Imperatives of Visual and Auditory Perception and their Interpersonal Functions as Discourse Markers in Albanian Conversations

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Abstract

This paper looks at interpersonal functions of visual and auditory perception imperatives in authentic conversations in Albanian language. Although they belong to the inventory of discourse markers that have received due attention in English scholarship, its equivalents in Albanian, *shiko/dëgjo*, have remained largely understudied in the context of spoken interaction. Therefore, the existing research on *look/listen* may serve as a basic framework for contrastive analyses of interpersonal functions of its functional counterparts in other languages. The sample analysis performed through AntConc is discussed within the scope of two theories, that of Speech Acts and that of Politeness and it confirms that the imperatives for visual and auditory perception play a major part in the realization of the illocutionary force of the speech act itself. The main hypothesis underlying our investigation is that the analyzed markers appear in initial syntactic positions in Face-Threatening Acts (FTA) with the core function of signaling the aim of the illocutionary force of the speech act within which they appear, but also with other functions such as boosting or hedging the illocutionary force. To prove the hypothesis we conduct an analysis using data collected from authentic telephone conversations in Albanian whereby determining face threatening speech acts (speech acts considered as threatening the negative and positive face of the hearer (addressee)). By discovering interpersonal functions of these widely-used discourse markers in Albanian we can enrich our understanding in conversational pragmatics and observe closely how new developments in communication are inciting changes in the way we interact.

Keywords: conversation; discourse marker; pragmatics; speech acts; politeness; imperative of visual perception; imperative of auditory perception.

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1. Introduction

It is well established that there are perception verbs in almost all Indo European languages expressing various types of sensory perception of external stimuli (sight, hearing, smell, taste, touch). Verbs of similar perceptions differ based on whether the perception is intentional or non-intentional. In this regard, perception verbs are said to be either agentive or non-agentive. Non- agentive verbs expose the subjects to sensory perception in a non-intentional manner or non-volitional (e.g. *see* and *hear*), whereas agentive verbs, such as *look* and *listen* imply intentional or volitional visual or auditory perception. As linguistic elements, these verbs are mainly used in their core lexical meaning; however a process of semantic derivation has caused them to develop discourse meanings, enabling their pragmatic usage in everyday conversations [1]. To illustrate such a usage in everyday conversations we use example (1) below, where the verb *look* is not used in the function of visually perceiving something, and it does not serve to the truth-conditional notion of the utterance. In other words, the syntactic removal of this element from the utterance would not render the utterance as non-logical.

(1) *Well **look**, if I join them, I'm staying at least a week!*

Even though most authors agree on the phases these verbs have gone through during the grammaticalization process [2], some authors argument that there is a different process at stake here, one that enables these verbs to gain strategic conversational functions [3]. Such elements are known as *discourse markers* and several authors consider them as phatic expressions used to express the speaker's attitude towards the utterance, or as signals that assist the interlocutor in gaining a better idea on the context of the conversation, thus enabling successful communication. In the example (1) given above, the marker *look* is used to enable the speaker to signal the importance of what is being said to the interlocutor, or to request attention towards proceeding utterances. This paper analyses expressing interpersonal relations through discourse markers of visual and auditory perception verbs. Principles that people follow to come to certain conclusions on what is being said during spoken conversations can be tested through analysing authentic conversations. Through analysing linguistic elements that are considered typical for everyday conversations, we sought to discover whether relations among interlocutors are reflected upon such elements that until recently have been treated as semantically empty. Interpersonal discourse markers may appear in various lexical and grammatical categories, they can be nouns, pronouns, verbs, interjections, particles etc. Some of these words originate from meaningful words (mostly verbs) that have undergone semantic change and thus gained other meanings. They are characterised as being optional to the utterance and as being non-truth conditional. Depending on the situational context, interpersonal discourse markers may function within the scope of signalling politeness towards addressee (for boosting or hedging) or to show involvement in the conversation. Politeness is considered one of the most influential principles that have enabled deeper examination of ways of building interpersonal relations through language. One of the most distinguished authors in the field of pragmatics, Geoffrey Leech [21] states that if the speakers had to choose between being cooperative or polite, a majority would choose being polite. Hence the importance of politeness in pragmatic studies. The most eminent interpretation of politeness as a pragmatic phenomenon is that offered in the theory of Brown and Levinson [22], a theory based on the notion of *face*. As a term it was borrowed from Goffman [23]. The face is said to have two needs that are in constant need of balance: on the one hand the face wants to be accepted by others, and on the other hand it wants to be free of impositions. These two

aspects of face are known as the *positive* and *negative,* the former reflected through familiarity and closeness with the addressee, whereas the latter through independence and distance from the addressee. In order to neutralize the negative effect that threatens the face, according to Brown and Levinson [22:87] speakers use five strategies: the direct strategy, the positive politeness strategy, the negative politeness strategy, the indirect strategy, and avoidance of talk. In studies performed on discourse markers mainly of the English language, they are often examined as integral parts of utterances that implement positive or negative politeness strategies. Discourse markers are usually used in the function of boosters or hedges in such strategies, usually to 'strengthen' or to 'smooth out' speech acts that tend to threaten the face. According to Brown and Levinson [22] such communication principles are universal, but their application may entail intercultural differences. This paper tests the universality in linguistic expressions of interpersonal relations among participants in everyday conversation through usage of interpersonal discourse markers in Albanian language. The research questions we tried to answer through this analysis are the following:

- What interpersonal functions do the discourse markers of auditory and visual perception have in Albanian everyday conversations?
- Does the distribution of the discourse markers depend on the type of speech act within which they occur?
- Is there a universal model of linguistic signalling of interpersonal relations through usage of interpersonal discourse markers?

The functional analysis is based on previous research of similar elements mainly in English but also in other languages. The hypotheses tested in this paper are the following:

- Discourse markers of visual and auditory perception verbs in everyday communication announce or precede certain speech acts and there is correlation among the markers and certain speech acts.
- Discourse markers of visual and auditory perception verbs predominantly occur in initial syntactic utterance positions

In order to implement successful analysis of spoken interactions a vast authentic sample is needed. Having in mind that for the language analysed by this paper there is no corpus for the spoken language the author of this paper compiled a sample through collecting and recording authentic telephone conversations in Albanian, that were furtherly transcribed following transcription rules. Besides the objective and legal difficulties (e.g. consent from interlocutors), this procedure has time constraints, or in other words it is very time consuming, which is why it was impossible to gain a larger sample for analysis. For this reason, the limited number of authentic conversations in Albanian may be considered as a limitation of this research paper.

1.1. Review of related Literature

Visual and auditory perception imperatives in discourse marking usages have been analysed by several authors, mostly in diachronic studies focusing on their origin [4,3,5,6]. Visual and auditory imperatives, much like any other discourse marker, have undergone a grammaticalization process, within a phase of which process there has

been a shift from referential to non-referential meaning (or from lexical to pragmatic meaning). This is when such forms are enriched with interpersonal functions. Such functions are referred to „expressive'' or „rhetoric'' by [7]. The very same author in a later work, states that such linguistic elements act in the domain of epistemic modality and rhetoric reinforcement [5]. In other words, the shift these linguistic elements experience to become discourse markers enables them to gain interpersonal functions. Authors mainly agree that in discourse marking usage they are often used in interactive contexts, and that they are used to express epistemic modality. Almost every author to have examined perception imperatives as discourse markers would agree that their core function lies in the domain of getting the addressees attention [8,9,10,11,3,12]. Thus, for the imperative of visual perception as a discourse marker there is an emphasis of its usage as an argumentation marker simultaneously acting on an interpersonal level with functions such as appeal to the interlocutor to take into account other perspectives [13]. However, this function is not the only one that these discourse markers can have in a conversation. Other proposed functions include: focusing attention on the speaker's new move in contrast to what has preceded [12,14,15], refocusing or boosting the topic at hand [12,16], introducing certain speech acts such as assertions, announcements, warnings, giving advice, offering an argument [12,3], in the context of conversation analysis - in function of turn-keeping in cases of hesitation [3,15]. Keller and Warner in their work view the marker *look* as well as the phrase *look it* as openers serving to casually get the attention of the interlocutor [9:8], supporting once again the idea that in a pragmatic sense these markers occur initially in an utterance. This view seems to be supported by Stenstrom [10: 39-40] who claims that discourse markers of imperative perception verbs are exponents of the communicative act of 'alert', whose function is to attract the other party's attention. In addition to this, such communicative acts are considered louder or higher in pitch and often act as interrupters (especially the verb for auditory perception *listen*). From another point of view, *look* is seen as having a sense of 'fighting back'. Brinton [4] claims that the usage of this marker in everyday conversation represents an expansion link by restating the subject and giving a feeling that the speaker intends to 'get it straight'. Safire in an article even suggests that there is an exasperated and aggressive tone in *look* [29]. A topic marking function is also proposed by Fraser [16:27-28] who observes the imperative form of perception verbs as a topic marker with the specific function of refocusing on part of the topic at hand. Schiffrin [14] too says that such usage of markers may serve to focus attention on the speaker's new move in contrast to what has preceded. Even though she does not specifically discuss the usage of verbs of perception as discourse markers, she offers an example with *now /* [14:243]. As for traditional dictionaries, it should be acknowledged that several dictionaries list the pragmatic usages within the meanings offered for these words. For example, the Canadian Oxford Dictionary lists *look* as an interjection which calls attention or expresses a protest. Another example is that of the English Dialect Dictionary, where we can find an interpersonal meaning listed to these words, in the sense of 'pay attention', with several nuances such as: appeal to the listener to pay attention, appeal to the listener to accept the premise of, or to perform the action requested in the following proposition. Another aspect worth mentioning is that of the usage of these discourse markers as part of the semi-formulaic expression *Look at that,* with imperatives of intentional visual perception in which the original semantics are still present but have developed more subjective overtones. This usage is mentioned by [3,13] who qualifies this expression as an expressive directive [13:401]. Verbs of visual and auditory perception are considered frequent and possibly even universal in all languages. This paper tests the hypothesis of whether this universality of expressing interpersonality can be extended to the Albanian language, taking into consideration that a similar

analysis has not been performed as of yet for this particular discourse marker. However, as linguistic elements used in every day communication, they have not gone unnoticed as linguistic elements in the literature. As linguistic elements that serve to express the subjective attitude of the speaker they are mentioned by Josif [24]. Several years later, Angoni [25] elaborates certain pragmatic functions of modal particles, even though he does not name them as such. The first analysis of particles as discourse markers in Albanian language is offered by [26] in a French journal, where he referes to these elements as 'message catalysers' and examines them through interpersonal functions proposed by Jakobson. More contemporary attempts of examining discourse markers can be found within a textbook by [27:91], as well as a doctoral dissertation by [28].

1.2. Shiko/dëgjo 'look/listen' in Albanian language

There are two versions of the verb for visual perception in Albanian, one when the subject non-intentionally perceives, or the non-agentive *sheh* 'to see', and the one used when the subject intentionally perceives, or the agentive verb *shikon* 'to look'. For the agentive verb of perception *shikon* 'to look' in discourse usage the following pragmatic functions are offered by the *Dictionary of Contemporary Albanian Language* [17]:

- an element used in conversation and only in imperative, with function resembling that of an exclamation expressing surprise: *Shiko ç'trima janë!* 'Look how brave they are!';

- as an element for getting hearer's attention, as a phrase introducing a speech act of mockery: *Shiko, shiko, sa i zgjuar!* 'Look, look, how smart of him!';

- as an introductory phrase to a speech act of warning or threat: *Shiko, hap sytë!* 'Look, open your eyes!'.

However, as it will be noted further in the discussion, the analysis showed that the non-agentive verb of perception *sheh* 'to see' had a high frequency usage with pragmatic functions when used in imperative and always in second person *shih* (singular); *shihni* (plural). It should be noted that in certain regions within the scope of the Northern dialect (geg dialect) the discourse marker *kqyr* is much more prevalent in pragmatic usage. This marker originates from the verb *këqyr*, a verb denoting active visual perception, in the sense of observing or overseeing. Its emergence as a discourse marker in the Northern dialect may have occurred in parallel to the marker used in standard language *shiko* 'look' (*shikon=këqyr* 'to look=to observe'). The verb for auditory perception in the Albanian language is *dëgjon* 'to hear', with non-agentive meaning, ,has the possibility or ability to receive external sounds or voices; She heard a voice. He can barely hear [18]. In the examples given above taken from the *Dictionary of Contemporary Albanian Language* this verb serves as a predicate, without the presence of which the sentences would not be logical. However, the Dictionary offers an explanation for one of the meanings of this verb where it serves pragmatic functions, even though it is not specifically annotated like that. In such a function the Dictionary offers the following examples:

(2) *Dëgjo këtu!* '(You) listen here!'

(3) *Dëgjoni shokë!* 'Listen friends!'

We consider the above-specified examples as introductory utterances for drawing attention towards speech acts with illocutionary force of suggestion, recommendation or order. As a discourse element, in the Albanian language it is characteristic in spoken conversations with usage only in second person. This function of the verb has not been analyzed, thus our interest in going deeper into its usage in every conversations.

2. Materials and methods

Studying the interpersonal character of discourse markers, entwined in their ability to signal certain relations among speakers in every-day conversations imposes an empirical method. Therefore, this study is empirical and conclusions are made through analysing authentic conversations. The research approach of using a sample of authentic conversations is considered adequate when analysing every-day spoken language, especially in cases when subjects are linguistic elements that are not describable exclusively through grammatical analysis, but should be placed within a broader context, which would enable an emergence of certain models and patterns in their usage. Discourse markers fall precisely under such types of linguistic elements. Through analysing the linguistic sample of authentic conversations we are testing their usage in every-day communication. There is no corpus of spoken language for the language analysed in this paper (Albanian), hence the creation of our own sample composed through gathering authentic telephone conversations in the following ways:

- By searching, finding and gathering telephone conversations available on the internet, or
- By recording telephone conversations.

After gathering the material, it was transcribed in accordance with anonymization principles and saved in accordance to the criteria of the software used in future steps to perform the analysis of the element distribution in the sample. Numerous models exist for transcribing linguistic materials, however as basic principles we still consider those set forward by [19], one of the founders of the discipline of conversation analysis (together with Sacks and Schegloff). During transcription we should take into account that it is a process that encompasses those details that are considered necessary for the phenomenon at hand. In this analysis, we took into account that the transcripts need to reflect the authenticity of the sample material. In everyday communication, conversations are not always orderly. Oftentimes the speakers take the floor without waiting for their turn to talk, or it may happen for longer pauses to occur, or a sudden silence. Having in mind all these factors, but also the fact that such research papers are usually published only in written form, certain methods exist for noting such occurrences that characterize everyday talk. In the examples excerpted from our sample, the overlap in conversation is noted by =, longer pauses within the conversation are noted with (.), and laughing by <>. Another important and currently really relevant aspect while applying conversation analysis, is the respect towards human rights and the non-invasive aspect in the privacy of participants in the authentic conversations.While transcribing our sample, we performed complete anonymization of the material, meaning that the sample does not contain any identification data of the participants in the sample material. The sample is composed of authentic telephone conversations in Albanian language. The total number of conversations is 141 containing 44 406 tokens, with a TTR of 0.136. The analysis is performed through the software program *AntConc,* which enabled us to find out the frequency of appearance of the chosen elements. However, such a procedure determines a result commonly referred to as 'unprocessed', since it includes linguistic elements in all

their meanings. In other words, the procedure does not take into account the polysemy of words or phrases. Therefore, should we want to analyse linguistic elements with discourse or pragmatic functions, occurrences of elements in their main lexical meaning should be removed from the list of occurrences in pragmatic or discourse functions. We annotated the cases when elements were found as occurring in their main lexical meaning and the ones where they had discourse or pragmatic functions. This enabled us to avoid the possibility of generation of inadequate search results, as well as to focus on strict determination of pragmatic functions of the markers at hand. In order to test the hypothesis of connectivity between interpersonal marker's distribution and the types of speech acts within which they occur, we chose 23 speech acts that are considered as threatening the hearer's (addressee's) face (FTAs), within which we tested markers' distribution. These FTAs fall under one of the four speech act categories proposed by Searle's classification [20], based on their illocutionary force. The table below illustrates the speech acts within which we chose to analyse the occurrence and distribution of the discourse markers.

Table 1: FTA Categories

DIRECTIVES (5)	COMMISSIVES (1)	EXPRESSIVES (12)	ASERTIVES (5)
Warning	Promise	Apologising	Announcement of bad news
Mild order		Mockery	Non-approval
Suggestion		Admission of guilt	Reminding
Invitation		Criticizing	Mentioning unpleasant facts
Offer		Disagreement	Announcement of good news
		Agreement	
		Opposing	
		Emotive reaction	
		Boasting	
		Expressing admiration	
		Taking responsibility	
		Self-depreciation	
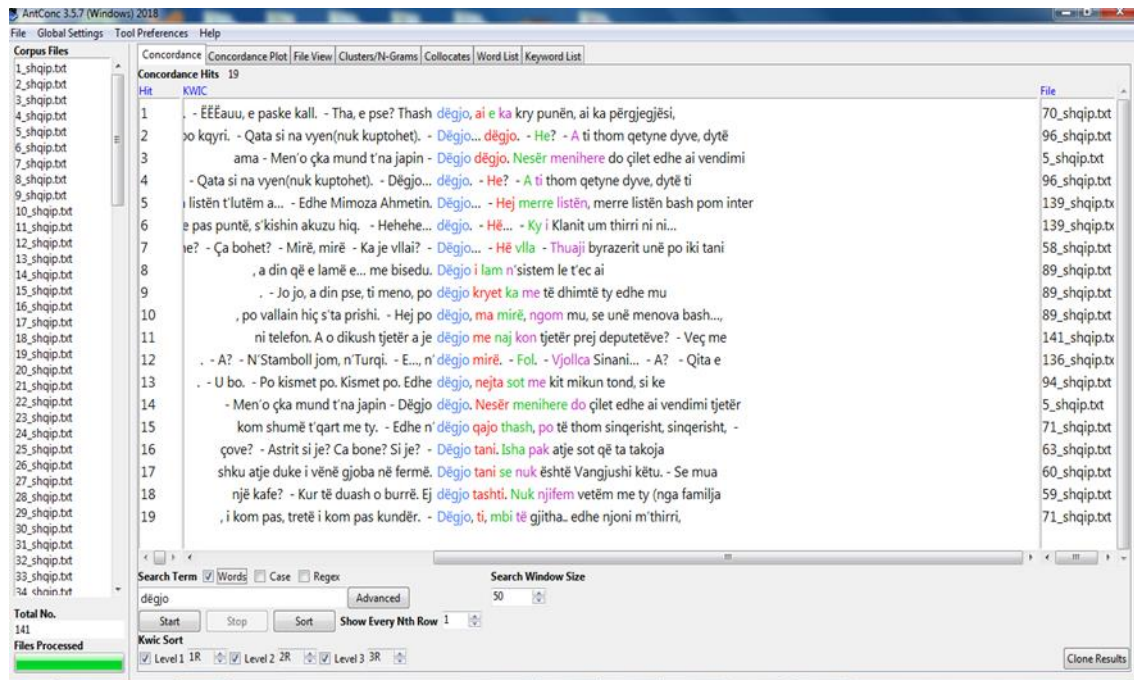
Figure 1: Example of AntConc search for discourse marker *dëgjo* 'listen'
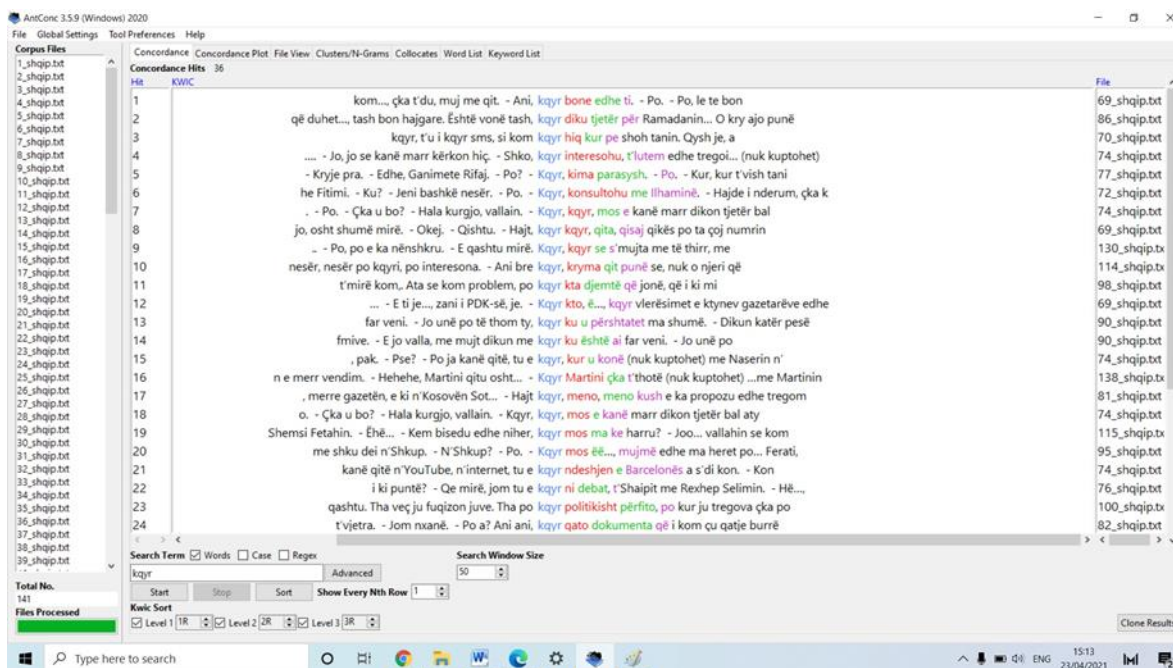
Figure 2: Example of AntConc search for discourse marker *kqyr* 'look'

3. Results and analysis

The empirical analysis showed that the verb of visual and auditory perception in pragmatic usage as a discourse marker occurred in 55 utterances in the sample (illustrated in Table 1 below). As explained above, our research methodology implied that utterances underlying our analysis were speech acts that threaten hearer's face, or FTAs. The discourse markers *shiko/dëgjo* 'look/listen' occurred in eight FTAs (as illustrated in Table 2 below), but predominantly (54.4% of the occurrences) in speech acts expressing the illocutionary force of ordering, even if mild, and not an order in the strict sense. The next illocutionary force boosted through the discourse markers that were subject to our analysis is that of expressing a suggestion (in 20% of the occurrences). These two FTAs with the highest distribution of the discourse markers are followed by FTAs with lower distribution of the markers, such as speech acts of disagreement (7.2 % of occurrences), reminding, taking responsibility (each in 5.4 % of occurrences), expressing admiration (3.6 % of occurrences). FTAs with the least occurrence of the discourse markers are speech acts of warning (1.8%) and admission of guilt (1.8%).

Table 2: Frequency of *shiko/dëgjo* 'look/listen' in sample

Frequency of appearance of *shiko/dëgjo* 'look/listen' by number of appearances
55

Table 3: Distribution of *shiko/dëgjo* 'look/listen' in speech acts in percentages

Speech Act	Usage in number	Usage in percentage
Warning	1	1.8%
Mild order	30	54.5%
Suggestion	11	20%
Admission of guilt	1	1.8%
Disagreement	4	7.2%
Reminding	3	5.4%
Expressing admiration	2	3.6%
Taking responsibility	3	5.4%

As far as syntactic position in the utterance is concerned, the analysis confirmed the hypothesis that the marker is generally utterance-initial, thus additionally assisting the function of appealing to the addressee's attention. The software detected the marker in initial positions in 94% of the utterances in which it occurred (Table 3). A deeper analysis of the functions of the discourse marker in question is given in Section 4 (Discussion) below.

Table 4: *Shiko/dëgjo* 'look/listen' in initial syntactic position in utterance

Marker's appearance in initial syntactic position
shiko/dëgjo
94 %

Next, we go into more detail on specific functions of the analyzed discourse marker with authentic examples from our sample. As already stated above, the DMs functions are analyzed within the scope of the Speech Act Theory and Politeness Theory.

3.1. Shiko/dëgjo 'look/listen' in FTAs

Verbs of perception as discourse markers in our sample are mostly found within the speech act with the illocutionary force of ordering. In cases when the speaker and hearer are close, such relations are reflected upon linguistic elements they use while conversing. In the example (4) below, excerpted from our sample, the speaker introduces an order through the usage of the visual perception verb.

(4) *Ani bre (.) kqyr, kryma qit punë se...* 'OK buddy (.) **look**, get this done for me because...'

Another speech act where perception verbs occur frequently is that of suggesting. In the example (5) below, taken from our sample, the speaker uses the auditory perception (verb to attract the hearer's attention towards the illocutionary force of suggesting, thus implementing a politeness strategy of getting the hearer's attention but at the same time establishing close connection.

(5)

A: *Edhe **dëgjo** ç'ajo thash', po të thom sinqerisht, sinqerisht=*

A: And **listen** that's what I'm saying, I'm telling you frankly, frankly=

B: *Sinqerisht=*

B: Frankly=

A: *=Po t'them sinqerisht thash, ky njeri reflekton pozitivitet…*

A: I'm telling you honestly I said, this person reflects positivity…

3.2. Shiko/dëgjo 'look/listen' for catching the hearer's attention

As 'attention-getting' devices the verbs *shiko* 'look'and *dëgjo* 'listen' occur exclusively utterance-initially. In this function there is a common co-occurrence of these markers with the vocative form of nouns (to directly appeal to the interlocutor), serving as a booster of the communicative goal to be achieved, or to positive politeness strategies, thus enabling establishing closer relationship with the interlocutor. The markers in such functions are shown in examples (6) and (7) below.

(6)

*XXX **shif**[a] faktikisht nuk jam kundër mos me pas' kooperim ama ai vend nuk osht' vend i vogël k'shtu për me (.) për sa koh' mujm' me e kompenzu ne t'njejtin?*

XXX, **look** in fact I don't oppose cooperation but that position isn't a small one to (.) how long will we need to compensate for it?

(7)

A: ***Dëgjo**=*

A: **Listen**=

B: *hë vlla=*

B: Yes brother=

A:*thuaji byrazerit unë po iki tani për në Ishëm te ata çunat atje lart*

A: tell your brother I'm leaving now for Ishem to go see the guys up there

3.3. Shiko/dëgjo 'look/listen' for keeping the hearer's attention

This usage is spotted to occur utterance-initially, following a short pause, as illustrated by the authentic example (8) from our sample.

The interlocutor B uses the imperative of auditory perception with the function of keeping the turn in the

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[a] There are two dialects in the Albanian language, the Northern dialect (geg) and the Southern dialect (tosk). In the Northern dialect, the verb *sheh* in second person singular *shih* '(you)look' is pronounced differently depending on the region. This sample contains conversations in both dialects, and they are authentically transcribed. Therefore, in certain examples this verb will be found as *shif,* or *kqyr*

conversation, but simultaneously is letting the hearer knows that something important is about to be brought up.

(8)

A: *rrofsh faleminderit kur do e pimë një kafe?*	A: thanks, appreciated, when are we having a cup of coffee together?
B:*kur të duash o burrë(.) ej **dëgjo** tashti(.) nuk njifem vetëm me ty (.) njifem edhe me XXX, XXX unë me ju kam qenë përherë*	B: whenever you want to man (.) hey **listen now** (.) you're not the only one I know (.) I also know XXX, XXX I've always been with you guys

3.4. Shiko/dëgjo 'look/listen' for floor-seeking and turn-keeping

From a conversation analysis perspective, it is important to mention that these elements serve as devices for floor-seeking and turn-keeping in a conversation, meaning that the speakers will tend to use them to pragmatically and in a manner that is not imposing, to request to take the turn in a conversation or to signal that the thought is still not finished.

After a first unsuccessful attempt to take the floor, the speaker in the example (9) below uses *dëgjo* 'listen'

(9)

A: *okej de okej ama=*	A: okay okay but =
B: *men'o çka mund t'na japin=*	B: think about what they could give us =
A: ***dëgjo dëgjo**(.) nesër menihere do çilet edhe ai vendimi tjetër për ç'ato mjetet për 7 vende tjera*	A: **listen listen** (.) tomorrow there will be a discussion of the other decision for funds for 7 other positions

Similarly, the example (10) illustrates the usage of the verb *k'qyr (shiko)* 'look'.

(10)

A: *a pe din i ke (.) i ke thy barrierat e mediave*	A: you know you have (.) you've broken barriers in media
B: *Ëhë(.)*	B: Mhm (.)
A: *e ti je (.) zani i XXX je*	

B: **kqyr** *k'to ë(.)* **kqyr** *vlerësimet e k'tynev' gazetarëve*   A: you are (.) you're the voice of XXX

....

                                                          B: **look** these hmm (.) **look** those journalists' assessments.........

3.5. 'Look' as part of a formulaic expression

Besides being used with the function of catching the hearer's attention or boosting the communicative goal, the verb of visual perception in Albanian conversations also occurs in a usage resulting as similar to the English expression *Look at that!* From a pragmatic perception, this expression functions within the framework of expressing surprise and even though predominantly occurring initially in an utterance, it can also take other positions. As part of this formulaic expression in Albanian, the verb is followed by an accusative form and often preceded by the interjection *Ua*, similar or equivalent to the English *Wow,* which serves as a booster of the illocutionary force of surprise, as illustrated in the example (11) below excerpted from our sample.

(11)

A: *mundeshte ta këndojë atë?*   A: was he able to sing that [song]?

B: *jo ash'u e këndoi pakës' nja një strofë*   B: no he sang just a little, a verse

A: *Ua shife ti XXX*   A: *Ua* 'wow' look at XXX [accus]

The analysis done in this paper concerns the verbs of visual and auditory perception in conversational functions in Albanian language. We found out that these verbs encompass pragmatic functions, meaning that they have pragmatic implications signalling interpersonal relations. In the Albanian language, perception verbs have been grammaticalized to a level that has enabled them usage outside of their main lexical meanings. Such usage reflected upon our examination as well, proving that they frequently appear as discourse markers in everyday conversations. The findings of this paper support the claim that everyday language is not completely chaotic and that there may be universal rules governing people's communications, even if differently implemented due to cultural differences. For example, similar to findings in previous research for other languages, the Albanian *shiko/dëgjo* 'look/listen' predominantly occurs in initial syntactic position in speech acts with illocutionary forces of giving suggestions or orders, with the main interpersonal function of attracting addressee's attention, but also to maintain addressee's attention, to seek the floor or for turn-keeping. Another resemblance worth noting is that of the appearance of the visual imperative *look* in a formulaic expression similar to the English *Look at that!,* used for introducing a speech act that entails surprise. Just as is the case with the English expression, in Albanian as well, the usage of this phrase does not mean that the speaker expects the interlocutor to actually visually perceive something. The function is rather pragmatic, or more specifically- interpersonal. As we saw above, the Albanian formulaic expression is often preceded by an interjection.

4. Recommendations

This paper proves the interpersonal functions of the auditory and visual perceptive verbs in imperative occurring as discourse markers in every-day, authentic telephone conversations in Albanian language, through empirical analysis of quantitative and qualitative data within the scope of the Speech Act Theory and Politeness Theory. In order to broaden this research further, it would be advisable to add social variables such as speakers' age or gender into the analysis. This would enable an interface between the fields of pragmatics and sociolinguistics, giving a clear picture of the social aspect of every-day conversations.

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