CONNECTORS AND NEGOTIATION PROCESS: A DISCURSIVE PROPOSAL FOR THE STUDY OF THE CONNECTORS

CONECTORES E PROCESSO DE NEGOCIAÇÃO: UMA PROPOSTA DISCURSIVA PARA O ESTUDO DOS CONECTORES

CONECTORES Y PROCESO DE NEGOCIACIÓN: UNA PROPUESTA DISCURSIVA PARA EL ESTUDIO DE LOS CONECTORES

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ABSTRACT: In this paper, I develop the hypothesis that connectors signal the discursive actions speakers take during the interaction. Unlike approaches that disregard the context, this proposal considers that the connectors are linked to the situation, since they indicate that the speaker wants to produce a complete and clear intervention for the development of the negotiation process. Under this proposal, the context (situation) and the negotiation process are fundamental notions, and have been developed into a model of discourse analysis, the Modular Approach to Discourse Analysis. To illustrate the proposal, I analyze a fragment of an electoral debate.
KEYWORDS: Connectors. Context. Negotiation process.

RESUMO: Neste trabalho, desenvolvo a hipótese de que os conectores atuam como sinalizadores das manobras discursivas realizadas pelos interlocutores durante a interação. Diferentemente das abordagens que estudam os conectores de forma descontextualizada, esta proposta considera que eles são profundamente ligados à situação de comunicação, na medida em que aos conectores cabe o papel de sinalizar para o interlocutor o esforço do locutor em produzir uma intervenção que seja suficientemente completa e clara para o desenvolvimento do processo de negociação. Nesta proposta, são fundamentais as noções de contexto

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(situação de ação) e de processo de negociação, ambas desenvolvidas no interior de um modelo da Análise do Discurso, o Modelo de Análise Modular do Discurso. Para ilustrar a proposta, analiso um fragmento de um debate eleitoral.

PALAVRAS-CHAVE: Conectores. Contexto. Processo de negociação.

RESUMEN: En este trabajo, investigo la hipótesis de que los conectores indican acciones discursivas que los hablantes realizan durante la interacción. A diferencia de enfoques que ignoran el contexto, esta propuesta considera que los conectores están conectados a la situación, ya que indican que el hablante quiere producir una intervención completa y clara para la realización del proceso de negociación. En esta propuesta, contexto (situación) y el proceso de negociación son nociones fundamentales y se han desarrollado en un modelo de análisis del discurso, el Modelo de Análisis Modular de Discurso. Para ilustrar la propuesta, estudio un fragmento de un debate electoral.

PALABRAS CLAVE: Conectores. Contexto. Proceso de negociación.

1 INTRODUCTION

In this work, I study the connectors in a broader theoretical perspective that considers the communication situation in which they are mobilized, as well as the specific interests that lead the interlocutors to employ them. Although studies that isolate connectors from the context and focus only on their syntactic, semantic or micro-pragmatic properties are important[1], to the interactionist perspective we adopt (KERBRAT-ORECCHIONI, 1992) it is problematic to conceive them basically as instructional items, for the study of which it would be irrelevant to know the social environment in which Are employed and where their use is significant.

In contrast to studies of this nature, this paper develops the hypothesis initially proposed by Marinho and Cunha (2015, p. 75) that says connectors are linguistic items

> […] whose function is to signal discursive maneuvers performed by interactants, when participating in a communicative situation. In the perspective adopted here, the connectors constitute signals of the management of the negotiation process that underlies all textual production.

Based on Roulet (ROULET; FILLIETTAZ; GROBET, 2001), the authors consider that every interaction is characterized by a process of negotiation between the interlocutors. This means that every speech, oral or written, is constructed through a process in which the interlocutors make interventions, react to them, ask for clarifications about what was said or written, add information to the previous, reformulate passages they consider obscure, etc. In other words, every text is constituted by language maneuvers, which are carried out by the interlocutors in function of the topic and the expectations they create about the situation. In this negotiation process, the connectors would act as signals of these maneuvers performed by the interlocutors.

In this work, I develop this hypothesis, bringing clarification not only about the role of the connectors as signals of the maneuvers performed in the negotiation process, but also about the impact of the context on this process and, consequently, on the performance of the connectors.

To develop this hypothesis, I initially present the notions of context and negotiation process, which are fundamental for the understanding of the connectors in the perspective adopted in this work. These notions come from a socio-interactionist approach to discourse studies, the Modular Approach of Discourse Analysis[2]. Then, starting from the proposal outlined in Marinho and Cunha (2015), I discuss connectors more closely, based on the concept of context and negotiation process. Finally, I exemplify how the approach to the study of connectors defended here can be used in the understanding of an authentic interaction, that is, not

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[1] Micropragmatic approaches are those for which the connector acts only in the selection or restriction of an appropriate context for the interpretation of the utterance. The studies of the connectors developed in the framework of the Relevance Theory are examples of these approaches (BLACKEMORE, 1992; MOESCHLER, 2005).

[2] It is not the purpose of this paper to present the Modular Approach of Discourse Analysis. Presentations of the model can be obtained in Roulet, Filliettaz and Grobet (2001), Marinho (2004), Cunha (2014).

manufactured for analysis purposes. At this point, I analyze a fragment of the electoral debate that took place in 2012, and was led by Fernando Haddad (PT) and José Serra (PSDB), candidates for Sao Paulo's city hall, in Brazil.

2 CONTEXT AS A SITUATION OF ACTION

In contrast to the Relevance Theory (1995), which conceptualizes the context from a cognitive point of view, Filliettaz (2006, p.76) conceptualizes the context as a situation of action, adopting an interactional perspective:

> In an interactionist perspective, this [context] is not conceived as a strictly psychological category linked to the interpretation of statements - the interpretative context - but it refers more globally to the situation of action in which the interactants are engaged in the moment in which they use the discourse.

Based on this conception, interacting is more than encoding and decoding utterances. In opposition to the cognitive pragmatics, Filliettaz argues that the study of social practices should not be restricted to the examination of sequences of decontextualized utterances, since the mechanisms of communication are composed of complex and organized semiotic forms, which are the discourses. The author observes that, in interactional linguistics, two important properties are attributed to discursiveness. The first concerns the complexity of discourse. This complexity "comes, on the one hand, from the fact that they [discourses] do not result from a simple addition of statements and, on the other hand, from the fact that their description needs a combination of information from different organizational plans" (FILLIETTAZ, 2006, p. 76).

The second property attributed to discursiveness, according to Filliettaz, is the fact that discourses are dialogical realities, as Bakhtin proposes. Broadly speaking, for Bakhtin (2003), every statement is fundamentally dialogic, even when it is produced by a single speaker. Thus, every discourse is dialogical, and never monological, in that it always corresponds, explicitly or implicitly, to a response to previous discourses, and constitutes a material trait of the interaction between two instances, which can be two friends or a reader and one writer separated by the interval of many centuries. For example, a new law, although it does not have marks referring to other discourses, is always the result of demands from civil society or other pressures (economic, political, professional, market). It is, therefore, a response to some previously elaborated discourse. At the same time, all text is addressed to someone and, for this reason, reveals the image that his producer makes of this instance of destination.

Because he thinks of discourse as a complex reality, involving mechanisms to coordinate actions and socio-historical representations, Filliettaz considers that the context, as a situation of action, is modeled both by external aspects and by internal aspects. Thus, based on approaches such as those of Bakhtin and Goffman, the author argues that the context has a schematic dimension and an emergent dimension (FILLIETTAZ, 2003, 2006).

From a schematic point of view, interacting implies mobilizing knowledge and values that are culturally and historically constituted and, therefore, prior to interaction itself. Interacting implies also mobilizing knowledge about the genres of discourse on how to act through language. Thus, the interlocutors do not act as if the reality were a raw data. Rather, they frame the interaction from knowledge or expectations about how to behave in a given situation. In this way, all interaction is distinguished by being, to some degree, recurrent and schematic. Because of this schematic dimension, we are able to identify the social practice in which people are involved in a classroom or to instantly identify whether what we see is a movie, a newscast, a documentary or the episode of a series when surfing on television.

From the emerging point of view, interacting means operating changes in the environment. Although the constraints of the schematic dimension have an impact on the development of interaction, agents are animated by intentions, motives, desires, and emotions, and therefore are the agents responsible for action. Agents have the ability to make sense of the events and situations in which they participate. Thus, as Filliettaz (2006, p. 75) observes, agents "present themselves as beings of experience, capable of constructing meaning from a perception of reality." Conceiving the context as a phenomenon that has an emergent dimension and not only schematic, the author proposes characteristics that can be attributed to such phenomenon. For Filliettaz, the situations of

action are: "a) co-constructed by all the participants, b) dynamic, (re) negotiable and evolutionary, and c) a product partially emergent of the discourses" (FILLIETTAZ, 2006, p. 77).

For Filliettaz (2008, p. 151), the notion of context is represented by this scheme:
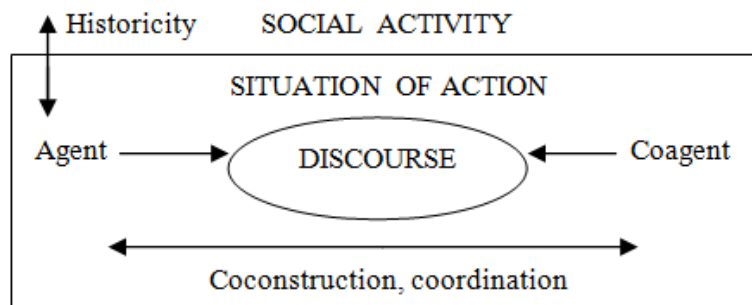

Figure 1: Representation of the action situation
Source: Filliettaz (2008, p. 151)

Thus, the notion of context proposed by the author relativizes the apparent dichotomy between a socio-historical approach of the context, in which the subject would be crossed by restrictions of a macro-social nature, and a radical interactionist approach, in which the subject would be a fully conscious instance of his actions or a strategist who would know how to use language to achieve his goals. When we think of context as a situation of action, we understand that the order of interaction does not occur in a social vacuum, but suffers the impact of the historicity of social practices. At the same time, when we think of context as a situation of action, we do not ignore the role of agents in the co-construction of interaction and in the evaluation, acceptance and transformation of socio-historical expectations that define the order of interaction (FILLIETTAZ, 2003, 2006).

From the considerations about the schematic and emergent dimensions of the situation of action, it is understood that, for Filliettaz, the interlocutors establish a constant dialogue with previous discourses, retaking other texts and ways of acting through language or denying and subverting these discourses. At the same time, the discourse of each speaker brings marks that show the way he represents, sees and categorizes the immediate interlocutor and the situation in which they are. Both dimensions of the situation of action affect the interaction or, more particularly, the process of negotiation of the interlocutors.

3 THE NEGOTIATION PROCESS

In the Modular Approach of Discourse Analysis, the notion of the negotiation process defines the dialogic principle that characterizes language. This notion is, therefore, a theoretical effort to formulate in a more explicit way the dialogism that, for Bakhtin (2003), characterizes every interaction, monological or dialogical. In order to define the negotiation process, Roulet considers that "any linguistic intervention (fulfillment, request, assertion, etc.) constitutes a PROPOSITION, which triggers a process of negotiation between the interactants" (ROULET; FILLIETTAZ; GROBET, 2001, p. 57). In a face-to-face conversation, the speaker's question provokes the listener's response. In turn, this reaction allows the other to thank the response, make an objection to it, or ask for clarification, revealing their gratitude, disagreement, or incomprehension.

The negotiation process defines all interaction, and not only oral and face-to-face dialogues. Thus, negotiation processes also define the interactions that occur through written and monological discourses. A newspaper article can motivate the production of readers' letters or comments on social networks. A statement by a President of the Republic is a proposition that can motivate debates, articles of opinion, discussions, etc.

As discussed in Roulet, Filliettaz and Grobet (2001), and in Marinho and Cunha (2015), the development and closure of any negotiation process involves two types of restrictions, which are restrictions of dialogic completeness and monological completeness. The restriction of dialogical completeness "stipulates that a negotiation only ends if the interactants mutually express

agreement on their closure (restriction of the 'double agreement')" (FILLIETTAZ, 2004, p. 82). With this agreement, the interactants agree to the conclusion of the negotiation process.

However, if the other responds negatively, considering, for example, that the initial intervention of the speaker is obscure or inappropriate for the negotiation process, the negotiation cannot be closed by the speaker. In this case, the dialogical completeness is not achieved, because the interlocutors do not agree on the end of the interaction. Thus, the negotiation process must satisfy not only the restriction of dialogical completeness, but must still satisfy the restriction of monological completeness.

This restriction defines that each stage of the negotiation process - proposition, reaction or ratification - must be elaborated sufficiently clearly and completely. It is important to clarify that the judgment on the completeness of an intervention is not made by the speaker. It is the task of the interlocutor to define if this intervention, in fact, allows to produce a reaction. "Only this [the interlocutor] can judge, in the last case, if the intervention of the speaker provides all the necessary elements for him to take a position, to express his agreement or his disagreement" (ROULET et al., 1985, p. 17). The negotiation process is represented by the following scheme:
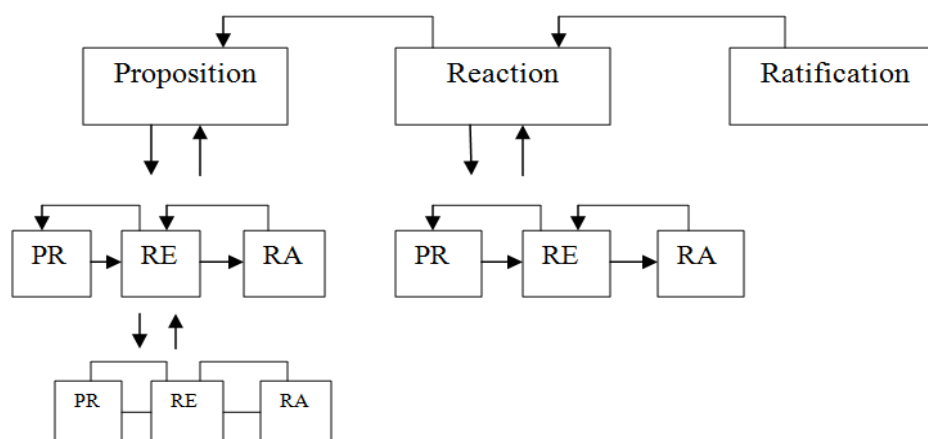

Figure 2: Representation of the negotiation process
Source: Roulet, Filliettaz and Grobet (2001, p.57)

With the search of the interlocutors for reaching the monological completeness, each stage of the negotiation process (proposition, reaction, ratification) can present very complex configurations, and this for two reasons. First, if a proposition is considered unclear by the interlocutor, the interlocutors may be led to produce secondary negotiations, motivated by the need for clarification. Secondly, the hypothesis of the speaker about the knowledge of the interlocutor can lead the speaker to produce an intervention full of information and structurally complex, avoiding the request for clarification or the opening of secondary negotiations (ROULET, 1986). As we shall see, the complexity of the interventions that political opponents make in electoral debates is due to these two reasons.

In this sense, the complexity of the interventions we produce, read and hear are explained by the need to satisfy the restriction of monological completeness. Acting in this way, the speaker can perform linguistic maneuvers that are textualized in discourse relations, such as argument, comment, reformulation, counter-argument, etc. (ROULET, 2003; CUNHA, 2015a). Thus, if the speaker establishes an argument or comment relationship between information, his objective is to construct an intervention that can be evaluated by the other as sufficiently complete, clear and adequate for the negotiation process, that is, an intervention that satisfies the restriction of monological completeness. If the speaker brings arguments or comments to support a point of view, his purpose is to produce an intervention that allows the interlocutor to agree with him, or at least to understand his position, to then react, expressing his agreement or his disagreement.

As it is conceptualized in the previous item, the action situation has an impact on the interaction itself, restricting the way the speakers develop the negotiation process (ROULET, 1988). Thus, the way students and teachers interact in a classroom is different from the way coworkers interact at a business lunch. The action situation restricts the negotiation process, and consequently defines how speakers can initiate propositions, react to them, detect and evaluate problems of completeness, contribute to the repair of such

problems, and so on. In this perspective, the situation of action restricts which discursive maneuvers the interlocutors can or cannot perform. For example, elaborating an intervention to recriminate or criticize information given by the other is a maneuver that will be evaluated differently, if the one who criticizes is a teacher or a student, a parent or a child. Thus, the joint construction of the texts is not independent of the action situation. It is from this perspective that I propose to study the connectors.

4 CONNECTORS AS SIGNS OF THE NEGOTIATION PROCESS

With the notions of action situation and negotiation process, it is possible to study the connectors from another perspective. In this perspective, the connectors are understood as signals of the discursive maneuvers that each speaker, in function of the situation of action, performs to elaborate interventions that can be considered adequate and complete by the interlocutor, who can thus develop the interaction (oral or written). In other words, when they mark discourse relations, they signal the maneuvers that the interlocutors perform or signal their effort to achieve monological completeness. As Marinho and Cunha report (2015, 83):

> The connectors are not only items bearing procedural instructions capable of specifying or explaining discourse relations, but they are also signals of the management of the negotiation process, because they indicate the discursive maneuvers that the speaker performs to produce an intervention that is evaluated by the other as complete and adequate.

In this sense, the performance of a connector is part of a negotiation process between interlocutors, a process impacted by the action situation, which specifies how this process should happen. From this point of view, the explanation for the use of the connectors should consider their actual conditions of use, overcoming approaches that consider only the inferential instructions they contain or the types of speech acts (promise, praise, request, advice, insult, etc.) that they articulate.

As an example, we can observe the printed opinion article, a genre studied in Marinho and Cunha (2015). From the contextual point of view, the author of an article dialogues with a very heterogeneous public in cultural, economic and social terms. Due to this heterogeneity, the writer needs to produce an intervention (the article) that is clear and complete. Thus, readers will react in different ways: sending e-mails, using the article in discussions at school or at work, writing another article to praise or criticize the positions expressed in the first etc. The structural complexity of an article is, therefore, due to the effort of the writer to achieve the monological completeness. Thus, the articulist, aware of the complexity of the situation of action, will need to perform various discursive maneuvers: to advance and refute points of view contrary to his, to approach opposing points of view, to support his point of view with arguments, to evaluate recent events, etc.

In the text, these maneuvers are textualized in the form of discourse relations. In this way, the maneuver to refute opposing views can be contextualized by counter-argument relations. In the same way, the temporal relation can textualize the maneuver of demarcating historical periods.

In the production of oral or written discourse, the connectors, because they are privileged brands of discourse relations (ROULET, 2003, 2006), signal these maneuvers inherent in the negotiation process. When using a connector that marks a makeover, the speaker signals his or her assessment of the situation, and the assessment of the listener. For him, the listener may have difficulty understanding the segment before the connector. With the connector, the speaker signals to the listener the maneuver he performs in the search for being clearer, and producing an intervention that does not motivate questions like: But what did he mean?

As I have stated, the completeness of an intervention is always evaluated by the interlocutor (listener or reader). Thus, even if the speaker deems his intervention adequate for the development of the negotiation process, the interlocutor, in a telephone discussion, for example, can interrupt the development of this process and ask for clarification. At that moment, the interlocutor performs the maneuver of opening a secondary negotiation whose purpose is to construct a sufficiently complete intervention. When opening this secondary negotiation, the interlocutor can signal that opening using a connector. This is what happens when the listener asks for clarification, after receiving an invitation from the speaker. Thus, also in the opening of a secondary negotiation whose function is to construct an adequate intervention for the negotiation process, the connectors can act as signals of the maneuvers that the interlocutors do to reach the monological completeness.

In the next item, I analyze an excerpt from an electoral debate in order to explain how the connectors can be studied in the perspective exposed in this part of the paper.

5 THE ROLE OF CONNECTORS IN A FRAGMENT OF ELECTORAL DEBATE

As I informed in the introduction, in this work I analyze an excerpt from the debate promoted by TV Globo on October 26, 2012, between Fernando Haddad (PT) and José Serra (PSDB). The debate was transcribed and published by Folha de São Paulo newspaper, on October 27, 2012 (FOLHA DE S. PAULO, 2014). The analysis is about this transcription[3]. The fragment belongs to the third block of the debate and consists of question, answer, reply and rejoinder. The topic of the excerpt is drugs[4]:

José Serra: (1) I wanted to ask the candidate about medicines. (2) What will be his policy regarding medicines. (3) When we arrived in Prefecture (4) the distribution was practically paralyzed. (5) We recovered, (6) computerized, (7) we extended the distribution, 170 drugs. (8) We created the home remedy, (9) which was a very important thing (10) and we will now make the basket of medicines for the elderly, (11) in addition to expanding the medicine at home. (12) These elements are relevant to the health of the population. (**José Serra**: (1) Eu queria perguntar ao candidato a respeito de medicamentos. (2) Qual vai ser a política dele em relação a medicamentos. (3) **Quando** eu cheguei a Prefeitura (4) a distribuição estava praticamente paralisada. (5) Nós recuperamos, (6) informatizamos, (7) ampliamos a distribuição, 170 medicamentos. (8) Criamos o remédio em casa, (9) **que** foi uma coisa muito importante (10) **e** vamos fazer agora a cesta de medicamentos para o idoso, (11) **além de** ampliar o remédio em casa. (12) São questões fundamentais para a saúde da população.)

Fernando Haddad: (1) Serra, in this particular of medicines, ideas are well structured, (2) but the programs are not working. (3) I can assure you that there are management problems in the programs of the City of São Paulo. (4) The idea is good, (5) the concept is good, (6) the number of medicines contemplates the guidelines of the Ministry of Health, (7) but if you ask the population today if every list is being considered, and if the Population is having access to all the drugs provided, (8) you will see that the reality is different from the one you mention. (9) What do I want? (10) I intend to act in the management of health. (11) Health today in São Paulo has many resources, (12) practically four times the budget it had. (13) But the quality has not improved. (14) Not only in the distribution of medicines, (15) lack of doctors, (16) lacking, (17) queues are increasing in various specialties, (18) you have management problems, (19) there are no electronic medical records in the city of São Paulo, (20) there are few specialist doctors in many areas, (21) there are hospitals that are in a precarious situation today. (22) Including both city and state hospitals, (23) then my role in health will basically be of management, (24) health management is lacking. (**Fernando Haddad**: (1) Serra, nesse particular dos medicamentos, as ideias estão bem estruturadas, (2) **mas** os programas não estão funcionando. (3) Posso te assegurar que há problemas de gestão nos programas da Prefeitura de São Paulo. (4) A ideia é boa, (5) o conceito é bom, (6) número de medicamentos contempla as diretrizes do Ministério da Saúde, (7) **mas se** você perguntar hoje para a população se toda lista está sendo contemplada e **se** ela está tendo acesso a todos os medicamentos previstos, (8) você vai verificar que a realidade é diferente daquela que você menciona. (9) O que eu pretendo? (10) Eu pretendo agir na gestão da saúde. (11) Saúde hoje de São Paulo tem muitos recursos, (12) praticamente quatro vezes o orçamento que tinha. (13) **Mas** a qualidade não melhorou.

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[3] This debate was analyzed in other studies (CUNHA, 2014a, 2015).

[4] The numbering indicates that the excerpt has been segmented into acts. The act is the smallest unit of analysis in the modular approach (ROULET; FILLIETTAZ; GROBET, 2001). In the excerpt in Portuguese, all the connectors that will be analyzed were highlighted by me.

(14) Não apenas na distribuição dos medicamentos, (15) está faltando médico, (16) está faltando, (17) as filas estão aumentando em várias especialidades, (18) você tem problemas de gestão, (19) não há prontuário eletrônico na cidade de São Paulo, (20) faltam alguns médicos especialistas em muitas áreas, (21) há hospitais que estão numa situação precária hoje de atendimento. (22) **Inclusive** tanto da prefeitura quanto do Estado, (23) **então** a minha atuação na saúde vai ser basicamente a gestão, (24) está faltando gestão na saúde.)

José Serra: (1) I wanted to add something that I had said before the Mother Paulistana program. (2) We will expand the program, (3) which was very successful, (4) 670,000 deliveries, (5) we will increase the care of the child that is born. (6) The mother will be accompanied during the first three years of life, (7) this is fundamental. (8) In addition, for mothers who are waiting for a daycare center, 150,000 jobs were made (9) but they were not enough, (10) we will give a financial aid (11) until there is a vacancy for the baby, (12) this is fundamental, (13) day-care centers should also be strengthened (14) to strengthen children's health.

(**José Serra**: (1) Queria acrescentar algo que eu havia dito antes do programa Mãe Paulistana. (2) Nós vamos ampliar o programa, (3) **que** foi muito bem sucedido, (4) 670 mil partos, (5) vamos ampliar no atendimento a criança que nasce. (6) Ela vai ser acompanhada durante os três primeiros anos de vida, (7) isto é fundamental. (8) **Além disso**, para as mães que estiverem na fila esperando vaga em creche, foram feitas 150 mil vagas (9) **mas** não deram conta, (10) nós vamos dar uma bolsa, uma bolsa creche de 200 reais (11) **até que** abra uma vaga para o bebê, (12) isso é fundamental, (13) fortalecer **também** as creches (14) **para** fortalecer a saúde das crianças.)

Fernando Haddad: (1) Look, for eight years we have been awaiting the measures that are being announced now (2) but that have not been taken. (3) They are simple measures that Serra is announcing, (4) but they had eight years to do (5), and did not do it. (6) In the area of health. The three hospitals, the population is waiting. (7) There is even a threat from the State Government to privatize 25% of the public beds of state hospitals in the City of São Paulo. (8) This would generate chaos. (9) We will build the three hospitals, (10) we will prevent the privatization of the state beds, (11) and bring the right time network to the City of São Paulo. (12) Examination, appointment and surgery at the same place, (13) to end the ranks of health.

(**Fernando Haddad**: (1) Olha, há oito anos nós estamos aguardando providências que estão sendo anunciadas agora (2) **mas** que não foram tomadas. (3) São medidas simples que o Serra está anunciando, (4) **mas** tiveram oito anos para fazer (5) **e** não fizeram. (6) Na área da saúde. Os três hospitais, a população está aguardando. (7) Há **inclusive** uma ameaça do Governo do Estado privatizar 25% dos leitos públicos dos hospitais estaduais na cidade de São Paulo. (8) **O que** geraria o caos. (9) Nós vamos construir os três hospitais, (10) impedir a privatização dos leitos estaduais, (11) **e** trazer a rede hora certa para a Cidade de São Paulo. (12) Exame, consulta e cirurgia no mesmo lugar, (13) **para** acabar com as filas da saúde.)

For clarity, the study will be presented in two moments. Initially, I present a comprehensive and succinct description of the context in which the interaction between Haddad and Serra occurs. Next, I present the study of the connectors, showing their role in signaling the process of negotiation between the interaction participants.

5.1 THE CONTEXT OF THE ELECTORAL DEBATE

The complexity of the debate genre is due to the fact that it results from the intersection of two social domains of language use: the journalistic, and the political. For being a television program, the electoral debate, contrary to what happens with many ceremonies in the political world, is not a practice just captured and transmitted by a TV station. As well as an entertainment program, such as soap operas and TV series, the debate is a practice created by TV stations (BURGER, 1999). In this way, the debate is a media product that needs to be attractive enough to capture a wide audience and, therefore, many advertisers. In our capitalist society, the media are commercial organizations fundamentally concerned with making a profit. Therefore, the motivation for a TV station to create media products is the profit making (CHARAUDEAU, 2006).

However, it would be wrong to analyze the debate as a journalistic product only, or as a creation of the journalistic institution, whose aim would be to attract many consumers to the products of its advertisers. The struggle that the debate promotes between two opponents reflects the struggle that, in the political and social fields, takes place between political parties and between the segments of society represented by the parties.

Because the debate is characterized by this duplicity of functions (entertaining and informing), the position of each political adversary becomes ambiguous. The restrictions on the negotiation process that takes place in a debate come from the political interests and from the interests of the TV station promoting the debate. From the perspective of the political world, opponents representing parties were chosen through internal elections. Therefore, each candidate represents an organization that brings together agents with a similar vision of the social world, but, because the debate is a media product capable of attracting consumers to its advertisers, the debate is prepared by the TV stations to be a physical and symbolic space where political instances (the candidates) need to be able to aggressively negotiate images of themselves (faces[5]). Therefore, each candidate must be able to present himself as someone who, in the dispute with the opponent, has enough charisma and verbal ability to take care of himself, defend himself and attack the opponent (CUNHA, 2014a, 2015).

Throughout a debate, the exchange of questions and answers among political opponents creates the impression that only these are the main interlocutors. However, because the purpose of the debate is to clarify the voter, in addition to getting clients for the advertisers, the voter should be considered as an equally important participant in the debate, even if he does not physically intervene during the discussion, asking questions or asking for clarification[6]. In this way, all questions and answers of politicians have a precise target: the viewer / voter. This indicates that any analysis of electoral debates should consider the fact that the discourses are doubly addressed. They are addressed at the same time to the political adversary and the spectator (BURGER, 1999).

And, because the position of political opponents is ambiguous, the viewer's position in the debate becomes ambiguous. This spectator is not only the voter that the politician must convince of his abilities, but he is also the consumer of a media product (the debate) and of the products announced in the commercial breaks.

The situation of action that characterizes the debate is complex because it shows that, in the process of negotiation between political opponents, the actions they carry out are conditioned by a set of relations that historically structure the space of the electoral debate. Thus, from the point of view of the historicity represented in Figure 1, the space of the debate was structured by the TV stations to provide a maximally aggressive encounter between the candidates that is also attractive for the spectators / consumers. At the same time, in every debate, opponents are political figures who represent antagonistic visions of the social world and, therefore, they need to expose diametrically opposed proposals and projects that are equally transforming or questioning the life of the community. For this reason, the spectator becomes, simultaneously, the client and the citizen that the opponents in combat must entertain and clarify during the period of transmission of the media product of which they are the protagonists. From this perspective, the negotiation process that characterizes any debate can only occur in a highly controversial way.

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[5] In Goffman's proposal (2011, p. 13-14), the face corresponds to the "[…] positive social value that a person actually claims for himself through the line [of conduct] that others assume that he assumed during a particular contact.".

[6] In some debates, such as those promoted in the 2014 presidential elections, previously selected citizens are invited to ask questions, also previously selected, to the candidates. Although this strategy tries to create a citizen participation effect, this participation, due to the excess of control, is quite artificial and does not correspond to a spontaneous dialogue between candidates and electorate.

Although the debate's situation of action has been described in broad lines, it is possible to verify that the socio-historical expectations that characterize the debate are strongly structuring, since the interlocutors that assume the position of candidates for political positions must tacitly accept ambiguous and complex contextual parameters, such as those discussed. Thus, this situation of action has a strong impact on the process of negotiation that takes place between the interlocutors, as well as on the use of the connectors in the signaling of this process.

5.2 THE CONNECTORS AS SIGNALS OF THE NEGOTIATION PROCESS IN THE ELECTORAL DEBATE

Because of the highly controversial and aggressive context that characterizes every debate, the interlocutors never reach the restriction of monological completeness. In each part of a debate, questions are asked, followed by answers. The answers motivate reply, which, in turn, motivate rejoinder. In this process, the game consists of always evaluating negatively the speech of the opponent, in order to make the viewer believe that he did not respond correctly, changed the subject, was not coherent or sincere, etc. Therefore, in the debate, the negotiation process is defined by the negative evaluation that a candidate always makes regarding the monological completeness of the oponent's intervention.

As a consequence, opponents never reach double agreement, with which they would agree to the end of the interaction. In other words, since the restriction of monological completeness is not achieved, because one opponent always judges the other's intervention unsuitable for the negotiation process, opponents never achieve the restriction of dialogical completeness. The debate ends only because the media authority that commands and regulates the interaction abruptly ends the discussion, controlling the time of speech and the preformatted distribution of the interventions of each interlocutor.

This characteristic of the debate shows the impact of the socio-historical dimension of the context on the process of negotiation between the speakers[7].

From a global or macro-structural point of view, in the debate under analysis, Serra's question about medicines is based on the alleged merits of his management, when he was the mayor of São Paulo. The question is followed by Haddad's response, which is fraught with criticism of Serra's management. Therefore, Haddad's response begins a secondary negotiation whose function is to show that Serra's question was unclear and inadequate for the development of the negotiation process. In other words, Serra's question (proposition) is not followed by a reaction with a response function, but by an exchange that is initiated by the opponent. This exchange has a clarification function about problems regarding the question.

After the answer, Serra, in his reply, begins another secondary negotiation in which, at the same time, implies that he considered Haddad's answer unsatisfactory and tries to repair the problems in his question, as pointed out by the adversary, by adding information about what he did. Finally, in the rejoinder, Haddad negatively assesses Serra's reply, because he does not consider this reply adequate for the development of the negotiation process. Thus, Haddad begins a new secondary negotiation, in which he negatively evaluates the reply of the adversary. Obviously, the negotiation process consists of a candidate trying to discredit the opponent's proposals, initiating secondary negotiations with a clarification function.

Roulet proposes to represent the negotiation process through hierarchical structures. In this work, I will follow this proposal, considering that hierarchical structures allow a good visualization of the negotiation process. The hierarchical macro-structure of the fragment under analysis is represented in Figure 3 (intervention (I), subordinate exchange (Ts), main intervention (Ip), clarification (esc.)):

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[7] In Cunha (2014a, 2015), I investigate the role of discourse relations in the aggressive negotiation of identity images that characterizes the debate. From a similar theoretical perspective, but with different purposes, Silva (2013) studies different strategies of discourtesy of the electoral debate genre.
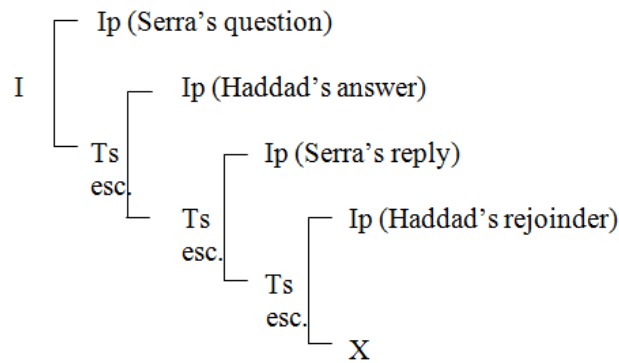
Figure 3: hierarchical macrostructure of the fragment
Source: figure drawn by the author

As Figure 3 shows, Haddad's speech does not have a sequence, which is indicated by X. But, if the debate were to continue, there would be a new secondary negotiation opened by the adversary.

I now analyze each intervention of this fragment of the debate, already pointing out how the connectors are used in the search of each opponent for achieving the monological completeness.

In Serra's initial intervention, the candidate asks *((1) I wanted to ask the candidate about medicines. (2) What will be his policy regarding medicines.)* He then uses most of the time available to comment on the question, reporting what he did in the health area when he was the mayor of São Paulo: *((5) We recovered, (6) computerized, (7) 170 drugs).* With this comment, the candidate tries to achieve the monological completeness, because he presents achievements in the health sector. In an attempt to show his ability, Serra introduces a full commentary of accomplishments.

In this commentary, there are four connectors that help him indicate to the listeners the discursive maneuvers he performs, in an attempt to produce a sufficiently complete and clear intervention. At the beginning of act (3), *when (quando)* signals the beginning of his acting as mayor (<u>When</u> *I arrived at City Hall*). After mentioning this, Serra informs that there were problems in the food distribution *((4) the distribution was practically paralyzed).* Without act (3), the interlocutor could judge that the intervention of the speaker is incomplete, and feel the necessity of a secondary negotiation to clarify when the distribution of medicines was practically paralyzed. Using the connector *when*, the speaker indicates a moment, contributing to the elaboration of a sufficiently complete intervention for the development of the negotiation process.

In relation to act (8) (*We create the remedy at home*), (9) brings a comment introduced by the connector *which* (que) (*which was a very important thing*). With this act, the candidate performs the maneuver, signaled by the connector, to express his personal evaluation about the home-remedy program, in an attempt to lead the viewer to believe in the importance of an action performed by him.

Acts (10) and (11) are introduced by connectors *((10) <u>and</u> we will now make the basket of medicines for the elderly, (11) <u>in addition</u> to expanding the medicine at home).* Both connectors have the function to signal to the listener that the candidate brings arguments to prove his competence in public management. With the connectors, the candidate shows the voter that, if he has done good deeds, he will make new good deeds, rebutting potential objections from the opponent. This analysis of Serra's question is represented in the hierarchical structure of figure 4[8].

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[8] Figure 4 and the figures that appear in the sequence of this work are elaborated with the abbreviation of these notions: Act (A); Intervention (I); Main (p); Subordinate (s); Argument (arg); Preparation (pre); Counter-argument (c-a); Comment (com); Time (tem); Reformulation (ref). Since the work is about Portuguese connectors, we chose to keep the structures in Portuguese. But the numbering of the acts of the excerpts in English corresponds to the numbering of the excerpts in Portuguese.
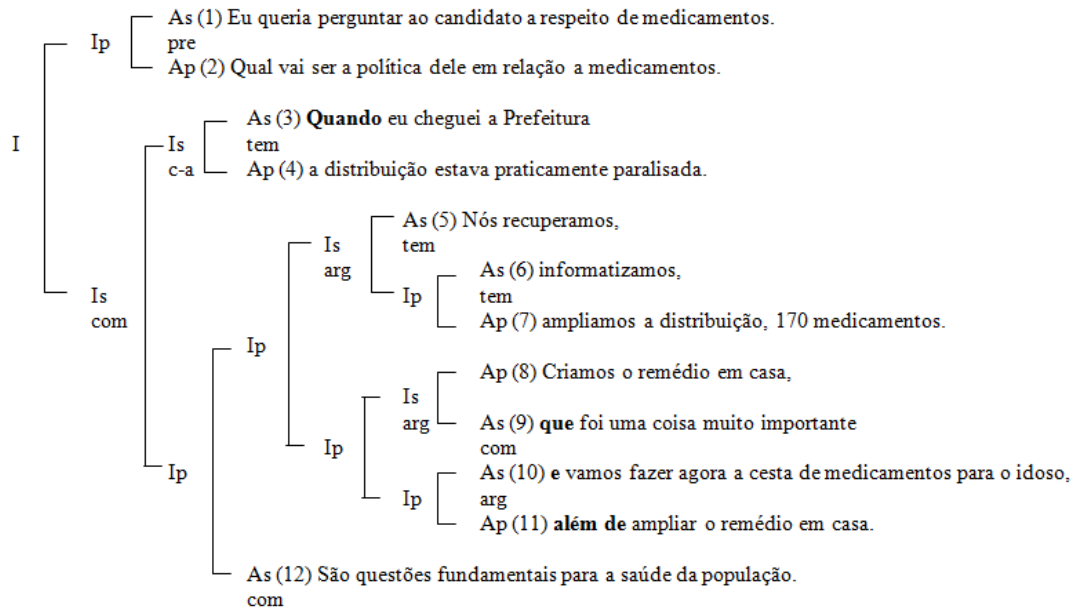
Figure 4: hierarchical structure of the question

Source: figure drawn by the author

In response to Serra's question, Haddad alleges problems, omissions, and untruths in the commentary that follows the question posed by the adversary. Thus, Haddad's response evidences his attempt to deconstruct the image of efficiency that the adversary attempted to construct. In his answer, there are three occurrences of the connector *but (mas)*. Before each of these occurrences, Haddad brings in potential counter-arguments in order to recognize the merits of the opponent's ideas or actions. Of course, given the highly controversial context, the candidate mentions potential counter-arguments as a strategy, after the connector *but*, to introduce the argument he wants to defend. Thus, with the use of *but*, Haddad tries to show Serra (but, especially, the voter) that the adversary's intervention is not satisfactory for the negotiation process, for being unclear or untrue. This fragment presents one of these occurrences of the *but (mas)* connector: *(4) The idea is good, (5) the concept is good, (6) number of medicines contemplates the guidelines of the Ministry of Health, (7)* <u>*but*</u> *if you ask today the population if every list is being contemplated, and if they are having access to all the prescribed drugs, (8) you will see that the reality is different from the one you mention.*

In this fragment, Haddad performs different discursive maneuvers. Initially (acts 4-6), the candidate recognizes that the opponent's ideas are good. But in act (7), Haddad shows that Serra is not deeply aware of São Paulo's reality. With the connector *but* introducing the intervention formed by acts (7-8), Haddad shows that Serra's intervention (the question previously asked) is inadequate and obscure for the negotiation process because Serra mentions unrealistic facts, and because he does not recognize the ineffectiveness of his programs.

All of Haddad's arguments are intended to defend: *(23)* <u>*then*</u> *my role in health will be basically management, (24) is lacking health management.* That is, these are the most relevant acts of his response. For this reason, the intervention formed by acts (23-24) is introduced by the conclusive connector *then (então)*. With this connector, which marks a relation of argument, Haddad signals the discursive maneuver of showing that Serra may be good in theory, but is incompetent in practice (as the arguments given in (01-22) report). With the connector, Haddad furthermore shows that he will know how to manage the health system (as the conclusion given in (23-24) reports). I represent this analysis of Haddad's response through Figure 5.

As (1) Serra, nesse particular dos medicamentos, as ideias estão bem estruturadas,
c-a
Ap (2) **mas** os programas não estão funcionando.
As (3) Posso te assegurar que há problemas de gestão nos programas da Prefeitura de São Paulo.
arg

As (4) A ideia é boa,
Ap (5) o conceito é bom,
ref
As (6) número de medicamentos contempla as diretrizes do Ministério da Saúde,
arg
As (7) **mas se** você perguntar hoje para a população se toda lista está sendo contemplada...
arg
Ap (8) você vai verificar que a realidade é diferente daquela que você menciona.

As (9) O que eu pretendo?
pre
Ap (10) Eu pretendo agir na gestão da saúde.

Ap (11) Saúde hoje de São Paulo tem muitos recursos,
As (12) praticamente quatro vezes o orçamento que tinha.

Ap (13) **Mas** a qualidade não melhorou.

A (14) Não apenas na distribuição...
Ap (15) está faltando médico,
As (16) está faltando,
com
Ap (17) as filas estão aumentando...
Ap (18) você tem problemas de gestão,
A (19) não há prontuário eletrônico na cidade de São Paulo,
A (20) faltam alguns médicos especialistas em muitas áreas,

Ap (21) há hospitais que estão numa situação...
As (22) **Inclusive** tanto da prefeitura quanto do Estado,
arg

Ap (23) **então** a minha atuação na saúde vai ser basicamente a gestão,
As (24) está faltando gestão na saúde.
arg

Figure 5: hierarchical structure of the response
Source: figure drawn by the author

As already mentioned, even though Serra does not explicitly criticize Haddad's response, Serra considers it inadequate, since in the reply he implicitly rebuts the opponent, trying to prove that his statements are false and inadequate for the negotiation process. Thus, Serra tries to show that he is not only a politician of ideas and projects, but that he is also a man of action, who is aware of the reality of São Paulo *((2) We will expand the program, (3) it was very successful, (4) 670 thousand births, (5) we will increase the care of the child who is born)*. At the same time, in this reply, Serra offers information whose purpose seems to be to complete the information of his initial intervention (the question) about his achievements as a public manager *((1) I wanted to add something that I had said before the Mother Paulistana program)*. Therefore, I interpret that with the reply Serra initiates another secondary exchange, whose function is to question the response of his opponent, and to bring new information about his performance.

As shown in Figure 7, six connectors are used in an intervention that has 14 discourse relations. The high frequency of connectors in Serra's speech signals his effort to complete the information initially given in the question, rebutting the criticism of the opponent. In acts (2-3) *((2) We will expand the program, (3) which was very successful)*, Serra uses the connector *which (que)* to bring a comment whose function is to signal that, contrary to what the opponent said, the Programs he proposed had good results. In the same way, in acts (8-13), Serra implicitly rebuts the criticism of the opponent, showing what he did, recognizing that there is more to be done, pointing out to future projects, and informing that he knows what are the future benefits of these projects.

It is important to note how Serra strongly structures his speech through the connectors, using them in signaling the maneuvers he performs: pointing out the results of actions (*que*), informing actions to deny criticism of the opponent (*além disso*), recognizing that there is more to do (*mas*), pointing to future projects (*até que, também*). In performing these maneuvers, Serra tries to produce an intervention that is not negatively evaluated by the interlocutors (adversary and voters). This analysis of Serra's reply is represented in the structure of Figure 6.
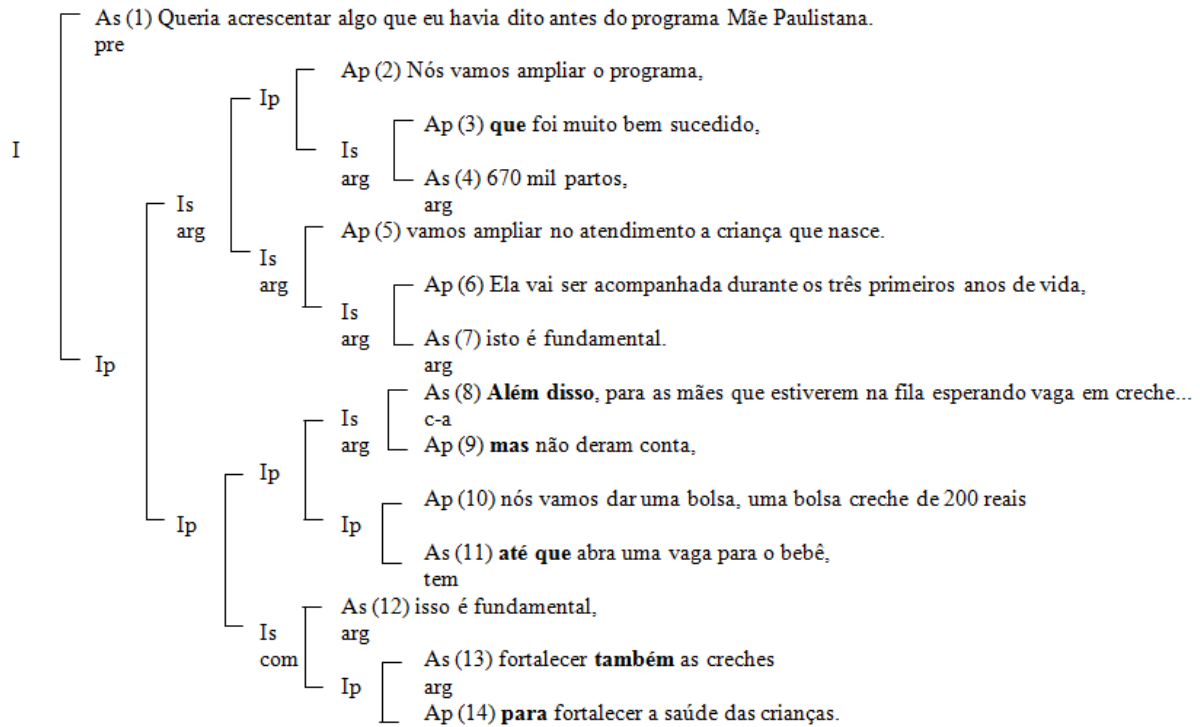
Figura 6: rejoinder's hierarchical structure
Source: figure drawn by the author

Finally, in his rejoinder, Haddad judges Serra's reply incomplete and inadequate, since Serra, in his reply, promised to perform actions that, according to Haddad, were not carried out by the adversary in his previous administration as the mayor of São Paulo *((1) Look, eight years ago we're waiting for things being announced now)*. Therefore, with this rejoinder, Haddad does not produce a reaction to Serra's reply, but begins a new secondary negotiation whose function is to make the speech of his opponent clearer.

In his rejoinder, Haddad performs several discursive maneuvers, and some are signaled by connectors. In this rejoinder, the candidate again uses the strategy of criticizing the opponent's management and the inconsistency of the promises, as in this fragment: *(1) Look, eight years ago we are awaiting for provisions that are being announced now (2)* but *have not been taken. (3) They are simple measures that the Serra is announcing, (4)* but *he had eight years to do (5)* and *did not.* In the fragment, Haddad employs the connector *but (mas)* to signal the maneuver of highlighting the problems of the management performed by the opponent and, at the same time, show that his reply was unclear and inadequate for the negotiation process.

For the spectator not to suppose that Haddad only repeats arguments already given in his answer, the candidate, in acts (7-8), adds an argument to reinforce the idea that the commitment of Serra and his party would not be with the citizen and with the strengthening of their rights, but with the private initiative *((7) There is* even *a threat from the State Government to privatize 25% of the public beds of state hospitals in the city of São Paulo. (8)* What *would generate chaos).* With the connectors in focus, Haddad attempts to construct a sufficiently complete and adequate intervention for the development of the negotiation process because it brings arguments (privatization and chaos) that clarify what would, in fact, be the interests of his opponent.

Predicting possible objections from listeners, Haddad, in act (9) (*We will construct the three hospitals*), performs the maneuver of mentioning actions that he intends to do. In act (13) (*to end queues*), the connector *to (para)* signals the candidate's maneuver to show the voter that he knows the benefits that will result from examination, appointments, and surgery in the same place (act 12). The hierarchical structure of Figure 7 represents the analysis of Haddad's rejoinder.
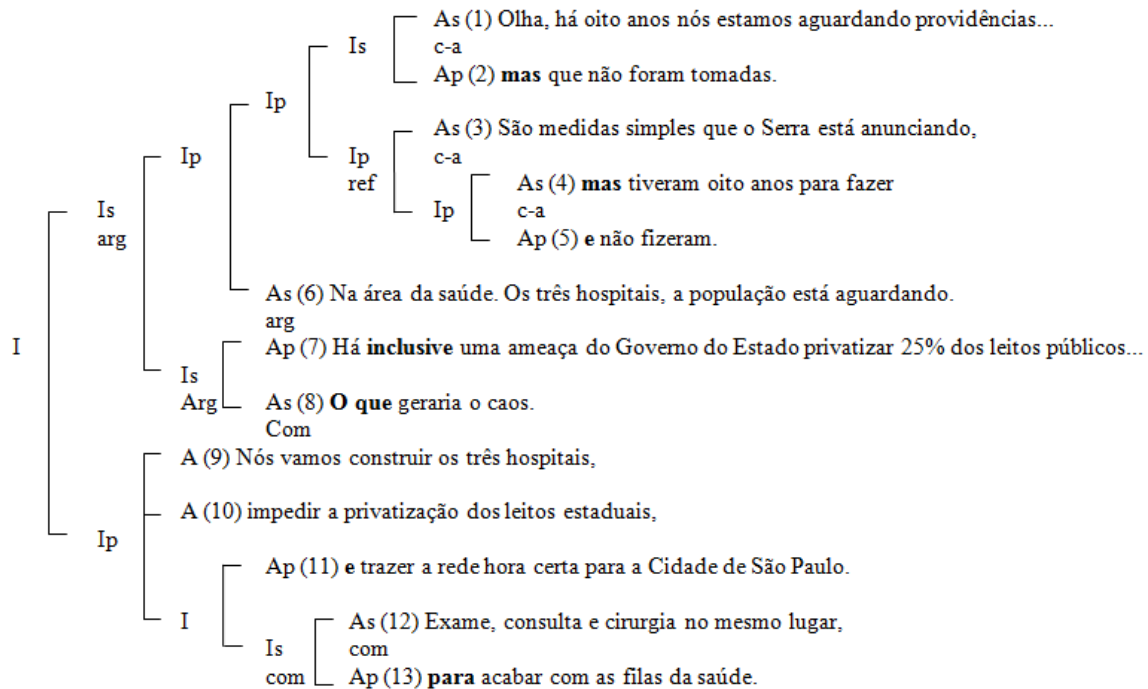

Figura 7: rejoinder's hierarchical structure
Source: figure drawn by the author

6 FINAL REMARKS

At the end of the analysis, some generalizations about the connectors are pertinent, which in this work are conceived as signs of the negotiation process. This proposal understands that the study of connectors should not consider them as linguistic items unrelated to the broader interactional and discursive game in which they participate. The use of connectors does not occur by a simple choice of the speaker, who would select the best one, among the offers available in a paradigm. A superficial explanation like this does not explain the complexity of how the interlocutors jointly construct the interaction.

As we have seen through the analysis of the electoral debate, the context, understood as a situation of action, has an important impact on the development of the negotiation process. Depending on the genre of discourse, stipulating the expectations about how the participants can act, as well as the images that the interlocutors construct of themselves and of the other, the interlocutors perceive the preferred forms of negotiating the interaction. In the debate, the restriction of monological completeness is never achieved, due to the highly controversial nature of the context. Therefore, secondary negotiations with a clearing function are constantly being initiated. In the debate, the negotiation process is different from the process that characterizes commercial transactions. In these transactions, the constraints of monological and dialogical completeness must be achieved. Otherwise, the customer does not have his demand satisfied (FILLIETTAZ, 2000).

In this interactional dynamic, the connectors appear as elements deeply linked to the communication situation, since they have the role of signaling to the listener or reader the effort of the speaker to produce an intervention sufficiently complete and clear for the

development of the negotiation process. For this reason, the study of connectors is so relevant to understand the interactional dynamics and the constraints that weigh on it. By employing them in the construction of an intervention, the speaker reveals the image he makes of his interlocutor, evidencing what arguments, counterarguments, and comments he will use to convince his interlocutor. However, it is the interlocutor's intervention that, sequentially, will reveal whether, in fact, the expectations have been confirmed or not. If the expectations have been confirmed, the restriction of monological completeness has been achieved, and negotiation can proceed. But if the expectations have not been confirmed, the interlocutor's intervention will correspond to the opening of a secondary negotiation, with which he will try to obtain clarifications.

In the analyzed debate, the connectors play a major role because they are the specialized elements in signaling the maneuvers performed by the opponents to indicate the problems of the opponent's speech, and to introduce arguments, comments, and explanations that show the supposed qualities of the speaker.

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