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PAVAO TEKAVČIĆ (1931 – 2007)

Il y a seize ans, nous célébrions avec le volume XXXI de *Linguistica* les soixante ans de Pavao Tekavčić. Cette fois, avec ce volume de notre revue – dont il a été le co-directeur et collaborateur pendant de longues années –, nous avons le triste devoir de faire savoir à tous nos collègues que Pavao Tekavčić nous a quittés.

Né à Zagreb en Croatie, de mère croate et de père slovène, il avait fait toute sa scolarité dans sa ville natale, avant de commencer à étudier les langues romanes (français et italien) à l'Université de Zagreb. Après avoir, en 1954, brillamment terminé ces études, il y ajouta celles des langues classiques, latin et grec. Assistant d'italien dans la même Université à partir de 1957, il fit des recherches linguistiques en Istrie dont le fruit immédiat fut sa thèse de doctorat sur le parler de Vodnjan/Dignano, soutenue sous la direction de Mirko Deanović en 1963. Celle-ci signale déjà une direction importante de ses intérêts linguistiques: la romanité en Istrie et la situation ancienne et actuelle de l'istroroman, c'est-à-dire de l'ancienne couche latine, prévénitienne, en Istrie. La situation linguistique de l'Istrie n'a pas cessé d'exercer son charme: la presqu'île d'Istrie est linguistiquement un lieu de rencontre entre la romanité (istroroman/istriote, vénitien, langue littéraire italienne, et même roumain, reste d'une immigration de réfugiés de l'invasion turque dans les Balkans) et le monde slave (slovène, croate), donc un vrai défi pour l'analyse des influences linguistiques réciproques. Feu notre Collègue Tekavčić fut constamment attiré par l'Istrie et resta fidèle à traiter ses problèmes linguistiques dans maints de ses travaux. Certes, sa passion prédominante fut l'étude de la langue italienne dans son ensemble historique. De sa profonde analyse des problèmes dans le domaine italo-roman et de son travail acharné est née *Grammatica storica dell'italiano*, en 3 volumes, Bologna 1972, 2ème éd. 1980, oeuvre qui assure à notre Collègue Tekavčić une place exceptionnelle parmi les passionnés de linguistique italienne.

Professeur de langue italienne à l'Université de Zagreb entre 1965 et 1980, il passa pour des raisons strictement personnelles à la Faculté pédagogique de Pola (Université de Rijeka), où il peut être considéré comme le vrai fondateur des études de linguistique italienne et romane. Malheureusement, la détérioration de son état de santé, toujours précaire et délicat, l'obligea à prendre congé et à cesser, en 1983, son activité pédagogique.

Après son départ en retraite, Pavao Tekavčić cessa d'être présent physiquement aux rencontres de linguistes et aux congrès internationaux d'études philologiques et linguistiques romanes, mais il suivait assidûment les travaux publiés dans le domaine roman, surtout l'italien et celui de l'aire romane dans les Alpes (sur ce point, l'avait attiré *la questione ladina*, à propos de laquelle il fut de l'opinion de G. I. Ascoli, c'est-à-dire, convaincu de la connexion originaire entre les trois tranches actuellement existantes). Les questions de la romanité balkanique et les contacts avec les parlers slaves, en vue de l'analyse de la situation linguistique en Istrie surtout, et en péninsule balkanique en général, ne l'intéressaient pas moins. Notre regretté Collègue appuya l'idée de Petar Skok, - son premier maître dans les études romanes -, sur la relation de l'istroroman

avec le vieux dalmate. La gamme de ses recherches a toujours été très ample: le latin parlé, dit vulgaire (c'est-à-dire la couche antérieure à la naissance des langues romanes et à leur développement, vues et analysées par conséquence diachroniquement), et, plus particulièrement, les problèmes de la morphosyntaxe, de la composition des mots et ensuite la classification des mots, la pragmatique.

Contrairement aux *Mélanges* publiés il y a seize ans, en l'honneur de ses soixante ans, *Linguistica* commence ce volume avec les travaux que Pavao Tekavčić m'a envoyés au cours de l'année passée. Ainsi, la revue souhaite lui rendre un humble hommage en publiant ses dernières recherches: recensions et un panorama sur la fin supposée du latin parlé et donc la naissance des langues romanes. On voit que le latin, le latin parlé, la couche originaire des langues romanes fut son sujet préféré. Qu'il me soit permis d'ajouter que sur le dernier tiré à part qu'il voulut me fût envoyé, tiré à part de son article dans *Mélanges Gusmani*, publiés récemment à Udine, il écrivit *Donum auctoris* et la date, le 18-3-07. Le lendemain, il rendait son dernier souffle.

Mitja Skubic

O SMRTI LATINSKOG JEZIKA I NEKIM S TIM POVEZANIM TEMAMA (OSVRT NA KNJIGU *HALTE À LA MORT DES LANGUES* CLAUDEA HAGÈGEA)

1. U ovom prilogu namjeravamo prikazati, komentirati a i dopuniti ono što se o tzv. "smrti" latinskog jezika može naći u važnoj i zanimljivoj knjizi pod navedenim naslovom ("*Stop umiranju jezika*"), objavljenoj g. 2000. u Parizu, u izdanju Odile Jacob. Autor, Claude Hagège, poznati je francuski sociolingvist, profesor na visokoj školi Collège de France. Isti nam je autor podario i više drugih jednako zanimljivih djela: *La structure des langues* ("Struktura jezika"; *Que sais-je?*, 1982), *Le Français et les siècles* ("Francuski i stoljeća", 1987), *L'enfant aux deux langues* ("Dijete dvaju jezika", 1996), *Le Français, histoire d'un combat* ("Francuski, povijest jedne borbe", 1996) i druge. U knjizi koja nas ovdje zanima C.H. se bavi iz-umiranjem ili od-umiranjem jezika, a to je jedna od prvenstvenih sociolingvističkih tema. U nadahnutom uvodu (str. 9-12) C.H. izlaže tematiku knjige, podijeljene na tri dijela (11 poglavlja): "Jezici i život", "Jezici i smrt" i "Jezici i uskrnuće", pa završava ovim riječima: "Braniti naše jezike i njihovu različitost, prije svega od dominacije jednog jedinog, znači više nego braniti naše kulture. To znači braniti naš život".
2. Knjiga, koja se posvećuje različitim jezicima (hebrejski, arapski, sanskrit, američki jezici itd.), bavi se naravno i latinskim jezikom, i to prilično detaljno, iz dva razloga: prvi je razlog neprijeporna važnost toga jezika (ne samo u Europi), a drugi je razlog što je latinski, kako se to obično kaže, danas mrtav jezik, pa ulazi u tematiku Hagègeove knjige. Postavke i pitanja koja se odnose na latinski mogu se pregledno ovako sažeti:
 - 1) Je li latinski jezik zaista mrtav ili nije?
 - 2) Kada se prestalo govoriti latinski?
 - 3) Opozicija višega (pravilnoga) jezika i nižega postojala je mnogo prije republike;
 - 4) Nako što je Konstantin [Veliki] legalizirao kršćanstvo i time kršćanima dao važnost u Carstvu, masa vjernika govori jezikom koji se stalno razvija, dok napokon vertikalna komunikacija postaje nemoguća;
 - 5) U životu latinskog jezika C.H. razlikuje tri etape:
 - a. od g. 400. do g. 650.: Grgur [Veliki] i Augustin pokazuju otklon od klasične norme, a Grgur Turonski i Izidor Seviljski tuže se na iskvarenost jezika;
 - b. od g. 650 do 750.: komunikacija učenih slojeva s narodnom masom postaje sve teža; jedino Markulf piše vulgariziranom jezikom;
 - c. poslije g. 750. dolazi do ireverzibilne jezične krize, učeni krug oko Karla Velikoga (Alkuin) [karolinška reforma] izaziva prekid komunikacije.

Otprilike u isto vrijeme dolazi do nemogućnosti sporazumijevanja u Iberiji, dok je prekid u Italiji nešto kasniji, otprilike u 10. stoljeću.

- 6) Romanski jezici ne potječu od klasičnoga nego od vulgarnog latinskoga.
 - 7) Latinski jezik nije više živ kao govorni jezik, ali nije ni sasvim mrtav, jer je nekoliko stoljeća poslije kraja Antike bio jedini mogući pisani jezik učenih krugova, a ostao je do danas u katoličkoj Crkvi.
 - 8) Francuski jezik potječe od latinskoga, ali danas nije više latinski, kao ni drugi srodni jezici (5 glavnih, 11 ako se pribroje i minorni jezici: katalanski, romanč, sardski i neki drugi).
3. Polazeći od Hagègeovih postavki, treba prije svega reći da se latinski *n i k a d a* nije prestalo govoriti, od Antike do danas nema nikakvih granica i supostojeće generacije uvijek su se razumjele i imale osjećaj da govore isti jezik. U potvrdu te istine mogu se navesti brojne formulacije. Ernst Gamillscheg kaže da bi se malo zaoštrano formulirano moglo reći da se danas u Rimu, Parizu, Madridu, Lisabonu i Bukureštu govori latinski,ⁱ a ta formulacija nije uopće "malo zaoštrana" nego potpuno točna. U istom se smislu izrazio i Jules Vendryes, u radu pod – za nas ovdje značajnim – naslovom *La mort des langues*: ne smije se kazati da francuski jezik *d o l a z i* [spac. P.T.] od latinskog, nego francuski *j e s t* latinski jezik, tj. oblik što ga je latinski jezik poprimio, tokom stoljeća, na tlu današnje Francuskeⁱⁱ. Neki su lingvisti išli i dublje u prošlost, pretpostavljajući analogni kontinuitet između italske zajednice ili čak indoeuropske etapeⁱⁱⁱ. Na kraju, evo i mišljenje Daga Norberga: do g. 600. može se govoriti o latinskom, od g. 800. dalje o romanskom, dok za među-period mogu poslužiti oba termina, pod uvjetom da smo svjesni da nikakva oštra granica ne dijeli govorni latinski od najstarijeg romanskoga^{iv}.
- Sve su te postavke točne *s d i j a k r o n i č n o g* stanovišta, dok je *s i n k r o n i č k i* gledano odgovor naravno sasvim različit, upravo suprotan: francuski, talijanski, španjolski itd. *n i s u* latinski nego drukčiji jezici.
4. Problem koji se ne može mimoći jest jedinstvenost ili diferencijacija govornoga latinskog jezika. Odavna se zna da se danas više ne može operirati više-manje jedinstvenim vulgarnim latinitetom, kako je to činila nekadašnja romanska filologija. Govoreći o tome, njemački romanist Harald Weinrich naziva taj rekonstruirani vulgarni latinitet *lingua etymologica*, i duhovito dodaje: misliti da se tako zaista govorilo, za to treba vjere [tj. razum nije dovoljan].^v Isti lingvist izriče ono što

ⁱ "Überspitzt formuliert, könnte man sagen, dass in Paris und Rom, Madrid und Lissabon, sowie in Bucharest lateinisch gesprochen wird", cit. u Günter Reichenkron, *Historische Latein-Altromanische Grammatik I*, (od sada: HLAG), Wiesbaden 1965, str. 77.

ⁱⁱ "Il ne faut pas dire: le français vient du latin, mais: le français, c'est du latin, c'est la forme prise par le latin au cours des âges dans la région qui est aujourd'hui la France" (HLAG, str. 77-78).

ⁱⁱⁱ Tako postupa Ernst Kieckers u svojoj *Historische Lateinische Grammatik mit Berücksichtigung des Vulgärlateins und der romanischen Sprachen*, München, 1930-31 (cit. po HLAG str. 79), vidi i bilj. 15.

^{iv} "For the intervening period either name will serve, provided that we bear in mind the fact that no firm frontier in time separates spoken Latin from the earliest Romance idiom" (Einar Löfstedt, *Late Latin*, Oslo 1959, str. 2, cit. u HLAG, str. 85 i 358).

^v Harald Weinrich, *Phonologische Studien zur romanischen Sprachgeschichte* (od sada: PSRS), Münster 1969, str. 43.

danas nitko ne sumnja, tj. da je i latinski već bio regionalno diferenciran i da je diferencijacija počinjala na vratima Rima.^{vi} Suvremena bi sociolingvistika dodala da je diferencijacija, prije svega vertikalne, bez sumnje bilo i unutar samoga Rima. Švedski lingvist Einar Löfstedt posve je u pravu kad kaže da "čistoga" vulgarnog latiniteta ne može ni biti jer čim netko napiše ili na zidu izgrebe i jednu riječ, on je već pod utjecajem pisane norme.^{vii} Između jezika kultiviranih slojeva i jezika nepismenih masa postoje bezbrojne gradacije.^{viii}

Ovdje navedene formulacije tako su jasne da im ne treba ništa dodati.

5. Za poznavanje vulgarnog latinskog važan izvor su i natpisi, koji neki znanstvenici smatraju čak najvažnijim materijalima,^{ix} ali u svjetlu onoga što je malo prije rečeno jasno je da ni natpisi (pa ni pompejanski *graffiti*) ne odražavaju živi, spontani govor. Isto se može kazati i za pisce koji nastoje pisati u pučkom duhu: prije svega to je Plaut, a kasnije npr. Petronije, autor *Satyricon*. Sigurno je da su ti autori birali one jezične crte koje su osjećali kao karakteristike pučkog govora njihova doba, no sve su te značajke ipak njihov izbor, dakle ne potpuna slika živog jezika. Kad je već riječ o Petroniju, neka nam bude dopušteno zaustaviti se malo na riječi o kojoj se mnogo diskutiralo, a to je *cusuc* (LXXVII, 4). Trimalhion, tipični *parvenu* svojega doba i sredine, hvali se svojim uspjesima na raznim životnim područjima, među ostalim i svojom raskošnom kućom. Tu čitamo rečenicu *Ut scitis, cusuc erat, nunc templum est*. Radi se, dakle, o kontrastu: kuća je prije bila *cusuc*, sada je hram. Odatle logički slijedi da *cusuc* mora značiti malu i siromašnu, neuglednu građevinu. Starija je filologija držala da je *cusuc* pogreška pisara umjesto *casucula*, *casucula*, *casula* ili sl., pa je i Alfred Ernout u izdanju *Satyricon* iz 1931. godine ispravio *cusuc* u *casula* (str. 78), ali je ipak dopustio da oblik *cusuc* "*forte servandum est*". Isti je znanstvenik rekao da je "*verbum ex oriente ortum*" i uputio na oblik *cusuccia* na jednom natpisu (loco cit.). Istočnjačko podrijetlo riječi *cusuc* prihvatio je nakon II. svjetskog rata i Ezio Marmorale (u izdanju *Satyricon* iz g. 1947) i protumačio *cusuc* kao riječ *kushk* perzijskog podrijetla, koja je preko turskoga *kiösk* prodrila na zapad (odtuda i naš *kiosk*) u značenju 'vrtni paviljon'.^x To se slaže s onim što Trimalhion sam o sebi kaže: "Došao sam iz Azije, tako malen kao ovaj svijetnjak" (LXXV, 19); prema tome, on je tu riječ donio u Europu. Drugo je pitanje, dakako, fonetske prirode, tj. kako je ta riječ glasila, kako ju je Petronije čuo i, u uvjetima

^{vi} PSRS, str. 44, bilj. 3.

^{vii} "even the most uneducated person, as soon as he begins to write, if it be only a letter or few words on a plastered wall, is directly or indirectly influenced by innumerable literary precedings or reminiscences" (*Late Latin*, str. 2, v. HLAG, str. 76)

^{viii} "there are numberless gradations between the language of cultivated conversation and that of unlettered populace" (*Late Latin*, str. 15, cit. u HLAG, loco cit.).

^{ix} "we believe that inscriptions, with all their shortcomings and limitations, continue to provide a valid source of spoken Latin", Paul E. Gaeng, *Collapse and Reorganization of Latin Nominal Flexion as Reflected in Epigraphic Sources*, Potomac, Maryland, 1984, str. 7. V. i ove Gaengove ranije radove: *An Inquiry into local variation in Vulgar Latin, as reflected in the Vocalism of Christian Inscriptions*, Chapel Hill, 1968, i: *Inscriptional evidence as a source of spoken Latin*, *Illinois Classical Studies* 7 (1982).

^x V. C. Battisti – G. Alessio, *Dizionario etimologico italiano* (DEI), II, Firenze; A. Prati, *Vocabolario etimologico italiano* (VEI), Milano, 1951; *Il Nuovo Zingarelli, Vocabolario italiano*, Bologna, 1992: svi s.v. *chiosco*; Vladimir Anić – Ivo Goldstein, *Rječnik stranih riječi*, Zagreb, 2000, s.v. *kiosk*.

latinske grafije, zapisao; tu je, naravno, potrebno poznavanje perzijske i turske historijske gramatike.^{xi}

6. Vrlo su važan izvor za poznavanje vulgarnog latiniteta, a i za problem "smrti" latinskog jezika uopće, i pravopisni priručnici i tzv. glosari. Prvima je namjera ispravljati latinski kao još živ, govoren jezik; drugi, nekoliko stoljeća kasniji, prevode klasično-latinske riječi na jezik onih (širokih) slojeva koji klasični latinski više ne razumiju. U prvu kategoriju spada tzv. *Appendix Probi*, u drugu glosari, od VIII. stoljeća dalje. Starija je filologija smještala *Appendix Probi* u III. ili IV. stoljeće, dok se u naše vrijeme drži da je 2-3 stoljeća mlađi (po mišljenju C.A. Robsona, koje prihvaća i jedan najvećih latinista današnjice finski filolog Veikko Väänänen.^{xii} Srednje stanovište zauzima antologija *Du latin aux langues romanes* (Maria Iliescu – Dan Slusanski, Wilhelmsfeld, 1991, str. 103), prema kojoj je palimpsest s početka VIII. st., dok je samo djelo napisano stoljeće – dva ranije. *Appendix Probi* potvrđuje niz pojava koje se nastavljaju u romanskim jezicima: sinkopu intertonike *speculum non speclum* (usp. tal. *specchio*), prijelaz intervokalnoga /b/ u /v/ (*tabes non tavis*; usp. *faba* > tal. *fava*), prijelaz /ns/ u /s/ (*ansa non asa*, hiperkorektizam *occasio non occansio*; usp. tal. *mese* < *mense*), prijelaz plurala srednjeg roda u singular ženskog roda (*vico castrorum non vico castrae*; usp. n.pl. *folia* > f.sg. tal. *foglia*, franc. *feuille*, španj. *hoja* itd.) i mnoge druge. – Glosari, naprotiv, više ne ispravljaju latinski kao živ jezik, nego prevode, tumače klasično-latinske riječi koje su, nakon karolinške reforme, nepismenim slojevima (tj. velikoj većini) nerazumljive, npr.: *binas* : *duas et duas* (usp. tal. *a due a due*), *singulariter* : *solamente* (usp. tal. i španj. *solamente*, franc. *seulement*), *ceciderunt* : *caderunt* (usp. tal. *caddero*), *vespertilioes* ["šišmiši "]: *calves sorices* (> franc. *chauve souris*) itd. Glosar iz Reichenaua potječe iz VIII. stoljeća; iz X. ili XI. stoljeća su na kasnijem španjolskom području Glosari iz San Millán de la Cogolla (*Glosas Emilianenses*) i iz Silosa (*Glosas Silenses*), a u Italiji X. stoljeća nastaje Glosar iz Monze, što ga C. Tagliavini smatra talijansko-grčkim^{xiii} (mi bismo radije rekli da je romansko-grčki)^{xiv} – Ima i romansko-germanskih glosara, od kojih je najpoznatiji i najvažniji onaj iz Kassela (cca X. st.), a mogu se navesti i neki drugi, manje poznati ali jednako važni.^{xv}

^{xi} Od brojnih drugih primjera približne transkripcije navodimo dva, iz Izidora Seviljskoga (VI-VII st.): on za mačku poznaje izraz onomatopejskoga karaktera *musio*, što je približna, grafijom uvjetovana, transkripcija nečega što je moralo glasiti [mušo], [muco] ili sl., a za stanovnike Italije (*Itali*) kaže da govore *ozie* umj. *hodie*. V. za oba primjera M.Iliescu – D.Slusanski, o.c., str. 16 i 219.

^{xii} V. C.A.Robson, *L'Appendix Probi et la philologie latine*, "Le Moyen Age" 69 (1963), str. 37-54; V. Väänänen, *Introduction au latin vulgaire*, Paris, 1981, str. 200.

^{xiii} V. Carlo Tagliavini, *Le Origini delle lingue neolatine*, Bologna, 1972, str. 481 i bilj. 19.

^{xiv} Dag Norberg (*Manuel pratique de latin médiéval*, Paris, 108, str. 40) drži da je u Italiji u X. st. govorni jezik bio još toliko blizu latinskom da se nije smatralo potrebnim prilagoditi ga postkarolinškom pravilnom latinitetu.

^{xv} Evo nekoliko primjera iz Glosara iz Kassela, s našim tumačenjima: *caput* : *haupt* 'glava'; *digiti* : *fingra* 'prsti'; *pecora* : *skaaf* 'ovca'; *radi meo parba* : *skir minan part* 'obrij mi bradu'; *unde estu* : *uuanna pistdu* 'odakle si'. – Od spomenutih manje poznatih glosara navodimo onaj o kojem piše Roberto Gusmani u studiji *Un frasario di conversazione altotedesco – latino d'età medievale* ("Plurilinguismo" 2 /1995/, str. 43-54, Udine). U tom priručniku, koji datira iz X. stoljeća cca, težište je na germanskoj komponenti, ali ima i nekoliko primjera zanimljivih i za romanistiku: *in Francia fui*; *quid fecisti ibi?*; *disnavi me ibi* (usp. franc. *dîner*), pa čak i, kako to Gusmani kvalificira, "impertinente domanda" *quot vices fotisti?* 'koliko puta si fukao?' (str. 46-47).

7. Na prethodnim smo stranicama željeli s jedne strane ocrtati ideje i tvrdnje Claudea Hagègea, s druge pak strane prodiskutirati, komentirati i kompletirati njegove misli, u onim točkama koje držimo važnima, a u knjizi francuskoga autora nismo ih našli. U pogledu kontinuiteta posve se slažemo sa svima onima po kojima se i danas govori latinski u obliku romanskih (neolatinških!) idioma i pomišljamo koliko bi tek bila razlika između poznatoga nam latinskoga jezika od 2000 prije naše ere,^{xvi} pa ipak ni tu nema prekida kontinuiteta. Istakli smo i razliku dijakronijskog i sinkronijskog stanovišta, kao i vrijednost izvorâ tzv. vulgarnog latiniteta i njegovu regionalnu diferencijaciju. Sve su te teme dakako odavna poznate i obrađene, ali s vremena na vrijeme treba "podvući crtu". Da ipak nismo obuhvatili sve, samo se po sebi razumije, tako da nešto valja ostaviti mladima, budućim znanstvenicima kojih – nadamo se – neće nedostajati.

Riassunto

IL LATINO: LA »MORTE« O LA CONTINUITÀ

Partendo dalle pagine dedicate alla "morte" del latino nel volume *Halte à la mort des langues* di Claude Hagège, l'autore sintetizza dapprima le idee del sociolinguista francese, per passare poi alla discussione, al commento e alle proposte di completamento. L'autore sottoscrive alla tesi della continuità, vedendo negli idiomi romanzi la fase attuale del latino. Nel contributo si illustrano anche certi altri temi: la differenziazione regionale del latino, la periodizzazione e il valore delle fonti del latino parlato.

^{xvi} Na poznatom *Duenos*-natpisu stoji IOVESAT za klasično IURAT. Kako taj natpis potječe iz VI. stoljeća prije naše ere (v. E. Pulgram, *Italic, Latin, Italian*, Heidelberg, 1978, str. 167-169), proizlazi da je promjena od IOVESAT do klas. IURAT u 500 godina mnogo veća nego u 2000 godina od klas. IURAT do npr. tal. *giura*, pa možemo zamišljati kako je odgovarajući oblik mogao glasiti 2000 godina prije klasične epohe. Pa ipak se i u radi, dakako, o kontinuitetu.

Gabriele Iannàcero, *Il dialetto percepito*, Sulla reazione di parlanti di fronte al cambio linguistico; Lingua, cultura, territorio, Collana diretta da Tullio Telmon 30; Edizioni dell'Orso, Alessandria 2002; 250 pagine

1. L'autore della monografia della quale presentiamo qui una *Kurzrezension*, attualmente ordinario di linguistica generale a Torino (in precedenza a L'Aquila e a Trento), è specialista di dialettologia, psico- e sociolinguistica, pianificazione linguistica ed è anche socio fondatore e codirettore del *Centre d'Études Linguistiques pour l'Europe* (dalla retrocopertina esterna). Il libro – dissertazione di dottorato del 1995 (p. 7) – è dedicato alle reazioni dei parlanti (della Val Vigezzo) nei confronti di cambi linguistici, che sono il problema centrale (da qui il titolo dell'intero volume, p. 170). Ma non si tratta affatto di uno studio diacronico di vecchio stampo, bensì dell'esame di accezione / rifiuto in sostanza psicolinguistici, della *coscienza* e della *consapevolezza* dei parlanti (due concetti ricorrenti passim lungo tutto il libro), del loro rapporto con l'italiano standard e con altri dialetti, contigui o meno; in un termine, del senso dell'autonomia, della *Selbstbehauptung* del dialetto. Attorno a questo tema, definibile a buon diritto come centrale, "girano" per così dire altri temi, minori ma tutti incentrati sui versanti socio- e psicolinguistici delle innovazioni e/o influssi estranei.
2. La struttura del volume è alquanto complicata. All'inizio leggiamo la Premessa (7-8), a cui segue l'Introduzione, relativamente lunga (9-23), con i dati sul lavoro, i collaboratori, l'ambiente (Val Vigezzo, molto variegata, p. 17). Al termine del libro c'è la bibliografia (più di 180 nomi di autori, tra cui diversi con due o più titoli) (223-245), tre appendici: una carta del territorio esplorato e due questionari (247-258) e il sommario (259-260). Fra queste due componenti, per così dire "accessorie", sta la mole principale del libro, divisa dall'Autore (10-11) in tre, ma effettivamente quattro parti: 1. *Dalla parte del dialettologo* (25-71); 2. *La ricerca sul campo* (I 71-106, II 107-167); 3. *Dalla parte del parlante* (169-222). Come dicono i titoli, la prima parte illustra la situazione (prevalentemente, ma non del tutto) dal punto di vista del linguista ricercatore; la seconda parte, dedicata principalmente ai metodi usati, è come un ponte verso la terza parte, che rende ragione dei problemi trattati (anche qui con riflessioni teoriche e metodologiche, spec. p. 11).
3. La materia esposta nelle tre (quattro) parti è ricchissima e dà luogo ad una serie di commenti che ovviamente non possiamo citare nei limiti della nostra recensione. Nella prima parte si parla di vocalismo, consonantismo, differenze diatopiche e diastratiche (le quali non di rado arrivano a creare parole "diverse" malgrado l'origine comune), determinati fenomeni morfologici (metafonemi), convergenze e divergenze (in dipendenza dal livello linguistico), variazione di codici, micro- e macrodiglossia (secondo M. Trumper) e altri problemi ancora. Alla maggioranza della popolazione il dialetto appare piuttosto ridicolo (p. 66) e nella Val Vigezzo è in costante riduzione ma non raggiunge lo status di *Reliktsprache* (p. 69). Infine, si fa un cenno a quelle che il Nostro definisce come forme ibride (p. 71). – Nella seconda parte si ribadisce la distinzione tra coscienza e consapevolezza e si illustrano in breve alcuni grandi precursori (Cherubini,

- Salvioni). Uno dei problemi proprio fondamentali è il rapporto fra il ricercatore e i suoi informatori (osservazione quanto spiritosa tanto utile: per il vero dialetto bisogna informarsi non dal parroco né dal sindaco, ma in osteria: p. 85, nota 39). C'entrano pure diversi altri problemi ugualmente interessanti ed importanti: diverse categorizzazioni della realtà a seconda della cultura, la necessità di evitare l'imposizione delle "forme del pensiero" dall'alto (ossia da fuori), l'influsso del pensiero sulle lingue ma anche viceversa. Qui, se non andiamo errati, si toccano le tesi di B.L. Whorf; infatti, l'Autore afferma (p. 97) che "la lingua incatena con straordinaria potenza il pensiero", ma non cita il nome di Whorf. Uno dei temi sono anche le *attitudes*, e non vanno trascurate nemmeno le brevi tabelle (pp. 207-211) con le rubriche "riconosciuto", "sanzione esplicita" e "evitato". Infine, quasi per curiosità, menzioniamo un originale modello di inchiesta, il cui acronimo dà la parola *speaking* (pp. 102-103). – La terza parte illustra l'influsso della dialettologia sulle possibilità d'impiego, dedica parecchia attenzione ai vari sentimenti dei parlanti (disagio, vergogna o, al contrario, fierezza ecc.) e ai loro autogiudizi, nonché ai confronti tra dialetto e italiano standard; infatti, non senza causa al termine si legge un capitolo *Infine, quale italiano?* (pp. 165-167). È appena necessario sottolineare che anche in queste pagine, come in tutto il volume, si ribadisce l'importanza dei fattori psico- e sociolinguistici, e soprattutto pragmatici (situazione, conversazione). – Infine, la quarta parte ci informa sul sentimento dei parlanti vigezziani riguardo all'identità o meno della loro parlata e le altre, sulla lealtà alla tradizione, la trascrizione (con molti esempi di testi dialettali) e la direzione dei cambi linguistici. L'italiano è presente sempre più, non soltanto nella vita pubblica ma pure in quella privata. In relazione al cambio linguistico sorgono varie altre questioni: i cambi sono discreti o continui? Essi avvengono "sfusi o i confezione?" (spiritosissimo titolo a p. 214) ecc. Secondo noi, andrebbe precisato in qualche modo il limite tra i cambiamenti piuttosto minori, che nei parlanti non creano la sensazione di parole "diverse", e quelli di maggiore entità, i quali provocano appunto tali impressioni nella popolazione.
4. Gli errori tipografici sono presenti in misura purtroppo un po' superiore a quanto si potrebbe aspettare. Quelli in italiano standard sono banali e non pericolosi; per gli eventuali errori nei testi dialettali non siamo beninteso competenti, sicché ci limitiamo a segnalare gli sbagli nelle altre lingue: ad es. francese (*comportament* per *comportement*, p. 62, nota 126, *Noimoutier* per *Noirmoutier*, p. 139, nota 68) o tedesco (*Wirkichkeit* per *Wirklichkeit*, p. 93, *Privetheit* per *Privatheit*, p. 203). In genere, tuttavia, il versante tipografico si presenta assai bene, tenendo conto di diversi tipi di caratteri utilizzati.
 5. Per concludere, la monografia *Il dialetto percepito* di Gabriele Iannàcero è un lavoro minuzioso e informatissimo, con esposizioni dettagliatissime (che qua e là si potrebbero forse condensare un pochino). È un'opera di primaria importanza per tutti coloro che intendano svolgere ricerche analoghe sul terreno (e non solo italiano).

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***Dictionnaire des emprunts latins dans les langues romanes*, Jana Balacciu Matei,**
Cristina Halichias, Coman Lupu, Cristian Maroianu, Alexandra Niculescu,
Victoria Popovici, Sanda Reinheimer Rîpeanu, Oana Sălisteanu Cristea, Maria
Theban; sous la direction de Sanda Reinheimer Rîpeanu; Editură Academiei
Române, București 2004; 456 pagine

1. Il livello scientifico e i risultati raggiunti dalla linguistica romanza in Romania non richiedono prove né esempi: basti citare i nomi dei due maggiori che figurano nel nome dell'Istituto di Linguistica, non dimenticando beninteso numerosi altri valenti studiosi, come Maria Iliescu, Marius Sala ed altri ancora. Essendo uno dei paesi di lingua neolatina e precisamente il solo della Romania orientale, il contatto tra romeno e latino è *self evident*, anche se è diverso dai legami tra il latino e gli idiomi romanzi dell'Europa occidentale, v.av. Comunque, il complesso latino-romanzo costituisce un tutto organico in cui nessun limite cronologico netto divide le lingue base, il latino, dalle sue forme attuali, che sono le lingue neolatine¹.
2. In senso storico, la principale differenza tra il romeno e le lingue neolatine occidentali consiste nel contatto costante tra queste ultime e il latino. Gli idiomi romanzi dell'Europa occidentale vivono tutto il tempo "all'ombra" del latino, attingendovi dai primi documenti (ricordiamo ad es. il latinismo *virginitet*, nella Sequenza di S. Eulalia, fine del IX secolo). I Romeni, al contrario, per mille anni, hanno vissuto, come è stato detto con una felice immagine, "con la faccia rivolta all'oriente", dunque senza contatti con il latino e gli idiomi congeneri dell'Europa occidentale. Appena negli ultimi tre secoli circa è iniziata la ri-latinizzazione, o ri-romanizzazione, del romeno, mediante contatti e prestiti dal latino e dai due maggiori idiomi romanzi moderni, il francese e l'italiano.
3. Questa, all'incirca, la problematica abbracciata dal libro qui recensito, che tratta un importante aspetto dell'insieme bimillenario latino-romanzo. La valente *équipe* di scienziati romeni, coordinati da Sanda Reinheimer Rîpeanu, ci offre uno sguardo sintetico su quanto gli idiomi neolatini devono agli imprestiti dalla loro lingua-madre. Il fine del dizionario è di presentare un inventario completo dei latinismi nelle lingue romanze (p. 6). Queste lingue, prese in esame nell'opera, sono sei, da ovest ad est: portoghese, spagnolo, catalano, francese, italiano, romeno.
4. La struttura del volume non è tanto chiaramente riconoscibile quanto si desiderebbe. Anzitutto, manca un sommario; inoltre, la prima parte è "acefala" perché non porta nessun titolo (pp. 15-20). C'è una prima sezione (pp. 5-9), che dà alcune linee generali; segue *L'inventaire* (pp. 9-13), diviso in 1.1. *Sélection des termes* (pp. 10-11) e 1.1.1. *Autres termes éliminés* (pp. 12-13). La seconda sezione è dedicata ai "*latinismes apparents*" (v. av.) (pp. 13-14). La terza sezione (pp. 15-20) espone

¹ A questo punto vale citare quello che più di quarant'anni fa osserva E. Löfstedt (*Late Latin*, Oslo 1959, p. 2). Commentando l'opinione di Dag Norberg, secondo cui fino all'anno 600 si può parlare di latino e dopo l'800 di romanzo, Löfstedt dice: "For the intervening period either name will serve, provided that we bear in mind the fact that no firm frontier in time separates spoken Latin from the earliest Romance idiom" ('Per il periodo intermedio possono servire ambedue i termini a condizione di tenere presente il fatto che nessun limite cronologico netto separa il latino parlato dal primo idioma romanzo').

- La structure des articles* (la p. 20 essendo riservata all'elenco dei collaboratori con i rispettivi domini scientifici e ai ringraziamenti). Le pp. 21-23 contengono le abbreviazioni e i titoli dei dizionari adoperati. Dalla p. 25 fino alla p. 441 si estende il dizionario vero e proprio (cca 7000 parole, da ABBATIA a ZOOLOGICUS). Alle pp. 443-456 si trova la bibliografia al cui inizio la nota 23 ci informa che nella bibliografia non sono incluse le grammatiche storiche né le storie linguistiche dei singoli idiomi neolatini.
5. Questa è in grandi linee la struttura del nostro Dizionario; passiamo adesso a sintetizzare i procedimenti applicati e i principali risultati scientifici raggiunti.
 - 5.1. Il Dizionario si propone di colmare una reale lacuna, offrendo per la prima volta un inventario completo dei prestiti latini nelle lingue romanze (p. 6).
 - 5.2. La scelta effettuata riflette l'evoluzione convergente degli idiomi romanzi quanto alla costituzione del lessico scientifico e tecnico moderno.
 - 5.3. "Romanisation d'origine et re-latinisation offrent l'image d'un continuum dans le temps et dans l'espace de la Romania occidentale actuelle [...]" (p. 8).
 - 5.4. L'influsso del latino si manifesta nell'arricchimento del lessico romanzo, nel contatto delle voci latine con i corrispondenti romanzi e nelle relazioni interromanze (pp. 6-8).
 - 5.5. Gli strati popolari e quelli latini (prestiti) tendono sempre più a fondersi; soltanto in romeno esiste ancora una certa tensione tra i due elementi (p. 8).
 - 5.6. L'eliminazione di termini troppo scientifici, troppo specializzati, così come dei nomi propri e di certi composti dotti, ha permesso di ridurre le voci incluse a cca 7000 (pp. 10-11).
 - 5.7. Bisogna tenere conto anche dei termini che hanno tutto l'aspetto latino, ma che sono di origine greca o di formazione posteriore, oppure derivati da termini romanzi (pp. 13-14).
 - 5.8. Di fronte ad una lunga serie di aggettivi abbastanza eterogenei adoperati dai vari autori per determinare il latino (*imperiale, tardo, cristiano, medievale, ecclesiastico, scolastico, giuridico* ecc., p. 15), gli autori del nostro Dizionario si limitano alla distinzione unicamente cronologica di quattro strati: 1) latino [tout court], cioè attestato fino all'anno 200; 2) latino tardo; 3) latino medievale; 4) latino moderno (nota 14, p. 15).
 6. Il Dizionario, qui (troppo) brevemente recensito, è un contributo sostanziale alla linguistica neolatina; nel contempo, esso può servire da modello in altri domini analoghi, studi di lessicologia, contatti diacronici, elaborazione di vari repertori. Un solo fatto stupisce: il REW, tuttora impretebibile nella linguistica romanza, viene citato nella nota 3 a p. 6, ma non in nessuno degli elenchi bibliografici. Comunque, il *Dictionnaire des emprunts latins dans les langues romanes* fa onore ai suoi autori. Siamo certi che l'opera verrà consultata da tutti coloro che si occupano o si interessano di linguistica, soprattutto lessicologia, neolatina.

Marcello Aprile, *Le strutture del Lessico Etimologico Italiano; Pubblicazioni del Dipartimento Etimologico Italiano; Pubblicazioni del Dipartimento di Filologia Linguistica e Letteratura dell'Università di Lecce*, vol. 24; Mario Congedo Editore, Galatina 2004; 324 pagine

1. L'opera qui recensita è unica nel suo genere; è una specie di recensione per così dire «interna» (o una sorta di grammatica, come si legge nella retrocopertina esterna), un'analisi, cioè, del magistrale LEI di Max Pfister et al. (lettere A e B), scritta da uno dei collaboratori). Infatti, Marcello Aprile, professore associato dell'Università di Lecce e studioso degli strati storici dell'Italia meridionale, soprattutto Salento (citiamo il suo volume su *Giovanni Brancati traduttore di Vegezio*, Galatina 2001), presenta col suo nuovo volume dedicato alle *strutture* del *Lebenswerk* di M. Pfister una specie di manuale per qualsiasi studio di questo gigantesco repertorio lessicografico. Lungo tutta l'esposizione, quasi ad ogni pagina, il LEI viene comparato col suo «fratello maggiore», il FEW di W.v. Wartburg, rispetto al quale rappresenta naturalmente un notevole progresso, sia dal versante scientifico sia da quello tecnico (mezzi elettronici odierni).
2. Il concetto di struttura (ed il termine corrispondente) domina, come detto, in tutto il libro; con le parole di Jean-Pierre Chambon, autore della *Préface*, il volume è un *essai de description méthodique et exhaustive de ses structures*. Nell'*Introduzione* (11-24) l'Autore spiega i termini, quasi tutti composti di struttura, cercando di inserirsi «in questa tradizione nella tradizione» (21). Si tratta dei termini *superstruttura* (bipartizione del LEI in macrostruttura e microstruttura), *macrostruttura* (articolazione in sezioni entro le quali si trovano gli articoli), *struttura* (articolazione interna dei singoli articoli), *struttura primaria* (ossatura principale), *struttura secondaria*, *terziaria* ecc. (suddivisioni ulteriori), *infrastruttura* (articolazione interna entro i paragrafi degli articoli), *stringa* (unità di base della documentazione). Con *parastruttura* il Nostro intende i dati bibliografici e gli strumenti di lavoro; con *epistruttura*, infine, il materiale del LEI fuori di esso. Il libro contiene anche: cenni sui cambiamenti nel LEI dal primo volume ad oggi e un capitolo a sé sull'importanza del LEI per la storia linguistica e l'etimologia italiana. Le tre appendici sono dedicate rispettivamente agli orientalism, alle fonti del LEI e ai collaboratori (volume per volume). Alla bibliografia sono riservate le pagine 305-320, e l'elenco comprende ben 323 titoli, di cui 73 del solo Max Pfister.
3. Discutere o anche soltanto citare tutto il materiale, tutti gli esempi, le tesi esposte ecc. significherebbe quasi riscrivere l'intero volume, il che è beninteso impossibile anche nei limiti di una recensione ben più ampia della presente; ci limitiamo dunque ad una rassegna rapida, per così dire "a volo d'uccello". Di quelli che riteniamo i punti più interessanti. Capitolo I (25-38) *La superstruttura*: materiali di origine ignota, etimi latini e preromanzi, onomatopee e voci espressive. Capitolo II (39-71) *La macrostruttura*: unità sovralessicali i infralessicali, derivati deonomastici, etimologia latina medievale e scientifica, germanismi, slavismi, tre sistemi di raggruppamento degli etimi, unità lessicali ricostruite, genere dell'etimo, contesto.

Capitolo III (73-125) *L'articolazione interna delle voci*: lingua-oggetto, dia-dimensioni, concetto di *Schriftsprache*, aspetto morfologico, unità cosiddette polirematiche (fino a poco fa trascurate in Italia, p. 115), frammentazione del latino, latino medievale, cultismi, prestiti, aspetti onomastici, fonti utilizzate, rapporti tra i paragrafi ecc. Capitolo IV (127-156) *La struttura degli articoli*: bipartizione tra approccio semasiologico (etimi noti) e onomasiologico (etimi ignoti), strutture elementari, simmetria interna ed esterna, basi espressive, fonosimboliche (onomatopoe), onomasiologia. Capitolo V (157-196) *L'infrastruttura e la stringa*: criterio geolinguistico e criterio cronologico, stringa tipo del LEI, marche grammaticali e quelle di luogo, datazioni, note a piè di pagina, paginazione, materiali del LEI presentati altrove. Capitolo VI (197-204) *La parastruttura*: strumenti di lavoro, schede, classificazione numerica, lato tipografico. Capitolo VII (205-227) *Lavori in corso* (titolo abbreviato): «evoluzione» del LEI dall'inizio (1979) ad oggi, nuove tecnologie, prima e seconda squadra, versanti piuttosto tecnici. Capitolo VIII (229-262) *L'etimologia, le applicazioni all'italiano, la storia delle parole e il LEI*: la parte più interessante del volume: argomentazione etimologica, storia delle parole nel LEI, disposizione areale, incroci, etimologie popolari, stratigrafia, fonosimbolismo, confronti tra il LEI e le opere etimologiche precedenti. Agli otto capitoli seguono le tre Appendici:

1. *La sezione degli Orientalia nel LEI, Appunti di lavoro* (255-288); 2. *La tipologia delle fonti* (289-292); 3. *I collaboratori del LEI* (294-303). Dal punto di vista scientifico la più importante è la prima appendice (molti orientalismis in italiano, nel Sud soprattutto *sceccu* e var. "asino" < turco e *eşek*, pp. 274-285), mentre le altre due sono importanti per la storia del LEI.

4. Nessuna recensione è esente da soggettività e arbitrarietà. Coscienti di questo rischio, ci limitiamo a quanto segue.

4.1. Pag. 70: la formula pragmatica *come ormai sappiamo* si ripete due volte a breve distanza e contribuisce ad "annacquare" tutto il testo. Lo stesso si può dire della formula pragmatico-presentativa *Vediamone un esempio* (con varianti), un po' in tutto il libro. Altri punti non del tutto "limitati": a p. 35 tre volte *infine* a qualche riga di distanza; a p. 223 ripetizione di *appunto*; a p. 224, nota 419: *Ad esempio l'esempio*; a p. 245 ben cinque avverbi modali (*naturalmente, certo, senza dubbio, certamente, probabilmente*) non lontani reciprocamente; a p. 261 ripetizione del sintagma *nel corso* e via dicendo.

4.2. P. 93: il termine *diaromanzo* è una creazione davvero riuscita, un conio felice.

4.3. P. 104, nota 190: se l'iscrizione di Commodilla è da considerarsi volgare (perché posteriore alla morte di Isidoro di Siviglia, assunta come fine della vita del latino; passim), lo stesso dovrebbe valere ovviamente anche per l'Indovinello Veronese.

4.4. P. 115: la formula "spirito greco in materia romanza", definita «una delle formule più suggestive mai coniate da Gerhard Rohlfs», non è ovviamente che una replica del famoso binomio di G.I. Ascoli.

- 4.5. P. 138: il sostantivo *Rumex* è femminile in *Rumex acetosa* e *Rumex lunaria*, mentre è maschile in *Rumex obtusifolius* e *Rumex scutatus*. La coesistenza dei due generi andrebbe commentata.
- 4.6. P. 140: il binomio *struttura profonda/ struttura superficiale* richiede una precisazione sul senso usato qui.
- 4.7. P. 153: i determinanti "oggetto appuntito o tondeggiante" sono reciprocamente incompatibili.
- 4.8. P. 189: la filiazione *Abano Terme* > *aponogètone* va assolutamente commentata e spiegata.
- 4.9. P. 233: si cita Nemnich 1793, che non abbiamo trovato nella bibliografia; di chi/che cosa si tratta?
5. Gli errori tipografici sono relativamente rari e non pericolosi. Menzioniamone due: 1) p. 144: che significa della ??? in neretto? e 2) per Tancke 2002 le pagine citate a p. 204 non concordano con quelle nella bibliografia (p. 317). Ma questi e alcuni altri sbagli sono di lievissima entità di fronte a tante pagine tipograficamente complicatissime (una per tutte: p. 55), di cui la tipografia può davvero vantarsi. E piacciono anche le riproduzioni di varie fonti anteriori, inserite tra le pp. 288 e 289.
- Riepilogando, il libro *Le strutture del Lessico Etimologico Italiano; Pubblicazioni del Dipartimento Etimologico Italiano* di Marcello Aprile è un vademecum validissimo, sui generis, per qualsiasi approccio alla grande opera di Max Pfister et al. E avrà il suo posto negli studi di linguistica italiana.

Giuseppe Patota, Poiché fra causa, tempo e testo, Biblioteca di cultura/ 675, Bulzoni Editore, Roma 2005, 398 pp.

1. L'autore del presente volume ci ha regalato tre anni fa l'importantissima *Grammatica di riferimento della lingua italiana per stranieri* (Frenze, Le Monnier, 2003) e adesso ci offre il volume qui recensito, dedicato ad una sola parola (per cui sua sorella si è «definitivamente rassegnata all'idea di avere un fratello non del tutto normale», p. 10). Eppure, come risulta dal libro, la voce *poiché* (conseguentemente scritta *poiché* (*poi che*)) è tanto ricca di significati e possibilità d'uso che giustifica pienamente di essere il tema di un intero grosso volume. A detta dell'Autore, il «nucleo originale» (9) del lavoro risale al 2003, ed è dovuto alla collaborazione di quattro bravissime studentesse, nell'ambito del corso universitario intitolato *Morfologia, sintassi e storia della lingua italiana* (ib.); ma molti altri colleghi (scrupolosamente citati alle pagine 9-10) hanno collaborato con il Nostro. Il libro che qui brevemente recensiamo è davvero interessantissimo perché esamina le funzioni di *poiché* dal punto di vista delle principali discipline linguistiche dei nostri giorni: sintassi, pragmatica, semantica, teoria e pratica della comunicazione, e linguistica del testo. Oltre a tutto questo, la monografia esamina la materia dal Duecento ad oggi ed ha così un'evidente importanza anche per la diacronia dell'italiano.

2. Il volume consta di due parti di ineguale lunghezza. La prima parte, senza un titolo proprio, abbraccia la *Presentazione* (9-10), *l'Introduzione* (11-23) e dieci capitoli dei quali si dedica all'italiano odierno e gli altri nove vanno dal Duecento al secondo Novecento. Segue la *Conclusione* (75-80), seguita a sua volta dai ricchissimi *Riferimenti bibliografici e sitografici* (81-99). La seconda parte (103-398) porta il titolo *Spogli* e contiene quelle che l'Autore denomina schede, cioè esempi, in stretta corrispondenza con la prima parte, dunque dapprima l'italiano contemporaneo, in seguito i secoli dal Duecento al secondo Novecento. Ogni capitolo si divide in due sezioni: Prosa e Poesia. Gli scrittori meno noti sono rappresentati da una o due schede, mentre i maggiori – Dante, Petrarca, Boccaccio, Bembo, Machiavelli, Goldoni, Manzoni, Pirandello, Pasolini ed altri ancora – sono presenti in tre, quattro o più schede. Se una scheda contiene i risultati dello spoglio di più opere di uno scrittore, ciò viene sempre scrupolosamente indicato nella relativa nota a piè di pagina. Va rilevata a parte la lunghissima nota 2 a p. 77, che presenta un'ampia esposizione dei procedimenti matematico-statistici, a cui corrispondono le tabelle e i grafici alle pagine 76-79 della *Conclusione*.
3. La nostra monografia sulla parola *poiché* presenta risultati importanti e interessanti, degni di essere messi in risalto. Prima di tutto, la base è il latino *post quod*, sopravissuto in tutte le lingue romanze (p. 13). Il significato di *poiché* è triplice: nettamente temporale e causale (dovuto al principio logico *post hoc, ergo propter hoc*, non ammesso dai logici ma ben attivo nella vita quotidiana) e puramente causale. Dall'inizio della storia della lingua italiana si osserva la costante recessione del significato temporale nella prosa, mentre in poesia il significato temporale resiste meglio e si conserva fino all'epoca attuale. Lo studio diacronico pervade tutta l'opera e ne è probabilmente la componente più interessante, dunque anche la più importante. Infine, a p. 80 si leggono due constatazioni in sostanza sociolinguistiche; che completano il quadro: 1) la differenza tra la lingua della prosa e quella della poesia; 2) «il forte ritardo della norma rispetto all'uso» [fatto valevole probabilmente, in varia misura, per tutte le lingue di cultura].
4. Il versante tecnico del nostro volume è praticamente impeccabile; in confronto con la complicatezza del testo gli errori sono rarissimi, ad es. *Amerika* (p. 109), *immenza* (p. 358), *vesuvio* (p. 390; nella nota 90 correttamente *Vesuvio*) ecc. *Poiché* il libro abbonda di citazioni, non è sempre facile decidere se un dato errore sia da addebitare all'autore del volume o a quello del passo citato. Dato l'elevato numero degli autori citati, un elenco alfabetico dei nomi di persona sarebbe molto utile.
5. La monografia «*Poiché fra causa, tempo e testo*» di Giuseppe Patota è un importante contributo a tutta una serie di discipline linguistiche, un modello di ricerca e di coscienziosità nell'elaborazione del materiale e nella redazione del testo. I linguisti possono attendersi, dall'autore e dai suoi seguaci e alunni, ben altri studi su voci altrettanto «poliedriche».

Michele Prandi – Gaston Gross – Cristiana De Santis, La finalità, Strutture concettuali e forme d'espressione in italiano; Biblioteca dell'«Archivum Romanicum», Serie II: Linguistica, 56; Leo S. Olschki Editore 2005; 364 pagine

1. Malgrado l'immensa produzione scientifica odierna, che non consente più una evidenza di tutte le pubblicazioni, il sottoscritto recensore osa constatare di non conoscere altre opere che con uguale competenza e profondità trattino tutti gli argomenti collegati con il concetto di finalità. Una buona parte del volume è stata tradotta dal francese, ad opera di Cristiana De Santis (Introduzione e i capitoli I-V e XI-XII).
2. La struttura del volume è la seguente: dopo la breve *Premessa* (9-15: le fonti e i collaboratori) si legge *l'Introduzione: La finalità nell'espressione e nel pensiero spontaneo* (17-28: i limiti della finalità, la sua espressione e l'estensione dal mondo vegetale all'azione umana). Segue «la parte del leone» del libro, i capitoli (29-338), sui quali ci soffermiamo nel § 3. La *Bibliografia* occupa le pagg. 339-353 (più di 330 items!) e al termine del volume troviamo tre *Indici*: degli autori (355-357), degli argomenti (359-362) e dei relatori finali [tutti i mezzi linguistici capaci di partecipare all'espressione della finalità] (353-364).
3. Succinta rassegna della materia dei singoli capitoli:
 - I. *L'analisi delle relazioni transfrastiche: una scelta di metodo* (29-70): si menziona una serie di concetti e termini, le relazioni transfrastiche, i tipi di subordinazione, il rapporto fra le strutture grammaticali e semantiche, le interpretazioni di strutture giustapposte (*bricolage*) e vari altri argomenti che sarebbe impossibile enumerare tra la grammatica delle regole e quella delle opzioni (varie possibilità di esprimere un dato contenuto), e non manca nemmeno uno sguardo diacronico (p. 63). Fondamentale per tutto il libro è il passo a p. 57, che citiamo per intero: *L'idea di fondo di questo libro nasce dalla constatazione che una relazione come il fine ammette centinaia di forme di espressione diverse, perfettamente intercambiabili dal punto di vista della legalità grammaticale, che il parlante sceglie in funzione dei suoi progetti espressivi e comunicativi*. Se vediamo bene, si allude alla pragmatica, che del resto permea tutto il volume, e a ragione, dato che la pragmatica è una delle discipline al centro della linguistica odierna. – II. Questo capitolo, intitolato *Dalla locuzione ai predicati nominali* (71-91), analizza le locuzioni e i loro membri costitutivi: le preposizioni, i sostantivi e le loro determinazioni, le forme delle frasi finali, lo statuto sintattico del sostantivo, le forme del predicato, i verbi supporto, altre forme del predicato, lo statuto sintattico della subordinata, infine la prospettiva comunicativa. Interessante e importante l'affermazione a p. 87: le finali consistono non di due ma di tre frasi: la principale, la subordinata e «la frase che si nasconde dietro la locuzione congiuntiva e traduce l'idea che l'azione compiuta dal soggetto umano ha come fine desiderato lo stato di fatto rappresentato dalla subordinata». Alle prospettive comunicative (dislocazioni) sono dedicate le pagg. 90-91. – Il cap. III porta il titolo *Struttura concettuale della finalità: causa, motivo, fine* (93-127) e si dedica all'analisi, approfondita e dettagliatissima, dei tre concetti che figurano nel titolo e della differenza

logica necessaria. Il motivo, entità che si situa tra cause ed effetto (fine), spiega l'azione, la causa spiega il fenomeno (96). Vengono esaminati anche i concetti pragmaticamente pertinenti sul piano discorsivo (102). Assai interessante è il sottocapitolo sul «motivo del dire e del pensare» (114-117), in cui si tratta la frase causale che argomenta una constatazione (ad es. *Giovanni è uscito, perché il garage è vuoto*; 114). Poi si discutono varie condizioni logiche nelle espressioni di un fine, la frontiera tra previsione e intenzione (119) e determinati altri argomenti logici. – Il capitolo IV porta il titolo *L'espressione della finalità nella frase complessa* (129-150) e consiste nella presentazione (sottile e molto dettagliata) dei diversi aspetti della finalità nelle sue sfumature. Le forme finali e causali esprimono in sostanza la stessa struttura: un motivo coincidente con una intenzione (130, nota). Due aspetti della differenza tra causa e fine: orientamento temporale opposto e dosaggio di contenuto (esplicito e implicito). Essenziale è la differenza tra strutture semantiche e concettuali (136, nota). Alla pag. 157 si legge un interessantissimo confronto con certi dipinti (Caravaggio vs. quadri surreali). Alla pag. seguente si discutono i confini della finalità. – Il titolo del V. capitolo è *Tipologia semantica dei predicati di fine* (151-166), il tema sono le possibilità di selezione dei sostantivi (nulla/iperclassi/spettri più ristretti). Dopo uno sguardo su quanto dicono i dizionari e le grammatiche, si citano i predicati appropriati e le proprietà comuni a tutti i predicati di fine (con sottili analisi di varie classi e sottoclassi). – Nel VI capitolo (*I sostantivi locativi*, 167-193) gli autori si occupano dei nomi di luoghi, che per metafora possono esprimere il fine. Essi non denotano necessariamente soggetti umani, e il soggetto della principale non deve essere identico a quello della subordinata (dipendenza da verbi causativi). In seguito si citano esempi con *scopo* (168-176), *obiettivo e oggetto* (176-181), *fine* (181-186), *finalità* (185-189) e *altri sostantivi/locativi* (189-192). Le conclusioni sono alle pagg. 192-193. Il corpus analizzato è dato dagli esempi della stampa e affini, il che costituisce una sensibile differenza dai capitoli precedenti. – Il cap. VII è dedicato a *I predicati di percezione* (195-205), dunque i predicati appartenenti alla vista. Una distinzione fondamentale è quella fra la percezione volontaria (guardare) e involontaria (*vedere*). Sono privilegiati i sostantivi che cambiano la percezione visiva con l'organizzazione dello spazio. Vengono analizzati i nomi *vista*, *prospettiva*, *ottica* e *mira*, e la combinabilità dei sostantivi con verbi ed aggettivi, nonché le strutture esplicite ed implicite. Gli esempi sono desunti in prevalenza dalla prosa recente, ma in certi casi dai testi del XIV secolo. – Relativamente lungo è il cap. VIII (*I predicati di intenzione*, 207-242), in cui una serie di nomi sono sottoposti all'analisi dal punto di vista della finalità. In queste frasi il soggetto deve essere umano (207), ci sono differenze semantiche (ib.), i sostantivi sono disposti lungo una scala (motivazione, energia), il prototipo essendo beninteso il nome *intenzione* (208). Anche in questo capitolo l'analisi è accompagnata da considerazioni sintattiche (verbi appropriati, aggettivi). Il riassunto occupa le pagine 241-242. – Il cap. IX (*I predicati di sentimento*, 243-275) inizia con la constatazione che «La finalità può essere espressa anche da nomi di sentimento» (243), ma i nomi orientati retrospettivamente, tuttavia, non hanno tali possibilità. Il sostantivo è

un ponte fra un'azione umana (principale) ed il risultato (subordinata finale). Anche in questa pagina l'analisi dei sostantivi è completata dal solito esame sintattico (preposizioni usate, verbi appropriati, aggettivi, costrutti impliciti/espliciti). – A *Le preposizioni e le congiunzioni finali dell'italiano* è dedicato il penultimo, X capitolo (277-308). Le preposizioni hanno un contenuto semantico autonomo e una funzione relazionale (277), la principale essendo *per*, che denota uno scopo non ancora realizzato (279). Le altre preposizioni analizzate sono, *a*, *di*, *da* e *in*. Il capitolo si chiude con il solito sguardo riassuntivo. – L'ultimo dei capitoli numerati (309-314) porta il titolo *Finalità e artefatti* ed esamina – con interessanti commenti sintattici – i concetti *attrezzo, strumento, apparecchio e macchina*, e aggiunge alcune considerazioni sulla sintassi dei luoghi (distinzione tra *luogo* e *locale*), tempi, fini, nonché le differenze tra artefatti astratti, animali e umani. – Il capitolo terminale, cioè le *Conclusioni*, tratta *Il fine nella categorizzazione dell'azione* (315-338). La finalità diventa teologia (315), ci sono due ordini di conclusioni sulla libertà (317 sgg.), azione, finalità, interpretazione (319 sgg.), causa e teologia (ib.), finalità analitica e finalità sintetica (325 sgg.), struttura concettuale dell'agente (327 sgg.), la catena implicativa *intenzione* → *coscienza* → *libertà e responsabilità*; la sfida del desiderio e dei sentimenti (331-338), (sottocapitolo particolarmente denso di logica e filosofia).

4. In conclusione, sottolineiamo l'enorme ricchezza della materia trattata nel libro recensito; esso è il punto d'incontro della linguistica odierna (sintassi, semantica e pragmatica; cfr. La miscellanea *Pragmantax*, pubblicata una diecina d'anni fa in Germania!) con la logica, la filosofia, la psicologia, l'antropologia e le scienze della comunicazione. Il versante grafico è impeccabile, gli errori grafici pochi e innocui; soltanto la formula *Si noti (che)* con la sua ripetizione crea una certa monotonia. Insomma, *La finalità* di Michele Prandi, Gaston Gross e Cristiana De Santis è un'opera che fa onore agli autori nonché alla illustre Casa Editrice Leo S. Olschki. D'ora in poi, è un manuale impretebibile in qualsiasi studio della linguistica generale dei nostri tempi, che non dovrebbe mancare in nessuna biblioteca dedicata al citato vastissimo dominio scientifico.

TWO KEY CONCEPTS OF LANGUAGE ENDANGERMENT: LANGUAGE OBSOLESCENCE AND LANGUAGE DEATH*

0. Introduction

In the past few decades the growing awareness, among language communities and linguists, of the seriously endangered position of the majority of the world's languages has led to various initiatives aiming at revitalizing or maintaining threatened languages: documentation, preparation of didactic materials and language courses, training of instructors, language survival programs, specialized conferences and scholarly publications, claiming of linguistic-political rights, language awareness programs, etc.¹ Language endangerment and the position of minority languages have become part of the political and cultural agendas worldwide. In 1992 the Council of Europe adopted the European charter for regional and minority languages, protecting the rights of minority languages (the Charter became effective on March 1, 1998; it has, however, not yet been ratified by several European countries). Language policy is also becoming a sensitive issue in the Russian Federation. In the United States two Native American Languages Acts were passed (in 1990 and 1992), promoting and guaranteeing the rights of Native Americans to use and protect their languages. A number of Latin American countries now also have started to protect the rights of their native languages. Within UNESCO the problem of endangered languages has received much attention²; the World Languages Report is housed at the organization's Basque centre. Various national and international centres and websites for the documentation, study and support of endangered languages have been created; the International Clearing House for Endangered Languages is based in Tokyo³.

The aim of the present paper is to offer an elaborate definition of two key concepts in the study of language endangerment, viz. language obsolescence and language death, and to offer a characterization of the conditioning factors and the various facets of their manifestation.

1. Language obsolescence

Language obsolescence is the process by which a language ceases to be actively used and is abandoned by its native speakers in favour of another language/other languages.

* This study is dedicated to Mitja Skubic on the occasion of his 80th birthday.

¹ In view of the increased general interest in the problem of language endangerment and given the crucial importance of immediate access to data, it seemed appropriate to add an Appendix containing useful information on organizations dealing with linguistic ecology and language endangerment.

² See, e.g., the volume edited by Robins & Uhlenbeck (1991) under the auspices of UNESCO.

³ The volume edited by Matsumara (1998) results from an initiative of the Tokyo International Clearing House for Endangered Languages.

1.1. Definition. The term “language obsolescence” — other terms used as near(-synonyms) are: language decay, language decline, language regress(ion), language attrition/atrophy, language loss — refers to the process by which a language, which at one time was normally used as a vernacular language within a linguistic community, loses (part of) its range of uses within the community, mostly owing to pressure from one or more competitor languages, or to massive migration or decimation of the native speech society (which may either be indigenous or have settled down at some time in history). The decay of the recessive language affects the speech community as a whole; however, from the demographical and social points of view, the loss is increasingly manifest from the older to the younger generations, and from the socially more peripheral to the socially more central or more mobile speakers. Language decay therefore often does not show a very homogeneous pattern within a community: there are generational, social, and often also person-bound factors that affect in divergent ways the phenomenon of language obsolescence and, eventually, language extinction. A general feeling of linguistic insecurity⁴ is often observed with speakers whose native language has entered the stage of obsolescence.

Globally, language obsolescence can be characterized as a critical phase in the evolutionary trajectory (or ‘life cycle’)⁵ of a language, which — unless the threat is reversed, with a sufficiently strong commitment of the community and efficient political and socio-economic support — is bound to die out, a well-known phenomenon in the history of languages and a particularly threatening prospect for several hundreds of languages in the 21st century⁶ (cf. Dorian 1981; Dorian ed. 1989; Fishman 1991).

Language obsolescence may have environmental (geographical, biological), political, socio-economical, demographical and ideological causes; it is primarily reflected in the endangered status of the language, which can be gauged, statistically, from the (often spectacular) decrease in the number of (competent) speakers, and, linguistically, from the loss of language proficiency among the members of the linguistic community, from the regress of functional uses of the language, the erosion of (parts of) the language system, and the overriding presence of another language (either a local or national competitor or, very often, a major international language). The competitor language(s), also called “dominant” in contrast to the recessive obsolescent language, may be aggressively promoted (or imposed), but in some cases language loss results from the spontaneous, or at least not overtly imposed, abandonment of a speech system which is felt to be a hindrance for social and economical advance⁷. Obsolescent languages are not necessarily languages spoken by small groups of speakers; examples are known of languages with a (once) large number of speakers that have become obsolescent or are seriously weakening (this is, e.g., the case of Breton, a Celtic language spoken in the North-West of France and most closely related to Welsh and Gaelic or Irish, which had over a million of speakers at the beginning of the 20th century and is now seriously threatened; presently, the Quechua language, a major indigenous Amerindian language, is also receding in South America).

⁴ For a definition of this notion, see Swiggers (1994).

⁵ For the use of the latter term, see Dorian (1981).

⁶ Cf. Dorian (1981; ed. 1989) and Fishman (1991).

⁷ The two types of situations have been designated, somewhat misleadingly, by the terms “language murder” and “language suicide”.

The socio-psychological dimension of the process resides in the loss of prestige of the language, especially as it is experienced by its own speakers, in the fading of the feeling of solidarity with the language as the vehicle of a people's culture and identity, and in the attribution of social and economical advantages to the competitor language(s).

1.2. Relevance. The relevance of language obsolescence is threefold.

(a) From the point of view of language history and current linguistic situations, obsolescent languages are a frequently attested phenomenon in the history of human languages, especially in the modern periods of colonialism and post-colonialism. Extensive field work and applied linguistic research has been carried out on obsolescent languages in Europe, the Americas (cf. Swadesh 1948), Australia (cf. Dixon 1984, 1998) and Asia; initiatives are to be taken urgently for languages in Africa (cf. Brenzinger ed. 1992) and Papua New Guinea (cf. Kulick 1992)⁸. Since the 1990s there has been a growing awareness, among linguists and those involved in language and culture programs, of the endangered situation of several hundreds of languages — about a quarter of the approximately 6000 languages spoken in the world have less than 1000 speakers —, and various local, national and international initiatives have been taken or are under way. The Tokyo International Clearing House for Endangered Languages has compiled the “Red Book on Endangered Languages”.

(b) From the point of view of professional commitment to descriptive and applied linguistics, the process of language obsolescence has been studied in great detail by linguists interested in historical processes affecting languages (cf. Dressler 1981), by sociolinguists and ethnolinguists interested in the social and cultural functionality of languages (cf. Hill 1983), and by linguists pursuing practical goals such as the development of teaching materials, or the training of native speakers as instructors or language specialists.

(c) From the methodological point of view, situations of language obsolescence have been studied by linguists interested in language acquisition and language pathology (one important research topic is whether language loss follows the reverse path of language acquisition, and whether it can be compared to processes involved in language disorders), by linguists interested in language contact (a major research issue being the difference between processes of obsolescence and processes such as pidginization and creolization), by linguists interested in language creativity (is the creative power of the language faculty somehow preserved in the process of language loss or regress?), and by (theoretical) linguists interested in the definition of notions such as “linguistic competence”, “communicative” competence, “grammaticality (judgments)”, “rules of grammar” and their relevance for speakers of obsolescent languages⁹.

1.3. Characterization. Linguistic obsolescence (as a gradual process) is characterized by a “proficiency continuum”: higher proficiency is attested in the oldest members of the speech community, while the younger generations show (at times extreme) code-switching and transition towards another language. The scalar effects on the proficiency

⁸ For a recent worldwide survey, see Wurm (ed. 1996).

⁹ For examples of such methodologically oriented studies see Dorian (ed. 1989; 1999) and Mithun (1990).

continuum can be coupled with relative scores referring to higher/lesser fluency, and perfect/imperfect (or “full”/“weak”) mastery of phonological, morphological, syntactic, lexical, and stylistic levels. From a sociolinguistic point of view, these scores can in their turn be correlated with parameters such as age, sex, social extraction, education, professional environment, social mobility (providing always for the possibility of atypical cases, owing to personal history, geographical isolation, social marginalization). As to the determination of scores, language obsolescence can be measured in terms of deviations or changes with respect to a(n ideally extreme) conservative local norm; a major issue here is to distinguish between a deviation due to (natural) evolution — what can be called common historical change —, and a deviation due to language obsolescence or loss. To make the distinction it will be necessary: (1) to proceed to longitudinal sampling (ideally, across several cohorts of test persons followed over a longer time period), (2) to examine the general extension and the abrupt or gradual nature of the changes, and (3) to determine their place within the general linguistic system as it evolved in the last generations. The respective scores of speakers are often correlated with rough characterizations in terms of language mastery; they range from “full” (or “healthy”) speakers to “semi-speakers”¹⁰, “terminal/last speaker(s)” and “language rememberers” (the latter having only a fragmentary, and only purely passive or repetitive knowledge of the language).

Structurally, language obsolescence is most often characterized by reductions and losses in the phonological, morphological, syntactic and lexical subsystems (cf. Austin 1986; Silva Corvalán 1994; Van Ness 1990); language contact and the presence of a dominant language usually lead to blends, alternations, and hypercorrections, all typical of the general process of linguistic hybridization. Obsolescent languages may, however, retain features of structural complexity¹¹; moreover, they sometimes show interesting phenomena of linguistic innovation and creativity (cf. Aikhenvald 2000). At the functional-stylistic level language obsolescence is most visible in the reduction of functional registers (or speech styles), and in the pervasiveness of code-switching and contaminations due to (unequal) language contact¹².

1.4. Perspectives. The current international linguistic scene shows the worldwide spread of situations of linguistic obsolescence; many of the communities concerned show a strong sense of commitment to the preservation of their language, but worldwide there is still insufficient awareness of the extent and the dramatic nature of language extinction. Further empirical studies are urgently needed in order to gain control over the linguistic and extralinguistic variables that are at play in the process of language decay; specifically, more work has to be done on the sociolinguistic awareness of, and reflection on language obsolescence, and on the coexistence of recessive languages with various dominant languages. However, in view of the importance of languages as structural, semiotic and cultural entities (which are in no way interchangeable), and for reasons of respect for linguistic and cultural identity, the most urgent task lies in the

¹⁰ On this notion, see Dorian (1977).

¹¹ As shown by Dorian (1981), East Sutherland Gaelic, an obsolescent (Celtic) language, retains at least part of its complex morphology in the process of extinction (and erosion by English).

¹² See, e.g., the case of the Uto-Aztecan languages, receding before Spanish and English, in Meso-America and the United States, analysed in Hill (1983).

field of “applied” linguistic work, viz. the elicitation and recording (= “documentation”) of obsolescent languages, the development of maintenance and survival programs, linguistic solidarity efforts, and other initiatives which may ensure the continuity of linguistic diversity. Realistically speaking, obsolescent languages can only be rescued if they are still in a relationship of more or less stable bilingualism (i.e. a bilingualism with secured complementary roles) with respect to the dominant language; this is, e.g., the case of Guaraní vs. Spanish in Paraguay; unfortunately this case is rather the exception, obsolescent languages being mostly relegated to peripheral uses. Languages are not recognized as an interesting subject from an economical and political point of view; revitalization and maintenance programs for languages are easily dropped in periods of economic depression and of priority given to military concerns. Language policies in favour of endangered languages only stand a good chance if they are backed by a context of economic justice, political and cultural respect, and equally shared moral standards; in the short run, they have to be sustained with strong financial support. In sum: the fate of linguistic and cultural diversity is in the hands of humanity.

2. Language death

Language death is the terminal stage of a process of linguistic extinction, the duration of which is variable and dependent on the number, role, weight, and interaction of a number of external factors. Generally, language death is the endpoint of a process of obsolescence; in some cases, language death occurs suddenly.

2.1. Definition. The term “language death” (other terms used as synonyms or near-synonyms are: language/linguistic extinction, language loss) refers to the process of the disappearance of a language. A language which is no longer used as a vehicle of communication within a society can be called dead or extinct (a dead language can be kept in use, artificially, for specific purposes: compare the case of Latin used as a liturgical language well into the 20th century). In some cases the disappearance of the language is due to the sudden extermination of the speech community, but mostly a language is abandoned in favour of another language, and this process of language shift, which generally has political, socio-economical and cultural causes, may take one or two generations only or may extend over a longer period. Major changes in the political, socio-economical and cultural organization of countries and whole continents have occurred since the beginning of the 20th century; their combined effects constitute a serious threat for the majority of the world’s languages, which are highly endangered at the beginning of the third millennium¹³.

Well-known historical cases of language extinction are Egyptian, Elamite, Etruscan, Gothic, Hittite (and other Anatolian languages), Old Prussian and Sumerian, languages (of diverse genetic affiliation) which once had considerable political and/or cultural importance. Since the colonization of the Americas, several hundreds of native American languages have died out, and the great majority of the remaining languages are now on the

¹³ On the critical state of the situation worldwide, see Hale (1992) and Krauss (1992). Hale (1992) and Krauss (1992) form part of a collection of informative accounts on endangered languages and on language revitalization programs, but are listed here separately because of their broad geographical coverage, their theoretical interest and their highly relevant admonitions.

verge of extinction. Worldwide the threat of language extinction has taken a much more aggressive dimension, affecting specifically the languages of migrant populations and minority groups, but also languages spoken by relatively large numbers of speakers who are exposed to the pressure of major international languages. The alarming situation of language endangerment at the end of the second and the beginning of the third millennium has aroused growing awareness in the communities concerned, among linguists¹⁴ and also outside linguistic circles, of the urgency of language maintenance and language revitalization programs. From the ecolinguistic point of view, the problem of language endangerment is of critical importance, urging well-targeted and adequately supported language policies while appealing to the ethical responsibility of all those interested in linguistic and cultural biodiversity. Apart from its central place within an ecology of language¹⁵, the study of language death and endangerment is of direct relevance to various linguistic approaches: geolinguistics, language classification, language typology, sociolinguistics, historical linguistics, psycholinguistics, anthropological linguistics and theoretical linguistics¹⁶.

2.2. *Current situation.* In order to realize the magnitude of the problem of language death and endangerment, the following numerical data are indispensable¹⁷.

- (a) At the beginning of the third millennium, some 6000 languages are spoken in the world (estimates range from 5000 to 7000 languages, a fluctuation which is owing to the difficulties inherent in the distinction between languages and dialects, as well as to the lack of accurate information on linguistic diversity in some areas).
- (b) Of these, some 3000 languages (= 50 %) are spoken in Asia and the Pacific Ocean, some 1900 in Africa (= 31 %), some 900 in the Americas (= 15 %), and only 275 in Europe and the Middle East (= 4 %). More importantly, around 5000 languages are concentrated in 22 countries; countries and areas with a high concentration of languages are: Papua New Guinea (850 languages), Indonesia (670), Nigeria (410), India (380), Cameroon (270), Australia (250), Mexico (240), Congo (210) and Brazil (210).
- (c) There are some 180 independent states in the world; if all of these were to decide on a single “national” language, this would result in a maximum of 180 different national languages. Such a maximum is, however, purely theoretical: one has

¹⁴ See especially the articles contained in Ostler (ed. 1998).

¹⁵ The ecology of language (a concept introduced around 1970 by Einar Haugen; see Haugen [1971, 1972]) is the encompassing field of the study of the various aspects of languages in their ‘natural’ environment and their socio-economic and political setting, in relation to their history, their speakers, and their cultural manifestations. On the increased interest in linguistic ecology, see Haarmann (1980), Finke (1983), Enninger & Haynes (eds. 1984), Weinrich (1990), Strohner (1991), Alexander, Bang & Døør (eds. 1993), Mühlhäusler (1996), Fill (ed. 1996), and Swiggers (to appear); useful introductions to linguistic ecology are Fill (1993) and Trampe (1990, 1991).

¹⁶ For recent overviews of past and present situations, of the nature and causes of language death, of prospects and challenges, see Crystal (2000), Grenoble & Whaley (eds. 1998), Matsumara (ed. 1998), Hagege (2000), Nettle & Romaine (2000), and Brenzinger (ed. 2007).

¹⁷ For up-to-date information, see the website of *Ethnologue* (referred to in the Appendix). *Ethnologue* gives population figures for some 6000 languages. Of these, 55% are spoken by fewer than 10 000 speakers, and 28% by fewer than 1000 speakers; 83% are restricted to single countries, and 10 major languages are the mother tongues of 49% of the world’s population.

to reckon with the linguistic imperialism exerted by the major international and (ex)colonial languages, and by the (once) imposed languages of union states. At present English is the/an official language in some 45 states, French in some 30, Spanish and Arabic each in some 20, and Portuguese in 6.

- (d) More than 3300 languages have less than 10 000 speakers; if one takes 100 000 speakers as a reasonable threshold for survival perspectives, only 600 languages (i.e. 10 %) meet this requirement.

Given these facts, the following balanced estimate of prospects can be made:

- (1) Only ca. 600 languages, all of them national and/or official languages with more than 100 000 speakers and continuously transmitted to the younger generations of speakers, can be labelled "safe".
- (2) Hundreds of languages are moribund (as a matter of fact, some 50 languages are registered with only one speaker left at the beginning of the third millennium). Moribund languages are languages that are no longer learned by children in the community. Of the 900 American languages, at least 300 are moribund; in Australia more than 200 of the 250 indigenous languages are no longer learned by children (the situation is even worse in Papua New Guinea); in Africa, at least 200 languages are moribund.
- (3) The remaining languages are all endangered: they have less than 100 000 speakers, are not dominant in their own country, and do not enjoy the same public support as their competitor language(s).

Pessimistic estimates predict the extinction or doom of 90 % of the world's languages in the first century of the third millennium; even optimistic prospects reckon with the loss of 50 % of the world's languages in the 21st century (i.e. 3000 languages vanishing in 1200 months). Language revitalization programs are underway for various languages in North America and, especially, Meso-America; worldwide, numerous indigenous communities are investing time and energy in the transmission of their language and culture. The situation is extremely critical for most of the indigenous languages of Australia, Papua New Guinea and the Americas, and for hundreds of languages in Africa and Asia.

2.3. *Causes.* The causes of language death and endangerment are well-known, but hard to eradicate. They include:

- (a) Factors affecting the biological and physical integrity and safety of the speech community: natural catastrophes; epidemics, infections and diseases; famine and drought; genocide; war; repression; slavery; destruction of the habitat (e.g. desertification, deforestation, total irrigation).
- (b) Factors affecting the social and demographical structure of the speech community: endo/exogamy; ethnic mixture; birth regulation practices; resettlements; metropolitan societies; social disintegration; kin structure and patriarchal/matriarchal organization; possibilities of social promotion; the phenomenon of social outcasts.
- (c) Factors affecting the economic situation: globalization; open market economy; industrialization; work patterns; perspectives of economic advancement.
- (d) Factors affecting the culture and the collective psychology of a community: mobility; tourism; mass media; religious practices; cultural assimilation

(acculturation); feeling of ethnic identity (or loss of it); strength or weakness of the solidarity and intimacy feelings with one's language; degree of cultural prestige; centralization and language policies.

- (e) Factors relating to the language system, or to its perception by the speakers: it is sometimes claimed that a language losing parts of its structure and of its communicative potential can accelerate the process of its proper extinction¹⁸; the language system may be seen — by other speakers but also by its own speakers — as “inadequate”, “poor”, “backward” or “uselessly complicated”, so that its common use (or its use in the public sphere) is being discouraged or stigmatised.

Often within a language community factors contributing to language survival will coexist with factors responsible for language endangerment. Also, depending upon the attitude and general cultural and political context, the same type of factor (religious, political, ...) may in one case enhance the maintenance prospects and in another case weaken the position of the language.

2.4. Characterization and typology. Language death and language endangerment can be characterized in terms of “diasystemic” aspects, i.e. aspects relating to the language as a vehicle of communication and relating to the speech community, and in terms of “intrasystemic” features, i.e. involving the structural levels and units of the language system.

The diasystemic characterization comprises a threefold typology, with reference to three distinct focuses:

- (1) *The rate of disappearance and the possible vestigial retention of languages:* the typological scale extends here from cases of *sudden/radical language death* (the sudden extinction of the language together with its speakers, massacred or killed by a natural catastrophe), over cases of *bottom-to-top language death* (the vanishing language lives on in highly formal, often purely ritual contexts; e.g. the case of Ge'ez [Classical Ethiopic] as a liturgical language in Ethiopia) and *intimate retention* (the disappearing language is kept only for in-group purposes, and often only for special occasions or for specific speech acts, thus taking the status of a “jargonized language”; this is what is happening now with Nahuatl and Quechua in many parts of Latin America), to *gradual language death* (the gradual abandonment of the language in favour of a competitor). Gradual language death runs through a stage of bilingualism or multilingualism, during which the endangered language progressively loses its comprehensive range of functional uses, and is less and less employed by the younger generations of speakers.
- (2) *The viability status of a language,* with reference to the number of fluent speakers and to speech registers and communicative functions. Here a typological scale can be established ranging from *healthy* (or “safe”) languages, over *weakly endangered/receding* languages, *seriously endangered/disintegrating* languages, to *moribund/vanishing* languages (languages on the verge of extinction) and

¹⁸ The claim has been the object of much controversy; anyhow, the factor is in the first place already itself the result of language attrition.

extinct (dead) languages. Endangered languages in general are called “threatened” or “unhealthy”, in contrast to “healthy” (or “safe”) languages¹⁹.

For the purpose of diagnosing language weakening, Joshua Fishman (1991) has designed the “Graded intergenerational disruption scale” (*GIDS*), which allows the measuring of the maintenance prospects of a language network or community. Eight stages of increasing viability are identified on the scale: 8. most vestigial users of language L are socially isolated old persons and L needs to be re-assembled from their mouths and memories; 7. most users of L are a socially integrated and ethnolinguistically active population but are beyond child-bearing age; 6. attainment of intergenerational informal oral exchange and its demographic concentration and institutional reinforcement; 5. L enjoys literacy in home, school and community, but without taking on extra-communal reinforcement; 4. L is used in lower education meeting the requirements of compulsory educational laws; 3. L is used in the lower work sphere involving interaction between speakers of L and speakers of another language; 2. L is used in lower governmental services and mass media but not in the higher spheres of either; 1. some people use L in higher level educational, occupational, governmental and media efforts (but without the additional safety provided by political independence).

- (3) *The competence and performance levels of the speakers*. In direct correlation with the vitality status of the language, the proficiency range of the speakers can be measured; the scale will range from (still) *fluent/healthy* speakers, over *weak(er)* speakers, *semi-speakers*, (*pre*)*terminal* speakers and *last* speakers, to *language understanders*, *language rememberers*, and *ex-speakers*. Other terms used to refer to one of the intermediate stages in the process are “passive bilinguals”, “partial speakers/learners”, and — with reference to particular language attitudes — “language loyalists” or “language abandoners”.

The intrasystemic features of language death raise interesting methodological issues: are the phenomena universal or generalizable, or are they idiosyncratic; are they comparable to processes observed in the pidginization and creolization of languages; do they show the reverse operating of principles of language acquisition? A more basic theoretical problem concerns the distinction between normal language change (and contact) and change in an endangered language. As a matter of fact, the phenomena are similar or identical in both cases, but changes in an obsolescent language are more drastic, less patterned, and generally take less time; they are concentrated in the time-span of one or two generations. The intrasystemic changes occurring in the process of language death and endangerment affect the various levels of the language system: phonetics and phonology, morphology, syntax, lexicon and semantics, discursive styles. The types of processes that occur are: (a) reduction of contrasts or oppositions and of meaningful differences; (b) loss of rules and general principles; (c) overgeneralization and/or undergeneralization of features (and rules); (d) free alternations and contaminations; (e) a tendency towards decomposition and analyticity; (f) loss of semantic distinctions and reduction of polysemy; (g) loss of native vocabulary, replaced with borrowings; (h) reduction of style registers

¹⁹ See the section on “Language Obsolence”.

and discursive genres. Changes are often uncontrolled, “unsystemic”, and the spread of alternating forms leads to confusion (and to linguistic insecurity). If simplification and reduction seem to be the overall tendencies in the process of language death, the most apt term to characterize its (often chaotic) nature is “de-regula(riza)tion”.

3. Conclusion

In the contemporary context of world-wide language endangerment, of linguistic imperialism and regression of minority languages, it is of vital importance to take initiatives for the maintenance and protection of linguistic biodiversity. Languages that become extinct are a major loss, not only for the communities concerned but also for humanity in general. The role of linguists should not be confined to documentation and recording of threatened languages, but should be extended to policies aimed at the revitalization of languages in the process of obsolescence and extinction, and to programs for stimulating language awareness and language cult. Although practical work and immediate political interventions remain the most urgent tasks, there is also need for a theoretical discussion on the value of language maintenance and preservation. It is important to define adequately the basic concepts to be used in discussions, as well as in scholarly and “bureaucratic” writings in the field of language endangerment. The aim of the present paper has been to clarify the concepts of ‘language obsolescence’ and ‘language death’, with an eye at offering a general characterization and typology of both phenomena. Accurate information on the causes and contextual factors involved in language obsolescence and language death can help to elaborate a theoretically coherent frame for construing open-minded language policies and for arousing a widespread feeling of respect for the linguistic rights of speech communities, however small and unprotected they may be.

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Appendix: List of organizations and addresses

Ad Hoc Committee on Endangered Languages

M366050@er.uqam.ca

c/o Université de Québec à Montréal, CP 888, succ. Centre-ville, Montréal, Québec
H3C 3P8

Committee on Endangered Languages and their Preservation

lsa&lsadc.org

c/o Linguistic Society of America, 1325 18th Street NW, Washington DC 20036-
6501

The Endangered Language Fund

<http://sapir.ling.yale.edu/~elf/study.html>

whalen&haskins.yale.edu

c/o Doug Whalen, Department of Linguistics, Yale University, New Haven, CT
06520

Endangered-Languages-L Electronic Forum

mrhydwen&@decel.ecel.uwa.edu.au

majordomo@coombs.anu.edu.au

c/o Mari Rhydwen, Graduate School of Education, University of Western Australia,
Nedlands, Perth WA 6009

Ethnologue

<http://www.sil.org/ethnologue>

c/o Barbara Grimes, Summer Institute of Linguistics, International Linguistics Center,
7500 West Camp Wisdom Road, Dallas, TX 75236

The Foundation for Endangered Languages

<http://www.bris.ac.uk/depts/Philosophy/CTLL/FEL>

nostler@chibcha.demon.co.uk

c/o Nicholas Ostler, Batheaston Villa, 172 Bailbrook Lane, Bath BA1 7AA

Gesellschaft für bedrohte Sprachen

<http://www.unikoeln.de/gbs>

GBS@uni-koeln.de/phil-fak/ifs/pages/d_agbs.htm

c/o Hans-Jürgen Sasse, Institut für Sprachwissenschaft, Universität zu Köln, D-50923
Köln

International Clearing House for Endangered Languages

<http://www.tooyoo.L.u-tokyo.ac.jp>

kmatsum@tooyoo.L.u-tokyo.ac.jp

c/o Kazuto Matsumara, Department of Asian and Pacific Linguistics, Institute of Cross-
Cultural Studies, University of Tokyo, Hongo 7-3-1, Bunkyo-ku, Tokyo 113

Institute for the Preservation of the Original Languages of the Americas

ipola@roadrunner.com

c/o The Executive Director, 713 1/2 A Canyon Road, Santa Fe, New Mexico 87501

Language Documentation Urgency List

ue303bh@sunmail.lrz-muenchen.de

c/o Dietmar Zaefferer, Institut für Deutsche Philologie, Univ. München, Schellingstrasse 3, D-80799 München

List Endangered-Languages-L

<http://cleo.murdoch.edu.au/lists/endangered-languages-l/ell-websites.html>

endangered-languages-l@cleo.murdoch.edu.au

Network on Endangered Languages

coombpapers@coombs.anu.edu.au

c/o T. Matthew Ciolek, Computer Centre, Research School of Pacific and Asian Studies, Australian National University, Canberra

UNESCO (World Languages Report)

<http://www.unescoeh.org>

unescovp@eurosur.org

c/o Paul Ortega, Unesco Centre Basque Country, Alameda de Urquijo 60, ppal. Dcha, E-48011 Bilbao, País vasco

Povzetek

DVA KLJUČNA POJMA NEVARNOSTI V JEZIKU: ZASTARELOST IN IZGINOTJE

21. stoletje se bo moralo spopasti z dejstvom, da je jezikovna različnost v nevarnosti. Hitro namreč narašča število jezikov, katerih obstoj je ogrožen in njihova prihodnost nikakor ni spodbudna. Prispevek razkriva posledice dejstva, da je veliko jezikov v nevarnosti, da bo izrinjeno iz kake specifične rabe ali pa docela opuščeno, in skuša osvetliti dva ključna pojma pri obravnavi jezikov v nevarnosti: jezikovno zastarelost in posledično njihovo opuščanje, izginotje. Namen študije je prispevati k teoretični možnosti, da bi lahko pretehtali stopnjo nevarnosti nekega jezika za izginotje in zasnovali nekako politiko za oživljanje jezikov, da bi torej mogli ohraniti jezikovno različnost.

NATURAL SYNTAX: ENGLISH INTERROGATIVE MAIN CLAUSES

Abstract

Natural Syntax is a developing deductive theory, a branch of Naturalness Theory. The naturalness judgements are couched in naturalness scales, which follow from the basic parameters (or «axioms») listed at the beginning of the paper. The predictions of the theory are calculated in deductions, whose chief components are a pair of naturalness scales and the rules governing the alignment of corresponding naturalness values. Parallel and chiasitic alignments are distinguished, in complementary distribution. Chiasitic alignment is mandatory in deductions limited to unnatural environments.

The paper deals with English interrogative main clauses. Within these, only the interrogatives containing wh-words exclusively in situ constitute an extremely unnatural environment and require chiasitic alignment. Otherwise parallel alignment is used.

Earlier publications on Natural Syntax: Kavčič 2005a,b, Orešnik 1999, 2000a,b, 2001a-f, 2002, 2003a-c, 2002/03, 2004. This list cites only works written in English.

Keywords: *naturalness, syntax, morphosyntax, main clause, interrogative clause, English*

Natural Syntax is a (developing) deductive linguistic theory that determines the presuppositions on the basis of which a (morpho)syntactic state of affairs can be made predictable, and thus synchronically explained. The two basic kinds of presuppositions are naturalness scales and rules of alignment among corresponding values of any two scales. Every (morpho)syntactic state of affairs is represented by two comparable variants. Natural Syntax contains no generative component.

I begin by listing the criteria with which Natural Syntax substantiates naturalness scales:

- (a) The parameter of favourable for the speaker and of favourable for the hearer. What is favourable for the speaker is more natural, the speaker being the centre of communication. Expressed in a scale: >nat (favourable for the speaker, favourable for the hearer). This view of naturalness is commonplace in linguistics (Havers 1931: 171), under the names of tendency to economise (utilised first of all by the speaker) and tendency to be accurate (mainly in the hearer's interest).
- (b) The principle of least effort (Havers 1931: 171). What conforms better to this principle is more natural for the speaker. What is cognitively simple (for the speaker) is easy to produce, easy to retrieve from memory, etc.
- (c) Prototypicality. What is nearer to the prototype is more natural for the hearer. The speaker favours non-prototypicality.

- (d) Degree of integration into the construction. What is better integrated into its construction is more natural for the speaker.
- (e) Frequency. What is more frequent tokenwise is more natural for the speaker. What is cognitively simpler for the speaker is used more. (However, the reverse does not obtain: what is natural for the speaker is not necessarily more frequent.)
- (f) Small v. large class. The use of (a unit pertaining to) a small class is more natural for the speaker than the use of (a unit pertaining to) a large class. During speech small classes are easier for the speaker to choose from than are large classes.
- (g) Specialised v. non-specialised use. The specialised use of a category is more natural for the speaker than its non-specialised use. Suppose that a language has reflexive personal pronouns. These pronouns are specialised for expressing reflexivity (whereas other personal pronouns are not specialised for expressing reflexivity, although they do express it under certain conditions) and their use for expressing reflexivity is very natural for the speaker: >nat (+, -) / reflexive personal pronoun expressing reflexivity.
- (h) Given a construction, the movement of a unit to the left is more natural for the speaker than the movement of a unit to the right. (Movement to the left is more natural than non-movement; movement to the right is less natural than non-movement.)
- (i) Acceptable v. non-acceptable use. What is acceptable is more natural for the speaker than what is not acceptable. The very reason for the acceptability of a syntactic unit is its greater naturalness for the speaker with respect to any corresponding non-acceptable unit.
- (j) What is more widespread in the languages of the world is more natural for the speaker (the typological criterion). What is cognitively simpler for the speaker is realised in more languages.

The basic format of our naturalness scales is >nat (A, B), where A is favourable for the speaker and B is favourable for the hearer. A and B are the “values” of the scale. Whenever two basic scales are called for, the other assumes the shape >nat (C, D). Two expanded scales are allowed, viz. >nat (A + B, B) and >nat (A, A + B); they are valid if the corresponding scale of the format >nat (A, B) is valid. Exemplification below.

The naturalness scales are supported by the above criteria of naturalness (henceforth, axioms). Normally it suffices to substantiate any scale with one criterion, which backs up either value A or value B of the scale; the non-supported value is allotted the only remaining position in the scale. Of course, a scale may be supported with more than one criterion. Any clash among the criteria applied to a scale is to be handled with constraints on the combinations of criteria. So far only a few constraints have been formulated; I have not yet encountered much useable crucial language data.

The naturalness scales are an essential part of deductions, in which Natural Syntax expresses its predictions about the state of affairs in language data. An example of a deduction:

English. The numerical indication of frequency normally consists of a cardinal number followed by the word *times* – e.g., *four times* – except that there are one-word

expressions available for the lowest numbers: *once*, *twice* and archaic *thrice* (Collins Cobuild 1990: 270–71).

The two variants: the type *once* and the type *four times*.

1. The assumptions of Natural Syntax:

1.1. >nat (type *once*, type *four times*)

I.e., the type *once* is more natural than the type *four times*. – According to the criterion of least effort, item (b) in the list of axioms.

1.2. >sem (low, non-low) / number

I.e., any low number is more natural than any non-low number (Mayerthaler 1981: 15). – Low numbers are more easily accessible to the speaker. According to the criterion of favourable for the speaker and of favourable for the hearer, item (a) in the list of axioms.

2. The rules of parallel alignment of corresponding values:

2.1. value A tends to associate with value C,

2.2. value B tends to associate with value D. See Note 4.1 below.

3. The consequences:

If a language distinguishes between low and non-low numbers in numerical indications of frequency, such that one kind of number uses the pattern *four times* and the other kind of number uses the pattern *once*, then it is the low numbers that tend to use the pattern *once* and it is the non-low numbers that tend to use the pattern *four times*. Q.E.D. (The reverse situation is not expected.)

4. Notes.

4.1. Value A of scale 1.1 (= the type *once*) tends to combine with value C of scale 1.2 (= low number). Value B of scale 1.1 (= the type *four times*) tends to combine with value D of scale 1.2 (= non-low number); similarly in the remaining deductions, with the proviso that the alignment (unlike here) is sometimes chiasitic. Chiasitic alignment will be explained below.

4.2. Natural Syntax cannot predict the cut-off point between low and non-low numerals.

In every deduction, the rules of alignment play a prominent role; compare item 2 in the above deduction. The alignment rules regulate the combinations of corresponding values of the two naturalness scales mentioned in the deduction. The alignment can be parallel or chiasitic. Suppose that the two scales are >nat (A, B) and >nat (C, D). Parallel alignment pairs value A with value C, and value B with value D. Chiasitic alignment pairs A with D, and B with C.

A paramount question is when the alignment is parallel and when chiasitic. Parallel alignment is the default case. Experience based on work with a number of examples has shown that chiasitic alignment is necessary whenever a given deduction is limited to language data obtaining within an “extremely unnatural environment”. This environment is defined as value B of the scale >nat (A, B), provided the scale cannot be extended to the right; i.e., if there is no such value that would be even less natural than value B.

At the time of this writing, the state of the art cannot explain why there are two kinds of alignment and why they are distributed as they are.

Here I add a programmatic statement that could be a comment on any of our deductions, not merely on the above one. The consequences adduced in item 3 of the deduction are realised not only in English, but in all languages that distinguish between low and non-low numbers in numerical indications of frequency such that one kind of number uses the pattern *once* and the other kind of number uses the pattern *four times*. This observation is of special importance because it enlarges the set of languages that can contribute counterexamples. The perpetual influx of fresh instances of counterexamples is a great desideratum in Natural Syntax because the theory, being deductive in nature, can develop and improve primarily by attending to such crucial data.

Something like this holds for the concluding remark of item 3: “The reverse situation is not expected”. This formula asserts: there are NO languages that would distinguish, within numerical indications of frequency, between low and non-low numbers such that the low numbers would use the pattern *four times* and the non-low numbers would use the pattern *once*. This assertion – applicable mutatis mutandis in all our deductions – is designed to attract any further counterexamples from the languages of the world, and thus to ease the progress of the theory.

In reference to English, this deduction likewise maintains that the state of affairs cannot be the reverse; i.e., that the numerals above ‘two’ (or ‘three’) would be one-word formations and that the numerals under ‘three’ (or ‘four’) would be two-word formations. All predictions of our Natural Syntax, as far as they apply to a single language, are restricted to such modest claims about the unlikelihood of the reverse situation.

This paper is about interrogative main clauses. (Any corresponding dependent clause is sometimes also involved.) As is well known, the syntactic notion “interrogative clause” and the semantic notion “question” are not synonymous, as can be seen in the “rhetorical questions”; for instance, *Who would have believed it!* ‘nobody would have believed it’. Rhetorical questions are not real questions; rather, they are interrogative clauses. Below the expression “interrogative clause” (or, briefly, “interrogative”) will be used almost exclusively.

The continuation is divided into the following sections: (i) Introductory examples, (ii) Yes-no interrogatives, (iii) *Wh*-interrogatives, and (iv) Interrogatives containing *wh*-words exclusively in situ.

(i) *Introductory examples*

(1) English. Main clauses sometimes realise the inversion of the subject and the finite verb, albeit only when the finite verb is an “auxiliary”; for instance, *have you seen them* (Huddleston & Pullum 2002: 94–95).

The two variants: “auxiliaries” and other finite verbs.

1. The assumptions of Natural Syntax:

1.1. >nat (+, –) / inversion of subject and finite verb

I.e., the inversion of the subject and the finite verb is more natural than the absence of inversion. – Inversion results from the movement of the finite verb to the left across the subject (Huddleston & Pullum 2002: 97).

All movement to the left is natural, item (h) in the list of axioms.

A special case of 1.1:

1.1.1. >nat (+/-, -) / inversion of subject and finite verb

I.e., optional absence of inversion is more natural than obligatory absence of inversion. – The scale assumes the permitted expanded format >nat (A + B, B), and is automatically valid because the corresponding basic scale 1.1 has been substantiated.

1.2. >nat (“auxiliary”, other finite verb)

I.e., an “auxiliary” is more natural than other finite verbs. – The class of “auxiliaries” is small, whereas the class of other finite verbs is large. According to the criterion of small v. large class, item (f) in the list of axioms.

2. The rules of parallel alignment:

2.1. value A tends to associate with value C,

2.2. value B tends to associate with value D.

3. The consequences:

If a language distinguishes, within main clauses, between “auxiliaries” and other finite verbs, such that one kind allow the inversion of the subject and the finite verb and the other kind do not allow inversion, then it is the “auxiliaries” that tend to allow inversion and it is other verbs that tend not to allow inversion. Q.E.D. (The reverse situation is not expected.)

- (2) English. *Wh*-interrogatives whose *wh*-word has been moved to the beginning of the clause. If the inversion of the subject and the finite verb is realised, the clause is a main clause. If inversion is absent, the clause is a dependent clause (Huddleston & Pullum 2002: 856, 973). Examples: *what have you seen; tell me what you have seen*.

The two variants: the inversion of the subject and the finite verb and its absence.

1. The assumptions of Natural Syntax:

1.1. >nat (+, -) / inversion of subject and finite verb

I.e., the inversion of the subject and the finite verb is more natural than the absence of inversion. – Inversion results from the movement of the finite verb to the left across the subject (Huddleston & Pullum 2002: 97). All movement to the left is natural, item (h) in the list of axioms.

1.2. >nat (main, dependent) / clause

I.e., a main clause is more natural than a dependent clause. – In many languages dependent clauses are rare, whereas main clauses are never rare. According to the typological criterion, item (j) in the list of axioms.

2. The rules of parallel alignment:

2.1. value A tends to associate with value C,

2.2. value B tends to associate with value D.

3. The consequences:

If a language distinguishes, within *wh*-interrogatives whose *wh*-word has been moved to the beginning of the clause, between main and dependent clauses, such that the inversion of the subject and the finite verb is realised in one type of clause and inversion is absent in the other type of clause, then it is the main

clauses that tend to realise inversion and it is the dependent clauses that tend to lack inversion. Q.E.D. (The reverse situation is not expected.)

4. Note. What applies to *wh*-words is also valid for phrases that contain a *wh*-word as a determiner; for instance, *which boy did you see?*

- (3) English. A question and the answer to it are variants. On average, the answer is shorter than the question; for instance, *Have you seen John? Yes, I have* (Huddleston & Pullum 2002: 1542).

The two variants: a question and the corresponding answer.

1. The assumptions of Natural Syntax:

- 1.1. >nat (answer, question)

I.e., the answer to a question is more natural than the question itself. – On average, the answer contains a great deal of repetition with regard to the question. Repetition is very natural because it is a kind of innate tendency (of higher animals) to imitate. According to the criterion of least effort, item (b) in the list of axioms.

- 1.2. >nat (shorter, longer) / construction

I.e., a shorter construction is more natural than a longer construction. – According to the criterion of least effort, item (b) in the list of axioms.

2. The rules of parallel alignment:

- 2.1. value A tends to associate with value C,

- 2.2. value B tends to associate with value D.

3. The consequences:

If a language distinguishes between questions and answers to them, such that one kind is shorter (on average) and the other kind is longer, then it is questions that tend to be longer (on average) and it is answers that tend to be shorter. Q.E.D. (The reverse situation is not expected.)

(ii) *Yes-no interrogatives*

- (4) English. Verbs like *explain* only seldom combine with yes-no interrogatives and these favour the subordinator *whether*; for instance, *you should explain whether they are required to write detailed answers*. Verbs like *inquire* combine with yes-no interrogatives more often and they use the subordinators *whether* and *if*; for instance, *I'll enquire if/whether we are required to write detailed answers* (Huddleston & Pullum 2002: 975).

The two variants: verbs like *explain* and verbs like *inquire*.

1. The assumptions of Natural Syntax:

- 1.1. >nat (type *inquire*, type *explain*)

I.e., the type *inquire* is more natural than the type *explain*. – The type *inquire* combines with yes-no interrogatives more often than the type *explain*. According to the frequency criterion, item (e) in the list of axioms.

- 1.2. >nat (*if, whether*) / subordinator

I.e., the subordinator *if* is more natural than the subordinator *whether*. – According to the criterion of least effort, item (b) in the list of axioms.

A special case of 1.2:

1.2.1. >nat (*if* & *whether*, only *whether*) / subordinator

I.e., optional use of the subordinator *whether* is more natural than its preferred use. – The scale assumes the permitted expanded format >nat (A + B, B) and is automatically valid because the corresponding basic scale 1.2 has been substantiated.

2. The rules of parallel alignment:

2.1. value A tends to associate with value C,

2.2. value B tends to associate with value D.

3. The consequences:

If a language distinguishes between verbs like *explain* and verbs like *inquire*, such that with one type the yes-no interrogative uses the subordinators *if* and *whether*, and with the other type favours the subordinator *whether*, then it is the verbs like *inquire* whose yes-no interrogative tends to use the subordinators *if* and *whether*, and it is the verbs like *explain* whose yes-no interrogative tends to favour the subordinator *whether*. Q.E.D. (The reverse situation is not expected.)

- (5) English (substandard). The matrix clause + dependent interrogative can be question-oriented or answer-oriented. For instance, *I wanted to know if he was coming* (question-oriented), *I told her where I lived* (answer-oriented). As suggested by the two examples (considering the quantity of words in the matrix clause) the scale is >nat (answer, question) / orientation; according to the criterion of least effort, item (b) in the list of axioms. Given this scale, “question orientation” is an extremely unnatural environment, requiring chiasitic alignment. Within “question orientation” a weak and a strong variant must be distinguished. For instance, *he didn't know she was ill* (weak variant, the information is elicited indirectly), *he wanted to know if she was ill* (strong variant, the information is requested). As suggested by the two examples (considering the quantity of words in the matrix clause), the scale is >nat (weak, strong) / question orientation. When “question orientation” is strong, the substandard uses the inversion of the subject and the finite verb in the dependent interrogative; for instance, *he wanted to know was she ill* (Huddleston & Pullum 2002: 983).

The two variants: weak and strong question orientation. – The deduction proceeds in the extremely unnatural environment “question orientation”.

1. The assumptions of Natural Syntax:

1.1. >nat (weak, strong) / question orientation

I.e., weak question orientation is more natural than strong question orientation. – According to the criterion of least effort, item (b) in the list of axioms. For details, see the above examples.

1.2. >nat (+, -) / inversion of subject and finite verb

I.e., the inversion of the subject and the finite verb is more natural than the absence of inversion. – Inversion results from the movement of the finite verb to the left across the subject (Huddleston & Pullum 2002: 97).

All movement to the left is natural, item (h) in the list of axioms.

2. The rules of chiasitic alignment:

- 2.1. value A tends to associate with value D,
- 2.2. value B tends to associate with value C.
- 3. The consequences:
If a language distinguishes between weak and strong question orientation, such that one orientation is accompanied by inversion (of the subject and the finite verb) and the other orientation lacks inversion, then it is the strong orientation that tends to be accompanied by inversion and it is the weak orientation that tends to lack inversion. Q.E.D. (The reverse situation is not expected.)

(iii) *Wh-interrogatives*

- (6) English. *Wh-interrogatives*. The *wh*-word can move to the beginning of the clause without the accompanying preposition (if any is present); for instance, *who did you sell your bicycle to*. The preposition can of course also move: *to whom did you sell your bicycle* (formal). If the *wh*-word is a determiner, the situation is the same; for instance, *which car will you be travelling in* and *in which car will you be travelling* (formal). If however the clause is reduced to the *wh*-word and the accompanying preposition, the former pair of examples yields *who to* and *to whom*; the latter pair of examples yields the unacceptable *which car in* and the acceptable *in which car* (Huddleston & Pullum 2002: 1541). The generalisation: if the *wh*-word is a determiner, any accompanying preposition must precede the *wh*-word in the reduced clause.

The two variants; the reduced and the unabridged clause whose *wh*-word is a determiner and accompanied by a preposition.

- 1. The assumptions of Natural Syntax:

- 1.1. >nat (+, -) / ellipsis

I.e., the ellipsis of language material is more natural than its non-ellipsis. – According to the criterion of least effort, item (b) in the list of axioms.

- 1.2. >nat (+, -) / movement of preposition to the left

I.e., the movement of a preposition to the left is more natural than its non-movement. – This is the very movement criterion, item (h) in the list of axioms.

A special case of 1.2:

- 1.2.1. >nat (+, +/-) / movement of preposition to the left

I.e., obligatory movement of a preposition to the left is more natural than optional movement of a preposition to the left. – The scale assumes the permitted expanded format >nat (A, A + B) and is automatically valid because the corresponding basic scale 1.2 has been substantiated.

- 2. The rules of parallel alignment:

- 2.1. value A tends to associate with value C,
- 2.2. value B tends to associate with value D.

- 3. The consequences:

If a language distinguishes, within *wh*-interrogatives containing a *wh*-word = determiner and an accompanying preposition, between the ellipsis and the non-ellipsis of all language material except the *wh*-word and the accompanying

preposition, such that the preposition undergoes obligatory movement to the left in one case and optional movement only in the other case, then it is ellipsis that tends to favour the obligatory movement of the preposition to the left, and it is non-ellipsis that tends to favour optional movement of the preposition to the left. Q.E.D. (The reverse situation is not expected.)

4. Note. Concerning (*to*) *whom*, compare deduction (7).

- (7) English. The *wh*-words *who* and *whom* accompanied by a preposition. In informal language, *who* is used and it moves to the beginning of the clause without the preposition; for instance, *who did he give the book to*. In formal language, *whom* is used and it moves together with the preposition; for instance, *to whom did he give the book* (Huddleston & Pullum 2002: 1541–42). Concerning the formal language, compare deduction (8).

The two variants: *who* and *whom* accompanied by a preposition.

1.1. >nat (*who*, *whom*)

I.e., *who* is more natural than *whom*. – According to the criterion of least effort, item (b) in the list of axioms.

1.2. >nat (without preposition, with preposition) / *who(m)* clause initially

I.e., *who(m)* without a preposition is more natural than *who(m)* accompanied by a preposition. – According to the criterion of least effort, item (b) in the list of axioms.

2. The rules of parallel alignment:

2.1. value A tends to associate with value C,

2.2. value B tends to associate with value D.

3. The consequences:

If a language distinguishes between *who* and *whom* (+ preposition), such that one *wh*-word is accompanied by the preposition to the beginning of the clause and the other *wh*-word is not accompanied, then it is *whom* that tends to be accompanied by the preposition, and it is *who* that tends not to be accompanied by the preposition. Q.E.D. (The reverse situation is not expected.)

- (8) English. The *wh*-words *who* and *whom* accompanied by a preposition. In informal language *who* is used and it moves to the beginning of the clause without the preposition; for instance, *who did he give the book to*. In formal language *whom* is used and it moves together with the preposition; for instance, *to whom did he give the book* (Huddleston & Pullum 2002: 1541–42). Concerning the preposition, compare deduction (7).

The two variants: informal *who* and formal *whom* + preposition.

1.1. >nat (*who*, *whom*)

I.e., *who* is more natural than *whom*. – According to the criterion of least effort, item (b) in the list of axioms.

1.2. >nat (–, +) / formal language

I.e., informal language is more natural than formal language. – Many languages use only colloquial language, a variant of informal language. According to the typological criterion, item (j) in the list of axioms.

2. The rules of parallel alignment:
 - 2.1. value A tends to associate with value C,
 - 2.2. value B tends to associate with value D.
3. The consequences:

If a language distinguishes between *who* and *whom* (+ preposition), such that one *wh*-word prevails in the formal language and the other *wh*-word prevails in the informal language, then it is *whom* that tends to prevail in the formal language and it is *who* that tends to prevail in the informal language. Q.E.D. (The reverse situation is not expected.)

Wh-interrogatives, infinitive clause:

- (9) English. Infinitive clauses as *wh*-interrogatives. The infinitive can be bare; for instance, *why make such a fuss* ‘stop the fuss’; or with *to*, for instance, *how to explain his attitude*. In interrogatives containing the bare infinitive, the only *wh*-word admissible is *why* and the meaning is indirect directive. In interrogatives containing a *to*-infinitive, all *wh*-words are permitted and the meaning is asking and the like (Huddleston & Pullum 2002: 856, 873–74). The meaning is dealt with in deduction (10).

The two variants: the infinitive with and without *to*.

1. The assumptions of Natural Syntax:
 - 1.1. >nat (*why*, all *wh*-words)

I.e., the *wh*-word *why* by itself is more natural than all *wh*-words taken together. – According to the criterion of small v. large class, item (f) in the list of axioms. See 4. Note below.
 - 1.2. >nat (–, +) / *to* in front of infinitive

I.e., the absence of *to* before the infinitive is more natural than the presence of *to*. – According to the criterion of least effort, item (b) in the list of axioms.
2. The rules of parallel alignment:
 - 2.1. value A tends to associate with value C,
 - 2.2. value B tends to associate with value D.
3. The consequences:

If a language distinguishes, within infinitive *wh*-interrogatives, between the bare infinitive and the *to*-infinitive, such that one of them admits only the *wh*-word *why* and the other admits all *wh*-words, then it is the bare infinitive that tends to admit only *why* and it is the *to*-infinitive that tends to admit all *wh*-words. Q.E.D. (The reverse situation is not expected.)
4. Note. It does not follow from scale 1.1 that *why* is the most natural *wh*-word. Scale 1.1 says that *why* is more natural than the average of all other *wh*-words (some of which are more natural and some less natural than *why*).

- (10) English. Infinitive clauses as *wh*-interrogatives. The infinitive can be bare; for instance, *why make such a fuss* ‘stop the fuss’; or with *to*, for instance, *how to explain his attitude*. In interrogatives containing the bare infinitive, the only *wh*-word admissible is *why* and the meaning is indirect directive. In interrogatives

containing a *to*-infinitive, all *wh*-words are permitted and the meaning is asking and the like (Huddleston & Pullum 2002: 856, 873–74). The correlation between the *wh*-words and the type of infinitive is treated in deduction (9).

The two variants: the infinitive with and without *to*.

1. The assumptions of Natural Syntax:

1.1. >nat (indirect directive, asking) / meaning of interrogative

I.e., indirect directive is more natural than asking. – The infinitive clause *why make such a fuss* can be understood literally (i.e., as asking) and thus as favourable for the hearer, hence it occupies position B in the scale. Alternatively the clause means ‘stop the fuss’, which is indirect directive; this meaning must be mentioned in the remaining position of the scale. It is not favourable for the hearer because it requires more calculation (thus additional mental effort) than the former meaning.

1.2. >nat (–, +) / *to* in front of infinitive

I.e., the absence of *to* before the infinitive is more natural than the presence of *to*. – According to the criterion of least effort, item (b) in the list of axioms.

2. The rules of parallel alignment:

2.1. value A tends to associate with value C,

2.2. value B tends to associate with value D.

3. The consequences:

If a language distinguishes, within *wh*-interrogatives, between the bare and the *to*-infinitive, such that one of them means indirect directive, and the other means asking, then it is the bare infinitive that tends to mean indirect directive and it is the *to*-infinitive that tends to mean asking. Q.E.D. (The reverse situation is not expected.)

(iv) *Interrogatives containing wh-words exclusively in situ*

Interrogatives containing *wh*-words exclusively in situ are mostly used in sustained questioning; for instance, *and those senses are located where*, partly also in echo questions (Huddleston & Pullum 2002: 855, 873).

Interrogatives containing *wh*-words exclusively in situ serve as an extremely unnatural environment. The corresponding scale is >nat (normal *wh*-interrogative, interrogative containing *wh*-words exclusively in situ). (Syntactic units in situ are favourable for the hearer because the hearer, while decoding, expects to find syntactic units in situ; what is favourable for the hearer is unnatural according to our theory.) The scale cannot be extended to the right. Therefore chiastic alignment is mandatory in deductions restricted to interrogatives containing *wh*-words exclusively in situ.

(11) English. Interrogatives containing *wh*-words exclusively in situ. In such interrogatives there is no inversion of the subject and the finite verb (Huddleston & Pullum 2002: 873). Example: *John looked for what?*

The two variants: interrogative containing *wh*-words exclusively in situ and lacking inversion, unacceptable interrogative containing *wh*-words exclusively in situ and displaying inversion. – The deduction proceeds in the extremely

unnatural environment “interrogative containing *wh*-words exclusively in situ”.

1. The assumptions of Natural Syntax:

1.1. >nat (+, -) / inversion of subject and finite verb

I.e., the inversion of the subject and the finite verb is more natural than the absence of inversion. – Inversion results from the movement of the finite verb to the left across the subject (Huddleston & Pullum 2002: 97). All movement to the left is natural, item (h) in the list of axioms.

1.2. >nat (+, -) / acceptable

I.e., what is acceptable is more natural than what is not acceptable. – This is the very acceptability criterion, item (i) in the list of axioms.

2. The rules of chiasitic alignment:

2.1. value A tends to associate with value D,

2.2. value B tends to associate with value C.

3. The consequences:

If a language distinguishes, within interrogatives containing *wh*-words exclusively in situ, between inversion (of the subject and the finite verb) and the absence of inversion, such that one case is acceptable and the other case is not acceptable, then it is the absence of inversion that tends to be acceptable and it is the realisation of inversion that tends to be unacceptable. Q.E.D. (The reverse situation is not expected.)

4. Note. What applies to *wh*-words is also valid for phrases that contain a *wh*-word as a determiner; for instance, *John looked for which book.*

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Povzetek

NARAVNA SKLADNJA – ANGLEŠKI VPRAŠALNI GLAVNI STAVKI

Naravna skladnja je deduktivna teorija v razvoju in veja teorije naravnosti. Sodbe o naravnosti so ubesedene v lestvicah naravnosti, ki sledijo iz osnovnih meril (ali "aksiomov"), naštetih v začetku sestavka. Napovedi teorije se izračunavajo v t.i. izpeljavah, katerih glavni sestavini sta par lestvic naravnosti in pravila o ujemanju med soodnosnimi vrednostmi naravnosti. Ločimo vzporedno in križno ujemanje, ki sta v dopolnjevalni razvrstitvi. Križno ujemanje je obvezno v izpeljavah, omejenih na skrajno nenaravno okolje.

Sestavek je posvečen angleškim vprašalnim glavnim stavkom. V okviru teh tvorijo samo vprašalni stavki, katerih vprašalnice ostanejo in situ, skrajno nenaravno okolje in zahtevajo križno ujemanje. Drugače se rabi vzporedno ujemanje.

Glavni namen naravne skladnje je določati pogoje, pod katerimi so razmere v nekem jezikovnem gradivu napovedljive. V tem smislu so v sestavku izvedene izpeljave, ki napovedujejo razmere v naslednjem jezikovnem gradivu (oštevilčenje je kakor v angleškem besedilu):

(i) Uvodni zgledi

(1) V glavnih stavkih je uresničena obratna stava osebka in osebne glagolske oblike, če je osebna glagolska oblika "pomožnik".

(2) Vsebinski vprašalni stavki, katerih vprašalnica je premaknjena na začetek stavka. Če se pri tem uresniči obratna stava osebka in osebne glagolske oblike, je stavek glavni stavek; če take stave ni, je stavek odvisnik.

(3) Vprašanje in odgovor sta dvojnici. V povprečju je odgovor krajši od vprašanja.

(ii) Odločevalni vprašalni stavki

(4) Glagoli kot *explain* 'razložiti' se redko vežejo z odločevalnimi vprašalnimi stavki in slednji rabijo veznik *whether*. Glagoli kot *inquire* 'poizvedeti' se bolj pogosto vežejo z odločevalnimi vprašalnimi stavki in rabijo veznika *if* in *whether*.

(5) Nadredni stavek + odvisni odločevalni vprašalni stavek je usmerjen v vprašanje ali v odgovor. Usmerjenost v vprašanje ima blažji in manj blag različek. V manj blagem različku dopuščajo deli neknjižnega jezika v odvisniku obratno stavo osebka in osebne glagolske oblike.

(iii) Vsebinski vprašalni stavki

(6) Morebitni predlog, ki spremlja vprašalnico v vsebinskih vprašalnih stavkih, se seli z vprašalnico na začetek stavka ali ostane in situ. Če pa se vprašalni stavek skrči na vprašalnico in spremljajoči predlog, slednji mora stati pred vprašalnico.

(7) Vprašalnica *who* 'koga, komu' se seli na začetek stavka, morebitni spremljevalni predlog ostane in situ. Vprašalnica *whom* 'koga, komu' se seli na začetek stavka in morebitni spremljajoči predlog mora stati pred njo.

(8) Nadaljevanje točke (7).

Vsebinski vprašalni polstavki:

(9) V nedoločniškem polstavku kot vsebinskem vprašalnem stavku je nedoločnik lahko goli, in tedaj je edina dovoljena vprašalnica *why* 'zakaj', ali pa je nedoločnik predložni, in tedaj so dovoljene vse vprašalnice.

(10) Nadaljevanje točke (9).

(iv) Vprašalni stavki z vprašalnicami in situ

DEFINITENESS STRATEGIES AND WORD ORDER IN EXISTENTIAL-LOCATIVES AND LOCATIVES IN LATE AND VULGAR LATIN

0. INTRODUCTION

§ 1. The parameters which began to undergo a profound change in Late Latin include the marking of definiteness and the gradual fixation of a different word order.¹ These two phenomena are brought into connection by M. Durante's observation (1981, 62) that article development² is one of the main agents involved³ in the emergence of a fixed order of constituents.

§ 2. The two parameters are still subject to investigation. The discussion of definiteness markers focuses on how and when precisely the article appeared, but it has yielded contradictory conclusions: while some scholars acknowledge the existence of articles in Late and Vulgar Latin texts, such as Egeria's *Peregrinatio*,⁴ others deny it.⁵ In addition, there are some less extreme views arguing for an intermediate stage in the long evolution from demonstratives to articles in Late Latin texts.⁶

The research on word order, especially in Late Latin, frequently focuses on the position of the elements considered basic in the language;⁷ thus, generally speaking, almost everyone is agreed on the SOV > SVO⁸ change, although an alternation of the two orders can be established for the Classical as well as for the Late period ([S]OV/[S]VO).⁹

§ 3. With regard to Late and Vulgar Latin, however, there are only a few specialised papers dealing with potential historical changes in the position of the verbs which present special difficulties in the language, not only with their complex semantic content but also with their ability to form multiple constructions.¹⁰ This is the case with the verb *sum* in structures expressing a semantic notion of location. The relationship between word order and definiteness in these structures has been examined by scholars attempt-

¹ Cf. S. A. THOMPSON (1978); D. BLAZER (1980); M. DURANTE (1981: 62); G. INEICHEN (1987: 14); (1993: 86); A. ZAMBONI (1998: 104); B. L. M. BAUER (1995: 5 ff.).

² Accompanied by the process of declension loss.

³ Cf. e.g. G. CALBOLI (1978) or A. NOCENTINI (1990: 156).

⁴ Cf. V. VÄÄNÄNEN (1987: 51), who refers to E. A. BECHTEL (1907: 144); W. VAN OORDE (1930: 96); E. LÖFSTEDT (1911: 64); *ThLL* VII, 1355 ff. and VII, 2 ff.

⁵ Cf. A. ORLANDINI (1995: 125): "Non esiste articolo in latino volgare: *ille* ed *ipse* sono sempre degli 'articlōidi'." ORLANDINI, in her turn, adopts the views of M. SELIG (1989, 1992).

⁶ Cf. A. NOCENTINI (1990: 137).

⁷ Cf. J. H. GREENBERG (1963).

⁸ Cf. the bibliography quoted in C. CABRILLANA (1999); cf. also C. CABRILLANA-M. DÍAZ DE CERIO (2000, § 7).

⁹ Thus e.g. J. N. ADAMS (1976: 99); D. G. J. PANHUIS (1984); M. L. PORZIO (1986); C. CABRILLANA (1999).

¹⁰ Cf. C. CABRILLANA (1998).

ing to explain the difference between the so-called ‘locative’ constructions (*Loc*) and ‘existential-locatives’ (*ExL*),¹¹ both containing the verb *sum*: while the former typically front the location-encoding term (*p*) with a definite subject, the latter display the opposite distinctive features (a S[-Def]¹² appearing in the pS sequence).¹³

1. THE PURPOSE, CORPUS AND STRUCTURE OF THE PAPER

§ 4. The present paper focuses on the two above-mentioned parameters, which are of interest because of the possible interrelation in their development. The issues outlined above can be studied particularly well on the locative and existential-locative structures.

§ 5. The research corpus consists of narrative and/or historical texts (*Peregr.*¹⁴ and *Oros. hist.* 1-5). The reasons are: (i) these are subject to fewer metrical and stylistic restrictions than other types of text, (ii) the content itself demands the inclusion of

¹¹ Cf. E. V. CLARK (1978: 91-101); T. GIVÓN (1978: 306 ff.); S. KUNO (1971); C. LYONS (1999: 88-89); CABRILLANA (2001). In Classical Latin, where the predictions of word order are not fulfilled, these structures may be exemplified by the following: *Loc: ubi nunc ficus Ruminalis est* (Liv. 1.4.5); *ExL: vastae tum in his locis solitudines erant* (Liv. 1.4.6).

¹² However, the principle of the subject being ±Definite does not work unequivocally and universally. Since the analysis seems to confirm the definiteness restriction (cf. e.g. C. LYONS (1999: 236-246), who implies a certain correlation between the (in)definiteness of the subject and the typological distinction established between the locative and existential-locative construction; indeed, the existential constructions of languages which possess special markers for the ExL structure (*there*) are presented as grammatical contexts which confirm the indefiniteness of a term), the rare examples displaying the inverse correlation (*Loc: TS [-Def] :: ExL: TS [+Def]*) are of particular interest.

The presence of a [-Def] subject in locative constructions is a well-documented interlinguistic phenomenon; this fact is quite bizarre in terms of regularity, but in no way seems to threaten any restriction of grammaticality (cf. C. LYONS, 1999: 237); thus: *ultimum orationis fuit, se arma capere, vocare omnes Quirites ad arma; si qui impediatur, iam ... se Publio Valerio consularis imperii, iam tribuniciae potestatis sacratarumque legum oblitum, quisquis ille sit, ubicumque sit, in Capitolio, in foro, pro hoste habiturum* (Liv. 3.17.7). This example reveals the anomaly of a locative expression whose subject possesses a low degree of definiteness due to its non-specific, indefinite reference (*qui impediatur, ... quisquis ille sit*), but the typological parallel clearly suggests a locative interpretation (‘any who resists [sc. taking arms], whoever and wherever he may be, on the Capitol or in the Forum, ...’) rather than existential-locative (‘*there exist some people who resist wherever they are, on the Capitol or in the Forum, ...’).

By contrast, the presence of a [+Def] subject in an existential-locative structure threatens the definiteness restriction not only as an anomaly but as a ‘non-grammaticality’ in some languages (even in languages lacking definite articles: cf. the argument of HUANG (1987) *ap.* C. LYONS (1998: 240) on Mandarin). However, C. LYONS (1999: 239) points out that the definiteness restriction is far from being as categorical in English as it is usually assumed in linguistic discussions, and its expression is particularly complex in Latin (*erat tum inter equites tribunus militum A. Cornelius Cossus...* (Liv. 4.19.1) (?)). As the extensive research into existentials has underlined, the presence of a [+Def] subject in an existential-locative structure is made possible by exceptional communicative contexts (‘listing-’, ‘reminders-’, ‘amount readings’: cf. C. LYONS (1998: 241-246)) which assign, in terms of Functional Grammar, the pragmatic function of Focus to the subject. The problem raised is still an open question. Cf. M. DÍAZ DE CERIO (2002).

¹³ This is what could be called the ‘Hypothesis of Definiteness’. On the behaviour of this Hypothesis in Classical Latin and Ancient Greek, cf. C. CABRILLANA-M. DÍAZ DE CERIO (2000). Of the Vulgar Latin texts, the prediction tends to be fulfilled in Egeria (*Loc = Sp: 61.53% :: ExL = pS: 61.12%*) but not in Orosius, where the most usual sequence is pS regardless of the kind of construction (*Loc: 71.43%; ExL: 63.64%*).

¹⁴ The analysis includes only the first 23 chapters – that is, the narrative part – as the most exhaustive source of locative constructions, since the part describing liturgical rites yields far fewer examples. As corroborated by R. LAPESA (1961: 26) or A. NOCENTINI (1990: 149), the liturgical part contains fewer demonstratives as well, for the writer does not proceed in the same way as when relating personal experiences.

topographical digressions (*excursus*),¹⁵ which invite the use of otherwise less frequent¹⁶ locative structures, and (iii) the period of the selected texts falls within the larger frame¹⁷ proposed as the most significant in the evolution of the key parameters discussed in this paper. At another level, the texts – the *Peregr.* in particular – show an unavoidable, more or less conscious overlap of functions and tendencies typical of a transition period,¹⁸ as well as a mixture of grammatical levels or systems.¹⁹ As a foil for evolutionary comparison, I have selected a text from the Classical period (Liv. 1-4).

§ 6. The paper starts with a brief explanation of the theoretical concepts used in this research (2) and considered suitable to carry out the analysis (3). A general presentation of the data gleaned from both texts (3.1) is followed by an examination of the different methods indicating the definiteness of a term in Latin (3.2), with a special focus on demonstratives (3.2.2). The final section (3.3) tackles the order of the basic constituents in locative constructions, in order to establish the relationship between the two analysed parameters.

2. PRELIMINARY CONCEPTS

§ 7. The inclusion of the definiteness (*Def*) analysis calls for a clarification of the concepts assigned to that parameter, a task which presents difficulties both in its own right and in the context of the proposed research. The aim of this paper, however, is not to provide a theoretical approach to the above-mentioned parameter, but rather to examine its influence and behaviour in the texts. The discussion will therefore limit itself to clarifying the sense in which some of the concepts are used.

§ 8. Definiteness is necessarily related to variables belonging to different linguistic levels: (i) to the semantic level, through the property of referentiality; (ii) to the grammatical level, through the formal reflection of determination. Differing from language to language, the system of determination is apparently responsible for the listener's identification of an entity as \pm Definite.

The referential terms that will be considered are those able to process \pm Def, that is to say, those relating linguistic expressions²⁰ to real or possible entities (referents).²¹ Among them, we will assume that indefinite terms ($[-$ Def]) refer to entities which are

¹⁵ On Orosius' work, cf. especially S. SALOR (1982: 29, 56). Orosius is familiar with the Classical historiographical sources and displays a certain ambition to imitate the canonical works, e.g. through *brevitas* and *ordo*, although a mixture of not wholly classical genres can be observed as well.

¹⁶ Cf. Ch. H. KAHN (1973: 157).

¹⁷ Cf. A. ZAMBONI (1998: 123): between the fourth and the sixth centuries.

¹⁸ Cf. V. VÄÄNÄNEN (1990: 160, *passim*); A. NOCENTINI (1990: 137).

¹⁹ As has been lucidly expressed by A. NOCENTINI (1990: 148): "Egeria non aveva UNA grammatica, ma almeno due: quella della propria lingua materna e quella del latino appreso a scuola." This could be complemented by an observation of V. VÄÄNÄNEN (1990: 165): "Il linguaggio orale presente nell'*Itinerarium Egeriae* si può dividere in due livelli o piani, (...): uno, che racchiude la porzione più spontanea, intrinseca all'uso particolare dell'autrice; e l'altro, caratterizzato da modi popolari o familiari che vengono adoperati intenzionalmente, allo scopo di rendere delle parole dette a viva voce, non testualmente, ma bensì rispettandone il senso e il tono."

²⁰ Cf. T. GIVÓN (1978: 296); J. LYONS (1980: 173-188); S. C. DIX (1989: 143-146).

²¹ Cf. W. L. CHAFE (1976: 28): "A referent is the idea a noun is used to express" (where "idea" refers to "particular individuals and events").

not identifiable by the listener, in contrast to definite terms ([+Def]), which refer to identifiable entities and enable a ‘referent identification’.

Conversely, the identifiability of a referent by the listener has been approached from the pragmatic point of view. According to this, various ‘sources of availability’²² can be established from which the listener obtains information:

- (i) long-term pragmatic information/general knowledge (‘the sun’, ‘Paris’);
- (ii) current pragmatic information introduced in the preceding discourse (‘I have bought a car; you will see *it* tomorrow’);
- (iii) information which is perceptually available in the situation (‘do you see *the man with the green sweater?*’); and
- (iv) inference from the information available in any of the sources (i)-(iii) presented above (‘a submarine ... *the hatch*’).

§ 9. Among the grammatical reflections of definiteness, the presence/absence of the article is the most prominent, but not the only one. Other marks of definiteness are formed by lexical and word-class distinctions. Of these, lexical differentiation²³ exceeds the boundaries of the present study, but as for word-classes, it is proper nouns, demonstratives,²⁴ etc. that are particularly operative.

§ 10. The relationship between the pragmatic and grammatical levels originates from causality: what causes a term to display some of the above-mentioned distinctions, making it ±Definite, is the availability of its referent to the listener, from one or more of the four basic sources. For example, what makes a proper noun or noun with only one referent assign ±Definiteness to a term is general knowledge. On the other hand, the ability to identify a referent from the previous context is demonstrated by the use of personal pronouns, demonstratives, relatives, and the like.

In order to carry out the proposed survey, we must therefore examine what impact the ±Definiteness of the terms involved has on the discourse. In this, then, we count on external data to establish the degree of development attained by the grammatical markers of definiteness in such texts.

§ 11. This paper excludes the analysis of: (i) constructions containing auxiliary verb forms with a nominal function; (ii) those presenting syntactical structures open to ambiguous interpretation (attributive/locative, existential/possessive, and such); (iii) lexicalised expressions; and (iv) metaphorical uses of the locative construction.

²² Cf. S. C. DIX (1989: 114).

²³ As in Classical Latin, lexical differentiation is practically non-existent in the analysed texts, except for the use of *habet* with an object as complement: *Achaia undique propemodum cincta est mari; nam ab oriente habet Myrtoum mare, ab euro mare Creticum, ..., ab aquilone angustum terrae dorsum, quo Macedoniae coniungitur vel potius Atticae; qui locus Isthmos vocatur, ubi est Corintus, habens in Atticam ad boream non longe Athenas civitatem* (Oros. *hist.* 1.2.58); *nam cum ipse mons ... nec fruticem habeat* (Peregr. 3.6).

²⁴ Generally, but on a smaller scale and in specific contexts, personal pronouns, possessive pronouns and quantifiers can be included as well: cf. *infra*, 3.2.

3. ANALYSIS

3.1. Preliminary data

§ 12. The sum total of the locative constructions is distributed between the two texts as follows:

Table 1: Total Number of Examples

Corpus	Loc	ExL	Total
<i>Peregr.</i>	51	27	78
Orosius	22	16	38

§ 13. Even a cursory glance reveals that the total number of examples is significantly higher in *Peregr.* than in *hist.*²⁵ This ratio can be explained by the following factors:

(i) The type of passage examined, which is more descriptive throughout Egeria's text than in the five books of Orosius, except for *hist.* 1-2.

(ii) The overuse of the passive voice, with verbs that define more fully the simple value of location expressed by the *esse* forms.²⁶

(iii) The consequent increasing use of the verb *esse* as an auxiliary form in the passive,²⁷ resulting in a gradual loss of its wide semantic range and restriction to copulative-identifier structures.

(iv) The author's characteristic conciseness, fairly often leading to the suppression of the verb: not only in copulative-identifier constructions, which are transformed into the so-called 'pure nominal'²⁸ structures, but also in constructions where the verb form would normally operate with a location value.²⁹

(v) The use of alternative structures, typical of this language period, to convey notions including location.

3.2. Markers of ±Def

3.2.1. General analysis

§ 14. According to our statements in 1, it is the subject of Loc constructions which would generally claim the feature +Def. This feature presents the following 'encoding' possibilities, depending on the source of availability:

I. Long-Term Pragmatic Information

Ia. Proper Noun

²⁵ Nevertheless, owing to the low frequency of these constructions and to considerations of manoeuvrability, we operate with an insufficient amount of data to establish any far-reaching conclusions; an extension of the corpus may well qualify the results yielded here.

²⁶ Cf. e.g.: *Asia tribus partibus oceano circumcincta per totam transversi plagam orientis extenditur* (Oros. *hist.* 1.2.2); (*mons Caucasus inter Colchos, ..., et inter Albanos, ..., primum attollitur* (Oros. *hist.* 1.2.36); *insula Creta finitur ab Oriente Carpathio mari, ab occasu et septentrione mari Cretico, a meridie mari Lybico* (Oros. *hist.* 1.2.97).

²⁷ *Quae* (sc. *insulae*) *in aversa Galliarum parte ad prospectum Hispaniae sitae sunt* (Oros. *hist.* 1.2.76).

²⁸ *In tanta malorum multitudine difficillima dictis fides* (Oros. *hist.* 3.16.8).

²⁹ *A fonte Tigridis usque ad Carras civitatem inter Masagetes et Parthos mons Ariobarzanes* (Oros. *hist.* 1.2.41); the same pattern is found in 1.2.42; 1.2.43; 1.2.44; 1.2.45, etc.

- Ib. Proper Noun in the Genitive
- Ic. \emptyset
- II. (Preceding) Discourse
 - IIa. 'Demonstrative'³⁰
 - IIb. Relative Adjective
 - IIc. Relative Pronoun³¹
 - IId. Apposition
 - IIe. \emptyset
 - IIIf. Personal Pronoun
 - IIg. Possessive Pronoun
 - IIh. Quantifier]³²
- III. Inference

§ 15. The subject term analysis of the corpus selected for this research, compared to a text from the Classical period, reveals the following distribution:

Table 2: Strategies for Encoding Definiteness of the S

<i>Strategies for Definiteness</i>	Livy	Orosius	<i>Peregrinatio</i>
I. GENERAL KNOWLEDGE			
Ia. Proper Noun	14 (25.45%)	16 (72.72%)	12 (23.52%)
Ib. Proper Noun in the Genitive	5 (09.09%)	4 (18.18%)	8 (15.68%)
Ic. \emptyset	0 (00.00%)	0	1 (01.96%)
II. (PRECEDING) DISCOURSE			
IIa. Demonstrative	1 (01.81%)	0	15 (29.41%)
IIb. Relative Adjective	0	0	1 (01.96%)
IIc. Relative Pronoun	11 (20.00%)	2 (09.10%)	5 (09.80%)
IId. Apposition	1 (01.81%)	0	1 (01.96%)
IIe. \emptyset	17 (30.96%)	0	7 (13.75%)
IIIf. Personal Pronoun	2 (03.63%)	0	0
IIg. Possessive Pronoun	1 (01.81%)	0	0
IIh. Quantifier	2 (03.63%)	0	0
III. INFERENCE	1 (01.81%)	0	1 (01.96%)
TOTAL	55	22	51

³⁰ This term will be generically applied to all terms which can fulfill an anaphoric function in the Classical period.

³¹ In these cases, the antecedent of the relative pronoun (if there is one) is considered, and the pronoun is identified as a marker of definiteness only when its convergence with the antecedent provides a distinct Def. The nominal relative clause is itself generically assigned to this section, e.g. *Tarquinius moribundum cum qui circa erant exceperant* (Liv. 1.41.1). Cf. the analysis *infra* (§ 15).

³² The last three markers have only been analysed in the text from the Classical period. C. LYONS (1999: 24) has revised the traditional opinion which includes the possessive among Def markers; this property is doubtful also for quantifiers which appear in ExL constructions, and consequently with indefinite subjects: *forte in duobus tum exercitibus erant trigemini fratres* (Liv. 1.24.1).

The above data yield the following hierarchy of definiteness-encoding procedures for the three corpora:

Table 3: A Quantitative Hierarchy of Strategies for Encoding the Definiteness of the S

Livy	Orosius	<i>Peregrinatio</i>
(Preceding) Discourse (\emptyset)	Proper Noun	Demonstrative
Proper Noun	Proper Noun in the Genitive	Proper Noun
Relative Pronoun	Relative Pronoun	(Preceding) Discourse (\emptyset)
Proper Noun in the Genitive		Relative Pronoun
Pers. Pronoun /Quantifier		Gral. Know./App./Rel. Adj./Infer.
Dem./App./Posses. Pro./Infer.		

§ 16. Although some examples display more than one source of availability,³³ the *Peregrinatio* is clearly dominated by demonstratives, in contrast to Livy and Orosius. Since this discrepancy can be partly explained with Orosius' tendency to imitate classicism, it seems suitable to analyse each non-classical text separately.

The data shown above indicate the frequency of the procedures which, to a larger or lesser extent, establish a degree of definiteness in the subject term. Before any further discussion, however, it is necessary to clarify some points, particularly with regard to the procedures most frequently employed:

1. Contrary to Late Latin texts, Classical prose is characterised by the absence of grammatical definiteness markers. This implies an expectation that, despite the lack of lexical or grammatical markers, the reader/listener will be able to identify an entity as definite because of the preceding context.

2. On the other hand, the use of proper nouns – either as nuclei or as determinatives in the genitive – is revealed as one of the most efficacious and unmistakable markers of definiteness. This procedure does not exclude others but can in fact combine with them; thus, for instance, this marker is in many cases coupled with that of general knowledge (1) or of the preceding context (2):

(1) (iunctus est cum eo loco) quo sunt **Memoriae concupiscentiae** (*Peregr.* 1.1): “(next to the spot where the mountains open out is the place of the ‘Graves of Craving’”

(2) (in eo loco) ubi fuit **domus sancti Abrahae** (*Peregr.* 20.3): “first he took us to a church outside the city;” (...) (ecclesia) ubi fuit **primitus domus Abrahae** (*Peregr.* 20.5):

3. The use of the relative pronoun as S opens two possibilities: (i) the definite quality of the antecedent (if present) spreads to the relative pronoun (3); (ii) the definiteness of

³³ E.g. the preceding discourse as well as a proper noun in the genitive (*Peregr.* 20.5); a demonstrative pronoun as well as apposition (*Peregr.* 20.11), etc.

the S is the result of the antecedent being implicit in the relative pronoun of a nominal relative clause. In the latter case, it should be pointed out that, while relatives with no antecedent can appear in Livy – (4) –, the texts by Egeria and Orosius always contain an antecedent with a degree of definiteness which is completed with the relative clause [(5)-(5')]. In the ranking shown in Table 3, this procedure is listed in the third place, but its frequency varies: it amounts to 20% in Livy, while Orosius and the *Peregr.* display the similar figures of 9.10% and 9.80% respectively.

(3) (a meridie mari Africo) quod est contra Subventanos et Syrtes minores (Oros. *hist.* 1.2.100)

(4) sunt qui eam ex pacto tradendi quod in sinistris manibus esset directo arma petisse dicant (Liv. 1.11.9)

(5) (spelunca, ubi latuit sanctus Helias, in hodie ibi ostenditur ante hostium ecclesiae) quae ibi est (*Peregr.* 4.2)

(5') (nunc insularum), quae in Nostro mari sunt (Oros. *hist.* 1.2.95)

4. The inference source, though scarce in the analysed texts, reveals itself as an efficacious means of indicating \pm Def:

(6) ductus exercitus ad Carventanam **arcem**, quamquam invisus infestusque consuli erat, impigre primo statim adventu deiectis **qui in praesidio** erant arcem recipit (Liv. 4.53.9)

(7) intra quam **ecclesiam**, in eo loco ubi **pulpitus** est (*Peregr.* 12.1)

5. Because of their importance for the proposed analysis, we shall now examine the word-classes generically included among demonstratives.

3.2.2. Demonstratives

§ 17. The frequent use of demonstratives as Def markers in Egeria's text is by itself an indication of the gradual loss of their deictic function. This development may be clearly perceived in the cases of *ille* and *ipse*. According to Nocentini, the two demonstratives tend to become associated with known information, which may or may not have appeared in the preceding discourse. Thus they develop into increasingly emphatic signals for the listener to identify the entity involved, as seen in the following example:

(8) requisivi ubi esset puteus **ille** ubi sanctus Iacob potasset pecora, quae... Et ait mihi episcopus 'in sexto miliario est hinc locus **ipse** iuxta vicum, qui fuit ...' (*Peregr.* 20.11)

In the case of (8) – an answer in direct speech –, the information expressing the subject is underlined by the use of *ipse* with *locus* and thus rendered as a definite entity, as is appropriate for the subject of a Loc construction. This example confirms the scheme proposed by Nocentini (1990: 146), who marks the features of *ipse* as [+*detto* +*testo*] in contrast to the [-*detto* +*testo*] of *ille*. However, there are also examples which seem to contradict this analysis:

(9) requisivi a sancto episcopo, ubinam esset locus **ille** Chaldeorum, ubi... Tunc ait mihi ipse sanctus episcopus: 'locus **ille**, ..., est hinc intus in Persida...' (*Peregr.* 20.12)

This ‘contradiction’ actually reflects a fluctuating use, which can be enhanced by the co-existence of more than one ‘system’ in the *Peregr.*, as stated above.³⁴

§ 18. The use of demonstratives assigns the property ±Def also to terms expressing location, especially where the +Def of such terms contrasts with the indefinite quality characteristic of the subject in ExL constructions. In (10), the first occurrence of a yet unknown entity – ‘a hill’ – in the text contains no (in)definiteness markers, whereas its second appearance, as of information already known, carries the determinative *ipse*. In the latter structure, the new information is conveyed by the subject, which is accompanied by a marker of genericity (*plurima*):

(10) et quoniam inde ad sanctam Teclam, qui locus est ultra **in colle** sed plano, habebat... (...). Sed ut redeam ad rem, monasteria ergo plurima sunt ibi **per ipsum collem** (*Peregr.* 23.2-4).³⁵

Examples of these and other demonstratives displaying the contrast between unknown and known information are (11)-(14):

(11) accessimus... ad eum *locum*, ubi steterat sanctus Aaron cum septuaginta senioribus, ... **In eo ergo loco**,³⁶ licet tectum non sit, ..., tamen **petra ingens est per girum** (*Peregr.* 4.4)

(12) in eo loco, ubi monasteria sunt plurima et *ecclesia* in capite vallis ipsius. **Ante ipsam autem ecclesiam hortus est gratissimus** (*Peregr.* 4.7)

(13) vidi super ripam Iordanis fluminis *vallem* pulchram... **Nam in ea valle vicus erat grandis** (*Peregr.* 13.3)

(14) in medio loco est *monticulus* non satis grandis... **Nam in isto colliculo, (qui...), ecclesia est**, quae ... (*Peregr.* 13.3-4)

It seems clear, then, that there is a tendency – especially in the *Peregr.* – to associate a known and definite entity with the presence of certain demonstratives whose deictic function is weakening and shifting towards a ‘phoric’ one, thus forming a prelude to the Romance article.³⁷ The indefinite and unknown entities, by contrast, usually display an absence of markers.³⁸ Sometimes, however, they are marked by an element that seems to have lost its quantifying value to acquire another, which will in time become characteristic of the indefinite article:

³⁴ Cf. § 5.

³⁵ Although the strategy is generalised particularly by Egeria, it is not exclusive to her: *mons Caucasus inter Colchos, ..., et inter Albanos, ..., primum attollitur*: (...). *Itaque ipse Caucasus inter Colchos et Albanos, ...* (*Oros. hist.* 1.2.36-39). The contrast between the initial absence of markers and the subsequent addition of *ipse* can also be observed in locative structures with verbs other than *sum*: *haec est autem vallis, in qua factus est vitulus, qui locus usque in hodie ostenditur: nam lapis grandis ibi fixus stat in ipso loco* (*Peregr.* 2.2).

³⁶ The preceding context reads: *accessimus... ad eum locum, ubi steterat sanctus Aaron cum septuaginta senioribus*. On the particulars of the prepositional phrase *in eo loco*, sometimes followed by a specification (*in eo loco ubi fuit domus sancti Abrahae, Peregr.* 20.3), and its possible adverbial nature, cf. E. LÖFSTEDT (1911: 143); R. AMBROSINI (1955: 101); V. VÄÄNÄNEN (1987: 25-26). On the occurrence of the [N+demonstrative+relative] pattern in the role of an article, cf. H. ROSÉN (1994: 131).

³⁷ From this perspective, H. ROSÉN (1994: 145) states: “The date of the emergence of the definite article in Latin may be pushed backward, much earlier than the *communis opinio* has it, to the fourth century.”

³⁸ Cf. § 8.

(15) nunc autem ibi nichil aliud est nisi tantum **unus** lapis ingens Thebeus (*Peregr.* 8.2)³⁹

3.3. Constituent order

§ 19. A discussion of this parameter must consider also the constructions where one of the constituents has a fixed position: cases where the subject (S) or a locative expression (p) is encoded by a relative pronoun or adverb. Given the generally accepted evolution SOV > SVO, the subject of transitive constructions would not be expected to alter its position. On the other hand, the present study examines intransitive constructions as well. Thus the analysis basically focuses on the position of the verb, absolute and relative (that is, relative to the S and p). This approach allows us to ascertain whether intransitive verbs, particularly exceptional ones like *sum*, undergo a similar historical change of position as transitive ones.

§ 20. After excluding the constructions whose subjects are bound to the initial position, we obtain the following data on the absolute and relative positions of the verb:

Table 4: Sequence of Constituents: Absolute Position of the Verb

Position	Loc			ExL		
	Livy	<i>Peregr.</i>	Orosius	Livy	<i>Peregr.</i>	Orosius
Initial V	03.22%	01.96%	00.00%	04.56%	07.38%	06.25%
Media V	03.22%	60.78%	34.79%	22.72%	55.55%	18.75%
Final V	93.56%	37.26%	65.21%	72.72%	37.03%	75.00%

Table 5: Sequence of Constituents: Relative Position SV/VS

Sequence	Loc			ExL		
	Livy	<i>Peregr.</i>	Orosius	Livy	<i>Peregr.</i>	Orosius
SV	96.77%	63.63%	78.57%	63.63%	50.00%	75.00%
VS	03.23%	36.37%	21.43%	36.37%	50.00%	25.00%

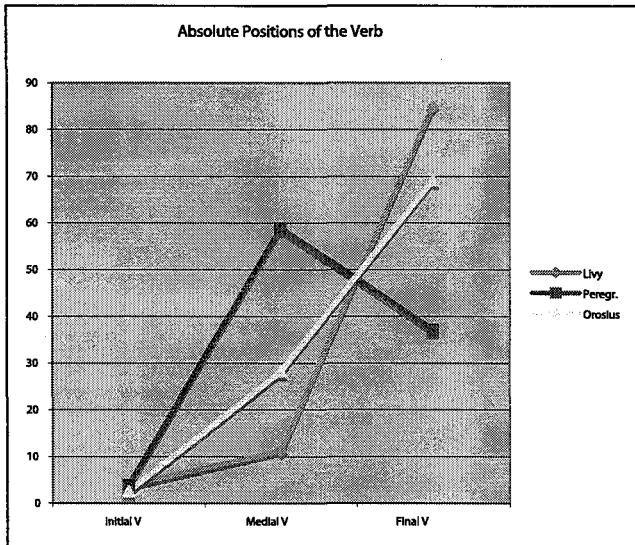
Table 6: Absolute and Relative Positions of the Verb: Total Percentage

Position	Livy	<i>Peregr.</i>	Orosius
Initial V	03.78%	03.86%	02.57%
Medial V	11.32%	58.97%	28.20%
Final V	84.90%	37.17%	69.23%
Sequence	Livy	<i>Peregr.</i>	Orosius
SV	83.01%	42.38%	76.66%
VS	16.99%	57.62%	34.24%

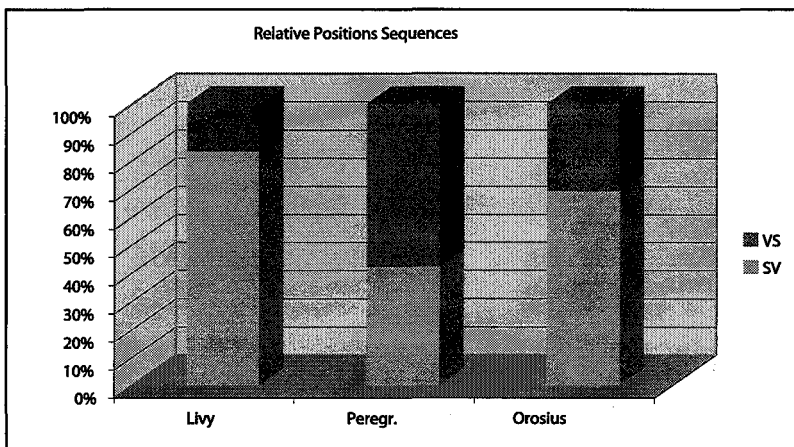
³⁹ For a similar use cf. V. VÄÄNÄNEN (1987: 57): *dicitur ibi oratio apta loco et diei, dicitur etiam unus ymnus aptus* (*Peregr.* 36.1).

The statistical analysis given in Table 6 may be represented by the following charts:

Graphic 1



Graphic 2



- § 21. The data shown in the tables above provide the basis for several conclusions:
1. The tendencies observed are clearer in Loc constructions than in ExL structures.
 2. There is a shift of the verb towards the medial position, which is much more pronounced in Egeria than in Orosius. The discrepancy is probably due to the latter having

been more strongly influenced by the literary conventions of the Classical period, which established a fixed position for certain constituents.

3. Similarly, there is a growing tendency towards replacing the sequence SV with the inverse VS.⁴⁰ It seems to be more common with *sum* than with other verb types.⁴¹

§ 22. In connection with the last point, I believe that we must focus on the smaller proportional difference between the two sequences in the *Peregr.*, which displays a seemingly unmotivated alternation of the patterns SpV/SVp and pSV/pVS. An examination of the individual examples of these sequences in Loc and ExL constructions reveals that the relative position of their constituents is, in fact, 'to a certain extent' *indifférent*, because the 'speaker' enables the 'listener' to identify the located entity (the subject) in Loc constructions as definite by (i) the assignment of a definite demonstrative, or (ii) the use of word-classes with a high degree of definiteness *per se*, such as proper nouns. The subject of ExL constructions, by contrast, lacks all markers of definiteness:

I. SpV Loc:

(15a) *specialis autem ille* (sc. mons), ... in medio illorum omnium est (*Peregr.* 2.5)⁴²

SpV ExL:

(15b) *aeccllesia ibi est* (*Peregr.* 3.1)⁴³

II. SVp Loc

(16a) **Moyses**... fuit ibi (*Peregr.* 2.2)⁴⁴

SVp ExL

(16b) *(monasteria) quaecumque erant ibi* (*Peregr.* 4.5)⁴⁵

III. pSV Loc

(17a) in quo horto **ipse** rubus est (*Peregr.* 4.7)

pSV ExL

(17b) *ibi ergo in summo ecclesia est* (*Peregr.* 12.3)

IV. pVS Loc

(18a) et ibi est memoria **sancti Gethae** (*Peregr.* 16.1)

pVS ExL

(18b) *ubi est rubus* (*Peregr.* 2.3)

⁴⁰ The abundance of VS sequences is noted already by V. VÄÄNÄNEN (1987), although he does not provide precise statistics. It is due, among other reasons, to the passive or intransitive character of the verb – the segment which introduces the clause and/or the new information conveyed by the message.

⁴¹ G. HINOJO (1986) arrives at the following ratio: SV = 62.4% :: VS = 37.6%.

⁴² Cf. also: *toti illi montes... infra nos essent* (*Peregr.* 2.6); *ipse locus in campo grandi est* (*Peregr.* 21.4).

⁴³ The same pattern is displayed in: *via enim illic penitus non est* (*Peregr.* 6.1); *nam et memoriale ibi est* (*Peregr.* 12.6) or *multi monachi ibi sunt* (*Peregr.* 20.11).

⁴⁴ Also: *(his diebus, quibus) Moyses fuit in montem* (*Peregr.* 5.3); *qui locus est ultra civitatem in colle sed plano* (*Peregr.* 23.2). I consider the relative element to have a local adjective function; it is not a case of attraction.

⁴⁵ Other similar examples: *nam castrum est ibi nunc (habens...)* (*Peregr.* 7.4); *et sancta ecclesia est ibi* (*Peregr.* 20.11).

§ 23. It may be concluded that the presence of definiteness markers allows a certain freedom in the order of constituents. Sometimes, however, the listener's extra-textual knowledge of an entity, as well as its previous occurrence in the text, enables it to be identified as definite on its subsequent occurrences. In such cases the presence of a grammatical marker is not necessary, and the order of the terms whose position is not fixed (S and V) may vary:

(19a) *Moyses... locutus est ei Deus de **rubo in igne*** (*Peregr.* 2.2)

(19b) *denuo ad illud caput vallis descenderemus, id est ubi rubus erat* (*Peregr.* 2.3)

(19c) *descendentes a monte Dei, ubi est rubus* (*Peregr.* 2.3)

(20a) *ubi **fuit** primitus **domus Abrahæ*** (*Peregr.* 20.5)

(20b) *ubi primitus **domus sancti Abrahæ fuit*** (*Peregr.* 20.8)

(21a) *ubi **monasteria sunt** plurima* (*Peregr.* 4.7)

(21b) *ibi **erant monasteria** plurima sanctorum hominum* (*Peregr.* 4.6)

§ 24. To sum up: in Late Latin, and especially in the text of *Peregr.*, the marking of terms for definiteness is at an intermediate stage, oscillating between the absence of such markers and the setting-up of a system which would comprise not only lexical but also grammatical ones.

4. CONCLUSIONS

§ 25. From a global perspective, the data in this corpus allow us to perceive an evolution in the order of constituents employed in the examined structures – one that is more evident in Egeria than in Orosius. There are tendencies to place the verb in the medial position, to make increasing use of the VS sequence at the expense of the Classical SV, and to include the verb *sum* proportionally more often than other types of verb.

§ 26. Among the different procedures for encoding definiteness which are not mutually exclusive, the use of demonstratives, scarcely present in Livy, gains ground and reaches the highest frequency with Egeria. As evidenced by examples (cf. § 2.2.2), demonstratives – especially *ille* and *ipse* – gradually lose their prominent deictic function, a process which is still unfinished in the period examined here. This mutation is associated with factors of a pragmatic-contextual nature, which assume a key role in the use of definiteness markers, and thus in the distinctions between the analysed structures in Late Latin.

§ 27. Undoubtedly, the tendency to associate definiteness with the presence of lexical markers developed in Late and Vulgar Latin and vice versa seems justified. It is, however, possible to reason as follows:

1. The word order of Classical Latin is generically defined as free but not *indifférent*.⁴⁶ At this stage of the language, with no complete lexical or grammatical system to mark definiteness, it runs counter to what is predicted by the Hypothesis of Definiteness.⁴⁷

⁴⁶ Cf. J. MAROUZEAU (1938: 55).

⁴⁷ Cf. § 3.

it does not play a truly distinctive role in Loc constructions, at least not in a clear and universal way. Nevertheless, the ‘listener’ is able to identify the \pm Definite entities.

2. During the transition from Late Latin to Romance languages, this word order gradually became fixed due to the progressive loss of declensions; moreover, a lexical and grammatical system evolved to mark the \pm Definiteness of terms. This system, however, could not replace word order in a role which the latter did *not* play.

3. Therefore it seems that the fixation of word order and the emergence and development of the article are not necessarily linked phenomena,⁴⁸ although they can sometimes be interdependent,⁴⁹ as has been commonly assumed.

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⁴⁸ In this respect, cf. S. A. THOMPSON (1976), who explains: “In a topic-prominent language (TVX), word order can be used to mark definiteness. When word order becomes more fixed, this means of definiteness marking is lost. Articles develop as a means of maintaining the definite-indefinite distinction.” Her proposal assumes that the article comes into use when a TVX language changes into SOV or SVO, in opposition to T. VENNEMANN (1975), who focused on the shift from SOV to TVX.

⁴⁹ Cf. H. ROSÉN (1994: 142).

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Povzetek

DOLOČNOSTNE STRATEGIJE V BESEDNEM REDU IN V EKSISTENCIALNO-LOKATIVNIH TER LOKATIVNIH ZVEZAH V POZNI LATINŠČINI

V članku se preučujeta parametra, ki sta v pozni latinščini začenjala doživljati bistvene spremembe: izražanje določnosti in proces ustalitve besednega reda, ki je drugačen, kot je bil prej. Oba pojava se skušata obravnavati povezano. Namen takega načina dela je ugotoviti, ali ni morda v razvoju, v katerem so stavčni skladniki prešli iz prostega besednega reda v nespremenljivega, eden izmed temeljnih dejavnikov ravno nastanek člena. V raziskavi se preverja, kako poteka več procesov, ki se v jeziku uporabljajo za zaznamovanje določnosti; med njimi so posebne pozornosti deležni "demonstrativi". Poleg tega se raziskuje besedni red temeljnih skladnikov, ki sestavljajo lokativne zveze, s ciljem zagotoviti ustrezne odnose med analiziranimi parametri. Vprašanje se obravnava tudi z diahronega vidika, pri čemer služijo za vzorec izbrana poglavja iz Livija, Orozija in delo *Peregrinatio Egeriae*. Na podlagi diahrono obravnave moremo ugotoviti, da se ustalitev besednega reda ter pojav in razvoj člena nista izkazala za pojava, ki bi bila nujno soodvisna, čeprav v nekaterih primerih ne moremo izključiti možnosti njune medsebojne povezanosti.

TEACHING THE USES OF ITALIAN VERB FORMS TO SLOVENE SPEAKERS

*In fact you know only when you know little. Along
with knowledge doubt grows. (J. W. Goethe)*

INTRODUCTION

Goethe's paradoxical aphorism concerning our knowledge of complex phenomena could be used to identify the feelings which may prevail at two different stages of learning a foreign language, at an early and at an advanced one. So, for example, it is not surprising when our students, back from an exchange visit abroad, complain about having felt blocked by their thorough structural language awareness, noticing at the same time that some other foreign students showed off their fluency and richness of vocabulary, while calmly violating certain grammatical conventions.¹ Such self-conscious learners seem to miss their past lack of inhibitions, when they still naively thought of language differences principally as neatly observable dissimilarities in language forms, feeling that their present awareness of more hidden foreign-language properties is rather a disadvantage in communication; so much so that they wonder whether it would not have been better to have invested all that time and energy into the acquisition of the lexicon instead.

But since a natural language is an extremely complex phenomenon, for the relatively successful learning of which great effort is necessary, the question about what aspects of it are to be taught to whom, how, when, where, why, etc. can only be dealt with properly if several parameters are taken into account. Reporting on our own experience of foreign-language teaching, we would like to point out that at the Department of Italian language of the University of Ljubljana great emphasis has for years been put on the structural aspects of Italian on the one hand and of Slovene as the mother tongue of the majority of the students on the other (see Uršič et al. (eds) 2000, Miklič 1986, 1992a, 1992b, 1993). There are mainly two reasons for that. The first one is of sociolinguistic nature: Slovenia is a small country and Slovene a minor language (about two million speakers), and in any kind of cross-cultural communication involving this language it will inevitably be Slovene speakers who will normally have to put their mother tongue aside and make use of a major language.² Accordingly, a thorough productive mastery of

¹ Obviously, they seem not to have realized that the rich vocabulary admired in their peers was mainly due to numerous common Romance or Greek and Latin roots which their mother tongues share with Italian, whereas Slovene contains principally words of Slavic origin.

² It is simply a fact that, while countries like Slovenia strive to potentiate their foreign language teaching, in Great Britain single foreign language departments are being closed down (cfr. numerous reports on the problem in virtually every issue of the *Times Higher Education Supplement* over the past couple of years), as if private language schools intended for potential British travellers abroad could cover the principal foreign language needs of the population.

different languages, including their grammatical aspects, is of vital importance to Slovene learners if they wish to be able to communicate cross-culturally with some competence and with the necessary self-confidence.³ The second reason for emphasizing the structural aspects of the Italian language is its intrinsic character: Italian has a relatively high number of »tenses« which are not at all relegated to written texts (with the exception of one of them), but are actually used in everyday communication: combined with other language elements and constructions, they serve to express not only temporal, aspectual and modal meanings, but also important logico-semantic contents.⁴ Since the differences in the selection principles are often difficult to recognize – unless they have been pointed out to the learner in an explicit way – it is our conviction that in the teaching process those language properties must be stressed which would otherwise remain unnoticed.

Errors related to the use of verb forms in foreign languages are, of course, very widespread and instead of examples from the Slovene-Italian language pair it is easy to think of much more common English sentences such as the ones below, frequently produced by Slavic, Greek, Arabic and other speakers. It is often possible to hear such sentences in TV interviews, and their authors may be politicians, diplomats, scientists, and other experts, i. e. persons who have evidently received good general and specialist education and who have often had a great deal of foreign language practice:

1. We **are working** on the project already for two years (instead of: **have been working**).
2. You will see it when you **will come** (instead of: when you **come**) to the door.
3. If he **would be** still alive (instead of: If he **were/was**) we would certainly act differently.
4. We knew that at two o'clock the door **will be** (instead of: **would be**) opened.

All these sentences reveal deep-rooted non-English, mostly mother-tongue tense selection principles and can be interpreted as evidence of an inadequate teaching approach. What can be done to enable the learner to successfully overcome such difficulties in the use of verb forms? Returning to the two languages of our primary concern, let us first analyze the current situation and then see what the solutions to this problem could be.

1. THE COMPLEXITY OF THE ITALIAN VERB SYSTEM AND SLOVENE SECONDARY SCHOOLS

In the Italian language all fourteen tenses and the five impersonal forms distributed in four groupings of tense forms are actually used: eight of the indicative type (*presente* (Pr), *passato prossimo* (PP), *futuro* (F), *futuro composto* (FF), *imperfetto* (IM), *passato remoto* (PR), *trapassato prossimo* (TP), *trapassato remoto* (TR)), four of the subjunctive type (*presente* (Pr'), *passato* (PP'), *imperfetto* (IM'), *trapassato* (TP') *del congiuntivo*),

³ In Slovenia, Italian is one of the most important foreign languages, on the one hand because it is the language of a neighbouring country with which close contacts have for centuries existed at various levels (cultural, economic, political, etc.), and, on the other, because it has the status of an official language in the bilingual Coastal area (districts of Koper, Izola, Piran, and Portorož).

⁴ Numerous studies on various aspects of the learning and acquisition of the Italian verb system by foreigners have been made. See Giacalone Ramat (ed.) 1988, Banfi/Giacalone Ramat 2003, Barni, Carloni/Lucarelli 2003, Miklič 1991, 1992a, 1992b, 2003, Moderc 2003, to mention but a few.

two conditionals (*condizionale semplice (C)*, *condizionale composto (CC)*) and five impersonal forms (*infinito semplice (INF)*, *infinito composto (INFF)*, *gerundio semplice (G)*, *gerundio composto (GG)*, *participio passato (PART)*).⁵

The Slovene language, on the other hand, has in principle six tenses, but practically only four appear in actual texts: *sedanjik* (»present«), *preteklik* (»past«), *prihodnjik* (»future«), *sedanji pogojnik* (»present conditional«), *predpreteklik* (»past perfect«) and *pretekli pogojnik* (»past conditional«). The impersonal forms (the infinitive and the participles) are seldom used, at least in subordinate clausal constructions.⁶

If the difference in the very numbers of the tenses of the two systems is so considerable, what results can then be expected from Slovene learners of Italian at the end of secondary school, after they have studied the language for four, eight, or, in the ethnically mixed Italian-Slovene area in the Coastal region, even twelve years?⁷ Although no precise answers can be given, we do have some important indications of the situation. First, an assessment of the syntactic knowledge of learners after their baccalaureate in Italian (cf. Mertelj 2005) has shown that those common syntactic constructions which require morphologically complex verb forms (above all the four subjunctives) are practically absent from the texts produced by the learners. A case in point are constructions introduced by the conjunctions such as the following: **se** /if/, **come se** /as if/, **perché** /so that/, **prima che** /before/, **senza che** /without/, etc. These important syntactic patterns are also virtually absent from the textbooks used, and consequently from the classroom as well. Second, for some years now, in our Italian Department, freshmen's productive knowledge of certain aspects of tense selection principles in other foreign languages they have studied has been systematically tested. The subjects are first asked to answer questions about which foreign languages they have studied, where (name and type of school; if they learned a language in different ways, e.g. from the TV or from audio cassettes, they are asked to report on those too), and for how long; then they have to express in each of the languages studied the content of three sentences given to them in their mother tongue. What is being tested is their ability to express a temporal relation in a future situation as well as a hypothetical relation in a non-past and in a past situation:

4. **Ko bom to vedela, ti bom povedala.**
5. **Če bi bilo** lepo vreme (zdaj), **bi šli** ven. [now]
6. **Če bi bilo** lepo vreme (včeraj), **bi šli** ven. [yesterday]
/ 4.a **When I know it**, I will tell you.
5.a **If** the weather **were** fine we **would go** out.
6.a **If** the weather **had been** fine we **would have gone** out./

⁵ For a verb like »partire« (»to leave«), a complete list of 1st person feminine tense forms is as follows: *parto, sono partita, partirò, sarò partita, partivo/stavo partendo, partii, ero partita, fui partita; parta, sia partita, partissi, fossi partita; partirei, sarei partita; partire, essere partita, partendo, essendo partita, partita*. There is yet a sixth impersonal form, the participio presente (»partentek«), the use of which is rather restricted.

⁶ For a perfective/imperfective verb pair like »oditi/odhajati« (»to leave«), a complete list of 1st person feminine tense forms is as follows: *odidem/odhajam, odšla sem/odhajala sem, odšla bom/ odhajala bom, odšla bi/odhajala bi, odšla sem bila/ odhajala sem bila, odšla bi bila, odhajala bi bila*.

⁷ As can be expected, interferences from Slovene are very common at all learning levels (see Miklič 1992b); these negative transfers may sometimes be particularly hard to eliminate because of their presence in certain (mainly spoken) varieties of Slovene to which learners of Italian may be exposed (cf. Ožbot 1995/96).

With too many candidates, the answers in Italian (their chosen subject) and in English (the most extensively taught foreign language in Slovenia), not to speak of other languages – German, French, Spanish – regularly show great insecurity or even ignorance of the principles of tense choice. More than 60% of the answers are wrong, sometimes regardless of the duration of the time span over which a student has been learning the language in question. If they perform rather poorly in a written task, in which they do have time for reflection, even worse results could be expected in their spontaneous, oral performance. According to these results, then, many Slovene learners aged eighteen, who have received considerable formal foreign-language instruction, are not able to express in foreign languages they have studied such important logico-semantic relations as condition, purpose, comparison, posteriority, etc., whereas the presence of, for instance, Slovene hypothetical conditional clauses can be noticed in spontaneously produced speech of Slovene children not older than three or four. How can such a situation be accounted for?

2. DIFFERENCES IN THE SELECTION PRINCIPLES

Leaving aside the situation in bilingual communities or mixed ethnic groups, the study of a new language begins normally at a point when the person has already acquired the most important elements of lexical, pragmatic, cultural, and, of course, grammatical aspects of his/her mother tongue (cfr. Braidi 1999: 40 ff.). Now, a frequent learning strategy is generalization, i.e. recognition of previously known properties in new elements, and in foreign language learning the terminology referring to *present (Pr)*, *past (P)* and *future (F) tenses*, to *conditionals (C)* and to *subjunctives* in different languages encourages the learner to draw false conclusions about their allegedly universal values: he/she therefore tends to generalize that the tenses may well be different in form and number, but they nonetheless have to perform more or less the same functions. The difficulty is that this is mostly true of independent clauses, whereas in numerous subordinate syntactic constructions the selection principles of tense choice can vary drastically. And this is the very problem with the Slovene and Italian verb systems.

Returning to the three semantic contents in 4., 5., and 6. we can observe that in the first temporal clause in Slovene as well as in Italian – but not in English –, the respective FUTURE tense is used. But whereas in if-clauses, in English like in Italian, four different forms are necessary,⁸

4.b Quando lo **saprò** te lo **dirò**.

5.b Se **facesse** bel tempo **usciremmo**.

6.b Se **avesse fatto** bel tempo **saremmo usciti**.

in Slovene one and the same form – the PRESENT CONDITIONAL – is used invariably:

	Slov.	Ital.	Engl.
4.' when	F / F	F / F	Pr / F
5.' if	<u>C</u> / <u>C</u>	IMsub / <u>C</u>	P / <u>C</u>
6.' if	<u>C</u> / <u>C</u>	Tsub / CC	TP / CC

⁸ These are the *imperfetto del congiuntivo*, the *condizionale composto*, the *trapassato del congiuntivo*, and the *condizionale composto*; the *past tense*, the *present conditional*, the *past perfect*, and the *past conditional*.

The urge, then, in Slovene speakers, to extend the principle followed in their mother tongue to foreign language material is considerable and can be observed in a great deal of their foreign-language text production. In the choice of the Italian tense forms, such objective learning difficulties affect all the central semantic areas of the verb usage: temporal, aspectual and modal ones.

So, as far as the **temporality** is concerned, an average Slovene speaker is not at all aware of a feature of the Slavic languages, which consists in different principles of expressing relative temporal relations for past actions (anteriority, simultaneity and posteriority) in dependence of the type of syntactic construction. For example, a simultaneous action in a Slovene THAT- or WH-clause is realized by the »present tense« (*sedanjik*), while in a relative clause and in most adverbial clauses it is realized by the »past tense« (*preteklik*). On the other hand, in Italian (like in English) the same principle holds for both syntactic constructions and consequently no distinction is made in the tense forms used (*imperfetto* in Italian and *past tense/past perfect* in English):

7. Vedela je, da Vid **pripravlja** nov učbenik (*sedanjik* /»present tense«)
(She knew that Vid was preparing a new textbook/ had been preparing.)
Sapeva che Vid stava preparando un nuovo libro di testo.
8. Sestala se je s Vidom, ki **je pripravljala** nov učbenik. (*preteklik* /»past tense«)
(She met Vid, who was preparing a new textbook /had been preparing.)
Incontrò Vid, che stava preparando un nuovo libro di testo.

Similarly, there is no real correspondence in the fundamental selection principles between **aspectual** verb pairs: the IMPERFETTO /IM/ vs the PERFETTO /P/ in Italian and the IMPERFECTIVE vs the PERFECTIVE VERBS in Slovene (*nedovršniki* /ND/ vs. *dovršniki* /D/, cfr. Miklič 1983). In actual fact, if there are numerous cases of superficial overlap between the so-called *perfective* forms on the one hand (D – P) and between the *imperfective* ones on the other (ND – IM):

9. Ko se je vrnila (D), so še vedno popravljali (ND) njen avto.
(When she returned, they were still repairing her car.)
Quando è tornata (P), stavano ancora riparando (IM) la sua macchina,

there are also many cases of systematic lack of correspondence (ND – P, D – IM):

- (ND – P)
10. Nekaj časa je čakala (ND), potem je odšla.
(She waited for a while, then she left.)
Aspettò (P) per un po', poi se ne andò via.
(D - IM)
 11. Kadarkoli je vprašala (D), so ji odgovorili (D).
(Whenever she asked a question, she got an answer.)
Ogni volta che domandava (IM) le rispondevano (IM).

Finally, even less correspondence between Slovene and Italian can be observed in the uses of verb forms which contribute primarily to the expression of **modality**. A case in point is the Italian pluperfect subjunctive (*trapassato del congiuntivo*), which, depending on the syntactic and/or semantic context, can be rendered by each of the six Slovene tenses:

12. È stato più caro di quanto non **AVESSIMO PREVISTO**.
(»pluperfect«: Bilo je dražje, kot **smo bili predvideli**.)
/It was more expensive than we expected./
13. Raccontò di come Antonio **FOSSE TORNATO** prima.
(»past«: Povedal je, da **se je** Tone **vrnil** prej).
/He told that Tony returned earlier./
14. Parla l'inglese come se **AVESSE STUDIATO** in Inghilterra.
(»past conditional«: Angleško govori, kot da **bi bil študiral** v Angliji).
/He speaks English as if he had studied in England./
15. Conosceva il paese come se ci **FOSSE** già **STATO**.
(»present conditional«: Deželo je poznal, kot da **bi** tam že **bil**).
/He knew the country as if he had already been there./
16. Era rosso come se **AVESSE AVUTO** la febbre.
(»present«: Rdeč je bil, kot da **ima** vročino).
/He was red in the face as if he had fever./
17. Disse che l'avrebbe regalata al primo che **FOSSE PASSATO**.
(»future«: Rekel je, da jo bo podaril tistemu, ki **bo** prvi **prišel** mimo).
/He said he would give it to the first one who passed by./

Likewise, the Slovene simple conditional (*pogojnik*) is used in contexts in which – again, depending on syntactic, semantic and pragmatic factors – in Italian any of the forms of the two conditionals or of the four subjunctives would be possible. For instance, the Slovene **BI VIDEL** (»would see«) has several equivalents in Italian: **vedrebbe/avrebbe visto/ senza che veda/ senza che vedesse/ senza che abbia visto/ senza che avesse visto**:

18. Če bi boljše pogledal, **BI VIDEL** razliko.
(*condizionale semplice*: Se guardasse meglio **vedrebbe** la differenza.)
/If he took a better look, he would see the difference./
19. Če bi boljše pogledal, **BI VIDEL** razliko.
(*condizionale composto*: Se avesse guardato meglio **avrebbe visto** la differenza.)
/If he had taken a better look he would have seen the difference./
20. Poskušal bo oditi ven, ne da **BI** ga kdo **VIDEL**.
(*presente del congiuntivo*: Cercherà di uscire senza che qualcuno lo **veda**.)
/He will try to go out without being noticed by anyone./
21. Odšel je ven, ne da **BI** ga kdo **VIDEL**.
(*imperfetto del congiuntivo*: È uscito senza che qualcuno lo **vedesse**.)
/He went out without being noticed by anyone./

22. Dokument potem odnesejo, ne da **BI** ga ravnatelj **VIDEL**.
*(passato del congiuntivo: Poi portano via il documento senza che il preside **l'abbia visto.**)*
 /Then they take away the document without the headmaster having seen it./
23. Dokument so odnesli, ne da **BI** jih ravnatelj **VIDEL**.
*(trapassato del congiuntivo: Portarono via il documento senza che il preside **l'avesse visto.**)*
 /They took away the document without the headmaster having seen it./

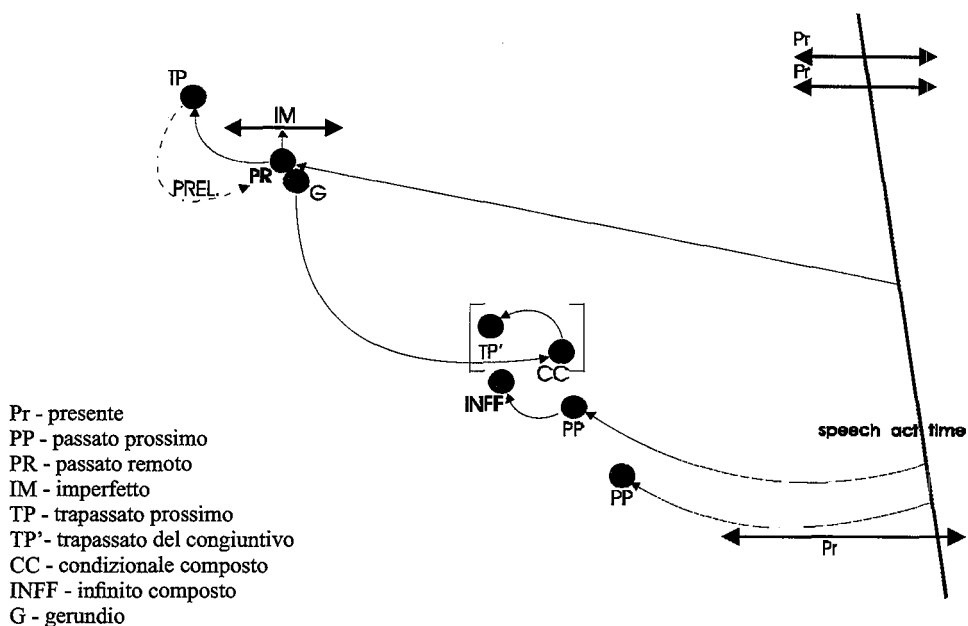
3. THE ITALIAN TENSE FORMS IN THE CLASSROOM

In view of such a general lack of correspondence between the functioning of tenses in the two languages – not to mention the number of forms a language learner has to master due to the multiplicity and complexity of conjugation patterns – it is obvious that the bulk of knowledge to be acquired in the area of Italian verb grammar alone is extremely large. Understandably, linguists who have studied the functioning of tenses would like to see their findings to be taken into account in the classroom, so that language learners would ultimately be able to use correctly the tense forms indispensable for the expression of important logico-semantic relations. In reality, however, grammatical issues are currently not considered a priority in language teaching;⁹ practitioners are often convinced that the emphasis should be placed on other, allegedly »more important« aspects, such as the lexicon, cultural issues, different communication skills, etc.

In view of the fact that both, the linguist and the practically-minded language teacher are to a certain extent right, in all teaching situations reasonable compromises should be reached. For instance, in teacher-training courses at university level a thorough transmission of experts' findings can and should be carried out. And indeed, in our own teaching the functioning of the Slovene and Italian verb systems is systematically dealt with from a contrastive perspective and in dependence of a number of parameters in real texts, from short informative to literary ones (see Miklič 2005; cfr. also McCarthy/Carter 1994: 98–100), and it is often further exemplified by translation exercises and by the study of translated texts (cfr. Ožbot 2004); the textual approach employed is supported by graphic representations of temporal relations (cfr. Miklič 1997, 2003, 2004). For the sake of illustration, an example is given by the following text and its visual translation:

⁹ Cfr. *Common European Framework of Reference for Language Learning and Teaching* and Italian language syllabus for Slovene secondary schools (http://www.mszs.si/slo/solstvo/razvoj_solstva/viprogrami/pdf/Ita_01.pdf).

24. Una delle più confortevoli fermate di autobus che **si conoscono** (Pr) **è** (Pr) nell'isola di Unst, la più settentrionale delle Shetland, in Scozia. Essa **era stata soppressa** (TP), però l'intraprendente Bobby Macaulay, che **non voleva** (IM) darsi per vinto, **scrisse** (PR) al giornale locale **promettendo** (G) **che se fosse stata ripristinata** (TP') **se ne sarebbe preso** (CC) cura lui stesso. Così, **dopo averla riottenuta**, (INF2) l'**ha abbellita** (PP) con tende ricamate e fiori, l'**ha arredata** (PP) con un divano e un tavolino, e **cerca** (Pr) di non farvi mai mancare spuntini caldi: [...]. (*La Settimana Enigmistica*, No 3781, p. 12)



/One of the most comfortable bus-stops ever known can be found on the island of Unst, the northernmost of the Shetland Islands, Scotland. It was eliminated, but the enterprising Bobby Macauley, who would not give up, wrote to the local newspaper promising to take care of it himself if it was restored. So, after the bus stop was re-established, he embellished it with flower-embroidered curtains, furnished it with a sofa and a coffee table, and now he makes every attempt to keep it supplied with warm snacks: [...]./

But this approach, directed towards enabling students to use the foreign language productively, is, clearly, not applicable to other Italian-language teaching situations. For instance, history students will have to know the verb form usage relatively well, but above all in a receptive way, to be able to make use of linguistically complex bibliographical resources. On the other hand, learners in vocational schools, let us say those training to become waiters, need a more restricted knowledge, which, however, must be of a more productive kind.

Now, returning to the secondary school as the fundamental type of educational institution as far as foreign language learning is concerned, it should be pointed out that the strictly progressive (from formally simple to complex), limitative (only some tenses are introduced) and non contrastive (cfr. Marin/Magnelli 2003a, 2003b, 2003c; Mezzadri/

Balboni 2000, 2001, 2003) approaches currently prevailing in it cannot normally bring good results. The pupils are not explicitly taught models for the expression of logico-semantic relations to which they have access in their mother tongue; all too many syntactic constructions remain in fact unknown to them simply because they have not learned the appropriate tenses. In such a situation, teachers often stick to the prescribed syllabus as much as they can. Although many confess that the inherited approach is not satisfying, they are reluctant to any change because they already feel overburdened.

In the conviction that the learner should be treated in a more intelligent way (cfr. Miklič/Ožbot 2001) and that an understanding of the functioning of the two verb systems can only be achieved if it is approached as a problem-solving task, our proposal for teaching the uses of Italian verb forms to the speakers of Slovene – and also to speakers of other languages which display similar structural and functional discrepancies with respect to the Italian verb system – is as follows: given that the majority of secondary-school learners will not be offered other formal language education later in life, they should acquire at this very stage a well-balanced amount of grammatical and communicative knowledge, and, above all, they should be helped in the development of their general language awareness.¹⁰ To achieve this, it is sensible to introduce as soon as possible the whole Italian verb system, which can subsequently help the learner in solving receptive tasks (reading and listening), and it is important for him/her to get acquainted with its complexity in a »user-friendly« manner. Therefore, from the outset, the verb forms should be presented – not learned – and the so-called morphologically complex tenses should be introduced in different types of attractive, witty or mind-provoking short texts like proverbs, aphorisms, sayings, but also poems, songs and slogans used as chunks of language to be understood and, consequently, memorized. The verb form and the syntactic construction would be offered as a medicine in a chocolate-covered pill. Here are some examples on the basis of which the learner can gain familiarity with the uses of single Italian tenses:¹¹

- TP Qualunque cosa vada male, c'è sempre qualcuno che l'**aveva detto**. (A. Bloch)
/Whatever goes wrong, there is always someone who foresaw it./
- IM' - Chi promette tutto è **come se non promettesse** nulla. (B. Gracián)
/To promise everything is to promise nothing./
- TP' Se non si parla di una cosa è **come se non fosse mai accaduta**. Si dà realtà alle cose solo quando se ne parla. (O. Wilde)
/If something is not spoken about it is as if it had never happened. Things become real only when they are spoken about./
- IM'/C - In amore l'esperienza non conta nulla, perché **se contasse** nessuno **amerebbe** più. (H. De Régnier)
/In love, experience does not count at all; if it did, no one would love any more./

¹⁰ On the role of language awareness in second-language learning cfr. Cook (2001: 42); for a case study on the enhancement of grammatical consciousness see Yip 1994.

¹¹ All these examples are taken from *Il libro degli aforismi* edited by Federico Roncoroni (Milano, Oscar Mondadori, 1989).

TP'/CC **Se Dio avesse avuto** intenzione di far vivere e agire gli uomini nella verità, **avrebbe dovuto** disporre altrimenti le cose. (J.W. Goethe)
/If God had had the intention to make people live and act in truth, he would have had to dispose things in a different way./

IM/IM' I nomi collettivi servono a far confusione. »Popolo, pubblico...« Un bel giorno **ti accorgi** che **siamo** noi. Invece **credevi che fossero** gli altri. (E. Flaiano)
/Collective nouns serve to create confusion. »People, public, etc.« One day you suddenly realize that they refer to us. Whereas you thought they referred to others./

By getting acquainted with such texts and by succeeding in their reproduction the learner could very soon experience the rewarding feeling of being able to express an intelligent, semantically rich and linguistically complex content, and the beneficial effects of the victory over difficulties may prepare the ground for guided, autonomous or spontaneous learning at a later moment. It goes without saying that the productive use of selected tenses continues to be introduced, according to the goals of a given syllabus, at different stages. In addition to this, one can only determine which particular segments to include in different curricula in collaboration with language teachers, who are normally better acquainted with the learner's interests and could thus contribute substantially to the preparation of efficient and attractive teaching materials.

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Povzetek

POUČEVANJE RAB ITALIJANSKIH GLAGOLSKIH PARADIGEM PRI GOVORCIH SLOVENŠČINE

V članku so najprej predstavljena nekatera opažanja o poučevanju italijanskih glagolskih paradigem pri slovenskih govorcih, zbrana na osnovi pedagoških in raziskovalnih izkušenj, nato pa je ponujen nekaj sugestij za produktivno usvajanje glagolskih oblik pri pouku tujega jezika. Avtorici vztrajata na eksplicitnem poučevanju slovnice tujega jezika – tudi v primerjavi z materinščino –, in sicer prvič zato, ker je za govorce številčno majhnega jezika, kot je slovenščina, bistveno produktivno in kvalitetno znanje tujih jezikov, saj so v mednarodni komunikaciji v veliki večini najrazličnejših situacij prav govorce majhnih jezikov tisti, ki se morajo biti sposobni sporazumevati v tujih jezikih, glede na to, da je tujih govorcev, ki znajo jezike, kot je slovenščina, sorazmerno zelo malo; drugič, potrebo po eksplicitnem poučevanju slovnice narekujejo tudi sistemske značilnosti italijanskega jezika, z visokim številom glagolskih paradigem, ki se uporabljajo pri izražanju različnih časovnih, aspektualnih in modalnih pomenov ter pomembnih logično-semantičnih

vsebin. Po teh značilnostih se italijanščina v veliki meri razlikuje od slovenščine, brez njihovega izrecnega poudarjanja pa bi te razlike ostale premalo zaznane ali celo povsem neopažene.

Ob zgledih iz slovenščine, italijanščine in deloma angleščine so predstavljeni nekateri najtipičnejši problemi slovenskih govorcev pri usvajanju tujih jezikov, ki izhajajo iz različnih principov izbire glagolskih paradigem v posameznih jezikih. Podanih je nekaj predlogov za poučevanje glagolskih oblik pri slovenskih govoricah (in pri govoricah drugih jezikov, ki izkazujejo podobne strukturne razlike v odnosu do italijanskega glagolskega sistema), pri čemer je poudarjeno, da je glagolske oblike treba uvajati v njihovi kompleksnosti in da je smiselno posvečati pozornost tako leksikalnim kot gramatikalnim vidikom ter pri poučevanju vključiti konkretne kratke jezikovno kompleksne in vsebinsko zanimive ali miselno izzivalne tekste (pregovore, aforizme, izreke pa tudi pesmi, sonete in slogane), ki si jih učenci lahko zapomnijo, reproducirajo in v katerih je mogoče na privlačen način spoznavati besedilno funkcioniranje posameznih italijanskih glagolskih paradigem.

¿TIENEN VENTAJAS COGNITIVAS LOS BILINGÜES SOBRE LOS MONOLINGÜES?

Desde comienzos del s. XIX hasta aproximadamente los años 60, se creía entre los investigadores que el bilingüismo resultaba perjudicial para el pensamiento, ya que provocaba la reducción por la mitad no sólo del desarrollo intelectual sino también del espiritual. Esta ideología se ha extendido ampliamente en los EEUU en el s. XX: el bilingüismo trae consigo más desventajas que beneficios en términos de cognición. El bilingüismo se presenta como una carga sobre el cerebro, provocando confusión mental, inhibición de la lengua mayoritaria, e incluso división de la personalidad.

Esta postura de que el bilingüismo pueda afectar negativamente las destrezas cognitivas del individuo se fundamenta, resumidamente, en dos factores. Primero, como si se tratase de una “balanza”, cuánto más peso se pone en un platillo, más menguado queda el otro; es decir, cuanto más se utilice una segunda lengua, menos destreza se tendrá en la primera. Segundo, cuántas más lenguas se hablen menos espacio habrá para otras áreas de aprendizaje.

¿Es cierto que los monolingües tienen más espacio de pensamiento efectivo? ¿Interfiere la habilidad de hablar dos o más lenguas con el pensamiento? ¿Es un bilingüe menos inteligente que un monolingüe?

En este estudio se examinan estas preguntas, negativamente formuladas, y se evalúan algunas de las recientes investigaciones realizadas sobre el bilingüismo y su influencia en la competencia cognitiva.

* * *

“No eduque a su hijo en el bilingüismo o se creará problemas” es un consejo que a menudo recibimos de los bienintencionados profesores, logopedas, médicos, psicólogos escolares y otros profesionales. Esto se debe a que, en las primeras investigaciones sobre la relación del bilingüismo con el rendimiento educativo y con el funcionamiento cognitivo (o inteligencia) se concluyó que los bilingües eran inferiores a los monolingües. Esta deducción enlaza con la ingenua teoría **de la balanza** o del **globo** que representa el bilingüismo como dos lenguas coexistiendo en “equilibrio”. La imagen, tanto de la balanza como la del globo, indica que la segunda lengua aumenta a expensas de la primera. Véase la imagen 1.

Este modelo concibe las dos lenguas operando aisladamente, sin transferencia y con una cantidad limitada de “espacio”. Aunque parece lógica y convincente, esta teoría no se ajusta a las pruebas factuales y psicológicas. Las pruebas de las que disponemos hoy en día¹ sugieren que no hay un espacio cerebral restringido para las destrezas

¹ Ellis (1985, 1990), Spolsky (1989), Krashen (1981)

lingüísticas sino que hay suficiente, no sólo para dos lenguas sino también para otras más. Además los atributos lingüísticos no permanecen aislados en el sistema cognitivo, sino que se transfieren fácilmente y son interactivos. Por ej. si a un niño se le enseña a multiplicar en español, ese conocimiento se puede transferir a otra lengua; es decir, al niño no se le tiene que volver a enseñar a multiplicar los números en inglés o francés. El concepto matemático puede usarse fácilmente en las lenguas que el niño desarrolle. Este intercambio inmediato conduce a la teoría de la **competencia subyacente común** de Cummins² representada analógicamente por dos icebergs. Véase la imagen 2.

Las dos lenguas operan con el mismo sistema central de procesamiento, no funcionan separadamente, aunque sí son diferentes, como dos icebergs unidos por la base y apartados encima de la superficie. Independientemente de la lengua en que opere la persona, los pensamientos que acompañan a la conversación, la lectura, la escritura y la comprensión auditiva vienen del mismo motor central. Cuando una persona habla dos o más lenguas, hay una fuente integrada de pensamiento. El rendimiento educativo y el procesamiento de la información pueden alimentarse igualmente bien por el canal monolingüe o por medio de dos canales de lengua bien desarrollados. Hablar, escuchar, leer o escribir en la primera o la segunda lengua fomenta el progreso cognitivo; ahora bien, el desarrollo o el funcionamiento de una lengua al completo es de suma importancia a la hora de aprender y procesar los desafíos cognitivos. Dicho de otra manera, si la lengua que el niño utiliza en clase está insuficientemente desarrollada, el sistema cognitivo global no funcionará al máximo y, por lo tanto, la producción oral o escrita podrá resultar débil; desencadenando todo ello en un rendimiento académico negativo.

Además de la teoría de la balanza o globos, denominada como **modelo de competencia subyacente separada**, CSS, frente a la del iceberg, reconocida como de **competencia subyacente común**, CSC, de Cummins, se ha desarrollado otra tercera teoría sobre el bilingüismo y la cognición: la de los **umbrales**³, también de Cummins. Con varios estudios⁴ se ha descubierto que cuanto más se acerca el niño al bilingüismo, mayor es la probabilidad de ventajas cognitivas. Para conseguir estas ventajas el niño pasa por distintos niveles o umbrales de competencia lingüística con determinadas consecuencias. Así, al primer umbral se llega para evitar las consecuencias negativas del bilingüismo; el segundo umbral es un nivel exigido para experimentar los beneficios de ser bilingüe. Este modelo determina quiénes pueden beneficiarse cognitivamente y quiénes sufren perjuicios a causa del bilingüismo. Esto se representa con una casa de tres pisos. Véase imagen 3.

En el piso bajo de la casa están aquellos cuya competencia actual en las dos lenguas resulta insuficiente o poco desarrollada; puede haber efectos cognitivos perjudiciales. En el segundo piso de la casa, o nivel medio, están los que tienen competencia apropiada en **una** de sus lenguas, pero no en las dos; aquí el parcialmente bilingüe va a tener pocas diferencias cognitivas positivas o negativas en comparación al monolingüe. En el tercer piso, o nivel superior, tenemos a los bilingües “equilibrados”. Éstos tienen competencia apropiada a su edad en **dos** o más lenguas; pueden enfrentarse a los estudios

² Cummins (1981)

³ Esta teoría fue postulada por Cummins (1976) y por Toukomaa y Skutnabb-Kangas (1977).

⁴ Cummins y Mulcahy (1978), Duncan y de Avila (1979), Kessler y Quinn (1982), Dawe (1982, 1983)

en cualquiera de las dos lenguas y, por lo tanto, cuentan con ventajas cognitivas sobre los monolingües.

Entre los defensores⁵ de la teoría de los umbrales está Dawe que con los tests de razonamiento matemático deductivo comprobó que a medida que la competencia en las dos lenguas aumentaba, también lo hacían las destrezas matemáticas.

Esta teoría se relaciona no sólo con la cognición sino también con la pedagogía. En parte explica por qué los niños con lengua minoritaria a los que se enseña **en segunda lengua** (por ej. inmigrantes hispanos en los EEUU) a veces no llegan a desarrollar competencia suficiente en su segunda lengua (por ej. el inglés) y no se benefician de la enseñanza bilingüe. Su bajo nivel de competencia en inglés limita su capacidad para enfrentarse a los estudios. Pero si al niño se le permitiera operar en la más desarrollada lengua del hogar, podría obtener un rendimiento educativo superior.

El problema con esta teoría surge a la hora de definir precisamente el nivel de competencia lingüística que un niño tiene que obtener para, primero, evitar los efectos negativos del mismo y, segundo, beneficiarse del bilingüismo. No queda claro a qué altura los techos se vuelven suelos. El criterio de Cummins tiende a centrarse en valores individuales y psicológicos, dejando de lado los factores culturales, sociales, políticos, la comunidad, las expectativas del profesor y el hogar; así como el desarrollo moral y emotivo, la autoestima y la actitud a largo plazo con respecto al aprendizaje. En esto se han basado los principales detractores para contrarrestar el modelo de lenguaje y cognición de Cummins⁶.

A partir de esta teoría se han desarrollado otras como la de la **interdependencia evolutiva**⁷, la cual postula que la competencia de la segunda lengua de un niño depende en parte del nivel de competencia ya obtenido en la primera. Cuanto más desarrollada esté la primera, más fácil se desarrolla la segunda. Cuando la primera está a un nivel bajo de evolución, es más difícil la consecución del bilingüismo. Cummins (1984) considera esencial en la enseñanza bilingüe que la “competencia subyacente común” esté bien desarrollada, es decir, que las capacidades lingüístico-cognitivas, bien de la primera lengua o de la segunda, o de las dos simultáneamente, estén suficientemente desarrolladas para afrontar el proceso educativo. Según Cummins un niño necesita 1 o 2 años para adquirir fluidez en la segunda lengua en un contexto insertado, pero de 5 a 7 años en un contexto reducido. El contexto insertado se da cuando hay un buen apoyo comunicativo a través del lenguaje corporal y refuerzos no verbales; mientras que el contexto reducido se produce en situaciones controladas por el significado de las palabras, como la comunicación en clase. Véase transparencia 2.

El poco rendimiento escolar que a veces resulta de los estudiantes bilingües o casi bilingües se debe en gran parte a que se les enseña en una lengua para la que, aunque mantengan cierta capacidad conversatoria, están falsamente preparados. De aquí que no puedan entender las asignaturas, ni participar en procesos cognitivos de orden superior de la clase como la síntesis, la discusión, el análisis, la valoración y la interpretación.

En los EEUU, los niños de lenguas minoritarias pueden pasar de programas bilingües de transición a la escolarización sólo en inglés cuando conversan en inglés

⁵ Bialystok (1988), Clarkson y Galbraith (1992)

⁶ Entre ellos se encuentran Edelsky et al. (1983), Martin-Jones y Romaine (1986), Rivera (1984) y Frederickson (1990).

⁷ Cummins (1978)

suficientemente. Tales estudiantes, a menudo, rinden con pobreza ya que no tienen la capacidad lingüística apropiada en inglés (o en la lengua del hogar) para operar en un ambiente académicamente exigente. Algunas investigaciones⁸ en Europa, Canadá y EEUU muestran que los niños, a los cuales se les permite usar su lengua minoritaria durante parte o casi toda su escolarización elemental, no experimentan retrasos en el rendimiento escolar o en la competencia de la lengua mayoritaria. Esto se debe a que a través de su lengua minoritaria adquieren capacidad para enfrentarse con éxito a situaciones cognitivas exigentes y de contexto reducido. Esa capacidad se transfiere a la lengua mayoritaria cuando ésta ya está bien desarrollada. Los niños que aprenden a leer en la lengua del hogar, ya sea galés, irlandés, español, catalán, etc., no sólo están desarrollando destrezas en la lengua del hogar sino también destrezas cognitivas y lingüísticas que le ayudaran posteriormente con la lengua mayoritaria y con el desarrollo intelectual general.

La creencia popular y tradicional de que el bilingüismo estaba negativamente asociado con la inteligencia se desencadena en gran parte por los resultados de las pruebas de **IQ** (*Intelligence Quota*: la cuota de la inteligencia: tests de inteligencia) llevadas a cabo en los años 20 y 60. Estos tests (defectuosos en gran parte por su estrecho punto de vista) probaban que los monolingües eran más inteligentes que los bilingües. Estas primeras pruebas, desencadenantes de los **efectos perjudiciales** del bilingüismo, cuentan con innumerables limitaciones que invalidan la investigación. Para empezar contamos con la limitación del concepto de **inteligencia**. Los IQ miden una muestra mínima de la “inteligencia cotidiana”, el patrón que utilizan se refiere a una inteligencia de “lápiz y papel” que poco tiene que ver con la multifuncionalidad de la cognición. Segundo, los tests de inteligencia solían administrarse en un principio sólo en inglés, la **lengua** más débil para algunos bilingües, en lugar de utilizar su lengua más fuerte o ambas. Tercero, la **clasificación** de personas en bilingües o monolingües se hacía de forma simplista e imprecisa en las tempranas investigaciones, dando resultados ambiguos. Cuarto, los hallazgos del muestreo convenientemente elegido con fines muy concretos no pueden **generalizarse** al resto de la población. Quinto, los IQ no consideran el **contexto lingüístico** del muestreo; los resultados negativos se relacionan más con las minorías en un entorno sustractivo (donde la primera lengua corre peligro de ser reemplazada por la segunda, más prestigiosa) que en un entorno aditivo (donde ser bilingüe conlleva prestigio). Sexto, la falta de **igualdad** en los grupos estudiados conlleva que el resultado de la investigación pueda deberse a otros factores (por ej. clase sociocultural, sexo, edad, ambiente urbano o rural, sustractivo o aditivo, etc.), más que al monolingüismo o bilingüismo. Aunque es posible que, en algunos contextos (como en el IQ verbal) los bilingües tengan desventajas cognitivas, la temprana investigación no puede utilizarse para apoyar esta afirmación⁹.

Al mismo tiempo que se realizaban estas pruebas de los efectos perjudiciales, salieron otras investigaciones¹⁰ que afirmaban que no había diferencias entre bilingües y monolingües en el plano cognitivo y que el bilingüismo no era necesariamente una

⁸ Secada (1991)

⁹ Dicha investigación comprende los trabajos de Laurie (1890: 15), Darcy (1953), Saer (1923), Saer, Smith y Hughes (1924)

¹⁰ Tales como las de Pintner y Arsenian (1937) en los EEUU y W. R. Jones (1959) en Gales.

fueron de inferioridad intelectual. Esta conclusión “neutral” fue muy importante para estimular a aquellos que apoyaban el bilingüismo en casa y en la escuela. Este periodo, conocido como el de los **efectos neutrales**, sirvió de tránsito para el actual **de efectos aditivos**, que se vió enormemente apoyado por las investigaciones en Canadá de Peal y Lambert (1962). El trabajo de ambos marca un momento decisivo en el estudio de la relación entre bilingüismo y cognición y anuncian el enfoque moderno sobre el tema. Su importancia se debe en primer lugar a que utilizaron una metodología que superaba las deficiencias del periodo de efectos perjudiciales y, segundo, demostraron que el bilingüismo no conlleva consecuencias negativas ni siquiera neutrales para el desarrollo intelectual; más bien, ventajas cognitivas sobre el monolingüismo. Algunas de las conclusiones que aportaron fueron las siguientes: el bilingüismo ofrece mayor flexibilidad mental, capacidad de pensar más abstractamente, más independientemente de las palabras; un ambiente bilingüe y bicultural enriquece y beneficia el intelecto; entre las dos lenguas de un bilingüe hay una transferencia positiva que favorece el desarrollo de la inteligencia verbal.

Desde la investigación de Peal y Lambert, el estudio del tema se ha alejado de los tests de IQ para acercarse a una perspectiva multicomponential de la inteligencia. Los trabajos más recientes miran el bilingüismo desde un prisma más genérico, en términos de amplitud de estilos, estrategias y destrezas cognitivas. No se trata de comparar a los bilingües con los monolingües sobre un test de IQ, sino centrarse en una muestra más amplia de productos y procesos de la cognición bilingüe.

Las últimas investigaciones llevadas a cabo han descubierto que los bilingües cuentan con ciertas ventajas en el procesamiento lingüístico y cognitivo, algunas de ellas son las siguientes:

1. El pensamiento divergente¹¹

Los tests de IQ restringen a encontrar una sola respuesta a cada cuestión, eso es lo que se ha llamado pensamiento convergente; se converge en la única respuesta aceptable. Un estilo alternativo sería el pensamiento divergente, es decir, cuando se ofrecen varias respuestas, todas las cuales pueden ser válidas. Una persona considerada como divergente sería más creativa, imaginativa, elástica, abierta y libre en su pensamiento. La hipótesis subyacente al pensamiento creativo y al bilingüismo es que la propiedad de dos o más lenguas puede aumentar la fluidez, flexibilidad, originalidad y elaboración en el pensamiento. Los bilingües tienen dos o más palabras para un único objeto o idea, por lo que cuentan con una variedad más amplia de asociaciones. Los bilingües son superiores a los monolingües en los tests de pensamiento divergente.

2. En conciencia metalingüística

Los bilingües tienen ventajas porque experimentan dos sistemas lingüísticos con dos conjuntos diferentes de reglas de construcción que los hace más conscientes de la relación libre, no fijada, entre los objetos y sus nombres, resultando ser más flexibles y analíticos en sus destrezas lingüísticas¹². Los monolingües tienden a estar limitados

¹¹ Léase a Baker (1988)

¹² Léase el estudio de niños bilingües hebreo-ingleses de Ben-Zeeb (1977)

por las palabras en tanto que los bilingües tienden a creer que el lenguaje es más arbitrario¹³. Los bilingües tienden a ser superiores en su capacidad para contar historias y para expresar conceptos dentro de esas historias¹⁴. La mayor capacidad para analizar su conocimiento lingüístico y el mayor control del procesamiento interno del lenguaje hace que los bilingües completamente fluidos tengan mayor conciencia lingüística y, a su vez, les facilita la adquisición temprana de la lectura, que puede llevar a mayor rendimiento escolar¹⁵.

3. En sensibilidad comunicativa

Llamamos sensibilidad comunicativa a la capacidad de detectar cuál es la lengua apropiada en distintas situaciones (por ej. al teléfono, en una tienda, hablando a un superior). Los bilingües tienen que aprender las pistas que les ayuden a saber cuándo cambiar de lengua. Las investigaciones sugieren que por esta razón son más susceptibles a la naturaleza social y comunicativa del lenguaje¹⁶. El bilingüe puede ser más consciente de la necesidad del oyente.

Para aclarar estas ventajas cognitivas de los bilingües, Cummins las resume sucintamente en tres explicaciones:

1. Los bilingües tienen un rango de **experiencias** más amplio y variado que los monolingües debido a que operan con dos lenguas y probablemente dos o más culturas.
2. La **alternancia de código**, decidir cuál lengua o qué registro utilizar, hace que los bilingües sean más flexibles en su modo de pensar.
3. Por el **proceso de objetivación** el bilingüe, consciente y subconscientemente, compara, inspecciona y resuelve la interferencia entre lenguas, confiriéndole destrezas metalingüísticas¹⁷.

Como Cummins, Reynolds también intenta explicar la relación entre bilingüismo y cognición recurriendo al modelo tripartito de inteligencia de Sternberg, el cual distingue entre inteligencia contextual, experiencial y componencial.

1. Por **contextual** se sobreentiende la conducta inteligente que se adapta sin cesar al ambiente en que uno se encuentra. Los bilingües pueden adaptarse mejor a contextos cambiantes por su experiencia de ambientes lingüísticos separados y, a veces, por encontrarse en ambientes socio-culturales más amplios.
2. Por **experiencial** se entiende la conducta inteligente variable, dependiendo de cuánta experiencia tiene una persona de una situación concreta. Adaptarse efectivamente a las nuevas situaciones requiere que las conductas se conviertan en automáticas y habituales. La “automatización” permite que los recursos cognitivos se adapten mejor al procesamiento de nueva información y nuevos desafíos. La experiencia de los bilingües en dos lenguas permite una automatización más fácil al tratar con tareas lingüísticas y provee recursos para otras exigencias lingüísticas menos familiares.

¹³ Ianco-Worrall (1972)

¹⁴ Doyle et al. (1978)

¹⁵ Bialystok (1988)

¹⁶ Lease los estudios de Ben-Zeev (1977) y Genesee, Tucker y Lambert (1975)

¹⁷ Esta tercera explicación viene respaldada por la investigación de Díaz y Klinger (1991).

3. La inteligencia **componencial** se refiere a los procesos que ejecutan, controlan, detectan o monitorizan el procesamiento de la información. Dado que un bilingüe tiene que controlar dos sistemas lingüísticos, puede ser que su mecanismo procesador sea más eficiente y esté mejor desarrollado. Su sistema dual le proporciona más y mejores estrategias de aprendizaje además de facilitarle la recepción de nueva información y el ajuste entre ésta y la ya adquirida, permitiéndole funcionar inteligentemente.

A pesar de que estos hallazgos resultan bastante convincentes, hay que tener en cuenta las limitaciones de lo investigado en esta área, a menudo, por problemas metodológicos. Primero porque el muestreo tiene que estar igualado para poder explicar las diferencias por el bilingüismo y no por otros factores (como la motivación, la actitud de los padres, experiencias socio-culturales, edad, etc.). Segundo, porque los estudios se hacen principalmente con **bilingües equilibrados**, pero ¿representan éstos a todos los demás? Tercero, el problema del huevo o la gallina, qué viene primero el bilingüismo o los beneficios cognitivos –los estudios actuales sugieren que es el bilingüismo el que promueve el aumento de las capacidades cognitivas y no al revés¹⁸. Cuarto, qué tipo de individuos obtienen los beneficios; ¿comparten las ventajas del bilingüismo aquéllos que están por debajo de la media en cognición? Quinto, ¿han afectado las expectativas de los experimentadores el resultado? Y, finalmente, ya que la mayor parte de la investigación tiende a utilizar niños en edad escolar sería preciso preguntarnos si son temporales o permanentes estos beneficios positivos de los bilingües en términos de pensamiento.

Los resultados de las investigaciones descartan las dos conclusiones extremas, situándose en una posición neutral y apuntando en la dirección de que hay lazos positivos entre bilingüismo y funcionamiento cognitivo. Aunque hay pruebas insuficientes y contradictorias que satisfagan al escéptico, hoy en día los estudios se encaminan en probar que los bilingües tienen ventajas cognitivas sobre los monolingües.

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¹⁸ Así lo indica Díaz (1985).

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DOMNEVNE PREDNOSTI DVOJEZIČNOSTI PRED ENOJEZIČNOSTJO

Od začetkov 19. stoletja do nekako šestdesetih let je vladalo med raziskovalci prepričanje, da je za do-
jemanje in komunikacijo v jeziku dvojezičnost škodljiva, ker naj bi nekako razpolovila inteligenčni in celo
duhovni razvoj. V 20. stoletju se je to gledanje v ZDA močno razširilo: dvojezičnost naj bi prinašala več
škode kot koristi, saj naj bi bila za možgane dodatna obremenitev in prepreka za usvajanje jezika večine in
morda celo vzrok za razcepljenost osebnosti.

Mnenje, da vpliva dvojezičnost na sposobnost dojemanja negativno, temelji na dveh postavkah. Prva je
nekaka primerjava s tehtnico z dvema skledicama: več ko je snovi na eni, manj je ostane za drugo; se pravi,
bolj ko se govoreči posveča drugemu jeziku, manj spretnosti bo imel za izražanje v prvem. In drugič: več
jezikov kot se govori, manj časa, energije, zavzetosti ostaja za druge razsežnosti učenja.

Sprašujemo se, ali ima enojezični govorec res več časa in prilike za urejanje svojih misli; nadalje,
ali sposobnost za govorjenje dveh ali več jezikov vpliva na miselnost. In končno, ali je enojezični govorec
bolj inteligenčen kot dvojezični. Prispevek želi osvetliti ta vprašanja in pretehtati dognanja nekaj raziskav o
vplivu dvojezičnosti na dojemanje v jeziku.

LE PROCESSUS DE LA PLANIFICATION LORS DE L'ÉCRITURE EN LANGUE ÉTRANGÈRE: LA LANGUE ET LA STRUCTURE

1 INTRODUCTION

En linguistique appliquée et en didactique des langues il y a beaucoup de recherches faites sur la lecture et beaucoup moins sur l'écriture. Plusieurs enquêtes internationales, comme p. ex. I. E. A. Reading Literacy (cf. Warwick et al., 1995, Lafontaine, 1996) analysent les compétences en lecture en langue maternelle des élèves d'environ 30 pays. À notre connaissance il n'y a pas d'étude internationale comparable faite sur les compétences d'expression orale ou écrite, en langue maternelle ou en langue étrangère.

Pourtant, l'expression écrite est l'activité dont on a besoin dans la vie de tous les jours. Même si «écrire reste associé, dans les représentations sociales, à une activité réservée aux professionnels, en particulier aux écrivains, une attention particulière étant accordée à la forme et au style» (Cuq, 2003: 79) et même si les élèves d'aujourd'hui devenus adultes demain n'auront plus de rédactions ou de dissertations à écrire, ils auront quotidiennement besoin de savoir écrire un texte clair, compréhensible et bien structuré (Marquilló Laruy, 1997: 19-20). Écrire en classe de langue contribue au développement d'autres aptitudes, notamment linguistiques, et «pourrait très vite sensibiliser les apprenants à certaines caractéristiques de la situation d'écriture, envisagée sous son angle général» (Cuq, Gruca, 2002:181).

Dans cet article, nous continuons la recherche sur les types textuels, entamée dans le cadre de la recherche doctorale (Lah, 2004). Cette fois-ci, nous allons nous concentrer sur le processus d'écriture, notamment sur sa première phase: la planification ou le processus rédactionnel. Nous allons observer le côté plus linguistique: l'emploi de la langue et le plan macrostructurel.

2 ECRITURE EN LANGUE ÉTRANGÈRE

Si les experts sont aujourd'hui plus ou moins d'accord que l'expression écrite est une «aptitude qui se travaille» (Shiels, 1996: 236) ou qu'«écrire s'apprend» (Marquillo Laruy, 1997: 20), les élèves ne partagent pas forcément ce point de vue. Pour eux, écrire est surtout un acte de talent ou lié à l'inspiration. Turgeon et Bédard (1997) rapportent l'expérience d'une romancière qui dit que «lorsqu'elle s'adresse aux enfants dans les écoles, ils sont toujours étonnés d'apprendre qu'elle élabore un plan avant d'entreprendre l'écriture d'un roman et que l'inspiration ne lui vient pas par magie».

En langue étrangère, nous avons à faire à un type d'auteurs bien particulier. Les élèves en question peuvent s'appuyer sur leur langue maternelle, ce qui peut être considéré

comme un avantage, (ils ont) «l'avantage d'appuyer l'activité de lecture/écriture sur des savoirs et des procédures en partie déjà disponibles» (Fabre, Cappeau, 1996: 47) ou comme un désavantage «à un degré supérieur de généralité, enseigner le récit en langue étrangère produit un heurt avec le répertoire narratif et discursif propre à la langue maternelle et composante de l'univers symbolique» (Chiss, Filliolet, 1987: 5). Pourtant, en langue étrangère l'expression écrite est l'aptitude qu'on travaille de façon la moins organisée, «il est encore trop rare dans les méthodes que l'on fasse écrire les apprenants dans le but de développer une véritable compétence textuelle» (Cuq, Gruca, 2002: 178).

Dans notre cas, les auteurs des textes sont des élèves de la troisième année de français. En langue maternelle, ils possèdent une capacité d'expression bien développée¹. Il est donc à supposer qu'en langue étrangère ils n'auront pas de problèmes de planification ou de contenu et que c'est surtout le niveau linguistique (lexique et grammaire) qui va leur poser des problèmes.

Chaque acte d'écriture prémédité² comprend plusieurs phases. Turgeon et Bédard (1997) mentionnent la planification, la rédaction et la révision. Harris (2002: 230) divise la première phase en deux parties: rassembler des informations et développer des idées. Le Cadre européen commun de référence pour les langues (dans la continuation CECR) place la capacité à structurer - le plan du texte - sous la compétence pragmatique et la définit comme «la connaissance des conventions organisationnelles des textes dans une communauté donnée, par exemple: comment est structurée l'information pour réaliser les différentes macro-fonctions (description, narration, argumentation, etc.), comment sont racontées les histoires, les anecdotes, les plaisanteries, etc., comment est construite une argumentation (dans un débat, une cour de justice, etc.), comment les textes écrits (essais, lettres officielles, etc.) sont mis en page, en paragraphes, etc.» (CECR, 2001: 96).

Selon Vigner (1993: 44), l'acquisition de la compétence de l'écrit exige de l'auteur la maîtrise simultanée d'un grand nombre d'opérations (opérations de macro- et micro-planification, opération de mise en texte, opérations de «haut» et de «bas» niveau selon la tâche, l'intégration de ces opérations les unes par rapport aux autres et la capacité d'automatiser certaines d'entre elles. Il constate que pour écrire en langue étrangère «une grande partie du public d'apprenants ne rencontre pas forcément de difficultés majeures dans les domaines de la planification du message, ses difficultés proviennent beaucoup plus souvent d'une insuffisante maîtrise ou automatisation d'opérations de niveau inférieur, et notamment celles, souvent négligées, qui mettent en relation l'analyse du référent (sélection des informations, point de vue sur le référent) avec un traitement conjoint du langage (sélection du lexique, réaménagements syntaxiques, etc.)» (ibid: 44).

¹ En troisième année au plus tard, ils commencent à s'exercer dans l'écriture de ce qu'on appelle «essai», un semblant de dissertation. C'est une tâche d'expression écrite, liée aux oeuvres littéraires étudiées en classe, d'un niveau taxinomique élevé, comportant entre 700 et 1000 mots.

² Turgeon et Bédard mentionnent trois façons d'approcher l'acte d'écrire: l'approche du premier jet parfait, la «méthode» de l'inspiration et l'approche de la résolution de problèmes. Nous allons laisser de côté les deux premières approches pour nous concentrer sur la troisième.

Le but de la première phase d'écriture, la planification, est de préparer la rédaction. Sans doute le processus ne sera-t-il pas le même en langue maternelle et en langue étrangère. Si, en langue maternelle, celui qui écrit va se concentrer sur la préparation du contenu et peut-être sur l'organisation de sa rédaction, en langue étrangère il devra aussi préparer le lexique nécessaire à l'écriture. Dans notre cas, le plan idéal aurait donc une double visée: préparer la structure du texte en organisant les idées tout en préparant le lexique pour pouvoir mener à bien la tâche d'écriture. Quant à la forme, les plans pourraient être rédigés comme des organigrammes³ («l'organigramme fournit aux apprenants du matériel linguistique et les guide quant au contenu et à l'organisation du texte», Shiels, 1996: 254) ou sous une autre forme, mais devraient toutefois contenir une esquisse de la structure et un inventaire du lexique employé par la suite; «d'un avant-texte écrit, inventaire de mots ou trame narrative, dans lequel ils pourraient puiser lors de la rédaction proprement dite de leur texte» (Garcia-Debanc, 1996: 69).

3 PRÉSENTATION DU PROBLÈME

Dans les copies des élèves participant au concours national de langue française⁴, nous observons depuis plusieurs années que très peu d'entre eux préparent un plan⁵ avant de se lancer dans la rédaction. Jusqu'ici faire un plan n'était pas obligatoire.

Lors du concours 2007, nous avons proposé trois tâches d'écriture de types différents: une narration, une argumentation et une description tout en imposant aux élèves à faire un plan avant l'écriture.

Après la distribution des sujets nous avons fait un bref rappel oral des trois types textuels, en nous appuyant sur la typologie d'Adam (Adam: 1997, Lah, 2004), les élèves connaissant déjà une typologie similaire.

Nous nous sommes proposés d'observer la phase de la planification. Nous nous attendions à une planification sur plusieurs niveaux: la préparation du contenu, du lexique et de la structure. Même s'il est préférable de préparer le plan en langue cible, nous attendions – vu le niveau linguistique des élèves – à lire les plans aussi bien en slovène qu'en français.

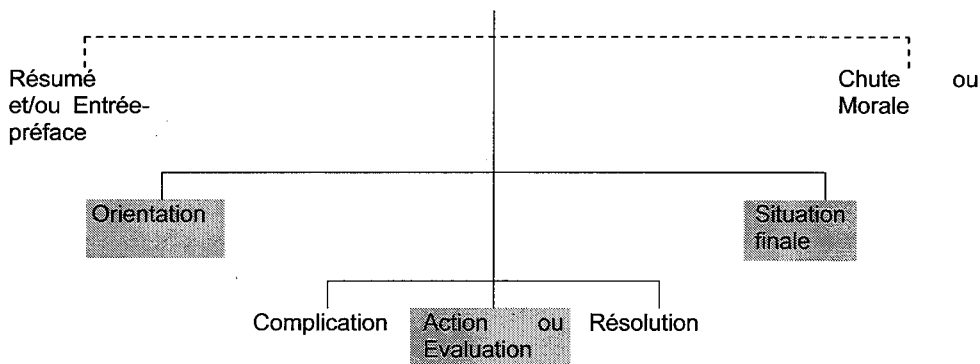
Quant à la structure des plans, nous avons prévu une différence de structure entre les types textuels proposés. Il nous semblait que les plans devraient introduire la structure des rédactions et que les macrostructures narrative, descriptive et argumentative devraient être visibles.

³ On peut aussi l'appeler «schéma heuristique» ou «carte mentale». On recommande aux élèves slovènes d'utiliser ce type d'appui dès les petites classes.

⁴ Il s'agit de lycéens de troisième année apprenant le français comme deuxième langue étrangère. Lors du concours ils ont derrière eux environ 300 heures de français (Lah, 2006). Le niveau linguistique de la plupart d'entre eux équivaldrait au niveau A2 selon CECR. Ce niveau devrait être confirmé par des recherches empiriques.

⁵ Un très faible pourcentage d'élèves élabore un plan avant de commencer à écrire: en 2004 16 sur 75, en 2005 12 élèves sur 86, en 2006 18 élèves sur 97. Le «plan» pourrait aussi être désigné comme «brouillon»: «Un brouillon est une production préexistante à une autre et qui prépare un écrit considéré comme final.» (Cuq, 2003: 37).

Le schéma de la séquence narrative selon Adam présente 8 parties (entrée et morale sont facultatives):

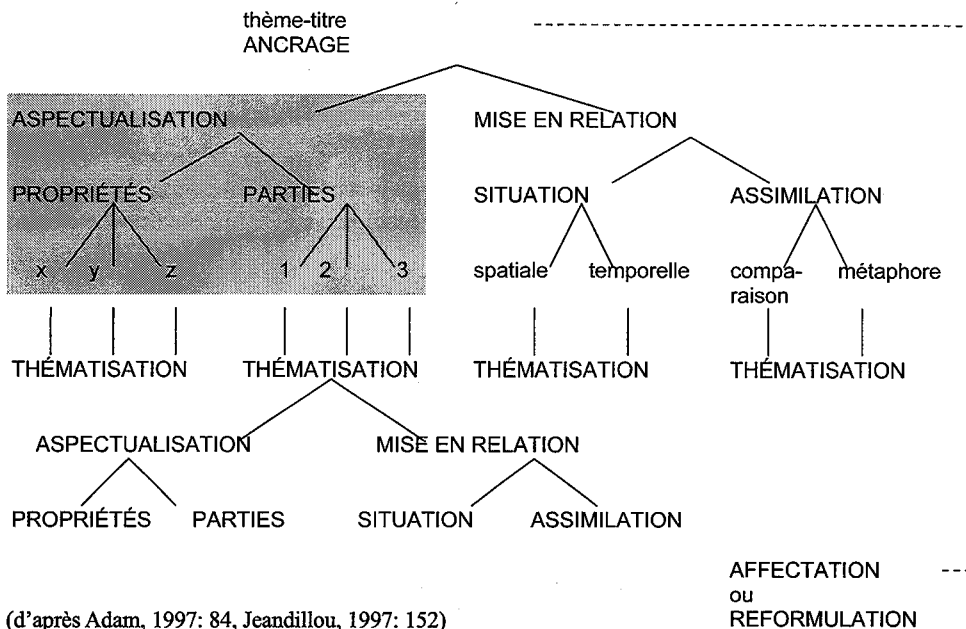


(d'après Adam, 1997: 94)

Dans les plans des élèves, nous nous attendions certes à une structure plus simple, mais qui comporterait néanmoins trois parties, indiquées ci-dessus dans le schéma et que nous pourrions résumer comme:

situation initiale	transformation	situation finale
AVANT	PENDANT	APRES

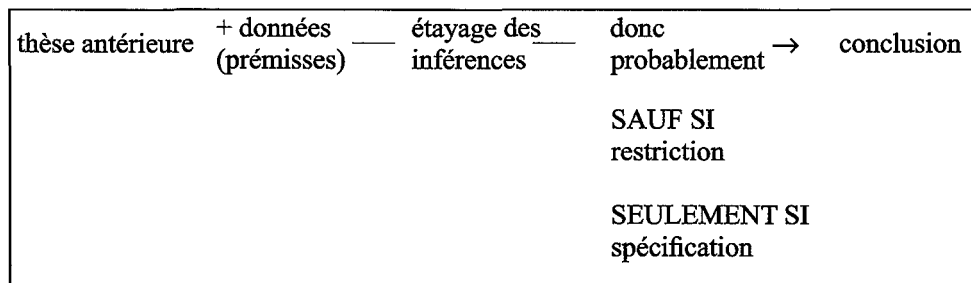
Le schéma de la description selon Adam ou Jeandillou est le suivant:



(d'après Adam, 1997: 84, Jeandillou, 1997: 152)

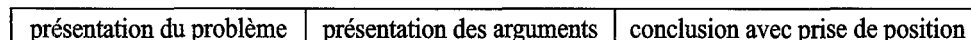
Les plans devraient au moins inclure la structure de gauche: aspectualisation, divisée en propriétés et parties.

Le schéma de la séquence argumentative selon Adam:



(Adam, 1997: 118)

Nous nous attendions à une structure simplifiée, divisée au moins en trois parties.



Dans la recherche mentionnée dans l'introduction (Lah 2004), nous avons constaté que, lors de la lecture, les élèves slovènes reconnaissent mieux la structure des textes narratifs et descriptifs; il nous paraissait donc logique que la structure de ces deux types textuels soit plus visible dans les plans des rédactions.

Les hypothèses de départ étaient les suivantes:

- vu la maîtrise encore insuffisante de la langue cible, les élèves mélangent les deux langues lors du processus rédactionnel,
- le type textuel choisi influence la structure du plan. En lisant, les élèves slovènes reconnaissent mieux la structure narrative et descriptive; ils ont ainsi moins de problèmes à préparer des plans de type narratif et descriptif et la structure de ces deux plans se rapproche plus des schémas textuels présentés.

4 LE RECUEIL DES DONNÉES

Nous avons analysé 80 copies⁶. Les titres proposés étaient les suivants:

- Décrivez une expérience qui vous a fortement marqué(e) – narration;
- Faites le portrait de la personne qui vous fascine le plus – description;
- Pour ou contre le fast-food – argumentation.

Après chacun des sujets figurait la consigne suivante: «Avant l'écriture vous ferez un plan sur une feuille à part. Vous pouvez le faire en slovène ou en français. Vous remettrez aussi bien la rédaction que le plan.»

⁶ 96 élèves ont participé au concours en 2007. Pour être sûr que les auteurs des copies aient joui des mêmes conditions, nous avons choisi 80 élèves ayant passé l'épreuve dans une même salle. L'anonymat des candidats est assuré jusqu'à la fin des corrections et n'est révélé qu'à l'annonce des résultats.

Les élèves ont choisi les trois types des rédactions:

description	narration	argumentation
34	20	26

5 ANALYSE DES PLANS

Bien qu'exigeant l'élaboration d'un plan dans la consigne, 5 élèves ont rendu leurs copies sans plan⁷.

5.1 Analyse des plans en fonction de la langue employée

Parmi les 75 plans, plus de la moitié est rédigée en langue maternelle (43), 21 sont écrits en français et 11 élèves emploient le mélange des deux langues.

Les plans rédigés en français et en slovène présentent deux cas de figure. Les uns mélangent les langues spontanément, comme dans l'exemple:⁸

Exemple 1⁹

Nika – najboljša prijateljica
- dolge rjave lase, rjave oči, 165, 60 kil, prikupna
- postavna, lepo oblečena
- prijazna, *sensible*, nasmejana
- rada ima čokolado
- rada bi šla na pravo – *une juge*
- *Elle a souvent mal à la tête*. Ima alergijo.
- Nekoliko je *déprimé*
- *Je l'admire parce qu'elle a beaucoup d'énergie*

Les autres séparent les deux langues:

Exemple 2¹⁰

Mama: prijazna, nežna, vedno pomaga,
Kako zgleda, kaj občuduje, kaj sovraži,
Elle rit beaucoup,
Elle trouve toujours solution
spirituelle

Deux élèves mélangent les deux langues, mais emploient le français uniquement pour démarquer les différentes parties, ce qui ne les aidera pas à préparer le lexique nécessaire à l'écriture. Dans ces deux cas, les expressions en français semblent inutiles.

⁷ L'un des candidats a essayé de faire un plan, mais n'y réussissant pas a ajouté la remarque suivante: «Je n'aime pas les plans».

⁸ Nous citons les exemples tels quels, sans correction d'erreurs. La lecture des exemples écrits en français pourra donner au lecteur une estimation quant au niveau linguistique des élèves.

⁹ Traduction: Nika – meilleure amie/cheveux longs marron, yeux bruns, 165, 60 kilos, jolie/ svelte, bien habillée/ gentille, sensible, aime rire/ aime le chocolat/ aimerait faire des études de droit – *une juge!* Elle a souvent mal à la tête. Elle a une allergie/ Elle est un peu *déprimé!* Je l'*admire...*

¹⁰ Maman: gentille, douce, toujours prête à aider/ quelle est son apparence, ce qu'elle aime, ce qu'elle déteste

Exemple 3¹¹

1. Uvod (*l'introduction*)
 - uvodna poved
 - predstavitev teme
 - in pa načrt, kako bom temo argumentirala
2. Jedro (*le développement*): na dva odstavka: *deux paragraphes: pour (za), contre (proti)*
3. Zaključek (*la conclusion*)
 - zaključna poved (objektivno)
 - subjektiven del (moja opredelitev)
 - mogoče kakšen citat ali pa vprašanje

5.2 Analyse des plans en fonction de la structure

Les plans des trois types se divisent généralement en deux groupes: une partie des élèves prévoit une structure assez formelle; ils divisent leur plan en trois parties: introduction, développement, conclusion et prévoient le contenu de chacune de ces parties. Pour les autres, le plan leur sert à faire une sorte de remue-ménages, rechercher des idées, sans se préoccuper de la structure de la rédaction.

5.2.1 Le type narratif

La moitié des élèves (10) a utilisé l'organisation en trois parties: introduction – développement – conclusion. Les autres n'ont pas préparé le plan en trois parties. On pourrait considérer leurs plans comme un jet d'«idées en vrac». Le schéma narratif de base (situation initiale – transformation – situation finale) apparaît dans moins de la moitié des cas (9). Il est plus souvent employé par ceux qui prévoient une structure introduction-développement-conclusion que par les autres.

Dans le cas suivant:

Exemple 4¹²

Uvod: otroštvo (srečno, morje, izleti, smeh, igre)
Jedro: nesreča, bolnica, smrt, TELEFON, vse se spremeni
Zaključek: sprememba vrednot, hočem živeti

la structure narrative de base est reconnaissable:

introduction: situation initiale (avant) / développement: transformation (pendant) /
conclusion: situation finale (après).

Il en va de même dans l'exemple suivant:

Exemple 5

L'été, le soir / le descent avec le vélo / sans le équipement protective / trop rapid / la roche dans la route / tomber / casser le bras et la jambe / je ne peux plus sauter ou monter dans un arbre

¹¹ Traduction: 1. Introduction: formule d'introduction/ présentation du thème/ et le plan de l'argumentation, 2. Développement: en deux paragraphes/ 3. Conclusion: phrase de clôture (objectif)/ la partie subjective (mon point de vue), peut-être une citation ou une question

² Traduction: Introduction: enfance (heureuse, mer, excursions, rire, jeux)/ Développement: accident, hôpital, mort, TELEPHONE, tout change/ Conclusion: changement de valeurs, je veux vivre

Dans ce cas, les parties soulignées présentent les deux parties culminantes de la narration: *la complication* et *l'action* (voir le schéma).

Dans certains cas, on observe un mélange de deux types textuels, surtout de la narration et de la description. Dans l'exemple:

*Exemple 6*¹³

Piknik s prijatelji Uvod: ideja o pikniku Jedro: s kolesi <u>Kaj smo jedli, kaj smo pili, kaj smo igrali</u> Potem nekdo umre Pokličemo policijo, vsi v zapor Zaključek: nekdo je priznal Končno doma
--

la partie soulignée annonce une séquence descriptive qu'on pourrait décrire comme

THEME – TITRE: Pique-nique

ASPECTUALISATION: propriétés: en vélo

Parties: nourriture, boissons, jeux

Dans d'autres cas, la trame narrative n'est pas visible et certains plans annoncent une description, comme celui où l'auteur a décidé de décrire un échange d'élèves:

*Exemple 7*¹⁴

Izmenjava: srečanje z drugo kulturo Vse stvari, ki jih izkusiš, če živiš pri družini druge narodnosti Vsa poznanstva, ki jih tako skleneš Vse želje in pričakovanja Veselje za učenje jezika
--

La description a pour *thème-titre* «Echanges» et ce thème est développé en plusieurs *parties*: tout ce qu'on éprouve, les connaissances qu'on fait, etc.

5.2.2 Le type descriptif

Parmi les 30¹⁵ plans de type descriptif, 11 plans suivent la structure introduction-développement – conclusion. L'exemple suivant:

¹³ Traduction: Pique-nique avec les amis: introduction: l'idée du pique-nique, Développement: en vélo, ce que nous avons mangé, ce que nous avons bu, ce à quoi nous avons joué, puis quelqu'un meurt, nous appelons la police, tous en prison, Conclusion: quelqu'un a avoué, de retour à la maison

¹⁴ Traduction: Echange: rencontre d'une autre culture / Tout ce qu'on éprouve en vivant dans une famille d'une autre origine / Toutes les connaissances qu'on fait / Tous les désirs, toutes les attentes / Motivation pour l'apprentissage de la langue

¹⁵ 4 élèves n'ont pas fait de plan.

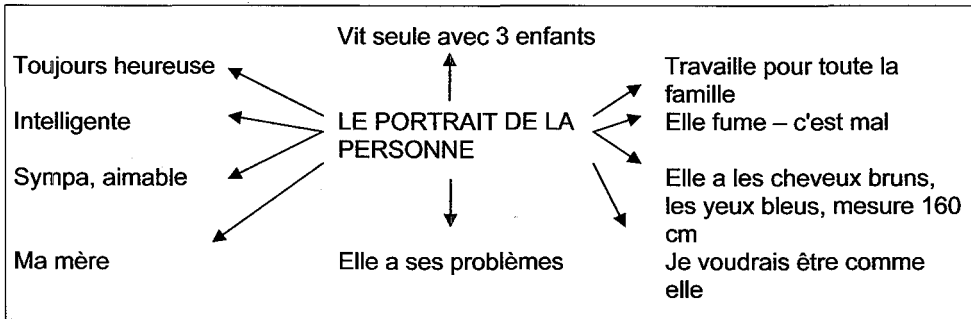
Exemple 8¹⁶

Uvod: delni opis osebe: majhna, rjave oči, rjavi lasje
Jedro: opis karakterja: prijazna, delovna, rada pomaga
Zaključek: zakaj jo obožujem – ker hočem biti kot ona

annonce deux séquences descriptives et une séquence explicative en guise de conclusion. La plupart des plans de ce type utilise l'introduction pour introduire la séquence descriptive du développement.

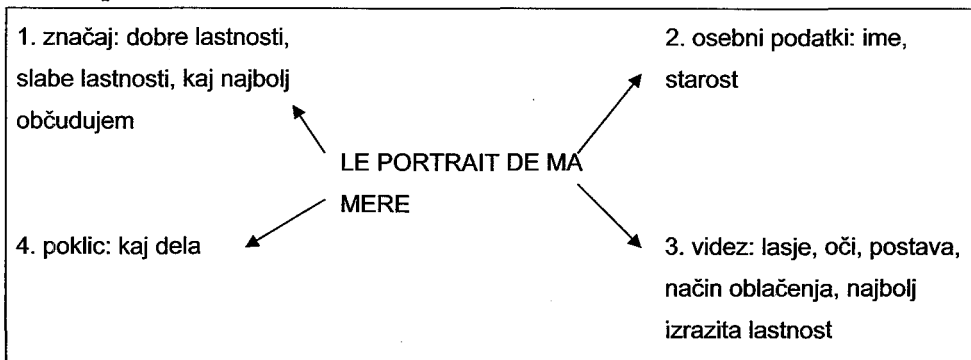
18 plans ne suivent pas cette structure: les élèves essaient de faire un répertoire des qualités de la personne qu'ils aimeraient décrire sans se préoccuper de la division en trois parties. Néanmoins, les plans annoncent un texte descriptif. La plupart des élèves a utilisé la forme de *carte mentale*. Dans certains cas, le plan pourrait être considéré comme une sorte de *remue-méninges*:

Exemple 9



Pour d'autres on peut très bien prévoir la structure du texte:

Exemple 10¹⁷



¹⁶ Traduction: Introduction: description partielle: petite, yeux marron, cheveux marron. Développement: description de son caractère: aimable, travailleuse, aime aider. Conclusion: pourquoi je l'adore: parce que je veux être comme elle.

¹⁷ Traduction: 1. Caractère: qualités, défauts, ce que j'admire le plus, 2. Informations personnelles: prénom, âge, 3. Apparence: cheveux, yeux, stature, manière de s'habiller, sa plus grande caractéristique, 4. Profession: ce qu'elle fait.

Dans 22 cas, la structure descriptive de base (la partie gauche du schéma) est visible. Rares sont les élèves qui décrivent aussi la situation spatiale ou temporelle, utilisent les comparaisons pour se lancer donc dans la partie «droite» du schéma descriptif présenté.

Un des 30 plans est particulier. Il semblerait que ce ne soit pas un plan rédigé avant l'écriture qui pourrait aider l'auteur à écrire le texte. Le «plan» ressemble à une justification et l'élève l'a probablement rédigé parce qu'il/elle était obligé(e) de le faire:

Exemple 11

Je vais écrire d'une personne que j'admire depuis 10 ans. Je ne veux pas dire son nom ou ce qu'elle fait dans la vie – je vais l'appeler M.
M. est peut-être la plus grande dame en Slovénie. Elle porte toujours des vêtements noirs. Je voudrais un jour devenir comme elle. Je vais écrire de cette fascination.
En premier lieu je vais décrire M comme je la connais et pour terminer je vais dire pourquoi elle est pour moi si importante.

5.2.3 Le type argumentatif

Les élèves (25¹⁸) qui ont choisi le troisième titre se répartissent, eux aussi, en deux grands groupes: 12 d'entre eux prévoient l'organisation en trois parties (introduction, développement, conclusion) et vont exposer des arguments pour et contre dans le développement. 12 élèves préparent uniquement des arguments pour et contre. Un plan est difficilement classable dans l'une ou l'autre des catégories mentionnées:

Exemple 12¹⁹

- pomanjkanje časa
- + in – pogledi na sistem hitre hrane
- negativne posledice na zdravje ter razlogi za to
- zaključek (izraziti upanje za izboljšanje kakovosti hrane)

Pour le plan pour/contre, sans division en parties, nous citerons l'exemple suivant:

Exemple 13:

- C'est quoi fast-food?
- Pourquoi je pense que le fast-food est bien: pratique, on peut le trouver par tous, de bonne goûté, pas chère
- Pourquoi je suis contre ça? Beaucoup de grosses hommes et femmes, n'est pas santé (ingrédients qui ont beaucoup de sal, de sucre, de grasse)

Deux plans montrent que les élèves ont été préalablement préparé(e)s aux plans du texte argumentatif. Les deux élèves ont d'abord fait un remue-ménages (un/e élève a même utilisé ce mot) pour ensuite trouver les arguments qu'ils/elles ont par la suite classés en deux groupes – pour et contre.

¹⁸ Une rédaction a été rendue sans plan.

¹⁹ Traduction: manque de temps, aspects + et – du système de restauration rapide, conséquences néfastes pour la santé et les raisons, conclusion (exprimer l'espoir que la qualité de la nourriture s'améliore)

Exemple 14²⁰:

Remue-méninges:		
Nezdrava prehrana Debelost Zdravje Amerika Mc-Donalds Hamburgerji Pommès-frites	Mladostniki Raznovrstna hrana Hitra priprava Hitro Enostavno Mc-Drive «če nimaš časa»	«če se ti ne da kuhati» velike reklame Lepe barve Mamljivo Različni meniji Študentje Take-away
Le plan		
ARGUMENTS POUR A1 HITRO Ex če nimaš časa Ex če si zelo lačen A2 ENOSTAVNO Ex take-away Ex Mc-drive A3 POVŠOD Ex nakupovalni centri Ex ob cesti	ARGUMENTS CONTRE A1 NEZDRAVO Ex ker je hitro pripravljeno Ex maščoba A2 DEBELOST Ex zaradi nezdrave hrane Ex zaradi odvisnosti A3 ODPADKI Ex ostanki hrane Ex ves papir, plastenke, itd.	

La structure argumentative de base est visible dans tous les cas où les élèves ont prévu l'organisation en trois parties: présentation du problème (introduction), présentation des arguments (développement) et conclusion avec la prise de position (conclusion). Dans les autres cas, on pourrait parler juste d'une présentation des arguments pour ou contre, pas d'une vraie structure argumentative annoncée dans le plan.

Un exemple de bonne planification est l'exemple 3 que l'élève a complété par une liste d'arguments «pour» et «contre». Même si du point de vue de la langue employée ce plan ne semble pas présenter beaucoup d'intérêt, il est très intéressant de par sa structure. De ce point de vue ce plan est parmi les mieux élaborés.

5.3 Analyse: résumé

L'analyse de la langue employée dans les plans a démontré que parmi les 75 plans (5 élèves ont rendu leurs copies sans faire de plan) 43 ont été rédigés en slovène, 21 en français. 11 élèves ont utilisé le mélange des deux langues; deux d'entre eux ont utilisé le français seulement pour démarquer les différentes parties.

Nous pensions que les élèves utiliseraient les plans pour préparer le lexique nécessaire à l'écriture. Dans ce cas le plan idéal serait écrit en français, mais vu le niveau des

²⁰ Traduction: remue-méninges: nourriture pas saine, obésité, santé. Amérique, Mc-Donalds, Hamburgers, frites, adolescents, nourriture variée, préparation rapide, rapidement, simple, Mc-Drive, «si on n'a pas le temps», «si on n'a pas envie de faire la cuisine», grands panneaux publicitaires, tentant, différents menus, étudiants, take-away. Arguments pour: A1: RAPIDE: si on n'a pas le temps, si on a très faim, A2 SIMPLE: take-away, Mc-Drive, A3 PARTOUT: supermarchés, à côté de la route. Arguments contre: A1 peu sain: parce que c'est préparé rapidement, graisses, A2 obésité: à cause de la nourriture peu saine, à cause de la dépendance, A3 déchets: les restes de nourriture, le papier, les bouteilles en plastique, etc.

élèves, nous nous attendions à des plans présentant un mélange des deux langues. Notre première hypothèse n'est pas confirmée: très peu d'élèves (9²¹ des 75) ont rédigé le plan en mélangeant les deux langues, le français et le slovène.

Quant à la structure, les plans des trois types se répartissent en deux grands groupes: pour les types narratif et argumentatif, la moitié des élèves prévoient la rédaction en trois parties, pour le type descriptif environ un tiers a recours à cette structure.

La structure des plans diffère d'un type textuel à l'autre. Pour le type descriptif, la forme utilisée est le plus souvent la carte mentale (si les élèves prévoient la division de la rédaction en trois parties, ils situent la carte mentale dans le développement) et pour le type argumentatif une liste des arguments (dressée en deux colonnes, pour et contre; dans les plans en trois parties située également dans le développement). Ce qui surprend sont les plans élaborés pour le type narratif: on s'attendrait à des plans en trois parties au moins (ces trois parties couvriraient le schéma narratif de base); or seulement la moitié des élèves a utilisé cette structure.

La structure textuelle de base est plus visible dans les plans des rédactions de type descriptif que dans ceux des autres types. Il n'y a pratiquement pas de différence entre le plan narratif (un peu moins de la moitié des élèves emploient la structure narrative dans le plan) et le plan argumentatif (la moitié des plans annonce la structure argumentative).

Notre deuxième hypothèse est donc en partie confirmée: le type textuel dicte la structure des plans. Quant à la structure textuelle, elle est plus visible dans les plans de type descriptif que dans les deux autres cas de figure.

6 CONCLUSION

La recherche a été menée sur un corpus de 80 travaux écrits, rédigés par des élèves slovènes de troisième année de lycée qui ont participé au concours national de langue française. Le nombre des écrits analysés n'est certes statistiquement pas pertinent; mais, une fois de plus, nous nous voyons limités par le nombre d'élèves restreint qui apprennent le français en Slovénie.

Le but de la recherche était d'observer les habitudes des élèves dans la préparation des plans de rédactions. Nous nous sommes limités à deux aspects de la rédaction des plans: observation de la langue employée et influence du type textuel sur la structure des plans.

Rédiger le plan en langue cible est pour les élèves de ce niveau une tâche très difficile. En classe de langue il faudrait les encourager à utiliser le plus possible le français, se servir plus souvent du dictionnaire (vérification de l'orthographe, recherche des synonymes, etc.). En rédigeant le plan en langue étrangère, l'auteur prépare le lexique nécessaire à l'écriture ce qui, par la suite, procure un gain de temps. La majorité des élèves a utilisé la langue maternelle, ce qui les a aidés à élaborer la structure du texte, mais ne les a pas aidés à préparer le lexique.

En analysant les plans en fonction de la structure textuelle employée, nous nous sommes aperçus qu'il n'y avait pas de grande différence entre les trois types proposés, surtout entre le type narratif et le type argumentatif. Même si dans les manuels de français il y a très peu de textes argumentatifs et malgré le fait que lors de la lecture les élèves

²¹ Deux des 11 élèves ont utilisé le français seulement pour démarquer les différentes parties, on pourrait donc considérer leurs plans comme étant rédigés en langue maternelle.

slovènes reconnaissent mieux la narration et la description (Lah, 2004: 101), le schéma argumentatif ne leur pose pas plus de problèmes que la narration. On pourrait supposer qu'ils ont appris à utiliser l'argumentation en langue maternelle ou dans d'autres langues étrangères (voir l'exemple 14) ou qu'argumenter est quelque chose de plus ou moins naturel et donc être d'accord avec Boissinot: «la nécessité de savoir exprimer et justifier un point de vue apparaît très tôt, en lien avec la socialisation de l'enfant » (1999: 168).

Lors de l'écriture en langue maternelle ou en langue étrangère, préparer le plan avant de commencer à écrire devrait être quelque chose d'automatique. Si on écrit en langue étrangère, préparer la structure de la rédaction et le lexique nécessaire semble encore plus profitable. Or, dans notre cas, certains élèves ne l'ont pas fait et d'autres ont eu plus de difficultés à préparer le plan qu'à écrire la rédaction (exemple 11), ce qui est paradoxal. En classe de langue, un entraînement régulier à la préparation des plans des différents types de texte pourrait sans doute aider les élèves à comprendre que bien écrire n'est pas (uniquement) une capacité innée, mais une compétence qui se travaille et qu'on peut améliorer.

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Povzetek

PROCES NAČRTOVANJA PRI PISANJU V TUJEM JEZIKU: JEZIK IN STRUKTURA

Predmet pričujočega članka je proces načrtovanja pri pisanju v tujem jeziku. Avtorica nadaljuje z raziskovanjem vpliva tipa besedila na razumevanje in tvorjenje besedila.

Pri tvorjenju besedila v tujem jeziku ima načrtovanje pomembno vlogo; s konceptnim listom bi si moral pisec besedila - dijak pripraviti vsaj dve stvari: potrebno besedišče (v pomoč bi bil zlasti konceptni list pisan v ciljnem jeziku) in osnutek zgradbe besedila, ki ga namerava tvoriti. Zgradba besedila je odvisna tudi od besedilnega tipa, ki ga tvorcu besedila narekuje naslov.

Avtorica izhaja iz korpusa 80 konceptnih listov, ki so jih v okviru državnega tekmovanja v znanju francoščine izdelali dijaki 3. letnika gimnazije – na naslove, ki so uvajali besedila treh različnih tipov: pripovedi, opise in utemeljevanja (sheme besedilnih tipov avtorica povzema po Adamu, 1997). Pri analizi sta zlasti izpostavljena dva vidika načrtovanja: uporabljeni jezik in struktura besedila, ki bo tvorjeno na osnovi konceptnega lista.

Delovni hipotezi sta naslednji:

- zaradi nezadostnega znanja francoščine je pričakovati konceptne liste v mešanici francoščine in materinščine,

- tip besedila vpliva na strukturo koncepta. Glede na to, da pri branju dijaki bolje razpoznavajo pripovedi in opise, je shema teh dveh besedilnih tipov v konceptnih listih bolj očitna kot pri utemeljevanju.

Analiza konceptnih listov pokaže, da je večina konceptnih listov pisana v materinščini in prva hipoteza ni potrjena. Tip besedila vpliva na zgradbo koncepta, saj dijaki, glede na naslov, uporabljajo različne načine načrtovanja. Besedilna zgradba je najbolj očitna pri konceptnih listih, pisanih na naslov opisnega tipa; naslov utemeljevalnega tipa pa pri načrtovanju ne povzroča več težav kot naslov pripovednega tipa. Druga hipoteza je torej delno potrjena.

Avtorica sklene z ugotovitvijo, da je treba pri pisanju v razredu bolj vztrajati na procesu načrtovanja in pravi konceptnega lista, ki lahko piscu pomaga pri učinkovitejšem tvorjenju besedila in mu prihrani čas.

LES ERREURS DES ÉTUDIANTS SLOVÈNES DANS LES PRODUCTIONS ÉCRITES

1. CONCEPTION DE L'ERREUR

Jusqu'aux années 70 du XXe siècle, les enseignants avaient tendance à évacuer au maximum l'erreur et à ne pas mettre l'élève en situation d'échec. Ainsi, le linguiste Corder (1976) et les behavioristes défendaient l'idée qu'une bonne méthode doit conduire à un apprentissage sans erreur. Si les erreurs se produisent, c'est que la méthode n'est pas correctement conçue, ou bien que des circonstances particulières liées à l'élève (inattention, fatigue, stress...) conduisent à une performance imparfaite.

Aujourd'hui, on ne peut toujours pas nier que l'ambition de tout enseignant de langue est que ses élèves s'expriment le plus correctement possible. Souvent, même nous, les professeurs, sommes prisonniers de cette attitude hypercorrective qui s'est développée en nous. Néanmoins, les professeurs de langue, dans leur grande majorité, ont commencé à considérer l'erreur comme l'expression d'un essai, d'un progrès en direction d'une meilleure communication.

D'objet à bannir, l'erreur devient donc un passage obligé, repère incontournable, comme le confirme également le Dictionnaire de didactique du français langue étrangère et seconde (Cuq 2003) dans sa caractérisation de l'erreur »comme une étape dans la structuration progressive de l'interlangue et comme l'indice d'une dynamique d'appropriation du système«. Par conséquent, l'erreur sert d'un double diagnostic: didactique et psycholinguistique. Didactique, dans la mesure où elle fournit à l'enseignant une information indispensable pour évaluer les compétences intermédiaires de ses élèves et le trajet encore à effectuer dans l'approche du système cible. Psycholinguistique, d'abord pour l'élève car elle constitue un moyen essentiel pour apprendre (c'est en se trompant que l'on apprend). Ensuite, pour le linguiste car la majorité des erreurs apparaissent non seulement comme une trace des hypothèses successives que l'élève effectue sur le système de la langue cible, mais aussi comme l'indice des stratégies qu'il met en œuvre dans la construction de celui-ci et auxquelles on va revenir dans le chapitre sur les causes des erreurs.

2. PARTIE EMPIRIQUE

Si en communication orale les possibilités d'interaction permettent au locuteur de corriger, de préciser son message en fonction des réactions de son interlocuteur, l'absence de rétroaction en communication écrite accroît considérablement les risques de malentendus et d'erreurs. Pour les prévenir, l'apprenant doit mobiliser tous ses savoirs. Il doit les utiliser non isolément, mais de façon complémentaire.

Nous avons entrepris la recherche sur les erreurs dans les productions écrites des étudiants en français de première et deuxième année à la Faculté des lettres à Ljubljana.

Le corpus qui a servi à notre analyse comprend 112 textes de type narratif, descriptif ou argumentatif de 180 à 250 mots environ recueillis dans le courant des années 2001 à 2004.

Notre objectif était d'abord d'obtenir des indications précises sur la fréquence des erreurs et ensuite de réfléchir sur les causes possibles de ces erreurs. Pour cela nous avons procédé au classement de types d'erreurs et au décompte du nombre et du pourcentage de chaque type d'erreur en relevant tous les écarts à la norme à l'aide des ouvrages de référence.

2.1. La typologie des erreurs

Dans les productions écrites analysées nous avons observé des erreurs d'orthographe, des erreurs morphologiques, syntaxiques et lexicales ainsi que la maîtrise du système des règles de base en matière de conception textuelle. Dans la suite de notre analyse, les principaux types d'erreurs sont illustrés d'exemples erronés tirés des productions étudiées.

Orthographe

➤ orthographe d'usage (surface graphique des mots):

- accentuation:

**au debut*

**cela ne m'inquietait pas*

**j'ai aperçu*

- dédoublement de consonnes:

**j'ai commencé à courrir,*

Morphosyntaxe

➤ verbe:

- conjugaison des verbes

**la femme a prit l'avion,*

**ma voiture a tombé en panne,*

**il m'aurait apporter*

- accord du participe passé:

**je l'ai trouvé très belle*

➤ adjectif

- accord en genre et en nombre:

**l'eau était froid,*

**la femme semblait très gentile,*

**nous avons discuté deux heures et demi,*

**les éléments principaux*

➤ substantif:

- accord en genre et en nombre (le masculin au lieu du féminin, le féminin au lieu du masculin):

- *les différentes situation,
- *la village,
- *le fin

➤ déterminant:

- emploi des adjectifs possessifs, démonstratifs, interrogatifs et indéfinis
- *c'était la fin de **ma** voyage,
- *ils sortent de **ses** chambres,
- *j'ai dormi dans **cet** vieux wagon,
- ***tout** notre imagination

➤ emploi des pronoms possessifs, démonstratifs, interrogatifs et indéfinis

- ***tous** ce que je voulais (probablement sous l'influence de la prononciation),
- *selon **quelqu'uns**

➤ forme erronée de l'adverbe:

- ***especielllement**,
- *cela me faisait du **bon**,
- *les gens réagissent **différent**

➤ mauvais choix de la préposition:

- *les jeunes jouent **à la** guitare,
- *la salle **de** manger (probablement erreur par analogie avec *salle de bain*) , ,
- ***en** ce moment-là

Syntaxe et les erreurs qui touchent à la cohérence textuelle

➤ ordre des mots:

- *nous **tous** rêvons,
- *il existe des personnes qui n'**en** s'occupent jamais,
- *je **toujours** pense,
- *je suis restée à la maison pour ne **tomber pas** malade

➤ accord du verbe avec le sujet:

- *La misère et la pauvreté **est** le plus grand problème au monde.
- *je **faisait** la connaissance des gens,
- *j'**essayait** d'imaginer

➤ emploi des aspects, des modes, des temps:

- *Si cet élève **aurait** étudié davantage, il **aurait réussi** son examen
- *j'ai vu qu'elle **est** très intelligente,
- *je n'ai pas su ce qui m'**attend** ce jour-là

De plus, les étudiants mêlent souvent le présent et le passé dans leurs récits, ce qui nuit à l'unité temporelle de leur texte.

➤ emploi de l'article:

il était entouré **des arbres,*

il y a cinq tiroirs **à la gauche,*

elle l'a regardé avec **la surprise,*

le rêve construit dans notre sommeil **le monde qui n'est pas ordinaire*

➤ emploi du pronom:

la personne qui a accueilli les voyageurs leur a promis qu'il** leur trouverait un gîte*

**nous étions plusieurs à s'être trompés*

j'ai acheté ce **que j'avais besoin.*

Ce **dont elle raconte est très important.*

il y avait un magasin **dont je suis entrée,*

c'était la vieille dame **qu'avait le don de prédire l'avenir (accepté dans la langue orale),*

➤ emploi de la préposition:

je leur ai raconté **de tous mes voyages,*

j'ai connu tellement de gens **dans si peu de temps,*

J'ai **vu et parlé à sa mère. (L'erreur est ici paradigmatique ; elle atteint tout un syntagme. Les deux verbes ne se construisent pas de la même façon avec le même complément.)*

Les gens ont tenté de percer le mystère du rêve **pendant le temps des Egyptiens.*

➤ emploi de connecteurs, d'anaphores:

Les progrès de la science sont admirables, mais **elle nous expose à des dangers.*

➤ emploi des conjonctions de subordination et de coordination

J'ai décidé de trouver un village **pour que je n'ai pas mangé depuis trois jours.*

Sémantique

C'est le lexique qui porte le contenu de la pensée. Celle-ci est d'autant plus précise que les mots pour l'illustrer sont précis. Le vocabulaire utilisé doit donc être exact et provenir du bon registre. Cela suppose que celui qui écrit soit capable d'éviter les mots vagues (comme gens, chose, cela, etc.), les impropriétés, les calques, la confusion possible entre les paronymes, les termes de niveau familier ou populaire.

➤ niveaux de langue:

Ce sont les erreurs relatives aux caractéristiques de l'oral familier non transmissibles à l'écrit. Tout travail intellectuel exige du scripteur une attitude, une disposition d'esprit qui s'élève au-dessus de la communication récréative et qui l'amène à bannir les mots de la langue parlée quotidienne comme *super, gars, ça*, etc.

elle offre **plein de découvertes intéressantes,*

**c'est possible de le changer,*

on trouve tout **ça dans notre vie*

➤ paronymes

Ce sont les mots qui ont une forme et une prononciation semblables et qui, pour cette raison, sont parfois source de confusions dans le choix des mots.

**Plus une langue se répand sur un territoire plus elle tend à se différencier*

au lieu deà se diversifier

J'avais **confiance en mes amis. au lieu de confiance en*

➤ calques

Ils ont parfois un air innocent et très français, comme dans les exemples suivants:

Il n'a pas répondu à ses **expectations au lieu de ...à ses attentes*

dans la salle il y avait **une librairie au lieu de *une bibliothèque**

Il est **venu en bas au lieu de *Il est descendu**

****solver** un problème au lieu de résoudre un problème*

J'ai des **mémoires qui remontent à mon enfance. au lieu de ... des souvenirs*

➤ impropriétés:

Tout mot employé incorrectement est une impropriété

J'ai oublié les préjugés et les pensées **conservatives au lieu de ...les pensées conservatrices,*

Nous sommes allés dans **un centre des achats pour faire des achats au lieu de ... dans une grande surface pour faire les courses*

Il m'a **fait possible la découverte des pays étrangers. au lieu derendu possible*

Ils s'efforcent d'augmenter le standard** au lieu de ...le niveau de vie*

2.2. Résultats chiffrés

Les données que nous apportons dans ce qui suit représentent le nombre de différents types d'erreurs que nous avons obtenu après le dépouillement du corpus. Nous avons ainsi dénombré 1467 erreurs en 1^{ère} et 1334 erreurs en 2^{ème} année.

L'examen du corpus nous révèle que la majorité des formes erronées ont été recensées au niveau du lexique (261 en première et 285 en deuxième année). C'est donc le type d'erreur qui pose le plus de problèmes à nos étudiants et c'est d'autant plus regrettable que ce sont les erreurs qui entravent le plus la communication. Elles demandent du correcteur un grand effort d'interprétation et de décriptage. Dans cette catégorie d'erreurs, on déplore plus particulièrement les erreurs assez fréquentes dans les mots d'usage courant et les mots de grande fréquence.

La deuxième place dans le nombre d'erreurs occupe le mauvais emploi de l'article (129 en première et 142 en deuxième année). On pourrait attribuer ce fait à une fréquence élevée de l'article dans les textes écrits ce qui augmente le danger du mauvais emploi. De plus, l'article est totalement absent de la langue slovène et, de ce fait, un locuteur slovène éprouve de nombreuses difficultés quand il doit l'introduire dans ses énoncés. A cela s'ajoute encore une différente distribution du genre en slovène et en français.

En troisième position on trouve les erreurs dues au mauvais emploi des temps, modes et aspects verbaux (151 en première et 85 en deuxième année). Pour expliquer leur forte présence dans les productions de nos étudiants, on peut partir du même constat que pour les erreurs de l'article. Il s'agit donc d'erreurs interférentielles puisque les temps, modes et aspects verbaux sont organisés et construits différemment en slovène et en français et s'emploient différemment.

Le dernier type d'erreur qu'on évoquera ici et qui mérite notre attention sont les erreurs d'orthographe d'usage (mauvais emploi des accents: 106 en première et 91 en deuxième année). Elles se placent en quatrième position et proviennent sans doute de la complexité de l'orthographe du français. Dans de nombreuses langues, chaque son est noté le plus souvent par un seul signe (ou groupe de signes): italien, espagnol, slovène, croate, etc. Cette simplicité se trouve parfois en français (ex.: *vil, nul, orné*), mais fréquemment, la graphie française est alourdie soit par des incohérences (*siffler*)*persifler*; *chatte/rate*, etc.), soit par le poids de l'histoire: la notation de prononciations disparues est conservée (ex.: lettres »muettes«, groupes -eau, -au, etc.).

Une autre grande difficulté posée par l'orthographe française est due à l'homonymie. Cette homonymie, qu'elle soit totale (ex.: *ver, vers, verre, vert, ver...*) ou partielle (la transcription des finales en [e]: ai, er, et, é) oblige les apprenants à analyser les mots les uns par rapport aux autres et à dépasser les principes d'encodage réguliers.

3. CAUSES DES ERREURS

L'analyse du corpus permet d'apporter quelques éléments de réponse à la question de savoir quelles sont les causes des erreurs dans les productions des étudiants slovènes.

Les mécanismes susceptibles d'induire les erreurs dans les productions analysées semblent être très liés au concept de l'interlangue – terme entendu au sens de moyens dont dispose un apprenant à un moment donné de son apprentissage. Le caractère systématique de certaines erreurs en L2 pourrait en effet être lié à la présence d'un système, c'est-à-dire d'une compétence transitoire (différente de la compétence du locuteur de la langue cible) et non à des aléas de la performance. Le premier qui a suggéré l'existence d'un tel système, le linguiste Corder (1968) évoque à ce sujet les »dialectes idiosyncrasiques«, en ce sens qu'il s'agit de systèmes de langue dont les règles sont propres à celui qui parle ce dialecte. Les notions introduites par Corder ont été ensuite développées par d'autres auteurs sous différents noms, notamment »système approximatif« (Nemser 1971) et »interlangue« (Selinker 1972).

Ce système serait selon Corder (1986) composé de trois sous-systèmes chacun avec:

- une partie du système de la L1;
- une partie du système de la langue cible;
- un système de règles n'appartenant ni à l'un ni à l'autre des deux systèmes précédents, donc spécifique de la compétence transitoire de l'apprenant à un moment donné.

On doit noter que Corder, Selinker et Nemser admettent que ces systèmes peuvent être l'objet d'interférences dues au système de la L1. Il s'agit alors d'interférences de système à système, et non plus, comme dans l'analyse contrastive classique, de l'élément linguistique à élément linguistique.

Notre analyse n'a fait que confirmer les thèses mentionnées plus haut. Les interférences avec le slovène et l'anglais sont en effet très présentes dans les productions analysées. On assiste à une résurgence du slovène surtout dans le genre et dans l'ordre des mots ainsi qu'au niveau de la syntaxe en général, alors que l'influence de l'anglais se fait sentir au niveau du lexique.

Par ailleurs, pour une part non négligeable, certaines erreurs s'expliquent par des raisons internes du français. En cela, les apprenants slovènes, en tant qu'utilisateurs du français, se trouvent dans la même situation que les Français. Dans ce cas, leurs erreurs ne se distinguent pas de celles des Français et s'expliquent souvent par des phénomènes comme l'analogie et la surgénéralisation des règles de la langue cible. En effet, dans les textes de nos étudiants les analogies injustifiées prolifèrent comme par exemple »content/malcontent« sur le modèle de »heureux/malheureux«; »on pourra« sur le modèle de »on voudra«; »il envoit« sur le modèle de »il voit«, etc. C'est le type d'erreur qui peut très bien être produite aussi par un enfant en L1 car l'association des phénomènes similaires provient d'une nécessité cognitive du cerveau humain qui est porté à procéder par analogies. Il s'agit même du moteur essentiel de la résolution de problèmes, démarche cognitive majeure. Ce qui est su, sous une certaine forme et pour un certain contexte, doit pouvoir s'utiliser sous d'autres formes et pour d'autres contextes.

Il convient cependant de souligner que, souvent, un même type d'erreur se distribue entre de multiples mécanismes explicatifs. On évitera donc de vouloir associer un type d'erreur à un type d'explication, tout en sachant qu'il s'agit fréquemment de causalité multiple.

En résumé, une étude des erreurs des textes des apprenants au cours de l'année est un précieux indice de leur développement et de leur avancée dans l'utilisation de la langue. Ce genre de diagnostic sur les textes est tout aussi bénéfique pour l'apprenant que pour le professeur. Celui-ci sera sans doute amené à dégager les conséquences pédagogiques des résultats des analyses comme par exemple la révision de certains chapitres de grammaire, une étude plus approfondie du lexique, etc.

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Povzetek

NAPAKE SLOVENSКИH ŠTUDENTOV FRANCOŠČINE V PISNIH SESTAVKIH

Članek obravnava področje napak v francoskem pisnem diskurzu, natančneje napake, ki se pojavljajo v pisnih sestavkih slovenskih študentov francoščine.

Uvodoma se članek dotakne nekaterih pozitivnih sprememb v odnosu do napak, začenši z behavioristično teorijo učenja, pa do sodobnejših učnih pristopov. Sledi empirični del, ki je posvečen analizi napak v naključno izbranih pisnih sestavkih študentov francoščine 1. in 2. letnika Filozofske fakultete v Ljubljani, v obdobju od 2001 do 2004. Z namenom, da bi ustrezno razvrstila čimveč odkritih napak, je avtorica izdelala prilagojeno klasifikacijo napak in jih razdelila na: *pravopisne, oblikoslovnoskladenjske, napake, ki se nanašajo na stavčno in besedilno zgradbo*, in na *leksikalne napake*. Vsaka od naštetih kategorij vsebuje še podkategorije, ki jih spremljajo primeri iz analiziranih pisnih sestavkov. Avtorica nato predstavi kvantitativne in kvalitativne izsledke analize odkritih napak in na koncu opozori na nekatere najpogostejše vzroke za nastanek napak.

LA CLASSIFICATION DES PARTICULES EN FRANÇAIS ET EN SLOVÈNE

0 INTRODUCTION

Le but de ce travail est de montrer les traits communs et les divergences entre les linguistes français et slovènes du point de vue du traitement des lexèmes que les grammairiens slovènes classent parmi les particules. Après avoir examiné les ouvrages *Slovenska slovnica*, *Le bon usage* et *La grammaire méthodique du français*, nous comparerons les différentes approches morphosyntaxiques adoptées par les auteurs. Pour illustrer certaines différences sémantiques et autres entre les deux langues étudiées, nous aurons recours à des exemples précis tirés de trois romans slovènes traduits en français: *Alamut* de Vladimir Bartol, *Printemps difficile* (*Spopad s pomladjo*) de Boris Pahor et *Demain le Jourdain* (*Jutri čez Jordan*) d'Alojz Rebula.

Avant tout il convient de préciser que le fait de se rapporter uniquement à l'emploi des particules dans des œuvres littéraires,¹ bien que réduisant quelque peu la portée de l'analyse comparative, permettra néanmoins de présenter, du moins partiellement, le vaste champ d'action sémantique des lexèmes étudiés.

1 COMPARAISON ENTRE LE TRAITEMENT MORPHOSYNTAXIQUE DES LEXÈMES (PLUS SPÉCIALEMENT DES «PARTICULES») CHEZ LES LINGUISTES SLOVÈNES ET FRANÇAIS

Dans la linguistique slovène, les particules ont été étudiées pour la première fois comme catégorie de mots autonomes en 1974, dans l'article de Jože Toporišič intitulé « Brève morphologie de la langue slovène » (« Kratko oblikoslovje slovenskega jezika »). La cause ou le fondement ayant motivé la classification de ces mots et locutions dans une catégorie distincte de celle des adverbes (ils figuraient auparavant, dans la grammaire d'Anton Breznik, dans la sous-catégorie des adverbes de manière et formaient, dans *Slovenska slovnica* de 1956, la catégorie à part des adverbes de mise en évidence et de pensée) repose sur l'impossibilité de questionnement. Pour simplifier, le linguiste part de la constatation selon laquelle le locuteur ne peut pas poser de question à laquelle les particules permettraient de répondre. Ainsi, contrairement aux adverbes, les particules ne jouent pas le rôle d'unités phrastiques.

Si nous nous intéressons de plus près au traitement des différentes catégories de mots proposées dans *Slovenska slovnica* (2001, 255-256), nous constatons que le linguiste

¹ La fréquence d'emploi des particules, notamment en slovène, est relativement élevée. Elle l'est, comme chacun sait, dans la langue parlée de tous les jours, mais aussi dans la langue écrite. Bien que leur présence varie beaucoup selon les types de textes, les registres ou les auteurs, on ne risque pas d'être contredit par les faits en affirmant que ces petits mots interviennent dans tous les domaines.

slovène répertorie et analyse neuf catégories de mots (le substantif, l'adjectif, le verbe, l'adverbe, «povedkovnik», l'interjection, la préposition, la conjonction et la particule). Les quatre (ou cinq d'après *Slovenska slovnica*) premières catégories se caractérisent, au niveau sémantico-syntaxique, par leur rôle d'unités phrastiques tandis que les trois dernières agissent sur le plan fonctionnel avant tout en tant que mots grammaticaux ou, dans le cas des particules, comme modificateurs.

Nous pouvons conclure de ce qui précède que la division en catégories de mots dans *Slovenska slovnica* est indéniablement fondée sur la fonction syntaxique, laquelle est en grande partie liée à la division en unités phrastiques sémantiques.

À présent, il convient d'examiner les catégories répertoriées par deux grammaires françaises. *Le bon usage* (1980) propose neuf catégories de mots: le nom, l'article, l'adjectif, le pronom, le verbe, l'adverbe, la préposition, la conjonction et l'interjection. Il en est de même dans la *Grammaire méthodique du français*, à ceci près que les articles y sont appelés déterminants, dénomination se rapportant à l'ensemble des lexèmes précédant le substantif et permettant de « déterminer » le genre et le nombre du groupe nominal.

Un rapide examen nous permet d'aboutir à une conclusion aussi attendue que compréhensible, à savoir que la classification des mots en catégories dans la grammaire slovène ne diffère pas fondamentalement de celle proposée par la grammaire française. En réalité, il est intéressant de constater que les deux classifications seraient presque identiques si l'on se référait à la classification slovène proposée par le dictionnaire unilingue faisant autorité, *Slovar slovenskega knjižnega jezika* (1987, I: LVIII), fondé sur la grammaire *Slovenska slovnica* de 1956 (1964). En effet, seule cette classification connaît la catégorie des pronoms (ainsi que celle des numéraux), mais ignore celle des particules (*Slovenska slovnica*, 1956: 132, 153, 243). Les lexèmes que *Slovenska slovnica* (éditions parues entre 1976 et 2001) classent dans la catégorie autonome des particules forment, dans la *Slovenska slovnica* de 1956 (260-264), forment deux catégories autonomes d'adverbes : celle des adverbes de mise en évidence et celle des adverbes de pensée. Les adverbes de mise en évidence, « qui permettent de mettre plus ou moins en valeur les mots de la phrase et qui peuvent compléter tous les mots, même ceux ne pouvant pas être en eux-mêmes des éléments phrastiques, tels que les prépositions » (1956: 260), se subdivisent en quatre groupes: (1) les adverbes de mise en évidence (*prav, ravno, posebno, predvsem, zlasti*), (2) les adverbes permettant d'augmenter la quantité ou l'intensité (*čisto, prav, zelo, popolnoma, celo, kar, povsem*), (3) les adverbes permettant de limiter la quantité (*le, samo, vsaj, skoraj*), (4) les adverbes exprimant une relation émotionnelle ou affective à l'encontre de quelque chose (*vendar, pa, pač, že, še, saj*).

Les adverbes de pensée, « qui expriment une relation de pensée à l'encontre de la phrase entière » (*Slovenska slovnica*, 1956: 261), se divisent en quatre sous-catégories: (1) les adverbes d'affirmation, (2) les adverbes de négation, (3) les adverbes interrogatifs et (4) les adverbes à valeur vocative.

Qu'en est-il dans les grammaires françaises examinées ? *Le bon usage* (1980: 1008) distingue, selon le sens, sept espèces d'adverbes: 1. les adverbes de manière (*ainsi, bien, mal, vite*), 2. les adverbes de quantité ou d'intensité (*environ, presque, tellement, trop*), 3. les adverbes de temps (*après, avant, hier*), 4. les adverbes de lieu (*ailleurs, autour, devant*), 5. les adverbes d'affirmation (*certainement, absolument, oui, vraiment*), 6. les

adverbes de négation (*non, ne, guère, rien*), 7. les adverbes de doute (*apparemment, peut-être, probablement, vraisemblablement*).

Une comparaison superficielle des catégories mentionnées avec les catégories de la *Slovenska slovnica* de 1956 suffit à montrer les similitudes et divergences morphosyntaxiques des langues slovène et française qu'il conviendra ensuite d'examiner plus attentivement à l'aide d'exemples concrets. À ce stade de la comparaison, seul importe le fait que la majorité des lexèmes que la grammaire française susmentionnée inclut dans la catégorie des adverbes d'intensité, adverbes d'affirmation, adverbes de négation et adverbes de doute, correspondent aux adverbes de mise en évidence et, en partie, aux adverbes de pensée (adverbes d'affirmation et de négation) répertoriés par la *Slovenska slovnica* de 1956.

Nous parvenons à des conclusions similaires lorsque nous comparons les adverbes de pensée et de mise en évidence avec les adverbes de la *Grammaire méthodique du français*. La ressemblance est particulièrement nette si l'on prend en compte la grammaire slovène de 1956.

En effet, la *Grammaire méthodique du français* (1994: 378-380) connaît six catégories d'adverbes différentes du point de vue sémantique: 1. les indicateurs du degré (*très, fort, légèrement*), 2. les modificateurs d'une expression quantifiée (*juste, presque, seulement, environ, à peu près, exclusivement*), 3. les modificateurs d'un procès verbal (*sèchement, à moitié, bien, mal*), 4. les modificateurs d'un rapport de caractérisation (*rarement, souvent, toujours*), 5. les modificateurs globaux de la phrase ou de l'énoncé (*ici, ailleurs; probablement, peut-être, sans doute; heureusement, bizarrement; franchement, sérieusement*), 6. les marqueurs d'une propriété globale de la phrase (a: les indicateurs du type «*est-ce que*», «*comme*»; b: les connecteurs tels que «*c'est pourquoi*», «*en effet*», «*ainsi*»; c: les marqueurs de l'orientation argumentative comme «*déjà*», «*même*»; d: les adverbes de balisage textuel, notamment «*d'abord*», «*ensuite*», «*puis*», «*alors*», «*enfin*»).

À la deuxième et, en partie, à la troisième catégorie d'adverbes (les modificateurs d'une expression quantifiée et d'un procès verbal) correspond la majorité des adverbes dits «*de mise en évidence*» présentés dans la *Slovenska slovnica* de 1956 et les particules de mise en évidence, de restriction et d'évaluation de la *Slovenska slovnica* de 2001; le sous-groupe incluant les «*modificateurs globaux de la phrase, qui précisent le degré de réalité que le locuteur assigne au contenu propositionnel du reste de la phrase ou l'évaluation qu'il en fait*»,² a pour équivalent les adverbes d'affirmation ou de négation (adverbes de pensée) de la *Slovenska slovnica* de 1956 ou les particules de confirmation ou d'accord, les particules de possibilité et de probabilité, les particules d'opinion et d'hypothèse et les particules exprimant les émotions répertoriées dans la *Slovenska slovnica* de 2001. Aux «*indicateurs du type de la phrase*» correspondent les adverbes d'interrogation (sous-catégorie des adverbes de pensée) de la *Slovenska slovnica* de 1956 ou les particules interrogatives et incitatives de la *Slovenska slovnica* de 2001. Les connecteurs et «*adverbes de balisage textuel*» ont pour équivalent la sous-catégorie des adverbes d'affirmation (*torej, zatorej, tedaj, tako*) de la *Slovenska slovnica* de 1956 ou la catégorie des particules de liaison de la *Slovenska slovnica* de 2001.

² Grammaire méthodique du français 1994: 379.

Pour synthétiser ce que nous venons d'écrire, nous pouvons dire que, dans la grammaire française, la majorité des lexèmes que la *Slovenska slovnica* de 1956 classe parmi les adverbes de mise en évidence et les adverbes de pensée et auxquels la *Slovenska slovnica* de 2001 consacre une catégorie de mots à part, celle des particules, sont répartis dans les différentes catégories d'adverbes.

Tableau comparatif des particules répertoriées par la *Slovenska slovnica* de 2001 et de leurs équivalents sémantiques³ présentés dans *La Grammaire méthodique du français*:

Catégories de particules dans Slovenska slovnica (édition de 2001, pp. 448-449)	Catégories équivalentes sur le plan sémantique dans Grammaire méthodique du français (pp. 377-380)
1. particules de liaison (navezovalni č.): <i>skratka, zatorej, potem, tako, ...</i>	connecteurs et adverbes de balisage textuel: <i>en effet, ainsi, alors, ensuite, ...</i>
2. particules exprimant les émotions (č. čustvovanja): <i>žal, na srečo, ...</i>	les adverbes de commentaire phrastique qui précisent l'évaluation: <i>malheureusement, heureusement, ...</i>
3. particules de mise en évidence (poudarni č.): <i>posebno, zlasti, celo, ...</i>	les modificateurs d'une expression
4. particules de restriction (izvzemalni č.): <i>samo, edino, komaj, ...</i>	
5. particules d'évaluation (presojevalni č.): <i>približno, skoraj, ...</i>	quantifiée, surtout le sousgroupe des
6. particules d'addition (dodajalni č.): <i>tudi, prav tako, ...</i>	adverbes restrictifs ou exceptifs: environ, <i>presque, seulement, uniquement, exclusivement, etc.</i>
7. particules de réticence ou d'hésitation (č. zadržka): <i>pravzaprav, pač, saj, že, sicer, ...</i>	différentes catégories d'adverbes, en particulier les adverbes indiquant l'orientation argumentative (sous-catégorie des marqueurs d'une propriété globale de la phrase: <i>déjà</i> ; adverbes de commentaire énonciatifs: <i>au juste, franchement, ...</i>)
8. particules de confirmation ou d'accord (č. potrjevanja ali soglašanja): <i>da, gotovo, ...</i>	les adverbes de commentaire phrastique: <i>oui, sans doute, probablement, peut-être,</i>
9. particules exprimant la probabilité (č. možnosti in verjetnosti): <i>morda, mogoče, ...</i>	
10. particules d'opinion et de probabilité (č. mnenja in domneve): <i>baje, menda, ...</i>	<i>certainement, etc.</i>
11. particules interrogatives (vprašalni č.): <i>ali, mar...</i>	les marqueurs du type de la phrase :
12. particules d'incitation (spodbujalni č.): <i>ko, da, ...</i>	<i>est-ce que, si (seulement), que (+ subj.), comme, ne...pas, etc.</i>
13. particules de négation (č. zanikanja): <i>ne, nikar, ...</i>	

³ L'expression « équivalent sur le plan sémantique » se rapporte aux mots et aux lexèmes. Son exclus les différents moyens structuraux (locutions).

Pour conclure la première partie de notre exposé, nous pouvons donc affirmer que les divergences caractérisant la classification des lexèmes étudiés dans les catégories de mots proviennent d'une approche différente de ces lexèmes sur le plan syntaxique. La grammaire slovène, *Slovenska slovnica* (1976, 1983, 1991 et 2001), exclut les particules de la catégorie des adverbes en raison de l'impossibilité de déterminer le rôle que ces mots jouent dans la phrase (contrairement aux adverbes, les particules ne sont pas, dans leur structure de surface, des entités ayant une fonction sémantique au niveau phrastique). Par contre, les deux grammaires françaises examinées, de même que l'édition de la grammaire slovène de 1974, partent dans leur classification des mots en catégories (en particulier quand il s'agit de déterminer les lexèmes devant être classés parmi les adverbes), de la tradition classique en s'appuyant avant tout sur la catégorie de capacité connective. Cela signifie que les adverbes occupent en majeure partie sur le plan phrastique les places syntaxiques libres (ce sont donc des éléments additionnels) et que, par conséquent, les adverbes, de même que les particules,⁴ sont contingents, c'est-à-dire ne jouent aucun rôle dans la définition de l'énoncé sur les plans sémantique et structurel.

2 LES PARTICULES

Dans cette seconde partie, nous analyserons les différents groupes de particules et leurs fonctions. Avant tout, il convient de mentionner rapidement les caractéristiques distinctives des particules par rapport aux autres catégories de mots (notamment par rapport aux adverbes, conjonctions et prépositions).

On classe traditionnellement les mots d'une langue en deux grands types. Le premier est celui des mots que l'on dit pleins parce qu'ils possèdent un contenu référentiel propre. Le second correspond aux mots qui n'ont pas cette caractéristique et que l'on a, pour cette raison et par opposition aux premiers, parfois déclarés vides. Ces mots, que l'on regroupe en divers sous-ensembles (articles, prépositions, conjonctions etc.), ne renvoient pas directement au monde extérieur, mais ont une fonction en quelque sorte interne à la langue, en ce sens qu'ils sont mis au service des premiers pour indiquer les rapports qu'ils entretiennent entre eux ou les constituer en unités grammaticales plus vastes (locutions, syntagmes, phrases), raison pour laquelle on les qualifie volontiers de mots outils (LID: 1-2).⁵

En examinant attentivement le cas des particules, nous constatons que ces dernières sont sans aucun doute des mots qu'il est malaisé de ranger dans l'un ou l'autre types (celui regroupant ce que l'on appelle communément les mots lexicaux et celui qui sert à regrouper les mots grammaticaux).

Citons quelques exemples :

1. vendar : *Zakaj si ga vendar jezil?*
(*Mais, pourquoi l'as-tu ennuyé?*)
2. ravno : *Zakaj mora priti ravno danes!*
(*Pourquoi faut-il qu'il vienne précisément aujourd'hui!*)

⁴ Il va sans dire que les particules et adverbes ont également en commun la catégorie morphologique d'invariabilité.

⁵ René Métrich, Eugène Faucher, Gilbert Courdier, 1993: *Les Invariables Difficiles. Dictionnaire allemand-français des particules, connecteurs, interjections et autres «mots de la communication»*.

3. skratka : *Igra tenis, pleza, redno plava v bazenu. Skratka, je zelo športna.*
(Elle joue au tennis, fait de l'escalade, nage régulièrement à la piscine. Bref, elle est très sportive.)
4. da : *Da se to ne zgodi več!*
(Que je ne t'y reprenne plus!)

Ces mots n'ont, de toute évidence, rien de commun avec les mots lexicaux. Mais s'ils partagent quelques traits avec les mots grammaticaux - en particulier celui de ne pas avoir de contenu référentiel propre – ils s'en écartent au moins par une caractéristique suffisamment forte pour qu'on se refuse à classer parmi ces derniers.

Ils ne servent pas, contrairement aux mots grammaticaux, à constituer des unités linguistiques de rang supérieur. (Ils ne peuvent pas, contrairement aux prépositions, établir un lien de subordination entre des mots ou des syntagmes; ils ne peuvent pas non plus, contrairement aux conjonctions de coordination, unir des éléments de même statut, soit des phrases ou des sous-phrases, soit, à l'intérieur d'une phrase, des éléments de même fonction.) Alors que la préposition *na* (*sur*), par exemple, s'adjoit à un groupe nominal pour constituer un groupe prépositionnel susceptible de fonctionner dans la phrase «*Knjiga je na mizi*» («*Le livre est sur la table*»), on ne voit pas avec quelle autre unité un mot comme *vendar* («*Zakaj si ga vendar jezil?*») pourrait constituer un quelconque syntagme.

Le rôle de ces mots n'est donc ni d'ordre lexical (référentiel) ni d'ordre grammatical (syntactique). Les fonctions de ces mots se situent sur un autre plan: celui où se réalise l'acte concret d'énonciation. Les particules exercent leurs effets sur le plan de la communication.

Quelles sont donc les fonctions de ces mots et combien de groupes peut-on distinguer ?

On peut distinguer six groupes de particules définis sur la base de critères fonctionnels.⁶

1. les particules d'affirmation et de négation;
2. les particules de mise en relief - elles modifient et renforcent le sens du membre de la phrase;
3. les particules modales - elles indiquent la valeur illocutoire de l'énoncé et marquent le degré de vérité ou de réalité que le locuteur assigne à son propre énoncé;
4. les appréciatifs - ils marquent la réaction affective du locuteur face au contenu de son propre énoncé;
5. les particules connectives - elles servent selon les cas à « enclencher » l'énonciation, à la clore ou à la réorienter, à l'accrocher au contexte ou à la situation;
6. les formants des actes de discours (réalisés dans les énoncés).

3 PANORAMA DES EMPLOIS CONCRETS DES PARTICULES ET DE LEUR(S) TRADUCTION(S) EN FRANÇAIS

À partir d'exemples tirés des trois romans déjà mentionnés, nous essaierons de présenter quelles sont les ressemblances et divergences d'emploi pratique de quelques lexèmes dans l'une et l'autre langues étudiées.

⁶ La classification proposée par la dernière édition de *Slovenska slovnica* (2001) est, comme en témoigne les appellations des catégories, fondée sur les capacités de modification sémantique des particules, donc sur les différents types de modifications que ces dernières font subir à l'énoncé.

3. 1 Les particules de mise en relief

Le groupe des particules de mise en relief rassemble des mots (ou locutions) comme: tudi, ravno, celo, samo, še, že, zlasti, etc. Contrairement, par exemple, aux particules modales (adverbes modaux ou d'opinion), ces mots ont comme caractéristique fondamentale de ne pas porter sur l'ensemble de la phrase où ils figurent, mais seulement sur l'un de ses membres⁷ (ils modifient et renforcent le sens du membre de la phrase qu'ils mettent en relief).

Exemples:

1. Komur tečejo samo Nil, Evfrat ali Hidaspes, naj nikar ne bere tega, kar tukaj sledi (JJ,⁸ 11). // Que celui qui ne connaît que le cours du Nil, de l'Euphrate ou du Jhelam, ne lise pas ce qui suit (DJ,⁹ 9). - la particule slovène samo met en relief le sujet de la proposition (Nil, Evfrat ali Hidaspes). Dans la phrase française la mise en relief (la restriction) s'affectue au moyen de la locution ne...que. La locution ne...que porte sur l'objet (le cours du Nil, de l'Euphrate ou du Jhelam).
2. Že tri žetve so bile mimo, kar sem ga bil moral zapustiti in končati tam, na meji sveta, sredi zahodnih peščin (JJ, 12). // Trois moissons déjà, depuis que j'avais dû le quitter et finir là, aux limites du monde, au milieu des sables d'Occident (DJ, 11). - la seule différence entre les phrases slovène et française est dans l'ordre de mots (des lexèmes particule že et l'adverbe déjà). La particule že est placée devant le groupe nominal qu'elle met en relief (tri žetve). Quant à déjà, il est placé après le substantif et son épithète (trois moissons). Les deux mots sont équivalents sur le plan de la signification.
3. A da Egipt začinja zdaj crkavati celo v zibelkah ... (JJ, 13). // Mais que l'Égypte se mette maintenant à agoniser dès le berceau... (DJ, 12) - la particule celo renforce l'idée du complément circonstanciel de lieu (v zibelkah). Dans la traduction française, la particule celo est remplacée par la préposition dès.
4. Šele zdaj sem se zavedel, da je fantič nosil hebrejsko ime (JJ, 33). // C'est alors seulement que je pris conscience que l'enfant portait un nom hébreu (DJ, 45).

3. 2 Les particules modales

La première partie des particules modales (telles que morda, mogoče, verjetno, morebiti, očitno, gotovo, res, zares, seveda, vsekakor etc.) marquent le degré de vérité ou de réalité que le locuteur assigne à son propre énoncé. Du point de vue du locuteur, on peut donc dire que les modificateurs expriment la certitude (réelle ou feinte) quant à la réalité du contenu qu'il relate. Du point de vue du statut de l'énoncé, on remarque qu'une partie des modificateurs (morda, mogoče, verjetno, morebiti)¹⁰ ont pour effet de lui ôter le caractère assertif qu'il a sans eux pour lui donner un caractère plus conjectural. En passant de "Odšla je v Pariz." (Elle est allée à Paris.) à "Morda je odšla v Pariz." (Elle est allée peut-être à Paris.), on change en effet totalement de monde: quiconque

⁷ Les éléments ou groupes sur lesquels portent les particules de mise en relief peuvent, eux, être de nature, de fonction et de longueur quasi quelconques.

⁸ Alojz Rebula: Jutri čez Jordan. Dorénavant cité avec l'abréviation JJ et le numéro de la page.

⁹ Alojz Rebula: demain, le Jourdain. Traduit du slovène par Zdenka Štimac. Dorénavant cité avec l'abréviation DJ et le numéro de la page.

¹⁰ (fr.: peut-être, probablement, éventuellement)

profère le premier énoncé peut être accusé de faux témoignage, si le fait se révèle ne pas correspondre à la réalité, alors que celui qui en produit la version “modalisée” ne pourra se voir reprocher qu’une erreur de “croyance”. Par contre, l’autre partie des modificateurs (gotovo, res, zares, seveda etc.)¹¹ renforce et souligne la certitude du locuteur.

L’autre partie des particules modales (pa, pač, vendar etc.) joue un rôle important pour la valeur illocutoire des énoncés (elles indiquent la valeur illocutive) et pour l’expression de l’attitude du locuteur (elles montrent une certaine attitude du locuteur vis-à-vis du contenu de son affirmation et vis-à-vis de l’interlocuteur).

Exemples:

5. Kisel se je privzdignil na komolce: “Kot Jud, kolikor sem sploh še Jud, bom pač rekel karavani: Ne prehitro ne prepočasi in srečno pot!” (JJ, 16). // La mine renfrognée, il se souleva sur les coudes: “En tant que Juif, dans la mesure où il reste quelque chose de juif en moi, je dirais à la caravane: pas trop vite, pas trop lentement, et bon voyage! (DJ, 18)
6. In govoril je sunkovito, s prijetno rezkim in čez hip precej hripavim glasom, kakor so pač njegovo živo in neugnano govorjenje sproti modulirala pljuča (SP, 36). // Il parlait d’une voix tranchante mais agréable, saccadée, parfois rauque, ses poumons modulant au fur et à mesure une élocution aussi vive qu’infatigable (PD, 36). – Dans les deux exemples mentionnés précédemment, nous rencontrons la particule *pač*. Dans l’exemple 5, celle-ci en quelque sorte renforce la connotation d’assurance (son rôle revêt une valeur plus référentielle qu’émotionnelle). Ainsi, du point de vue de la signification, nous pourrions la reformuler à l’aide des particules *enostavno*, *zagotovo*. En revanche, dans l’exemple 6, la particule *pač* joue un rôle avoisinant celui d’un connecteur : avec le mot de liaison *kakor*, elle exprime, sur le plan sémantique la cause de la phrase précédente. Il est intéressant de constater qu’aucune traduction française ne propose d’élément lexical ou structurel prenant en charge la signification de la particule *pač*. Il faut quand même souligner, que parfois les particules slovènes sont rendues dans la traduction française par des formes verbales ayant une valeur modale. Dans notre cas le conditionnel présent (*je dirais*) transcrit à la fois le futur slovène (*bom rekel*) et la signification de la particule *pač* qui correspondrait aux particules *sans doute*, *probablement* etc.
7. “V kakšno deželo Obljube?” - “V našo izvorno domovino vendar!” je rekel Adonija.” V deželo, ki jo je Najvišji obljubil Mojzesu.” (JJ, 19) // “Quelle Terre promise?” - “Mais notre patrie d’origine, bien sûr!” dit Adonias. Ce pays que le Tout-Puissant a promis à Moïse.” (DJ, 21)
8. “Noče letala,” je še potožil možic. “Porinite ga vendar proč,” je zdaj zakričala debeluhinja za gručo mater z otroki, mož v črnem predpasniku pa je skomignil z rameni in se zmedeno začel vračati k letalu (SP, 23).¹² // “Il ne veut pas de l’avion,” protesta l’homme. “Enlevez-le donc,” cria alors la grosse femme derrière la masse des mère et des enfants (PD, 25).¹³

¹¹ (fr. : certainement, certes, sûrement, assurément etc.)

¹² Boris Pahor: Spopad s pomladjo. Dorénavant cité avec l’abréviation SP et le numéro de la page.

¹³ Boris Pahor: Printemps difficiles. Traduit du slovène par Andrée Lück-Gaye. Dorénavant cité avec l’abréviation PD et le numéro de la page

Nous avons mentionné les exemples 7 et 8 en raison des deux utilisations de la particule *vendar* qui mettent en évidence et soulignent l'opinion subjective du locuteur, la position du locuteur par rapport aux déclarations de son interlocuteur. Il convient d'ajouter que, en dépit de l'interprétation de départ commune, les deux *vendar* se distinguent du point de vue de la modification sémantique qu'ils apportent. En témoignent non seulement les deux traductions françaises mais aussi toute tentative de substitution des particules étudiées par d'autres particules apportant à l'énoncé une modification similaire. Le premier *vendar*, traduit en français par les particules *mais* et *bien sûr*, pourrait être remplacé par la particule *menda* pour exprimer l'évidence et la déception à l'égard de l'opinion de l'interlocuteur (*v našo izvorno domovino vendar: v našo izvorno domovino menda*). Or, nous ne pouvons pas faire de même pour le second *vendar*. En effet, celui-ci est, du point de vue de la modification qu'il apporte à l'énoncé, proche de la locution de particules *že enkrat* (*porinite ga vendar proč: porinite ga že enkrat proč*). En utilisant la particule *donc*, la traduction française confirme, elle aussi, que la modification dont est porteuse la particule *vendar* dans l'exemple 8 diffère de celle perceptible dans l'exemple 7.

3.3 Les particules connectives

Le groupe des particules connectives rassemble les éléments lexicaux comme : natančneje povedano, natančneje rečeno, skratka, torej, se pravi, z drugimi besedami, in sicer, etc. Leurs fonctions sont nombreuses et diverses.

Une partie des particules agissent au niveau des informations transmises dans les énoncés, plus exactement, elles interviennent dans l'organisation de l'information, elles peuvent la (l'information) reformuler, restreindre, préciser, compléter ou la détailler.

Les autres particules n'interviennent pas dans l'organisation de l'information mais servent selon les cas à "enclencher" l'énonciation, à la clore ou à la réorienter, à l'accrocher au contexte ou à la situation, à marquer une prise de parole ou à en susciter une.

Exemples:

9. Pozneje, ko sva sedla pod napušč konjušnice, si je dal roke na kolena, se zagledal v puščavo in rekel: "Svobode si torej želite Hebrejci?" - "Kot vsak narod pod tem milim soncem," sem rekel (JJ, 14). // Plus tard, alors que nous asseyons sous l'auvent de l'écurie, il posa ses mains sur ses genoux, laissa aller son regard sur le désert et dit: "Vous désirez donc la liberté, vous autres, Hébreux?" - "Comme tout peuple sous ces cieux," dis-je (DJ, 13) - torej et donc marquent la conclusion de ce qui précède ou de ce que l'on constate. Il n'existe pas de différences sémantiques et fonctionnelles significatives. Les différences résident surtout au niveau syntaxique, au niveau de l'ordre des mots, ce dernier étant étroitement lié à la progression thématique.
10. Ljudje, kolikor se jih nisem izogibal, so me kar pošteno poučevali o smeri izraelskega pohoda, neki deček mi je nasul v torbo prazenega lotosovega semena, krokodila nisem pravzaprav videl nobenega, z vrat ilovnate koč, potaknjene z lastovičjimi gnezdi, mi je mlada ženska rekla: "Pridi se ljubiti k meni!" Zlagal sem se ji, češ da se hočem ohraniti za dekle, ki me čaka v Izraelu. Tam me namreč nihče ni čakal, niti domači ne, kakšna otroška ljubezen pa ni bila več kot spomin.

Skratka, vso pot tja do Sukata mi ni bilo hudega (JJ, 40-41). // Les gens, quand je ne les évitais pas, m'indiquaient avec assez de précision la direction prise par la caravane d'Israël, un gamin versa dans mon sac des graines de lotus grillées, je ne croisai pour ainsi dire aucun crocodile et, devant la porte d'une cabane en terre couverte de nids d'hirondelles, une jeune femme me dit: "Viens m'aimer!" Je mentis quand je lui répondis que je voulais me garder pour une jeune fille qui m'attendait en Israël. En réalité, personne ne m'attendait, pas même ma famille, et si un amour d'enfance avait existé, ce n'était plus qu'un souvenir. En un mot, durant tout le trajet jusqu'à Sukkot, rien de grave ne m'arriva (DJ, 56).

11. A zdaj je odrinil te podobe, ker so bili v sosednjih kopalnicah nekdanji vojni ujetniki glasni in norčavi; niso imeli namreč takšnih prividov o smrti pod prhami, kakor so jih imeli deportiranci (SP, 12). // Mais il repoussa ces images car, dans les cabines voisines, les anciens prisonniers de guerre blaguaient à grand bruit. Ils n'avaient pas, à l'inverse des déportés, ces visions de mort sous la douche (PD, 14).
12. Skušal je pregnati vse te podobe; a hkrati je čutil, da je ves sestavljen iz njih, da se bo v njih pravzaprav odpočil, se v njih izgubil (SP, 29). // Il repoussait ces images de toutes ses forces, bien conscient en même temps d'en être entièrement fait: en réalité, c'était en elles qu'il se perdrait (PD, 31).

Nous avons regroupé les exemples 10, 11 et 12 du fait que les particules employées relèvent de la même catégorie (exemple 10: *namreč* → *en réalité*, exemple 11: *namreč* → à *l'inverse de* et exemple 12: *pravzaprav* → *en réalité*). Remplacée en français par le connecteur *en réalité* dans l'exemple 10, la particule *namreč* est exprimée par à *l'inverse de* dans l'exemple 11. Dans l'exemple 12, nous pouvons remarquer que, contrairement à ce qui se produit dans l'exemple 10, la locution française *en réalité* ne remplace pas la particule *namreč*, mais la particule *pravzaprav*. Un examen rapide des exemples mentionnés suffit à montrer que les variantes françaises sont adéquates et couvrent le sens exprimé par les particules slovènes. Dans l'exemple 10, le lexème *namreč* exprime sur le plan sémantique une relation d'opposition (*Hočem se ohraniti za dekle, ki me čaka v Izraelu: namreč/vendar me tam nihče ni čakal*), mais sur le plan métatextuel il exprime une relation d'explication (*Zlagal sem se ji, tam me namreč ni nihče čakal*). Dans le contexte précis, la particule *namreč* pourrait être remplacée par la particule *v resnici*.

Sur le plan sémantique, la particule *pravzaprav* exprime, elle aussi, l'opposition (*Skušal je pregnati vse te podobe: pravzaprav/vendar je čutil, da se bo v njih odpočil, se v njih izgubil*). Pour résumer l'analyse des exemples 10 et 12, nous pouvons dire que le syntagme *en réalité* exprime dans les deux cas une relation d'opposition sur le plan sémantique, ce qui signifie qu'il remplace de manière adéquate, sur le plan tant de la signification que de la fonction, les lexèmes *namreč* et *pravzaprav*.

Au contraire, dans l'exemple 11, la particule *namreč* exprime sur le plan sémantique une relation non pas d'opposition mais de cause ou d'explication. Il s'ensuit que, dans l'exemple étudié, le rôle causal ou explicatif de la particule est pris en charge de manière adéquate par la locution prépositionnelle à *l'inverse de*. En effet, bien que cette dernière élargisse indubitablement l'information, elle ne change pas la valeur de la relation sémantique intertextuelle (la relation causale ou explicative).

3. 4 Les formants des actes de discours réalisés dans les énoncés

Les composants, les constituants essentiels des actes de discours (réalisés dans les énoncés) tels que le constat, l'ordre, la demande, la promesse, le souhait, le regret, le doute, la défense, la menace, le reproche, l'accomplissement performatif, etc. (il n'est pas possible d'en dresser une liste exhaustive) sont des groupes lexicaux (par exemple, des particules: da, ko, če, ali, mar) et aussi des groupes syntaxiques (le mode, le temps, la personne de verbe etc.).

Dans ce chapitre on se concentrera surtout sur l'emploi des particules. Il faut tout de suite souligner qu'on prendra en considération aussi d'autres moyens lexicaux et syntaxiques qui sont aussi indispensables pour la formation des actes de discours (les particules, les adverbes, les conjonctions et les moyens syntaxiques s'entraident en constituant et en formant des actes de discours réalisés dans les énoncés.)

Exemples :

13. "Da bi se le skidali vsi do zadnjega!" (JJ, 15). // Si au moins ils pouvaient tous disparaître, jusqu'au dernier!" (DJ, 15) - la particule slovène da (+ *le conditionnel du verbe skidati se*) et la conjonction française si (+ *l'imparfait de l'indicatif du verbe pouvoir*) expriment la même valeur illocutoire (le souhait).
14. "Šopka da ne pozabiš!" je rekla za mano, ko sem že stopal čez prag kočē (JJ, 39). // N'oublie surtout pas ton bouquet!" lanča-t-elle derrière moi, tandis-que je passais déjà le seuil de la maison (DJ, 54). - le formant da (+ *le présent de l'indicatif de la deuxième personne du verbe pozabiti*) et l'adverbe modal surtout renforcent le conseil, l'ordre. Ici la particule *da*, alliée au verbe *pozabiti* à la deuxième personne du présent de l'indicatif ne fait pas ressortir le rôle illocutoire du souhait (ce dont témoigne déjà la forme illocutoire de l'énoncé), mais celui du conseil ou de l'ordre. La différence de valeur illocutoire de l'énoncé (en comparaison avec l'exemple précédent) ressort également de la forme illocutoire de l'énoncé dans la traduction française (la forme impérative du verbe *oublier* accompagnée du lexème surtout renforçant encore le conseil, l'ordre).
15. Toda kaj me je še bolj pretreslo? Videti govedo, kako je mukaje odhajalo z verigo za vratom, ko da izreka svoj z bogom dolini Nila! No, saj bo koga prineslo spet nazaj (JJ, 37). // Mais ce qui m'a le plus bouleversée, c'est de voir le bétail enchaîné s'en aller en beuglant, comme s'il faisait ses adieux à la vallée du Nil! Bien sûr, quelques-uns vont revenir (DJ, 50). - la particule saj (le formant des actes de discours) et l'adverbe modal ou d'opinion bien sûr introduisent et renforcent l'assertion (Quelques-uns vont revenir. // Koga bo spet prineslo nazaj.) qui s'oppose à ce qui précède.

4 CONCLUSION

Nous avons donc encore une fois obtenu la confirmation (attendue) de ce qu'il fait nécessairement, avant toute analyse contrastive de langues différentes, prendre conscience de ce que les locuteurs peuvent user pour un même présupposé conceptuel de moyens lexicaux et grammaticaux très distincts. Il s'ensuit logiquement qu'il est impossible, durant l'étude des catégories grammaticales d'une langue, de tirer des parallèles avec les catégories grammaticales d'une autre langue. En effet, il convient de prendre en compte

diverses lois textuelles, syntaxiques et morphologiques qui apparaissent au niveau de l'usage et de la fonction des lexèmes étudiés. En résumé, pour étudier et comparer pleinement des catégories grammaticales similaires ou identiques dans deux langues distinctes, il convient, en dehors des postulats théoriques proposés par les grammaires et dictionnaires, d'inclure dans l'analyse un corpus assez large d'emplois effectifs des moyens lexicaux étudiés permettant d'appréhender également les caractéristiques structurelles, morphologiques et textuelles gouvernant l'usage de tel ou tel instrument lexical.

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Povzetek

OBRAVNAVA ČLENKOV V FRANCOSEM IN SLOVENSKEM JEZIKOSLOVJU

Članek se ukvarja s primerjavo obravnave in razumevanja besedne vrste členkov v francoskem in slovenskem jezikoslovju. Po pregledu nekaterih jezikoslovnih del, kot npr. Slovenska slovnica, Le bon usage in La grammaire méthodique du français, se oredotoča na različne morfoskladenjske pristope obravnave preučevanih leksemov v omenjenih priročnikih. Za natančnejši prikaz skladenjskih in pomenskih razlik, pa tudi razlik med samima jezikoma, so navedeni nekateri primeri rabe členkov in njihovih prevodov v literarnih delih: Alamut avtorja Vladimira Bartola, Spopad s pomladjo Borisa Pahorja in Jutri čez Jordan Alojza Rebule.

GRUNDLAGEN FÜR PHONETISCHE ÜBUNGEN MIT ISLÄNDISCHSPRECHENDEN

0. VORBEMERKUNG

Isländisch ist ursprünglich ein westnorwegischer Dialekt, eine Einwanderersprache aus Norwegen, welche von den norwegischen Einwanderern, die in dem Zeitraum von 874 bis 930 n.Chr. Island besiedelten, ins Land gebracht wurde. Es waren sicherlich Einwanderer aus allen Gegenden Norwegens beteiligt, aber die meisten stammten aus Westnorwegen. Es gab ebenfalls eine Einwanderung aus Irland und den britischen Inseln. Es handelte sich dabei aber vorwiegend um norwegische Einwanderer die vorher zu den britischen Inseln und nach Irland eingewandert waren. Neben einigen irischen Einwanderern, die offensichtlich freiwillig emigriert sind, brachten die norwegischstämmigen Einwanderer zahlreiche irische Sklaven nach Island mit. Auf diese Weise erklärt es sich, daß etwa 30% der ursprünglichen Einwanderer in Island irischsprechend waren. Irisch wurde auch einige Zeit in Island gesprochen, obwohl es keine Spuren in der Sprache hinterlassen hat. Nur einige Orts- und Personenamen irischer Herkunft erinnern gegenwärtig an das ehemalige Vorhandensein der irischen Sprache in Island.

Bisher konnte nicht nachgewiesen werden, daß Island bereits vor der Ankunft norwegischer Einwanderer besiedelt war, obwohl einige Forscher dies stets behaupten. Somit ist Island das zuletzt besiedelte Land Europas im Mittelalter und die Geschichte Islands beginnt im Jahre 874 n.Chr.

Die Zeitspanne von 874 bis 930 wird die Landnahmezeit genannt. In dieser Zeit wurde das ganze Land besiedelt.

Mit der Gründung des Freistaates im Jahre 930 wurde die erste parlamentarische Demokratie Europas im Mittelalter gegründet. Der Freistaat bestand von 930 bis 1262. Innere Streitigkeiten führten dazu, daß der norwegische König im Jahre 1262 einen Teil des Landes, und 1264 das ganze Land, unter seinen Einfluß bringen konnte. Island wurde norwegische Kolonie von 1262 bis 1380. Im Jahre 1380 gelangte Norwegen unter dänische Herrschaft und somit auch Island. Von 1380 bis 1918 war Island dänische Kolonie. 1918 wurde Island ein autonomes Gebiet innerhalb des dänischen Königreiches, das nur durch die Person des Königs eine Verbindung zu Dänemark hatte. Im Jahre 1944 wurde Island schließlich mit der Gründung der Republik am 17. Juni 1944 erneut ein selbständiger Staat.

0.1. Perioden der isländischen Sprachgeschichte

Es ist üblich, die Geschichte der isländischen Sprache in vier sprachgeschichtliche Perioden einzuteilen:

1. Altisländisch (874-1150): In dieser Periode ist der Unterschied zum Norwegischen sehr gering.

2. Klassisches Isländisch (1150-1350): In diesem Zeitraum entstanden alle Werke der berühmten mittelalterlichen Literatur, die Island in der europäischen Kulturgeschichte so bedeutsam gemacht haben. Auch wenn die ursprüngliche Grundlage einiger Werke bis in die Völkerwanderungszeit zurückgeht, wurden sie in diesem Zeitraum auf Pergament in Island niedergeschrieben. Gleichzeitig beginnt in diesem Zeitraum die Entwicklung sprachlicher Besonderheiten, die Isländisch und Norwegisch voneinander deutlich trennen.
3. Mittlisländisch (1350-1530): In diesem Zeitraum ereignen sich die wichtigsten Veränderungen, die Altisländisch und klassisches Isländisch von der modernen Sprache unterscheiden. Hierzu gehört in erster Linie die Aufgabe der segmentalen Quantität, welche durch eine Silbenquantität ersetzt wird. Als Folge davon ergeben sich bedeutsame Änderungen der Vokalqualität. Auch das Konsonantensystem ist betroffen, obwohl die Änderungen weniger bedeutsam sind.
4. Modernes Isländisch (1530-bis heute): Seit 1530 haben keine bedeutsamen Veränderungen mehr stattgefunden. Die Sprache hat sich seit damals kaum verändert.

Im 20. Jahrhundert zeichnet sich der Beginn einer neuen Instabilität in der Sprache ab. Hier sollen nur zwei Beispiele kurz erwähnt werden:

- (1) In weiten Teilen der Bevölkerung wird die konsonantische Quantität aufgegeben und nur die Vokalquantität bleibt erhalten. Solche Änderungen haben vorher ebenfalls im Dänischen und Norwegischen stattgefunden. Auch das Deutsche ist eine Sprache, die nur Vokalquantität besitzt.
- (2) Eine weitere Besonderheit der gesprochenen Sprache besteht in der enormen Verkürzung von Wörtern oder ganzen Äußerungen um einen Hauptakzent:

Hvað segirðu?	:	Kvasiru?	„Was sagst Du?“
Maður	:	mar	„Mann“
Hljómsveitaræfing	:	hljónstræng	„Orchesterübung“
Hljómsveit	:	hljónst	„Orchester“
Forsætisráðherra	:	fostróðra	„Ministerpräsident“
Þjóðleikhús	:	þólgús	„Nationaltheater“
Hvað er þetta?	[k ^h va:ð er ðehta]:	katta [k ^h ahta]	„Was ist das?“

Diese Tendenz greift mit beängstigender Geschwindigkeit um sich und macht zusammengesetzte Wörter und ganze Äußerungen unanalysierbar. Nach vielen Jahrhunderten Stabilität (Grönke 1983) ist die Sprache auf dem Wege in eine neue Periode von Instabilität, die das Erscheinungsbild der Sprache binnen kurzem radikal ändern könnte.

0.2. Sprecherzahl, geographisches Gebiet und sprachliche Einheit

Isländisch wird von 307.000 Menschen in Island gesprochen. Darüberhinaus gibt es eine große Zahl von Isländischsprechenden in Dänemark, Schweden und Norwegen, insgesamt wohl etwa 10.000 Sprecher. In den Vereinigten Staaten von Amerika und in Kanada gibt es einige Tausende von Isländischsprechenden. Kleinere Gruppen von ihnen

gibt es auch in Luxemburg, in Namibia, in Chile und in Australien, so daß ihre Zahl wahrscheinlich etwa 320.000 beträgt, eventuell sogar etwas darüber.

Island ist in letzter Zeit zu einem Einwanderungsland geworden. Laut der Statistik des Kultusministeriums von 1995 gibt es in den Grundschulen des Landes fremdsprachliche Schüler mit insgesamt 57 unterschiedlichen Muttersprachen. Schüler und Jugendliche lernen Isländisch schnell und häufig grammatisch völlig einwandfrei und ohne Fremdakzent. Dagegen fällt es älteren Einwanderern schwer, diese stark flektierte Sprache zu lernen.

Da Isländisch ursprünglich ein norwegischer Einwandererdialekt ist, gehört es zum nördlichen Zweig der skandinavischen Sprachen. Isländisch und Altnordisch sind die gleiche Sprache. Als Altnordisch wird im allgemeinen die Sprache der altnorwegischen und altisländischen Textausgaben bezeichnet. Zum Altisländischen besteht aber überhaupt kein Unterschied.

Das moderne Isländisch ist außerordentlich einheitlich in der Form. Dies ist auch der Fall mit anderen Einwanderersprachen, z.B. mit dem Englischen in Nordamerika und dem Spanischen in Südamerika. Im Isländischen ist der einheitliche Charakter allerdings noch stärker ausgeprägt. Es existieren überhaupt keine Dialekte. Es treten nur geringfügige Unterschiede in der Verteilung einiger Laute und in der Verwendung einiger Lexeme auf. Es gibt keine kodifizierte Norm des Isländischen und auch kein Aussprachewörterbuch. Soziologische Unterschiede gibt es kaum. Jede gesprochene Form des Isländischen ist akzeptabel. In diesem Sinne ist Isländisch sicher die einheitlichste Sprache Europas.

1. ALLGEMEINE PHONETISCHE MERKMALE

Da Isländisch eine germanische Sprache ist, ist kaum zu erwarten, daß es im Gegensatz zum Deutschen besondere auffällige phonetische Merkmale aufweist. Allerdings gibt es zwei phonetische Eigenschaften, die im Vergleich zu den festlandskandinavischen Sprachen auffällig sind:

1. Dem Isländischen fehlt jede Form prosodischer Akzentkorrelation. Die für das Schwedische und Norwegische so charakteristische Tonakzentuierung und der für das Dänische charakteristische Stoßton (,stød‘) fehlen im Isländischen ganz.
2. Das Isländische hat eine unverhältnismäßig hohe Zahl stimmloser Konsonanten. Alle Verschußlaute sind in allen Stellungen völlig stimmlos. Sie werden nur im betonten (bzw. nebenbetonten) Silbenanlaut durch die Aspiration unterschieden. In allen übrigen Stellungen sind nur die unasprierten Verschußkonsonanten vorhanden. Außerdem gibt es eine Stimmhaftigkeitskorrelation für Nasale, Laterale und Vibranten. Im Inlaut vor bestimmten Verschußlauten taucht ein [h] auf, das in den Lautbeschreibungen häufig ‚Präaspiration‘ genannt wird. Aus vielen Gründen, die ich ausführlich erläutert habe, empfiehlt es sich jedoch dieses Segment als den Konsonanten [h] zu betrachten und nicht als Teil des nachfolgenden Konsonanten (Pétursson 1972).

2. SUPRASEGMENTALIA

Bisher gibt es keine phonetische Untersuchungen zu den Suprasegmentalia im Isländischen. Die folgende kurze Beschreibung ist deshalb rein impressionistisch bzw. auditiv zu betrachten.

2.1. Akzent

Alle Wörter, die im Isländischen verwendet werden, d.h. Wörter aus dem ursprünglichen Wortschatz, dem Erbwortschatz, und auch alle Fremdwörter, haben einen Hauptakzent auf der ersten Silbe (die betonte Silbe ist hier unterstrichen (_ Hauptakzent, = Nebenakzent)):

spenna „spannen“; *hálfvirði* „halber Preis“; *fangi* „Gefangener“;
alda „Welle; *transistor* „Transistor“

Wenn es sich um Zusammensetzungen handelt, wird der Hauptakzent auf die erste Silbe gelegt, aber die weiteren Komponenten erhalten sogenannte Nebenakzente, welche jedoch deutlich schwächer als der Hauptakzent sind:

bílaggymsla „Parkhaus“; *landhelgi* „Hoheitsgewässer“;
lágbrýstingur „Niedrigdruck“; *bókasafn* „Bücherei“

Diese Regel ist ausnahmslos und bringt wiederum den Beweis für die große Regelmäßigkeit der isländischen Akzentuierung.

Zum isländischen Akzent liegen zur Zeit keine phonetischen Untersuchungen vor. Auditiv hört er sich aber fast identisch oder identisch mit dem deutschen Akzent an.

2.2. Intonation

In Aussagesätzen ist die Intonation im Isländischen fallend. Sie fällt von der ersten betonten Silbe bis zu der letzten Silbe der Äußerung ab:

Þú kemur á morgun. „Du kommst morgen“

In Fragesätzen ist die Intonation steigend:

Kemurðu á morgun? „Kommst Du morgen?“

Die Intonation kann alleine, ohne Änderung der Wortfolge, als Signal für die Frage funktionieren:

Þú kemur „Du kommst“ (Aussage)

Þú kemur? „Du kommst?“ (Frage)

Untersuchungen zur Intonation im Isländischen fehlen zur Zeit ganz. Nicht einmal impressionistische Beschreibungen sind vorhanden. Dieses komplexe Gebiet harret der Forschung. Über die Intonation als Gestaltungselement kommunikativer Funktion im Sinne von Selting (1995) ist wissenschaftlich nichts bekannt, obwohl jeder Sprecher ein solches Signalsystem unbewußt kennt und im Gespräch verwendet.

2.3. Rhythmik

Untersuchungen zur Rhythmik im Isländischen liegen zur Zeit nicht vor. Rein impressionistisch können jedoch folgende Besonderheiten hervorgehoben werden:

1. Quantitativ gesehen gibt es zwei Silbentypen:

/V:C/ langer Vokal + kurzer Konsonant

ala [a:la] „ernähren“, *tala* [tʰa:la] „sprechen“,

bila [pɪ:la] „Panne haben“, *týna* [tʰi:na] „verlieren“

/VC:/ kurzer Vokal + langer Konsonant bzw. Konsonantengruppe:

alla [atla] „alle“ (Akk.Pl.), *falla* [fatla] „fallen“,

rabba [rap:a] „quatschen, reden“, *Ella* [el:a] weiblicher Vorname

Auf diesen Aspekt der Quantität wird genauer unter 3.1. eingegangen.

2. Eine Silbe, die auf eine betonte Silbe folgt, ist normalerweise die schwächste. Die zweite Silbe nach der betonten Silbe ist etwas stärker. Durch die Alternanz von Silben unterschiedlicher Stärke entsteht ein wellenartiger Rhythmus, der durch die folgenden Beispiele illustriert werden könnte¹:

' x y x

flutningunum „den Transporten“ (Dat.Pl. mit suffigiertem Artikel)

' = x y = x y

húseigendafélagið „der Hausbesitzerverein“

' x = x y = x y x

barnaverdunarsambýkktirnar „die Kinderschutzvereinbarungen“

' x = x y x = x y

hafnarverkamannaverkföllin „die Hafenarbeiterstreiks“

Diese rhythmischen Abstufungen ergeben sich nicht nur bei zusammengesetzten Wörtern wie in den obigen Beispielen, sondern auch in ganzen Sätzen:

' x ' x y ' x ' = x y ' x y x ' x

Bændur héldu til fundar, vongóðir um árangur, en urðu

' = x y x ' x = x y

sárvonsviknir með niðurstöðurnar

„Die Bauern kamen zum Treffen, hoffnungsvoll auf das Ergebnis, wurden aber durch die Resultate bitter enttäuscht.“

3. SEGMENTE

3.1. Silbenstruktur

Im modernen Isländischen kommen zahlreiche Typen offener und geschlossener Silben vor. Im folgenden werden die wichtigsten Silbentypen aufgezählt:

3.1.1. Offene Silben

/V:/ á „Fluß“, í „in“

/CV:/ fá „erhalten“, vá „Unglück“, kú „Kuh“, sá „dieser“,
nú „jetzt“

/CCV:/ frá „von“, fræ „Samen“, slá „mähen, schlagen“

/CCCV:/ strá „Grashalm“, tré [tʰrje:] „Baum“

In offener betonter Silbe können nur lange Vokale oder lange Diphthonge stehen.

3.1.2. Geschlossene Silben

/V:C/ ár „Jahr“, án „ohne“, ól „Gürtel“

/VC:/ ann „(er) mag“, íss „Eis(es)“ (Gen.Sing.), egg „Ei“, enn „noch“

/CV:C/ kol „Kohle“, bar „trug“ (Prät. von *bera* „tragen“), þol „Ausdauer“, bor „Bohrer“, búr „Käfig“, sár „Wunde“

¹ Zeichenerklärung: ' - (betonte Silbe), = (nebenbetonte Silbe), x (schwächste Silbe), y (etwas hervorgehobene Silbe)

- /CVC:/ *sigg* „Schwiele“, *vegg* „Wand“ (Akk.Sing.), *senn* „bald“, *sinn* „sein“ (Pronomen), *vinn* „(ich) arbeite“, *vann* „(er) arbeitete“ (Prät. von *vinna* „arbeiten“), *viss* „sicher“, *kyrr* „ruhig“
- /CVCCC/ *fengs* „des Fanges, des Gewinns“ (Gen.Sing.)
- /CCV:C/ *frys* „es friert“, *fræs* „des Samens“ (Gen.Sing.), *brún* „Kante“, *snýr* „er dreht“, *brýr* „Brücken“ (Nom.Pl.)
- /CCVCCC/ *drengs* „des Jungen“ (Gen.Sing.)
- /CCCVCCC/ *strengs* „des Fadens“ (Gen.Sing.)

In der betonten offenen Silbe ist der Vokal immer lang. Ist die Silbe geschlossen, ist der Vokal kurz. Ausnahmen bilden nur geschlossene Silben mit Konsonantengruppen (Graphemen):

<kv kr>
 <tv tr tj>
 <sv sr sj>

vor denen der betonte Vokal lang bleibt:

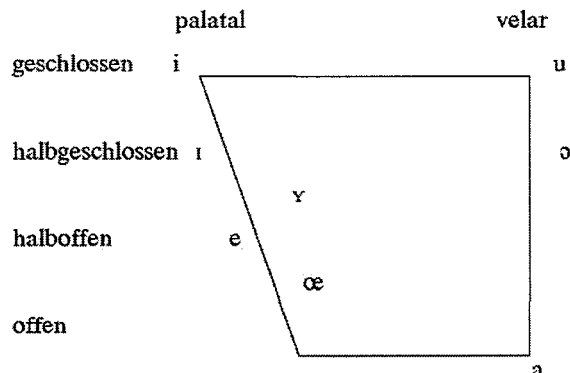
vökva „bewässern“, *akra* „Äcker“ (Akk.Pl.), *uppgötva* „entdecken“ (Nebenakzent auf -*götva*), *titra* „zittern“, *etja* „anspornen“, *hásra* „heisere(n)“ (Gen.Pl.), *Esja* (Eigename).

Allerdings muß vermerkt werden, daß die Vokale vor diesen Konsonantengruppen in der Umgangssprache häufig gekürzt werden. Dadurch werden diese Konsonantengruppen an andere Konsonantengruppen assimiliert, vor denen der Vokal immer kurz war.

3.2. Vokale

3.2.1. Monophthonge

Das Isländische hat acht Vokale (Monophthonge), die alle lang und kurz in betonter Silbe vorkommen. Im Vokaltrapez können Sie folgendermaßen dargestellt werden:



Die Vokale [y œ u ɔ] sind gerundet. Die übrigen vier Vokale sind ungerundet. Zentrale Vokale kommen nicht vor.

Beispiele:

[i:] *líta* [li:ta] „schauen“, *ný* [ni:] „neu“, *vík* [vi:k] „kleine Bucht“

[i] *býtta* [pihta] „austauschen“, *nýtt* [niht] „neu“

(Neutrum Sing. Nom.)

[i:] *biti* [pi:ti] „Happen“, *bil* [pi:l] „Intervall“

[i] *bytta* [pihta] „kleines Boot“, *hitt* [hiht] „getroffen“ (Part.Perf. von *hitta* „treffen“)

[e:] *betur* [pe:tyr] „besser“, *sem* [se:m] „ich verfasse“ (Präs. von *semja* „verfassen“)

[e] *best* [pest] „am besten“, *belja* [pelja] „Kuh“

[y:] *buna* [py:na] „kleiner Wasserfall“, *suða* [sy:ða] „Kochen“, *sumar* [sy:mar] „Sommer“

[y] *sund* [synt] „Schwimmen“, *fundur* [fyntyryr] „Sitzung“

[œ:] *öl* [œ:l] „Brause“, *möl* [mœ:l] „Schotter“

[œ] *höll* [hœtʃ] „Schloß“, *völlur* [vœtlyryr] „Flachland, Fläche“

[u:] *fús* [fu:s] „willig“, *hús* [hu:s] „Haus“

[u] *kústur* [kʰusturyr] „Besen“, *rúst* [rust] „Ruine“

[ɔ:] *koma* [kʰɔ:ma] „kommen“, *loga* [lɔ:ɣa] „lodern, flammen“, *svo* [svɔ:] „so“

[ɔ] *komma* [kʰɔm:a] „Komma“ (Satzzeichen), *kosta* [kʰɔsta] „kosten“

[a:] *kala* [kʰa:la] „frieren“, *kaka* [kʰa:ka] „Kuchen“

[a] *kasta* [kʰasta] „werfen“, *land* [lant] „Land“

In unbetonter Silbe kommen in dem Grundwortschatz faktisch nur die Vokale i, u, a [ɪ ʏ a] vor, welche quantitativ neutral sind. Ausnahmen hierzu gibt es nur in zusammengesetzten Wörtern, in Eigennamen und in Fremdwörtern:

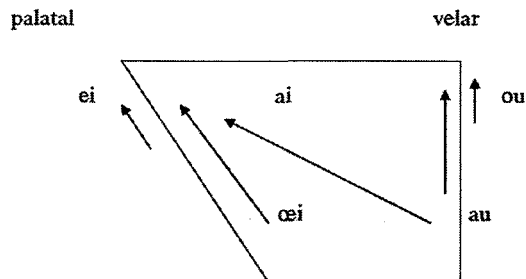
júni [ju:ni] „Juni“, *júli* [ju:li] „Juli“, *Ellý* [eli] (weiblicher Vorname),

kannske [kʰansce] „vielleicht“, *máske* [mausce] „vielleicht“

Die Vokale [œ u ɔ] kommen in unbetonter Silbe wahrscheinlich überhaupt nicht vor, wenigstens nicht im Auslaut.

3.2.2. Diphthonge

Die isländischen Diphthonge sind genau wie die Monophthonge in betonter Silbe lang oder kurz. Im Vokaltrapez können sie folgendermaßen schematisiert werden:



Die Pfeile geben die Bewegungsrichtung an. Die Diphthonge [ou au œi] sind durchweg gerundet, obwohl [a] und [i] als Monophthonge ungerundet sind.

[ei:] *bein* [pei:n] „Knochen“, *sein* [sei:n] „spät“ (Fem.Nom.Sing. von *seinn* „spät“)

[ei] *einn* [eitn̥] „ein“, *meistari* [meistari] „Meister“

[ou:] *ól* [ou:l] „Gürtel“, *sól* [sou:l] „Sonne“, *för* [fou:r] „fuhr“

[ou] *ósk* [ousk] „Wunsch“, *brjósk* [prjousk] „Knorpel“

[œi:] *auga* [œi:ɣa] „Auge“, *laug* [lœi:ɣ] „Schwimmbecken“

[œi] *austur* [œistyr] „Osten“

[ai:] *læti* [lai:ti] „Lärm“, *læsa* [lai:sa] „schließen“

[ai] *læst* [laist] „geschlossen“, *ræsta* [raista] „reinigen“

[au:] *á* [au:] „Fluß“, *hás* [hau:s] „heiser“, *lá* [lau:] „lag“ (Prät. von *liggja* „liegen“)

[au] *ást* [aust] „Liebe“, *fást* [faust] „erhältlich sein“

Diphthonge kommen in unbetonten Silben faktisch nur in Zusammensetzungen

vor:

óró [ou:rou] „Unruhe“, *bergvatnsá* [perkvaht̥nsau] „Fluß“ (der kein Gletscherschmelzwasser fördert), *Garðabær* [karðapair] (Ortsname)

Das zweite Element der Diphthonge ist etwas offener als die Vokale [i u], obwohl dieser Unterschied in der Transkription nicht sichtbar ist. Beim Diphthong [ou] ist die Bewegung der Zunge am geringsten. Meiner Meinung nach wäre es sogar möglich, hier ein geschlossenes [o] zu transkribieren, zumindest in der Aussprache einiger Sprecher.

3.2.3. Monophthongierung der Diphthonge

In der Umgangssprache macht sich die Tendenz bemerkbar, die kurzen Diphthonge zu monophthongieren. Es handelt sich aber nicht um eine allgemeine Tendenz, sondern um eine an gewisse Lexeme gebundene Tendenz. Hier ein Beispiel für jeden Diphthong:

<i>œtla</i>	[ahtla]	→	[ahtla]	"vorhaben"
<i>austur</i>	[œistyr]	→	[ystyr]	"Osten"
<i>kólna</i>	[k ^h oulna]	→	[k ^h olna]	„kälter werden“
<i>þreyttur</i>	[θrehtyr]	→	[θrehtyr]	"müde"
<i>háttá</i>	[hauhta]	→	[háhta]	"ins Bett gehen"

Diese Tendenz kann dadurch erklärt werden, daß die artikulatorische Bewegung für die kurzen Diphthonge wesentlich geringer ist als für die langen (Pétursson 1974). Die Monophthongierung stellt daher eine Art Ökonomie der Sprechbewegungen dar.

3.2.4. Bemerkungen zur Artikulation der Vokale

Das isländische [e] liegt etwa in der Mitte zwischen dem deutschen [e] und [ɛ]. Es ist manchmal sehr schwierig für einen Isländer zwischen diesen beiden Vokalen zu unterscheiden.

Das isländische [œ] ist wesentlich offener als das deutsche [œ] in *könnte*; auch ist das isländische [ɣ] offener als das deutsche [ɣ] in *Hütte*.

Der Öffnungsgrad des isländischen [ɔ] liegt etwa in der Mitte zwischen dem deutschen [o] in *holen* und dem [ɔ] in *sollte*.

Das isländische [a] wird trotz seiner relativ hellen Klangfarbe ziemlich weit nach hinten gebildet, auf jeden Fall weiter hinten als das deutsche [a] in *hatte*.

Schließlich muß der Deutsche, der Isländisch lernen möchte, sehr darauf achten, daß alle Klangfarben der Vokale (Monophthonge) und der Diphthonge lang und kurz vorkommen. Im Deutschen kommt eine Klangfarbe entweder kurz oder lang vor, mit der einzigen Ausnahme von [ɛ], das z.B. in *hätte* kurz, und in *Áhre* lang ist.

3.3. Konsonanten

Das Konsonantensystem des Isländischen kann in der folgenden Tabelle dargestellt werden:

Artikulationsstelle	Bilabial	Labiodental	Dento-alveolar	Palatal	Velar	Glottal
Artikulationsmodus						
Verschluß	p p ^h		t t ^h	c c ^h	k k ^h	
Nasal	m̥ m		n̥ n	ɲ̥ ɲ	ŋ̥ ŋ	
Enge		f v	θ ð s	ç j	x γ	h
Lateral			l̥ l			
Vibrant			r̥ r			

Für diese Konsonanten geben wir folgende Beispiele:

Verschluß:

- [p] *bátur* [pau:tʏr] „Boot“, *bara* [pa:ra] „nur“
 [p^h] *pati* [p^ha:ti] „Verwirrung“, *poki* [p^hɔ:ci] „Sack“
 [t] *dagur* [ta:ɣʏr] „Tag“, *dalur* [ta:lʏr] „Tal“
 [t^h] *taka* [t^ha:ka] „nehmen“, *taska* [t^haska] „Koffer“
 [c] *geta* [ce:ta] „können“, *gjalda* [calta] „zahlen“
 [c^h] *kæfa* [c^hai:va] „ersticken“, *kjafra* [c^hafta] „schwätzen“
 [k] *gat* [ka:t] „Loch“, *gusa* [kʏ:sa] „gießen“
 [k^h] *koma* [k^hɔ:ma] „kommen“, *kafa* [k^ha:va] „tauchen“

Nasal:

- [m̥] *hampa* [hampa] „zeigen“, *lampi* [lampi] „Lampe“, *æmta* [aimta] „schreien“
 [m] *lamb* [lamp] „Lamm“, *mata* [ma:ta] „zum Essen geben“
 [n̥] *hné* [n̥je:] „Knie“, *henta* [henta] „passen“
 [ŋ̥] *hanki* [hauŋci] „Haken“, *banki* [pauŋci] „Bank“
 [ŋ] *hengi* [heinjci] „Behang“, *lengja* [leinjca] „verlängern“
 [ŋ] *banka* [pauŋka] „klopfen“, *vinka* [viŋka] „winken“
 [ŋ] *langa* [lauŋka] „Lust haben“, *Inga* [iŋka] weiblicher Vorname

Enge:

- [f] *fara* [fa:ra] „fahren“, *sóffi* [souf:i] „Sofa“

- [v] *vera* [ve:ra] „sein“, *vakta* [vaxta] „bewachen“
 [θ] *bá* [θau:] „dann“, *þekkja* [θehca] „kennen“
 [ð] *baða* [pa:ða] „baden“, *laða* [la:ða] „anziehen“
 [s] *samur* [sa:mʏr] „derselbe“, *vasi* [va:si] „Tasche“
 [ç] *hjá* [çau] „bei“, *hér* [çe:r] „hier“
 [j] *já* [jau:] „ja“, *segja* [seija] „sagen“
 [x] *ekta* [exta] „echt“, *þekktur* [θextʏr] „bekannt“
 [ɣ] *laga* [la:ɣa] „reparieren“, *saga* [sa:ɣa] „Geschichte“
 [h] *hafa* [ha:va] „haben“, *hús* [hu:s] „Haus“, *þetta* [θehhta] „dieses“

Lateral:

- [l] *haltur* [ha|tʏr] „lahm“, *hlaupa* [l̥öi:pa] „laufen“
 [l̥] *lafa* [la:va] „hängen“, *halda* [halta] „halten“

Vibrant:

- [r̥] *hraði* [r̥a:ði] „Geschwindigkeit“, *marka* [maɾka] „markieren“
 [r] *raða* [ra:ða] „ordnen“, *meri* [me:r̥i] „Stute“

Lange Konsonanten:

Nicht alle Konsonanten können lang sein. Lang können Konsonanten nur intervokalisch und final sein. Die folgenden Beispiele zeigen Paare von langen und kurzen Konsonanten in intervokalischer und finaler Stellung:

- [p p:] *tapa* [t^ha:pa] „verlieren“, *rabba* [rap:a] „klönen“
tap [t^hap] „Verlust“, *rabb* [rap:] „Unterhaltung“
 [t t:] *mata* [ma:ta] „zum Essen bringen“, *saddur* [sat:ʏr] „gesättigt“
mát [mau:t] „Matt“, *rödd* [rœ:t:] „Stimme“
 [c c:] *vekja* [vɛ:ca] „wecken“, *leggja* [lec:a] „hinlegen“
 [k k:] *raka* [ra:ka] „rasieren“, *vagga* [vak:a] „Wiege“
rök [rœ:k] „Argumente“, *sigg* [st̥ik:] „Schwiele“
 [m m:] *hamast* [ha:mast] „sich betätigen“,
komma [k^hœm:a] „Komma“
löm [lœm] „Zarge“, *skömm* [skœm:] „Schande“
 [n n:] *hani* [ha:ni] „Hahn“, *sanna* [san:a] „beweisen“
lán [lau:n] „Glück“, *brunn* [pr̥yn:] „Brunnen“ (Akk.Sing. von *brunnur*)
 [f:] *sóffi* [souf:i] „Sofa“
 [s s:] *masa* [ma:sa] „schwätzen“, *massi* [mas:i] „Masse“
hús [hu:s] „Haus“, *húss* [hus:] „Haus“ (Gen.Sing.)
 [l l:] *mala* [ma:la] „mahlen“, *Ellí* [el:i] weiblicher Vorname, *Ellí* [el:i] männlicher Vorname
mal [ma:l] „(das) Schnurren“, *ball* [pal:] „Ball“
 [r r:] *meri* [me:r̥i] „Stute“, *verri* [ver:i] „schlimmer“
her [he:r] „Armee“, *verr* [ver:] „schlimmer“ (Adv.)

Andere Konsonanten kommen nicht lang vor. Selbst unter den Konsonanten, die lang vorkommen können, gibt es Einschränkungen:

1. Die palatalen [c c:] können kaum im Auslaut vorkommen. Es gibt wohl *geggi* „Verrücktheit“ [cec:] als einziges Wort mit langem Palatal im Auslaut.
2. Das lange [l:] kommt im Auslaut nur in wenigen Vornamen und Fremdwörtern vor.

Auffallend ist, daß im Isländischen die aspirierten Verschlusskonsonanten nicht lang sein können. Von den Frikativen kommen nur [s] häufig und [f] selten in einigen Lehnwörtern und Wörtern lautmalerischer Art lang vor. Dagegen existiert das kurze [f] nicht intervokalisch. Ausnahmen können jedoch in Eigennamen vorkommen, z.B. *Zóphanías* [so:fa:nias]. Der stimmlose Lateral und der stimmlose Vibrant können nicht lang vorkommen. Daraus kann man ersehen, daß die Konsonantenquantität einen eingeschränkten Charakter im isländischen Konsonantensystem hat. Vielleicht erklärt sich daraus die in der Umgangssprache beobachtete Tendenz, die Konsonantenquantität abzubauen.

Ein Deutschsprechender, der Isländisch lernen will, muß sehr auf die Konsonantenquantität achten, da das Deutsche überhaupt keine langen Konsonanten besitzt.

4. LAUT-SCHRIFT-BEZIEHUNGEN

Die isländische Orthographie ist in ihrer Wesensart morphophonologisch und folgt Prinzipien, die der bekannte Sprachwissenschaftler Rasmus Kristjan Rask (1787-1832), der ein ausgezeichnete Kenner des Isländischen war, seinerzeit Anfang des 19. Jahrhunderts formuliert hatte. Vorwiegendes Ziel der Orthographie ist es danach, den Zusammenhalt der Sprache im Verlauf der Geschichte zu garantieren. Dies ist erstaunlich gut gelungen, denn isländische Sprecher können heute noch ohne vorheriges Studium die klassische Prosa-Literatur des 12. und 13. Jahrhunderts fließend und mühelos lesen. Selbst ein transliterierter Runentext ist nicht so sehr weit von der Sprache der Gegenwart entfernt, daß er mit relativ wenig Mühe gelesen und verstanden werden kann.

Die konservative Orthographie verschleiert die Tatsache, daß im Verlauf der Sprachgeschichte des Isländischen sehr bedeutsame und weitreichende Lautveränderungen stattgefunden haben. Die Folge davon ist, daß die jetzige Orthographie nach meiner Einschätzung nur zu etwa 50% die tatsächliche Aussprache wiedergibt. Viele Elemente der Aussprache werden entweder gar nicht orthographisch bezeichnet oder nur auf indirektem Wege. Dagegen bezeichnet die Orthographie Unterscheidungen, die in der modernen Sprache überhaupt nicht vorhanden sind und vor mehreren Jahrhunderten verschwanden. Beispiel hierfür sind die Buchstaben (Grapheme) <y ý>, die ursprünglich hohe gerundete vordere Vokale [y y:] bezeichneten, die aber heute [i i] bezeichnen. Es gibt nur einen Buchstaben, nämlich <þ>, der immer den gleichen Laut [θ] bezeichnet. Alle anderen Buchstaben sind mindestens zweideutig oder sogar mehrdeutig. Aus diesem Grunde sind die Laut-Schrift-Beziehungen im modernen Isländischen sehr komplex und das Erlernen der Orthographie erfordert eine große Anstrengung. Im Folgenden sollen nun diese wichtigsten Beziehungen kurz dargestellt werden.

4.1. Konsonanten

1. Das Graphem ist in den meisten Stellungen ein stimmloses [p], *bara* [pa:ra] „nur“. Es kann auch lang sein [p:] *labba* [lap:a] „gehen“.

2. Das Graphem <p> ist aspiriert im Silbenanlaut *poki* [pʰɔ:cɪ] „Sack“, aber in anderen Stellungen [p] *spara* [spa:ra] „sparen“, *sápa* [sau:pa] „Seife“. Vor einem anderen Verschlusslaut wird es zu [f] *keypti* [ceiftu] „(ich) kaufte“. Wird es <pp> geschrieben, wird [hp] gesprochen: *seppi* [sehpi] „Hund“. Vor den Gruppen <pn pl> wird ebenfalls ein [h] eingeschoben: *epli* [ehpli] „Apfel“, *heppni* [hehpnɪ] „Glück“.
3. Das Graphem <m> ist vor den graphischen <p t> ein stimmloses [m̥], in anderen Stellungen hingegen ein stimmhaftes [m]: *mega* [mei:ya] „dürfen“, *sama* [sa:ma] „das gleiche“; *hampur* [hampʏr] „Hanf“, *skammta* [skampta] „rationieren“.
4. Das Graphem <f> ist [f] im Anlaut: *fara* [fa:ra] „fahren“. Im Inlaut, Auslaut und vor <ð> hingegen ist es [v]: *sofa* [sɔ:va] „schlafen“, *of* [ɔ:v] „zuviel“, *sofðu* [sɔvðy] „schlaf“ (Imperativ). In den Gruppen <fl fn> ist es [p]: *efni* [epni] „Stoff“, *efla* [epla] „befördern“.
5. Das Graphem <d> ist in allen Stellungen [t]: *dagur* [ta:ɣʏr] „Tag“, *edik* [e:tik] „Essig“. Wenn es <dd> geschrieben wird, ist es [t:]: *Edda* [et:a] weiblicher Vorname.
6. Das Graphem <þ> ist im Silbenanlaut aspiriert [tʰ]: *taka* [tʰa:ka] „nehmen“. In allen anderen Stellungen ist es unaspiriert [t]: *stara* [sta:ra] „starren“, *gata* [ka:ta] „Straße“.
In den orthographischen Gruppen <ll nn rl rn> wird es überhaupt nicht geschrieben: *allir* [atlr] „alle“, *Árni* [autnr] Eigenname, *varla* [vatla] „kaum“, *seinna* [seitna] „später“ (Adv. Komparativ).
Die orthographischen Gruppen <tt tl tn> haben ein [h] vor dem Verschlusslaut: *hattur* [hahtʏr] „Hut“, *ætla* [ahtla] „vorhaben“, *vattur* [vahtʏr] „Wasser“.
7. Das Graphem <n> ist intervokalisch und im Anlaut stimmhaft. Stimmlos ist es im Inlaut vor einem Graphem <t k>, im Auslaut nach stimmlosen Konsonanten und im Anlaut, wenn es <hn> geschrieben wird: *ná* [nau:] „erreichen“, *hani* [ha:nɪ] „Hahn“, *henta* [hetʏta] „passen“, *einn* [eitʏ] „ein“, *hnifur* [ni:vʏr] „Messer“. Vor dem Graphem <d> ist es stimmhaft [n]: *henda* [henta] „werfen“. Wenn es <nn> geschrieben wird, ist es entweder lang [n:] oder [tn tʏ]: *hanna* [han:a] „entwerfen“, *vænna* [vaitna] „lieber“ (Adv. Komparativ), *hreinn* [ʁeitn] „sauber“.
Vor den Graphemen <g k> ist <n> entweder palataler oder velarer Nasal, je nach der Artikulationsstelle des nachfolgenden Konsonanten, stimmlos vor <k>, stimmhaft vor <g>: *langa* [laŋga] „wünschen“, *hanki* [haŋci] „Haken“, *hringja* [riŋca] „anrufen“, *vinka* [viŋka] „winken“.
8. Das Graphem <s> ist immer apiko-alveolar, [s], entweder lang oder kurz: *masa* [ma:sa] „schwätzen“, *massi* [mas:i] „Masse“.
9. Das Graphem <þ> ist immer [θ]: *þá* [θau:] „dann“.

10. Das Graphem <ð> ist [ð], aber im Inlaut vor <k> ist es [θ]: *baða* [pa:ða] „baden“, *maðkur* [maθkyr] „Wurm“.
11. Das Graphem <l> ist stimmhaft im Anlaut, intervokalisches und vor allen Konsonanten außer <p t k>: *ala* [a:la] „ernähren“, *aldur* [altyr] „Alter“, *val* [va:l] „Wahl, Selektion“.
 Wenn es <ll> geschrieben wird, kann es lang sein [l:] oder die Gruppen [tl tʃ] darstellen: *villa* [vil:a] „Villa“, *villa* [vitla] „Fehler“, *höll* [hœtʃ] „Schloß“.
 Die Gruppe <hl> wird als stimmloses [ʃ] gesprochen: *hlé* [ʃje:] „Unterbrechung“.
 Vor den Graphemen <p t k> ist <l> stimmlos [ʃ]: *hjálpa* [çauʃpa] „helfen“, *valtur* [vaʃtyr] „instabil“, *kalk* [kʰaʃk] „Kalk“.
12. Das Graphem <r> ist immer eine apiko-alveolare Vibrante, in den meisten Stellungen stimmhaft [r]: *rá* [rau:] „Rabe“. Wenn es <rr> geschrieben wird, ist es intervokalisches und im Auslaut lang [r:]: *kerra* [cʰer:a] „Karre“, *verr* [ver:] „schlimmer“ (Adv. Komparativ).
 Das Graphem <r> ist stimmlos [ɾ] vor den Graphemen <p t k s>: *marka* [maɾka] „markieren“, *varta* [vaɾta] „Warze“, *harka* [haɾka] „Härte“, *sársauki* [sauɾsœci] „Schmerz“. Die Graphemfolge <hr> im Anlaut wird [ɾ] gesprochen: *hrár* [ɾau:r] „roh“.
13. Das Graphem <g> ist im Anlaut vor den Graphemen <ö u a á au ó o ú> [k] oder langes [k:] im Inlaut, wenn es <gg> geschrieben wird: *gata* [ka:ta] „Gasse“, *vagga* [vak:a] „Wiege“.
 Die Graphemfolge <gj> bezeichnet den palatalen Verschlusslaut [c], und <ggj> den langen Palatalen [c:]: *gjalda* [calta] „zahlen“, *leggja* [lec:a] „hinlegen“. Das Graphem <g> wird vor den Graphemen <i í y ý æ e ei ey> palatal [c] gesprochen: *gír* [ci:r] „Schaltung“, *gæs* [cai:s] „Gans“.
 Das <g> wird intervokalisches vor gerundeten Vokalen und vor [a], im Auslaut nach Vokal und im Inlaut vor <ð> als stimmhafte Frikative [ɣ] gesprochen: *laga* [la:ɣa] „reparieren“, *lag* [la:ɣ] „Melodie“, *lagði* [layði] „(er) legte hin“. Vor einem <ð> wird es [x] gesprochen: *sagt* [saxt] „gesagt“, *lagt* [laxt] „gelegt“.
 Wenn <gj> intervokalisches vorkommt, ist es [j]: *segja* [sei:ja] „sagen“. Intervokalisches <g> vor vorderen ungerundeten Vokalen ist ebenfalls [j]: *lögín* [lœi:jín] „die Gesetze“.
14. Das Graphem <k> ist aspiriert im Silbenanlaut, palatal wenn es <kj> geschrieben wird und vor den Graphemen <i í y ý æ e ei ey>, aber in anderen Fällen velar: *koma* [kʰo:ma] „kommen“, *kassi* [kʰasi] „Kasse“, *kjödur* [cʰö:lyr] „Kiel“, *kjáni* [cʰau:ni] „Dummkopf“, *keyra* [cʰei:ra] „fahren“.
 Vor einem Konsonanten [t] oder [s] wird es [x] gesprochen: *ekta* [exta] „echt“, *feykt* [feixt] „gefegt“, *loks* [lɔxs] „schließlich“. Die Graphemfolgen <kk kkj kkl kl kn> werden mit einem [h] vor dem Verschlusslaut gesprochen: *hakka* [hahka] „hacken“, *ekkja* [ehca] „Witwe“, *ökli* [œhklɪ] „Fußgelenk“, *lyklar* [lihklar] „Schlüssel“ (Pl.), *vökna* [vœhkna] „naß werden“.

15. Das Graphem <x> bezeichnet die Lautfolge [xs]: *lax* [laxs] „Lachs“.

16. Das Graphem <h> wird im Anlaut [h] ausgesprochen: *húfa* [hu:va] „Mütze“. Im Inlaut vor einem Konsonanten wird es überhaupt nicht geschrieben. Die Graphemfolgen <hr hl hn hj> werden [r l ɲ ç] ausgesprochen. Vor <é> wird <h> als [ç] realisiert: *héri* [çe:ri] „Hasen“. Die Graphemfolge <hv> ist [k^hv]: *hvar* [k^hva:r] „wo“.

4.2. Vokale und Diphthonge

Die Laut-Schrift-Beziehungen sind bei Vokalen und Diphthongen etwas einfacher als bei den Konsonanten. Allerdings sind sie auch nicht ganz regelmäßig, so daß auf einiges geachtet werden muß. Das Akzentzeichen <˘> über einigen Vokalen bezeichnet keine Betonung, sondern je nach Vokal eine bestimmte Klangfarbe bzw. einen Diphthong. Wie schon erwähnt wurde (s. 2.1.), ist die Betonung aller Wörter im Isländischen ausnahmslos auf der ersten Silbe.

Im folgenden werden die Laut-Schrift-Beziehungen für Vokale und Diphthonge kurz zusammengefaßt:

[i]	entsprechen die Grapheme	<í ý>
[ɪ]	„ „ „	<ı y>
[e]	„ „ „	<e é>
[ɤ]	entspricht das Graphem	<u>
[œ]	„ „ „	<ö>
[u]	„ „ „	<ú>
[ɔ]	„ „ „	<o>
[a]	„ „ „	<a>
[ei]	entsprechen die Grapheme	<ei ey>
[œi]	entspricht das Graphem	<au>
[ai]	„ „ „	<æ>
[au]	„ „ „	<á>
[ou]	„ „ „	<ó>

Zu diesen Entsprechungen gibt es einige wenige Ausnahmen, wobei die wichtigsten folgende sind:

1. Vor der Graphemfolge <ng nk> werden die Vokale wie folgt ausgesprochen:

<a>	als	[au]	<i>langur</i> [laun̥kʏr]	„lang“
<i>	als	[i]	<i>hringur</i> [r̥iŋkʏr]	„Ring“
<e>	als	[ei]	<i>lengur</i> [leɪŋkʏr]	„länger“
<u>	als	[u]	<i>ungur</i> [un̥kʏr]	„jung“
<ö>	als	[œi]	<i>þröng</i> [θrœiŋk]	„Enge“

Hierzu gibt es wiederum nur ganz wenige Ausnahmen wie z.B. *vangá* [vaŋkau] „Unachtsamkeit“.

2. In einigen sehr häufigen Wörtern wird <y> häufig als [ɤ] ausgesprochen (nicht als [i] oder nur selten): *spyrja* [spɤrja] „fragen“, *ykkur* [ɤhkʏr] „euch“.

3. In seltenen Fällen wird <i> als [i] ausgesprochen: *illur* [itlʏr] „schlimm“.
4. <é> ist die Lautfolge [je]: *él* [je:l] „Schneeschauer“.

5. HINWEISE FÜR DEN UNTERRICHT

Der phonetische Aspekt im Fremdsprachenunterricht ist in Island bisher stark vernachlässigt worden. Zur Zeit existiert kaum Lehrmaterial, das für den Ausspracheunterricht konzipiert oder geeignet wäre. Das könnte sich aber bald ändern, da die große Zahl von Immigranten in Island und die Probleme ihrer Eingliederung in die Gesellschaft die Aufmerksamkeit der Schulbehörde geweckt haben.

Die Erfahrung hat gezeigt, daß unter den Einwanderern in Island die Deutschen die isländische Aussprache relativ leicht lernen. Viele dort lebende Deutsche sprechen Isländisch fast perfekt, sowohl phonetisch als auch grammatisch. Dies ist möglich, ohne daß man dort geboren sein muß. Ein Rezept für gute Aussprache gibt es wohl nicht. Es kommt sehr viel auf die Motivation und die Nachahmungsfähigkeit des Einzelnen an.

Im folgenden soll nur kurz darauf hingewiesen werden, wo erfahrungsgemäß die größten Problembereiche liegen:

1. Das isländische Vokalsystem bietet für Deutsche kaum Probleme. Der Vokal [ɥ] hat im Deutschen allerdings keine genaue Entsprechung und darauf muß anfangs eine gewisse Aufmerksamkeit gerichtet sein. Auch ist es für einen Deutschen fremd, daß [ɪ] und [ɔ] im Isländischen lang sein können, was im Deutschen bekanntlich nicht der Fall ist. Diese Vokale können im Deutschen nur kurz vorkommen.
2. Im Konsonantensystem sind die stimmlosen Nasale [m̥ n̥ ŋ̥] und Liquiden [l̥ r̥] im allgemeinen das schwierigste Problem für alle Ausländer. Schwierig ist auch das [h], insbesondere im Wortinnern vor einem Verschlußlaut: *ekki* [ehci] „nicht“. Auch die palatalen Verschlußlaute bereiten anfangs gewisse Schwierigkeiten.
3. Deutsche müssen besonders darauf achten, daß im Isländischen kein stimmhaftes s [z] wie in *Sohn* [zo:n] existiert. Das isländische <s> ist immer apiko-alveolar und stimmlos [s].

Umgekehrt haben Isländer, die Deutsch lernen, das größte Problem mit den Konsonanten [z] und [ʃ], die im Isländischen nicht vorhanden sind. Im Vokalsystem bereitet das Schwa [ə] die größten Probleme. Dagegen ist das [ɥ] kaum problematisch, obwohl es im Isländischen nicht existiert. Das uvulare [ʀ] und das vokalisierte <r> [ɐ] des Deutschen bereiten Isländischsprechenden gewisse Schwierigkeiten beim Lernen der deutschen Aussprache.

Prosodisch bereitet der bewegliche Akzent des Deutschen, d.h. die Tatsache, daß der deutsche Akzent nicht immer auf die erste Silbe fällt, den Isländern große Schwierigkeiten. Darauf sollte in den Anfangsstufen des Unterrichts besonders geachtet werden.

6. WEITERFÜHRENDE LITERATUR

Die folgende Literatur gibt die im Artikel zitierten Werke an und außerdem einige Werke zu verschiedenen Aspekten der isländischen Sprache und der isländischen Kultur. Werke, die sich besonders auf die Aussprache beziehen, gibt es kaum, u.a. kein Aussprachewörterbuch.

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Povzetek

PODLAGE ZA FONETIČNE VAJE POD VODSTVOM ROJENIH GOVORCEV ISLANDŠČINE

Po uvodnih pojasnilih o zgodovini in sedanjih jezikovnih razmerah na Islandskem podaja avtor naslednje preglede: o splošnih značilnostih islandščine, o suprasegmentalnih pojavih (naglas, intonacija, ritmika), o segmentalnih pojavih, in sicer o zgradbi zloga, o samoglasnikih (o enoglasnikih in dvoglasnikih), o soglasnikih, o razmerju med izgovorjavo in pisavo. Na koncu so praktična navodila za pouk o islandski izgovorjavi.

FACHSPRACHLICHE KOLLOKATIONEN – SCHWERPUNKT DEUTSCH-SLOWENISCH

1. EINLEITUNG

„Fachsprache hat zwei Dimensionen, das Einzelwort, der Terminus, der meist im Zentrum der Terminologie steht, und die ebenfalls fachsprachliche Kontextualisierung des Terminus in seinen Kollokationen“ (Hausmann 2003: 83). Die Suche nach äquivalenten Termini in der Zielsprache ist bei juristischen Texten nicht selten eine anspruchsvolle Aufgabe. Wer Rechtstexte übersetzt, hat es nämlich nicht nur mit einem Sachgebiet in zwei verschiedenen Sprachen zu tun, sondern mit zwei Rechtsordnungen in zwei unterschiedlichen Sprachen. Nicht nur die Auswahl entsprechender Termini stellt eine große Herausforderung dar, sondern auch die Auswahl entsprechender Verben, Adjektive und Präpositionen, die sich mit Termini verbinden, z. B.: *einen Vertrag schließen/aufheben = skleniti/razveljaviti pogodbo, unter Verwendung einer Waffe = z uporabo orožja, das Gesetz verabschieden = sprejeti zakon...* Solche festen Wortverbindungen können selbst erfahrenen Übersetzern oft erhebliche Schwierigkeiten bereiten, weil sie eine Übersetzungseinheit bilden und daher nicht einzelsprachlich übersetzt werden können. Beim Fachtextübersetzen bereiten sie Schwierigkeiten nicht nur beim Hin-, sondern auch beim Herübersetzen. Der Grund dafür ist zum einen die Tatsache, dass jede Fachsprache meist Wortverbindungen enthält, die in der Gemeinsprache nicht zu finden sind; und zweitens: Viele dieser spezifischen Wortkombinationen sind in verschiedenen Nachschlagewerken (Glossaren, Lexika, Wörterbüchern...) nicht kodifiziert.

Der vorliegende Beitrag beschäftigt sich in erster Linie mit fachsprachlichen Kollokationen und mit der Notwendigkeit ihrer Aufnahme in Fachwörterbücher.

2. ZUM BEGRIFF DER KOLLOKATION

Der Begriff „Kollokation“ ist zunächst mit dem Namen des britischen Linguisten Firth - „innerhalb der Schule des britischen Kontextualismus“ - verbunden, der damit „das faktische Miteinandervorkommen beliebiger Wörter“ bezeichnet (Lehr 1993: 2). Im Rahmen der deutschsprachigen Germanistik wird der Terminus meist eingeschränkt auf typische, usuelle, konventionelle und rekurrente Lexemverbindungen. So geht auch Hausmann (1985: 118) von „wesenhaften Bedeutungsbeziehungen“ aus und unterscheidet zwischen wesentlichen und unwesentlichen Wortverbindungen. Nur die ersteren betrachtet er als Kollokationen, wobei das gleichzeitige Auftreten von zwei Elementen eine wichtige Voraussetzung ist.¹ Er definiert die Kollokation als „typische, spezifische

¹ Anders bei Firth (1957: 10), der das Phänomen als „cooccurrence of lexical items“ definiert, womit keine notwendige Begrenzung des Umfangs der Kollokation vorgegeben ist. Demnach kann eine Kollokation aus zwei, aber auch aus mehreren lexikalischen Einheiten bestehen. Laut Jones/Sinclair (1973: 16, zitiert in Bergenholz/Tarp 1994: 404) kann auch ein „gleichberechtigtes Miteinander-Auftreten“ von Lexemen

und charakteristische Zweierkombination von Wörtern“ (ebd.), oder genauer: „die Kollokation ist die phraseologische Kombination von Basis und Kollokator“ (Hausmann 2003: 83). Die Basis ist ein Wort, das ohne Kontext definiert, übersetzt und gelernt werden kann und determiniert den anderen Teil der Kollokation - den Kollokator, der nicht ohne Kontext definiert, übersetzt und gelernt werden kann (vgl. Hausmann 2003: 83), z. B.: *ein Streichholz anreißen* = anzünden. Während die Basis (*Streichholz*) keines Kontextes bedarf, ist das beim Kollokator (*anreißen*) nicht der Fall. Die Basen sind daher „semiotaktisch autonom“, die Kollokatoren hingegen „semiotaktisch abhängig“. Was die Wortart betrifft, so kommt als typische Basis ein Substantiv vor, zu dem sich dann als typischer Kollokator ein Adjektiv (*ein starker Raucher, eine bittere Enttäuschung*) oder ein Verb (*ein Buch aufschlagen, die Begierde stillen*) gesellt. Eine substantivische Basis kann aber auch einen substantivischen Kollokator besitzen: So hat *Hitze* als Kollokator *Wallung* → *Hitzewallung*, *Zorn* als Basis bildet eine Kollokation mit dem Kollokator *Ausbruch* → *Zornausbruch* (dagegen nicht **Zornanfall*, wohl aber *Wutanfall*, auch *Wutausbruch*)² (vgl. Hausmann 2003: 85). Wie schon betont, betrachtet Hausmann als Kollokationen nur Kombinationen von zwei Wörtern, und bei diesen nur die, die in einem Determinationsverhältnis stehen. Wie aber aus den obigen Beispielen (*Hitzewallung...*) ersichtlich wird, zählt er zu Kollokationen nicht nur Wortverbindungen aus zwei getrennt geschriebenen Einheiten, sondern auch Komposita.

Ähnlich wie Hausmann macht auch Viehweger (1982) einen Unterschied zwischen banalen und typischen Wortkombinationen, z. B.: *ein Buch kaufen* (banal) / *ein Buch aufschlagen* (typisch), *einen Vogel sehen* (banal) / *einen Vogel beobachten* (typisch). Die Verbindung *ein Buch kaufen* sei im Gegensatz zu *ein Buch aufschlagen* untypisch, da die Aktion *kaufen* im Hinblick auf *Buch* banal sei. Bergenholtz/Tarp (1994: 406) halten das Relevanzkriterium für problematisch und führen dabei das Argument der Subjektivität ins Feld. Statt dessen schlagen sie eine frequenzorientierte Kollokationsselektion vor - die Selektion von auffälligen Kollokationen, die auch lexikographisch relevant sind.

An dieser Stelle soll noch eine wichtige Komponente der Kollokation angesprochen werden – nämlich ihre phraseologische Dimension. Burger (2003: 51) versteht unter dem Begriff „Kollokation“ jene festen Wortverbindungen, „die nicht oder nur schwach idiomatisch sind“. Übrigens rechnet Burger (2003: 37 f.) Kollokationen dem Bereich der referentiellen Phraseologismen zu, die syntaktisch gesehen einem oder mehreren Satzgliedern entsprechen (nominative bzw. satzgliedwertige Phraseologismen). Nominative Phraseologismen lassen sich nach dem semantischen Kriterium der Idiomatizität des weiteren in drei Gruppen unterteilen: Idiome (idiomatische Wortverbindungen), Teil-Idiome (teil-idiomatische Wortverbindungen) und Kollokationen (nicht- bzw. schwach-idiomatische Phraseologismen).

Dieser phraseologische Aspekt der Kollokationen wird auch bei Hausmann (2003: 84) angesprochen; idiomatische Redewendungen kann man als Phraseme und die Kollokationen als Halbphraseme bezeichnen. Sowohl die einen wie auch die anderen sind im Gedächtnis der Sprecher als phraseologische Einheiten gespeichert. Der Unterschied

angenommen werden: „there ist no difference in status between node and collocate“; das heißt, jedes Element einer Kollokation kann als Basis (node) oder als Kollokator (collocate) gesehen werden.

² Die slowenischen Entsprechungen: *Hitzewallung* = *vročinski val*, *Zornausbruch* = *izbruh jeze*, *Wutanfall* = *napad/naval besa/gneva/popadel ga je bes/gnev*.

zwischen den beiden besteht aber darin, dass die Redewendungen keine Basis und nur *en bloc* Bedeutung haben – d.h. die verwendeten Wörter können nicht für sich selbst stehen, wie etwa *jemanden durch den Kakao ziehen*. Oder mit anderen Worten: Die Bedeutung dieser letzten Wortverbindung lässt sich nicht aus der Summe der Bedeutung der Konstituenten erschließen. Im obigen Beispiel geht es nicht um Kakao, während es sich in der vorher erwähnten Kollokation *ein Streichholz anreißen* sehr wohl um ein Streichholz handelt (vgl. Hausmann 2003: 84).

Fleischer (1997: 251 f.) rechnet Kollokationen zum nichtidiomatischen Typ der Phraseologismen. Da solche nichtidiomatischen Wortverbindungen nicht alle Kriterien der Phraseologie³ erfüllen, gehören sie nicht dem idiomatischen-teilidiomatischen Zentrum mit stabilen und lexikalisierten Wortverbindungen an, sondern der Peripherie, wo nichtidiomatische, aber mehr oder weniger feste Wortverbindungen zu finden sind. Nichtidiomatisch heißt bei Fleischer, die Bedeutung der Wortverbindung lässt sich aus der Summe der Bedeutungen der Konstituenten erschließen und ist somit kompositionell. Die Kompositionalität ist aber gerade bei Kollokationen strittig, u. z. wegen der semantischen Besonderheit des Kollokators. Die Bedeutung des Kollokators kann nämlich erst in Verbindung mit der Basis festgelegt werden (wie *anreißen* in *ein Streichholz anreißen*). Auffällig ist auch die Tatsache, dass die Verben oder Adjektive als Kollokatoren in den gegebenen Lexemverbindungen keine oder wenige Synonyme aufweisen, selbst wenn man rein theoretisch das gleiche mit anderen – synonymen - Verben bzw. Adjektiven ausdrücken könnte: **Kaffee nehmen* (nur *Kaffee trinken*), **eingefleischter Raucher* (wohl aber *starker Raucher*). In diesem Sinne sind auch Kollokationen als eine Bedeutungseinheit zu verstehen (vgl. dazu auch Caro Cedillo 2004: 38).

Einige Linguisten bezeichnen Kollokationen als idiomatisch, wobei die Idiomatizität nicht im Sinne der Undurchsichtigkeit der Bedeutung gemeint ist. So auch Hausmann (1995: 22): „Kollokationen sind durchsichtig, aber nicht vorhersehbar.“ Außerdem ist die Idiomatizität der Kollokation in erster Linie mit der Idiosynkrasie verbunden, mit der Eigenschaft „einzelsprachlich unterschiedlich“ (so z. B. *das Bett machen* = slow. *postlati (posteljo)*, *den Tisch decken* = slow. *pogniti mizo* = engl. *to lay the table*, *Kaffee machen* = slow. *skuhati kavo*, *Salat putzen* = slow. *(na)trebiti solato*, *den Tisch abräumen* = engl. *to clear the table* = slow. *pospraviti z mize*, *unter die Dusche gehen/duschen* = slow. *oprhati se/iti pod prho* = it. *fare la doccia*, *sich die Zähne putzen* = slow. *umiti si zobe* = fr. *se laver les dents*) aber auch – wie schon oben betont – mit der Spezifität des Kollokators, der keine oder sehr wenige Synonyme erlaubt.⁴

Während Idiome neben Idiomatizität auch das Kriterium der semantisch-syntaktischen Stabilität erfüllen, sind Kollokationen „semantisch und syntaktisch regulär und weisen keine Besonderheiten auf“ (Caro Cedillo 2004: 40). Sie sind syntaktisch flexibel und erlauben verschiedene Transformationen wie z. B. *ein Streichholz anzünden*, *Streichhölzer anzünden*, *die kleinen Streichhölzer anzünden*, *das Streichholz wurde angezündet* etc. Die Kollokationen weisen keine „innere“, wohl aber eine „äußere Stabilität“ auf. Irsula

³ Die drei Hauptmerkmale der Phraseologie sind Idiomatizität, Stabilität und Lexikalisierung (vgl. Fleischer 1997, Kapitel 2. 1, 2. 2, 2. 3). Zu betonen ist jedoch in diesem Zusammenhang, dass sich Fleischers Untersuchungen auf die gemeinsprachliche und nicht auf die fachsprachliche Phraseologie beziehen.

⁴ Synonymie beim Kollokator: *eine Rolle spielen* = slow.: *imeti vlogo*, auch *igrati vlogo* – wobei das Letztere umgangssprachlich ist, weit verbreitet, schriftsprachlich jedoch nicht korrekt; im Recht: *ein Testament errichten*, in der Praxis statt *errichten* auch *machen* als Synonym weit verbreitet).

(1994: 17) unterscheidet in Anlehnung an Coulmas (1981) zwischen einer inneren und einer äußeren Stabilität. Während sich die innere Stabilität auf die syntaktische und semantische Struktur der Wortverbindung bezieht, ist die äußere, pragmatische Stabilität „auf die Rekurrenz des Miteinandervorkommens in bestimmten kommunikativen Situationen oder Textsorten, für den Ausdruck rekurrenter Sachverhalte reduziert“ (Caro Cedillo 2004: 41).

3. TERMINI UND KOLLOKATIONEN IN FACHWÖRTERBÜCHERN – ABGRENZUNGSPROBLEMATIK

Beim Erstellen von Fachwörterbüchern oder terminologischen Datenbanken ergeben sich nicht selten Schwierigkeiten in Bezug auf die Abgrenzung der Kollokationen von den Mehrworttermini. Eine klare Trennung – vor allem nominaler Kollokationen (Adjektiv-Substantiv- oder Substantiv-Substantiv-Verbindung) und Mehrworttermini – ist trotz (zahlreicher) Definitionen der beiden Begriffe oft nicht einfach. „Mehrworttermini werden von den nominalen Kollokationen durch die Kriterien, dass sie eine neue „gut definierte Realität“ ausdrücken (Cohen 1993: 507 und Reichling 1993: 488), aufgrund ihrer Zugehörigkeit zur Fachsystematik (Bergenholtz/Tarp 1994: 401) sowie aufgrund ihrer begrifflichen Autonomie (Schneider 1998: 82) abgegrenzt“ (Caro Cedillo 2004: 90). Auf der anderen Seite haben aber auch Kollokationen einen eigenen Referenten, drücken fachspezifische Sachverhalte aus, bilden eine semantische Einheit und lassen sich nur zusammen übersetzen (vgl. Caro Cedillo, ebd.).

Die Abgrenzung der Kollokationen gegenüber den Mehrworttermini ist für die fachsprachliche Lexikographie von großer Bedeutung; durch eine (klare) Systematik könnte man nämlich eine Belastung der Makro- und Mikrostruktur des Wörterbuchs vermeiden und dadurch den Benutzern einen leichteren Umgang mit dem Nachschlagewerk ermöglichen. Dies lässt sich anhand des folgenden Beispiels beweisen: Die im Recht oft vorkommenden Ausdrücke *Vollmachtserteilung* und *Vollmachts-überschreitung* werden in verschiedenen Nachschlagewerken⁵ sehr heterogen behandelt. Im deutsch-slowenischen Rechts- und Wirtschaftswörterbuch von Apovnik/Karničar (1989: 360) sind unter dem Lemma *Vollmacht* unter anderem auch die Kollokationen *eine Vollmacht erteilen* (= *dati pooblastilo*) und *eine Vollmacht überschreiten* (*prekoračiti pooblastilo*) angeführt. Außerdem finden sich in diesem Wörterbuch auch ihre nominalisierten Formen, u. z. als selbstständige Lemmata – *Vollmachtserteilung* (= *pooblastitev*) und *Vollmachtsüberschreitung* (= *prekoračitev pooblastila*). Im Rechtswörterbuch von Creifelds (1996: 1417-1419, ein umfangreiches einsprachiges Rechtswörterbuch, das Termini und ihre Definitionen, aber keine Kollokationen enthält) sind nur *Vollmacht* und *Vollmachtsmißbrauch* lemmatisiert, dagegen nicht *Vollmachtserteilung* und *Vollmachts-überschreitung*. Ähnlich auch im Rechtswörterbuch von Köbler (1998: 441), wo nur *Vollmacht* vorkommt. Im juristischen Lehrbuch zum bürgerlichen Recht von Koziol/

⁵ Die analysierten Nachschlagewerke: Apovnik/Karničar (1989): Deutsch-slowenisches Rechts- und Wirtschaftswörterbuch (zweisprachig, mit Übersetzungsäquivalenten und Kollokationen, Adressaten sind m. E. in erster Linie Übersetzer, d. h. Laien); Creifelds (1996): Rechtswörterbuch (einsprachig, Termini mit dazugehörigen Definitionen, für Juristen und Laien bestimmt); Köbler (1997): Juristisches Wörterbuch. Für Studium und Ausbildung (einsprachig, Termini mit Definitionen, der Adressatenkreis: vor allem die Studierenden im Fach Recht). Das Wörterbuch von Apovnik/Karničar ist das einzige für das Sprachenpaar Deutsch-Slowenisch, das auch Kollokationen – u. z. in den beiden Sprachen – enthält.

Welser (1995) findet sich im Sachverzeichnis nur *Vollmachtsüberschreitung*, u. z. mit dem Verweis auf entsprechende Seiten im Buch. Im Text selbst wird der Ausdruck dann nicht definiert; es sind lediglich Fälle der Vollmachtsüberschreitung dargestellt, u. z. *Vertretung ohne Vertretungsmacht*, *Mißbrauch der Vertretungsmacht* und *Insichgeschäft*. Natürlich drängt sich hier folgende Frage auf: sind *Vollmachtserteilung* und *Vollmachtsüberschreitung* Termini, oder geht es dabei lediglich um die Nominalisierung der Kollokationen? Als Nicht-Fachmann/Fachfrau würde man sich in Anlehnung an die oben dargestellten Tatsachen eher für die letzte Möglichkeit einsetzen. Aus fachlicher Sicht ist die oben dargestellte Problematik jedoch anders zu bewerten: *Vollmachtserteilung*, die auch als Synonym für *Bevollmächtigung* verwendet wird, bezieht sich auf einen genau definierten Begriff und kann in diesem Sinne als Terminus aufgefasst werden. Auch bei der *Vollmachtsüberschreitung* ist das **sehr wahrscheinlich**⁶ der Fall, denn dabei handelt es sich nicht nur um die Konkretisierung bzw. Ergänzung des Terminus *Vollmacht* (*eine Vollmacht überschreiten*), sondern um den Übergang in einen neuen Zustand mit neuen Rechtsfolgen. *Vollmachtsüberschreitung* stellt inhaltlich eine selbstständige Einheit dar und ist demzufolge auch als Terminus einzustufen. Zum Vergleich kann man beispielsweise *Notwehrüberschreitung* (*prekoračitev silobrana/prekoračeni silobran*) nehmen, die als Terminus zählt. Merkwürdig ist dabei, dass der Ausdruck sowohl im deutschen Rechtswörterbuch von Köbler wie auch im deutsch-slowenischen Wörterbuch von Apovnik/Karničar vorkommt, nicht dagegen im juristischen Wörterbuch von Creifelds. Erwähnenswert ist in diesem Zusammenhang noch *Testamenterrichtung*, die im Wörterbuch von Apovnik/Karničar angeführt ist, u. z. sowohl in der Nominalform als Lemma, wie auch als Kollokation *Testament errichten* (unter der Basis *Testament*). Im Gegensatz zu *Vollmachtserteilung* und *Vollmachtsüberschreitung* gilt sie jedoch nicht als Terminus, sondern als Kollokation. Das genannte Wörterbuch verfährt gleich bei Termini und Kollokationen – alle sind lemmatisiert. Diese Methode ist meiner Meinung nach unsystematisch, da Termini und Nicht-Termini gleich behandelt werden; darüber hinaus ist sie aber auch unökonomisch, da sie viel Platz in Anspruch nimmt.

Es handelt sich hier um ein wesentliches Problemgebiet, das beim Konzipieren von Fachwörterbüchern unbedingt mehr Beachtung verdient. Lexikographen bzw. Linguisten verfügen nur ausnahmsweise über ein ausreichendes Fachwissen; dieses ist aber beim Erstellen eines Fachwörterbuches eine unerlässliche Voraussetzung, denn zwischen der allgemeinsprachlichen Lexikographie und der Fachlexikographie liegt ein radikaler Unterschied vor (vgl. Bergenholtz/Tarp 1994: 401). Eine von Fachleuten ausgearbeitete Fachsystematik, die als Grundlage für die fachlexikographische Arbeit dienen kann, schließt sowohl die Klassifizierung von Termini wie auch die Selektion der fachlich relevanten Kollokationen ein. In Anlehnung daran wären nur Termini lemmatisiert, Kollokationen kämen lediglich als Angaben im jeweiligen Wörterbuchartikel vor; dies ist jedoch nur eine von zahlreichen Möglichkeiten der makro- und mikrostrukturellen Gliederung des Fachwörterbuches (mehr hierzu vgl. Bergenholtz/Tarp 1994: 393 ff.). Wichtig ist in diesem Zusammenhang auch die Frage, wo die Kollokationen angegeben sind – unter

⁶ Selbst die Fachleute können nicht immer mit Sicherheit sagen, ob es sich bei einer Wortgruppe/einem Kompositum um einen Terminus oder eine Kollokation handelt. „Nur ein großes Team von Fachleuten aus den vorgesehenen Fächern könnte entscheiden, ob es sich in den jeweiligen Fächern um Termini handelt oder nicht“ (Bergenholtz/Tarp 1994: 392).

der Basis oder unter dem Kollokator. Im Fachwörterbuch von Apovnik/Karničar zeigt sich diesbezüglich eine gewisse Unsystematik, u. z. viele Kollokationen kommen sowohl unter dem Kollokator wie auch unter der Basis vor, z. B.: **verabschieden** (= Kollokator): ... ein Gesetz verabschieden *izglasovati zakon, sprejeti zakon*; **Gesetz** (= Basis): ... ein Gesetz verabschieden *sprejeti zakon*. Diese Vorgehensweise ist platzverschwendend und belastet sowohl die Makro- wie auch die Mikrostruktur des Wörterbuchs. „Auf Kollokationsangaben spezialisierte Wörterbücher sollen sich auf Basisartikel beschränken und diese möglichst vollständig mit Kollokationen füllen. So helfen sie dem Benutzer wirksam beim Formulieren von Texten“ (Hausmann 2003: 87). Dieses Prinzip ist also vor allem für Produktionswörterbücher geeignet (vgl. auch Hausmann 1985), d. h. für die Wörterbücher, die den Übersetzern beiseite stehen sollen.

4. BEDARF AN KOLLOKATIONSANGABEN

„Eine wortwörtliche, an den Strukturen der Ausgangssprache orientierte Übersetzung, oder eine entsprechend der Strukturen der Zielsprache unübliche Übersetzung von Kollokationen führt notgedrungen zu Fehlübersetzungen [...]“ (Caro Cedillo 2004: 32), z. B.: *einen Unterbevollmächtigten bestellen* = **naročiti namestnika* (richtig: *postaviti/imenovati namestnika*), *eine Norm verletzen* = **poškodovati normo* (richtig: *kršiti normo*), *im eigenen/fremden Namen handeln* = **ravnati v svojem/tujem imenu* (besser: *nastopati v...*), *Rechte/Freiheiten achten/schützen* = **pravice/svoboščine upoštevati/ščititi* (richtig: *spoštovati/varovati*), *in Kraft treten* = **priti v veljavo/pričeti veljati* (besser: *stopiti v veljavo*)... Fachsprachliche Kollokationen bereiten Probleme nicht nur beim Hin-, sondern auch beim Herübersetzen. Die Übersetzer müssen die Kollokationen im Ausgangstext erkennen und dann in der Muttersprache typische Kollokationen wählen, z. B.: *das Gesetz verabschieden* = *sprejeti zakon*, *zur Last legen* = *obtožiti/vložiti obtožbo (zoper)*, *die Mängel beheben* = *odpraviti napake*, *in Rechte eingreifen* = *posegati v pravice*...⁷ Diese und folgende Kollokationen sind in der Rechtssprache sehr gängig; da sie aber fachspezifisch sind, bereiten sie als solche den Übersetzern nicht selten (große) Schwierigkeiten. Die obigen Kollokationen kommen im Rechtswörterbuch von Apovnik/Karničar vor, wohingegen es für folgende entweder kein Äquivalent gibt, Informationen darüber in diesem Wörterbuch nur schwierig zu erhalten sind, oder die vorgeschlagenen Kollokationen nicht typisch sind: *notwehrfähig sein* (*etwas ist notwehrfähig: Rechtsgüter des Staates sind notwehrfähig*) = *silobran je možen pri...*, *Vorstrafen aufweisen* = *biti kaznovan zaradi istovrstnega kaznivega dejanja*, *den Mietzins mindern*⁸ = *znižati najemnino*, *Kündigungsschutz (und Räumungsschutz) genießen* = *uživati pravno varstvo zoper odpoved (in izselitev iz stanovanja)*, *für eigene/fremde Rechnung handeln*⁹ = *nastopati za/na svoj/tuj račun, unter Verwendung*

⁷ Bei den verbalen Kollokationen (substantivischer Terminus als Basis + Verb als Kollokator oder Adjektiv + Verb) erweist sich die Wahl solcher Verben oft als besonders schwierig, die für einen fachsprachlichen Kontext angemessen sind. Weniger allerdings dann, wenn „es sich um rein fachsprachliche Verben handelt, die auch vom Nichtfachmann leicht als solche erkannt werden ... (Picht 1988, 187). Problematischer wird es dann, wenn scheinbar „harmlose gemeinsprachliche Verben“ eingesetzt werden müssen (vgl. die Beispiele).

⁸ In Apovnik/Karničar (1989: 202) findet sich unter *Minderung* nur ~ *des Kaufpreises* = *znižanje kupnine*.

⁹ In Apovnik/Karničar (1989: 242) kommt unter *Rechnung* nur die Wortverbindung *auffür eigene* ~ und *für* ~ *eines anderen* vor, d.h. ohne das typische Verb *handeln*.

einer Waffe = z uporabo orožja, sich rechtswidrig zueignen = protipravno prisvojiti si, den Kaufgegenstand besichtigen = pregledati predmet pogodbe, zu Wohnzwecken vermieten = dati v najem za bivanje/kot bivalne prostore, Anspruch auf etw. haben = biti upravičen do česa, in Kraft treten¹⁰ = stopiti v veljavo. Als Übersetzer/in ist man bei der Suche nach typischen Kollokationen in der Zielsprache auf andere Quellen angewiesen – etwa auf relevante Abschnitte eines Handbuches oder auf Paralleltex-te, was aber zeitaufwendig sein kann.

Wie schon gesagt, stellt das Übersetzen von Kollokationen eine große Herausforderung dar. Wichtig dabei ist es daher, „dass den Übersetzern zumindest gute lexikographische und terminographische Hilfsmittel beiseite stehen. Dies gilt vor allem für den Bereich der Fachsprachen, da hier das Kollokationswissen auch für die Herübersetzung in der Muttersprache nicht vorausgesetzt werden kann“ (Caro Cedillo 2004: 34). Der Bedarf an Kollokationsangaben in Fachwörterbüchern ist groß, insbesondere in solchen Fachwörterbüchern, deren intendierte Adressaten auch Laien¹¹ sind. Von Vorteil wären Fachwörterbücher a) mit einer eindeutigen Makrostruktur, wo mehr oder weniger klar zwischen Termini und Nicht-Termini (d. h. Kollokationen) unterschieden wird, b) mit einer präzisen Mikrostruktur, wo die Kollokationen im Rahmen des Wörterbuchartikels immer einen bestimmten Platz haben und konsequent entweder unter der Basis bzw. unter dem Kollokator vorkommen und schließlich c) Fachwörterbücher, die reich an Kollokationen sind und als solche den Benutzern bei der Produktion in der Fachsprache zuverlässig beiseite stehen.

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¹⁰ In Apovnik/Karničar (1989: 177) wird *in Kraft treten* als *začeti veljati* übersetzt, was keine typische Kollokation ist.

¹¹ Laut Schaefer (1994, 70) sind Laien fachlich interessierte Laien (dazu zählen auch Übersetzer) oder angehende Fachleute (Lerner) des betreffenden Faches.

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Povzetek

KOLOKACIJE S TEŽIŠČEM NA NEMŠKO-SLOVENSKEM STROKOVNEM JEZIKU

Strokovni jezik ima dve dimenziji: posamezno besedo, termin, ki je osnovna enota terminologije, in kontekstualizacijo termina v obliki kolokacij. Iskanje ekvivalentnih terminov je pri pravnih besedilih neredko zahtevna naloga. Kdor prevaja pravna besedila, namreč nima opraviti le s strokovnim področjem v dveh različnih jezikih, temveč tudi z dvema pravnima redoma. Zelo zahtevna je v pravu ne le izbira primernih terminov, ampak tudi raba ustreznih glagolov, pridevnikov in predlogov, ki se s termini povezujejo, npr.: *einen Vertrag schließen/aufheben* = *skleniti/razveljaviti pogodbo*, *unter Verwendung einer Waffe* = *z uporabo orožja*, *das Gesetz verabschieden* = *sprejeti zakon* itn. Take besedne zveze tudi izkušene prevajalce postavljajo pred težavne naloge, saj oblikujejo prevodne celote in jih zato ni mogoče prevajati segmentirano oz. na podlagi zgolj besednih ustreznic. Kolokacije v strokovnem jeziku povzročajo težave ne le pri prevajanju v tuji, pač pa tudi v materni jezik. Vzrok je na eni strani v tem, da večinoma vsak strokovni jezik vsebuje besedne zveze, ki v splošnem jeziku ne obstajajo. Poleg tega pa mnogih tovrstnih besednih zvez ni najti v različnih priročnikih kot so leksikoni, glosarji, slovarji ipd. V pričujočem članku se v poglobitnem posvečam kolokacijam in neogibnosti njihovega vključevanja v strokovne slovarje.

EFL STUDENTS' USE OF GRAMMATICAL INFORMATION IN FIVE LEADING BRITISH LEARNERS' DICTIONARIES

Abstract

Grammar is one of the elements of lexicographic description. In order to find out whether dictionary users use their dictionaries to retrieve grammatical information, we carried out a research-based study investigating their skills. This article presents and discusses the results of a study into the use by EFL students of grammatical information included in five leading British learners' dictionaries. The ability of students to use dictionary entries was tested by means of 33 sentences. Some of the sentences were grammatically correct; others contained a grammatical mistake. The students had to detect mistakes with the help of enclosed dictionary entries. The aim of the study was to find out whether there were any great differences among the dictionaries used and how successful the test subjects were in finding and using grammatical information.

1. Introduction

Undoubtedly, foreign learners use their bilingual and monolingual dictionaries when they come across an unknown word or phrase, when they do not know or cannot remember an appropriate expression, when they want to check spelling, pronunciation, collocations, idioms or the grammar of a particular word. Cowie (1999: 180) mentions that bilingual dictionaries are used at all levels for decoding, whereas the monolingual ones come into their own as a source of meanings at the more advanced level when the knowledge of L2 is much better. But how good are foreign learners at finding the pieces of information they really need? In order to find this out, many studies have been conducted into the users and uses of learners' dictionaries in the last 25 years, the studies testing different aspects, such as the frequency of use of dictionaries, the types of information the users most often seek, the retrieval of multi-word items, the use of a dictionary for reading, the use of a dictionary for translation purposes, and dictionary look-up processes (Atkins 1998, Battenburg 1991, Béjoint 1981, Cowie 1999, Nuccorini 1992, Tomaszczyk 1979, Tono 2001). As is evident from many studies, foreign learners of English use their dictionaries primarily for meanings, which is followed by other types of information, such as synonyms, idioms, spelling, pronunciation, syntactic patterns or grammar (Béjoint 1981, Tomaszczyk 1979).

Grammar is by no means an unimportant element of a dictionary entry. Learners' dictionaries employ various means for incorporating information on the grammar of the individual words they list. Grammatical information (McCorduck 1993: 13–26) can be

included in a direct way (e.g. in the form of usage notes, explanatory notes, abbreviations, coded symbols or abbreviated phrases) or in an indirect way (e.g. definitions, examples of use). As regards frequency of use of grammatical information, most studies report that dictionary users consult syntactic information quite commonly (Béjoint 1981, Herbst and Stein 1987), whereas some studies show that users employ this grammatical information infrequently (Battenburg 1991, Nuccorini 1992).

The information on frequency of use of grammatical information is not indicative of the users' reference skills. Is it that those users who infrequently (or never) consult the dictionary as regards grammar are unaware of the fact that grammar is included in monolingual learners' dictionaries? And do those users who ordinarily seek grammatical information know how to use it correctly when encoding?

Much has been written about the role of grammar in the dictionary as well as about the place and nature of grammatical information in learners' dictionaries, but very little has been said about the usefulness or the usability of the various systems that can be found in such dictionaries (Bogaards and van der Kloot 2001: 97). With this in view, we decided to devise a questionnaire aimed at testing the users' capacity to retrieve grammatical information from various parts of a dictionary entry and consequently to be able to use this information appropriately. Our initial hypothesis was that a dictionary should be of great help when users are not quite sure about the grammatical features of the entry word. Consequently, we assumed that there should be a causal relationship between the correct responses and the use of dictionaries. The results of this study are presented and discussed in this article.

2. METHODOLOGY

2.1 Test Subjects

Research was carried out among 162 students of the University of Ljubljana, Slovenia. One hundred and fifty-seven respondents (i.e. 96.9 %) speak Slovene as their mother tongue and 5 (i.e. 3.1 %) speak some other language as their mother tongue. The test subjects were asked to give details about the number of years they had been studying English. Most of the respondents (i.e. 69.1 %) had been studying English for 10–12 years, 15.4 % had studied it for less than 10 years and 15.4 % for more than 12 years. Our test subjects were considered as belonging to a quite homogenous group: most of them attended schools in Slovenia; they had the same number of English lessons per year and covered the same syllabus. For these reasons we considered it unnecessary for them to undergo a placement test. However, we did enquire about the students' average grades in English in grammar school. The majority of students indicated that their average school grade in English was either A (37 %) or B (34.6 %), 24.1 % had a Grade of C and only 4.3 % a Grade of D.

2.2 Test Design

The questionnaire consisted of two parts: a Dictionary User Profile Form and a Dictionary Research Test. The Dictionary User Profile Form was aimed at obtaining information about the dictionary users, i.e. their mother tongue, how long they had been studying English, their grades in grammar school (cf. 2.1 Test Subjects). The

next few questions concentrated on the frequency of use of monolingual dictionaries, on the frequency of looking up grammatical information, on the types of grammatical information they most often look up and on whether they check grammatical codes or abbreviated phrases they do not understand in the front matter (cf. 3. Users' habits concerning the retrieval of grammatical information).

The Dictionary Research Test concentrated on the respondents' abilities to retrieve grammatical information in five leading British monolingual learners' dictionaries: COBUILD4, OALD6, CALD2, LDOCE4, and MED1. It consisted of 33 sentences, 5 of them with the noun *statistic*, 7 with the noun *experience*, 5 with the verb *commit*, 5 with the verb *afford*, 6 with the adjective *nice*, and 5 with the adjective *alive*. The respondents had to read the sentences and find out whether there were any grammatical mistakes in the use of the above-mentioned words. The grammatical mistakes the students were supposed to find were the following:

- in sentences containing the nouns *statistic* and *experience*: plural vs. singular use (depending on the meaning), countable vs. uncountable, prepositions that follow a noun;
- in sentences containing the verbs *commit* and *afford*: reflexive use, the verb is followed by the preposition and the gerund (not to-infinitive), the use of appropriate prepositions, spelling changes in inflected forms, the obligatory use of the modal verb ('can' in connection with the verb 'afford'), the verb cannot be used in the passive, transitivity;
- in sentences containing the adjectives *nice* and *alive*: predicative vs. attributive use, prepositions that follow a particular adjective, comparison (inflected vs. paraphrastic), grammatical structures that follow the adjective.

The test subjects had to decide which sentences were correct (in this case they had to tick the sentence) and which incorrect (in this case they had to correct the mistake). They were subdivided into five groups depending on the dictionary tested. Accordingly, the Dictionary Research Test was accompanied by a specially designed booklet with dictionary entries for the above-mentioned words taken from one of the learners' dictionaries. Thirty-two students were given the booklet with entries taken from MED1, 32 from OALD6, 31 from LDOCE4, 36 from COBUILD4, and 31 from CALD2. The students were encouraged to use these dictionary entries as much as possible. Each sentence was followed by a question asking the students whether they had consulted the enclosed dictionary entry or not, and if they had, they were asked to answer the next question, i.e. where in the dictionary entry they had found the necessary piece of information. The aim of the last question was to test whether dictionary users are able to identify the appropriate sense of the word in context and consequently, to be able to retrieve grammatical information concerning one particular sense of the entry word.

2.3 Procedure of data collection

For the purpose of this study, data were collected by means of a questionnaire accompanied by booklets with relevant dictionary entries. Test subjects were given the questionnaire, and the researchers explained what they had to do. The respondents were supposed to complete the questionnaire in 60 minutes. The respondents' answers were

appropriately coded and prepared for a statistical analysis using the Microsoft Excel program. Standard statistical methods were used for the data processing, which was carried out by the SPSS for Windows, version 11.

3. USER HABITS CONCERNING THE RETRIEVAL OF GRAMMATICAL INFORMATION

Before testing the students' actual skills in retrieving grammatical information from EFL dictionaries, we wanted to obtain some basic information about their everyday use of dictionaries. That is why the Dictionary User Profile Form included some additional questions to provide insight into the students' dictionary habits. First of all, we enquired about the frequency of use of monolingual dictionaries. The results show that 40.1 % of the test subjects only rarely use their monolingual dictionary, 32.7 % evaluated their use of dictionaries as 'frequent'; 21 % are regular dictionary users, and only 5.6 % do not use their monolingual dictionary at all (0.6 % provided no answer). This question was aimed at getting information about the general use of monolingual dictionaries, whereas the next question concentrated on the frequency of consulting monolingual dictionaries to obtain grammatical information. The results were far from being encouraging, since only 3.1 % of the test subjects regularly use a dictionary to find grammatical information about the entry word. The majority of the respondents (i.e. 53.1 %) rarely consult a dictionary when faced with grammatical problems; 27.2 % do that frequently, and 16.7 % never consult a dictionary to solve grammatical dilemmas.

Those students who use the monolingual learners' dictionary to find grammatical information were asked to list some types of grammatical information they most frequently check in their dictionary. The answers that the students gave included: countability (40.7 %), prepositions (25.2 %), part of speech (17.8 %), verb forms (16.3 %), plural forms (14.8 %), transitivity (12.6 %), usage (3.7 %), and other grammatical information (13.3 %), such as articles, verb patterns, the use of the active or passive voice and information about agreement between a noun and a verb. The results show that countability is by far the most common grammatical information that is checked in dictionaries. All other types of information are far less commonly looked up in dictionaries. What is more, as much as 45.6 % of the students listed various types of non-grammatical information, such as collocations, idioms, register and style labels, pronunciation, spelling, and definitions. The question can be asked why such a high percentage of the students listed non-grammatical information. One reason may be that the respondents were not thinking about grammar per se but rather enumerating any piece of information they most often look up in dictionaries. Another possible reason could be that they use a dictionary only to obtain the most basic information (i.e. meaning, spelling, pronunciation) and neglect a very important information category that all EFL dictionaries include, namely grammar. Unfortunately, spoken communication with the students reveals that many of them are not even aware of the fact that a dictionary includes grammar at all. As has been established, the students, when consulting a dictionary to solve grammatical problems, most frequently enumerate countability. This may be explained by the fact that they encounter the codes U (=

uncountable) and C (= countable) at a very early stage of learning English, since many beginners' textbooks contain exercises in which students have to distinguish between countable and uncountable nouns. The results obtained in this question give cause for concern, since they are indicative of users' unawareness of grammatical information in dictionaries.

The last question in the Dictionary User Profile Form enquired whether the respondents check an unknown code they encounter in a dictionary in the front matter where all the codes are explained. We believe that this is a very important question because the answers show to what extent the dictionary users are willing to give careful study to unknown codes. Worryingly, only 21.6 % of the respondents regularly check an unknown code, 29.6 % often check it; as much as 39.5 % check it only rarely, and 9.3 % never check it. The results are far from being satisfactory, since they may lead us to conclude that even if dictionary users notice the code, they do not bother at all to decipher it let alone to understand it.

4. RESULTS

4.1 Results for the noun *statistic*

The most notable differences can be observed in sentence 2 (i.e. *Again, it is the doctor's decision that produces the statistic.*), where the students using LDOCE4 and CALD2 performed much better than those using the other three dictionaries, since 67.7 % of the students using LDOCE4 and 51.6 % of those using CALD2 corrected the sentence appropriately, as opposed to no more than 25 % of the students using MED1 and COBUILD4 and 21.9 % of those using OALD6. The best results were obtained for sentence 1 (i.e. *This view is supported by statistic published in 1985.*), followed by sentence 5 (i.e. *We have no reliable statistics on the extent of child abuse and neglect.*). On the other hand, the students were least successful with sentence 3 (i.e. *This terrible crime will soon become nothing more than statistic in police records.*) and only slightly more successful with sentence 2 (i.e. *Again, it is the doctor's decision that produces the statistic.*).

There are, however, differences in the number of students who performed a look-up operation especially with sentence 2 (38.9 % of the COBUILD4 users vs. 71.0 % of the LDOCE4 users) and sentence 3 (36.1 % of the COBUILD4 users vs. 80.6 % of the LDOCE4 users). The highest percentage of students who consulted the dictionary can be found in the group of students who used MED1 when correcting sentence 3 (84.4 %), whereas the lowest percentage of look-up operations were performed by the OALD6 users (34.4 %) in sentence 5.

The number of students who were able to find the correct sense of the entry word used in a particular sentence differs greatly from dictionary to dictionary and from sentence to sentence. The most glaring discrepancy in the success rate for finding the correct sense can be observed with sentence 3, where 88.9 % of the students who used MED1 provided a correct answer, as opposed to only 16.0 % of those who used LDOCE4. In sentence 4, the results show a more balanced situation, as the percentage ranges from 66.7 % to 94.4 %.

Table 1 shows the results of this task for the noun *statistic*.

Table 1: Results for the noun *statistic* for all five sentences (in %)

s.	students' responses	MED1	OALD6	LDOCE4	COBUILD4	CALD2
1	correct answer	87.5	71.9	71.0	83.3	74.2
	used dict. entry	68.8	59.4	77.4	52.8	71.0
	correct sense	77.3	78.9	70.8	94.7	50.0
2	correct answer	25.0	21.9	67.7	25.0	51.6
	used dict. entry	62.5	56.3	71.0	38.9	58.1
	correct sense	50.0	22.2	72.7	0.0	27.8
3	correct answer	34.4	25.0	29.0	22.2	19.4
	used dict. entry	84.4	53.1	80.6	36.1	74.2
	correct sense	88.9	76.5	16.0	0.0	52.2
4	correct answer	43.8	50.0	41.9	66.7	51.6
	used dict. entry	71.9	53.1	58.1	61.1	64.5
	correct sense	69.6	88.2	94.4	72.7	66.7
5	correct answer	71.9	75.0	48.4	69.4	67.7
	used dict. entry	53.1	34.4	64.5	47.2	48.4
	correct sense	41.2	63.6	60.0	88.2	40.0

s. = sentence

It is impossible to make an exact comparison between the results showing the percentage of students who corrected the sentence appropriately and those who indicated the correct sense in the dictionary entry. This is because some students made an appropriate correction without consulting the enclosed dictionary entry. These students are not included in the number of students who performed a look-up operation and consequently not in the number of students who found the correct sense of the entry word. The discrepancy between the total number of students who corrected the sentence, the number of students who consulted the dictionary and those who found the correct sense can be quite large. For example, in sentence 3, 32 students used MED1; 11 of them (34.4 %) corrected the sentence appropriately; 27 (84.4 %) consulted the enclosed dictionary entry, and 24 out of 27 students (i.e. 88.9 %) found the correct sense. A greater difference, however, can be found in sentence 5, where 32 students used OALD6; 24 of them (75.0 %) corrected the sentence appropriately; only 11 (34.4 %) consulted the enclosed dictionary entry, and 7 out of 11 students (i.e. 63.6 %) found the correct sense.

4.2 Results for the noun *experience*

The comparison of the results indicating how many respondents were able to detect a grammatical mistake in the use of the noun *experience* clearly shows that the students had serious difficulties with sentence 2 (i.e. *Older people have had more experience in life.*), where not a single student using MED1, OALD6 and LDOCE4 provided a correct answer, but those using COBUILD4 and CALD2 were only slightly more successful (5.6 % and 3.2 % respectively). Sentence 5 (i.e. *Many of us have had an experience of living overseas.*) and sentence 1 (i.e. *I knew that he had no experience driving in the dark.*) also proved to be extremely difficult for the majority of respondents, since the

percentage of correct answers ranged from 6.3 % to 22.6 % in sentence 5 and from 6.3 % to 45.2 % in sentence 1. In sentence 3 (i.e. *Living alone has been a good experience for her.*), they performed quite well, especially the students who used CALD2 (96.8 %) and those who used MED1 (84.4 %).

The highest percentage of the students who used the enclosed dictionary entry, can be observed in sentence 7 (74.2 % of the CALD2 users) and the lowest in sentences 2 and 4 (25.0 % of the OALD6 users). In sentence 2, the difference between the highest (71.0 % of the CALD2 users) and the lowest (25.0 % of the OALD6 users) percentage of the students who performed a look-up operation is most notable, and the most balanced situation among dictionaries can be observed in sentences 5 and 6.

The results showing the number of students who were able to find the right sense of the noun *experience* in a certain sentence reveal great differences, especially in sentence 1 (0.0 % of the students who used LDOCE4 vs. 100.0 % of the students who used CALD2), sentence 5 (6.3 % of the students who used OALD6 vs. 68.2 % of the students who used CALD2), and sentence 7 (23.8 % of the students who used MED1 versus 91.3 % of the students who used CALD2). The results indicating the percentage of students who found the correct sense show a more even distribution among dictionaries in sentences 2 and 3 (from 31.8 % to 58.3 % in sentence 2 and from 64.7 % to 90.0 % in sentence 3).

The results that indicate the performance of students when dealing with the noun *experience* are summarized in Table 2.

Table 2: Results for the noun *experience* for all seven sentences (in %)

s.	students' response	MED1	OALD6	LDOCE4	COBUILD4	CALD2
1	correct answer	6.3	15.6	16.1	11.1	45.2
	used dict. entry	56.3	37.5	51.6	58.3	71.0
	correct sense	16.7	25.0	0.0	19.0	100.0
2	correct answer	0.0	0.0	0.0	5.6	3.2
	used dict. entry	59.4	25.0	38.7	50.0	71.0
	correct sense	57.9	50.0	58.3	33.3	31.8
3	correct answer	84.4	78.1	71.0	77.8	96.8
	used dict. entry	53.1	53.1	64.5	38.9	45.2
	correct sense	82.4	64.7	90.0	71.4	73.3
4	correct answer	65.6	71.9	67.7	77.8	83.9
	used dict. entry	56.3	25.0	41.9	41.7	48.4
	correct sense	66.7	37.5	69.2	66.7	86.7
5	correct answer	9.4	6.3	19.4	16.7	22.6
	used dict. entry	53.1	50.0	58.1	55.6	71.0
	correct sense	16.7	6.3	27.8	15.0	68.2
6	correct answer	59.4	50.0	71.0	61.1	61.3
	used dict. entry	46.9	46.9	64.5	50.0	67.7
	correct sense	80.0	87.5	75.0	77.8	66.7
7	correct answer	59.4	31.3	38.7	58.3	87.1
	used dict. entry	65.6	43.8	54.8	61.1	74.2
	correct sense	23.8	50.0	58.8	40.9	91.3

4.3 Results for the verb *commit*

A large difference can be observed between sentence 5 (i.e. *I can't come on Sunday: I'm already committed.*) and sentence 2 (i.e. *The Government is committed to promote the development and use of public transport.*), on the one hand, where the students were not at all successful in detecting a grammatical mistake and correcting it, and sentence 1 (i.e. *He committed himself to a course of action.*), on the other hand, where they performed relatively well. It is surprising that there were so few correct responses for sentence 5 because the mistake the students had to find was a missing -t- in 'committed' – a mistake the students should not have found too difficult. In this sentence the range between the highest and the lowest percentage of students who managed to find the mistake is the greatest (from 9.4 % to 48.4 %).

As far as the number of look-ups is concerned, the lowest percentage can be found for sentence 5 (33.3 %), whereas many more students made use of the enclosed dictionary entry for sentence 2 (the percentage of students who used the dictionary entry ranges from 53.1 % in MED1 to 81.3 % in OALD6) and sentence 1 (where no great difference is observed if we compare the results by dictionaries – from 66.7 % to 75.0 %).

The sense in which the verb *commit* is used in a particular sentence was detected by the largest number of respondents in sentence 4; they had relatively few problems with sentence 1, but sentence 5 proved difficult (especially among the students who used MED1 – 16.7 % and LDOCE4 – 21.4 %). Also worth mentioning is the marked difference between the percentage of students who found the correct sense of the verb *commit* in sentence 2 using MED1, OALD6, LDOCE4, and COBUILD4 (from 64.7 % to 85.7 %), on the one hand, and the CALD2 users (only 4.2 %), on the other.

The results indicating how successful the students were in dealing with the verb *commit* are shown in Table 3.

Table 3: Results for the verb *commit* for all five sentences (in %)

s.	students' responses	MED1	OALD6	LDOCE4	COBUILD4	CALD2
1	correct answer	68.8	81.3	64.5	69.4	74.2
	used dict. entry	75.0	68.8	74.2	66.7	67.7
	correct sense	45.8	45.5	95.7	87.5	76.2
2	correct answer	12.5	25.0	29.0	22.2	29.0
	used dict. entry	53.1	81.3	67.7	75.0	77.4
	correct sense	64.7	84.6	85.7	74.1	4.2
3	correct answer	15.6	34.4	12.9	41.7	45.2
	used dict. entry	59.4	68.8	58.1	66.7	61.3
	correct sense	15.8	63.6	27.8	79.2	78.9
4	correct answer	40.6	53.1	25.8	50.0	61.3
	used dict. entry	59.4	68.8	80.6	83.3	38.7
	correct sense	52.6	95.5	84.0	90.0	83.3
5	correct answer	9.4	18.8	16.1	19.4	48.4
	used dict. entry	37.5	40.6	45.2	33.3	45.2
	correct sense	16.7	46.2	21.4	41.7	42.9

4.4 Results for the verb *afford*

The percentage of respondents who ticked the correct sentences and corrected the incorrect ones again differs a great deal. The results are worst for sentence 4 (i.e. *It is successful because it produces a high quality product on time at a price that can be afforded by the customer.*), especially among the users of CALD2 (3.2 %), LDOCE4 (16.1 %), and MED1 (18.8 %). It should be stressed that the best results were achieved in sentence 1 (i.e. *The tree afforded us welcome shade.*) and sentence 5 (i.e. *My parents used to say that they would not buy that house, even though they could afford.*) by the students who used COBUILD4 (66.7 %), but even here the result is far from being satisfactory.

For sentence 1, the greatest number of students performed a look-up operation (especially the students using COBUILD4, LDOCE4, and CALD2), whereas many fewer did so for sentence 4 (only 25.0 % and 25.8 % among the users of COBUILD4 and LDOCE4 respectively) and sentence 5 (only 22.6 % among the users of LDOCE4). The greatest difference in the number of look-ups among dictionaries can be observed for sentence 4, where only 25.0 % of the students using COBUILD4 consulted the dictionary, as opposed to 50.0 % of the students who used OALD6.

Regarding the number of respondents who found the correct sense of the verb *afford* in a particular sentence, it can be observed that the students were relatively, if not very successful, especially with sentence 5 (100.0 % among the OALD6 users, 90.9 % among the COBUILD4 users) and sentence 1 (100.0 % among the OALD6 users, 92.3 % among the LDOCE4 and 90.3 % among the COBUILD4 users, as opposed to relatively few CALD2 users – 52.0 %). In sentence 3, where the result was the worst, the number of correct answers ranges between 58.8 % and 81.0 %, which is far from indicating a poor performance.

The results concerning the verb *afford* are presented in Table 4.

Table 4: Results for the verb *afford* for all five sentences (in %)

s.	students' responses	MED1	OALD6	LDOCE4	COBUILD4	CALD2
1	correct answer	40.6	62.5	64.5	66.7	45.2
	used dict. entry	68.8	65.6	83.9	86.1	80.6
	correct sense	86.4	100.0	92.3	90.3	52.0
2	correct answer	18.8	28.1	64.5	36.1	58.1
	used dict. entry	46.9	46.9	64.5	52.8	64.5
	correct sense	66.7	73.3	90.0	84.2	80.0
3	correct answer	53.1	46.9	61.3	63.9	58.1
	used dict. entry	59.4	53.1	67.7	47.2	48.4
	correct sense	68.4	58.8	81.0	58.8	66.7
4	correct answer	18.8	34.4	16.1	30.6	3.2
	used dict. entry	43.8	50.0	25.8	25.0	41.9
	correct sense	78.6	81.3	62.5	66.7	46.2
5	correct answer	50.0	59.4	64.5	66.7	48.4
	used dict. entry	40.6	40.6	22.6	30.6	35.5
	correct sense	76.9	100.0	71.4	90.9	81.8

4.5 Results for the adjective *nice*

As regards the results for the adjective *nice*, we should mention sentence 1 (i.e. *Feel this nice and soft material.*) and sentence 4 (i.e. *Moza was making nice, asking about dinner.*), where the students performed poorly. For sentence 1, there was not a single correct answer among the CALD2 users, but the users of MED1 – 3.1 %, COBUILD4 – 8.3 %, and OALD6 – 12.5 % also did not prove very successful. In sentence 4, the best result, i.e. 25.8 %, was achieved by the CALD2 users, a result which is far from being satisfactory. On the other hand, in sentences 3, 5, and also 2, the performance was much better (the result being as much as 80.6 % in sentence 2 among the COBUILD4 users).

The highest number of look-ups was performed by the OALD6 users for sentence 1 (i.e. 56.3 %), as opposed to the OALD6 users for sentence 4 (only 9.4 %) and the LDOCE4 users in sentence 5 (9.7 %). It should also be pointed out that for sentences 3, 4, 5, and 6 the number of students who performed a look-up operation never exceeds 50.0 %.

The respondents had the greatest difficulties in finding the right sense of the adjective *nice* in sentence 4 (especially the OALD6 users, where not a single student provided a correct answer, and the COBUILD4 users with only 14.3 %). They experienced a relatively high number of problems with sentence 5 (especially the OALD6 users with 28.6 %, and LDOCE4 and CALD2 users with 33.3 %). Sentence 2 seems to have been the least problematic because the number of correct responses ranges between 56.3 % (the CALD2 users) and 92.3 % (the OALD6 users). Also worth mentioning is sentence 1, where only 17.6 % of the COBUILD4 users managed to find the right sense of the adjective *nice*, as opposed to much better results obtained by the users of other dictionaries (from 62.5 % to 100.0 %).

Table 5 shows the results of this task for the adjective *nice*.

Table 5: Results for the adjective *nice* for all six sentences (in %)

s.	students' responses	MED1	OALD6	LDOCE4	COBUILD4	CALD2
1	correct answer	3.1	12.5	41.9	8.3	0.0
	used dict. entry	50.0	56.3	51.6	47.2	35.5
	correct sense	62.5	72.2	93.8	17.6	100.0
2	correct answer	59.4	65.6	67.7	80.6	67.7
	used dict. entry	53.1	40.6	48.4	52.8	51.6
	correct sense	82.4	92.3	86.7	78.9	56.3
3	correct answer	78.1	78.1	71.0	66.7	74.2
	used dict. entry	50.0	50.0	29.0	27.8	22.6
	correct sense	50.0	75.0	77.8	50.0	28.6
4	correct answer	9.4	18.8	12.9	19.4	25.8
	used dict. entry	37.5	9.4	32.3	19.4	35.5
	correct sense	41.7	0.0	50.0	14.3	45.5
5	correct answer	75.0	68.8	77.4	77.8	54.8
	used dict. entry	34.4	21.9	9.7	25.0	29.0
	correct sense	63.6	28.6	33.3	55.6	33.3
6	correct answer	50.0	34.4	45.2	61.1	41.9
	used dict. entry	43.8	28.1	38.7	47.2	45.2
	correct sense	92.9	66.7	66.7	70.6	28.6

4.6 Results for the adjective *alive*

The most difficult sentence as regards finding the grammatical mistakes proved to be sentence 4 (i.e. *Both sides were fully alive of the vital importance of the crisis.*), especially among the students who used the enclosed dictionary entry from COBUILD4 (5.6%); neither were the students using the entry from OALD6 successful (25.0%). The respondents performed relatively well with sentence 1 (i.e. *The children were found alive and well after being missing for several days.*), where the number of correct responses ranges from 74.2% to 84.4% and sentence 3 (i.e. *While you're here don't say it, and we might all stand a chance of getting out of here alive.*), where between 67.7% and 83.9% of the students established that the sentence was correct.

Sentence 4 is also the only sentence containing the adjective *alive* where more than half of the respondents on average consulted the enclosed dictionary entry (the range being between 41.7% and 71.0%). A markedly low percentage of look-ups can be observed for sentences 2 and 3. In sentences 1 and 5, the percentage of those who performed a look-up operation was higher but still far from being satisfactory.

The most difficult sentence concerning the right sense of *alive* proved to be sentence 5 (only 18.2% of the CALD2 users found the right sense), which was followed by sentence 4 (where not a single respondent using COBUILD4 found the correct sense, which is, indeed, not included in this particular dictionary). The students had fewer problems with sentences 1 and 2, where all OALD6 users indicated the right sense. With the exception of OALD6, the results range from 66.7% to 77.8% for sentence 1 and from 45.5% to 88.9% for sentence 2, where the difference in the number of correct responses is much wider.

The results which indicate the performance of students when dealing with the adjective *alive* are summarized in Table 6.

Table 6: Results for the adjective *alive* for all five sentences (in %)

s.	students' responses	MED1	OALD6	LDOCE4	COBUILD4	CALD2
1	correct answer	81.3	84.4	74.2	80.6	77.4
	used dict. entry	53.1	31.3	38.7	41.7	29.0
	correct sense	70.6	100.0	66.7	66.7	77.8
2	correct answer	43.8	50.0	51.6	41.7	48.4
	used dict. entry	28.1	18.8	35.5	16.7	16.1
	correct sense	88.9	100.0	45.5	50.0	80.0
3	correct answer	78.1	78.1	67.7	75.0	83.9
	used dict. entry	46.9	18.8	16.1	19.4	12.9
	correct sense	53.3	83.3	40.0	71.4	100.0
4	correct answer	25.0	40.6	51.6	5.6	41.9
	used dict. entry	53.1	65.6	71.0	41.7	67.7
	correct sense	35.3	66.7	77.3	0.0	47.6
5	correct answer	50.0	68.8	67.7	72.2	64.5
	used dict. entry	46.9	37.5	19.4	27.8	35.5
	correct sense	33.3	41.7	66.7	40.0	18.2

5. DISCUSSION

If we compare the results showing how many students were able to find out whether the sentence was correct or incorrect and to correct the incorrect sentence, we can see that the number of correct answers depends very much on the sentence itself and to a lesser extent on the dictionary the students used. Does this mean that all five dictionaries used in our research are comparable in terms of the success rate for retrieving grammatical information? This question could be answered positively, since the majority of results obtained for one sentence do not show great differences. There are, however, certain exceptions that should be commented on.

In this connection we should mention the noun *experience*. It is noteworthy that the students who used CALD2 performed better than those using the other four dictionaries when correcting the sentences, as well as when finding the correct sense in the dictionary article. And it also has to be stressed that the greatest number of students made use of the enclosed dictionary article (see Table 2). How can this be explained? If we compare this dictionary entry in all five dictionaries, we can see that CALD2 is the one dictionary where only two meanings are included, i.e. one where *experience* is uncountable and one where it is countable. In the other four dictionaries the entry consists of three senses (two uncountable and one countable). The very binary characteristic of the entry drives it home. In entries with multiple similar senses, this feature of the noun is not foregrounded as much. Additionally, it should be stressed that the noun *experience* may pose problems for native speakers of Slovene because in Slovene the noun is countable in all senses.

Surprisingly, the students performed rather poorly with sentence 5 including the verb *commit*, where they had to insert the missing -t-. This poor performance is hard to explain if we compare the inclusion of this piece of information in all five learners' dictionaries: in OALD6 and CALD2, it is included in the same way, i.e. by listing -tt- immediately after the pronunciation, in LDOCE4 and in COBUILD4 one can find all the verb forms listed after the pronunciation, whereas in MED1 it is not included explicitly, but only in examples of use. It must be stressed that the result for the students who used MED1 was the worst, which is understandable, since they probably did not pay much attention to the spelling of the entry word in the examples of use. The difference between those students who used OALD6 (18.8 %) and CALD2 (48.4 %) is much too great, given that both dictionaries include this piece of information in exactly the same way. This discrepancy is beyond comprehension, and it is even more illogical if we compare the number of students who used the enclosed dictionary entries. This number shows that approximately the same number of respondents performed a look-up operation (40.6 % in OALD6 and 45.2 % in CALD2). On the other hand, the percentage of correct answers given by the LDOCE4 users (16.1 %) and the COBUILD4 users (19.4 %) is comparable.

In sentence 1 including the adjective *nice*, the test subjects had to infer from the enclosed dictionary entries that *nice* in combination with *and* followed by an adjective cannot be used before a noun. In OALD6 and in LDOCE4 there is an extra note warning users about the correct use of this adjective in this particular sense. Consequently, we assumed that the results of the test subjects using either of these two dictionaries would be more or less the same, but if we compare the results (cf. Table 5), we can see that they

failed to meet expectations, as only 12.5 % of the OALD6 users managed to correct the sentence appropriately as opposed to 41.9 % of the LDOCE4 users. Such help notes are intended to highlight a certain feature which could cause problems for learners; they are user-friendly because the correct use is briefly explained and illustrated by means of an example. The students, however, either failed to notice it, or they did not manage to make a connection between the help note and the sentence they were supposed to correct. The results obtained from respondents using the above-mentioned dictionaries differ greatly. Although the system of explaining this specific use of the adjective *nice* is the same in both dictionaries, LDOCE4 provides a slightly more informative note, since in OALD6 the note follows the correct example.

Although our experimental study was based on the hypothesis that the use of a dictionary entry would result in better performance on correcting the sentences, it can be seen from the results that this is often not the case. This can best be illustrated by the results for the adjective *alive* in Table 6, especially by sentences 1 and 3, where the students performed (relatively) well but did not consult the enclosed dictionary entries to a satisfactory degree. On the other hand, it can be noticed that in some sentences the number of correct answers is very low even though the students used the dictionaries (e.g. sentence 5 with the noun *experience*). The only plausible explanation is that the students are simply not sufficiently trained in dictionary use, and consequently, they often fail to find the right sense of the word together with relevant grammatical information. The number of look-ups also differs from sentence to sentence, a factor that can be attributed to the fact that the students may think they know the answer and find it unnecessary to consult the dictionary.

6. CONCLUSION

Although there are more or less incidental differences between the results obtained for the same sentence, the conclusion has to be drawn that in our research none of the five dictionaries tested was much better than the others as regards the inclusion of grammatical information. This conclusion confirms the findings of Bogaards and van der Kloot (2001: 118). It is clear that the test subjects did not make full use of the dictionaries. One of the reasons, which may also be the most important, is lack of instruction and training in dictionary use in the course of learning a foreign language. Students often expect their teacher to provide an answer to their questions and are unwilling to consult a dictionary to find it out themselves. Since they are mostly not trained in how to use their dictionaries, they may often be unaware of the wealth of different pieces of information (including grammatical information) they can find in a monolingual learners' dictionary, or if they find a certain piece of information, the question can still be asked whether they know how to use it correctly in a given context. Nowadays, dictionary training is a must. The compilers of learners' dictionaries have already done a great deal towards the simplification of grammatical information included in dictionaries; nevertheless, dictionary users should obtain certain dictionary reference skills necessary to make full use of their dictionaries. Foreign learners would thus become much more efficient dictionary users and consequently more proficient speakers and writers of a foreign language.

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Povzetek

KAKO GOVORCI ANGLEŠČINE KOT TUJEGA JEZIKA UPORABLJAJO SLOVNIČNE INFORMACIJE V PETIH VODILNIH BRITANSKIH SLOVARJIH ZA TUJCE

Slovnica sodi med sestavne dele geselskega članka. Da bi ugotovili, ali uporabniki slovarjev uporabljajo slovarje za iskanje slovnčnih informacij, smo izvedli raziskavo, v kateri smo preučevali njihove tovrstne sposobnosti. V članku so predstavljeni in razloženi rezultati raziskave o tem, kako govorci angleščine kot tujega jezika uporabljajo slovnčne informacije, vključene v pet vodilnih britanskih slovarjev za tujce. S pomočjo 33 povedi smo testirali, v kolikšni meri so uporabniki sposobni uporabljati geselske članke. Nekatere povedi so bile slovnčno pravilne, druge pa slovnčno nepravilne. Študentje so morali s pomočjo priloženih geselskih člankov prepoznati napake. S to raziskavo smo želeli ugotoviti, ali obstajajo kakšne razlike med uporabljenimi slovarji in kako uspešni so testiranci pri iskanju in uporabi slovnčnih podatkov.

COMPTES RENDUS, RECENSIONS, NOTES – POROČILA, OCENE, ZAPISI

UN IMPORTANTE CONTRIBUTO ALLA LESSICOGRAFIA ITALO-SLOVENA: SERGIJ ŠLENC, *VELIKI SLOVENSKO-ITALIJANSKI SLOVAR* – *IL GRANDE DIZIONARIO SLOVENO-ITALIANO*, Državna založba Slovenije, Ljubljana, 2006; pp. XIV + 1539

Anni fa ho avuto l'onore e il piacere di segnalare nella nostra rivista, v. *Linguistica* XXXVIII,2 (1998), l'apparizione del *Grande dizionario italiano-sloveno* dello stesso autore. Ho concluso il mio resoconto formulando l'augurio e la speranza di molti tra di noi di vedere pubblicata anche la versione sloveno-italiana del vocabolario. Ora l'abbiamo: con il *Veliki slovensko-italijanski slovar/Grande dizionario sloveno-italiano* è completata l'opera che servirà agli interessati sloveni e italiani. Il Dizionario non è, ovviamente, il primo della specie; però, l'ultimo di una certa mole, quello del benemerito Janko Kotnik risale all'anno 1965, vale a dire a quarant'anni fa, ripubblicato nel 1967 e nel 1972 il che testimonia della sua utilità e necessità. Trascorso tale periodo di tempo va da sé che l'apparizione di un nuovo dizionario è stata sentita di urgente attualità.

Nella storia della lessicografia sloveno-italiana possiamo ricordare alcune opere, giacché tutte testimoniano l'interesse da ambo le parti. Sorvolando su quelle che trattano i contatti linguistici in generale, perché, in fin dei conti, del contatto si tratta, partendo dalla lingua del maggior raggio culturale, vale a dire dall'italiano, segnaliamo opere più importanti che partono dallo sloveno o dalle due lingue. Dal XIX. secolo è da notare di Josip Drobnič, *Slovensko-nemško-talianski in taliansko-nemško-slovenski besednjak*, Ljubljana 1858, pp. 355; per il XX. secolo, seguendo la lista del compianto Paolo Zolli in *Est-Europa*, Udine 1984, sono da elencare Jože Iskravec, *Vocabolario tascabile sloveno-italiano*, Gorizia, Paternolli, 1914, pp. 543; Josip Valjavec, *Slovensko-italijanski slovar*, Ljubljana, Naša založba, 1924, pp. 404; Ferdinando Kleinmayr, *Dizionario tascabile italiano-sloveno e sloveno-italiano/Žepni slovar italijansko-slovenski in slovensko-italijanski*, Trieste, Editore J. Stoka, 1919, pp. 296 (2.a e 3.a ed. ibid. 1931 e 1943); Giovanni Androvič, *Dizionario delle lingue italiana-slovena, contenente: regole principali di grammatica e di ortoepia – vocabolario alfabetico – dizioni - regole di reggenza dei sostantivi, aggettivi e dei verbi, corredato dei segni della pronunzia, ecc.*, Milano, Antonio Vallardi, 1936, pp. CVII-816; Janko Tavzes, *Italijansko-slovenski in slovensko-italijanski slovar/Dizionario italiano-sloveno e sloveno-italiano*, Ljubljana, Anton Turk edit., 1941, pp. 250 (2.a ed. ibid. 1943). Dal secondo dopoguerra, merita citare oltre a parecchi dizionari di volume minore quello di Janko Kotnik, *Slovensko-italijanski slovar/Vocabolario sloveno-italiano*, Ljubljana, Državna založba Slovenije, 1965, pp. 890 (2.a e 3.a ed. ibid. 1967, 1972) e quello di Anton Grad, *Italijansko-slovenski in slovensko-italijanski slovar/Dizionario italiano-sloveno e sloveno-italiano*, Ljubljana, Cankarjeva založba, 1969, pp. 445. Nel secondo dopoguerra sono apparsi anche alcuni vocabolari di minor mole destinati a utenti meno esigenti o almeno desiderosi di avere

in mano un mezzo per magari una fugace occasione (turismo, contatti sporadici con conoscenze italiane, ecc.).

Con il nuovo dizionario, invece, siamo lieti di attirare sull'opera pubblicata l'attenzione soprattutto dei linguisti italiani e di tutti quelli che si dedicano allo studio della lingua, letteratura, storia, archeologia, etnologia e hanno necessità di consultare opere scritte in sloveno che trattano gli argomenti dei loro orientamenti scientifici. Segnaliamo la nascita di un davvero grande vocabolario sloveno-italiano. L'autore Sergij Šlenc, già docente di lingua italiana presso la Facoltà di Lettere dell'Università di Ljubljana, ha aggiunto ai suoi successi pedagogici e lessicografici anche questo vocabolario, che contiene qualcosa come 90.000 lemmi e più di 1500 pagine.

Rispetto ai dizionari testè elencati, anche a quello di Janko Kotnik, il *Grande dizionario sloveno-italiano* di Šlenc offre molte novità. Non solo per la mole del lavoro, ma anche per la quantità di neologismi, il che, confrontando il Dizionario con le opere compilate precedentemente, non può sorprendere. Il dizionario bilingue, ovviamente, parte dal desiderio di offrire la spiegazione di un vocabolo o di un nesso lessicale alla controparte, in questo caso, di un elemento lessicale di lingua slovena agli interessati da parte italiana. Nello stesso tempo, serve a uno sloveno che cerchi l'espressione appropriata italiana per un concetto sloveno. L'opera è concepita anche per offrire all'utente sloveno un sinonimo adatto o anche vari termini italiani, a volte un ventaglio di possibilità che poi l'utente potrà valutare e sceglierne una: perciò è prezioso il fatto che soprattutto per le nozioni generiche troviamo il termine sloveno reso con più soluzioni. Lo aveva sottolineato tra gli altri già il Maestro della lessicologia italiana Bruno Migliorini dicendo che un termine eminentemente tecnico quale *metempsychosi* non pone al redattore anche di un dizionario unilingue nessun problema, mentre lo fanno, sì, termini più semplici di uso quotidiano, quali *padre, pane, cane*, ecc. Lo Šlenc traduce a volte i termini usati nello sloveno, ad es., il testè menzionato grecismo con *preseljevanje duš/trasmigrazione delle anime*. Il più delle volte lascia il termine scientifico greco o latino, latinizzato: così troviamo lo slov. *laringolog* e l'it. *laringoiatra*. Un'aggiunta o una traduzione sarebbe decisamente superflua. Però, l'Autore ha al suo merito anche quello di non essere scivolato nel campo enciclopedico il che è per la composizione del dizionario un pericolo costante. Perciò lodiamo la decisione dell'Autore di aver offerto una quantità di modi di dire, di locuzioni usuali, anche di proverbi, dove le due lingue che pur rispecchiano la vita psichica e culturale delle due etnie e perciò possono ricorrere, per esprimere la supposta identica realtà, a mezzi linguistici diversi, anche se le etnie, in questo caso italiana e slovena, si può dire, fanno parte di una stessa sfera culturale. La dissonanza tra lo slov. *stonoga* - it. *millepiedi* - *miriapodi* (quest'ultimo termine da Šlenc scrupolosamente segnalato come appartenente al linguaggio specialistico, Zool., pl.) è solo apparente: si tratta di contrassegnare con un alto numerale un'alta quantità di elementi.

È merito dell'Autore d'aver incluso nel dizionario anche nomi propri. Malgrado l'autorevole asserzione di Bruno Migliorini, *Che cos'è un vocabolario?*, Firenze 1960, siamo dell'opinione che in un dizionario bilingue almeno alcuni nomi propri vadano inclusi. E di conseguenza resi, di regola adattati, come appaiono nella lingua ricevente. Giacché, avendo un dizionario bilingue uno scopo pratico, l'utente italiano (e da qui comincio a valutare il dizionario più che altro dal punto di vista dell'utente italiano) deve pur essere informato quali sono, poniamo, i termini in sloveno, rispettivamente, per

Genova e Ginevra. Avvisato sulla forma fonica e scritta del toponimo l'utente italiano non avrà molta difficoltà nel comprendere un proverbio sloveno come *vse ceste vodijo v Rim* 'tutte le strade portano a Roma' oppure *Rim ni bil zgrajen v enem dnevu* 'Roma non fu fatta in un giorno'. Legato al nome della città eterna vi è poi un detto attraente, benché più oscuro, che lo Šlenc qualifica come *prenesen/figurato: iti v Rim*. Šlenc lo traduce correttamente con 'partorire': non sta, certo, al dizionario di cercarne l'origine; probabilmente, spiegano gli etnologi, in altri tempi lo si diceva ai bambini che si meravigliavano dell'assenza della mamma o di una zia. Ripetiamo, in tutti questi casi la presenza nel dizionario di un nome proprio è utile per comprendere il sintagma, soprattutto nel caso dei toponimi. Questo vale forse in minor misura anche per gli antroponimi e per gli etnonimi. Un italiano che non sia specializzato in linguistica si meraviglierebbe forse della discordanza nello scrivere *Italija, Italijan, Italijanka, italijanski, italijanščina* d'una parte, e *italianist, italianistka, italianistika, italianizem* dall'altra: questi ultimi termini sono rimasti voci dotte, non entrate nel linguaggio popolare. Gli etnonimi, a volte, differiscono parecchio nella loro immagine fonica e grafica, ad es. *Anglež/inglese, Anglija/Inghilterra*, o possono essere addirittura del tutto di origine diversa: *Nemec/tedesco, Nemčija/Germania*. Il Dizionario registra scrupolosamente queste discordanze, dovute alle più svariate condizioni storiche.

I sintagmi che comprendono toponimi potrebbero rimanere di difficile comprensione se non si conosce l'immagine del toponimo nella lingua di partenza; basterà menzionare *tridentinski koncil* reso con *Concilio di Trento*. Il nome della città tedesca *Aachen/Aquisgrana* potrebbe apparire così in un trattato storico come in un articolo giornalistico del nostro tempo. Al contrario, non sarà problematica *Padska nižina/la Pianura Padana*; anzi, il nome sloveno del fiume, *Pad*, si ricollega bene al nome in latino. Se trovassimo superfluo incontrare il nome della città di Padova, come del resto quello di Verona, Bergamo e tanti altri, può apparire utile di trovare nel Dizionario il termine, entrato in sloveno come *padovana* e spiegato come *vrsta plesa* 'specie di danza'. Il Dizionario ha, inoltre, il merito di includere, a volte, il toponimo nella forma oggidi magari meno usata, senz'altro per una migliore conoscenza della geografia, storia e in generale della situazione italiana (e in questo senso il turismo ha una funzione non irrilevante), ma comunque presente in sloveno e non solo negli scritti letterari o giornalistici del secolo scorso e più in là: *Neapelj (-lja) m Geogr. Napoli* può offrire un esempio convincente. Il nome italiano della città partenopea è conosciuto e usato da molti; del resto, *napolitanka* 'biscottino ripieno' è da tempo apprezzata dai bambini. Al contrario, il nome della più celebre città dell'Adriatico settentrionale, *Benetke*, è da secoli usato esclusivamente nell'immagine fonica slovena, appoggiato anche dall'ampia famiglia, nel Dizionario attentamente registrata: *beneški cekin, beneški dož, beneška republika*. Il Dizionario, un altro merito suo, distingue tra *veneziano* (= di Venezia) e *veneto* (= del Veneto) e registra anche il termine linguistico *venetski* (= venetico). Per quanto riguarda l'antica *Tergeste*, dal nome venetico o illirico che sia, l'immagine fonica e grafica latina è diventata in sloveno *Trst, tržaški*. Riguardo al nome della città giuliana è stato giusto, anzi indispensabile aggiungere un dato enciclopedico e l'Autore lo fa: *HIST. Svobodno tržaško ozemlje (STO)* sloveno è reso coll'apposito termine italiano *Territorio Libero di Trieste (TLT, 1947-1954)*. Con l'aggettivo, poi, il Dizionario è sceso anche sul campo gastronomico: *tržaški vampi*, resi col termine adeguato: *trippe alla parmigiana*. A volte

il termine geografico è necessario per un'altra ragione: lo slov. *Kras* GEOGR. s'incontra in *Tržaški Kras - Carso triestino*; però, la stessa sequenza di suoni appare in due lemmi: *kras (-a) carso*; *carsismo* e inoltre *kras (-a) knjiž./letterario bellezza, leggiadria, avvenenza, incanto, magnificenza*.

Kranjska GEOGR. HIST. *Carniola* non necessiterebbe una spiegazione a parte, mentre l'aggettivo *kranjski* sì. Šlenc è esauriente: lo menziona con il qualificatore *arcaico* nel senso di 'sloveno'; lo traduce come *cragnolino, carniolino, carniolano*. Spiega inoltre minuziosamente il termine storico militare *kranjski Janez* il che era nell'Impero austro-ungarico il termine per il soldato del 17.o reggimento di fanteria dove per lo più venivano arruolati i coscritti carniolini. Da allora in poi si è conservato come termine leggermente scherzoso per 'sloveno'. *Janez* appare anche nel diminutivo *Janezek* e corrisponde in italiano a *Pierino*. Un altro diminutivo, *pepe, pepček*, dal nome di battesimo *Jožef, Giuseppe*, è spiegato con 'tonto; uomo goffo'.

Un altro merito dello Šlenc sta nel trattare i campi semantici della flora e della fauna, vale a dire l'aver aggiunto al nome sloveno, contrassegnato rispettivamente con BOT., ZOOL., il termine scientifico, latino. A volte l'aggiunta parebbe magari superflua, altrove risulta utile o addirittura indispensabile. Per lo slov. *spominčica* si legge *miosotide, nontiscordardime (Myosotis palustris)*, per il fungo in slov. chiamato *karželj* BOT. l'it. *ovolo buono (Amanita caesarea)*.

Per il lemma *orada* ZOOL. troviamo il corrispondente italiano *orata (Sparus auratus)* il che ci dice che lo sloveno ha optato nel nome del pesce per la forma veneta, vale a dire della parlata che in questo settore dell'attività, nella pesca marina, è più vicina allo sloveno. La pesca, oseremmo quasi dire, accomuna la gente. Al contrario è probabile che il termine ven. *bonaza* sia un adattamento popolare e apotropaico (si pensi alle sorti del toponimo sannitico MALEVENTUM – BENEVENTUM) della parola greca *malákia*, interpretata come negativa e perciò nel gergo dei pescatori istriani con un bell'eufemismo corretta al fine di buon augurio.

Alcuni termini, tradizionalmente, presentano difficoltà, forse insormontabili, così, ad es., *nacionalnost* che in sloveno significa solo 'appartenenza all'etnia', mentre le lingue romanze confondono nel termine *nazionalità* 'appartenenza all'etnia' e 'cittadinanza'. I due concetti sono in sloveno chiaramente distinti: quest'ultimo è reso in sloveno e così anche nel Dizionario con *državljanstvo*.

Concludiamo questa parte della recensione con un breve cenno sul termine sloveno *koš*, tradotto con *gerla, cestino, canestro, panier*, mentre il derivato *košarka* ŠPORT. viene reso oltre che dall'italiano *pallacanestro* anche dal termine inglese risp. parainglese *basketball, basket*. E per rendere patente, se ce ne fosse il bisogno, la scrupolosità dell'Autore, aggiungiamo *košarica*, diminutivo dal derivato *košara*, la quale oltre al significato di base ha, al plurale, anche quello della nomenclatura botanica *asteracee, composite (Compositae)*. In più, lo Šlenc menziona un detto sloveno, a sua volta calco dal tedesco, che è *dati košarico* e lo traduce con 'rifiutare l'invito a ballare', *respingere una proposta matrimoniale*'.

Un dizionario bilingue è l'elenco delle unità lessicali di una lingua e la traduzione di esse o, meglio, la presentazione del rispettivo significato o di vari significati della stessa unità nella lingua nella quale questi significati si spiegano. Non sta al dizionario di occuparsi né della forma né delle strutture in cui, potenzialmente, queste unità appaiono.

Purtuttavia, il Dizionario dà all'utente italiano alcune preziose indicazioni grammaticali che permettono di vedere chiaro il lato semantico.

L'accento si trova segnato su ogni lemma, o quasi, e sui singoli lemmi non è trascurabile. A volte, rende chiari due lemmi distinti: *širóko* (-a) m METEOR. 'scirocco' contro a *širôko*, avv., 'largamente, ampiamente'. L'accento, il segno diacritico, purtuttavia, non sempre ci illumina abbastanza. Šlenc lo sopperisce con appropriato contesto. Il lemma *kós*, ad es., è spartito in tre vocaboli: *kós* 'pezzo, pezza di stoffa'; *kós* ZOOL. 'merlo' (*Turdus merula*); e, finalmente, come aggettivo nella frase *biti kós komu, čemu 'essere pari a qcn, essere all'altezza di qcs'*.

A parte le nozioni lessicali troviamo nel Dizionario qualche punto interessante anche nel campo morfologico. È ovvio che non possiamo prescindere dal lato semantico.

Quanto al sostantivo l'utente italiano troverà indicazioni sul genere grammaticale, sulla declinazione e sul numero. Per il genere è risaputo che lo sloveno conosce il genere neutro. Lo Šlenc segnala il genere grammaticale per ogni sostantivo: *travnik* (-a) m 'prato'; *roka* (-e) f 'mano'; *polje* (-a) n AGR. 'campo'. Poi, per le attività umane, al lato della forma maschile del sostantivo, sono elencate le forme femminili. Il problema per il sostantivo è tanto più scottante, perché sono stati creati nell'ultimo secolo parecchi sostantivi di forma femminile anche per le professioni e occupazioni che nei tempi precedenti non erano accessibili al gentil sesso. Vogliamo dire: se in italiano, e in molte altre lingue, *maestra* accanto a *maestro* è di antica data, per lo sloveno possiamo dire che di regola ricorre al femminile anche per le professioni «nuove». E Šlenc lo segnala rigorosamente: così, mestieri o magari alte cariche, quali *ministro, preside, sindaco, avvocato*: accanto alla forma maschile tutti questi sostantivi hanno in sloveno e perciò figurano nel Dizionario le corrispondenti forme femminili: *ministra, dekanica, županja, advokatka*.

Lo Šlenc, scrupoloso com'è, menziona anche l'uso vecchio, vogliamo dire, quello che si trova, poniamo, nella letteratura dell'Ottocento, dove *županja* significava in quei tempi solo la moglie del sindaco; ormai, da mezzo secolo e più abbiamo donne ministri e sindaci. Šlenc segnala addirittura i pochi termini, per l'esercizio di certe professioni da parte delle donne, che violano la norma valida per lo sloveno, come *političarka, kritičarka*, con il morfema venuto dall'influenza serbocroata nel solo scopo di trattare i due sessi alla pari anche dal punto di vista linguistico.

Lo Šlenc, crediamo, si è dato da fare molto nel presentare il lessico che si trova nei testi scritti, con pretese letterarie o meno, degli ultimi due secoli. Prendiamo come esempio due appellativi dall'ornitologia: *sokol* 'falco' e *orel* 'aquila'. Ha sentito il bisogno di spiegare l'impiego dei due termini anche nel senso traslato, attuali il primo dalla tarda metà dell'Ottocento, il secondo a partire dagli inizi del Novecento, e ha dato una spiegazione storica, enciclopedica: «*sokol: nella Jugoslavia anteguerra membro di una società ginnica con programma nazionalpatriottico*» e «*orel: membro di un'associazione ginnica cattolica*». Un dato enciclopedico, per forza. Senza questo, il passo con uno dei due termini non riuscirebbe comprensibile. In generale, tuttavia, basta un qualificatore: *obrezan* (-a, -o), adj. 'tagliato, potato, tosato', e REL. 'circonciso'.

Il sostantivo è contrassegnato nel Dizionario con la forma del genitivo: *zdravnik* (-a), *zdravnica* (-e) 'medico, dottore, -essa'. La tripartizione secondo il genere grammaticale è segnalata con *m, f, n* e la stessa tripartizione la si trova nell'aggettivo: *velik* (-ika, -iko) 'grande'.

Legato all'uso del sostantivo è l'uso delle preposizioni. Il Dizionario separa nettamente, ad es., l'impiego delle preposizioni *med, nad, pod, pred*. Con l'accusativo servono a esprimere il moto verso la meta e con l'ablativo che funge da locativo la situazione; il Dizionario illustra la differenza con *balon se je dvignil nad oblake* 'il pallone si alzò sopra le nuvole' contro a *letalno kroži nad mestom* 'l'aereo vola sulla città'.

Il plurale viene segnalato solo per i pluralia tantum: *škarje f, pl* 'forbici, cesoie'.

Per la forma maschile al singolare dell'aggettivo, il Dizionario segnala inoltre la forma determinata, distinta da quella indeterminata: *veliki/velik*. La forma determinata serve a volte di sostituire l'articolo determinativo del sostantivo che in sloveno non esiste: *veliki HIST. Sestanek štirih velikih* 'incontro dei quattro grandi'. A volte serve a distinguere: *Aleksander Veliki* 'Alessandro Magno', *veliki petek* 'Venerdì Santo'.

Per il pronome personale e possessivo c'è da segnalare la precisione con la quale il Dizionario tratta le forme riflessive che troviamo per tutte e tre le persone non solo per la 3.a. L'Autore è stato cosciente delle difficoltà dell'utente italiano: le forme del pronome personale *se/sebe* e *si/sebi* si trovano nello stesso lemma. L'uso è tuttavia chiaramente distinto se si tratta di una nozione sintattica, quando, cioè, abbiamo a che fare con un morfema, ad es. con i verbi riflessivi: *bati se* 'temere', *drzniti si* 'osare'. A volte, le due lingue ricorrono alla stessa struttura: *govori se* 'si dice'.

Il verbo sloveno è presentato all'infinito; è segnalato il morfema della 1.a pers. sg. del presente, rare volte la forma intera (*najti, najdem* 'trovare, trovo'), rare volte anche il participio passato dello stesso verbo (*našel*). Verbi, detti irregolari, in sloveno quasi non ci sono, a parte qualche forma specifica, ad eccezione del verbo di essenza e di esistenza che funziona anche come verbo ausiliare per la formazione delle forme verbali composte: *biti*. Per la sua funzione sintattica corrisponde alla coppia *essere/avere* in italiano giacché il part. pass. in *-l* ha il valore attivo, mentre solo i participi in *-t, -n* hanno quello passivo.

Per contro, il verbo sloveno non può non suscitare problemi a uno straniero con la bipartizione valida per la morfologia del verbo e che si riflette fortemente nel significato: quasi tutti i verbi, con poche eccezioni, soprattutto di quelli formati o entrati nella lingua in epoca moderna, conoscono – come in tutte le lingue slave – l'aspetto verbale, l'opposizione tra perfettività e imperfettività. Vale a dire, una distinzione che in italiano e in regola generale al mondo linguistico romanzo non è conosciuta attraverso cambiamenti morfologici, benché possa essere chiaramente percepibile nella natura di alcuni verbi (*dire – parlare*) e più rigorosamente ancora nell'opposizione tra il cosiddetto passato remoto o prossimo da un lato e l'imperfetto dall'altro. Nei lemmi verbali lo Šlenc aggiunge, scrupolosamente, a ogni verbo sloveno la dovuta informazione sull'aspetto verbale, *perf./imperf.*; mette accanto anche, quando occorre, la forma aspettuale contraria, ad es., *kupiti/kupovati* 'comprare, acquistare', oppure avvia alla forma verbale che fa binomio aspettuale: *kuriti/zakuriti* 'riscaldare, bruciare'. Alla fine, poi, pp. 1527-1539, troviamo un'ampia aggiunta, l'elenco alfabetico delle coppie aspettuale di parecchie centinaia di verbi, un'informazione oltremodo utile per una prima visione del verbo in sloveno.

La consultazione del ricco materiale che offre il Dizionario è facilitata da una esauriente lista di abbreviazioni, pp. IX-XII, che toccano grammatica (*adj., adv., numer., prep., pron.*), stile (*eufemistico, vezzeggiativo, ironico, letterario, colloquiale, antiquato, dialettale*), sfera lessicale delle attività umane (amministrazione, agricoltura, cinema,

economia, edilizia, storia, diritto, sport, abbigliamento, artigianato, ecc., ecc.). Le abbreviazioni date in sloveno sono tutte sciolte nelle due lingue, ad es., *veznik*, *konjunkcija* - *konj.* - *congiunzione* oppure *gledališče* - *gled.* - *teatro*. Sono di conseguenza a portata di mano anche all'utente italiano.

Concludendo, possiamo ripetere che *Veliki slovensko-italijanski slovar/Grande dizionario sloveno-italiano* rappresenta una pietra miliare nel campo della lessicografia sloveno-italiana. Si distingue per la quantità e per la vastità dei lemmi trattati, giacché include il lessico sloveno degli ultimi due secoli e anche dell'epoca attuale. Mostra la ricchezza nelle possibili traduzioni, presenta il lemma in una moltitudine di sintagmi, di detti e costrutti più usati, spiega, traducendolo, un termine, ma lo fa vedere soprattutto come elemento di un sintagma, di una frase, di una proposizione, di un proverbio.

Accanto all'alta qualità professionale va notata anche l'impeccabile veste grafica. Errori tipografici non ci sono. La Casa editrice, la Državna založba Slovenije, si merita elogi per aver completato il campo lessicografico, di cui il Dizionario italiano-sloveno del 1997 forma la prima parte. E l'autore, prof. Sergij Šlenc si inserisce nella cerchia dei preziosi cultori nel campo lessicologico, o meglio, nella ricerca del lessico delle due aree linguistiche in contatto, slava e romanza.

Mitja Skubic

RADA COSSUTTA – FRANCO CREVATIN, *Slovenski dialektološki leksikalni atlas slovenske Istre (SDLA-SI) II, Založba Annales 2006*

L'Atlante linguistico dell'Istria slovena di cui è uscita la seconda parte è la continuazione e integrazione dello *Slovenski dialektološki atlas Tržaške pokrajine (SDLA – TS)*, Trst 1987, pubblicato nella collana *Slavica triestina* a cura di F. Crevatin, edita dalla Scuola Superiore di lingue moderne per interpreti e traduttori dell'Università degli Studi di Trieste. La differenza tra le due opere è sensibile, non solo per l'estensione geografica, giacché la prima si occupa della situazione delle parlate slovene della provincia di Trieste, mentre il presente *Atlas* abbraccia quelle dell'Istria slovena..

Nell'introduzione viene spiegato che il termine più adatto sarebbe forse *presentazione cartografica* nell'ambito di una geografia dialettologica. È sottolineata l'importanza del metodo usato per l'*Atlas linguistique de la France* di Jules Gilliéron dagli inizi del secolo scorso, seguito anche nell'*Atlas* di cui ci occupiamo. Sono spiegate le difficoltà piuttosto banali, ma sempre importanti, per le quali questa seconda parte è potuta uscire grazie all'intervento dell'Università del Litorale a Capodistria, mentre la prima aveva visto luce a Trieste, sempre nell'ambito delle edizioni della Scuola Superiore di lingue moderne.

L'autrice, prof.essa Rada Cossutta, ha avuto durante il suo studio post-lauream all'Università di Ljubljana un relatore di eccezione nel prof. Tine Logar, il più importante dialettologo sloveno che ha scelto anche le località da esplorare, in tutto 21 siti. Ha avuto, inoltre, l'apporto prezioso nel prof. Franco Crevatin dell'Università degli Studi di Trieste. Il questionario è stato concepito in base a quello dell'*Atlante Storico Linguistico Etnografico Friulano, ASLEF*, che i redattori considerano il capolavoro in questo settore della ricerca dialettale.

Nel primo libro di questo Atlante, pubblicato dalla Scuola Superiore di lingue moderne triestina nel 2005, troviamo raccolte le risposte alle domande dei temi seguenti: fenomeni atmosferici e ambiente naturale, flora e fauna, caccia, animali domestici, casa, corpo umano, vita domestica e vita sociale. Il secondo libro invece, qui recensito, contiene campi semantici come attrezzi agricoli, arnesi rurali e domestici, fienagione e lavoro dei campi e stalla, piante coltivate, alberi, viticoltura., mestieri e occupazioni, allevamento del bestiame, lavori boschivi e lavorazione del legno.

La vita dell'etnia slovena è di conseguenza dal punto di vista semantico bene illustrata. L'investigazione ha raccolto soprattutto il lato materiale e molto meno le varie attività, per cui troviamo quasi esclusivamente sostantivi, espressioni dunque di un oggetto concreto. E solo per questi incontriamo a volte influssi linguistici dal romanzo e anche dal tedesco. Per quest'ultimo non va dimenticato che i termini tedeschi devono essere stati introdotti ai tempi della dominazione asburgica, della vecchia Austria: tra i nomi di mestieri o occupazioni si trovano *pintar* 'carradore', *tišlar* 'falegname', *kramar/šefter* 'rigattiere, bottegaio', *furman/kučer* 'carrettiere' e pochi altri. Per il termine 'patata' sappiamo che la sua origine, dovuta a un processo metaforico, è il tedesco *Grundbirne* e da questo il prestito in sloveno che è *krompir*. In Slovenia sia il termine che il suo referente (ortofrutticolo) furono ignoti fino all'età del regno di Maria Theresia, quando il tubero fu introdotto nell'attività agricola. Dalle raccolte per l'ASLEF sappiamo che il termine *krompir* si trova sporadicamente nella striscia orientale dell'area friulana, accanto

al prettamente tedesco *kartùfule* dell'estrema area friulana settentrionale, mentre il termine largamente predominante in friulano, ovviamente, è quello di *patate*.

Molto più importante si presenta l'influsso linguistico romanzo. Conviene far distinzione, quand'è possibile, tra l'apporto veneto e quello friulano. C'è da pensare che l'area investigata fu per secoli in contatto con la variante friulana meridionale e che il veneto l'aveva soffocata per parecchi secoli e annientò all'Ottocento, come testimoniano i *Dialoghi piacevoli in dialetto vernacolo triestino*, composti e pubblicati da Giuseppe Mainati agli inizi di quel secolo. Bisogna, poi, tenere presente che il veneto fu limitato alla città di Trieste; si veda Giuseppe Vidossich, *Studi sul dialetto triestino*, Archeografo triestino, NS, vol. XXIII, Trieste 1899-1900, pag. 256: L'elemento slavo, scrive l'autorevole linguista italiano, finisce coll'accerchiare tutta la città d'una catena di ferro. Perciò, se a volte non esitiamo a vedere nella parola usata dalla parlata slovena la sua origine romanza, non possiamo stabilire con certezza se si tratti dell'apporto linguistico friulano o veneto. Offre casi del genere la terminologia di viticoltura, ad es., nel caso di *latnik/pergola* oppure quella delle misure per la quantità del grano, come *brenta* o *star*. Provenienti dal friulano sembrano termini come *žlefedur/žbrufador* 'annaffiatoio' o *školadur* 'colatoio'. Altre volte indica la provenienza dal friulano, anzi da una fase friulana antica, la veste fonica; è rilevante l'abbondanza del dittongo: *puorton, kuorte, formentuon*. L'assicura anche la palatalizzazione della velare in *prasće* (dal lat. * virasca) 'canna da pisello' o della dentale in *poč, pəč* (dal lat. PUTEUS). È presente la palatalizzazione anche nel termine della fienagione che nelle parlate slovene istriane è un prestito dal friulano: *pərvi tajo, pərvi taj* e, siccome la terra è buona e generosa, appare accanto a *pərvi taj* anche *drugì, treći* e addirittura *četerti taj*. Tra i nomi per vari mestieri troviamo *buoškar* e a tale attività legato *kavalet*. Facendo un'osservazione sociolinguistica, notiamo che il sintagma *gre/hodi na zornado* è un calco parziale dal veneto o friulano, corrispondente quanto al significato al sostantivo italiano *bracciante*. L'italiano *mezzadro*, per il quale lo sloveno, almeno scritto, conosce un termine corrispondente *spolovinar*, sì, ma non una tale situazione sociale, trova accanto al prestito *kolon* una specie di calco con *dela na pou*, alla lettera, *lavora a metà*.

Parecchie sono state dunque le ragioni per esplorare questa situazione linguistica. Gli autori, dr. Rada Cossutta e dr. Franco Crevatin si sono posti problemi impegnativi e li hanno anche risolti con competenza. Hanno così arricchito la nostra conoscenza sulle parlate slovene del sud-ovest e messo in rilievo alcuni campi semantici dove gli influssi romanzi sono soprattutto vistosi. Non è senza interesse, anzi, che per questi numerosi fenomeni linguistici gli autori hanno potuto constatare l'influsso della vecchia variante meridionale friulana, o, per dirlo con Ascoli, del »tergestino«. Se la vetusta favella friulana meridionale è stata sopraffatta negli ultimi secoli dal veneto e, soprattutto a Trieste, annientata dal triestino, è ancora sempre constatabile nelle parlate contadine.

Mitja Skubic

MONS. IVAN TRINKO (1863-1954). Spodbujevalec spoznavanja in dialoga med kulturami/Promotore della conoscenza e del dialogo tra le culture. Kulturno društvo/Circolo culturale I.TRINKO, Čedad/Civiale 2006.

La miscellanea sulla quale vogliamo brevemente attirare l'attenzione dei colleghi linguisti rappresenta in sostanza gli Atti del Convegno svoltosi a Špeter/San Pietro al Natisone nel 2004 in occasione del cinquantesimo anniversario della morte di Ivan Trinko, redatti da Roberto Dapit, Michele Obit e Lucia Trusgnach. Non solo nel titolo, il bilinguismo sloveno-italiano è rispettato nella stesura di tutti i testi, uno tra di loro appare addirittura in veste trilingue, slovena, italiana e friulana.

Monsignor Ivan Trinko, teologo, pastore e padre spirituale degli sloveni nella Benecia o cosiddetta Slavia friulana o veneta, nacque a Tarčmun/Tercimonte, nella provincia di Udine, terminò gli studi teologici a Udine e fu nel 1886 consacrato sacerdote. Tra il 1894 e il 1943, l'anno del suo pensionamento, fu professore di filosofia presso il Seminario arcivescovile di Udine. Lì ebbe anche l'incarico di insegnare lo sloveno ai seminaristi sloveni e anche a qualche friulano, per i quali compose una grammatica slovena. I seminaristi interessati, sloveni, infatti, conoscevano come loro lingua materna solo il dialetto. La situazione linguistica nell'arcidiocesi di Udine era distinta da quella dell'arcidiocesi di Gorizia con i suoi stretti contatti con la Slovenia e di conseguenza con la norma dello sloveno letterario. Il mons. Trinko fu uomo di ampie vedute e aspirazioni. Non c'è da dimenticare nemmeno il suo ruolo nel campo politico: fu il primo sacerdote di entrare, quale membro del cattolico Partito popolare, nel Consiglio provinciale di Udine e di rimanervi per vent'anni, fino al 1923, quando le cose in Italia cominciarono a cambiare radicalmente. E la politica, nel senso più ampio, nobile, vale a dire, l'impegno per l'esistenza e le faccende della gente slovena nella provincia di Venezia Giulia, l'occupò anche più tardi, durante il ventennio fascista: è nota la sua strenua lotta per l'uso in chiesa della lingua materna. Qui s'incrocia in lui la linguistica e l'obbligo di seguire la situazione sociale. Vietato l'uso dello sloveno prima nella vita pubblica e nella scuola, poi, dal 1928, anche in chiesa, Ivan Trinko fu promotore di un memoriale al papa Pio XI nel 1936 riguardo alla situazione dei cattolici sloveni nel Friuli; ispirò, si potrebbe dire, quasi un odore di santità all'allora arcivescovo di Udine, Nogara, che più volte nelle sue lettere a Trinko si scusa di non aver potuto far niente in favore dell'uso della lingua materna in chiesa, nemmeno parlando sulla questione addirittura al Papa.

Monsignor Trinko fu poeta, prosaista, particolare successo ebbe il suo breve racconto *Nāši paglavci* (I nostri monelli), e un apprezzato traduttore in italiano dalle lingue slave: dallo sloveno, dal ceco, dal russo (Gogolj, Čehov), dal polacco (Sienkiewicz). Fu anche pittore e musicista. Il Convegno lo presenta in tutta la vasta gamma delle sue attività. Per il lato linguistico, poi, sono i più attraenti i contributi che valutano i suoi rapporti epistolari e diretti, minuziosamente esaminati, con i linguisti del suo tempo, soprattutto con l'insigne linguista polacco Ignacij Baudouin de Courtenay, grazie al relativamente intenso epistolario tra il 1890 e 1913. Alcune lettere riguardano anche le difficoltà nella partecipazione del De Courtenay al congresso realizzato nel 1899 in ricordo del grande cronista longobardo Paolo Diacono, dalla cui morte a Montecassino correvano appunto mille anni. Baudouin de Courtenay a più riprese chiese a Trinko informazioni sulle questioni linguistiche delle parlate slovene occidentali e sulla loro

situazione sociolinguistica. Più tardi lo scoppio della prima guerra mondiale troncò la loro corrispondenza. Tra gli altri corrispondenti linguisti del Trinko furono il ceco Adolf Czerny a Praga e Vatroslav Oblak a Vienna. Mons. Trinko divenne informatore altamente qualificato per le questioni linguistiche e sociolinguistiche dello sloveno della Val di Resia e del territorio lungo il Natisone.

Un suo studente e poi collega nell'insegnamento fu Giuseppe Marchetti, autore della prima e ancora sempre utile grammatica del friulano. Mons. Trinko fu dunque in contatto costante con i problemi linguistici. Da qui nella grammatica del Marchetti l'ampia conoscenza del contributo lessicale sloveno al friulano orientale, isontino.

Il Convegno del 2004 presenta vari e vasti aspetti della figura del mons. Ivan Trinko e delle sue attività. La situazione dello sloveno del nostro tempo gli deve molto: egli stesso cominciò con la parlata materna e poi si accattivò anche la lingua slovena letteraria e la fece conoscere bene e amare ai giovani sloveni del suo ambiente. Un altro aspetto, poi, ci pare oltremodo prezioso. Il Convegno ha riunito ricercatori di varie discipline, storia civile, storia culturale, in particolare l'atteggiamento del movimento cattolico in Friuli, la ricerca etnologica, ha tracciato le linee dello sguardo filosofico del mons. Trinko. Nello stesso tempo, ha offerto un utile incontro tra i ricercatori sloveni, friulani e italiani. L'impegno del Trinko, si può dire, abbraccia molti aspetti del suo territorio, sloveno e friulano. Il maggior complimento alla larghezza del suo spirito glielo rende l'articolo, scritto in friulano con il titolo *Un Sclaf Furlanon: Partesan de Region Friûl*. Un elativo di elogio, crediamo, si può esprimere anche in tal modo, anche se la norma grammaticale ancora non lo registra.

Mitja Skubic

IL DIALETTO TEDESCO DELL'ISOLA ALLOGLOTTA DI SAPPADA
TESI DI LAUREA
MARIA BRUNIERA

Das internationale Zentrum für Mehrsprachigkeit der Universität in Udine (Centro Internazionale sul Plurilinguismo dell'Università degli studi di Udine) hat 2005 eine siebzig Jahre alte Diplomarbeit veröffentlicht, eine Tatsache, die eher eine Ausnahme in der Landschaft des wissenschaftlichen Publizierens darstellt, ein Wagnis, das die Aufmerksamkeit der sprachwissenschaftlichen Öffentlichkeit verdient.

Die Autorin der Diplomarbeit, Frau Maria Bruniera, hatte sich im akademischen Jahr 1937/1938 in Padova vorgenommen, den Dialekt der deutschen Sprachinsel Sappada/Ploden, Provinz Belluno, Friaul, wissenschaftlich zu untersuchen, daher der Titel ihrer Diplomarbeit: *Il dialetto tedesco dell'isola alloglotta di Sappada*.

Das maschinengeschriebene Original der auf italienisch verfassten Arbeit befindet sich in der Bibliothek des oben erwähnten Zentrums, jedoch in zwei Heften, wobei das erste 437 Seiten, einschließlich acht schwarz-weißen Fotografien und acht Zeichnungen, das zweite IV + 59 Seiten enthält. Die aktuelle faximierte Veröffentlichung erschien einbändig, mit Vorwort und Anhang beläuft sich die Seitenzahl auf 549.

Der Mentor, Prof. Carlo Tagliavini, beurteilte die Diplomarbeit höchst positiv. In der Beurteilung steht unter anderem, dass er im Jahre 1932 selber begann, das Material zur sprachlichen Bearbeitung des deutschen Dialektes in Sappada/Ploden zu sammeln, wegen anderer Verpflichtungen aber das Thema aufgab, jedoch nicht endgültig. Er schlug es nämlich der Kandidatin Maria Bruniera vor, die in dieser Gegend aufgewachsen war. Die Tatsache, dass das Thema ihre Muttersprache war, begeisterte sie. Trotzdem zog sie ihre Mutter, die lange im venezianischen Sprachgebiet lebte, nicht als Informantin heran, denn sie strebte eine möglichst objektive Beschreibung des Sappada-Dialektes, des Sappadischen an.

Die Diplomarbeit wird durch kürzere Texte zum Thema eingeführt: Ursprung der Besiedlung, Geschichte, Land und Leute. Die ethnologischen Eigenschaften der Landschaft und Leute sowie ihre materiellen und geistigen Errungenschaften sind mit schwarz-weißen Fotografien veranschaulicht, z. B. typisches Bauernhaus, Scheune, Arbeitsverfahren wie Strohschneiden, Heuernte, Faschingstyp. Unter allen Fotografien steht die phonetisch transkribierte Benennung des entsprechenden Arbeitsvorgangs oder Bauerngerätes.

Die eigentliche sprachliche Darstellung des Sappadischen setzt sich aus folgenden Kapiteln zusammen:

- **Phonetik:** Die Autorin benutzte die phonetische Transkribierung nach G. I. Ascoli mit einigen Modifikationen nach einem System, das, so Maria Bruniera, nicht wesentlich von der Transkribierung deutscher Dialekten abweiche.
- **Morphologie:** Die Morphologie des Sappadischen versteht sich hier im weitesten Sinne des linguistischen Begriffes, was den Wert der Arbeit nicht im Geringsten mindert. Die Autorin widmet sich der Beugungsparadigmen (Deklination, Komparation, Pluralbildung, Steigerung, Konjugation) der Wortarten Substantiv, Adjektiv, Verb, Pronomen, Numerale. Sie behandelt den Gebrauch vom bestimmten und unbestimmten Artikel. Bei Wortbildungs-paradigmen hebt sie die Diminutive

hervor, indem sie behauptet: „*I diminutivi sono molto usati nel sappadino (...) soprattutto nel linguaggio dei bambini.*“

- Dialektale Texte: Das Inventar der dialektalen Texte besteht aus 43 Sprichwörtern und aus 45 Texten, die verschiedenen Textsorten zuzuzählen sind: Hierher gehören z.B. Wiegenlieder, Abzählreime, Kinderspiele, Lieder, Berichte der Informanten über Heuernte, Feiertage, Sitten und Bräuche usw. Alle Texte kommen zuerst phonetisch transkribiert vor und erst dann werden sie in die „deutsche“ Hochsprache übersetzt.
- Den lexikographischen Teil der Diplomarbeit stellt der alphabetisch angeordnete Wortschatz des Sappadischen dar. Jedes Stichwort ist mit einer etymologischen Erklärung versehen, die von italienischer und deutscher Übersetzung gefolgt wird. Der Wortschatz besteht aus 3403 Einheiten, mit *ā* beginnend (*ā* = anche, auch) und mit *zwivlrùibę* endend (*zwivlrùibę* = la cipolla, Zwiebel).
- Der toponomastische Teil behandelt 355 Namen der Siedlungen (insgesamt gibt es 15), Wiesen, Berge, Bächer, Wälder, Ebenen usw.
- Dem toponomastischen Teil folgen das alphabetisch angeordnete Verzeichnis der Wörterbucheinheiten ohne Anmerkungen sowie das Verzeichnis der Familiennamen und das italienische Vokabular.

Die besprochene Buchveröffentlichung der Diplomarbeit von Maria Bruniera aus dem Jahre 1937/38 wird mit der ebenso faximilierten Beurteilung von Prof. Carlo Tagliavini abgeschlossen.

Der Mut, den die Herausgeber aufbrachten, indem sie diese Diplomarbeit „herauskramten“ und in Buchform und integral publizierten, steht auch für die Tatsache, dass Manches, das längst in Vergessenheit geraten zu sein scheint, nicht an Wert verloren hat. Es kann ruhig behauptet werden, dass die Forschungsergebnisse von Maria Bruniera und Prof. Carlo Tagliavini denen einer Dissertation gleichkommen. Hut ab!

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PAVAO TEKAVČIĆ

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