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“Life is life:”
Changing perspectives in linguistics

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Rede

uitgesproken bij de aanvaarding van het ambt van
hoogleraar Taalbeheersing
aan de Faculteit der Geesteswetenschappen
van de Universiteit van Amsterdam
op 12 februari 2016

door

Gerard Steen

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*Geachte mevrouw de rector,
meneer de decaan,
meneer het afdelingshoofd,
collega's van de UvA en uit het land,
studenten,
lieve vrienden en familie,*

Hier begint het.
Ik kan kiezen tussen 'Zijn vrouw had hem' en 'Mijn vrouw heeft mij'.
Onderweg heb ik besloten dat het 'mijn vrouw heeft mij' moet zijn.

Kees van Kooten, Veertig

This is where it begins.
I can choose between '*Waarom moet alles toch veranderen?*' and 'Why must everything change?'
Five weeks ago I decided that it should be 'Why must everything change?'

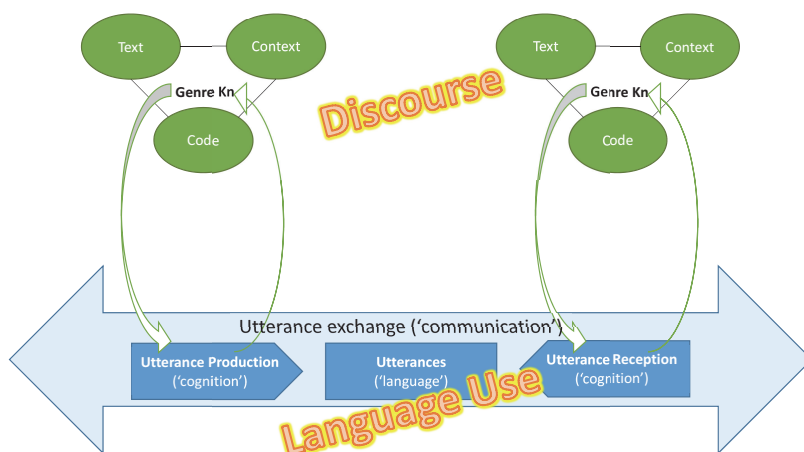
Introduction

Why must everything change, even in linguistics? Because life is life, and life means change. Old and new forms of linguistics can be kept together in productive ways, but this does require a dedicated effort. In this inaugural lecture celebrating my acceptance of the chair in *Taalbeheersing*, I will show how I think this can be done.

Since my appointment is in the research institute of ACLC, the Amsterdam Center of Language and Communication, my main message will be that the Dutch word *communicatie* in fact indicates two entirely different phenomena. The first phenomenon is the use of text in code in context and is also often called 'discourse' in English (see Figure 1). The second phenomenon is part of

language use, where utterance production and utterance reception generate utterances for utterance exchange between people; or, where cognition is expressed in language for communication. In my view *communicatie* translated as ‘discourse’ drives the use of language, including the *communicatie*-related aspects of language use. Even though language use feeds back into discourse, it does not drive it in the same way. This is because the driving force of discourse is not just a matter of discourse in general, but of knowledge about discourse genres in particular; but this will come back later.

Figure 1



This leads to a different view of the relation between language and communication than is customary in a lot of linguistics in the Netherlands. I will briefly hint at some of my plans for research and teaching in this encompassing model of discourse (text in code in context) and language (utterances as involving thought, language and communication) via genre. And my overall point is that, in spite of its different nature, this model embraces the old and the new in constructive ways.

Language and discourse

What is the relation between language and discourse? Examples of discourse include conversations, business meetings, novels, and inaugural lectures. Are

Dutch conversations different than English or Chinese ones? Are Dutch novels different than English or Chinese novels? And what about advertisements, business meetings, inaugural lectures? From one perspective, conversations or novels or business meetings are the same across cultures in spite of the language differences: you do not have to learn again what it is to have a conversation, read a novel, or participate in a meeting when you are Dutch and have to do this in English or Chinese (but you must learn another language). Discourse (conversations, novels, *oraties* and so on) is something totally different than language (Dutch, English, Chinese, etc.).

For a long time, linguistics has not focused on discourse, but on language and its use. This type of research has taken several forms, mainly boiling down to the study of formal expressions (clauses or sentences) or their use in some real or imagined context (utterances). Clauses, sentences and utterances form the optimal level of aggregation for the coordinated study of phonetics, phonology, morphology, syntax, semantics, and pragmatics. This holds for synchronic and diachronic linguistics as well as for developmental, psycholinguistic, sociolinguistic and anthropological research. In all of these subdisciplines, language is viewed as a complex multi-level semiotic system underlying the production and reception of clauses, sentences or utterances. Linguists consequently examine the phonetic, phonological, morphological, etc. structures and functions of so-called usage events involving the expression of thought and its use between people in order to reconstruct these systems for hundreds of languages in the world. Apart from the scientific interests in how language works in the mind, in interaction and in society at large, how it is acquired and changes over time, linguists can therefore also intervene in pathological situations like aphasia and have useful descriptions of languages in grammars and dictionaries for foreign language teaching at all levels of education and training.

Part of our group's work on metaphor belongs here. This most clearly holds for our work on linguistic metaphor identification and corpus annotation (e.g., Dorst, 2011; Herrmann, 2013; Kaal, 2012; Krennmayr, 2011; Pasma, 2011). It has shown that the distribution of metaphor displays an interaction between metaphor (non-metaphorical, indirect metaphor, direct metaphor, implicit metaphor), word class (nouns, verbs, prepositions, and so on) and registers (conversation, fiction, and news, and academic texts), which moreover is highly comparable between English and Dutch. It has moreover yielded a highly reliable method for linguistic metaphor identification, which has since been used as a model for reliable irony and hyperbole identification (Steen et al., 2010a; Burgers, Van Mulken and Schellens, 2011; Burgers, Brugman, Renardel de Lavalette, and Steen, in press). And another product is the

world's first publicly accessible corpus annotated for metaphor (cf. Krennmayr and Steen, in press.).

But things have changed. At the same time there has been a second form of research on language, which focuses on discourse, and this is now rapidly expanding in research and teaching. Discourse studies is not concerned with clauses, sentences, or utterances, but investigates the use of text in code in context. When you write or read an email, when you are in a business meeting, or when you hold or attend an inaugural lecture, you are cognitively and socially co-constructing a text in a code in a context. Discourse displays just as many aspects and dimensions, and therefore just as many subdisciplines and schools of analysis, as can be found in sentence or utterance linguistics. In my conception of the field, discourse, like sentence or utterance linguistics, is not just a humanities subject but also involves discourse psychology as well communication science. Discourse studies, too, facilitates intervention and training, including text and discourse advice as well as design for all sorts of discourse domains, including health and care, government and politics, science and education, etcetera.

Another part of our group's work on metaphor belongs here. For instance, there is Linda Greve's (2016) dissertation on metaphors for knowledge in knowledge intensive groups; Adriana Costa's work on metaphor in interview data of depression patients (Costa and Steen, 2014); and Sandra van der Hel's work on the way in which the notion of a tipping point became a metaphor in the climate change debate between scientists and journalists (Van der Hel, Hellsten, and Steen, in prep.). Romy van den Heerik's on-going PhD project analyzes the deliberately strange metaphorical comparisons in the national 'Smoking is so ...' campaign in the Dutch social media (Van den Heerik, Van Hooijdonk, Burgers, and Steen, in press). This *KWF* Dutch National Cancer Foundation campaign was meant to alter social norms about smoking, from positive to negative. It did so by turning them into something outdated by means of playful co-creation of deliberately surprising comparisons, most of which were metaphorical, such as 'Smoking is sooo Windows XP'. This co-created campaign is heavily dependent on the genres of the social media it employs. If it can affect social norms about smoking, subsequent campaigns to reduce smoking among young people may have a better chance to affect young people's attitudes and hence intentions to stop smoking.

Discourse analysis is a very different ballgame than the study of language. It is indeed so different that many linguists are uncertain whether it is part of linguistics, which can have knock-on effects on decisions made in management and organization. Discourse analysis requires the modeling, description and explanation of texts (or 'messages' in the social sciences), not sentences or

utterances. Texts can be spoken or ‘written’, which typically means ‘somehow mediated’; monologic, dialogic or multilogic; unimodal or multimodal; and range from one word (for instance the logo in an advertisement) to *Anna Karenina*. What is more, texts cannot be fully researched without including the code they are expressed in and the contexts they are used in. All of this goes to show that the analysis of discourse is a huge challenge and requires totally different data, theories, models and methods than the study of language.

For an encompassing approach to the study of metaphor, both are needed, as in Patricia Pineda’s (2015) PhD dissertation on metaphor recognition and interpretation by Columbian school children, where metaphor in language use is shown to interact with the discourse requirements of primary instruction. Our work on the presence or absence of figurative framing effects of distinct metaphors in written discourse is another example (Steen, Reijnierse and Burgers, 2014; Reijnierse, Burgers, Krennmayr, and Steen, 2015). In this work, we challenged the idea that single word metaphorical frames at the beginning of small texts about crime (‘crime is a beast’ versus ‘crime is a virus’) were able to affect people’s preferences for distinct policy measures (Thibodeau and Boroditsky, 2013). The basis of our challenge lies in a new theory of metaphor in language that is combined with how metaphor can work in discourse processing.

In spite of their essential differences, language and discourse are clearly interdependent: there is practically no discourse without language. This even holds for the multimodal metaphorical discourse we are studying in our group, including in Marianna Bolognesi’s Marie Curie project ‘COGVIM’ (<https://cogvim.org/>) on the cognitive grounding of visual metaphor, and in our collaboration with Paula Sobrino and Jeanette Littlemore in the Marie Curie project ‘EMMA’ (<http://multimodalmetaphor.com/>) on Exploring Multimodal Metaphor in Advertising, which is based in Birmingham. This work ties in with Charles Forceville’s long-standing interest in multimodal discourse (e.g. Forceville and Urios-Aparisi, 2009). In all of this multimodal discourse, it is clear that language plays a crucial role. In addition, practically all aspects of discourse are reflected in language (e.g., Biber and Conrad, 2009). What is more, there hardly is any language without discourse.

The problem is that all of this research on either language or discourse developed in numerous different ways over time, disciplines, schools and countries, with little coordinated interaction. It is therefore another great challenge to bring all of it together to describe and explain the incontestable interdependence between language and discourse in a useful and consistent conceptual (and terminological) framework, as well as in ways that can be

tested in research. Metaphor offers useful testing grounds, in many ways, but at the end of the day it is just one case among numerous other phenomena, including discourse phenomena such as argumentation for persuasive purposes in a wide variety of domains, which is the expertise of my new chair group.

I am very happy to have found a receptive environment for these views at this faculty, for this mutual interest between linguists and discourse analysts is not encountered everywhere. This is probably also due to former discourse pioneers at the UvA like Simon Dik (e.g. 1997a, b), Frans van Eemeren (e.g., 2010), Mieke Bal (e.g. 1997), and especially Teun van Dijk (e.g., 2011), whose heritage was one major reason for my great interest in this appointment. Incorporating much of this prior UvA work on discourse, I suggest that our discussion can be stimulated by discussing my relatively simple map of the field.

In order to become less abstract, here is an illustration: a well-known commercial for the beer brand Bavaria featuring the birth of the hit song 'Life is life' by the Austrian band Opus (<https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=R50FcMWOk3M>). This commercial first of all demonstrates how the structures and functions of language are driven by considerations of discourse. We see the singer on the bus sharing his excitement about the new lyrics which he has written by himself and is obviously very pleased with. But then we see another member of the band immediately rejecting the proposed opening line of the first song, 'Life is a rocky road', in a curious mix of Austrian German and English as '*viel zu superficial*.' The members of the band then go on a joint search for a better metaphor, beginning with 'Life is a symphony', which turns into 'life is a cosmic symphony', which is then rejected because '*das rockt nicht, wir sind underground*' (the joke to the viewer of the commercial being, of course, that they are as mainstream as can be). The band members then return to the conventional metaphorical theme of life as a journey that is part of the initial 'rocky road' image and try out 'life is a tunnel', which is hilariously modified by the almost hesitant addition 'with black light at the end'. But this line is also rejected, this time as being '*zu dark, life is a celebration*.' One band member then mutters 'life is like a fire', but another cries in frustration '*diese scheiss metaphor*' and the manager has to intervene. Only beer can bring relief to get this discourse event back on track. The next shot shows how effective the alcohol has been, filling an entire stadium with a raving crowd for a hit song that does not have a metaphor as its punch line, but a tautology: 'Life is life.'

The relation between *taal en communicatie* interpreted as language and discourse is the following: language is produced and received by individual

language users who typically know that they are participating in a specific discourse event, such as writing the lyrics of a song, but also emailing, having a business meeting, or being in an *oratie*. You have knowledge and expectations about these discourse events, when and where they occur, and this guides and facilitates your language production and reception. This discourse knowledge therefore explains how language expresses discourse-driven cognition: you speak and listen differently, your language use is different, when you write rock lyrics than when you are in a business meeting. This discourse knowledge also explains how individual people's processes of language production and reception work together to constitute the social process of communication: you need to achieve more explicitly shared agreement in the writing of a new lyric or in a business meeting than in a bar. Experiments in the empirical study of literature in the early 1990s showed that people understand some of the same linguistic expressions in different ways when they are told that it is literary discourse than when they think it is journalistic discourse (Steen, 1994; Zwaan, 1994). Discourse drives language and language reflects discourse.

Language does not drive discourse in this way. Conversations, novels and rock lyrics remain the same regardless of the language they are in – the differences between them are probably due to culture, which in turn may be reflected in language, of course (cf. Scollon & Scollon, 2012). But in real life, linguistic expressions do not come out of the blue and all by themselves, and they do not function to determine the nature of a discourse event. For both producer and receiver, they are always part of prior goals and encompassing processes of the overall discourse event you are already in, as with 'life is a rocky road'. Language expresses cognition for communication in the context of some encompassing and on-going discourse event, and it may hence have to be changed from 'life is a rocky road' to 'life is life'.

This view of the relation between language and discourse is supported by a lot of work in discourse psychology and communication science, especially persuasion research (e.g., Levelt, 1989; Clark, 1996; O'Keefe, 2002; O'Keefe and Dillard, 2010). This work has also had a major effect on views of language and discourse in the humanities, but mostly in just one fairly limited corner of the field, called 'CIW', *Communicatie en informatiewetenschap*. It is this type of study of *communicatie*, which to me has come to include *taalbeheersing*, that is now rapidly on the rise in Dutch Humanities faculties. The special character of *CIW*, in contrast with the cognitive and social sciences, is its more precise concern with the meanings and values of language and text – *CIW* students are all a bit like the members of Opus, but with more empirical expertise as to how language in fact works in discourse. However, what stu-

dents in the humanities should learn from the cognitive and social sciences is that meaning and values can be measured, and that much of what we know about how meanings and values work in the mind is based on experimental research. I am currently teaching a very nice first year course on the design of persuasive texts that aims to make both points at the same time.

In order to connect language to discourse, we need a full-blown picture of language. This is what has been the major concern in linguistics, of course, but in relative isolation from discourse as text in code in context. Here is how I connect language to discourse in metaphor research, which is a case that can be extended to other phenomena. It will take us to the second sense of *communicatie*, which refers to one dimension of language use.

Language and communication

In the production or reception of any utterance, there are three dimensions: language, cognition, and communication. Cognition to do with the ideas and feelings that are presupposed, expressed and implied in the language and its production and reception, and both cognition and language ultimately work between individuals who are aligning in situated communication. Let us return to our commercial, and connect it with the lower part of Figure 1.

The search for an appropriate nonliteral comparison between life and something more tangible like a rocky road or a tunnel is a matter of speaker's and listener's cognition leading to language which is meant to work in communication as a specific rhetorical device of nonliteral comparison. In other words, the sender intends these metaphorical expressions in language to be conceptualized *as* metaphors in the addressee's cognition and the metaphor is thus supposed to work as a mutually shared figurative comparison between two domains (life and a rocky road, or a symphony, or a tunnel) in the communication between the language users. This may look fairly self-evident, especially since any utterance is grounded in language, cognition and communication in this way, but it has elicited a hot debate in metaphor research.

What the commercial therefore shows is that we need a second notion of *communicatie* that is different from the one of 'discourse' developed above. This second notion of communication is not the use of text in code in context but instead relates to the way in which utterances work as expressions of cognition between people in verbal interaction, or 'communication'. This is a more local, linguistic view as opposed to the previous discursive view of *communicatie*.

This view is compatible with the approach to language use developed in for instance Relevance Theory (e.g., Wilson and Sperber, 2012), which also looks at utterances as a matter of language, cognition and communication. It is also compatible with functional grammar models of just the language dimension, which are then programmatically connected with cognition and communication, such as Systematic-Functional Grammar (e.g., Halliday, 1994) and Functional Discourse Grammar (e.g., Hengeveld & Mackenzie, 2008). What it is clearly less compatible with is the two-dimensional model of language in cognitive linguistics, which concentrates on language and thought at the expense of communication, and which is the dominant model in metaphor research (e.g., Lakoff & Johnson, 1980, 1999).

It has been essential for my theory of metaphor to exploit the differentiation between metaphor in language, thought, and communication. The dimension of communication in this second, utterance-related sense suggests that all metaphors are a natural matter of language, cognition, and communication, but that most metaphors do not work *as* metaphors between people, in communication, even though they do count as linguistic expressions of metaphor in cognition (Lakoff & Johnson, 1980; 1999), as in the following illustration:

Look how far we've come.
We're at a crossroads.
We'll just have to go our separate ways.
We can't turn back now.
I don't think this relationship is going anywhere.
Where are we?
We're stuck.
It's been a long, bumpy road.
This relationship is a dead-end street.
We're just spinning our wheels.

The cognitive-linguistic approach to metaphor misses the fact that these utterances do not count as metaphors in communication. I hold that people do not understand them as comparisons between two domains, but as simple statements about life. This is different for the metaphors in the Bavaria commercial, which do work as metaphors in communication: they are statements about the thematized similarity between life and other entities. They deliberately draw the viewer's attention to the alien source domain of the rocky road, the symphony, or the tunnel, which all must be connected to life by online metaphorical comparison by the viewer. Metaphor is hence not just a matter

of language and thought, but also of communication, even if it only seldom works as a metaphor in communication.

This three-dimensional model of language hence suggests that there is a paradox of metaphor, which is difficult to swallow in cognitive linguistics (e.g., Steen, 2008). It challenges the radical cognitive-linguistic idea that all metaphor in language use is in fact processed by cross-domain mapping, which is widely accepted in many quarters. Yet an alternative theory of metaphor can also be defended, which is called Deliberate Metaphor Theory, or DMT (Steen, 2015, accepted); it holds that most metaphor in language use is not processed by cross-domain mapping but by lexical disambiguation, the exception being metaphors that are used deliberately as metaphors, as in the Opus song. We are currently refining (Cuccio and Steen, accepted), operationalizing (Reijnierse, Burgers, Krennmayr and Steen, under review), and experimentally testing this theory in our group. If it can be supported by more evidence, it seriously questions the major claims in cognitive linguistics that we in fact live by metaphors. This explains why DMT is turning into a hot issue among metaphor researchers.

Since our corpus work has shown that one in eight words in language is metaphorical (Steen et al., 2010a, b), and since grand claims have been made about the crucial role of metaphor in thought because of this very ubiquity (Gibbs, 2008), my demonstration of the three dimensions of metaphorical language here is not just about a fringe phenomenon; I am using metaphor to go to the heart of the relation between language and discourse. Our research illustrates how utterances have three dimensions, language, thought and communication, and that this notion of communication is essentially different than the one that I have called 'discourse'. In order to build bridges between the humanities and the cognitive and social sciences as in *CIW*, it is essential to keep the two notions distinct but connected and apply them at their own levels of aggregation, 'communication' for utterances and 'discourse' for text in code in context. Again, this can be done not just for metaphor but also for argumentation and other phenomena.

It is also clear that language, communication and discourse need to be connected. Linguists cannot talk about the language, cognition, and communication dimensions of utterances without attaching those to the encompassing processes and products of discourse production and reception. In order to build bridges between language and communication and discourse, I suggest we think about some form of my map of the field for further development.

The role of genre

In order to utilize this encompassing map of the field in research, we need one more addition. One of the interesting features of metaphor in communication as well as in discourse is the possibility for people to intentionally resist the communicative use of a particular metaphor. This does not only happen by the band members of Opus, who reject metaphorical utterances as ‘*zu superficial*’, ‘*zu dark*’, or ‘*das rockt nicht*’. It also happens in more serious contexts, as when David Cameron in a recent press interview talked about ‘swarms of immigrants’, and citizens and politicians objected that a prime minister should not talk about vulnerable people as if they were insects in order legitimate insect-like measures against them. Resistance to metaphor, as well as deliberate metaphor itself, are hence true instances of thinking outside the box of the literal target domain in terms of some alien source domain, manifesting observable and challengeable understanding of one thing in terms of something else. As a result, deliberate metaphor and resistance to metaphor are risky, too.

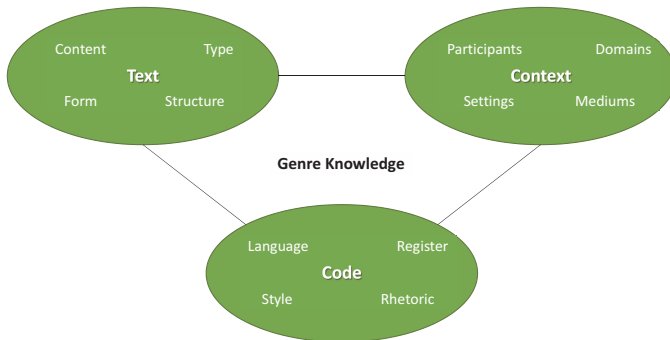
My point here is that the occurrence of this deliberate thinking outside the box for communication is typically facilitated or hindered by the conventions of the genre of the discourse event, such as Opus writing a rock lyric or David Cameron having a press interview. Genre conventions kick in precisely to keep a discourse event on track. Because deliberate metaphor use is risky it is not easy to achieve successfully at any time in any discourse event, which is an issue that ties in with research on framing, including figurative framing (cf. Burgers, Konijn and Steen, in press). The ‘smoking is sooo ...’ campaign mentioned above is one illustration of how this genre-driven use of deliberate metaphor can be utilized in creative ways for persuasive purposes. To me this is just one example of the more general idea that the relation between all language and discourse is driven by genre (Steen, 2011; Stukker, Spooren and Steen, in press).

Genres are generally recognized, conventionalized classes of discourse events, such as press interviews, rock lyrics and *oraties*. This means that they are characterized by generally expected properties of text in code in context. For instance, for an *oratie* people know that you need a context with participants comprising a newly appointed professor as a speaker and a mixed audience as hearers, a setting like this church that may include recording equipment to make the *oratie* available in other settings such as the internet, a medium that is mixed between speech and slides, and a discourse domain that is academic. The text of an *oratie* has a content that is about the vision, mission and program of the speaker; it is cast in a type that is typically expo-

sitory, with a structure that develops in forward fashion, and in a form that has a characteristic beginning, middle and end. The code of the *oratie* involves a choice of language that may be shocking to some if it is in Dutch but shocking to others if it is in English; it is in a register that is academic, in a style that nowadays is mildly personal and informal, and with a rhetoric that may be more or less pronounced. These are typical expectations about the genre of the *oratie* that belong to the knowledge everyone has about language and discourse.

These are cognitive schemas about genre that are part of a postulated genre repertoire, which in itself varies across people and groups of people. Such genre knowledge helps all people perform in all genre events that they participate in and can be optimized by training for particular professional domains, such as journalism, law and education – this is precisely what we do in our courses in Dutch or English for Academic Purposes. Such genre knowledge can be quite complex, too, as for layered genres such as our commercial: that is not just a story about a band writing a song, it is also a media product acting as an advertisement on tv for a particular beer; but viewers have no difficulty combining the two levels into one layered representation. The same goes for this *oratie*, where the same linguistic expressions have different values in this concrete situation as opposed to the mediated version that will be available on the internet in half an hour from now, and have been designed to work in these two ways. When I said before that discourse drives language, what I meant was that discourse in the form of a specific genre drives language.

Figure 2



This genre repertoire can be modeled as a matter of people's discourse competence. Some genres may in fact have to be developed or adjusted in moments of difficulty. For instance, the Dutch newspaper *Trouw* recently reported on the search by local town councils for the best way to organize information meetings with their citizens about the arrival of a center for refugees and asylum seekers (<http://www.trouw.nl/tr/nl/4324/Nieuws/article/detail/4235295/2016/01/30/Inspreken-gaat-vaak-wel-goed.dhtml>). We need psycholinguistics, cognitive and social psychology as well as communication science to ground such genre models in well-tested models and research on for instance text comprehension and persuasion (e.g., Macnamara and Magliano, 2009; O'Keefe & Dillard, 2010). What the humanities have to offer is their expertise in the meanings and values of language and discourse. All of this can help describe, explain and apply language, cognition, communication and discourse in highly specific manners.

This genre-analytical research has in fact already been around for some time at the UvA, and is particularly strong in my new group, which is another reason for my great interest in this appointment. The recent dissertations defended by Nanon Labrie (2013), Lotte van Poppel (2014), Roosmaryn Pilgram (2015), Renske Wierda (2015) and Ingeborg van der Geest (2015) can all be seen as excellent case studies in distinct genres, in health brochures and in direct-to-consumer medical advertisements, in medical consultation as well as in government decisions. From a genre-analytical perspective, these happen to be argumentative activity types in specific discourse domains such as health or government. The theoretical and empirical expertise in this work, however, is not just argumentation-analytical, which to me is one category of text types, but it also includes theoretical and empirical knowledge about the related content, form and structure of the texts, about context factors such as domain (health communication, government, etc.) and participants (roles and expertise of professional and non-professional interactants), and about code issues bearing on register, style and rhetoric. I could not have found a better nest than this group for realizing a joint agenda for research and teaching in the interaction between language and discourse in a genre-analytical framework such as I am developing.

The best way to realize this potential is by bringing together our two forms of expertise in metaphor and argumentation within one research program. Over the past year we have worked hard to write an application that attempted to do precisely this, and before Christmas we were rewarded with a 750,000 euro NWO grant for three PhD and two postdoc positions in a five year research program on resistance to metaphor. This NWO program will generate a common ground between both metaphor and argumentation re-

search since metaphor can be seen as a form of out-of-the-box reasoning and since resistance is a form of counter-argumentation. Here we can test and calibrate each others' insights about language and discourse from the more encompassing genre-analytical framework that I am placing in the center of interest today.

Conclusion

I have presented a genre-analytical map of the field which makes a distinction between discourse and language and shows how two meanings of the Dutch word *communicatie* can be related to this. I have moreover argued that discourse is most usefully conceptualized at the level of genre, and suggest that we need to focus on the genre knowledge that language users have about discourse events to study their discourse and language behavior, describe and explain it, and intervene in useful ways. This map is meant to bring together in a productive way the old and the new in linguistics.

My genre-analytical approach to discourse is moreover meant to reframe our master programs in *CIW*, from primarily argumentation-analytical to a program in which contextual, textual and code properties of argumentative genres are related to various important discourse domains such as health, government and politics, the law, science, and organization and management. This new *CIW* master program will produce a new generation of language and discourse specialists who can address the challenges of varying institutional discourse in academically responsible ways. They have an analytical toolkit that is unique in the Netherlands and is based on leading research in two ubiquitous phenomena, argumentation and metaphor.

Epilogue

I am grateful to the University Council *CvB* as well as the Faculty Board in the person of the Dean Frank van Vree for the trust you have shown in me in appointing me to this chair. It is my firm resolve to devote the last ten years of my career to making this appointment a success. This is a tall order given the heritage of my predecessor Frans Van Eemeren: Frans, you're a tough act to follow. I will do my best to honor your tradition, albeit of course with rather different texts in a different context in a different code.

Director of Research Thomas Vaessens, director of the ACLC Research Institute Paul Boersma, former director of the Graduate School Jan Willem van

Henten and director of the College of Humanities Caroline Kroon, I am grateful for your openness to my ideas about new possibilities for research and teaching in the various areas I have discussed in this *oratie*. I hope we can keep developing new opportunities for the future along these lines and will give you my best to do so.

My new colleagues at the ACLC Research School, the Department of Dutch and in particular the TAR group, I can only repeat what I just said about my gratitude for your openness to this new kid on the block. But what is even more important is the way you and the Dept of Dutch and the TAR group in particular have made me feel at home in just one year – thank you for your kind, friendly and professional incorporation of this former VU-boy in your midst.

My new students at the TAR group, I am only beginning to meet you now in the various courses that are on my program and I look forward to working with you on new projects in new courses and new programs in a faculty and university that are sincerely struggling to reinvent themselves.

My dear members of the Metaphor Lab Amsterdam, a special word of gratitude goes to you all. I feel I have taken you on a journey from the VU to some place in the middle of Amsterdam that looked risky at first but is now turning into a great adventure. You cannot know how much I cherish the inspiration, joint work and professional fun we are having with every little step we take.

My dear former colleagues at the VU, I have thanked you for your support and professional friendship when I left the VU 14 months ago and I hope that our connections will remain alive and kicking. My good colleagues at the ABC Amsterdam Brain and Cognition Center, the Network Institute, and at various universities in the Netherlands, both in language and in discourse, I hope that this *oratie* has offered you a picture of where I want to go and that this view is attractive enough for you to develop the conversation across the country. My dear professional friends from abroad – some of you are even here – my life would not be the same without you: thank you.

My dear friends and family, my mother-in-law and my mother, my previous two *oraties* were a little less theoretical than today – I hope you'll forgive me that I chose a different audience here. You are always there to talk to me about the real world and my obligations towards it. With you around I am a very rich man.

My dearest Charlie, my dearest Jet, my dearest Annemieke, you are my three power grrrrs; you know that I am proud of each of you for very different reasons. I think you also know how grateful I am for your being such an

inalienable part of my life, but it can never hurt to say it out loud again: *ik ben knettergek op jullie*.

Ik heb gezegd.

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