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1. Doing space: The pragmatics of language and space

Heiko Hausendorf and Andreas H. Jucker

Abstract: Language use and space are connected in intricate and multiple ways, and therefore pragmatics must account for the numerous dimensions of the spatial parameters of communicative interactions. At the same time, space needs to be seen not as a pre-existing, physical entity, but as something that is being done in the process of using language. This introductory chapter discusses these basic aspects, which permeate all the contributions of this volume, and it introduces three interfaces of language and space: space within language, language use within space, and language(s) in space. The pragmatics of space cannot be reduced to one of these perspectives, but they serve as useful heuristics to structure the contributions of this volume. The chapter also discusses a range of different conceptualizations of space that are relevant for pragmatics, and it proposes some perspectives for future research in the pragmatics of space.

Keywords: pragmatics, space, doing space, place, social situation, copresence, spatial indexicality

1. Introduction

Why do we need a handbook dedicated to the “Pragmatics of *Space*”? The contributions of this volume will themselves provide rich evidence for this need. In this introduction, we will answer the question from two different angles. As we will argue, pragmatics must intrinsically account for space since spatial parameters essentially belong to language use. Accordingly, there is a direct connection from pragmatics to space. Conversely, there is some reason to assume that linguistic accounts of space in themselves need pragmatics. For it is pragmatics that can best bring in the perspective that space is something to be done by the participants (see Jucker et al. 2018), i. e. not a physically given entity but something emerging in and from discourse. Taken this way, there is also a direct connection from space to pragmatics. But before turning to this twofold reasoning in favor of a genuine pragmatic vision of space and language, we will begin by illustrating the general connection between language and space that has been a challenge for linguistics right from the beginning and somehow beyond the traditional fragmentation into syntax, semantics and pragmatics. When we explore some of the important interfaces between space and language, we enter a field of research that has been massively

discussed across several disciplines. This becomes obvious in the contributions of this volume whose authors systematically provide reviews of the literature of their specific fields. In this introduction, we will, therefore, pick out some references only selectively in order to indicate the richness and diversity of the literature without any extensive coverage of the different fields. First and foremost, our goal is to comment on the structure of this volume with its four sections and to sketch out the many ways in which the contributions approach the issue of space from the perspective of linguistics and pragmatics. First, we will argue that the pragmatics of space cuts across different interfaces between space and language (Section 2). In Section 3, we will consider the perspective from pragmatics to space, or, to put it differently, we consider the question of why and in what sense pragmatics needs space. In Section 4, we will turn the tables and look at the perspective from space to pragmatics, or, why does space need pragmatics? The last section provides a brief conclusion and some thoughts on potentials for future research directions. In all sections, we will, of course, regularly refer to the individual contributions of this volume but for actual summaries, readers are referred to the abstracts that precede the individual contributions.

2. Interfaces between space and language

The relationship between space(s) and language(s) establishes a fundamental concern for linguistics which has been accounted for again and again. Natural languages are closely and intricately intertwined with spatial parameters both on a micro level and on a macro level (called, for instance, the “double spatial indexicality of language” by Auer et al. 2013: 10). On a micro level, spatiality belongs to the speech situation in an extensive way. Particular types of discourse require particular spaces. But it already starts with the physical distance between the participants. In spoken interactions that do not rely on the help of technological devices, speakers have to be within earshot of each other, that is to say they have to share a common physical space. And actual spaces may have a very considerable impact on whether and how the interaction is possible. On a building site with loud machinery, in a disco with ear-piercing music or somewhere close to a runway with airplanes taking off and landing, spoken interaction may be close to impossible. Other surroundings are not only conducive to interactions, but they are actually purpose-built to enable certain types of interactions. This is true for most if not all types of institutional communication: Lecture theaters, assembly halls, playhouses and churches are all specifically constructed to provide the necessary affordances for specific communicative events. They generally assign specific places to speakers and listeners and make sure that listeners can hear and see the speakers even across distances that in other environments would be too large for easy spoken interactions. For this space between speaker and listener, Edward T. Hall, one of the pioneers of early interac-

tion studies, coined the term of “proxemics” (1969), which he studied across different cultures and communities. According to the title of his book, there is a “hidden dimension” of communication that becomes obvious via the participants’ spatial configuration within certain formations among which the so-called “face-to-face interaction” is the most prominent and “canonical” constellation (see Haddington and Oittinen, and D’Antoni et al. this volume). This basic anthropological configuration has left its traces in the linguistic resources that help us to orient ourselves within interactional spaces, most obvious in the case of deictic expressions (or local or positional adverbs) that relate to the speaker’s position (such as “here”), specify embodied differences of spatial orientation (like “in front” vs. “behind” or “right” vs. “left”) or indicate directional aspects of movements (with the speaker’s position as source or target: “to” vs. “from”) (see Levinson 2003; as well as Auer and Stukenbrock, and Gerwien and von Stutterheim this volume).

On a macro level, natural languages are generally tied to specific spaces or localities. People who live in the same geographic area share a common linguistic code that allows them to interact. In our everyday understanding of different languages, such as French, Japanese, Igbo or Swahili, they are first and foremost bound to geographically defined spaces. Wikipedia entries on specific languages typically start with an indication on the localities where they are spoken. This is true both for languages that are restricted to a well-defined and perhaps very small area and for languages that are spoken in many different places across the entire world, such as English or Arabic. Language, that means languages, as H. Weinrich once put it in the title of one of his monographs (Weinrich 2003), and rightly so, one might add: Language, that means spaces. Accordingly, different parts of the world are defined by referring to “their” language: entire continents as in the case of “Latin America” or regions within a country as in the case of “German speaking”, “French speaking” or “Italian speaking Switzerland”. As a result, linguistic forms (across different levels of description from phonology to syntax, from lexis and semantics to pragmatics) can be mapped onto geographically defined spaces and can accordingly constitute linguistic areas (at different scales) which can be flagged within “linguistic atlases” (see Schneider and Félix-Brasdefer this volume). It goes without saying, however, that a fixed and stable, even nation-state vision of language and space (one territory, one language) as evoked perhaps by the tradition of cartographic representations is entirely inadequate. The relation between language and space has to be considered as a dynamic and ever-changing one including phenomena such as multilingualism, migration and diasporas. But nevertheless, language change, in itself, is situated in space, and physical proximity of speakers with different first languages inevitably leads to language contact and contact-induced change. The very process of speaking as the production of sounds allows listeners to infer the speakers’ home and origin from aspects of pronunciation. In this way, relevant aspects of identity and belonging are indicated in a most effective and often inevitable way. We habitually “place” others on the basis

of the language they use, a process that is ubiquitous, for instance, in multi-lingual Switzerland.

Due to the spread of languages all over the world, there are different ways to account for the phenomenon of “space” and its manifold meanings within different languages. It is not only and not foremost a matter of translating the same concept(s) but rather a matter of conceptualizing different ways of thinking, visualizing, imagining, figuring, perceiving, treating, in short, of *doing* space by means of natural language(s). As soon as we move on to talk about issues of space in whatever dimension, for instance, when we start to talk about contested spatial issues (ranging from landscaping to urbanism, from housing to architecture, from border politics to ideologies of (trans)national territories), we come across a highly implicative system of spatial vocabulary, semantics and semiotics with smooth transitions to languages for special purposes. Space accordingly becomes a matter of explicit reflection and negotiation and becomes pervasive as a part of social discourse(s) (see Danos this volume). Without ignoring the difference between language and space, one could therefore argue that space in some sense means language, too.

It should be clear from these sketchy remarks that the relationship between language and space is multifaceted and complex, but three main interfaces come to the fore to which the four sections of this volume can directly be related (see Figure 1):¹

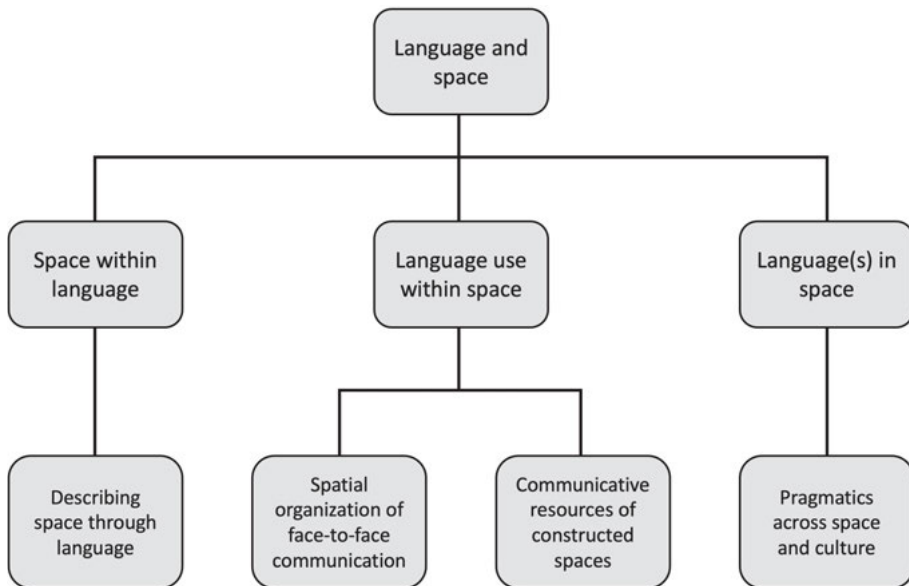


Figure 1. Language and space interfaces in relation to the four sections of this volume

¹ Figure 1 is a modified and essentially adapted version of the presentation in Hausendorf (2013: 281).

The first interface deals with space within language, that is to say with the linguistic resources that specific languages have at their disposal to refer to and to talk about space and spatiality. In the present volume, this interface will be covered by the various practices of describing space through language, including spatial references in spoken interaction or in written texts, the description of motion events as well as the creation of imaginative spaces in storytelling.

The second interface deals with the micro level of language use within space. In the present volume, this interface includes, on the one hand, the spatial organization of face-to-face communication including not only spatial arrangements of small groups and some other forms of direct interaction beyond physical copresence but also the spatial dimension of sign language and gestures. On the other hand, this interface also includes the communicative resources that are provided by constructed spaces and the ways in which these facilitate and shape communication. Take, for instance, the discourse-specific communicative affordances of a lecture theater or an assembly hall in contrast to the much more general and less specific affordances of a private living room or a public square.

The third interface, finally, deals with the macro level of language, or rather languages, in space, that is to say with the fact that languages are generally geographically located and therefore situated in specific spaces. In the present volume, this interface is devoted to pragmatics across space and cultures, i. e. the ways in which language use differs across language varieties, languages and cultures.

As should have become clear from this brief outline, there is no reason to restrict the pragmatics of space to one of the three interfaces. As this volume impressively demonstrates the pragmatics of space overlaps all these interfaces. The pragmatics of space is not a homogeneous field of linguistic research, and neither can it be easily segregated into subfields. In many ways, the contributions of this volume cut across the different aspects of space in language, language use within space, and language(s) in space. The few references to some of our contributions sporadically interspersed above already illustrate the variety of thematic aspects in this regard. We have therefore not excluded certain types of spaces and neither did we restrict ourselves to selected types of spaces by means of extant definitions. Instead, we argue that the pragmatic perspective is needed from both sides: on the one hand from pragmatics itself and on the other from specific views on space. It has sometimes been noticed critically that under the heading of language and space very different linguistic approaches treat rather different aspects of language and space without looking for overall concepts, overlaps and similarities (for instance, Auer et al. 2013). Thus, we distinguish between the interfaces outlined in Figure 1 above as a matter of convenience and in order to structure the contributions of this volume, but the contributions themselves will show very clearly that these boundaries are artificial and need to be bridged in any attempt to get to a deeper understanding of the relationship between language and space. In the remainder of this introduction, we will argue that a

deeper understanding of pragmatics requires reflection on space (Section 3) and that, vice versa, a deeper understanding of space requires inputs from pragmatics (Section 4).

3. From pragmatics to space: Why does pragmatics need space?

Pragmatics as the study of language use cannot easily be detached from space (or from time, of course, but here we want to focus on the spatial aspects). The perhaps most fundamental interface that we have introduced above (see Figure 1) is basically and essentially a pragmatic one, namely that of language use in space. It results from the pragmatic assumption that language use necessarily occurs spatiotemporally, roughly speaking, in space (and time). The somehow basic argument that language can only exist in space (and time) only holds when we think of language in terms of language use instead of language as an abstract system beyond or behind its use. To some extent, language in terms of de Saussurian “*langue*” can indeed be studied without accounting for space and spatial parameters. It is not by chance, that in its most abstract style of thinking (within Generative Grammar, for instance) such an approach is no longer interested in languages (as spatially defined entities) but in linguistic universals that can be abstracted away from space. A usage based pragmatic approach cannot abstract away from space since the variation of linguistic forms across situations of language use is omnipresent. It cannot be disregarded within pragmatics but has to be accounted for as one of the key factors of language use and variation.

When speaking appears, it does so in a spatially defined social situation as we have already emphasized above. This is a strong pragmatic constraint that has been called a “*linguistic space-apriori*” (Schmidt und Herrgen 2011: 58, “*sprachliches Raum-Apriori*”). It is within the social situation of language use that the spatiality of speaking and listening comes to the fore in myriads of everyday encounters anytime and anywhere. In these encounters, large scale linguistic areas (dealt with as “*language(s) in space*” in Figure 1) overlap with small scale interactional spaces of situational anchoring including the participants’ mutual co-orientation, co-ordination and co-operation. So, what is concerned at a macro level is the spatial situatedness of individual languages and language varieties. Among the approaches dealing with this aspect, dialectology may be the most prominent and oldest linguistic sub-discipline, nowadays often understood as the traditional precursor of modern areal linguistics and area typology. Language use in space then refers to the long-term effects of spatially fixed language use, for instance, in terms of linguistic variation (cf. Auer and Schmidt 2010; Muysken 2008 with a renewed interest in concepts of space) and in terms of pragmatic variation (see Schneider and Félix-Brasdefer this volume). This also holds for contact linguistics as far as it is concerned with phenomena of contact induced areal formation and areal spread of linguistic features.

As far as space is concerned, we then think of two-dimensional spatial entities that the observed variation of linguistic forms and pragmatic patterns can be mapped onto. It is geography that has provided linguistics with such spatial entities and the necessary spatial expertise in mapping. It may appear that this interface between language and space relies more strongly on a pre-existing concept of space, i. e. geographical space. However, we would like to argue, and the relevant papers in this volume will further substantiate our claim, that these geographical spaces are also discursively negotiated by people who share a common language or language variety, not only in terms of a shared lexicon and shared language structures, but also in terms of shared usage patterns of language and shared conventions of communicative behavior. Following this line of thinking, dialectology can in fact be “pragmaticized” in some sense (see Nilsson et al. this volume).

Although language use can obviously not be restricted to speaking and listening, to spoken discourse and orality the speech situation can rightly be considered the “natural home” (Goffman 1964) of language. As such, the spatiotemporal face-to-face configuration with its communicative requirements for co-orientation, co-ordination and co-operation (see Hausendorf and Schmitt, and Meyer and Jucker this volume) can be considered the social ecology within which natural language has evolved phylogenetically (and still evolves in the ontogenesis of language acquisition). Pragmatics therefore has a fundamental interest in understanding the kind of constraints and conditions that are connected with this natural home of speech. Since Goffman’s pioneering studies in the sociology of interaction (Goffman 1961), we have been used to combine the social situation with “face-to-face interaction” and, in doing so, have been prompted to conceive of the speech situation in terms of a basically spatial configuration that appears to be an anthropological constant of language use. Taking this insight as a starting point, a lot of linguistic research has been done to further explore the spatial fundamentals of speaking and listening as they come to the fore in the case of (multimodal) deixis which is therefore a genuine subject of pragmatics (rather than semantics). Deixis relates to the spatial positioning of speaker and listener in discourse, and it allows for the participants’ mutual co-orientation, co-ordination and co-operation (see Auer and Stukenbrock this volume).

Space in language (another interface in Figure 1 above and sometimes termed as “spatial language”, e. g. by Hayward und Tarr 1995) can, therefore, be considered a long-term sediment of the participants’ orientation in interactional space(s). It is a genuine topic of pragmatics, too: Innumerable processes of situational anchoring, positioning and configuration have found their fixed and solidified forms in terms of spatial grammaticalization and lexicalization pathways. Different “grammars of space” illustrated by cross-linguistic research (cf. Levinson and Wilkins 2006) provide evidence of this kind of space within language. Cross-linguistic research on space in language has often (albeit not exclusively) adopted a cognitive science point of view directed at the cognitive basis of spatiality in language (“spatial

cognition”; cf., for instance, Levinson 2003; see also Gerwien and von Stutterheim this volume). There can be no doubt that natural language is a powerful resource for situational anchoring, but it is also true that it is not the only one. There is the human body as a mobile and intelligent sensor in space and there is a large variety of architectural affordances that both have to be accounted for as highly effective resources for situational anchoring. This is another reason why pragmatics has to be intrinsically interested in space.

In addition to basic requirements of situational anchoring, there are a lot of speech acts and verbal activity types that are directly space-related and that might have emerged from concrete configurations in space (maybe starting from early rituals and forms of exchange around stone circles: see Hochuli and Streeck this volume). As a well-established subject of pragmatics, there are particular genres that request spatial lexis and semantics and that could perhaps be characterized as spatial genres. “Describing space through language” (see Figure 1 above) noticeably comes to the fore in the case of genres such as living space descriptions, route directions or spatial descriptions of touristic places in travel guidebooks (see Schubert this volume). Even narratives can be shown to depend on spatiality with respect both to spatial aspects of the actual situation of storytelling and “replaying” (Goffman 1981) and to spatial aspects of the narrated scenario (see Heller this volume). Discourse acquisition therefore comprises developmental aspects of doing talk about space (see Filipi this volume).

There is still another genuine pragmatic aspect of doing talk about space(s) – and place(s). It has to do with the social relevance of space as a manifestation of social structures of modern society, and, thus, with social space (cf. also the way in which social classes are conceptualized in spatial terms as lower, middle and upper classes). When space becomes a contested issue and is explicitly talked about (as is typically the case when there are conflicting views on spatial issues) it becomes obvious that there are semantics of space that belong to special discourse structures. Space then proves to emerge through discourse as a social construct, typically in terms of place(s) that bear a social meaning for those who are in whatever way concerned and who relate their own idea of belonging and identity to special places (for instance, as “locals” or “visitors”: Streeck 2013; and Hochuli and Streeck this volume). It is within this genuine pragmatic perspective that the linguistic reflection on the relation between language and space can benefit from what has been introduced as a “spatial” and “topographic turn” in social sciences and recent sociologies of space (cf., for instance, Schroer 2007). Within pragmatics, different strands of discourse analysis have contributed to link concepts of space to political and regulatory discourses that essentially involve space. Take, for instance, discourses on landscaping and town planning and how they shape our view of urban and rural environments, of built and furnished space. “Describing space through language” accordingly includes spaces which become a topic of negotiation and deliberation (see Danos this volume).

As acknowledged before, language use cannot be limited to the speech situation, and pragmatics, therefore, cannot be limited to speaking and listening in physical copresence. Language use obviously includes writing and reading as well, and for a long time now, people have used language beyond situations of physical copresence. Does that mean that space is fading away in such extended forms of language use? Obviously not, as one could take from many contexts and situations of language use beyond copresence. Take, for instance, the case of reading in spatial environments (inscriptions, signs, billboards, graffiti, and so on) in which the place of reading is a crucial resource for meaning (cf. “Discourse in place”: Scollon und Scollon 2003; see also Kesselheim and Hottiger, and Yumul-Florendo and Muth this volume). The pragmatics of such texts have to include pragmatics of space and place. The same holds for the verbal description of spaces and places within (fictional and non-fictional) texts: Free from requirements of actual situational anchoring, writers and readers can develop new strategies of grasping complex spaces through linearization strategies (cf. Schubert this volume). Last but not least, there is language use in virtual environments. The achievement of interactional spaces among “telecopresent” participants (Zhao 2003) has accordingly become an issue of pragmatics across different settings and scenarios of virtual realities (see Meyer and Jucker this volume).

From what was sketched out as pragmatic aspects of space and spatiality, it becomes quite clear that space is a nearly ubiquitous phenomenon within pragmatics. So, one might wonder that the present handbook is the first one to give space the kind of attention that it deserves (in terms of a “pragmatics of space”). The contributions collected within this volume attest to the richness of findings and observations in this field and they show a lot of overlapping interests. At the same time, the contributions show a large variety of theoretical backgrounds (from cognitive to social, variational to interactional approaches), methodological traditions and empirical data (from text and video analysis of authentic data to questioning and participant observation and the evaluation of experimental data).

4. From space to pragmatics: Why does space need pragmatics?

There is not only a direct connection from pragmatics to space, but different conceptualizations of space also lead directly to pragmatics. What all the interfaces between language and space have in common in the way that they are treated in this handbook is that space is understood as socially constructed. In the relevant sense, space is not a pre-existing entity with which people interact, but it is discursively created in interactions. In an earlier paper (Jucker et al. 2018), we used the term “doing space” to describe the way in which interactional partners make use of the spatial affordances around them and at the same time create and maintain spatial configurations in their interactions. This basic understanding of space as achieve-

ment is here extended to all three interfaces outlined in Figure 1, and therefore the analytical approaches presented here are necessarily pragmatic ones, where pragmatics – in accordance with all the other volumes in this series of handbooks of pragmatics – is understood in its broad sense of the study of the use of language in its social and cultural context. The focus lies squarely on the use of language in the discursive construction of space for all these interfaces. In order to illustrate this point of view, we will briefly outline the different conceptualizations of space that come into sight from a pragmatic perspective. Alongside these different conceptualizations, different disciplines come into play. As we will argue, it is pragmatics that allows to bring together and to consolidate these different meanings by extending and advancing the motto of doing space.

Without claiming to account for different relevant meanings of space exhaustively and exclusively one might like to differentiate space and spatiality from the point of view of participants of social interaction. Space then can be described as differently “done” spaces. The following list of “spaces” (adapted and modified from a similar list in Hausendorf 2013: 280–281) is meant to illustrate this basically pragmatic point of view and to show the complexity and the systematics of research covered in the present volume, even if we cannot go into the details of the different spaces and their corresponding fields of research. In all these fields and within all these related disciplines, space is conceptualized in more than one way, and at this point, we merely want to provide some crosslinks between different contributions and to draw attention to some pragmatic issues of space that cut across the different sections of our volume.

Perceived and pointed space

Space is relevant as what is directly accessible to the participants’ sensory perception, i. e. what is visible, audible, can be touched or sensed in whatever way and can be pointed to by the participants. This is what we call “perceived and pointed space”: it is something “just here”, “over there”, etc. In terms of multimodal pointing, for instance verbally or/and gesturally, perceived aspects of space become relevant for what is going on in interaction. It goes without saying that this is the perhaps most prominent link between space and pragmatics. As such, it looks back to a rich tradition of reasoning, particularly with respect to linguistic theories of “deixis” (portrayed and discussed by Auer and Stukenbrock this volume and in some sense omnipresent across most of the other contributions) and related issues that in one way or another are concerned with the relationship between spatial perception, spatial cognition and spatial language. Among these issues, the contributions of the present volume deal with the description of motion events (Gerwien and von Stutterheim this volume), the relevance of gestures for pragmatics (Fricke this volume), the conceptualization of space in sign language (Wilcox, Martínez and Morales this volume), and the description of spatiality in written texts (Schubert this volume).

Used and embodied space

Space is also relevant as what is available to the participants' body movements, i. e. what is within reach, "stand-on-able", "walk-on-able" (Gibson 1977), go-through-able, pass-by-able or in whatever way answered in a corporeal way. For this, we talk about "used and embodied space": a line of seats, a passage, a pedestrian area, a virtual environment for moving avatars, and so on. In contrast to perceived and pointed space, used and embodied space has long been neglected within linguistics but has been accounted for in early research on "nonverbal communication" (as, for instance, by Ruesch und Kees 1956). Due to the spread of video-based data on the one hand and virtual environments for screen-based social interaction on the other, research on interactional space, i. e. on relevant situational aspects of movement and social action has appreciably increased over the last fifteen years or so. Mirroring these recent trends in research in conversation analysis and computer mediated communication studies, the contributions of the present volume deal with the role of space in openings (D'Antoni et al. this volume), interactional spaces in stationary, mobile, video-mediated and virtual encounters (Haddington and Oittinen this volume) and spatial configurations of communication beyond copresence in virtual environments (Meyer and Jucker this volume).

Built and furnished space

The concept of "built and furnished space" is closely connected with used and embodied space. Here, space is relevant as what has already been prepared and arranged for the participants' social interaction. Built and furnished space comes distinctly to the fore in case of socially organized (institutionalized) and highly specialized use (cf. for instance LeBaron and Streeck's analysis of an police interrogation room: LeBaron und Streeck 1997). It is not by chance that modern societies' functionally differentiated organizations have become manifest in purpose-built spaces in terms of buildings with their particular interiors. Buildings like the hospital, the court, the university, the museum, the parliament or the factory provide social interaction with spatial and social positions according to the characteristics of institutionalized communication, i. e. healthcare (hospital), judiciaries (court), science (university), learning (school), art (museum), politics (parliament) or economy (factory). This is what Hausendorf and Schmitt (this volume) propose to be analyzed as architecture for interaction (cf. also Jucker et al. 2018). Apart from its prominence in institutionalized communication, built and furnished space is ubiquitous in everyday life. It holds as well for private interiors, namely for ways of living space arrangements and furnishings which create spaces for private sociability and conviviality by defining configurations of copresence. The adjustment of distance and closeness between the participants is a relevant dimension of such configurations – and is well-known as the spatially sensitive aspect of im/

politeness in interaction (Brown and Hübscher this volume). A prominent configuration and furnishing of copresence in dwelling and housing is the so-called “lounge” (“Sitzecke” in German). Emerging in history as an essential part of the civic (“bourgeois”) living room furniture, it pre-structures the way in which family members and visitors get together as an interactive ensemble (Schmitt 2013) and the way in which living room culture presents itself inwards and outwards (cf. Linke 2012 from a pragmatic point of view). Hochuli and Streeck (this volume) deal with spatial arrangement in dwelling and housing that go far back in early human history to primal configurations of copresence (for instance, configurations of exclusion and inclusion by means of stone circles and campfires) and also go to the characteristics of modern public places.

Formed space

The concept of “formed space” relates to mountains, valleys, deserts, plains, lakes, rivers, caves, and so on. It is space in the sense of what has naturally emerged during the last ice age or thereabouts and what participants treat as their natural landscape (in contrast to linguistic landscapes, see below). It contrasts with built and furnished space, which is concerned with material artifacts constructed by humans and treated as meaningful and semiotically loaded manifestations of intentional agency. It provides the larger context for used and embodied space with its natural “affordances” (Gibson 1977) for people to move and to dwell, to walk and to stay. Primal configurations of copresence as dealt with by Hochuli and Streeck (this volume, see above) might have emerged through taking advantage of such natural affordances. Albeit not accounted for in the present volume in one of its contributions, the linguistic categorization of landscape (Burenhult und Levinson 2008) could well be a subject of pragmatics (maybe as a part of named space, see below).

Ideological and imagined space

When we go further in thinking of the relationship between space and social belonging and identity and orient from a micro (local) to a macro (global) level, we come across space in terms of what is established and known by participants as a social group’s place and territory. For this we suggest the term “ideological and imagined space”. It relates to membership in terms of a nation, a state, a principality, a region or a town that, for instance, allows to talk about social groups’ territories. Turning to the discursive production of space and place in spoken and written discourse, Danos (this volume) deals with the formation of ideological and imagined spatial distinctions between the urban center and the rural periphery.

Named and labelled space

For what is topographically defined and what participants can address as distinct spaces and/or places, we use the term “named and labelled space”, which has evolved in natural languages into a complex and manifold system of toponyms at micro and macro levels of view (with names, for instance, for towns, spots, a continent, a street, a place or a region). It differs from the ideological and imagined space, which simultaneously triggers and depends on activities of naming in the sense that with the help of names, perceived and pointed space (see above) starts to become a known and solidified entity that participants can refer to without depending on a shared situation of perceiving and pointing. Onomastics, as a well-established subdiscipline in linguistics, is devoted to exactly this type of space – albeit not always and not primarily with a pragmatic perspective. Taking an interactionist’s point of view on toponyms, Debois and De Stefani (this volume) sum up the onomastic tradition in linguistics, elaborate on the relevance of onomastics for pragmatics (and vice versa) and go on studying the uses of place names in naturally occurring talk.

Mapped and measured space

Natural language is not the only resource by means of which space is semiotically expressed. There is “mapped and measured space” as what is geographically outlined by means of cartography and what is available for participants in terms of mental as well as geographical maps at different levels of concretion and abstractness. Mapped and measured space typically defines borders between territories, countries, regions and areas, from small spots up to parts of the earth. It has occasionally been spelled out that mapped and measured space significantly contributes to our view on spaces as two-dimensional areas with clear-cut boundaries, i. e. to the ideological imagination of spaces belonging to *us* or *them* (Streeck 1995: 430 f.). Linguistics (dialectology in particular) has often made use of geographically measured space in order to record and to map the spread of linguistic features and has often adopted a correspondingly static and given conceptualization of space (Auer 2004). In the present volume, mapped and measured space plays an important role within the pragmatics across space and cultures without being reified as the one and only and self-evident given factor of pragmatic variation (Nilsson et al., and Schneider and Félix-Brasdefer this volume). Purschke and Schmalz (this volume) adopt the point of view of perceptual dialectology showing that the (lay) participants’ understanding of dialect areas does not automatically coincide with what has been mapped and measured by expert dialectologists.

Spoken and heard space

Apart from the partly problematic implications of mapped and measured space, there can be no doubt that space is in fact something that becomes audible in everyday interaction episodes. The participants' ways of speaking different languages, varieties and/or dialects (language use in terms of diatopic variation) allow for linguistic definitions of space(s) and place(s). This is what we would like to call "spoken and heard space". It may range from linguistic areas over dialect regions to urban quarters. It is important to emphasize that it does not depend on linguistic expertise of area typologists, dialectologists or urban language specialists. In contrast, spoken and heard space emerges from the participants' routine grounds of connecting language(s) with space(s), for instance, in terms of the speakers' origin, affiliation, belonging and/or home. Connecting language(s) with space(s) based on what is heard or spoken as a dialect, an accent, or a foreign language is a largely automated and unconscious process typically unnoticed and unexpressed by the participants (as in the case of already mentioned perceptual or lay dialectology, cf. Purschke and Schmalz this volume). Spoken and heard space is maybe the most impressive proof of the close relationship between language and space and as such has been one of the oldest concerns of linguistics (as was already mentioned). Albeit not explicitly and systematically accounted for, it emerges in a number of contributions to this volume (cf., for instance, Nilsson et al.; Schneider and Félix-Brasdefer; Debois and De Stefani).

Written and read space

The linguistic definition of space and place cannot be restricted to spoken (and heard) discourse. There is "language in the material word" (Scollon and Scollon 2003), i. e. written and read discourse in terms of signboards and signposts, graffiti on walls, postings and bulletins and inscriptions of all kinds. In such cases of fixed texts, space becomes legible and readable, i. e. what we call "written and read space". In contrast to spoken and heard space, written and read space has long been neglected in pragmatics. It has only recently been noticed and studied that there are linguistic landscapes pervasive all over our urban and rural everyday environment. Linguistic landscapes are ubiquitous, but they come to the fore when there is multilingualism in signs, for instance, in place name signs, due to a supposed readership of multi-lingual, multi-ethnic and/or multi-national inhabitants. The field of linguistic landscape studies is still a recent one, but it has developed rapidly in the last fifteen years. By now, it goes far beyond the focus on multilingualism and includes the emergence of texts in different environments and on different objects. Yumul-Florendo and Muth (this volume) sketch out the state of the art and present an empirical study dealing with fixed texts on the Philippine jeepney, a most popular means of public transport and, at the same time,

a telling case of written discourse in the material world and of a “postcolonial assemblage”.

Apart from linguistic landscapes, at least in the narrower sense, written and read space also holds for the way in which spatial surroundings of texts can become relevant for their understanding and how spatial aspects of the environment, vice versa, are defined and contextualized by spatially and locally fixed texts. Such cases illustrate that the actual situation of reading can become a relevant resource for readers to grasp what is meant and that it contributes to load a concrete space with a certain meaning. Take, for instance, a text that reads as follows: “A sustainable solution to protect our water resources”. Dissolved away from its situational anchoring, readers could only guess as to the topic-comment structure of this obviously elliptical message. Read in its natural home as a nameplate fixed at eye level above a urinal in a men’s room, it becomes obvious and is immediately inferred by users that what is treated as the given topic must have to do with the urinal (that proves to be and is “understood” as a waterless toilet). This is an important part of “language in the material world”, too. And it has also long been neglected as a relevant aspect of the pragmatics of written texts. In the present volume, Kesselheim and Hottiger deal with the relationship between texts and space and give empirical evidence from texts and spaces in a science center where reading is closely connected with physical actions.

Needless to say, this list of spaces is not exhaustive. It does not include, for instance, the metaphorical concept of “pragmatic space” that Jucker and Taavitsainen (2000) developed in order to differentiate and compare neighboring speech acts. But it illustrates the range of different meanings of space. Presented in this way, space is obviously an interdisciplinary topic relevant to many disciplines and approaches: geology (formed space) and geography (mapped and measured space), cognitive, social and ecological psychology (perceived space), ethology and conversation analysis (embodied and used space), political sciences and sociology (ideological and imagined space), architecture (built and furnished space), and, last but not least, linguistics in the narrower sense (named, spoken and written space). According to the interdisciplinary variety of meanings, space has been dealt with rather differently in linguistics (in the broader sense) as far as theory and methodology are concerned. There is no reason to restrict the pragmatics of space to one of these approaches and to exclude other approaches or to restrict ourselves to selected meanings of spaces by means of arbitrary definitions (stating, for instance, that there are “physical” spaces as opposed to “interactional” ones). Otherwise, we would miss some interesting connections between the different pragmatic approaches that we have collected in this volume. And, finally, we would skip over the many ways in which all of these spaces are done by the participants: Taken from the point of view of pragmatics that we have drawn on in our account, all the different meanings of space can be related to space as something

that has to be “done” by the participants where “doing space” refers to cognition and perception as well as movement and (inter)action, to discourse and ideologies as well as natural and linguistic landscapes, to architectures for interaction as well as geographical areas, to sign language and gestures as well as to verbal deicticals, motion verbs and narratives, to physical (“natural”) as well as virtual (“synthetic”) 3D-environments. In this broad sense, doing space appears to be an adequate label to comprehensively bring together different contributions to the description of space through language, to the spatial organization of face-to-face interaction, to communicative resources of constructive spaces and to pragmatics across space and cultures under the common heading of “pragmatics of space.”

5. Future perspectives

From what was sketched out as the pragmatics of space so far it should be clear that we are talking about a broad field of research with different approaches from different strands of linguistic traditions. It is accordingly impossible to list all the promising future perspectives of research in this field, but the conclusions to each contribution in this volume provide an outlook to what their authors see as the most challenging research questions and topics within each particular field. We will, therefore, restrict ourselves to an aspect of social change that directly relates to the pragmatics of space since it concerns the concept of “doing space” that we have made use of in this introduction. As already mentioned, space has long lived a shadowy existence in pragmatics compared to, for instance, time and the derived concept of sequentiality. This has changed only recently, and it is reasonable to assume that the new interest in space and spatiality has to do with a social change in configurations of copresence and, accordingly, in the configuration of what was introduced as the “social situation” in the 1960s. The social situation defined through the participants’ mutual copresence (Goffman 1964) has long been taken for granted as something “natural”, something “bio-physical” and something “local”. As such the social situation could be and has been treated as a given instead of something to be done. But for some decades now, we have learned that there are social situations that are no longer natural but virtual (in the sense that they are accomplished, brought about, constructed, in short: achieved), no longer bio-physical alone but more and more technological (in that they are transferred, transmitted or in whatever way mediated) and no longer local but global (in that they have long ago left behind bodily restrictions of proximity). It is easy to see that alongside this kind of complex change, the role at least of perceived and pointed, used and embodied and built and furnished space has come to the fore: as something that could no longer be taken for granted as the given environment and “natural home of speech” (Goffman 1964) but as something that has to be taken care of, established and anchored, accounted for and elaborated, discussed and

negotiated, in short: as something that has to be “done”. Computer gamers on a live streaming platform like *Twitch* provide a particularly striking example (Meyer and Jucker this volume). They negotiate and, hence, “do” their relevant spaces and places in a multilayered and entirely virtual environment. They connect themselves to a seemingly random bundle of virtual networks. And they globally share a virtual space with their co-gamers, bystanders and spectators all over the entire world.

This kind of advanced computer gaming is only the tip of the iceberg. According to some sociological theories, we have been facing a far-reaching process of “spatial transformation of contemporary society” for quite some time. It is assumed to have started as early as the 1970s and to include dynamics of “mediatization, polycontextualization and translocalization” (Knoblauch und Löw 2017). It has been referred to as a general “re-figuration of space” at the macro and micro levels of modern societies. In a seminal paper that has recently been updated and expanded, Knorr-Cetina (2009; see also Knorr-Cetina and Woermann 2021) has explicitly introduced the notion of the “synthetic situation” in order to emphasize that something relevant is going on as far as our usual settings of copresence are concerned. Explicitly addressing the Goffman tradition of micro sociology and the Garfinkel line of ethnomethodological research, Knorr-Cetina draws a distinction between (1) the local and the global, (2) the natural and the synthetic and (3) human and non-human actors. Empirical evidence is provided from studies not only of online computer gaming but from scientists working at the CERN in Geneva and bankers and dealers at exchange markets. Her suggestion is that we should shift our attention from the focus of those locally and physically copresent to those who are part of an expanded, translocal setting which is enabled by information processing and digital communication network technologies: “The extended content and capacity of synthetic situations are the result of what can be projected onto a screen and staged through a screen” (Knorr-Cetina and Woermann 2021: 406, our translation).

The recent COVID-19 pandemic has brought with it an unprecedented and extensive shift from communicative interactions in physical copresence to virtual copresence mediated via videoconferencing tools, such as Skype, Webex, Zoom or MS Teams. Interactional spaces have been transformed into virtual, mediated and screen-based spaces. Perceived and pointed, used and embodied and built and furnished spaces have changed dramatically through such tools. In addition, communication via virtual telecopresence (Zhao 2003; Meyer and Jucker this volume) is becoming more and more part of our daily lives. We communicate with an automated teller machine (ATM) in order to perform financial transactions; we communicate with a chat bot on the internet; or we communicate in the physical world with robots that mediate our communication to another person who is electronically present but physically distant. It is easy to speculate that such spatially complex and multilayered forms of communication will continue to develop. If pragmatics wants to keep up with the many different ways in which participants

are doing space in an increasingly virtual, mediated and global way, it must include space as a much more central element in its future theorizing.

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