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Upshot in Trade Union Meeting Talk“

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To my late friend Vicki
who was so afraid of graduating only in her early thirties.

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1. INTRODUCTION

Between February 2013 and September 2014, I was a member of the steering group of a European trade union youth federation, where I acted as the spokeswoman and coordinator of one Swiss, one German and three Austrian unions¹. I had been elected to this position by representatives of these five unions during a conference in the summer of 2012, which had taken place in Germany. Paying for my frequent travelling and granting me the necessary institutional backing, my national trade union, in which, at the time, I held the position of national women's youth representative and deputy chairperson of the youth organisation, provided all the support that I needed to fulfil this political mandate as an unpaid functionary.

The steering group consisted of 20 young trade union professionals from all over Europe. Due to this international setup, English was the only language spoken by everyone and used as a common means of communication, a so-called "lingua franca" (Firth 1996), throughout all the formal gatherings.

Participating in this trade union committee, I got interested in the role of English as a lingua franca (ELF) and soon discovered the growing body of literature dealing with this matter. I learnt that a lot had been published on ELF in general (cF. Firth 1996 & 2009 and Seidlhofer 2011). I found less literature focussing on the role of ELF in the world of business (cF. Vollstedt 2002, Strasser 2004, Bohrn 2008) but nothing whatsoever on ELF in international political committee work.

I think the reasons for this are twofold: Firstly, international political committee work is a niche that only involves a small elite group of people. In my trade union, for instance, there are only 10 to 15 people throughout the entire country who use ELF as part of their jobs on a regular basis. Secondly, it is very difficult for researchers to get access to authentic data as political meetings often deal with sensitive issues and take place behind closed doors. Matters of confidentiality are taken very seriously, which is why gathering data for scientific research is simply unthinkable in most of these settings. It seems that, in this respect, the situation is similar to the one faced

1 For matters of confidentiality, the trade union federation and all related organisations and names will be removed or replaced by pseudonyms.

by researchers who want to investigate authentic business communication (cf. Poncini 2004:69).

Being a trade unionist, I believe that the problems of the globalised labour market that we face today will only be resolved if trade unions and employee representatives cooperate closely across national borders and on a European level. English as lingua franca is a major factor in this process because it enables people from different countries to overcome the cultural and linguistic barriers that otherwise separate them. For this reason, I decided to try to contribute to the empirical basis that is still needed in this critical field of research. So, when, in autumn 2013, it was my turn to host a steering group meeting in Vienna, I seized the opportunity to ask my colleagues for their permission to record the meeting and to analyse our discussions as part of my diploma thesis. I got their consent to do so.

Listening to the recording and poring over my transcripts, I realised that there are many instances in my data in which people paraphrase and summarise things that other people have said previously. I got interested in this pattern and soon learnt that these so-called "formulations of gist and upshot" (Heritage and Watson 1973) are very powerful communicative devices that can be utilised in various ways. I decided to make them the objects my research and try to answer the following questions: What are the purposes of formulations of gist and upshot in international trade union meeting talk carried out through ELF? Is there a difference in how 'regular' participants and chairpersons employ them? Is there a difference in how native speakers and non-native speakers of English use formulations?

As a starting point, chapter 2 gives an overview of some important concepts: ELF in international trade union youth meetings, communities of practice, formal business meetings, and institutional discourse.

Chapter 3 presents the basis for the data analysis. First, there are the definitions of formulations of gist and formulations of upshot. Then, I explain how they interfere with the organisation of turn-taking in conversations. Furthermore, I outline some of the functions of formulations described in the literature that I have used.

Chapter 4 provides information on the setting, the process of data collection and the analysis. I explain the concept of participant observation, describe what it felt like to be host, participant and researcher at the same time and also point out some of the many difficulties that I encountered in the course of my research project. Finally, I present my research questions and the methodology used in this study.

Chapter 5 contains the core of this study: the analysis and discussion of my own data. I show how formulations of gist and upshot are used in international trade union ELF talk to check confirmation, form and maintain alliances, criticise other participants, close topics, announce decisions, and the like.

Chapter 6 summarises the main findings, draws some cautious generalisations and presents the overall conclusion to my thesis.

2. ENGLISH AS A LINGUA FRANCA IN INSTITUTIONAL TALK

2.1. English as a lingua franca in international trade union youth meetings

This study investigates a steering group meeting of an international trade union youth federation. This committee meets four times a year and consists of a maximum of 20 members plus up to two members of the federation's paid staff. The steering group has a president as well as three vice-presidents who are elected by an assembly of the trade union federation's affiliated unions at a youth conference every second year. The 16 other members represent the eight different regional areas that the federation is organised into: (1) UK & Ireland, (2) Nordic Countries², (3) Southern Europe³, (4) Benelux, France and Monaco⁴, (5) Austria, Germany and Switzerland, (6) CSE Europe and the Baltic States⁵, (7) Eastern Europe⁶, (8) Near and Middle East⁷. Every area elects one area coordinator and one substitute as delegates to the steering group. However, as unions from CSE Europe and the Baltic States, Eastern Europe and the Near and Middle East do not actively participate in the steering group, their six seats are typically vacant. There is an age limit of 35.

Apart from these eight regional clusters, the trade union federation is also organised in 12 sectors (commerce, banking, post, and the like). However, sectorial affiliations appear to play a much smaller role than the members' mother tongue or their region of origin. Participants from the same area typically stay together and feel obliged to support one another in both in discussions and votes.

Between February 2013 and March 2015, the steering group consisted of 20 people from all over Europe. Due to job changes, not every member could participate for the whole length of the period, and there were frequent changes of membership. Again, due to other professional commitments, not every member was present at every meeting. The following table provides an anonymised list of all the people that I have

2 Denmark, Iceland, Faroes, Finland, Norway, Sweden

3 Cyprus, Greece, Malta, Portugal, Spain, Turkey

4 Belgium, France, Monaco, Luxembourg, Netherlands

5 Albania, Bosnia&Herzegovina, Bulgaria, Croatia, Czech Republic, Estonia, Hungary, Latvia, Lithuania, Macedonia, FYR, Moldova, Montenegro, Poland, Romania, Serbia, Slovak Republic, Slovenia

6 Armenia, Azerbaijan, Belarus Georgia, Russia, Ukraine

7 Israel, Jordan, Kuwait, Lebanon, Palestine

worked with during my term.

Table1. Members of the steering group between 2013 and 2014.

Number Of People	Country Of Origin	L1	L2 + L3	Function
3	UK	English		youth president,
		English		area coordinator UK + Ireland
		English	French, German, Spanish	secretary (paid union employee)
1	Ireland	English	Irish, German	substitute area coordinator UK + Ireland (until July 2013)
1	USA	English	French	intern (October 2013- March 2014)
2	Austria	German	English, French	area coordinator Austria, Germany, Switzerland
		German	English, French, Spanish	secretary (paid union employee)
2	Germany	German	English	vice-president (until August 2013)
		German	English	substitute area coordinator Austria, Germany, Switzerland
1	Switzerland	French	English	intern (April 2014- October 2014)
1	France	French	English	vice-president
1	Belgium	French, Flemish	English	area coordinator Benelux, France & Monaco
1	Netherlands	Dutch	English, French, German	substitute area coordinator Benelux, France & Monaco
1	Sweden	Swedish	English, German	area coordinator Nordic countries / vice-president (until August/ since September 2013)
1	Iceland	Icelandic	English, Spanish	substitute area coordinator Nordic countries
1	Norway	Norwegian	English	area coordinator Nordic countries (since September 2013)
1	Italy	Italian	English	area coordinator Southern Europe
1	Portugal	Portuguese	English	vice-president
1	Greece	Greek	English	substitute area coordinator Southern Europe
1	Turkey	Turkish	English	co-opted member

The above table shows that the steering group consists of speakers of more than eleven different European languages. However, as English is the only language spoken by everyone, it serves as a common means of communication, a so-called “lingua franca” (cf. eg. Firth 1996). English is used throughout all the official

meetings, although people's command of the language differs significantly. For 'private' conversations before, after as well as sometimes during the actual meetings, a variety of languages is used besides English.

ELF, as defined by Seidlhofer (2011: 7), is

any use of English among speakers of different first languages for whom English is the communicative medium of choice, and often the only option. (2011: 7)

Linguae francae have existed throughout human history. They enable people from different linguistic backgrounds to communicate with one another. Latin, for instance, served as the pan-European lingua franca of scientists and intellectuals throughout the Middle Ages. As Meierkord and Knapp point out, the term "lingua franca", originally, "referred to a variety that was spoken along the South-Eastern coast of the Mediterranean between approximately the 15th and the 19th century" (Meierkord & Knapp 2002: 9). This 'original' lingua franca was a low-level makeshift pidgin,

an auxiliary language with a reduced structure and lexicon which develop[ed] to meet the communicative requirements of speakers of mutually unintelligible languages, mainly for rudimentary transactions in trade, seafaring, or the management of labour in general (Schendl 2001:59).

'Modern' English as a lingua franca (ELF) serves similar purposes as its medieval precursor(s) (cf. Seidlhofer 2011: 2). However, looking at the bigger picture, namely the development of English into a "global language" (Crystal 2006), it becomes apparent that there is a significant difference between linguae francae in the past and ELF in the early 21st century. English has much more speakers. Today, "English is not only an international language, but *the* international language" (Seidlhofer 2011: 2), meaning that there are more non-native than native speakers of English. Crystal estimates that while ENL and ESL are spoken by 320-380 million and 300-500 million people respectively, there are between 500-1000 million people who have learnt English as a foreign language (cf. Crystal 2003:69).

Alain Firth who was one of the first linguists to conduct analyses of ELF interactions defined it as a

'contact language' between persons who share neither a common native tongue nor a common (national) culture, and for whom English is the chosen *foreign* language of communication. (Firth 1996: 240, author's emphasis).

Even though Firth's definition excludes native speakers of English from being part of ELF interactions, it should be remembered that they can and do participate in them, as the example of the trade union federation mentioned above shows. Still,

[I]ngua franca communication in English often occurs without the participation of native speakers of English, and indeed the use of English as a lingua franca (ELF) between non-native speakers of English is much more common than the use of English involving native speakers (House 2009: 141)

An important point to be made in this context, however, is that, if native speakers of English participate in ELF, it is them who have to adapt and not only the non-native speakers. For unlike the Englishes situated in the Inner and Outer Circles of Kachru's model (ENL and ESL) (cf. Kachru 1992), ELF "[...] is not a variety of English but a variable way of using it: English that functions as a lingua franca" (Seidlhofer 2011:77). It does not have any native speakers (cf. Seidlhofer 2011: 7) and "the very fact that English is an international language means no nation can have custody over it" (Widdowson 1994: 385). Therefore, there is no ownership of linguistic norms in ELF communication, and every speaker is free to use the language according to his / her communicative needs:

What then happens is that the participants gauge a level of language at which they can operate, and settle on *ad hoc, pro tem norms* that are adequate to the task and commensurate to the command of the linguistic resources they have in common. The crucial point in all this is that these norms are tacitly understood to be established during the interaction, within the current possibilities, and that they are primarily regulated by interactional exigencies, rather than by what native speakers would say, or would find correct, or 'normal', or appropriate. (Seidlhofer 2011:18)

This 'ad hoc' negotiation of lingua-cultural norms as well as the departure from the linguistic norms of native English are the reasons why both the term 'lingua franca' as well as ELF are often associated with the "traditional meaning of linguaculturally reduced, even impoverished low-level, makeshift languages" (Seidlhofer 2011: 80). As a result, even well-versed practitioners of ELF often feel insecure about their use of the English language. This was also the case with most non-native members on

the steering group. Although they were all very proud of being able to do their jobs also in a foreign language, they still worried about the 'grammar mistakes' they thought they were making.

According to Seidlhofer (2011:16ff), this ambivalence is a common phenomenon, which seems to derive from the confusion of two fundamentally different linguistic concepts, namely 'English as a foreign language' (EFL) and 'English as a lingua franca' (ELF).

'English as a Foreign Language' is a traditional term that denotes the study of the English language by non-native speakers in countries where English is not a local medium of communication, such as, for example, Austria, Germany or France. In EFL, learners are expected to take a particular interest in the English-speaking world and identify with both its cultural and linguistic norms. When learning EFL, one's primary goal is to strive to do exactly 'as the natives do' and to imitate the ways in which native speakers use their language as closely as possible:

It follows that if, as a 'non-native' speaker, you make a bid for membership of this NS community, you strive to abide by these norms and are judged by your success in doing so – and you expect to be praised or criticized, accepted or rejected by native speakers of English. (Seidlhofer 2011:17)

In other words, the concept of 'English as a Foreign Language' is valuable when it comes to interacting mainly with native speakers. In international contexts such as an international trade union youth board, where there are far more non-native speakers of English than native speakers, it does not apply. In international trade union policy, the English language is used because of its global spread that allows people from different European countries to

co-construct[ing] a viable *modus operandi* to achieve a communicative goal, whether that is negotiating a business contract, hammering out a political compromise [...], (Seidlhofer 2011: 18)

writing motions and articles, planning seminars and trainings as well as political campaigns or discussing current political developments.

So, employing 'English as a Lingua Franca' as the steering group's principal means of communication, there is no reason for any of its members to feel uneasy about the often creative and innovative ways in which they use the English language to do politics in what for them is a foreign language.⁸ On the contrary, in ELF interactions, the speakers do not only have the right to adapt the English language to the requirements of intercultural communication but are strongly recommended to do so:

In such situations, it would be interactionally counter-productive, even patently absurd in most cases, for speakers to (strive to) adhere to ENL linguacultural norms [...]. (Seidlhofer 2011: 18)

2.2. The Community of practice

The steering group of the trade union youth federation is a community of young unionists in their late 20s and early 30s from all over the continent who meet four to seven times a year in different European places. They are an example of a postmodern phenomenon called "community of practice" (Wenger 1998) and aim to improve the working conditions of young service workers all over the continent.

Traditionally, the term 'speech community' was used to denote "a local unit, characterised for its members by common locality and primary interaction" (Hymes 1962: 20). Most people will agree that this traditional definition does no longer suffice to describe the heterogeneous, fragmented and often hybrid nature of the human existence at the beginning of the 21st century. For this reason, the term 'community of practice' has been coined to describe "aggregate[s] of people who come together around engagement in an endeavour" (Eckert & McCornell-Ginet 1992: 464), precisely the way the members of the steering group do.

The concept originally comes from the area of 'situated learning' that deals with how individuals acquire professional skills in settings in which 'learning by doing' takes place. According to Wenger (1998: 72ff), communities of practice are thus defined by a process of social learning and three essential features, namely (a) "mutual engagement in shared practices", (b) "taking part in some jointly negotiated enterprise", and (c) "making use of members' shared repertoire". (Wenger 1998:72ff,

⁸ For some typical features of ELF talk see Cogo & Dewey 2006 and Seidlhofer 2006.

as quoted in Seidlhofer 2011: 87).

The union committee described in this paper meets all three of these criteria. It consists of young trade unionists from all over the continent who meet on a regular basis to implement an action plan that their unions have adopted at the federation's most recent youth conference. They discuss important political issues, write motions and articles, plan seminars, trainings as well as political campaigns. Doing so, the young unionists exchange experiences, learn from one another and acquire a particular repertoire of skills required of trade union politicians. Additionally, they develop a unique way of dealing with trade union policies, a kind of jargon that includes lexical items such as, for instance "shitty jobs" to denote poorly paid jobs with little security or recognition, or "the dinosaurs" to mean the usually male leaders of our respective national trade unions.

2.3. The meeting

The gathering of the steering group described in this paper is an example of a formal business meeting. A meeting is

[a] communicative event involving three or more people who agree to assemble for a purpose ostensibly related to the functioning of an organisation or a group, for example, to exchange ideas or opinions, to solve a problem, to make a decision or negotiate an agreement, to develop policy and procedures, to formulate recommendations, and so forth. A meeting is characterised by multiparty talk that is episodic in nature, and participants either develop or use specific conventions [...] for regulating this talk. (Schwartzman 1989: 7)

In other words, meetings are instances where people meet for the sake of talking about things that need to be done (cf. Boden 1994: 81). They are "the essential mechanism through which organizations create and maintain the practical activity of organizing" (Boden 1994: 81) and play a vital role in the orderly running of organisations and companies of all shapes and sizes. Boden defines a meeting

as a planned gathering, whether internal or external to an organization, in which the participants have some perceived (if not guaranteed) role, have some forewarning (either longstanding or quite improvisational) of the event, which has itself some purpose or 'reason', a time, place, and, in some general sense, an organizational function. (Boden 1994: 84)

Meetings are interactionally "bounded in time and space" (Boden 1994: 87), meaning that they are "self-contained" (Boden 1994:87) and have "noticeable and analyzable openings and closings, even preclosing sequences" (Boden 1994: 87). They may either be formal or informal (cf. Boden 1994: 86). Informal meetings are usually convened verbally, and there is neither a fixed membership, a designated chair nor a written agenda (cf. Boden 1994: 86ff). Formal meetings, such as the gathering of the steering group described in this paper, are usually larger than informal meetings and serve to introduce, discuss, update, correct and transmit information (cf. Boden 1994:86). They are

[...] officially convened by written summonses or fixed arrangements, have an organizationally defined composition of members, follow a prepublished or relatively fixed agenda, and [are] chaired by a designated official. They often occur at regular time intervals, and at regular preset times in the day and week. (Boden 1994, 85)

In formal meetings, both processes and outcomes are recorded for future reference in some way. Depending on the institutional culture of the organisation in question, these files may take the shape of official minutes, memos, audio recordings, and the like. They will be made available to all members of the meeting, especially those who have been absent (cf. Boden 1994: 86). In the trade union federation, it is standard practice to produce minutes and send them out to everyone after the meeting via email.

The sessions of the steering group follow the provisions laid down in writing by the rulebook of the trade union federation youth as well as the statute of the trade union federation as a whole. These rules include regulations regarding the interval between meetings, membership and participation rights as well as some of the participants' basic rights and obligations. They demand the gatherings to be convened by written invitations well in advance. These invitations must include the agenda as well as the minutes of the last session. In practice, the meetings are always organised by the trade union federation in cooperation with a national union. This means that the national trade union oversees organising the hotel, the meeting room and the framework program. The trade union federation, in turn, is responsible for setting the

agenda and sending out the invitations as well as the minutes of the previous meeting.

2.4. Institutional Talk

Drew and Heritage (1992) differentiate between 'everyday conversation' and 'institutional / workplace' talk. They point out that there is no universally accepted definition of 'institutional talk' (cf. Drew & Heritage 1992: 21) but provide the following three criteria:

- 1 Institutional interaction involves an orientation by at least one of the participants to some core goal, task or identity (or set of them) conventionally associated with the institution in question. In short, institutional talk is normally informed by *goal orientation* of a relatively restricted conventional form.
- 2 Institutional interaction may often involve *special and particular constraints* on what one or both of the participants will treat as allowable contributions to the business at hand.
- 3 Institutional talk may be associated with *inferential frameworks* and procedures that are particular to specific institutional contexts. (Drew & Heritage 1992 : 22ff)

The steering group of the international trade union federation youth is a committee that aims to improve the life and working conditions of young people in all European countries. It meets on a regular basis, four times a year, to implement an action plan that their unions have adopted at the federation's most recent youth conference. The individual meetings follow a prescribed agenda set by the youth president, the vice-presidents and the attending secretary. There is a recurrence of particular discursive practices that, according to Koester (2006: 4), manifest the goal-orientation of 'workplace discourse' such as, for instance, "instruction-giving", "briefing" and "decision-making".

Drew and Heritage (1992: 23) point out that workplace discourse is more rigidly structured than casual conversation. There exists an unwritten code of conduct that tells the speakers what counts as an allowable contribution and what does not. The gatherings of the steering group are dedicated to the discussion of trade union issues. It follows that the participants are not expected to talk about other topics such as, for instance, their private lives, their jobs or their hobbies during the meetings.

Conversations about these issues do occur but take place during breaks and the framework programme. The constraints of institutional discourse are also manifested in the members' use of technical terms and professional jargon (Drew & Heritage 1992:23), which mainly come from the fields of politics and economics.

The particular inferential frameworks of specific workplace contexts also have an impact on turn design and adjacency pair structure (cf. Drew & Heritage 1992: 22). According to Asmus and Svennevig (2009:14), the presence of a chairperson, who has the formal right and responsibility to manage the interaction among the participants, marks a significant difference to other forms of verbal communication.

Unlike 'ordinary talk', in which speakers have more or less the same status and rights (cf. Drew & Heritage 1992: 21), 'institutional talk' is characterised by

role structured, institutionalized, and omnirelevant asymmetries between participants in terms of such matters as differential distribution of knowledge, rights to knowledge, access to conversational resources, and to participation in the interaction. (Drew & Heritage 1992: 48)

Institutional talk is mostly based on pre-inscribed identities or participant roles. Certain discursive rights or obligations are attached to certain roles and what participants can do in a particular setting can to some extent be described in terms of the types of turns they can take. There is an inherent power imbalance and at least one participant who may constrain and restrict the contributions of his/her co-conversationalists. In business meetings, this is the "meeting chair" (cf. Boden 1994: 85).

Being the most influential participant of a meeting, the chairperson is responsible for the objectives of the gathering, stated in the agenda, to be achieved within the envisaged time frames. To do so, he/she attends to the schedule and monitors his/her co-participants' behaviour. Functioning as the "switchboard of the interaction" (Boden 1994: 85), the chair is also in charge of "channelling turn transition and allocation" (Boden 1994, 85) and has the right to constrain and restrict the other participants' contributions as well as, on occasion, specify the content of individual turns.

In formal business meetings, it can be the explicit convener of the meeting who assumes the role of chair, such as, for instance, the sales manager at a brokers' sales meeting. Again, the chair may be "appointed, as in a board, council or committee" (Boden 1994, 85). This is the case in the trade union youth committee I am writing about. There, it is the responsibility of the elected youth president to chair the gatherings of the steering group. In reality, however, this task is typically shared with one of the two attending union secretaries.

The interesting thing about this constellation is that both the union secretaries and the youth president are influential players in their own rights. While the youth president is the spokesperson of the paying members, the secretaries represent the political apparatus of the trade union federation. But, while the youth president and the secretaries have different loyalties, they still cannot act independently from one another. Therefore, they have a serious interest in maintaining a certain balance of power amongst them. Taking turns at moderating the discussions enables the youth president and the secretaries to support one another and also makes it easier to obtain the necessary majorities when there are frictions or disagreements among the members of the steering group.

Apart from the youth president and the secretaries, there are also other functional roles, namely 'area coordinator', 'substitute area-coordinator', 'vice-president', 'co-opted member' and 'intern'. Every member of the steering group has one of these roles, as is typical for institutional settings. These roles reflect the composition of the youth panel as well as the structure of the trade union federation in general. However, most of these roles do not impact on the ways in which speaker rights are organised during the actual meetings at all. In fact, apart from the youth president and the two secretaries who act as chairpersons all the speakers participate on an equal footing.

It is true that, in 'institutional discourse' the speakers' freedom of action is somewhat more limited than in 'ordinary conversation' and that this leads to a

reduction in the range of interactional practices developed by the participants,

and a specialization and respecification of the practices that remain. (Heritage 1997: 225)

However, no matter how formal certain institutional settings may be, it has to be remembered that institutions "structure but do not determine, what may be said in social settings, how it may be said or who may say it" (Silverman 1997: 188). A participant's institutional role has an impact on the outcome of his /her turn, and there are always certain roles that make it easier for people to use the available resources in a strategic way. Nonetheless, there is always the possibility for participants to resist all or some the restrictions.

3. FORMULATIONS OF GIST AND UPSHOT

3.1. Formulations

The term 'formulation' originally comes from Garfinkel and Sacks (1970: 351). They were sociologists who criticised the then prevailing motivational approach that described social action as based on internalised moral values and co-developed a line of research called 'ethnomethodology' (cf. Heritage 1987: 224ff).

Ethnomethodology interprets social facts as a result of how people interact with one another rather than what they believe to be true in a moral sense (cf. Heritage 1987: 224ff). This way of thinking is also applied to verbal conversations:

Assumed [...] is the notion that all scenic features of interaction are occasioned and established as concerted practical accomplishment, in and through which parties display for one another their competences in the practical management of social order. (Heritage & Watson 1979: 123)

Conversations run smoothly because its speakers follow certain rules, such as, for instance, the four maxims of the "co-operative principle" (Grice 1975) or the "simplest systematic for the organization of turn-taking" (Sacks, Schegloff & Jefferson 1974). These rules make it possible for the speakers to make sense of and relate the individual utterances to one another. Again, these rules enable the participants to talk about conversations on a meta-level in a process is called 'formulation'. 'To make a formulation' is a way of thematising the underlying meaning of a previous stretch of talk and reducing it to its basic essentials:

A member may treat some part of the conversation as an occasion, to explain it, or characterize it, or explicate, or translate, or summarize, or furnish the gist of it, or take note of its accordance with rules, or remark on its departure from rules. That is to say, a member may use some part of the conversation as an occasion to formulate the conversation [...]

[so that]

[...] along with whatever else may be happening in a conversation it may be a feature of the conversation for the conversationalists that they are doing something else; namely, what they are doing is saying-in-so-many-words-what-we-are-doing (or what we are talking about, or who is talking, or who we are, or where we are).

We shall speak of conversationalists' practices of saying-in-so-many-words-what-we-are-doing as formulating. (Garfinkel & Sacks 1970: 351)

So, to put it in a nutshell, formulations paraphrase what has already been said. They

omit irrelevant pieces of information, preserve relevant ones and recast them. Doing so, they “turn the sense accomplished in a conversation into a topic in its own right” (Heritage & Watson 1979: 136) and “invoke and initiate a consultative ‘reflection’ on the whole, or some part of the ‘rest’ of the conversation” (Heritage & Watson 1979: 136ff). This consultative reflection can serve different purposes, which will be described in more detail later on (See chapter 3.4. to chapter 3.5.).

For now, however, this paper will continue to explain how formulations interfere with the natural organisation of turn-taking (cf. Sacks, Schegloff & Jefferson 1974) by forming “formulation-decision adjacency pairs” (Heritage & Watson 1979:143) that demand a particular behaviour from the other participants.

Sacks, Schegloff and Jefferson (1974) point out that naturally occurring conversations can be described as activities where people take turns at speaking and where, most of the time, only one person is speaking at a time. A speaker turn may consist of a complete sentence, a chunk of words or only one single word (cf. Sacks, Schegloff & Jefferson 1974: 702ff). However, when the turn has been completed, the transfer of speakership can take place immediately.

The allocation of turns is regulated in such a way that unless the current speaker nominates the next speaker during his/her turn self-selection takes place. This means that, if the next speaker has not been selected by the current one, the first person who starts talking at the first transition-relevance-place acquires the right to speak next. Gaps are rare as well as overlaps because it is the earliest starter who wins the turn (cf. Sacks, Schegloff & Jefferson 1974: 703ff). In case no one opts for the next turn, the current speaker continues with another turn, and at the next transition-relevance-place, the “turn-allocation game” (Sacks, Schegloff & Jefferson 1974: 702ff) starts all over again.

“Adjacency pairs” (Sacks, Schegloff & Jefferson 1974: 716), such as, for instance, “question-answer”, “greeting-greeting”, “invitation-acceptance/decline”, and the like always consist of two parts, meaning that once a first part has been uttered, it requires the second one to follow in the next turn. So, if one participant uses his/her turn to ask a question, this question needs to be answered by the next speaker in the

very next turn. The same applies for greetings, invitations, requests, and formulations.

Formulations are influential conversational devices because they form "formulation-decision adjacency pairs" (1979: 143) and demand its recipients to comment on the summary or the interpretation that it has just made:

From our observation of the 'close' utterance-by-utterance organisation of the formulation-response pair, we can infer that a formulation occasions a reflexive consultation of the 'rest' of the conversation by the co-conversationalists, eventuating in a response which contains a '*decision*' contingent on such consultation. (Heritage & Watson 1980: 252)

In other words, the recipients of a formulation have to deal with what has been said and decide whether they want to confirm or disconfirm the utterance. Both confirmations and disconfirmations typically take the shape of complex linguistic constructions. These include "proliferation[s] of formulations" (Heritage & Watson 1980: 253) and other "elaborations which are readable as being oriented to the occasioned decision and thus display[ing] understanding" (Heritage & Watson 1980: 253). "'Ritual' or formal markers [...] such as 'yes' or 'no'" (Heritage and Watson 1980: 253) are only very rarely used.

Theoretically speaking, both confirmation and disconfirmation are possible. In practice, however, there seems to be a strong preference for confirmations. Heritage and Watson (cf. 1980: 250) explain this tendency by pointing to the far-reaching negative consequences a rejection might entail for the further course of the conversation. Arguing that every conversation is a shared accomplishment of the people who participate in it, they point out that formulations of gist or upshot re-describe material that the participants have collaboratively dealt with in the previous talk. Confirming a formulation is a way of

demonstrating to each other that the conversation has been a self-explicating colloquy – a specific 'instanced' sense of the colloquy being retrievable as part and parcel of this demonstration. (Heritage & Watson 1980: 250)
Disconfirming a formulation, on the other hand, is a delicate matter. It might be understood as an open criticism of the formulator, indicating that he/she has not been

paying enough attention, or even worse, that he/she lacks certain capacities and knowledge (cf. Heritage & Watson 1979: 144). What is more, a disconfirmation also “jeopardize[s] the sense of ‘the talk thus far’” (Heritage & Watson 1979: 144) and requires the participants to take measures that prevent a complete communicative breakdown:

Hence, to directly fault a formulation as a candidate reading for some talk with a ‘flat’ disconfirmation may minimally terminate an ongoing stream of topical talk and initiate a search for a fresh basis on which concerted comprehension can be established – thereby bringing some stretch of talk ‘back to square one’. (Heritage & Watson 1979: 144)

For these reasons, outright disconfirmations are very rare in naturally occurring conversations (cf. Heritage & Watson 1979:146). If there is disagreement concerning the formulation of a conversation, it is usually expressed in a mitigated, face-saving manner. However, in cases where flat disconfirmations do occur, this is meaningful in itself.

Heritage and Watson (1979: 130- 136) distinguish two types of formulation: “gist” and “upshot”. Whereas “formulations of gist” (Heritage & Watson 1979: 130) summarise preceding talk, “formulations of upshot” (Heritage & Watson 1979: 134) interpret what been said and draw conclusions.

3.2. Formulation of gist

A “formulation of gist” is a more or less objective summary of the “propositional meaning” (Widdowson 1984: 118) of preceding talk:

Members may, on occasion, formulate the sense or gist achieved thus far either in a conversation *in toto* or in some foregoing section of the conversation. Such formulations may, and frequently do, come to constitute clarifications, or demonstrations of comprehension or in-touchness with the talk thus far. (Heritage & Watson 1979:130)

Gists may be marked linguistically by expressions such as “in other words”, “in short” and “that is to say”(Widdowson1984: 118). However, as the following example offered by Heritage and Watson (1979: 132) shows, this is not necessarily the case. The extract is taken from a radio-interview with the ‘Slimmer of the Year’ (S):

27. S: You have a shell that for so long protects you but sometimes

28. things creep through the shell and then you become really aware
 29. of how awful you feel. I never ever felt my age or looked my
 30. age I was older – people took me for older. And when I was
 31. at college I think I looked a matronly fifty. And I was completely
 32. alone one weekend and I got to this stage where I almost jumped
 33. in the river. I just felt life wasn't worth it any more – it hadn't
 34. anything to offer and if this was living I had had enough
 35. I: **You really were prepared to commit suicide because you were a**
 36. **big fatty**
 37. S: Yes, because I – I just didn't see anything in life that I had to look
 forward to...
 (Heritage & Watson 1979: 132)

In this example, it is the receiver of the message, the interviewer 'I', who, in line 35ff, formulates the gist of the producer's turn: *You really were prepared to commit suicide because you were a bit fatty*. This gist preserves the extend of the interviewee's unhappiness about his/her overweight whilst simultaneously deleting such information as: the fact that for a long time the slimmer managed to suppress his/her unhappiness, the fact that the slimmer never looked his/her real age but always appeared to be much older, the fact that the slimmer went to college and so on. At the same time, the interviewer's utterance transforms some of the information furnished to him/her (i.e., that the slimmer almost jumped into the river because his overweight made him/her extremely lonely) and re-presents it by using the term 'suicide' that clarifies a fact that the interviewee him/herself only hinted at. This formulation of gist, in turn, prompts the interviewee to continue talking about this moment in his/her life.

3.3. Formulation of upshot

Formulations of gist draw conclusions of what has been said. Heritage and Watson (1979) define them as follows:

Members may simply move directly to the formulation of upshots, which presuppose some unexplicated version of gist. (Heritage & Watson 1979:134)

This definition is vague, difficult to process and maybe also the reason why there is hardly any research dealing with upshots. In fact, most empirical studies on formulations focus exclusively on gists (cf. Heritage 1985, Drew & Heritage 1992, Boden 1995).

However, it Widdowson (1984: 118) who points out that

[t]here is one difference between gists and upshots [...] to be noted: it is that gists relate to propositional meaning only, whereas upshots can also draw conclusions of illocutionary intent.

So, unlike the two ethnomethodologists Heritage and Watson, Widdowson looks at formulations from a discourse analytic perspective and uses two of the three kinds of “pragmatic meaning’ – ‘proposition’ and ‘illocution’ - (cf. Widdowson 2007: 12-14) to differentiate between gist and upshot. According to him, a formulation of gist re-states an utterance’s ‘proposition’, i.e. “[w]hat is referred to in an utterance” (Widdowson 2007:131) whereas an upshot, on the other hand, paraphrases its ‘illocutionary intent’. The ‘illocutionary itent’ is

[w]hat is done when something is said. The use of language to perform a recognized act of communication, e.g. a promise, a warning. What is said then takes on a certain communicative value or illocutionary force.
(Widdowson 2007: 130)

Widdowson also points out that upshots can be marked linguistically by expressions such as “thus”, “therefore” and “so” (Widdowson 1984: 119). But, again, this is not always necessarily the case.

Widdowson’s contribution ties in nicely with Heritage and Watson’s basic framework. However, it seems that it has not received widely among those researchers proceeding in accordance with it. A possible explanation for this that Widdowson himself actually hints at (cf. Widdowson 1983: 77ff) is that the researchers come from different scientific traditions, namely sociology and linguistics, and therefore look at the phenomenon from different angles. It appears as though Widdowson’s contribution somehow got lost in between the disciplines.

Heritage and Watson offer the following extract as an example of an upshot formulation. It is taken from a telephone conversation between an employee of a crisis intervention centre (S) and a caller (C) who is giving a lengthy description of someone who has left the caller’s hotel without paying the bill. It includes a formulation of upshot.

19. C: now a: red 100 came for her and I think she phoned you before it
 20. came, would you have any record – of it you know?
 21. S: er well I'm sorry but we can't divulge any information at all
 - 22. C: you can't do anything**
 23. S: I'm sorry I can't no
 24. C: no:
 25. S: I think your best plan ...
- (Heritage & Watson 1979: 135)

In this example, the caller's formulation *you can't do anything* (line 22) preserves the other speaker's refusal to help him/her find a woman who left the hotel without paying her bill. It is an upshot because it draws a conclusion of the employee's, S's, illocutionary intent who on a surface level, in fact, only explains the policy of the intervention centre to preserve the anonymity of its callers.

In conclusion, "[g]ists and upshots [...] focus on the main point of an interaction, propositional on the one hand, illocutionary on the other" (Widdowson 1983: 46) and in natural conversation they are used by both the deliverers and the recipients of utterances. Formulations are a huge field of research which is why I have decided to deliberately narrow the scope of this research project by proceeding in accordance with Heritage and Watson (1979:126) who focus exclusively on formulations of gist and upshot undertaken by news recipients.

3.4.1. Confirmation Checks

Formulations of gist and upshot can be used to demonstrate what it is that the listener has understood to be the intended meaning (cf. Heritage & Watson 1979: 129). In contrast to repetitions, which are probably as equivocal as the original utterance, formulations display the listener's reception, which is then confirmed or disconfirmed by someone else. Thus, confirmation checks enable the participants to solve their communicative problem in an economical way, without interrupting the flow of the conversation.

In ELF settings in particular, such as the one investigated in this paper, there can be instances in which one, several or all of the speakers have problems understanding what is going on. If this happens, the participants can either 'let' the unknown or unclear action, word or utterance 'pass' on the (common-sense) assumption that it

will either become clear or redundant as talk progresses" (Firth 1996: 243). Alternatively, they can opt for a confirmation check and use a repetition or a content summary to evaluate and test their understanding of a previous part of a conversation. Such confirmation checks have been described by Ollinger (2012: 114) as belonging to the strategic repertoire of 'the good ELF user'. She gives the following example:

(KF1) ((gesturing across to MF1)) what's the- eh- most interesting thing (.) you these days
 (MF1) *tue- ah- these days/ Tuesdays/
 (KF1) these days
 (MF1) ah- these days ah: :
 (Watterson 2008: 390 as quoted in Ollinger 2012: 115)

In this extract, KF1 is asking MF1 what he/she has on his/her agenda *these days*. MF1, however, appears to be unsure whether KF1 said *Tuesday's* or *these days* and therefore repeats both versions with rising intonation (*). Re-stating the two possible propositional meanings of the utterance, MF1 prompts KF1 to tell her which one of the two versions is the right one. KF1 confirms the intended version *days* by repeating it (*these days*). Then, MF1 brings the negotiation sequence to a close with another grounding repetition.

3.4.2. Cooperative and Uncooperative Recycles

Formulations of gist and upshot can also be used to help another speaker develop and consolidate an argument or a position. Heritage first described these so-called "cooperative recycles" (1985: 106ff) in the context of TV news interviews, where "in formulating an interviewee's prior talk, an interviewer may [...] re-represent the interviewee's stated position" (Heritage 1985: 106). Using a cooperative recycle, the interviewer invites the interviewee to continue talking about the things he/she has just said:

- The interviewer simply provides an adequate reformulation of the interviewee's previously stated position. The interviewer cooperates in developing and consolidating the interviewee's position over a three-turn sequence (statement reformulation – elaborated confirmation), thus stressing and underscoring the position. (Heritage 1985: 108)

The TV news interview is a particular form of verbal interaction that is produced for a physically absent but overhearing audience that requires the interviewer to remain a neutral stance at all times (cf. Heritage 1985: 112-116). Using a formulation of gist or upshot to 'recycle' certain aspects of a previous turn in 'cooperative' way, enables the interviewer to take up and respond to what the interviewee has just said, while at the same time maintaining his/her formal neutrality:

In referring to these formulations as cooperative, it is intended to distinguish them from sequences in which one party directly affiliates with the position taken by another, for example, by agreeing with or endorsing that position as his own. (Heritage 1985:108)

It is important to note that, according to Heritage (1985: 112), a recycle can either be "cooperative" or "uncooperative" (Heritage 1985: 112), depending on whether the interviewee is expected to confirm or disconfirm the formulation. However, both 'cooperative' and 'uncooperative' recycles can be used to strengthen and to damage another speaker's position by either underlining or challenging its significance:

[T]he terms 'cooperative' and 'uncooperative' are being used [...] only to characterize sequences in which formulations are being expectantly confirmed or rejected. The terms neither assess interviewer conduct nor characterize the global import of a particular utterance. Just as a cooperative formulation may occur as a component in a sequence that is ultimately damaging to an interviewee's position, so an interviewee may benefit from the opportunity to reject a particular version of his position. (Heritage 1985: 112)

According to Heritage (1985: 114), cooperative and uncooperative recycles are "a significant weapon in the news interviewer's armory" because they enable the interviewer to make a point, while at the same time retaining his/her objectivity. As an example Heritage (1985: 106ff) gives the following extract from a TV interview in which a British EEC commissioner (Com) is proposing a change of the union's institutional procedures for determining the size of agricultural subsidies:

Com: I'm all for having a common agricultural policy, (0,6) but I think it's absurd to suggest that decisions of (.) immense economic magnitude 'hhh should entirely by 'hh (.) the ministers who are (.) most int'ested in one particular segment of the community, = I wouldn't want Ministers D-Defence to take all decisions on defence and I wouldn't want Ministers of 'hhhh of Education to take all the decisions on education, =

Int: = 'hhh **So you're suggesting there that the farm ministers shouldn't decide this all entirely amongst themselves that it should be 'hhh spread across the board amongst all ministers.**

Com: Exactly. = I'm saying that one must find some way of (.) of bringing other responsibilities uh (.) particularly those representing the tax payer and the consumer as well as the farmer 'hhh much more into the picture.
(Heritage 1985: 106ff)

At the beginning of the extract, the EEC commissioner points out that budget decisions taken exclusively by the Ministers of one particular field are undesirable. He draws an analogy to British domestic policies where such matters are handled differently and argues that he also would not want budget decisions to fall in the responsibility of individual ministers on a national level. The interviewer's formulation re-states the illocutionary intention of commissioner's turn, which is to make a suggestion: *So you're suggesting there that the farm ministers shouldn't decide this all entirely amongst themselves that it should be 'hhh spread across the board amongst all ministers.* Formulating this upshot, the interviewer is able to make a point, support the minister's line of argument and remain neutral all at the same time. This upshot is then elaborately confirmed by the commissioner who continues talking about the issue.

Cooperative and uncooperative recycles have only been described in TV news interviews but they are also relevant for the gatherings of the steering group described in this paper, where 'recycles' turn out to be used to support or to challenge other speakers' utterances in the process of decision-making.

3.5. Uses of formulations of gist and upshot reserved for the chairperson

3.5.1. Closing topics

Agenda management is "the management of the movement from topic to topic" (Linde 1991: 298) done by the chairperson in formal meetings that apart from monitoring the discussion and opening topics also includes the closing of topics and conversations (cf. Boden 1995: 85). The closing of topics and conversations is a practical accomplishment that involves the cooperation of at least one additional speaker (cf. Schegloff & Sacks 1973: 295-303).

In ordinary conversations, the closing of a topic is normally introduced by a "preclosing marker" (Schegloff & Sacks 1973: 303) such as, for instance, "We-well...", "O.K..." or "So-oo", and the like (Schegloff & Sacks 1973: 303):

With them a speaker takes a turn whose business seems to be to 'pass', i.e., to indicate that he has not now anything more or new to say, and also to give a 'free' turn to a next, who, because such an utterance can be treated as having broken with any prior topic, can without violating topical coherence take the occasion to introduce a new topic, e.g., some heretofore unmentioned mentionables. (Schegloff & Sacks 1973: 304)

Uttering a precloser one speaker gives another one the chance to topicalize those issues that she/he wants to talk about during the current conversation but has not yet done so. This invitation to insert 'unmentioned mentionables' can either be accepted or ignored and, depending on the co-participant's response to the precloser, the topic is thus either continued or closed.

As already stated above, formal business meetings are much more rigidly structured than ordinary conversations (cf. Drew & Heritage 1992: 21). Therefore, it is likely that a chairperson will be unwilling to relinquish his/her control over the course of the conversation by the utterance of a precloser. To achieve the closing of a topic, he/she will probably use a different, "topic-bounding technique" (Schegloff & Sacks 1973: 306) that consists of a formulation of gist or upshot. Very often such a formulations will be used in combination with the precloser 'so' (cf. Barnes 2007: 277):

Designed to be both recognized as a link back to previous discussions and a move away from them, they [i.e. formulations of gist and upshot] provide a resource that can be taken up [...] for topic transition. The design feature that helps achieve this link back are a turn-initial 'so', and the use of pro-terms tying the utterance to previous talk. (Barnes 2007: 277ff)

The use of formulations enables the chairperson to clarify and re-state the red thread that runs through the conversation as a whole that linguistically speaking is called "first topic" (Schegloff & Sacks 1973: 300):

[T]o make a topic 'first topic' is to accord it a special status in the conversation [...] [and to] provide for its analyzability (by coparticipants) as 'the reason for' the conversation, that being, furthermore, a preservable and reportable feature

of the conversation. (Schegloff & Sacks 1973: 300ff)

In other words,

[t]he making of formulations, then is a built-in part of rendering conversations preservable and reportable, and it is in this sense that formulations may be said to 'fix' what will have turned out to be a (the) topic. (Heritage & Watson 1979: 149)

Functioning as first- pair-parts of adjacency pairs, formulations of gist and upshot restrict the next speaker's response options and require him/her to either confirm or disconfirm what has just been said (cf. Heritage & Watson 1973: 143). If the next speaker confirms the formulation, he/she is simultaneously accepting the closing of the entire topic:

Such formulations [of gist and upshot] are 'agreeable with'. When such a formulation is offered by one party and agreed to by another, a topic may be seen (by them) to have been brought to a close. (Schegloff & Sacks 1973: 305)

In formal meetings, the chairperson normally addresses the participants as a whole (cf. Asmuß and Svennevig 2009: 12ff), which makes it difficult to respond to formulations. Only someone who has the discursive right to talk on behalf of the entire group can make the necessary confirmation. However, due to the highly asymmetrical nature of institutional discourse not every speaker can do so. Therefore, silence is typically understood to be signalling acceptance and formulations that are not responded to are thus usually read as confirmations (cf. Barnes 2007: 286).

This mechanism is one of the reasons why formal business meetings sometimes seem to run more orderly than ordinary conversations. It enables the chairperson to close a topic and move on to another one within a single turn, which prevents other speakers from resuming an agenda point once it has been officially closed. Sometimes, however, it may also enable the chairperson to 'trick' the other participants 'into decisions' they might not agree to otherwise.

As an example of a closure Barnes (2007: 283ff) gives the following extract from a group meeting at a new medical school at which curriculum matters are being discussed. Michael (Mic) is the chair whereas Paul (Pau) and Laura (Lau) are 'ordinary' meeting participants.

- 1 Mic: U:m (.) to:: (1.0) u::h: (1.1) meet (.) the (.)
 - 2 (sort'ov) (.) possible (0.6) clinical tutors
 - 3 (0.4) each have time for that cos'it'd [be]
 - 4 Pau: [Mh] Yeh
 - 5 Mic: be a whole afternoon (and [morning])
 - 6 Pau: [Yeh]
 - 7 (0.6)
 - 8 Pau: °So that we could release them°
 - 9 (5.0)
 - 10 Mic: °Okay°
 - 11 (0.7)
 - 12 **Mic: So= that (.) day's beginning to fill up**
 - 13 (2.1)
 - 14 Lau: Would we we nee:d anything on as↑essment
- (Barnes 2007: 283ff)

This example is taken from the very end of a conversation in which the participants are planning an upcoming seminar. In line 1, the chairman, Mic, re-states the outcome of the previous discussion: *U:m (.) to:: (1.1) meet (.) the (.) (sort'ov) (.) possible (0.6.) clinical tutors (0.4) each have time for that cos' it'd [be] be a whole afternoon (and [morning])*. His turn is overlapped twice by Pau who keeps confirming what Mic is saying and, in line 8, also paraphrases the illocutionary intent of the chairman's turn: *So that we could release them* which his co-participants seem to confirm by their silence.

Then, there is a very long five-second pause, after which the chairperson uses the precloser *okay* (line 10) to invite his co-participants to add any "unmentioned mentionables" (Schegloff & Sacks 1973: 305). He waits for their reactions and, in line 12, finally uses a formulation of gist to close the topic for good: *So=that (.) day's beginning to fill up*. Again, there is a long two-seconds silence, which serves to confirm both the chair's gist and the closure of the topic. There is another pause and, in line 14, Lau introduces a new topic.

3.5.2. Announcing Decisions

According to Clifton (2009), there is a difference between 'decision-making' and

'decision-announcing'. "Decision-making", on the one hand, is "the sense making that permeates the talk around a decision" (Clifton 2009: 61), at which all the speakers can participate on a more or less equal footing. "Decision-announcing", on the other hand, is what makes a decision valid and includes a formulation of gist or upshot. It is a "powerful discursive resource for doing influence" (Clifton 2009: 68) that is "category bound to the identity authorized decision-announcer" (Clifton 2009: 68) and can thus only be made use of by a speaker that the other participants orient to as chairperson.

Stressing the importance of decision-announcing, Clifton (2009: 61) points out that meetings will be regarded as a failure by all its participants if it does not occur:

In short, decision making involves a complex division of labor and category-bound rights. For talk to be oriented to as decision-making talk (as opposed to, for example, everybody reflecting on a problem), future action must be projected by somebody incumbent of the correct identity. If this is not the case, the talk will not be treated as a decision by the other participants, and the work of the meeting will not be seen to be accountably done. (Clifton 2009: 61)

Decision-announcing is a powerful resource because it allows the chairperson to present a preceding discussion in a condensed form that stresses certain parts and deletes others. In addition, announcing a decision typically goes hand in hand with the closing of the entire topic, ending the possibility to talk any further about it (cf. Clifton 2009: 65).

As an example of 'decision-announcing' Clifton (2009: 65ff) gives the following extract taken from a management meeting at a private for-profit language school in the north of France. The meeting is attended by three senior teachers (given the pseudonyms Nigel (N), Liz (L) and Beth (B)) and the director of the language school who also acts as chairperson (given the pseudonym Alice (A)). It deals with the language of instruction used in the school's teacher training courses.

- 1 A et ça ça a bien ↑ marché
 and that worked ↑ well
- 2 B ((nod))
- 3 A et vous avez fait ça toutes langues confondues ou vous avez fait ça séparément
 and you did that with a mix of languages or you did it separately
- 4 A [en d'autres langues]
 [in other languages]

- 5 L [moin je l'ai fait en] anglais=
[me I did it in] English=
6 A = anglais uniquement ((shifts gaze to B))
= *solely in English*
7 B moi c'était mélange [> bon là < er :] [enfin] (((gaze to Liz)) il faudrait revoir ce genre de chose
me it was a mix [> well there < er :] [anyway] it's necessary to look at that kind of thing because
8 A [hhh] [()]
9 B parce que er : par exemple l'atelier de Monique qui parle pas bien anglais [ils se plaignent]
er : for example in Monique's workshop who doesn't speak English well [but it went okay]
10 L [mai ça allait]
[but it went okay]
11 L ca allait
it went okay
12 B un peu ils se plaignent un peu que c'était fait en anglais [je° te] le dis comme ça °
a bit they complained a bit that it was done in English [° I'm] just saying °
13 B [bon]
[good]
14 A alors le problème [c'est] que alors si on fait des formations nouveaux profs et pour les
so the problem [is that] so if we do the training of the new teachers and for the
15 B [mais]
[but]
16 A formations dites pédagogiques on peu les faire out langages confondus [(0.3)] à ce moment
so called pedagogic training we can do them with a mix of languages [(0.3)] in that case
17 B [voilà]
[exactly]
18 A là on les anime en français (0.2) c'est hors de question qu'on anime en anglais pour les profs
we do them in French (0.2) it's out of the question that we do them in English for non-Anglophone
19 A non-Anglophones je pense que c'est pas très respectueux [du fait] qu'ils soient pas Anglophones
teachers I think that that is not very respectful [since] they are not Anglophones
20 L [((nod))]
21 A et on n'est pas un centre uniquement d'enseignement d'anglais donc [là] dessus j'insiste
and we are not a center solely for English teaching so [I] I insist on that
22 B [hh]
23 B ((gaze to Liz)) ça dépend des sujets [(0.1) si] on les séparément [ou pas] ((gaze to Alice))
it depends on the subjects [(0.1) if] we do them separately [or not]
24 L [oui okay]
[yes okay]
25 A [voilà] s'ils sont pas
[exactly] if they're not
26 A séparés ca doit faire être fait en français (0.5) s'ils sont séparés pour la grammaire et des chose
separate it must be done in French (0.5) if they are separate for
26 A comme ça vous pouvez le faire en anglais [Nigel] bon les outils c'est différent pour toi
grammar and the things like that you can do in in English [Nigel] good the tools are different for you
27 B [nod]
28 N oui mais pour revenir au sujet de la formation des nouveaux prof
yes but to come back to the subject of training the new teachers
(Clifton 2009: 66)

At this beginning of this extract, A, the director of the school, asks if 'that' - the training sessions - worked well (line 1). B nods. Then A adds the following second question: *and you did that with a mix of languages or you did separately* (line 3). The two teachers responsible for teacher training, B and L, relate their experiences and it turns out that some of the participants complained that a general teacher training course (i.e. 'Monique's workshop') was held in English: *a bit they complained a bit that it was done in English* (line 12). In line 13, A self-selects to take the floor but then has to wait until B has completed her turn. The chairwoman, A, formulates upshot of

what she perceives as the problem: *so the problem [is that] so if we do the training of the new teachers and for the so called pedagogic training we can do them with a mix of languages* (line 14-16). B provides the necessary confirmation (*exactly* – line 17).

However, once the problem has been fixed in talk by the chairwoman, A, a solution becomes sequentially relevant. A goes on to provide this solution in her next turn, which does not only project future action but can also be understood as a decision: *in that case we do them in French (0.2) it's out of the question that we do them in English for non-Anglophone teachers [...]* (line 18ff). In line 21, A reaffirms her identity as chairwoman by ending her turn on *I insist on that* (line 21), which also displays her ownership of the decision.

The chairwoman's (A's) formulation of upshot re-states the illocutionary intent of B's turn (line 12ff) and is oriented to as a decision by her co-participants. In line 23, B paraphrases A's utterance and addresses it to L to solicit L's agreement: *it depends on the subjects, (0.1) if, we do them separately or not*. A then confirms B's formulation (*exactly* – line 32) moves on to the closure of the entire topic. The chairwoman, A, does so by means of a formulation of gist and by slightly changing the topic to pedagogic tools (line 34: *Nigel good the tools are different for you*). This procedure confirms her own decision and prevents the other speakers from resuming the topic.

As the above example shows, 'decision- announcing' is a vital element of decision-making. However, it is also the reason why 'regular' participants may attempt to instrumentalise the chairperson's privileged position as decision-announcer for their own ends. A possible strategy for them to get their proposals accepted as the group's decision is to manoeuvre the chairperson into alignment during the decision-making process, pass the ownership of their ideas on to the 'decision-announcer' and let him/her retrospectively announce the talk as a decision (cf. Clifton 2009: 68-71).

As an example for this 'manoeuvring the decision-announcer into alignment' Clifton (2009:69) gives the following extract, which, similar to the previous example, is taken from a management meeting of a private for-profit language school in the north of

France. It deals with pedagogic visits to a teacher's lesson and the question if they should be announced beforehand or not. Apart from Alice (A), who is the director of the language school and therefore chairs the meeting, the gathering is attended by the three senior teachers Nigel (N), Liz (L) and Beth (B).

- 1 N l'autre frein à ça c'était erm erm un petit peu la formalité on prenait rendez-vous (0.3)
the other brake to that was erm erm a little bit the formality we made the appointment (0.3)
- 2 N er: où on disait=on annonçait er: er au prof concerné une heure avant qu'on allait
er: where we said=we announced er: er to the teacher one hour before that we were going
- 3 N passer dans son cours er: .hhhh ((gaze to A)) je ne sais pas si ça si on peut le généraliser [et]
to go into their lesson er: .hhhh I don't know if we could generalize that [and]
- 4 L [hhh]
- 5 N passer de façon improvisée (0.2) mais si on annonce que dans un cadre d'échange dans un
go in in an improvised way (0.2) but if we say that in framework of an exchange in the
- 6 N cadre de soutien er: les portes seront er: [entr'ouvertes]
framework of support er: the doors will be er: ajar
- 7 N [toujours ouvertes] toujours ouvertes
[always open] always open
- 8 N plutôt que fermées et que n'importe qui peut assister=
rather than closed and anybody can attend=
- 9 A =peut assister à n'importe quel cours
=can attend any lesson
- 10 N est-ce qu'on peut se couvrir comme ça er :: [je me sentirais mieux] moi=
can we cover ourselves like that er:: [me I'd feel better]
- 11 B [tu penses que ()]
[you think that ()]
- 12 A =mais oui parce que quand tu préviens un prof il va faire un cours spécial
=but yes because if you give notice a teacher he is going to do a special lesson
- 15 A [on voit rien du tout] on voit rien du tout
[you don't see anything] you don't see anything
- 16 N [ça fausse tout ça fausse tout]
[it falsifies everything it falsifies everything]
- (Clifton 2009: 69)

At the beginning of this extract, Nigel (N) introduces pedagogic visits as a new topic. He explains that there is a problem with giving notice before attending the lessons and, in line 3, provides a possible solution: *I don't know if we could generalize that and go in an improvised way (0.2) but if we say that in the framework of an exchange in the framework of support er the doors will be er : ajar.*

This utterance already contains the two elements necessary for decision-making: a problem and a corresponding, possible solution. N, however, is not the chair of the meeting and if he wants his proposal to be accepted, he therefore needs to bring A into alignment with himself and allow her to take ownership of the decision. He does so by prefacing his solution by [...] *I don't know* [...] (line 4) and by the using a conditional form ([...] *but if we say* [...] – line 5, which makes agreement or disagreement sequentially necessary in the next turn. Furthermore, gazing at A, in

line 3, he signals her out as the principal recipient of his utterance and invites her to agree to and go along with this proposal. Seeking her alignment in such a way, N demonstrates that he is orienting towards A as chairwoman and decision-announcer.

Alice, A, accepts N's invitation and when, in line 6, N hesitates for a second she completes the turn-in-progress (*always open always open* -line 6). N, however, also completes his turn, which results in an overlap. N continues but is stopped by A who latches her turn on to what retrospectively becomes the end of his turn. In line 8, the chairwoman A collaboratively completes N's turn-in-progress by recycling N's *can attend* (line 8). Sharing and co-authoring the turn, the chairwoman, A, is aligned with 'N' and the emergent decision.

When, in line 10, N says: [...] *can we cover ourselves like that er :: me I'd feel better* [...] he again orients to A as decision announcer. The chairwoman, A, has already co-authored his solution and now has to announce this solution as a decision because if she refrained from it now, she would disalign with what she has said previously, which, in turn, would call in question her professional competence. However, in line 12, A actively agrees to what 'N' has said (*but yes* – line 14) and then adds an explanation that accounts for the emerging decision: *because when you give notice a teacher he is going to do a special lesson you don't see anything* (line 12). N, then, adds an increment which overlaps with A's turn: *it falsifies everything it falsifies everything* (line 16). Co-constructing this turn, he provides the necessary confirmation of the decision announced by A.

As the above example shows, only chairpersons have the discursive right to announce decisions. However, this privilege does not make them omnipotent (Clifton 2009: 68). Formulations of gist and upshot always require the approval of other speakers. This ensures that 'regular' participants can always disconfirm and block the chairperson's account if they think it is not accurate. Functioning as a corrective measure, formulations of gist and upshot are the reason why decisions made in formal meetings will usually be group results and not unilateral achievements on behalf of the chair:

[I]nfluence is not only what has traditionally been regarded as a top-down

affair, but also it requires the complicity and active negotiation of all members of the team. (Clifton 2009: 68)

4. DATA AND METHODOLOGY

4.1. Data collection and setting

In October 2013, my national union hosted a three-day steering group meeting at its Vienna headquarters. As I organised most of the event myself, it was easy for me to prepare the recording.

The gathering took place in a small conference room that had been built right into a hallway using frosted glass screens. In the meeting room itself, there were no windows, only little daylight and one could see and hear people passing by either side of the room. The meeting room was equipped with a conference table, a flip chart, a beamer as well as a sideboard that housed a coffee machine and some snacks.

The following sketch gives an impression of the seating arrangement and the individual speakers' positions. The numbering of the speakers relates to the order of their first occurrence in the recorded data.

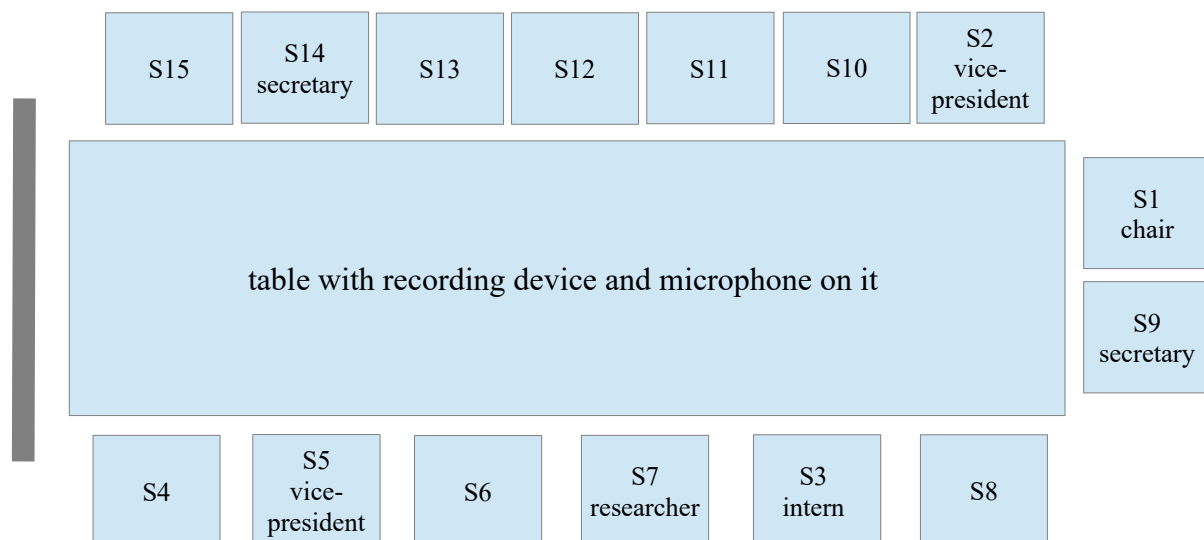


Figure 1: Seating arrangement during the recording.

During the two-day trade union meeting, 15 people from all over Europe were present. The following table lists the speakers, their sex, their age, the official titles of their union functions in the steering group, their countries of origin as well as the languages they spoke.

Table 2: Participants of the steering group meeting.

Speaker Number	Sex	Age	Union Function	Country of Origin	L1	L2 + L3
S1	male	30-35	youth president	UK	English	
S2	male	30-35	vice-president	Sweden	Swedish	English
S3	female	20-25	intern	USA (resident in Switzerland)	English	French
S4	female	30-35	substitute area coordinator Southern Europe	Greece	Greek	English
S5	male	30-35	vice-president	France	French	English
S6	female	20-25	substitute area coordinator Austria, Germany, Switzerland	Germany	German	English
S7	female	30-35	area coordinator Austria, Germany, Switzerland	Austria	German	English, French
S8	female	30-35	Area coordinator Southern Europe	Italy	Italian	English, French
S9	male	35-40	union secretary	UK (resident in Switzerland)	English	French, German
S10	male	30-35	co-opted member from Turkey	Turkey	Turkish	English
S11	female	25-30	substitute area coordinator Benelux, France, Monaco	Netherlands	Dutch	English, French, German
S12	male	25-30	area Coordinator Benelux, France, Monaco	Belgium	French	Flemish, English
S13	Male	25-30	area Coordinator UK & Ireland	UK	English	
S14	female	35-40	union secretary	Austria (resident in Belgium)	German	French, English, Spanish
S15	female	25-30	area coordinator Nordic Countries	Norway	Norwegian	English

For the actual recordings, I used a digital recording device attached with a microphone, which enabled me to process the data on my PC. This was the very same appliance that is usually used to record the biweekly executive meetings of my national trade union.

Before the meeting started, I took the time to ask for my colleagues' consent. I had prepared both an information letter as well as a consent form (see appendix) that was signed by every single person in the room. During the entire meeting the microphone was placed in the middle of the conference table that we were sitting around so it could be easily seen by everyone. I operated the device myself. Originally, I had planned to start a new track at the beginning of every agenda topic and during the first couple of hours I managed to do this. Later on, however, I forgot about the recording altogether and simply left the recording device running without making any cuts at all.

Applying this method, I managed to gather approximately eight hours of trade union meeting talk. It is important to point out that only the 'official meeting' itself was recorded. The conversations and discussions we had before and after the actual meeting, over meals or during the framework programme are not part of the data. There are three reasons for this. Firstly, it would have been technically impossible for me to record outside a closed area. Secondly, I was interested in 'workplace discourse' and not in 'ordinary conversations'. Last but not least, I would have made myself quite unpopular with my colleagues, if I had done so. For, the recording of the after-work part of our gathering would have been perceived as an intrusion into my colleagues' private spheres.

4.2. The Role of the Researcher

During the steering group meeting in question I acted as host, participant as well as observer. This course of action corresponds to an approach that in the literature is called "participant observation" (cf. eg. LeCompte & Preissle 1993). Participant observation is a method of data collection in qualitative research that was first applied in the 1920's by the Polish anthropologist Bronislaw Kasper Malinovsky in his study on the native people living in the Omarkana Trobriand Islands off the coast of New

Guinea (cf. DeWalt & DeWalt 1998:3). Today it is used in many scientific disciplines such as, for instance, cultural anthropology, ethnology or communication studies (cf. DeWalt & DeWalt 2011: 3).

According to DeWalt and DeWalt (1998:260),

[...] participant observation is a method in which an observer takes part in the daily activities, rituals, interactions, and events of the people being studied as one of the means of learning the explicit and tacit aspects of their culture. (DeWalt & DeWalt 1998:260)

As this research project is, in fact, also concerned with understanding the 'culture' of the union youth meetings, it follows that 'participant observation' is the appropriate method of data collection.

DeWalt and DeWalt (2011: 22-28) differentiate four different degrees of participation and observation, ranging from "nonparticipation" and "passive participation" over to "active participation" and "complete participation". "Nonparticipation" applies when knowledge of the culture is acquired by "observing phenomena from outside" (DeWalt & DeWalt 2011: 22). "Passive participation" implies that the researcher is present at the scene of action but does not actively interact with the people being studied. "Active participation" means that the researcher "engages in almost everything that the other people are doing as a means of trying to learn the rules for behaviour" (DeWalt & DeWalt 2011: 23ff). "Complete participation" applies when the researcher "is or becomes a member of the group that is being studied" (DeWalt & DeWalt 2011: 24), the way I was. I had been a member of the trade union youth committee in question before I became its researcher.

Regarding the advantages of 'participant observation', DeWalt and DeWalt (2011:10-17) argue that it can enhance the quality of the data being obtained as well as the quality of the interpretation. Furthermore, it can also facilitate the development of new research questions and hypotheses:

Living, working, laughing, and crying with the people that one is trying to understand proves a sense of the self and the other that is not easily put into words. It is a tacit understanding that informs the form of research, the specific

techniques of data collection, of recording of information, and the subsequent interpretation of materials collected. (DeWal & DeWalt 2011: 10)

Being immersed in a particular context facilitates the collection of authentic data, 'strong on reality', and also enables the researcher to generate "thick descriptions" (Geertz 1973) of social processes and interaction. Such a 'thick description' does not only describe people's behaviour but also explains its context, so that it becomes meaningful also to an outsider.

Turning to the downsides of this method, it has to be said that many scientists and researchers have pointed to its "oxymoronic nature [...] and the almost impossible methodological and personal tension that participant observation implies" (DeWalt & DeWalt 2011: 28). Taking part in the activities of a group and striving to become a member of it demands emotional involvement, whereas scientific observation requires objectivity and emotional detachment.

Being a participant observer, I experienced the above-described tension between participation and observation because at the steering group meeting in October 2013, I was, in fact, a first-timer in more than just one respect. I lacked experience both in hosting international trade union meetings as well as in conducting linguistic research. So, trying hard to do a good job in three completely different areas simultaneously, I wondered what kind of behaviour was expected from me. Again, I was not sure whom I wanted to please the most: the decision-makers within my own national union, my colleagues on the steering group or my university supervisor.

Reflecting on the things that went through my mind during these moments of insecurity, I think I experienced what is called "observer's paradox" (Labov 1972 : xvii, Labov 1978: 209). The term 'observer's paradox' describes a phenomenon in which a researcher wants to observe natural communication and behaviour but because people know that they are being observed they do no longer act naturally (cf. Labov 1972: xvii). Being the researcher myself and analysing my own way of talking made me feel awkward and uncomfortable, whenever I remembered to think about it.

Luckily, I was quickly drawn into the maelstrom of the discussions and forgot about the recording device. Escaping the conflicting voices in my mind did me good so that

when I remembered them later on, I consciously gave myself leave to not listen to what they were saying. I felt that concentrating on three different roles simultaneously was schizophrenic and would eventually paralyse me into silence. So, being forced to take an active decision, I chose to focus on the one role that was nearest to my own heart, the one of the participant, over the one of the observer without reflecting on the consequences.

How my colleagues felt the presence of the recording device, I cannot tell for sure because we never talked about it. If the 'observer's paradox' affected their communicative behaviour, I did not realise it. I had the impression that everyone behaved perfectly normally. Those members of the steering group who usually participated actively in the meetings (S1, S2, S5, S6, S7, S12, S14) did so also during this gathering whereas those unionists who normally did not contribute a lot to the discussions (S4, S8, S9, S10, S11, S13) were silent most of the time. It seemed to me that they were playing computer games on their mobile phones and tablets.

However, the tricky thing about the 'observer's paradox' is that there is no real way to avoid it altogether (cf. Labov 1972: xviii). The only possibility to do so would mean to record people without their knowledge, which research regards as highly unethical and therefore unacceptable (cf. Cameron 2002:22-25 or Johnstone 2000: 39-57). According to Labov (1978: 209ff) and Milroy (1987: 60-64), there are several factors which can reduce the effects of the 'observer's paradox'. One of these factors is a positive relationship between the researcher and the speakers. Being a full member of the steering group and a personal friend of some of the other participants, I think this criterion was definitely met.

The point is that, at the time of the recording, I was a full member of the steering group and intended to remain one also afterwards. So, it was paramount for me not to betray my colleagues' trust, which it had taken me quite a while to establish. I decided to be as open and fair as possible about the whole business and asked my colleagues' consent in both oral and written form. I explained what was going to happen with the data and would have been more than willing to answer questions if there had been any.

4.3. Issues of data quality and transcription

Regarding the data, it has to be said, that the quality of the recordings is very varied and that, in spite of the modern technical equipment that I used, there are stretches of talk that are almost unintelligible.

There are several reasons for this. Firstly, there are many disturbing background noises such as, for instance, the grinding sound produced by the coffee machine, the rustling of the snacks' paper and plastic packaging or the sound made by people passing by on the hallway. Secondly, there are stretches of talk that are incomprehensible because of a persistent buzzing sound that I believe to be some kind of a radio frequency interference caused by the concurrent use of mobile phones. Thirdly, there are instances in which several people talk at the same time or when laughter makes it impossible to decipher what is being said. Furthermore, there are speakers who were sitting too far away from the microphone, spoke too quietly or with an almost incomprehensible slur.

I decided to put the focus of the analysis on the first morning of the meeting where the participants appear to be still fresh and motivated. It was thus not necessary to transcribe all the eight hours of my recording. I limited myself to the first couple of hours so that my data-set, which forms the basis of my analysis, consists of more than 17 000 words for 2 hours, 11 minutes and 56 seconds.

There are many different transcription systems used by various researchers (cf. Cameron 2002:26-40). I, however, decided to work with the VOICE transcription conventions, as outlined on the VOICE homepage.

(https://www.univie.ac.at/voice/page/transcription_general_information, 10th Sept 16)

The VOICE transcription conventions were devised especially for transcribing ELF interaction and are therefore perfectly appropriate for my data.

The **Vienna-Oxford International Corpus of English (VOICE)** is a computer corpus of English as a lingua franca compiled by Barbara Seidlhofer and her research team at the University of Vienna. Its aim is

to open the way for **large-scale** and **in-depth linguistic description** of this

most common contemporary use of English by providing a corpus of spoken ELF interactions which will be accessible to linguistic researchers all over the world. (https://www.univie.ac.at/voice/page/what_is_voice- original emphasis, Sept 10th 2016)

Transcribing the data meant that I had to listen to my recordings carefully, writing down what I heard the participants to be saying and doing. This part of my research project turned out to be much more tedious and time-consuming than I had previously thought. I had to go over my transcripts over and over again before I considered the final product accurate enough to serve as the basis of my analysis. After all, I am sure even now improvements could still be made.

Reading about 'representing speech' in the literature, however, I learnt that all transcription is to be considered as "somewhat partial [...] and inaccurate[...]" (Cameron 2002:40). Even "[p]rofessionals [...] do not get it right the first time" (Cameron 2002:39) and sometimes have to change and adapt their transcripts

because when they listen[ed] to the tapes again, they notice[d] mistakes and omissions in their old transcripts. (Cameron 2002:39)

4.4. Defining a research question

When I did the recordings in October 2013, I knew I wanted to do some research on ELF in trade union meeting talk, but I did not have any clearly defined goals, let alone a research question. However unconventional, this "unstructured observation" (Patton 1990: 220) had several advantages.

On the one hand, it prevented me from distorting my own data. Not knowing which communicative behaviour I was looking for made it impossible for me to cheat myself by behaving in the desired ways 'on purpose'. On the other hand, Louis, Manion and Morrison (2007: 397) point out that, unstructured observation is "hypothesis-generating rather than hypothesis-testing". In fact, I had to review my observational data intensively before I was able to suggest any explanations for the phenomena I had observed. This was good, because

[I]f researchers have too many preconditions about what they are going to find, the danger is that they will not attend closely enough to the subtleties of talk in a specific situation. (Cameron 2002: 22)

So, what I did to get a feel for my data was to listen to the recordings over and over again. I tried to watch out for features that struck me as being noticeable and recurring, the way my supervisor had told me to. However, for a long time, I found it almost impossible to take on and maintain a critical distance regarding myself. Being a trade unionist, it had always been critical for me to do a good job on the different trade union committees that I participated in. I was aware that concentrating on what I perceived to be my flaws, I missed the trees for the wood, but, at the beginning of my research project, I could not help it.

It was only later, when I had finally left the steering group for good, that I managed to work through my data in a proper way. I made transcripts of individual passages that struck me as 'interesting'. Concentrating on both the details of the conversation and the overall goal of the meeting made me see the great extent to which the speakers' individual turns are in fact interconnected, so that

everything said can be seen as either directly reacting to preceding talk, reflecting a set of immediate circumstances or responding to a past event, whether directly experienced or indirectly transmitted. (Gumperz 1999: 461)

It was this insight into the nature of natural conversation that finally enabled me to relax and let go. I took on the critical and somewhat detached stance of a linguistic researcher and once again immersed myself in my data the way Schegloff describes in an interview he gave to Wong and Olsher (2000:119):

You sit down; you make observations; you try to describe them as carefully as you can. You keep on doing that, and you keep on doing that. And you keep on doing that, and then hopefully you start to find, 'Oh I've seen something like that before!' [...] You get some embryonic notion of what that thing is, and you try to get more instances. You have no idea of where it's going to end up.

Listening to the recording and poring over my transcripts, I realised that there are many instances in the data in which people paraphrase and summarise things that

other people have said previously. I got interested in why this is happening and soon learnt that this linguistic behaviour has been described as "formulations of gist and upshot" (Heritage and Watson 1973).

4.5. Research Questions

Formulations of gist and upshot are instances in naturally occurring speech, in which the participants talk about their conversation on a meta-level, by re-stating either the propositional content or the illocutionary intent of previous utterances (cf. Heritage & Watson 1979:130-135, Widdowson 1984: 118ff).

Formulations are fascinating objects of study. Firstly, they form part of the interactional order of formal business meetings (cf. Boden 1995: 98+122) and therefore appear quite frequent in the data. Secondly, formulations are very versatile and can be employed for a wide range of different purposes, depending on the context and the institutional role of its speaker (cf. e.g. Heritage & Watson 1979, Heritage 1985, Clifton 2009). It is thus interesting to find out how exactly the asymmetrical nature of the formal meeting impacts on their use. Again, as most of the research investigating formulations in institutional talk concentrates exclusively on native speaker talk (cf. e.g. Heritage 1985, Heritage and Watson 1992, Boden 1995, Barnes 2007 etc.), it is, thirdly, interesting to learn more about how their findings relate to the steering group meeting conducted in ELF analysed in this project.

It follows that, the primary objective of this research project is to address the following three research questions:

1. What are the purposes of formulations of gist and upshot in international trade union meeting talk?
2. Is there a difference in how 'regular' participants and chairpersons employ them?
3. Is there a difference in how native and non-native speakers of English use formulations?

4.6. Methodology

Investigating how and for which purposes formulations of gist and upshot are used in trade union ELF talk requires a methodology that enables the researcher to "[...]

make explicit what typically gets taken for granted [...] [and] show what talking accomplishes [...]" (Cameron 2002:7).

Interactional Sociolinguistics (IS) is such an approach. It concentrates on face-to-face interactions involving two or more actors. It aims

to show how individuals participating in such exchanges use talk to achieve their communicative goals in real life situations by concentrating on the meaning making process and the taken-for-granted background assumptions that underlie the negotiation of shared interpretations. (Gumperz 1999:454)

IS is based on the assumption that there is no one-to-one mapping between linguistic form and utterance meaning in natural conversations. Meaning has to be negotiated in a practical accomplishment which requires linguistic and pragmatic competence and involves the subconscious processing of "contextualization clues" (Gumperz 1982: 131) in a procedure called "conversational inference" (Gumperz 1982:153):

Conversational inference [...] is the situated or context-bound process of interpretation, by means of which participants in an exchange assess others' intentions, and on which they base their responses. (Gumperz 1982, 153)

A contextualization clue is "any feature of linguistic form that contributes to the signalling of contextual presuppositions" (Gumperz 1982, 131) by "[...]highlight[ing], foreground[ing] or mak[ing] salient certain phonological or lexical strings vis-a-vis other similar units" (Gumperz 1982, 232). Contextual cues such as, for instance, stress and intonation, tempo and laughter, code choice, lexical expressions and the like (cf. Gumperz 1999: 461), do not have any context-independent lexical meaning of their own, which is why foregrounding processes are always context-bound and rely on the simultaneous evaluation of several different cues:

When interpreted with reference to lexical and grammatical knowledge, structural position and sequential location within a stretch of discourse, foregrounding becomes an input to implicatures, yielding situated interpretations. Situated interpretations are intrinsically context bound and cannot be analysed apart from the verbal sequences in which they are embedded. (Gumperz 1982, 232)

Again, contextualization clues operate at different levels of speech production:

prosody, paralinguistic signs, code selection and choice of lexical forms. They are subconscious, and this means that they are not readily accessible to recall and can only be studied through "in-depth turn-by-turn analysis of form and content" (Gumperz 1982, 232).

For this in-depth analysis, interactional sociolinguistics (IS) draws on the microanalytic methods of a different but in many ways related approach to discourse, namely conversation analysis (CA) (cf. Gumperz 1999: 457-459). In fact, IS is often characterised as building from CA (cf. Gumperz 1999: 458). For this reason, this paper will proceed in a similar way by explaining the similarities of the two approaches and then pointing out the differences.

According to CA as well as IS, natural conversation is a concerted and rule-governed process, during which the participants make use of certain subconscious processes of referencing for the negotiation of shared meaning (cf. Heritage & Watson 1980: 245 and Gumperz 1982: 159). Both disciplines are interested in deciphering these mental processes of sense making and use "video or audio recordings of naturally occurring interactions, between people going about their 'normal' business" (Drew & Heritage 2006: xxviii) to do so. Another common feature is that the data are transcribed according to a transcription system that also records fine details of talk that otherwise might go unnoticed (cf. Drew & Heritage 2006: xxix). Then, the researcher examines the transcripts to find out how individual turns relate to one another and how conversational effects are achieved.

In CA, the analysis focuses exclusively on turn taking, turn design, sequence organisation and action (cf. Drew & Heritage 2006: xxv). Social and contextual features, such as, for instance, setting, the participants' identities, their background knowledge, and the like are not considered to be specifiable causes of linguistic behaviour unless they are made a subject of discussion by the participants themselves. The reason for this is that in CA

[...] the interaction is the context. Analysts do not need to look outside the interaction unless some external factor is evoked in the interaction. (Lane & Hilder 2003: 355)

IS, on the other hand, explicitly recognises the importance of the wider sociocultural context for the negotiation of meaning in conversations. It takes propositional content into account, even if it is lexicalized only indirectly:

Sequential sequencing of turns of speaking is one element of conversational inferencing but not the only one. Physical setting, participants' personal background knowledge and their attitudes towards each other, sociocultural assumptions concerning role and status relationships as well as social values associated with various message components also play an important role. (Gumperz 1999, 458)

In other words, IS

[...] resembles the conversational analyst's procedures of reconstructing the strategies members employ in formulating specific actions. But IS differs from conversational analysis in that the concern is with situated interpretation of communicative intent, not with strategies as such, and that analysis is not confined to overtly lexicalized information. Instead of taking interpretive processes for granted, what IS analysis does is suggest a.) what the most likely interpretations are, and b) what the assumptions and inferential processes are by which they are achieved. (Gumperz 1999:464)

According to Gumperz (1999: 458), contextualization cues are not only subconscious but also culturally specific. When participants in a conversation come from different cultural backgrounds, they might miss or misinterpret these subtle cues in one another's speech and this again might lead to misunderstandings. Taking contextual and cultural aspects into account, enables IS to explain these intercultural misunderstandings:

In studies of intercultural and interethnic communication such methods [i.e. IS] have been particularly useful in detecting systematic differences in interpretive practices affecting individuals' ability to create and maintain conversation involvement. This is specially true for today's culturally diverse institutional and workplace settings where goal orientation plays a key role. (Gumperz 1999: 464)

In conclusion, I want to point out that I chose IS as a research method because the trade union committee I am investigating consists of young unionists from all over the continent. Living and working in different countries, these young people do not only have different social and political backgrounds. They also communicate in a lingua franca and "settle on ad hoc, pro tem norms that are adequate to the task and

commensurate to the command of the linguistic behaviour they have in common." (Seidlhofer 2011: 18). It is thus very likely that there are not many shared inferential procedures that can be taken for granted. Using Interactional Sociolinguistics makes it possible to show how this linguacultural diversity affects communication (cf. Gumperz 1999: 459).

5.1. Uses of formulations of gist and upshot that are open to all participants

Extract 1

(1)
71: S6: <to S1> WHERE are they on facebook again? </to S1>
72: S1: they're in the steering group.
73: S6: hm?
74: S1: secret group.
75: **S6: secret group? we have a secret group?**
76: S1: yah
77: **S6: yea? a secret group too?**
78: SS: @@@@ {parallel conversations between individual speakers start}
79: @@@

In line 71, S6, who has been silent until this point, enters the discussion and asks S1 where exactly on Facebook the minutes of the last meeting can be found. S1 is the president of the youth committee and therefore responsible for the timely distribution of the text file. Judging from the way the German woman, S6, frames her question, it

seems that she has not received them. This is striking because, apart from being a unionist, S6 is also a self-proclaimed new media artist and a very able user of Facebook, Twitter and the like.

S1 answers her question by stating that the document has been posted to the Facebook group of the steering group. S6 signals surprise and doubt by her use of the discourse marker *hm?* (line 73), which prompts her British colleague, S1, to explain that the steering group communicates on Facebook via a secret group. Again, it turns out that the secret group is unknown to S6. In line 75, she uses a repetition (*secret group?*) and then a formulation of gist (*we have a secret group?*) to find out if she has understood S1's turn correctly.

S1 confirms this formulation (*yah* -line 76), but it appears that the German unionist, S6, is still taken by surprise and does not really believe him. She enquires again, this time using the backchannel *yea?* (line 77), moreover, a paraphrase of her own formulation, to do so: *a secret group too?* (line 77).

This second formulation seems to cause the barrel to overflow. People start laughing hysterically about S6's question, which suddenly appears to have turned into a joke, playing on the ambivalent nature of the steering group. On the one hand, the members of the steering group see themselves as part of an important and quite influential, international trade union committee. On the other hand, however, they are well aware that the steering group is widely unknown even to the people that it represents. The idea of having a Facebook group that is unknown to its own members adds to this already paradox situation. Laughing about S6's formulation, the other participants acknowledge its correctness, and it takes a while until they have calmed down enough to continue working seriously.

Extract 2

In Extract 2, the Dutch participant, S11, reports some of the difficulties she experienced with her national trade union because of the fact that the invitation to the steering group meeting has only been conveyed via Facebook. S9, the highest-ranking trade union federation secretary, uses a formulation of upshot to propose a solution to her problem.

(2)

- 113: S11: can i maybe (2) can i maybe say something else (.) not about the
114: minutes (.) but about the invitations.
115: S1: yeah(.) what was it?
116: S11: because it was only sent by facebook
117: S12: yeah
118: S11: it was only posted when the meeting started and when it ended (.) so it
119: give me some negative flow with my union(.) so NEXT time if it is possible it
120: would be nice just to send a pdf <11> file </11>
121: S1: <11> yeah </11>
122: S11: with the uni paper stating there this is when it starts and there it ends
123: because it saves me a lot of trouble
124: S12: yeah. me also
125: S13: i i had issues with my union as well.
126: S11: yeah yeah
127: S6: yeah
128: S13: <un> xxxxx </un> facebook(.) they're told to believe what i am saying so
129: <12> we </12>
130: **S9: <to S11> <12> so you </12> need a personal <13> invitation </13>**
131: S13: <13> i think </13> i'm gonna need someone <14> to invite </14>
132: **S9: <14> or a </14> general invite? because we have had personal ones for**
133: **some (.) for [org6], e was for [name16] and [name17] and [name18] </to S11>**
134: S11: <to S9> for me. it would be sufficient if you sent an invitation with a clear
135: agenda and a time frame <un> xxxxxx </un> </to S9>
136: (9) <S9 nods in S11's direction> {S9 and makes a note on a sheet of paper}

In this fourth extract, S11 complains about the way in which the current meeting was summoned. She points out that there has not been any official invitation and that date and venue were only announced via the group's Facebook page. S11 works for a Dutch trade union and attends the meetings of the steering group as part of her job. She complains that the inappropriately informal nature of the invitation has given her *some negative flow* (line 119) with her supervisors.

Once this issue has been raised, it turns out that also S11 and S13, who work for a British and a Belgian trade union, have had similar problems. The same applies for S6, who is an unpaid functionary but gets her travelling costs reimbursed by the German union that she represents. It seems that several of the trade union federation's affiliated member unions are unhappy about the fact that its office did not send out any invitations through the official channels.

This is the moment where, in line 130, S9 embarks on the discussion for the very first

time, interrupting S13's account of the problems that he experienced because of the missing invitations. S9 is the most senior representative of the criticised trade union federation present. Formulating upshot of what S11 has said, he tries to find out which kind of invitation the Dutch unionist S11 would require in future, a personal or a general one: *<to S11> <12> so you </12> need a personal <13> invitation </13> <14> or a </14> general invite?* (line 130 and line 132). Then, he goes on to explain some of the arrangements that existed in the past: *because we have had personal ones for some (.) for [org6], e was for [name16] and [name17] and [name18]* (line 132-133). The Dutch unionist, S11, declines S9's offer of a personal invitation by replying that an official invitation is all she needs and it seems that, once S9 has nodded in her direction and taken down a note, the topic is closed for good.

S9 is keen to provide a solution for S11's problem and one reason for his active intervention might be that at this meeting he represents the international trade union federation. He knows that if the national trade unions want their youth delegates to be invited through official letters, these letters will have to be sent and maybe this is also why he readily offers to do so.

Extract 3

In this extract, in which S1 is telling his co-participants about a past event, a formulation of gist is used to request clarification that accidentally exposes the youth president's unpreparedness.

- (3)
- 152: S1: sorry (.) we will go on with the review of the summer school (2) yeah (.)
 153: summer school took place in albufeira in june (.) i think there were
 154: roundabout 15 students on it (.) e was very successful (.) i've been on a few
 155: myself and it's the best one i've been on (.) e:r (.) of course (.) once again
 156: we had [name19] as tutor who asked us what we wanted to do (.) we had a
 157: very high grade of people this year (.) [S2] and [S5] know that there was no
 158: issues were arised from it (.) there's been great feedback (.) no complaints
 159: (.) it's all been good feedback (.) so i recommend we do the exact same
 160: next year.
 161: **S7: what again was the program? because we agreed that it would be**
 162: **flexible for the participants to decide what they wanted to do.**
 163: S1: yeah (2) so (.) they went for negotiating <15> negotiations </15>
 164: S7: <15> ya:::h </15>
 165: S1: public speaking and (2) [S2] (.) what else was going on in june?
 166: S2: negotiations=

167: S1: = yeah (.) negotiations (.) i said that (.) <to S2> <whispering> xxxxx
 168: </whispering>
 169: S2: @@@ <16> @@@ </16>

In lines 152 to 160, the youth president, S1, is talking about an event called 'summer school' that took place four months earlier. Only describing his personal impressions, S1's debriefing of the youth training is very brief and more than vague. S7 was not able to participate in the summer school herself and would like to receive more detailed information. In line 161, the Austrian unionist, S7, asks: *what again was the program?* She then continues with a formulating gist that does not only sum up S1's last utterance but also reminds everybody of what, originally, the summer school was intended to be like: *because we agreed that it would be flexible for the participants to decide what they wanted to do.* (line 161ff)

Unfortunately, this request makes matters worse instead of better. It turns out that S1 is not prepared to talk about the 'summer school'. The British unionist, S1, begins to stutter and it seems that he cannot remember, what the seminar was all about even though participated in it himself. This is embarrassing because on the steering group everyone knows that during seminars S1 tends to stay out late at night and arrive tired at the morning sessions. It appears that S7 tries to help by showing that she is listening actively (*ya:::h* – line 164) and there is an overlap between their two turns. In line 165, however, S1, ask the Swedish vice-president, S2, for support. They share a turn, but it seems that the situation is still very awkward for the designated youth president of this international trade union youth committee, S1. In line 169, S2 starts laughing about him.

Extract 4

In extract 6, S14 is providing an update on the current status of the planning of an upcoming trade union youth seminar. Formulations of gist are used to clarify talk that is ambiguous and unclear.

(4)

420: S14: okay (.) the last steering group before the last conference applied
 421: for a programme at [org 16] for the winter school(.) it got accepted by
 the[org16](.)

422: the [org16] is the [org16] for those of you who doesn't
 423: know it (.) and so i am in contact with [org 16] to organise the winter school. in
 424: principle(.) we fixed a date (2) which is what they first tell us (.) to get the
 425: good dates still because they have a lot of seminars(2) {checking her
 426: papers} so it will be 11th of february (.) it's 11th of february (2) and <L1/g> JA
 427: </L1g> we should think about now about the setting(.) so the [org16] will pay
 428: 20 people the travel costs (.) the hotel costs (.) the meeting room and so on
 429: (.) that's covered by the [org16] and we have to agree with them on the
 430: programme (.) we are quite flexible but of course they want to be integrated
 431: (.) if they pay (.) and so <@> we have to give them a little bit the illusion of
 432: participation </@> (.) <31> but in principle </31> (.)
 433: SS: <31> @@@ </31>
 434: S14: if we agree here on a topic (.) then i will i will propose and i will have a
 435: meeting in about two weeks for for fixing the programme.
 [...]
 468: **S2: so(.) it's only february eleventh? so it's only one day?**
 469: S14: no @@@ no no.
 470: S2: a:h
 471: SX: @@@
 472: S14: 13th (.) 11th to 13th february (.)yeah.

This part of the meeting is dedicated to the discussion of an international trade union youth seminar that the steering group is organising in Brussels the following spring. As the event will be financed by a third party, a non-profit organisation located in Brussels, S14 is responsible for conducting the negotiations with this NGO on behalf of the steering group and chairs this part of the meeting.

In line 420, S14 starts by giving a short overview of the history of the seminar, explaining that it was the last steering group before the last elections who applied for the funding of this youth training. She then goes on to presenting her own ideas of what could and should be done at an international trade union youth seminar in the political capital of the European Union. Judging from the amount of activities that she mentions it seems that she has already given a lot of thought to the project. However, as it turns out, she is rather vague about the exact dates of the venue and mentions them only in passing: *[...] so it will be 11th of february (.) it's 11th of february [...]* (line 426).

As the members of the steering group are well aware, international seminars usually last for a minimum of three or four days in a row. Judging from the vast number of activities that S14 mentions, the participants can assume that the event will last

longer than just for one single day. To verify this assumption, the Swedish vice-president S2 formulates gist of what the Austrian secretary S14 has said about the date of the seminar: *so(.) its only february eleventh? so its only one day?* (line 468).

In line 469, S14 rejects these two formulations with an outright disconfirmation (*no*). She does so laughingly but still appears to be taken by surprise and deeply puzzled by S2's turn. It seems as though this disconfirmation has

terminate[d] an ongoing stream of topical talk and [has] initiate[d] a search for a fresh basis on which concerted comprehension can be established [...]
(Heritage & Watson 1979: 144)

In what appears to be an attempt to help, the Swedish unionist S2 utters the backchannel *a:h* (line 470) to show that S14's disconfirmation has been new information to him. Now, the penny seems to drop and there is someone laughing in what appears to be relief. In line 472, the Austrian secretary, S14, finally, manages to clarify the misunderstanding, give the correct dates of the seminar and confirm it herself: *13th (.) 11th to 13th february (.) yeah*.

Extract 5

In this extract, S14 is informing the steering group about the planning status of another seminar that she is organising in Athens the following March. S4, who is the representative of the Greek union, uses formulations to clarify talk that is unclear and to stress her position as S14's primary contact person in Greece.

(5)

841: S14: I can say that we now fixed a date in cooperation. which was not easy and i

842: i always propose a date (.) we don't fix a date. we propose a date which we

843: have now which we try to figure out with [name25] and [name24] and with the

844: the [sector1] union which is the best union (.) <40> of course as usual </40> in
845: greece.

846: SS: <40> @@@@ </40>

847: **S14: a:nd and we figured out that actually e:r the best date for this seminar**
848: **would be (.) er sixth seventh (.) five sixth seventh (.) =**

849: S9: **= march (.)**

850: S14: <41> march march 2014 </41>

851: S4: <to S14> < loud and fast /> <41> I want to ask you </41> to give ME the

852: EXACT day (.) because you know we are really confused (about

853: the organisation)(.) **(fifth is) the first day (.) the first night (.) then you'll be**

854: **arriving fourth or sixth (.) <42> march? </42> </loud and fast> </to S14>**
 855: S14: <to S4> <42> <L1g> JA: </L1g> </42> </to S4> yes
 856: S14: <to S14> whole week </to S14>
 857: S4: <to S14> it will be the whole week. </to S14>
 858: S14: it will be the steering group before and then it will be the seminar and
 859: er the <un> xxx </un> the same.
 860: S4: <to S14>okay </to S14> {writing things down} <whispering> sunday
 863: wednesday friday </whispering>

The steering group is planning an international trade union youth seminar in Athens. This seminar is supposed to be a cooperation between the trade union federation youth and its affiliated Greek member union. As the secretary, it is S14's task to cooperate with the representatives of the member union on behalf of the steering group and to fix the dates and the venue of the event.

Different trade unions have diverse cultures of working, which is why international cooperations can be very demanding. It seems that it is for this reason that S14 tries to be as polite and cooperative as possible when she presents the outcome of her talks with the Greek union. Not only does she praise it to be the best trade union in Greece. She also goes to great pains to present the international trade union federation and its affiliated member as equal partners, stressing the fact that the federation proposes certain dates to the national trade union but does not determine them. Doing so, however, the Austrian secretary S14, uses the personal pronoun 'we' to denote two different groups of people, first the international trade union federation and then the trade union federation as well as the Greek national union. This is confusing and makes it difficult to understand what she is, in fact, trying to say. Again, when S14 finally announces the dates of the planned seminar, she corrects herself twice. Her colleague S9 has to come to her assistance and complete her turn, when she forgets to mention the month, in which the event will take place. However, confirming this information by a repetition, she is interrupted by S4. The Greek unionist, S4, seems to very agitated because she speaks very fast and loud.

On the steering group, S4 is the official representative of the Greek union and therefore responsible for finding a suitable venue for the event in question. Apparently, however, S14 has not talked with S4 about the seminar but with two of her colleagues. In addition to that, it is also possible that the Greek unionist S4 did not even know about the talks until this very moment. Naturally, she feels left out and

exposed. She says: <to S14> <41> *I want to ask you </41> to give ME the EXACT day (.) because you know we are really confused (about the organisation)[...]* (line 851ff).

Demanding S14 to give her the exact dates of the seminar in a brusque but still polite and formal way, S4 stresses her position as the representative of the Greek trade union. It is a way of telling S14 that if she wants to cooperate with S4's union, she has to talk to her because everything else is confusing for S4 and her colleagues, the third group of people that is addressed as 'we' only within seconds. In line 852ff, the Greek unionist S4 formulates first the propositional content (*[...] (fifth is) the first day (.) the first night [...] - line 854ff*) and then the illocutionary intent (*then you'll be arriving fourth or sixth (.) <42> march? </42> - line 853ff*) of S14's turn. Using these two formulations of gist and upshot, S4 ends her turn on a reconciliatory note and demonstrates her willingness to cooperate.

The union secretary S14 seems to get the message. She not only confirms S4's formulation but also takes the time to go over the details with her twice until, in line 860, the Greek unionist, S4, seems satisfied enough to take them down.

Extract 6

This extract occurs a short time after extract 5 and also deals with the planning of the trade union youth seminar. A formulation of gist is used to clarify understanding.

(6)

- 889: S14: <43> @ <@> okay </@> </43> so venue venue will be the week o:f
890: e:r the first week in march (2) five sixth seventh march
891: (5)
892: S4: **a:nd (.) seventh will be the departure? and can you tell me how late?**
893: {[S4] closing her bag- we can hear the zipper}
894: S14: erm
895: S4: it depends
896: S14: it depends
897: S4: it depends
898: S14: it depends (.) we will finish normally we finish on seventh on friday
899: around four

At the beginning of this extract, the attending trade union secretary, S14, repeats some of the organisational details of the planned seminar in what is, in fact, a formulation of gist summarising the propositional content of some of her own previous

utterances: *so venue venue will be the week o:f e:r the first week in march (2) five sixth seventh march* (line 889ff). This turn is followed by a long 5-second pause, after which the participant from Greece, S4, takes the floor and formulates gist of S14's turn: *a:nd (.) seventh will be the departure? and can you tell me how late?* (line 892).

The Greek unionist, S4, is responsible for reserving the necessary hotel facilities and needs to know the exact arrival and departure dates of the participants. S14 has not said anything about this topic yet but based on her experience regarding international seminars, S4 can make the informed guess that the people will go home once the official programme is over. However, in line 894, S4's formulation is disconfirmed by S14 in a very cautious manner (*erm*) and it turns out that the Greek unionist's assumption is wrong. Whether people go home on the 7th of March or not, will depend on certain factors that, in fact, still need to be sorted out.

Extract 7

Extract 7, in which the steering group is discussing the content of a privatisation workshop, shows how a formulation of gist can be used to introduce a new idea by attaching it to a previous decision.

- (7)
1449. (2)
1450. **S12: so (.) with regard case studies (.) we talk about POST?**
1451. S14: {writing onto flip chart with her back towards the other participants}
mhm
1452. S12: e::r and for instance (.) i would i would propose to (.) that we also
1453. discuss about banking.
1454. S14: HM? {turning around, looking at S12 in surprise}
1455. S12: the banking sector . what is the role (.) for the government or
1456. (administration) in er the banking sector (.) it's a very sensitive topic but
1457. (.) i don't know <61> <un> xx</un> <61>
1458. S5: <agitated> <61>xxxx </61> exist somewhere in your country?(.) <L1fr>
1459. alors </L1fr> bank nationale? </agitated>

This extract takes place during a brainstorming session dealing with the programme of an international trade union youth seminar in Athens. By this point in time, the participants have already agreed to hold a workshop on the privatisation of state-owned companies, focusing on the postal sector.

In line 1450, S12 uses a formulation gist to sum up the previous discussion: *so (.) with regard case studies (.) we talk about POST?* S14, who is taking down notes on a flip chart, confirms this paraphrase by the use of the backchannel *mhm* (line 1451). 'Mhm' is a continuer and signals acknowledgement. It allows S12 to go on talking.

The Belgian unionist grasps this opportunity to suggest that the workshop should also deal with the privatisation of state-owned banks. This idea, however, is badly received. The secretary utters an unfriendly *HM?* (line 1454) and turns around to stare at him in surprise. Not yet defeated, S12 makes a second attempt to explain himself but is soon interrupted by a very agitated S5.

Why does S12 introduce his proposal by a clarification request? After all, this part of the meeting is a brainstorming session, where he could have simply articulated his ideas straight away. A possible explanation for his behaviour might be that this discussion takes place in a trade union setting. Trade unionists tend to regard the privatisation of state-owned companies as something very negative that has to be rejected and fought against at all costs. This attitude does not only apply to the postal sector but also to many other areas, including the banking sector. So, when S12 tries to stimulate a discussion of the possible benefits of privatising national banks, it is not surprising that this proposal is received with the harshest criticism. Being a unionist himself, S12 has probably anticipated his colleagues' reaction. Using a formulation of gist to attach his proposal to an already decided plan might have been an attempt to make his suggestion more acceptable for the rest of the group.

5.1.2. Cooperative and Uncooperative Recycles

In the data, there are two instances in which participants use recycles to build and maintain alliances with other speakers. Both of them occur during a debriefing of an event that the steering group organised four months earlier in the South of Portugal. This so-called 'summer school' was a trade union youth training for beginners, focussing on negotiation skills in English. Everyone agrees that the event as a whole was a great success but, nevertheless, there is a heated debate about one of its exercises.

The point is that, during the first speaking activity of the seminar, the participants have to imagine that a group of twenty travellers is shipwrecked on a remote island. Only ten of the twenty passengers can be rescued, and it is the participants' task to decide who these ten people should be. They are told that there are ten female and ten male passengers on board of the vessel and are given a passenger list which only mentions the people's professions.

The French vice-president, S5, is unhappy about this exercise and wants to remove it from the programme of future summer schools. According to his opinion, the game in question is about abandoning people in the face of catastrophe and, therefore, in conflict with the idea of unionism. The youth president, S1, however, does not share this view and wants to retain the exercise. He thinks the activity in question is a good ice-breaker because it makes people talk about stereotypes and prejudices connected to certain occupational groups. In the ensuing debate, S5's request is supported by S6 and S12, whereas the youth president's view is shared by S2, S3 and S9. S7 tries to negotiate a compromise.

Extract 8

In Extract 8, S6 uses a 'cooperative recycle' to trap S1 into what later turns out to be a damaging confession.

- (8)
- 275 **S6: <to S1> so the function of the game is like who is more worthy on the**
276 **ship? </to S1>**
277 S1: <to S6> yeah </to S6>
278 **S6: < to S1> and who is less worthy?**
279 S1: <to S6> there is 20 people(.) there is ten life jackets (.) like [S2] said its
280 open to negotiation (.) one is a baby (.) so what people automatically do is
281 there's one for the baby but you can carry the baby (.) to get people <22>
282 thinking </22>
283 S6: <to S1> <22> mhm </22>
284 S1: and it's just to get the course started.
285 S6: I understand the psychological idea of <23> the case </23>
286 S1: <23> <un> xxx </un> <23>
287 S6: but it feels really weird to me to be shooting people right away in the
288 beginning (.) like to be choosing people who survive and who don't survive
289 (.) it's kind of (.) has a weird taste to me.
290 S5: <agitated> what what do we want when they go back to the (.) what kind

291 of thinking we want to pertain in their head? (3) when we choose this kind
292 of exercise we can send a message and i think it's a bad
293 message @@ i'm sorry <un> xxxxxxxx </un> it's very impo:rtant for me.
</agitated>

Throughout the debate of the controversial speaking activity, the British youth president S1 tries to explain how, according to his opinion, the exercise helps the participants realize the valuing that takes place, whenever people talk about different professional groups. He thinks that reflecting on societal stereotypes and prejudices is a valuable experience but does not mean to say that the stereotypes themselves are a good thing.

In line 275, S6 formulates gist of S1's previous utterances that is not entirely wrong but inaccurate and highly ambiguous: *so the function of the game is like who is more worthy on the ship?* (line 275). Put this way, 'the function of the game' can be understood to mean both the activity's superficial goal to rescue 10 out of twenty passengers as well as its underlying educational objective. Seemingly unaware of its ambiguity, S1 confirms this gist with the backchannel *yea* (line 277). This *yea* signals agreement and invites his German co-participant to go on talking for another turn.

S6's second gist (*and who is less worthy?* - line 278) motivates the British unionist to elaborate on his views again. S6 responds with the discourse marker *mhm* (line 283), which functions as a token of continuation and agreement. It tells S1 that S6 is listening and encourages him to go on talking.

However, once the youth president, S1, has finished his second turn, the German unionist, S6, stops acting cooperatively and starts criticising his point of view by telling him and the rest of the steering group how uncomfortable it makes her feel [...] *to be shooting people right away in the beginning* (line 287ff) because [...] *it's kind of has a weird taste to it.* (line 289). This negative assessment of S1's position is, of course, just what his major opponent, S5, has been waiting for. In line 290 to 293, the French vice-president seizes the opportunity to, once again, reiterate his own line of arguments.

Why does S6 introduce her negative assessment of the speaking activity by a 'cooperative recycle'? This is a debate, where everyone is allowed to speak his/her mind freely. A possible explanation might be that doing so increases the damage done to S1's face. The point is that using a cooperative recycle the German unionist, S6, helps S1 develop and consolidate his argument over a five turn sequence. Once this is done, however, S6 abandons her neutral position and starts criticising the things that she herself has helped him articulate. This sudden criticism makes S6's former cooperativeness appear like a trap that S1 has blundered into. In other words, it seems as though S1 has been tricked by his German colleague and that S5 is well aware of it because, in line 293, he bursts out laughing in the middle of his turn and then apologises for it more than just half-heartedly.

Extract 9:

Extract 9 occurs a short time after extract 9. It shows how a formulation of gist can be used to build an alliance with another speaker by the strengthening his line of argument.

(9)

324. **S3: <to S1> is it not also the point to get people to sort of self reflect?**
 325 **</to S1> =**
 326 S1: = <to S3> yeah </to S3>=
 327 **S3: = <to S1> and to get people to stop for a second and think about what**
 328 **is going on in my mind (.) what are the judgements i am making about**
 329 **others (.) i guess it's not about changing them thoughts but to recognize**
 330 **them </to S1> =**
 331 S1: = caus I think people working it out in something like 59 minutes (.)
 332 people looked at the sheet for 50 minutes and had just one guaranteed man
 333 and everyone presumed just because of the job titles(.) it's (a way of)
 334 looking at a title and how you portray that title.
 335 S2: you had not the job to kill ten people (.) <25> it was not </25>
 336 SX: <25> @@@ </25>
 337 S2: like kill ten people (.) it was about the ten people that you save (.) there
 338 were ten people who could be saved (.) it was mostly about them (.) they
 339 would stay and they would be able to create a sustainable (.)=
 340 S1: = society=
 341 S2: =society for 30 years(.) you had to look at age(.) you had to look like
 342 whom can we really use and then(.) you would have to look at who's a
 343 woman who's a man and how can they have babies and that stuff.

S3 is a 22-year old US-American who participates in the meetings of steering group

for the very first time. The English native speaker does not represent any European trade union, nor is she a full-fledged trade union secretary. She is an intern at the trade union federation's headquarters in Switzerland, and this is why, at the beginning of the gathering, her situational role is unclear. In an ordinary, 'standard' union meeting she probably would not have been allowed to speak at all.

So, when, in line 324, S3, takes the floor for the very first time, she uses a tentative formulation of gist in the shape of a yes/no question addressed to the youth president, S1. It seems that she does so for two reasons. On the one hand, the intern, S3, wants to get S1's permission to speak and, on the other hand, it is his line of argument that she takes up in her cooperative recycle. She says: *is it not also the point to get people to sort of self-reflect?* (line 324). The British trade unionist S1 confirms her gist (*yeah* -line 326) and, then, S3 continues with the following upshot that re-states the illocutionary intent of his previous utterances: *and to get people to stop for a second and think about what is going on in my mind (.) what are the judgements i am making about others (.) i guess it's not about changing them thoughts but to recognize them* (line 327-330).

Judging from S1's immediate reaction, S3's conclusion seems to correspond to what he has meant to say all along. Not only does he confirm her formulation (*yeah*- line 326). They also share a turn (line 330-331) reiterating S1's main arguments.

In line 335, the Swedish vice-president, S2 takes the floor to give his opinion on the matter on hand. Unlike most of the other members of the steering group, S2 participated in the 'summer school' himself. Recounting his own experiences, he tries to reverse some of the objections that the French vice-president, S5 has, raised against the negotiation activity in question: *you had not the job to kill ten people [...]* (line 335).

But, as it turns out, his story does not seem to convince the members of the opposing party, and, in line 336, S2's turn is thwarted by somebody's laughter. S2 and S1 ignore this apparent rejection of their shared position and emphasise their alliance by co-constructing a turn in lines 340-341.

5.1.3. Mocking and criticising other participants

In formal meetings, there is always one participant whose responsibility it is to make sure that the objectives of the meetings are achieved within their envisaged time frames (cf. Boden 1994:85ff). Being more influential than everybody else and functioning as the "switchboard of the interaction" (Boden 1994: 85), this chairperson has the right to open and close topics, announce decisions. He/she is also in charge of "channelling turn transition and allocation" (Boden 1994, 85) and has the privilege to constrain and restrict other participants' contributions.

'Ordinary' participants do not have any of the discursive rights and obligations restricted to the chairperson. Yet, there are instances in the data in which 'regular' speakers circumvent the restrictions of their role and try to silence their co-participants by making fun of them. It appears that formulations of gist and upshot are used for this purpose because they enable a speaker to challenge and criticise what someone else has said while retaining a pseudo-neutral position at the same time.

Extract 10

In Extract 10, which takes place right after extract 3, the participants are trying to find out why S12 has not been able to access the secret Facebook group of the committee. The Swedish vice-president, S2, uses a formulation of upshot to mock and ridicule the Belgian unionist.

(10)

- 80: S1: everyone <4> <un> xxxx </un> </4> everyone except [S12] <5> <un> xxx
81: </un> </5> has been finding them on facebook. so
82: SX: <4> @@@@ </4>
83: S12: <5> @@ </5> {parallel conversations between individual speakers stop}
84: S2: <to S1> because i didn't find him on facebook.</to S1>
85: S12: @@@
86: (2)
87: S2: i couldn't add <6> him </6>
88: S12: <loud> <6> i'm </6> on facebook </loud> (.) i have a profile.
89: SX-f: <mocking> yeah yeah yeah </mocking> @@@
91: S6: <mocking> good for you </mocking> @@
92: **S2: just in an invisible way?**
93: SS: @@@@

94: S12: because my dutch colleagues call me <L1fr> pantalon </L1fr> {trousers}
 95: <7> <un> xxxxx </un> </7>
 96: SS: <7> @@@@ </7>
 97: SX: pantalon @@@
 98: SX: pantalon @@@

At the beginning of this extract, the British youth president, S1, sums up a previous discussion dealing with the distribution of the last meeting's minutes: *everyone <4> <un> xxxx </un> </4> everyone except [S12] <5> <un> xxx </un> </5> has been finding them on facebook*. so (line 82ff). This move is necessary because for the last couple of seconds the participants have been laughing about a joke that S6 has made about the 'secret nature' of the steering group's Facebook page (line 71-79 in the transcript. For details see also extract 3). S1 tries to move on to the next point on the agenda by closing the topic.

However, it seems that his co-participants have not completely calmed down yet because they continue to laugh and talk among themselves. In line 84, S2 suddenly informs S1 that S12 has never been added to the steering group's secret Facebook page: *<to S1> because i didn't find him on facebook.</to S1>*.

S12 laughs out loud and it is not clear whether he laughs about S2's confession or because of the joke made previously by S6. There is a two-second pause. Then, S2 continues to explain that he has not been able to add the Belgian colleague to the secret Facebook group because he has not found his profile on the social media platform. Doing so, he talks about S12 in the third person, which is rather impolite and disrespectful. The Belgian unionist, however, seems to feel the urge to justify himself and interrupts his colleague by saying: *<loud> <6> i'm </6> on facebook </loud> (.) i have a profile*. (in line 88). But it appears that the other participants do not really believe him. They start making fun of him.

Reacting to the Belgian unionist's last utterance, S2 articulates a formulation of upshot that does not only allude to S6's joke about the secret Facebook group but, in fact, also accuses S2 of lying: *just in an invisible way?* (line 92). The other participants assist him in this endeavour by confirming his accusation by their laughter.

It seems that formulating this upshot, the Swedish vice-president, S2, tries to mock and criticise S12 and it is unlikely that he means his conclusion to be understood literally. However, this is what happens. In line 94, it turns out that S12's profile name is not his real name but a nickname that his Dutch friends gave him. This nickname is "pantalon" and a pun on S12's surname, which for non-native speakers of French is similar to the French word for 'trousers'. So, in fact, S12's Facebook profile is indeed invisible for anyone searching for his real name, and that's why, at the end of this episode, everyone is laughing.

Extract 11

Extract 11, in which the members of the steering group are discussing a negotiation activity, is from the same debriefing session as extract 8 and 9. In extract 11, however, the trade union secretary S14 tries to muzzle one of the participants with a formulation of gist.

(11)

- 364: S1: so. if we keep <un> xxxxx </un> not good trying to (reach) where we
 365: started.
 366: S5: </calm> we can make an exercise about (.) I understand the idea (of going far
 367: than the first idea when you say something) (.) i agree with that. </calm>
 368: S1: <29> haeh ?</29>
 369: **S14: <soft and friendly> <to S5> <29> you just </29> don't want the killing**
 370: **part(.)</to S5> </soft and friendly>**
 371: S5: <loud and fast> I believe in argument but there is big discussion
 372: from kill HIM or HIM or NOT HIM @@@ </loud and fast>

When this extract sets in, in line 364, the debate of the disputed negotiation activity has been going on for almost ten minutes. It seems that everything that can be said about the issue has been said and that it is high time to change the topic. The youth president, S1, tries to de-escalate the tense situation by telling his co-participants that there is no point in repeating the same arguments over and over again: *so. if we keep <un> xxxxx </un> not good trying to (reach) where we started.* (line 364).

S5, however, seems unwilling to abandon the topic and goes on explaining his point of view in a calm way which both S1 and S14 appear to find very annoying. But while the British youth president, S1, only utters a disbelieving *haeh?* (line 368), the union

articulates a gist formulation, that turns out to be very critical of S5. Overlapping S1's turn, she sums up what has been S5's main argument: *<soft> <to S5> <29> you just </29> don't want the killing part(.) </to S5> <soft>* (line 369ff). However, speaking in what appears to be an unreasonably soft and friendly tone of voice, the trade union secretary, S14, seems to demonstrate how annoying she finds the French unionist's persistence by mimicking his way of speaking.

S14 is employed by the international trade union federation and it is her job to attend to the needs of the steering group members. This role requires S14 to remain neutral and diplomatic and makes it impossible for her to criticise any of the participants openly. Using a formulation of gist, however, enables her to challenge S5's position while retaining the pseudo-objective stance that is required of her. The French unionist appears to see through her manoeuvre nonetheless and confirms her paraphrase in a correspondingly aggressive way: *<loud and fast> I believe in argument but there is big discussion from kill HIM or HIM or NOT HIM @@@ </loud and fast>* (line 371ff).

5.1.4. Manoeuvring the chairperson into alignment

In the data there are two instances, in which a speaker tries to manoeuvre the chairperson into alignment. Both occur during the debriefing of a union youth training called 'summer school' that has already been mentioned several times (see extract 3, 8, 9 and 11). This debate focusses on a controversial speaking activity and whether it should be deleted from the programme or not.

Extract 12

(12)

- 264: S1: the good thing is it can be pretty controversial(.) it gets debate going
 265: straight away(.) it gets people talk who wouldn't normally talk (.) if i remember
 266: correctly (.) <un> xxxx </un> talked right through summer school (.) and
 267: people even in their presentation started negotiating (.) it impacted people
 268: <un> xxx </un>
 269: S7: **i think that (.) i actually (.) maybe we prepare (.) actually (.) maybe if we**
 270: **only have a different topic situation (.) so it's not about killing people (.) I**
 271: **don't know (.) i know we need something that has a certain seriousness and**
 272: **we can't talk about a birthday par cake or something (.) that won't have**
 273: **won't trigger the discussion (.) maybe a different setting (3) i think that's all**
 274: **he asked for [S1] (.) i guess.**
 275: S6: <to S1>so the function of the game is like who is more worthy on the

276: ship? </to S1>

This extract takes place about 15 minutes into the meeting. At this point, the discussion of the first negotiation exercise of the 'summer school' has been going on for more than eight minutes. During this time, both conflicting parties have outlined their positions but to no avail and without entering on their opponents' arguments at all. Even S9, the highest-ranking trade union secretary in the room, has tried in vain to bring about a decision (line 232-250) so that, by now, the debate has reached a stalemate.

In line 269, S7 takes the floor to propose a compromise that might resolve the issue by an adaption of the disputed exercise. S7, however, is neither the chair of the meeting nor one of the parties of dispute. So, if she wants her proposal to be accepted, she needs to bring both the chairman, S1, and his major opponent, S5, into alignment with herself, allow the chairperson to take ownership of the compromise and let him announce it as a decision.

S7 tries to do so by presenting her compromise in the shape of an offer. Technically speaking, an offer is a first-pair-part of the 'adjacency pair' "offer – accept/reject" (Sacks, Schegloff, Jefferson 1974: 716) that requires an acceptance or a rejection to occur in the very next turn. The Austrian unionist, S7, articulates her offer in a very cautious manner that includes a lot of hedges, such as [...] *actually maybe* [...] (line 269), [...] *I don't know* [...] (line 270ff) and concludes her turn with a formulation of upshot that pretends to paraphrases the illocutionary intent of S5's previous utterances: *maybe a different setting (2) I think that's all he asked for [S1]. I guess.* (line 273ff). However, this upshot is only an alleged one because S7 is putting words in S5's mouth that he himself has never said. The Austrian unionist, S7, cannot possibly know why S5 is so persistent about the entire issue and it therefore seems that she is just making up something that both conflicting parties can agree to without losing face.

Again, directly addressing S1, in line 274, S7 invites him to go along with the adaption of the exercise as well as her interpretation of S5's intentions. Doing so, she also nominates him as next speaker and makes it sequentially necessary for him

to either accept or reject the offer that she has made. So, in fact, all S1 would have to do to end the conflict is to agree to S7's proposal, accept its ownership and announce it as a decision. However, none of this occurs because, once S7 has finished her last sentence, S6 makes a formulation of gist that, once again, restarts the entire debate.

S6's behaviour is striking because it is a breach of the rules of turn-taking (cf. Sacks, Schegloff and Jefferson 1974: 716) that require a 'first-pair-part', such as an offer or a formulation of upshot, to be followed by a 'second-pair part', namely a confirmation or a disconfirmation. Furthermore, S7 has explicitly nominated S1 as the next speaker and not S6.

It is not clear what causes S6's behaviour, but there are several possible explanations. It might be that the German delegate, S6, has not paid enough attention and therefore does not realise that it is S1's turn to speak. Alternatively, S6 might have deliberately decided to ignore the offer, the upshot and the selection of S1 as next speaker. However, as no one objects to the German unionist's (S1's) communicative move, S7's formulation is off the table before S1 has had the chance to react to it.

Extract 13

(13)

294: **S12: i suppose it's not possible to find another exercise that's more or less**

295: **<24> the same ? </24>**

296: SX: <24> yeah yeah </24> good idea

297: SX: yeah

298: S1: I propose a change in the start with the same sort of theme and change

299: it from murder <25> to </25>

300: SS: <25> @@ </25> @@@@

301: S6: but=

302: S1: = to something a bit more friendly.

303: S6: what i think (.) the interesting thing is that i did this scholarship camp like

304: er for a scholarship (.) they would choose the people who would get the

305: scholarship and they did psychological tests with us (.) in the beginning

306: where they would not tell us that they do psychological we would just

307: playing a game and then they did things that feel similar to this exercise (.)

308: to find out what is your issue in life and how you think and what are your

309: values (.) so i was just wondering if that is the case for the er for the summer

310: school(.) how if you wanna find out how people (2) what kind of thinking

311: like thoughts people have(.) or if you really wanna (.) actually i know i mean
 312: we are the people who wanna change these thoughts but what we would do
 313: first of is triggering these bad feelings (.) so what maybe you fear would that
 314: sending out the right message instead make a game that does not trigger
 315: those bad feelings like(.) you can also make a game about racism and then
 316: say(.) oh, we´r all bad because because we are all racist(.) but then we
 317: would have triggered the emotion firsthand and then maybe there is a game
 318: that does not bring out those er bad feelings about people and the <un>
 319: xxx </un> it a bit more.

This second attempt to manoeuvre the chairperson into alignment occurs two minutes after the first one. The members of the steering group are still discussing the first exercise of the summer school, when, in line 294, S12 takes the floor. He says: *i suppose it´s not possible to find another exercise that´s more or less <24> the same ? </24>* (line 294ff).

What is interesting about this utterance is that it is re-stating a proposal that S7 has made earlier on, in line 274-279, but without giving any indication thereof. Lacking any of the linguistic markers associated with formulations (Widdowson 1984: 118 + 119), such as, for instance “in other words”, “in short”, “so”, “thus” and not giving any credit to it´s original issuer, S12´s turn appears to be a formulation of gist disguised as an original idea. However, on a conversational level, it does not matter, whether S12´s utterance is, in fact, a real formulation of gist or not because it is a yes-no question and therefore also requires a confirmation or disconfirmation to follow en in the next turn (cf. Sacks, Schegloff and Jefferson 1974: 716).

The necessary confirmation occurs in line 296 (<24> *yeah yeah* </24> *good idea*) and, in line 298ff, the chairman, S1, announces S12´s solution as a decision, passing it off as his own : *i propose a change in the start with the same sort of theme and change it from murder to [...] something a bit more friendly*. To become valid this decision still needs to be confirmed by someone else.

S6, however, seems unwilling to settle for a compromise at this point. She interrupts S1 in line 301, wins the turn and immediately starts talking about an experience she made during a scholarship camp. Doing so, she not only ignores the youth president´s (i.e. S1´s) formulation but, in fact, disconfirms his decision.

5.2. Uses of formulations of gist and upshot reserved for the chairperson(s)

5.2.1. Closing Topics

Agenda management is "the management of the movement from topic to topic" (Linde 1991: 298) done by the chairperson that includes the use of gists and upshots for the closing of topics. In the data, the youth president, S1, and the trade union secretary, S14, take turns chairing the gathering, and there are several instances in which formulations are used to close topics.

Extract 14

In Extract 14, which occurs a short time after extract 7, the steering group is brainstorming the content of a workshop dealing with privatisation. A formulation of gist is used to put an end to a pointless discussion that does not lead anywhere.

(14)

1455. S12: the banking sector . what is the role (.) for the government or
1456. (administration) in er the banking sector (.) it's a very sensitive topic but
1457. (.) i don't know <61> <un> xxxxx </un> <61>
1458. S5: <61>xxxxx </61> exist somewhere in your country? (.) <L1fr> alors
1459. </L1fr> bank nationale?
1460. {S5, S14 and S12 talking at the same time, what they say is unintelligible}
1461. S14: it's all together
1462. S12: it's very bad @@
1463. {several people are again talking at the same time}
1464. S7: <silently> we had one (.) a union bank </silently>
1465. S12: in fact. actually. until recently we had two (.) two of the bad banks (.) it
1466. was it was (.) bad credits
1467. SX: @@@
1468. S12: so, then
1469. {several people talking at the same time}
1470. S5: because it's e:r not
1471. S12: okay okay
1472. S5: my way of thinking
1473. S12: no
1474. {several people talking at the same time}
1475. S12: what people
1476. **S14: so did you want (.) i mean (.) {pointing to the flipchart} this is (.) this**
1477. **are the topics you want to cover (.) you want some (.) e:::r people leading**
1478. **the workshops (.) from us (.) you want some (.) you want it how (.) i mean**
1479. **how the set up should be at the workshops to to e:r cover all this these**
1480. **topics(.) do you want some kind of pannel discussion or short inputs (.) o:::r**
1481. (3) {S2 checking his notes of the last union conference}
1482. S2: i i think it's good to have the er (.) the resolution says to have some case

1483. studies so there's maybe some people that really tells about what
1484. happened when they got privatised (.)

This extract takes place during a brainstorming session dealing with the programme of an international trade union youth seminar that the steering group is organising in Athens. The participants have already agreed to hold a workshop on the privatisation of state-owned companies, focussing on the postal sector.

At the beginning of this extract, S12 proposes to discuss the pros and cons of the privatisation of state-owned banks at the trade union youth seminar. He tries to explain his ideas but is not able to do so because a very agitated S5 interrupts him, in line 1458. There is an unintelligible overlap between the two, but, once S12 submits, one can hear the French vice-president, S5, ask his Belgian, S12, colleague if there is a national bank in his country. At this point, however, the formal setting of the business meeting seems collapse because S5, S14 and S12 start talking simultaneously in their attempts to convince one another of their respective ideas regarding privatisation. This makes the recording unintelligible for a few seconds.

S5 and S12 try to calm the situation by agreeing that they do not agree. However, it turns out that this compromise does not suffice to re-establish order because several of their co-participants continue to talk amongst themselves.

In line 1476, the youth secretary, S14, steps in and uses a formulation of gist to close the fruitless discussion. Pointing at the flip chart, which contains the list of the workshop titles already decided upon, she repeats the last constructive decision that the members of the steering group have made: *so did you want (.) I mean (.) this is (.) this are the topics you want to cover (.) (line 1476)*. Addressing the participants as a whole, S14 does not wait for any single person to respond and immediately goes on to formulating upshot: *you want some (.) e::r people leading the workshops (.) from us (.) you want some (.) you want it how (.) i mean how the set up should be at the workshops to to e:r cover all this these topics (.) do you want some kind of pannel discussion or short inputs (.) o:r (line 1476-1480)*.

S14 appears to be very determined to change the subject because she produces a formulation of gist and a formulation of upshot that, in turn, includes three questions, which all need to be answered individually (cf. Sacks, Schegloff, & Jefferson 1974: 716). There is a brief pause once the union secretary has finished but when, in line 1482, S2 takes the floor he immediately starts talking about how, according to his opinion, the workshops should be organised.

Extract 15

In this extract, S14 uses a formulation of gist to override the fact that she has not been paying attention to what the youth president, S1, was saying and has, therefore, missed her cue to speak.

(15)

1013: S1: now(.) let's carry on where we were.

1014: (2)

1015: S1: <to S14> <whispering> <un> xxxx </un> </to S14>

1016: S14: **OH I (.) we have we have talked about the seminar (.) now that we know**

1017: **(.) everybody knows what it is.**

1018: S7: @@@

1019: S14: e::rm(.) where it will take place (.) it will be. take place in athens(.)we are

1020: with the postal union on the moment at the moment on looking at the

1021: different options of the hotel

Episode13 takes place right after a 10-minutes break. This is why, in line 1013, the youth president officially resumes the meeting by saying: *now. let's carry on where we were*. Doing so, he wants to give the floor to S14, who has already chaired the meeting right before the break.

The trade union secretary, S14, however, does not seem to get this message right away. There is an awkward pause in which all the participants are waiting for something to happen. After two seconds, the British youth president, S1 starts whispering in S14's direction, probably telling her that it is her turn now. The Austrian secretary, S14, reacts surprised (*OH I* - line 1016) and quickly uses a formulation of gist to resume the topic: *we have talked about the seminar* (line 1016). She then continues with a second gist (*now that we know (.) everybody knows what it is.* -line 1016ff). It alludes to the fact that, until this meeting, S7 did not know the difference

between two of the steering groups' event formats, namely 'winter school' and 'seminar'. The Austrian unionist has asked her co-participants for a clarification of the two terms right before the ten-minutes break (see line 968- 980). It seems that S14 refers to this episode to show that she is well aware of what is going on during the meeting and that she can remember even minor details. In line 1018, S7 confirms S14's both formulations by laughing out loud and the trade union secretary, S14, continues with the planning of the upcoming seminar.

Extract 16

In this extract, which occurs right after extract 6, the steering group is planning an international trade union youth seminar which is to take place in Athens the following March. Here, a formulation of upshot is used to override the awkward fact that S4 has left relevant documents in her hotel room and therefore cannot make a planned report.

- (16)
- 866: S4: i brought so:me hotel e::rm proposals (2) but (3) not with me
- 867: (8)
- 868: S4: <to S9> i will show you later </9>
- 869: SS: @@@@
- 870: S4: <to S9> i think i left it in my room </to S9>
- 871: S14: <soft> okay. </soft>
- 872: (3)
- 873: S14: **so in principle erm the greek [sector1]erm union is open fo:r e:r hosting**
- 874: **this seminar (.) right?**
- 875: S4: mhm.
- 876: S14: they we are very much in contact now with [name26] a:nd (.) [S4] and
- 877: [name27] (.) and the whole team (.) they're sitting in athens erm at our
- 878: disposal and erm(.) i think it's gonna be fun (.) a:nd maybe a little bit
- 879: background information (.) it's fantastic to have it in Athens a malicious because
- 880: the (.) eu presidency which change every six months (.) you know every six
- [...]

The steering group is planning an international trade union youth seminar in Athens. S4 is the representative of a Greek union, based in Athens, and thus responsible for suggesting a suitable venue.

At the beginning of extract 16, it is S4's turn to present the price estimates that she has promised to obtain from different hotels in the city centre of Athens. In line 866,

however, it turns out that the Greek unionist, S4, is not able to do so. She says: *i brought so:me hotel e::rm proposals (2) but (3) not with me* (line 866). There is an awkward pause. Everyone is waiting for something to happen. After eight seconds S4 turns to S9 and promises to show him the documents later on (*i will show you later* - line 868). Several people laugh but it is not clear what this laughter is supposed to mean. Are they sympathetic, spiteful or do they mean to suggest that the Greek unionist, S4, has not brought any proposals to Vienna at all?

In line 870, S4 addresses S9 again and tells him that she thinks that she has left the materials in her hotel room. S9, who is the highest-ranking representative of the trade union federation in the room, utters a soft, somewhat appeasing *okay* (line 871) but does nothing else to help S4 overcome this situation.

There is another three-second pause. Then, S14 comes to S4's rescue by putting words in S4's mouth that S4 herself has never said. Pretending to re-state the illocutionary intent of S4's previous turns, S14 starts talking about the cooperativeness of S4's union: *so in principle erm the greek [sector1] erm union is open fo:r e:r hosting his seminar (.) right?* (line 873ff). Confirming this formulation in line 875 S4 manages to save her face. Then S14 continues talking about the planned seminar.

Extract 17

Extract 17 takes place between two points of the group's agenda. It contains a formulation of gist that reminds the youth president, S1, of an agreement made at a previous meeting and forces him to comply with it.

(17)

141: S1: no (2) okay (.) then we move on to the next point (.) winter school(.)

142: we've a date and a venue(.) so I pass it over to [S14] to explain.

143: S14: yah ya::h? <to S9 and S1> [S9] [S1] (.)we not start with the review?</to

144: S9 and S1>

145: S1: revue?

146: **S14: <to S1> review of the summer school (.) we wanted to talk about the**

147: **summer school. </to S1>**

148: S1: o:h (.) so sorry so sorry (.) my mistake.

149: S14: @@@

150: S1: we haven't got it on the agenda. see @@@ {pointing to a sheet of paper}
 151: S14: @@@ A::H (.) i see.
 152: S1: sorry (.) we will go on with the revue of the summer school (2) yeah (.)
 153: summer school took place in albufeira in june (.) i think there were
 154: roundabout 15 students on it (.) e was very successful (.) i've been on a few
 155: myself and it's the best one i've been on (.) e:r (.) of course (.) once again
 [...]

At the beginning of this extract, the youth president, S1, wants to introduce a new topic, a trade union youth training, which is to take place in Brussels the following spring. S14 is responsible for coordinating the event according to the wishes of the steering group and the British unionist asks her to provide an update on the current status of the planning. He says: *no (2) okay (.) then we move on to the next point (.) winter school(.) we've a date and a venue(.) so I pass it over to [S14] to explain.* (line 141ff).

S14, however, appears to be surprised about this proposal (*yah ya::h?* - line 143). Addressing both the youth president, S1, and her colleague from the trade union federation, S9, she asks: *[S9] [S1] a we not start with the review?* (line 143).

S1 does not seem to understand what S14 is hinting at and uses a repetition to check his understanding (*revue?* - line 145) that forces the trade union secretary, S14, to explain herself in more detail. Using a repetition and a formulation of gist, she reminds the British unionist, S1, of a conversation they must have had before the official meeting: *review of the summer school (.) we wanted to talk about the summer school.* (line 146ff).

This appears to be a very embarrassing moment for the youth president, S1, because he does not only confirm her formulation with an apology (*o:h (.) so sorry so sorry (.) my mistake – line 148*) but also tries to put the blame on the agenda: *we haven't got it on the agenda. see @@@ {pointing to a sheet of paper}* (line 150). This excuse, however, does not seem to convince S14 (*@@@ A::H (.) I see.* - line 151). She keeps laughing at him and, in the end, he continues with the debriefing of the summer school, the way S14 has proposed.

Extract 18

Extract 18 occurs a short time before extract 1 and deals with the distribution mode of the minutes. The chairperson, S1, tries to close this topic with a formulation of gist but fails.

(18)

43. S1: so. move on to the minutes of the last meeting. erm. has everyone seen
44. the minutes?
45. (3)
46. S12: erm (2) there's a (.) i have a sort of comment because erm(.) the the the
47. minutes are on the facebook page or something? but i i (.)it could be due to my
48. (.) lack of computer skills or something that i i did no see that. s:o?
49. S1: <to S2> <whispering> xxxxxxxx </whispering>
50. {S2 starts checking something on his laptop}
51. S12: maybe maybe maybe it's a good idea to send them by email. the minutes.
52. because I check it more often. <2> to be </2>
53. S1: <2> yeah </2> i thought it was all sent you know.
54. S2: yeah. they sent it to a [name1] (.) sent to everyone.
55. (3)
56. S12: it could be my mistake. Aah.
57. S2: i'm not completely sure.
58. (5) {S2 is still working on his computer screen}
59. S2: <to S1> <whispering> xxxxxx </whispering>
60. S7: i i saw them I think. ya.
61. S1: yeah
62. S7: i saw them. I thought u:h <3> a good item </3> on my work load.
63. S1: <3> @@@ </3>
64. S1 S2: @@@@ @@@@
65. (2)
66. **S1: so people have seen the minutes. anyone got issues arising from the**
67. **minutes?**
68. (4) {S1 looks around}
69. S1: <calm> no? (2) okay. </calm>
70. (6)
71. S1: <to S2> <whispering> xxxxxxxx </whispering> </to S2>
72. S6: <to S1> where are they on facebook again? </to S1>4
73. S6: hm?
74. S1: secret group.

Extract 18 takes place right at the beginning of the meeting. The round of introduction has just been completed and the youth president, S1, moves on to the first point on the agenda, which is the minutes. The minutes are an important document that records the processes and outcomes of the last meeting (Boden 1995: 85ff) and needs to be approved at the beginning of each gathering. (For a more detailed description see extract 3).

In line 46, the Belgian delegate, S12, takes the floor to announce that he has not received the minutes. He assumes that the document has been distributed via the steering group's Facebook page but has not been able to find it there: [...] *the the the minutes are on the facebook page or something? but i i (.) it could be due to my (.) lack of computer skills or something that i i did no see that. s:o?* - line 46ff. S1 seems to be surprised and, in line 49, starts whispering to S2. What they say is unintelligible. However, S2 immediately starts checking something on his laptop.

In line 51, the Belgian unionist, S12, requests the chairman, S1, to distribute the minutes also via email. S1 explains that he thought that this was already happening (<2> *yeah* </2> *i thought it was all sent you know.*) and, in line 54, the Swedish vice-president, S2, confirms this statement by saying: *yeah. they sent it to a [name1] (.) sent to everyone.* (line 54). Then, S2 and S12 try to figure what has gone wrong.

In line 60, however, S7 explains that she has received the document in question (*i i saw them i think. ya.-* line 60) and even adds a little anecdote to account for why she remembers this fact: *i saw them. i thought u:h <3> a good item </3> on my work load.* (line 62). S1 and S2 seem to be relieved because they start laughing.

In line 66, the youth president, S1, tries to close the unpleasant subject by summarising and generalising the illocutionary intent of S7's turn: *so, people have seen the minutes.* He then goes on to formulate the following second upshot: *anyone got issues arising from the minutes?* (line 66ff).

S1's turn is followed by a long, four-second pause, after which the youth president, S1, decides to press the point further by using the 'preclosing markers' (cf. Schegloff & Sacks 1973, 303) *no?* (line 69) and *okay* (line 69). Nobody responds and there is a long six-second pause, which in accordance with Barnes (2007: 286) can be interpreted as an approval. In other words, the two topics - the distribution mode and the content of the 'minutes' - are now officially closed. However, instead of introducing a new topic right away, S1 starts whispering to S2., which is rather rude and impolite because it condemns everyone else to sit and wait until he has finished his private conversation with the Swedish vice-president, S2.

In line 72, S6 breaks the silence by addressing a question to the youth president, S1(*where are they on facebook again?* -line 71) that he needs to answer because it is a first-pair-part of an adjacency pair (cf. Sacks, Schegloff & Jefferson 1974: 716). Dealing with it, however, S1 restarts the discussion about the distribution mode of the minutes that he has just closed.

5.2.2 Announcing decisions

Extract 19

Extract 19 is taken from the same part of the steering group meeting as extracts 5, 6, 7, 14, 16 and deals with the planning of an international trade union youth seminar in Athens. The members of the steering group talk about the workshops they want to hold and S14 announces their final decision.

(19)

1182. **S14: how many little rooms?**

1183. S7: i think we said that er we would e:r OFFER(.) i think (.) didn't we not say

1184. (.) i think we said that we would offer them (2) twice (.) that we would have

1185. e:r the same workshop(.) have twice (.) so people could (.) decide which one

1186. they (.) want to go to (2) but i'm not (.) i think not (.) any of YOU

1187. remember? how we

1188. S2: i think it was e:r three diff (.) three different ones. Yeah

1189. S7: yeah

1190. S2: we have to decide (.) yeah

1191. S1: but we were not discussing <49> <un> xxx </un> </49>

1192. S6: <49> and we offer them twice? </49>

1193. S7: i don't know (.) I

1194. S1: yeah <50> i i </50>

1195. S7: <50> i don't </50> know (.) i was

1196. S1: <51>no (.) i thought </51> no

1197. S7: <51> but it does not work </51> (.) I don't know (.)

1198. S2: yeah (.) no no

1199. S7: it's just

1200. S14: think about (.) three different workshops of THIS topics {points to flip chart}

1201. S7: <loud> NO (.) NO </loud> (.) see

1202. (2)

1203. S6: that's four

1204. S14: that's four topics

1205. **S7: <loud> A::H </loud> we'll have four topics that every (.) there's three**

1206. **thre:e we made a rough timetable and there were three workshop slots (2)**

1207. **so basically (.) everyone does all of them but er (.) but (.) only one (.) not**

1208. S2: yeah
 1209. S1: hm
 1210. S6: okay
 1211. S7: but we have three (.)
 1212. S2: <soft> so maybe we </soft>
 1213. S7: should we <loud> we have a time table I think </loud>
 1214. S2: {looking his lap top screen} we have three THREE WORKshops
 1215. S7: yeah
 1216. S2: but NOTHING about rerunning the workshops <52> it's just three </52>
 1217. S7: <52> OKAY (.) sorry sorry </52> (.) my fault
 1218. **S14: so you have BIG ones.**
 1219. S1: yes
 1220. S2: yeah
 1221. S1: we have we have not (.) advertised

This extract is concerned with the workshops that the members of the steering group want to offer at a seminar in Athens. However, this is not the first time they are dealing with this issue because, in fact, these workshops were already a topic at the group's most recent gathering, which took place in Lisbon four months earlier. S14, who is responsible for organising the event, was not able to attend the meeting in Portugal and needs to be informed now.

The Austrian secretary, S14, has a lot questions and, in line 1182, wants to know what kind of seminar rooms she has to rent. She asks: *how many little rooms?* (line 1182). As it turns out, however, the members of the steering group seem to have difficulties reconstructing the outcome of their last working session. The point is that the unionists want to deal with four different topics. However, in the programme of the seminar there are only three workshop slots and nobody seems to remember how these two facts were meant should go together. It takes the unionists several of turns and the help of the attending trade union secretary, S14, to piece everything together.

In line 1205, the penny seems to drop with the Austrian unionist, S7: <loud> A::H </loud> (in line 1205). She paraphrases the problem that the steering group has been discussing: *we'll have four topics that every (.) there's three there we made a rough timetable and there were three workshop slots.* (line 1205-1206). This formulation of gist is followed by a two-second pause and a formulation of upshot, which projects future: (2) *so basically (.) everyone does all of them but er (.) but (.) only one (.) not.* The other participants seem to accept S7's solution because the

upshot is confirmed by S2, S1 and S6.

S7 herself, however, does not seem to orient towards her own upshot as a decision because she does not drop the topic but continues talking about it until, in line 1214, S2 puts a stop to her attempts by once again paraphrasing what the steering group has just collectively agreed on: *we have three THREE WORKshops [...] but NOTHING about rerunning the workshops [...]* (line 1214 & 1216). The Austrian unionist, S7, gives in and apologises (<52> OKAY (.) sorry sorry </52> (.) my fault) and, in line 1220, the attending trade union secretary, S14, draws the following conclusion: *so you have BIG ones*. Both the youth president, S1, and the Swedish vice-president, S2, confirm this upshot and, in line 1224, S1 moves on to another topic.

It is interesting to note that in this extract there are three instances in which formulations are used to project future action. However, only the one done by the trade union secretary, S14, is able to put a definite end to the group's deliberations and close the topic. Again, it is striking that S14's formulation of upshot (*so you have BIG ones* – line 1218) does not only announce the group's decision but also provides an answer to the question, that S14 herself has asked at the very beginning of the extract reproduced above (*how many little rooms?* - line 1182). It thus seems that S14 has everything under control.

Extract 20

In Extract 20, which is taken from the same part of the meeting as extracts 3, 8, 9, 11, 12 and 13, the participants are discussing a disputed speaking activity. It shows how a formulation of gist can be used to force a decision.

(20)

391. S1: <calm> like I said (.) I just think it's a great way to get people
392. thinking(.) </calm>
393. { S5 bangs fist onto tabletop}
394. S1: i also like to (.) o:h she's not here (.) i'd like to thank [name20] for summer
395. school because she did a hell of a lot (.) she was travelling up and down the
396. motorway from lisbon to albufeira (.) if we needed anything it was there
397. straight away so i'd like for the record say a big thank you to [name20] (.)

398. summer school would not have happened without [name20] (.) again the
 399. hotel helped us (.) the hotel helped us keep the group together a lot to
 400. stay together (.) i think most nights everyone stayed as a group until
 401. midnight (.) because we had that in the past (.) we finished the course and
 402. people went separate ways in different groups (.) I think that was a good
 403. aspect (.) we all stayed together (.) **so over all a very very good summer**
 404. **school (.) < to S2> i don't know (.) do you think i forgot anything [S2]? what**
 405. **was your impression you was there yourself? </to S2>**
 406. S2: no (.) it's all said.
 407. S1: **so (.) all said then (.) we'll try to make it better next year (.)** so (.) we move
 408. on now to where we were before (.) to =
 409. S14: <quietly> = winter school.
 410. S9: one thing (.) one thing on the summer school and [name19] (.) I had a
 411. discussion with [name19] caus he said it was his last summer school that
 412. he'd be doing (.) he'd not be coming back so i'd had a discussion and he
 413. agreed to come back next year.
 414. S2: <cheering> yeah yeah </cheering>
 415. S1: that's very good (.) i hope his last one will never come.
 416. S9: he said he'd do one more.
 417. S1: so (.) if we move on to summer school in

Extract 20 occurs at the very end of a long and controversial discussion dealing with a speaking activity that took place at a trade union youth seminar called 'summer school' four months earlier in the south of Portugal.

By the beginning of the extract, the debate that has been going on for more than 25 minutes and seems to have come to a dead end, where it appears that everything that can be said has been said at least twice. In line 391, the British youth president, S1, summarises the essence of his own previous utterances: *<calm> like I said (.) I just think it's a great way to get people thinking(.) </calm> (line 391).*

However, as S1's gist is biased and does not take any of the counter-arguments into account. The French vice-president, S5, who is S1's major opponent in this debate, does not approve of his British colleague's statement and shows this banging his fist on the table top.

S1, in turn, reacts by an abrupt change of topic and, in line 394ff, starts praising the absent organiser of the 'summer school' (ie. the trade union seminar where the disputed activity took place): *i also like to (.) o:h she's not here (.) i'd like to thank [name20] for summer school because she did a hell of a lot (.) [...]* .

This is a smart move that detracts from the conflict and lifts everybody's spirit. In line 398, S1 continues talking about the accommodation at the seminar and explains how staying in one hotel has helped the group stay together also after the official programme was over.

It seems that speaking of these two rather harmless topics enables the chairperson to regain ground and to detract from the conflict. In line 403, he makes a new and successful attempt to close the controversial debate. He says: *(.) so over all a very very good summer school (.)* (line 403ff). The British unionist, S1, is well aware that to be valid this formulation of upshot needs to be confirmed by someone and that S5, who during the entire debate has disconfirmed every single one of his formulations, will probably not do it. The chair works his way around this problem by addressing a question to S2 that, according to the rules of turn-taking (cf. Sacks, Schegloff & Jefferson 1974: 116) nominates him as the next speaker: *< to S2> i don't know(.) do you think i forgot anything [S2]? what was your impression (.) you was there yourself? </to S2>* (line 404ff).

S2 plays along and utters a confirmation (*no (.) it's all said.- line 406*). S1 brings the negotiation sequence to a close with a grounding repetition of S2's confirmation (*so (.) all said then (.)* - line 407) and the following formulation: *we'll try to make it better next year (.)* (line 407). This upshot does not only project future action but can also be understood as a final decision because S1 introduces an entirely new topic immediately, namely 'winter school'. Doing so, he is assisted by the union secretary, S14, who finishes the sentence for him. Once this is done, the issue is finally decided and closed for good. The youth president, S1, has prevailed.

6. SUMMARY AND CONCLUSION

This diploma thesis aims at contributing to research in the area of English as a lingua franca and sets out to explore a field of research that has not been dealt with. During recent decades, formulations of gist and upshot have been thoroughly investigated in native speakers' everyday and institutional talk (cf. e.g. Heritage 1985, Heritage and Watson 1992, Boden 1995, Barnes 2007). Their use in ELF talk has also been observed, but to a lesser extent (cf. e.g. Watterson 2008, Ollinger 2012). Regarding their use in international political committee work conducted in ELF, however, very little research has been done.

The focus was set on "formulations of gist and upshot" (Heritage & Watson 1979) for several reasons. On the one hand, formulations form part of the organisational order of formal business meetings (cf. Boden 1995: 98+122), which is why there are many instances in the data, in which they are used. On the other hand, formulations are very versatile and can be employed for a wide range of different purposes, depending on the context and the institutional role of its speaker. Furthermore, as most of the research investigating formulations in institutional talk concentrates exclusively on native speaker talk (cf. e.g. Heritage 1985, Heritage and Watson 1992, Boden 1995, Barnes 2007 etc.), it was the aim of this project to learn more about how their findings relate to ELF talk.

This present study consists of 20 extracts and a total of 28 formulations, 16 gists and 12 upshots. Its outcome is summarised in table 3:

Table 3: Evaluation of the data.

extract number	used by 'regular' participant	used by chair	purpose	formulation of gist	formulation of upshot	confirmed	disconfirmed (by SX)	neither confirmed nor disconfirmed
1	X (S6)		Clarification check	X		X (S1)		
2	X (S9)		Clarification check		X		X (S11)	
3	X (S7)		Clarification check	X		X (S1)		
4	X (S2)		Clarification check	X			X (S14)	
5	X (S4)		Clarification check	X	X	X (S14)		
6	X (S4)		Clarification check	X			X (S14)	
7	X (S12)		Clarification check	X		X (S14)		
8	X (S6)		Cooperative recycle	X		X (S1)		
9	X (S3)		Cooperative recycle	X		X (S1)		
10	X (S2)		Mocking and criticising other speakers		X	X (SS)		
11		X (S14)	Mocking and criticising other speakers	X		X (S5)		
12	X (S7)		Manoeuvring chair into alignment		X			X
13	X (S12)		Manoeuvring chair into alignment	X		X (SX)		
14		X (S14)	Closing a topic	X	X	X (S2)		
15		X (S14)	Closing a topic	X X		X (S7)		
16		X (S14)	Closing a topic		X	X (S4)		
17		X (S14)	Closing a topic	X		X (S1)		
18		X (S1)	Closing a topic		XX	X X (silence)		
19	X (S7) X (S7) X (S2)	X (S14)	Announcing a decision	X	X, X	X (S1+ S2) X (S2, S1 + S6 X (S7)		
20		X (S1)	Announcing a decision		X X	X (S2)		

Formulations are used by 9 of the 15 participants of the meeting, which means that there are six speaker, namely S5, S8, S10, S11, S13 and S15, who do not formulate previous utterances. However, it is important to note that four out of these six people (S8, S10, S13 and S15) do not take the floor at all during the entire 132 recorded minutes of the meeting. Only one of them (S13) is a native speaker of English.

Regarding my first two research questions (ie. What are the purposes of formulations of gist and upshot in international trade union meeting talk? Is there a difference in how 'regular' participants and chairpersons employ them?), it can be said that in the data formulations of gists and upshots are used in six different ways: to (1) confirm one 's understanding, to (2) recycle another speaker's utterances in a cooperative or uncooperative way, to (3) mock and criticise other speakers, to (4) manoeuvre the decision-announcer into alignment, to (5) close topics, and to (6) announce decisions. However, as it turns out, there are big differences in the ways in which the two types of formulation are used. I will start with the more frequent one.

Formulations of gist restate the propositional content of an utterance (cf. Widdowson 1984: 118) and account for almost two thirds of all the formulations. They are used by both 'regular' participants (ten times) as well as those who act as chairpersons (eight times), but for different purposes. The 'regular' participants, on the one hand, tend to formulate gist to check their understanding, to try to manoeuvre the decision-announcer into alignment and to mock other speakers. The chairpersons, on the other hand, predominantly do gists when they want to close topics or announce decisions. In the sample, 13 out of 16 gists are accepted by other participants. Only two are disconfirmed.

Formulations of upshot, on the other hand, can be described as conclusions about illocutionary intent (cf. Widdowson 1984: 118). In the data, there are nine upshots, four are made by 'regular' participants and five are formulated by chairpersons. In my sample, upshots are used for five of the six purposes: making a clarification request (extracts 2 and 5), mocking and criticising other participants (extract 10), manoeuvring the chair into alignment (extract 12), closing a topic (extracts 14, 16 and 18) and announcing a decision (extracts 19 and 20). However, in the data there are no instances in which upshots are used to recycles other speakers'turns. 10 out of 12 e

upshots are accepted. Only one is rejected (extract 2) and another one is neither confirmed nor disconfirmed (extract 12).

As it turns out, the two chairpersons, S14 and S1, produce almost half of all the formulations (12 out of 28). The Austrian secretary, S14, who conducts most of the meeting is the 'busiest formulator'. She produces eight formulations, whereas the British youth president, S1, does four.

Now turning to the differences between non-native and native speakers talk (i.e. research question three). In the data there is a total of 28 formulations, 16 gists and 12 upshots. Non native speakers produce more than three quarters (14 out of 16) of all the gists and more than half (7 out of 12) of all the upshots. At first sight, this might seem a lot. However, one must bear in mind that out of the nine 'regular' members of the steering group that can be heard on the recording only two speak English as a mother tongue. Therefore it is hard to draw any definite conclusions apart from the one that all the seven usage types are used by both native or non native speakers of English alike.

Despite its limited scope this study has interesting implications for carrying out more academic research concerning the role of formulations in meeting talk conducted in ELF. It is evident that many issues remain unsolved, such as the impact of personal animosities on the confirmation or disconfirmation of formulations or the role of laughter in general. Again, one may observe the interplay of English and other languages spoken more than one participant.

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8. APPENDIX

8.1. Lists of figures and tables

8.1.1. List of figures

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8.2. Information letter for student research

20th October 2013

To Prospective Participants:

I am an undergraduate student, doing a teachers' degree program at the University of Vienna. I am conducting research for my master's degree, under the supervision of Univ-Prof. Dr. Barbara Seidlhofer, my master thesis advisor.

My study "English as a Lingua Franca in the trade union movement", examines how native and non-native speakers of English interact and communicate with one another in an international trade union setting. The data that I collect will be recorded and transcribed. The original recording and all copies will be used for the sole purpose of doing linguistic analysis and research.

Your identity as a participant will remain confidential, and your name will never be published associated with the data you provide in oral or written presentations of my study. Data will only be reported in aggregate form. Individual participants will not be identified.

If you have any questions or concerns about your participation or about my study, please feel free to contact me (0043/XXX/XXXXXXX, xxxx@[reflex.at](mailto:xxxx@reflex.at))¹.

Thank you for your time,

Sincerely,

Julia Marx

¹ For matters of confidentiality, the researcher's mobile phone number and her email address have been removed.

8.3. Consent form

STATEMENT OF INFORMED CONSENT TO PARTICIPATE IN LINGUISTIC RESEARCH

I, the undersigned, understand

that I am about to participate in a study entitled “English as a Lingua Franca in the trade union movement“ , which is being conducted by Julia Marx at the Department of English of Vienna University, and that the purpose of this research is to investigate how non-native and native speakers of English interact and communicate with one another in an international trade union setting.

that my participation in this study will entail the recording of the steering group meeting of XXXXXXXX² that I am a member of / that I participate in.

that my participation in this study is voluntary, and that no penalty or disadvantage will accrue me for non-participation, nor any benefit for my participation.

that I can withdraw from the study at any time, and may refuse to answer any questions that I might be asked.

that even though my name will be known to the investigator, my name will never be revealed in written or oral presentations of the study, and I will never be associated publicly with any data from the recordings.

that selected sections of the recorded meeting may be played in linguistics classes or conference presentations, or transcribed in written reports, for demonstration purposes connected with linguistic analysis.

that additional copies of the recorded meeting may be made for back-up purposes.

2 For matters of confidentiality, the name of the trade union federation has been replaced.

that I may contact Julia Marx at XXXXXX@reflex.at³ if I have any questions or concerns relating to this project or to my participation in it.

By signing below, I certify that I have read and understood the foregoing terms and conditions, and that I agree to participate, in accordance with them in the above-named study.

PARTICIPANT SIGNATURE

DATE

INVESTIGATOR SIGNATURE

DATE

3 For matters of confidentiality, the researcher's email address has been replaced.

8.4. The data

a. MD 1/ Part 1

recording duration 0:54:59

date of recording: 2013-10- 22

person id: S1 age 30+ sex:male langKnowledge: L1 English (UK) position: youth president & chairman

person id: S2 age 30+ sex: male langKnowledge: L1 Swedish (Sweden) position: vice-president

person id: S3 age 20+ sex: female langKnowledge: L1 English (USA) position: intern

person id: S4 age 30+ sex: femaile langKnowledge: L1 Greek (Greece) position: substitute area coordinator Southern Europe

person id: S5 age 30+ sex: male langKnowledge: L1 French (France) position: vice-president

person id: S6 age 20+ sex: female langKnowledge: L1 German (Germany) position: substitute area coordinator Austria, Germany, Switzerland

person id: S7 age 30+ sex: female langKnowledge: L1 German (Austria) position: area coordinator Austria, Germany, Switzerland

person id: S8 age 30+ sex: femaile langKnowledge: L1 Italien (Italy) position: area coordinator Southern Europe

person id: S9 age 35+ sex: male langKnowledge: L1 English (UK) position: secretary

person id: S10 age 30+ sex: male langKnowledge: L1 Turkish (Turkey) position: co-opted member

person id: S11 age 25+ sex: female languKnowledge: L1 Dutch (Netherlands) position: substitute area coordinator Benelux, France & Monaco

person id: S12 age 25+ sex: make langKnowledge: L1 French (Belgium) position: area coordinator Benelux, France & Monaco

person id: S13 age 25+ sex: male langKnowledge: L1 English (UK) position: area coordinator UK + Ireland

person id: S14 age 30+ sex: female langKnowlege: L1 German (Austria) position: secretary

person id: S15 age 25+ sex: female langKnowledge: L1 Norwegian (Norway) position: area coordinator Nordic countries

1. <beg MD1_500004_0:18>
2. S1: morning. er (.) i like to welcome you all to vienna to the the third steering
3. group meeting (.) er (.) before we start I'd like to welcome [S15] to the steering
4. group who has replaced [S2] (.) as the member in (.) erm and (.) [S2] has
5. obviously moved up to vice president (.) okay welcome to [S2] as vice president
6. and welcome to.
7. SS: < knocking onto table >
8. S2: <to S1> <whispering> xxxxxx </whispering>
9. (2)
10. S1: of course <1> I'm offering [S3] </1> as well (.) from (.) erm. [org3]
11. headquarters
12. S2: <1> @@@ </1>
13. S1: as (.) er. =
14. S3: = internship
15. S1: intership. yeah

16. (2)

17. S2: maybe do a round to.=

18. S1: = o:h (.) o:h (.) do a round to (.) introduce yourselves.yeah

19. (3)

20. S4: erm (.) i am [S4]. i am from [place4] and i come from the postal union

21. [country4] [org4] and i am also a member.

22. S5: i'm [S5] from [country5] from [org5] (.) <L1fr> c'est tout.</L1fr> {that's all}

23. SS: @@@@

24. S6: i'm [S6] (.) i'm from [country6] (.)erm. from [org6].a:nd. <L1g> ja. </L1g>

25. {yeah}

26. S3: i'm [S3] as you well know. i'm (.)er. i'm [country3] er. [town3] (.) so (.) i'm

27. proud to be here @@@ and i am a [org3] intern

28. S7: hey. i'm [S7](.) i am from [country7] and.<L1g> ja. </L1g> {yeah} i'm from [org7]

29. S8: i'm [S8] from [country8]. from finance sector. My union is [org8]

30. S9: i'm [S9] from [org3]

31. S1: i'm [S1] from [country1]. communication workers union.

32. S2: i'm [S2] from [country2] and i am from the commercial employee's union in

33. [country2] where i am the youth secretary.

34. S10: [S10] from [country10], commercial workers union.

35. S11: my name is [S11] from [country11]. i work for [org11].the public sector union

36. and there for the postal sector.

37. S12: i'm [S12] from [country12]. i work for [org12]. it's a white collar union. <L1fr>

38. alors </L1fr> {then}

39. S13: [S13] from [country1]. in the finance sector for [org13].

40. S14: [S14] from [org3]

41. S15: i'm [S15] from the postal sector in [country15]. i work for [org15].

42. (5)

43. S1: so. move on to the minutes of the last meeting. erm. has everyone seen

44. the minutes?

45. (3)

46. S12: erm (2) there's a (.) i have a sort of comment because erm(.) the the the

47. minutes are on the facebook page or something? but i i (.)it could be due to my

48. (.) lack of computer skills or something that i i did no see that. s:o?

49. S1: <to S2> <whispering> xxxxxxx </whispering>

50. {S2 starts checking something on his laptop}

51. S12: maybe maybe maybe it's a good idea to send them by email. the minutes.

52. because I check it more often. <2> to be </2>

53. S1: <2> yeah </2> i thought it was all sent you know.

54. S2: yeah. they sent it to a [name1] (.) sent to everyone.

55. (3)

56. S12: it could be my mistake. Aah.

57. S2: i'm not completely sure.

58. (5) {S2 is still working on his computer screen}

59. S2: <to S1> <whispering> xxxxx </whispering>

60. S7: i i saw them I think. ya.

61. S1: yeah

62. S7: i saw them. I thought u:h <3> a good item </3> on my work load.

63. S1: <3> @@@ </3>

64. S1 S2: @@@@

65. (2)

66. S1: so people have seen the minutes. anyone got issues arising from the

67. minutes?
 68. (4) {S1 looks around}
 69. S1: <calm> no? (2) okay. </calm>
 70. (6)
 71. S1: <to S2> <whispering> xxxxxxxx </whispering> </to S2>
 72. S6: S6: <to S1> where are they on facebook again? </to S1>.
 73. S6: hm?
 74. S1: secret group.
 75. S6: secret group? we have a secret group?
 76. S1: yah
 77. S6: yea? a secret group too?
 78. SS: {parallel conversations between individual speakers start}@@@@@
 79. @@@
 80. S1: everyone <4> <un> xxxx </un> </4> everyone except [S12] <5> <un> xxx
 81. </un> </5> has been finding them on facebook. so
 82. SX: <4> @@@@ </4>
 83. S12: <5> @@ </5> {parallel conversations between individual speakers stop}
 84. S2: <to S1> because i didn't find him on facebook.</to S1>
 85. S12: @@@
 86. (2)
 87. S2: i couldn't add <6> him </6>
 88. S12: <loud> <6> i'm </6> on facebook </loud> (.) i have a profile.
 89. SX-f: <mocking> yeah yeah yeah </mocking> @@@
 90. S6: <mocking> good for you </mocking> @@
 91. S2: just in an invisible way?
 92. SS: @@@@@@@@
 93. S12: because my dutch colleagues call me <L1fr> pantalon </L1fr> {trousers}
 94. <7> <un> xxxxx </un> </7>
 95. SS: <7> @@@@@@ </7>
 96. SX: pantalon @@@
 97. SX: pantalon @@@
 98. S13: i was looking for the minutes on <8> facebook </8>
 99. S2: <8> yeah </8> <9> yeah </9>
 100. S13: <9> but i </9> could not find it <10> on facebook </10>
 101. S2: <10> yeah yeah </10>
 102. S12: but i could not find uni youth steering group
 103. SS: @@@@
 104. S12: and I don't know how it happened.
 105. S1: it don't really exist.
 106. S12: <loud> yeah </loud>
 107. S1: we were just imagining it
 108. S12: no no I don't
 109. SX: <clears thought>
 110. S12: I am not the nsa (.) spying on youth
 111. S7: <to S6> i'm a member.
 112. S6: <to S7> i'm not sure at all.
 113. S11: can i maybe (2) can I maybe say something else (.) not about the
 114. minutes (.) but about the invitations.
 115. S1: yeah(.) what was it?
 116. S11: because it was only sent by facebook
 117. S12: yeah
 118. S11: it was only posted when the meeting started and when it ended (.) so it

119. give me some negative flow with my union(.) so NEXT time if it is possible it
 120. would be nice just to send a pdf <11> file </11>
 121. S1: <11> yeah </11>
 122. S11: with the uni paper stating there this is when it starts and there it ends
 123. because it saves me a lot of trouble
 124. S12: yeah. me also
 125. S13: i i had issues with my union as well.
 126. S11: yeah yeah
 127. S6: yeah
 128. S13: <un> xxxxx </un> facebook(.) they'r told to believe what i am saying so
 129. <12> we </12>
 130. S9: <12> so you </12> need a personal <13> invitation </13>
 131. S13: <13> i think </13> i'm gonna need someone <14> to invite </14>
 132. S9: <14> or a </14> general invite. because we have had personal ones for
 133. some (.) for [org6], e was for [name16] and [name17] and [name18]
 134. S11: for me. it would be sufficient if you sent an invitation with a clear
 135. agenda and a time frame <un> xxxxxx </un>
 136. (9)<S9 nods in S11's direction> {S9 and makes a note on a sheet of paper}
 137. S1: anything else?
 138. (4)
 139. S1: yes?
 140. (5)
 141. S1: no (2) okay (.) then we move on to the next point (.) winter school(.)
 142. we've a date and a venue(.) so I pass it over to [S14] to explain.
 143. S14: yah ya::h? <to S9 and S1> [S9] [S1](.)we not start with the review?</to
 144. S9 and S1>
 145. S1: revue?
 146. S14: <to S1> review of the summer school (.) we wanted to talk about the
 147. summer school. </to S1>
 148. S1: o:h (.) so sorry so sorry (.) my mistake.
 149. S14: @@@@
 150. S1: we haven't got it on the agenda.see@@@@ {pointing to a sheet of paper}
 151. S14: @@@@ A::H (.) i see.
 152. S1: sorry (.) we will go on with the revue of the summer school (2) yeah (.)
 153. summer school took place in albufeira in june (.) i think there were
 154. roundabout 15 students on it (.) e was very successful (.) i've been on a few
 155. myself and it's the best one i've been on (.) e:r (.) of course (.) once again
 156. we had [name19] as tutor who asked us what we wanted to do (.) we had a
 157. very high grade of people this year (.) [S2] and [S5] know that there was no
 158. issues were arised from it (.) there's been great feedback (.) no complaints
 159. (.) it's all been good feedback (.) so i recommend we do the exact same
 160. next year.
 161. S7: what again was the program? because we agreed that it would be
 162. flexible for the participants to decide what they wanted to do.
 163. S1: yeah (2) so (.) they went for negotiating <15> negotiations </15>
 164. S7: <15> yah </15>
 165. S1: public speaking and (2) [S2] (.) what else was going on in june?
 166. S2: negotiations=
 167. S1: = yeah (.) negotiations (.) i said that (.) <to S2> <whispering> xxxxx
 168. </whispering>
 169. S2: @@@@ <16> @@@@ </16>
 170. S5: <16> <un> xxxx </un> </16> there is only one that is not good in that

171. e::rm. in my way of thinking (.) it's the fir the first <pvc> exersis </pvc> (.) for
 172. the beginning all is good (.) all the week was good (.) all the participants go
 173. back happy to their <pvc> cauntries <pvc> (.) so its very good (.) but the first
 174. <pvc> exercis </pvc> for ME was not good and don't don't have place in
 175. union (.) it was (.) we've got 20 peoples and we have to (.) we are on a boat
 176. and erm there is a desaster and we have to select 10 people to <17>
 177. survive.</17>
 178. SX-f: <17> @@@ </17>
 179. S5: we have to <pvc> argumo </pvc> <18> why </18>
 180. SX-f: @@@
 181. S5: we have to choose this people and i have a big <pvc> pro:blem </pvc>
 182. with this kind of <pvc> exercis </pvc> and if even my company tried to do
 183. that (.) i will make a strike (.) <19> we have </19>
 184. SX-f: <19> @@@ </19>
 185. S5: to talk about that (.) in my opinion is very difficult to accept this <pvc>
 186. exersis </pvc> (.) i think (.) we need to move it away from the the the the
 187. agenda. And all my union is on my way (.) i have disputed that with french
 188. people and my union and i don't this kind of discussion here.
 189. S1: speaking of personal views (.) i think the introduction was good were it
 190. started from (.) to give you a bit more of a <un> XX </un> (.) you got 20
 191. people and you got vicars and everything (.) and it's to see how people's
 192. stereotypes of people works (.) so it is the vicar and so it has to be a man (.)
 193. it opens people's perspectives (.) so i think it was a good way to get people
 194. talking (.) we got people mixing straight away from the beginning.
 195. S5: I think we can find other <pvc> exersis </pvc> to speak (.) what is the
 196. purpose of that kind of <pvc> exersis </pvc>? what? and i've been asing
 197. <pvc> im </pvc> all week (.) <to S1 and S2> you were here (.) i been
 198. talking about it all the week (.) i was the only one so i feel a little <pvc>
 199. runitax </pvc> (.) but he saying each time he don't interfere what is the
 200. meaning (.) he won't (.) i ask him (.) does he want to make us understand
 201. that we can't save everybody or that we will have to sacrifice some people
 202. to let the other live better (.) i don't want to think one way or the other way (.)
 203. so i can't understand this <pvc> exersis </pvc>.
 204. S1: i think it was good to look at people's stereotypes (.) certain roles (.)
 205. there was a thing about a nurse (.) everybody thinking the nurse was a
 206. women <un> xxxxxx </un> that opened people's minds started <un> xxxxx
 207. </un> that's what i personally think (.) and i don't know about [S2] (.) he
 208. was there himself.
 209. S2: i think it was good (.) er (.) i thought that it was about that we were going
 210. to negotiate (.) it was all about having a debate (.) you could have negotiated
 211. that people were sitting in the lap <20> or something </20>
 212. S1: <20> aha </20>
 213. S2: but nobody did (.) so maybe (.) it was good because people did not
 214. understand the exercise that well (.) MayBE (.) that it was the good start that
 215. people <21> started </21>
 216. S5: <agitated> <21> i think </21> i understand well this <pvc> exersis
 217. </pvc> (.) and I feel it that i can't stand to take two or or three or worse and
 218. to have discussion between does we have to kill the baby or the policeman
 219. or the politician (.) what is the meaning of this <pvc> exersis </pvc>? we can
 220. find other way to make discussion and to make negotiation on the way.
 221. </agitated>
 222. S1: i think it was just (.) excuse me (.) to get people talking (.) he got

223. everybody speaking(.) ususally it's only half in the beginning.
 224. S5: we can find another or anything (.) we can't talk about killing <pvc> im
 225. </pvc> or <pvc> im </im>
 226. S1: it integrated everybody (.) i think it =
 227. S5: =why <un> xxx </un>
 228. S1: <un> xxxx </un>
 229. S5: I think <pvc> evribody </pvc> understand that i am <un> xxxx </un>
 230. S1: <un> xxxxx </un>
 231. {loud buzzing noise - interference noise – makes recording unintelligible}
 232. S9: <soft> it's down to assuming that there is a man (.) a woman or
 233. whatever (.) and you are making judgements based on little facts (.) that is
 234. idea (.) and there is no right answer or wrong answer (.) but the way is you
 235. can be asked afterwards and i can then say (.) why did you pick that? (.) and
 236. you have to give answers and can't just say i picked you because i wanted
 237. ten (.) i just took the first ten (.) you have to give answers why you picked
 238. them and why you did not pick them (3) and then come up with objectified
 239. resasons based on the information (.) and then what were you assuming
 240. out of that (.) so when it says the builder (.) yes (.) it could be a woman
 241. builder (.) it could be (.) but everyone pressumes it's a man (.) so when they
 242. was looking at the 20 persons (.) and they are said it was ten men and
 243. women (.) and so the option is how it is done (.) you have no right answer
 244. and no right answer (.) but you have to justify what you think.</soft>
 245. SX: mhm
 246. S9: and it was (.) it's been done for six, <22> five </22>
 247. S1: <22> <un> xx </un> </22>
 248. S9: summer schools by now(.) and it was always a good (.) sort of ice
 249. breaker for the start (.) before you go into negotiating (.) so while this is
 250. done (.) you can prepare the rest of it.
 251. S12: s somehow i understand the feeling of [S5] because it is (2) like
 252. symbolic (.) when you have like this situation in a in a firm in a company (.)
 253. and it's like we have 12 employees to be fired (.) who do we choose? it's a
 254. bit the the the the same exercise and i understand the feeling.
 255. S5: it's exactly the same <pvc> exersis </pvc> that company will make in
 256. fact. e::rm. to to in the company we will have this <pvc> exersis </pvc> (.)
 257. we will have it (.) so <un> xxx </un> we will have it to to to make people
 258. thinking the same way as in the the the company (.) I understand what you
 259. are talking about (.) the point of view and being er er er far (.) and this is the
 260. first sign and making a reflection about (.) i know that and I think but it's not
 261. true (.) and that kind of thing and I am sure there is many <pvc> exersis
 262. </pvc> that don't make (.) withought argument kill <pvc> im </pvc> or <pvc>
 263. im </pvc>.
 264. S1: the good thing is it can be pretty controversial(.) it gets debate going
 265. straight away(.) it gets people talk wouldn't normally talk (.) if i remember
 266. correctly (.) <un> xxxx </un> talked right through summer school (.) and
 267. people even in their presentation started negotiating (.) it impacted people
 268. <un> xxx </un>
 269. S7: i think that (.) i actually (.) maybe we prepare (.) actually (.) maybe if we
 270. only have a different topic situation (.) so it's not about killing people (.) i
 271. don't know (.) i know we need something that has a certain seriousness and
 272. can't talk about a birthday par cake or something (.) that won't have won't
 273. trigger the discussion (.) maybe a different setting (3) i think that's all he
 274. asked for (.) i guess.

275. S6: <to S1>so the function of the game is like who is more worthy on the
276. ship? </to S1>
277. S1: <to S6> yeah
278. S6: < to S1> and who is less worthy?
279. S1: <to S6> there is 20 people(.) there is ten life jackets (.) like [S2] said its
280. open to negotiation (.) one is a baby (.) so what people automatically do is
281. there's one for the baby but you can carry the baby (.) to get people <22>
282. thinking </22>
283. S6: <to S1> <22> mhm </22>
284. S1: and it's just to get the course started.
285. S6: I understand the psychological idea of <23> the case </23>
286. S1: <23> <un> xxx </un> <23>
287. S6: but it feels really weird to me to be shooting people right away in the
288. beginning (.) like to be choosing people who survive and who don't survive
289. (.) it's kind of (.) has a weird taste to me.
290. S5: <agitated> what what do we want when they go back to the (.) what kind
291. of thinking we want to partain in their head? (3) when we choose this kind
292. of exercise we can send a message and i think it's a bad
293. message @ i'm sorry <un> xxxxxxxx </un> it's very impo:rtant for me.
294. S12: i suppose it's not possible to find anotjher exercise that's more or less
295. <24> the same </24>
296. SX: <24> yeah yeah </24> good idea
297. SX: yeah
298. S1: I propose a change in the start with the same sort of theme and change
299. it from murder <25> to </25>
300. SS: <25> @@ </25> @@@@
301. S6: but=
302. S1: = to something a bit more friendly.
303. S6: what i think (.) the interesting thing is that i did this scholarship camp like
304. er for a scholarship (.) they would choose the people who would get the
305. scholarship and they did psychological tests with us (.) in the beginning
306. where they would not tell us that they do psychological we would just
307. playing a game and then they did things that feel similar to this exercise (.)
308. to find out what is your issue in life and how you think and what are your
309. values (.) so i was just wandering if that is the case for the er for the summer
310. school(.) how if you wanna find out how people (2) what kind of thinking
311. like thoughts people have(.) or if you really wanna (.) actually i know i mean
312. we are the people who wanna change these thoughts but what we would do
313. first of is triggering these bad feelings (.) so what maybe you fear would that
314. sending out the right message instead make a game that does not trigger
315. those bad feelings like(.) you can also make a game about racism and then
316. say(.) oh, we'r all bad because because we are all racist(.) but then we
317. would have triggered the emotion fisthand and then maybe there is a game
318. that does not bring out those er bad feelings about people and the <un>
319. xxx </un> it a bit more.
320. S7: we could actually make a similar exercise by saying yah we have certain
321. companies (.) in which companies do we strike and also have the same
322. processes (.) will they break down (.) will they be destroyed and we can say
323. @@@
324. S3: <to S1> is it not also the point to get people to sort of self reflect?
325. </to S1> =
326. S1: = <to S3> yeah </to S3>=

327. S3: = <to S1> and to get people to stop for a second and think about what
328. is going on in my mind (.) what are the judgements i am making about
329. others (.) i guess it's not about changing them thoughts but to recognize
330. them </to S1> =
331. S1: = caus I think people working it out in something like 59 minutes (.)
332. people looked at the sheet for 50 minutes and had just one garanteed man
333. and everyone presumed just because of the job titles(.) it's (a way of)
334. looking at a title and how you portray that title.
335. S2: you had not the job to kill 10 people (.) <25> it was </25>
336. SX: <25> @@@ </25>
337. S2: like kill 10 people (.) it was about the ten people that you save (.) there
338. were 10 people who could be saved (.) it was mostly about them (.) they
339. would stay and they would be able to create a sustainable (.)=
340. S1: = society=
341. S2: =society for 30 years(.) you had to look at age(.) you had to look like
342. whom can we really use and then(.) you would have to look at who's a
343. woman who's a man and how can they have babies and that stuff.
344. S7: <mocking> but that's why they'r here isn't it @@@ what would they
345. do without <un> xx </un>? @@@@
346. S3: I think the idea behind this activity is to get people to recognize the
347. valuing (.) how much your valuing a person is <26> <un> <xx> </un> </26>
348. S1: <26> you have to </26> <27> <un> <xxx> </un> </27>
349. S6: <27> <un> <xxx> </un> </27> arche noa (.) saving the right people ?
350. SX: mhm
351. S3: <to S6> i i wonder what (.) nei what was the bad taste left in your mouth
352. after the after the <28> <un> <xxx> </un> </28>
353. S5: <loud, aggressiv and very fast> <28> that we take </28> few or worth er
354. words with e::r do we have to kill the baby or not? Do we have to kille the
355. <pvc> <général secrétaire </pvc> {general secretary}? </loud, aggressive
356. and fast>
357. SX: @@@@
358. S2: NO ONE ever wants to save the general secretary.
359. SS: @@@@
360. @@@@
361. @@@@
362. S2: <@> he is fat (.) he is too old </@>
363. SS: @@@@
364. S1: so if we keep <un> xxxxx </un> not good trying to reach were we
365. started.
366. S5: we can make an exercise about (.) i understand the idea (of going far
367. than the first idea when you say something) (.) i agree with that.
368. S1: <29> haeh </29>
369. S14: <soft > <to S5> <29> you just </29> don't want the killing part(.)
370. </to S5> </soft>
371. S5: <loud and fast> I believe in argument but there is big discussion
372. from kill HIM or HIM or NOT HIM @@@
373. S1: @@@ <soft> yes (.) the whole you've put it (.) can we move on to the
374. next thing. </soft>
375. S5: <cautionary> and the target of the <L1fr> formation </L1f> course is that
376. young unionist that they don't never had formation(.) for them is the best i
377. think(.) is not for the big union where to have negotiation skill or that thing(.)
378. we've got that formation(.)<L1fr> formation </L1f> courses i think i will never

379. send some young people from my union to the first level of summer school
 380. because e::r only the working English that i need is good but not for the
 381. negotiation skill and that (.) we got our own formation for that (.) but for the
 382. union that don't have this is good(.) but we need to make it good not as a
 383. company (.) we are not company (.) it's the american way <L1fr> non
 384. </L1fr>? they become begin by killing half the people. </cautionary>
 385. SX: <loud> haeh(.) it's not really that bad(.) </loud>
 386. SS: @@@@
 387. S5: <loud, aggressive and fast> what is the meaning ? <30> i i
 388. what do we want them to take home? that we can't save everybody or that
 389. we will make sacrifice? what is the final meaning?</30>
 390. SS: <30> @@@@ </30>
 391. S1: <distinctly> like I said (.) I just think it's a great way to get people
 392. thinking(.)
 393. { S5 bangs fist onto tabletop}
 394. S1: i also like to o:h she's not here (.) i'd like to thank [name20] for summer
 395. school because she did a hell of a lot (.) she was travelling up and down the
 396. motorway from lisbon to albufeira (.) if we needed anything it was there
 397. straight away so i'd like for the record say a big thank you to [name20] (.)
 398. summer school would not have happened without [name20] (.) again the
 399. hotel helped us (.) the hotel helped us keep the group together a lot to
 400. stay together (.) i think most nights everyone stayed as a group until
 401. midnight (.) because we had that in the past (.) we finished the course and
 402. people went seperate ways in different groups (.) I think that was a good
 403. aspect(.) we all stayed together (.) so overall a very very good summer
 404. school (.) < to S2> i don't know(.) do you think i forgot anything [S2]? what
 405. was your impression you was there yourself? </to S2>
 406. S2: no (.) it's all said.
 407. S1: so (.) all said then we'll try to make it better next year (.) so (.) we move
 408. on now to where we were before (.) to =
 409. S5: <quietly> = winter school.
 410. S9: one thing (.) one thing on the summer school and [name19] (.) I had a
 411. discussion with [name19] caus he said it was his last summer school that
 412. he'd be doing (.) he'd not be coming back so i'd had a discussion and he
 413. agreed to come back next year.
 414. S2: <cheering> yeah yeah
 415. S1: that's very good (.) i hope his last one will never come.
 416. S9: he said he'd do one more.
 417. S1: so (.) if we move on to summer school in
 418. S14: 2013 no 2014 <L1de> ja ja </L1de>
 419. S1: 2014 yah yah
 420. S14: okay (.) the last steering group before the last conference applied
 421. for a program at [org16]for the winter school (.) it got accepted by [org16] is
 422. the [org 16] for those of you who doesn't know it (.) and so i am in contact
 423. with [org16]to organise the winter school in principle(.) we fixed a date (2)
 424. which is what they first tell us (.) to get the good dates still because they
 425. have a lot of seminars(2) {checking her papers} so it will be 11th of february
 426. (.) it's 11th of february (2) and <L1/g> ja </L1g> we should think about now
 427. about the setting(.) so the [org16]will pay 20 people the travel costs (.) the
 428. hotel costs (.) the meeting room and so on (.) that's covered by the [org16]
 429. and we have to agree with them on the programme (.) we are quite flexible
 430. but of course they want to be integrated (.) if they pay (.) and so <@> we

431. have to give them a little bit the illusion of participation </@> (.) <31> but in
432. principle </31> (.)
433. SS: <31> @@@ </31>
434. S14: if we agree here on a topic (.) then i will i will propose and i will have a
435. meeting in about two weeks for for fixing the programme.
436. (2)
437. S14: so (.) what we were thinking (.) or i was thinking and of course we will
438. do it in brussels(.) so this is also good information for you (.) er in the uni er
439. in the new uni office in the meeting room there(.) erm (.) so er it should be a
440. little bit advanced training for those who have already done summer school
441. and some other trainings in their trade unions (.) i would focus more on
442. european level actually <un> xxxx </un> so what i have already in mind
443. because i have been thinking and brainstorming about what we could do
444. (.) except going to the european parliament (.) going to the commission (.)
445. doing some visit tours and so on (.) erm (.) if we could also do some training
446. (2) in lobbying (2) for example (.) we have some good friends in the
447. european parliament (.) mips (.) members of the european parliament which
448. are very close to us and normally making some (game dates) with us also
449. (.) so i would invite two or three for example (.) and give the participants the
450. chance to lobby them in real (.) so you prepare (.) the participants prepare
451. a topic and then lobby the mips in the office which are prepared on the
452. attack (.) <31> and then could </31>
453. SS: <31> @@@ </31>
454. S14: give feedback to the participants (.) how (.) what was good (.) what was
455. bad (.) how you should prepare your lobby activities more (.) to really
456. convince the mips in the parliament for example (.) also get feedback
457. from other participants (.) that would be an option (.) one option could be
458. that we also do kind of campaigning exercise (.) that we prepare a european
459. campaign already (.) mhm (.) so to learn a little bit or to get input on how
460. you should do a campaign (.) what you have to look at it on it (.) like slogan
461. has to be translatable in all the languages and you know (.) all these little
462. details (.) and also we could make a little exercise maybe to how to network
463. in different countries via email (.) all without being (.) in your union it is easy
464. to network and to plan a campaign because you just go next door (.) but on
465. european level you have to plan and and and coordinate the different
466. languages and so on (.) so this were the first ideas (.) e:::r my first input
467. and then we could discuss what you really want on winter school.
468. S2: so(.) its only february eleventh? so its only one day?
469. S14: no @@@ no no.
470. S2: a:h
471. SX: @@@
472. S14: 13th (.) 11th to 13th february(.)yeah.
473. S12: what is exactly the target population? because i was thinking about
474. the lobbying on european level (.) i don't know if there are many shop
475. stewards which would benefit from that sort of training (.) <L1fr> alors
476. </L1fr> maybe maybe this is something i would do (.) but i if you are just
477. elected somewhere (.) i am not sure whether this is the best sort of training
478. (.) I don't know <32> <un> xxx </un> </32>
479. S14: <32> that's why we </32>
480. S12: working in a network (.) that's that's a good thing (.) but i doubt (.) but
481. it's a point of view (.) i don't know.
482. S1: but the winter school is <un> xxx </un> advanced.

483. S12: yeah. i know.
484. S1: so the people going on the winter school are completely different to the
485. people going on the summer school .
486. S12: yeah yeah (.) i
487. S1: it's more advanced people that sign up.
488. S12: although it's true that <L1fr> alors </L1fr> when we focus on lobbying
489. (.) i also lobby in national context in fact.
490. S14: yeah
491. S12: if we focus most on skills (.) let's say (.) rather than european
492. institutions (.) or i don't know (.) it's kind of a universal skill.
493. S14: it was just an idea if we have them there that we use them.
494. S12: yeah okay.
495. S7: i (.) was actually (.) i like this lobbying thing (.) because i think we all
496. know that(.) brussels is the lobbying capital of europe.
497. SS: @@@
498. S7: and we all know lobbyin is taking place and we know that (.) the unions
499. you know (2) well there are other players who are better at it then we are (.)
500. and i think it would be interesting (.) first of all to try it out (.) see how it works
501. and e:rm (.) i think we also (.) i mean (.) aren't working on our campaign? i
502. mean we could lobby for our campaign (.) because hopefully we will have
503. some results in february (.) because we will be meeting in january (.) i think.
504. <33> and should </33>
505. S14: <33> mm </33>
506. S7: have some results (.) and we could lobby for that one and (.) we could
507. really use the exercise to really push our issues forward.
508. S14: i would also suggest that we really use topics we want to lobby (.) it's
509. a double exercise because if we lobby we lobby (.) and it's there (.) there is
510. no reason to not talk about the topics we would like them to know.
511. S2: or we could use them for some help (.) because (.) if we are talking
512. about doing a campaign for the european elections (.) of course they can
513. have a lot of input (.) and also i think we (.) i think what we should lobby on
514. is of course the action plan that we made in albufeira this year <un> xx
515. </un> which of the topics would we like to try and lobby on this mips(.) and
516. also (.) of course then (.) how can we lobby for this when we go home (.)
517. from our union(.) <un> xxx </un> how can we compare it to the european
518. level (.) but (.) i think it's a good idea that we use the mips (.) they are being
519. lobbied on every day (.) they know THIS is good (.) THIS would not work (.)
520. i i think it's a good idea.
521. S14: sorry (.) er er just just just to say what I also wanted or what I had
522. in mind when I proposed is this that at least in germany austria and the like
523. (.) you don't dare to talk with them (.) they are parliamentarians (.) they are
524. what higher (.) they are like (2) you know (.) if if you are then (.) and i've
525. seen it in a lot of countries that you (.) as a shop steward or you (.) as a
526. young person dare not call him up even though they put their phone
527. numbers on their webpage (.) because you have this kind of respect or
528. burden (.) but if you then really see (2) and those I would invite to make this
529. exercise are trade unionists (.) have a trade union background (.) so then
530. you see (.) hey there're sitting trade unionists (.) there're sitting normal
531. people (.) there're sitting friends of us (.) so actually there is no problem to
532. call them and to really lobby them and to tell them (.) what I want to do on
533. european level (.) it is good to break the ice and to see there're normal
534. people in the parliament (.) and not the like higher gods or.

535. S5: so (.) i i agree with this proposition because it's exactly the kind of
536. <pvc> exersis <pvc> i want to try because we can't do that in [country5] or
537. in each country (.) so it's very important and breaking the ice is good that
538. we are to know (.) because the last lobbying action we made about postale
539. (.) <L1fr> donc <L1fr> (.) we see that they are normal (.) <34> that they
540. are </34>
541. SS: <34> @@@ </34>
542. S5: are many that. Will you take some french (.) i think it is a very good idea
543. (.) that kind of thing i will love to do.
544. S1: anyone else on this?
545. S14: or other ideas (.) it's two and a half days (.) we can't only lobby there
546. (.) @@
547. SS: @@@@
548. S2: I also think it would be great to see some campaigns that (.) maybe
549. some other organisations has done or as well or that <un> xxxx </un> we
550. have the (score) department there (.) they've done a lot of campaigning
551. AND they have a lot of skills about it (.) otherwise (.) also there's
552. <35> the it </35>
553. S14: <35> mm </35>
554. <36> ituc </36>
555. S14: <36> mm </36>
556. S2: they did a lot of campaigning also (.) er. er. there's a swedish girl
557. working there (.) I think (.) I saw them one time I came to stockholm and
558. showed some youth campaigns they had done (.) so maybe (.) we can
559. look at some other campaigns and think what was good in this and what
560. works in our own campaigns.
561. S14: it is also possible (.) for example (.) to invite the young people from
562. the other federations (.) the european federations (.) (ituf) has great
563. campaigns or (ipei) (.) or <un> xx </un> and give an overview about how
564. they work.
565. S7: but (.) maybe we (.) everyone of us bring their own campaigns so we
566. can have a little presentation like world cafe where everyone brings stuff
567. and we exchange materials (.) because maybe someone else has a good
568. idea (.) a good slogan and maybe we can exchange that.
569. S14: there's always the language issue.
570. S7: well (.) obviously (.) but we will be there to translate.
571. S6: are there gonna be translators?
572. S14: yes, there will be translators.
573. S1: how many languages?
574. S14: i think three. It will be <un> xxx </un> so there will be translation.
575. S2: but it will depend on the people coming.
576. S14: yeah yeah
577. S2: because we need no german translator if there is no german. @@@
578. SS: @@@@
579. S14: <@> okay (.) good point </@> (3) like often you pick a language and
580. so open a door for the language groups.
581. S1: anything else on the winter school? is there anything else you'd like to
582. do?
583. S11: what happened in the last couple of years? i don't know <un> xxx
584. </un> what was done in the past?
585. S9: the last trainer we had was from etui called Jean (.)=
586. S14: =Claude

587. S9: Jean Paul
588. S1: Jean Claude Jean Paul @@@@
589. SS: @@@@
590. S9: he got and <un> xxxxxxxxxxxxxxxxxxxx </un> i had been to porto columbia
591. and I flew straight into stockholm and went straight into it and i just thought
592. it was too much. Because he was on the go from nine o'clock till five o'clock
593. in the afternoon and it was all really heavy stuff (.) it was anything about how
594. you do social dialogue (.) and this is how the european commission is
595. structured and anything else (.) it was all in depth but it needed breaks and
596. more breaks than we had cause we were just sitting there(.) i was jetlagged
597. and kept looking at the others and they they (.) it was too much because it
598. was all new to them and it was procedures (.) and it was <un> xxxx </un>
599. you can't go on for more than twenty minutes on really in-depth things (.) you
600. need a break (.) so we want to try better this time (.) <un> xxx </un> we
601. don't want too many in-depth things (.) so (.) maybe anything about the
602. european commission (.) whatever question you had (.) it was there (.) but it
603. was (.) there was not enough interaction (.) it was more of a <un> xx </un>
604. speech they listened (.) there was no interaction (.) the interaction was found
605. to be wanting (.) and (.) we need to break it up and bring some of the ideas
606. of the summer school into it (.) but keep it more serious cause it is the level
607. two (.) it's not as basic as summer school but they have to go away happy
608. (.) and at the summer school (.) there's the model of it (.) everyone at the
609. end of it is friends and they keep in contact on facebook as friends (.)
610. <37> at winter school </37>
611. S14: <whispering> <37> but at winter school </37> they don't </whispering>
612. @@@
613. S9: i'm not saying they don't (.) but at winter school it's different (.) but we
614. got to have a balance (.) i'm not saying that we got it wrong(.) cause it is the
615. right direction cause what we're aiming at IS to get the information (.) only in
616. a different way (.) and i think we have longer time to do that in brussels (.)
617. if we do lobbying we get to talk as said and that's good. <un> xxxx </un>
618. maybe we will be having speakers coming in from other federations
619. (.) maybe even bernadette from the etuc could come along and give us
620. information (.) but yeah (.) the <un> xxx </un> from the european
621. commission part is (.) how did they get to their position? how did they get
622. where they are ? how did they the youth help them along? i mean we (.)
623. we're gonna talk about that in the for the seminar (.) there was one mip er
624. from greece. [S4] may (.) er (.) i don't know if you meet her.
625. S14: o:h [name21]
626. S9: [name21] (.) she was on the youth committee <38> when I was </38>
627. S14: <38> [name21/last] </38>
628. S9: <39> a long time ago </39>
629. S14: <39> [name21/last] </39>
630. S9: she came from [org21].
631. S4: i don't know her.
632. S9: you don't know her.
633. S4: erm erm [name20] has mentioned her name but i don't know her.
634. S19: we could also ask (.) for example (.) [name22] (.) who works for an
635. mip (.) to tell us a little bit to tell in the winter school a little bit background
636. information about HOW the parliament's working (.) HOW they think on the
637. elections (.) HOW is the link between national and european level because
638. he works in the national office from his mip (.) and other people are working

639. in brussels (.) SO (.) HOW they are linked and so on.
640. S7: and we could also do a roleplay (.) there're there're actually materials
641. from the parliament (.) i think (.) where you can take on some roles (.) you
642. take on the roles of different parliamentarians of different countries and then
643. you try to reach an agreement on (2) a bill (.) i think it is(.) and it's (.) we
644. once did that somewhere and it's quite nice because there are different
645. topics and then you discuss (.) what's the perspective from (.) i don't know
646. (.) conservative politicians in the uk(.) and how do they differ from
647. conservative politicians in Austria and (.) how do we come to an agreement.
648. S5: i just don't want to speak about (.) what the is the difference between
649. right and left and will they find a meaning in europe (.) so (.) just to continue
650. (.) is that (.) i will not be at the end of the the winter school and have learnt
651. too much from (.) i want to learn a lot about europe e:r working (.) so we
652. @@ e:r e:rm i think (.) i agree we need to be connect by sharing time
653. together (.) but i think too that erm we must be people that fully know each
654. other (.) i think we will be many from here in winter school.
655. S12: maybe (.) maybe we should focus on a social europe or social
656. dimension of europe (.) or (.) i don't know how we should phrase it.
657. S14: i don't know where it is.
658. S12: why?
659. S14: {looks at S12 with a raised eyebrow} @@@@
660. S12: okay (.) @@@@ that <un> xxxxxxxxxxxx </un>
661. S14: well (.) not in reality it is.
662. S12: well all the relationship with social issues or social partners (.) it's a (.)
663. it's a bit broader than social partners (.) but i don't know.
664. S14: we could also discuss about hairdressers @@@
665. S2: i (.) i think (.) this (2) what we are talking about now (.) there is lots of
666. workshops and also there will be some study visits (.) it will not be as heavy
667. as the ones you went to (.) [S9] (.) definitely (.) we're on the right track again
668. (.) anyway .
669. S1: what do we want people to learn at the training? we don't want them
670. stuck in a room for eight hours because after half hour people cut off and=
671. S2: = and we all LET THEM WALK to the parliament (.) so to (.)
672. SS: @@@@
673. S2: you get there within half an hour (.) it's not THAT long.
674. S14: twenty minutes or something.
675. S6: something like.
676. S12: then we can organise a protest(.) because sometimes
677. S5: we need to be hard (.) <L1fr> non </L1fr> we are (.) <L1fr> comment
678. t'dire que nous avons besoin de travailler dur? </L1fr> { how do i say we
679. need to work hard?} we need to work hard (.) you know difficult.
680. S14: <L1g> ja ja </L1g>
681. S5: we are three days (.) so.
682. S14: i know (.) but we can make a visit to the parliament (.) that's not (.)
683. i mean.
684. S5: yah
685. S14: and a visit to the commission and look (.) how the commission look
686. like inside (.) that's always (2) no problem.
687. S2: i think it's also interesting to learn about the different parts of uni.
688. S14: of course it's very usual that (.) that you do role-plays for explaining
689. how the european union works.
690. S7: yah

691. S14: that's maybe a good idea (.) that (.) you know (.) some people are the
692. commission (.) some people are the parliament (.) some people are social
693. (.) trade unions (.) work (.) employers (.) and how they interact with each
694. other (.) we do it in a roleplay for example.
695. S9: like a social dialogue (.) we could explain social dialogue with a roleplay.
696. S14: mhm
697. S9: cause you have the employers and <un> xxxxxxxxxxxxxxxxxxxx </un>
698. S3: it is quite simple to get people talking(.) you just have to maybe put them
699. into groups (.) before (.)
700. {several people talking at the same time, noone is listening}
701. S3: you get people talking (.) you could break up people into smaller groups
702. erm (.) just before presentation to get or make an extra page e::rm <un>
703. xxx </un> for what kind of (.) i'm not sure exactly if all of the information that
704. you give them (.) in fact (.) they can just sort of brainstorm what (.) what (.)
705. so (.) some people have information already on hand (.) other's don't (.) so
706. you get them talking (.) you can like (.) ask them questions and then make
707. discussion by before and after presentation (.) obviously (.) it is a pretty
708. simple method that does not need much of planning (.) you can get people
709. talking (.) and it breaks it up everything.
710. S14: great (.) i think (2) i did i did classes in austria (.) when i worked in my
711. union there with young (2) workers and we ALWAYS started with
712. brainstorming (.) what comes in your mind when i say eu? and it's very
713. interesting what comes up (.) what people really think (2) first when they
714. hear eu. we can start with something like that.
715. SX: yeah
716. S3: it takes only fifteen minutes to make people (2) talking (2) and then you
717. become familiar with them and they around you as well.
718. S14: and we also will (.) of course (.) we will (.) so uni visit (.) so structure (.)
719. we will see how the uni secretariat work (.) if it's possible (.) in this three
720. days (.) i will try to get as many colleagues as possible in the room to
721. present themselves from from (.) our office (.) you know to say i'm
722. [name23] from itcs o:r i'm [name24] from commerce or whatever (.) so that
723. people know their sector people in in uni (.) we will try this as well (.) we
724. can't avoid [name25] (.) so [name25] will come around as well. @@@
725. <@> and he is available </@> no (.) so that he also make a presentation
726. maybe about his job and about what he's doing the whole day and
727. S5: <un> xx </un>
728. S14: so (.) what ? yeah (.) it will be a lot of input but we should make it e:rm
729. not like (2) <L2fr> frontale </L2fr> {frontal} (.) somebody front and makes
730. presentation so everybody just sleeps (.) then it should be a lot more
731. interesting.
732. S1: I think being in groups makes it easier to interactice
733. (3)
734. L1: anyone else anything on the winter school (.) or we move on?
735. {a loud buzzing sound makes the recording unintelligible}
736. S5: sorry <un> xxxx </un> you said in the beginning. About the
737. {a loud buzzing sound makes the recording unintelligible}
738. S5: about the money (.) e::::rm.
739. S14: er e::rm the etui erm has every year erm every year has such seminar
740. and they they offer the european federations to finance these seminars with
741. them (.) and the winter school will be one of the seminars which gonna be
742. financed by etui.

743. S5: for each participant?

744. S14: for each participant.

745. S5: okay (.) so it will be (.) it could be.

746. S14: so (.) there is a number of twenty and the etui will finance the travel

747. and the hotel for this people.

748. S5: and how many people will be erm. how many people will can be e:::r

749. part of this winter school?

750. S14: twenty

751. S5: so (.) there

752. S14: i mean there can be more (.) but twenty gonna be financed (.) so it (.) i

753. S9: what's the maximum capacity in the room?

754. S14: in our room? it's (3) i don't know (.) the room (3) i think (.) at

755. management committees there are thirty.

756. S5: we need to be able to work (.) i think.

757. S9: because there's certain places they don't pay for (.) like norway and

758. such.

759. S14: yeah.

760. S9: they don't count.

761. S2: they're not members @@@

762. S9: so (.) obviously (.) when they go (.) they will have paid their hotels and

763. everything else (.) so there will be more spaces.

764. S14: yeah (.) we can also (.) I mean if if france says (.) that for example (.)

765. WE send five people (.) I mean (.) then probably and and (.) to give the

766. chance that more people from more countries (.) like I mean that for

767. example(.) only two get covered by the project and the rest has to pay (.)

768. needs to be paid by

769. S5: and how?

770. S14: but this we have to look then when we send it out (.) the invitations and

771. look how many registrations do we have (.) if it is a lot more than we can

772. cover.

773. S5: okay (.) we can make adjustments by after (.) but for the beginning you

774. will invite everybody and you will wait for the (2) register?

775. S7: is it in principle possible that if there're more than twenty that we

776. actually split the cost?

777. S1: i was wondering that myself.

778. S7: because (.) I mean it's unfair for those who are late and I mean maybe

779. we can make a difference between countries (.) I don't know (.) IS it

780. possible or is it NOT possible?

781. S14: i mean (.) what is not possible for sure is like we pay for every

782. participant fifty euro for the whole group (.) that is not possible (.) because (.)

783. it's a european project and the european commission is calculating by flight

784. (.) by hotel nights by (.) PER PERSON (.) so it's

785. S9: so <un> xxx </un> the last person to register will lose out because it will

786. be SO MANY per country and much and if there's not enough we start

787. adding OKAY another one for france (.) another one for austria (.) another

788. one for germany or whatever (.) but at we will need we can't decide OKAY

789. the first twenty by the from austria (.) we get (.) it does not work that way (.)

790. so (.) it will be some on a country basis (.) one one one until it fills up and

791. then we go round for another round if there is still the possibility(.) we also

792. have eastern countries (.) eastern european countries which are being paid

793. for (.) they might get more attention.

794. S1: also with payed travel there's the problem that <un> xxx </un> if

795. someone's coming from britain or someone's coming from brussels (.) it
 796. would be better to have the person from brussels have to pay their travel
 797. costs than the person from britain.
 798. S14: but the people from brussels are not covered anyway because they
 799. don't need a hotel.
 800. {buzzing sound – unintelligible recording}
 801. S2: yeah(.) they can take the train
 802. S1: yeah (.) they can take the train (.) it's much cheaper than coming by
 803. plane(.) <un> xxx </un> but (.)
 804. S5: just in history(.) how many people used to be in the winter school
 805. present (.) twenty <L1fr> non </L1fr> I see big (lespant) (.) <L1fr> non
 806. </L1fr>
 807. S2: <un> xxxxxxxxxxxx </un>
 808. S1: brussels is much more accessible.
 809. SX: <un> xxxxxxxxxxxx </un>
 810. S2: it was close to the airport anyway.
 811. S14: our office is in the center (.) walking distance to the grand place.
 812. S2: okay (.) so when will the invitations be sent out?
 813. S14: as soon as (.) as i said (.) have the appointment with the etui in about
 814. two weeks (.) there we will finalise all all the the missing the missing things
 815. still and then we can send out the invites(.) I guess <un> xxxx </un>
 816. S9: i think the deadline definitely s'got to be first week of january or last of
 817. december anyway(.) because otherwise (.) because we may have to do
 818. some fishing sometimes in some countries (.) because you send it (.) we
 819. send it out but it does not get any further than the general secretary (.)so.
 820. S11: is it possible to like send a save the date or something ? so that we
 821. can talk about it in our union but the agenda is not yet there.
 822. S14: <loud, mocking> save the date. agenda is not yet ready.
 823. S11: <un> xxxxxxxxxxxx</un>
 824. S5: <un> xxxxxxxx </un>
 825. S11: you know what i mean (.) maybe it is possible to send out the date so
 826. so we can
 827. S14: it will be discussed still at etui how exactly it will be.
 828. S9: the last started at about two o'clock and then it finished at lunch time (.)
 829. it was three days officially but only two days of work (.) but everyone (2) to
 830. get to stockholm (.) it was a bit more difficult than brussels because there
 831. were not enough flights.
 832. (3)
 833. S5: great (.) so two days in fact of working.
 834. S1: yeah(2) so we can move on now (.) to the seminar er.
 835. <end MD1_500004_54:59>

b. MD 2 / Part 2

recording duration: 8:24

date of recording: 2013-10- 22

836. <beg MD 2_DS500005->
 837. S1: <un> xxxxxxxxxxxxxxxxxxxxxxxxxxxxxxxxx </un> [S14]knows more [S14]
 838. tell us more about the venue.

839. S14: the venue or @@
840. {people talking at the same time}
841. S14: I can say that we now fixed a date in cop which was not easy and i i
842. always propose a date (.) we don't fix a date we propose a date which we
843. have now which try to figure out with [name25] and [name24] and with the
844. the postal union which is the best union (.) <40> of course as usual </40> in
845. greece.
846. SS: <40> @@@@ </40>
847. S14: a:nd and we figured out that actually e:r the best date for this seminar
848. would be (.) er sixth seventh (.) five sixth seventh (.) =
849. S9: = march (.)
850. S14: <41> march march 2014 </41>
851. S4: <41> I want to ask you </41> to give me the EXACT day (.) because
852. you know we are really confused (about the organisation) <un> xx</un>
853. the first day (.) the first night (.) then you'll be arriving forth or sixth (.)
854. <42> march? </42>
855. S14: <42> <L1g> ja </L1g> </42> yes
856. S14: whole week
857. S4: it will be the whole week.
858. S14: it will be the steering group before and then it will be the seminar and
859. er the <un> xxx </un> the same.
860. S4: <to S14>okay </to S14> {writing things down} <whispering> sunday
861. </whispering>
862. S14: mhm (.) but erm this week
863. S4: mhm (.)
864. (6) {writing things down}
865. S4: <un> xxxxxx </un>
866. S4: i brought so:me hotel e::rm proposals (2) but (3) not with me
867. (8)
868. S4: <to S9> i will show you later </9>
869. SS: @@@@
870. S4: <to S9> (i think i left it in my room) </to S9>
871. S14: <soft> okay. </soft>
872. (3)
873. S14: so in principle erm the greek [sector1] erm union is open fo:r e:r hosting
874. this seminar (.) right?
875. S4: mhm
876. S14: they we are very much in contact now with [name26] a:nd (.) [S4] and
877. [name27] (.) and the whole team (.) they're sitting in athens erm at our
878. disposal and erm(.)think it's gonna be fun (.) a:nd maybe a little bit
879. background information (.) it's fantastic to have it in athens erm because the
880. (.) eu presidency which change every six months (.) you know every six
881. month a different country has the presidency will be from first of january on
882. in greece. (.) so we have the eu presidency there (.) we have the country
883. with <un> xx </un> the lowest the highest rate of youth unemployment (2)
884. so we should (.) think about the programme to integrate this (.) maybe also
885. (2) when we talk about the programme (.) I don't know do you want to talk
886. about the programme now?
887. S1: (initially) we wanted the programme (.) there was a next (.) {pointing to
888. the agenda} it's (.) <43> on the agenda </43>
889. S14: <43> @ <@> okay </@> </43> so venue venue will be the week o:f
890. e:r the first week in march (2) five sixth seventh march

891. (5)
 892. S4: a:nd (.) seventh will be the departure (.) and can you tell me how late?
 893. {[S4] closing her bag- we can hear the zipper}
 894. S14: erm
 895. S4: it depends
 896. S14: it depends
 897. S4: it depends
 898. S14: it depends (.) we will finish normally we finish on seventh on friday
 899. around four
 900. S9: <whispering> </un> xxxxx </un> </whispering>
 901. S14: you know (.) if we have the flight back or no
 902. (.)
 903. S5: we have to e:r to organise it as e::r <L1fr> il fait que </L1fr> {it should}
 904. e:r we have to ask them to go back e::r the day after (2)
 905. SX: yeah
 906. S5: and have part:y as usual <L1fr> non </L1fr>
 907. (2)
 908. S9: we DID start having the party the night before (.) BECAUSE everyone
 909. disappeared on the friday
 910. SS: @@
 911. S9: you know we said that (e:r) the unions were not paying the extra night
 912. hotel and so that's why we started to put the parties to second from last
 913. night and left them there (2) BUT being in athens it's quite a long way to
 914. come back if you are travelling so there'll be only few if any to fly back in the
 915. evening
 916. SX: yeah
 917. S9: because it's a four hour flight at least (2) so it's normally more quiet. you
 918. have to stay on normally e:r when you just want to go back because it's
 919. restricted flights (2) so i GUESS the majority will stay there
 920. (2)
 921. S4: <to S9> and for us? e:r for steering group ? the arrival will be (.) second
 922. or third (.) of march? </to S9>
 923. (2)
 924. S9: <coughs> we arrive second we arrive second
 925. S4: second? (.)
 926. S9: there will be <44> people arriving on the forth </44>
 927. S4:<44> i will be there </44> <@> all weekend </@>
 928. SS: @@@
 929. S2: for you <@> <un> xxx </un> </@>
 930. SS: @@@@
 931. S14: sunday the second?
 932. SX: yeah
 933. S14: and the:n two days steering group normally (.) and then on the fifth in
 934. the afternoon (.) we start with the seminar
 935. SX: mhm
 936. S14: five sixth seventh
 937. SX: oka:y that's good
 938. (3)
 939. S14: three four steering group
 940. S4: three fou:r steering group {writing it down}
 941. S14: yeah (.) three four march steering group and then five in the afternoon
 942. start with the seminar

943. {parallel conversation between S5, S2 and S1}
944. S4: so so the participants might come at four? some of them i guess
945. S14: some of them will come at <45> four </45>
946. S4: <45> so we can </45> prepare okay?
947. S14: and some will on fifth (.) depending on the flight
948. S5: e:::::r as the yes before we are to call at in the afternoon of the fifth?
949. S14: <L1g> ja </L1g>
950. S5: erm it's not the really beginning we are giving document and that kind
951. of thing <L1fr> n'est pas </L1fr>?
952. S14: on the fifth we normally do we do we do the this kind of welcoming
953. S5: area meeting
954. S9: in the invitation it will say actually seminar starting at two o'clock on the
955. fifth or whatever BECAUSE if we DON'T if we say it starts on the sixth
956. everyone will arrives late on the fifth and never be there (.) and so we've
957. learned in the past when we had it can't tell a lie bu:t be a little bit (.)
958. <46>unclear </46> on what we're actually doing
959. SX: <46> @ </46>
960. S9: so what we do in the afternoon of the fifth is AREA meetings (.)
961. SECTOR meetings (.) what ever you wanna have (.) but if we write that
962. in the agenda (.) ah they don't need to be there (.) they don't need to be
963. there(.) e:r they can go on a later flight or arrive the next morning and then
964. (.) it just postpones everything <47> <un> xxxxx </un> </47>
965. S5: <47> i can tell </47> the system made the the last two years was good
966. the only {parallel conversation} {someone coughing repeatedly}
967. S1: <un> xxxxxxxxxxxxxxxxxxxxxxxxx </un> in manchester.
968. S7: can we just (.) I know <un> xx </un> {someone coughing} can we please
969. someone differentiate between (.) tell me what really is the difference
970. between the winter school and the seminar (.)
971. S14: it's bo:th (.) the seminar is is kind of a conference without (.) elections
972. S7: a:h got it
973. S14: @@@
974. SS: @@@@ @@@@ @@@@ @@@@ @@@@ @@@@ @@@@ @@@@ @@@@ @@@@
975. S7: a:ha
976. S14: we have every two years a conference with election and every other
977. year
978. S7: okay good
979. S14: the conference without elections
980. S7: thank you
981. S1: you'r welcome
982. S8: but before athens we have another steering group?
983. S1: yeah (.) we got <un> xxx </un> and london (.) in january
984. S8: in january london?
985. S1: yah
986. S8: date? we fixed alright?
987. S14: ninety-ninth thirtieth january
988. S8: ninety-ninth thirtieth
989. (.)
990. S13: where's it gonna be in london?
991. S1: wim wimbledon
992. S13: mhm
993. (5)
994. S14: so there's no we should now think about WHAT we wanna do at the

995. seminar (.) WHOM we want to invite.
 996. S1: <to S14> before we start (.) i kind of like to make a quick minutes break
 997. (.) people are tired (.) anyone
 998. SX: yah,
 999. SX: yeah
 1000. SX: mhm
 1001. S7: we will have lunch at (.) I think at twelve (.) is it that? Yeah so I have to
 1002. check my email {looking through her materials} a:.....nd yeah so if you
 1003. wanna have a break have a break but we will go for lunch (.) later on (2) I
 1004. think I need to check but I think we have a table between twelve and half
 1005. past twelve (.) I mean it's just across the street but
 1006. S1: but let's have ten minutes now and have lunch at half past twelve if
 1007. that's okay for everybody? (.) so back at five past.
 1008. S7: mhm
 1009. S1: <un> xxxx </un>
 1010. S7: outside outside the glass door
 1011. <end MD2_DS500005_08:24>

c. MD3 / Part 3

recording duration: 1:08:13

recording date: 2013-10-22

1012. <beg_MD3_DS 500006_0:01:04>
 1013. S1:now(.) let's carry on where we where?
 1014. (.)
 1015. S1: <to S1> <whispering> <un> xxxx </un> </to S1>
 1016. S14: oh I (.) we have we have talked about the seminar (.) now that we know
 1017. (.) everybody knows what it is.
 1018. S7: @@@
 1019. S14: e::rm(.) where it will take place(.) it will be take place in athens(.)we are
 1020. with the postal union on the moment at the moment on looking at the
 1021. different options of the hotel
 1022. S4: mhm
 1023. S14: a:nd this this we will do in the secretariat (.) we should talk about what
 1024. we want in content on the seminar.
 1025. S1: yeah
 1026. S14: a::s march is coming soon and if you want some guests there or
 1027. something like that we need to invite them in time to make sure that they
 1028. come (.) and if you want an action (.) for example in in athens (.) to support
 1029. the local union there (.) we should
 1030. S1: <soft> yeah </soft>
 1031. (2)
 1032. S1: i think we need to (.) before we look for an action (.) <un> xxxxxx
 1033. xxxxxx </un> we need some indication what we can do and
 1034. where (.) i think we definitely needs to find out what we CAN do AND if we
 1035. can get out in the park and do something or (if we need something) official.
 1036. (2)
 1037. S14: i think the greek colleagues at the moment in training in demonstrations
 1038. @@@

1039. SS: @@@
 1040. S4: exactly
 1041. (3)
 1042. S14: <to S4> so maybe you (.) {poring a glass of water} do you have
 1043. already any information (.) {poring a glass of water} what could be an
 1044. action that for example to support you (.) i mean it should be something that
 1045. only for uni to go out in a street and say <loud> haa (.) we are here </loud>
 1046. so maybe {someone coughing} <un> x </un> to find a way then to <@>
 1047. support the greek union </@>
 1048. S4: we need to have a discussion but ma:ybe we can ha:nd o:ut e:r a letter
 1049. to the parliament e::r (.) I don't think about about this
 1050. S14: mhm
 1051. (5)
 1052. S14: i think WHAT we said (.) e:r what we decided with the motions and
 1053. what we said in hamburg at the meeting (.) i i hope hope not in lisbon (.)
 1054. tha:t is that we want to fo:cus in this seminar on privatization
 1055. S1: <cautiously> ye:ah </cautiously>
 1056. S14: it's what we decided
 1057. SX: mhm
 1058. S1: the topics we got from lisbon are <reading from a laptop screen> youth
 1059. unemployment (.) privatization (.) negative impact of aus austerity on young
 1060. people (.) internships and the european elections
 1061. SX: mh
 1062. S14: poah
 1063. SX: @@@
 1064. S12: <@> a lot of work </@>
 1065. SS: @@@@
 1066. S14: <un> xxxxx </un>
 1067. S2: <to S1> <whispering> should I begin? </whispering> </to S1>
 1068. S12: er are resolution's normally adapted at at the seminar (.) or or what is
 1069. in fact the goal?
 1070. (6) {S2 hanging up a flip chart} {parallel conversation between S4, S5 and
 S9
 1071. starts}
 1072. S2: here we should put UP the things (.) er we have e::r prepared when
 1073. (.) we were in er lisbon (.) take your pick (.) you can read (.) in fact (.) I think
 1074. that that first we had an umbrella topic for the whole seminar that we
 1075. wanted to to make a bit mo:re er communicative nature (like for people)=
 1076. S1: that's why we have the umbrella topic
 1077. S2: yeah
 1078. S1: the was more secure employment for young people in europe
 1079. (2) {someone pouring a glass of water} {S2 writing onto flipchart}
 1080. S2: more and secure
 1081. S7: yeah
 1082. (5) {someone pouring a glass of water}
 1083. S2: <writing> employment
 1084. SX: yah
 1085. SX: where
 1086. SX: aha yeah
 1087. S14: in europe
 1088. (12)
 1089. S2: and then we have (.) some seminar topics also? (.) right?

1090. S1: yeah
 1091. S2: i think we had four of them or something and we put them in workshop
 1092. form we were talking about or three?
 1093. S1: we had secure employment
 1094. (5) {someone is coughing}
 1095. S2: (we need more of that)
 1096. {opening the clasp of the flip chart easel, turning the page, pen does not
 work
 1097. well }
 1098. S7: i think there's more than
 1099. S2: a:h (.) this one is different {writes}
 1100. (2)
 1101. S2: secure employment
 1102. S1: privatization
 1103. (5)
 1104. S2: yeah
 1105. S1: negative (.) impact
 1106. (3)
 1107. {we can here someone stamping past the meeting room; due to the frosted
 1108. glass frame in the middle section of the glass walls the participants can only
 1109. see the person's legs}
 1110. S1: ei ei ei there he's going
 1111. SX: @@@
 1112. S1: negative impact the austerity measures on young people
 1113. S2: of austerity measure?
 1114. S1: yeah
 1115. S2: by? of? (.) which preposition would you use ?
 1116. S2: <forceful> negative impact?
 1117. S9: {taking over the laptop and reading} negative impact of austerity
 1118. measures on young people
 1119. S2: nah (.) not good for me
 1120. S1: next time I need to put on them glasses
 1121. S7: yea:h
 1122. (2)
 1123. S7: is that (.) er a picture? (.) a er photo of the er?
 1124. S2: yea (.) it's
 1125. S7: ah yeah okay (.) and the (.) i think it was my (.) handwriting
 1126. S1: that's no handwriting
 1127. SS: @@@@
 1128. S7: a:wful @@@
 1129. S2: but yo:u (.) i think you write better than me but maybe cause i (can see)
 1130. better than you
 1131. SS: @@@ a:h (.)
 1132. S1: internship
 1133. S2: internship
 1134. S1: and the european election
 1135. S2: a:h (.) yah (.)
 1136. (2)
 1137. S1: i think the the the (.)
 1138. S2: i think these three (.) we want to do do it all in workshop form and the
 1139. the european election (.) we were talking (.) were only
 1140. S1: yeah the internships are main topic (2) AND the european election is

1141. side topic
1142. (7) {S1, S2 and S14 are looking at the flipchart and the computer screen,
1143. whispering with one another} {there are other parallel conversations as well}
1144. S2: oh yeah
1145. (3)
1146. S2: then i put it down here
1147. SX: <un> xx
1148. xxx
1149. xxx
1150. xxx
1151. S2: but that's that's not what we want perhaps<un>
xxxxxxxxxxxxxxxxxxxxxxxxxxx
1152. xx</un>
1153. S2: it's IN the rough time table
1154. S1: we've only put down as speakers e:r oliver AND philip
1155. S2: good
1156. (2)
1157. S14: they've got it already in their agenda?
1158. S1: yeah
1159. S2: yah yah yah
1160. S14: Oliver? and philip have it on their agenda
1161. S2: if they have time
1162. S9: they'll take their time
1163. S2: @@ yeah @@ philip will get half a day (.) maybe ONE day @@ yeah
1164. {end of parallel conversations}
1165. (3)
1166. S2: SO (.) what we have to do then is(.) thinking who c can be the ones (.)
1167. working on these topics (.) and HOW(.) we can (.) do it in different ways (.) i
1168. i think we said we were talking about having some kind of workshops?
1169. S7: YEAH
1170. (2)
1171. S7: we (.) <48> we (.) we said that we could (3) yeah I I think that we </48>
1172. S2: <48> we must look at the timetable <un> xxxxxxxx </un> </48>
1173. SX: <un> xxxxxxxx </un>
1174. S7: because we said we had so many (.) TOPICS that that er we could do
1175. different workshops (.) people could choose(.)
1176. S2: mm
1177. S7: which one's they'd like to do
1178. S14: it's important to not (.) for example (.) how do we do it then with
1179. interpretation? (.) how many rooms we need for the hotel?
1180. S2: yeah
1181. S7: <soft> yeah mhm
1182. S14: how many little rooms?
1183. S7: i think we said that er we would e:r OFFER(.) i think (.) didn't we not say
1184. (.) i think we said that we would offer them (2) twice (.) that we would have
1185. e:r the same workshop(.) have twice (.) so people could (.) decide which one
1186. they (.) want to go to (2) but i'm not i think not (.) any of YOU
1187. remember? how we
1188. S2: i think it was e:r three diff (.) three different ones. yeah
1189. S7: yeah
1190. S2: we have to decide (.) yeah
1191. S1: but we were not discussing <49> <un> xxx </un> </49>

1192. S6: <49> and we offer them twice? </49>
 1193. S7: i don't know (.) i
 1194. S1: yeah <50> i i </50>
 1195. S7: <50> i don't </50> know (.) i was
 1196. S1: <51>no (.) i thought </51> no
 1197. S7: <51> but it does not work </51> (.) I don't know (.)
 1198. S2: yeah (.) no no
 1199. S7: it's just
 1200. S:14: think about (.) three different workshops of THIS topics
 1201. S7: <loud> NO (.) NO </loud> (.) see
 1202. (2)
 1203. S6: that's four
 1204. S14: that's four topics
 1205. S7: <loud> A::H </loud> we'll have four topics that every (.) there's three
 1206. there we made a rough timetable and there were three workshop slots (2)
 1207. so basically (.) everyone does all of them but er (.) but (.) only one (.) not
 1208. S2: yeah
 1209. S1: hm
 1210. S6: okay
 1211. S7: but we have three (.)
 1212. S2: <soft> so maybe we </soft>
 1213. S7: should we <loud> we have a time table I think </loud>
 1214. S2: we have three THREE WORKshops
 1215. S7: yeah
 1216. S2: but nothing about rerunning the workshops <52> it's just three </52>
 1217. S7: <52> okay(.) sorry sorry </52> (.) my fault
 1218. S14: so you have BIG ones
 1219. S1: yes
 1220. S2: yeah
 1221. S1: we have we have not (.) advertised
 1222. S7: @@
 1223. S1: yet (.) no
 1224. S14: you were still (.) dreaming
 1225. S1: yeah
 1226. S12: i was i was i was
 1227. SX: yeah
 1228. S12: just (.) thinking that maybe (.) maybe it can be (.) too ambitious
 1229. (.)mhm? but <L1fr> allez </L1fr> have like (.) we are organising something in
 1230. march (.) <53> in </53>
 1231. SX: <53> er </53>
 1232. S12: the end of may er we have like european elections (.) so <L1fr> allez
 1233. </L1fr> i think the the the BINDING theme maybe could be the european
 1234. elections (.) that they e:r e:r that we we we at the the end of the seminar we
 1235. we make a a press press statement or something that the youth of europe
 1236. wants blablabla (.) or something and then we have er long
 1237. S14: a press statement @@@@
 1238. SX: yeah @@@@
 1239. S12: <L1fr> alors </L1fr> i i don't know (.) i don't know <L1fr> allez </L1fr> i
 1240. don't know I know it's can't have a big impact er because (.) we have a lot
 1241. of things going on in different countries and so on (.) but mayb:e it can b:e (.)
 1242. sort of outcome (.) result
 1243. S7: i think the idea er that every workshop would come up with e:::::r bullet

1244. with one two bullet points things that that that we we e:r so we could in the
 1245. end produce a motion (.) that we can send out (.) I think that was part of er
 1246. the idea
 1247. S1: yeah
 1248. S7: and IN the workshops we discuss the different approaches and we
 1249. come up with e:r
 1250. S12: and we send it out each to er
 1251. S1: <dictating> three bullet points from EVERY workshop (.) (op (.)
 1252. always)
 1253. (2)
 1254. S12: but we we could could send it to to european mps
 1255. S1: yes (.) we get three people to make a statement
 1256. S14: but then you need know how to lobby
 1257. S4: yeah.
 1258. S12: then we know how to lobby @
 1259. SX: @@@
 1260. S12: we just send them an email @@@
 1261. SS: @@@@
 1262. S12: <@> and everything is @ all right </@> @@@ (.) i i don't know (.) it's
 1263. just an idea (.) because we we (2) er on the one hand it's something that's
 1264. interesting for us er for the participants because we we are more informed
 1265. by the topics but may maybe we can use (.) this sort of event to draw ben
 1266. draw benefit (.)
 1267. S14: mhm
 1268. S12: s:o (.) i don't know what is the best approach
 1269. S2:(it's just an idea)
 1270. S12: it's just an idea (.) so yeah
 1271. (2)
 1272. S12: very close to european election
 1273. S2: yeah
 1274. S12: so it's it's like (.)
 1275. SX: mhm
 1276. S12: finally an idea. yeah
 1277. S14: yeah yeah
 1278. S12: and we it's in athens so
 1279. S7: but i think that was actually that was part of the idea that's why we
 1280. have the eu eu elections there (.) so we HAVE (.) th the outcome would BE
 1281. a statement fro:m OUR conference (.) and we (.) i think we haven't
 1282. discussed (.) HOW WHAT we do with that statement and how we would
 1283. transmit that (.) that's of course an important thing (.) what do we do with the
 1284. thing
 1285. S2: hm
 1286. S7: because there is no point working on a resolution if we then (.) put in into
 1287. (.) the bin.
 1288. (2)
 1289. S1: well (.) we can't have a resolution (.) it's not a conference (.) it's only a
 1290. seminar
 1291. S7: i know i mean i'm mixing it up (.) i find it I find the terms so <54> so
 1292. confusing </54>
 1293. S12: <54> but you cannot </54> <55> you cannot </55>
 1294. S14: <55> you can call </55> it statement of the seminar
 1295. S12: statement

1296. S7: yeah
 1297. S12: (but it's not a statement yeah)
 1298. (3)
 1299. S7: <@> <un> xxxxxxxx </un> </@> @@@@
 1300. SX: e::rm
 1301. SX: @@@@
 1302. {the whole table is shaking}
 1303. S1: don't <un> xxxxxxxx </un>
 1304. (11)
 1305. S7: er (.) so we should discuss (.) {someone coughing} what we should do at
 1306. the workshops?
 1307. (2)
 1308. S2: <56> yeah </56>
 1309. S1: <56> we </56> need to decide what workshops it's gonna be. we got a
 1310. title we don't really know what we're doing in the workshops do we?
 1311. S2: n-n
 1312. S1: we need to decide what we will do on each subject in each workshop
 1313. S7: yeah
 1314. S1: because (.) we need more than just a title
 1315. SS: @@@@
 1316. S7: yeah <@> yeah </@> so
 1317. SS: @@@@
 1318. (5) {S2 putting on a new flip chart and trying out a new pen}
 1319. S2: it it's a black one
 1320. SS: @@@@
 1321. S7: i can get some more PENS if you want to have others
 1322. S2: no
 1323. (3) {S2 is writing on the flip chart; while S2 is writing the other members are
 1324. quietly talking among themselves}
 1325. S7: you ALSO did that workshop on how to do flip charts @@@@
 1326. SS: @@@@
 1327. S2: <un> xxxxxxxxxx </un> I want to do one for privatisation one together
 1328. with epsu and one with epm
 1329. S14: okay (2) so you want one workshop on privatisation? yeah?
 1330. S7: yeah
 1331. S1 yeah
 1332. S1: that's the privat (.) that's the one we have to do
 1333. S7: yeah
 1334. S1: from the conference
 1335. S14: okay.
 1336. (2)
 1337. S7: and maybe also with some people from (.) greek colleagues who can
 1338. talk about
 1339. S14: yeah
 1340. S7: their real life experiences (.) that would be great in that workshop.
 1341. (2)
 1342. S14: so.
 1343. (5)
 1344. S1: a few case studies <un> xxxxxxxxxxxxxx </un> privatisation (.) I saw it
 1345. personally
 1346. S2: @@@@
 1347. SX: so your volunteering <un> xxxxxxxxxxxxxx</un>

1348. S14: so you want case studies? ah ja. and and and
1349. (4)
1350. S14: <un> xxxxxxxx </un> eps epsu
1351. S7: okay
1352. S1: if i'm not mistaken for that we need to<un> xxxxxxxxxxxxxxxx </un> impact
1353. as well and not only ask for that
1354. S14: mhm
1355. (12)
1356. S12: are we (.) we are focusing on case studies (.) what do we (.) choose for
1357. sectors (.) like post or transport or (.) or (.) i don't know (.)
1358. S14: [S12]
1359. S12: <57> there's not </57>
1360. SX: <57> (hurry igor (.) back) </57>
1361. S12: i i <58>don't know </58>
1362. S14: <58> i mean </58> finance sector won't (.) be focused on
1363. S1: yeah
1364. S14: except to say reprivatisation
1365. SX: yeah
1366. S14: we also have the others as well
1367. SX: yeah
1368. S14: but if you want to focus on privatisation (.) let's see in uni which
1369. sectors we have (.) i wouldn't take (.) i wouldn't focus on (.) transport as
1370. case study (.) i would rather go on case studys from <59> our own
1371. sectors </59>
1372. S2: <loud> <59> MHM </59> that's(.) that's (.)
1373. S14: may maybe some experience from other sectors
1374. S7: could could we also inclu:de examples where (.) r:e (.) where where
1375. things have been nationalised again like in water companies in france for
1376. instance (.) where the comune have bought bought back (.) th:e
1377. S5: it's not work e::::r well e::::r everywhere
1378. S7: NO (.) that's why (.) i think we can=
1379. S5: = find the difference? yes (.) in fact we can (.) fire away to to introduce
1380. (.) the the the er er e::::::::::r (.) to introduce the subject about the
1381. different solution between (.) once again privatisation because we are
1382. ALWAYS talking about privatisation (.) <L1fr> en france </L1fr> {in france} (.)
1383. we've made always e::::r point about e::::r (.) and discussion about
1384. privatisation in postale sector (.) i mean (.) i i i feel like we e:r talk about it er
1385. every time (.) (forever) (.) so (.) renationalisation (.) it's kind of but not the
1386. only <L1fr> idée </L1fr> {idea} (.) there is many way of <L1fr> lutting </L1fr>
1387. {fighting} against er of different e:r solution as e:r collective e::::r e:r owned
1388. by the worker or kind of thing (.) we can try to find different kind of solution
1389. (.) in each country
1390. S7: okay (.) that's cool (.) yeah (2) mhm.
1391. (7) {someone is laughing}
1392. S12: may maybe (.) renationalisation isn't the right (.)=
1393. S7: =term.
1394. S12: term (.)
1395. S7: yeah
1396. S12: maybe we should use recollectivisation
1397. S7: ah yeah. that's it.
1398. S12: it isn't the same
1399. (2)

1400. S5: i in fact (.) it's a solution we heard (.) we had many solution
 1401. S12: CORRECT (.) because you can have solutions. you have like mon
 1402. dragon in spain (.) this it's a e:r cooperative society
 1403. S5: <L1fr> et voila </L1fr> {there} it's both the same <60> <un> xxx </un>
 1404. </60>
 1405. S12: <60> it's very well known that <un> x </un> country</60>
 1406. S14: okay (.) <smiling> collectivisation </smiling>
 1407. S7: @@@
 1408. S14: @@@@
 1409. S7: @@@
 1410. S12: because because it sounds better also(.) so
 1411. S7: @@@
 1412. (4) {S7 is laughing all the time}
 1413. S5: don't remember for who but?
 1414. SS: @@@
 1415. S5: i don't remember for whom.
 1416. SS: @@@@
 1417. S1: <clears thought> we need to look at WHY privatisation has swept
 1418. through europe as well (.)
 1419. S6: mh?
 1420. S1: why privatisation has swept through europe(.)
 1421. S2: er. in in this resolution that we passed er in albufeira it says <reading>
 1422. we call up on the uni europa youth steering group to analyse some case
 1423. studies on sectors that are in the front line of privatisation such as post
 1424. telecom et cetera (.) and bring it to the next uni europa youth seminar.
 1425. </reading>
 1426. S1: yeah.
 1427. S5: but i think there is a change in the one i wrote (.) they are all field e:r
 1428. (speed)(.) a:nd the nat the privatisation of the e:r traditional sector as we
 1429. imagine to one (have alpen mayer) ago (.) is is not the the best e:r way i
 1430. think because (.) we see in greece we see in spain we see in portugal (.)
 1431. when the most is e:r more than er privatised er er they privatised traditional
 1432. sector (.) it's no:w (.) e:r harder and harder (.) so (subjects) be gone private
 1433. sector like THAT (.) without decide without talking.
 1434. S7: i think we might (.) also have a look at HOW the european union is
 1435. involved in that (.) process and (.) support that and what part of it it is (.)
 1436. yeah
 1437. S7: and how (3) how they try to get rid of workers' rights (2) and do that.
 1438. yeah
 1439. S5: yes (.) we we we've found that they are er part in society (.) i think
 1440. S7: <L1g> ja ja ja </L1g>
 1441. S5: they're opportun
 1442. (14) {S14 writing onto flip chart}
 1443. S5: what is a (.) why nationalisation?
 1444. S14: no (.) analysation (.) to analyse.
 1445. S5: okay
 1446. (2)
 1447. S14: so:
 1448. S5: okay
 1449. (2)
 1450. S12: so (.) with regard case studies (.) talk about POST
 1451. S14: {writing} mhm

1452. S12: e::r and for instance (.) i i would i would propose to (.) that we also
1453. discuss about banking
1454. S14: hm?
1455. S12: the banking sector what is the role (.) for the government or
1456. (administration) in er the banking sector (.) it's a very sensitive topic but
1457. (.) i don't know <61> <un> xxxxx </un> <61>
1458. S5: <61>xxxx </61> exist somewhere in your country? (.) <L1fr> alors
1459. </L1fr> bank nationale?
1460. {S5, S14 and S12 talking at the same time}
1461. S14: it's all together
1462. S12: it's very bad @@
1463. {several people talking at the same time}
1464. S7: we had one (.) union bank
1465. S12: in fact actually until recently we had two(.) two of the bad banks (.) it
1466. was it was (.) bad credits
1467. SX: @@@
1468. S12: so, then
1469. {several people talking at the same time}
1470. S5: because it's e:r not
1471. S12: okay okay
1472. S5: my way of thinking
1473. S12: no
1474. {several people talking at the same time}
1475. S12: what people
1476. S14: so did you want (.) i mean (.) {pointing to the flipchart} this is (.) this are
1477. the topics you want to cover (.) you want some (.) e::r people leading the
1478. workshops (.) from us (.) you want some (.) you want it how (.) i mean how
1479. the set up should be at the workshops to to e:r cover all this these topics (.)
1480. do you want some kind of pannel discussion or short inputs (.) o::r
1481. (3)
1482. S2: i i think it's good to have the er (.) the resolution says to have some case
1483. studies so there's maybe some people that really tells about what
1484. happened when they got privatised (.)
1485. SX: mhm
1486. S2: o::r maybe if there were any protests
1487. SX: mhm
1488. S2: taking place by the time and how they are thinking about that (.) so
1489. that's the case studies and then we will have discussion about (.) what
1490. could be the solution in (sense) (.) but that is what we were talking about
1491. before that every workshop would end up in three
1492. S12: mhm
1493. S2: bullet points that we could use in some way
1494. S1: yes
1495. S2: in our res resolution from this conference (.) that it's like er the ideas of
1496. the people who who are in the workshops like what is our solution to all
1497. these issues (.) like (.) what is the solution (.) if we don't want to privatise
1498. what do we do instead
1499. S7: and the point we also need is alternative examples (.) so we would
1500. have(.) input on the the privatisation part and also on the (.) POSITIVE
1501. SOLUTION (3) thing (.) otherwise it's just like erm (.) complaining
1502. S2: mh
1503. S7: you know (.) it's (.) there's no (.) positive outlook

1504. SX: er
 1505. S7: only complaining's not working (.) you know what i mean
 1506. (2)
 1507. S12: it's also er er a theory in communication (.)
 1508. S7: mh
 1509. S12: if you if you (.) er give negative communication or if you you fear
 1510. people
 1511. S7: yeah
 1512. S12: it's it's not a good (.) option (.) but you have to give a sort of solution (.)
 1513. or something positive
 1514. S5: yes and we (.) w:e're er two or three years and I think more (.) and
 1515. before to to make </L1fr> comme ca </L1f> {like that} and we are now to
 1516. (.) find solution
 1517. S7: yeah
 1518. S5: or to (.) to put light on (.) the kind of solution that exist (.) er
 1519. S7: yeah
 1520. S5: there're other kind of solution (.) we PROTEST (.) {bangs fist onto table
 1521. top}
 1522. PROTEST {bangs fist onto table top} or revolution (.)
 1523. S12: (I think that's basically right (2) okay)
 1524. S5: (sorry I use this revolution)
 1525. S12: no no
 1526. SX: @@@@
 1527. S14: okay (.) so we find (.) four inputs from different sectors (2) and give
 1528. different perspectives to the working group and then discuss it there
 1529. S12: who'll lead the working group? <to S4> you will? </to S4>
 1530. (5)
 1531. S4: (and mackenbush today is always to crisis)
 1532. (.)
 1533. SS: @@@@
 1534. (3)
 1535. S12: (and will the raptor feel something)
 1536. S7: <loud, aggressive>but doesn't it (right/might/light) (.) </loud,
 1537. aggressive> it will be in the case studies (.) anyway
 1538. S2: <soft> yeah
 1539. S7: <calm> i think it will be in the case studies </calm>
 1540. (3)
 1541. S2: so i think maybe (.) we should er (.) put some people responsible for
 1542. each workshop (.) of (.) taking of er (.) who should we inVITE and who which
 1543. people should lead the workshop
 1544. S7: yeah
 1545. S2: so if there's someone who's like (.) PRIVATISATION (.) THAT'S the
 1546. thing I like
 1547. SS: @@@@
 1548. S7: no we haven't
 1549. S2: in the resolution we have divided them
 1550. (15) {several people talking at the same time}
 1551. S1: SO (we will talk about the other workshops first and let people decide
 1552. in the end)
 1553. S7: yeah yeah
 1554. S14: S:O (.) let's go on to the next workshop (.)
 1555. S3: a question (.) are you gonna include e:r (.) like what e:r the different

1556. sectors by region? i mean (.) i would think that e:r (.) the way privatisation (.)
 1557. has affect affected erm union structures in er like western european
 1558. countries differs from eastern european (.) it's kind of different (.) right? in
 1559. some of them
 1560. S14: mhm
 1561. S3: are like (.) like the czech and the slovac republic (.) they've go:t e::r u
 1562. unions that were left over from (.) the the there (2) but the their structure is
 1563. different (.) i <un> xxxxxx </un> right (3) maybe a case study is just(.)
 1564. S14: <62> <L1g> JA JA JA </L1fr> {yes, yes, yes} because </62>
 1565. S4: <62> a country</62> from the region (.) anyone
 1566. S14: in eastern european countries (.) normally influence the public service
 1567. the other unions and not)
 1568. S31: <quietly> in the public and the </quietly>
 1569. S14: ja (.) SO like post for example is (.) in many countries in eastern europe
 1570. (.) there is either the public service union or no union because there are no
 1571. unions but public services (.) still from the old (.) system
 1572. S2: yeah
 1573. S14: state owned and=
 1574. S2: =okay
 1575. S14:SO (.) there are actually (miles) sporting to get into the postal
 1576. sector (.) for example because public is out after privatisation
 1577. S3: mhm
 1578. S6: AHA:A
 1579. S5: <un> xxxx </un>
 1580. S3: but i (.) i was also thinking that (.) lately xxx the structure that that's
 1581. been adopted from previously (.) by e:r (2) larger unions in eastern europe
 1582. (.) <un> xxx </un> and the structure being adopted (.) i don't know (.)
 1583. will you will you talk about this
 1584. S14: but i think this will come up (.) in the in the discussion then anyway (.)
 1585. you have some eastern europes (.) they say (.) how to deal with privatisation
 1586. S3: yeah
 1587. S14: it will come up in the discussion (.) er
 1588. S5: i cannot imagine what you are talking about because we can find (.) er
 1589. in my way of thinking (.) i can't imagine the sector (.) public sector without
 1590. union this way (.) in france we have (.) e:r huge e:r power
 1591. S14: in turkey for example it's also like that (.) in turkey in post there's no
 1592. trade union (.)
 1593. S5: mh
 1594. S14: not really
 1595. S10: not really
 1596. S14: and when the post privatise the union (.) they privatised the post sorry
 1597. @@ privatise the post there would be the case public workers union
 1598. <end MD3_DS500003_56:24>

8.4. Deutsches Abstrakt

In der globalisierten Arbeitswelt des 21. Jahrhunderts wird es für Gewerkschaften und Arbeitnehmervertreter zunehmend immer wichtiger, grenzüberschreitende Synergien und Strategien zu entwickeln. Englisch als Verkehrssprache (*lingua franca*) ein wichtiger Faktor in dieser Entwicklung, weil sie es Menschen mit unterschiedlichen sprachlichen und kulturellen Hintergründen ermöglicht, in transnationalen Gremien und Organisationen zusammenzuarbeiten. Da es bisher es noch keine Untersuchungen darüber gibt, wie Englisch als Verkehrssprache in dieser ganz speziellen Spielart formeller Geschäftstreffen verwendet wird, hat es sich diese Diplomarbeit zur Aufgabe gemacht, einen Grundstein für dieses Forschungsgebiet zu legen.

'Formulations of gist and upshot' („Formulationen von Kern und Ergebnis“) paraphrasieren den propositionalen Gehalt bzw. die illokutionäre Absicht hervorgegangener Redebeiträge und ermöglichen es Gesprächsteilnehmern, sich auf einer Meta-Ebene über ihr Gespräch auszutauschen. Es ist das primäre Ziel dieser Arbeit zu untersuchen, wie und für welche Zwecke diese 'Formulations' in einer Arbeitssitzung eines Jugendpräsidiums eines europäischen Gewerkschaftsdachverbandes verwendet werden, welche aufgenommen, transkribiert und entsprechend der Vorgaben Interaktionaler Soziolinguistik analysiert worden ist. Die Arbeit zeigt, dass 'Formulations' in der untersuchten Sitzung für fünf verschiedene Zwecke eingesetzt werden: (1) für das Klären von Verständnisschwierigkeiten, (2) für das Bilden von strategischen Allianzen mit anderen TeilnehmerInnen, (3) dafür, um andere TeilnehmerInnen vorzuführen und lächerlich zu machen, (3) dafür, um den/die Vorsitzenden argumentativ auf die eigene Seite zu ziehen, (4) für das Beenden von Themen und (5) für das Verkünden von Entscheidungen. Diese Arbeit zeigt außerdem, dass Englisch- Muttersprachler und Nicht-Muttersprachler „Formulations“ gleichermaßen oft und erfolgreich verwenden, einige Aufgabe jedoch an die institutionelle Rolle des/der Vorsitzenden gebunden sind.

8.5. English abstract

In the globalised world of work of the 21st century it has become increasingly critical for trade unions and employee representatives to develop synergies and common strategies across national borders. English as a lingua franca is a major factor in this process because it enables unionists from different lingua cultural backgrounds to cooperate closely in transnational political committees and organisations. However, no research has been done concerning the use of ELF in this very specific type of formal meeting talk. This thesis aims at contributing to the empirical basis that is still needed in this critical field of research.

Formulations of gist and upshot are instances in naturally occurring speech, in which the participants talk about their conversation on a meta-level, re-stating either the propositional content or the illocutionary intent of previous utterances. It is the major objective of this thesis is to investigate the purposes that formulations of gist and upshot serve in a steering group meeting of a European trade union youth federation that has been recorded, transcribed and analysed according to the principles of interactional sociolinguistics. It demonstrates that in formal business meetings gists and upshots are used for five different purposes, namely (1) to clarify talk that is unclear, (2) to build strategic alliances, (3) to mock and ridicule other participants, (4) to manoeuvre the chairperson into alignment, (5) to close topics and to announce decisions. Furthermore, this thesis shows that native and non-native speakers of English use formulations in the same ways and equally successful. However, certain uses are restricted to the institutional role of the meeting chair.

8.6. Resume (CV)

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Seit 2001 Lehramstudium UF Deutsch UF Englisch

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Englisch (C2)

Französisch (A2)

Berufserfahrung

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Sept 2014- Juni 2016	Deutschlehrerin am BRG Gröhrmühlgasse in Wiener Neustadt
seit 2011	Start-Up-HTL an der HTL Donaustadt (Vorbereitungskurse für neue HTL-Schüler in den Sommerferien)
Sept 2012 – Juni 2015	Vorbereitungskurse für Berufsreifeprüfung aus Englisch (Lehre mit Matura) für Donaustadtakademie an der HTL Donaustadt
Sept 2011- Juni 2014	Vorbereitungskurse für die Berufsreifeprüfung aus Englisch am Wifi Neunkirchen
Sept 2012 – Mai 2013	Hurry Up Englisch! AMS-Kurs zum Nachholen des Hauptschulabschlusses am Wifi Neunkirchen
Juni 2009 – Juni 2015	Redaktionsmitglied bei der Jugendzeitung hallo!
Dez. 2008 – Juni 2011	Heimunterricht im Auftrag des Fonds Soziales Wien (Fächer Deutsch und Geschichte)