, the diverse nominals referring to an individual in focus are all conventionally sanctioned and their use is not restricted by patterns similar to those which were discussed in the previous section and whose violation resulted in misunderstanding. The speaker has a number of options to choose from to refer to a given individual. These options are not equally prototypical and the speaker's choice has interpersonal effects, as far as the speaker-hearer relation is concerned. In the present section, examples from the family

domain serve to illustrate selected implicit means of manipulating the emotional relation between the interlocutors.

Let us begin the analysis with considering the set of data in (5).

- (5) The speaker talks to his/her parent about his/her sister:
- English: **Dorota** doesn't know the proper way to behave.
Polish: **Dorota** nie umie się zachować.
 - English: **My sister** doesn't know the proper way to behave.
Polish: **Moja siostra** nie umie się zachować.
 - English: **Your daughter** doesn't know the proper way to behave.
Polish: **Twoja córka** nie umie się zachować.

As observed in the previous section, the most natural way for a child to refer to his sister or brother when talking to a parent (whether in Polish or in English) is to use a proper name, as in (5a). A proper name functions as a definite nominal and portrays the profiled individual as uniquely apparent to the speaker and the hearer within the current scope of discourse (Langacker 1991: 70–73). As such, it subsumes grounding: the speaker and the hearer establish mental contact with the referent. The reference to the ground, however, is minimal: the connection between the speaker and the hearer, on the one hand, and the designated entity, on the other, is such that the interlocutors are familiar with the referent and capable of conceiving of the individual, each from their own vantage point. This is schematically represented in Figure 3, where the dashed arrows indicate the vantage point assumed for the identification of the designated entity. The use of the proper name in the context at hand does not seem to trigger changes in the speaker-hearer relation. Instead, it encourages each of the interlocutors to concentrate on the profiled individual only, not giving too much thought either to their relation to that individual or to their mutual relation.

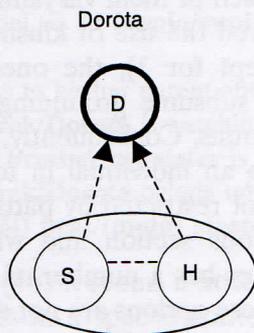


Figure 3. Unimposed vantage point

The expressions used to refer to the profiled individual in (5b) and (5c) are common but less canonical, if we think of their function being solely that of singling out a particular individual in the current discourse context. Thus, the very choice of one of them immediately signals potential interpersonal goals. In order to assess the import of those expressions, it is useful to discuss them in some more detail. First of all, both expressions include a kinship term. The very purpose of a kinship term, as Langacker points out, “is to situate people – socially and genealogically – with respect to a reference individual” (1993: 9). In the context under consideration, the speech act participants and the profiled individual are all members of the same family. The reference individual is either the speaker or the hearer, depending on which kinship relation is selected for identification. Secondly, in both expressions the role of the grounding predication is fulfilled by possessives. I suggest that for the purposes of the present analysis we need to follow Langacker in his discussion of possessives as manifestations of the “reference-point” phenomenon, i.e. the human ability to invoke the conception of one entity for the purpose of establishing mental contact with another (1993). The essential aspects of the reference-point ability are schematically represented in Figure 4 (after Langacker 1993: 6).

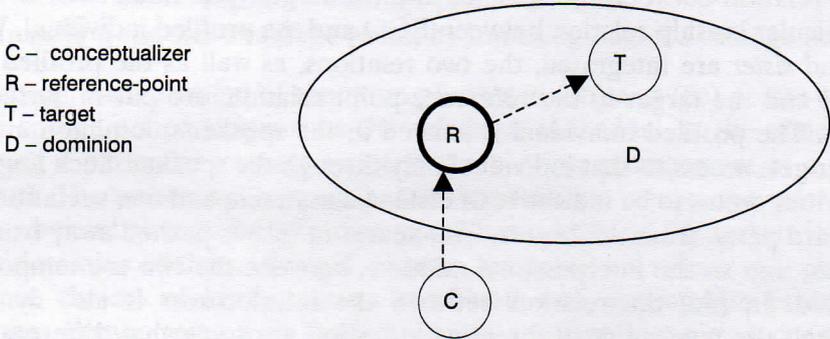


Figure 4. Reference-point phenomenon

In the process of locating one entity via its relation to another, the conceptualizer (C) follows the mental path (indicated by the dashed arrow), first, to a cognitively salient reference point (R), through which he then reaches another entity, which he singles out for individual awareness. The ellipse encompassing the reference-point and the target in Figure 4 represents the “dominion” defined by Langacker as “the conceptual region (or the set of entities) to which a particular reference-point affords direct access” (1993: 6). A possessive involves the reference-point relation between the reference-point individual and the targets located in the dominion of this individual. The most basic definition of personal pronouns is that the first person

correlates with the speaker (or the group including the speaker) and the second person with the hearer (or the group including the hearer) (Langacker 2004: 97–104). Accordingly, the possessive pronouns *my* and *your* invoke, respectively, the speaker and the hearer as the possessor and the reference-point individual in question (the same is true of the Polish possessives *mój/moja* and *twój/twoja*; the Polish possessive pronouns are marked for grammatical gender). In (5b) the designated individual has been placed in the dominion of the speaker, while in (5c) the speaker conceives of that same individual as one belonging to the hearer's dominion. Apparently, the relevant dominion is construed not just as the reference-point dominion, but more specifically as, for example, the dominion of responsibility. As such, it provides grounds for achieving certain interpersonal effects.

Considering the two sets of sentences one by one, in (5b) both elements of the nominal, *my* and *sister*, point to the speaker as the reference individual, called upon in the process of establishing mental contact with the profiled individual. This is equivalent to selecting the speaker's vantage point for the observation of the viewing frame and relating the contents of the viewing frame to the speaker and only through him to the hearer. This is indicated by the dashed arrow in Figure 5(a). The possessive *my* involves the reference-point relation between the speaker and the target. The noun *sister* involves a particular kinship relation between EGO and the profiled individual. When *my* and *sister* are integrated, the two relations, as well as the profiled individual and the target in the reference-point relation, are put in correspondence. The profiled individual is located in the speaker's dominion and the hearer gets access to that individual only through the speaker. Such linguistic behaviour seems to be indicative of distancing oneself, and one's relation with the third party, from the hearer. The hearer in (5b) is pushed away from the speaker and so the interpersonal relations between the two are temporarily affected. In (5c) the relation between the interlocutors is also dynamic, although the mechanics of directing attention are somewhat different. The possessive determiner *your* directs attention from the speaker, who by the very nature of things is the starting point in any conceptualization, towards the hearer, who serves as the reference-point individual. The hearer is also the EGO relative to whom the kinship term *daughter* is interpreted as referring to the profiled individual. The mental path leads further from the hearer towards the third party in focus. We can schematically trace this mental path following the dashed arrows sketched in Figure 5b. This time, the designated individual resides in the hearer's dominion. Once again, the manipulation of the vantage point is bound to bring about some alternations in the speaker-hearer relation. In our example, by placing the designated individual in the dominion of the hearer, the speaker is in a way holding her responsible for the negatively evaluated features profiled by the clause. That

specific interpersonal effect arises as a result of the fact that the reference-point dominion evoked by *your* is interpreted more specifically as the responsibility dominion (the specific interpretation arises from the contextual understanding). The hearer is implicitly blamed for the fact that the profiled individual does not know the proper way to behave. By implying the element of judgement, the speaker is moving along the scale of warmth and kindness away from the hearer.

a) *my sister*

b) *your daughter*

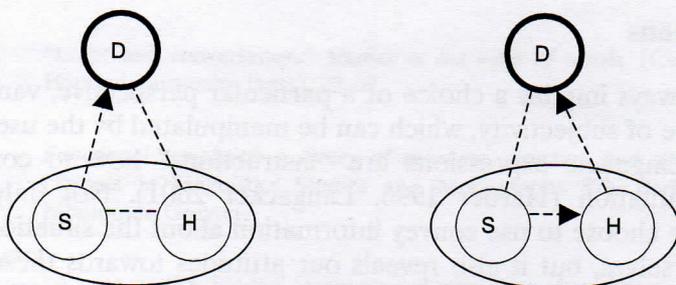


Figure 5. Vantage point variations

a) Imposing speaker's vantage point; b) Imposing hearer's vantage point

To sum up, each element of the noun phrases in (5b) and (5c) points to one of the speech act participants as the reference individual, at the same time imposing a particular vantage point in the viewing arrangement at a given moment. The possessives present in both expressions involve the reference-point relation between the reference-point individual and the targets located in the dominion of this individual. Certain interpersonal effects achieved via different choices of kinship terms combined with appropriate possessive pronouns seem to result from the fact that the relevant dominion is construed not just as the reference-point dominion, but e.g. as the dominion of responsibility, loyalty etc. In both (5b) and (5c), the speaker distances himself from the hearer. Why the two ways of referring to the profiled individual produce different interpersonal effects is made clear by the idea of dominion: its scope and its contextual interpretation. In (5b) the dominion encompasses the speaker and the profiled individual, whereas in (5c) the profiled individual belongs to the hearer's dominion. The specific interpretation of the reference-point dominion (as e.g. the responsibility dominion) constitutes a factor contributing to the interpersonal effect of choosing one expression rather than another.

The above analysis was intended to illustrate the fact that the manipulation of the vantage point in nominal grounding may prompt the

negotiation of the interpersonal relations between the subjectively construed speech act participants. The specific interpersonal effects produced could not be described in any detail as they are not the function of the vantage point alone: the specific pattern of grounding of the profiled individual, the grounding of the process profiled by the clause, and various semantic and contextual nuances can interact with one another to produce different emotional results. The important conclusion, though, is that the negotiation does occur and the speaker-hearer relation undergoes redefinition as a result of perspective changes.

5. Conclusions

Speaking always implies a choice of a particular perspective, vantage point, and a degree of subjectivity, which can be manipulated by the use of specific language. Linguistic expressions are “instructions” how to conceptualize a certain situation (Harder 1996, Langacker 2001). Not only does the language we choose to use convey information about the situations in which we find ourselves, but it also reveals our attitudes towards these situations and their participants. It can thus implicitly communicate certain emotions or distance towards the hearer. The present analysis was meant to illustrate that the manipulation of the various aspects of perspective from which a third party individual is apprehended may prompt an implicit redefinition of the interpersonal relations between the speech act participants. The discussion focused on two aspects of perspective, i.e. vantage point and subjectivity, which were shown to overlap and complement each other in language use. I have identified the use of possessives, representing a common type of reference-point constructions, as one mechanism exploited in “hidden” negotiation of the speaker-hearer relation. Moreover, I have shown that the speaker’s choice of linguistic expressions is conditioned by the configuration of relations holding between the off-stage interlocutors and the on-stage profiled entity.

Tacit, implicit patterns of influencing the speaker-hearer relation in discourse create a convenient tool for manipulation. This tool is particularly powerful due to its backgrounded form. “Hidden” implications are often difficult to ignore, but at the same time they are always problematic to interpret, and when the need arises their occurrence may easily be denied. Various other mechanisms in the implicit negotiation of the speaker-hearer relation may be explained with the help of phenomena well known in Cognitive Linguistics. Each of these mechanisms, however, deserves a separate study.

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