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Revija je naslednica *Vestnika Društva za tuje jezike in književnosti*, ki je izhajal med leti 1962 in 2006.

Natis letnika sta omogočila:

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KAZALO

Recenzije

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Spoštovane bralke, cenjeni bralci,

pred vami je nova številka Vestnika za tuje jezike, že dvanajsta po vrsti. Tokrat smo za vas pripravili osemnajst prispevkov in šest recenzij.

Tokratno številko in sklop, namenjen jezikoslovju, otvarja članek **Janka Trupeja**, ki primerja strategije za prevajanje profanosti v sloveščini, hrvaščini in srbščini. V analizo je vključil podnapise dvajsetih filmov, posnetih v angleščini, in ugotovil, da so v slovenskih podnapisih strategije izpuščanja rabljene pogosteje kot v hrvaških ali srbskih. Če vam, draga bralka, dragi bralec, ni jasno, kaj profanost je, boste definicijo našli v omenjenem članku. **Felix Faniran** iz Nigerije v drugem članku tega sklopa analizira francoski prevod dramskega dela *Once upon four robbers* in raziskuje, kako so v prevodu ohranjeni elementi, ki se nanašajo na jorubsko kulturo. Tudi **Svetlana Jakimovska** z Univerze v Štipu analizira prevod; pod drobnogled je vzela knjigo *Varuh mlade rži* in njen prevod iz izvirnika v makedonščino. Zelo aktualne teme se loteva **Veronika Nekudova** z Univerze Masaryk iz Brna; piše namreč o tvorjenkah iz imena Trump v kontekstu trenutne zdravstvene krize. V jezikoslovni razdelek smo uvrstili tudi prispevek kolegic **Ekaterine Vladimirovne Kazakove** in **Natalie Aleksandrovne Vosressenskaie** z ruske Univerze v Nižnem Novgorodu. Njun prispevek se nanaša na roman Sylvaina Tessona, *Le train*, v katerem sta z leksikalnega vidika analizirali koncept "pofigisme", slovanski oz. ruski koncept, ki označuje vrsto fatalizma.

Sklop, namenjen didaktiki tujih jezikov, začenja članek **Lare Burazer**. Tudi v njenem prispevku gre za zelo aktualno temo; predstavlja namreč odnos do formalnega izobraževanja v Združenih državah Amerike, v luči nedavnega škandala z visokošolskimi šolninami. Prispevek **Jerneje Kavčič** povezuje sodobne in klasične jezike; v njem raziskuje, kako se v pouk stare grščine vključuje elemente novogrškega jezika. **Katja Kranjec** in **Ana Pavlič** se obe lotevata ustnega sporočanja pri tujem jeziku. Prva piše o govornih veščinah v učbenikih za angleščino; analizirala je dvajset učbenikov, namenjenih 3. in 4. letnikom gimnazij. Rezultati njene analize bodo zlasti pomembni za učitelje angleščine. Ana Pavlič pa piše o razvijanju ustnega sporočanja in tipologiji nalog za spodbujanje te zmožnosti v učbenikih za učenje španščine. Na ustno sporočanje se navezujeta tudi turški kolegici z Univerze v Izmirju, **Kubra Askak** in **Feryal Cubukcu**. V svojem prispevku analizirata faktorje, ki učence ovirajo pri komunikaciji v tujem jeziku. Kolegici z Univerze v Zagrebu, **Andrea-Beata Jelić** in **Ana Gabrijela Blažević** posegata na področje izobraževanja učiteljev španščine kot tujega jezika. Pišeta o učiteljskih kompetencah; primerjali sta kompetence, določene v različnih referenčnih okvirih, s tistimi, ki jih učitelji dobijo v začetnem izobraževanju in kasneje. **Andreja Retelj** v svojem članku predstavlja mnenja bodočih učiteljev nemščine o učinkovitosti dramske pedagogike pri pouku tujega jezika. Tudi prispevek **Mojce Leskovec** posega na nemško področje; v članku avtorica razmišlja o trpniku v slovenščini in nemščini in piše o tem, kako didaktizirati nemški trpnik, da bi pri učencih presegli osredotočenost na obliko.

Prispevka **Silvie Manessi** in **Mojce Jarc** posegata na področje jezika stroke. Manessijeva predstavlja korpusno analizo jezika v pravnih besedilih s področja upravljanja s človeškimi viri, Mojca Jarc pa raziskuje večjezične žanrske prakse na področju mednarodnih odnosov.

Kot običajno, tudi tokrat objavljamo tri prispevke študentk, ki so nastali na podlagi izstopajočih diplomskih oz. magistrskih nalog. **Kim Fuchs Godec** predstavlja manj znano francosko pesnico Marceline Desbordes Valmore. **Katja Komljanec** in **Lara Šebalj** sta se lotili zelo aktualne teme, spodbujanja avtonomije učencev pri poučevanju na daljavo, **Klara Rus** pa preučuje gledališke tehnike kot sredstvo za izboljšanje govorne zmožnosti in zmanjšanje afektivnega filtra pri pouku španščine kot tujega jezika.

V zadnjem delu revije objavljamo šest recenzij. **Mojca Leskovec** predstavlja dve stopnji učbenika nemščine *Panorama* (B1+ in B2.1). **Andreja Retelj** je recenzirala knjigo o učenju jezikov v puberteti, *Sprachen lernen in der Pubertät*. **Urška Valenčič Arh** predstavlja knjigo o književnosti za otroke in mladostnike, *Kinder- und Jugendliteratur*. **Luka Horjak** je pod drobnogled vzel referenčno delo o nemški historični slovnici, *Althochdeutsche Grammatik: I. Laut- und Formlehre,* **Anne-Cécile Lamy-Joswiak** pa predstavlja lani izšlo knjigo *Le français est à nous ! Petit manuel d'émancipation linguistique*, v kateri avtorici s sociološkega in jezikovnega vidika osvetlita rabo spolno nevtralnih oblik.

Marca letos nas je pretresla smrt kolega Gregorja Perka. Bil je zelo dejaven član uredniškega odbora revije, neutruden recenzent in opora, tudi v najtežjih trenutkih. Posvečena mu bo naslednja številka Vestnika za tuje jezike, za informacije se obrnite na urednico.

Meta Lah
Glavna urednica Vestnika za tuje jezike

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PREVODOSLOVNA PRIMERJAVA SPREJEMLJIVOSTI PROFANOSTI V SLOVENSKIH, HRVAŠKIH IN SRBSKIH FILMSKIH PODNAPISIH

1 UVOD

Slovenščina je imela izjemno pomembno vlogo pri izoblikovanju slovenske narodne zavesti; Frane Jerman npr. navaja, da je slovenski narod svoj jezik tradicionalno pojmoval kot »simbol svoje nacionalne posebnosti in tudi neodvisnosti« (1993: 13; prim. Menart 1977: 339–40; Bajt 2003: 126), Denis Poniž je slovenski jezik označil za »enega od slovenskih identitetnih stebrov« (2002: 86; prim. Kmecl 2012: 120), Marijan Rupert pa je izjavil, »da sta našo kulturo in državo v veliki meri ustvarjala in konstituirala prav jezik in literatura« (2019).[1] Zato ne preseneča, da je slovenska literarna kritika tako od izobraženske kot tudi od poljudne literature pričakovala visoko jezikovno raven (Hladnik 1983: 61; prim. Babič 2015: 39); to prav tako velja za slovenske literarne prevode iz različnih obdobij (gl. npr. Čerče 2012: 189; Onič 2013: 249; Trupej 2014b: 102).[2]

Pri slovenskem narodu je sicer precej razširjeno prepričanje, da naj bi bila večina kletvic oz. psovk, ki se uporabljajo v slovenščini, prevzetih iz besedišča drugih južnoslovanskih jezikov; pomanjkanje izvirnih slovenskih kletvic in psovk velja celo za eno izmed prvin, ki slovenščino razločujejo od jezikov vseh drugih narodov nekdanje Jugoslavije, pri katerih naj bi bilo ‚nespodobno' govorjenje občutno bolj sprejemljivo (Fras 2012: 229; prim. Bandur 2016).[3]

1 Majda Stanovnik sicer tudi prevodu pripisuje zelo pomembno vlogo pri konstituiranju slovenskega naroda: »Izoblikoval je prvo različico slovenskega knjižnega jezika in soustvarjal vse nadaljnje, utrjeval je narodno samozavest, izobraževal, odpiral intelektualna obzorja in možnosti za nova duhovna doživetja« (2003: 72).

2 Tudi v drugih kulturah cenzuro oz. samocenzuro profanosti zasledimo tako pri izvirni literarni produkciji (gl. npr. Hughes 1998: 3; Wajnryb 2005: 244; Allan in Burridge 2006: 16) kot pri prevodih – celo kadar gre za kanonizirana besedila (gl. npr. Roterodamus [1518] 2010: 222; d'Ablancourt [1654] 2010: 250–51; Borges [1935] 2004: 36; Movrin 2010: 109).

3 Kot navaja Ada Vidovič Muha, imajo številni leksemi poleg denotativnega tudi konotativni pomen (2013: 108). Med tovrstne lekseme spadajo tudi prvine profanosti, za katere je lahko značilna inherentna ali adherentna slabšalnost (prav tam: 110–13). Pri psovkah gre npr. za konotativni sinonim denotata, pri kletvicah pa je denotat odsoten.

V raziskavi bomo na podlagi korpusne prevodoslovne analize ugotavljali razlike glede sprejemljivosti profanosti[4] v slovenščini, hrvaščini in srbščini; primerjali bomo pogostost uporabe profanosti pri podnaslovnem prevajanju oz. podnaslavljanju v te tri jezike.[5] Za primerjavo filmskih podnapisov smo se odločili, ker povprečen film doseže precej širše občinstvo kot npr. povprečno literarno delo (Rasmussen in Dawidziak 2005: 274–75), zaradi česar utegne biti prekomerna raba profanosti v podnapisih tudi bolj občutljiva problematika. Slednje še v večji meri velja v kulturah, kot so slovenska, hrvaška in srbska, kjer je večina tujih filmov podnaslovljenih in ne sinhroniziranih;[6] profanost je namreč pojmovana kot bolj nesprejemljiva, kadar se pojavi zapisana na ekranu in ni zgolj izgovorjena (Hjort 2009; prim. Ávila-Cabrera 2015: 53).

Glede uporabe profanosti že dolgo obstajajo številni zadržki: šlo naj bi za verbalno nasilje (Wajnryb 2005: 194), ki izkazuje šibkost (Nežmah 1997: 7; prim. Battistella 2005: 12), pomanjkanje samoobvladovanja, omejen besedni zaklad (Wajnryb 2005: 241) ipd. Vendar so bili v kontekstu filmske oz. literarne produkcije izraženi tudi nekateri drugačni, tj. profanosti bolj naklonjeni pogledi: Ana María Fernández Dobao npr. navaja, da ima profanost pomembno vlogo pri karakterizaciji[7] filmskih likov (2006: 239), medtem ko Minna Hjort podobno ugotavlja, da raba profanosti sooblikuje družbeno-geografski milje, saj med drugim nakazuje govorčevo starost, raven izobrazbe in družbeni status (2015: 320). Zato bi bilo pomembno profani diskurz ohraniti tudi v podnapisih (Karamitroglou 1997). To pogosto ni povsem izvedljivo, saj za podnaslovno prevajanje veljajo določene časovne in prostorske omejitve, zaradi katerih je včasih treba izpustiti nekatere dele izhodiščnega besedila (Cerar 1995: 58; Kovačič 1995: 62; Carroll in Ivarsson 1998; Bitenc 2003: 77; Zabukovec 2010).[8] Dobeseden prevod profanosti v mnogih primerih tudi ne bi bil smiseln, saj imajo nekateri izrazi v različnih jezikih sicer enak denotativni pomen, vendar različen konotativni pomen, zato je pri prevajanju priporočljivo uporabljati izraze oz. besedne zveze, ki imajo v podobnem kontekstu primerljiv ekspresivni pomen in bo njihov učinek torej tudi v ciljni kulturi podoben tistemu v izhodiščni kulturi (Fernández Dobao 2006: 224; prim. Hjort 2015: 323). Uporabljena profanost naj bi v ciljnem jeziku zvenela naravno (Hjort 2009); izziv predstavlja predvsem prevajanje določenih frazemov, pri katerih ustreznice v ciljnem

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4 V *Slovarju slovenskega knjižnega jezika* je pri geslu *profán* kot razlaga za *profano govorjenje* navedeno: ‚nespodobno, neprimerno'. Angleška različica tega izraza (*profanity*) se je sprva navezovala zgolj na bogokletstvo, vendar se je pozneje pomen razširil (Allan in Burridge 2007: 76). Pod okrilje izraza lahko torej prištevamo kletvice, psovke, žaljivke, vulgarizme, blasfemijo, obscenost itd. – v tem smislu je izraz ‚profanost' uporabljen tudi v pričujočem članku.

5 Slovenski podnapisi iz korpusa, ki je bil uporabljen za to raziskavo, so bili vključeni že v raziskave o prevajanju profanosti v slovenščino (Trupej 2014a, 2015, 2019); nekateri primeri, ki so bili obravnavani v navedenih prispevkih, so najbolj relevantni tudi pri primerjavi strategij za podnaslovno prevajanje v zadevne tri jezike, zato so vključeni v to razpravo.

6 Za podnaslavljanje filmov se pogosteje odločajo filmski distributerji v manjših državah, medtem ko je v večjih državah bolj razširjena sinhronizacija (Cerar 1995: 58).

7 Za druge prvine, ki vplivajo na karakterizacijo govorcev in govork, gl. Plemenitaš, Friš in Šabeder (2013).

8 Predhodni raziskavi o prevajanju profanosti v slovenščino (Trupej 2015, 2019) sta pokazali, da so pogosto izpuščena predvsem mašila, npr. prislov *fucking*.

jeziku ne vsebujejo profanosti. V takšnih primerih se profanost lahko npr. kompenzira na drugem mestu v besedilu (Fernández Dobao 2006: 228).

Kljub tovrstnim priporočilom glede prevajanja profanosti je bila za filmske oz. televizijske podnapise v številnih jezikih ugotovljena cenzura (gl. npr. Chen 2004; Pujol 2006; Mattsson 2006; Al-Adwan 2015; Mouka, Saridakis in Fotopoulou 2015; Ávila-Cabrera 2016; Trupej 2019).[9] Pri obravnavanju strategij za izogibanje profanosti pri podnaslovnem prevajanju so bile uporabljene različne kategorizacije *premikov*[10] (gl. npr. Bhais 2011; Ghazizadeh in Mardani 2012; Ávila-Cabrera 2015: 40–41, 45). V tem članku bomo uporabljali nekoliko prilagojeno kategorizacijo, ki jo je izoblikovala Kitty van Leuven-Zwart (1990: 72–73, 80–81, 86–87) in smo jo uporabili že za predhodni raziskavi (Trupej 2015, 2019). Poleg primerov, ko je pri prenosu iz izhodiščnega v ciljni jezik profanost ohranjena, je relevantnih šest kategorij premikov: dodajanje, kompenzacija, izpust, radikalna sprememba pomena, modulacija registra in zamenjava z zaimkom. V nadaljevanju bodo vse omenjene kategorije ponazorjene s pomočjo primerov, nato bodo opredeljene splošne značilnosti strategij za prevajanje profanosti v obravnavanih jezikih. Na podlagi primerov bodo opisane tudi potencialne posledice, ki jih premiki na mikrostrukturni ravni (fraze, stavki in povedi) utegnejo povzročiti na makrostrukturni ravni (gl. van Leuven-Zwart 1989) – spremenijo lahko karakterizacijo, odnose med filmskimi liki ipd.[11]

2 PREVAJALSKE STRATEGIJE

2.1 Ohranjanje

V izhodiščnem diskurzu uporabljena profanost ima ustreznico v prevodu.
Primeri:

HRV: What are you doing, **asshole**? → Što radiš, **seronjo**? (*Analyze That* / *Analiziraj ono* 02:38)[12]

SLO: You're **fucked**. → **Najebal** si. (*Constantine* / *Constantine* 23:23)

SRB: A pack of **turds** dressed in black rode herd on me the whole **damn** night. → Gomila **idiota** me je jurila celu **prokletu** noć. (*Once Upon a Time in the West* / *Bilo jednom na Divljem zapadu* 58:27)

9 Dušanka Zabukovec, ki je dolga leta vodila prevajalski oddelek na Televiziji Slovenija, je npr. izjavila, da na nacionalni televiziji prevajalcev ne spodbujajo k ohranjanju sleherne nespodobne besede, češ da bi uporaba profanosti gledalce in gledalke zmotila (cit. v Fekonja 2010: 37; gl. tudi Kovačič 1995: 63; Šučur 2015).

10 Premike lahko v prevodoslovnem kontekstu npr. opredelimo kot »spremembe, ki se zgodijo ali se utegnejo zgoditi pri procesu prevajanja« (Bakker, Koster in van Leuven-Zwart 2009: 269) oz. kot »vse, kar se zdi novo glede na izvirnik ali se ne pojavi, kjer bi lahko pričakovali, da se bo« (Popovič 1970; cit. po Bakker, Koster in van Leuven-Zwart 2009: 271).

11 Pri prevodoslovni analizi je s terminom ‚mikrostruktura' mišljena besedilna raven, s pojmom ‚makrostruktura' pa pripovedna raven.

12 Odebeljen tisk je pri primerih profanosti skozi celotno besedilo dodan za poudarek.

2.2 Dodajanje

Profanost se v podnapisih pojavi na mestu, kjer v izhodiščnem diskurzu ni bila uporabljena.
Primeri:
HRV: Harry, you sound trashed. → Harry, **usrano** zvučiš. (*Kiss Kiss Bang Bang* / *Cmok, cmok, bang, bang* 49:58)
SLO: If you were a man, you would've done it now! → Če bi imel **jajca**, bi zdaj že opravil. (*The Untouchables* / *Nedotakljivi* 66:39)
SRB: Yeah. I'm scared. → Da, **usrao** sam se. (*A History of Violence* / *Istorija nasilja* 32:39)

2.3 Kompenzacija

V prevodu profanost ni uporabljena na istem mestu kot v izhodiščnem diskurzu, vendar je kompenzirana drugje. (Pogosto gre za kompenzacijo z drugo besedno vrsto.)
Primeri:
HRV: Of course I can hear what you're **fucking** saying. → Naravno da čujem koja **sranja** govorite. (*Identity* / *Identitet* 67:27)
SLO: I can't believe this is **fucking** happening! → Ne morem verjeti, da se to dogaja, **pizda**! (*A History of Violence* / *Sence preteklosti* 58:01)
SRB: You gotta be **fucking** kidding me. → Mora da me **zajebavaš**. (*A History of Violence* / *Istorija nasilja* 5:32)

2.4 Izpust

Izvirno uporabljena profanost je v podnapisih izpuščena.
Primeri:
HRV: Enough of this running **shit**! → Dosta je bilo ovog bježanja! (*The Untouchables* / *Nedodirljivi* 53:11)
SLO: I'll break your **goddamn** neck!→ Polomil vam bom vrat! (*Once Upon a Time in America* / *Bilo je nekoč v Ameriki* 15:59)
SRB: How the **fuck** did you let that happen? → Kako si to dozvolio? (*Identity* / *Identitet* 03:53)

2.5 Modulacija registra

Denotativni pomen je v podnapisih ohranjen, vendar je uporabljen višji register.
Primeri:
HRV: He **fucked** his drug counselor's car **up**. → Oštetio je automobil svom savjetniku. (*Weather Man* / *Prognostičar* 53:26)
SLO: That **motherfucker** took his destiny in his own hands. → Tip je vzel usodo v svoje roke. (*Resurrection* / *Tupacovo vstajenje* 30:27)
SRB: Why protect someone who doesn't **give a shit** about you? → Zašto štitiš nekog ko nimalo ne mari za tebe? (*V for Vendetta* / *V kao vendeta* 73:15)

2.6 Radikalna sprememba pomena

Pomen izvirnega profanega izraza oz. besedne zveze je v podnapisih radikalno spremenjen.
Primeri:
HRV: Like a **ho**? → Kako? (*Borat* / *Borat* 35:18)
SLO: **Blow** me. → Komaj čakam. (*Kiss Kiss Bang Bang* / *Cmok cmok, bang bang* 30:21)
SRB: Oh, **screw** you! → Ma daj! (*The Man without a Face* / *Čovek bez lica* 12:15)

2.7 Zamenjava z zaimkom

Namesto izvirno uporabljene profanosti je v podnapisih uporabljen zaimek.
Primeri:
HRV: Nobody talks to my **bitch** that way. → Nitko tako ne razgovara s njom. (*Anger Management* / *Kontrola besa* 12:09)
SLO: I'm rushing the **nigga**. → Napadam ga. (*Resurrection* / *Tupacovo vstajenje* 91:08)
SRB: Do you have to go give that old **quack** your garter? → Morala si da mu daš podvezicu? (*The Reivers* / *Lupeži* 67:14)

3 ANALIZA KORPUSA

Analiza je obsegala 20 filmov v skupni dolžini približno 39 ur, ki so izšli pri šestih različnih distributerjih. Analiziran je bil ves izgovorjeni izvirni diskurz, ki vsebuje profanost – vse prevodne rešitve so bile razvrščene v zgoraj navedene kategorije.[13] Če v izvirniku prisotna profanost ni bila ohranjena zaradi prostorskih in časovnih omejitev oz. če ni bila ohranjena

13 Pri analizi smo naleteli na nekaj pomensko neustreznih prevedkov, vendar tega nismo obravnavali kot premik, če sta bila izraza podobno slogovno zaznamovana.

niti v izvirnih podnapisih, ki jih prevajalci in prevajalke običajno prejmejo kot referenčni material in se po njih pogosto ravnajo, smo to kategorizirali kot objektivne razloge za to, da profanost ni bila ohranjena, v nasprotnem primeru pa kot (samo)cenzuro. Če je bila izvirna profanost izpuščena, vendar v istem podnapisu kompenzirana, smo to zabeležili. Rezultati analize so prikazani v spodnji preglednici.[14]

Preglednica 1: Rezultati analize podnaslavljanja profanosti[15]

Analiziran film	**Jezik**	**Profanost je ohranjena [dodana]**	**Profanost ni ohranjena**				**Cenzura / objektivni razlogi [kompenzacija]**
			IZP	**MR**	**ZZ**	**RSP**	
A History of Violence	SLO	46 [1]	41	12	3	2	53 / 5 [2]
	HRV	71 [0]	27	6	0	0	28 / 5 [3]
	SRB	68 [5]	28	7	0	1	36 / 0 [0]
Alfie	SLO	22 [3]	4	12	0	2	17 / 1 [0]
	HRV	29 [3]	4	5	0	2	11 / 0 [0]
	SRB	28 [4]	3	5	0	4	11 / 1 [0]
Analyze That	SLO	62 [3]	114	7	0	3	95 / 29 [2]
	HRV	79 [5]	90	16	1	0	74 / 33 [7]
	SRB	80 [6]	88	18	0	0	82 / 24 [5]
Analyze This	SLO	93 [3]	56	27	2	1	58 / 28 [2]
	HRV	109 [8]	44	20	0	6	44 / 26 [9]
	SRB	79 [3]	92	8	0	0	61 / 39 [0]
Anger Manage-ment	SLO	64 [19]	19	20	2	3	38 / 6 [1]
	HRV	72 [18]	16	19	1	0	34 / 2 [0]
	SRB	69 [15]	15	23	0	1	37 / 2 [0]
Big Fish	SLO	12 [0]	4	10	0	0	13 / 1 [0]
	HRV	16 [1]	3	7	0	0	10 / 0 [0]
	SRB	17 [2]	4	5	0	0	9 / 0 [0]
Borat	SLO	55 [2]	21	3	2	1	24 / 3 [1]
	HRV	66 [7]	13	2	0	1	13 / 3 [2]
	SRB	67 [3]	4	10	0	1	15 / 0 [0]
Constantine	SLO	22 [0]	10	3	1	0	13 / 1 [0]
	HRV	27 [0]	6	2	0	1	8 / 1 [0]
	SRB	27 [0]	5	4	0	0	9 / 0 [0]

14 Preglednice s prevodnimi rešitvami vseh pojavitev profanosti v posameznem filmu so dostopne na naslednjem spletnem naslovu: https://sites.google.com/site/jankotrupej/home/bibliografija/vestnik

15 Kratica IZP označuje *izpust*, MR *modulacijo registra*, ZZ *zamenjavo z zaimkom* in RSP *radikalno spremembo pomena*. Pri zadnjem stolpcu gre za seštevek vrednosti iz kategorije *Profanost ni ohranjena*.

Analiziran film	Jezik	Profanost je ohranjena [dodana]	Profanost ni ohranjena				Cenzura / objektivni razlogi [kompenzacija]
			IZP	MR	ZZ	RSP	
Identity	SLO	60 [2]	34	7	0	0	30 / 11 [0]
	HRV	73 [1]	22	6	0	0	14 / 14 [6]
	SRB	53 [2]	39	7	0	2	43 / 5 [0]
Kiss Kiss, Bang Bang	SLO	87 [1]	140	17	3	9	122 / 47 [5]
	HRV	144 [22]	96	12	1	3	88 / 24 [0]
	SRB	142 [13]	88	21	1	4	86 / 28 [3]
Men in Black II	SLO	30 [6]	14	1	0	0	12 / 3 [1]
	HRV	24 [5]	15	4	1	1	18 / 3 [0]
	SRB	31 [10]	11	3	0	0	11 / 3 [0]
No Direction Home	SLO	32 [3]	9	14	0	0	19 / 4 [0]
	HRV	28 [2]	13	14	0	0	26 / 1 [0]
	SRB	43 [6]	5	7	0	0	11 / 1 [0]
Once Upon a Time in America	SLO	73 [2]	51	17	0	3	58 / 13 [0]
	HRV	101 [7]	26	17	0	0	37 / 6 [0]
	SRB	63 [3]	47	28	1	5	68 / 13 [0]
Once Upon a Time in the West	SLO	28 [1]	2	4	0	1	6 / 1 [0]
	HRV	24 [2]	6	4	1	0	10 / 1 [0]
	SRB	24 [0]	1	9	0	1	10 / 1 [0]
The Man without a Face	SLO	45 [1]	16	10	0	2	18 / 10 [0]
	HRV	64 [3]	5	4	0	0	6 / 3 [0]
	SRB	63 [4]	5	4	0	1	8 / 2 [0]
The Reivers	SLO	15 [6]	10	12	1	0	18 / 5 [0]
	HRV	23 [2]	7	7	1	0	11 / 4 [0]
	SRB	23 [1]	8	6	1	0	12 / 3 [0]
The Unotu-chables	SLO	42 [7]	18	6	0	1	18 / 7 [0]
	HRV	43 [0]	17	6	1	0	20 / 4 [1]
	SRB	43 [0]	21	3	0	0	21 / 3 [0]
The Weather Man	SLO	96 [3]	4	6	0	0	10 / 0 [0]
	HRV	96 [0]	5	5	0	0	9 / 1 [0]
	SRB	96 [0]	5	5	0	0	10 / 0 [0]
Tupac: Resurrection	SLO	47 [2]	25	23	2	0	38 / 12 [0]
	HRV	27 [5]	54	9	4	3	60 / 10 [3]
	SRB	57 [3]	20	19	0	1	30 / 10 [0]

Analiziran film	Jezik	Profanost je ohranjena [dodana]	Profanost ni ohranjena				Cenzura / objektivni razlogi [kompenzacija]
			IZP	MR	ZZ	RSP	
V for Vendetta	SLO	31 [5]	39	13	1	0	51 / 2 [0]
	HRV	58 [2]	17	8	0	1	26 / 0 [0]
	SRB	59 [8]	11	12	1	1	23 / 2 [0]
SKUPAJ	**SLO**	**962 (51,7 %) [70]**	**631 (33,9 %)**	**224 (12,0 %)**	**17 (0,9 %)**	**28 (1,5 %)**	**711 (79,0 %) / 189 (21,0 %) [14]**
	HRV	**1174 (63,1 %) [93]**	**486 (26,1 %)**	**173 (9,3 %)**	**11 (0,6 %)**	**18 (0,9 %)**	**547 (79,5 %) / 141 (20,5 %) [31]**
	SRB	**1132 (60,8 %) [88]**	**500 (26,9 %)**	**204 (10,9 %)**	**4 (0,2 %)**	**22 (1,2 %)**	**593 (81,2 %) / 137 (18,8 %) [8]**

V slovenskih podnapisih je bilo ohranjenih 51,7 %, v srbskih podnapisih 60,8 % in v hrvaških podnapisih 63,1 % primerov v izhodiščnem diskurzu uporabljene profanosti. Profanost je bila v slovenskih podnapisih dodana v 70 primerih in kompenzirana v 14 primerih, v srbskih podnapisih je bila dodana v 88 primerih in kompenzirana v 8 primerih, v hrvaških podnapisih pa je bila dodana v 93 primerih in kompenzirana v 31 primerih. V primerih, ko profanost ni bila ohranjena, je bil v vseh treh jezikih najpogostejši premik izpust (SLO: 33,9 %; SRB: 26,9 %; HRV: 26,1 %), relativno pogosta prevajalska strategija je bila tudi modulacija registra (SLO: 12,0 %; SRB: 10,9 %; HRV: 9,3 %), medtem ko so deleži radikalnih sprememb pomena (SLO: 1,5 %; SRB: 1,2 %; HRV: 0,9 %) in zamenjav z zaimkom (SLO: 0,9 %; SRB: 0,2 %; HRV: 0,6 %) precej zanemarljivi. V primerih, ko profanost ni bila ohranjena, je delež, ko so za to obstajali objektivni razlogi, v slovenskih podnapisih znašal 21,0 %, v srbskih podnapisih 18,8 %, v hrvaških podnapisih pa 20,5 %.

Za podnapise v vseh treh jezikih je značilna precejšnja nekonsistentnost pri prevajanju profanih izrazov oz. stalnih besednih zvez, ki se v posameznem filmu pojavijo večkrat. V slovenskih podnapisih je bila npr. radikalno spremenjena protagonistova izjava *Can I say '**fuck**' more?* na začetku filma *Kiss Kiss Bang Bang* (10:11), ki se navezuje na dejstvo, da je do tistega trenutka šestkrat uporabil izraze s korenom *fuck*. Ker je v podnapisih le v enem primeru uporabljena primerljivo vulgarna prevodna rešitev, se prevod omenjene izjave glasi *Preklinjati pa znam, ja.* V srbskih podnapisih je vulgarnost izraza ohranjena v štirih primerih in izjava je prevedena kot *Mogu li još da govorim '**jebi ga**'.* Prav toliko pojavitev izraza je ohranjenih v hrvaških podnapisih, kjer se prevod izjave glasi *Smijem li još reći '**jebeno**'?*. Eksplicitno na izraz *fuck* se navezuje tudi izjava na koncu tega filma (95:05): *For all of you good people in the Midwest, sorry we said '**fuck**' so much.* V slovenskih podnapisih tudi tokrat zasledimo enako radikalno spremembo pomena kot prej: *[V]sem zadrtežem pa se opročšam, ker smo preklinjali*. V srbskih podnapisih je bila zaradi pogostih premikov pri prevajanju zadevnega izraza prav tako uporabljena tovrstna prevodna rešitev: *[Z]a sve vas dobre ljude sa Srednjega zapada, izvinite zbog psovanja.* Le v hrvaščini se tudi tokrat izjava dejansko navezuje na specifičen termin: *Za sve vas, dobre ljude iz Midwesta, oprostite što smo toliko puta rekli '**jebi ga**'.*

Dodajanje profanosti je razmeroma pogosto v vseh treh jezikih, kar utegne včasih celo spremeniti pomen diskurza. Kot primer navajamo naslednjo izjavo iz filma *Men in Black II* (36:15): *My business is banging, dog*. Izraz *bang* sicer ima vulgarno konotacijo, kadar je uporabljen za spolno občevanje, vendar tokrat ne gre za to. Prav tako je izraz *dog* lahko žaljivka, če je nekdo verbalno degradiran na živalsko raven, toda v tem primeru gre dejansko za izražanje naklonjenosti do sogovornika. Slednje je v slovenskem prevodu ohranjeno: *Posel cveti, stari*. V hrvaškem prevodu zasledimo izpust zadnje besede v povedi: *Posao dobro ide.* V srbskih podnapisih pa zasledimo dva primera dodane profanosti: *Posao mi ide do **jaja**, **psu**.* Dobesedni prevod izraza *dog* dejansko predstavlja radikalno spremembo pomena, saj imata oba izraza enak denotativni pomen, vendar v dotičnem primeru različen konotativni pomen – v srbskih podnapisih je izjava žaljiva do naslovnika.

Predvsem v hrvaških podnapisih je profanost pogosto kompenzirana. Stalna besedna ***Shut the fuck up!***, ki jo eden od likov v filmu *Analyze This* dvakrat naslovi na isto osebo (6:29; 8:15), je v hrvaških podnapisih v obeh primerih prevedena kot *Zaveži, **jebi ga**!*, medtem ko je v srbskih podnapisih najprej prevedena kot *Zaveži već jednom*!, nato pa v *Zaveži!*, torej gre za dve modulaciji registra. V slovenskih podnapisih je izjava prvič prevedena kot *Utihni!*, kar prav tako predstavlja modulacijo registra, drugič pa v *Zapri **gobec**!*. Nadaljnji nazoren primer, kako je bila profanost na izvirnem mestu izpuščena, toda nato kompenzirana drugje, je izjava *You **fuck** the **shit** out of them!* iz filma *Borat* (59:38). Srbski prevod se glasi ***Jebeš** ih dok se ne **useru**!*; torej je uporabljena tudi ustreznica za izraz *shit* – v izvirniku gre sicer za samostalnik, v prevodu pa za glagol. Kompenzacijo zasledimo tudi v hrvaškem prevodu, ki se glasi ***Izjebeš** ih kao **krave**!*. Slovenski podnapis se glasi ***Pofukaš** jih[.]* – prevedka za izraz *shit* torej ni. Tudi nasploh velja, da so stalne besedne zveze, ki vsebujejo profanost, v slovenščini pogosteje kot v srbščini ali hrvaščini prevedene nevtralno – npr. naslednja iz filma *Alfie* (11:38): *We have something here, or am I just a glorified **booty call**?*. Slovenski prevod se glasi *Je med nama nekaj resnega ali sem samo zlata rezerva?*, hrvaški *Imamo li mi što, ili sam ja cijenjeni **poziv za ševu**?*, srbski pa *Da li među nama ima nečega, ili sam samo počasna **faćkalica**?*.

Pogosto so različni pristopi uporabljeni v primerih, ko bi bilo treba spremeniti denotativni pomen izvirnega diskurza, da bi se v ciljnem besedilu ohranil konotativni pomen. Nazoren primer je naslednja izjava iz filma *Anger Management* (35:56): *Might I have your first name, Mr. **Head**? And tell me it isn't **Dick***. V hrvaških podnapisih se prevod glasi: *Kako vam je ime, g. **Glava**? Nije valjda **Kurčeva**?*. Ime in priimek te osebe sta torej prevedena, s čimer je ohranjena tudi žalitev. Tega ni mogoče trditi za slovenske in srbske podnapise, kjer se prevoda glasita *Mi zaupate svoje ime, g. Head? Menda ni Dick.* oz. *Možete li mi reći svoje ime, g. Hed? Samo da nije Dik*. Podoben primer v istem filmu zasledimo, ko protagonist vstopi v restavracijo v družbi dveh spremljevalk z globokim dekoltejem, nakar jih natakar vpraša: *Would you like a* ***boobs****—? Booth?* (73:47). Hrvaški prevod se glasi *Želite li* ***sisa****... Separe?*, srbski *Želite li* ***sisare*** *... separe?*, slovenski pa *Bi se parili ... Bi separe?*. V hrvaških in srbskih podnapisih je profanost sicer ohranjena, v slovenski različici pa ne, vendar v tem primeru za to obstajajo objektivni razlogi, saj je bil cilj doseganje blizuzvočja – torej tega ne gre obravnavati kot (samo)cenzuro.

Izziv predstavlja tudi prevajanje kulturno specifične profanosti. Trije različni pristopi so npr. uporabljeni za podnaslavljanje naslednje razlage o razliki med izrazoma *nigga* in *nigger* v filmu *Tupac: Resurrection* (73:04): ***Niggas****. He's talking about* ***niggers****.* ***Niggers*** *was the ones on the rope, hanging off the thing.* ***Niggas*** *is the ones with gold ropes, hanging out at clubs*. V slovenskih podnapisih je za oba angleška izraza uporabljen isti izraz: *On je govoril o drugačnih* ***črnuhih****. Njegovi* ***črnuhi*** *so tisti, ki visijo z vrvi. Moji* ***črnuhi*** *pa imajo zlate vrvi in visijo po klubih*.[16] V hrvaških podnapisih najprej zasledimo negativno zaznamovan hrvaški izraz, nato pa sta prevzeta angleška izraza: *Ja spominjem svoju braću, a oni* ***crnčuge****. 'Nigg-ers' su oni koje su vješali po stablima. 'Nigg-as' su oni sa zlatnima lancima, koji vise po klubovima.* V srbskih podnapisih pa sta uporabljena dva različna negativno zaznamovana srbska izraza: *'****Cr-nje****.' On govori o '****crn-čugama****'. '****Crn-čuge****' su bili oni na konopcu, što su visili. '****Cr-nje****' su oni sa zlatnim konopcima, koji vise po klubovima*.[17]

4 VPLIV PREMIKOV NA MAKROSTRUKTURNO RAVEN

V filmu *Analyze That* policijski načelnik v odzivu na poskus ropa konvoja, ki prevaža zlate palice, v manj kot minuti uporabi šest primerov profanosti, kar je v podnapisih v treh obravnavanih jezikih ohranjeno v različni meri:

ANG: Are you **fucking** kidding me? /.../ We're gonna back these **fuckers** out of here. What the **fuck**? /.../ They're lifting the **fucking** truck! **Son of a bitch**! /.../ You have got to be **fucking** kidding me!

SLO: To ni res! /.../ Vzvratno gremo. /.../ Dvigujejo kamion! /.../ To ni res!

HRV: **Zajebavate** me? /.../ Izaći ćemo unatrag. Koji **kurac**? /.../ Dižu kamion! **Pas mater**! /.../ Ma **zajebavate** me!

SRB: Da li me ti to **zajebavaš**? /.../ Vratićemo ove **budale** odavde. Šta je to [sic] **jebote**? /.../ Podižu kamion! **Kučkin sin**! /.../ Mora da se šalite! (73:52)

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16 Ena od potencialnih prevodnih rešitev bi bila uporabiti dva različno zaznamovana negativna slovenska izraza za temnopolte. Za primerjavo slogovne zaznamovanosti najpogostejših slovenskih terminov za temnopolte gl. Trupej (2014c: 639–42).

17 Podobno kot je bilo ugotovljeno za slovenske literarne prevode (gl. npr. Trupej 2014b, 2017a), negativno zaznamovani rasni izrazi tudi v filmskih podnapisih pogosto niso bili ohranjeni. V filmu *The Reivers* se npr. izraz *nigger* pojavi štirikrat in medtem ko je v hrvaščini trikrat ohranjena negativna konotacija tega izraza, to za srbščino in slovenščino velja le v enem primeru.

Medtem ko je v hrvaščini in srbščini profanost ohranjena v štirih primerih, je v slovenščini povsem cenzurirana, pri čemer sta dve vrstici podnapisov popolnoma izpuščeni, ne da bi bilo to potrebno zaradi prostorskih oz. časovnih omejitev. Slovenski gledalci torej slišijo govorjeni diskurz, vendar ne vidijo podnapisov, kar jih utegne zmotiti (gl. Hjort 2009). V tem primeru to sicer nima bistvenega vpliva na makrostrukturno raven filma. V večji meri na makrostrukturo vpliva cenzura profanosti v filmu *Analyze This*, predvsem pri diskurzu protagonista Paula Vittija – mafijskega šefa, ki se npr. na poskus umora odzove z naslednjimi besedami:

ANG: You make one more move on me, you **motherfucker**, I'll **fucking** cut your **fucking balls** off! I'll shove them up your **fucking ass**, I'll **fucking** bury you! I'll put **fucking** ice picks in your eyes! I'll chop your **fucking** eyeballs! I'll send them to your **fucking** family to eat for dessert! /.../ You **motherfucker**!

SLO: Če boš še kaj poskušal, ti bom odrezal **jajca**! Nato ti jih bom zatlačil v **rit**. In te pokopal! V oči ti bom zabil cepina! Razsekal ti bom zrkli! Poslal jih bom tvoji družini, da jih bodo imeli za poobedek! /.../ Ti **pofukanec**!

HRV: Napadneš li me opet, **jebem ti mater**, odrezat ću ti **jebena jaja**! I strpati u **jebenu guzicu**! I pokopati te, **jebi ga**! **Jebenim** šiljcima za led probušit ću ti oči i narezuckati **jebene** očne jabučice! I poslati ih tvojoj **jebenoj** obitelji da pojede [sic] za desert! /.../ **Jebem ti mater**!

SRB: Ako još jednom kreneš na mene otkinuću ti muda i nabiti ih u **dupe**! Zakopaću te! Zabiću ti šiljke za led u oči! Iskopaću ti jabučice! Poslaću ih tvojoj porodici da ih pojedu za dezert! /.../ **Drkadžijo**! (47:10)

Od enajstih primerov profanosti v izvirniku jih je v hrvaških podnapisih ohranjenih deset, v slovenskih in srbskih pa le tri oz. dva. To bistveno spremeni raven agresivnosti zgornjega izbruha. Ker v slovenskih in srbskih podnapisih profanost skozi celoten film pogosto ni ohranjena, je karakterizacija tega lika bistveno spremenjena: deluje bolj omikano in manj agresivno. Ávila-Cabrera trdi, da raba profanosti ni le pomemben del karakterizacije, temveč prispeva tudi k razumevanju dogajanja (2015: 42), kar velja predvsem za situacije, ko verbalno nasilje privede do fizičnega nasilja (Nežmah 1997: 81; prim. Hughes 1998: 6; Wajnryb 2005: 143). Nazoren primer, kako lahko izogibanje profanosti v podnapisih neposredno vpliva na razumevanje dogajanja, zasledimo v filmu *A History of Violence*, ko srednješolec z naslednjimi besedami nagovori protagonista in njegovo prijateljico:

ANG: So, your old man's some kind of tough guy, huh? What's he think of his **wimp** son? You think he'd take this **shit**? You think he'd make jokes? Go on, **bitch**. Say something funny. /.../ Shut up, **skank**. /.../ Yeah, **puss**. Run away. **Goddamn**, I bet your daddy would be real ashamed by you. Go ahead, **bitch**. Say something funny.

SLO: Tvoj stari je pravi silak, kaj? Kaj pravi na **mevžastega** sina? Bi prenašal tvoje duhovičenje? Povej kaj duhovitega. /.../ Tiho, **kuzla**. /.../ Ti kar stisni rep med noge. Tvoj oče bi se te sramoval. Povej kaj duhovitega[.]

HRV: Stari ti je opasan tip? Što misli o sinu **mlakonji**? Trpio bi ovo sa smiješkom? Reci nešto smiješno, **pičko**. /.../ Zašuti, **droljo**. /.../ Da, **pičkice**. Samo pobjegni. Kladim se da bi te se tata sramio. Reci nešto smiješno, **kučko**.

SRB: Znači, tvoj matori je neki opasan tip? Šta misli o svom **pičkastom** sinu? Misliš da bi on trpeo ova **sranja** i zezao se? Hajde, **pičko**, reci nešto smešno. /.../ Umukni, **droljo**. /.../ Da, **pičko**, beži. **Majku mu**, tvog ćaleta bi sigurno bila sramota od tebe. Hajde, **pičko**, reci nešto smešno. (46:24)

Razžaljeni protagonist se na to odzove tako, da sošolca brutalno pretepe. V srbščini je ohranjenih vseh sedem primerov izvirne profanosti, v hrvaščini pet, v slovenščini pa je profanost ohranjena le dvakrat, kar lahko vpliva na to, kako občinstvo dojema ta diskurz – marsikomu se tako nasilen odziv utegne zdeti bistveno manj razumljiv, kot če bi bili ohranjeni vsi žaljivi izrazi.

5 ZAKLJUČEK

Analiza 20 filmov, podnaslovjenih v slovenščino, hrvaščino in srbščino, je pokazala številne skupne značilnosti, pa tudi nekatere razlike. Iz seznamov vseh prevodnih rešitev za uporabljeno profanost v posameznem filmu je razvidno, da so bile v primerih, ko je bila profanost ohranjena, v vseh treh jezikih za isti izraz oz. frazo pogosto uporabljene različne prevodne rešitve. V slovenskih podnapisih je bila skupno ohranjena dobra polovica profanosti, v hrvaških in srbskih podnapisih pa nekaj več kot 60 %. V vseh treh jezikih smo pri približno petini vseh neohranjenih primerov ugotovili objektivne razloge, medtem ko lahko ostale primere obravnavamo kot (samo)cenzuro. Podrobnejša kategorizacija primerov, pri katerih profanost ni bila ohranjena, je pokazala, da je bila v slovenskih podnapisih izpuščena občutno bolj pogosto kot v hrvaških in srbskih podnapisih, medtem ko razlike v deležih modulacij registra, radikalnih sprememb pomena in zamenjav z zaimkom niso tolikšne. Profanost je bila v slovenskih podnapisih dodana nekoliko redkeje kot v srbskih in hrvaških podnapisih, v slednjih podnapisih pa je bila tudi občutno najpogosteje kompenzirana. Različne prevajalske pristope smo ponazorili tudi z nekaterimi primeri in pojasnili smo, kako lahko uporabljene strategije za prevajanje profanosti vplivajo na mikrostrukturo oz. makrostrukturo filmov, npr. na razumevanje dogajanja, karakterizacijo in percepcijo odnosov med filmskimi liki.

Glede na rezultate analize lahko sklepamo, da je za prevajalce in prevajalke ohranjanje profanosti pri prevajanju v slovenščino nekoliko manj sprejemljivo kot pri prevajanju v hrvaščino ali srbščino, vendar so razlike manjše, kot bi morda pričakovali – izjemoma je profanost v slovenskih podnapisih ohranjena celo v večji meri kot v srbskih oz. hrvaških podnapisih.[18] Morda lahko prepričanje, da je uporaba profanosti v hrvaščini oz. srbščini veliko bolj sprejemljiva kot v slovenščini, torej razumemo v kontekstu splošne slovenske težnje po distanciranju od drugih južnoslovanskih narodov (Žižek 2000: 601; prim. Udovič in Bučar 2016: 1064–66). Za celovitejšo primerjavo sprejemljivosti profanosti v posamezni obravnavani kulturi bi bile sicer potrebne nadaljnje – zlasti korpusno podprte – primerjalne analize uporabe profanosti v različnih vrstah diskurza.

Pričujoča raziskava prevajalcem in prevajalkam utegne koristiti pri odločanju glede strategij za prevajanje profanosti, prav tako pa je lahko izhodišče za nadaljnje raziskave o sprejemljivosti profanosti pri podnaslovnem prevajanju, v katere bi bilo poleg prevajalcev in prevajalk smiselno vključiti tudi druge deležnike, npr. urednike in urednice pri televizijskih hišah, distributerje ter nenazadnje gledalce in gledalke.

ANALIZIRANI FILMI

A History of Violence / *Povijest nasilja* / *Sence preteklosti* / *Istorija nasilja.* Režija: David Cronenberg. 2005. Ljubljana: JA-MI, 2006. DVD.

Alfie / *Alfie* / *Alfie* / *Alfi*. Režija: Charles Shyer. 2004. Ljubljana: Karantanija cinemas, 2005. DVD.

Analyze That / *Analiziraj ono* / *Mafijski blues* / *Mafijaš pod stresom*. Režija: Harold Ramis. 2002. Ljubljana: Art vidis, 2003. DVD.

Analyze This / *Analiziraj ovo* / *Analiza pa taka* / *Mafijaš na terapiji*. Režija: Harold Ramis. 1999. Ljubljana: Con film, 2006. DVD.

Anger Management / *Kontrola besa* / *Bes pod kontrolo* / *Bez ljutnje, molim*. Režija: Peter Segal. 2003. Škofljica: Blitz film, 2003. DVD.

Big Fish / *Krupna riba* / *Velika riba* / *Krupna riba*. Režija: Tim Burton. 2003. Škofljica: Blitz film, 2004. DVD.

Borat: Cultural Learnings of America for Make Benefit Glorious Nation of Kazakhstan / *Borat: Učenje o amerika kultura za boljitak veličanstveno država Kazahstan* / *Borat: Učenje o američka kultura za krasna narod Kazahstanski* / *Borat*. Režija: Larry Charles. 2006. Ljubljana: Con film, 2006. DVD.

Constantine / *Constantine* / *Constantine* / *Konstantin*. Režija: Francis Lawrence. 2005. Ljubljana: JA-MI, 2005. DVD.

Identity / *Identitet* / *Identiteta* / *Identitet*. Režija: James Mangold. 2003. Škofljica: Blitz film, 2006. DVD.

Kiss Kiss Bang Bang / *Cmok, cmok, bang, bang* / *Cmok cmok, bang bang* / *Kis kis, beng beng*. Režija: Shane Black. 2005. Ljubljana: JA-MI, 2006. DVD.

18 Podobno smo ugotovili tudi pri primerjavi prevajanja negativnih poimenovanj za temnopolte v slovenskem in srbo-hrvaškem prevodu istega književnega dela (gl. Trupej 2017b: 132).

Men in Black II / *Ljudi u crnom 2* / *Možje v črnem II* / *Ljudi u crnom 2*. Režija: Barry Sonnenfeld. 2002. Škofljica: Blitz film, 2002. DVD.

No Direction Home / *Bob Dylan: Bez povratka kući* / *Brez poti domov: Bob Dylan* / *Bob Dilan: Nema puta kući*. Režija: Martin Scorsese. 2005. Ljubljana: Karantanija cinemas, 2005. DVD.

Once Upon a Time in America / *Bilo jednom u Americi* / *Bilo je nekoč v Ameriki* / *Bilo jednom u Americi*. Režija: Sergio Leone. 1984. Ljubljana: JA-MI, 2003. DVD.

Once Upon a Time in the West / *Bilo jednom na Divljem zapadu* / *Bilo je nekoč na Divjem zahodu* / *Bilo jednom na Divljem zapadu*. Režija: Sergio Leone. 1968. Los Angeles: Paramount Pictures, 2003. DVD.

The Man Without a Face / *Čovjek bez lica* / *Mož brez obraza* / *Čovek bez lica*. Režija: Mel Gibson. 1993. Škofljica: Blitz film, 2004. DVD.

The Reivers / *Lopovi* / *Tatovi* / *Lupeži*. Režija: Mark Rydell. 1969. Ljubljana: Karantanija cinemas, 2006. DVD.

The Untouchables / *Nedodirljivi* / *Nedotakljivi* / *Nesalomivi.* Režija: Brian De Palma. 1987. Ljubljana: Karantanija cinemas, 2004. DVD.

The Weather Man / *Prognostičar* / *Vremenar* / *Najavljivač vremena*. Režija: Gore Verbinski. 2005. Ljubljana: Karantanija cinemas, 2006. DVD.

Tupac: Resurrection / *Tupac: Uskrsnuće* / *Tupacovo vstajenje* / *Tupakovo uskrsnuće*. Režija: Lauren Lazin. 2003. Ljubljana: Karantanija cinemas, 2004. DVD.

V for Vendetta / *O za osvetu* / *V kot vroče maščevanje* / *V kao vendeta*. Režija: James McTeigue. 2005. Ljubljana: JA-MI, 2006. DVD.

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POVZETEK

Članek obravnava strategije za prevajanje profanosti v slovenskih, hrvaških in srbskih podnapisih 20 filmov, ki so posneti v angleškem jeziku. Analiza je za vsak jezik obsegala 1.862 primerov profanosti – primerjava je pokazala tako skupne značilnosti kot razlike. V slovenskih podnapisih je bilo ohranjenih 51,7 % primerov profanosti, v drugih dveh jezikih pa je bil ta delež večji: 60,8 % v srbskih in 63,1 % v hrvaških podnapisih. Če je bilo v istem filmu uporabljenih več primerov istega profanega izraza oz. fraze, pogosto naletimo na različne prevodne rešitve – to velja za prevajalske strategije v vseh treh jezikih. Objektivni razlogi za to, da profanost v podnapisih ni bila ohranjena, v vseh treh jezikih obstajajo v približno petini primerov (SLO: 21,0 %; SRB: 18,8 %; HRV: 20,5 %), medtem ko lahko v preostalih primerih izogibanja profanosti govorimo o (samo)cenzuri. Podrobnejša kategorizacija primerov profanosti, ki niso bili ohranjeni, je pokazala, da je bila v slovenskih podnapisih strategija *izpuščanja* uporabljena bistveno pogosteje (33,9 %) kot v srbskih (26,9 %) in hrvaških (26,1 %) podnapisih, razlike med pogostostjo kategorij *modulacija registra* (SLO: 12,0 %; SRB: 10,9 %; HRV: 9,3 %), *radikalna sprememba pomena* (SLO: 1,5 %; SRB: 1,2 %; HRV: 0,9 %) in *zamenjava z zaimkom* (SLO : 0,9 %; SRB: 0,2 %; HRV: 0,6 %) pa so manj občutne. Primeri v vsakem izmed jezikov ponazarjajo, da lahko pogosto neohranjanje profanosti v prevodu vpliva na makrostrukturno raven filma, tj. tako na razumevanje dogodkov in karakterizacijo kot tudi na percepcijo odnosov med posameznimi liki.

Ključne besede: avdiovizualno prevajanje, profanost, filmski podnapisi, premiki, cenzura

ABSTRACT

A TRANSLATIONAL COMPARISON OF THE ACCEPTABILITY OF PROFANITY IN SLOVENIAN, CROATIAN AND SERBIAN FILM SUBTITLES

This article analyses the strategies for translating profanity in the Slovenian, Croatian and Serbian subtitles of 20 English-language films. Translations of 1,862 examples of profanity from the films into each of the three languages were examined, and the results showed both common characteristics and differences. In the Slovenian subtitles, 51.7% of the profanity was preserved, while this number is higher in both the Serbian (60.8%) and Croatian (63.1%) subtitles. In cases where several examples of a profane term or phrase were used in the same film, these were frequently translated differently, and this is true for the translation strategies in all three languages. There were objective reasons for not preserving profanity in approximately one-fifth of all the non-preserved examples in all three languages (SLO: 21.0%; SRB: 18.8%; CRO: 20.5%), while in the other cases the omissions can be attributed to (self-)censorship. A more detailed categorisation of examples of non-preserved profanity showed that in the Slovenian subtitles the strategy of *deletion* was used significantly more often (33.9%) than in the Serbian (26.9 %) and Croatian (26.1%) subtitles, while the differences between the categories *modulation of register* (SLO: 12.0%; SRB: 10.9%; CRO: 9.3%), *radical change of meaning* (SLO: 1.5%; SRB: 1.2%; CRO: 0.9%) and *substitution with a pronoun* (SLO: 0.9%; SRB: 0.2%; CRO: 0.6%) were less significant. Examples from the subtitles in each language illustrated that where profanity is frequently not preserved in translation, this may influence the macrostructural level of a film: i.e., it may affect the viewers' understanding of events and characterisation, as well as the perception of relationships between particular characters.

Keywords: audio-visual translation, profanity, film subtitles, shifts, censorship

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ANALYSIS OF LINGUISTIC FEATURES IN THE FRENCH TRANSLATION OF OSOFISAN'S *ONCE UPON FOUR ROBBERS*

1 INTRODUCTION

As long as there are literary works then linguistic features will always be pertinent in communication, which is also applicable to translation studies. A language is like an umbilical cord that is inseparable in communication, either in an oral or written form. The use of language in this paper is very unique, as both the source and the target texts depict the linguistic background of the focal playwright. As with other writers, Femi Osofisan, a Yoruba man in Nigeria, exhibits his cultural background in the presentation of the text *Once Upon Four Robbers.* The playwright makes use of Yoruba songs, incantations, Ifá[1] panegyrics, Yoruba dirges and other Yoruba cultural items in developing the intrigue of his play. This is also reflected in the playwright's choice of words and the presentation of his messages to the audience. It is clear that while two languages can have identical linguistic features, they cannot have wholly the same linguistic elements. Both English and French languages rarely have the same structural features at the linguistic level, and this is reflected in our study. The deep review of the text in this study convinces us that there are a lot of obstacles associated with the translation of plays, especially when such plays contain some elements of indigenous languages, folk songs, jokes, incantations, Ifá chants, mimes and other indigenous thoughts. The translation of indigenous thoughts from indigenous languages into European one is often full of tasks that need cross-cultural knowledge as a result of cultural variations. In this study, the approaches employed are descriptive and comparative. The data is chosen from the texts and analyses are made by comparing the linguistic features from the source and target texts, and this is based on the interpretative theory of translation. The examples presented in this study are directly from the text and its translated version.

1 Ifá- This is one of the divinities in Yoruba lands, in Nigeria.

2 TRANSLATING DRAMA TEXTS

The mission of a translator of a dramatic work is slightly different from that of other literary genres because it involves performance. A drama text is written in order to be performed on stage. Drama translation is also impossible without relating it to the socio-cultural context in which it was conceived. Drama texts cannot be translated like other genres of literature, such as prose and poetry, and the three major genres of literature cannot be read in the same manner. Some parts of a play may create an unending suspense which, if a translator is not conversant with this, they may not be able to translate or support the message of the source text in the target text. Drama texts are full of dialogues, rhythms, intonations, patterns, pitches, changes in volume and other dramatic elements. Linguistic expressions in most drama texts are symbols or signs constituted not only as discourse signs, but also as other signs. According to Komissarov (1991: 5)

> In translating a play, the translator must bear in mind the requirements of theatrical presentation of such play; at all times, the translator must hear the voice that speaks and take into consideration the ‘gesture’ of the language, all rhythms and pauses that occur when the written text is spoken.

This shows that drama as a genre of literature is very different from other genres because it involves *actions*. The translator of a drama text must put such actions in their mind in order not to miss out the aesthetics and embellishments of the source text in the target text. The experience of Samuel Beckett, playwright and self-translator, shows the tremendous influence of self-translation on the message of the translator’s original text. Beckett’s *En attendant Godot* is translated by the playwright as *Waiting for Godot*, which makes clearer certain aspects of his mindset in the translated version. In Holmes’ view (1970:79), the points of difference between the author of the original and the translator are perhaps another way of viewing equivalence as an objective criterion of translation quality:

> The differences between the author and the translator are governed by the differing social and literary situations. The conventional designation of which is the taste of the day. In practice, these differences between the original and the translation can be reduced to shifts in the structural process. Each individual method of translation is determined by the presence or absence of shifts in the various layers of the translation. All that appears as new with respect to the original, or fails to appear where it might have been expected, may be interpreted as a shift. The fact that the process of translation involves shifts in the semantic properties of the text does not mean that the translator wishes to underemphasise the semantic appeal of the original. The very opposite is true.

From Holmes's analogy about translation it can be deduced that it involves shifts that are cultural or linguistic in the structural process. He also emphasises the relevance of method and style of translation in order to achieve the semantic appeal of the original.

2.1 Problems Relating to the Translation of Drama Texts

Many translation scholars have made different assertions as regard the problems facing the translations of drama texts. It is noted that every genre of literature poses some specific problems of translating into a particular language, and drama translation is no exception. The fundamental fact about the problems of translating drama texts, or plays, is that the tasks are related to cultural, linguistic and performative issues. Many literary translations fail to achieve the fame and quality of the original texts as a result of factors relating to this reality. Some of the impediments are based on the cognitive, stylistic, ethical or cultural and performance strictures. Most translators translate word-for-word without considering the integral unit and translating in sections. Moreover, some drama texts are not translated intention by intention, and thus elements of pragmatics and discourse prosody in translation are not taken into consideration. Another problem is related to the author's style, in which may not be comprehended by the translator. An individual writer has their own her style of writing, and a translator should not insist on the style of the source text but instead the focus should be how the source message could be passed to the target audience. Furthermore, the style that is incorporated in a translation can aid the better comprehension of the audience.

There is also a problem of false friends (*faux-amis*), which is rampant in general translation. Moreover, in plays proper names are normally changed to suit the graphic and phonic instances of the source text, but very often this brings about contradictions. There is also a problem of the mistranslation of information, sub-interpretation of the original text and as well superficial interpretation of connections between intentional correlatives. Drama texts cannot be translated in the same way as prose, because they involve action and performance. According to Steiner (1975:396):

> A bad translation is one which is inadequate to its source-text for reasons which can be legion and obvious. The translator has misconstrued the original through ignorance, haste, or personal limitation. He lacks the mastery of his own language required for adequate representation. He has made a stylistic or psychological blunder in choosing his text; his own sensibility and that of the author whom he is translating are discordant. Where there is difficulty, the bad translator elides or paraphrases. Where there is elevation he inflates and where author offends he smoothes.

Steiner's point here is that a bad translation moves far from the concept of the source text as a result of misconception or ignorance, haste or some other reasons that can arise in the work of a translator. For example, perhaps the translator lacks knowledge of the languages involved. Kolawole and Moruwawon (2007: 375-379) state that "the translator had the responsibility of finding a solution to the most daunting problems, and he declared that the functional view must be adopted with regard not only to meaning but also to style and form". This reiterates the relevance of style and form in translation, and Kolawole and Moruwawon say that the solution to the most daunting problems of translation is to adopt not only the meaning of the original but also its stylistic preoccupation. The word 'meaning' has different implications, and these can be polysemous or ambiguous in nature. Therefore, a translator is expected to put into consideration aspects of cognitive premises, psychology and sociolinguistics in their work, and above all the appropriate choice of words is necessary.

Another problem associated with the translation of drama texts is an indirect use of language (figurative expressions). The aesthetic use of figurative expressions in literature and most especially in plays can result to over- or under-translation of the source message into the target language. Furthermore, it is as well noted that the methodology used in translating prose is sometimes also inappropriately used to translate drama texts. Furthermore, Nord (1991) categorises the problems of translating drama into different phases – as pragmatic problems which refer to the fact that there may be difference between the situations in the source and target cultures. These differences include time, place, and so on, and in order to identify potential pragmatic problems we need to check the extra textual factors for each text. He further states that there are a number of linguistic problems, as most scholars emphasise. These arise as a result of differences in the structure, vocabulary and syntax of the source and target languages. Along with the other problems of translating drama are those related to cultural issues. According to Nord, cultural problems are the result of the differences in norms and conventions that guide verbal and non-verbal behaviours in the two cultures involved, as every culture has its own habits and conventions. He also notes that there are text-specific problems, which depend on the type and nature of the texts involved in translation. This means that problems may arise as a result of the complexity of the material in a particular text. This can be in the form of the choice of words, use of figures of speech, choice of proverbs, and so on. Moreover, most of the problems mentioned in this section are reflected in the current study, with quite a few issues raised with regard to untranslatability, culture-based problems, style and semantics, and by extension discourse prosody.

2.2 Interpretative Theory of Translation

The interpretative theory of translation is interdisciplinary in nature, because it is adopted in translation studies, sociology, applied linguistics, psychology and many other fields of studies. The theory was developed by two translation scholars in the 1970s, with Seleskovich and Lederer (2001) challenging the view prevailing at that time that:

> Translation was no more than a linguistic activity, one language being merely transcended into another. She believes translation is a triangular process- from language to sense and from sense to the other language. The Interpretative Theory of Translation was coined before translation studies became a field of study.

Seleskovich and Lederer see translation as a triangular process – from language to sense and from sense to the other language. In connection with the theory, the process of translation is divided into three phases: comprehension, deverbalisation and reformulation or re-expression. According to Selescovitch and Lederer (1983):

> The component *comprehension* means adding extra linguistic knowledge to linguistic signs, new information constantly enriching extra-linguistic knowledge.

There is another important element in the interpretative theory according to Selescovitch (1983):

> The process of translation is the "deverbalisation" to comprehension and reformulation. Everybody deverbalises in one way or the other. For instance, we do keep in mind facts, notions, concepts and events conveyed by words, but we do not retain the words in our memory. Languages and thoughts are located in different areas of the brain. The concept of deverbalisation in Interpretation Translation Theory is common in oral speech and interpretation; it is more difficult to observe in written translation. Deverbalisation needs an extra effort by translators to implement. In the stage of deverbalisation, sense is freed from all linguistic structures of the source language.

The next stage is the reformation of meaning according to the two theorists. In this stage, a translator re-expresses the message of the source text into the target message. In this case, meanings are expected to be more important than words. In the interpretative theory of translation, the translation of a text should produce the same cognitive, affective and aesthetic effects on readers as the original text does through comprehension, deverbalisation and reformulation. Selescovitch and Lederer (1983) support the idea by remarking that:

> Croire qu'interpréter consiste à passer directement d'une langue à l'autre postule des savoirs, dire qu'interpréter consiste à passer par le sens postule en outre de l'intelligence.

> To believe that to interpret is to pass directly from one language to another and this postulates knowledge, to say that interpreting is to go through the meaning to postulate in addition to intelligence. (Our translation)

This shows that meaning takes prominence in the act of translating and interpreting, with knowledge of the source and target languages having a very important position.

3 ANALYSIS OF LINGUISTIC FEATURES IN THE FRENCH TRANSLATION OF OSOFISAN'S *ONCE UPON FOUR ROBBERS*

3.1 Translating *Once Upon Four Robbers* as Il était une fois quatre voleurs

The first linguistic feature to be considered in Osofisan's play is the presentation of the title and how it is translated into French. Since translation can be done in numerous ways to suit the original message in the target text, as suggested by the interpretative theory, the issue of sense for sense translation is pertinent here. A title of this nature can be translated into different forms without losing the original message of the source text, and this all depends on the discretion of the translator. Considering Osofisan's title from the literal point of view, one would have thought that the translator should have presented as *Quatre voleurs*, or *Une fois quatre voleurs* or *Il y avait quatre voleurs.* The title in the source text is idiomatic, and Nicole Medjigbodo approaches its translation in an idiomatic manner. She was able to find the cultural and linguistic equivalence of the title in the French milieu. The translator would also have thought of other alternatives if she could not find the cultural and linguistic equivalent of the title in French, and other options could be *Quand jadis, quatre voleurs* or *Autrefois, quatre voleurs.* In essence, the translator approached the French translation of the title by trying to find the direct equivalent to the expression. The expression *Once upon a time* is common among Africans, most especially at when elders narrate a story or tell a tale under the moonlight. Nicole Medjigbodo thus presents her French title to be able to depict the semantic content of the source text in the target text.

3.2 French translation of pidgin and other expressions

Indigenous languages or dialects can be in the form of vernaculars, which include from dialects, slang, street languages, argots, pidgin, lingo, jargon, idioms, patois, idiolects, and so on. A vernacular can be any language spoken or written outside the official language of the linguistic community. In Osofisan's literary opus, there are numerous local languages. Despite the deliberate use of poor English by the playwright to create humour and satire and to depict the class level of the speakers, Nicole Medjigbodo was able to translate the words, phrases and sentences according to the intention of the playwright. For instance:

Yess aaah.............................. ou ……!

Darring mi![2] .... ma chéééérie!

2 Darring mi! It means "my dear"

Yes, di yah! .... I' am here!
How many pickin we get?[3] .... On a combien de gosses?
Pardon? .... Quoi?
Shirrup! .... La ferme
Pitakwa[4] .... Local name for Port-Harcourt (p.57)

In the above examples, we can observe that there are certain vernacular expressions or items of slang employed by the playwright. According to the interpretative theory of translation, the translator re-expresses or reformulates the jargons and pidgin of the source message. Seleskovitch and Lederer emphasise that the rendering of the message of the source text may not necessarily take the same linguistic pattern as the original message. The source message must be reformulated to the target message in a language that the target audience can fully understand. In the context of the current study, Medjigbodo attempts to find the equivalents of the local pidgins so as to produce the messages of the source text in the target text. She translates the vernacular expressions by replacing those vernaculars in English with others French, which is the target language. It is certain that she must have made some effort to be able to find the equivalents of the above expressions, since they are not standard French like the other elements represented in this study. From the above expressions, we can deduce that Osofisan employs the vernacular to create some dramatic effects, such as satire and humour; likewise, Medjigbodo's French translation of the expressions is done with the use of pidgin French. For example, the expression "Darring mi!" is translated as "Ma chéeeerie!" From this expression, we can observe that the translator does the French translation according to the message from the source text.

3.3 Translation of Koranic Verses

In the source text of our study, the use of Koranic chants is common from the prologue of the work to the epilogue. This is because this literary work involves the activities of a Muslim cleric, Aafa. Equally, as part of the intrigue of the play there is the use of a mixed religion, with elements of Islam and traditional religions. To reinforce this idea of syncretism, in the play Aafa, a Muslim cleric, brings out the paraphernalia of Ifá and that of Islamic chants.

In the view of Hatim and Munday (2004:15):

> The notion of untranslatability is described as a relative notion, and it has to do with extent to which, despite obvious differences in linguistic structure (grammar, vocabulary, etc), meaning can still be adequately expressed across languages. But, for this to be possible, meaning has to be understood not only in

3 How many pickin we get? This means how many children do they have?
4 Pitakwa. This concentrates on the accentuation of Port-Harcort.

terms of what the source text (ST) contains, but also equally significantly, in terms of such factors as communicative purpose of translation.

In our study, our selected text has various kinds of aesthetic functions which mean the issue of untranslatability is a common one. For instance, in *Once Upon Four Robbers* Osofisan makes use of some well-known Islamic chants, likewise, Medjigbodo uses the same chants and expressions directly without translating them.

i. Aafa: il étend la natte tout en chantant:
Ataiyatu : lilahi[5]
Azakiyatu: lilahi
Ike oluwa: [6] lilahi
Ige oluwa: [7] lilahi,
Ko lo ba Mohamadu – Lilahi
Ataiyatu Salamatu ! Etc**.** (p.16)

ii. Aafa : Wahalu hairu hafizan, wauma arihamu rohimim. (p.17)

From the above example, it can be deduced that the translation of Islamic chants cannot be easy, except when such chants are subjected to transliteration, and in this way translators can translate the chants into other indigenous and foreign languages. The idea is applicable to our text, *Once Upon Four Robbers*, where the playwright translates his songs in Yoruba language into English so as to make the translation easy for non-Yoruba translators and to have a wider audience.

3.4 Translation of Proper Nouns

A noun that is designated to a particular being or thing, does not take a limiting modifier, and is usually capitalised, is called a proper noun. It is obvious from our study that Osofisan makes use of different proper nouns such as the names of deities, kings, places and so on. For instance :

Medjigbodo's Translation

<Fils d'Enire, fils d'Eníré[8]
De ceux qui frappent vite et fort

5 Ataiyatu : lilahi. Islamic chant
6 Iké olúwa: Honouring Mohammed
7 Ìgè olúwa. Honouring Mohammed
8 Enire. A Yoruba tribe in Nigeria

Ifá, nous t'invitons sous notre toît!
Ewì d'Adó[9]
Onsa de Détà[10]
Erinmi d'Òwò[11]
Ifá, nous t'appelons ici!
Gbòlàgoko,[12] qui assoit la richesse, etc. (p.28)

From the above Ifá panegyrics, we observe that it is very hard to find the cultural and linguistic equivalents of African proper nouns in European languages. It can thus be seen that some special proper nouns remain as used in the source text so as to avoid translation loss in the target language. These words are as follows: Eníre, Ewì, Adó, Onsa, Détà, Erinmi, Òwò, Ifá and Gbólágoko. Another example of proper nouns in the translation is shown below:

Medjigbodo's Translation:

L'homme s'approchera de moi et nous allons partager ensemble, une fois de plus, la pomme *d'Obatala*. Il va me séduire des mêmes mensonges, me pénétrer dans un moment d'abandon et, au cours du neuvième mois, mes batards vont se déverser de nouveau comme de la merde. *Oduduwa* sera là tout prêt à prendre soin d'eux, à leur donner une forme. La merde va respirer l'air s'abreuver à la fraîcheur de la pluie et *Edumare* va leur apprendre comment se servir de leurs pieds. *Ogun* dans une gourde attend être découvert. Et ils vont boire, mes enfants, le soleil sera dans leurs yeux, le soleil et *Eshu Laaroye*, dans toutes les cellules de leur cerveau, et l'un va poignarder l'autre et laver sa chevelure dans son sang. Je vais crier, je vais appeler mon époux, mais *Orunmila*. Etc. (p.7)

In the example cited above, Nicole Medjigbodo makes use of Yoruba proper nouns such as: Obàtálá,[13] Odùduwà,[14] Èdùmàrè,[15] Ògún,[16] Èshùn Láaróyè[17] and Òrúnmìlà.[18] These are the names of deities in Yoruba lands, and since the text is translated into another language the cultural divergence is reflected in the target language and thereby the issue of untranslatability sets in. It is better the way Nicole Medjigbodo attempts her

9 Ewì d'Adó. This is Ado king's title, an ancient city in Nigeria.
10 Onsa de Deta. A deity in Delta state of Nigeria.
11 Erinmi d'Òwò. A deity in Òwò, a city in Ondo state of Nigeria.
12 Gbólágoko. This means blessed with wealth.
13 Obàtálá. A divinity in Yoruba lands
14 Odùduwà. A deity in Yoruba lands
15 Èdùmàrè. Supreme God in Yoruba language
16 Ogun. This a god of iron
17 Èshùn Láaróyè. One of the gods in Yoruba lands
18 Òrúnmìlà. A divinity

French translation, where most often for the names of the deities she makes use of footnotes, glossary and other illustrative devices for comprehension.

3.5 Code-mixed Sentences and their Translations

One of the linguistic features in the play is code-mixed sentences. In studies of African literature it is often observed that some writers cannot do without the use of code-mixed sentences, because they rely so much on their dialects and colloquial languages to depict their linguistic backgrounds. It is observed that the author often makes use of dialects to exhibit his socio-linguistic background, mingling these with English. For instance, songs, incantations, panegyrics, dirges, Ifá chants are written in Yoruba and self-translation was done by the playwright into English, with Nicole Medjigbodo translating the Yoruba folkloric elements into French, the target language. In essence, the major languages in our study are Yoruba, English and French, and code-mixed sentences are employed from the start to end of the play. In the translated version, the translator most often makes use of dialect, vernacular and Yoruba, whenever she cannot find a lexical equivalent of the linguistic items. As lexical words, phrases, clauses and sentences are code-mixed in the source text, so code-mixed sentences are also very common in the translated version. For instance, there is a combination of Yoruba and French in the translated text. Furthermore, we observe the use of Koranic chants in Arabic that are mixed with other languages. For instance:

i. Robi najini wahaali mimo yahamalum![19]
ii. Walahu hairuhafizan, wauwa arihamu rohimim!
iii. Ataiyatu : lilahi
    Azakiyatu : lilahi
    Ike oluwa; lilahi
    Ige oluwa: lilahi
    Ko lo ba Mohamadu – Lilahi
    Ataiyatu Salamatu! Etc**.** (Pp.16–17)

In the above extracts, Arabic is code-mixed with Yoruba, which means that the background of the playwright is reflected in his choice of language. The same idea can be seen in the translated work, as the translator makes use of code-mixed sentences to drive home the message of the source text into a target text. French is code-mixed with Yoruba and Arabic, as appropriate to the source text. Furthermore, there is also a mélange of musical solfa with French, which is the target language. In the French translation examined in this study, the translator employs musical notations as used in the source language, and these musical notations are the solfas relating to music and its components. For instance:

19 Robi najini wahaali mimo yahamalum. Islamic chants

Corporal: "Do-re-mi", is it? I will do-re-mi [20]you with bullets today! Robbers
Soldier 1: Bu-u-u-ut, soja…..[21]
Corporal: Quite! You can't even sing a healthy, masculine song! "Do-re-mi"! Disgusting! Are you one of those wall geckos from England?

Medjigbodo's Translation

Le Caporal: Je t'ai eu, espèce de canaille!
Le Soldat: (Begayant de peur). Ch…….ch…….chef!
Le Caporal: Ferme-la! Tu ne peux même pas chanter un morceau énergique!

Do-re-mi-fa-sol! C'est une honte! Est-ce qu'on ne dirait pas un de ces grillons Européens!

"Do-re-mi-fa-sol" is a musical notation which is used by Osofisan, and in the translated version the tonic solfa is used in the same way as in the source text. In the play *Once Upon Four Robbers*, Osofisan makes of language as he likes. As observed in the French version of the play, the translator uses the playwright's language most often to avoid under- or over-translation of the source message.

3.6 Translation of Figures of Speech

A figure of speech is a word or phrase that has a meaning other than the literal one, and is also referred to as a literary device. It makes use of a comparison using verbal images to illustrate the speaker's intention, for effect, and to clarify the meaning via "rhetoric". Examples of such speech are similes, metaphors, oxymorons, and puns. In the play that is the focus of our study, the playwright makes use of diverse figures of speech, but the most common is the use of similes. A simile is an indirect comparison between two things or people which makes use of "as" and "like" to indicate the comparison. On the same note, the translator makes attempts to translate the similes in different forms to be able to maintain the naturalness of the messages of the source text in the target text, including in the following examples:

Simile:

- **i.** **Angola:** like a ram. They slaughtered our leader like a Ramadan lamb. (p.22)
  Angola: Comme un bélier! Ils ont égorgé notre chef comme le bélier Sacrificiel. (p.6)
- **ii.** **Angola**: And so you'll run, isn't it? Like a cheap half-kobo pick-pocket in the market pursed by women. (p.23)

20 Do-re-mi. Musical notation
21 Sójà. Yoruba accentuation from the English word "soldier"

Angola: Et c'est pour ça que tu veux foutre le camp, hein? Comme un vulgaire voleur à la tire pourchassé par les femmes du marché. (p.9)

iii. You fed on worms and leftovers, your body nude like a carcass in the government mortuary, elbowing your way among other corpses. (p.24)
Tu t'es nourri de vers et déchets, nu comme un macchabée à la morgue, jouant des coudes au milieu d'autres cadavres. (p.10)

iv. Every time we went on a raid and had to kill, he broke down and sobbed like a silly school pickin. (p.24)
Chaque fois qu'on était sur un coup et il fallait descendre un type, il s'effondrait en pleurant comme un gosse stupide. (10)

v. Sarumi, the leader of the coast, who knew the creeks like the back of his palm. (p.26)
Sarumi, l'empereur de la côté, qui connaissant les criques comme la paume de sa main. (p.13)

vi. When he cunningly led officers on his trail to quick sand and watched them flounder like *agbégijé.*[22] (p.26)

In essence, we can simply remark that the translation of a simile into any language is easily possible, because the idea is attached to two objects with which a comparison is made. The first example above compares "leader" with "Ramadan lamb" and it is translated without changing the structure of the source text, as 'Ils ont égorgé notre chef comme le bélier sacrificiel'. The second example is far from a literal translation of the simile:

> And so you'll run, isn't it? Like a cheap half-kobo pick-pocket in the market pursed by women. (p.23)
> Et c'est pour ça que tu veux foutre le camp, hein? Comme un vulgaire voleur à la tire pourchassé par les femmes du marché.

In the above sentences, the translator translates the similes by following the structural pattern in English, making use of the words "as" or "like". Without the use of comparison words, a simile cannot effectively show its appeal as a rhetorical device. The same pattern of literal translation of is found in the third example, "You fed on worms and leftovers, your body nude like a carcass in the government mortuary, elbowing your way among other corpses" which is translated into French as "Tu t'es nourri de vers et déchets, nu comme un macchabée à la morgue, jouant des coudes au milieu d'autres cadavers."

The same pattern is observed in both the fourth and last examples presented above. Moreover, it is not necessary that similes be translated with the use of "like", "comme" in French, and it is also possible to use "rassembler" depending on the nature and type of simile.

22 Agbégije. A Yoruba name in Nigeria

Metaphor

i. **Hassan**: The world is a market, we come to slaughter one another and sell the parts…. (p.72)
Hassan: Le monde est un marché, on y vient pour s'entre-égorger et pour vendre les morceaux. (p.78)

ii. **Mama Alice**: The market is our sanctuary. (p.72)
Mama Alice: Le marché est notre sanctuaire. (p.79)

A metaphor is a direct comparison between two objects or persons. While metaphors are hardly used in the play, the use of calque as a translation technique when dealing with them is common. In some texts, the translation of a metaphor can take another form rather than using the traditional approach to its translation. The above example "the market is our sanctuary "can also be translated as "le marché deviant notre sanctuaire". However, whatever method is used, the purpose of translation must be achieved by considering those using the target language.

Onomatopoeia

Onomatopoeia is another figures of speech, when a word sounds like what it is meant to represent.

"As lights slowly increase now with the growing day, a cock crows" (p.21)
" L'éclairage s'accentue avec la venue du jour, un coq chante''(p.5)

The use of onomatopoeia is not common in the translated version of the play, as it is not in the source text. The example above shows that there is an equivalent of the expression "a cock crows" in French, which is the target language. The expression is translated as "un coq chante", as the sound of the expression gives its exact meaning in the source language, and is applicable in the target language. Therefore, in the translation of onomatopoeia, it is better to have the lexical equivalents of the expressions used in presenting the figure of speech. In this case, meanings are expected to be more important than words, as expressed by the interpretative theory of translation in the stage of reformation of meaning.

4 CONCLUSION

With reference to the objective and the theory adopted in this study, namely the interpretative theory of translation, it can be safely remarked that Nicole Medjigbodo tries to maintain the source message in her translation through comprehension, deverbalisation and reformation of content of the source text in the target text. However, on several occasions she makes use of direct translation techniques (calque, literal translation and loanwords) in conveying the message of the source text to the target text. This is as a result of the nature of the text, which contains the Yoruba culturally bound items. We can also conclude that, despite the fact that she is not originally from the milieu of the playwright, she is able to translate the Yoruba cultural items into French. Though the issue of untranslatability occurs in several places in the translated text, the socio-cultural importance of the translator's work is achieved by translating the minds of the entire audience. This means that the French audience is able to grasp the message of the play as it is, in the original text. Equally, it is observed that the original text is rich in Yoruba cultural features, as the playwright is a Yoruba man, and that the speech flow (intonation, accentuation and register) in the translated version is in line with the source text. This shows that the play can be performed in much the same way as the original, and allows the actors to give a plausible speech performance.

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POVZETEK

ANALIZA JEZIKOVNIH ZNAČILNOSTI FRANCOSKEGA PREVODA OSOFISANOVE IGRE *ONCE UPON FOUR ROBBERS*

Analiza književnih besedil med drugim pogosto temelji na preučevanju jezikovnih značilnosti, ki so obenem seveda pomemben predmet prevodoslovnih raziskav. Osofisanova igra *Once Upon Four Robbers* je bila do danes deležna številnih analiz, ki pa niso ponudile odgovora na pereče vprašanje ustreznosti prevoda, katerega avtorji niso govorci jorubskega jezika, čeprav besedilo vsebuje elemente jorubske kulture. Dramsko delo *Once Upon Four Robbers* (1980) je v francoski jezik prevedla Nicole Medjigbodo (2003). S pomočjo opisnih in primerjalnih raziskovalnih metod smo analizirali naključno izbrane dele izvirnega in ciljnega besedila. Pri tem smo se opirali na interpretativno teorijo prevajanja, ki sta jo v 70-letih 20. stoletja predstavili D. Seleskovich in M. Lederer. Interpretativna teorija zagovarja trditev, da mora prevod na bralca narediti enak kognitivni, afektivni in estetski učinek kot izvirno besedilo. V pričujočem prispevku pokažemo, da je izvirne misli v afriških dramskih besedilih mogoče ohraniti oziroma jih prevesti s pomočjo ilustrativnih postopkov, s tem pa preprečiti, da bi se določene prvine v prevodu izgubile ali da ne bi bile ustrezno prevedene. V prispevku ugotavljamo, da dramsko besedilo *Once Upon Four Robbers* zaznamujejo številne značilnosti jorubske kulture, saj njegov avtor izhaja iz ljudstva Joruba. Prevod ustrezno posnema govorni tok (intonacijo, poudarke in jezikovne registre) izvirnega besedila, kar pomeni, da je prevedeno igro mogoče uprizoriti na enak način kot igro v izvirniku.

Ključne besede: značilnost, prevod, *Once Upon Four Robbers*, interpretativen, intonacija

ABSTRACT

From the onset, a linguistic feature is often one of the essential tools in analysing a literary work, and obviously it is *sine qua non* in translation studies. Many studies have been done on Osofisan's *Once Upon Four Robbers* but the issue of translations made by non-Yoruba native speaker where the material contains Yoruba cultural items is a contentious one. *Once Upon Four Robbers* (1980) was translated by Nicole Medjigbodo (2003). The study employs descriptive and comparative research methods in analysing random data taken from the source and target texts. We adopt Seleskovitch and Lederer's interpretative theory of translation (1970s). The theory postulates that the translation of a text should produce the same cognitive, affective and aesthetic effects on target readers as the original text does. The study, therefore, examines how to avoid translation loss or mistranslation[23] and thus ensure that indigenous thoughts in African drama texts can be retained or translated with the use of illustrative devices. The study therefore concludes that the text is rich in

23 intonation

Yoruba cultural features as the playwright is a Yoruba man, and the speech flow (intonation, accentuation and register) in the translated version is in line with the source text. This shows that the translated play can be performed in the same way and as effectively as the original.

Keywords: Feature, translation, *Once upon four robbers*, interpretative, intonation

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TRANSLATION OF SLANG: *THE CATCHER IN THE RYE* BY SALINGER IN MACEDONIAN

1 INTRODUCTION

The Catcher in the Rye is one of the most controversial novels of the twentieth century. Published in 1951, it was frequently censored or even banned, which only increased its popularity. Today, it is often considered to be one of the best novels written in English.[1]

The controversy of the novel is due to the themes Salinger elaborates and to the language his protagonist uses. In fact, the author created the novel under the strong influence of the events of the Second World War, but it seems that he refuses to speak directly about them, and only indicates the devastation they left in and around people. In that sense, through the protagonist, Holden Caulfield, he approaches the themes of alienation, rebellion against order, death and loss, feelings of anguish, search for identity, and so on. The events in the novel are narrated by Caulfield, from his own point of view, following the narrative technique known as “stream of consciousness”. In doing so, Caulfield uses mid-twentieth-century slang common to young people, and does not refrain from swearing and vulgarity.

The Macedonian translation was published in 2014, as part of the project “Stars of World Literature”, aiming at translation of the most important works of world literature, with the author of the translation being Ivana Ilkovska.

2 RESEARCH METHODOLOGY

The text of the whole novel is marked by the protagonist’s use of slang. The Oxford English Dictionary[2] defines slang as: “a type of language consisting of words and phrases that are regarded as very informal, are more common in speech than in writing, and are typically restricted to a particular context or group of people”. David Crystal (Crystal,1997) adds that *“*it *is often imaginative, vivid, and ingenious in its construction”*. It is obvious

1 For more information about the novel and its reception see Graham, (2007).

2 *Oxford English Dictionar*ies. 30.10.2020. https://www.lexico.com/definition/slang

that Caulfield uses slang to underline his personal preoccupations: his rebellion against society and his wish to challenge the mainstream. On the other hand, the vivacity and picturesque nature of the slang allows him to express his complex state of mind.

For that reason, the analysis of the translation will be conducted through Berman's theory of text deformation systems (Berman, 2000), taking into consideration, among other deformations, the destruction of vernacular networks[3] or the inclination towards ennoblement. In fact, Berman refers to the destruction of vernacular networks as "a very serious injury to the textuality of prose works". He then emphasises that when working with vernacular literature, translators tend to transpose the signifier, but not the stylistic richness of the source word. This deformation is closely linked to ennoblement or the tendency towards improvement of the original, such as when the translators substitute vernacular vocabulary with words from the formal register. Berman also rejects the possibility of translating vernacular language into other cultures without domestication, and for that reason we also take into consideration Eco's positions on translation as an act of negotiation (Eco: 2003). In other words, when translating slang, as in this particular novel, the translator is obliged to negotiate between domestication and foreignisation.[4] Therefore, the article will concentrate on translation solutions (negotiations) for phonological features of the source texts, as well as on translation solutions for specific lexemes, idioms and syntactic structures. We will also try to negotiate and find more appropriate solutions in certain contexts where source text characteristics are not transferred into the translation.

Finally, we will also examine the use of different translation techniques as defined by Vinay and Darbelnet (Vinay & Darbelnet, 1977) and revisited by Molina and Hurtado (Molina & Hurtado, 2002).

3 PHONOLOGICAL SOLUTIONS

One of the main characteristics of slang is economy of expression, which is understandable because this language is used in informal contexts and usually in oral forms. As far as Caulfield's language is concerned, on a phonological level this phenomenon can be observed through different types of deletion. One can find deleted phonemes: *Nothin' much* (Salinger: 1991, p.60) (instead of *Nothing much)* or whole words: *Y'awake?* (Salinger, 1991, p.40) (instead of *Are you awake?).* In the second example we witness not only deletion of a word (*are*) but also contraction of two words *you* and *awake* due to elision of the first word's vowel. Of course, the novel abounds in examples of such kind:

Wuddaya mean what the hell am I doing? (Salinger, 1991, p.40) instead of *What do you mean what the hell am I doing??*

3 Berman uses the term *vernacular language* to designate a language that has a local character and it refers to a dialect, jargon or slang.

4 For more on domestication and foreignisation as translation strategies, see Venuti (2001).

Ya wanna play a little Canasta or don’tcha? (Salinger, 1991, p.41) instead of *You want to play a little Canasta, or don’t you?*

As Gjurkova (Ѓуркова, 2003, p.219) notes, these features are also part of Macedonian informal style. She mentions, *inter alia*, that the economy of the expression is achieved through deletion of consonants and vowels, or whole syllables, and word contraction. Still, unfortunately, these features are not transferred in the Macedonian translation:

Wuddaya want the light for? (Salinger, 1991, p.40) – *Што ќе ти е светилка?* (literally: What do you need the light for?) (Селинџер, 2014, p.50)

Ya wanna play a little Canasta or don’tcha ? (Salinger, 1991, p.40) – *Сакаш да одиграме една Канаста или не?* (literally: Do you want to play one Canasta or not?) (Селинџер, 2014, p.51) .

Nothin’ much (Salinger, 1991, p.60) – *Ништо особено* (literally: Nothing in particular) (Селинџер, 2014, p.98).

Wuddaya mean what the hell am I doing? (Salinger, 1991, p.60) – *Како мислиш, што правам?* (literally: What do you mean, what am I doing?) (Селинџер, 2014, p.50).

Y’awake? (Salinger, 1991, p.40) – *Буден си?* (literally: Are you awake?) (Селинџер, 2014, p.50).

Although not in all contexts, consonant, vowel or syllable deletions can be implemented in the Macedonian translation. For example, instead of using the formal form *Што ќе ти е светилка?* one can use the informal *Шо* and formulate the question *Шо ќе ти е светло?*[5] or the negative form *Нишо* in *Нишо посебно.* Even contraction is possible in Macedonian *Ќ`играш Канаста или не?*

In some contexts where deletion of phonemes is impossible, the specific tone can be compensated in different ways. For example, the deletion of consonants can be done in the second part of the sentence:

Wuddaya mean what the hell am I doing? (Salinger, 1991, p.41) – *Како мислиш шо (по ѓаволите)*[6] *праам?*

Compensation can also be effectuated through use of lexical means. Instead of phonetic elisions the translator can opt for deletion: *Буден? (Awake?)* or for adding particles typical for the informal style: *А бе, буден си?* Or even *Буден си, бе?*

4 LEXICAL SOLUTIONS

4.1 Abbreviations

The tendency towards economy in informal language is observed on both phonological and lexical level and numerous abbreviations in the novel support this claim. Thus, the

5 The word *светло* is more informal than *светилка*.

6 The profanity *the hell* is omitted in the translation.

abbreviation *Pencey prep* is used instead of *Pencey Preparatory Academy*, *Penn Station* instead of *Pennsylvania Station*, and *Coke* instead of *Coca-Cola*.

Translation techniques vary in terms of different abbreviations. For example, *Pencey prep* is transcribed without additional explanation *Пенси Преп*. We learn from the context that it is a school, but not that it is an institution whose full name in Macedonian would be *Подготвителна Академија Пенси*.

In the other two examples the translator uses full names, i.e. *станицата Пенсилванија* (Селинџер, 2014, p. 62) and *кока кола*. In the first case, such a solution is justified due to the incomprehensibility of the short form for the Macedonian reader. As for the name *Coca-Cola*, the informal Macedonian language also uses the abbreviation *кола*, which could be considered as a translation solution.

4.2 Interjections and particles

The lexemes in the novel belong to different grammatical categories, but due to the use of slang we can notice a large number of interjections that complement the emotional intensity of the text. Thus, the interjection *oh* is present forty-two times in the text, in both positive and negative contexts:

Oh, how nice! (Salinger, 1991, p.46) – *Ах, колку ми е мило!* (Селинџер, 2014, p.57)

Oh, shoot! (Salinger, 1991, p.55) – *Ах, да му се сневиди!* (Селинџер, 2014, p. 75)

The translation of the following sentence was performed with the same interjection:

Aw, you just missed him (Salinger, 1991, p.56). – *Ах, го пропушти.* (Селинџер, 2014, p. 75).

In this context, the translation with the phonetically equivalent Macedonian interjection *ay* may be more suitable, because it expresses the false disappointment of the protagonist. There are also other types of interjections in the text:

<u>Hey</u>-how old are you, anyhow? (Salinger, 1991, p.54) – *<u>Еј</u>-колку години имаш?* (Селинџер, 2014, p. 74)

<u>Uh huh</u>. Well, how 'bout it? (Salinger, 1991, p.54) – *<u>Аха</u>. И што велиш?*[7] (Селинџер, 2014, p. 89)

The interjection *Shhh*! (Salinger, 1991, p.111) used to ask someone to speak quietly or to be silent is translated appropriately in the target text: *шшшш!*

Holden also uses a rather vulgar slang interjection, *my ass*, in the contexts like *Lovely <u>my ass</u>* (Salinger, 1991, p.83) - *Прекрасна, <u>како да не</u>*. (literally: Lovely, as if) (Селинџер, 2014, p. 120). This translation solution, as well as some others mentioned here, can be interpreted as sort of self-censorship because Macedonian informal register includes a similar interjection *–жими газов.*

7 In this context more appropriate to the phonological elision and to the informal register would be the translation: *Аха. И шо викаш?*

Although not very often, the translator adds particles to capture the informal style: *Yeah, I know* (Salinger, 1991, p.31) – *Знам <u>де</u>* (Селинџер, 2014, p.33). In this case, the informal form *yeah* is compensated by the particle *де*, although stylistic equivalence could also be achieved with the form *аха* – *Аха, знам.*

4.3 Slang vocabulary

As far as the lexical analysis is concerned, Holden's vernacular is rich in slang such as: *jerks, flit, to bash, to sock, hot shot, corny*. Usually, they are translated with corresponding Macedonian slang lexemes. For example, *токмаци* (Селинџер, 2014, p. 84) is offered as an equivalent for *jerks* (Salinger, 1991, p.51). The noun *flit* (Salinger, 1991, pp.91,105) is translated *педер* (Селинџер, 2014, pp.136,182), and the derived adjective *flitty – педераст* (Селинџер, 2014, pp.136,142,144,181). Furthermore, *bash* is translated as *пердаши* in the sentence *The two teams <u>bashing</u> each other all over the field – Двата тима се <u>пердашат</u> на сите страни* (Селинџер, 2014, p.10), or *to sock* as *акне* in *<u>socking</u> him in the jaw – да го <u>акнам</u> по муцката* (Селинџер, 2014, p. 88). *Hot shot* is *ѕверка* (Селинџер, 2014, p. 24) and *<u>corny</u> dips – <u>мангупски</u> потези* (Селинџер, 2014, p. 165).

The protagonist's language is not only informal, but is also quite poor and he tends to use the same words repeatedly. On the other hand, the translator tends to use a variety of equivalents for those lexemes in the target text. For example, the slang word *phony* is used both as noun and adjective in the novel. Macedonian equivalents for the adjective form are sometimes semantically correct, but still, they do not correspond stylistically because they are euphemised forms, part of the standard language: *дволичен* (literally: hypocritical) (Селинџер, 2014, pp. 11,24,87,97,162) *лажен* (literally: false) (Селинџер, 2014, pp. 17, 20,134, 190), *извештачен* (literally: fake) (Селинџер, 2014, p. 134). However, the translator also uses informal translation solutions, such as the adjective *исфолиран* (Селинџер, 2014, p.190) and the noun form *фолирант* (Селинџер, 2014, pp. 65, 85,130).

The noun form *crumb-bum* and the corresponding adjective *crumby* are also frequently used in the source text. The noun *crumb-bum* (Salinger, 1991, p.67) is stylistically appropriately translated, through the adding technique: *ајван <u>еден</u>* (Селинџер, 2014, p.95). On the other hand, for the adjective *crumby* one can encounter a wide range of solutions that are closely related to the context because it is a lexeme with a negative reference value, which can mean "something bad, dirty, unpleasant, poor quality, damaged".[8] In that sense *crumby place* (Salinger, 1991, p.16) is translated *дупка* (Селинџер, 2014, p.9) (literally: a hole), while in the syntagm *crumby toilet articles* (Salinger, 1991, p.28), the same adjective is translated as *за'рѓан* (rusty), i.e. *за'рѓан тоалетен прибор* (literally: rusty

8 *Oxford English Dictionaries*. 05.11.2020. https://en.oxforddictionaries.com/definition/crummy

toiletries) (Селинџер, 2014, p.37). In a very similar context, one can find two different translations for the same adjective: *crumby nails* (Salinger, 1991, p.23) – *глупави нокти* (literally: stupid nails) (Селинџер, 2014, p. 29) and *crumby fingernails* (Salinger, 1991, p.32) – *расцепени нокти* (literally: cracked nails) (Селинџер, 2014, p.43). *Crumby* is translated as *мрзлив* (lazy) (Селинџер, 2014, p. 49), *одвратен* (disgusting) so *crumby bastard* (Salinger, 1991, p.38) becomes *одвратен идиот* (disgusting idiot) (Селинџер, 2014, p.47); *crumby room* (Salinger, 1991, p.47) is *одвратна соба* (disgusting room) (Селинџер, 2014, p. 64) in the translation. Sometimes crumby is translated *идиотски* (idiotic) and *crumby history* (Salinger, 1991, pp.43,51) becomes *идиотска приказна* (idiotic history) (Селинџер, 2014, p. 57), or even *откачена приказна* (freaky history) (Селинџер, 2014, p.65). Crumby becomes *грозен* (ugly) in the syntagm *crumby stuff* (Salinger, 1991, p.44) – *грозни работи* (Селинџер, 2014, p. 65) and *crumby way* (Salinger, 1991, p.44) – *грозен начин* (Селинџер, 2014, p. 65). The same syntagm *crumby way* is translated in three ways, and besides "ugly" it is also transferred as *луд начин/лигав начин* (crazy way / slimy way) (Селинџер, 2014, pp. 65/99). In two contexts the translator resorted to deletion of this lexeme: on page 29 (Селинџер, 2014), where *crumby nails* are simply translated as *nails* and, at the end of the book, where the syntagm *crumby old hairy stomach* (Salinger, 1991, p.67) is translated as *стар влакнест стомак* (old hairy stomach*)* (Селинџер, 2014, p. 99).[9]

This inclination towards a variety of equivalents for only one source lexeme is evident in other passages too. Thus *rubbernecks* (Salinger, 1991, p.61,82) is translated as both *сеирџии* (rubbernecks) (Селинџер, 2014, p.101) and *пациенти* (patients) (Селинџер, 2014, p.123). Or, we witness a morphological transposition when the noun *snowing* (Salinger, 1991, pp.28,29,103) is translated with Macedonian verbs *омекнува* (to soften) (Селинџер, 2014, p.52), *напаѓа* (to attack) (Селинџер, 2014, p.53) and *се лигави* (to be slimy) (Селинџер, 2014, p.136). The last word illustrates vividly how a word from the formal register gains new meaning when used as slang. It also applies to the noun *can* that does not designate "tin" but instead "bathtub", and when *dough* designates "money". We encounter such new, expanded meanings in the source text and in the translation on multiple occasions: *a throw* (Salinger, 1991, p.56) is translated as *партија* (game) (Селинџер, 2014, p.89), *to chisel me* (Salinger, 1991, p.71) as *да ме измолзете* (to milk me) (Селинџер, 2014, p.98), and the verb *to prostitute* (Salinger, 1991, p.16,49) with the secondary meaning of the Macedonian verb *се продава* (to sell oneself) (Селинџер, 2014, p. 9, 80)*,* in a sense that someone sells his reputation, his personality, for money. There are only two slang words translated with lexemes from Macedonian formal vocabulary. The slang word *can* (Salinger, 1991, pp.26,27,29,36) is translated as *бања* (bathroom) (Селинџер, 2014, pp. 32,34, 37, 48, etc.) and *dough* (Salinger, 1991, p.24) is translated as *пари* (money)

9 Although it would be almost impossible to use the same Macedonian word in all the source text contexts, the informal adjective *гадни* or even the shortened form *г`дни* could easily be applied to most of them. In that way, the redundant use of this word would have been transferred into Macedonian.

(Селинџер, 2014, p.30) although in this case the translator could have resorted to the more informal word *кеш (cash).* The inclination towards rather formal equivalents is sometimes due to a sort of self-censorship and is used to avoid words that can be interpreted as vulgar. So, when the protagonist complains: *I am freezing my ass* (Salinger, 1991, p.17) the translator choses the euphemism *си го смрзнувам*[10] *задникот* (Селинџер, 2014, p.11), or literally it is his *bottom, rear* that is freezing.

In some cases, the translator manifests an opposite tendency and those lexemes that do not belong to the slang in the source text are replaced with slang words in the target text. From a translatological point of view, this tendency can be explained as a sort of compensation for passages where the slang words were lost in the target text. Thus, the sentence *In that head of yours* (Salinger, 1991, p.19) is translated as *Во таа твоја тиква* (Селинџер, 2014, p.21), and the replacement of a standard lexeme *head* with a slang word *тиква* (pumpkin) results in intensifying. The same effect is achieved with the translation of the sentence *looking at me* (Salinger, 1991, p.85) with *се ѕверат во мене* (staring at me) (Селинџер, 2014, p. 101). Similarly, the antonym technique is used when translating *I'm not kidding* (Salinger, 1991, p.86) as *Најсериозно* (Most seriously), although in this case a translation with the informal lexeme *зезање (Без зезање)* (No joking) could be offered. Or, the rather standard adjective *crude* in the passage *a crude thing to do* (Salinger, 1991, p.23) is translated with the Macedonian informal adjective *недоделкана* and thus as *недоделкана шега* (a prickly joke) (Селинџер, 2014, p.24).

4.4 Diminutive and augmentative forms

An important intervention on the part of the translator can be witnessed through the use of diminutive and augmentative forms that are frequently used in Macedonian informal contexts. Diminutives are generally characteristic for positive contexts, and in Macedonian Holden uses one to express love, as with *Sally baby* (Salinger, 1991, p.96) – *Саличе* (Селинџер, 2014, p. 143). Or this form transfers a certain irony in the context: *What're ya tryna do, bud? – he said. Kid me?* (Salinger, 1991, p.48) – *Што сакаш пријателче? рече. Да се мајтапиш со мене?* (Селинџер, 2014, p. 63). The diminutive form *пријателче* adds informality to the standard noun *пријател.*

On the other hand, augmentatives are reserved for negative contexts: *Get your dirty stinking moron knees off my chest* (Salinger, 1991, p.39) – *Тргај ги тие одвратни мочани коленишта од моите гради* (Селинџер, 2014, p. 47). The augmentative in the last example compensates for the deletion of one adjective from the source sentence.[11]

10 This translation is grammatically incorrect. It should be translated with the form *Ми смрзна задникот.* The error is due to a rather literal translation imitating the grammatical structure of the source text.

11 The translation of the offensive epithet *dirty stinking moron* is semantically incorrect, and only two Macedonian equivalents *одвратни (disgusting) мочани (pissed)* are offered.

5 EXPRESSIONS AND IDIOMS IN THE TRANSLATION

As with any slang, Holden's is rich in expressions, and especially in idiomatic expressions contributing not only to the informal character of his speech, but also its vivacity.

Firstly, the functional equivalence[12] for certain expressions is achieved through those having the same grammatical structure and same elements:

(...) snoring like mad (Salinger, 1991, p.42) – *(...) 'рчеше како луд* (Селинџер, 2014, p.52).

His mother's blind as a bat (Salinger, 1991, p.89) – *Мајка му е слепа како лилјак* (Селинџер, 2014, p. 132).

However, there are also numerous expressions that have the same grammatical structure and same meaning in both the source and target language, and the target expressions differ in only one element:

I'm through with that <u>*pig*</u> (Salinger, 1991, p.31) – *Завршив со таа* <u>*гуска*</u> (I'm through with that <u>goose</u>) (Селинџер, 2014, p.34) *He was cutting his* <u>*throat*</u> *over her* (Salinger, 1991, p.73) – Си ги сечел <u>вените</u> за неа (He was cutting his <u>veins</u> over her*)* (Селинџер, 2014, p. 103).

The bulk of this group consists of comparative expressions where two concepts are linked with the conjunctions *like* or *as*. Such is the example where a simile is constructed with the conjunction *like*: *I went right on smoking like a madman* (Salinger, 1991, p.38) – *Продолжив да пушам како Турчин* (literally: I went right on smoking like a Turk) (Селинџер, 2014, p.45). This translation is characterised by a high level of adaptation because it makes reference to Macedonian history i.e. the elements of Turkish culture present in Macedonian culture due to the long period of Turkish occupation. As far as the expressions with the conjunction *as* are concerned, there are examples like: *He's drunk as a bastard* (Salinger, 1991, p.33) – *Пијан е како камен* (literally: He's drunk as a rock) (Селинџер, 2014, p.34) or *she's old as hell* (Salinger, 1991, p.43) – *стара е како Библија* (literally: she's old as the Bible) (Селинџер, 2014, p. 55).

On the other hand, there are contexts in which the source expression does not have a comparative structure, but it is still translated as a Macedonian simile with completely different constitutive elements aiming at achieving the same effect: *everybody smoking their ears off* (Salinger, 1991, p.78) – *сите пушеа како Турци* (literally: everybody smoking like Turks) (Селинџер, 2014, p. 121) or *She gave me a pain in the ass* (Salinger, 1991, p.84) – *Беше здодевна како коњска мува* (literally: She was boring as a horse fly) (Селинџер, 2014, p. 103).

As in the above examples, there are many contexts where the functional equivalence is due to target expressions with a completely different structure. It especially applies to expressions denoting situations in which nothing substantial is said: *I shot the bull*

12 For more on functional equivalence see Nida and Waard (1986).

(Salinger, 1991, p.23) –*Тресев зелени* (literally: I shook greens) (Селинџер, 2014, p.19); *they weren't just shooting the crap* (Salinger, 1991, p.36) – *не беше само чукање празна слама* (literally: it was not just knocking empty straw) (Селинџер, 2014, p.42) or *to quit shooting it* (Salinger, 1991, p.46) – *да престанам со трескањето глупости* (literally: to stop banging nonsense) (Селинџер, 2014, p.59). Similarly, *She doesn't have all her marbles* (Salinger, 1991, p.43) is transferred in the target text as *Не ѝ се сите на број* (literally: She does not have their exact number) (Селинџер, 2014, p.55) and *I really started chucking the old crap around* (Salinger, 1991, p.45) is translated as *Почнав да ја моткам* (literally: I started rolling her) (Селинџер, 2014, p.59). Obviously, the idioms are translated with different and corresponding Macedonian idioms.

In some contexts where the translator could not find a corresponding idiom, she opted for a word from the informal Macedonian vocabulary. So, the idiom *I got the ax* (Salinger, 1991, p.73) is translated with Macedonian slang verb *Ме клоцнаа* (I was kicked) (Селинџер, 2014, p.11), although in this context, equally functional would be the equivalent *ме шутнаа* meaning also "to be kicked" but with more negative connotation. Or the expression from the passage *He's got a yella streak a mile wide* (Salinger, 1991, p.121) is translated with the slang verb *фуфка* in the sentence – *Почна да му фуфка* (Селинџер, 2014, p. 188). Accordingly, the expression *to drop dead* in the sentence *I damn near dropped dead* (Salinger, 1991, p.104) is also translated with an informal verb *речиси* <u>*се дамлосав*</u> (Селинџер, 2014, p.35). There are also two comparative expressions including the word *hell* translated correspondingly with a noun and a verb: *Old as hell* (Salinger, 1991, p.19) – *Фосил* (fossil) (Селинџер, 2014, p.14) and *He was sore as hell* (Salinger, 1991, p.37) – *Вриеше* (literally: He was boiling) (Селинџер, 2014, p.45).

Finally, there are also idioms translated with words or expressions from the Macedonian formal register, hence not transferring the stylistic effect of the source text. Thus, *chew the rag with him* (Salinger, 1991, p.29) is translated in Macedonian as *му правев друштво* (I kept him company) (Селинџер, 2014, p.32). Perhaps some stylistic features would have been preserved if the informal verb *муабети (to chat)* had been incorporated in this passage: *помуабетив со него.* The same applies to the idiom *to horse around* in the sentence *I horsed around with the two of them a little bit* (Salinger, 1991, p.119), translated as *Малку се пошегував со нив* (I was joking a little bit with them), although the Macedonian informal register has the lexemes as *се зеза, зафркава.* Likewise, the expression in the sentence *I got a bang out of that* (Salinger, 1991, p.30) is translated *тоа ми даваше*[13] *огромно задоволство* (literally: it was giving me a great pleasure) (Селинџер, 2014, p.33).

In rare contexts that can be interpreted as an application of the compensation technique, the translator uses expressions, although there are no expressions in the appropriate context in the source text. Thus, *Not applying myself* (Salinger, 1991, p.14) is translated as *Не го загревав столчето* (I was not warming up the chair) (Селинџер, 2014, p.

13 Once again, the use of the verb *даваше* is a literal translation of the source syntagm, and a more appropriate translation would be *тоа ми* <u>*чинеше*</u> *задоволдтво.*

11). On the other hand, the slang verb *to rile* in the sentence *I didn't want to rile him up* (Salinger, 1991, p.62) is translated with the expression *да му стапнам на нерв* (literally: to step on his nerve) (Селинџер, 2014, p. 88) in order to achieve the same stylistic effect.

6 SYNTACTIC STRUCTURES IN THE TRANSLATION

The syntactic structures in the novel are entirely in line with the way the protagonist thinks and consequently expresses himself.

A sense of vivacity is accomplished through dialogues with plenty of interrogative and exclamatory sentences:

"Holden Caulfield. How are ya?"

"Holden! I'm fine! How are you?"

"Swell. Listen. How are ya, anyway? I mean how's school?"

"Fine," she said. "I mean-you know." (Salinger, 1991, p.72)

Usually, they are correspondingly transferred into Macedonian:

„Холден Кофилд. Како си?"

„Холден! Одлично„Како си ти?"

„Солидно. Слушај. Како си ти инаку? Мислам како е во училиште?"

„Добро", рече. „Мислам, знаеш." (Селинџер, 2014, p.103)

Syntactic structures follow thought patterns: sentences are usually short and if they are long, they consist of smaller clauses distributed in a non-linear way. This results in inserted clauses that interrupt the flow of thought. Macedonian sentences entirely follow this type of syntactic structure:

It took me quite a while to get to sleep–I wasn't even tired–but finally I did. (Salinger, 1991, p.72)

Ми требаше долго време за да заспијам-не бев премногу изморен-но најпосле сепак заспав. (Селинџер, 2014, p. 107)

The thing is, it drives me crazy if somebody gets killed– especially somebody very smart and entertaining and all– and it's somebody else's fault. (Salinger, 1991, p.76)

Проблемот е тоа што ме излудува кога ќе загине некој-особено некој паметен и духовит и сето тоа – и уште ако некој друг е виновен за тоа (Селинџер, 2014, p. 107).

Holden's thoughts are also vague or unfinished and so are the sentences he produces. Consequently, they finish with syntagms such as: *or something* or *and all*. The translator generally renders these unfinished structures, but there are still certain inconsistencies. First of all, as in rendering the redundant words, the translator renders the redundant structures with different equivalents.

Can'tcha stick a little rum in it or <u>something</u>? (Salinger, 1991, p.53).

Нели може да измешате (да турите[14]*) малку рум или* *нешто слично?* (Селинџер, 2014, p. 71) (literally: *or something similar*).

Wuddaya mean so what? I told ya it had to be about a goddam room or a house or something (Salinger, 1991, p.37).

Како мислиш па што (шо[15]*)? Ти реков дека мора да биде за проклета соба или куќа или такво нешто* (Селинџер, 2014, p.45) (literally: *or something like that*).

Sometimes, the unfinished syntagms are replaced with finished structures:

She was just nice and all (Salinger, 1991, p.45).

Едноставно беше љубезна и тоа е сè (She was just nice and that is all) (Селинџер, 2014, p.59).

Then, sometimes they are completely omitted:

He kept telling me if I didn't like the Disciples, then I didn't like Jesus and all. (Salinger, 1991, p.71)

Постојано ми велеше дека ако не ги сакам апостолите не го сакам ни Исус. (Селинџер, 2014, p.97)

7 CONCLUSION

The analysis presented in this work indicates the translator's inclination towards different deformations as far as the vernacular networks are concerned. The deformations are particularly evident on a phonological level, where the deletion of phonemes in the source text is not transferred in the target text although such deletions are characteristic for Macedonian informal language too. This tendency to ennoblement, or writing in a more "elegant style" can sometimes be perceived on a lexical level, especially for words that contain rather vulgar nuances. Thus, the lexeme *ass* is euphemised in Macedonian as *задник (rear)*, belonging to a rather formal register, or it is completely paraphrased and deleted when the English interjection *my ass* is translated as *како да не (as if).* There are also a few slang words that are translated with formal Macedonian lexemes, such as *can* or *dough*. We can also interpret as ennoblement the tendency to use a large variety of Macedonian equivalents for just one English word. In fact, the protagonist's language is poor, he often repeats certain words such as *phony* or *crumby*, and yet this redundancy is not rendered in the translation. For example, *phony,* used as an adjective, is translated with three different equivalents, whereas more than ten Macedonian equivalents are offered for the word *crumby*. The same equivalence diversity resulting in ennoblement is witnessed on a syntactic level, where the unfinished sentences are replaced with finished ones, or the redundant syntagms indicating an unfinished thought are translated differently or completely deleted.

14 The use of the informal word *турите* would be more appropriate in this context.

15 The informal form *шо* would be more appropriate in this context

Nevertheless, the vernacular networks of the source text are not entirely destroyed. It seems that the translator paid particular attention to preserving lexical and idiomatic features of the novel. The slang words are usually translated with lexemes from the Macedonian informal register. Most of the abbreviations and interjections are preserved, and we even witness the translator's interventions through adding elements typical of the Macedonian informal register, such as the ample use of particles, augmentatives and diminutives. The translator's signature is especially visible in those contexts where she uses informal words even though in that particular context they are not used by the author, which can be interpreted as intensifying but also as a compensation for those contexts where slang words were translated with formal lexemes. Different expressions and idioms generally have functional equivalents, and if there are no functional equivalents for certain expressions the compensation is made through the use of slang. In rare cases the expressions are replaced with equivalents from the formal Macedonian register, and as on the lexical level, the translator compensates for those losses by using Macedonian expressions in passages where the author does no.

Finally, we can conclude that the translator does not use them on the lexical and idiomatic levels, and that future translations of *The Catcher in the Rye* into Macedonian should take into consideration phonological and syntactic features of the novel.

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POVZETEK

PREVAJANJE SLENGA: SALINGERJEV *VARUH V RŽI* V MAKEDONŠČINI

V pričujočem prispevku predstavljamo analizo makedonskega prevoda Salingerjevega romana *Varuh v rži*, ki velja za enega najbolj kontroverznih romanov preteklega stoletja, ne le zaradi obravnavanih tem, temveč tudi zaradi uporabe slenga ameriške mladine iz sredine 20. stoletja. V raziskavi se opiramo na Bermanovo teorijo sistemov besedilne deformacije. Posebno pozornost posvečamo razdoru pogovornih mrež in težnji po olepševanju. Pri tem upoštevamo nazore Umberta Eca, za katerega je prevod kompromis: pri prevajanju slenga mora prevajalec doseči kompromis med podomačenjem in potujevanjem.

V prispevku preučujemo tudi rabo različnih prevajalskih tehnik in tako analiziramo ponujene prevodne rešitve, v nekaterih primerih pa predlagamo s prevodoslovnega vidika ustreznejše rešitve.

Raziskava obravnava fonološko, leksikalno, idiomatsko in skladenjsko raven prevoda.

Na fonološki ravni preučujemo ponujene prevodne rešitve za izpust fonemov in krajšanje besed.

Na leksikalni ravni se posvečamo rabi slengovskega besedišča, pri čemer obravnavamo tudi rabo medmetov, členkov, avgmentativov in deminutivov v ciljnem jeziku.

Obenem analiziramo različne rešitve pri prevajanju idiomov in nekaterih specifičnih skladenjskih struktur.

Namen raziskave je predstaviti dobre, pa tudi nekatere neustrezne prevodne rešitve in tako ponuditi osnovo za nove, izboljšane prevode.

Ključne besede: *Varuh v rži*, prevod, sleng, deformacije, tehnike prevajanja

ABSTRACT

The object of analysis in this article is the Macedonian translation of Salinger's novel *The Catcher in the Rye.* It is considered to be one of the most controversial novels of the last century due to the themes the author elaborates, but also due to the use of mid-twentieth-century slang then common to young Americans. For that reason, our study will be conducted through the prism of Berman's theory of text deformation systems, and special attention will be paid to the destruction of vernacular networks and tendency towards ennoblement. We will also take into consideration Eco's views on translation as an act of negotiation, being aware that when translating slang the translator is obliged to negotiate between domestication and foreignisation.

In order to analyse the offered equivalents, we will also examine the use of different translation techniques and, in certain contexts, offer more appropriate solutions from a translatological point of view.

The research will be done on phonological, lexical, idiomatic and syntactic levels.

On a phonological level, we will examine the solutions offered for deletion of phonemes and word contraction.

On a lexical level, the focus will be placed on the slang vocabulary, but the study will also include interjections, particles as well as the use of augmentatives and diminutives in the target text.

We will also analyse different translation solutions offered for idioms and some specific syntactic structures.

The analysis reveals both successful solutions and also, certain inadequacies, thus preparing the way for improved translations in the future.

Keywords: *The Catcher in the Rye*, translation, slang, deformations, translation techniques

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LES DÉRIVÉS DU NOM PROPRE TRUMP DANS LE CONTEXTE DE LA CRISE SANITAIRE : APPROCHE SÉMANTIQUE ET MORPHOLOGIQUE

1 INTRODUCTION

Tout événement politique ou social s'accompagne de créations lexicales et la crise sanitaire du coronavirus n'y fait pas exception. Si l'avènement de lexèmes composés comme « geste-barrière » (souvent au pluriel d'ailleurs) était prévisible – tant l'actualité reste focalisée sur le sujet – on aurait pensé observer un net recul des néologismes intéressant directement notre recherche, à savoir les dérivés du nom propre « Trump ». Mais c'était sans compter sur l'arrivée en force du coronavirus sur le territoire américain et l'omniprésence médiatique du président des Etats-Unis. Cette combinaison a abouti à la création de nombreux néologismes qui consignent les traces d'un produit de la crise du coronavirus : un parallélisme détonnant entre le virus et une politique donnée.

D'une manière générale, la dérivation des noms propres étant assez fréquente, surtout dans les textes journalistiques, nous sommes consciente que les dérivés du nom propre Trump s'ajoutent à quantité d'autres créations lexicales en lien avec la politique, notamment d'autres noms de présidents comme par exemple « reaganisme » ou « mittérandisme ». Il serait sans aucun doute fructueux de comparer ces dérivés et de les replacer dans un contexte plus large, toutefois, le format d'un article ne permet pas une analyse d'une telle ampleur. Malgré cela, nous estimons que Donald Trump, demeurant en ce moment au centre de l'intérêt des médias, se montre un choix pertinent pour notre recherche. Non seulement parce qu'il constitue un sujet d'actualité mais aussi pour la manière dont les informations circulent en cette époque de plus en plus numérique : les réseaux sociaux et Internet, plus favorables à la création néologique que la presse imprimée, sont devenus l'alpha et l'oméga du journalisme et de la transmission de l'actualité.

Dans cet article, nous procéderons en deux temps : d'abord nous reviendrons sur des dérivés du nom propre « Trump » qui, sans être très anciens, le sont néanmoins plus que ceux que nous analyserons ensuite dans la seconde partie, à savoir les néologismes qui mettent en œuvre le parallélisme évoqué plus haut.

2 « TRUMPIEN », « TRUMPISME » : DES DÉRIVÉS DÉJÀ INTÉGRÉS

Comme nous l'avons laissé entendre, les néologismes actuels viennent accentuer un phénomène actif depuis quelques années : les dérivés du nom propre Trump créés entre 2016–2020. Actuellement, la liste des néologismes, repérés majoritairement par une recherche en ligne (moteurs de recherche et relevé manuel quotidien dans la presse), compte plus de 90 lexèmes et, la crise du coronavirus en est la preuve, cette liste ne cesse de s'accroître. Pourtant, plus que les chiffres, quoique dignes de l'attention, ce sont les particularités sur les plans morphologique et sémantique que l'ensemble des dérivés présente qui méritent d'être soulignées.

Ces deux pistes, morphologique et sémantique, sont les piliers de notre recherche ce qui correspond, sous l'optique saussurienne, à l'idée du double groupement. Sur l'axe syntagmatique, nous nous intéressons à deux séries paradigmatiques : d'un côté à des séries d'affixes (majoritairement des suffixes) soudés au nom propre Trump et de l'autre côté sur des séries de bases dérivatives de noms propres interchangeables avec « Trump » en observant les liens entre eux. Le schéma suivant illustre ces deux groupements sur l'exemple de l'adjectif « trumpien » :

	Trump-ien	
Macron-ien		Trump-isme
Gaull-ien		Trump-iste
Clinton-ien		Trump-erie

Ce groupement qui s'applique également sur la deuxième partie consacrée au parallélisme viral accentue l'importance de l'opposition pour la délimitation du contenu sémantique.

En effet, la créativité néologique journalistique se manifeste principalement par la richesse et variété morphologique des lexèmes liés au nom du président américain : de nombreux procédés de formation produisent des dérivés affixaux (p. ex. anti-Trump, trumpiste, untrumpable), des mots composés (p. ex. trumpéconomie), des mots-valises (p.ex. trumpocalypse, trumputin), voire des défigements (p. ex. trumpement de terre, SchTrump). Leur apparition, pourtant, pourrait ne paraître que guère surprenante : la théorie saussurienne sur l'analogie expose en détail que toute création résulte d'une comparaison préalable : « Toute création doit être précédée d'une comparaison inconsciente des matériaux déposés dans le trésor de la langue où les formes génératrices sont rangées selon leurs rapports syntagmatiques et associatifs. » (Saussure, 1917 : 227). Néanmoins, d'après Saussure, ces créations sont des œuvres occasionnelles qui appartiennent à la *parole* et non à la *langue*. Si la majorité de ces créations tombent dans l'oubli par leur caractère occasionnel lié à l'actualité, comme c'est le cas de nombreux dérivés des patronymes politiques (Martincová, 1983 :

23 ; Colin, 2003 : 418), il convient de mettre en relief ce qui est peut-être moins apparent au premier aspect : le resserrement sémantique de certains de ces néologismes.

Les noms propres étant dépouillés de sens dans la conception traditionnelle où un nom propre se limite au sème /être appelé/, l'anticipation des adjectifs purement relationnels comme résultats de dérivation par l'ajout d'un suffixe non-marqué (Lignon, 2002 : 2) serait logique. Pourtant, certains exemples (dont notre lexème « trumpien ») témoignent du contraire et leur emploi dans les textes dépasse clairement la catégorie des adjectifs relationnels. Comment ce resserrement se manifeste-il ? Illustrons-le à l'aide du contexte qui contient souvent toute une définition de cet adjectif :

> *Une caractéristique unique du style trumpien est sa capacité de s'adresser directement à une clientèle électorale particulière, sa « base », qui réside partout où le Parti républicain est le mieux enraciné, particulièrement dans les régions du centre et du sud des États-Unis.*[1]

Dans d'autres extraits, le passage possible du « trumpien » à une normalisation des emplois comme adjectif qualificatif s'annonce par la morphologie : la gradabilité étant une des caractéristiques essentielles des qualificatifs (Fradin, 2008 :2), elle indique une adjonction de sèmes supplémentaires :

> *Donald Trump est resté plus trumpien que jamais. Cela donne une idée assez claire de ce que sera sa stratégie jusqu'en 2020 : continuer sur sa lancée.*[2]

Ce qui mérite également d'être mis en relief, c'est l'emploi de l'adjectif « trumpien » comme désignation d'un comportement politique pourtant difficilement saisissable. Il semblerait qu'il serve de critère d'évaluation et de catégorisation des personnages politiques ou de leurs propos :

> *Jair Bolsonaro serait-il plus trumpien que Trump lui-même? Le président brésilien d'extrême droite est connu, comme son homologue de la Maison-Blanche, pour ses coups de sang et sa relation conflictuelle avec la presse.*[3]

> *Lorsque M. Trump a augmenté les droits de douane sur les produits chinois au début du mois dernier, M. Schumer a tweeté : « Tenez bon avec la Chine,*

1 https://quebec.huffingtonpost.ca/michel-fortmann/la-communication-politique-a-l-ere-trumpienne_a_23488805/?guccounter=1&guce_referrer=aHR0cHM6Ly93d3cuZ29vZ2xlLmNvbS8&guce_referrer_sig=AQAAAMaQv85PQuePDK73Buss7I1fBMi_pmOzk0vMWtEm2GXMbOMx_38Yd1vKrY0n1FraM2qVqaYze6DoRn4kEqz2mCBKNf1zXpu9f8Tv9uLgfIsJDJXuO0aGzlVtiyMhj65Db12nba0kQEH-5TJZJi01y4cotwbBcMNaDLTS5hNG46UK

2 https://www.europe1.fr/international/aux-etats-unis-la-presidentielle-2020-commence-maintenant-3797156

3 https://www.parismatch.com/Actu/International/La-folle-semaine-du-Bresil-de-Bolsonaro-1656438

> *Président (Trump). Ne reculez pas. La force est le seul moyen de gagner avec la Chine. » M. Schumer semble parfois presque trumpien lorsqu'il parle des pratiques commerciales chinoises, les qualifiant de « prédatrices » et disant que Pékin est un « concurrent déloyal » qui « tord et enfreint les règles »*[4]

Le suffixe -*ien* s'avère donc particulièrement productif (les extraits ci-dessus ne sont qu'un échantillon très limité) en jonction au nom propre du président américain. La racine de ce phénomène est, à notre avis, double : c'est d'abord l'omniprésence de Donald Trump dans les médias et sa notoriété auprès de la population mais aussi les caractéristiques morphologiques du suffixe -*ien*. En effet, ce suffixe relationnel qui s'ajoute à des bases nominales en exprimant souvent l'appartenance ou l'origine (Lignon, 2000 : 3), devient facilement qualificatif (Leroy, 2005 :1).

La présence d'autres courants et personnages politiques dans le contexte textuel des dérivés, comme c'est le cas de « trumpien », ne s'arrête pourtant pas là : la catégorie des substantifs en est également affectée. Nous pouvons l'observer particulièrement sur l'exemple du dérivé « trumpisme » dont la création n'a rien d'étonnant : le suffixe -*isme* s'ajoute souvent aux noms propres et avec facilité (Guiraud, 1968 : 62 ; Ducháček, 1976 : 42, Niklas-Salminen, 2015 : 64). Le phénomène en n'est pas moins intéressant, au contraire. Depuis l'élection de Donald Trump, la définition de cette politique atypique ne cesse de se cristalliser dans la langue : le « trumpisme », quoiqu'il ne soit pas ancré officiellement dans le lexique français, constitue à présent un ensemble riche des définitions fortement marquées d'un point de vue axiologique : pour ne prendre que deux adjectifs des tentatives de définitions suivantes, relevons ci-après : « brutal » et « radicale ».

> *Le trumpisme, un retour brutal à des relations internationales fondées sur les rapports de force.*[5]

> *Tout en s'inscrivant dans le mouvement de repli national que l'on peut observer dans de nombreux points du globe, le « Trumpisme », entendu comme mouvement de réorientation potentiellement radicale des politiques économiques intérieure et extérieure des États-Unis sous l'impulsion de Donald Trump, présente des particularités importantes.*[6]

Le « trumpisme », en tant que sémème, est d'ailleurs intéressant non seulement pour l'abondance des sèmes qui le délimitent et le cernent, mais aussi par les moyens dont les contours du sens de ce dérivé sont exprimés : des corrélats sémantiques à teneur superlative (cf. ci-après « paroxysme », « suprématie », puis « grave », « dictature ») et nettement

4 https://www.lopinion.fr/edition/wsj/etats-unis-republicains-democrates-main-dans-main-contre-chine-tech-189513

5 https://www.france24.com/fr/20190618-invite-jour-gerard-chaliand-trump-etats-unis-iran-affrontement-oman

6 https://cecmc.hypotheses.org/34012

dysphorique « affection », « misogynie », « homophobie », « racisme », puis « danger », « fascisme », etc.) l'accompagnent régulièrement.

> *Le trumpisme est le paroxysme d'une affection latente caractéristique des dernières années dans nos sociétés occidentales. C'est la manifestation politique d'une lame de fond porteuse de nationalisme identitaire, de suprématie blanche, de misogynie machiste, d'homophobie, et de racisme.*[7]

> *Le trumpisme et ce qu'il engendre constituent aujourd'hui un grave danger. Entre, d'une part, la démocratie bourgeoise habituelle et tous ses défauts et, d'autre part, le fascisme, il y a des formes intermédiaires, comme la dictature militaire. Il y a aussi toute une gamme de formes possibles dans ce que Marx appelait le bonapartisme.*[8]

La richesse des dérivés en -*isme* comprise dans les contextes du « trumpisme » est étonnante : il est à la fois classé dans des cadres plus généraux tels que le néoconservatisme, le racisme ou le fascisme et il se met en opposition graduelle à d'autres courants dérivés des noms des personnages politiques importants, comme le « bonapartisme » ci-dessus. Malgré la quantité de ces courants et personnages, un homme politique apparaît dans les extraits de la presse française plus fréquemment que d'autres : Emmanuel Macron.

> *Cette différence de conception du trumpisme et du macronisme se traduit sur leurs visions du monde. Certes, elles sont assez proches. Pour l'un comme pour l'autre il y aurait un centre et des périphéries, le centre imposant son ordre et ne laissant d'autres choix aux périphéries que de se soumettre. Ce pendant ce qui les distingue, c'est que pour le trumpisme le centre serait réduit à l'Occident, plus précisément aux puissances capitalistes dominantes du monde occidental, celui-ci étant soumis à l'hégémonie américaine. Par contre, pour le macronisme « l'hégémonie occidentale est profondément remise en cause » et s›il y a bien un centre celui-ci serait constitué de l'Occident et de quelques autres puissances devenues incontournables au premier chef, l'Inde et la Chine.*[9]

> *Macron et Trump, deux réactions oligarchiques différenciées à la crise, sont-ils la preuve que le capitalisme s'accommode finalement aussi bien du chauvinisme économique et culturel que du progressisme ? Du trumpisme et du macronisme, lequel est le stade suprême du capitalisme ?*[10]

7 https://www.ifri.org/fr/espace-media/lifri-medias/etats-unis-2020-trumpisme-infaillible

8 https://alencontre.org/ameriques/americnord/usa/etats-unis-debat-quest-ce-que-le-trumpisme.html

9 https://blogs.mediapart.fr/hillel-roger/blog/110919/trumpisme-et-macronisme

10 https://www.reconstruire.org/kevin-victoire-le-stade-supreme-du-capitalisme-cest-le-macronisme/

Malgré la polarisation évidente de ces deux idéologies dans ces extraits, il convient d’évoquer que certains auteurs y trouvent également des points d’intersection :

> *Macronisme et trumpisme, deux idéologies parentes ?* [11]
>
> *L’arrivée au pouvoir d’Emmanuel Macron et de Donald Trump a consacré un nouveau type d’homme politique, qui a tous les traits du dirigeant économique et dont le style fait école avant même que ses recettes aient été véritablement testées (« macronisme », « trumpisme »).*[12]

L’objectif de cette section étant de préparer le terrain de la suivante, nous ne pousserons pas plus avant ces observations qui concernent des faits moins en lien avec l’actualité centrale de ce début d’année 2020.

3 LE TRUMPISME À L’EPRÉUVE DE LA PADÉMIE

La connexion supposée entre macronisme et trumpisme se trouve réactivée dans la situation actuelle de crise sanitaire mondiale en assimilant le message politique à une maladie, nettement motivé par l’idée de la propagation du virus dévastateur. Une politique particulière, en l’occurrence trumpienne ou macronienne, est donc pourvue du sème /contagieux/ contenu dans les prédicats « infecter » et « être atteint ». Aussi, remarquons que le -*virus* est intégré dans une construction active comme passive. Mais aussi et surtout ses cooccurrents ‘ADN’, ‘famille’ et deux fois ‘espèces’ qui appellent le paradigme « viral » décliné par la suite.

> *Les Macronavirus sont des petits virus à ADN double brin de la famille des Patronaviridae connus pour infecter l’homme. Parmi les espèces virales proches on trouve des espèces éteintes, comme les Regeanovirus ou Thatcherovirus, et des espèces contemporaines comme les Trudeauvirus, Salvinivirus, Bolsonarovirus, ou les Trumpvirus.*[13]

Dans ce passage, ‘double brin’ semble détourner ‘double hélice’, substitution qu’il est difficile d’interpréter clairement. Alors qu’on aurait pu s’attendre à trouver, s’agissant de virus, « ARN », on a bien ADN, ce qui ne laisse planer aucun doute sur l’obédience humaine du virus. Cet aspect est d’ailleurs confirmé par l’onglet déroulé qui oppose vieux virus (« espèces éteintes ») et nouveaux (« espèces contemporaines ») : le menu déroulant ne dévoile que des noms propres (ce qui explique « Patronaviridae », tous des hommes

11 https://www.cairn.info/revue-savoir-agir-2018-2-page-5.htm?contenu=resume#

12 https://www.bilan.ch/opinions/souffle_liberal_ou_souffle_

13 http://macronavirus.ouvaton.org/

ou femmes politiques présidents ou premiers ministres : Reagan et Thatcher pour la première catégorie et Trudeau, Salvini, Bolsonaro, et Trump pour la seconde.

> *… les deux tiers des Français sont atteints par le macronvirus : ils n'ont pas confiance dans Emmanuel Macron et sont convaincus que les autorités leur mentent ; compte tenu de ce qui précède, il est bien difficile de ne pas penser comme eux.*[14]

Les -*virus* politiques sont ainsi mis en parallèle avec le « vrai » coronavirus à travers l'idée de /diffusion/ : le coronavirus sert donc de base à une sorte d'allégorie :

> *Malgré cela, le New York Times rebaptise le Coronavirus en « Trumpvirus » (sic !) et les « démocrates », qui se réjouissent ouvertement du fléau, critiquent à tout va, contre faits et statistiques.*[15]

Les deux menaces peuvent également être coordonnées, et ainsi placées comme deux sous-catégories de virus :

> *Combattre le coronavirus et le macronavirus, en « même temps »*[16]

Dans d'autres extraits, les dérivés sont plutôt un contrepoids du danger du coronavirus. Les deux dangers sont comparés ou même mis en opposition : ainsi, le coronavirus est non plus un pouvoir maléfique mais un porteur d'espoir de guérison de l'autre comme dans le deuxième extrait ci-dessous :

> *Le trumpvirus est plus dangereux que le coronavirus*[17]

> *« Le coronavirus peut-il guérir l'Amérique face au Trumpavirus ? » s'interroge Philippe Labro avant de conclure : « Novembre est loin… mais la paille a brisé le dos du chameau. »*[18]

Il est intéressant de noter que les deux néologismes composés présentent deux formes de suffixes qui se comportent comme des allomorphes sans conditionnement particulier (ni phonique ni morphématique) et le choix de l'un ou l'autre revient au locuteur : une version raccourcie, « trumpvirus » ou « macronvirus » contre « trumpavirus » et « macronavirus »

14 http://neuro.over-blog.com/2020/03/le-scandale-de-creil-et-le-macronvirus.html

15 http://www.libertepolitique.com/Actualite/Decryptage/Trump-et-les-Primaires-democrates

16 https://blogs.mediapart.fr/pascal-santoni/blog/100320/combattre-le-coronavirus-et-le-macronavirus-en-meme-temps

17 https://www.brain-magazine.fr/article/page-president/59887-Le-trumpvirus-est-plus-dangereux-que-le-coronavirus

18 https://www.lepoint.fr/invites-du-point/philippe-labro/philippe-labro-le-coronavirus-peut-il-guerir-l-amerique-du-trumpavirus-26-04-2020-2372964_1444.php#

qui maintiennent le *-a-* entre les deux éléments composants. Son insertion pourrait être justifiée soit par la tendance à imiter le lexème d'origine, le coronavirus, soit par des raisons phonologiques, le *-a-* facilitant la prononciation.

D'autres exemples sont dérivés de l'idée de pandémie, terme pourvu de corrélats habituels comme 'foyer', 'infection', 'sanitare'. Pourtant, la tension politique qui s'élève au sein de la crise y ressort encore plus clairement : dans le cas de « Trumpandémie », le néologisme exprime une sorte de gradation de la controverse entre les États-Unis et la Chine qui l'emploie pour mettre en relief sa conviction au sujet de la provenance du virus :

> *Sortirons-nous de cette macropandémie décimés, asservis, misérables ? La première mesure sanitaire, urgente, c'est de libérer nos esprits de l'emprise de ce foyer d'infection moral qu'est le pouvoir actuel.*[19]

> *Les États-Unis comptent sur les mensonges et le racisme au lieu de la science et de mesures efficaces pour freiner #COVID19. Jeter un coup d'œil @thedailybeast sur les tactiques vilaines de la Maison Blanche pour détourner les critiques sur #Trumpandémie.*[20]

> *Il demande enfin des explications sur les accusations de délit d'initiés nées après la vente d'actions de la part de sénateurs américains, survenue avant la chute de la Bourse liée à l'épidémie. Le même jour, l'ambassade chinoise en France parlait même de « Trumpandémie ».*[21]

Enfin, souvent plus éloquentes que les textes, les caricatures incarnent l'idée de cette fusion politico-sanitaire. Certains néologismes ainsi ne sont donc pas intégrés à des textes mais accompagnent seulement des dessins, ce qui empêche de les analyser plus avant :

> *18 mars 2020 – Trumpavirus… Coronatrump…*

Ce rapport entre deux courants décrits comme à la fois voisins et contradictoires qui, de plus, interagissent avec les sujets d'actualité, ne met en lumière qu'une partie

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19 https://www.egaliteetreconciliation.fr/Macronovirus-58514.html?__cf_chl_captcha_tk__=0761bd3a-211029a7b74184abaf770caf33074388-1587732102-0-ATR-eC8th_YPXvY4svOc2ehZKDtuqFE4kuhl-dfCjFYQ1xHg0Ne8QeY3ukY6IphxMNFoq1XDw3wjtYqXj_2Mnm6OK5Q-q4SE0gKeQiolT0fIK-S6XWVP-U5wc09itDrYA9dI220DpwUUc1N__agorTt0VI81NRaBIw8bBFYL-Ut4xeREb4oVD8fTYq0jIii-V91H5a4Z4WGRXewkfR1b97PcHPFOEeBb_7kw4F8RHko30P1BcHVemvvxAdEGwKoFY2fP3L391e-HEy90LxHXQP9xyRgNmpDXZFLTdNTmCcasCd_9lBtDKfBJ67vE1SSR9Wu31TVNgzr1gvvtkjXIt-KGIx3kZe6AN59UZXTDuJqKNNHRNCEn0p6RmCoiMwgmhvQpyGCO48qhzxEPHvztMq7XxJY8Dn-0ZoS0UqNxYLUT-kkPukTnxRcUK8QyLMCk3vM-rK5rYr2jYdftmpNql6r8IyHMy5PaCBRTI_9a1uokn-bIeZFxcBRK-6AwvvjgNAKkKJszOEGKqfvkeNi_eDVp0nHrjQ

20 https://twitter.com/AmbassadeChine/status/1242114229739622400

21 https://www.parismatch.com/Actu/Sante/Quand-la-diplomatie-chinoise-fait-la-promotion-de-theories-du-complot-sur-le-coronavirus-1679965

d’un paradigme beaucoup plus vaste : une quantité de composés et dérivés font leur apparition dans la presse, sans que la base ne soit nécessairement un nom propre, tels que « corbeaunavirus » :

> *Corbeaunavirus : Réjouissance du confinement : il a fallu moins d’un mois pour que certains Français renouent avec une sympathique tradition vieille de plus de quatre-vingts ans. C’est « le retour des corbeaux » s’écrie Le Monde (11/4). Oui, ces corbacs, qui sous l’Occupation, espionnaient et balançaient leur voisin sous le noble prétexte de préserver la société.*[22]

Ceci exclut donc la spécialisation de l’application du pseudo suffixe « -(n)(a)virus » à la catégorie du nom propre.

4 CONCLUSION

Il est bien délicat de prédire le devenir de ces néologismes, presque autant que l’évolution de la pandémie. Mais plusieurs faits sont à retenir ici : au niveau morphologique, le statut de suffixe provisoirement acquis par « -(n)(a)virus », sur la base du modèle d’actualité « coronavirus », mot inconnu ou presque il y a quelques mois. Et d’un point de vue sémantique, la projection des sèmes qui le définissent, par suffixation, sur les noms propres qui servent de base au dérivé, en l’occurrence « Trump » pour ce qui nous concerne. Ce courant politique, dont la définition se concrétise en fonction des actes de Donald Trump et ainsi reste toujours assez complexe, est, de plus, comparée ou opposée à d’autres courants comme le « macronisme », même dans le contexte du coronavirus. À ces deux idéologies souvent comparées ou opposées s’associent des sèmes /diffusion/, /contagieux/ ou /danger/ et ainsi les dérivés passent au niveau abstrait pour décrire un parallèle entre le coronavirus et la contamination par une idéologie.

S’ils restent des occasionnalismes après la crise sanitaire, ils n’auront pas seulement incarné la créativité lexicale qui accompagne une époque particulière mais ils auront reflété un parallélisme conceptuel politique-virus, qui, sans être inédit, est à la fois remarquable et observable en temps réel.

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22 *Le Canard Enchaîné* du 15 avril 2020.

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POVZETEK

TVORJENKE IZ LASTNEGA IMENA TRUMP V KONTEKSTU ZDRAVSTVENE KRIZE: POMENOSLOVNI IN OBLIKOSLOVNI VIDIK

V prispevku se osredotočamo na oblikoslovno in pomenoslovno analizo neologizmov, tvorjenih iz lastnega imena »Trump«. Tvorjenke v prispevku predstavljamo z oblikoslovnega vidika, hkrati pa s pomenskega vidika analiziramo njihovo rabo, ki je prikazana v kratkih odlomkih iz časopisnih člankov. Pri tem se osredotočamo predvsem na aktivnost pomenskih sestavin predstavljenih neologizmov.

Prispevek je razdeljen na dva dela, v katerih so predstavljeni primeri omenjenega novega besedotvornega pojava. Najprej je obravnavan francoski pridevnik »trumpien«, katerega pripona *-ien* tvori tako vrstne kot kakovostne pridevnike. Tvorjenke iz lastnega imena ameriškega predsednika vsebujejo pomenske sestavine, ki prispevajo tudi k pomenu tvorjenke »trumpisme«. Slednjo predstavljamo v drugem delu prispevka. Opredelitev njenega pomena omogočata velika pogostnost rabe in primerjava z drugimi izpeljankami s pripono *-isme*, med katerimi je najpogosteje rabljena beseda »macronisme«.

Različna besedila še vedno ustvarjajo nove pomenske povezave med besedama »trumpisme« in »macronisme«. To je postalo še očitnejše med koronavirusno krizo. Pričakovali bi, da bo tako pereča tema, kot je svetovna pandemija, v medijih povsem zasenčila politično dogajanje. Prav nasprotno pa je zdravstvena kriza spodbudila leksikalno kreativnost na tem področju, predvsem z rabo novih morfemov, povezanih s pomenskim poljem pandemije, kot so *-virus, -pandémie* ali *corona-*. Tako je širjenje koronavirusne bolezni postalo metafora za širjenje določene politične ideologije – v našem primeru ideologij Donalda Trumpa in Emmanuela Macrona.

Ključne besede: lastno ime, oblikoslovje, pomenoslovje, besedotvorje, koronavirus, Donald Trump

ABSTRACT

DERIVATIVES FROM THE PROPER NOUN "TRUMP" IN THE CONTEXT OF THE HEALTH CRISIS: A SEMANTIC AND MORPHOLOGICAL APPROACH

The article focuses on neologisms derived from the proper noun "Trump" from the morphological and semantic point of view. Our morphological observation is accompanied by short journalistic extracts with comments; the emphasis is put on neologisms' semic activity.

Organised in two parts, the article points out some examples of this recent phenomenon. First of all, we are concerned with the French adjective "*trumpien*" whose suffix *-ien* produces not only relational but also qualifying adjectives. In other words, supplementary semes join the derivative of the American President's proper noun and in this way they specify the definition of "*trumpisme*", the second example described in the article. Numerous occurrences of the derivative allow us to delimit the semantic content of this neologism, besides other things, by putting it in opposition or in parallel other -*ismes*, with "*macronisme*" arguably the most common one.

The link established between the "*trumpisme*" and the "*macronisme*" is still being actualised, and it has been intensified during the coronavirus crisis. We could suppose that an acute topic such as the world pandemic would not allow any space for politics in the media. However, the medical crisis actually boosted the lexical creativity in this field using new elements connected to the pandemic like -*virus, -pandémie* or *corona-.* Thus, spreading of the coronavirus becomes a metaphor of spreading of a specific political ideology, in this case Donald Trump's and Emmanuel Macron's.

Keywords: proper noun, morphology, semantics, derivation, coronavirus, Donald Trump

RÉSUMÉ

L'article se penche sur les néologismes dérivés du nom propre « Trump » d'un point de vue morphologique et sémantique. Nos observations morphologiques sont accompagnées de courts extraits journalistiques commentés avec un accent mis sur l'activité sémique des néologismes.

Organisé en deux parties, l'article relève quelques exemples de ce phénomène récent : d'abord, nous nous focalisons sur l'adjectif « trumpien » dont le suffixe très productif -*ien* forme non seulement les adjectifs relationnels mais également qualificatifs. En d'autres termes, des sèmes supplémentaires s'adjoignent au dérivé du nom propre du président américain et ainsi cisèlent la définition du « trumpisme », le deuxième exemple décrit dans l'article. Les nombreuses occurrences du dérivé permettent délimiter le contenu sémantique de ce néologisme, entre autres, par l'opposition ou mise en parallèle avec d'autres -*ismes* dont « macronisme » est sans doute le plus fréquent.

Ce lien établi entre le « trumpisme » et le « macronisme » ne cesse d'être actualisé en contexte : il s'intensifie même en cette période de crise du coronavirus. Nous pourrions supposer qu'un sujet aussi brûlant qu'une pandémie mondiale ne laisse pas de place pour la politique dans les médias : au contraire, la crise sanitaire a plutôt augmenté la création lexicale dans ce domaine en employant des éléments liés à la pandémie, tels que -*virus*, -*pandémie* ou *corona*-. L'expansion du coronavirus ainsi devient une métaphore de l'expansion d'une idéologie politique spécifique, en l'occurrence la politique de Donald Trump mise en opposition (ou en parallèle) avec l'idéologie supposée d'Emmanuel Macron.

Mots-clés : nom propre, morphologie, sémantique, dérivation, coronavirus, Donald Trump

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REPRÉSENTATION ET INTERPRÉTATION DU CONCEPT DE *POFIGISME* DANS LE RÉCIT DE SYLVAIN TESSON « LE TRAIN »

Tout récemment, le lecteur français a découvert un nouveau mot introduit par Sylvain Tesson dans son recueil *S'abandonner à vivre*. Le mot *pofigisme* représente un concept important pour la culture russe. Employé occasionnellement, ce lexème ne s'est pas encore généralisé : l'analyse de son utilisation contextuelle sur Internet démontre que 90% des cas d'utilisation font référence à Sylvain Tesson.

L'écrivain explique le sens de la notion nouvellement introduite et expose le contenu culturel et philosophique du *pofigisme,* notamment dans le récit « Le train » (Tesson, 2014). Puisque le lexème représentant le concept culturel est une transcription du mot russe et ne porte pas de charge sémantique pour le lecteur français, il est important de comprendre le champ associatif du concept.

Sylvain Tesson trouve les signes d'une certaine indifférence à la vie en fonction des cultures. Il convient pourtant de remarquer que trois récits racontent les vies des Russes : *« Les Russes sont tous atteints à des degrés divers par cette torpeur métaphysique »* (Tesson : 220).

L'auteur construit le champ lexical du phénomène dès le début du récit : « *J'ai été initié à la vérité du « pofigisme » »* (*Ibid.*, p. 219). Le narrateur propose sa vision personnelle du concept en exposant les aspects positifs et négatifs de ce dernier, en mettant en relief le caractère complexe, ambigu de la composante importante du caractère national russe. Une vision de la vie particulière, et ignorée jusque-là de l'écrivain, car différente de la sienne, inhérente à sa culture, intègre des éléments sémantiquement opposés : *résignation et joie, joie et désespérance, action et inertie*. *L'inertie et la passivité*, qualités essentielles à un *pofigiste*, constituent une vertu aux yeux de l'écrivain : ayant fait face aux réalités de la vie, ces gens ne résistent plus, *« ils s'abandonnent à vivre »* (*Ibid.*, p. 220).

La définition développée du *pofigisme* ouvre l'intrigue du récit : *« Pofigisme n'a pas de traduction en français. Ce mot russe désigne une attitude face à l'absurdité du monde et à l'imprévisibilité des évènements. Le* pofigisme *est une résignation joyeuse, désespérée face à ce qui advient. Les adeptes du* pofigisme*, écrasés par l'inéluctabilité des choses, ne comprennent pas qu'on s'agite dans l'existence. Pour eux, lutter à la manière des moucherons piégés dans une toile d'argiope est une erreur, pire, le signe de la vulgarité. Ils accueillent les oscillations du destin sans chercher à en entraver l'élan. Ils s'abandonnent à vivre »* (*loc.cit.*). La métaphore choisie pour décrire les Russes ressemble à une prise de position bien réfléchie quant à ceux qu'elle caractérise : l'impuissance face au destin est assumée, la résignation est plus appréciable à leurs yeux que l'agitation inutile, les *pofigistes* s'approchent alors passivement du dénouement de leurs vies.

Les moucherons slaves s'opposent aux hamsters de « l'Europe de Schengen » toujours *« affairés […] dans leur cage de plastique tournant sur elle-même »* (*loc.cit.*). Ces comparaisons métaphoriques, faisant référence à des catégories de nature différentes, se révèlent symboliques en tant qu'illustrations, et cruciales en tant que vision du monde et acception de soi au sein de sa propre culture, c'est justement ce qui oppose les représentants des nationalités évoquées, de cultures différentes. Les uns optent pour une action, les autres, au contraire, l'inaction. Les uns prennent la vie comme une variation de choix à faire, les autres la voient plutôt comme une destinée inévitable, dont l'itinéraire est impossible à changer. Sans mentionner ce qu'en pensent les Slaves, S. Tesson fait observer que les Européens *« méprisent ce penchant à l'inertie […] lui donnent le nom de fatalisme, font la moue devant la passivité slave »* (*loc.cit.*). Vu que la fin de la vie sera la même pour tous, l'écrivain conclut que les « hamsters » ont tout simplement oublié les avantages de prendre la vie comme elle vient. Il montre ainsi les aspects positifs de la vie des « moucherons ».

Or, la comparaison n'est pas fortuite, elle dévoile la différence en perceptions du monde et son appropriation, dans la perspective onomasiologique, par des consciences appartenant à des nationalités différentes. C'est exactement par la voie de la perception (dans sa vision du mode de vie et dans son expression linguistique) que le caractère national se forge. Dans l'exemple métaphorique analysé, le concept national français de « savoir-vivre » est implicitement illustré par opposition à celui du *pofigisme*. Le moucheron désignant l'humain possède une connotation négative, dessinant un sujet invisible, désagréable à affronter, incommodant. Dans la conscience du sujet parlant, le hamster est un animal plus connu et assimilé à la vie humaine. Nous voyons ses activités, considérées comme inutiles et pourtant vues comme une forme de vie et d'organisation, une forme active et plutôt appréciable. Malgré les remarques de l'auteur sur l'aspect positif des *pofigistes* dans leur façon d'appréhender la vie, une telle comparaison met en lumière les attitudes et les pratiques culturelles des Français (voire des Européens) : les verbes d'action et de jugement (*mépriser, faire la moue, partir vaquer)* et les caractéristiques de l'action (*affairé, les manches retroussées, sourcils froncés*) pour décrire les Européens, sont opposés aux verbes d'inaction (*accueillir, ne pas chercher, s'abandonner*) et au verbe d'état (*être écrasé*) pour dire les Slaves.

Le champ lexical du *pofigisme*, tel que l'emploie l'auteur, est constitué de lexèmes dont la sémantique laisse sous-entendre que le narrateur n'accepterait pas cette vision du monde, même si elle s'inscrit dans une certaine vérité. Le verbe *abandonner*, placé dans le titre du livre et faisant partie de la définition du *pofigisme*, signifie « ne plus avoir la volonté de faire ou avoir quelque chose, confier quelque chose à l'autre ou au pouvoir de quelque chose ; laisser quelqu'un dont on doit s'occuper ; quitter définitivement (un lieu) ; renoncer à (une action difficile, pénible) ; cesser d'employer, ne plus considérer comme utile, bon ». La sémantique du verbe réfléchi *s'abandonner* est bien variée dans le sens des connotations et parle d'une action, d'un choix, par manque de forces physiques ou psychologiques « se laisser aller à (un sentiment, un état) ; se détendre, se laisser aller physiquement » ; et en même temps, par assurance « se livrer en toute confiance » (*Le Petit Robert*, 2003). *Le Dictionnaire analogique* (2011) nous donne les collocations suivantes : *s'abandonner au désespoir, s'abandonner à la joie*, ce qui prouve la variabilité des connotations. La capacité du verbe *s'abandonner* à se combiner avec les mots de connotations différentes permet d'éviter de prendre l'expression *s'abandonner à vivre* dans le sens négatif uniquement, d'autant plus que le mot *vivre* est neutre. À la lumière des lexèmes analysés qui font partie du champ lexical du *pofigisme*, on sous-entend une vision favorable d'appréhender et vivre la vie. C'est justement ce qu'ont fait les participants à un forum en ligne[1] lors de la discussion de ce phénomène évoqué par Sylvain Tesson.

Néanmoins, pour la conscience linguistique française, l'interprétation positive de l'expression *s'abandonner à vivre* s'avère peu probable puisque l'unité lexicale centrale de sa définition – *résignation* – renferme une connotation négative. Sa définition dans le dictionnaire témoigne d'un choix sans contrainte, pourtant pas toujours appréciable « abandon ; le fait d'accepter sans protester (la volonté d'une autorité supérieure), tendance à se soumettre, à subir sans réagir » (*Le Petit Robert*, 2003). L'idée de la soumission et le caractère contradictoire de ce mode de vie sont également renforcés par la fusion des lexèmes *désespéré* et *joyeux* dont les connotations ne semblent pas pouvoir créer un ensemble logique. Ces caractéristiques se contredisent non seulement au niveau des sentiments qu'elles représentent mais aussi au niveau de l'activité sous-entendue par les actes qu'elles accompagnent : le mot *désespéré* ajoute de la passivité à l'action ou à un sentiment éprouvé (à l'exception de certaines collocations marquées dans le dictionnaire, comme avec les verbes *crier, exprimer, hurler, laisser éclater*, selon le *Dictionnaire analogique*, 2001). Le mot *joyeux*, au contraire, s'emploie avec des noms d'actions et d'états actifs. Ainsi, une telle opposition met en lumière le caractère contradictoire de l'esprit russe, bien perçu par l'écrivain.

1 http://lesbilletsdhumeurdeninon.eklablog.com/soyons-pofigistes-a106880084

L'importance et le caractère global du phénomène dans la culture russe et sa propagation dans la société sont mis en évidence par le lexique et l'intrigue du récit. Sylvain Tesson écrit : « *J'ai été initié à la vérité du «* pofigisme *» »* (*Ibid*., p. 219). Ici, le lexème polysémantique *vérité* comprend une signification de la « connaissance de la plus grande valeur ; conforme au réel, connue ou à connaître ; idée ou proposition vraie qui l'importe ; un principe, un dogme (par exemple une vérité d'évangile) ». Le verbe d'action *initier* possède une signification spécifique à « [l']acquisition, permission d'accéder à la connaissance ou à la participation de certains cultes ou certains rites secrets, à la pratique d'une religion ; à la connaissance d'un savoir peu répandu » (*Le Petit Robert*, 2003) ; ce verbe s'utilise donc souvent pour les groupes thématiques « religion, société secrète, groupe fermé ».

Le narrateur français se trouve dans un décor inhabituel et peu agréable : il est dans un train reliant Vladivostok et Khabarovsk, dans la zone transsibérienne des chemins de fer russes. L'endroit où se passe l'action donne son titre au récit, ce qui crée des associations avec l'endroit vide, l'endroit qui vit d'après ses propres lois et qui ne suppose pas de choix « *Dans un train, pas de choix. Soit on remonte vers l'amont, soit on va vers l'aval* » (*Ibid*., p. 221). Avant de prendre le train, le narrateur boit de la bière Baltica (russe) *« fidèle à la tradition russe qui recommande de se saouler avant un long voyage »* (*Ibid*., p. 220). La structure du récit suit les étapes de l'initiation rituelle : l'histoire s'ouvre avec la description du lieu et de l'atmosphère ambiante, toutes typiques pour un rituel, puis se poursuit avec l'explicitation des étapes de l'initiation et des signes exprimant les particularités culturelles, et se résume enfin par une phrase contenant l'impératif du verbe et le mot désignant le nom du concept culturel en question, annoncé au début. Dans l'espace fermé, tous, que l'on imagine bien nombreux comme c'est souvent le cas, sont censés être initiés à la vérité du *pofigisme*. Pourtant, Sylvain Tesson n'introduit dans l'histoire que les personnages concernés, il se concentre sur les agents de l'histoire liés au rituel. Une seule fois, les « cris des témoins » sont mentionnés lors de la narration (*Ibid*., p. 222). Le point culminant a lieu à minuit *: « la nuit masquait l'infinie tristesse de l'Extrême-Orient russe. Des Russes vivaient dans ce néant sous les cheminées. Je regardai ma montre. Minuit »* (*Ibid*., p. 220–221). Ayant fait face à *« un Ouzbek de cent dix kilos »* (*loc.cit.*) qui lui coupait le passage, le narrateur refuse de le laisser passer en premier comme l'insistait celui-ci, se mêle à la bagarre dont il ressort blessé. De retour dans son compartiment, le Français est soigné par sa voisine Olga qui, *« d'une voix ferme »*, lui conseille de ne pas y faire trop attention : *« On s'en fout de ta plaie. Soit pofigiste, mec »* (*Ibid., p.* 224).

Cette réplique clôture le récit, elle est précédée d'une remarque de l'auteur *« En face de filles pareilles, il n'est pas étonnant que les nazis aient échoué à Stalingrad. »* (*loc.cit.*) et met en valeur un aspect positif du *pofigisme* aux yeux des Français.

En résumé, il importe de mentionner le caractère controversé du phénomène culturel en question. Il se crée avec des procédés différents, linguistiques et de composition, et la création des images des personnages, les deux derniers contribuant à la connotation favorable du mode de vie *à la* russe (slave). Les lexèmes constituant son noyau sémantique, expriment pourtant le contraire. Ceci est expliqué par l'emploi du lexème *résignation* et sa connotation uniquement négative, ses interprétations dans la littérature classique ce qui influence sans doute la formation de la vision du monde par la nation. Ou comme le suggérait Honoré de Balzac : *« La résignation, mon ange, est un suicide quotidien ».* Sylvain Tesson, vu l'analyse de son interprétation artistique du phénomène, serait-il plutôt favorable vis-à-vis de l'appréhension quotidienne de la réalité dans sa version slave, ce qui est exprimé implicitement dans le récit « Le Train ».

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POVZETEK

PRIKAZ IN INTERPRETACIJA KONCEPTA *POFIGISME* V PRIPOVEDI *VLAK* AVTORJA SYLVAINA TESSONA

V prispevku analiziramo leksikalna izrazna sredstva, stilistične postopke in strategije za strukturiranje besedila, ki so uporabljeni pri predstavitvi ruskega (slovanskega) kulturnega koncepta, imenovanega *pofigisme.* Ta posebni koncept, ki ga lahko opišemo kot fatalizem v življenju in v njegovem dojemanju, je predstavil in ga v primerjavi s francosko umetnostjo življenja, imenovano *savoir-vivre*, analiziral francoski pisatelj Sylvain Tesson. Pomensko nasprotni si elementi, ki se pojavljajo v njegovi pripovedi *Vlak*, omogočajo metaforično primerjavo dveh različnih kultur. Leksemi, ki slikajo nasprotja, s svojim pomenom poudarjajo razlike v pogledu na svet in v posameznikovem dojemanju samega sebe v lastnem kulturnem okolju: aktivnost se sooči z inertnostjo. Avtor se kljub temu ne odloči za enega izmed obeh nazorov, kar dokazuje njegova izbira leksemov in nenavadnih kolokacij. Leksikalno polje koncepta *pofigisme* v Tessonovi literarni različici tvorijo leksemi, katerih pomen nakazuje, da avtor tega nazora ne podpira, vseeno pa ga predstavlja kot nekakšno resnico. To potrjuje tudi pripovedna struktura dela, ki odslikava stopnje obredne iniciacije. Kljub relativno pozitivnemu literarnemu prikazu osebe, ki sledi življenjskemu nazoru *pofigisme,* je evropski pogled na svet z osrednjimi leksemi v Tessonovem literarnem delu posredno prikazan kot ustreznejši.

Ključne besede: koncept, *pofigisme*, umetnost življenja, priložnostnica, značaj naroda

ABSTRACT

REPRESENTATION AND INTERPRETATION OF THE CONCEPT OF *POFIGISM* IN SYLVAIN TESSON'S "THE TRAIN"

The article presents an analysis of the lexical expressive means, stylistic and text structuring devices used to present the Russian (Slavic) cultural concept of *pofigism*, which expresses a certain fatalism in the way of taking and living life. This particular feature has been described and analysed in parallel with the idea of *savoir-vivre* by the French writer Sylvain Tesson. Semantically opposed elements are chosen to introduce metaphorical comparisons of two distinct cultures. The lexemes chosen to realise this opposition and their semantics highlight the difference in visions of the world and sense of oneself in one's culture, with action facing inertia. The author, however, does not seem to settle on one of the positions, although his choice of lexemes and the non-obvious collocations speak of it. The lexical field of *pofigism*, in Tesson's version, consists of those lexemes whose semantics imply that the narrator's native culture does not accept this view of the world, even if this view is presented as a definite truth. This idea is supported by the narrative structure which follows the stages of ritual initiation. Despite the relatively positive image of the pofigist, the lexemes constituting this concept express the opposite point of view.

Keywords: concept, *pofigism*, *savoir-vivre*, occasionalism, national character

RÉSUMÉ

L'article propose l'analyse des moyens lexicaux, stylistiques et structuraux servant à présenter le concept culturel russe (slave) qui exprime un certain fatalisme dans la manière d'appréhender et de vivre la vie. Cette particularité a été décrite et analysée, en parallèle avec le savoir-vivre, par l'écrivain français Sylvain Tesson. Des éléments sémantiquement opposés sont choisis pour introduire des comparaisons métaphoriques de deux cultures assez distinctes. Les lexèmes choisis pour rendre compte de cette opposition et leur sémantique mettent en valeur la différence des visions du monde et l'acception de soi dans sa propre culture : l'action fait face à l'inertie. L'auteur ne semble pourtant pas décidé à se positionner : le choix des lexèmes et les collocations non évidentes en sont le reflet. Le champ lexical du « pofigisme », tel que l'emploie l'auteur, est constitué des lexèmes dont la sémantique sous-entend que le narrateur n'accepte pas cette vision du monde, même si elle est envisagée comme une certaine vérité. Cette dernière idée est soutenue par la structure du récit qui suit les étapes de l'initiation rituelle. Malgré l'image relativement positive du « pofigiste », les lexèmes constituant son noyau démontrent le contraire.

Mots-clés : concept, pofigisme, savoir-vivre, occasionnalisme, caractère national

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THE REPRESENTATION OF MODERN GREEK IN ANCIENT GREEK TEXTBOOKS: A LINGUISTIC PERSPECTIVE

1 INTRODUCTION

This article discusses attempts to introduce elements of Modern Greek into the teaching of Ancient Greek, focusing on Agnello and Orlando (1998), Elliger and Fink (1986), and Weileder and Mayerhöfer (2013). These textbooks occasionally introduce Modern Greek words and phrases; for instance, by presenting students of the ancient language with lists of Modern Greek words similar to those in Ancient Greek texts. I provide linguistic evidence in support of such attempts. This evidence concerns phenomena of convergences between the vocabularies of Ancient Greek, as taught in Ancient Greek classes, and the modern language.

According to Weileder and Mayerhöfer (2013: 4), the aim of incorporating elements of Modern Greek into their textbook is to show the "modern European dimension" of Greek, and thus, it seems, to increase the popularity of classical studies among students. Moreover, it is should be emphasised that Ancient Greek continues to have a (relatively) stable position in the educational system of European countries. As a consequence, the first contact that students in many European countries (apart from Greece and Cyprus) have with Greek is often the ancient language rather than the modern one. Therefore, the idea of incorporating elements of Modern Greek into teaching its ancient predecessor deserves attention from the perspectives of both Modern Greek and classical studies.

Nevertheless, these attempts may seem more controversial from the linguistic and didactic perspectives, as it could be argued that Ancient Greek is too distinct from standard Modern Greek to render such attempts reasonable. To begin with, it is normally taught with the Erasmian pronunciation, which is significantly different than the pronunciation of Modern Greek.[1] As a consequence, it seems that no serious attempt at incorporating Modern Greek into teaching Ancient Greek can avoid explaining a significant number of pronunciation rules. This process may even have negative effects on learning the ancient language, because it may result in spending a significant amount of time explaining

1 To be exact, there are several regional/national varieties of this pronunciation; see Allen (1974: 125–144).

differences between the pronunciation of Modern Greek and its ancient predecessor, or perhaps even cause students to confuse the former with the latter.

However, it is clear that Ancient and Modern Greek are related to one another by a degree of similarity and continuity, a phenomenon that most histories of Greek draw attention to. An example is Browning, who claimed back in 1969 that "It cannot be too much emphasized that Greek is one language, and not a series of distinct languages. If one wants to learn Greek, it does not really matter whether one begins with Homer, with Plato, with the New Testament, with the Romance of Digenis Akritas, or with Kazantzakis" (1969: 10).[2] This claim appears to speak in support of incorporating Modern Greek into teaching the ancient language because, according to Browning, it would be possible to start with Modern Greek in order to learn its ancient predecessor. Nevertheless, the claim goes back to the time before the adoption of Standard Modern Greek as the official language of the Greek state.[3] As a consequence, it is perhaps based on a notion of Modern Greek that had more in common with Ancient Greek than what applies nowadays. It is also clear that Browning's account disregards phenomena displaying discontinuity between Ancient and Modern Greek, which are of course more than a few, and, in addition to the phonology (already referred to earlier), concern the syntax, the morphology, and lexicon.[4]

More recently, Joseph (2009-a: 369) has drawn attention to words in Greek that "have remained more or less intact over the years, e.g. ἄνεμος 'wind', ἄλλος 'other'". His account can be additionally supported by Allen (1974: 63), who at least in some cases – for instance, in the case of the Ancient Greek short vowels ο [o] and ε [e] – suggests that there is no significant difference between their ancient and modern pronunciations.[5] These are additional linguistic arguments supporting the incorporation of Modern Greek into the teaching of its ancient predecessor. It appears that at least some Modern Greek words could be used without explaining the differences between Ancient and Modern Greek in much detail.

2 AIMS

My aim is to discuss the attempts at incorporating Modern Greek (MG) into Ancient Greek (AG) textbooks from the linguistic perspective, focusing on the vocabulary. I examine the vocabulary taught in AG classes from the perspective of formal and semantic relations between the vocabularies of AG and MG.[6] I thus provide data that speak in sup-

2 On the concept of Greek as "one language", see also Joseph (2009-b: 192–193).

3 This happened in 1976 with the abolition of Katharevousa as the official language of the Greek state (e.g., Mackridge 2009: 319).

4 See, for instance, Horrocks (2010: 160–188), Joseph (2009-a: 358–369).

5 See, however, Sturtevant (1940: 33, 47) for a different view.

6 In this article, the term *Ancient Greek* (AG) includes the language taught in AG classes, which is typically Classical Attic with elements of Ionic. The term *Modern Greek* (MG) includes the standard Modern Greek language (cf. footnote 3).

port of incorporating elements of MG into teaching AG and concern the degree of convergence between the AG vocabulary of the textbooks investigated in this study and the vocabulary of MG. It is assumed that, in linguistic and didactic terms, a non-controversial way to incorporate elements of MG into teaching the ancient language is to make students aware that by learning AG they also learn a part of MG, and that raising this awareness should be the first step towards students of AG learning the modern language.

My second aim is to evaluate the aforementioned attempts at incorporating elements of MG into AG textbooks. In order to do this, I explore the extent to which these AG textbooks reflect the relations of convergence (and divergence) between AG and MG vocabulary. For example, I examine whether or not these textbooks take advantage of the fact that some MG words (e.g., κρέας 'meat', γράφω 'write') have the same meanings and written forms as their AG predecessors.

It is worth emphasising that I refer to "relations of convergence" rather than to "continuity" between Ancient and Modern Greek. This terminological modification is related to the fact that the vocabulary of MG contains many words that originate from Katharevousa rather than being directly inherited from the ancient language.[7] As a consequence, similarities between AG and MG vocabularies may not necessarily be a matter of continuity between the two language stages, and the term *convergence* appears more appropriate than *continuity*.

3 METHOD

3.1 MG words of AG origin

My analysis is based on a classification of AG words in MG vocabulary, which is explained in this section.

An example of such a classification is found in Elefteriades (1993: 7–11), who distinguishes between five different classes of AG words in MG vocabulary:[8]

1. Inherited Ancient Greek words that "still retain their original form and meaning, but with an appropriate adjustment to the phonological system of Modern Greek;" examples include ακούω 'listen, hear' , άνεμος 'wind', άνθρωπος 'man', αριθμός 'number', γράφω 'write', μαθητής 'student', ουρανός 'sky', θεός 'god' , μέλι 'honey', ύπνος 'sleep' , and φως 'light'.
2. Ancient Greek words that "have been modified morphologically and phonologically, but have retained their original meaning;" examples include αλάτι 'salt', άντρας

7 As is well known, this is an archaising variety of Modern Greek (cf. footnote 3). On its impact on the vocabulary of standard MG, see, for instance, Petrounias (1998; 2000), Joseph (2009-a: 369), Manolessou (2013), Anastasiadi-Symeonidi & Fliatouras (2018: 40–43), Fliatouras (2020: 529).

8 For a similar classification, see Anastasiadi-Symeonidi & Fliatouras (2018: 40), as well as Fliatouras (2020: 528).

'man', γιος 'son', δίνω 'give', κόβω 'cut', ελιά 'olive', μητέρα 'mother', παιδί 'child', χέρι 'hand', χειμώνας 'winter', and πέφτω 'fall'.

3. Ancient Greek words that changed their meanings and subsequently replaced other Ancient Greek words. An example is άλογο, which was originally the neuter form of the adjective ἄλογος 'illogical' and replaced the word ἵππος 'horse'.
4. Ancient Greek words that retained their original forms but changed their meanings. Examples include αστείος 'funny' (AG 'urban'), δουλεύω 'work' (AG 'be a slave', and δρόμος 'road' (AG 'race, running').
5. So-called αντιδάνεια, or foreign words of Greek origin, such as ευρώ 'Euro', ντίσκο 'disco', καναπές 'couch' . These are words that were borrowed from AG or Medieval Greek into another language, but subsequently re-entered Greek as loanwords. As a consequence, they are considerably modified in phonological, morphological, and/or semantic terms.[9]

It has to be stressed that, in this classification, the term *word* subsumes the headwords introducing lexical entries in AG/MG dictionaries rather than their inflected forms. The same applies to the term *word* as used in the present study, except for Section 4.3.

Another classification is provided by Manolessou (2013), who distinguishes, in addition to loanwords, the following classes of MG words with AG origin:

1. "Inherited words, in continuous use since the Ancient/Koine period, which have undergone all major phonetic and morphological changes"; for example, βλέπω 'see', θάλασσα 'sea' , τρία 'three'.
2. AG words "surviving through the learned tradition in high register texts". In general, these display fewer phonological differences with respect to their AG predecessors than inherited words; for example, ἐλευθερία 'freedom'.
3. "[I]nnovative creations ... , on the basis of native (inherited or learned) elements"; for example, MG χέρι 'hand' (AG χείρ).[10]

As already mentioned, AG elements in the MG lexicon are also discussed by Joseph (2009-a: 369). He argues that, in addition to words such as ἄνεμος 'wind', which may not have significantly changed in forms and meanings (and were mentioned earlier), the MG lexicon contains the following words of AG origin: a) words displaying "the effects of the regular sound changes" (e.g., γράφω 'write'); b) those displaying changes "in form and meaning" (e.g., χῶμα 'bank, mound'); c) words with "morphological reshapings" (e.g., AG φύλαξ vs. MG φύλακας 'guard'); and d) "words built on native elements but with no direct ancestor in the ancient language", including modern scientific terms.

9 For instance, the word καναπές 'sofa' goes back to AG κωνωπεῖον 'bed or litter with a mosquito curtain', which first entered Latin as *conopeum* 'mosquito net' and afterwards French as *canapé* 'sofa', subsequently re-entering Greek as καναπές 'sofa' (loc. cit., LKN, s.v. καναπές).

10 For a similar account, see Petrounias (1998: xx–xii).

In contrast to Joseph (loc. cit.), none of the aforementioned classifications specifically mention words that may have not undergone any significant change.[11] Moreover, Joseph (loc. cit.) refers to words that remained "more or less intact" rather than claiming that at least in some cases there may be a formal and semantic identity between a MG word and its ancient predecessor. This is far from insignificant, because the existence of such words, as argued above, can provide an argument in support of introducing elements of MG into the teaching of the ancient language. In the absence of a definition of which MG words may be characterised as lacking any significant difference with respect to their ancient predecessors, I avoid adopting any such concept in this article.[12]

It is therefore important to note that in the first of the above classifications (Eleftheriades 1993: 7–11) there is an apparent correspondence between MG words and their ancient predecessors in the case of two classes of words; namely, in the first and fourth classes.[13] The use of the term *form* in this classification can be misleading. Note that the word χῶμα 'bank, mound' is analysed by Joseph (loc. cit.) as displaying changes in both "form and meaning", whereas it displays no formal change in Eleftheriades' terms. In Joseph's terms, words of the first and the fourth classes in Eleftheriades' classification lack "morphological reshapings" (Joseph 2009-a: 369). It is true, however, that the written forms of MG words from these two classes correspond to the written forms of their AG predecessors in text editions of ancient authors. To be more precise: they are identical when these words are written with capital letters (e.g., ΑΝΘΡΩΠΟΣ 'man', ΘΕΟΣ 'god', ΓΡΑΦΩ 'write'). Furthermore, the written forms of these words are often identical even when written in lowercase letters (e.g., θεός 'god', γράφω 'write'). In other instances, the MG lowercase forms, when compared with the corresponding written forms in AG texts, are different in terms of diacritical marks (cf. AG ἄνθρωπος vs. MG άνθρωπος 'man'). In such cases, the identity between the AG and MG written forms is largely a result of the MG orthographic system (which remains relatively conservative) rather than of the lack of any change in form. Nonetheless, this is not an insignificant phenomenon in terms of this article. Owing to these orthographic correspondences between AG and MG words, I assume that, at least when speaking in terms of words' written forms, some MG words are readily recognisable by students of AG and can constitute a basis for introducing elements of MG into teaching its ancient predecessor—if one does not adopt the view that some MG words may also have the same pronunciations as their ancient predecessors.

11 Note that according to Anastasiadi-Symeonidi & Fliatouras (2018: 40) and Fliatouras (2010: 528), some AG words retain the same form and meaning in MG (cf. "λέξεις με ίδια μορφή και σημασία," Fliatouras, loc. cit.). However, their examples (και 'and', άνθρωπος 'man', αδελφός 'brother') display phonological change (AG καί [kai] vs. MG και [ke], AG ἄνθρωπος [ant^{h}rōpos] vs. MG [anθropos], AG ἀδελφός [adelp^{h}os] vs. MG [aδelfos]). For another analysis of processes of change, see Pappas & Mooers (2011: 212), as well as Wilson, Pappas & Mooers (2019: 598–599). They also do not seem to allow for the possibility that some words may not have undergone significant change.

12 For further discussion of this concept, see Kavčič, Joseph & Brown (forthcoming).

13 See also the discussion of the noun εκκλησία (AG'assembly', MG 'church') in Fliatouras (2020: 528), as well as footnote 11.

3.2 Classification adopted in this article

Based on these considerations, for the purposes of this article I adopt the following classification of AG words:

Class 1: AG words whose MG counterparts have the same written forms and meanings (e.g., γράφω 'write', κρέας 'meat'). When written with lowercase letters, the AG and the MG word may differ in terms of diacritical marks (e.g., AG ἄνεμος vs. MG άνεμος 'wind').

Class 2: AG words whose MG counterparts have the same written forms and different meanings (e.g., AG δουλεύω 'be a slave' vs. MG δουλεύω 'work'). When written with lowercase letters, AG and MG words may differ in terms of diacritical marks (e.g., AG ἀστεῖος 'urban' vs. MG αστείος 'funny').

Class 3: AG words whose MG counterparts display differences in their written forms other than in the use of diacritics but retain the same meanings (e.g., AG υἱός vs. MG γιος 'son', AG ἐλαία vs. MG ἐλιά 'olive', AG μέτωπον vs. MG μέτωπο 'forehead'). Inflected forms can have the same written forms (and meanings) in both AG and MG (e.g., nom./acc. pl. form μέτωπα).

Class 4: Other AG words, including those whose MG counterparts have different written forms and meanings and may have replaced other AG words, as well as those that left no traces in MG vocabulary.[14]

Class 1 in particular contains a number of words originating from the learned tradition (Katharevousa) rather than being directly inherited from AG. This issue is further discussed in Section 4.2.

In distinguishing between these classes of words, I follow the etymologies of Triandafyllides' dictionary of MG (Λεξικό της Κοινής Νεοελληνικής, LKN).[15] I first assume that an AG word has a counterpart in MG if the latter is referred to, within an etymology of LKN, as an origin of a MG word; for instance, according to the etymology below, the AG word ἐλαία is the origin of the MG word ελιά (which is already attested in this form in Medieval Greek (μσν.)):[16]

> [μσν. *ελιά* < *ελία* < αρχ. *ἐλαία* με συνίζ. για αποφυγή της χασμ.]
> [Medv. *ελιά* < *ελία* < Anc. *ἐλαία* with syiniz., for the avoidance of hiat.]

14 Because this article focuses on the convergences between AG and MG vocabularies, I do not analyse these words into further subclasses. For a somewhat modified approach, as well as terminology, see Kavčič, Joseph & Brown (forthcoming).

15 For their background and a comparison with etymologies in other MG dictionaries, see Petrounias (1985). For a similar approach to the origins of MG vocabulary, see Fliatouras (2020: 528–534).

16 In this case, my search included the text of LKN's lemmata (available online at www.greek-language.gr).

Another issue raised by the classifications above concerns the semantics. Judging from the works that were referred to in Section 3.1, there appears to be no commonly accepted method of distinguishing between words with different meanings in AG and MG. In order to avoid subjective judgments, I use the etymologies of LKN in this case as well, thus adopting the proposal of Petrounias (2010: 514).[17]

In some cases, these etymologies suggest that there is no significant difference between the AG and the MG words. An example is the MG verb έχω 'have', which is represented in this dictionary in the following way:

> [αρχ. *ἔχω*]
> [Anc. *ἔχω*]

In other cases, the etymology indicates that the MG word goes back to an AG word with a different meaning (cf. Petrounias 1998: xxii). An example is the verb παιδεύω (AG 'bring up, teach', MG 'pester, torture'), which is represented in the etymology of LKN as follows:

> [αρχ. *παιδεύω* 'ανατρέφω, εκπαιδεύω' (η σημερ. σημ. μσν.)]
> [Anc. *παιδεύω* 'bring up, teach' (modern meaning Mediev.)]

In my analysis, the former words were classified in the first class and the latter in the second class of the classification in Section 3.2. Furthermore, the MG word ελιά 'olive' (its etymology was discussed at the beginning of this section) was classified in the third class.

It also has to be stressed that the distinction between these classes of words is not a clear-cut one. An example is the verb προσφέρω. According to LKN, the MG verb προσφέρω was adopted from the learned tradition (or Katharevousa) and retains the AG meaning of προσφέρω 'bring to'. However, it also acquired an additional meaning under the influence of French *s'offrir*. This is indicated in the etymology as follows:

> [λόγ.: 1, 2: αρχ. *προσφέρω*· 3: σημδ. γαλλ. s'offrir]
> [learn.: 1,2. Anc. προσφέρω; 3rd meaning French *s'offrir*]

According to LKN, this word can be used in MG in the same meaning as in AG, and so one could hardly treat it as a word with a different meaning in AG and in MG. Another option would be to treat it as a word with the same written form and meaning in both AG and MG, neglecting the fact that it has an additional meaning in MG. This method would assume that knowing the corresponding AG word will help students in recognising and (correctly) understanding the same word in MG, although there is no one-to-one

17 See also Fliatouras (2020: 528–529).

correspondence between the AG and MG meanings. This is a common phenomenon in learning the vocabulary of a foreign language, and cannot be entirely avoided.[18]

Nevertheless, in order to account for the lack of semantic correspondence between AG and MG, words such as προσφέρω 'bring to' are treated as two separate words in this article. One word is treated as a word with a common AG/MG written form and meaning, and thus belongs to the first class in my classification, and the other word is treated as a word with the same written form and different meanings in AG and MG (thus belonging to the second class in the same classification).

4 THE VOCABULARY OF THE TEXTBOOKS INVESTIGATED

As already mentioned, I examine the vocabularies of three AG textbooks that contain reference to MG; namely Agnello and Orlando (1998), Weileder and Mayerhöfer (2013), and Elliger and Fink (1986). Furthermore, I add to my corpus two textbooks that contain no overt references to MG but are widely used in teaching AG (Keller & Russell 2012; Mihevc-Gabrovec 1987).[19]

4.1 Classes of words in AG textbooks

Each of the textbooks investigated contains a list of words they include and their meanings (typically at the end).[20] Each of these lists contain a few hundred items.[21] When the above scheme is applied to these word lists, it is found that more than half of the words from these lists also occur in the same written forms in the dictionary of standard MG; that is, in LKN. Examples include: νόμος 'law', γράφω 'write', γράμμα 'letter', κρέας 'meat', and παιδεύω (AG 'bring up, teach', MG 'pester, torture'). This is shown in Figure 1: in the textbooks investigated in this study, the amount of such words ranges between 54 and 62%.

18 See, for instance, Nation (2001: 304).

19 Mihevc-Gabrovec (1987) has traditionally been used for teaching AG in Slovenia.

20 Note that the term *word* includes the headwords introducing lexical entries; cf. Section 3.1.

21 Numbers of words in the word lists: Mihevc-Gabrovec (1978): 916, Elliger & Fink (1986): 946, Agnello & Orlando (1998): 1,816, Weileder & Mayerhöfer (2006): 783, Keller & Russell (2012): 642.

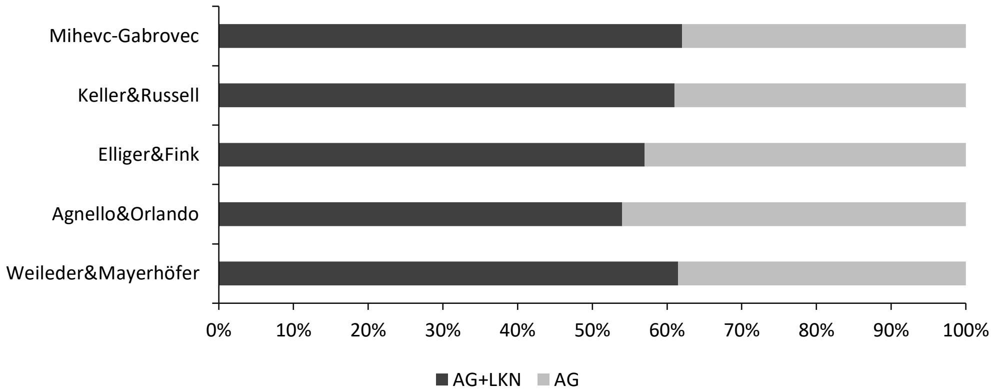

Figure 1: AG words in LKN (common written form)

As noted above, my analysis also included two AG textbooks that do not contain any references to MG (namely, Keller & Russell 2012 and Mihevc-Gabrovec 1987). It is interesting to observe that they display a similar ratio between AG and MG vocabulary as the textbooks containing references to MG (as is shown in this figure).

Some of these words – for instance, παιδεύω (AG 'bring up, teach', MG 'pester, torture') and δουλεύω (AG 'be a slave', MG 'work') – arguably have a different meaning in MG than AG, thus belonging to the second class in my classification (see Section 3.2). Other words, such as κρέας 'meat', γράφω 'write', and νόμος 'law' appear to retain the same meaning in MG as in AG, and correspond to the first class of words in the same classification. The method adopted in Section 3.2 shows that the relation between the two classes of words is the following:

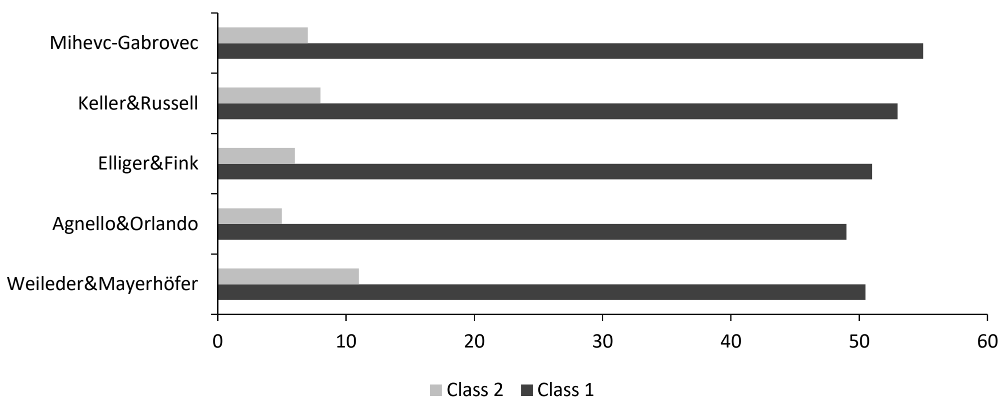

Figure 2: Classes 1 and 2 in AG textbooks

This figure shows that words retaining their AG written forms and meanings in MG account for 49 to 51% of the words in the word lists of the textbooks investigated, whereas those with the same written forms and different meanings in AG and in MG are significantly less frequent, accounting for 5 to 11% of all words in these lists.

As shown in Figure 3, the second most common class of words occurring in the vocabularies of the textbooks investigated in this study corresponds to the third class of AG words in my classification (see Section 3.2). Examples include: υἱός 'son' (MG γιος), παῖς 'child' (MG παιδί), and δένδρον 'tree' (MG δέντρο). Although these retain the same meanings in MG as in AG, the headwords of their lexical entries show significant formal changes, and their written forms are different in MG than in AG. The number of these words ranges between 12 and 16% of all AG words occurring in the word lists of the textbooks investigated.

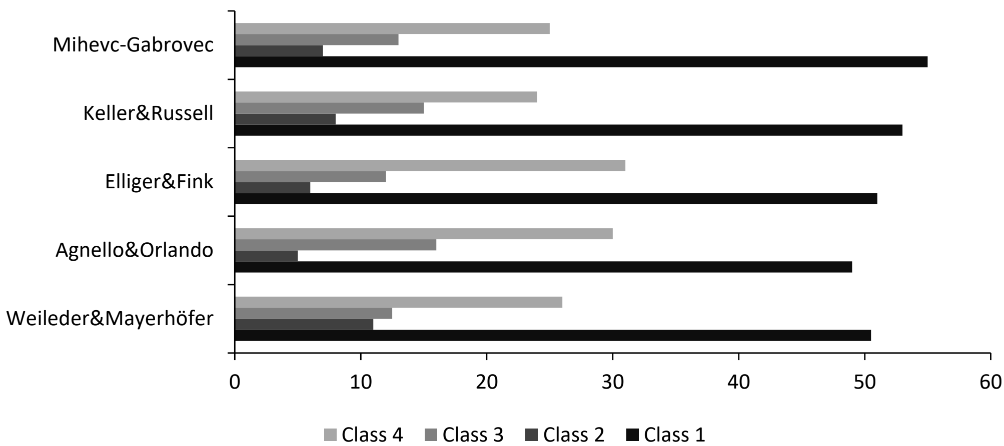

Figure 3: Classes 1–4 in the textbooks investigated

As shown in the same figure, the rest of the vocabulary occurring in the textbooks contains words corresponding to the fourth class of words in my classification (e.g., κάμνω 'work, labour', ὑπάγω 'bring under', οἴομαι 'mean', ὗς 'pig'); see Section 3.2. These words represent 26 to 31% of all AG words in the focal textbooks.

4.2 Applied aspects

The data from Section 4.1 show that students of AG, when learning AG words and their meanings, also learn a proportion of words with common AG/MG meanings and written forms. Sometimes there is a difference between these words in terms of the use of the diacritical marks, but only when these words are written with lowercase letters.

Of course, these words may not be pronounced in the same way in MG and AG, although this possibility should not be excluded in at least some cases, as already mentioned in Sections 1 and 3.1. However, there is no reason to believe that students of AG cannot use their language skills in AG to understand written forms of these words in various MG contexts; for instance, when written with capital letters in MG public inscriptions. In such cases, there are no differences in the use of the diacritics between MG and AG texts. Examples include passages (1)–(3), which consist only of words pertaining to the first class in my classification:[22]

(1) ΕΞΟΔΟΣ 'Exit.'
(2) ΕΙΣΟΔΟΣ 'Entrance.'
(3) ΚΙΝΔΥΝΟΣ ΘΑΝΑΤΟΣ 'Deadly danger.'
(4) ΞΕΝΟΣ ΕΓΩ ΞΕΝΟΣ ΠΟΛΥ 'I am a foreigner, a real foreigner.'[23]

My data also show that the textbooks contain words with the same written forms but different meanings in AG and MG (e.g., δουλεύω AG 'be a slave', MG 'work'). These words draw attention to the fact that knowledge of AG may lead to interference errors.[24] Nevertheless, they are much less frequent in the textbooks than words with common AG/MG written forms and meanings. Therefore, such examples can be avoided, at least at the earliest stages of introducing elements of MG into the teaching of its ancient predecessor—which is also the focus of my article.

As is well known, it is important to distinguish between high-frequency and low-frequency words when teaching the vocabulary of a foreign language.[25] It is noteworthy that the class of words in question (i.e., those with common AG/MG written forms and meanings) also contains a number of MG words that appear to be uncommon in MG because they are of learned origin or appear only in specialised uses. High frequencies of such words would clearly speak against incorporating MG into AG classes, because this would be an indication that the MG vocabulary learned in AG classes cannot easily be used in most common speaking situations.

As I have already stressed in Section 3.1, a proportion of the vocabulary of MG goes back to the learned tradition. Although some words have entered common usage,

22 For similar examples, see Weileder & Meyerhöfer (2006: 51).

23 This is a verse by the poet Constantine P. Cavafy, which was used in 2013 in a public campaign initiated by the Alexander S. Onassis Foundation. Note also that there is a lack of semantic correspondence between the words ξένος in AG and in MG; cf. LKN, s.v. ξένος (AG 'guest, foreigner, stranger', MG 'foreigner'), as well as Section 3.2 above (on προσφέρω). Nonetheless, students of AG also learn the meaning 'foreigner', which is its meaning in the MG passage (4) (cf. Agnello & Orlando 1998: 509).

24 This has also been observed by Petrounias (2010: 513) who also argues that "classicists have several advantages in the study of MGr."

25 For further discussion, see Nation (2001: 21).

others continue to belong to learned vocabulary and are marked in LKN as “λόγ.” (λόγιος ‘learned’).[26] An example is the verb πέμπω ‘send’:[27]

> πέμπω [pémbo] -ομαι P αόρ. *έπεμψα*, απαρέμφ. *πέμψει,* παθ. αόρ. *πέμφθηκα,* απαρέμφ. *πεμφθεί* **:** (λόγ.) στέλνω
> πέμπω [pémbo] -ομαι aor. *έπεμψα*, inf. *πέμψει,* pass. aor. *πέμφθηκα,* inf.. *πεμφθεί* **:** (learn.) στέλνω.

In the textbooks investigated in this study, the frequencies of such words range between 14 and 23% of all words in the word lists; additional examples include ἀεί ‘always’, ἐν ‘in’, κλίνη ‘bed’, πανταχοῦ ‘everywhere’, and οὐδείς ‘no one’. These words typically belong to the first class in my classification.

Although this may not be an insignificant number, it also has to be stressed that the textbooks contain many words with the same written forms and meanings in AG and MG, and that are used very frequently in the modern language. This has been observed by other scholars as well (cf. Petrounias 2000: 57; Manolessou 2013). I already mentioned some very common words such as κρέας ‘meat’, ἄνεμος ‘wind’, θάνατος ‘death’, ἄνθρωπος ‘man’, ἀλλά ‘but’, νόμος ‘law’, γράφω ‘write’, κίνδυνος ‘danger’, θεός ‘god’. Additional examples include the words μέλι ‘honey’, ἔχω ‘have’, ἀκούω ‘hear’, νέος ‘young, new’, μικρός ‘small’, πίνω ‘drink’, οὐρανός ‘sky’, κακός ‘bad’, μόνος ‘alone’, πρώτος ‘first’, χώρα ‘land’, μέχρι ‘up until’, τρίτος ‘third’, τέταρτος ‘fourth’, νομίζω ‘think’.[28]

4.3 A morphological remark

Words with the same written forms and meanings in AG and MG (Class 1 of my classification) do not always have the same inflections in MG and AG. For instance, the accusative singular of the word πόλεμος ‘war’ is τὸν πόλεμον in AG and τον πόλεμο in MG. So far, I have discussed words in terms of headwords introducing lexical entries rather than words in terms of their inflected forms.

On the other hand, words such as πατήρ ‘father’ are represented in the MG dictionary with different headwords than in the AG dictionary (namely, πατέρας) while retaining the original meanings. In my classification, these words belong to the third class. At the same time, some words of this class have in MG at least one inflected form

26 For a more detailed discussion, see Petrounias (1998: xxii–xxiii), as well as Anastasiadi-Symeonidi & Fliatouras (2018).

27 Such words should be distinguished from those that also originate from the learned tradition but are not characterized as learned expressions in the main lemma (see Petrounias 1998: xxii-xxiii.).

28 Cf. also: πρός ‘to’ σῶμα ‘body’, τρόπος ‘manner’, ἀριθμός ‘number’, μαθητής ‘pupil’, ἀδελφός ‘brother’, ἀδελφή ‘sister’, ἔρχομαι ‘come’, ἀρχή ‘beginning’, γελάω ‘laugh’, εἰρήνη ‘peace’, ἐργάζομαι ‘work’, θέλω ‘want’, νίκη ‘victory’, ὁδός ‘road’, ὀνομάζω ‘name’, ὅτι ‘that’, πείθω ‘convince’, φωνή ‘voice’, νικάω ‘win’, πλούσιος ‘rich’, σκιά ‘shadow’.

with exactly the same written form (and meaning) as in AG (cf. Section 3.2). Examples from the textbooks investigated in this study include AG third-declension nouns such as πατήρ 'father' and μήτηρ 'mother' or verbs such as μανθάνω 'learn' and πίπτω 'fall', whose MG present stem is different than the AG present stem (namely, μαθαίνω and πέφτω), but retain—at least in terms of the written form—the same aorist stem as in AG. The AG accusative singular forms μητέρα and πατέρα are correct AG as well as MG forms (when speaking in terms of their written forms). In addition, students learn a number of AG active aorist forms whose written forms correspond to their MG counterparts as well. Examples include the third-person singular aorist indicatives of the aforementioned verbs (namely, μανθάνω 'learn' and πίπτω 'fall'). Their AG and MG written forms are identical when written with capital letters (ΕΜΑΘΕ, ΕΠΕΣΕ), whereas in lowercase letters the MG written forms lack the smooth breathing mark on the first letter (AG ἔμαθε, ἔπεσε, MG έμαθε, έπεσε).[29]

Figure 4 shows the frequencies of AG words that retain at least one form in MG with the original AG meaning and the same written form as in AG texts, with potential differences occurring only in the use of diacritics when these words are written with lowercase letters:

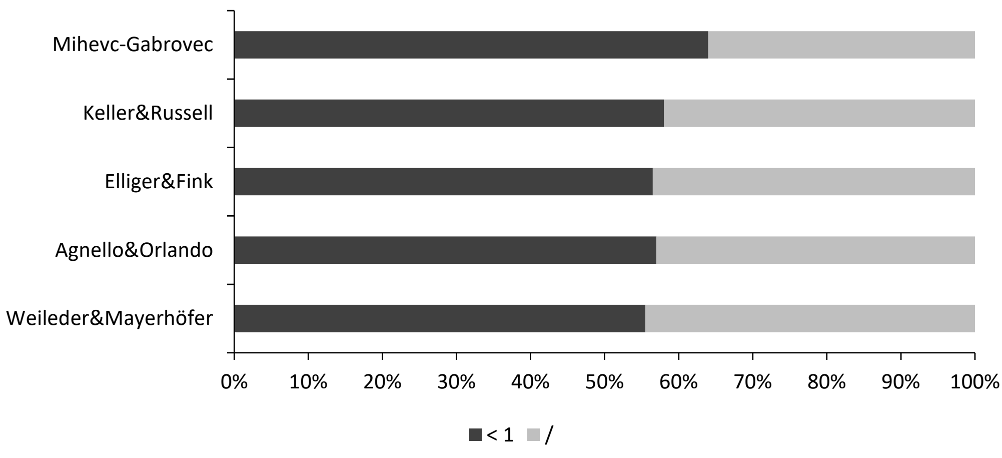

Figure 4: AG words with at least one corresponding form in MG

The figure shows that in the textbooks such words represent between 54 and 64% of words occurring in the AG vocabulary. Furthermore, these words are common enough to be arranged into plausible MG phrases; examples include passages (5)–(11):

(5) Θεέ μου. 'My God.'

(6) Μένει μόνος. 'He stays alone.'

29 For the same view, see Anastasiadi-Symeonidi & Fliatouras (2018: 45).

(7) Θέλετε πολλά. ‘You want a lot.’
(8) Λέγονται πολλά. ‘A lot is being said.’
(9) Τι πίνετε/θέλετε/έχετε; ‘What do you drink/want/have?’
(10) Έπεσε κάτω. ‘He fell down.’
(11) Τι σε έσωσε; ‘What saved you?’

All the words in these passages have the same written forms and meanings in AG and MG, except for the use of the diacritics in passages (9)–(11). In pedagogical terms, however, this is not necessarily a shortcoming. They show students of AG convergences between AG and MG, gradually also drawing attention to distinctions between the two language stages. Additional differences between AG and MG can be introduced through passages such as (12) and (13):

(12) Νομίζω ότι πλησιάζει πόλεμος. ‘I think that war is coming.’
(13) Εάν/Αν θέλεις, έρχομαι. ‘If you want I will come.’

These passages reflect additional syntactic differences between AG and MG: passage (12) contains a finite complement rather than an infinitive, as would be the case in AG; in passage (13), the temporal clause contains the indicative rather than the subjunctive, which would be used in AG. Otherwise, the written forms and meanings of the words in these passages are the same as in AG, except for the use of the diacritics in the case of ότι μανθάνω ‘that’, Εάν/Αν ‘if’, and έρχομαι ‘I am coming’.

5 REPRESENTATION OF MG IN AG TEXTBOOKS

The textbooks examined in this study introduce MG in different ways. Sometimes they ask students to solve exercises that contain lists of MG words; an example is passage (10):

> (14) Units 1–5 contain a number of Ancient/Modern Greek words. Try to read the following words according to the Modern Greek pronunciation rules: Χαίρετε, ο βίος, ο λόγος, ο φίλος, ο φιλόσοφος, ο γεωργός, ο χορός, λέω (Ancient Greek λέγω), γράφω, διδάσκω, λύνω (Ancient Greek λύω), φέρω, φυλά(γ)ω (Ancient Greek φυλάττω), καί, ο νόμος, ο ύπνος, ο φόβος, ο τρόπος, ο δήμος, ο τύραννος, ο θάνατος, ο ήλιος, θαυμάζω, ο άθλος ...
>
> (Weileder & Meyerhöfer 2006: 16)

In other cases, MG is presented in more complex sentences and texts (cf. Weileder & Meyerhöfer 2006: 43, Agnello & Orlando 1998, *pass*.). Applying the aforementioned classification of AG words in MG vocabulary to the vocabulary of these MG passages (see Section 3.2), it can be concluded, first, that these MG passages contain words of Greek origin as well as loanwords.[30] Most words of AG origin in these passages can be analysed as words with the same written forms and meanings in AG and MG; for example, θάνατος ‘death’, φιλόσοφος ‘philosopher’, γράφω ‘write’, and νόμος ‘law’ in passage (14).[31] This appears to be a reflection of the generally high (absolute and relative) frequencies of such words, a phenomenon that has been referred to earlier in analysing the AG vocabulary of the textbooks (see Section 4.1). However, there is also a disproportion in terms of incorporating MG into AG textbooks. This is illustrated in Figure 5.

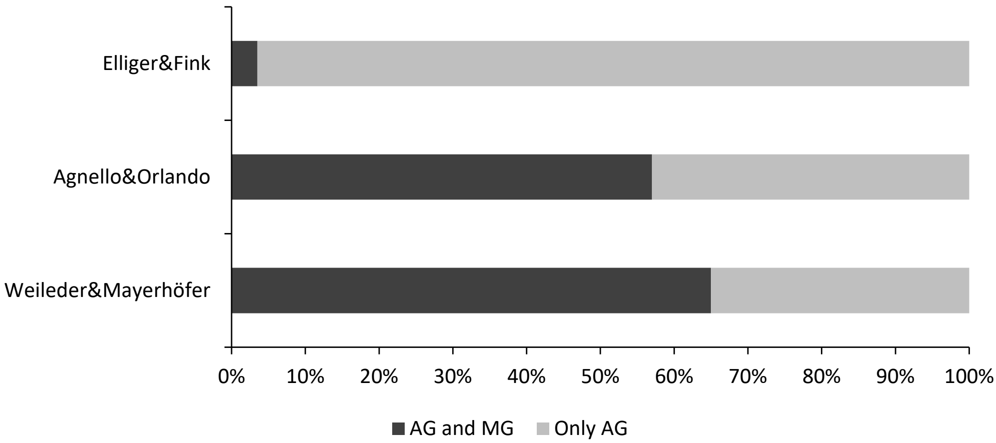

Figure 5: Class 1 in AG textbooks containing MG passages

The figure refers to AG words (in the three textbooks that also contain MG passages) whose lexical entries have the same headword (in terms of the written form) and meaning in AG and MG. It shows that approximately 40% of such words are not referred to at all in MG passages of these textbooks. In one of the textbooks, this proportion is significantly higher (reaching more than 90%).[32] As a consequence, students using these textbooks may not become aware of the volume of AG words that they learn, and that also occur (in the same written forms and meanings) in MG dictionaries.[33]

30 In the textbooks investigated, loanwords represent up to 20% of words in MG passages.

31 On the term *word* in this article, see footnote 20.

32 Note, however, that MG passages are much shorter in this textbook (sixteen words) than in Agnello & Orlando (1998) and in Weileder & Meyerhöfer (2006) (3,225 and 418 words, respectively).

33 It is also noteworthy that MG passages in the textbooks investigated do not always sound like correct MG; cf. το στάδιον ‘stadium’ (instead το στάδιο) and ουσάκι ‘ouzo’ (instead of ουζάκι) (Weileder & Meyerhöfer 2006: 16, 24).

6 CONCLUSIONS

At the beginning of the article I quoted Browning (1969: 10), who claimed that "if one wants to learn Greek, it doesn't really matter whether one begins with Homer, with Plato, with the New Testament, with the Romance of Digenis Akritas, or with Kazantzakis". This seemingly radical view appears to have a basis in fact.[34] It is clear that one can learn AG and use part of this knowledge in MG; (and, *vice versa*, one can learn MG and use part of this knowledge in understanding AG texts). To put it in numbers: my analysis showed that approximately half of the lexical entries occurring in AG textbooks investigated in this study display the same written forms and meanings in MG. This ratio applies to both textbooks that contain elements of MG and those that make no reference to the latter. As a consequence, students using one of these textbooks also learn part of MG, although they may not be aware of this at all – given that some of the textbooks investigated, as well as most AG textbooks in general, do not refer at all to MG.

Of course, the aim of any AG textbook is to teach Ancient rather than Modern Greek. It is also true that, for many centuries, this has been done (and continues to be done) successfully without referring at all to the modern language. Nevertheless, attempts to incorporate elements of MG into AG classes are based on a correct intuition concerning the relation between MG and its ancient predecessor. On the other hand, it can be argued that the existing attempts to do so fail to represent the actual relations of convergence between Ancient and Modern Greek. My suggestion is that introducing elements of MG into teaching its ancient predecessor should start with drawing attention to convergences between the vocabularies of AG and the standard modern language, which primarily concern high frequencies of words with the same meanings and written forms in both forms.

List of abbreviations

AG = Ancient Greek
aor. = aorist
Anc. = Ancient
hiat. = hiatus
Mediev. = Medieval
MG = Modern Greek
learn. = learned
λογ. = learn.
pass. = passive
syiniz = synizesis

34 As an anonymous reviewer noted, this view may seem radical if one adopts the idea of AG and MG as two separate languages. Still, the overwhelming presence of MG vocabulary in AG textbooks clearly speaks in its support when it comes to teaching practice.

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POVZETEK

PRIKAZ NOVE GRŠČINE V STAROGRŠKIH UČBENIKIH: JEZIKOSLOVNI POGLED

V pričujočem prispevku obravnavam nekatere novejše poskuse uvajanja elementov novogrškega jezika v pouk stare grščine, pri čemer se osredotočam na učbenike Agnello in Orlando (1998), Elliger in Fink (1986), Weileder in Mayerhöfer (2013), Mihevc-Gabrovec (1978) ter Keller in Russell (2012). Analiza, ki izhaja iz etimologij slovarja novogrškega knjižnega jezika (LKN, Λεξικό της Κοινής Νεοελληνικής), pokaže, da približno polovica besed v obravnavnih starogrških učbenikih v novi grščini ohranja enako pisno podobo in pomen kot v stari grščini; pri tem sem izraz beseda nanaša na slovarske oblike. Bistveno manj je po drugi strani besed, ki imajo v novi grščini enako pisno podobo, a drugačen pomen kot v stari grščini: v to skupino se v obravnavanih učbenikih uvršča od 5 do 11% besed. Isti učbeniki nadalje vsebujejo med 12 in 16 % besed, ki imajo v novi grščini enak pomen, a (praviloma zaradi formalnih sprememb) drugačno pisno podobo kot njihove starogrške ustreznice. Obenem pa za nekatere izmed besed te iste skupine velja, da ohranjajo v novi grščini vsaj eno pregibno obliko z enako pisno podobo in enakim pomenom kot njihove starogrške ustreznice. Ti podatki kažejo, da je mogoče na osnovni stopnji učenja nekaj elementov novogrškega jezika vpeljati v pouk stare grščine, ne da bi se spuščali v podrobnejšo razlago slovničnih in pomenskih razlik med obema jezikovnima fazama; na primer preko stavkov, sestavljenih izključno iz besed, ki imajo v novi grščini enako pisno podobo in pomen kot v stari grščini. Na tej podlagi v nadaljevanju članka ovrednotim obstoječe poskuse uvajanja elementov nove grščine v pouk starogrškega jezika.

Ključne besede: nova grščina, stara grščina, pomenoslovje, besedje, didaktika

ABSTRACT

Focusing on Agnello and Orlando (1998), Elliger and Fink (1986), Weileder and Mayerhöfer (2013), Mihevc-Gabrovec (1978) and Keller and Russell (2012), I discuss attempts at introducing elements of Modern Greek into teaching its ancient predecessor. My analysis, which is based on the etymologies of LKN (Λεξικό της Κοινής Νεοελληνικής), shows that approximately half of the words in the textbooks investigated in this study retain the same written forms and meanings in Modern Greek as in Ancient Greek; the term *word* in this analysis subsumes headwords introducing lexical entries. On the other hand, words with the same written forms and different meanings in Ancient and Modern Greek are significantly less frequent, accounting for 5 to 11% of all words in the textbooks. Furthermore, these textbooks contain between 12 and 16% of words that retain the same meaning in Ancient and Modern Greek, and also show significant formal change. As a result, their written forms are different in Ancient than in Modern Greek. It is also found, however, that at least some inflected forms of the words belonging to the latter class retain in the modern language the same written forms and meanings as in Ancient Greek. These data suggest that it is possible to introduce elements of Modern Greek into teaching its ancient predecessor without drawing attention to grammatical and semantic differences between Ancient and Modern Greek. Based on these data I also evaluate at the end of the article existing attempts at incorporating elements of Modern Greek into teaching the ancient language.

Keywords: Modern Greek, Ancient Greek, semantics, lexicon, didactics

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ATTITUDES TO EDUCATION REFLECTED IN THE CONTEXT OF THE US COLLEGE ADMISSIONS SCANDAL

1 INTRODUCTION

In the early months of 2019, the internet was swarming with articles reporting on what became tagged as the *US College Admissions Scandal*. The media coverage focused on publicly exposed entertainment and business moguls who were involved in bribing several formally accredited higher education facilities in the US to ensure matriculation for their children; matriculation was based on financial endowments rather than academic merit. The specifics of the scandal gravitate toward a few curious characteristics: those who received the most media exposure were rich, mostly women (e.g. Lori Loughlin and Felicity Huffman) and, in most cases, their daughters.[1] The universities involved in the scandal were many, among them, also those traditionally classified as prestigious or listed as Ivy League schools (e.g. Stanford, Harvard, Yale). These events and the related coverage spurred several questions, warranting interest in investigation of past and current attitudes toward formal education, their relevance in contemporary gender-roles, as compared to some of the historically noted practices in the United States.

2 METHODS AND RESEARCH QUESTIONS

The article relates a selection of available statistical data to the current attitudes to education. It compares the findings to the practices recorded in American history and investigates how these might feature in contemporary contexts. The research methods employed span several different approaches, focusing on collecting qualitative information as well as quantitative data. In the initial phase, the relevant qualitative information on the history of education in the US was compiled, namely, through a number of online and other documents.[2]

1 According to the list of sons and daughters implicated in the scandal, the ratio was 20 daughters to 11 sons (cf. Wikipedia source listed in the references), meaning that the ratio was close to 2:1 in favor of daughters.

2 As most of the historical content included here is subject to encyclopedia knowledge, these concepts were researched through a few print and several general content online resources, such as those listed in References under US History (a), US History (b), Republican Motherhood, Harvard Education, and similar sources (see the list of references).

The following research phase focused on accruing quantitative statistical data, which was subsequently used in relevant calculations. The figures and the findings were then interpreted within the context of the recent US College Admissions Scandal, with the purpose of unveiling the assumed shift in attitudes toward acquiring formal academic credentials in the US and providing a brief comparison to related Slovenian figures.

The research is aimed at answering the questions of whether the view of the increasing value of education and academic credentials is supported by historical data on educational practices within the US, and whether the recent event known as the *US College Admissions Scandal* implies a major shift in attitudes within the US toward formally accredited education.

3 A BRIEF HISTORICAL OVERVIEW OF EDUCATIONAL POLICIES IN THE US

When it comes to education, the US boasts a long tradition. In the years following their formal independence from the British Crown in 1776, the US was considered one of the most progressive states in the world, including in its attitude toward education. The first American schools date as far back as 1635, when the oldest existing school in the US – Boston Latin School – was founded as the first *public* school. The interpretation of *public* in its description was that of being *accessible to all*, which did not entail being taxpayer-supported; this runs counter to how the classification of *public* is commonly understood in most contemporary contexts (with exceptions such as Great Britain, for instance).

In the early decades of the 17th century, basic literacy and arithmetic skills were acquired within the family, assuming that the parents were able to teach those skills to their children. Language skills in particular were given prominence as these were recognized as practical in 'matters of daily life' (see quote below); these skills included those pertaining to communication, debate, preaching, access to scriptures (where Latin was in the forefront), as well as business and legal documents.

> This certainly was one of the more important educational innovations in early America, for the concept of free schools was largely unknown in civilized Europe in that age. The subjects taught were designed to assist students in practical matters of daily life: arithmetic for business; languages to communicate, debate, and preach; and reading to provide access to the Bible and to understand contracts, government documents, and laws.[3]

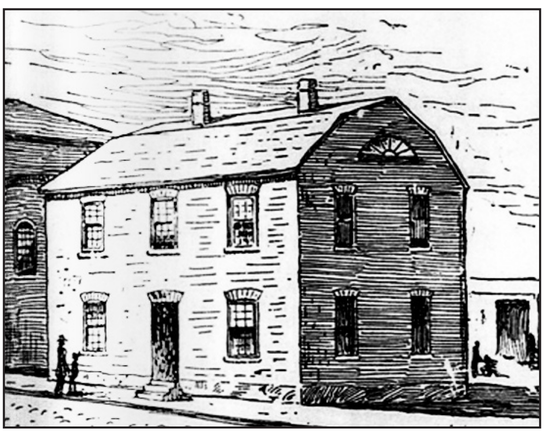
3 United States History & Background, online source.

Literacy levels varied according to the region. In New England, which belonged to the northernmost group of colonies, the literacy levels were the highest, due to its involvement in the Protestant Reformation, where its primary purpose was being able to read the Scriptures. According to Aebi (online source), the Bible was a powerful force in education in the 17th and 18th centuries, and this contributed to the levels of literacy in America exceeding those of European nations.

> The King James Version of the Bible and some earlier versions were brought to America by Puritans, Presbyterians, and others. Every family tried to have one, and they valued schooling because they needed it to read their Bibles, so the colonists became more literate than the Europeans. (ibid.)

In some other regions, such as the South, for instance, this was not the case. The Anglican Church was the established church, while the class distinctions between the wealthier planters and the working class indentured servants did not support the idea of publicly accessible education for all. Instead, the former, the planters, would opt for private tutors for their children or send them to prestigious educational facilities back in the Old World, in England. The members of the latter of the two social classes, the working class, however, were expected to remain uneducated.

In the subsequent decades and centuries, up until the 19th century, the role of schools in New England developed to the extent that they were able to take over educational responsibilities which had traditionally been handled by parents. This marked an essential milestone in providing access to education and presenting a model practice, particularly in the light of the concept of a C*ity upon a Hill*, where Americans were being perceived as a *model nation*, enjoying its reputation of *exceptionalism*.

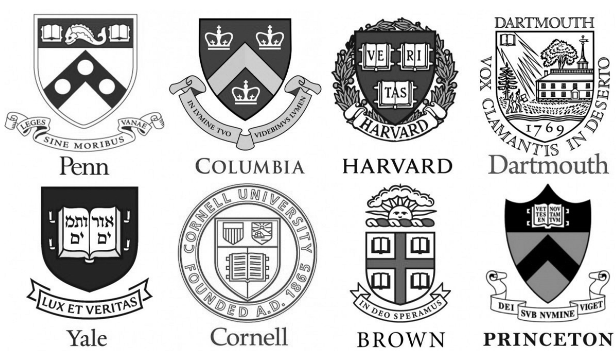


Picture 1: source: Leonard 2020

The New England colonies were among the first within the US to introduce a requirement that towns should set up schools (for instance, in Boston, New York, Philadelphia, to name a few). Children were supposed to get a *proper education*, which implied its compulsory status. The other New England colonies followed suit, as did the Middle and Southern colonies, albeit not until a few years or even decades later. The schools were all male and all white. Only a few facilities were available for girls. It wasn't until the 18th century that common one-room schools were established; these charged the families *rate bills*, which corresponds to today's *tuition*.

We can thus arrive at the conclusion that in the US, in the past, schools and education in general were in high regard, closely connected to religion, and predominately intended to train men into ministers. Literacy was, in principle, motivated by the idea that people, with a primary focus on men, should be able to read the Bible. At first, the importance of learning Latin was closely connected with being able to read the Bible, but soon translations into English were available and became widely accessible with the invention of the printing press. The Bible was translated into the local vernaculars, such as Algonquian, for instance, which indicates the significance as well as the favorable attitudes toward the development of (foreign) language skills – primarily focusing on reading, elocution and orthography – and increasing educational levels in general.

Within this context, as far back as 1636, Harvard College was founded, with its primary focus on preparing young men for ministry, the many of whom subsequently turned a different corner – the one leading to law, medicine, government or business. Yale, another representative of the oldest educational institutions in the US, was founded by Puritans in 1701, in response to the more liberal theology that was taught at Harvard. They wanted to train more orthodox ministers. These two and others eventually became known around the world as prestigious American higher education facilities, traditionally often referred to as Ivy League Colleges. In addition to Harvard and Yale, belonging to this group are also Princeton, Brown, Dartmouth, Columbia, Cornell, and Pennsylvania.



Picture 2: List of the US Ivy League colleges;
adapted from Kennedy 2019, source: Shatorch.com

Within the American cultural context, heavily characterized by the settlers' ethnic and linguistic diversity, language has played a prominent role in the formation of the new nation, since it is one of the basic ingredients any country or nation needs in order to attain important aspects of sovereignty and independence (in addition to a common and sovereign geographical area, a common set of values, folklore and history; cf. Burazer 2020, chapter 3.5).

3.1 The concept of Republican Motherhood

So far, we have seen that in 17th-century America, education was not taken for granted. On the contrary, it was taken seriously as quite early on the need for public education arose and with it the expectation of providing the citizens with knowledge so as to develop a *model nation*. As the number of formal education facilities was on the rise, and with it their discriminatory policies, social, racial and gender disparities began to surface, since schools were predominantly white, male and mostly the prerogative of those who could afford tuition fees.

In families where attending formal education was not an option, the role of women was considered as a valuable contribution to state and family matters. Women were thought to be *best suited for the role of guiding and teaching children*. This concept was later translated into the so-called Republican Motherhood.[4] Women writers, such as Sedgwick, Child and Sigourney (cf. Robbins 2002), were respected role models and advocates for improving and expanding education for females. These important activities fostering greater educational access triggered the process of strengthening the position of women as educators and supervisors of American moral and ethical values. This meant that the core subjects of all male schools, such as math and sciences and the like, had to be supplemented by arts and humanities subjects, including languages. Their role in education was considered to be one of *nation building* and thus extremely important, which meant it enjoyed abundant public support. This also led to ample financial endowments and consequently establishment of all-female academies. The rich planters were particularly determined to have their daughters schooled as education often served as a substitute for a dowry in marriage arrangements. The process of passing and subsequently enforcing the laws on compulsory education was one that spanned over several decades and centuries even, but eventually the laws were passed in all of the US states. As a result, roughly one hundred years ago, all American children were required to stay in school at least until the age of 14.

4 Several encyclopedia-type sources provide additional information on this concept (see the reference under *Presidency of Franklin D. Roosevelt*).

3.2 The overall effect of accessibility of college education

These important state-level education-related legal provisions were the basis for several subsequent beneficial effects at the national level that are still relevant today. Acquiring college-level education ensured many young men a smooth transition from rural farms to complex urban areas. It also promoted upward social mobility (except for the more elite colleges, which became increasingly exclusive and contributed relatively little to it, while assuming an important role in the formation of a Northeastern elite with great power).

The years prior to WW2 witnessed the great Depression when the situation relating to economy in the US was plummeting.[5] The elitist facilities were hit by hostility from the government, as the state-budget-funded facilities were losing financial support, resulting in teachers' salaries being withheld. This was reflected in Roosevelt's *The New Deal*, where anti-elitist policies were put forward in defense of publicly accessible education for all, though these have been severely criticized for having taken the matter too far (cf. Leuchtenburg; online source):

> The New Deal approach to education was a radical departure from educational best practices. It was specifically designed for the poor and staffed largely by women on relief. It was not based on professionalism, nor was it designed by experts. Instead it was premised on the anti-elitist notion that a good teacher does not need paper credentials, that learning does not need a formal classroom and that the highest priority should go to the bottom tier of society. (ibid.)

3.3 *The growth of human capital*

The growth of human capital was the next important goal that the US pursued in their educational policies. In comparison to Europe, the commitment to expand education past age 14 ensured an advantage over Europe for much of the 20th century, as they were pursuing the goal of educating citizens, which was also aimed at improving citizenship, developing higher-order cognitive traits, and producing the managerial and professional leadership needed for rapid economic modernization. By 1940, 50% of Americans had finished secondary education/high school. This was by far on a much higher level compared to Europe at the time.

> The wealthiest European nations, such as Germany and Britain, had far more exclusivity in their education system; few youths attended past age 14. Apart from technical training schools, European secondary schooling was dominated by children of the wealthy and the social elites. (source: Wikipedia on History of education in the US)

5 Cf. Britannica article on Great Depression.

According to Moulton (1963, pp. 82–83), it was around that time that foreign languages within American schools came to the fore in the educational circles. In the decades preceding the 1940s, in the 1920s and the 1930s, the US was experiencing a linguistic isolationism of sorts, as foreign language study in the US was characterized by three major factors:

- there was relatively little foreign language instruction in schools, and it was often short – not more than 2 years
- the choice was limited to very few languages – Latin, Spanish or French in high school; in college German and Greek were added to this selection
- the type of instruction used was the grammar-translation method, focused predominantly on explaining grammar.

After the Pearl Harbor attack in 1941, linguistic isolationism came to an end. With the dimensions of the Second World War reaching across continents and thus across a host of different cultures and languages, the military as well as the government officials recognized the importance of learning foreign languages for communicative purposes. Consequently, the focus in foreign language instruction methodology shifted from grammar-translation to practical speaking knowledge (ibid., p. 84).

The decade that followed was marked by a major transformation of American education, with specific focus on improving organization, increasing funding and achieving a higher level of standardization across the country, starting with private institutions and eventually filtering down to public schools.[6]

3.4 A Nation at Risk

Fast forward from the post-Second-World-War era to the 1980s: the US National Commission on Excellence in Education released a report titled A Nation at Risk (1983; governmental online source). Soon afterward, American conservatives were calling for an increase in academic rigor, including an increase in the number of school days per year, longer school days and higher testing standards. English scholar E.D. Hirsch (in Edwards 2009) made an attack on progressive education, advocating an emphasis on 'cultural literacy' – the facts, phrases, and texts that Hirsch asserted are essential for decoding basic texts and maintaining communication (ibid.).

Hirsch particularly underlines the importance of language processing skills in establishing "broad knowledge in early education due to the overwhelming importance of reading" (ibid.). He sees decoding words as a necessary part of reading and emphasizes that "unlike speech, it will not happen naturally." In his view, there is a deep interconnectedness between cultural literacy and successful general literacy, "because authors

6 Online source: https://www.encyclopedia.com/social-sciences/culture-magazines/1940s-education-overview

assume their readers have command of a certain body of knowledge." He also draws attention to the relevant differences between speaking and reading skills, where the former do not automatically endorse the latter.

In educational circles, however, the main criticism directed at Hirsch's proposals is based in the "claims regarding an 'information explosion' that makes attempts to anticipate future information requirements impossible," and consequently diverts attention to 'process' and 'processes' [as] the highest form of content [where] 'critical thinking skills' and a 'love of learning' are seen as primary intellectual tools, while "avocation of fixed knowledge is sexist, fundamentalist and racist" (ibid.).

Based on the ideas and arguments presented above, we can see that even if Hirsch's ideas might enjoy approval in popular circles, the same is not true for educational circles. With his arguments targeted at American education having been "undermined by a deep contempt for factual knowledge and an addiction to Romantic fallacies such as 'project method' instruction, 'child/student-centered' learning, artificial 'self-esteem' building, and 'critical thinking skills' transmission theory," he seems to be closer to certain educational practices in countries outside the US, which persist in more traditional educational methods, by placing emphasis on "mastery of broad and specific academic knowledge and do not shy away from memorization, practice, and drill" (ibid.). Hirsch's ideas, however, remain influential in conservative circles within the US, but maintain a level of controversy because, as Edwards argues:

> Opponents from the political left generally accuse Hirsch of elitism. Worse yet in their minds, Hirsch's assertion might lead to a rejection of toleration, pluralism, and relativism. On the political right, Hirsch has been assailed as totalitarian, for his idea lends itself to turning over curriculum selection to federal authorities and thereby eliminating the time-honored American tradition of locally controlled schools. (Edwards 2009)

3.5 *No Child Left Behind*

By 1990, the United States spent 2 percent of its budget on education, compared with 30 percent on support for the elderly (Roser and Ortiz Ospina 2016). It was imperative that something be done to remedy the situation. In consequence, a major national law was passed by a bipartisan coalition in Congress in 2002, No *Child Left Behind*, which marked a new direction. In exchange for more federal aid, the states were required to measure progress and punish schools that were not meeting the goals as measured by standardized state exams in math and language skills (Duignan 2001).

Given that the United States does not list one single language as the official language at the federal level, and given its distinct linguistic diversity with Native Americans and the immigrants to the New World, language became a key issue in discussions on implementation of the policy's provisions regarding testing. The major feature of the issue was state refusal to produce non-English versions of the tests, even though, legally, Native American students, for instance, could be tested in their native language. This opened another distinctive and unique issue within the American educational realm.

While the *No Child Left Behind* policy did not yield the expected long-term results, it did spur several changes in the educational practices, many of which are not considered a marked progress – such as a number of states dropping from the curriculum the requirement to teach cursive writing or starting the school day by singing the national anthem, as was once done. Few schools now have mandatory arts class, and few schools have mandatory recess for children, which educators are fervently trying to reinstate.

4 PRESENTATION OF ACCRUED QUANTITATIVE DATA

As much as early American efforts to provide and maintain access to education for all citizens and thus ensure the building of a nation that would represent a model for the rest of the world was a step toward equal opportunities taken in good faith, this brief historical overview reveals that certain educational policies introduced at national level did not support these efforts. If anything, they in a way kept the focus on elitist facilities, accessible mostly to those with considerable means and of exclusive social standing, while in other areas of public education certain policies that were being implemented might have contributed to a lowering of educational standards.

For the purposes of the present investigation, we have looked at the proportions of available educational institutions per citizen and percentages of citizens who have completed secondary and higher level of education in the US and compared them to those in Slovenia. The comparison might serve as an indicator of the share of citizens motivated to reach expected higher educational standards. According to the following figures, retrieved from the official US Department of Education website, in fall 2017,[7] there were 4,298 institutions of higher education in the US, a representative of a large nation, of which 1,626 were public colleges, 1,687 were private nonprofit schools, and 985 were for-profit schools. The data is comprehensive and divides the institutions into categories such as four-year colleges and universities and two-year schools, often known as community colleges, all of which are included in the count (cf. Table 1 below).

The numbers for Slovenia, representative of a small nation compared to the US, at first sight paint a somewhat different picture, as they are considerably lower. According to the Slovenian education website (cf. also the listed online sources[8]), there are only 5 public

7 CCD (Common Core of Data) retrieved from NCES (National Center for Education Statistics) on American public schools (see the list of references)

8 Slovenia Education website list of higher education institutions (see the list of references)

institutions of higher education and 25 private, in addition to 5 formally accredited private institutions (Pajnič 2011: 19–39; for more specific information, see the list in the online source, cf. footnote 8). In order to discern whether there are quantitative differences in accessibility of educational institutions to the citizens of both states, the US and Slovenia, we have calculated the ratio of citizens per institution at the US federal level, which amounted to just below 200,000 per public college, or approximately 75,000 per any college. In Slovenia, that ratio is approximately 400,000 per public university, or just over 65,000 per any college (see Table 1 below). What these calculated ratios indicate is that the US in fact boasts a higher level of accessibility of higher education institutions than Slovenia.

population / **higher ed. institutions**	**the US** (population **327,2 mil.**)	**Slovenia** (population **2,06 mil.**)
public	1,626	5
private	2,672 (for and no-profit)	25
total	**4,298**	**30**
ratio: Nº of citizens / **per institution**	200.000 / public 75,000 / private 76,000 / total	400,000 / public 65,000 / private 68,000 / total

Table 1: The current ratio of higher education institutions per citizen in the US and Slovenia

The numbers pertaining to the level of education achieved by citizens of the two countries also point in the direction of the US being slightly more successful in having its citizens stay in school until they finish high school, at least. According to the Digest of Education Statistics,[9] in the United States, there were over 92% high school graduates in 2018 in the age group 25–34, with the number being on the increase from 88.2% in 2000. According to the same source, the numbers for Slovenia are slightly lower in comparison to 2000, but on a solid upward curve, having gone from 85.4% of high school graduates in the 25–34 age group in 2000 to 94.3% in 2018, thus marking a greater progress in comparison with figures for the US.

9 Digest of Education Statistics (see the list of references)

year/country % of those who have…	in year	the US	Slovenia
completed higher education	2000	38.1	19.3
	2018	49.8	40.7
completed high school	2000	88.2	84.4
	2018	92.4	94.3

Table 2: Percentages of high school and higher education graduates in the US and Slovenia in the 25–34 age-group (Source: Digest of Education Statistics)

Of the world countries included in the statistics (ibid.), a steady increase in inclusion in education process has been marked in most other countries featured in the survey, besides the US and Slovenia (such as Australia, Columbia, Mexico, to name a few), while a few have recorded an actual drop (Slovak Republic, for instance, marked a drop in the same age group from 93.7% in year 2000 to 91.9% in 2018).

In the decades preceding the turn of the millennium, the numbers for the US high school graduation rates have gone up from 50.5% in the 1940s, peaking at 77% in 1969, dropping to 69% with the class of 2007, and then resuming on the upward curve.[10] And according to Gabrič (2000; cf. Table 3 below), Slovenia follows the same pattern as the statistics for inclusion in the education process has been on a steady upward curve over the past 60+ years, with significant growth in the number of students and graduates of institutes of higher education (Gabrič 2000; cf. table 4 below)

year % of…	1953	1961	1971
children aged 7–14 attending primary school	90.9	99.7	100.0
young people aged 15–19 attending secondary school	20.4	28.9	43.4
young people aged 20–24 studying at university	2.7	5.4	8.9

Table 3: Percentages of children and the young included in the education process in Slovenia; source: Gabrič 2000

10 Available at: https://www.edweek.org/media/34gradrate-c1.pdf

No. of / Year	students	graduates
1946/47	3,479	69
1956/57	7,203	846
1966/67	15,085	2,975
1976/77	29,279	4,845
1986/87	30,985	5,534

Table 4: The number of students and graduates of Slovenia's institutes of tertiary education; source: Gabrič 2000

5 IMPLICATIONS FOR ATTITUDES TOWARD HIGHER EDUCATION – DISCUSSION

The historical overview and comparison with recent data show that active participation in education at all levels has been increasingly on the rise, not only in the US but in many – if not most – countries around the world, according to the numbers published in Digest of Education Statistics. What the above figures suggest (cf. Tables 3 and 4) is that the increase in interest and active participation in the education process is an indication of the growing value of education. On the other hand, the reported abuse of academic credentials and accompanying commentary (cf. MacDonald 2019a and 2019b) imply a somewhat distorted perception of the status of formal academic qualifications.

The question arises as to whether the growth marked in numbers and percentages of inclusion in education is in fact needs- and motivation-driven and whether it reflects a rise in academic achievement at national levels. In the opinion of some of the investigative journalists who provided media coverage of the US College Admissions Scandal (e.g. MacDonald 2019a and 2019b, Friedman 2019), this might not be the case. In the words of MacDonald, college has become "Primarily […] about accrediting its graduates and signaling […] their value to future employers as responsible workers" (2019a). The implication is that these trends in higher education credentials earned on legacy or other formally unacceptable preferences, rather than academic merit, reveal a significant deviation from the traditional perception of higher education, thus generating distrust and somewhat negative attitudes toward academic credentials, resulting in diminishing their value.

Such academic practices might well be taking us back to regarding (higher or any other formal) education as a sign of wealth and power, of the status which places one above the law, or even pushing us as far back in history as the point in time when formal education was considered a form of dowry. But who or what is really on trial in this scandal? According to MacDonald, most of the blame falls on the institutions of higher education themselves, on the grounds of failing to create an environment which nurtures values such as honesty, high level work ethics, a high-demand approach to teaching, and the like. Instead, the recent scandal reveals an affinity toward allowing star campus residents to project the image of college-life akin to that of entertainment business or social-media celebrity lifestyle.

> None of this could have happened if higher education had not itself become a corrupt institution, featuring low classroom demands, no core knowledge acquisition, low grading standards, fashionable (but society-destroying) left-wing activism, luxury-hotel amenities, endless partying, and huge expense. Students often learn virtually nothing during their college years […]. (MacDonald 2019b)

This seems to result in another significant deviation, particularly in reference to the concept of republican motherhood discussed above, where historically the strength of the matriarchs was reflected in a take-charge type of attitude, which requires a sizeable investment of time and effort, rather than a display of material or financial resources, to ensure their children's academic advancements by transmitting knowledge from parents to children. By replacing this traditional parental role with one of exerting power over those who lack the resources to stand their ground (reference here is to those students who would have been accepted to a university on academic merit, had they not been denied access on account of such dishonest practices), those involved in the scandal did not acknowledge the accomplishments of generations who struggled to achieve equality of opportunity,[11] part of which is believed to be set in access to knowledge and prospects of achieving academic excellence.

6 CONCLUSION

The results of the investigation show that an historical overview of educational practices in the US supports the view of the increasing value of academic credentials, despite the recently exposed admissions scandal. However powerfully this event might have reflected on the direction of academic credentials being undermined, the legal ramifications awaiting those involved assure us that this is not the case.

A contemporary stance on states and societies providing access to (formal) education to all citizens in a non-discriminatory manner should be the standard observed and mission pursued by any institution of higher education. On the other hand, it is also important to "expose the myth that a college credential is the prerequisite to a productive, fulfilling life" (MacDonald 2019b). An historic overview of the path that the development of (higher) educational facilities and practices has had to tread in order to grow

11 For a more comprehensive discussion of American values and attitudes cf. Burazer 2020, specifically Part 3, pp. 55–59.

into an efficient system of passing on knowledge from one generation to the next is a testament to the level of investment in terms of time and effort into this interminable mission. It is unacceptable to downgrade its value by allowing its beneficiaries to treat it like a commodity, whose price is driven by forces operating beyond the law and beneath the expected standards of integrity. In the words of MacDonald (2019a), media coverage of the scandal focused around two major takeaways: "an elite college degree has taken on wildly inflated importance in American society, and the sports-industrial complex enjoys wildly inflated power within universities." We add to these the important aspect of uncovering a scheme which denied the mechanism of an equalizer such as knowledge and education to serve its purpose of preserving the traditional American value of equality of opportunity for all; instead, it turned this purpose into yet another de-equalizer, further deepening the social divide for those less fortunate.

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POVZETEK

ODNOS DO FORMALNEGA IZOBRAŽEVANJA V KONTEKSTU NEDAVNEGA ŠKANDALA Z VISOKOŠOLSKIMI ŠOLNINAMI V ZDA

Članek se osredotoča predvsem na sodobne izzive dostopnosti akreditiranih programov izobraževalnih institucij v kontekstu Združenih držav Amerike in v manjšem obsegu tudi Slovenije. V večjem delu se navezuje na nedavni škandal v zvezi z univerzitetnimi šolninami in ga interpretira z vidika zgodovinskih okvirov ameriškega izobraževalnega sistema in v povezavi s tradicionalnimi družbenimi praksami. V uvodnem delu se posveti kratkemu pregledu razvoja ameriškega (visokošolskega) izobraževalnega sistema, katerega začetki segajo daleč nazaj v prvo polovico sedemnajstega stoletja, ko se je pojem formalnega izobraževanja šele razvijal. Z opisom izbranih aspektov in zgodovinskih trendov ameriškega šolstva na različnih izobraževalnih stopnjah razkriva pričakovanja ter odnos do pridobivanja formalne izobrazbe v preteklosti. Z navedbo nekaterih pomembnih sprememb v izobraževalnem sistemu na državni ravni in opisom novejših pristopov k izobraževanju v ameriškem kulturnem prostoru izriše ozadje odnosa do formalnega izobraževanja v sodobni ameriški družbi. S pregledom statističnih podatkov v zvezi z vpisom na srednješolske in visokošolske programe kaže vpogled v naraščajoči trend vpisa v formalno akreditirane izobraževalne ustanove tako v Združenih državah Amerike kot v Sloveniji. Prikazani izsledki raziskave pričajo v prid primerljivi dostopnosti formalnega izobraževanja v obeh omenjenih državah, ZDA in Sloveniji, kar je pomemben podatek, predvsem v kontekstu omenjenega škandala, ki na prvi pogled botruje vtisu, da so formalne izobraževalne institucije podvržene taktirki vplivnih posameznikov. S tem izsledki raziskave in zaključki dodatno osvetlijo pomen dostopnosti izobraževanja kot sistema, ki v sodobnih razvitih družbah zagotavlja enake možnosti vsakemu posamezniku, ne glede na njegov družbeni status ali finančno (pre)moč. Kot tak se izobraževalni sistem in pridobljeno znanje izkazujeta kot pomembna dejavnika izravnavanja družbenih neenakosti.

Ključne besede: dostopnost, družbena neenakost, odnos, visoko šolstvo, zgodovinski pregled.

ABSTRACT

The following paper discusses contemporary challenges of providing access to formally accredited higher education programs in the United States of America, and on a smaller scale also in Slovenia. It interprets the recent college admissions scandal within the historical framework of American educational policies, paired with its traditional social practices. In the initial sections, the paper provides a brief historical overview of the development of American (higher) education, the beginnings of which date as far back as the early 17^{th} century. Back then, the very concept of formal and publicly accessible education was in its developmental stages. By focusing on a selection of historical aspects and educational trends within the American national context, the paper unveils the related expectations and attitudes toward acquiring formal education in the past. It lists a number of historically relevant changes, which have been implemented over the past century within the American educational system at state and federal levels. The latter have contributed to the development of contemporary approaches to education and have affected recent attitudes toward formal education in American society. The paper includes statistical data on enrolments and graduation rates in institutions of higher education in the United States and Slovenia, which offers an insight into the rising enrolment and graduation trends, and relates the figures to the importance of accessibility of education as an equalizer that should provide equality of opportunity for all, irrespective of social background or economic power. The accrued data and related research results support a favorable trend in accessibility of formal education in both countries, the US and Slovenia. This is an important finding, particularly in the context of the college tuition scandal, as it might at first sight create the impression that some of the highly valued and formally accredited institutions of higher education were subject to the influence of a powerful elite. The research results therefore support the trend of the educational system and the accrued knowledge assuming the role of the equalizer in leveling out certain aspects of social inequality.

Keywords: accessibility, attitudes, equalizer, higher education, historical overview

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SPEAKING SUBSKILLS IN EFL COURSEBOOKS

1 INTRODUCTION

Achieving spontaneity and fluency in speaking, the objective stated in the English Grammar School Curriculum in Slovenia (Učni načrt 2008: 26), is one of the primary goals of foreign language speakers, who, in some cases, possess extensive knowledge of vocabulary and grammar structures yet lack fluency. Commonly, the reason lies in the limited ability to retrieve words or structures instantly, causing hesitation. There is a lack of automaticity, which is further exacerbated by an overarching focus on accuracy as well as translation from the mother tongue. Most importantly, students often possess inadequate knowledge and practice of speaking subskills, which are crucial to the development of fluency (Thornbury 2005: 28–29). Even though these subskills are included among speaking goals in the English Grammar School Curriculum (Učni načrt 2008: 16), they may be overlooked in teaching practice, resulting in poor acquisition of speaking subskills. This paper investigates whether EFL coursebooks sufficiently address this aspect of spoken language. To assess how well they are represented and to offer advice to high school teachers on how to approach this subject, a study is conducted on the variety and scope of specific speaking subskills in EFL coursebooks for third- and fourth-year grammar school students approved by the Slovene Ministry of Education, Science and Sport.

2 LITERATURE REVIEW

There are many authors who offer an in-depth analysis of spoken L1 English interaction based on recorded scripts, focusing, for example on intonation patterns (Stenström 1994), speech genres (Carter and McCarthy 1997) and textual analysis (Pridham 2001). Particularly relevant to L2 spoken English interaction is Brown and Yule's analysis of conversational English (1983: 10–13), in which two primary functions of speaking are discussed, i.e. *transactional* and *interactional.* The main purpose of the *transactional function* is to convey and transfer information, whereby the second, *interactional function*, is concerned with maintaining social interactions, i.e. it is listener-oriented.

Authors studying speaking skills generally distinguish between the ability to acquire knowledge of basic units of language and the skills required to use them in communication. Brown (2004: 142) refers to the former as microskills and the latter as macroskills. Similarly, Munby (1978: 41) discusses micro and global skills.

2.1 Knowledge and Skills that L2 Speakers Need

The knowledge foreign language learners need to possess to speak fluently includes intercultural competence, genre knowledge, register, discourse, grammar, vocabulary, phonology and functions (Thornbury 2005: 31–37). *Speech acts* or *functions*, being most closely connected to speaking, refer to the intention behind the spoken words, such as request or advice (Thornbury 2005: 32). In speaking classes teachers should primarily focus on functions that are common in conversation, such as turn-taking, agreeing and disagreeing politely (Dörnyei and Thurrell 1994: 45). They are usually realised as short chunks of language that are difficult to predict and differ from the student's L1 language. Some authors refer to these as *conversation(al) gambits* (Keller and Warner 1988, Taylor 2002), while others call them *conversational routines* (Richards 1990: 74). Thornbury (2002, Chs. 1 and 7) offers practical ideas on how to teach lexical chunks.

Bygate (1987: 5–9) differentiates between *motor-perceptive* and *interaction skills*. *Motor-perceptive skills* are defined as basic skills involving "perceiving, recalling and articulating in the correct order sounds and structures of the language". These elements are devoid of context and only serve as a knowledge base. Acquiring these skills alone does not mean that one will become a fluent speaker. Motor-perceptive skills are characterised by *facilitation* and *compensation devices* (Bygate 1987: 14–21). Speaking, however, does not take place in isolation and "is jointly constructed and multi-authored" (Thornbury and Slade 2006: 15). To communicate successfully, one needs *interaction skills,* which are divided into *routines* and *negotiation skills* (Bygate 1987: 22–41). *Routines* are defined as scripts that are predictable and appear frequently in conversation, i.e. speech genres. *Negotiation skills,* on the other hand, help the speaker make sense of the routines so that the message is understood. They are subdivided into *negotiation of meaning* and *management of interaction*. Management of interaction encompasses skills related to *agenda management* and *turn-taking*, while negotiation of meaning incorporates skills and strategies which are applied to prevent a communication breakdown. Speakers need to be aware of the *level of explicitness*, i.e. how much background knowledge the interlocutor requires and how detailed the message should be, and of *procedures of negotiation*, i.e. words and phrases the speaker decides to use at the moment of speaking to ensure the message is understood (Bygate 1987: 22–41).

Besides speaking subskills, authors working on spoken language also discuss *learner strategies of communication* (Bygate 1987: 42–48, Thornbury 2005: 29–31, Goh: 2007:

6–7). They are generally defined as strategies enabling students with insufficient linguistic knowledge to carry out a conversation.

2.2 Direct and Indirect Approaches

There are two main approaches to the teaching of conversation, *indirect and direct*. *The indirect approach* does not focus directly on developing speaking subskills, but assumes that engaging students in many undirected communicative activities is enough to improve their speaking skills (Richards 1990: 76–77). However, there are many drawbacks of this approach. Studies have shown that communicative tasks expose students to transactional language only, whereas interactional language, being equally or even more important, gets neglected. Another argument against this approach is that despite the fact that students may achieve relative fluency, their language still lacks accuracy and more advanced structures, such as idiomatic expressions and phrases (Richards 1990: 76–79). This approach also leads students to falsely assume that speaking skills can only be improved by more speaking (Goh 2014: 18).

The direct approach, on the other hand, focuses on teaching specific skills typical of informal conversation, such as topic management and negotiating meaning. It also incorporates intonation practice and raises awareness of the differences between formal and informal registers, short and long turns, etc. (Richards 1990: 79–81; Dörnyei and Thurrell 1994, 41). Due to the complex nature of spoken interaction, engaging the student in a variety of communicative activities is not enough to master specific speaking skills, strategies and knowledge (Burns 2012: 166).

There are many models and strategies for teaching speaking skills following the direct approach. Thornbury (2005: 41–111; 2002: Chs. 5, 6) emphasises the importance of a three-stage integration process, i.e. raising awareness of new structures, incorporation into the existing knowledge systems, and finally, autonomy. Awareness raising activities include the following steps: attention (students need to be engaged in the topic if learning is to be successful), noticing (students are made aware of new structures) and understanding (students need to understand the meaning, form and pronunciation of new structures in order to use them effectively). In contrast with the traditional PPP procedure (present, practice, produce), the second stage is adapted and referred to as appropriation. Autonomy involves the ability to use the new skill independently and in authentic situations.

Goh (2007) stresses that engaging in conversation plays a crucial role in developing automaticity. However, speaking alone is not enough to develop new skills or language. For this to happen, effective monitoring, assessment and feedback are essential. The promotion of conversation is based on the output hypothesis theory, which states that learning occurs through written or spoken production (Swain 1993: 158–163). Goh and Cohen (2014: 19–20; 1996: 4–5) also highlight the importance of employing metacognitive strategies in developing the learner's ability to plan and organise their conversation as well as assess their learning. Burns (2012: 172–176), likewise, proposes a general approach to teaching speaking skills, including metacognitive and awareness raising activities, input and feedback provision. Celce-Murcia et al. (1995) focus on competences and provide a model of communicative competence, consisting of discourse, linguistic, actional, socio-cultural and strategic competence.

3 METHODOLOGY

The purpose of the research is to analyse the types of speaking subskills present in EFL coursebooks and how well they are taught. The analysis takes into account all twenty coursebook series approved by the Slovene Ministry of Education, Science and Sport for third- and fourth-year EFL grammar school students. The latest edition of each series is evaluated as these are most likely to be used in the future. The final two years of secondary schooling are chosen as this period is the most important one for the development of speaking skills. Students are expected to reach a high level of proficiency by the end of grammar school and an excellent use of speaking subskills is essential in order to achieve this goal.

The study uses Bygate's classification (1987), modified and supplemented by Munby's (1978) for *agenda management*. The following speaking subskills are observed and analysed:

- *negotiation of meaning*
- *agenda management*

The study is conducted using quantitative and qualitative research. The following teaching elements are considered:

1. Lead-in
2. Context
3. A comprehension check task
4. Number of phrases
5. Noticing activity
6. Controlled practice of meaning/form
7. Pronunciation focus
8. Authentic communicative activity
9. Location within the unit

While not all teaching elements are always necessary for learning to be successful, coursebooks should strive to include all of them. It is the teacher's choice to assess the students' knowledge and decide how detailed an activity should be to achieve specific learning goals. The analysis records whether:

1. The lead-in task is included, which usually precedes the text in which the target structures are embedded or is placed before a related activity.
2. There is context for the target language. At least two phrases need to be embedded to be considered contextualised. If only one phrase is embedded, it is marked as "p" (partly).
3. The text contains at least one comprehension check task, i.e. either an easier task (usually a gist question), which comes first, or a more detailed, follow-up one, such as comprehension questions.
4. There are at least five expressions presented for each skill. This helps to define how in depth each skill is covered. A skill which is represented by only one phrase is not recorded, as this does not enable students to master it. At a B2 level students should be able to express themselves using a variety of phrases and synonyms.
5. The activity contains a noticing task helping students to raise awareness of the target language.
6. At least some controlled practice of meaning/form is present.
7. The activity contains some kind of pronunciation focus, for instance, intonation, the pronunciation of individual sounds, sentence stress.
8. There is an authentic communicative activity included at the end, which is defined as an interactive task resembling real-life situations, i.e. communicative tasks aimed at older teenagers. An activity that is communicative but not authentic is marked as "p" (partly). For instance, if there is a speaking task in which students need to write and act out a dialogue, this is classified as partly authentic as this kind of activity is not spontaneous and interactive enough and does not resemble real-life events. Similarly, a speaking task in which two pictures are compared and speculated about is only partly authentic as this rarely happens in real life.

   Even though there may be some ambiguity as to what is considered authentic, it is still useful to examine this aspect as the lack of authenticity tends to result in insufficient motivation. Furthermore, there are some coursebooks that use speaking sections to practise exam tasks, for instance, for FCE, which again may be less motivating for Slovene students unless they are preparing for the same exam.
9. Speaking subskills are presented in the first, second, third or fourth quarters of the unit. Units in the selected coursebooks are usually divided into various sections, each focusing on a specific area, for instance, reading, grammar, vocabulary building, listening, speaking, writing. Each part generally contains activities to practise receptive skills, i.e. reading or listening, which are followed by the practice of productive skills, i.e. speaking or writing. Speaking subskills are mostly covered within one of the sections, as a follow-up to a reading or listening exercise, and rarely as a separate section. This criterion is based on the premise that the location within the unit may affect whether the skill is selected for teaching in the classroom or not.

3. 1 Negotiation of meaning

The focus of the study was on *procedures of negotiation* rather than the level of explicitness, as this skill may be largely transferrable from one's mother tongue (Bygate 1987: 29–35). The following subskills are analysed:
Skills from the speaker's perspective:

- *expressing the aim of the conversation in advance,* e.g. *One of our main goals involves …*
- *checking comprehension* by asking questions, e.g. *Are you following me?* and summarising, e.g. *In a nutshell, …*
- *asking for language or information that the listener cannot remember,* e.g. *Can you remember …*
- *asking for the listener's opinion,* e.g. *What's your view on that?*
- *reacting to clarification requests* by rewording, giving examples, repeating, correcting and adjusting the message according to the other person's reactions, e.g. *What I mean is …; I I'm just saying that …*
- *checking* agreement, e.g. *I think it's really great, don't you?; It's nearly always the same, isn't it?*
- *dealing with interruptions,* e.g. *If you would just let me finish.*

Skills from the listener's perspective:

- *showing understanding* by using non-verbal signals[1] and by using verbal markers, i.e. backchannelling, e.g. *Now that you mentioned that …*
- *reacting to the speaker's message* by showing surprise, interest, disbelief, doubt, sympathy, etc., e.g. *I can't believe it!; Dreadful!*
- *agreeing with the speaker,* e.g. *True!; I couldn't agree more!*
- *showing appreciation of the speaker's message,* e.g. *I appreciate what you're saying.*
- *checking understanding of the speaker's message* by summarising or paraphrasing, e.g. *If I understood you correctly, …*
- *signalling comprehension problems,* e.g. *Sorry, I'm not with you.*
- *asking for clarification,* e.g. *Can you run that by again, please?*
- *interrupting* to indicate all of the above, e.g. *Sorry, but …*

Skills from the speaker's and listener's perspective:

- *indicating politeness* by using politeness strategies, e.g. *not really* instead of *no*, disagreeing politely, e.g. *I'm afraid I can't agree with you*, using vague language so as not to overwhelm the listener with too much information, e.g. *and so on*.

1 The category of non-verbal signals is beyond the scope of this paper and will not be considered.

3.2 Agenda management

These skills incorporate (Bygate 1987: 35–40):

- *choosing appropriate topics*
- *introducing a new topic,* e.g. *I heard the other day that …*
- *deciding on the length of the conversation*
- *starting the conversation,* e.g. *Let me start by saying something about …; So, …*
- *finishing the conversation,* e.g. *Anyway; All right*
- *changing and returning to previous topics,* e.g. *That reminds me; By the way, …*
- *developing and directing the topic of conversation* by using discourse markers to structure the turn, e.g. *basically; actually;* to show contrast, e.g. *on the one hand … on the other hand,* to move on, e.g. *Let's move on, shall we?*
- *maintaining the conversation* by using fillers and vague language to gain thinking time, e.g. *um; er; I mean,* providing additional information and asking further questions
- *expressing the speaker's attitude to their message*, e.g. *Frankly; Honestly* (following Munby (1978) with some modification)

3.3 Methodological considerations

Although *learner strategies of communication* are an important set of subskills, they are not included in this research as they are mostly taught at lower levels. Similarly, *turn-taking skills* are only partly observed as there are various classifications of such skills. There is clearly an overlap between *negotiation of meaning*, *agenda management* and turn-taking skills. For example, Richards (1990: 68) classifies *reacting to the speaker's message* as a turn-taking skill while Bygate (1987) classifies it as a skill in *negotiation of meaning*. Some other turn-taking skills according to Bygate's and Richards's classification are mostly related to non-verbal communication, intonation, gestures and the use of adjacency pairs. These skills are too broad in scope to be examined in this paper, and may also be taught at lower levels or are transferrable from the student's mother tongue.

Likewise, the only functions considered are those related to *agenda management* and *negotiation of meaning*, e.g. *agreeing with the speaker* and *politeness strategies.* These are the skills enabling both speakers to maintain a successful conversation and prevent a communication breakdown. Therefore, functions such as agreeing and disagreeing on a specific topic or statement are not analysed.

Furthermore, long turns where there is no immediate interaction between the speaker and the audience, such as presentations, are not included in the analysis. Only the interactive part is examined, e.g. responding to questions at the end of the presentation. Debates and discussions, on the other hand, are analysed as they are more interactive in nature.

4 ANALYSIS AND DISCUSSION

4.1 Negotiation of meaning - the most represented skills

Negotiation of meaning	No. of occurrences	Coursebook(s)[2]	Lead-in	Context	Comprehension check task	Number of phrases (5 or more)	Noticing activities	Practice of meaning/form	Pronunciation focus	Free authentic activity	Location within the unit (4/4)[3]
(1) Indicating politeness	35	CE(1); F4(1); F5(4); GB2(2); GB2+(2); I(2); NHAdv(1); NHUI(2); NI(1); NM(1); NO(2); NS(2); OS(3); SOLInt(2); SOLUI(3); WU(6)	31	29	23	25	26	10	7	15; 18 (p)[4]	2x1/4; 4x2/4; 17x3/4; 12x4/4
(2) Reacting to the speaker's message	21	CE(3); EF(3); NHAdv(1); NHUI(4); NO(1); OS(2); SOLInt; SOLUI(1); S(1); WU(2), NI(1); F5(1)	8	8	4	18	11	10	5	10; 8 (p)	1x1/4; 5x2/4;[5] 5x3/4; 10x4/4
(3) Agreeing with the speaker	13	EF(1); F4(1); F5(1); GB2(1); GB2+(1); NM(1); NO(1); NS(1); OS(3); SOLUI(1); WU(1)	10	9	7	4	5	2		6; 7(p)	1x1/4; 1x2/4; 8x3/4; 3x4/4
(4) Asking for clarification	11	CE(1); F4(1); GB2(1); GB2+(1); I(1); NO(1); NS(1); SOLUI(1); S(1); WU(2)	8	7	7	5	7	3	2	7; 2(p)	1x1/4; 2x2/4; 4x3/4; 4x4/4
(5) Checking agreement	9	CE (1); EM4(1); EF (1); GB2 (1); NHAdv (1); SOLInt (1); SOLUI (1); S (1); NO(1)	9	6	5	8	5	8	6	5; 4 (p)	1x1/4; 1x2/4; 4x3/4; 3x4/4

Table 1: The most represented skills in *negotiation of meaning*

2 Full titles are listed in the bibliography under primary sources.
3 1/4 stands for the first quarter; 2/4 for the second quarter, etc.
4 (p) stands for partly.
5 The location of one activity is between two parts of the unit (2/4–3/4) and is rounded down to 2/4.

All skills in *negotiation of meaning* are included, the only exception being *asking for language or information that the listener cannot remember*. One of the main findings in the analysis is that skills from the speaker's perspective are considered less important than skills from the listener's perspective. As shown in Table 1, skills from the listener's perspective (Nos. 2, 3, 4) are most frequent. On the other hand, there is only one skill exclusively from the speaker's perspective included among the top five skills,[6] i.e. *checking agreement*. However, if the primary speaking goal is to empower students to become confident speakers of English, it is of great importance that both types of skills are equally represented. Therefore, one implication for teaching practice is that coursebooks should be supplemented with additional materials so that both groups of skills are covered to the same extent.

In terms of how detailed each activity is, *checking agreement*, albeit the least frequent in the group (10%), is covered in most detail. It has the highest percentage in terms of lead-ins (100%), the number of phrases (89%) and pronunciation practice (67%). The reason for such a high percentage probably stems from the fact that all the structures presented are grammatical in nature, i.e. tag questions. On the other hand, No. 2 is covered in the least detail, followed by No. 3. The reason for this may be that, compared with other skills in the same group, Nos. 2 and 3 generally contain phrases which are slightly less complex and shorter and may therefore be covered in less detail. The study thus suggests that skills which are grammatical in nature, e.g. indirect questions, echo, reply and tag questions, are more thoroughly covered than the remaining phrases.

4.2 Analysis of individual subskills

(1) Indicating politeness (35):
Most activities have a lead-in (89%), but lack practice of meaning/form (only 29%) as well as pronunciation focus (20%). The majority (94%) contain a free communicative activity at the end. However, 51% of these are only partly communicative and lack authenticity. The absence of pronunciation focus and authentic tasks may be particularly problematic when it comes to expressing politeness. Appropriate pronunciation, especially intonation, plays a vital role in helping the speaker sound natural and polite. Similarly, tasks resembling real-life situations enable an easier transfer of skills from the student's mother tongue. There are four different types of this skill:

1a **Disagreeing politely** (14), **refusing politely** (2) or **correcting someone politely** (1), e.g. *Don't get me wrong, but …; I appreciate the offer, but …*

1b **Using hedging and tentative language (9)** to soften the message and appear more diplomatic, e.g. *It's hard to say but …*

1c **Using indirect questions (5)** to tone down one's message, e.g. *Could you let us know what the book is called?* The activities are generally well developed (three activities fulfil all criteria).

6 Indicating politeness belongs to both groups.

1d Polite requests and offers (4), e.g. *Would you like me to send …?; Would you mind …?* Some phrases also contain indirect questions, e.g. *Could you tell me where the station is, please?*

(2) Reacting to the speaker's message (21)

The phrases are generally short and express a wide range of emotions, e.g. interest, surprise, belief, disbelief, approval. Unlike *indicating politeness* (No. 1), this skill is covered less comprehensively. Lead-in activities (38% of all cases), context (38%) and comprehension check tasks (19%) appear to be less frequent. The number of phrases, however, is generally above five (86%). The lack of detail may be due to the fact that the majority of phrases are relatively short and easy to remember, e.g. *Really, How nice!* Similarly, pronunciation is present in only 24% of all cases, which puts students at a disadvantage as this is an area where a focus on pronunciation is particularly important. If the speaker uses inappropriate intonation, the message may be misunderstood. Furthermore, appropriate use of intonation is also one of the objectives stated in in the English Grammar School Curriculum in Slovenia (Učni načrt 2008, p. 27). Four activities (19%) are based around *echo or reply questions*. Like indirect questions in No. 1, they are more developed than the structures which are not grammatical in nature.

(3) Agreeing with the speaker (13)

Most activities have a lead-in (77%), which is significantly higher than in No. 2 (38%). Although all of them contain a communicative activity at the end, only 46% are authentic.

(4) Asking for clarification (11)

Similar to *indicating politeness and agreeing with the speaker*, context is quite frequent (64%) compared with *reacting to the speaker's message* (38%).

(5) Checking agreement (9)

All activities take the form of tag questions. Like echo questions in No. 2 and indirect questions in 1c, they are covered relatively well.

4.3 Negotiation of meaning – the least represented skills

Negotiation of meaning	No. of occur-rences	Coursebook(s)	Lead-in	Con-text	Com-prehen-sion check task	Num-ber of phrases (5 or more)	Notic-ing acti-vities	Practice of mean-ing/ form	Pro-nun-ciation focus	Free au-thentic activity	Location within the unit (4/4)
(1) Using markers to signal under-standing	1	NM(1)	1							1(p)	1x2/4
(2) Showing appreciation of the speaker's message	1	I(1)	1	1	1		1			1	1x2/4
(3) Signalling comprehen-sion problems	1	F4(1)	1	1	1		1	1		1	1x3/4
(4) Expressing the aim of the conversation in advance	1	I(1)	1	1	1		1			1	1x2/4
(5) Dealing with interrup-tion	2	I(1), NI(1)	2	2	2		2			2	1x2/4; 1x3/4
(6) Checking comprehen-sion	2	GB2(1); NS(1)	1	2	2	1	1	1	2	2	1x3/4; 1x4/4
(7) Checking understanding of the speak-er's message	2	NS(1), GB2(1)	1	2	2		1	1	2	2	1x3/4; 1x4/4
(8) Interrupt-ing	3	I(1); NI(1); SOLUI(1)	3	3	3		3			3	1x2/4; 1x3/4; 1x4/4
(9) Asking for the listener's opinion	5	CE(1); GB2(1); GB2+(1); NO(1); SOLUI(1)	4	4	4	2	3		1	2, 2(p)	3x3/4, 2X4/4
(10) Reacting to clarification requests	8	F4(1); I(2); NO(1); NS(1); S(1); GB(1); F5(1),	7	8	8	2	5	3	2	4; 4(p)	2x2/4; 4x3/4; 2x4/4

Table 2: The least represented skills in *negotiation of meaning*

As shown in Table 2, the skills from the speaker's (Nos. 4, 5, 6, 9, 10) and listener's perspectives (Nos. 1, 2, 3, 7, 8) are equally distributed. The least developed skill is *using markers to signal understanding*, which has no activities except for the lead-in and communicative activity. The least represented teaching elements in this group are the number of phrases (only 19% of all activities contain five or more phrases), practice of meaning/form (23%) and pronunciation focus (27%). The most significant difference between the most and least represented skills is thus the number of phrases, which is much lower than among the most represented skills (67%). This indicates that the skills in the previous group are not only more frequent, but they also display a much broader range of phrases. Nevertheless, at a B2 level students should be able to display a range of phrases and all skills need to be presented and practised thoroughly.

4.4 Agenda management

Agenda management	No. of occurrences	Coursebook(s)	Lead-in	Context	Comprehension check task	Number of phrases (5 or more)	Noticing activities	Practice of meaning/ form	Pronunciation focus	Free authentic activity	Location within the unit (4/4)
(1) Maintaining the conversation	17	CE(2); EF(1); F5(2); GB2(1); GB2+(2); NHUI(3); NM(1); NO(2); NS(1); SOLInt(1); S(1)	12	11	10	12	11	5	0	9; 6(p)	6x2/4; 5x3/4; 6x4/4
(2) Developing and directing the topic of conversation	11	I(1); NHUI(2); NI(2); NM(1); NS(1); SOLInt(1); WU(1); NHAdv(1), EM(5)	8	8	7	6	8	3	2	4; 4(p)	1x1/4; 2x2/4; 4x3/4; 4x4/4
(3) Expressing the speaker's attitude to their message	11	EF(1); F4(1); GB2+(1); NHAdv(1); NHUI(2); NO(2); SOLInt(1); S(1); EM5(1)	9	11	11	6	9	3	3	6; 3(p)	1x2/4; 5x3/4; 5x4/4
(4) Changing and returning to previous topics	2	NS(1); S(1)	2	2	2	1	2	1	0	1; 1(p)	1x3/4; 1x4/4
(5) Finishing the conversation	2	NH(1); NI(1)	0	2	1	2	2	0	1	1;1(p)	2x4/4
(6) Introducing a new topic	2	F5(1); OS(1)	1	1	1	1	1	1	0	2(p)	2x3/4
(7) Starting the conversation	1	SOLUI (1)	1	0	0			0	0	1	1x4/4

Table 3: Skills in *agenda management*

Seven out of nine skills related to *agenda management* are present, with *choosing appropriate topics* and *deciding on the length of the conversation* not explicitly covered. The rationale may be that they are implicitly taught through other skills, such as reading or listening. As indicated in Table 3, 41% of all activities are in the fourth quarter of the unit, followed by the third quarter (37%). In comparison, the majority of all *negotiation of meaning* activities (43.5%) are found in the third quarter of the unit. This may be an indicator that skills in *agenda management* are considered less important, and are therefore placed further towards the end of the unit.

The most represented skills (Nos. 1–3) include

(1) ***maintaining the conversation*** with two different types:

a) *using fillers and hesitation devices to gain thinking time* (12), e.g. *um, I guess*
All 12 have a communicative activity at the end, while the majority include a lead-in (9), context (10) comprehension check tasks (9) and noticing activities (9). In contrast, none contain a pronunciation activity, which is not deemed critical as fillers are not usually stressed and do not carry meaning. Similarly, practice activities are rare (3), which may be connected to the fact that the majority of phrases have a simple structure.

b) *providing additional information and asking follow-up questions* (5)
This skill is much less developed than the previous one, with only one activity containing almost all teaching elements. Even though this skill is less developed it may not be so problematic, as it tends to be practised at lower levels.

(2) Developing and directing the topic of conversation (11) by using discourse markers and linking devices or phrases to show contrast, organise your turn and move the discussion forward.

(3) Expressing the speaker's attitude to their message (11)
There are two main groups:
   a) comment adverbs, e.g. *Unfortunately, ...*
   b) phrases, e.g. *What's really worrying is, ...*
   Similarly to skill No. 2, only six out of 11 activities have five or more phrases.

The least represented skills (Nos. 4–7) are primarily concerned with transitions as opposed to the previous group, where the skills are mostly related to developing and maintaining the conversation.

4.5 Implications for Teaching

In the study a total of 161 occurrences of subskills are recorded, meaning that on average only approximately eight out of 25 subskills (following Bygate's (1987) and Munby's (1978) classification) are covered in each coursebook. While it is true that one coursebook cannot include all skills, it is of vital importance that students' speaking skills are constantly assessed by their teachers and materials supplemented if there is an absence of skills in the coursebook or the lack of detail with which they are covered.

Skills in *negotiation of meaning* as well as *agenda management* are developed to a similar extent. The most and least developed teaching elements are generally attested more frequently in *negotiation of meaning* skills than in *agenda management* skills. The most developed teaching element analysed in the research is the communicative task (NM 93% vs. AM 85%). On the other hand, the least developed teaching elements are practice of meaning/form (AM 28% vs. NM 34%) and pronunciation activities (AM 13% vs. NM 23.5%). The only exception are structures which are grammatical in nature, i.e. tag questions, echo and reply questions, indirect questions. The remaining teaching elements are generally slightly more developed in *agenda management* skills (lead-in: NM 76% vs. AM 72%; context: NM 72% vs. AM 76%; comprehension check tasks: NM 61% vs. AM 70%; activities containing five or more phrases: NM 56.5% vs. AM 61%; noticing activities: NM 63% vs. AM 72%). However, regarding the variety of skills, number of occurrences and the location within the unit, skills in *negotiation of meaning* are better represented.

Approximately two thirds of activities in both groups, *negotiation of meaning* and *agenda management*, contain a lead-in, context and comprehension checks. This number suggests that a third of all activities lack an important teaching procedure that enables students to familiarise themselves with the context in which the target language is embedded. A lead-in is used to activate students' schemata and raise interest in the topic. If this step is missing, students are at a disadvantage, especially teenagers who often lack motivation and need additional support and encouragement. Nevertheless, this procedure can be remedied easily by the teacher by adding a short lead-in activity, e.g. posing a question or a picture related to the topic of the text and asking the students to discuss it in pairs.

In the selected coursebooks context is generally well developed. It is interactive, recorded and relatively authentic, containing features of spoken language, such as false starts, hesitations, repetitions, back channelling, and vague language. However, there are many instances where only a few target items are embedded. This makes it much harder for students to make sense of the new language. Ideally, all target language should be embedded so that the meaning and form can be guessed from the context. The solution to this problem may be to write a new script or adapt it from the coursebook by embedding additional phrases. A colleague from the same department can then help the teacher to record it. An authentic recording can also be found online and used in the classroom, although this is usually more time-consuming. Moreover, most of the reviewed books do not contain a script on the same page, even though this can help students notice the target language in context and guess its meaning and form. Sometimes the script is found at the end of the book, which makes it inconvenient for students. Teachers are therefore advised to provide a copy of the script for more detailed study, as students need to understand the text well before more complex structures are introduced. Therefore, it is important that an easier task (commonly focusing on the gist) is set before students listen to the recording of the text. This gives them a reason to listen, resembling what happens in real life. Before the second listening a more complex comprehension task may be set. In the study the majority of activities (two thirds) contain a comprehension check task, which is followed by a noticing activity. If one is missing, this is usually due to the lack of context.

The percentage of activities containing five or more phrases connected to one skill is relatively low. This may be due to the fact that complementary skills are sometimes taught together, e.g. *interrupting* and *dealing with interruptions*, *asking for clarification* and *reacting to clarification requests*. If there are two or more skills taught together, the number of phrases for individual skills is naturally smaller. However, in most coursebooks there are many skills introduced in the same activity (usually three or four), meaning that they are often not covered in detail. Speaking subskills are also often combined with more general functions of spoken language, e.g. chairing a debate, getting your point across. This may be a sensible decision as they all help improve speaking skills. However, it is also difficult for the student to comprehend and actively use such a variety of skills in the same speaking task, which may result in poor learning outcomes.

Similarly, noticing activities, which help students become aware of new structures before focusing on meaning and form, are relatively poorly represented in the selected coursebooks. Sometimes there is only a language box with useful expressions without any context. In coursebooks that do incorporate noticing activities consistently, there is very little variety with regard to their type. Often the same kind of activity is used throughout the book, mostly one of the following; *listen to the recording and fill in the missing expressions; listen again and tick the phrases that you hear; classify the phrases according to their function*. This can become somewhat monotonous, and thus teachers are advised to create their own noticing activities. If there is a transcript available, they are relatively easy to design. A number of activities can be employed, such as matching, counting, comparing, identifying, contrasting, providing transcripts with information gaps, and so on (Thornbury 2005: 48).

Practice of meaning and form is of great importance, as it helps students to practise the target language as well as memorise it so that it can later be used in a free communicative activity. As this teaching element is among the least represented ones in the observed coursebooks, it is advisable to create new practice activities, e.g. unscramble the words to form phrases (practice of form) and insert them in a dialogue (practice of meaning); listen to or read a dialogue and correct the highlighted phrases (practice of meaning or form); rewrite the sentences so that the meaning stays the same (practice of meaning and form).

Focus on pronunciation is particularly important, as it not only helps students to memorise and automatise the target language, but also improves comprehension and enables the more natural production of language. Despite the fact that the percentage of pronunciation activities in the selected coursebooks is very low, this may not necessarily pose a problem as the target language can be modelled and drilled by the teacher. This can be done after the meaning and form have been explained, or before the final communicative task. To analyse pronunciation features, it is advisable to use the target language in simple sentences and write it on the board. Contracted forms should be used as speaking skills are practised. Next, sentence stress is marked as well as the main features of connected speech, e.g. weak forms, linking, elision, intrusion, assimilation. These features of pronunciation are particularly important to practise at advanced levels. Finally, the pronunciation of the sentences is drilled chorally, i.e. as a whole class, and individually. It is important that not too much time is spent explaining individual features of pronunciation. The focus should be on drilling the correct pronunciation.

The majority of activities contain a final communicative activity, which is a positive element as it enables students to make use of the new language in conversation. However, approximately half of the communicative tasks lack authenticity. Only 53% of activities in *negotiation of meaning* and 48% in *agenda management* are authentic, indicating that students may not be motivated to carry out the tasks. Ideally, the activity should resemble a situation they may encounter in real life. In the reviewed coursebooks, there are a number of activities asking students to write a dialogue and perform it in front of the class. Giving students some preparation time to select key expressions and write down notes is effective, as they are given the opportunity to organise ideas and incorporate new structures into their working memory. However, by scripting the text the activity is no longer spontaneous. Speaking skills are interactive and unpredictable in nature, and some element of spontaneity needs to be present in order to enable students to use the new language independently in everyday life. Teachers are therefore advised to take a critical look at the communicative activity and, if necessary, substitute it with a more authentic task that will appeal to teenagers. It is also important that the rationale for each speaking activity is explained, i.e. why it is important to use specific expressions, and what skills are required to carry it out successfully.

Regarding the location within the unit, most activities are placed towards the end, with *negotiation of meaning* in the third quarter and *agenda management* in the fourth. In some cases, the reason may be that certain skills are connected with previous topics and are best covered towards the end of the unit. Previous sections may also provide more context, enabling students to produce more language during the speaking activity. However, the study indicates that there is a consistent tendency to place speaking subskills towards the end of the unit, suggesting that they may not be as important as the practice of grammar or reading skills, for instance, which are usually dealt with in great detail. The sections covering speaking subskills are also relatively short, i.e. almost never longer than one page. It is therefore important that teachers are aware of the importance of speaking subskills, and that they are prioritised and taught accordingly. Furthermore, the study indicates that, in comparison with some other textbooks,[7] the coursebooks reviewed in this paper cover the speaking subskills in less detail.

5 CONCLUSIONS

To determine how well skills in *negotiation of meaning* and *agenda management* are presented and developed, twenty coursebooks for third- and fourth-year grammar school students approved by the Slovene Ministry of Education, Science and Sport are reviewed in this study. In total, 161 subskills are recorded and analysed in the reviewed coursebooks, meaning the average coursebook covers approximately eight subskills, which is less than a third of all subskills. Following these findings, teachers are advised to supplement coursebooks with their own materials covering the remaining subskills if necessary. Furthermore, they should critically assess activities focusing on speaking subskills in their coursebooks and, if required, adapt them or create their own.

With regard to the number of occurrences, the location within the unit and variety of skills, *negotiation of meaning* skills, (helping to prevent a communication breakdown) are better represented than *agenda management* skills (enabling the speaker to choose an appropriate topic and organise it accordingly). However, there are no significant differences across the remaining teaching elements. Both groups generally lack focus on pronunciation and practice of meaning/form, the only exception being phrases that are grammatical in nature. A significant number of communicative activities are only partly authentic and thus not sufficiently motivating for grammar school students. The majority of sections covering subskills are placed towards the end of the unit, indicating that there is a greater likelihood that they will not be taught in the classroom. Interestingly, the most frequent listener-oriented subskills are better represented than speaker-oriented subskills.

The study gives rise to various questions in need of further research. Further topics of interest include the study of intonation in turn-taking skills, the authenticity of recordings as well as the variety of activities used to present speaking subskills across each coursebook, and assessment of language functions in EFL coursebooks. A topic that may be particularly useful for high school teachers and therefore worth researching is assessment of individual coursebooks approved by the Slovene Ministry of Education, Science and Sport, with respect to the type of speaking subskills each book contains and the level of detail with which they are covered. Furthermore, the number of occurrences and the detail with which they are developed could be compared to the number and type of objectives stated in the English Grammar School Curriculum in Slovenia (Učni načrt 2008).

7 Tilbury (2011), e.g. prioritises speaking subskills with varied and generally well-developed activities.

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POVZETEK

GOVORNE VEŠČINE V UČBENIKIH ZA ANGLEŠKI JEZIK

Najpogostejši cilj učencev pri pouku angleščine je, da se bodo lahko tekoče izražali v tujem jeziku in postali avtonomni govorci, ki se bodo znali naravno odzvati v skoraj vseh situacijah. Da bi dosegli ta cilj, je ključnega pomena obvladovanje govornih veščin. Cilj pričujoče raziskave je ugotoviti, kako dobro in v kolikšni meri učbeniki za angleški jezik pokrivajo posamezne veščine, in sicer *pogajanja o pomenu* in *vodenje tem*. Glede na izbrane veščine je bilo pregledanih 20 učbenikov za 3. in 4. letnik gimnazij, ki so potrjeni s strani slovenskega Ministrstva za izobraževanje, znanost in šport.

Seštevek vseh veščin kaže na dejstvo, da je v danih učbenikih vključenih manj kot tretjina vseh veščin. Glede na število pojavitev, umestitev znotraj učne enote in vrsto posameznih veščin so veščine, ki se nanašajo na *pogajanje o pomenu*, predstavljene bolje kot *vodenje tem*, medtem ko so preostali učni elementi predstavljeni v podobni meri. Analiza študije je prav tako pokazala, da večina aktivnosti ne vsebuje nalog, ki bi vadile pomen, obliko in izgovorjavo ciljnih struktur. Komunikacijske naloge so v večini primerov prisotne, vendar pogosto niso avtentične; posledično tako niso dovolj motivacijske za ciljno skupino.

Rezultati študije so namenjeni srednješolskim učiteljem in služijo kot priporočilo o tem, katere veščine, v kolikšni meri ter kako dobro so zastopane v šolskih učbenikih za angleški jezik. Podani so praktični nasveti za učenje kot pomoč učiteljem, kadar njihov učbenik ne pokriva določenih veščin oz. so te nezadostno obravnavane.

Ključne besede: govorne veščine, pogajanje o pomenu, vodenje tem, direktni pristop, učbeniki za angleški jezik

ABSTRACT

The primary goal of most EFL students is to achieve fluency in the target language and become autonomous speakers who can react naturally in most situations. To achieve this, mastery of speaking subskills is crucial. The paper aims to identify how well specific subskills, i.e. *negotiation of meaning* and *agenda management*, are represented and developed in EFL coursebooks. Twenty coursebooks approved by the Slovene Ministry of Education, Science and Sport for 3rd and 4th year grammar school students are reviewed.

The number of all recorded subskills in the reviewed coursebooks suggests that less than a third are covered in each coursebook. Skills in *negotiation of meaning* are better represented than skills in *agenda management* in terms of the number of occurrences, the location within the unit and variety of skills. However, there are no significant differences among the remaining teaching elements. The study also indicates that most activities do not contain practice of meaning/form and pronunciation of target phrases. Although communicative activities are mostly present, they lack authenticity and are thus not sufficiently motivating for the target group.

The results of the study can serve as a recommendation for secondary school teachers as to the type of speaking subskills, their presence in English coursebooks as well as the detail with which they are covered. Practical teaching advice is given on how the lack of variety in the selected subskills, as well as the quality of related activities can be resolved.

Keywords: speaking subskills, negotiation of meaning, agenda management, direct approach, EFL coursebooks

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RAZVIJANJE USTNEGA IZRAŽANJA IN TIPOLOGIJA NALOG V UČBENIKIH ZA UČENJE ŠPANŠČINE

1 UVOD

Glavni cilj posameznika, ki se uči tujega jezika, je doseči sposobnost sporazumevanja v ciljnem jeziku. Poznavanje dejavnikov, ki pozitivno vplivajo na napredek in spodbujajo razvijanje jezikovnih spretnost kot so poslušanje, govorjenje, pisanje in branje v tujem jeziku, omogoča učencu lažje doseganje sporazumevalnih jezikovnih zmožnosti.[1]

Ustno izražanje[2] med štirimi jezikovnimi spretnostmi velja za najtežje obvladljivo, zato smo s kvalitativno analizo učbenikov, ki se v slovenskem srednješolskem prostoru uporabljajo za poučevanje španščine kot tujega jezika, preverili, kolikšen delež nalog v učbenikih je namenjen razvijanju ustnega izražanja. Članek predstavlja rezultate analize različnih učbenikov za poučevanje španščine kot tujega jezika, in sicer tako glede zastopanosti nalog, namenjenih razvijanju ustnega izražanja v španščini, kot tudi glede na tipologijo posameznih nalog za ustno izražanje, pri analizi pa upošteva tudi različne pristope v izbranih učbenikih. V analizi smo poleg količine in tipologije nalog opazovali tudi stopnjo vodenosti posameznih nalog (vodena, delno vodena, nevodena). Za potrebe analize učbenikov smo razvili posebno tipološko razvrstitev oziroma klasifikacijo posameznih nalog ustnega izražanja, tako članek ponudi model tipologije ustnih nalog in analizo teh nalog v razmislek pri nadaljnjem razvijanju ustnega izražanja v tujem jeziku. V zaključku članka izpostavimo glavne značilnosti posameznih učbenikov za poučevanje španščine, njihove prednosti oziroma slabosti, ki so jih rezultati analize pokazali, predvsem pa z interpretacijo dobljenih rezultatov usmerimo nadaljnjo uporabo učbenikov v razredu.

1 Sporazumevalne jezikovne zmožnosti so tiste, ki osebi omogočajo delovanje z uporabo specifičnih jezikovnih sredstev. (SEJO, 2011: 31)

2 Skupni evropski jezikovni okvir govori o petih jezikovnih spretnostih, saj razlikuje med govornim sporazumevanjem (vključevanje v pogovor, iznajdljivost v posameznih situacijah) in govornim sporočanjem (povezovanje, opisovanje, razlaga, pripovedovanje, obnova). Izraz »ustno izražanje«, ki ga uporabljamo, zaobjema obe zgoraj opisani spretnosti. Pri ustnem izražanju (govorjenju) uporabnik jezika tvori govorjeno besedilo, ki ga sprejema eden ali več poslušalcev. Ustno izražanje zajema dejavnosti, kot so govorjenje ob opornih točkah, igranje pripravljene vloge, spontani govor, opisovanje doživetja, zastopanje stališča idr. (SEJO, 2011)

2 UMEŠČENOST USTNEGA IZRAŽANJA V SKUPNI EVROPSKI JEZIKOVNI OKVIR

Krovni dokument Sveta Evrope, Skupni evropski jezikovni okvir (SEJO), predstavlja osnovo pomembno za učenje, poučevanje in ocenjevanje (tujih) jezikov. (SEJO, 2011: 5). Leta 2018 je SEJO dobil dodatek z naslovom *Common european framework of reference for languages: Learning, teaching, assessment. Companion volume with new descriptors,*[3] v katerem se nekateri kazalniki dopolnijo, razširijo, doda pa se tudi nova referenčna raven znanja jezika, in sicer nivo poimenovan *ang. pre-A1*, torej raven, umeščena pred A1.

Ustno izražanje je ena od jezikovnih spretnosti, ki zajema govorno sporazumevanje in govorno sporočanje. Sporazumevalna jezikovna zmožnost učenca se aktivira z jezikovnimi dejavnostmi, med katere se uvrščajo tudi govorno sprejemanje, tvorjenje, interakcija in posredovanje. (SEJO, 2011: 36).

Globalna lestvica skupnih referenčnih ravni, kot tudi shema za samoocenjevanje, vključjeta opisnike in kazalnike za ustno izražanje oziroma govorjenje.

Tudi kvalitativni vidik govorne rabe jezika zajema kriterije tekočnosti, interakcije in koherentnosti, ki se nanašajo na govorno produkcijo.

Pri ustnem izražanju uporabnik jezika tvori govorjeno besedilo, ki ga sprejema eden ali več poslušalcev. SEJO našteva več primerov takšnih dejavnosti,[4] njihove različne oblike,[5] prav tako pa pounudi ponazoritvene lestvice za splošno govorno izražanje kot tudi za druge oblike[6] ustnega izražanja. (SEJO, 2011: 81–84)

Pri govorni interakciji in posredovanju (govornem tolmačenju) uporabnik jezika v sodelovanju z drugim(i) ustvarja pogovor oziroma povzema in parafrazira besedilo. SEJO našteva več primerov interaktivnih dejavnosti,[7] za katere prav tako ponudi ponazoritvene lestvice (SEJO, 2011: 97–106), razčleni pa tudi govorno posredovanje.[8]

Ustno izražanje je v Skupnem evropskem jezikovnem okvirju zastopano tudi pri kriterijih učinkovitosti, ki ju določata dva splošna kvalitativna dejavnika.[9] Tudi za njiju najdemo ponazoritveni lestvici. (SEJO, 2011: 153–154)

Ni zanemarljivo, da se ustno izražanje pojavlja in omenja v poglavju dokumenta, ki je namenjeno čustvenim dejavnikom, kot so na primer samospoštovanje, angažiranost

3 Slovenski prevod dokumenta še ni na voljo.

4 Javna obvestila (informacije, navodila itn.), nagovarjanje občinstva (govori na javnih srečanjih, univerzitetna predavanja, pridige, kratkočasenje občinstva, športni komentarji, prodajne predstavitve itn.). (SEJO, 2011: 81)

5 Glasno branje napisanega besedila, govorjenje ob opornih točkah, pisni predlogi ali vizualnih pripomočkih (diagramih, slikah, shemah itn.), igranje pripravljene vloge, spontani govor, petje. (SEJO, 2011: 81)

6 Daljši monolog: opisovanje doživetja, daljši monolog: zastopanje stališča (na primer v razpravi), javna obvestila, nagovarjanje občinstva. (SEJO, 2011: 81)

7 Transakcije, sproščen nenačrtovan pogovor, neformalno razpravljanje, formalno razpravljanje, debata, intervju, pogajanje, skupno načrtovanje, praktično sodelovanje s konkretnim ciljem. (SEJO, 2011: 97)

8 Simultano tolmačenje (konference, sestanki, formalni govori itn.), konsekutivno tolmačenje (pozdravni govori, vodeni ogledi itn.), neformalno (dialoško) tolmačenje. (SEJO, 2011: 111–116)

9 Tekočnost govora in vsebinska natančnost. (SEJO, 2011: 152–153)

in motivacija, stanje in stališča, saj le-ti pomembno vplivajo na izvedbo in uspešno dokončanje opravila, torej med drugim tudi na uspešno ustno izražanje. (SEJO, 2011: 185)

Dodatek *Companion volume with new descriptors* (2018: 45–46) k obstoječim priključi nove opisnike. Na področju ustnega izražanja vključi opisnike za telekomunikacijo (*ang. using telecommunications*), za opisovanje izkušenj in podajanje informacij (*ang. sustained monologue: giving information*). Poleg interakcije in tvorjenja nov dokument ustno izražanje izpostavlja znotraj mediacije ter znotraj sporazumevalne (fonološke), multikulturne in multijezikovne jezikovne zmožnosti.[10]

3 USTNO IZRAŽANJE V POVEZAVI S TIPOLOGIJO NALOG

Učenčevo ustno izražanje v tujem jeziku je določeno s tekočnostjo govora (sposobnost artikulirati, vztrajati in obvladati situacijo, ko se oseba znajde v slepi ulici) in vsebinsko natančnostjo (sposobnost ubesedovanja misli in izjav, tako da sogovorec razume, kaj oseba želi povedati) (SEJO, 2011: 152). Da bi učenci (lažje) usvajali in razvijali tekočnost in natančnost pri govoru v tujem jeziku, jih (poleg drugih načinov in orodji) učitelj s smotrno izbranimi nalogami za razvijanje ustnega izražanja vodi na tej poti. Učitelji morajo naloge poleg vsebine smiselno izbirati tudi glede na tipologijo. Izbirati morajo naloge, ki so motivacijske, ki učence nagovorijo, so diferencirane po zahtevnosti, so raznolike, nagovarjajo potrebe učencev, spodbujajo sodelovanje, odgovornost in kreativnost (Arnold, 1999). Tipologijo nalog kot pomemben okoljski faktor učenja tujega jezika v raziskavah o ustnem izražanju izpostavljajo mnogi strokovnjaki (Mihaljević Djigunović, 2002; Šifrar Kalan, 2008; Pavlin, 2017; Žefran, 2017). Prav tako pa različni avtorji (Pinilla Gómez, 2004; Scott in Ytreberg, 1990, v Tumova, 2002; Šifrar Kalan, 2008; Vázquez, 2000) ponujajo raznolike razvrstitve nalog ustnega izražanja. Iz teh del sledi, da se tipologije nalog ustnega izražanja razvrščajo glede na naslednje tri kriterije: tekočnost govora, stopnja vodenosti in vsebinska natančnost.

Pri sedemdelni tipologiji nalog, ki jo predlaga Pinilla Gómez (2004: 891), je zaznati umanjkanje kategorij oziroma tipov nalog, ki bi se med seboj razlikovale glede na socialno dinamiko, zato smo za našo raziskavo izoblikovali tipologijo, ki temelji na kriteriju vodenosti (Tumova, 2002) in predvidi tudi različne socialne dinamike (individualno, v paru, v skupini). Kriterij vodenosti zaobjema zgoraj izpostavljene smernice oblikovanja nalog, saj naloge, razvrščene in oblikovane po stopnji vodenosti, smiselno stopnjujejo sodelovanje, odgovornost in samoiniciativnost učencev.

Naloge ustnega izražanja, ki so v celoti vodene s strani učitelja ali učbenika, so največkrat uvodne naloge, ki zahtevajo le malo izpostavljanja posameznega učenca, mu dajejo čas, da se na govorno produkcijo pripravi in postane suveren. Pri tovrstnih nalogah

10 Ang. *Mediation, Communicative language competence (Phonology), Plurilingual & pluricultural competence*.

so navodila zelo jasna, specifična, zahtevajo le reprodukcijo ustnega izražanja učenca, možnost za napake je manjša (Scott in Ytreberg, 1990: 37), vsebujejo veliko iztočnic, izhodiščnih besedil ali primerov. Naloge, ki so v celoti vodene in so v veliki večini zaprtega tipa, pri učencu povečajo občutek kontrole nad dogajanjem, omejijo nepoznane elemente, ki bi učenčevo ustno izražanje lahko otežili – dvom, negotovost, nepoznani kriteriji in pričakovanja (Arnold, 2003). Tovrstne naloge pri učencu gradijo in razvijajo samozavest in motiviranost, ki pomembno vplivata na jezikovno produkcijo v tujem jeziku. Gre za naloge, kot so: branje oziroma pripovedovanje vnaprej pripravljenega besedila (na primer: predstavitev povzetka ali odlomka pred razredom, osebna predstavitev, intervju s sošolcem in predstavitev povzetka intervjuja, predstavitev izbranega filma v paru v razredu, glasno branje,[11] primerjava rešitev v paru ali skupini, snemanje sporočil v parih oziroma igra vlog, ugibanje avtorja sporočila v majhnih skupinah idr.).

Naloge, ki so delno vodene s strani učitelja ali učbenika, so v večji meri naloge, ki poleg reprodukcije že predvidevajo lasten angažma učenca, torej njegov lastni doprinos k že usvojenim vsebinam in oblikam. Še vedno je v ozadju struktura navodil in primerov (preko učbenika ali z vodenjem profesorja), vendar je zasnova že nekoliko bolj odprta in od učenca zahteva večjo samoiniciativnost in samostojnejšo jezikovno produkcijo. Te naloge izvedbeno navadno sledijo nalogam, ki so v celoti vodene, z namenom, da učenca postopoma osamosvojijo pri ustnem sporočanju. Delno vodene naloge, tako Scott in Ytreberg (1990: 38), učencem navadno omogočajo neke vrste izbiro, vendar pa je le-ta jezikovno zelo omejena. Občutek nadzora nad dogajanjem pri učencu sicer ni tako močan kot pri nalogah, ki so vodene v celoti, možnost napake se poveča, vseeno pa uspejo omejiti nepoznane elemente do te mere, da morebiten učenčev dvom oziroma negotovost ne onemogoči njegove jezikovne produkcije. Bolj kot (čeprav tudi) grajenje samozavesti sta pri teh nalogah izpostavljena motivacijski vidik in spodbujanje skupinskega dela oziroma dinamike. Tovrstne naloge večinoma predvidevajo sodelovanje v paru ter delo v večjih ali manjših skupinah, kar pomeni, da je naloga lahko delno vodena, ne le s strani učitelja ali učbenika, temveč tudi preko drugih učencev ali učenca samega. Pri teh nalogah so navodila jasna, specifična, zahtevajo pa tako reprodukcijo kot tudi produkcijo ustnega izražanja učenca. Naloge vsebujejo manj iztočnic, izhodiščnih besedil in nekoliko manj primerov. Scott in Ytreberg (v Tumova, 1990: 35) kot pomemben most med nalogami, ki so v celoti vodene, in tistimi, ki so proste, izpostavita dialoge v paru in igro vlog, saj gre za nekakšno združitev izražanja po vzorcu, modelu, in ubesedovanja lastnih misli. Velikokrat gre za naloge, ki zahtevajo neke vrste dopolnjevanje informacij (ang. *information gap principle*). Gre za naloge, kot so: dialog, igra vlog, komentar iztočnic v majhni skupini, paru ali v razredu, zastavljanje vprašanj, izražanje mnenja, načrtovanje intervjuja sošolca, usklajevanje mnenj v manjši skupini, dopolnjevanje informacij v paru, dajanje nasvetov v razredu idr.

Naloge, ki niso vodene, predvidevajo lastno govorno tvorjenje učencev, samostojnost pri izbiri in tvorbi jezikovnih struktur in samostojno upovedovanje misli. Razen

11 Glasno branje napisanega besedila je ena od oblik dejavnosti ustnega tvorjenja. (SEJO, 2011: 81)

krovnega navodila te naloge ne vsebujejo dodatnih iztočnic, navodil, primerov. Predvidevajo motiviranost učenca, njegovo samostojnost in samoiniciativnost. Naloge so odprtega tipa, ne nudijo občutka kontrole nad situacijo, nagovarjajo pa sposobnost učenca, da izrazi svoje misli, stališča in navadno sledijo delno vodenim nalogam. Naloge se bolj kot na jezikovno pravilnost osredotočijo na vsebino in pomen, torej na sporočilo govorca (Scott in Ytreberg, 1990: 42).

Nalog, ki niso vodene, je praviloma nekoliko manj oziroma se postopoma uvrščajo v učbenik (na koncu posamezne enote, za v celoti vodenimi ali delno vodenimi nalogami in upoštevajoč stopnjo znanja). Tipološko niso dodatno omejene, navezujejo se lahko na samostojno delo, delo v paru ali skupinsko dinamiko. Implementacija oziroma vključevanje tovrstnih nalog v pouk predvideva samostojnega in suverenega učenca, ki je jezik usvojil do mere, ki mu omogoča samostojno jezikovno produkcijo. Gre za naloge kot so: izražanje mnenj (v paru, skupini, razredu), izbira ali opisovanje nalog, usklajevanje mnenj, oblikovanje hipotez v razredu, opis izkušnje, viharjenje možganov, komentar teme, izmenjava mnenj v majhni skupini, izpeljava slovničnega pravila, igre idr. Četudi so navodila lahko zelo podobna ali praktično enaka pri vseh treh tipih nalog (v celoti vodene, delno vodene, nevodene), je stopnja vodenosti največkrat odvisna od števila iztočnic ter od tega, ali (in kako) so iztočnice oziroma primeri podani in kakšno sodelovanje učenca naloga predvideva. V primeru naloge z navodilom *Predstavi se sošolcem* lahko to nalogo uvrstimo v katero koli od treh tipologij. V kategorijo naloge, ki je v celoti vodena, smo v analizi tovrstno nalogo uvrstili v primeru, ko ima učenec podano celotno besedilo in ga zgolj dopolni s svojimi podatki (na primer ime, priimek, starost ipd.) ter to predstavitev nato pove/prebere. V kategorijo naloge, ki je delno vodena, smo nalogo uvrstili v primeru, ko ima učenec podanih nekaj iztočnic oziroma opornih točk, ki jih oblikuje na podlagi svojih podatkov (na primer ime, priimek, starost ipd.) ter to predstavitev nato pove/prebere. V kategorijo naloge, ki ni vodena, smo nalogo uvrstili v primeru, ko učenec pri nalogi nima iztočnic oziroma opornih točk, ne besedila, ampak mora prosto oblikovati govorno besedilo, ki vključuje njegovo predstavitev (na primer ime, priimek, starost ipd.).

Stopnjevanje vodenosti pri nalogah poteka linearno s taksonomijo posameznih nalog. V celoti vodene naloge so nižje kognitivne ravni, gre za osnovno, temeljno jezikovno reprodukcijo, kar je v nasprotju z nalogami, ki niso vodene in že predvidevajo višje taksonomske stopnje, kot sta uporaba jezikovnega znanja in kreativna produkcija le-tega.

Učenje tujega jezika je tako kognitivni kot emotivni proces, saj od posameznika nemalokrat zahteva izražanje lastnih čustev, vidikov, nazorov, mnenj, izpostavljanja osebnostnih lastnosti, zato je izbira nalog, ki od učenca terjajo izpostavljenost, še posebno pomembna, zlasti, ko so le-te namenjene ustnemu izražanju, saj je učenec takrat najranljivejši (osebno izpostavljen) in hkrati najbolj negotov (Arnold in Foncubierta, 2019: 15). Z izbiro tipološko ustreznih nalog glede na kontekst poučevanja lahko učitelj pripomore k varnemu okolju, ki stimulira govorno produkcijo učencev.

Naloge, ki od učenca zahtevajo ustno izražanje, morajo zato pri učencu v prvi vrsti zagotoviti varno okolje za izražanje, mu ponuditi orodja, s pomočjo katerih lahko svoje znanje izrazi, in ga hkrati spodbuditi k sodelovanju (Rabéa, 2010: 12). Bolj kot je naloga vodena, varnejše je to okolje. Da učenec naloge lažje usvoji, obvladuje ter je posledično bolj tekoč v izražanju, naj naloge zahtevajo sodelovanje učencev in jih tudi vključujejo v načrtovanje učnega procesa (ali dela tega), saj jih tako spodbudijo k prevzemanju odgovornosti za lastno učenje (Šifrar Kalan, 2008: 293). Sodelovanje učencev je pri nalogah v učbenikih vodeno oziroma spodbujano tudi z raznolikimi oblikami dela oziroma socialno dinamiko.

4 RAZISKAVA

Namen analize učbenikov je bil ugotoviti, kako učbenik naslavlja potrebe učiteljev in učencev glede nalog, namenjenih govorni produkciji v španščini. Analizirali smo količino in vsebino nalog ustnega izražanja, ki se pojavljajo v učbenikih, pogostost in zastopanost posameznih tipov nalog, jih primerjali po stopnji znanja oziroma letniku učenja jezika in jih razvrstili v kategorije tipologij na podlagi kriterija stopnje vodenosti (vodene, delno vodene, nevodene).

Analiza je sledila tridelni shemi, ki jo predlaga Littlejohn (2011:185). Zajela je, tako Littlejohn, najpomembnejši vidik analize gradiv, in sicer subjektivno analizo, ki vključuje analizo vsebine in namena posamezne naloge (kaj se pričakuje od učenca in učitelja) (Littlejohn, 2011:188).

Za analizo učbenikov smo izbrali učbenike za španščino kot drugi oziroma tretji tuji jezik gimnazijskega in srednjega tehniškega oziroma strokovnega izobraževanja. Izbor učbenikov temelji na naslednjih kriterijih: vsi so potrjeni s strani pristojnega strokovnega sveta (objava v Katalogu potrjenih učbenikov[12]), se najpogosteje uporabljajo za poučevanje španščine v slovenskem šolskem prostoru[13] (v gimnazijskem in srednje tehniškem oziroma strokovnem izobraževanju), spadajo med novejše učbenike (potrjeni leta 2011 in kasneje) in zajemajo enake stopnje znanja po SEJO.

Na slovenskem trgu je moč najti precej učbenikov in učbeniških kompletov za poučevanje španščine v omenjenih programih, vendar so si zasnovno in vsebinsko med seboj precej podobni. Na podlagi tega in upoštevajoč zgoraj naštete kriterije smo za analizo izbrali sledeče učbenike: Diverso 1, Diverso 2, Gente hoy 1, Gente hoy 2. Analizirani učbeniki se glede na razvijanje kompetenc po ravneh razvrščajo od A1 (Diverso 1, Gente hoy 1) do A2 (Diverso 2, Gente hoy 2).[14]

12 Trubar Učbeniški sklad, b.d.

13 Glede na podatke, dobljene v preliminarni raziskavi med srednješolskimi učitelji španščine v Sloveniji. Preliminarna raziskava v okviru priprave doktorske disertacije je potekala v letu 2019.

14 A1 in A2 sta uradni oznaki ravni učbenikov s strani avtorjev oziroma založbe. Ravni je sicer težko natančno razmejiti, vendar menimo, da druga polovica učbenikov Diverso 2 in Gente hoy 2 že prehaja na raven B1 in jo delno tudi pokrije.

Analizirali smo učbenike brez pripadajočih delovnih zvezkov, saj se učitelji za njihovo rabo (oziroma nerabo) različno odločajo:[15] nekateri jih uporabljajo, drugi ne, nekateri učbeniki pa imajo razdelek, ki predstavlja delovni zvezek, že integriran v sam učbenik.

Izbrani učbeniki predstavljajo dve različici komunikacijskega pristopa k poučevanju, za katerega sta značilni interakcija in celostno razvijanje jezikovnih spretnosti (Zanón, 2007: 20). Učbenika Diverso 1 in Diverso 2 sta zasnovana na globalnem in medkulturnem pristopu (šp. *enfoque global e intercultural*), medtem ko je za Gente hoy 1 in Gente hoy 2 značilen na dejavnostih temelječ pristop (šp. *enfoque por tareas*).

Za globalni in medkulturni pristop je značilna prisotnost vzgojne komponente in, tako Šifrar Kalan, želi pri učencu razvijati (samo)kritičnost, odgovornost, refleksijo, strpnost, solidarnost, ustvarjalnost in ekipni duh. Poleg učenja jezika in kulture ta pristop razvija osnovne človeške vrednote. (Diccionario de términos clave de ELE, 2008; Šifrar Kalan, 2016)

Na dejavnostih temelječ pristop je komunikacijski pristop, ki od učenca terja aktivno vlogo in sodelovanje pri izvajanju nalog in manjših projektov. Učenec ob tem razvija različne učne strategije, uri se v samovrednotenju, poleg jezikovnih in sociolingvističnih pa razvija tudi pragmatične zmožnosti. (Martín Peris, 2004; Martín Peris 2008; Šifrar Kalan, 2013) Naloge, ki sestavljajo na dejavnosti temelječe učbenike, so samostojne enote, združene v sklope, ki integrirano razvijajo jezikovne spretnosti in predvidevajo aktivno sodelovanje učencev (Zanón in Estaire 2010: 413).

Glavna vprašanja raziskave so:

1) Kolikšen delež nalog v učbeniku predstavljajo naloge, namenjene ustnemu izražanju?
2) Kakšne tipe nalog ustnega izražanja zasledimo v učbenikih?
3) Kakšni tipi nalog ustnega izražanja prevladujejo v učbenikih?
4) Kolikšna je razlika med nalogami ustnega izražanja (količina, tipologija) glede na različna pristopa posameznih učbenikov?

Za analizo učbenikov smo razvili posebno tipološko razvrstitev oziroma klasifikacijo posameznih nalog ustnega izražanja. Naloga je dejavnost, osredotočena na sporazumevanje oziroma tiste vidike sporazumevanja, ki učencem omogočajo izražanje svojih misli in namer, bodisi samostojno bodisi z vodenjem učitelja (Vázquez in Lacorte, 2019: 14). Da smo nalogo obravnavali kot nalogo ustnega izražanja, je bilo potrebno, da naloga predvideva kakršno koli ustno produkcijo ali reprodukcijo učenca v španščini. Gre torej za naloge, za katere je specifično opisano, da so namenjene ustnemu izražanju. Naloge, kjer se navodila lahko nanašajo na katero koli od štirih jezikovnih spretnosti, so izvzete.[16] Za posamezno nalogo šteje aktivnost oziroma navodilo za dejavnost. Podnaloge v učbenikih (označene kot a, b, c) so upoštevane kot posamezne naloge, saj se razlikujejo glede na jezikovne spretnosti, za katere se pričakuje, da jih bo učenec uporabljal.

15 Glede na podatke, dobljene v preliminarni raziskavi med srednješolskimi učitelji španščine v Sloveniji. Preliminarna raziskava v okviru priprave doktorske disertacije je potekala v letu 2019.

16 Izvzete niso bile le iz celotnega deleža nalog v učbeniku.

Tipološka klasifikacija nalog je temeljila na kriteriju stopnje vodenosti posamezne naloge. Vodenost posamezne naloge je tridelna, in sicer: vodena, delno vodena, nevodena. Pri stopnji vodenosti gre namreč za kontinuum kreativnosti učencev tujega jezika, in sicer od čiste reprodukcije (naloge, ki so v celoti vodene) do lastne kreativne produkcije (naloge, ki niso vodene). Kot vodene v celoti ali delno vodene štejemo naloge, ki so vodene preko navodil oziroma iztočnic v učbeniku ali predvidevajo vodenje učitelja ali celo učencev samih. Kot nevodene naloge smo obravnavali tiste naloge, ki vsebujejo zgolj krovno navodilo o dejavnosti, ki sledi (brez iztočnic, dodatnih usmeritev, predlogov, tem).

V primerih, ko je naloga predvidevala ustno predstavitev neke teme, je kot ustna naloga štela seveda govorna predstavitev sama, priprava na predstavitev pa kot stopnja vodenosti naloge.

Poleg kriterija stopnje vodenosti smo pri razvijanju tipologije nalog upoštevali tudi kriterij številčnosti oziroma velikosti skupine, v kateri prihaja do govorne (re)produkcije v španščini. Oblikovali smo naslednje kategorije: individualni govor, dialog v dvojicah, pogovor o temi v manjši skupini, dejavnosti na podlagi igre, pogovor v večji skupini, predstavitev teme (individualna, v dvojicah ali v skupini) in igranje vlog. [17]

Kategorije smo izoblikovali na podlagi izsledkov preliminarne študije,[18] ki je pokazala, da večina učbenikov za španščino najpogosteje vsebuje naloge, ki jih lahko razvrstimo v zgoraj omenjene kategorije. Uvrščanje nalog v omenjenih sedem kategorij omogoča tipološko razvrstitev vseh nalog za ustno izražanje v analiziranih učbenikih. Za analizo učbenikov smo oblikovali poseben obrazec, ki je v prvi vrsti služil boljši preglednosti nalog, ki smo jih obravnavali v posameznem učbeniku, kot drugo pa je vseboval tipološko razvrstitev, količino oziroma delež nalog ustnega izražanja v celoti, delež nalog ustnega izražanja po posameznih enotah v učbeniku ter skupno število vseh nalog v učbeniku (namenjenih razvijanju vseh štirih jezikovnih spretnosti), razdelitev po stopnji vodenosti, po dejavnostih in po številčnosti.

Tabela 1: Primeri nalog po kategorijah

Kategorija	Primeri nalog po kategorijah
pogovor v večji skupini	¿Qué sabes de la República Dominicana? Coméntalo con tus compañeros. (Diverso 1, str. 81, naloga 2a)
igranje vlog	En parejas, representad un pequeño juego de rol: uno explica el problema (paciente) y el otro da consejos (médico). Después, cambiad los papeles. (Diverso 2, str. 45, naloga 2b)
predstavitev teme	En grupos, elegid otro ritmo caribeño: bachata, salsa, mambo, chachachá... Buscad la información en internet y escribid un pequeño texto para presentarlo oralmente. (Diverso 1, str. 87, naloga 2b)

17 Primeri nalog po kategorijah so prikazani v tabeli 1.

18 Preliminarna raziskava v okviru priprave doktorske disertacije je potekala v letu 2019.

Kategorija	Primeri nalog po kategorijah
dejavnosti na podlagi igre	Vas a jugar con un compañero a comparar dos de estas ciudades, pero sin decir el nombre de la primera. A ver quién adivina más rápido a qué ciudad se refiere. (Gente hoy 1, str. 102, naloga 4c)
pogovor o temi v manjši skupini	En pequeños grupos buscad costumbres que tenéis en común. (Gente hoy 1, str. 59, naloga 1b)
dialog v dvojicah	Ahora, queda con un compañero para ir a alguno de los lugares de los que habéis hablado. (Gente hoy 2, str. 32, naloga 6b)
individualni govor	Escucha los números y repite. (Diverso 1, str. 23, naloga 2a)

5 REZULTATI ANALIZE

V nadaljevanju predstavimo rezultate analize, in sicer najprej delež nalog ustnega izražanja v vseh analiziranih učbenikih, nato število posameznih tipov nalog v vsakem učbeniku. Sledijo rezultati analize nalog po stopnji vodenosti: predstavimo najprej število tipološko raznolikih nalog po posameznih učbenikih, ki so v celoti vodene, nato število nalog, ki so delno vodene, in v nadaljevanju še število nalog, ki niso vodene. Sledijo rezultati analize posameznih učbenikov glede na delež, ki ga v učbeniku predstavljajo vodene, delno vodene in nevodene naloge.

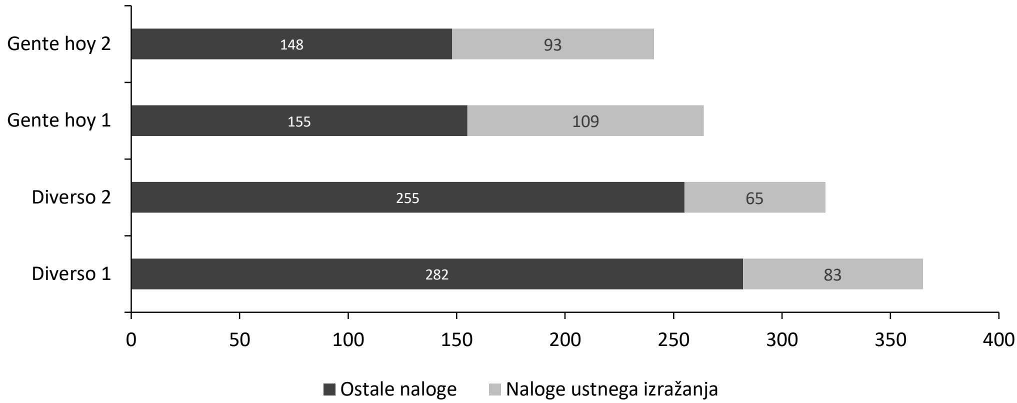
5. 1 Delež nalog, namenjenih ustnemu izražanju v španščini v analiziranih učbenikih

Učbenik Diverso 1 (A1) je razdeljen na 10 enot (uvodna enota in 9 enot v nadaljevanju). Skupno število vseh nalog za vse jezikovne spretnosti v učbeniku je 365, od tega je 83 nalog namenjenih ustnemu izražanju učencev (22,7 %).

Učbenik Diverso 2 (A2) je razdeljen v 9 enot, skupno število vseh nalog je 320. 65 nalog oziroma 20,3 % predstavljajo tiste, ki so namenjene ustnemu izražanju učencev.

Učbenik Gente hoy 1 (A1) je razdeljen v 13 enot (uvodna enota in 12 enot v nadaljevanju). Skupno število vseh nalog v učbeniku je 264, od tega je 109 nalog namenjenih ustnemu izražanju učencev (41,3 %).

Učbenik Gente hoy 2 (A2) je razdeljen v 11 enot (uvodna enota in 10 enot v nadaljevanju). Skupno število vseh nalog je 241. 93 nalog oziroma 38,6 % predstavljajo tiste, ki so namenjene ustnemu izražanju učencev. (Graf 1)



Graf 1: Delež nalog, ki so namenjene ustnemu izražanju v učbenikih Diverso 1, Diverso 2, Gente hoy 1, Gente hoy 2

5. 2 Tipologija nalog ustnega izražanja v španščini v analiziranih učbenikih

V vsakem od analiziranih učbenikov smo zasledili vsaj po eno nalogo iz posamezne kategorije: individualni govor, dialog v dvojicah, pogovor o temi v manjši skupini, dejavnosti na podlagi igre, pogovor v večji skupini, predstavitev teme in igranje vlog.

Učbenik Diverso 1 vsebuje 83 nalog, namenjenih razvijanju govorne produkcije učencev v španščini. Te naloge so po tipologiji raznolike in se razvrščajo v naslednje kategorije: pogovor v večji skupini (1 naloga), igranje vlog (2 nalogi), predstavitev teme (2 nalogi), dejavnosti na podlagi igre (5 nalog), pogovor o temi v manjši skupini (6 nalog), dialog v dvojicah (26 nalog), individualni govor (38 nalog).

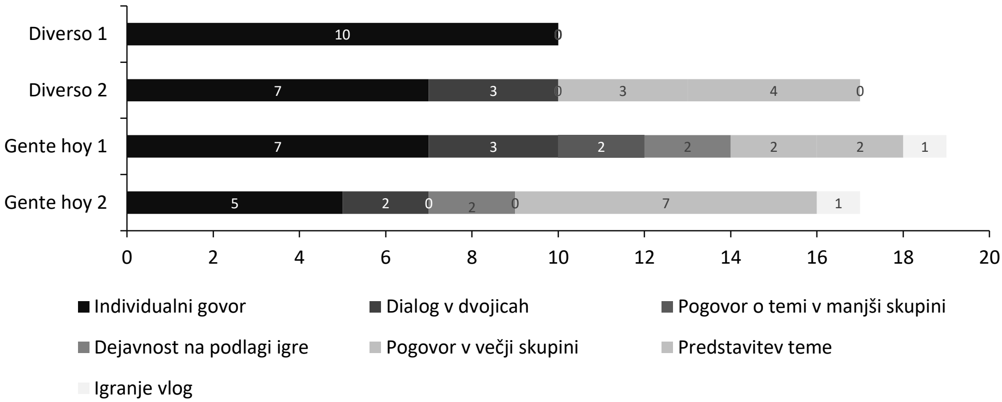
Učbenik Diverso 2 vsebuje 65 nalog namenjenih razvijanju ustnega izražanja učencev v španščini. Te naloge, tipološko raznolike, se razvrščajo v naslednje kategorije: dejavnosti na podlagi igre (1 naloga), igranje vlog (1 naloga), pogovor o temi v manjši skupini (7 nalog), predstavitev teme (8 nalog), individualni govor (8 nalog), pogovor v večji skupini (10 nalog), dialog v dvojicah (30 nalog).

Učbenik Gente hoy 1 vsebuje 109 nalog namenjenih razvijanju govorne produkcije učencev v španščini. Te tipološko različne naloge se razvrščajo v naslednje kategorije: igranje vlog (5 nalog), dejavnosti na podlagi igre (8 nalog), individualni govor (10 nalog), predstavitev teme (15 nalog), dialog v dvojicah (19 nalog), pogovor o temi v manjši skupini (22 nalog), pogovor v večji skupini (30 nalog).

Učbenik Gente hoy 2 vsebuje 93 nalog namenjenih razvijanju govorne produkcije učencev v španščini. Te prav tako raznovrstne naloge se razvrščajo v naslednje kategorije: igranje vlog (1 naloga), predstavitev teme (7 nalog), dejavnosti na podlagi igre (8 nalog), individualni govor (8 nalog), pogovor o temi v manjši skupini (12 nalog), dialog v dvojicah (18 nalog), pogovor v večji skupini (37 nalog).

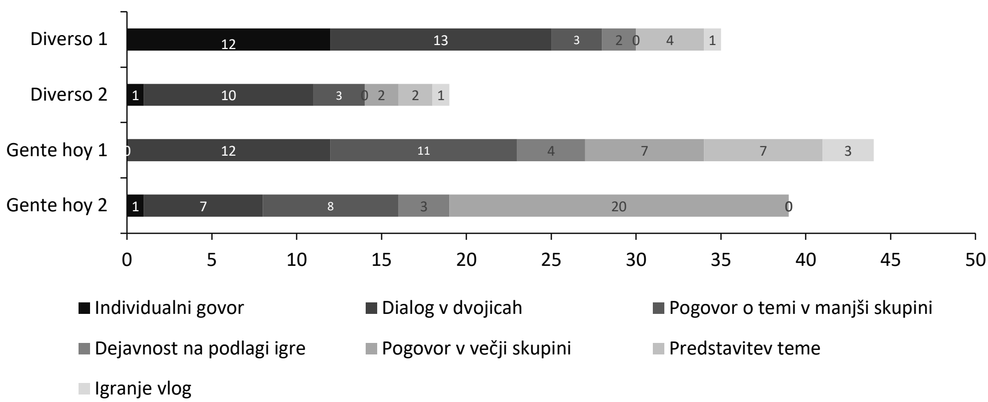
5. 3 Naloge, namenjene ustnemu izražanju v španščini v analiziranih učbenikih, glede na kriterij vodenosti

Nalog, ki so v celoti vodene, je v učbeniku Diverso 1 10, v učbeniku Diverso 2 17, v učbeniku Gente hoy 1 19 in v učbeniku Gente hoy 2 17. (Graf 2)



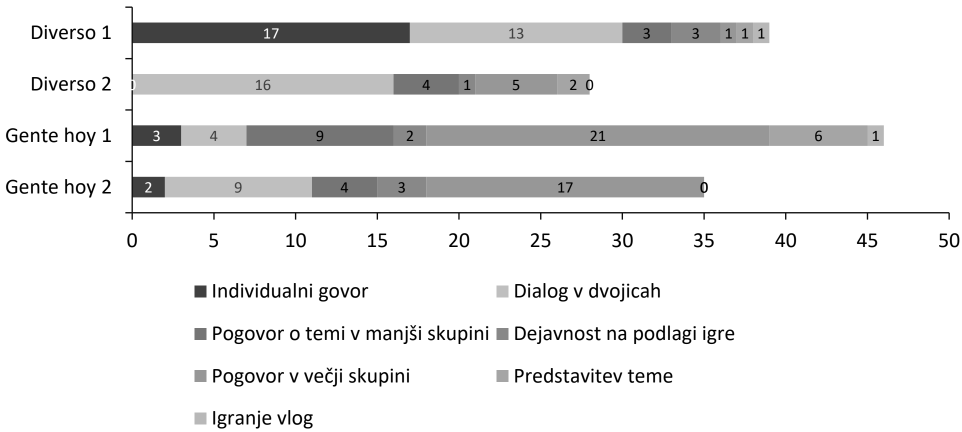
Graf 2: Naloge v analiziranih učbenikih, ki so v celoti vodene

Nalog, ki so delno vodene, je v učbeniku Diverso 1 35, v učbeniku Diverso 2 19, v učbeniku Gente hoy 1 44 in v učbeniku Gente hoy 2 39. (Graf 3)



Graf 3: Naloge v analiziranih učbenikih, ki so delno vodene

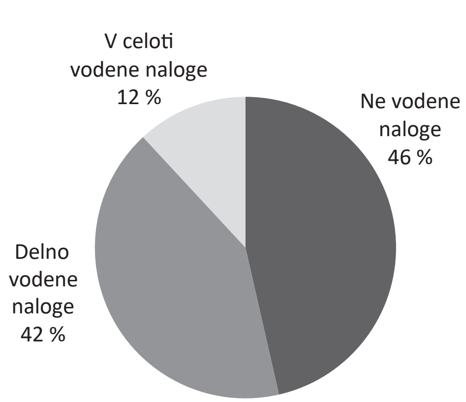
Naloge, ki niso vodene, so v učbenikih zastopane različno. Učbenik Diverso 1 vsebuje 39 takšnih nalog, učbenik Diverso 2 28 nalog, ki niso vodene, učbenik Gente hoy 1 64 nalog in učbenik Gente hoy 2 35 nalog, ki niso vodene. (Graf 4)



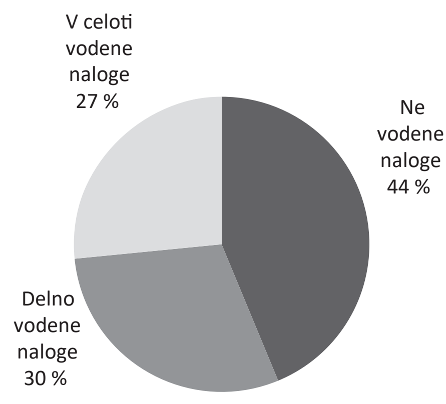
Graf 4: Naloge v analiziranih učbenikih, ki niso vodene

Delež nalog glede na stopnjo vodenosti pri analiziranih učbenikih je sledeč: v učbeniku Diverso 1 v celoti vodene naloge predstavljajo 12 % vseh nalog ustnega izražanja, delno vodene naloge predstavljajo 42 % vseh nalog ustnega izražanja in nevodene naloge predstavljajo 46 % vseh nalog, namenjenih ustnemu izražanju učencev. (Graf 5)

V učbeniku Diverso 2 v celoti vodene naloge predstavljajo 26 % vseh nalog ustnega izražanja, delno vodene naloge predstavljajo 30 % vseh nalog ustnega izražanja in naloge, ki niso vodene, predstavljajo 44 % vseh nalog, namenjenih ustnemu izražanju učencev. (Graf 6)



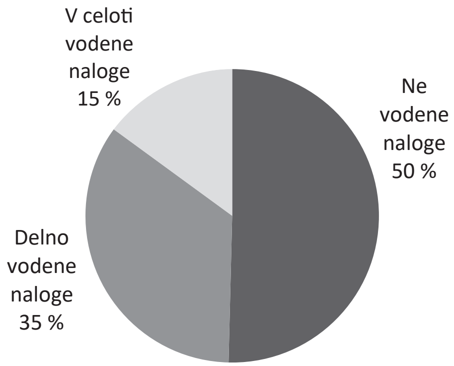
Graf 5: Naloge po stopnji vodenosti – Diverso 1



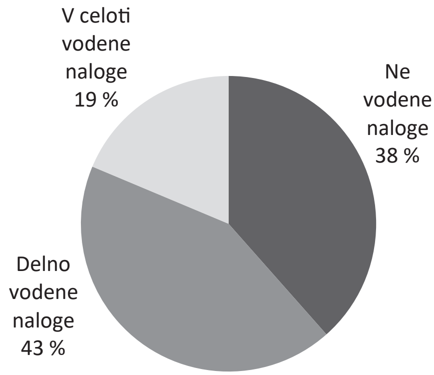
Graf 6: Naloge po stopnji vodenosti – Diverso 2

V učbeniku Gente hoy 1 v celoti vodene naloge predstavljajo 15 % vseh nalog ustnega izražanja, delno vodene naloge predstavljajo 35 % vseh nalog ustnega izražanja in naloge, ki niso vodene, predstavljajo 50 % vseh nalog, namenjenih ustnemu izražanju učencev. (Graf 7)

V učbeniku Gente hoy 2 v celoti vodene naloge predstavljajo 19 % vseh nalog ustnega izražanja, delno vodene naloge predstavljajo 43 % vseh nalog ustnega izražanja in naloge, ki niso vodene, predstavljajo 38 % vseh nalog, namenjenih ustnemu izražanju učencev. (Graf 8)



Graf 7: Naloge po stopnji vodenosti – Gente hoy 1



Graf 8: Naloge po stopnji vodenosti – Gente hoy 2

6 INTERPRETACIJA REZULTATOV

Pri interpretaciji rezultatov je treba izhajati iz dejstva, da analizirani učbeniki zasledujejo dva različna pristopa: učbenika Diverso 1 in Diverso 2 globalni in medkulturni pristop ter Gente hoy 1 in Gente hoy 2 na dejavnostih temelječ pristop. Avtorji so za dosego predvidenih ciljev in kompetenc učbenike zasnovali glede na smernice in značilnosti pristopov in skladno s tem so določen delež nalog namenili razvijanju posamezne jezikovne spretnosti. Pojavnost oziroma zastopanost nalog, namenjenih ustnemu izražanju, je v učbenikih Gente hoy 1 in Gente hoy 2 večja kot v učbenikih Diverso 1 in Diverso 2. Na dejavnostih temelječ učbenik torej skladno z našimi rezultati ustno izražanje učencev razvija v večji meri. Že Martín Peris (2004: 258) v svojem delu navaja tesno povezanost med procesom komunikacije oziroma (ustnim) izražanjem in nalogami (vsebinami), ki so za to komunikacijo potrebne. Izpostavi, da je slednje značilno predvsem za na dejavnostih temelječ pristop.

Opažamo, da se količina nalog, namenjenih razvijanju ustnega izražanja, pomembno ne razlikuje glede na raven učbenika (A1 ali A2), saj so odstopanja relativno nizka. Tako na primer učbenik stopnje A1 (Diverso 1) vsebuje zgolj 3 % več nalog ustnega izražanja kot učbenik stopnje A2 (Diverso 2). In učbenik Gente hoy 1 (A1) le 2 % nalog ustnega izražanja več kot učbenik stopnje A2 (Gente hoy 2). Sprašujemo se, ali bi nadaljnja analiza učbenikov višje ravni pokazala večjo prisotnost teh nalog, saj gre v teh primerih za samostojnejše uporabnike jezika.

Tudi tipološka zastopanost nalog se razlikuje glede na izbrani pristop. Za učbenika Diverso 1 in 2 je značilno, da med tipi nalog ustnega izražanja prevladujejo dialogi, individualni govor in pogovor v večji skupini, medtem ko so tipološko naloge v učbenikih Gente hoy 1 in Gente hoy 2 enakomerneje zastopane, izstopa le pogovor v večji skupini.

Razlike v tipologiji po stopnji znanja so predvsem pri nalogah, ki vsebujejo predstavitve tem, dejavnosti na podlagi igre in igranje vlog. Le-teh je bistveno manj na stopnji A1, na stopnji A2 tako prevladujeta dialog in pogovor v večji skupini.

Glede na kriterij stopnje vodenosti izstopa predvsem dejstvo, da so naloge, namenjene ustnemu izražanju, ki so v celoti vodene, najmanj številčne v učbenikih, ne glede na pristop ali raven učbenika. Največji delež nalog predstavljajo tiste, ki niso vodene.

Razlike v stopnji vodenosti glede na različna pristopa ni zaznati, se pa le-ta opazi glede na različne ravni. Višja kot je raven, enakomerneje so razdeljene naloge glede na stopnjo vodenosti, ni pa opaziti, da bi z ravnjo naraščalo število nalog, ki niso vodene. Ravno nasprotno, na ravni A1 je več nevodenih nalog kot na ravni A2. To potrjujejo tudi opisniki za govorjenje za omenjeni dve referenčni ravni (SEJO, 2011: 48), saj je za raven A1 pričakovano preprosto sporazumevanje na ravni besednih zvez (za tvorjenje le-teh je potrebno manj vodenosti kot za tvorjenje kompleksnejših struktur), za raven A2 pa se to razširi že na stavke. Razlika v porastu gre sicer na račun povečanja števila nalog, ki so v celoti vodene, kar je deloma presenetljivo, saj bi pričakovali, da se samostojnost učencev po ravneh linearno viša in bo na višjih ravneh več nevodenih nalog. Hkrati pa to dejstvo ne preseneča, saj se samostojni uporabnik jezika pričakuje šele od ravni B1 dalje.[19]

Velik delež nalog v učbenikih predstavljajo tudi delno vodene naloge, kar je glede na raven učbenikov in izbrana pristopa utemeljeno, saj predstavljajo neke vrste most med reprodukcijo in kreativno produkcijo, so motivacijske, spodbujajo samoiniciativnost pri izražanju učencev in jih hkrati na tej poti usmerjajo. Komunikacijski pristop namreč poudarja, da je sporazumevanje proces s konkretnim ciljem, konkretnimi udeleženci in konkretnimi situacijami, zato je interakcija (bodisi v paru, manjših ali večjih skupinah) med učenci nujna (Diccionario de términos clave de ELE, 2008). Med delno vodenimi nalogami prevladujejo dialog, individualni govor in pogovor o temi v manjši skupini, manj je igranja vlog.

Med nalogami ustnega izražanja, ki so v celoti vodene, v učbenikih tipološko absolutno prevladujejo individualni govor, predstavitev teme in dialog. Tudi opisniki za ravni A1 in A2 za ustno izražanje predvidijo opisovanje, predstavitve in sporazumevanje v družabnih pogovorih. (SEJO, 2011: 48) Najmanj je igre vlog in pogovora v večji skupini, kar je zaradi same izvedbene narave nalog razumljivo, saj gre za dinamiki, ki ju težko usmerjamo oziroma v celoti načrtujemo njun potek.

19 Raven B1 je poimenovana tudi kot raven sporazumevalnega praga.

Med delno vodenimi nalogami prevladujejo dialog, individualni govor in pogovor o temi v manjši skupini, manj je igranja vlog, medtem ko je pri nalogah, ki niso vodene, največ dialoga in pogovora v večji skupini.

Ugotavljamo, da ne prihaja do pomembnejših razlik glede na izbrani pristop, temveč glede na raven, in sicer pri nalogah, ki niso vodene, in pri delno vodenih nalogah na višji ravni individualni govor ni več tako izrazito prisoten oziroma je pogovora v večji skupini več na višji ravni.

Pri razvijanju ustnega izražanja pri učencih je, tako Rabéa (2010: 12), priporočljivo slediti modelu, ki smiselno stopnjuje ustno izražanje. Gre namreč za premik od faze asimilacije preko faze utrjevanja k fazi samostojnega ustnega izražanja v tujem jeziku (predstavitev → reprodukcija → produkcija → interakcija). (Rabéa, 2010: 12) Podobno se je izkazalo pri naši analizi, saj gre pri vodenosti nalog za stopnjevanje po ravneh oziroma napredovanje po Rabeevem modelu, in sicer se individualni govor oziroma naloga, ki predvideva (re)produkcijo, umakne dialogu in pogovoru v večji ali manjši skupini. Dialog in pogovor v skupini (večji ali manjši) namreč ne predpostavljata samo produkcije, temveč tudi interakcijo v tujem jeziku (predstavitev → reprodukcija – vodene naloge → produkcija – delno vodene naloge → interakcija – naloge, ki niso vodne).

7 ZAKLJUČEK

Analiza učbenikov za poučevanje španščine je pokazala, da le-ti omogočajo količinsko in tipološko ustrezen način razvijanja ustnega izražanja, saj se delež nalog, ki razvijajo ustno izražanje v učbenikih, giblje med 20 in 40 %, tipološko pa je zastopanih vseh sedem kategorij (individualni govor, dialog v dvojicah, pogovor o temi v manjši skupini, dejavnosti na podlagi igre, pogovor v večji skupini, predstavitev teme in igranje vlog). Prav ta raznolikost v tipologiji pri učencih, tako Muñoz-Basols in Gironzetti (2019:200), spodbuja (ustno) jezikovno produkcijo. Rezultati kažejo, da prihaja do manjših razlik glede na izbrani komunikacijski pristop in glede na jezikovno raven oziroma stopnjo učbenika.

Vsak učitelj z izbiro učbenika izbere tudi določen pristop, ki najbolj ustreza ciljni skupini, ki jo učitelj poučuje, in je hkrati najbližje učiteljevemu lastnemu slogu oziroma načinu poučevanja. Učitelji, ki v razredu spodbujajo interakcijo med učenci, bodo zaradi prevladovanja dialogov in pogovora morda bolj naklonjeni učbenikoma Diverso 1 in Diverso 2, medtem ko bodo učitelji, ki stremijo k tipološki raznovrstnosti, morda raje izbrali učbenika Gente hoy 1 in Gente hoy 2, ki imata tipološko enakomerneje zastopane naloge. Učbenika Gente hoy 1 in Gente hoy 2 vsebujeta tudi veliko več nalog ustnega izražanja, katerih skupinska dinamika ni natančno določena ali usmerjena. Ni torej natančnih navodil glede velikosti skupin, ni specificirano, ali gre za dinamiko v paru, majhne skupine, cel razred. To učitelju omogoča veliko mero samostojnosti pri prilagajanju nalog svoji ciljni skupini oziroma svojim učencem. V učbenikih Diverso 1 in Diverso 2 je to pri posameznih nalogah (v navodilih) natančneje določeno, kar učitelju sicer nekoliko okrni samostojnost pri izvedbi, po drugi strani pa je zelo dobrodošlo pomagalo tudi za učitelje, ki so na začetku svoje poklicne poti in imajo manj pedagoških izkušenj, zato se mogoče ne bi najbolje znašli z odprtim oziroma fleksibilnim učbenikom, kot je Gente hoy.

V učbenikih Gente hoy 1 in Gente hoy 2 gre za izrazito komunikacijski pristop s poudarkom na ustnem izražanju. Veliko število nalog od učencev pričakuje komentar teme, problema, slovnice, kar predpostavlja skoraj neprestano (ustno) aktivnost učencev. Martín Peris (2008: 6) kot prednost na dejavnostih temelječega (komunikacijskega) pristopa omenja prav številne možnosti za izražanje in komunikacijo učencev, kar pripomore k razvijanju jezikovnih spretnosti, torej tudi ustnega izražanja.

Sklenemo torej lahko, da vsi analizirani učbeniki omogočajo razvijanje govorne produkcije v španščini, saj nudijo uravnotežen nabor nalog v primerjavi s številom nalog za druge jezikovne spretnosti in tipološko dovolj raznovrsten nabor, učitelj pa na podlagi izkušenj in poznavanja svojih učencev najlažje presodi, kateri od učbenikov bo učencem omogočil doseganje jezikovnih ciljev.

Raziskava je ponudila vpogled v razvijanje ustnega izražanja pri učbenikih glede na tipologijo, za natančnejši prikaz pa bi veljalo zajeti večje število učbenikov, ki zastopajo ta dva pristopa. Glede na to, da se analizirani učbeniki uporabljajo za poučevanje v srednjih šolah, je izbira ravni za analizo smiselna (A1, A2), bi pa za bolj reprezentativne rezultate veljalo analizo razširiti na ravni B1, B2, C1 in C2. V tem primeru bi analiza učbenikov pokazala morebitno izstopajočo kategorijo tipologij nalog oziroma tudi ali se prisotnost nevodenih nalog linearno povečuje z ravnjo. Zastavlja se tudi vprašanje, kako striktno se učitelji držijo navodil v učbenikih in ali izvedejo vse naloge, ki so namenjene ustnemu izražanju učencev, kar bi lahko bilo vprašanje za nadaljnje raziskave. Poleg omenjenega bi veljalo raziskati tudi za razvijanje katere od jezikovnih spretnosti se učitelji največkrat odločijo, če v navodilih naloge to ni specifično opredeljeno, raziskati, kako omenjena tipologija in količina nalog naslavlja potrebe učencev, in oblikovati inštrumente za merjenje učinkovitosti jezikovne produkcije v povezavi s tipologijo nalog. Pričujoča analiza bi tako lahko odprla pot raziskovanju vpliva tipologije na ustno izražanje pri učenju različnih tujih jezikov, kar bi omogočilo primerjave znotraj celotnega polja didaktike (tujih) jezikov.

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POVZETEK

Ustno izražanje v tujem jeziku velja za najtežje obvladljivo sporazumevalno zmožnost, zato smo raziskali tipologijo in številčnost nalog v učbenikih, ki se v slovenskem srednješolskem prostoru uporabljajo za poučevanje španščine. Primerjali smo učbenike osnovane na dveh različicah komunikacijskega pristopa in različnih ravneh, izhajajoč iz tipološko raznolikih nalog. V analizi smo poleg količine in tipologije nalog opazovali tudi stopnjo vodenosti posameznih nalog. Rezultati analize so pokazali, da ne prihaja do pomembnejših razlik glede na izbrani pristop, temveč glede na raven, in sicer pri nalogah, ki niso vodene, in pri delno vodenih nalogah.

Aktivno vključevanje učencev v učni proces in razvijanje ustnega izražanja sta značilnosti, ki prepletata vse analizirane učbenike, razlike (ki učiteljem nudijo možnost, da za svojo ciljno skupino in svoj slog poučevanja izberejo ustrezen učbenik) pa se nahajajo v deležu nalog ustnega izražanja, prevladujočih tipih nalog in dinamikah, ki so za uspešno izvedbo nalog potrebne. Prav raznolikost v tipologiji pri učencih spodbuja (ustno) jezikovno produkcijo.

Spodbujanje samostojne govorne produkcije učencev je prisotno že od začetne ravni in v obeh pristopih, saj je delež nalog, ki omogočajo le reprodukcijo, relativno majhen. V učbenikih so precej bolj poudarjeni dialog, komentarji, pogovori, skratka razvijanje samostojnih govorcev, opremljenih s strategijami in orodji za učinkovito, tekoče in natančno ustno izražanje.

Vsi analizirani učbeniki omogočajo ustrezno razvijanje govorne produkcije v španščini, saj (v primerjavi s številom nalog za druge jezikovne spretnosti) nudijo uravnotežen in tipološko raznovrsten nabor nalog.

Ključne besede: tuji jezik, španščina, ustno izražanje, učbeniki ELE, tipologija, naloge

ABSTRACT

DEVELOPMENT OF ORAL EXPRESSION AND TYPOLOGY OF ACTIVITIES IN TEXTBOOKS FOR SPANISH AS FOREIGN LANGUAGE

Since oral expression in a foreign language is known to be the most difficult communicative competence to master, the purpose of this paper is to analyse textbooks used for teaching Spanish as a foreign language in Slovenian high schools. The aim is to analyse the typology and the quantity of textbook activities designed to develop oral expression in Spanish. We compared activities that originate from two different communication approaches and are designed for various language levels.

The results show that all of the analysed textbooks are designed to encourage the active role of students, especially their oral expression. They differ however in the number of activities designed to develop oral expression, types of activities and the dynamics needed for their execution. These differences not only provide a larger and more diverse range of activities, but also enable the teacher to choose the textbook that best addresses their needs and those of their students.

The analysis also shows that even lower level textbooks encourage independent oral production in students, regardless of the communication approach that they were designed for, since the share of activities that only encourage reproduction is relatively low.

A much bigger emphasis in the textbooks is given to tasks and activities that include various dialogues, comments and conversations through which the books aim to develop independent speakers, well-equipped with different language strategies, tools and skills that enable efficient, fluent and accurate oral expression in Spanish.

Keywords: foreign language, Spanish, oral expression, Textbooks, typology, activities

RESUMEN

EL DESARROLLO DE LA EXPRESIÓN ORAL Y LA TIPOLOGÍA DE LAS ACTIVIDADES EN LOS MANUALES DE ELE

Dado que la expresión oral en la lengua extranjera es la competencia comunicativa que más dificultades suele provocar en los aprendices, hemos llevado a cabo un análisis de los manuales de ELE que se utilizan en la enseñanza secundaria en Eslovenia.

Hemos comparado dos diferentes enfoques junto con diferentes niveles examinando la tipología y la cantidad de las actividades designadas para desarrollar la expresión oral.

La tendencia de estimular la participación activa de los estudiantes junto con el desarrollo de la expresión oral es la característica común de los manuales analizados. Las diferencias se encuentran sobre todo en el porcentaje de las actividades diseñadas para la práctica oral, los predominantes tipos de actividades y las dinámicas necesarias para llevar a cabo una actividad. Esas diferencias no solo contribuyen a la diversidad sino también permiten a los profesores elegir el manual que más les conviene y el que mejor cubre las necesidades de sus estudiantes.

Estimular la producción independiente de los estudiantes ya se manifiesta en los niveles más bajos y en los dos enfoques, dado que el número de las actividades que solo permiten la reproducción es relativamente bajo. Mucho más énfasis se pone en las actividades como diálogo, comentario, conversación que desarrollan hablantes independientes, bien dotados de las estrategias y las herramientas para una expresión oral fluida, exacta y eficaz.

Todos los manuales analizados posibilitan el desarrollo apropiado de la destreza oral en español ya que ofrecen un corpus numérica y tipológicamente heterogéneo de las actividades.

Palabras clave: lengua extranjera, español, expresión oral, manuales ELE, tipología, actividades

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AN EXPLORATION OF FACTORS CONTRIBUTING TO STUDENTS' UNWILLINGNESS TO COMMUNICATE

1 INTRODUCTION

The ability to communicate is one of the most important skills for human beings in social life, as people need to communicate to convey their ideas, feelings and needs (Bialystok 1990). People take part in many communicative events for interaction, information exchange, situation management and mental-state reading or influencing (Rickheit & Strohner 2008). Bashir and Ashiq (2011) explain communication as the process of "hearing or reading and responding to the spoken or written words" (36). Moreover, communication is defined as "the process by which people exchange information or express their thoughts and feelings" (Longman Dictionary of Contemporary English, 1976). Therefore, communication can be regarded as a social tool used by people to maintain their everyday lives (Savignon 2005).

People need successful communication to achieve their goals and the ability to deal with everyday situations requires communicative competence which enables people to communicate effectively and appropriately (Saville-Troike 2003). The term 'communicative competence' was coined by Dell Hymes in the 1960s to explain the usage of language in line with sociolinguistic norms (Rickheit & Strohner 2008). According to Hymes, people who achieve communicative competence use the language in relation to:

1. whether something is formally possible,
2. whether something is feasible by virtue of the means of implementation available,
3. whether something is appropriate, adequate, pleasing, or successful in relation to a context in which it is used and evaluated,
4. whether something is in fact actually per-formed, and what its doing entails (Richards & Rodgers 1986:.70).

In short, communicative competence enables people to understand the underlying meanings of messages and interpret the non-verbal behaviours of their interlocutors, so people who acquire communicative competence can be said to be ideal speakers of speech situations (Rickheit & Strohner 2008).

Communicating effectively in a foreign language becomes a more important skill for people to meet the requirements of today's world, since as a result of globalisation cultural diversity has come into prominence by changing societies into multi-lingual settings, which increases the significance of students' ability to communicate interculturally (Byram 1997). In that vein, learning English as a foreign language becomes an important issue across the globe, in the same way, the main aim of learning a foreign language in educational contexts is to learn how to speak that language effectively (Saville-Troike 2003).

It is an undeniable fact that students learn to speak the target language through speaking (Savignon 2005). Therefore, students should have the motivation to speak in the classroom and having a desire to communicate becomes a crucial factor affecting students' success in language learning (Kang 2005). Students' active participation thus comes into play in the learning process, but not all students prefer to engage in communication actively during the lesson, so they vary from each other in terms of communication behaviour (Gałajda 2017). This variability in communication behaviour results from the personality characteristic called as 'willingness to communicate' (WTC) which can be explained as "an individual's volitional inclination towards actively engaging in the act of communication in a specific situation which can vary according to the interlocutor(s), topic and conversational context among other potential situational variables" (Kang 2005: 291).

Some students seek the ways to communicate in the L2 whenever possible, whereas others avoid communication because of their negative attitudes towards communication and speaking, which trigger an unwillingness to do so (MacIntyre et al. 1998). The concept of unwillingness to communicate (UWTC) proposed by Burgoon (1976) refers to a propensity representing "a chronic tendency to avoid and/or devalue oral communication" (60). Simply put, learners' choice to avoid interacting with others can be considered as unwillingness to communicate (MacIntyre et al. 1998). Since students' reluctance to communicate in English affects their success in language learning, the underlying reasons of why students are unwilling to speak English should be investigated.

2 FACTORS AFFECTING UNWILLINGNESS TO COMMUNICATE

There are many factors that can negatively affect students' communication behaviour, and they can be classified into three categories, namely affective factors including anxiety, motivation and personality traits; environmental factors such as classroom atmosphere, class size, rapport between students and teacher; and factors in relation to the teacher, including topic familiarity, topic interest, teacher attitudes, teacher support and instructional methods, as shown in Figure 1 below (based on Yaseen 2018).

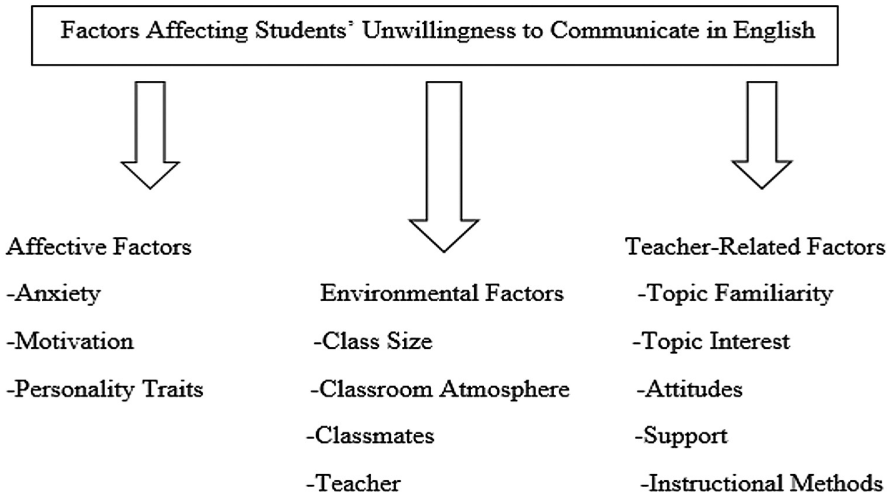

Figure 1. The classification of the factors contributing to the students' unwillingness to communicate (Yaseen 2018: 9).

Among the affective factors, anxiety is closely related to learners' performance in the learning process (MacIntyre & Gardner 1991). Spielberger (1983) regards anxiety as a "subjective feeling of tension, apprehension, nervousness, and worry associated with an arousal of autonomic nervous system" (15). Students may react negatively while they are using L2 because of language anxiety, which in turn, results in the avoidance of communication (MacIntyre & Gardner, 1991). Fukuto (2017) investigates the longitudinal changes of Japanese EFL learners' psychological attributes of unwillingness to communicate, and the results showed that anxiety as an affective factor increased this unwillingness among students. Similarly, motivation is "an important impetus in stimulating learners to persevere in both L2 learning and possibly L2 communication" (Peng 2007: 48). Peng (2007) examines the relationship between L2 WTC and motivation among college students, and suggests that motivation is a strong predictor of L2 willingness to communicate. Personality traits such as self-esteem, shyness and lack of self-confidence have a significant impact on students' communication behaviour (McCrockey & Richmond 1982). In her study of this issue, Sener (2014) finds that while students with high self-esteem are more likely to engage in classroom communication, shy students and those lacking in self-confidence are unwilling to communicate during the classroom activities.

The L2 classroom environment is multi-dimensional in that it includes many factors contributing to students' being willing or unwilling to communicate, such as rapport among classmates, class size, and classroom atmosphere (Basöz & Erten 2019). In this direction, Riasati (2012) studies EFL learners' perception of factors influencing the willingness to speak English in language classrooms, and shows that students feel more willing to speak in a stress-free environment where there is a friendly rapport among those in the class. Additionally, Khazaei et al. (2012) investigate the relationship between class size and WTC, and finds that class size had a substantial impact on students' willingness to communicate, and students were more willing todo so in small classes because they had more time to express themselves, which enabled them to cope with their anxiety and feel comfortable to get involved in classroom communication.

Language teachers also have a significant impact on students' communication behaviour, so students' willingness to communicate can be affected positively or negatively depending on teacher-related factors such as attitudes, support, topic familiarity, topic interest, and instructional methods (Gałajda 2017). To begin with, the positive attitudes of the teacher towards students affect the latter's attitudes towards the language lesson in the same way (Gałajda 2017). On the other hand, the lack of teacher support and encouragement contribute to the students' unwillingness to communicate (Yaseen 2018). This is clear in the study of Tsiplakides and Keramida (2009), who stress that a negative evaluation instead of encouragement from the teacher in the face of speaking mistakes, makes leaners hesitant to communicate during the lesson, and they feel more comfortable to speak when there is no teacher in the class. Additionally, the topic chosen by the teacher exerts an influence on learners' desire to communicate, and Riasati (2012) suggests that when learners have enough information about a topic, students really like to talk about it, however, they remain silent and become reluctant to speak when they have no idea about the topic of the lesson. Lastly, the materials and methods used by the teacher may have a negative influence on students' willingness to communicate (Gałajda 2017). Yaseen (2018) studies the factors affecting learners' desire to communicate negatively, and concludes that insufficient methods, like non-interactive ones, are one of the biggest factors which decreases students' enthusiasm for speaking. Consequently, the teacher is a significant determinant of learners' communication behaviour (Wright 1987).

Overall, it can be, seen that students may be unwilling to communicate and that this can be a problem for both the students themselves and their teachers in a foreign language learning context (MacIntyre 1994). When students do not have the motivation to communicate, the process of language learning might become challenging and boring for them, and their teachers might have difficulties during the teaching process (Young 1991). In order to overcome the problem of students' unwillingness to communicate, the underlying factors of students' reluctance to speak English should be investigated, and some adjustments in both the learning and teaching process should be made according to these factors. Therefore, to provide a better insight into this area, the question of "What are the students' perceptions about the factors affecting their unwillingness to communicate in English?" will be examined in the present study.

3 METHOD

3.1 Participants

The participants of this study consist of 100 students who study at the English Language Teaching (ELT) Department at a state university in Turkey. Students from the 2nd and 3rd grades were selected through a stratified sampling method. Since the students from the 1st grade take mostly skill-based courses and those from the 4th grade take very few courses, the students from the 2nd and 3rd grades who take pedagogy and methodology courses were found appropriate as the study group for the present research.

3.2 Data Collection Instrument

The data collection tool in the present study is the questionnaire developed by Yaseen (2008), which includes three dimensions and was used to investigate the factors contributing to the students' unwillingness to communicate in English. The first one is "affective factors impacting students' speaking skills", the second "factors related to teachers' role in teaching speaking skills", and the third "factors affecting students' speaking skills in relation to the instructional environment". Therefore, this questionnaire allows for a holistic investigation of the factors underlying students' reluctance to communicate in terms of the affective factors, the environmental factors and the factors in relation to students' personality traits.

The questionnaire was evaluated in terms of reliability and validity, and the results showed that the reliability coefficient of this scale is .89, which is very high. Moreover, the content validity of the questionnaire was examined by a panel of experts who were asked to determine whether the items in the questionnaire are suitable for the purpose of the study, with changes made based on their recommendations.

3.3 Procedure

The researcher gave consent forms to the university students in the study group. They were given information about the goals of the study and the role they would play as participants in the research process. After the volunteer participants signed the consent forms, the researcher started to collect data using the questionnaire. At the end, the data collected from students was analysed to determine the factors underlying their unwillingness to communicate.

3.4 Findings

The quantitative data collected from students via the questionnaire was analysed using the Statistical Package for the Social Sciences (SPSS) software, with the means and standard deviations of the items in calculated to discover the perceptions of students about the factors leading to their reluctance to communicate in English, using descriptive statistics. To show the degree to which the questionnaire items correspond to the factors affecting students' unwillingness to communicate, the mean scores were divided into the three categories. The mean scores between 1.00–2.33 were labelled as low degree, those between 2.34–3.67 regarded as moderate degree, and the mean scores between 3.68–5.00 were accepted as high degree (Wimolmas 2013).

The findings showed that environmental factors are in the first rank, with a moderate mean of 2.93 and a standard deviation of 0.47; affective factors follow in the second rank with a moderate mean of 2.78 and a standard deviation of 0.41; teacher-related factors fall into the last rank with a moderate mean of 2.41 and a standard deviation of 0.41. Overall, these three factors point to a moderate degree with a total mean of 2.69, as shown in Table 1 below.

Table 1: The means and standard deviations of the factors contributing to the students' unwillingness to communicate

Factors Degree	Mean*	Std. Deviation	Rank	Degree
Factors affecting students unwillingness to communicate in relation to the instructional environment	2.93	0.47	1	Moderate
Affective factors impacting students' unwillingness to communicate	2.78	0.41	2	Moderate
Teacher-related factors contributing to the students' unwillingness to communicate	2.41	0.41	3	Moderate
Total	2.69	0.27		Moderate

Note. *1.00– 2.33: Low; 2.34–3.67: Moderate; 3.68–5.00: High

A detailed examination of each item falling into to the 'affective factors category' makes the means and standard deviations of the items clear, in the way that while the item stating "I find it difficult to build sentences, I know the grammar but I can't put it in a sentence" is in the first rank with a moderate mean of 3.65 and a standard deviation of 1.02, the item stating "I like watching TV shows and programs in English" is in the last rank with a low mean of 1.42 and standard deviation of 0.63 among the items in the affective factors category, as shown in Table 2.

Table 2: The means and standard deviations of the affective factors

Affective Factors Degree	Mean*	Std. Deviation	Rank	Degree
I find it difficult to build sentences, I know the grammar but I can't put it in a sentence.	3.65	1.02	1	Moderate
Speaking English makes me feel worried, and I feel pressured by the teacher and other students.	3.37	1.29	2	Moderate
I don't feel self-confident and I feel pressured by the teacher and other students.	3.33	1.29	3	Moderate
I use my mother tongue if I can't express myself in English.	3.17	1.03	4	Moderate
I struggle to find the right vocabulary; I want to speak English but I don't know the words needed for a certain topic.	3.13	1.16	5	Moderate
I fear criticism from others while speaking.	3.08	1.24	6	Moderate
I am shy, I don't feel confident while speaking English in class.	3.02	1.24	7	Moderate
I read about the topic, prepare for the speaking practice in advance and prepare ideas for it.	2.79	1.01	8	Moderate
I feel motivated and confident while speaking English in class.	2.62	1.01	9	Moderate
I enjoy discussing events and situations with my teacher and classmates in the English speaking lesson.	2.28	0.86	10	Low
My family encourages and supports me to speak English.	2.24	1.18	11	Low
I feel that my listening skills are good.	2.04	0.97	12	Low
I like watching TV shows and programs in English.	1.42	0.63	13	Low

Note. *1.00– 2.33: Low; 2.34–3.67: Moderate; 3.68–5.00: High.

When the items in the category of teacher-related factors were analysed in terms of means and standard deviations, it was found that the item "The teacher corrects my speaking mistakes all the time while I am speaking", with a moderate mean of 3.40 and a standard deviation of 0.92, is in the first rank, followed by the item stating "The teacher allows me to use the mother tongue if I don't know the words in English", with a moderate mean of 2.75. The item "The teacher speaks a mix of English and the mother tongue in class" falls into the third rank with a moderate mean of 2.66, while "The teacher speaks only English in class" with a moderate mean of 2.49 is in the fourth rank. The remaining six items have low mean scores, as seen in Table 3.

Table 3: The means and standard deviations of the teacher-related factors

Teacher-Related Factors	Mean*	Std. Deviation	Rank	Degree
The teacher corrects my speaking mistakes all the time while I am speaking.	3.40	0.92	1	Moderate
The teacher allows me to use the mother tongue if I don't know the words in English.	2.75	0.91	2	Moderate
The teacher speaks a mix of English and the mother tongue in class.	2.66	1.04	3	Moderate
The teacher speaks only English in class.	2.49	0.92	4	Moderate
The teacher gives us enough time to prepare for the speaking activity.	2.33	0.96	5	Moderate
The teacher waits until I finish what I am saying then corrects it for me.	2.24	0.90	6	Low
The teacher introduces the idea of the lesson and gives us enough vocabulary to use for our speaking activity.	2.20	0.87	7	Low
There is no pressure from the teacher when I am doing the speaking activity.	2.15	0.92	8	Low
The teacher encourages me to speak English in class.	1.98	0.81	9	Low
The teacher lets us do role playing, group work, and presentations in English.	1.93	0.74	10	Low

Note. *1.00– 2.33: Low; 2.34–3.67: Moderate; 3.68–5.00: High.

Lastly, when it comes to the items in the environmental factors category, the item "We listen to a CD before we do the speaking activity" has the highest mean score (3.57) and falls into the first rank, however, the item "In the classroom, there is an interactive white board where we watch videos and play games related to our lessons" has the lowest mean score (2.13) and falls into the last rank, as shown in Table 4 below.

Table 4: The means and standard deviations of the environmental factors

Environmental Factors	Mean*	Std. Deviation	Rank	Degree
We listen to a CD before we do the speaking activity.	3.57	0.95	1	Moderate
My classmates do not support me while I am speaking English.	3.52	0.06	2	Moderate
The class is too noisy.	3.36	1.03	3	Moderate
In my class, there are more than 30 students.	2.87	1.34	4	Moderate
We, as students, are given the chance to choose learning activities and games that motivate us.	2.63	1.04	5	Moderate
The class has a friendly atmosphere which enhances the learning procedure.	2.46	0.97	6	Moderate
In the classroom, there is an interactive white board where we watch videos and play games related to our lessons.	2.13	0.92	7	Low

Note. *1.00– 2.33: Low; 2.34–3.67: Moderate; 3.68–5.00: High.

4 DISCUSSION

The purpose of this study was to reveal the factors which negatively affect students' communication behaviour and contribute to their unwillingness to communicate in English. To realise this aim, students were given a questionnaire designed to discover their perceptions about the reasons underlying their reluctance to speak English. The statistical analysis of their responses showed that among affective, environmental and teacher-related factors, the environmental ones have the biggest impact on students' unwillingness to communicate in English (2.93). Similarly, the findings of the research conducted by Khajavy et al. (2016) indicated that the classroom environment is the strongest predictor of students' communication behaviour.

In terms of environmental factors, classroom environment, rapport among students, noise, class size, materials and activities all contribute to students' unwillingness to communicate in English. First of all, a high number of students perceive that their classroom does not have a friendly environment because their classmates do not support them while they are speaking English, and hence the classroom atmosphere does not promote a good rapport among students (3.52) and this has a negative impact on their desire to communicate in English, as also found in earlier studies (Mohammad 2012; Peng 2014). Most of the students stated that their class is too noisy (3.36) and some held that there are more than 30 students in their class (2.87). In such an environment students are likely to have a low desire to get involved in communication, which corroborates earlier studies carried out in a variety of contexts (Aydın 2017; Khazaei et al. 2012; Zarrinabadi 2014). Additionally, most of the students agreed with the statement that "We listen to a CD before we do the speaking activity" (3.57), whereas fewer said that "In the classroom, there is an interactive white board where we watch videos and play games related to our lessons" (2.13). In this regard, listening to a CD before starting to speak can be said to decrease students' unwillingness to communicate in English by helping them to prepare for the topic they are required to talk about. Moreover, it can be concluded that the lack of such materials decreases students' motivation to speak English. This supports the findings of studies carried out by Aydın (2017) and Juhana (2012), which imply that the types of materials and activities play a crucial role in students' willingness to communicate.

A detailed examination of the affective factors showed that lack of vocabulary knowledge, poor listening skills, lack of motivation, lack of self-confidence, feeling of pressure, fear of making mistakes, anxiety, shyness, lack of family support, unfamiliar topics and the usage of mother tongue all have negative effects on students' willingness to communicate in English. Most of the students consider their lack of vocabulary knowledge, (3.65) as one of the reasons why they are unwilling to speak English during the lessons, as pointed out in other studies (Basoz & Erten 2019; Sener 2014; Yaseen 2018). Similarly, students regard their poor listening skills (2.04) as another factor underlying their reluctance to speak English, which is in line with the findings of Syed (2016) and Yaseen (2018), who put emphasis on the relationship between listening skills and eagerness to speak. Some of the students perceive that their reluctance to communicate can be attributed to a lack of motivation (2.62), which is in line with other related studies (Altıner 2018; Lin 2019; Syed 2016). According to the students, lack of self-confidence (3.33) is also a strong factor discouraging them from speaking English during the lesson, similar to the results reported in Haidara (2016) and Lin (2019), which highlighted the positive correlation between self-confidence and the willingness to communicate. It is important to note that when students feel pressured by their classmates (3.37) they may lose their self-confidence, which in turn makes them unwilling to initiate communication in English. This finding is in line with the studies (Altıner 2018; Syed 2016) in which feelings of pressure are among the reasons why students are reluctant to speak English. Similarly, it can be deduced from the findings of the present study that students are afraid of making mistakes (3.08) while they are speaking, as there is a possibility of being judged or criticised by their classmates, similar to the results of some earlier studies (Altıner 2018; Kang 2005). Another factor causing silence is anxiety (3.37), in that students are in feel anxious and worried while they are speaking English, as stated in the previous studies (Manipuspika 2018; Tsiplakides & Keramida 2009). Moreover, students regard their reluctance to communicate in English as in part derived from their shyness (3.02), which corroborates the findings of Fallah (2014) and Juhana (2012). Few students agreed that "My family encourages and supports me to speak English" (2.24), which points to another reason underlying their low desire to communicate in English. Similarly Aydın (2017) reports that students can lose their motivation to speak English in class due to a lack of family support and family pressure. A majority of the students agreed that unfamiliarity with the topic (3.13) decreases their motivation to speak English, just as Kang (2005) reports that unfamiliar topics are the main factor with regard to students' silence in class. Lastly, most of the students acknowledged that they use their mother tongue when they cannot express themselves in English, which points to the fact that not being able to use the mother tongue in class (3.17) creates a barrier to their desire to communicate in English.

When the items in the teacher-related category of the questionnaire are analysed in detail, it is apparent that students attribute their reluctance to communicate to teacher attitudes, teacher pressure, lack of teacher support, lack of opportunity to speak English, usage of mother tongue and the target language. To begin with, students regard the attitudes their teachers adopt during speaking activities as a factor underlying their reluctance to speak English, as seen in their support for the statement. "The teacher corrects my speaking mistakes all the time while I am speaking" (3.40), whereas they show less support for "The teacher waits until I finish what I am saying then corrects it for me" (2.24). In other words, when every mistake is corrected this interrupts the students' speech and reduced their eagerness to start and maintain a conversation in English. These findings are in accordance with the results of previous research (Juhana 2012; Zarrinabadi 2013). Few students agree with the statements that "There is no pressure from the teacher when I am doing the speaking activity" (2.15) and "The teacher encourages me to speak English in the class" (1.98). Accordingly, the feeling of being pressured by teachers and the lack of encouragement from them are the strong predictors of students' negative communication behaviour, as also seen in other studies conducted in this field (Altıner 2018; Sener 2014). Based on the students' perceptions, their unwillingness to communicate in English derives from not having enough time and opportunity to practice speaking the language (1.93), which corresponds to the findings of some earlier studies (House 2004; Syed 2016). Lastly, some of the students agree that "The teacher speaks a mix of English and the mother tongue in class" (2.66) and "The teacher allows me to use the mother tongue if I don't know the words in English" (2.75), although other students think that "The teacher speaks only English in class" (2.49). On this point it can be said that students may feel comfortable in a classroom where both the mother tongue (Turkish) and the target language (English) are spoken interchangeably, as they can switch from English to Turkish in the face of communication breakdowns. On the other hand, students can benefit from being exposed to target language structures when their teachers speak only English during the lesson, which fosters language learning.

5 CONCLUSION

The present study attempted to probe the factors affecting students' unwillingness to communicate in English. The exploration of these factors was carried out through a questionnaire including three dimensions, namely affective factors, teacher-related factors and environmental factors. The findings extracted from students' responses to the questionnaire suggested that among these three factors the environmental ones are the most important with regard to students' unwillingness to communicate in English. Students blamed their reluctance to speak English on class size, noise, classroom atmosphere, materials, and lack of support from their teachers and rapport with their classmates. As such, teachers need to make a number of changes to alleviate the effects of these factors on students' communication behaviour.

First of all, class size or the number of students should be regulated to give more opportunities for students to engage in oral tasks, which enhances their willingness to communicate. In the same way, materials and activities should be prepared so that they increase students' participation in the lessons. It is also crucial to note that too much noise breaks the students' concentration during speaking activities and discourages them from paying attention to classroom tasks carried out orally, and thus has negative effects on their communication behaviour. Furthermore, social and psychological boundaries among students should be broken to make students feel at ease during the oral tasks or activities, since a comfortable and stress-free learning environment increases students' eagerness to speak English through the establishment of a good rapport between students and teachers.

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POVZETEK

PREUČITEV DEJAVNIKOV, KI VPLIVAJO NA NEPRIPRAVLJENOST ŠTUDENTOV ZA KOMUNIKACIJO

Nepripravljenost učencev za komunikacijo predstavlja enega največjih izzivov pri pouku jezika. Izraz »nepripravljenost za komunikacijo« (angl. *unwillingness to communicate* oz. *UWTC*) označuje nagnjenost učencev k nenehnemu izogibanju ustni komunikaciji ali zmanjševanju njenega pomena. Glavni cilj naše raziskave je bil preučiti dejavnike, ki vplivajo na nepripravljenost študentov za komunikacijo v angleščini. V raziskavo je bilo vključenih 100 študentov z Oddelka za poučevanje angleškega jezika, ki smo jih izbrali z metodo stratificiranega vzorčenja. Podatke smo zbrali s pomočjo vprašalnika, v katerem smo se osredotočili na tri vrste dejavnikov, ki negativno vplivajo na komunikacijsko vedenje študentov: afektivne dejavnike, dejavnike, izhajajoče iz predavatelja, in okoljske dejavnike. Rezultati raziskave so pokazali, da okoljski dejavniki, kot so odnos med študenti, velikost učne skupine, učna gradiva, hrup in vzdušje v učni skupini, najmočneje vplivajo na nepripravljenost študentov za komunikacijo v angleščini. Sledijo afektivni dejavniki, kot so tesnoba, sramežljivost, pomanjkanje motivacije, slabše poznavanje besedišča, pomanjkanje samozavesti, strah pred kritiko, slabše poznavanje teme pogovora, pritisk vrstnikov in strah pred napakami. Dejavniki, povezani s predavateljem, se glede na vpliv na nepripravljenost študentov za komunikacijo uvrščajo na tretje mesto. Podrobnejša analiza rezultatov v tej kategoriji je pokazala, da študenti svojo nepripravljenost za komunikacijo pripisujejo predavateljevemu odnosu in pritiskom, pomanjkanju predavateljeve podpore, pomanjkanju možnosti pogovora v angleščini ter možnosti rabe maternega in ciljnega jezika.

Ključne besede: učenje tujih jezikov, nepripravljenost za komunikacijo, učno okolje, hrup, vzdušje

ABSTRACT

One of the most challenging issues in language classes is the reluctance of learners to communicate. The term "unwillingness to communicate" (UWTC) is defined as a predisposition which represents a chronic tendency to avoid or devalue oral communication. The main aim of this study is to investigate the factors contributing to university level students' unwillingness to communicate in English. The participants of this study were selected using the stratified sampling method and consist of 100 students from an English Language Teaching (ELT) Department. The data was collected through a questionnaire examining three dimensions, namely the affective factors, teacher-related factors and environmental factors underlying students' negative communication behaviour. The results indicated that environmental factors such as rapport among students, class size, materials, noise and classroom atmosphere have the biggest effects with regard to students' reluctance to communicate in English. On the other hand, affective factors including anxiety, shyness, lack of motivation, lack of vocabulary knowledge, lack of self-confidence, fear of being criticised, topic familiarity, peer pressure and fear of making mistakes have a second highest impact on students' negative communication behaviour. When the items in the teacher-related category of the questionnaire were analysed in detail the results showed they ranked third most important in this context, with students attributing their reluctance to communicate to teacher attitudes, teacher pressure, lack of teacher support, lack of opportunity to speak English, and the use of the mother tongue and target language.

Keywords: Foreign language learning, unwillingness to communicate, instructional environment, noise, atmosphere

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LAS COMPETENCIAS DE LOS DOCENTES DE ELE EN CROACIA: PERSPECTIVA CURRICULAR, ESTUDIANTIL Y PROFESIONAL

1 INTRODUCCIÓN

Existen varios marcos referenciales, tanto a nivel europeo como a nivel nacional, que proponen una serie de competencias clave que deberían tener diversos grupos de profesionales. Esas competencias suelen clasificarse en competencias genéricas (o transversales) y específicas (Borg 2006). Las competencias genéricas incluyen competencias comunes y transferibles a varias áreas de conocimiento y, aunque no están estrechamente conectadas con la profesión, son necesarias para actuar en un entorno profesional y contribuyen a la calidad de cualquier trabajo. Algunas de ellas son, por ejemplo, las competencias instrumentales (de orden cognitivo, metodológico, lingüístico y tecnológico), las competencias personales (incluidas competencias individuales y sociales) y las competencias sistémicas (que se manifiestan, entre otras, en la planificación, el espíritu empresarial, el liderazgo, la creatividad y la adaptabilidad) (Gonzáles/Wagenaar 2003). A diferencia de ellas, las competencias específicas están centradas en un área profesional específica y son inherentes a una disciplina o profesión determinada, por lo cual son esenciales para ejercerla.

Por su estrecha relación con el ámbito laboral y profesional, las competencias específicas de cada profesión, así también las de los docentes de lengua extranjera, deberían irse adquiriendo desde la formación inicial, ya que se trata de una etapa muy importante donde comienza el desarrollo profesional de cada individuo. Es por eso que diversos documentos (Gonzáles/Wagenaar 2003; OECD 2007) y varios autores (Gonzáles Maura/Gonzáles Tirados 2008; Vizek Vidović 2009) destacan que la formación inicial debería basarse en un enfoque por competencias que permita a los futuros profesionales desarrollar las complejas capacidades requeridas en el mundo laboral de hoy, lo que implica cambios en los paradigmas de enseñanza y aprendizaje, pero también en los roles que asumen tanto los estudiantes como los profesores (Gonzáles Maura/Gonzáles Tirados 2008).

2 LAS COMPETENCIAS ESPECÍFICAS DE LOS DOCENTES DE LENGUA EXTRANJERA

Durante los últimos quince años se desarrollaron diversos marcos referenciales y competenciales con el objetivo de formular las competencias de los docentes de lengua extranjera (LE). El *Perfil europeo del profesor de lenguas*: *un marco de referencia* (Kelly et al. 2004) es un documento europeo que se sitúa en el contexto de la formación inicial y la formación continua de los docentes de LE. Ofrece unas 40 destrezas y conocimientos que deberían formar parte del desarrollo profesional del docente de LE en todas las etapas de su carrera. El documento propone la estructura general de los cursos de formación de los docentes de LE, un inventario de áreas de conocimiento y de estrategias de enseñanza importantes para la práctica docente y las habilidades y valores que se deben promover dentro de los programas de formación. El *Portafolio europeo para futuros profesores de idiomas* (eng. EPOSTL) (Newby et al. 2007) está destinado a los futuros docentes de LE en la fase de formación inicial y permite la reflexión sobre las competencias docentes a través de la autoevaluación de su nivel competencial actual y del seguimiento de su progreso y desarrollo. Por otro lado, el objetivo de la *Parilla del perfil del profesor de idiomas* (eng. EPG) (Equals 2013) no es solo proporcionar a los docentes de LE una herramienta para identificar las competencias, sino también enfatizar la importancia de la profesionalización en la enseñanza. La Parilla propone cuatro categorías principales de práctica profesional de los docentes: (a) formación, titulación y experiencia; (b) competencias docentes clave; (c) competencias transversales; y (d) profesionalismo, así como seis fases de desarrollo profesional. Las competencias docentes clave se refieren a los conocimientos y las habilidades de los profesores relacionados con la metodología, la planificación de clases, la evaluación, la gestión del aula y la interacción, mientras que las competencias transversales abarcan la competencia intercultural, la conciencia lingüística y la competencia digital.

Pasando al contexto específico de la enseñanza del español como lengua extranjera (ELE), se destaca el marco *Las competencias clave del profesorado de lenguas segundas y extranjeras* propuesto por el Instituto Cervantes (2012). El documento contiene ocho competencias clave que deberían tener o desarrollar los docentes de ELE durante su carrera profesional. Se trata de las siguientes competencias: (i) organizar situaciones de aprendizaje; (ii) evaluar el aprendizaje y la actuación del alumno; (iii) implicar a los alumnos en el control de su propio aprendizaje; (iv) facilitar la comunicación intercultural; (v) desarrollarse profesionalmente como profesor de la institución; (vi) gestionar sentimientos y emociones en el desempeño de su trabajo; (vii) participar activamente en la institución; (viii) servirse de la TIC para el desempeño de su trabajo. En otras palabras, se trata de las competencias que, por una parte, se refieren al trabajo didáctico en el aula y, por otra, al desarrollo profesional y al aprendizaje permanente de los docentes de LE.

También hay que mencionar los marcos referenciales croatas. El primero, propuesto por Radišić et al. (2003), *Las competencias de los docentes de lenguas extranjeras en la escuela primaria*, define sistemáticamente los ámbitos de competencia dentro de los cuales se debe realizar el desarrollo profesional de los maestros y de los docentes de LE. Se proponen dos ámbitos: (i) las competencias específicas de la asignatura (la LE), que se refieren a las competencias relacionadas con la lengua y la cultura e incluyen los conocimientos y las habilidades en el área de la didáctica de LE necesarias para llevar a cabo una enseñanza de LE de calidad; y (ii) las competencias educativas, que se refieren a los conocimientos pedagógicos y psicológicos, las habilidades intrapersonales e interpersonales, así como a las competencias de formación continua que los maestros y los docentes deben aplicar dentro y fuera de la enseñanza de LE. El segundo, *El perfil competencial de los maestros de lenguas extranjeras para el desarrollo de la competencia plurilingüe y la competencia intercultural de los alumnos,* propuesto por Knežević (2015), se centra en el tema del plurilingüismo y la pluriculturalidad como componentes de las competencias específicas y fue desarrollado como un complemento a los marcos existentes con el objetivo de concienciar a los docentes en cuanto a la importancia de la interculturalidad en el proceso de adquisición y aprendizaje de una LE (ASL). El perfil abarca las competencias clave de los propios docentes y sus competencias para el desarrollo de las competencias plurilingüe e intercultural de sus alumnos e incluye los conocimientos, las actitudes y las habilidades relacionados, por un lado, con el área de la lengua y, por otro, con el área de la cultura. Se puede observar que en ambos marcos referenciales propuestos en el contexto educacional croata se propone una visión holística del docente de LE, quien al mismo tiempo ejerce el rol de hablante y de profesor de dicha lengua, con énfasis en su desarrollo profesional continuo.

Aunque no se trate de un marco referencial, es necesario mencionar la investigación de Mihaljević Djigunović y Mardešić (2009) en la que, con el fin de contrastar la realidad educacional y la política lingüístico-educativa, se analizó la importancia y la adquisición de diversos grupos de competencias genéricas y específicas de los docentes de LE por parte de docentes y estudiantes de profesorado de LE. Las autoras concluyeron que la formación de docentes de LE en Croacia sigue las tendencias europeas, pero observaron diferencias entre el desarrollo lingüístico y profesional de los estudiantes según se formen en la Facultad de Humanidades y Ciencias Sociales o en la Facultad de Educación.

Como se puede ver, todos los instrumentos presentados sirven a los profesores a nivel personal para la autoevaluación de sus propias competencias y necesidades, pero también sirven, a nivel institucional, para la evaluación, la formación y la gestión de los procesos educativos con el objetivo de mejorar la calidad y la eficacia de la formación de los docentes de LE en diversas fases de su desarrollo profesional. En este sentido y partiendo precisamente de una perspectiva institucional, parece necesario realizar un análisis de la presencia de las competencias clave en los programas de formación inicial a nivel universitario, lo que puede dar lugar a propuestas de mejora de los programas educativos ofrecidos a los futuros docentes de LE.

3 LA FORMACIÓN INICIAL DE LOS DOCENTES DE ELE EN CROACIA

La formación inicial de los docentes de ELE en Croacia está organizada por la Facultad de Humanidades y Ciencias Sociales de la Universidad de Zagreb, como la única institución universitaria croata que forma a los futuros docentes de ELE. Se trata del programa de Lengua y Literaturas Hispánicas que al nivel de grado (3 años de estudios, 180 ECTS) ofrece una educación general en filología hispánica y una especialización en didáctica de ELE al nivel de máster (2 años, 120 ECTS). En ambos niveles se trata de una carrera de doble grado. En el máster, cada año se admiten unos 15 estudiantes. El programa consta de 16 asignaturas obligatorias y una serie de materias optativas que durante tres semestres cubren cuatro áreas:

1. *Los conocimientos lingüísticos:* asignaturas en forma de ejercicios de lengua española que ponen énfasis en el uso de las estructuras adquiridas en el ciclo anterior de estudios y a la mejora de las cuatro destrezas lingüísticas. Los estudiantes están incluidos en diferentes tipos de proyectos individuales o grupales con el fin de desarrollar varios aspectos de su competencia comunicativa. En este sentido, el trabajo organizado con un profesor nativo en el área de la expresión oral y escrita se revela muy importante, en especial para superar la ansiedad lingüística que sienten muchos estudiantes. Una retroalimentación regular a nivel individual también juega un rol imprescindible en este proceso.
2. *Los conocimientos de didáctica de LE:* asignaturas en forma de clases teóricas y seminarios sobre el proceso de ASL y didáctica y metodología de ELE. Se abarcan todos los temas relevantes del campo como los procesos cognitivos en el aprendizaje de ELE, la interlengua de los alumnos, el análisis de errores, los factores individuales, los métodos de enseñanza de ELE, la interculturalidad, la evaluación, la autonomía de los alumnos, las destrezas lingüísticas, el currículo de lengua española, la creación de materiales didácticos de ELE, la planificación de clases y otros. La enseñanza es interactiva y se incita a los estudiantes a reflexionar e investigar sobre los temas propuestos, así como a relacionar las nociones teóricas con la práctica docente en el aula – al principio a base de su propia experiencia como alumnos, y luego a base de la experiencia que adquieren como futuros docentes a través de sus prácticas.
3. *Los conocimientos psicológicos y pedagógicos* en forma de asignaturas de psicología de la educación, pedagogía y didáctica general. Las asignaturas están impartidas y organizadas para todos los futuros docentes de la Facultad por el Centro de formación docente de la Facultad.

4. *La práctica estudiantil* se realiza en escuelas secundarias e institutos de lengua en Zagreb. Incluye un total de 35 horas de observación de clases, una micro intervención de quince minutos y dos clases de 45 minutos que cada estudiante imparte de manera independiente. Los objetivos de estas prácticas tutorizadas son varios y múltiples, entre otros – conocer mejor la realidad educativa, desarrollar los aspectos prácticos de la competencia docente mediante la experiencia personal de la enseñanza de ELE, relacionar los conocimientos teóricos con los ejemplos prácticos, desarrollar el sentido de responsabilidad profesional y desarrollar la capacidad de autoevaluar su competencia docente. Al final de la práctica tutorizada se realiza un análisis y una reflexión crítica de la actuación del estudiante en la que participan el tutor, el profesor de metodología de ELE de la Facultad y el estudiante.

Además de las áreas mencionadas, durante el último semestre los estudiantes escriben un trabajo de fin de máster que, en general, junto al marco teórico sobre el tema elegido, incluye un estudio relacionado realizado con estudiantes croatas de ELE de diversas edades, niveles de conocimiento de español y contextos institucionales.

Como se puede ver, la formación inicial de los docentes de ELE en Croacia es una etapa imprescindible de su desarrollo profesional que está orientada al desarrollo de conocimientos generales, habilidades básicas y actitudes que forman parte de diversas competencias docentes e integran conocimientos relacionados con la lengua, la cultura, las ciencias de la educación en general y, en concreto, de didáctica de ELE. Los conocimientos teóricos se ponen en práctica tanto durante las clases en la Facultad como durante las prácticas tutorizadas en las escuelas. Además, en los estudiantes se fomenta y desarrolla una actitud reflexiva y crítica hacia su propio trabajo y se enfatiza la necesidad de un aprendizaje permanente. Sin embargo, visto que el programa de estudios fue acreditado en 2005, nos interesaba ver en qué medida la formación inicial de los docentes de ELE en Croacia proporciona a los estudiantes el desarrollo de las competencias específicas propuestas en los últimos años por los marcos competenciales y qué cambios se podrían introducir en el programa para mejorarlo.

4 ANÁLISIS DE LAS COMPETENCIAS DE LOS DOCENTES DE ELE EN CROACIA

Este trabajo propone una reflexión sobre las competencias de los docentes de ELE en Croacia desde tres perspectivas: (a) la perspectiva curricular, (b) la perspectiva estudiantil y (c) la perspectiva profesional.

4.1 Objetivos

Los objetivos de esa reflexión se centran en tres áreas principales. Primero, se quieren analizar los contenidos de las asignaturas que forman parte del plan de estudios del Máster universitario en formación de docentes de ELE de la Universidad de Zagreb desde el punto de vista de las competencias docentes, con énfasis en las competencias específicas. Luego se quieren descubrir las actitudes de los estudiantes sobre el rol de la formación inicial en el desarrollo profesional en general, su valoración de la importancia de diversas competencias docentes y su nivel percibido de adquisición de esas mismas competencias durante su formación inicial. Al final se quiere examinar la valoración de los docentes de ELE en Croacia sobre el rol de la formación inicial en el desarrollo profesional en general y la importancia de las competencias docentes propuestas para la práctica profesional de la docencia.

4.2 Muestra y participantes

La muestra incluye los programas de las asignaturas obligatorias ofrecidas dentro del Máster universitario en formación de docentes de ELE de la Facultad de Humanidades y Ciencias Sociales de la Universidad de Zagreb. Los programas están disponibles en el sitio web de la Facultad (www.ffzg.unizg.hr) y contienen varias rúbricas: datos generales, descripción del curso (objetivos, resultados de aprendizaje, contenidos, tipos de enseñanza, obligaciones del estudiante, tipos de evaluación, literatura). Todas ellas están incluidas en el análisis.

En el estudio participaron 27 estudiantes (47,4%) del analizado máster. La edad media de los estudiantes era de 24 años (DE=1,5) y la mayoría de ellos eran mujeres (92,6%). Entre los estudiantes, 63% en la facultad estudia dos lenguas, pero solo el 12% de ellos al nivel de máster estudia dos profesorados de LE. Participaron también 30 docentes de ELE (52,6%) que trabajan en escuelas secundarias o institutos de lengua croatas. La edad media de los docentes era de 36 años (DE=9,12) y la mayoría de ellos también eran mujeres (90%). En cuanto a su experiencia docente, 73% tenía más de 5 años de experiencia como docentes de ELE.

4.3 Instrumentos y procedimiento

Con el fin de llevar a cabo la investigación se recopilaron varios tipos de datos cuantitativos. Para analizar el plan de estudios se utilizó una matriz de análisis que incluyó un listado de 23 competencias, así como el listado de cursos obligatorios en los que se analizó la presencia explícita, implícita o ausencia de las competencias analizadas. Dada la relevancia de todos los documentos referenciales mencionados en el marco teórico, pero teniendo en cuenta su diversidad en cuanto al número, presentación, formulación y desglose de las diversas competencias, se optó por partir de las competencias que Mihaljević Djigunović y Mardešić (2009) seleccionaron en base a los marcos de Gonzáles y Wagenaar (2003) y Kelly et al. (2004). Esos listados de competencias, con énfasis en las competencias específicas, se compararon luego con los demás marcos referenciales citados, lo que llevó a su modificación para incluir algunas competencias que, con diversas formulaciones, aparecen en los demás marcos mencionados. De esta manera, se trató de englobar en una sola lista la esencia de los diversos marcos referenciales importantes para el docente de LE.

Para recopilar los datos de los estudiantes y de los docentes se utilizaron dos cuestionarios similares, pero adaptados para cada uno de los grupos de participantes. Ambos cuestionarios incluían los datos demográficos de los participantes, preguntas sobre la actitud de los participantes hacia diversas fases del desarrollo profesional para la adquisición de las competencias docentes y una escala Likert de cinco puntos (1 – totalmente en desacuerdo, 5 – totalmente de acuerdo) con 23 competencias docentes ($\alpha = 0{,}90$). En la escala, todos los estudiantes (N=27) tenían que evaluar el nivel de importancia que le atribuyen a las competencias propuestas. Además, los estudiantes del segundo año de estudio (N=20) valoraron el nivel de adquisición de esas competencias durante el programa de máster universitario en enseñanza de ELE. Por otro lado, los docentes tenían que evaluar el nivel de importancia de las competencias propuestas para la práctica docente. Los cuestionarios se rellenaron en formato electrónico y para el análisis estadístico de los datos se utilizó el programa SPSS 23.

4.4 Resultados

En los siguientes apartados se presentan los resultados estructurados según las tres perspectivas principales de esta investigación.

4.4.1 Perspectiva curricular

En el Gráfico 1 se presentan los datos sobre la presencia explícita, implícita o ausencia de las competencias analizadas en las asignaturas obligatorias de la carrera de profesorado de ELE.

Gráfico 1: Presencia de las competencias docentes en las asignaturas obligatorias

De manera global, podemos decir que en todas las asignaturas ofrecidas se desarrollan varias competencias excepto la capacidad de integrar otros contenidos a clase de LE (AICLE/CLILL), que no está presente en ninguna asignatura (0%). Las competencias más presentes son las que se refieren al conocimiento práctico (uso) de la lengua y a la competencia interpersonal (82%), la comprensión del proceso de ASL (76%), la competencia intrapersonal y la conciencia de los factores que influyen en el proceso de ASL (ambas 63%). Las competencias menos representadas, además del ya mencionado AICLE, son la capacidad de ejecutar planes y programas de clase (13%), la competencia científica/de investigación y los conocimientos teóricos de la LE (ambas 19%). Las competencias que están presentes mayoritariamente explícitamente son la comprensión del proceso de ASL en sí (63%) y de los factores que influyen en él (44%), así como la capacidad de adaptar la clase a las capacidades y necesidades de los alumnos (38%). Las que están presentes mayoritariamente implícitamente son el conocimiento práctico (uso) de la LE y la competencia interpersonal (ambas 63%), la competencia digital (50%), la capacidad de aprender observando a otros y la capacidad de aprender autoobservándose (ambas 44%).

4.4.2 Perspectiva estudiantil

La perspectiva estudiantil de la problemática investigada se analiza en tres áreas: la valoración de la importancia de las diversas fases del desarrollo profesional en la adquisición de las competencias docentes, la valoración de la importancia de las competencias analizadas para la profesión docente y su percibido nivel de adquisición durante su formación inicial.

En general, los estudiantes valoran de diferente manera el rol de las diversas fases del desarrollo profesional en la adquisición de las competencias docentes. Los resultados se presentan en la Tabla 1.

Tabla 1. Importancia de diversas fases para el desarrollo profesional y la adquisición de las competencias docentes (estudiantes)

	M	DE
Experiencia laboral	4,81	,483
Pasantías / trabajo junto a un mentor	4,63	,565
Práctica estudiantil	4,52	,643
Formación inicial	4,30	,775

Los estudiantes estiman que la experiencia laboral es la etapa más importante dentro de la cual se desarrollan las competencias del docente de ELE (M=4,81), siguen el trabajo junto a un mentor (M=4,63) y la práctica estudiantil que se organiza durante los estudios al nivel de máster (M=4,52). La formación docente inicial, o sea los estudios universitarios, según su opinión tiene un rol menos importante en este proceso (M=4,30), aunque el valor atribuido a esta variable sigue siendo bastante alto.

Los resultados que se refieren a la valoración estudiantil de la importancia y del nivel de adquisición de las competencias docentes propuestas se encuentran en la Tabla 2.

Tabla 2. Evaluación de la importancia y el nivel de adquisición de las competencias docentes (estudiantes)

	Importancia (N=27)		**Adquisición durante los estudios (N=20)**	
	M	DE	M	DE
Capacidad de adaptar la clase a las capacidades y necesidades de los alumnos	4,93	,385	3,30	,865
Capacidad de motivar a los alumnos	4,89	,320	3,40	,883
Manejo de la interacción y el ambiente de clase	4,81	,396	3,10	1,071
Orientación hacia los alumnos	4,81	,483	3,55	1,050
Conocimiento práctico (uso) de la LE	4,78	,424	3,60	,883
Capacidad de analizar las necesidades de los alumnos	4,74	,526	3,35	,875
Competencia interpersonal	4,74	,447	3,70	1,081
Organización temporal de la clase	4,63	,565	3,45	,945
Evaluación de la competencia comunicativa de los alumnos	4,59	,572	3,55	,945
Comprensión del proceso de ASL	4,59	,694	4,70	,470
Conciencia de los factores que influyen en el proceso de ASL	4,59	,694	4,65	,489
Selección de materiales de trabajo	4,56	,506	3,90	,641
Competencia intrapersonal	4,52	,509	3,40	1,273
Competencia intercultural	4,48	,509	3,85	,988
Creación de materiales de trabajo	4,44	,577	3,55	1,146
Capacidad de ejecutar planes y programas de clase	4,33	,734	2,85	,933
Capacidad de aprender autoobservándose	4,30	,542	3,30	,865
Capacidad de aprender observando a otros	4,26	,526	3,20	,951
Conocimiento teórico de la LE	4,26	,712	4,20	,768
Capacidad de integrar otros contenidos a la clase de LE (AICLE/CLILL)	4,11	,801	3,05	,887
Experiencia creando planes y programas de clase	3,96	,808	3,15	1,040
Competencia científica (de investigación)	3,96	,759	3,85	,745
Competencia digital	3,78	,698	3,00	,858

Los datos cuantitativos demuestran que los estudiantes del profesorado de ELE atribuyen una importancia muy alta a casi todas las competencias docentes, entre las que se destacan la capacidad de adaptar la clase a las capacidades y necesidades de los alumnos (M=4,93), la capacidad de motivar a los alumnos (M=4,89), el manejo de la interacción y el ambiente de clase y la orientación hacia los alumnos (ambas M=4,81), el conocimiento práctico (uso) de la LE (M=4,78), la capacidad de analizar las necesidades de los alumnos y la competencia interpersonal (ambas M=4,74). Como las competencias docentes menos importantes los estudiantes destacan la competencia digital (M=3,78), la experiencia creando planes y programas de clase y la competencia científica (de investigación) (ambas M=3,96).

En cuanto a la valoración en qué medida el programa de estudios les facilitó la adquisición de esas competencias, los valores se encuentran en el medio de la escala, destacándose la comprensión del proceso de ASL (M=4,70) y la conciencia de los factores que influyen en el proceso de ASL (M=4,65). Los estudiantes consideran que las competencias menos adquiridas son la capacidad de ejecutar planes y programas de clase (M=2,85), la competencia digital (M=3,00), la capacidad de integrar otros contenidos a la clase de LE (M=3,05), el manejo de la interacción y el ambiente de clase (M=3,10) y la experiencia creando planes y programas de clase (M=3,15). Los resultados de la prueba t demuestran que existe una diferencia estadísticamente significativa ($p<0,05$) entre la importancia atribuida a las competencias docentes (más alta) y el nivel de su adquisición en la formación inicial (más baja) solo en cuanto a la capacidad de adaptar la clase a las capacidades y necesidades del alumno ($t(52)=-2,086$) y la organización temporal de la clase ($t(55)=-3,908$).

4.4.3 Perspectiva profesional

La perspectiva docente de la problemática investigada se analiza en dos áreas: la valoración de la importancia de las diversas fases del desarrollo profesional en la adquisición de las competencias docentes y la valoración de la importancia de las competencias propuestas para la profesión docente.

Los resultados generales de los docentes sobre el rol de las diversas fases del desarrollo profesional en la adquisición de las competencias docentes se presentan en la Tabla 3.

Tabla 3. Importancia de diversas fases para el desarrollo profesional y la adquisición de las competencias docentes (docentes)

	M	DE
Experiencia laboral	4,60	,724
Pasantías / trabajo junto a un mentor	4,30	,794
Formación inicial	4,20	,761
Práctica estudiantil	3,97	,928

Los docentes estiman que la experiencia laboral es la fase más importante dentro de la cual se desarrollan las competencias del docente de ELE (M=4,60), seguida por el trabajo junto a un mentor (M=4,30) y la formación docente inicial (M=4,20). La práctica estudiantil que se organiza durante los estudios al nivel de máster, según ellos, tiene un rol menos importante en ello (M=3,97), aunque el valor atribuido se encuentra por sobre el medio de la escala. Es precisamente en relación a esta etapa que los resultados de la prueba t ($t(55)=2,582$) revelan una diferencia estadísticamente significativa ($p<0,05$) entre la valoración de los estudiantes (valoración más alta) y los docentes (valoración más baja).

Los resultados que se refieren a la valoración docente de la importancia de las competencias propuestas para la práctica docente se encuentran en la Tabla 4.

Tabla 4. Evaluación de la importancia de las competencias docentes (profesores)

	M	DE
Conocimiento práctico (uso) de la LE	4,83	,379
Capacidad de motivar a los alumnos	4,83	,379
Manejo de la interacción y el ambiente de clase	4,80	,407
Orientación hacia los alumnos	4,73	,521
Capacidad de adaptar la clase a las capacidades y necesidades de los alumnos	4,67	,547
Competencia interpersonal	4,67	,547
Capacidad de analizar las necesidades de los alumnos	4,63	,490
Competencia intrapersonal	4,57	,626
Comprensión del proceso de ASL	4,50	,572
Conciencia de los factores que influyen en el proceso de ASL	4,50	,682
Capacidad de aprender autoobservándose	4,50	,731
Selección de materiales de trabajo	4,43	,568
Capacidad de aprender observando a otros	4,43	,626
Competencia intercultural	4,37	,765
Evaluación de la competencia comunicativa de los alumnos	4,33	,547
Capacidad de ejecutar planes y programas de clase	4,27	,691
Creación de materiales de trabajo	4,13	,730
Capacidad de integrar otros contenidos a la clase de LE (AICLE/CLILL)	4,07	,740
Conocimiento teórico de la LE	4,00	1,017
Organización temporal de la clase	4,00	,643
Experiencia creando planes y programas de clase	3,93	,907
Competencia digital	3,87	,776
Competencia científica (de investigación)	3,60	,724

Los datos cuantitativos demuestran que los docentes le atribuyen una importancia muy grande a casi todas las competencias docentes, entre las cuales se destacan el conocimiento práctico (uso) de la LE y la capacidad de motivar a los alumnos (ambas M=4,83), el manejo de la interacción y el ambiente de clase (M=4,80), la orientación hacia los alumnos (M=4,73), la capacidad de adaptar la clase a las capacidades y necesidades de los alumnos y la competencia interpersonal (ambas M=4,67), la capacidad de analizar las necesidades de los alumnos (M=4,63) y la competencia intrapersonal (M=4,57). Como las competencias menos importantes los docentes destacan la competencia científica (de investigación) (M=3,60), la competencia digital (M=3,87) y la experiencia creando planes y programas de clase (M=3,93).

Al comparar las actitudes de los estudiantes y de los docentes frente a la importancia de las competencias propuestas, los resultados de la prueba t demuestran que existe una diferencia estadísticamente significativa ($p<0,05$) entre la percibida importancia de las competencias según los estudiantes (más alta) y los docentes (más baja) solo en cuanto a la capacidad de adaptar la clase a las capacidades y necesidades del alumno ($t(52)=-2,086$) y la organización temporal de la clase ($t(55)=-3,908$).

4.5 Discusión

Partiendo del análisis de las competencias de los docentes de ELE en Croacia desde la perspectiva curricular, el análisis del programa de formación inicial reveló que casi todas las competencias reconocidas por los marcos referenciales están presentes de forma explícita o implícita, pero se nota que la mayoría de las competencias están presentes de una manera más bien implícita. Analizando las competencias en sí, predominan las competencias que se refieren al saber (conocimientos) y al saber ser (actitudes). El desarrollo de la competencia comunicativa en la lengua española es posible en casi todas las asignaturas visto que se imparten completa o parcialmente en español y requieren el manejo de varios aspectos de la lengua. Ya que la profesión docente requiere la capacidad de comunicar de una manera eficaz y de ser un buen oyente en la interacción con los alumnos, pero también con otros agentes del proceso educativo, no extraña que la competencia interpersonal esté también presente en la mayoría de las asignaturas. Además, uno de los objetivos de la formación docente ciertamente es desarrollar una actitud reflexiva hacia la propia práctica docente y es por eso que la competencia intrapersonal, probablemente en forma de introspección, se promueve en un alto porcentaje de asignaturas. En cuanto a las competencias educativas, son los conocimientos teóricos sobre el proceso de ASL y las capacidades y necesidades de los alumnos los temas que predominan en el programa pero, por otro lado, se nota una falta de presencia de habilidades prácticas como la creación y la ejecución de planes y programas de clase, la organización temporal de la clase o la evaluación de los conocimientos de los alumnos, competencias que están muy estrechamente relacionadas a la práctica profesional en sí y solo a través de ella se pueden adquirir plenamente.

En cuanto a las diversas etapas que aportan al desarrollo competencial docente, ambos grupos de informantes estiman que es precisamente la experiencia laboral la que más forma al docente de ELE, ya que es en el ámbito educativo real donde se puede desarrollar y manifestar plenamente el potencial competencial docente, por lo que en segundo lugar se encuentran las pasantías. En cuanto a las prácticas estudiantiles y la formación inicial, estas etapas en ambos grupos se encontraron al final de la tabla. Por más que a través de las medias que obtuvieron se puede observar la importancia de estas etapas, queda en manifiesto que la formación inicial es tan solo el comienzo de la formación docente, como bien lo dice su nombre. En cuanto a la práctica estudiantil, fue la única etapa en la que se evidenció una diferencia significativa entre ambos grupos. Podemos presuponer que los estudiantes sitúan su importancia sobre la importancia de la formación inicial probablemente porque es allí donde empiezan a descubrir la interrelación de la teoría con la práctica, mientras que la formación inicial en sí, que tiene un destacado componente teórico, probablemente gana importancia con el tiempo y la práctica docente, por lo que ha sido valorada como más importante que la práctica estudiantil por los actuales docentes de ELE.

La mencionada visión del rol de la formación inicial como una etapa en la que no se pueden desarrollar plenamente todas las competencias docentes se manifestó también en el hecho que el análisis competencial del currículo coincide solo parcialmente con la valoración de los estudiantes sobre la medida en la cual el programa de estudios les proporcionó la adquisición de esas competencias. La mayoría de las competencias se encuentra en el medio de la escala en cuanto a su nivel de adquisición, pero se destaca la adquisición de conocimientos teóricos sobre el proceso de ASL y de los factores que influyen en él, que sí están presentes de una manera bastante explícita en los programas. Cabe resaltar que los estudiantes no reconocen la presencia implícita de muchas competencias, por ejemplo, la competencia que se refiere al uso de la lengua y que está presente en casi todas las asignaturas, la competencia interpersonal, la competencia intrapersonal, la capacidad de aprender observando a otros o la capacidad de aprender autoobservándose. Por otro lado, es interesante que los estudiantes perciben que de cierta manera desarrollan la capacidad de integrar otros contenidos a la clase de LE (AICLE/CLILL), aunque esa competencia no está presente en el programa.

Si analizamos la valoración de la importancia de las competencias docentes para ejercer la profesión, tanto por los estudiantes como por los profesores, se destaca que ambos grupos subrayan las mismas competencias como más y menos importantes: entre las más importantes se reconocen el conocimiento práctico de la lengua y las competencias que se refieren a los aspectos individuales y afectivos de la clase de ELE: la orientación hacia los alumnos, la capacidad de motivar a los alumnos, la adaptación de las clases a las capacidades y necesidades de los alumnos, así como el manejo de la interacción y el ambiente de clase; mientras que entre las menos importantes están la competencia científica, la competencia digital y la experiencia creando planes y programas de clase. La única diferencia significativa entre los grupos se refiere a la adaptación de la clase a las capacidades y necesidades del alumno, a la que los estudiantes le atribuyeron un valor más alto que los docentes, quienes probablemente están a menudo demasiado constreñidos por los currículos para poder llevar a cabo una enseñanza más individualizada, especialmente en las escuelas regladas donde los grupos de alumnos son muy numerosos.

Visto que los resultados revelan cierta discrepancia entre las dimensiones analizadas, proponemos algunos caminos de mejora de la formación inicial de los docentes de ELE en Croacia. Primero, aunque casi todas las competencias clave están presentes en el programa de estudios, su presencia es mayoritariamente implícita y desequilibrada. Una presencia más explícita de las competencias docentes resultaría en una mayor concientización de los estudiantes, lo que podría dar lugar a un uso más eficaz de las competencias a la hora de desenvolverse en situaciones profesionales. Luego, ya que algunas competencias están representadas más que otras, se propone una revalorización de los contenidos de las asignaturas para equilibrar su presencia a través del currículo, siempre teniendo en cuenta que una misma competencia debe desarrollarse interdisciplinariamente y a través de su integración en diversas asignaturas. Finalmente, además de los conocimientos, el programa de estudios debería promover aún más el desarrollo de las habilidades y actitudes dentro de la profesión docente, lo que se debe realizar sobre todo durante la práctica estudiantil. Es por eso que es necesario cambiar su estructura y el nivel de implicación de los estudiantes en ella para lograr todos sus objetivos, que no siempre se alcanzan de una manera adecuada dentro de la organización actual. Para lograr todos estos objetivos, se propone en futuras investigaciones hacer estudios cualitativos más profundos con ambos grupos de informantes para ahondar en detalles relacionados especialmente con el currículo y su puesta en práctica.

5 CONCLUSIÓN

Numerosos documentos actuales a través de la descripción de las competencias docentes, genéricas y específicas, muestran la complejidad del rol del docente de LE. Además de ser herramientas de formación y perfeccionamiento continuo para los docentes, sirven también a nivel institucional para gestionar y evaluar la calidad de la formación docente, en especial la formación inicial como la primera etapa de su desarrollo profesional.

En el caso de Croacia, la formación inicial de los docentes de ELE está situada en el segundo ciclo de estudios universitarios. En este período inicial de la carrera docente, es importante ofrecer a los estudiantes una base sólida sobre la cual ulteriormente construirán su figura, identidad y práctica docente a lo largo de toda su vida. Un enfoque por competencias entretejido en el programa de estudios se revela importante por varias razones. Si entendemos la noción de *competencia* como un conjunto de conocimientos, habilidades y actitudes que posibilitan al individuo desenvolverse en varias situaciones, resolver problemas y actuar de forma propicia y eficaz en el contexto profesional, es precisamente el entorno universitario el que debe posibilitar a los estudiantes desarrollar las competencias genéricas, pero aún más, las específicas. En el contexto de enseñanza de ELE, por un lado, se reconoce que un profesional debe tener conocimientos declarativos sobre la lengua y las culturas hispanas, la didáctica de ELE y las ciencias psicopedagógicas, pero por otro, se subraya la importancia de los conocimientos procedurales, de un *saber hacer* relacionado con el contexto educativo en el que actúa el docente. Se añade un tercer elemento, que se refiere a la actitud hacia sí mismo y su profesión, las personas de su entorno y el objeto de enseñanza. Dentro de este marco y con este espíritu se debe realizar la formación inicial de los docentes de ELE también en el contexto croata. Aunque varios elementos del enfoque por competencias propuesto ya están presentes en el programa, se revela la necesidad de un desarrollo más explícito y equilibrado de varias competencias específicas del docente de LE, así como de una reestructuración de la práctica estudiantil. El resultado sería una formación inicial de los docentes de ELE más adecuada y puntual, armonizada con las exigencias del mercado laboral de hoy.

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POVZETEK

KOMPETENCE HRVAŠKIH UČITELJEV ŠPANŠČINE KOT TUJEGA JEZIKA: KURIKULARNI, ŠTUDENTSKI IN UČITELJSKI VIDIK

Sodobni trg dela od zaposlenih zahteva celovito usposobljenost, ki se odraža v različnih ključnih kompetencah. Različni referenčni okviri za poučevanje tujih jezikov (Kelly et al. 2000; Borg 2006; Newby et al. 2007; Instituto Cervantes 2012) opredeljujejo vrsto za učitelje pomembnih generičnih ali transverzalnih ter specifičnih znanj, zato bi moralo začetno usposabljanje učiteljev kot pomembna stopnja v posameznikovem poklicnem razvoju temeljiti na kompetenčnem pristopu (Vizek Vidović 2009). Prispevek predstavlja razmislek o kompetencah hrvaških učiteljev španščine kot tujega jezika, in sicer s treh vidikov: kurikularnega, študentskega in učiteljskega. Analiza je odkrila nekaj diskrepanc. Kurikul sicer omogoča razvoj skoraj vseh kompetenc, opisanih v referenčnih okvirih, smo pa opazili, da je v njem implicitno prisotnih veliko kompetenc, ki jih študentje med študijem pridobivajo, ne da bi se tega zavedali. Po drugi strani študentje in učitelji večinoma enako vrednotijo pomembnost posameznih kompetenc, vendar je raven pridobljenih kompetenc med študijem nižja od tiste, ki jo kompetencam pripisujejo. To deloma sovpada z dojemanjem pedagoške smeri študija kot prvega koraka v poklicnem izobraževanju učiteljev. Hkrati pa naša raziskava ponuja tudi osnovo za izboljšave na področju začetnega izobraževanja učiteljev španščine kot tujega jezika na Hrvaškem.

Ključne besede: učiteljeve kompetence, učitelji španščine kot tujega jezika, začetno usposabljanje učiteljev, kompetenčni pristop, španščina kot tuji jezik na Hrvaškem

ABSTRACT

SPANISH L2 TEACHERS' COMPETENCES IN CROATIA: CURRICULAR, STUDENT AND PROFESSIONAL PERSPECTIVE

The contemporary work environment requires professionals to possess complex skills in the form of various key competencies. In the field of foreign language teaching, there are several frames of reference (Kelly et al. 2000; Borg 2006; Newby et al. 2007; Instituto Cervantes 2012) that define a series of generic or transversal competences and specific competences important to the teaching profession. That is why already in initial teacher education, as an important stage of professional development, a competency-based approach should be used (Vizek Vidović 2009). The paper presents a reflection on the competences of teachers of Spanish as a foreign language in Croatia from three perspectives: a) the curricular, b) the student and c) the professional one, and the results revealed discrepancies among the analysed dimensions. On the one hand, although the curriculum enables the development of almost all the competencies recognised by the frames of reference, their presence is highly implicit so the students are not aware that they are acquiring them during their studies. On the other hand, students and teachers largely agree on the assessment of the importance of various competencies, but their level of acquisition during studies is lower than their perceived importance. This partly agrees with the perception of pre-service training as the first step in professional teacher education, but also provides a basis for certain improvements to the initial education of teachers of Spanish as a foreign language in Croatia.

Keywords: teaching competencies, teachers of Spanish as a foreign language, initial teacher education, competence-based approach, teaching Spanish in Croatia

RESUMEN

El contexto laboral contemporáneo requiere que los profesionales posean habilidades complejas que se manifiestan en forma de diversas competencias clave. En el campo de la enseñanza de lenguas extranjeras, existen varios marcos de referencia (Kelly et al. 2000; Borg 2006; Newby et al. 2007; Instituto Cervantes 2012) que definen una serie de competencias genéricas y específicas importantes para la profesión docente. Es por eso que ya la formación docente inicial debería asentarse en un enfoque basado en competencias (Vizek Vidović 2009). Este artículo presenta una reflexión sobre las competencias de los docentes de ELE en Croacia desde tres perspectivas: a) la curricular, b) la estudiantil y c) la profesional, cuyo análisis ha revelado ciertas discrepancias. Aunque el currículo incluye casi todas las competencias reconocidas por los marcos referenciales, se notó una alta presencia implícita de las competencias cuya adquisición durante los estudios no fue reconocida por parte de los estudiantes. Por otro lado, estudiantes y profesionales en gran medida coinciden en cuanto a la valoración de la importancia de las diversas competencias, pero su nivel de adquisición durante los estudios es inferior a su percibida importancia. Eso en parte concuerda con la concepción de la formación inicial como el primer escalón en la formación profesional, pero a su vez abre puertas a propuestas de mejoras de la formación inicial de los docentes de ELE en Croacia.

Palabras clave: competencias docentes, docentes de ELE, formación docente inicial, enfoque basado en competencias, ELE en Croacia

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ANSICHTEN ANGEHENDER DAF-LEHRENDER ZUR DRAMAPÄDAGOGIK IM FREMDSPRACHENUNTERRICHT

1 EINLEITUNG

Seit der Schaffung des Gemeinsamen Europäischen Referenzrahmens (weiter GeR) im Jahr 2001 ist das oberste Ziel des Fremdsprachenunterrichts Lernende zu befähigen in verschiedenen gesellschaftlichen Diskursen sprachlich adäquat zu handeln. Die Entwicklung der kommunikativen Kompetenz in der Fremdsprache wurde dadurch zum Postulat des Fremdsprachenunterrichts. Dieses Ziel sollte sich auch in methodisch-didaktischen Überlegungen bzw. Prinzipien bei der Planung des Fremdsprachenunterrichts widerspiegeln und bei dessen Durchführung realisieren. Eine der Möglichkeiten, den Fremdsprachenunterricht als Ort der Interaktion zwischen allen Beteiligten zu gestalten, bietet auch der Einsatz der Dramapädagogik.

Obwohl es scheint, dass dramapädagogische Elemente, die das ganzheitliche Lernen unterstützen, im Widerspruch zum pragmatisch ausgerichteten GeR stehen oder laut Schmenk (2004: 15) völlig aus dem GeR ausgeschlossen werden, berichten z. B. Neumayer (2002), Bünger (2010) und Birnbaum (2013) von positiven Effekten dramapädagogischer Elemente auf das Fremdsprachenlernen – und zwar sowohl in schulischen wie auch in universitären Kontexten. Viele erfolgreiche praktische Beispiele und theoretische Überlegungen sind auch in Tagungsbänden von Dramapädagogik-Tagen zu finden (zugänglich auf der Webseite https://dramapaedagogik.de/de/). Auch Haack (2018) zeigte in seiner umfangreichen Studie, dass dramapädagogische Elemente in der Lehrerausbildung einen positiven Beitrag zur persönlichen und professionellen Kompetenzerweiterung der Lehrenden leisten könnten.

Da der Einsatz von neuen oder weniger bekannten Lehr-Lernkonzepten im Unterricht jedoch stark davon abhängig ist, wie Lehrende diese Konzepte bewerten und welche Erfahrungen sie selbst damit haben/gemacht haben, ist es von Bedeutung, dass Lehrende sowohl in der Ausbildungszeit wie auch bei Fortbildungen mit unterschiedlichen Lehr-Lernmethoden vertraut gemacht werden und sie möglichst viele Methoden auch praktisch ausprobieren, damit sie über ein breites Methodenrepertoire verfügen und es später in ihren eigenen Unterricht miteinbeziehen. Im vorliegenden Artikel wird auf das Konzept der

Dramapädagogik für den Fremdsprachenunterricht näher eingegangen; darüber hinaus werden die Resultate der Befragung von angehenden DaF-Lehrenden präsentiert und ein dramapädagogischer Workshop als eine der Möglichkeiten der Verzahnung von Theorie und Praxis bewertet.

2 DRAMAPÄDAGOGIK ALS KONZEPT DES FREMDSPRACHENLERNENS

Dramapädagogik und Theaterpädagogik gehen in der Alltagssprache oft Hand in Hand. In der Fremdsprachendidaktik wird folgende Distinktion zwischen den beiden Konzepten (vgl. Sambanis 2016) gemacht:

Dramapädagogik	Theaterpädagogik
• Prozessorientierung (Aufführung nicht obligatorisch); • Richtet sich an die Teilnehmer; • Ziel: Dynamisches, mehrkanaliges Lernen durch Imagination, Interpretation, Dramatisierungsversuche, Probehandeln, Feedback und Reflexion; • Geeignet für kürzere Unterrichtssequenzen;	• Produktorientierung (Aufführung obligatorisch); • Richtet sich an das Publikum; • Ziel: Aufführung mit Vor- und Nachbereitung; • Vorgehen: Textauswahl, Rollenverteilung, Techniker, Organisatorisches, Aufführung; • Geeignet für komplexe und längere Arbeit mit Texten z. B. in einer Theater-AG;

Abbildung 1: Unterschied zwischen Dramapädagogik und Theaterpädagogik (vgl. Sambanis 2016)

Dramapädagogik, wie in der Abbildung 1 stichwortartig präsentiert, zielt auf die Konstruktion neuen Wissens durch mehrkanaliges Lernen, indem Lernende mithilfe von Sprache und Körper eine Inszenierung vorbereiten, von der Lehrperson und anderen Beteiligten ein Feedback bekommen und zur eigenen Reflexion aufgefordert werden. Das neue sprachliche und nichtsprachliche Wissen entsteht in der „Sprachnotsituation" (Tselikas 1999) und durch Selbstreflexion. Im Fokus stehen der Lernprozess und die Teilnehmer. Das Hauptziel ist nicht die Vermittlung ästhetischer Prinzipien, sondern die dramapädagogische Herangehensweise verfolgt stets pädagogische Ziele. Die Theaterpädagogik dagegen hat eine Theateraufführung zum Ziel, vermittelt ästhetische Komponenten und möchte eine Wirkung auf das Publikum ausüben. Dem Lernprozess wird eine kleinere Rolle zugewiesen. Vor Augen hat man stets das Publikum und das Endprodukt, also eine Theateraufführung.

Der Begriff Dramapädagogik wurde im deutschsprachigen Raum von Manfred Schewe in zahlreichen Beiträgen in fachdidaktische Diskussionen eingebracht. In seinem bekanntesten Werk aus dem Jahr 1993 ergänzte er die berühmte Maxime Pestalozzis und plädierte „für ein Lehren und Lernen mit Kopf, Herz, Hand und Fuß" (Schewe 1993: 51). Er ging davon aus, dass verschiedene Fertigkeitsbereiche mithilfe von dramapädagogischen Elementen erfolgreich entwickelt werden könnten. In seinem ganzheitlichen Lehr-Lernkonzept der Dramapädagogik, das in Anlehnung an das britische „Drama in Education" entwickelt wurde, sollten im dramapädagogischen Unterricht situative, fiktive Kontexte geschaffen werden, […] „in denen Lehrende und Lernende sprachlich und nichtsprachlich in intensiver Weise handeln – die fremde Sprache wird „inszeniert" (ebd.: 5). Schewe sieht den dramapädagogischen Fremdsprachenunterricht als kommunikativen Fremdsprachenunterricht, in dem „[i]m Vordergrund [...] weniger die Einübung linguistisch-formaler Bestände [steht] (obwohl diese begleitend/integriert auch erfolgt!), sondern eine Konzentration auf die Erarbeitung/Mitteilung von Inhalten" (ebd.: 181).

Im Vordergrund stehen aber nicht nur sprachliche Phänomene, sondern auch Versuche zur Schaffung einer Lehr-Lerngelegenheit, in der Lernende dazu aufgefordert werden, ihre Gedanken situationsgemäß zu versprachlichen. Dies geschieht in einer Als-ob-Situation, in der sich die Lernenden in eine andere Rolle hineinversetzen, spontan handeln, kreativ mit der Sprache umgehen und ihr sprachliches Wissen und Können selbst und mit anderen Lernenden konstruieren, indem sie realitätsnahe Probleme lösen usw. Dieser handlungs- und erlebnisorientierte Ansatz ermöglicht das Erlernen einer Fremdsprache mit allen Sinnen, denn Lernende werden aufgefordert sprachlich und körperlich in einem gelenkten oder improvisierten Unterrichtsetting zu handeln und über die sprachlichen und nicht-sprachlichen Phänomene zu reflektieren.

Der dramapädagogische Unterricht hat nicht zum Ziel schauspielerische Talente aufzudecken, sie zu entwickeln oder eine perfekte Theatervorstellung auf die Bühne zu bringen, sondern das kognitive, soziale, fertigkeitsorientierte und ästhetische Lernen mithilfe von verschiedenen Inszenierungstechniken zu fördern, wobei Lehrende und Lernende zu „Konstrukteure[n] von Handlungssituationen" (ebd.: 408) werden, in denen „[…] die Beteiligten nicht anders können als (körperlich) zu handeln. Und aus der Handlung heraus formiert sich die (fremde) Sprache (ebd.: 408)."

Auch Even (2003) behauptet, dass die Dramapädagogik eine ganzheitliche Vernetzung von handlungsorientierten, erfahrungsbezogenen, interaktiven und alternativen Ansätzen darstellt und „[…] durch die bewusste Einbeziehung kinästhetischer Lernmomente bereits einen performativen Charakter in sich trägt" (Even 2014). Ähnlich auch Tselikas (1999: 21), die Dramapädagogik als einen Ansatz definiert, der „die Mittel des Theaters zu pädagogischen Zwecken einsetzt". „Im Vordergrund steht dabei nicht primär das Ergebnis, nämlich die Produktion eines Theaterstücks, sondern der Lernprozess in allen seinen Dimensionen: physisch, ästhetisch (sinnlich), emotional und kognitiv" (ebd.).

Das Erlernen einer Fremdsprache mit dem dramapädagogischen Ansatz vergleicht Tselikas (ebd.) mit dem für das Theater charakteristischen Prinzip des Rituals und des Risikos. Lernende befinden sich beim sprachlichen Handeln stets in einer Situation zwischen Spontanität und Kreativität – zwischen dem Risiko und dem Befolgen fremdsprachlicher

Regeln, Konventionen – Ritualen. Dabei sollen sie das Risiko eingehen und auf die Sprache und körperliche Signale zurückgreifen, um ihre Gedanken auszudrücken.

Dem dramapädagogischen Ansatz sind zwei Prinzipien inhärent, und zwar Empathie und Reflexion (vgl. Bonnet und Küppers 2011). Lernende werden aufgefordert, „die reale Schulwirklichkeit zu verlassen und sich auf eine fiktive Wirklichkeit einzulassen“ (ebd.: 41).

Durch den Einsatz dramapädagogischer Elemente werden laut Tselikas (1999: 42) „Sprachnotsituationen“ geschaffen, in denen Lernende eine starke Sprechabsicht und Notwendigkeit des sprachlichen und körperlichen Ausdrucks zeigen; dies resultiert nicht nur in der situativen Kommunikation zwischen den Beteiligten, sondern auch in neurologischen Prozessen im Gehirn. Auch laut Sambanis (2013, 2016) tragen körperliche Bewegungen dazu bei, die Fremdsprache im Gehirn zu verankern und unterstützen das langfristige Behalten des Gelernten.

Die Rolle der Körpersprache beim Sprachenlernen wurde lange nicht beachtet oder als relevanter Faktor angesehen, jedoch zeigen aktuelle Studien aus dem Bereich der Neurowissenschaft und Neurodidaktik gerade das Gegenteil. Das Aufnehmen, Verarbeiten und Abspeichern von Lerninhalten wird durch die von den Lernenden ausgeführten Bewegungen sehr unterstützt (vgl. Sambanis 2016).

3 UNTERSUCHUNG

Um die Ansichten der Studierenden zur Effizienz der Dramapädagogik auf das Fremdsprachenlernen zu erkunden, wurde ein zweiwöchiger Workshop (11 Unterrichtsstunden) organisiert. Zu Beginn fand eine Gesprächsrunde über bisherige Erfahrungen der Studierenden statt (ungefähr 30 Minuten), im Anschluss daran folgten eine Vorlesung zu den theoretischen Hintergründen der Dramapädagogik sowie eine Präsentation praktischer Beispiele anhand von kurzen Videos (2 Stunden). Darauffolgend wurden verschiedene dramapädagogische Techniken (heißer Stuhl, Gedankenallee, Stimmenskulptur, Standbilder, Rollenspiele, Dialoge vorspielen …) kurz präsentiert und von den Studierenden erprobt und reflektiert (8 Stunden). Als Impulse für Inszenierungen dienten Prosatexte, Gedichte, Texte aus Kursbüchern und Sachtexte aus verschiedenen Schulfächern. Am Ende des Workshops wurde eine schriftliche Befragung durchgeführt (30 Minuten).

3.1 Forschungsfrage

Das Ziel der Untersuchung war eine Antwort auf folgende Frage zu finden:

1) Wie bewerten angehende DaF-Lehrende die Effizienz der Dramapädagogik für das Fremdsprachenlernen?

3.2. Methode

Um die erwähnte Forschungsfrage zu beantworten, wurde eine deskriptiv-kausale, nicht-experimentelle Methode ausgewählt. Zur Datenerhebung bedienten wir uns einer schriftlichen Befragung. Es wurde ein Fragebogen mit sieben geschlossenen Fragen entwickelt. Der Fragebogen besteht aus zwei Teilen: Der erste Teil mit 6 Fragen bezieht sich auf die Einstellung der Probanden zum Theater. Der zweite Teil umfasst zwei weitere Fragen. Die sechste Frage enthält 40 Aussagen – Items zur Dramapädagogik, die auf einer 5-stufigen Likert-Skala abgefragt wurden (1-stimmt gar nicht – 5 stimmt völlig).

3.3. Forschungsteilnehmer

An der Umfrage nahmen 41 DaF-Studierende teil, die im Studienjahr 2019/2020 ihr pädagogisches Masterstudium absolvierten und im Rahmen des Studiums die Veranstaltungen Pädagogisches Praktikum I und II besuchten. Unsere Voraussetzung war: Die angehenden DaF-Lehrenden sollten selbst gewisse Lehrmethoden ausprobieren, um diese später in ihrem Unterricht in verschiedenen schulischen Kontexten einzusetzen. Diesbezüglich wurde ein Teil der Veranstaltungen als Workshop organisiert, in dem die angehenden DaF-Lehrenden einige Grundprinzipien der Dramapädagogik kennenlernten und einige Methoden selbst ausprobierten. Am Ende des Workshops wurden die Daten mithilfe des Fragebogens erhoben.

3.4. Datenanalyse

Die eingesammelten Fragebögen wurden zuerst ins Computerprogramm Excel übertragen und danach ausgewertet. In die Analyse wurden 34 vollständig ausgefüllte Fragebögen einbezogen ($N = 34$). Berechnet wurden die Häufigkeit der Antworten (f, f%), der Mittelwert ($\bar{x}$) und die Standardabweichung (σ). Die Daten werden tabellarisch mithilfe der deskriptiven Statistik dargestellt.

3.5. Resultate und Interpretation

Das Ziel des ersten Teils des Fragebogens war, sich ein Bild von der Einstellung der Probanden zum Theater und ihren eigenen Erfahrungen damit zu machen. Das Ziel des zweiten Teils war die Bewertung der dramapädagogischen Methode nach dem Workshop.

Aus der Tabelle 1 ist zu entnehmen, dass die Mehrheit (65 %) der Teilnehmer keine eigenen Erfahrungen mit einer Theater-AG hat und auch keinen Wunsch hat in einem Studententheater mitzuwirken (53 %). Jedoch gibt eine große Mehrheit (91 %) an, dass sie eine Vorliebe für das Theater hat. Die Daten bestätigen unsere Erwartungen, denn Dramapädagogik und Theaterpädagogik sind in slowenischen Mittelschulen bis auf wenige Ausnahmen nicht sehr verbreitet. Auch gibt es an nahezu keiner Schule mehr ein deutschsprachiges Theater. Zum einen mangelt es an Fortbildungen zum Thema Dramapädagogik und zum anderen erlebte das Fach Deutsch als Fremdsprache in den letzten Jahren einige Veränderungen, die nicht zugunsten des Faches waren (siehe Kosevski Puljić, Retelj, 2019), was sicherlich auch in diesem Bereich Spuren hinterlassen hat.

Tabelle 1: Einstellung zum Theater und Erfahrungen damit

Fragen	Ja (f, f%)	Nein (f, f%)	N
1. Sind/Waren Sie Mitglied einer Theater-AG?	12 35 %	22 65%	34 100%
2. Würden Sie in einer Studententheater-AG an der Abteilung für Germanistik mitwirken, wenn es eine gäbe?	16 47%	18 53%	34 100%
3. Mögen Sie Theater?	31 91%	3 9%	34 100%

Um herauszufinden, ob Studierende auch selbst ins Theater gehen und am Theaterleben teilnehmen, wollten wir wissen, wie oft sie sich dorthin begeben und sich eine Theateraufführung ansehen (Frage 4). Die Resultate zeigen, dass nur eine befragte Person nie ins Theater geht, die Mehrheit (21 Studierende) sich selten ein Theaterstück ansehen, 10 Studierende manchmal ins Theater gehen; die Antworten „oft" und „sehr oft" hat je eine befragte Person ausgewählt. Eigentlich sind die Zahlen ziemlich überraschend, denn wie in der Tabelle 1 zu sehen ist, sagen 91 % der Studierenden, dass sie Theater mögen. Als Studierende haben sie auch ermäßigte Theaterkarten und werden an der Abteilung ständig über das Theaterprogramm informiert. Zugleich weisen diese Resultate auch darauf hin, dass eine Vorliebe für das Theater z. B. noch nicht bedeutet, dass man auf diesem Gebiet auch selbst aktiv wird. Entsprechende Parallelen können wir auch zu den Unterrichtsmethoden ziehen: Wenn Lehrende keine oder wenige eigene Erfahrungen mit einer gewissen Methode haben, bestehen nur geringe Chancen, dass sie sie auch in ihren Unterricht miteinbeziehen.

Tabelle 2: Frage 4: Wie oft gehen Sie ins Theater?

Frage 4: Wie oft gehen Sie ins Theater?					
1(nie)	2	3	4	5 (sehr oft)	N
Grad der Zustimmung (f, f%)					
1 3 %	21 62 %	10 29 %	1 3 %	1 3 %	34 100 %

Da Dramapädagogik in Slowenien nicht zu den Mainstream-Methoden gehört und nur von wenigen DaF-Lehrkräften praktiziert wird, wollten wir wissen, ob die Befragten schon einige Elemente der Dramapädagogik in der Grund- oder Mittelschule im

Unterricht kennengelernt haben. Die Resultate sind in der Tabelle 3 dargestellt. Die Hälfte der Teilnehmer hatte nur selten Fremdsprachenunterricht mit dramapädagogischen Elementen, 11 Studierende manchmal, oft und sehr oft nur 3 und genauso 3 hatten noch nie Fremdsprachenunterricht mit Dramapädagogik.

Tabelle 3: Frage 5: Wie oft hatten Sie Fremdsprachenunterricht mit dramapädagogischen Elementen?

Frage 5: Wie oft hatten Sie bis jetzt Fremdsprachenunterricht mit Elementen der Dramapädagogik ?					
1 (nie)	2	3	4	5 (sehr oft)	N
Grad der Zustimmung (f, f%)					
3 9 %	17 50 %	11 32 %	2 6 %	1 3 %	34 100 %

Die sechste Frage beinhaltet 40 Aussagen. Sie werden folgenden Kategorien zugeordnet: Wortschatzlernen, Grammatik, Entwicklung von fremdsprachlicher Kompetenz/ Sprachfertigkeit, Entwicklung literarischer Kompetenzen, Emotionen, Lernprozess und Lernformen und Entwicklung diverser Kompetenzen. Die Studierenden bewerteten den Grad der Zustimmung auf einer fünfstufigen Likert-Skala von 1 (Ich stimme überhaupt nicht zu.) bis 5 (Ich stimme völlig zu.). Die Effizienz der einzelnen Kategorien wurde mithilfe der Mittelwerte auf folgende Weise definiert: 5,00–4,50 – sehr hohe Effizienz; 4,49–4,00 hohe Effizienz; 3,99–3,00 mittelmäßige Effizienz; 2,99–2,00 geringe Effizienz; 1,99–1.00 keine Effizienz.

1.1.1 Kategorie Vokabellernen

Die Teilnehmenden sehen dramapädagogische Elemente im Bereich Vokabellernen sowohl für das Erlernen von neuen Vokabeln ($\bar{x}$=4,56) wie auch für das langfristige Behalten der Wörter ($\bar{x}$=4,53) als wichtigen Faktor an. Die Mehrheit denkt auch, dass der richtige Gebrauch von festen Phrasen mit dramapädagogischen Elementen gefördert wird ($\bar{x}$=3,59). Da sich die zukünftigen DaF-Lehrenden bei den Inszenierungen im Workshop stets in Situationen befanden, in denen sie sich sprachlich angemessen ausdrücken mussten und ihre Gedanken und Gefühle überzeugend vermitteln wollten, gehen wir davon aus, dass sie selbst einsahen, über welche sprachlichen Mittel sie verfügen und welche ihnen noch fehlen. Dabei bedienten sie sich des Wörterbuches, fragten andere Beteiligte und benutzten die Phrasen mehrmals in sinnvollen Kontexten. In diese Kategorie wurden zwei weitere Aussagen eingeordnet, und zwar die Behandlung von landeskundlichen und Tabu-Themen, denn beide Themen sind eng mit dem Lernen der unbekannten Vokabeln verbunden. Auch hier scheint Dramapädagogik von Bedeutung zu sein. Der Mittelwert für die Kategorie Wortschatzlernen beträgt $\bar{x}$=4,00 und Dramapädagogik erweist sich damit als Methode mit einer hohen Effizienz.

Tabelle 4: Wortschatzlernen

Frage 6 - Aussagen	1	2	3	4	5	N	($\bar{x}$)	(σ) Std.
	Grad der Zustimmung (f, f%)							
1. DP im FU fördert das Erlernen von neuen Vokabeln.	0 0%	0 0%	0 0	15 44%	19 56%	34 100%	4,56	0,50
2. Mit DP im FU merken sich Lernende Wortschatz langfristiger als sonst.	0 0%	0 0%	0 0%	16 47%	18 53%	34 100%	4,53	0,50
3. DP im FU macht Lernende auf den richtigen Gebrauch von Phrasen (Chunks) aufmerksam.	2 6%	2 6%	12 35%	10 29%	8 24%	34 100%	3,59	1,09
4. Mit DP kann Landeskunde besonders gut vermittelt werden.	1 3%	4 12%	10 29%	10 29%	9 27%	34 100%	3,59	1,22
5. DP ermöglicht die Bearbeitung von Tabu-Themen im FU.	0 0%	2 6%	12 35%	12 35%	8 24%	34 100%	3,76	0,88

1.1.2 Kategorie Grammatik

Wie in der Tabelle 5 zu sehen ist, werden dramapädagogische Elemente auch für das Erlernen grammatischer Strukturen in der Fremdsprache als nützliche Lernmethode bewertet. Den positivsten Einfluss sehen Studierende in der Förderung der Sprachrichtigkeit ($\bar{x}$=4,00) und in der Sensibilisierung für sprachliche Phänomene ($\bar{x}$=3,71). Da die Teilnehmer in ihrer Schulzeit nur wenige Erfahrungen mit Dramapädagogik gesammelt hatten, waren wir eher positiv überrascht, dass so viele an die Effizienz dramapädagogischer Elemente beim Lernen grammatischer Strukturen glauben ($\bar{x}$= 3,53). Wir vermuten, dass das Selbsterproben in diesem Fall eine wichtige Rolle spielte. Der Mittelwert für die Kategorie Grammatik beträgt 3,75, was als durchschnittliche Effizienz bestimmt wurde.

Tabelle 5: Grammatik

Frage 6 – Aussagen	1	2	3	4	5	N	($\bar{x}$)	(σ) Std.
	Grad der Zustimmung (f, f%)							
6. DP sensibilisiert Lernende für sprachliche Phänomene der Zielsprache.	1 3%	3 9%	11 32%	9 27%	10 29%	34 100%	3,71	1,07
7. Mit DP werden neue grammatische Strukturen schneller als beim traditionellen FU gelernt.	3 9%	2 6%	11 32%	10 29%	8 24%	34 100%	3,53	1,17
8. DP fördert Sprachrichtigkeit.	0 0%	0 0%	7 20%	20 60%	7 20%	34 100%	4,00	0,64

1.1.3 Kategorie Entwicklung von fremdsprachlicher Kompetenz/ Sprachfertigkeit

Die Kategorie Entwicklung von fremdsprachlicher Kompetenz/Sprachfertigkeiten umfasst Aussagen, die sich auf die traditionellen vier Fertigkeiten (Lesen, Schreiben, Sprechen, Hören) beziehen. Bei allen Fertigkeiten sind die Mittelwerte ($\bar{x}$) der Zustimmung sehr hoch (von 4,03 bis und 4,47), das heißt, Dramapädagogik wird als effiziente Lernmethode für die Entwicklung dieser Fertigkeiten im Fremdsprachenunterricht angesehen. Die einzige Fertigkeit, die laut den Studierenden besser mit anderen Methoden gefördert werden kann, ist das Schreiben ($\bar{x}$=2,88). Dramapädagogik ist eine für Teilnehmende sehr effiziente Methode für die Kategorie Entwicklung von fremdsprachlicher Kompetenz. Der Mittelwert beträgt 4,06.

Tabelle 6: Sprachfertigkeiten

Frage 6 – Aussagen	**1**	**2**	**3**	**4**	**5**	**N**	**($\bar{x}$)**	**(σ) Std.**
	Grad der Zustimmung (f, f%)							
9. Mit DP können alle vier Fertigkeiten (Schreiben, Sprechen, Lesen, Hören) gefördert werden.	0 0%	3 9%	4 12%	13 38%	14 41%	34 100%	4,12	0,93
10. DP hilft Lernenden ihre kommunikative Kompetenz zu entwickeln.	0 0%	0 0%	3 9%	12 35%	19 56%	34 100%	4,47	0,65
11. DP im FU wirkt sich positiv auf die Aussprache aus.	0 0%	1 3%	7 20%	7 20%	19 56%	34 100%	4,29	0,89
12. DP im FU fördert die Sprachflüssigkeit.	0 0%	0 0%	7 20%	11 32%	16 47%	34 100%	4,26	0,78
13. DP im FU fördert die Interaktion.	0 0%	0 0%	7 20%	8 24%	19 56%	34 100%	4,35	0,80
14. DP fördert die Lesekompetenz.	0 0%	1 3%	8 24%	12 35%	13 38%	34 100%	4,09	0,85
15. DP im FU fördert die Entwicklung der Hörkompetenz in der Fremdsprache.	1 3%	1 3%	4 12%	18 53%	10 29%	34 100%	4,03	0,89
16. DP im FU hat einen positiven Effekt auf die Entwicklung der Schreibkompetenz.	2 6%	9 27%	15 44%	7 20%	1 3%	34 100%	2,88	0,90

1.1.4 Kategorie Lernprozess und Lernformen

Die Kategorie Lernprozess und Lernformen umfassen Aussagen, die sich auf die Lernmethoden, Arbeits- und Sozialformen beziehen. Auch in dieser Hinsicht bewerteten die Teilnehmer Dramapädagogik als effektive Unterrichtsmethode. Die größten Vorteile der Dramapädagogik sehen die Studierenden im Lernen auf eine kommunikative Weise

($\bar{x}$=4,47), im kooperativen und aktiven Lernen, das allen Beteiligten, unabhängig von ihrem Sprachniveau, eine Teilnahme am Unterricht ermöglicht ($\bar{x}$=4,15). Obwohl die Individualität der Lernenden ($\bar{x}$=4,12) und der authentische Sprachgebrauch ($\bar{x}$=3,82) durch Dramapädagogik stark gefördert werden, beurteilt ein großer Teil der Studierenden diese Methode als Mittel zur Belebung des Unterrichts ($\bar{x}$=3,18) und nicht als wichtigste Lehr-Lernmethode. Der Mittelwert für diese Kategorie beträgt 3,94; der Dramapädagogik wird hiermit eine durchschnittliche bzw. mittelmäßige Effizienz zugeteilt.

Tabelle 7: Lernprozess und Lernformen

Frage 6 – Aussagen	**1**	**2**	**3**	**4**	**5**	**N**	**($\bar{x}$)**	**(σ) Std.**
	Grad der Zustimmung (f, f%)							
17. DP ermöglicht allen Lernenden im FU mitzuarbeiten, unabhängig von ihrem Sprachniveau.	1 3%	2 6%	6 18%	7 20%	18 53%	34 100%	4,15	1,09
18. DP im FU fördert kooperatives Lernen.	0 0%	1 3%	9 27%	8 24%	16 47%	34 100%	4,15	0,91
19. DP im FU ermöglicht ein aktives Fremdsprachenlernen.	1 3%	0 0%	7 20%	11 32%	15 45%	34 100%	4,15	0,94
20. DP ermöglicht Lernenden die Zielsprache auf eine kommunikative Weise zu lernen.	0 0%	1 3%	4 12%	7 20%	22 65%	34 100%	4,47	0,81
21. Mit DP kann die Individualität der Lernenden im FU besser zum Ausdruck gebracht werden.	0 0%	1 3%	8 24%	11 32%	14 41%	34 100%	4,12	0,87
22. DP im FU ermöglicht einen authentischen Sprachgebrauch.	0 0%	3 9%	9 27%	13 38%	9 27%	34 100%	3,82	0,92
23. Mit DP wird die Fremdsprache in einem realen Kontext gelernt.	0 0%	3 9%	7 20%	11 32%	13 38%	34 100%	4,00	0,97
24. DP im FU unterstützt Problemlösungen.	0 0%	7 20%	14 41%	6 18%	7 20%	34 100%	3,38	1,03
25. DP im FU eignet sich nur zur gelegentlichen Belebung des Unterrichtsstoffes.	1 3%	7 20%	15 45%	7 20%	4 12%	34 100%	3,18	0,98

1.1.5 Kategorie Emotionen

Die Kategorie Emotionen bezieht sich auf die Gefühle der Lernenden, die das Lernen mithilfe der Dramapädagogik einerseits fördern, andererseits gewisse Hemmungen verursachen oder das Lernen ver- bzw. behindern. Aus den Ergebnissen in der Tabelle 8 kann zusammengefasst werden, dass sich dramapädagogische Elemente positiv auf die Stressreduktion auswirken, sowohl beim Sprechen ($\bar{x}$=4,32) wie auch im DaF-Unterricht im Allgemeinen ($\bar{x}$=4,06). Eine positive Wirkung könnte sich auch in einer erhöhten Motivation für das Fremdsprachenlernen ($\bar{x}$=4,00) zeigen. Dennoch darf nicht übersehen werden, dass diese Methode nicht allen Lernenden auf den Leib geschrieben ist und gerade diese schauspielerischen Elemente im Unterricht für manche Teilnehmer Stress bedeuten können ($\bar{x}$=2,94). Eine ausführliche Einleitung in die dramapädagogische Herangehensweise und eine genaue Erklärung der Ziele ist unseres Erachtens von großer Bedeutung, damit die Lernenden den Sinn dieser Methode einsehen und eventuell negative Emotionen abbauen. Der Mittelwert für die Kategorie Emotionen ist 3,83 und damit ist Dramapädagogik als eine Herangehensweise mit mittelmäßiger Effizienz positioniert.

Tabelle 8 Emotionen

Frage 6 – Aussagen	**1**	**2**	**3**	**4**	**5**	**N**	**($\bar{x}$)**	**(σ) Std.**
	Grad der Zustimmung (f, f%)							
26. Mit DP kann besonders der Stress beim Sprechen reduziert werden.	0 0%	1 3%	3 9%	14 41%	16 47%	34 100%	4,32	0,76
27. DP senkt den Stresspegel im DaF-Unterricht.	0 0%	2 6%	6 18%	14 41%	12 35%	34 100%	4,06	0,87
28. DP wirkt sich positiv auf die Motivation für das Fremdsprachenlernen aus.	0 0%	2 6%	9 26%	10 29%	13 39%	34 100%	4,00	0,94
29. DP fördert positive Emotionen.	0 0%	4 12%	6 18%	14 41%	10 29%	34 100%	3,88	0,96
30. DP hilft Lernenden Empathie zu entwickeln.	0 0%	4 12%	8 24%	14 41%	8 24%	34 100%	3,76	0,94
31. DP verursacht Stress, weil Lernende nicht gerne Theater spielen.	3 9%	5 15%	17 50%	9 26%	0 0%	34 100%	2,94	0,87

1.1.6 Kategorie Entwicklung literarischer Kompetenzen

Dramapädagogische Elemente sind eng mit dem Spielen im Unterricht verbunden und könnten den Eindruck vermitteln, dass diese Lehr-Lernmethode nicht für einen ernsthaften Umgang mit literarischen Texten geeignet sei. Viele Studierende äußerten nämlich vor dem Workshop Zweifel an der Effizienz dieser Methode im Literaturunterricht, denn es werde ja nur viel gespielt und nicht ernst gearbeitet. Ein Literaturunterricht sei aber keine Spielerei. Die Resultate der Umfrage für die Kategorie Entwicklung literarischer Kompetenzen zeigen ein anderes Bild. Die Mehrheit der Studierenden scheint nach der eigenen Erprobung der Methode davon überzeugt zu sein, dass Dramapädagogik auch für eine vertiefte Arbeit mit literarischen Texten eingesetzt werden kann und den Lernenden gleichzeitig Hilfe beim Verstehen leisten kann. Mit dem Mittelwert 4,37 wurde der dramapädagogischen Methode letztendlich eine hohe Effizienz für die Entwicklung literarischer Kompetenzen zugeschrieben.

Tabelle 9 Literarische Kompetenzen

Frage 6 – Aussagen	**1**	**2**	**3**	**4**	**5**	**N**	**($\bar{x}$)**	**(σ) Std.**
	Grad der Zustimmung (f, f%)							
32. Dramapädagogische Elemente im FU sind auch für den anspruchsvollen Literaturunterricht geeignet.	0 0%	1 3%	2 6%	4 12%	27 79%	34 100%	4,67	0,72
33. Theaterinszenierungen im FU helfen Lernenden ein literarisches Werk besser zu verstehen.	1 3%	1 3%	8 24%	9 26%	15 44%	34 100%	4,06	1,03

1.1.7 Kategorie Diverse Kompetenzen

Der letzte Bereich, der in der Umfrage abgefragt wurde, war der Einfluss der Dramapädagogik auf die Entwicklung unterschiedlicher Kompetenzen, die sich nicht unbedingt auf den Fremdsprachenunterricht beziehen. Die Mehrheit der Studierenden glaubt, Dramapädagogik habe eine sehr positive Wirkung auf die Kreativität der Lernenden ($\bar{x}$=4,62), auf ein positives Selbstbild ($\bar{x}$=4,38), auf die Förderung der sozialen Kompetenz ($\bar{x}$= 4,21) und der Rolle der Körpersprache ($\bar{x}$=4,15). Auch fächerübergreifendes Lernen, Interkulturalität und zwischenmenschliche Beziehungen wie in der Tabelle 10 aufgelistet, können laut den Studierenden mithilfe der Dramapädagogik recht positiv beeinflusst werden. Anhand der Resultate lässt sich feststellen, dass eine dramapädagogische Herangehensweise eine breite Palette an Kompetenzen anspricht, darunter auch diejenigen, die im Fremdsprachenunterricht nicht unbedingt im Vordergrund stehen, wie z. B. Körpersprache oder zwischenmenschliche Beziehungen. Die Dramapädagogik wird als effektive Methode für die Entwicklung diverser Kompetenzen bewertet ($\bar{x}$=4,07).

Tabelle 10 Diverse Kompetenzen

Frage 6 – Aussagen	**1**	**2**	**3**	**4**	**5**	**N**	**($\bar{x}$)**	**(σ) Std.**
	Grad der Zustimmung (f, f%)							
34. DP fördert die Kreativität der Lernenden.	0 0%	0 0%	2 6%	9 27%	23 67%	34 100%	4,62	0,59
35. DP hat einen positiven Einfluss auf das Selbstbild der Lernenden.	0 0%	0 0%	5 15%	11 32%	18 53%	34 100%	4,38	0,73
36. DP fördert die soziale Kompetenz der Lernenden.	0 0%	1 3%	6 18%	12 35%	15 44%	34 100%	4,21	0,83
37. Es ist wichtig, dass im FU auch Körpersprache eine Rolle spielt .	0 0%	0 0%	8 24%	13 38%	13 38%	34 100%	4,15	0,77
38. DP ist für das fächerübergreifende Lernen geeignet.	0 0%	2 6%	10 29%	17 50%	5 15%	34 100%	3,74	0,78

Frage 6 – Aussagen	1	2	3	4	5	N	(x̄)	(σ) Std.
	Grad der Zustimmung (f, f%)							
39. DP im FU fördert die Interkulturalität.	0 0%	0 0%	15 44%	13 38%	6 18%	34 100%	3,74	0,74
40. DP im FU fördert ein besseres fördert ein besseres soziales Miteinander.	0 0%	4 12%	11 32%	11 32%	8 24%	34 100%	3,68	0,96

4 FAZIT

Zusammenfassend ist festzustellen, dass die angehenden DaF-Lehrenden in unserer Untersuchung eine positive Einstellung gegenüber Dramapädagogik haben bzw. entwickelt haben. Es besteht zwar keine Garantie, dass sich die zukünftigen DaF-Lehrenden später im Beruf dramapädagogischer Unterrichtselemente bedienen, dennoch gehen wir davon aus, dass sie aufgrund ihrer positiven Erfahrungen mit dieser Methode diese bei der Unterrichtsplanung zumindest in Betracht ziehen. Die Resultate der Umfrage deuten darauf hin, dass Studierende allgemein dem dramapädagogischen Ansatz in unterschiedlichen Bereichen des Fremdsprachenlernens eine bedeutende Effizienz zuschreiben. Eine hohe Effizienz dieser Methode ist laut der angehenden DaF-Lehrenden beim Vokabellernen zu verzeichnen, ebenso bei der Entwicklung von fremdsprachlicher Kompetenz, der Entwicklung literarischer Kompetenzen und der Entwicklung diverser Kompetenzen, die im Fremdsprachenunterricht gefördert werden können, aber oft im Hintergrund bleiben. Eine mittelmäßige Effizienz wurde für die Kategorien Grammatik, Lernprozess und Lernformen und Emotionen berechnet.

Die Verzahnung von Theorie und Praxis im Rahmen der Veranstaltung Pädagogisches Praktikum, die als ein dramapädagogischer Workshop stattfand, beurteilen wir aus folgenden Gründen als sehr gelungen:

- Die Studierenden äußerten zu Beginn des Workshops ihre eigene Meinung und versprachlichten bzw. offenbarten ihre subjektiven Theorien über die Effizienz dieser Methode, was sie dazu anregte, Argumente zu suchen, um ihre Meinung auch begründen zu können. Schon bei diesem Schritt konnten viele feststellen, dass sie eher auf eigenen Überzeugungen beharren und wenige oder keine Argumente haben. Durch die Versprachlichung ihrer Gedanken bzw. Beharrungen war vielen bewusst, dass sie sich beim Gewinnen neuer Erkenntnisse selbst im Wege stehen. Eine Verbindung der theoretischen Hintergründe mit Videosequenzen, die praktische Beispiele aus dem Unterricht zeigten, ermöglichte den Studierenden einzusehen, dass es um Theorie geht, die auch praktisch im Klassenzimmer leben kann und im Rahmen des Fremdsprachenunterrichts realisierbar ist.
- Die Erprobung einzelner dramapädagogischer Techniken erwies sich als äußerst nützlich, denn die Studierenden mussten sich in die jeweiligen Rollen hineinversetzen, in

die Als-ob-Situationen eintauchen und selbst aktiv werden. Sie konnten anhand eigener Emotionen und Erfahrungen und anhand der Erfahrungen der anderen Beteiligten über einzelne Techniken reflektieren und dazu argumentiert Stellung nehmen.

Von diesen Erkenntnissen ausgehend, fassen wir zusammen, dass eine gut durchdachte Verzahnung von Theorie und Praxis schon während der Ausbildungszeit in vielerlei Hinsichten gewinnbringend sein kann. Einerseits kann dadurch das Verstehen unterschiedlicher pädagogischer Konzepte gestärkt werden und andererseits wird den Studierenden ermöglicht, sich mit eigenen subjektiven Theorien auseinanderzusetzen und möglicherweise ihre bisherigen Grenzen zu erweitern bzw. zu überschreiten. Die dramapädagogische Methode, die in den Anfangsgesprächen eher als spielerische und weniger effektive Herangehensweise bewertet worden war, erstrahlte so in einem ganz anderen Licht.

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POVZETEK

MNENJA BODOČIH UČITELJEV NEMŠČINE O UČINKOVITOSTI DRAMSKE PEDAGOGIKE ZA UČENJE TUJIH JEZIKOV

Prispevek obravnava metodo dramske pedagogike z vidika učinkov na poučevanje in učenje tujih jezikov. Uvodoma obravnavamo razlikovanje med metodama dramska in gledališka pedagogika, ki se je uveljavilo na področju tujejezikovne didaktike in nato predstavimo poglavitne značilnosti dramske pedagogike. Osrednji del članka predstavlja rezultate ankete med bodočimi učitelji/učiteljicami nemščine o učinkovitosti metode dramska pedagogika za razvijanje različnih zmožnosti pri pouku tujega jezika. Iz analize rezultatov izhaja, da bodoči učitelji in učiteljice nemščine prepoznavajo največje prednosti te metode pri razvijanju literarnih kompetenc, učenju besedišča, splošni tujejezikovni zmožnosti in tudi razvijanju različnih kompetenc, ki so pri pouku tujega jezika velikokrat v ozadju. Srednje učinke ima metoda dramske pedagogike po mnenju študentov na sam učni proces oziroma samoregulacijo učenja in učne oblike, na razvijanje slovnice in na emocije pri pouku. Negativnih učinkov na poučevanje ali učenje tujega jezika s pomočjo dramske pedagogike študenti ne zaznavajo. Delavniška oblika spoznavanja elementov dramske pedagogike se je izkazala kot zelo uspešna oblika povezovanja teorije in prakse v času študija, saj je študentom olajšala osmišljanje teorije, omogočila usvojitev praktičnih veščin in jih spodbudila k refleksiji tako lastnega učenja kot tudi obravnavane učne metode. Poleg pridobivanja osebnih izkušenj in praktičnih veščin se takšna reflektivno usmerjena oblika učenja izkaže kot zelo učinkovita za razvijanje kompetence samorefleksije, ki je ena od ključnih učiteljskih kompetenc.

Ključne besede: dramska pedagogika, učne metode, učne tehnike, izobraževanje bodočih učiteljev, delavnica, nemščina kot tuji jezik

ABSTRACT

PRE-SERVICE TEACHERS' ATTITUDES ON THE EFFICIENCY OF DRAMA EDUCATION IN LEARNING AND TEACHING FOREIGN LANGUAGES

The aim of this article is to introduce drama education as a method of learning and teaching foreign languages. We first introduce the distinction between two methods: drama education and theatre pedagogy, as established in the field of foreign language didactics, and then present some main characteristics of the method of drama education.

The main part of the article is based on the results of a survey among pre-service teachers of German as a foreign language about the efficiency of drama education for the development of various competences in the foreign language classroom. The analysis shows the greatest benefit of drama education for the development of literary competences, vocabulary learning, foreign language skills and other competences, that are not so frequently developed in foreign language teaching. The average impact of drama education in this context as assessed with regard to emotions, development of grammar competence, learning process and learning styles. The students did not recognise any negative effects of drama education on foreign language teaching or learning. Workshops on drama education seem to be a very successful way of combining theory and practice in pre-service teacher training. It helped students to better understand the theory, gain practical knowledge and reflect on their own learning as well as the drama-based pedagogical method. Besides gaining personal experience and practical techniques, providing a workshop with a focus on reflection a very effective way to develop the competence of self-reflection, which is one of the key competences of teachers.

Keywords: drama education, drama pedagogy, learning methods, learning techniques, pre-service teacher education, German as a foreign language

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TRPNIK V NEMŠČINI IN SLOVENŠČINI: IZZIVI POUČEVANJA Z VIDIKA RAZNOJEZIČNOSTI

1 UVOD

V slovenskem šolskem sistemu nemščina pretežno nastopa kot drugi tuji jezik, v manjšem obsegu tudi kot prvi tuji jezik, toda v obeh primerih po tem, ko so si učenci in učenke že nabrali prve izkušnje z učenjem slovenščine bodisi kot prvega jezika bodisi kot jezika okolja, ki je hkrati tudi učni jezik. Pridobljena znanja, spretnosti in strategije pomembno vplivajo na učenje nadaljnjih jezikov, če so nanje opozorjeni ali ne.

Čeprav vsi jeziki trpnika ne poznajo, je v mnogih jezikih zelo pogost (Tallerman 1998: 180). Slovenski učenci in učenke za razliko od njihovih vrstnikov, katerih prvi jeziki ga ne poznajo, z razumevanjem in tvorbo trpnika v nemščini načelno nimajo težav (prim. Barkowski/Vicente 2014: 87). Težave pa jim, kot ugotavlja tudi Plešnik (2011), povzroča njegova raba.

Rabo trpnika v slovenščini zaznamuje dolgoletna tradicija odklanjanja, ki jo vsaj delno nadaljuje tudi zadnja slovenska znanstvena slovnica s pripombo, da trpnika niti v strokovnih, poljudnih in znanstvenih besedilih ni dobro preveč uporabljati (Leskovec 2016). Upoštevajoč, da gre pri poučevanju jezika v šoli in izven nje, kot pravi Urbančič (1987: 12), za populariziranje knjižne norme in nadziranje njene realizacije v praksi, bi smeli kot morebitni vzrok za težave slovenskih učencev in učenk pri rabi trpnika v nemščini kot neprvem jeziku predvidevati domnevno reproduciranje te jezikovne prepovedi v slovenščini kot njihovem večinskem prvem jeziku.

V sodobnih učbenikih za slovenski jezik v osnovnih in srednjih šolah bomo zato preverili, kaj učenci in učenke v njih izvedo o rabi trpnika. Predstavitvi obravnave trpnika v slovenski znanstveni slovnici tako sledi analiza obravnave trpnika v učbenikih za slovenščino kot prvi jezik. Pred analizo nadaljnjih primarnih virov, namreč učbenikov za nemščino kot tuji jezik, bo kontrastivna analiza trpnika v nemščini in slovenščini izpostavila področne razlike med izhodiščnim in ciljnim jezikom. Končno bo glede na ugotovitve obeh analiz oblikovan predlog za didaktizacijo nemškega trpnika, ki bi s ciljem primerne rabe presegla usmerjenost k obliki.

2 TRPNIK V SLOVENSKI SLOVNICI

V letu 2017 sta izšli dve novi šolski slovnici Kozme Ahačiča: *Kratkoslovnica*, namenjena osnovni, in *Slovnica na kvadrat*, namenjena srednji šoli. Kot opozarja avtor sam, pri tem ne gre za učbenik, zato ju med analizirane primarne vire nismo vključili, prav tako pa ne gre znanstveno delo o jeziku (Ahačič 2017a: 3; 2017b: 2). Četudi izvira iz sedemdesetih let prejšnjega stoletja, je tako prav Toporišičeva znanstvena slovnica skupna osnova analiziranim učbenikom za slovenski jezik.

Glede rabe glagolskih načinov Toporišič (2000: 358, 502) v njej opozarja, da je v slovenščini kot slovanskem jeziku tvornik mnogo pogostejši od trpnika, sploh tistega v polni obliki (»tj. z obema prvotnima delovalnikoma oz. z osebkom kot ciljem glagolskega delovanja in prislovnim določilom kot vršilcem glagolskega dejanja«). A pravi (Toporišič 2000: 502–503; poudarki v izvirniku), da je »t r p n i k tudi v slovenščini p r a v n o r m a l e n kot pretvorba stavkov s splošnim vršilcem dejanja, /…/, kjer za vršilca dejanja ne vemo ali pa se razume sam po sebi«, in kot primere navaja povedi *Ta hiša je bila sezidana v 16. stoletju*, *Novi zakon o šolstvu sprejet v soboto*, *Knjiga se že tiska* ter ob tem zavrača Kopitarjevo, Metelkovo, sploh pa Breznikovo gledanje na trpnik kot prepuristično. Tudi na drugem mestu v slovnici Toporišič (2000: 359) trpniku daje domovinsko pravico, ko pravi, da ga uporabljamo, kadar hočemo v ospredje postaviti tistega, ki ga glagolsko dejanje prizadeva, zamolčati ali potisniti ob stran pa vršilca glagolskega dejanja, ker ni pomemben ali ga nočemo ali ne moremo ugotoviti, kar da je pogosto v strokovnih, poljudnih ali znanstvenih besedilih, a nato dodaja: »Pa še v teh trpnika ni dobro preveč uporabljati« in s tem tudi sam vsaj delno nadaljuje trpniku nenaklonjeno tradicijo starejših slovenskih jezikoslovcev.

Toda »/o/čitati rabo trpnika tam, kjer je v ospredju glagolsko dejanje, ker je vršilec nepomemben ali celo samoumeven, pomeni ne razumeti, da se je slovenski jezik razvil na vseh funkcijskih področjih, ki med seboj niso primerljiva,« opozarja Kalin Golob (2001: 140–141). Korošec (1972: 179) je v zvezi z različnimi jezikovnimi stili oz. zvrstmi prav tako že v sedemdesetih letih opozarjal, da je treba vse obravnavati enakopravno ter spoznavati njihove potrebe in naloge ter zakonitosti, ki se zaradi teh kažejo v jeziku. »In če se pokaže, da so potrebe prerasle dosedanja jezikovna pravila, je treba izpopolniti pravila, ne pa utesnjevati potreb,« je sklenil svoje razmišljanje o njih (Korošec 1972: 179).

2.1 Analiza obravnave trpnika v učbenikih za slovenščino kot prvi jezik

Zanima nas torej, katere informacije o rabi trpnika v slovenščini dalje posredujejo učbeniki za slovenski jezik v osnovnih in srednjih šolah. Pri analizi se osredotočamo na sodobne učbenike za slovenščino v osnovnih in srednjih šolah, potrjene pred letom 2018, pri čemer so bili med osnovnošolskimi učbeniki, skladno z določilom do vključno šolskega leta 2018/19 veljavnega učnega načrta za slovenščino v osnovnih šolah, po katerem se trpnik obravnava v 9. razredu (Poznanovič idr. 2011: 56), pregledani učbeniki za 9.

razred, pri potrjenih srednješolskih učbenikih pa učbeniki za pouk v vseh razredih gimnazijskega, srednjega tehniškega oz. strokovnega in srednjega poklicnega izobraževanja. Obravnavo trpnika v posameznih učbenikih smo pregledali celostno, prav posebno pozornost pa smo skladno z izhodiščem raziskave namenili morebitnim napotkom o rabi trpnika v slovenščini.

2.1.1 Osnovnošolski učbeniki

Učbenik *Slovenščina za vsak dan 9* o glagolskem načinu razlaga, da so stavki, v katerih je v osebku izražen vršilec dejanja, tvorni ali aktivni, vsi drugi stavki pa netvorni ali trpni (Cajhen idr. 2011: 92). Za trpne stavke pravi (Cajhen idr. 2011: 92–93), da se uporabljajo, kadar sporočevalec »ne želi razkriti vršilca dejanja oz. kadar se mu ta ne zdi pomemben«.

Učbenik *Slovenščina za vsakdan in vsak dan 9* prav tako razlaga (Drusany idr. 2008: 15), da so povedi, v katerih je v osebku izražen vršilec dejanja, tvorne ali aktivne, vse druge pa netvorne. Dalje pravi, da te sporočevalec uporablja, »kadar ne želi razkriti vršilca dejanja oz. kadar se mu ta ne zdi pomemben« (Drusany idr. 2008: 16).

Učbenik *Slovenščina 9* podobno pravi (Čuden idr. 2009: 47), da je, če v osebku povemo, kdo je vršilec dejanja, taka poved tvorna ali aktivna. Trpna ali pasivna pa je poved, če v osebku ne povemo, kdo je dejanje izvršil, ampak povemo, kaj je pri dejanju nastalo, koga je dejanje prizadelo. Avtorice dodajajo (Čuden idr. 2009: 48), da v slovenščini ponavadi uporabljamo tvorne povedi, trpne pa le takrat, kadar vršilca dejanja ne poznamo, se nam ne zdi pomemben ali ga bralcu oz. poslušalcu nočemo izdati.

Učbenik *Znanka ali uganka 9* najprej razlaga, da stavek, v katerem je osebek vršilec dejanja ali nosilec stanja, imenujemo tvorni ali aktivni, stavek, v katerem je osebek tisti, tista ali tisto, ki ga dejanje prizadeva, pa trpni ali pasivni (Kocjan - Barle/Smisl 2013: 44). Avtorici dodajata, da nas, medtem ko nas v prvem zanima, kdo ali kaj je opravil dejanje, v drugem zanima dejanje sámo, ne pa, kdo ga je povzročil (Kocjan - Barle/Smisl 2013: 44). Pod oznako *Zanimivost* pišeta tudi (Kocjan - Barle/Smisl 2013: 44), da so v slovenščini tvorni stavki veliko pogostejši od trpnih, sicer pa so prvi in drugi sopomenski.

I-učbenik *Slovenščina 9* pravi, da lahko dejanja, dogodke, doživljanja v stavku opisujemo oz. o njih pripovedujemo na dva načina: tako da v osebku izrazimo vršilca dejanja ali da vršilca dejanja v osebku ne izrazimo (Čresnik idr. 2015). Dalje razlaga (Čresnik idr. 2015), da kadar v osebku izrazimo vršilca dejanja, tvorimo tvorni stavek, kadar pa v osebku ne izrazimo vršilca dejanja, temveč, kaj je pri dejanju nastalo, koga je prizadelo, tvorimo trpni stavek. Opozarja tudi (Čresnik idr. 2015), da je slovenščina eden izmed jezikov, v katerem je tvornih stavkov več kot trpnih; za slednje pravi, da jih uporabljamo, kadar vršilca dejanja ne poznamo oz. ne vemo, kdo je udeležen, kadar se nam zdi, da ni pomemben, ali kadar ga prejemniku besedila nočemo izdati.

2.1.2 Srednješolski učbeniki

Učbeniška serija *Besede* za pouk slovenskega jezika v poklicnih šolah in poklicno-tehniškem izobraževanju trpnik obravnava v učbeniku za pouk slovenščine v 2. letniku triletnih poklicnih šol in v učbeniku za 1. leto poklicno-tehniškega izobraževanja. V učbeniku *Besede 4* za pouk slovenskega jezika v 1. letu poklicno-tehniškega izobraževanja v poglavju o glagolu avtorica pri glagolskem načinu pravi (Gomboc 2006b: 34–35), da je ta tvorni in trpni. Kratko trpnik kot jezikovno značilnost določenih besedilnih vrst omenjata učbenika *Besede 2* in *Besede 5* za slovenski jezik v 2. letniku triletnih poklicnih šol oz. 2. letu poklicno-tehniškega izobraževanja, in sicer prvi kot značilnost strokovnega besedila, drugi pa upravne odločbe (Gomboc 2006a: 29; 2006c: 78).

Učbenik *Na pragu besedila 2* tako v prvi kot v tretji izdaji ob obravnavi glagola kot besedne vrste glagolski način omenja le posredno, ob naštevanju najpogostejših neosebnih glagolskih oblik, kjer ob trpnem deležniku na *-n*/*-t* razlaga, da z njim delamo trpne povedi (Križaj Ortar idr. 2000: 71; 2009: 59). Na omembo trpnika nato naletimo še pri obravnavi besedilnih vrst, ko avtorice kot značilnost javnih obvestil navajajo veliko količino samostalnikov in povedi s trpnikom ter podajajo primere zanje (Križaj Ortar idr. 2000: 109; Križaj Ortar idr. 2009: 110). Glagolski način pa obravnava učbenik *Na pragu besedila 3*, in sicer v poglavju o skladanju besedil. Tu ob primerih avtorice v drugi izdaji učbenika prikazujejo, da »lahko isti izsek predmetnosti izrazimo različno« (Križaj Ortar idr. 2001: 70; Križaj Ortar idr. 2010: 18). Glede izbire prvega oz. drugega načina izražanja učbenik pravi: »To, iz katerega zornega kota oz. na kateri način (tj. na tvorni ali trpni) bo tvorjen stavek, je odvisno od sporočevalčeve miselne usmerjenosti: če se mu zdi to, kdo je vršilec dejanja, nepomembno oz. če želi vršilca dejanja zamolčati, tvori trpni stavek« (Križaj Ortar idr. 2001: 70; Križaj Ortar idr. 2010: 18). Rabo trpnika posredno omenja tudi učbenik *Na pragu besedila 4*, in sicer ob obravnavi besedilnih vrst pogosto rabo trpnih stavkov navaja kot značilnost zakona in statuta (Križaj Ortar idr. 2002: 28), za uradovalna besedila in strokovna poročila pa pravi, da v njih trpni (ali brezosebni) stavki prevladujejo (Križaj Ortar idr. 2002: 30, 39).

Podobno kot v učbeniški seriji *Na pragu besedila* je tudi v novejših učbenikih *Slovenščina: z besedo do besede* za pouk slovenščine v gimnazijah in srednjih strokovnih šolah trpnik obravnavan pri upovedovanju oz. oblikovanju povedi. Tvornim in trpnim stavkom pa se posveča učbenik za pouk slovenščine v 3. letniku gimnazij in srednjih strokovnih šol. Zanje pravi, da jih sporočevalec izbira glede na to, »ali želi poudariti, kdo je vršilec dejanja, ali ne« (Vogel idr. 2009: 144). V nadaljevanju razlaga, da prve oblikujemo tako, »da v ospredje postavimo vršilca dejanja, v povedku z osebno glagolsko obliko izrazimo dejanje, v predmetu pa stvar, ki jo je dejanje prizadelo«, trpne pa tako, da vršilca dejanja odrinemo na stransko mesto skladenjske strukture ali pa ga še pogosteje izpustimo (Vogel idr. 2009: 144). Na omembo trpnega načina naletimo tudi v učbeniku za slovenščino v 4. letniku gimnazij in srednjih strokovnih šol, in sicer pri obravnavi besedilnih vrst zakona, statuta in upravne odločbe, ki jim, ker gre za strokovna in uradovalna besedila, pripisuje pogosto rabo trpnih stavkov (Vogel idr. 2010: 187, 191).

Učbeniška serija *Govorica jezika* za pouk slovenščine v gimnazijah in srednjih strokovnih šolah se trpniku neposredno posveča v skupnem učbeniku za 2. in 3. letnik gimnazij *Govorica jezika 2 in 3*, in sicer v poglavju o glagolu. Glagolski način opredeljuje (Zajc Berzelak idr. 2008: 226) kot tistega, ki vzpostavlja odnos med dejanjem in vršilcem dejanja ter med vršilcem dejanja in tistim, ki ga dejanje prizadene; pri tvorniku je ta odnos izražen neposredno, pri trpniku pa posredno. O rabi trpnika v slovenščini učbenik pravi (Zajc Berzelak idr. 2008: 106), da ga uporabljamo, »kadar hočemo poudariti glagolsko dejanje, vršilca tega dejanja pa zamolčati oziroma je vršilec nepomemben ali samoumeven«. Dodaja (Zajc Berzelak idr. 2008: 106), da trpnik pogosto uporabljamo v uradovalnih besedilih, ker je vršilec dejanja splošno znan oziroma le izvrševalec določil zakona ali predpisa, zaključuje pa z oceno, da je tvornik v slovenščini pogostejši od trpnika (Zajc Berzelak idr. 2008: 106).

V i-učbeniku za slovenščino v 1. letniku gimnazij na omembo glagolskega načina naletimo pri obravnavi besedilne vrste predstavitev naprave, kjer beremo (Podvršnik idr. 2015), da za izražanje dejavnosti v zvezi z napravo lahko namesto 1. osebe v množini uporabimo pasiv/trpnik. Nadaljevanja učbenika ob izvajanju raziskave niso bila dostopna.

2.2 Ugotovitve o obravnavi trpnika v učbenikih za slovenščino kot prvi jezik

Med petimi sodobnimi učbeniki za pouk slovenščine v 9. razredu osnovne šole, kjer naj bi se po učnem načrtu, veljavnem v času izvedbe analize, obravnaval trpnik, se vprašanja rabe trpnika v slovenščini dotikajo trije: učbenik *Slovenščina 9* pravi, da v slovenščini ponavadi uporabljamo tvorne povedi (Čuden idr. 2009: 48), učbenik *Znanka ali uganka 9*, da so v slovenščini tvorni stavki veliko pogostejši od trpnih (Kocjan - Barle/Smisl 2013: 44), i-učbenik *Slovenščina 9*, da je v slovenščini tvornih stavkov več kot trpnih (Čresnik idr. 2015), ne oziraje se na funkcijsko zvrstnost slovenščine. Štirje od petih analiziranih učbenikov razlagajo tudi, da trpnik uporabljamo, kadar vršilca dejanja ne poznamo, se nam ne zdi pomemben ali ga bralcu oz. poslušalcu nočemo izdati.

Analizirane sodobne srednješolske učbeniške serije za pouk slovenščine rabe trpnega načina izražanja v slovenščini prav tako ne vrednotijo neposredno, temveč jo navajajo kot značilnost posameznih besedilnih vrst, le ena od petih učbeniških serij, *Govorica jezika*, pa pravi tudi, da je v slovenščini pogostejši tvorni način.

Učbeniki za pouk slovenščine v osnovni ali srednji šoli, čeprav so tu sicer usklajeni z veljavno slovensko slovnico, učencem in učenkam torej ne posredujejo Toporišičevega nasveta, naj se tudi v strokovnih, poljudnih in znanstvenih besedilih trpnik ne uporablja preveč. Štirje med njimi ponavljajo le Toporišičevo oceno, da je v slovenščini tvornik pogostejši od trpnika. Učenci in učenke iz treh od petih osnovnošolskih učbenikov o rabi izvedo, da je tvorni način v slovenščini pogostejši od trpnega, šele iz srednješolskih učbenikov pa nato, da je raba trpnega načina v slovenščini značilna za strokovna in uradovalna besedila.

Preden se lotimo poskusa didaktizacije trpnika pri pouku nemščine kot tujega jezika za slovenščino kot izhodiščni jezik, primerjajmo oblike, zgradbo in rabo trpnika v slovenščini in nemščini.

3 KONTRASTIVNA ANALIZA TRPNIKA V NEMŠČINI IN SLOVENŠČINI

Tako nemščina kot slovenščina poznata dva glagolska načina, tvornega ali aktivnega in trpnega ali pasivnega, ter pri trpniku v osnovi razlikujeta med dvema oblikama: nemščina med trpnikom dogajanja ali trpnikom z *werden* in trpnikom stanja ali trpnikom z *sein*, slovenščina med trpnikom z deležnikom na -*n*/-*t* in trpnikom s *se*.

S skladenjskega vidika je vsem tem trpnim oblikam obeh jezikov skupno, da osebek trpnih stavkov ne izraža vršilca in da glede na tvorni način pride do konverzije tožilnika in redukcije delovalnikov. Se pa te trpne oblike med seboj razlikujejo oblikoslovno: medtem ko je trpnik v nemščini vselej sestavljen iz pomožnega glagola, tj. *werden*, slov. *postati*, oz. *sein*, slov. *biti*, ter preteklega deležnika polnopomenskega glagola, ima v slovenščini le ena od trpnih oblik, tj. t. i. trpnik z deležnikom, takšno zgradbo, tvorimo ga namreč s pomožnim glagolom *biti,* in kot pove njegovo ime, preteklim deležnikom na -*n*/-*t* polnopomenskega glagola. Drugo trpno obliko v slovenščini, t. i. trpnik s *se*, pa tvorimo preprosto tako, da prvotni osebni glagolski obliki, kot nakazuje poimenovanje, dodamo *se*, zato bi jo nemško jezikoslovje prej štelo k nadomestnim oblikam trpnika. Medtem ko sta za izražanje vršilca dejanja v trpnih stavkih v nemščini na voljo tudi vsaj dva enakovredna predloga, tj. *von*, slov. *od*, in *durch*, slov. *skozi/po*, možni pa so še drugi, je v slovenščini knjižno ustrezen le predlog *od*; a je izražanje vršilca v trpnih stavkih v obeh jezikih redko.

Medtem ko se trpni obliki v nemščini med seboj pomensko razlikujeta – trpnik dogajanja se usmerja na proces, trpnik stanja na rezultat –, pa to ne velja za slovenski trpni obliki, ki se lahko rabita vzporedno, pri trpniku s *se* je potrebna le pozornost zaradi podobnosti s tvorno obliko in morebitne posledične dvoumnosti. Po Gruntar Jermol (2011: 135–136) sicer slovenski trpnik s pomožnikom *biti* in deležnikom na -*n*/-*t* ustreza nemškemu trpniku stanja, torej trpniku z *sein*, slovenskemu trpniku s prostim morfemom *se* in glagolom v povedniku pa ustreza nemški trpnik dogajanja, torej trpnik z *werden*. Ne le za trpnik v slovenščini, temveč tudi v nemščini pa se glede rabe večja pogostnost predvideva predvsem v strokovnih besedilih (prim. Helbig/Buscha 2005: 147).

4 TRPNIK PRI POUKU NEMŠČINE KOT TUJEGA JEZIKA

Kot pravi Ahačič (2017b: 66), je razumevanje slovenskega glagola bistveno za dobro razumevanje glagolskega sistema v tujih jezikih. Slovenščina kot prvi jezik oz. jezik okolja ter učni jezik in predmet je pri prepoznavanju in razumevanju nemškega trpnika učencem in učenkam v pomoč, a hkrati predstavlja možni vir interferenc. Izkušnje iz šolske prakse kažejo, da nekateri med njimi še pred obravnavo pri pouku trpnik v nemščini intuitivno tvorijo s pomožnikom »biti« in preteklim deležnikom – bodisi po vzoru slovenščine kot večinskega prvega jezika bodisi angleščine kot večinskega prvega tujega jezika.

Za tvorbo nemškega trpnika si morajo učenci in učenke zapomniti dvoje formul: za trpnik dogajanja in trpnik stanja. Slednji oblikoslovno, ne pa vselej tudi pomensko, ustreza slovenskemu trpniku z deležnikom: oba se namreč tvorita s pomožnim glagolom »biti« in preteklim deležnikom. Pri pouku nemščine kot tujega jezika pa se navadno najprej obravnava trpnik dogajanja in šele kasneje trpnik stanja. Nekateri sodobni učbeniki za pouk nemščine kot tujega jezika do vključno ravni B1 po Skupnem evropskem jezikovnem okviru (dalje SEJO) sploh vpeljujejo le trpnik dogajanja, drugi – z manjšim zamikom – tudi trpnik stanja, ki pri prvih sledi šele na ravni B2.

Glede na predvidene ravni dosežkov pri nemščini kot drugem tujem jeziku v osnovni šoli (Kondrič Horvat idr. 2001; Pevec Semec idr. 2013) se trpnik obravnava v srednješolskem izobraževanju. Slovenski učni načrt za nemščino v gimnaziji (Holc idr. 2008) predvideva obravnavo trpnega glagolskega načina, podrobneje pa slednjo določa predmetni izpitni katalog za splošno maturo iz nemščine (Gliha Olenik idr. 2017), ki produktivno obvladovanje trpnika stanja za razliko od trpnika dogajanja predvideva le za kandidate in kandidatke na višji ravni maturitetnega izpita.

Neuner idr. (2009: 70) opozarjajo, da se primerjanje novih slovničnih pojavov z že znanimi ter njihovo razvrščanje prej ali slej pripetita kot nekakšen nemi proces, in če se viri interferenc ne razjasnijo pravočasno, je prisotnost tovrstnih napak v naprej določena. Veljalo bi torej razmisliti o vzporedni obravnavi obeh nemških trpnih oblik ali vsaj pravočasni kontrastivni primerjavi slovenskega in nemškega trpnika dogajanja. Če ne ob prepoznavanju in razumevanju strukture, pa je ta nujna na ravni uporabe. Za resnično komunikacijsko uporabnost obvladanja trpne strukture, kot sicer ob primeru angleščine opozarja Kovačič (1991: 33), je namreč bistveno vedeti, kdaj je trpnik primernejši od tvornika, ter to znanje tudi uporabljati pri pisanju in govorjenju. Informacije o manjši pogostnosti rabe trpnika v slovenščini kot prvem jeziku, kot smo jih našli v več učbenikih za slovenski jezik v osnovno- in srednješolskem izobraževanju, učencem in učenkam pri tem seveda niso v pomoč.

Za prenos znanja in védenja iz drugih jezikov je, kot poudarjajo Neuner idr. (2009: 40), nujen vmesni proces razgovora, ozaveščanja podobnosti in razlik ter vadenja ustreznih vzorcev izražanja. Medtem ko so napake na ravni tvorbe ob primerni obravnavi razmeroma hitro premostljive, je učenje ustrezne rabe trpnika v nemščini dolgotrajnejši proces. Neraba trpnika seveda ni jezikovna napaka in tu učencem ne moremo posredovati pravil, temveč le zglede primerne rabe (Kovačič 1991: 42–43). Barkowski in Vicente (2014: 89) skladno s sodobnimi smernicami poučevanja slovnice pri pouku tujih jezikov menita, da je treba pri obravnavi nemškega trpnika še pred vpeljavo oblike predstaviti njegovo osrednjo vlogo, namreč izražanje odmaknjenosti od vršilca dejanja.

V nadaljevanju si pobliže oglejmo obravnavo trpnika v učbenikih, potrjenih za pouk nemščine kot drugega tujega jezika v slovenskem srednješolskem izobraževanju.

4.1 Analiza obravnave trpnika v učbenikih za nemščino kot tuji jezik

Analizirali smo obravnavo trpnika v učbenikih, v času izvedbe analize potrjenih za pouk nemščine kot drugega tujega jezika v gimnazijskem in srednjem tehniškem oz. strokovnem izobraževanju v Republiki Sloveniji, ki so izšli v zadnjem desetletju ter bi zanje tako smeli pričakovati sodoben pristop pri posredovanju slovničnih vsebin. Pregledali in primerjali smo izhodišča za vpeljavo oblike, pristop k obravnavi in podane primere ter posebno pozornost namenili iskanju morebitnih primerjav med jeziki.

V učbeniški seriji *Alles stimmt*, prilagojeni slovenskemu učnemu načrtu, trpnik vpeljuje učbenik *Alles stimmt 3* (Sander idr. 2014), namenjen pouku v 3. letniku gimnazij ter 3. in 4. letniku srednjih strokovnih šol. Pri tem najprej ponuja besedilo o zgodovini izbrane nemške blagovne znamke, v katerem je več primerov rabe trpnika dogajanja, recimo *1912 wurde die Fabrik von der Familie Ritter gegründet*, slov. *1912 je bila tovarna ustanovljena od družine Ritter*, ali *Seit den 70er Jahren werden viele neue Sorten produziert*, slov. *Od 70 let dalje se proizvaja veliko novih vrst*. Nato na podlagi iz besedila izpisanih primerov trpnih stavkov vpelje obliki trpnika dogajanja za sedanjik in enostavni preteklik, učenci in učenke pa morajo končno dopolniti še pravilo za njegovo tvorbo.

Učbeniška serija *Ideen* trpnik dogajanja za sedanjost vpeljuje v učbeniku za raven A2 *Ideen 2* (Krenn in Puchta 2009). V ta namen najprej ponudi slušni posnetek pogovora, v katerem se med drugim pojavita povedi *Sag mal, wird bei euch wirklich das Bad neu gemacht?*, slov. *Povej no, se pri vas res prenavlja kopalnica?*, in *Dein Badezimmer wird doch auch umgebaut und gestrichen, oder?*, slov. *Tvoja kopalnica se tudi prenavlja in pleska, kajne?* V naslednjem koraku je ponujena formula za tvorbo trpnika dogajanja za sedanjost, ki ji sledi nabor trpnih stavkov k omenjeni temi, naloga učencev in učenk pa je pretvorba teh v tvorne.

V učbeniški seriji *Panorama* je trpnik dogajanja za sedanji čas obravnavan v učbeniku *Panorama B1* (Dusemund-Brackhahn idr. 2017), in sicer v okviru enote *Im Krankenhaus*, slov. *V bolnišnici*. Ta najprej ponuja nabor posameznih stavkov kot *Hier werden Kinder geboren,* slov. *Tu se rojevajo otroci*, ki se nanašajo na dogajanja v bolnišnici in jih je treba povezati z ustreznimi upodobitvami, v naslednjem koraku pa vzporedno navaja tvorne in trpne stavke kot *Die Ärztin untersucht den Mann,* slov. *Zdravnica pregleduje moškega,* in *Der Mann wird (von der Ärztin) untersucht,* slov. *Moški je pregled(ov)an (od* *zdravnice)*, ter zopet upodobitve zanje, pri čemer se slednje razlikujejo zgolj v tem, da je vršilka dejanja pri upodobitvi trpne oblike za razliko od tvorne vidna le delno.

Učbeniška serija *studio 21* trpnik dogajanja za sedanji čas vpeljuje na koncu ravni A2. *Studio 21 A2* (Funk idr. 2015) tu najprej ponudi poljudno besedilo o zgodovini čokolade, ki vključuje tudi opis postopka izdelave čokolade in v katerem je rabljen trpnik. Razliko med tvornim in trpnim načinom izražanja nato prikaže s primeri kot *Die Mitarbeiter verpacken die Schokolade*, slov. *Delavci zavijejo čokolado*, in *Die Schokolade wird verpackt*, slov. *Čokolada se zavije*, kar ponazori z ustreznima slikama, pri čemer tista k tvorni obliki prikazuje delavca pri zavijanju, slika k trpni obliki pa tekoči trak s strojem, ki samodejno zavija tablice čokolade. Sledi shematski prikaz pretvorbe iz tvornika v trpnik ter pravilo o tvorbi trpnika, ki ga je treba dopolniti.

4.2 Ugotovitve o obravnavi trpnika v učbenikih za nemščino kot tuji jezik

Barkowski in Vicente (2014: 87–88) sta ugotavljala, da mnogi učbeniki trpnik vpeljujejo z ne vselej posrečeno vizualno podporo prek vzporejanja s tvornikom. Toda za analizirane učbenike tega posplošeno ne bi mogli trditi. Učbenik *Alles stimmt 3* trpnika sploh ne obravnava v okviru primerjave s tvornikom, preostali trije, torej *Ideen 2*, *Panorama B1* in *studio 21 A2* pa ga, vendar le zadnja dva ponujata tudi vizualno podporo, pri čemer bi le *Panorami* lahko očitali takšno manj nazorno slikovno predstavitev.

Vsi štirje analizirani učbeniki pa trpnik vpeljujejo na podlagi besedil in s tem prikazujejo avtentično rabo: pri *Alles stimmt 3* in *studiu 21 A2* gre za poljudni besedili o zgodovini izdelka oz. blagovne znamke, pri *Ideen 2* za pogovor, pri *Panorami B1* za niz povedi, povezanih z dejavnostmi posameznih oddelkov bolnišnice. Trije od štirih analiziranih sodobnih učbenikov trpnik obravnavajo s primerjavo s tvornikom, *Alles stimmt 3* pa ga obravnava samostojno. Odmaknjenost od vršilca dejanja s primeri izrazito ponazarjajo *Ideen 2*, *Panorama B1* in *studio 21 A2*, medtem ko gre pri *Alles stimmt 3* tako za primere trpnika z izraženim vršilcem dejanja kot brez njega.

Analiziranim učbenikom torej nikakor ne moremo očitati neprimerne obravnave trpnega načina, saj gre povsod za avtentično rabo. Skupna vsem, tudi učbeniku *Alles stimmt 3*, ki je prilagojen slovenskemu učnemu načrtu, pa je popolna odsotnost kontrastivne primerjave s prvim jezikom, ki tako ostaja povsem v domeni učitelja oz. učiteljice.

4.3 Predlog za didaktizacijo nemškega trpnika

K pouku nemščine kot drugega tujega jezika učenci in učenke ne pridejo kot nepopisan list, temveč s seboj prinesejo znanje in spretnosti iz vsaj dveh drugih jezikov. Če te smiselno vključimo v pouk, lahko pri nemščini kot drugem tujem jeziku v primerjavi s prvim tujim jezikom napredujejo hitreje; če se zanje ne zmenimo, pa lahko vodijo do interferenc – v primeru nemškega trpnika, bodisi zaradi vpliva slovenščine bodisi angleščine, recimo do rabe trpnika stanja namesto dogajanja – in tako nasprotno napredek celo ovirajo. Naknadni posegi v smislu odprave napak so na ravni tvorbe trpnih oblik seveda mogoči in do neke mere učinkoviti, toda na ravni primernosti rabe trpnika vprašljivi. Pri tvorbi besedil v tujem jeziku učenci in učenke namreč pogosto izhajajo iz svojega prvega jezika in povedi vsaj v mislih nato prevajajo v tuji jezik.

Uporabno vrednost (nemškega) trpnika zagotovo najlažje prikažemo z (avtentičnimi) besedili. Če jih učencem in učenkam vzporedno ponudimo v dveh ali celo treh jezikih, samodejno aktiviramo njihovo predznanje in uporabo že pridobljenih strategij učenja (tujih) jezikov. S skrbno izbranim besedilom bodo v primeru trpnika lahko nemudoma prepoznali razliko na ravni tvorbe, pa tudi rabe v slovenščini nasproti angleščini in nemščini. Če izberemo kuharski recept, se trpnik v slovenskem prevodu ne bo nujno pojavil in v tem primeru nam bo besedilo služilo zgolj kot izhodišče za ponazoritev rabe trpnika v nemščini nasproti slovenščini. Toda ob koncu ravni A2 lahko vpeljemo poljudno besedilo v nemškem izvirniku ter prevodu v angleščino in slovenščino, kjer se v vseh treh jezikih trpnik pojavlja, nato pa učence in učenke spodbudimo najprej k iskanju ponavljajoče se strukture v vseh treh besedilih ter – ob predpostavki, da obliko v angleščini kot prvem tujem jeziku in slovenščini kot prvem jeziku oz. jeziku okolja že poznajo – končno k njeni sistematizaciji in oblikovanju pravila za tvorbo v nemščini. Tako se izognemo hkratnemu vpeljevanju obeh trpnih oblik v nemščini in samodejno spodbudimo primerjalno analizo trpnika v treh poznanih jezikih.

Nekateri učenci in učenke so nagnjeni k samostojnemu primerjanju jezikov in postavljanju s tem povezanih vprašanj, medtem ko je treba druge k temu vsaj na začetku spodbuditi z vprašanji. V primeru trpnika bi bila ob zgoraj opisanem izhodišču to vprašanja: *Katere podobnosti opazite med besedili v različnih jezikih? Ali obstajajo tudi razlike? Katera jezikovna struktura se v besedilih ponavlja? Kako se ta struktura tvori v slovenščini, angleščini, nemščini? Kaj je njena funkcija v besedilu? Kdaj se pojavlja?* Takšen pristop je smiseln tudi zaradi motivacije, saj učencem in učenkam kaže, koliko znanja o jeziku pravzaprav že imajo. Hkrati se ob tem navajajo na povezovanje znanja iz različnih predmetov in področij.

5 SKLEP

Ker posameznik »jezikov in kultur v miselni predstavi ne ločuje kot nečesa samostojnega in posebnega, temveč gradi sporazumevalno zmožnost, h kateri prispevajo celotno znanje in izkušnje z jezikom ter v kateri se vsi jeziki povezujejo in medsebojno delujejo« (Svet Evrope 2011, 2001: 26), je pri učenju (drugih) tujih jezikov v smislu raznojezičnosti nujno upoštevati predznanje ter sprožiti že pridobljene spretnosti učencev in učenk. Kot opozarjata Pevec Semec in Jazbec (2018: 44), uresničevanje večjezičnosti zahteva radikalno spremembo perspektive: izhodišče naj ne bi bil več jezik, temveč njegov uporabnik s svojo splošno sporazumevalno zmožnostjo.

Pomanjkljivost večine izvirnih, sicer kakovostnih učnih gradiv za pouk nemščine kot tujega jezika je prav upoštevanje v razredih prisotne večjezičnosti in uresničevanje s tem povezanega didaktično-metodičnega načela raznojezičnosti. Učna gradiva, ki so v večini nastala v tujini, so namenjena ciljni skupini različnih narodnosti, ki jim je skupno zgolj učenje nemščine kot tujega – drugega, tretjega, nadaljnjega – jezika. Zaradi različnih izhodiščnih jezikov še posebno vključevanje prvega jezika v precejšnji meri ostaja v domeni učiteljic in učiteljev. Ti pa se pogosto bodisi ne čutijo dovolj suvereni za vpeljavo drugih jezikov v pouk ciljnega jezika bodisi so še vedno zavezani dolgo vladajočemu primatu enojezičnosti pri pouku tujih jezikov.

Kljub jezikovnotipološkim razlikam med nemščino kot germanskim in slovenščino kot slovanskim jezikom, ki se kažejo na ravni glasoslovja, besedotvorja, oblikoslovja in skladnje, med jezikoma obstaja precej podobnosti. Na primeru trpnika smo želeli prikazati, kako pomembno je te podobnosti in razlike pri pouku nemščine kot tujega jezika v smislu gospodarnosti in učinkovitosti učenja ciljnega jezika tematizirati. Medtem ko je jezikovne napake razmeroma preprosto odpraviti, pa je navajanje na smiselno in ustrezno rabo trpnika v nemščini kot neprvem jeziku večji izziv. Za njegovo premostitev bi izhodišče pri pouku nemščine s slovenščino kot izhodiščnim jezikom morala predstavljati avtentična poljudna besedila, s katerimi bi učenci in učenke postopno pridobivali občutek za rabo trpnika. V naslednjem koraku pa bi jih morala dopolniti kontrastivna analiza trpnih oblik v obeh jezikih, s katero bi uzavestili podobnosti in razlike med njima na ravni zgradbe in rabe tega glagolskega načina.

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POVZETEK

Slovenski učenci in učenke za razliko od njihovih vrstnikov, katerih prvi jeziki trpnika ne poznajo, z razumevanjem in tvorbo tega glagolskega načina v nemščini načelno nimajo težav; težave pa jim povzroča njegova raba. Tako nemščina kot slovenščina poznata dva glagolska načina, tvornega in trpnega, ter pri slednjem razlikujeta med dvema oblikama: nemščina med trpnikom dogajanja ali trpnikom s pomožnim glagolom *werden* in trpnikom stanja ali trpnikom s pomožnim glagolom *sein*, slovenščina med trpnikom z deležnikom na -*n*/-*t* in trpnikom s *se*. Toda rabo trpnika v slovenščini zaznamuje dolgoletna tradicija odklanjanja, ki jo vsaj delno nadaljuje tudi zadnja Toporišičeva slovenska znanstvena slovnica s pripombo, da ga niti v strokovnih, poljudnih in znanstvenih besedilih ni dobro preveč uporabljati.

Glede na sodobno didaktično-metodično načelo raznojezičnosti je treba upoštevati predznanje učencev in učenk ter aktivirati njihove predhodno pridobljene spretnosti in strategije. Zato smo v sodobnih učbenikih za slovenski jezik v osnovnih in srednjih šolah preverili, kaj učenci in učenke v njih izvedo o rabi trpnika v slovenščini, nato pa analizirali obravnavo trpnika v učbenikih za nemščino kot tuji jezik, ki se uporabljajo v slovenskih srednjih šolah, kjer se glede na učni načrt za nemščino kot drugi tuji jezik nemški trpnik obravnava. Glede na ugotovitve obeh analiz smo oblikovali predlog za didaktizacijo nemškega trpnika, ki bi s ciljem primerne rabe presegla usmerjenost k obliki.

Ključne besede: slovenščina kot prvi jezik, nemščina kot tretji jezik, raznojezičnost, trpnik

ABSTRACT

PASSIVE VOICE IN GERMAN AND SLOVENE: THE CHALLENGES OF TEACHING FROM A PLURILINGUAL PERSPECTIVE

As opposed to their peers whose first languages do not know the passive voice, Slovene pupils in general do not have problems with the formation and understanding of this verb voice in German; however, they do have difficulties using it. Both German and Slovene use two voices, active and passive, and they differentiate between two forms of the latter: German has both the passive voice with *werden* (the dynamic passive) and the passive voice with *sein* (the stative passive), while Slovene has the passive voice with the participle and the passive voice with *se*. However, usage of the passive voice in Slovene is characterised by a longstanding tradition of rejection that is at least partially continued in the most recent Slovene grammar book by Toporišič, which states that even technical, popular and scientific texts should not use the passive voice too often.

Following the didactic-methodological principle of plurilingualism, it is necessary to take prior knowledge of the pupils into account and to activate their previously gained skills. After having checked what pupils learn about the use of the passive voice in contemporary textbooks for Slovenian language in primary and secondary schools an analysis was carried out examining how the modern textbooks for German as a foreign language that are used in Slovenian secondary schools discuss the passive voice. Based on the results, a suggestion for teaching the passive voice that would exceed the focus on its form and stress its proper usage was made.

Keywords: Slovene as a first language, German as a third language, plurilingualism, passive voice

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EQUALITY AND DIVERSITY MANAGEMENT INSIDE THE INSTITUTIONS OF THE EUROPEAN UNION: A CORPUS LINGUISTIC ANALYSIS OF THEIR HUMAN RESOURCES LEGAL FRAMEWORK

1 INTRODUCTION

During the last few years, EU institutions have made great strides towards fostering the principles of equality and diversity among their staff members: EU civil servants are being exposed to awareness-raising campaigns and are systematically involved in the implementation of staff policies aimed at increasing their sensitivity to diversity and inclusion. Since 2000, the European Charter of Fundamental Rights (European Parliament, 2000) has been a legally binding text for the Member States of the European Union and the European institutions themselves.

Nevertheless, a first reading of the internal regulations and implementing rules related to staff management inside the EU institutions shows that they are written in a language that is not completely consistent with the EU Charter of Fundamental Rights and its values of equality and diversity. The rationale of this paper starts from this perspective, and a first preliminary qualitative assessment of the language used in the Human Resources legal framework of EU institutions.

The first consideration, which is very evident, is that most of the current HR implementing provisions are simply not gender-neutral. The Staff Regulations still include a caveat wording to this regard, as Article 1c states that:

> Any reference in these Staff Regulations to a person of the male sex shall be deemed also to constitute a reference of a person to the female sex, and vice-versa unless the context clearly indicates otherwise. (European Council, 1962).

As the plural form might be used in the English language, the argument for using only the masculine pronoun does not seem to be valid. Moreover, other key terms, which are used in the Staff Regulations, could be more gender-neutral: reference to 'chairman' instead of 'chairperson' can be found in different occurrences in the Staff Regulation.

Moreover, looking into the family sphere of the EU Institutions' staff members, and in the context of granting contractual rights and entitlements, the Staff Regulations still include non-inclusive language, with the use of terms such as 'marriage', even where the legal framework applies to a non-marital partnership. Notwithstanding what is stated in Article 1.d, whereby "non-marital partnerships shall be treated as marriage provided that all the conditions listed in Article 1(2)(c) of Annex VII are fulfilled" (European Council, 1962), the Staff Regulations have nine occurrences where the term 'wife' and seven where the term 'husband' are still included in the text. The term 'marriage' is also used in different instances. While state that a non-marital partnership is compared to marriage with regard to the application of entitlements in the Staff Regulations, a more cohesive use of the language might reinforce the principle of equality, vis-à-vis persons who do not have access to legal marriage in all Member States, and thus change the mindset of the civil servants who are all affected by these regulations.

Some additional preliminary considerations also relate to the use of the term 'disabled', which is in different instances present in the EU HRM legal framework. The 2006 UN Convention on the Rights of Persons with Disabilities (UN General Assembly, 2007) refers to 'person with a disability' instead of disabled person, to underline that a person is not disabled but has a disability. The Convention was signed by all twenty-eight European Member States (including the UK, before leaving) and, at the time of writing this paper, has been ratified by twenty-five. In 2010, the European Union also ratified the Convention, and it now plays a leading role in the monitoring framework for its implementation among the EU institutions. The definition of a person with a disability in the UN Convention reads as follows:

> Persons with disabilities include those who have long-term physical, mental, intellectual or sensory impairments, which in interaction with various barriers may hinder their full and effective participation in society on an equal basis with others. (UN General Assembly, 2007)

This wording is deemed fundamental in changing the mindset of people without a disability: although the Staff Regulations take on board this definition and include it in Article 1d, in later articles of the consolidated version of the text the term 'disabled' still occurs.

1.1 Research Hypothesis

With regard to the preliminary qualitative assessment mentioned above, this paper aims to shed more light on the use of English language in the HRM context of the EU institutions. This has been done by analysing the legal basis of staff management in the context of equality and diversity management among EU civil servants. This research hypothesises that the language of legal texts and policies of the European institutions related to staff management is not inclusive, and it is not completely in line with the idea of fostering equality and diversity.

In order best to address the research questions related to the discourse of equality in the EU institutions, and at the same time considering the preliminary hypothesis as outlined above, this investigation is being carried out and developed by taking stock of the relevant linguistic features (Baker, 2006), included in staff legal provisions applicable to EU civil servants. In particular, it entails the creation and linguistic analysis of a corpus of regulations and rules related to the management of human resources working for the different EU institutions, hereinafter called the EU HRM Legal Corpus (Hunston, 2002; Baker, 2010; Crawford & Csomay, 2016).

1.2 Literature review

Corpora analysis have been the subject of different studies in various linguistics fields, recent publications include studies in lexical semantics (Stubbs, 2001), applied linguistics, (Hyland, Huat, & Handford, 2012), sociolinguistics (Hunston, 2002; Baker, 2010; Crawford & Csomay, 2016) and discourse analysis (Baker, 2006).

Concerning the study of linguistics features related to equality and diversity, a number of studies have been supported by the use of corpora over the last few decades. Of particular importance for this research are the studies of scholars in the lexicological field, in particular those related to gender studies. Kjellmer (1986) was the first scholar to analyse the use of the terms ‘man/men’ and ‘woman/women’, together with the occurrence of the masculine and feminine pronouns, to unravel the masculine bias in American and British English in both the Lancaster-Oslo/Bergen and Brown corpora. Similar studies followed the lexicological stream highlighted by Kjellmer (Eckert & McConnell-Ginet, 2003; Pearce, 2008; Vefali & Erdentuğ, 2010; Hankivsky, 2013; Taylor, 2013; Moon, 2014; Baker, 2014). They defined and analysed the different use of the masculine and feminine forms with a focus on the biases which stem from the use of these forms in a given corpus, which is also one of the aims of the current paper.

At the same time, this paper benefits from the work of scholars in linguistic fields related to equality and diversity studies (Tatli, 2011), in particular studies related to the language and the discourse around the LGBTI community (Baker, 2005 and 2018; Hord, 2016), persons with a disability (Grue, 2014) and ageist language (Mautner, 2007; Hummert, Garstka, Ryan, & Bonnesen, 2004).

A key element of this paper is the corpus analysis of the corporate and workplace discourse (Bathia, 1993; Alvesson & Karreman, 2000; Cooren, 2004; Hatch & Cunliffe, 2006; Morgan, 2006; Bréda, Delattre & Ocler, 2008; Maurel, 2008; Manuti & Minnini, 2015), since the focal linguistic patterns happen in a work-related setting, i.e. EU institutions. Since the language analysed relates to corporate legal discourse, studies on such a genre framework (Bathia, 1983; Marmor, 2008; Gibová, 2011), including those that focused on an EU setting (Breidbach, 2003; Barone, 2005; Trebits, 2008), are the basis of this paper.

Another important element of this study is the issue of the EU civil servants' identity building; to support the corpus analysis in this field different studies have been taken into consideration, in particular, those related to the development of participant's identities in a multilingual and multicultural setting (Searle, 1995; Edwards, 2009; Cenoz, 2013; Holmes, 2015).

2 METHODOLOGICAL FRAMWORK AND PRELIMINARY RESULTS

The issues touched upon by this paper are mainly related to two different aspects. In the first place, an analysis of the main features of the English language used in the corpus. In the second place, a more specific examination of the terminology related to equality and diversity management – both from an overall point of view and, more specifically, regarding four different features: LGBTI issues, gender mainstreaming, rights of the elderly and rights of those with a disability (Kjellmer, 1986; Eckert & McConnell-Ginet, 2003; Pearce, 2008; Vefali & Erdentuğ, 2010; Hankivsky, 2013; Taylor, 2013; Moon, 2014; Baker, 2014).

The studies and research conducted in the last few decades indicate that there are several reasons why corpora should be used. The most obvious one is that the text contained in a corpus is a primary source. Taking into consideration the importance of authenticity to determine the value of linguistic research (Gee, 2011b), the analysis of linguistic data could benefit from a direct approach to the source material. Corpus linguistics studies are based on two principles: the first to the fact that the analysis should be independent, and the second to the significance of the linguistics features analysed (Stubb, 1996). Moreover, a corpus enables seeing key variations in the frequency of words and structures of texts, giving us significant insights on its semantic prosody, i.e. the context in which the text is created (Baker, 2006). The above-mentioned characteristics have been taken into consideration for this research, together with the basic features that a corpus should have to be differentiated from a simple collection of texts in an electronic format: in fact, a corpus should include a broad range of material to guarantee representativeness and, at the same time, be of a sufficient size (Sinclair, 2009).

Although there is currently a broad availability of resources on the European *acquis* in different corpora (Baisa, Michelfeit, Medved & Jakubíček, 2016; Steinberger et al. 2013), this paper is focused on the legal provisions and rules related to the management of human resources currently in force in the EU institutions. For this reason, a specific corpus was created, containing all the currently applicable staff rules for civil servants working for the EU and its institutions: it consists of 58 documents (covering 47 subject matters), and it includes different types of legal provisions. The corpus has been named the EU HRM Legal Corpus.

The most important document, including from a legal point of view, as mentioned in the preliminary analysis, is the Staff Regulation of Officials and Condition of Employment of Other Servants: this legal text is the basis of the legal framework of the management of staff resources in the EU institutions. It consists of two parts: the Staff Regulations (SR), which applies to officials, and the Condition of Employment of Other Servants, which applies to temporary and contract staff.[1] The regulations were first published in June 1962; the consolidated text, including Staff Regulations and Condition of Employment of Other Servants, has been amended 142 times and corrected 25 times in the last 57 years. There were two major recent amendments, in May 2004 and January 2014, and both entailed a restructuring of the career path in the EU institutions and more modern working conditions (with the inclusion of improved work-life balance policies, such as flexitime, teleworking, etc.).

The Staff Regulations are composed of nine titles: general provisions, rights and obligations, career, working conditions, emoluments and social security, disciplinary procedures, appeals, special provisions, and transitional measures. The consolidated version of the text is also complemented by eleven annexes, which regulates in many details the different topics enshrined in the Staff Regulations, concerning selection and recruitment, leave and time management, type of posts, individual rights and monetary entitlements and pension contributions. The Conditions of Employment of Other Servants is divided according to the different contractual categories: temporary staff, contract staff, special advisers, and parliamentary assistants. The text heavily refers and points to the Staff Regulations in most of its parts, linking the different legal provisions by subject matter.

Together with the Staff Regulations and Condition of Employment of Other Servants, the corpus includes 57 implementing provisions of the Staff Regulations, and these implementing provisions give voice to the different rules applicable in the Staff Regulations and Condition of Employment of Other Servants. In different instances, the main regulations refer to the implementation of the acts by the adoption of implementing provisions. Their subject matter ranges from technical matters (calculation of pension contributions) to general ones (leave and time management); some of the implementing provisions are in fact staff policies, such as the policy for protecting the dignity of people and combatting psychological and sexual harassment.

Because of the decision to analyse the language patterns of the EU HRM Legal Corpus from a hybrid approach (corpus-based and corpus-driven), considerations were given to the filters and language features to examine by running queries through the corpus in AntConc (Anthony, 2013a and 2013b). In particular, the following language features are analysed in this research: word list by frequency, concordances (key word in context, KWIC), collocates and lexical bundles. Lower- and uppercase forms of all lemmas analysed have been taken into consideration in the overall results.

1 It is worth mentioning that there are several contractual categories of civil servants working for the EU institutions. While officials account for most of the European Commission's workforce, in agencies temporary and contract staff compose the vast majority.

What appeared at the beginning of this research was the need to find a standard or example on the use of inclusive language, which is necessary to establish a frame against which the analysis of language patterns can be performed. The decision was made to use the EU Charter of Fundamental Rights, as this choice seems to be the most logical one, since the objective of the research is to unravel the understanding and application of equality and diversity principles in the EU staff rules. In other words, this research aims to analyse the EU HRM legal texts through the lens of the main legal text in terms of equality and diversity, i.e. the EU Charter of Fundamental Rights, as there is no better text to set the principles upon which the inclusive language of EU institutions should be based and be assessed. It is to be noted though that the aim of the various texts in the EU HRM Legal Corpus is rather different from that of the EU Charter of Fundamental Rights, and this needs to be taken into consideration in the analysis. Another aspect to take into account is the fact that the EU Charter of Fundamental Rights is used as a basis and at the same time as a reference.

With regard to the linguistic features analysed, this research started with the investigation of the word lists by frequency. According to Baker (2006: 47), "Frequency is one of the most central concepts underpinning the analysis of corpora". In particular, word lists by frequency are lists of tokens, which are grouped by frequency of occurrence in a given corpus. As described above, this is of particular relevance for this paper, as this research entails the development of word lists by frequency to compare the keywords in both the EU HRM Legal Corpus and EU Charter of Fundamental Rights. The aim is twofold, as it allows determining in the first place the expressions that are most represented in terms of frequency in the Charter, and in the second place it serves the purpose of analysing the presence and frequency of these terms in the EU HRM Legal Corpus. With regard to the analysis of the different terms, statistical significance was not included in the research, as the corpus comprises all the rules related to the management of human resources in the context of the EU institutions.

It was to be expected that some of the most used words in both texts would be in line with the genre of the documents. However, at the same time, it is particularly interesting to see the differences in the number of instances in certain semantic fields, as described in the following paragraphs. When considering the words linked to the concept of the EU as a whole, as an entity which is aimed to be better than the sum of its parts, it becomes immediately clear that there are significant differences in the two word lists by frequency. The term 'European' is the 14th most frequent word in the EU Charter of Fundamental Rights, with 36 occurrences, and the 36th most frequent word in the EU HRM Legal Corpus, with 646 occurrences. To compare the frequency in a more significant way, the hits have been normalised using a dispersion plot per one thousand hits. In this case, the term European in the EU Charter of Fundamental Rights has a dispersion value of 9.11, while in the EU HRM Legal Corpus its value is 2.98.

Similar results in the same semantic area could be found for terms like 'Union' and 'Institution(s)'. For the first one the dispersion plot in the EU Charter of Fundamental

Rights is 20.75, while in the Corpus is 2.24, for ‘Institution(s)’, the dispersion plot in the EU Charter of Fundamental Rights is 2.02 and, in the EU HRM Legal Corpus, is 1.70. This is due to the different genre of the texts since not all the keywords that appear in the EU Charter of Fundamental Rights can be found in the EU HRM Legal Corpus. Although the analysis of the KWIC shows already that the number of references to ‘European’ are not as high as expected, since they are the implementing provisions aimed to foster internal working provisions for EU civil servants. The comparison with the EU Charter of Fundamental Rights shows that the terminology that most directly refers to the principle of ‘European’ is not developed in the EU HRM Legal Corpus to an extent that the genre of the corpus itself (i.e. prescriptive legal) would not justify. This has to be considered in the context that the first identification with the European values stems from a language that could most directly link them to the EU civil servants, as much as the EU Charter of Fundamental Rights of the European Union links it to EU citizens.

The linguistic analysis continued with the examination of the corpus’ concordances. According to Baker (2006), a concordance is simply a list of all the occurrences of a particular search term in a corpus that is presented within the contexts where they occur. Each occurrence (or hit) found in a corpus is displayed in the analysis tool with the words preceding and following it. The most commonly used concordance type is called KWIC (Crawford & Csomay, 2016). In the analysis conducted with AntConc, the results usually show one hit per line one the screen, with the main searched term highlighted in the centre. The overview of KWIC is an important part of this corpus research, as it gives a precise idea of the different features of the language used in the EU HRM Legal Corpus (Gabrielatos, 2018).

In a similar way to the approach used for the word list by frequency, the methodology used to analyse concordances and KWIC entails filtering the EU HRM Legal Corpus through the lens of the EU Charter of Fundamental Rights. In this context, lemmatisation or stemming was not considered, but rather the presence of keywords included in the EU Charter of Fundamental Rights vis-à-vis those present in the EU HRM Legal Corpus.

By looking into how the EU Charter of Fundamental Rights as divided into chapters touches upon the different aspects of equality and diversity, this research aims at running the concordances function in AntConc for the main terms included in each of the EU Charter’s chapters. Alongside the preamble, the EU Charter of Fundamental Rights is divided into seven different titles:

TITLE I	DIGNITY
TITLE II	FREEDOMS
TITLE III	EQUALITY
TITLE IV	SOLIDARITY
TITLE V	CITIZENS’ RIGHTS
TITLE VI	JUSTICE
TITLE VII	GENERAL PROVISIONS GOVERNING THE INTERPRETATION AND APPLICATION OF THE CHARTER

In the context of this paper, the titles that are most relevant for the aim of this research on the language of equality and diversity are those included in Title III – Equality. Alongside this choice of scope, additional considerations were given to some general parts of the EU Charter of Fundamental Rights regarding the topics analysed, in particular for features related to the European institutions and their correct functioning, according to the European principles of transparency and good administrative behaviour. A complete matrix of the keywords that served as a basis for the analysis, together with the different chapters of the EU Charter of Fundamental Rights, is presented in Table 1.

Table 1: List of KWIC related to different areas of equality and diversity analysed in the EU HRM Legal Corpus

FOCUS	EU CHARTER OF FUNDAMENTAL RIGHTS	KEYWORDS
GENERAL EQUALITY AND DIVERSITY TERMINOLOGY	PREAMBLE	dignity, integrity, human, security, privacy, personal data, respect / respected, people, person/persons
LGBTI	Title III – Equality Article 9	civil marriage, same-sex marriage, non-marital / non marital partner / partnership, spouse, wife / husband
EU EQUALITY PRINCIPLES	Title III – Equality Articles 20, 21, 22	non-discrimination equality, equal opportunities, diversity, inclusion, work-life, religion / religious, cultural, linguistic
GENDER	Title III – Equality Article 23	sex / sexual, gender, men / women, he, she, he or she, he/she, she/he, him, her, him/her, him or her, his, her, hers, his/her, his or her, they, chairman
ELDERLY STAFF	Title III – Equality Article 25	elderly, retired, old, young
PERSON(S) WITH A DISABILITY	Title III – Equality Article 26	handicap, disabled, (with a) disability
OTHER TERMS RELATED TO EU INSTITUTIONS	GENERAL	good administration, impartiality, fairness, proportionality, reasonable time, right to be heard, access to, reasoned

Using AntConc, a concordance hit list in the EU HRM Legal Corpus, considering a span of -5 and + 5 words, was run for each of the keywords included in Table 4. With regard to the Preamble of the EU Charter of Fundamental Rights, containing terms related to general equality and diversity principles, the KWIC analysed are the following: ‘dignity’, ‘integrity’, ‘human’, ‘security’, ‘privacy’, ‘personal data’, ‘respect’, with the variations of ‘respected’ and the terminology related to ‘people’, ‘person’ and ‘persons’

Following the same methodology of filtering the EU HRM Legal Corpus with the keywords included in the EU Charter of Fundamental Rights, this research started with the analysis of some keywords within their contexts and focused on the collocates of the word ‘European’. The preliminary findings of the use of such terms in the EU HRM Legal Corpus, in particular the findings of the word list by frequency analysis, have been validated fully, to the extent that ‘European’ seems not to be a keyword in the EU HRM Legal Corpus, as the term collocated only with words linked to the different institutions. Significantly, the term does not collocate in any meaningful way with other parts of the text in the corpus. It is indeed quite surprising that the value of being European is not embedded in the internal policies that are aimed to regulate the life of EU civil servants (see Table 5). It is of particular interest to notice that previous studies on the collocation of the term ‘European’ in a corpus similar in size to the EU HRM Legal Corpus, albeit not closely related to legal provisions of EU civil servants, revealed a much higher occurrence of the term ‘European’ (Trebits, 2008). The difference in genre of the two corpora may explain the different frequency of the term ‘European’, but surely not to the extent shown by this research.

Another linguistic feature analysed in this study relates to the presence of lexical bundles in the corpus. By running a frequency count of lexical bundles with AntConc, it was found out that the recurrent significant bundles are related to legal terms and references that are in line with the genre of the texts included in the EU Legal Corpus, such as, for example, the bundles ‘staff regulation’ and ‘appointing authority’. Another interesting feature, typical of legalese, is the use of modifiers such as ‘same’, ‘said’, ’above-mentioned’. In the EU HRM Legal Corpus, it is interesting that these are frequently used as adjectives to further determine and reinforce nouns, not replace them. There are different examples in the corpus, in particular ‘said amount’ and ‘said condition(s)’. These modifiers convey a message of redundancy in the texts of the EU HRM Legal Corpus, limiting the fluidity of the language and the ease of reading the different rules and provisions.

It is interesting to note that none of the other terms related to inclusive language as analysed in this dissertation is in any bundle of the first 100-frequency list, as shown in Table 11. This may be due to the legal and administrative genre of the EU HRM Legal Corpus, but it may also suggest that the frequency of equality and diversity terminology, for example with bundles like ‘work-life balance’ and ‘person with a disability’, is not present in the corpus.

However, a deeper analysis of the data, after applying the same methodology of filtering the Corpus with the KWIC in the EU Charter of Fundamental Rights, allows us to identify two outcomes of the lexical bundle analysis which are of interest for this research, i.e. the terms from the list of keywords in the Charter (see Table 4) which relate to the semantic field ‘Europe’ and ‘European’. These terms are of particular importance vis-à-vis the identified necessity to highlight the European dimension of the language in the corpus, and in particular for what concerns fostering EU values, such as inclusion and non-discrimination. The principles of equality and diversity are already part of the treaties founding the EU, and in particular are spelt out as values in Article 2 of the Treaty on European Union:

> The Union is founded on the values of respect for human dignity, freedom, democracy, equality, the rule of law and respect for human rights, including the rights of persons belonging to minorities. These values are common to the Member States in a society in which pluralism, non-discrimination, tolerance, justice, solidarity and equality between women and men prevail. (European Council, 2016, p. 17)

The analysis of the lexical bundles including the term 'European' is thus relevant to seek links to the EU values and their implementation in the EU HRM Legal Corpus. Concerning the term 'European', it is number 19 on the frequency list, albeit it is only linked to the pronoun 'the', while the bundle 'European Union' is number 46 on the list. A more detailed analysis of the term 'European' shows that it appears in a cluster with 'Union' more than with 'Commission'. This finding has a rather simple explanation, considering that the preambles of many implementing provisions quote a general introductory sentence, which reads: "Having regard to the Treaty on the Functioning of the European Union", while the link of 'European' to 'Commission' is mainly due to the reference to the workplace the EU HRM Legal Corpus applies to.

Furthermore, of particular importance for this research is the presence of the lexical bundle 'of his' in the first 100 N-Grams of the corpus. This, once again, suggests a higher frequency of the generic masculine, which is not considered a gender-neutral expression. In particular, this linguistic use creates a prototypical image of an EU staff member as male, and to the creation of a *null gender*, which means assuming that the default and standard gender is male and not female. This is because masculine forms, even when they are used in a generic sense, usually activate male representations (Fuertes-Olivera, 2007; Wagner, Garcia, Jadidi & Strohmaier, 2015).

The result of this analysis of the corpus shows that no meaningful lexical bundles are present in the EU HRM Legal Corpus suggesting the use of inclusive language. No lexical bundles were found that are significant for the analysis of the use of a language that fosters equality and diversity in the EU institutions, while the biased use of the English language in the corpus appears obvious.

3 RESEARCH FINDINGS

Looking into the findings of the EU HRM Legal Corpus Linguistics analysis, it seems that, although some positive language shifts are happening, much improvement remains to be made. The first highlight of the paper concerning its findings is that the terms 'Europe' and 'European', as an embedded value to the different staff provisions and rules, are difficult to find in the EU HRM Legal Corpus. While the preambles of the different legal basis strive to give a context to the different rules, this seems to be more linked to the aim of passing a message of contemporary human resources management than to embed the values that stand behind the EU.

This static feature of the EU internal legal language can also be seen when looking into the general principles of equality, as introduced in the preamble of the EU Charter of Fundamental Rights. The main highlight at this point of the research shows that the concepts of persons, their security and personal data, are not reflected in the corpus to the same extent that they are in EU policies, and while this could only be done to a lesser extent, such concepts could have been included nonetheless.

With regard to the awareness and inclusion of LGBTI persons, it appears even more clearly that the diversity that is the enriching part of the EU philosophy fails to appear in the EU HRM Legal Corpus. For example, while defining that a non-marital partnership is compared to marriage when it comes to the application of entitlements in the Staff Regulations, a more cohesive use of the language might reinforce the principle of equality in dealing with these different statuses and change the mindset of the civil servants who are all affected by these regulations. At the same time though, in this instance it should be noted that a diachronic dimension of evolution in the language is present in the corpus. More attention being paid to the terminology related to partnership and the evolution of this concept will foster a better LGBTI inclusion, although it should be noted that, when it comes to gender mainstreaming, the EU internal provisions are for now only developing in a dichotomic direction (male-female), and do not include any element of intersectionality (Hankivsky, 2013; Hord, 2016).

The area in which a greater effort has been made to create awareness and equality in the workplace is that related to gender. A broad campaign on gender mainstreaming, which is currently taking place in all Commission services, is probably bearing its fruits in term of the use of a more inclusive language. Gender equality is the part of the EU HRM Legal Corpus where explicit sentences are included in the different rules.

Unfortunately, though, a deeper analysis of the use of gender-related possessives and pronouns shows that there is still a long way to go to embed the concept of equal treatment for men and women. Although in different instances the language does make use of feminine possessives or pronouns, the caveat in the Staff Regulations that states that, "Any reference in these Staff Regulations to a person of the male sex shall be deemed also to constitute a reference to a person of the female sex" should be overcome. It is particularly important to strive for a better wording in such contexts. Although the caveat is specified at the beginning of the Staff Regulations, in many instances provisions such as "he is promoted" can be encountered. This does not foster the idea behind gender equality, and contributes to the distorted identity building of Staff Members working for the institutions (Holmes, 2015; Searle, 2015).

This issue is of particular importance to overcome the concept of male as a "null gender", as assuming that the default and standard gender is male and not female contributes to reinforcing the typical gender stereotype (Fuertes-Olivera, 2007; Wagner, Garcia, Jadidi & Strohmaier, 2015).

Other sensitive wording that is used in the Staff Regulations should be more gender-neutral. For example, the use of chairman instead of chairperson can be found 47 times in the EU HRM Legal Corpus, mainly in the Staff Regulations. Again, the shift in the language of more recent provisions is present, although gender mainstreaming perhaps has benefits with regard to increased consistency and possibly bolder changes in the revision of the language used in older texts. It should be noted though that the language of the two corpora is still far from complying with the definition of gender-sensitive language, as defined by the European Institute for Gender Equality on its website[2]:

> The realisation of gender equality in written and spoken language attained when women and men and those who do not conform to the binary gender system are made visible and addressed in language as persons of equal value, dignity, integrity and respect.
>
> Avoiding sex- and gender-based discrimination starts with language, as the systematic use of gender-biased terminology influences attitudes and expectations and could, in the mind of the reader or listener, relegate women to the background or help perpetuate a stereotyped view of women's and men's roles. There are numbers of different strategies that can be used to express gender relationships with accuracy, such as avoiding, to the greatest possible extent, the use of language that refers explicitly or implicitly to only one gender, and ensuring, through inclusionary alternatives and according to each language's characteristics, the use of gender-sensitive and inclusive language. (EIGE, 2019)

With regard to the awareness and inclusion of persons with a disability, the research shows that much still needs to be done concerning the use of inclusive language in the EU HRM Legal Corpus. The terms 'disabled' and 'handicapped' still appear in the texts of the EU HRM Legal Corpus. The 2006 UN Convention on the Rights of Persons with Disabilities refers to a person with a disability instead of a disabled person to stress that a person is not disabled but has a disability. The convention has been signed by all 28 EU Member States, and so far has been ratified by 25. In 2010, the WU also ratified the Convention, and it plays a leading role in the monitoring framework for implementing it among EU institutions. The definition of a person with a disability in the UN Convention is as follows:

> Persons with disabilities include those who have long-term physical, mental, intellectual or sensory impairments, which in interaction with various barriers may hinder their full and effective participation in society on an equal basis with others. (UN General Assembly. 2007).

2 https://eige.europa.eu/thesaurus/terms/1215

This wording is deemed fundamental to changing the attitudes of people without a disability, and although the Staff Regulations takes this definition on board and includes it in Article 1d, in the following articles the term ‘disabled people’ still occurs five times in the consolidated version of the text.

The same conclusions could be drawn for the area of fundamental rights that relate to elderly persons. Although it seems clear that the Staff Regulations and its implementing provisions are aimed to regulate a rather specific target age group, and that the genre of the corpus embeds a different aim with regard to this issue, some improvements could be made to avoid terms such as ‘young’ and encourage a narrative of inclusion of all staff members in all ages groups.

Looking now into the terminology which relates to the principle of good administration, it seems from the results that more efforts could be made to include in the preambles of the various provisions – such as the one on recruitment or reclassification – terminology such as ‘fairness’ or ‘proportionality’. Moreover, the concept of ‘reasonable time’ is reversed in relation to the meaning of the EU Charter of Fundamental Rights. Instead of the administrative bodies being asked to be reasonable in dealing with various personal files in a timely manner, staff members are those left with this responsibility.

4 CONCLUSIONS

EU institutions are nowadays well aware and informed on the language of human rights and non-discrimination principles, and affirmative actions in term of equality, although mostly related to gender than to ethnic minorities or persons with a disability, are being implemented in different organisations. Alongside considerations related to the legal basis of such action, some institutions are proactive in dealing with the issues of equality and diversity in the workplace, guaranteeing equal participation and shared responsibilities in contexts such as internal directives and policymaking. The question this research examined was whether this awareness of the principle of equality and diversity is embedded in the most fundamental basis of the regulatory framework for staff members of the different institutions, the Staff Regulations and their implementation provisions.

The discourse around the principles of equality and diversity cannot transcend an appropriate use of language, and this is especially the case inside any international organisation with a key leading role in Europe, such as EU institutions. Language is not only a reflection of society, it is an instrument to actively build the social reality thorough discourse (Fairclough, 2001), this is because language not only reflects interpersonal behavioural patterns, but creates and defines them. As such,: any bias in the use of language has direct implications for equal opportunities for both the civil servants working in such institutions, and the wider community of EU citizens.

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POVZETEK

UPRAVLJANJE Z ENAKOSTJO IN RAZNOLIKOSTJO V INSTITUCIJAH EVROPSKE UNIJE: KORPUSNA ANALIZA JEZIKA V PRAVNIH BESEDILIH S PODROČJA UPRAVLJANJA S ČLOVEŠKIMI VIRI

Cilj prispevka je analizirati pravni okvir, ki ureja položaj javnih uslužbencev v institucijah Evropske unije, ter prikazati, kako sta enakost in raznolikost predstavljeni in vključeni v vsakdanjik tamkajšnjih javnih uslužbencev. V raziskavi smo preučili rabo angleškega jezika v pravnih besedilih s področja upravljanja s človeškimi viri v evropskih institucijah. Podrobneje smo analizirali jezikovne vidike, povezane z upravljanjem enakosti in raznolikosti, in vključujočo rabo jezika.

Raziskavo smo umestili v okvir evropske zibelke enakosti in raznolikosti – Evropske unije, ki se izrazito opira na demokratične vrednote, vladavino prava in enako obravnavo vseh prebivalcev, katerih raznolikost predstavlja kot posebno vrednoto. Pomembno je torej, da ugotovimo, kako Evropska unija deluje v praksi ter kako dosledna je pri razumevanju in uveljavljanju omenjenih vrednot.

Metodološki pristop naše raziskave je zahteval oblikovanje in analizo edinstvenega korpusa, v katerem so bile zbrane vse trenutno veljavne zakonske določbe, ki urejajo položaj človeških virov v evropskih institucijah. Da bi preučili razvoj rabe angleškega jezika na področju enakosti in raznolikosti, smo s pomočjo korpusa analizirali jezikovne prvine (pogostost rabe izrazov, konkordance, kolokacije in leksikalne skupe) terminoloških leksikalnih enot, povezanih s štirimi različnimi področji: LGBTI, spol, starejši in osebe z oviranostmi.

Rezultati raziskave kažejo, da jezik v pravnih besedilih Evropske unije s področja upravljanja s človeškimi viri ni skladen z evropskima vrednotama enakosti in raznolikosti. V prispevku zato na koncu predlagamo možne izboljšave v rabi jezika, ki smo ga preučili v korpusu.

Ključne besede: korpusno jezikoslovje, upravljanje s človeškimi viri, evropske institucije, enakost in raznolikost

ABSTRACT

The aim of this paper is to analyse the legal framework regulating the careers of civil servants working for the EU institutions and reveal how the values of equality and diversity are communicated and embedded in their daily lives. The research examines the English language used in the HR legal framework of the EU institutions and explores the linguistic aspects related to equality and diversity management and inclusive language.

The starting point of this research is the idea that the European Union is based on the values of democracy, the rules of law and the equal treatment of its citizen, who are celebrated for their diversity. It is thus highly relevant to look at the EU in action and see if it is consistent in the understanding and application of these values.

The methodological approach of this research entailed the creation and analysis of a unique corpus composed of all the applicable HR legal provisions in force within the EU institutions, and the examination of the linguistic features (word lists by frequency, concordances, collocations and lexical bundles) of the terminology related to four different areas of equality and diversity – the LGBTI community, gender, the elderly and persons with a disability – with the final aim to take stock of the related developments in the use of the English language.

The results indicate that the language used in the EU HRM legal framework is not in line with the EU values of equality and diversity, and the research concludes with highlighting possible improvements of the language used in the corpus.

Keywords: Corpus Linguistics, Human Resources Management, European Institutions, Equality and Diversity

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MULTILINGUAL GENRE PRACTICES IN INTERNATIONAL RELATIONS

INTRODUCTION

Globalisation has produced not only denser, but also linguistically more complex communication networks. Multilingual interactions are increasingly becoming part of the everyday routines of millions of people. This change can also be observed in educational, and professional settings. Being able to explore and develop one's linguistic potential therefore seems to be a *conditio sine qua non* to effectively integrate in a discourse community, and to fully participate in it.

However, the process of enhancing fruitful conditions for such development has been accompanied by socio-political, economic, educational and didactic concerns raising, among other issues, questions of language diversity, language dominance, language education, and language policies. An ample literature reports on the difficult management of multilingual situations in these fields (e.g. Blommaert, Collins and Slembrouck 2005; Canagarajah 2007; 2018; Franceschini 2011).

The complexity of linguistically diverse communities is reflected in different perceptions of multilingualism. A more traditional way of viewing multilingualism as a personal micro-condition was rooted in structuralism, and in the conception of languages as cognitively separate structures. To breach the gap between the personal and social conditions of using many languages, both research and teaching practices have made a sometimes useful distinction between multilingualism and plurilingualism. It is in this vein that the CEFR opposes multilingualism, which can be understood as "coexistence of different languages", to the plurilingual approach, which emphasises that as an individual person's experience of language in its cultural contexts expands, from the language of the home to that of society at large and then to the languages of other peoples (whether learnt at school or college, or by direct experience), he or she does not keep these languages and cultures in strictly separated mental compartments, but rather builds up a communicative competence to which all knowledge and experience of language contributes and in which languages interrelate and interact. (Council of Europe 2001: 4).

This essentially cognitively-based vision of plurilingual competence was complemented by a more socially-based line of thought, which brought forward the conceptualisation of multilingualism[1] as an affordance of an environment, in which acculturation takes place (Blommaert, Collins and Slembrouck 2005).

The implementation of tertiary level course programmes that take into account students' multilingual communication needs has been a difficult task. LSP (language for specific purposes) teaching and its ramifications (language for academic purposes, language for academic and specific purposes) have played a crucial part in the acculturation efforts of novice students and researchers, with different types of scaffolding envisaged to cater to their language needs. In the last thirty years, many higher education programmes chose the apparently more comfortable option of English as a medium of instruction (EMI), neglecting other languages and producing an excessive focus on the use of English language learning/teaching (Chang 2019). Additionally, a sharper focus on the study of genre practices in academic and professional environments was called for (Bhatia 2008).

As opposed to the EMI, alternative approaches take into account different personal circumstances of LSP students and reinforce their plurilingual profiles by fostering their existing language repertoires, strengthening their multicultural awareness, as well as the awareness of genre cultures (Moore and Gajo 2009; Meyer et al. 2012; Galante et al. 2019).

The present study offers a genre-based perspective on International Relations (IR) as a discipline. We seek to examine the genre practices of IR community members in academic and professional settings. IR students studying in undergraduate and postgraduate programmes typically face the challenges of multilingualism in their everyday routines. Moreover, graduates transitioning to professional life in the IR field often work within multilingual discourse communities. Our main aim is to add to a growing body of systematic research into the genre practices of different professional fields, particularly to shed light on the multilingual character of these practices.

The literature review in the next section is followed by a presentation of the study, its participants, and results. We continue by analysing the findings and their implications for LSP theory and practice. In the conclusion, we identify the limitations of our study and pose some questions for future research.

1 LITERATURE REVIEW

1.1 Genre theories and practices

Genre practices have been recognised as an important driver of language teaching. Genre-based teaching and research have mostly developed in English speaking countries. Hyon (1996) distinguishes three genre traditions: ESP (English for Specific Purposes), Systemic

1 Remaining aware of the CEFR differentiation, we use the term multilingualism to refer to the use of more than one language in a given discourse community, i.e. the IR community.

Functional Linguistics, and North-American Rhetoric, and these traditions gradually started to converge. What the three genre theories have in common is that they all view genre as a social phenomenon transcending the limits of texts. They analyse the textual features of genres as representations of social activities, concentrating on the functional characteristics of discourse within a given discourse community (Swales 1990). The theorisation of genre thus moves beyond the study of literary texts and encompasses different kinds of recurring typified expression, such as academic and professional texts (Bhatia 2008), or even other types of human activities, such as architectural works or music (Frow 2006).

According to genre theories, members of a discourse community use genres as a response to the requirements of this community. In order to be able to produce such a response, they have to know how a genre is conventionally formed and what type of aims they are trying to achieve with it, e.g. doctors have to learn how to write medical records in order to facilitate medical care.

A discourse community can use more than one genre to achieve its recognisable aims and objectives. The genres of a community form a system, reflecting culturally conditioned social activities. Members of a community should thus be acquainted with groups of connected genres. These groups are referred to as *genre repertoires* (Orlikowski and Yates 1994), *systems of genres* (Bazerman 1994), *genre sets* (Devitt 2004), *disciplinary genres* (Bhatia 2004), or *genre ecologies* (Spinuzzi 2004). As shown by Spinuzzi (2004), each or these terms highlights different aspects of genre practices, relations among genres, and genre participants, and foregrounds different genres. In contrast with the other terms mentioned, the term *genre ecology* emphasises the intermediary function of genres, which means that genres are seen not only as tools used by a community member, but as units, bearing a mediational role in genre practices. This allows the researchers to focus on both official and unofficial genres, as well as on the dynamic use of genres.[2]

1.2 Analysing genre practices

Research into genres has employed a range of methodological approaches, reflecting the concerns of genre users and LSP practitioners. This has produced a continuum with context-oriented studies into genre practices on the one side, and text-oriented studies on the other side. While the socially focused studies commonly rely on qualitative methodologies, using participant observation, interviews, or diary writing, the studies examining the textual features (e.g. lexico-grammatical patterns) use quantitative methods (Hyland 2004).

Much of the ESP teaching and research focused on individual high stake genres, e.g. academic articles. On the other hand, a more socially based vein of genre analysis

2 Following Spinuzzi (2004), we use the expression *genre repertoire* to refer to a set of genres used by an individual member of the IR community, and the expression *genre ecology* to refer to the interaction between genres in the community.

brought forward the observation that genres are rarely used in isolation (Bawarshi and Reiff 2010). Genre mapping is a method used to systematically record genres of a given professional, academic or cultural field (Chitez and Kruse 2012), although such studies are relatively rare.

The scarcity of genre mapping studies in multilingual communities could be attributed to the complexity of such analyses, but existing studies, that were mainly carried out in Europe, show that this kind of research can be very informative for programme designers, because it offers information which would be difficult to access through other methods. Using contrastive genre mapping, Kruse and Chitez (2012) compared genre practices at three Swiss universities based in Italian, German and French language regions. This method allowed them to classify the collections of genres into genre families, and determine the similarities and differences between students' genre repertoires. Based on the findings, they described the characteristics of academic cultures in different regions. Lorenzo (2013) used the method of contrastive genre mapping to produce a multilingual genre map serving to organise a CLIL program in a Spanish secondary school, and calling for reinforced collaboration between language and content teachers.

Research into multilingual genre practices in an academic environment has predominantly focused on the difficulties faced by international students and researchers entering English-medium universities and producing English-medium texts. However, some studies on biliteracy processes strayed away from the focus on students' knowledge gaps and called for renewed research agendas, stressing also the opportunities for language transfer (Gentil 2011; Kim and Belcher 2018).

The uneven coverage of research into genre practices can also be observed with regard to different disciplines. Some professional fields have received relatively little attention by genre researchers. While research into multilingual practices in business environments is abundant (Mettewie and Van Mense 2009; Angouri 2014; Pierini 2016; Schlabach 2017), the IR field remains surprisingly under-researched, considering the high-stake genre practices that the members of this disciplinary community are involved into.

2 THE STUDY

The present study grew out of a larger project aiming to design a course in French for specific purposes (FSP), which would foster genre awareness among IR students at the Faculty of Social Sciences, University of Ljubljana. The participants in our study are all rooted in the University of Ljubljana, which is the biggest university in Slovenia. It could essentially be termed as a monolingual university with a strong ambition to internationalise. The IR programmes are offered at the Faculty of Social Sciences as part of undergraduate as well as postgraduate programmes.

IR is a political science discipline, studying relations between states and other IR actors (i.e. entities that are recognised by international law). This complex subject matter has been conceptualised through many different theoretical approaches and competing paradigms (Roche 2001). It is a relatively 'young' academic discipline, and the first IR study programme in Great Britain was established in 1919 (Lebow 2008). Graduates in IR become employed in international governmental or non-governmental organisations, government services, media, international businesses, and so on. Proficiency in more than one foreign language along with intercultural and global awareness are among the key skills IR students are expected to develop. This goal is particularly important for students and professionals based in essentially monolingual communities, but working in international settings.

Given that language FL/L2 language teaching/learning in general and genre teaching/learning in LSP are always context-bound, we decided to investigate the nature of genre practices in the IR community. With a genre based analysis of the disciplinary practices we sought to understand how new and experienced members cope with genre repertoires and what type of problems they face in their acculturation processes.

2.1 Research questions

The overall aim of the present study was to determine the nature of genre repertoires, enacted by members of the IR community based in the Slovenian context. More particularly, we investigated into the types of genres commonly used by members, the languages in which those genres were enacted, and the development of genre practices at different stages of members' disciplinary trajectories. Our research was limited to written genres.

Our research questions were as follows:

RQ1. Which written genres does the IR community use in academic and in professional contexts?

RQ2. In which languages are these genres enacted?

RQ3. How do the IR members' genre repertoires change?

2.2 Research methods and procedures

In the vein of a strong tradition of genre-based studies relying on ethnomethodological frameworks, we used qualitative research procedures. The advantage of this approach is that it enables insights into participants' definitions and perceptions of genre practices (Lillis 2013).

Our participants were all rooted in the University of Ljubljana. Candidates for our study were selected on the basis of their disciplinary identity and plurilingual repertoires. They were identified among the experienced and novice members of the IR academic and professional community. As the overall objective of the study was to use the data in the preparation of the FSP programme, we made sure that all of the participants use French as one of the languages in their academic/professional communication. Their personal plurilingual profiles showed that their plurilingual identity included three to seven languages. The data was collected between June 2014 and September 2015.

In the invitation email we explained the aim of our study. We asked the candidates to prepare a collection of typical written texts they use in their everyday academic/professional practice. We invited them to a semi-structured interview, in which they were able to speak about their genre practices. A total of 29 IR community members responded to our invitation.

The research involved several stages. Data gathering was a process that stretched over a longer period of time, allowing participants to collect types of texts they read or produced themselves, and to reflect on their practices. Subsequently, a semi-structured interview was carried out with each participant. The total length of the interviews was 33 hours and 34 minutes. The average length of the interview was 70 minutes. The first aim of the semi-structured interviews with members of the IR community was to determine the respective roles of individual genres in the genre repertoires, and to group genres according to their roles in genre ecologies. We guided the interviewees in their reflections on how they participate in their disciplinary community, what genres they use, in which languages these genres are enacted, and how their genre repertoires change over time. The broad topics of the interview were further narrowed down to suit the particular profile of the interviewee. The data was coded manually to search for patterns of genre use. Finally, we rechecked the results with triangulation of data retrieved in the programme descriptions and in the genre collections compiled by the participants. This procedure was applied to ensure reliability and representativeness.

3 FINDINGS

Our assumption was that culture with its ideological and material contexts influences the nature of the genres and contributes to the ability of community members to orient in time and space. Genres develop through the activities of a particular group and form patterns of behaviour that are accepted by the community. The community members are thus considered to be the most reliable observers and interpreters of genre practices. They are able to recognise a particular genre, to name it, and identify its characteristics (Devitt 2004).

This assumption lead us to choose the user approach to the observation of genre practices. It is from the genre collections of our participants and from their accounts of the genre practices, in which they participate, that we deduced the main characteristics of genre repertoires and the emerging themes regarding the specific nature of these repertoires.

3.1 Genre repertoires

We asked our participants to collect and discuss those written genres they deemed the most common and pertinent in their current or past disciplinary practices.

The result of the genre mapping procedure in the first stage was a collection of 120 typical academic and professional genres in three languages. This vast and diversified cohort of texts was contextualised with some basic descriptors: the name, type of use (reading/writing) type of source, and languages in which the genre was produced. Each genre was described according to these descriptors. For a section of the inventory, related to genres in academic environment, see Table 1.

Table 1: Extract from IR genre repertoires – academic context.

Genre	Type of use/Type of source	Language
Research article	Reading, writing/Secondary source	English, Slovene, French
Professional article	Reading, writing/Secondary source	English, Slovene, French
Monograph	Reading, writing/Secondary source	English, Slovene, French
Chapter in a monograph	Reading, writing/Secondary source	English, Slovene, French
Textbook	Reading, writing/Secondary source	English, Slovene, French
Chapter in conference proceedings	Reading, writing/Secondary source	English, Slovene, French
Study materials	Reading, writing/Secondary source	English, Slovene, French
News article	Reading, writing/Secondary source, student writing	English, Slovene, French
International treaty	Reading/Secondary source, student writing	English, Slovene, French
Speech by a state representative	Reading, writing/Secondary source, student writing	English, Slovene, French
Comparative analysis	Reading, writing/Secondary source, student writing	English, Slovene, French
Court decision	Reading/ Primary source	English, Slovene, French
Newspaper article	Reading, writing/Secondary source, student writing	English, Slovene, French
Seminar paper/Research assignment	Writing, reading/Student writing	English, Slovene, French
Project assignment	Writing, reading/Student writing	Slovene, French
Razprava	Writing, reading/Student writing	Slovene
Lecture notes	Writing, reading/Student writing	English, Slovene, French
Essay	Writing, reading/Student writing	English, Slovene, French

Genre	Type of use/Type of source	Language
Izpitni esej	Writing, reading/Student writing	Slovene
Dissertation fr. (esej)	Writing, reading/Student writing	French
Galop d'essai	Writing, reading/Student writing	French
Dossier	Writing, reading/Student writing	French
Fiche de lecture	Writing, reading/Student writing	French
Synthèse	Writing, reading/Student writing	French
Mémoire	Writing, reading/Student writing	French

As shown in Table 1, the social use of the collected genres can be related to the reading of sources and/or to writing. The academic users of IR sources distinguish between primary, secondary and tertiary sources. Primary sources are an object of research (e.g. speeches of state representatives are a primary source for researchers and for students, who would like to read the original IR documents). Secondary sources are outlets, in which the IR research is published (i.e. monographs, academic journals, etc.). Tertiary sources (i.e. handbooks, bibliographies, etc.) synthesise the disciplinary knowledge. Genres marked as 'student writing' are produced by students for educational purposes. Students are asked to produce these genres either as part of the knowledge and critical thinking development, or in the framework of assessment and evaluation processes.

The genre repertoires collected by our participants and the genres described in the interviews were compared by means of the descriptors. Based on the comparison, it was established that a single principal genre repertoire could not be determined because different types of genre users engaged in selected genres, and not in the whole range of available genres.

3.2 Types of genre users

Genre users enter an academic or professional discourse community with some prior genre knowledge. They build on this knowledge, reformulate, reshape and adapt it to integrate in the new discourse community (Norton 2013). Experienced users select among the disciplinary genres and participate in them to achieve their communicative purposes.

Six profiles of genre users emerged on the basis of the comparison of descriptors:

- Novice undergraduate students in the Slovene academic environment;
- Experienced undergraduate students in the Slovene academic environment;
- Graduate students in the Slovene academic environment;
- Exchange students in the French academic environment;
- Professors and researchers in the Slovene academic environment;
- IR graduates employed in international institutions, government services, non-governmental organisations, and in internationally oriented businesses.

This segmentation was to be expected, as the inventories of genres and types of use varied according to the roles, and according to the priorities of participants in the disciplinary community, e.g. novice undergraduate students mostly read secondary sources, while the more experienced members of IR community increasingly rely on primary sources.

The same division could be observed along the reception/production lines. Students, for example, usually act as readers of primary and secondary sources. Teachers of IR subjects and graduates employed in international institutions, on the other hand, can act at the same time as writers and readers of secondary or tertiary sources, sometimes also as contributors to primary sources.

However, the identified types of genre users are not always neatly delineated, because the interviewees can combine their activities in different institutional and linguistic contexts. Three instances of hybrid identities were observed: students combining academic and professional activities; exchange students; and academic staff combining teaching and research activities. The interviewees, who had to cope with a combination of contexts, reported that these mixed identities contributed to the diversification and enrichment of their genre repertoires. In many cases, such situations brought about new acculturation related challenges, gaps in genre knowledge and discontinuity in genre practices. The transition periods were particularly demanding in this respect. For example, exchange students, who spent a semester abroad, had to temporarily adapt their existing academic genre practices to the requirements of the host institution (Jarc 2015), without being able to transfer the newly acquired genre competence to their home institution.

3.3 Genre families

The roles of genres and types of users identified in the first stage of our research allowed us to move to the second stage of analysis. The aim of this stage was twofold: firstly, to group the genres into genre families, and secondly, to observe which gaps appeared in the process of acquiring genre knowledge as our interviewees found themselves in transition periods, either entering a new institutional and/or linguistic context. The biggest change in genre practices was observed when our interviewees moved from the academic to the professional contexts.

In the academic context, six genre families were identified: genres of student writing, primary sources, secondary sources, professional genres, journalistic genres, and ‘new genres’. Genres were grouped into these families according to their communicative purpose and according to the source context. For examples of genres found in each of these families, see Table 2.

Table 2: IR genre families – academic settings.

Student writing	**Primary sources**	**Secondary sources**	**Professional genres**	**Journalistic genres**	**'New genres'**
Seminar papers Essays Reflections Reviews Research articles	International treaties Declarations Resolutions Court decisions	Research articles Textbooks Monographs Book chapters Conference proceedings	Minutes of the meetings Reports Analyses	News articles Reports Analyses Interviews	Twitter genres Social media genres

In professional settings, six genre families were also identified: job application genres, genres of diplomacy, academic genres, genres of internal communication, Public Relations (PR) genres, and field specific genres. For examples of genres found in each of these families, see Table 3.

Table 3: IR genre families – professional settings.

Academic genres	**Diplomacy genres**	**Internal communication genres**	**PR genres**	**Job application genres**	**Field specific genres**
Research articles Essays Reflections Reviews	Diplomatic notes Wires Genres of diplomatic protocol Genres of international negotiations Occluded genres	Memos Minutes of the meetings Reports Analyses Action plans Occluded genres	Press releases Prepared speeches Press kits Reports Brochures Twitter genres Social media genres	Job advertisement Application letter CV Response to an application letter	Genres specific for a given field (e.g. genres of European institutions, space law, etc.)

The main protagonists in the academic environment are teachers, researchers and students, who act either as writers or readers of the genres listed in the above families.

The first three groups of genres in Table 2 could be termed as curriculum genres. They were also identified in the course descriptions. A closer analysis of the curriculum genres shows that the recent developments of the academic practices brought some changes in the institutional preferences regarding the use of student writing genres and the secondary sources. If the generation of undergraduate novices studying for their exams some twenty years ago were mostly relying on monographs and book chapters, the younger generation today refers to research articles as the primary source of disciplinary knowledge. In the students' writing practices seminar paper remains the umbrella genre for different types of assignments, but it is increasingly being replaced by essay writing. What Table 2 does not show, because it could be detected only through interviews, are absences in this family. Namely, after the Bologna reform students are no longer required to write an undergraduate thesis, which had been considered as a key genre in the previous generation of interviewees.

The last three genre families in Table 2 indicate that not all the sources our interviewees referred to in their descriptions of genres were of an academic or educational nature. For instance, the need to be informed through different types of news articles, accessible either in the printed or online media, was often highlighted by our interviewees. This was required particularly when current IR events were analysed in the framework of course activities.

Another recent trend appeared in the last three genre families, namely a clear movement from 'pure academic genres', as one of our interviewees called them, to professional genres. This change could be explained by the efforts of higher education institutions to align with the orientations imposed by the Bologna reform. This document specifically called for more practically oriented higher education curricula, developing market-oriented skills to foster the employability of European graduates (European Commission 2009). But as explained by our interviewees, the so-called 'new genres' of the digital environment were not actively dealt with in the academic programmes. Since their introduction into IR practice at the national, supranational and international levels, the importance of these types of genres has been growing, which made the gap increasingly visible.

The proliferation of different genres represented a burden, not only to the students, but also to the IR graduates who participated in our interviews. Overall, they admitted that the genre knowledge they managed to build during their studies helped them better integrate in the professional community. However, they experienced some unexpected challenges regarding the genre requirements in the professional settings.

The first challenge was related to the para-professional genres of job application. Our interviewees regretted not having the opportunity to deal with them during the final year of their studies.

The second challenge was posed by the changed roles of genre users and the functions of workplace genres, which were modelled by the tasks performed by genre users. For some of the interviewees, the number of genres increased considerably when they left the academic setting. The broad range of genres our interviewees were daily involved in included combinations of regulation genres, analytical genres, administrative genres, organisational genres and promotional genres. Moreover, they were asked to communicate with the expert community members and with the general public.

Consequently, their genre repertoires became more diversified, more dependent on the workplace of the genre user, as well as on the place of the genre user in the institutional hierarchy. Rather than only writers and readers, our interviewees acted as interpreters of texts, evaluators, reviewers, negotiators, editors, reporters, researchers, members of multilingual teams, and even creators of new genres.

The third challenge was the instability of genre repertoires. In our interviewees' careers there were frequent shifts from one position to another, and consequently a complete change of workplace genre repertoires was not uncommon. These shifts required the ability to adapt, not only to the new genre repertoires, but also to the institutional contexts in which the genres were enacted. Through the regulation of genres, institutions determined the language(s) of communication, the values, rhetorical structure of genres, place of genres in the genre repertoires, communication channels, and participants in genre practices.

Finally, the genre families of workplace contexts were difficult to determine in more detail, because the genre practices of diplomacy and internal communication include occluded genres, which are difficult to access due to the nature of political and diplomatic activities (i.e. backstage negotiations, secrecy in communication, security issues).

3.4 Languages in IR genre practices

The traditional belief that French is the language of diplomacy was undermined by the academic and professional genre practices of our participants. According to the interviewees, English is undoubtedly the *lingua franca* of modern IR. However, the systematic overview of the IR genres in different languages showed that the interviewees' genre practices are characterised by distinct patterns of multilingualism.

All the interviewees reported using two or three languages in their daily academic or professional life. The texts in their genre collections were in one of the three languages listed in Table 1: English, Slovene and French. Some of the genres (e.g. academic articles, international treaties, court decisions, brochures) were in all three languages, some of them were only in one language. As expected, the most widely used sources in the academic environment were in English, while the genres in French were mostly limited to the primary sources. The cultural or linguistic specificities were also reflected in the names of genres: for some of them, our interviewees could not find any corresponding genres in other languages (e.g. *galop d'essai, mémoire, déroulé*). Consequently, the names of these genres were not translated. The culture specific genres appeared in two types of situations: in academic genres of exchange students and in genres of bilateral diplomacy.

The patterns of multilingual genre use were further complicated by the fact that even the same types of genres were actually regulated by different sets of rules when the interviewees used them in different languages. The interviews shed light on how different types of users participate in them across languages. A critical genre in this respect was one of the most widely used genres in academic contexts: the essay. The participants gave us detailed accounts of how they developed their essay writing competence in different languages and pointed out that it was very difficult for them to find their own authorial voice while following the rules of the genre in different linguistic contexts.

The complex linguistic identities of our interviewees also contributed to the ways they made their genre choices. Apart from the three languages listed in Table 1, our participants relied on additional languages in their language repertoires (i.e. German, Italian, Spanish, Croatian, Russian) to maximise the impact of their genre practices. The reason why the data on the genres in other languages was not included in Table1 lies in the fact that these languages are either not used by most of the participants, or they are not used in the most foregrounded genre practices. Beyond the institutional requirements, our interviewees explained that the choice of language in which a genre was enacted often depended on their general language competence and their appreciation of that of the other participants.

The specific types of genres used in different languages, and the strategic choices of languages, thus upgrade and nuance the image of English-only genre configurations in IR academic and professional practices. The evidence from our interviews shows that the IR students should learn how to deal with numerous genres, which form complex genre ecologies, varying across specific cultural, linguistic and institutional contexts. This means that written IR genres in one language cannot be seen as a transliterated copy of genres in another.

4 DISCUSSION

Being acquainted with the genres of a discourse community is important for each of its members, because the control of the genre repertoires enables full participation in the activities of the community (Martin and Rose 2008). Previous studies have highlighted the benefits of explicit teaching about genres (Bhatia 2008; Martin and Rose 2008; Gentil 2011; Galante et al. 2019), revealing evidence that students' knowledge about genre practices translates into better genre performance (Bawarshi and Reiff 2010).

This study aimed to shed light on the nature of genre practices of the IR community in order to provide an empirical basis which would lead to explicit teaching about the IR genres. In the first stage of our research we tried to establish a map of genres used by the IR community. By exploring the genre collections of our participants and analysing the semi-structured interviews with members of the target community we got a user perspective on the configurations of genre repertoires and the challenges faced by the users while struggling to use these.

The field-specific and professional genres collected by the interviewees covered a mixture of diverse genre families, which can be broadly subdivided into the academic genres and those of professional settings. Against the backdrop of internationalisation, the curriculum genres, which enable students to engage in their academic activities, are also moulded by the specific cultural and institutional contexts. The participants in professional settings were engaged in diverse activities stemming from administrative, diplomatic, journalistic, and public relations tasks. These tasks are influenced by global as well as by local cultural practices.

Based on the results of the genre mapping we can conclude that the rich genre repertoires used by the IR community members form complex multilingual genre ecologies. There is a clear continuity in the use of the genre repertoires in the academic and professional settings. However, some important gaps in the genre competence of our interviewees were identified as the members of the IR community moved to higher levels of academic competence and to professional contexts, namely: (1) the lack of preparedness for linguistically, culturally and institutionally imposed norms of genre; (2) few opportunities to engage with the genres of digital environment; and (3) the problems with access to the occluded and para-professional genres.

Our second research question dealt with the languages in which the IR genres were enacted. The rich plurilingual character of the IR genre practices emerged in the process of genre mapping. Even though our analysis started off with the aim of designing a genre-based FSP course, which would highlight those practices of the IR community that are typically enacted in French, we had to abandon the narrow perception of the language lenses. Within the genre families we have identified it is difficult to isolate and prioritise only the genres of one language, because multilingualism transforms the communication needs of the IR users, even when they work in essentially monolingual settings.

Signs of internationalisation of academic practices with English as a *lingua franca* are clearly discernible in the Slovene and in internationally-based IR communities. Similarly to academic contexts, the trend towards internationalisation in IR professional settings results in more and more English-dominated genre repertoires. Genre competence in a second, third or even fourth language is required for successful participation in IR professional settings.

Triangulation with course programmes showed that the official language policies of the institutions in which our interviewees were integrated, as well as participants' micro-decisions, influenced the genre practices and choice of languages in concrete situations. But unlike some multilingual students, who felt that their language repertoires were constrained by the effects of internationalisation (Meyer et al. 2012), our respondents actively sought to explore the richness of their plurilingual profiles to maximise the impact of their genre practices.

With reference to the analysis of the changes that occur in the genre repertoires of the IR community members, our study highlights the fact that acculturation in a discourse community is a long process, in which the academic setting serves as a preparation for efficient workplace genre practices. What the IR community members are facing in their daily genre realities are active multilingualism, relative instability, complexity and unpredictability of genre practices. All these characteristics of genres can produce additional stress on the novice members of the discourse community and on genre users moving from one institutional context to the other, in particular when they have not been prepared to deal with these realities.

Furthermore, we found out that the genres and genre families in the genre ecologies of the IR community have been transformed as the disciplinary genre practices evolved during the last two decades. These changes could be attributed to the impact of the Bologna reform and to the growing digitalisation of IR communication.

4.1 Implications for LSP research and LSP teaching

Beyond the description of genre repertoires, the interplay of genres in the genre ecologies and the evolution of genre practices in IR open some questions that were presented as resolved in LSP theory and practice, namely the questions of genre users' linguistic identities and their navigation through genres.

The theoretical implications of the findings refer to the need to broaden the prevailing ESP perspectives on the acquisition of genre knowledge in academic settings. ESP focuses on specific genres within spheres of activity, such as the medical profession, and aims to develop non-native speakers' genre competence in the English language by relying on the broader concept of communicative purposes, which are targeted by the users of a genre. The theory of genres stems from this perspective.

The case of the IR community members shows that academic and professional internationalisation, as well as the target needs of internationally oriented communities, call for a more complex approach to the theory of genres. This approach should strive to account for the multilingual users' perspective in which the question of native speakers' language problems should not be the only concern of the LSP teachers. The broadened genre theory should integrate a multicultural social reality of academic and professional settings. The data from the interviews therefore aligns with the calls for a revised conceptualisation of genre-based knowledge (Sommer Farias et al. 2020). The findings also have some immediate and long-term implications for LSP teaching.

Our study confirms that LSP teaching should go beyond the traditional work with texts. Rather than analysing the text structure or simply describing ways in which a language 'works', it should strive to help community members better navigate their academic and professional activities.

Firstly, the results indicate that the teachers aiming to facilitate learning about the IR community genres should become more flexible in the choice of genre types to account for new genres, e.g. the genres of social media. The focus on isolated high-stakes genres, such as research articles, should be broadened by the concept of genre ecologies. As explained by the genre users of the IR community, a combination of genre families contributes to the unique constellation of genre practices, which reflect the community culture, relations among the members, and effective functioning of the community. Teachers should therefore extend the genre repertoires presented to the students. To facilitate the acculturation processes, novices in the community or students entering an academic institution in a French-speaking context would need a more broadly oriented course that would address not only the purely linguistic aspects, but also the cultural and political situatedness of genre practices, including information on the national teaching and learning traditions. These findings corroborate the recent theoretical advances and efforts to enrich students' language learning experience with activities aimed at the development of mediation, plurilingual and pluricultural competence (Council of Europe 2020).

Secondly, the phenomena of continuity and discontinuity in genre practices of the IR community should be dealt with as part of the genre awareness activities.

Thirdly, the segmentation of the participants' academic and professional trajectories, which is due to issues of linguistic, disciplinary and institutional complexity, requires a more holistic and coordinated approach to genre building practices. The students' and professionals' role in disclosing the nature of genre ecologies is central in this. By becoming informants and partners in research, they can contribute to a well-planned genre-based approach and improve their own genre awareness. Given the proliferation of different genres in different languages, synergies should be sought, not only on the level of LSP courses but also on the institutional level. This would require a repositioning of LSP courses in the IR curricula. Such a repositioning does not necessarily imply that new teaching models should be imposed on LSP teaching, but it sets new tasks on the agenda of LSP research and practice, including tighter collaboration between LSP and IR disciplinary teachers.

5 CONCLUSION

We have attempted to analyse the genre practices of the IR community to establish the nature of the genre repertoires used by different profiles of community members in academic and professional contexts. The study adds to a growing body of evidence on genres in different disciplinary settings. It proves that genre mapping can be useful as a method to detect cultural specificities, but it remains an insufficiently used tool.

Having outlined the main characteristics of the genre repertoires in the IR community, we can conclude that the complexity and variety of the IR genre ecologies were the recurring themes in all the stages of our analysis. The design of an LSP programme that would take into account these two characteristics of genre practices in the international community would require a careful selection of key partners, long-term introduction of new pedagogical concepts, and adaptation of existing teaching strategies.

The limitations of our study stem from the choice of the method, and from the selection of our participants. The accounts of genre practices were valuable, because they revealed data which would otherwise remain uncovered. However, the participants' responses were susceptible to recall bias, in particular when they reflected on the use of genres in the past. Secondly, in the scope of our study, the participant data could only contextualise the genre practices linked to the disciplinary practices of Slovene-based members of IR community. Our analysis of IR genre ecologies can therefore be seen as a starting point for a comprehensive analysis of multilingual practices in the IR community. Finally, more research would be needed to find out how multilingual genre tasks can help students work within and across genres in different languages, and how they can encourage a more context-based genre teaching and learning.

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POVZETEK

VEČJEZIČNE ŽANRSKE PRAKSE V MEDNARODNIH ODNOSIH

Med posledice globalizacije štejemo ne samo tesnejše, ampak tudi jezikovno kompleksnejše komunikacijske mreže. Večjezične prakse so spremenile akademsko in poklicno življenje, s tem pa so pred učence in učitelje tujih jezikov stroke (TJS) postavile nove zahteve. Pričujoči članek v ospredje postavlja vprašanje rabe žanrov v večjezičnih globaliziranih kontekstih. Žanri so bili prepoznani kot ena od osrednjih tematik poučevanja TJS. Čeprav so predhodne raziskave pokazale, da morajo člani diskurzne skupnosti usvojiti primerne žanrske prakse, značilne za strokovno področje, na katerem delujejo, je malo znanega o naravi žanrskih repertoarjev na področju mednarodnih odnosov (MO). V članku poročamo o kvalitativni raziskavi žanrskih praks v diskurzni skupnosti MO. Namen naše raziskave je bil ugotoviti, katere značilne žanrske repertoarje uporabljajo člani te skupnosti v akademskih in poklicnih okoljih. Osredotočamo se na jezike, v katerih so žanri udejanjeni, in na spremembe v žanrskih praksah, ki se pojavijo kot posledica prehajanja članov skupnosti v različne akademske in poklicne ali institucionalne kontekste. Analiza zbirk žanrov in podatkov, zbranih v polstrukturiranih intervjujih s študenti, profesorji in diplomanti MO, razkriva bogastvo, raznolikost in asimetrične vzorce žanrske rabe v treh jezikih: francoščini, slovenščini in angleščini. Raziskava nakazuje, da se je strokovno sporočanje naših intervjuvancev v zadnjih dvajsetih letih močno spremenilo in da spremembe v žanrskih ekologijah zahtevajo nove pristope k poučevanju o žanrih. Na temeljih izsledkov raziskave razpravljamo o izzivih večjezične stvarnosti za učitelje TJS in za raziskovalce žanrov.

Ključne besede: TJS, večjezičnost, žanrski repertoar, žanrska ekologija, žanrska praksa, mednarodni odnosi

ABSTRACT

Globalisation has produced not only denser, but also linguistically more complex communication networks. Multilingual practices have transformed the academic and professional lives of language learners, and imposed new requirements on LSP teaching. This article foregrounds genres in multilingual globalised contexts. Genres have been recognised as one of the key focuses of LSP. Although previous research highlighted the importance of developing relevant field-specific genre practices, little attention has been paid to the nature of genre repertoires in the field of International Relations (IR). We report on the findings of a qualitative study into genre practices of the IR community. We set out to examine the typical genres of IR in academic and in professional settings. We focus on the languages in which these genres are enacted, and on the transformation of genre practices that occurs as a result of the community members' trajectories through different academic and professional or institutional contexts. The analysis of genre collections and of the data collected through semi-structured interviews with IR students, professors, and graduates, reveals the rich, diverse, and asymmetrical patterns of genre use in three languages: French, Slovene, and English. The study suggests that the informants' disciplinary communication has changed considerably over the past twenty years, and that the changes in the genre ecologies require new approaches to teaching about genres. Based on the findings of the study, the paper discusses the challenges of multilingual realities for LSP teachers and genre analysts.

Keywords: LSP, multilingualism, genre repertoire, genre ecology, genre practice, International Relations

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LE TOURBILLON DES SENTIMENTS AMOUREUX DANS LA POÉSIE DE MARCELINE DESBORDES-VALMORE OU LA POÉTISATION D'UNE HISTOIRE AMOUREUSE

1 INTRODUCTION

Oubliées à tort pendant plusieurs siècles, les femmes de lettres, dont Christine de Pisan, Louise Labé, Madelaine et Catherine des Roches, Marceline Desbordes-Valmore et beaucoup d'autres, prêtaient à maintes reprises leur plume prolixe au service des épanchements du cœur. La voix féminine de la poésie courtoise, Christine de Pisan, s'est inscrite dans l'histoire comme la première Française à avoir jamais vécu de ses écrits. D'origine vénitienne, elle s'est permis, à la fin du XIV^{e}, début du XV^{e} siècle, de célébrer le mariage et chanter, en son propre nom, l'amour pour son mari et le délice de la nuit de noces afin de montrer du doigt le concept erroné de l'amour courtois, vanté par les troubadours. Néanmoins, ce n'est qu'à la Renaissance que la scène littéraire assiste à « l'avènement » de la figure de la femme écrivaine/poétesse, incarnée par-dessus tout dans le personnage de Louise Labé, femme dotée de la liberté d'esprit, qui assumait pleinement sa féminité dans ses vers. À l'aube du XIX^{e} siècle, le cercle s'agrandit avec Marceline Desbordes-Valmore, connue de nos jours comme prédécesseure de la poésie romantique.

Née le 20 juin 1786 à Douai dans une famille modeste et ruinée par la Révolution, elle n'a eu droit qu'à une formation rudimentaire. Marquée par la mort précoce de sa mère, elle s'est vu obligée de faire vivre sa famille. D'abord, elle a été engagée en tant qu'actrice et chanteuse, et ce n'est que bien plus tard, qu'elle s'est mise à écrire ses premiers poèmes. Aux environs de 1808, elle a rencontré un comédien, amateur de littérature, dont elle est tombée éperdument amoureuse. Si passionnée qu'ait pu être leur relation, les amoureux ont fini par se séparer. Unie par le mariage à Prosper Lanchantin, dit Valmore, en 1817, Marceline est entrée dans une époque de sa vie marquée par la pauvreté et de nombreux déplacements dus aux engagements professionnels de son mari, lui aussi acteur, mais malheureusement dépourvu de tout talent. Quatre enfants sont nés de ce mariage, dont seul Hippolyte survivra à Marceline, morte le 23 juillet 1859, à Paris, à la suite d'un long combat contre le cancer.

L'hommage rendu par Marceline Desbordes-Valmore à son amant dans ses recueils poétiques a pendant de longues années intrigué les biographes et historiens littéraires qui avaient établi, séparément les uns des autres, une liste exhaustive de candidats possibles. De nos jours, le nom revenant le plus souvent est celui d'un certain Henri Latouche, ami de longue date de la famille Valmore.

Le premier recueil signé de sa main, *Élégies, Marie et Romances*, est sorti en 1819, annonçant ainsi une étoile montante de la poésie française. Classés en deux grands chapitres, les élégies l'emportent de beaucoup sur les romances en raison de la complexité de l'expression, du sentiment mélancolique et plaintif où Marceline excellait à merveille. Au cours de sa vie, elle a publié une dizaine de recueils, dont *Élégies et Poésies Nouvelles* (1824), *Poésies en trois volumes* (1830), *Pleurs* (1833), *Pauvres Fleurs* (1839), *Bouquets et Prières* (1843) et un dernier, posthume, *Poésies Inédites* (1860). La passion amoureuse, sa principale source d'inspiration se voit décortiquée avec une souplesse singulière ; Marceline pénètre avec la parole dans tous les coins de ce sentiment. En prosodie, elle était autodidacte, et toutes ces heures, passées auprès des textes qu'il a fallu mémoriser, ont fait également fleurir abondamment son imagination, ainsi que sa sensibilité romantique. Ses vers ne sont pas le travail d'un « poeta doctus ». Et pourtant, bien que simples, ils sont pleins de vivacité, de spontanéité, même de musicalité.

2 MARCELINE DESBORDES-VALMORE, POÉTESSE

Après le décès de sa mère, Marceline s'est vue contrainte de retourner en France et d'entreprendre le métier d'actrice. Ainsi, en tant que jeune première occupée tous les soirs à mimer l'amour sur scène, elle a appris la prosodie et l'art de chanter. Bien qu'entrée dans le monde du théâtre en raison de son infortune, elle porte sur ce dernier un regard favorable ; à l'époque, c'était son refuge. Ayant souffert d'un mal mystérieux, Marceline, à l'âge de vingt ans, n'était plus en mesure d'interpréter des chansons. Ce handicap est très probablement apparu suite à la naissance de son fils Marie-Eugène. En vue de faire le deuil de cette perte, et en raison de son état de santé devenu déplorable, Marceline, suivant en cela les conseils de son médecin, s'est mise à écrire, à composer des vers. Elle s'en est exprimée dans une lettre adressée à Sainte-Beuve : *« Je fus forcée de les* (des idées) *écrire pour me délivrer de ce frappement fiévreux, et l'on me dit que c'était une élégie. »*[1]

Ayant connu Marceline personnellement et même failli épouser sa fille aînée, Sainte-Beuve cultivait une sincère admiration envers cette femme. D'après ses écrits, la société d'époque avait affaire à une poétesse tendre, instinctive et éplorée. Poétesse par amour, pour avoir aimé et pour avoir été aimée, sa disposition à composer des vers se trouvait indivisible de la passion. Après tant de pleurs, tant de gémissements de l'âme, ce talent qui, au fil du temps, s'en était abreuvé, ne fit que croître.

1 Sainte-Beuve, *Portraits contemporains II*, p. 106.

Car je suis une faible femme,
Je n'ai su qu'aimer et souffrir ;
Ma pauvre lyre, c'est mon âme…[2]

Toujours souffrir ! Chanter toujours ! C'était cela son vrai rôle dans la création. Ainsi inspirée uniquement par sa propre expérience, Marceline se voyait étrangère à toute école d'art si bien que, tant de fois, ses vers font songer à de simples cris, plaintes et larmes. En écrivant, elle embellissait sa souffrance, elle voilait son chagrin de la mélodie la plus tendre. Peu de poètes connaissaient l'art de verser des larmes, voire des torrents de larmes ; de pousser des cris déchirants ; d'exhaler des plaintes lamentables comme l'avait jadis maîtrisé Marceline. Dans « son genre », elle était une poétesse originale, chantant avec une voix poignante, pénétrante, avec une voix qui unissait en même temps la tristesse et l'ardeur, d'où notamment sa singularité. Elle est indiscutablement la poétesse méritant d'être classée parmi des grands noms de l'école romantique. *« Pour comprendre toute la valeur du talent de Mme Valmore, il ne suffit pas d'avoir un goût pur, de se plaire aux belles expressions et aux belles images ; il faut avoir l'instinct métaphysique de la poésie, savoir ce qu'elle est en soi, pénétrer jusqu'à son essence, »*[3] a noté Émile Montégut dans son article. Néanmoins, parvenir à une définition uniforme de ce que pourrait être la poésie à son origine ne me semble pour autant possible en aucun cas. Sauf si on l'explique par un cri, par des sons singuliers qu'on n'arrive plus à retenir, qui trouvent finalement leur chemin vers le monde extérieur par une agitation de l'âme, vu que c'est la passion la plus ardente qui fait vivre la poésie. Quand on lit ses poèmes, on constate que rares ou presque inexistants sont ceux ayant quelque chose de prémédité, tout nous est présenté à « son état cru », on a affaire à une émotion pure et première. Ses pleurs jaillissent sous l'emprise d'une émotion momentanée, raison pour laquelle ses propos sont assez souvent considérés comme dépourvus de toute cohérence.

Il se peut qu'un poème se trouve incarné dans le premier cri arraché par la douleur qu'afflige une personne adorée à l'excès, ailleurs, on le perçoit sous la forme de la passion et de d'une tendresse touchante, d'une supplication vis-à-vis du « malfaiteur ». À vrai dire, la lamentation qui devrait engendrer une élégie reste à son instance première, en un mot, elle n'est que l'élégie elle-même. Son art est un art purifié de tout artifice. Marceline ne s'exprime pas pour avoir un jour connu le chagrin amoureux, au contraire, son amour, sa souffrance, ils sont contemporains avec le moment de l'écriture. On assiste à un spectacle de la consternation, où elle nous communique la première impression de ressentis.

À ses yeux, la poésie produisait le même effet bénéfique, voire purificateur, que les larmes. Elle voyait dans la poésie une échappatoire lui permettant de donner libre cours aux sanglots et au déchirement qui l'étouffaient. Pleurer veut dire composer des vers. En

2 Marceline Desbordes-Valmore, *Les Pleurs*, 1833, pp. 203–204.

3 Emile Montégut, « Portraits poétiques : Mme Desbordes-Valmore », pp. 997–1016.

fin de compte, sa poésie peut être qualifiée comme une œuvre de la nature. Ses poèmes, exempts de tout décor, nous laissent entrevoir une âme dénudée. Sans illustre héritage littéraire ou philosophique, la poétesse disposait d'une richesse particulière – intérieure : son amour, sa tendresse ainsi que ses douleurs.

Il y a des poétesses et poètes qu´il vaudrait mieux ne pas connaître dans leur intégralité du fait que toutes leurs œuvres ne sont pas forcément à la hauteur des grands auteurs. Ce n'est pas le cas de Marceline Desbordes-Valmore. Poétesse, elle l'est, grâce à sa sincérité, page après page. Comme déjà plusieurs fois souligné, son cœur et sa poésie n'existent jamais l'un sans l'autre, *(« L'amour sera ma seule erreur ;/ Et pour la peindre en traits de flamme, / Je n'ai besoin que de mon cœur »,)*[4] *« parce que la poésie se confond en elle avec la vie. »*[5] C'est pourquoi la tâche de citer une strophe ou bien une séquence de vers nous semble trop laborieuse ; chacune de ses pièces est unique et donc précieuse à sa manière.

3 MOTIFS

La poésie lyrique se traduit en priorité par des expressions intimes. Cette « exaltation du Moi » enferme les notions dont l'amour, la nature, la solitude, la fuite du temps, on voit le sujet lyrique s'enfuir dans le monde onirique, il est abattu par la nostalgie pour un passé idéal, maintenant lointain et perdu. Dans ce sens-là, Marceline est la plus lyrique qu'il soit. Ce qui est singulier dans son œuvre poétique, c'est que son âme se trouve toujours seule ; jamais accompagnée par rien ni personne si ce n'est que par ses propres désillusions et chagrins. *« Mais je suis seule, au moins, seule avec ma tristesse, / Et je trace, en rêvant, cette lettre pour toi… / Pour toi que j'espérais, que j'accuse, que j'aime ! »*[6] Aux Muses : « *Livrez-lui vos trésors, ouvrez-lui votre temple, / A celui de l'Amour, seule, j'irai pleurer. »*

Certes, dans sa poésie amoureuse, il apparaît bel et bien une autre personne, ses sœurs, un Tu ou un Lui – le menteur d'amour, l'ingrat, La Cause adorée de ses pleurs éternels. Pourtant ceux-ci ne sont jamais réellement présents. En plus, on a l'impression qu'il vient juste de partir. Aussitôt qu'il aura franchi le seuil de la demeure de Marceline, elle, plongée dans une solitude extrême, commencera, à son tour, sa « carmen miserabile ».

« Ma sœur, il est parti ! Ma sœur, il m'abandonne !
Je sais qu'il m'abandonne, et j'attends et je meurs …[7]

4 Marceline Desbordes-Valmore, *Élégies, Marie et Romances*, p. 21.

5 Emile Montégut, « Portraits poétiques : Mme Desbordes-Valmore », pp. 997–1016.

6 Marceline Desbordes-Valmore, *Élégies, Marie et Romances*, p.18.

7 *Poésies de Madame Desbordes-Valmore*, tome I, 1830, p. 295.

Ces monologues intérieurs d'une âme consternée ne consistent en effet que des cris et des plaintes *(« Mais pourquoi, quand son amour cesse, / ne cesse-t-on pas de l'aimer »*[8]*)* : des éléments intrinsèques de la poésie lyrique pure. Il est clair qu'elle chantera toujours la même note poignante renvoyant de la passion malheureuse, pourtant cette passion ne manquera-t-elle jamais de lyrisme.

Dans les premiers recueils poétiques, sortis en 1819,[9] 1825[10] et 1830,[11] avec presque un seul et unique thème qui est celui d'amour, tout est orage et tonnerre. La vie y foisonne. Néanmoins, les instants heureux ne sont que peu fréquents. Dans ses pièces, à de très rares exceptions, l'amour est perçu « sub speciae tragediae ». Bien qu'elle se sente profondément blessée par l'abandon de son bien-aimé, elle envisage ses propres douleur et chagrin avec une sorte d'allégrement. Elle a souffert le martyr et s'en est réjouie à point de s'y être abandonnée. La fureur amoureuse, cette fidèle compagne finit par la libérer, mais pas avant de lui avoir fatigué le cœur jusqu'au bout. Sous la griffe du regret, du chagrin et de l'incertitude, elle vit dans un état d'instabilité, la faisant vaciller entre l'espoir et désespoir, jusqu'à n'en plus distinguer l'un de l'autre. *« Dans un trouble charmant je suivais l'Esperance ; / Elle enchantait pour moi les apprêts du concert ; Et je devais y pleurer ton absence ! »*.[12] *« De ma jeunesse a flétri l'espérance : / Un orage a courbé le rameau délicat, / Et mes vingt ans passeront sans éclat.* [13] Elle préfère, et le crie à l'Amour, l'ignorance complète à une vérité, certes, désespérante, mais qui peut-être la ferait tourner la page. Puisque, pendant ces doux instants, il lui est permis d'espérer et jusqu'à ce que « cette lettre » sera restée intacte, Marceline sera aimée :*« Mais, si tu dois détruire un espoir que j'adore, /Amour ! de ce billet détourne ton flambeau ; Par pitié, sur mes yeux attache ton bandeau, / Et laisse-moi douter quelques moments encore ! »* [14]

3.1 Marceline et ses vues sur le bonheur personnel

Force est de signaler également qu'elle ne s'abreuve que d'une simple passivité vis-à-vis du vécu. Marceline ne se bat pas, ne se défend pas, elle ne le maudit pas non plus – *« Qu'il vive pour une autre et m'oublie à jamais. »*[15] D'où cette grandeur d'âme dont elle fait montre ? Même si ses prières ne sont jamais entendues et que leurs chemins ne se recroisent pas, au moins, qu'il retrouve le bonheur. Verbaliser la suite lui a coûté des larmes *« Muses ! qu'il soit heureux, du moins par vos bienfaits ! / Heureux sans moi… »* [16] Elle n'attend plus rien

8 Marceline Desbordes-Valmore, *Élégies, Marie et Romances*, p. 26.

9 *Élégies, Marie et Romances*.

10 *Élégies et Poésies Nouvelles*.

11 *Œuvres complètes de Madame Desbordes-Valmore*, tomes I–III.

12 Id., p. 17.

13 Id., p. 55.

14 Id., p. 28.

15 *Poésie de Madame Desbordes-Valmore*, tome I, 1830, p. 410.

16 Marceline Desbordes-Valmore, *Élégies, Marie et Romances*, p. 20.

de l'avenir, si ce n'est de souffrir et chanter toujours en solitude, mais rassurée, sachant qu'il est heureux. « *Si jamais, dans ma solitude, / Ton nom, pour toujours adoré, / Vient frapper mon cœur déchiré, / Qu'il adoucisse au moins ma tendre inquiétude ! / Que l'on me dise : il est heureux. / Oui, sois heureux, ou du moins plus paisible. »*[17]

Pour lui, au contraire, il y a encore de l'espoir, la vie lui promet de belles choses. Qu'il soit reconnu à sa juste valeur sans payer tout le mal qu'il lui a fait subir. « *Le voilà donc fini mon court pèlerinage. / Ciel ! que le sien plus beau soit ombrage de fleurs ;/ Et loin de le punir de mes tendres malheurs, / Qu'un suave laurier couronne son bel âge… »*[18] Incapable de garder de la rancune contre quelqu'un, elle accepterait de changer la place avec cet homme, puisque gravement malade, (si on la prend au sérieux), ou de subir toute punition pourvu que tout le mal lui soit épargné. « *Et moi, je ne sais plus qui des deux fut coupable : / C'est moi mon Dieu ! c'est moi si vous devez punir ; oubliez le passé, je prends son avenir : / Dans la tombe qui s'ouvre, ah ! laissez-moi l'attendre !.*[19] Sa parole ne manque pas de vraisemblance vu qu'elle lui apportait, sans le moindre doute, un amour fort et sincère ; pour lui elle serait prête à donner la vie : « *Qu'il vive de ma vie et je meurs sans regrets ! / Ma vie hélas, c'est peu, mais il souffre et j'implore. / Jetez, jetez sur moi ce mal qui le dévore, / … / Qu'il vive pour une autre et m'oublie à jamais*. « [20] Tout en elle n'est donc que résignation et souffrance ; elle s'effondre. Loin du dramatisme démesuré, sans le moindre reproche amer, elle fait face à l'aide des plaintes déchirantes. En chantant, elle implore la grâce, la sympathie et même le pardon auprès du tout puissant Amour du fait que son cœur endeuillé n'en peut plus. À ce moment-là, la douleur devient presque physique : « Pourquoi toute cette souffrance ne lui a pas été épargnée ? » Sans trêve, elle cherche des possibles explications à son calvaire ; de sa part, aucun crime n'a été commis : « *J'ai rencontré l'Amour, il a brisé ma lyre /… / Je t'ai chanté, lui dis-je, et ma voix faible encore, / Dans ses premiers accents parut juste et sonore ; / Pourquoi briser ma lyre ? Elle essayait ta loi. / Pourquoi brûler mes vers ? / Je les ai faits pour toi. »*[21] Ecrire des vers lui permet de se battre en vue d'atteindre ce bonheur tant désiré. Elle aspire à être aimée, mais pendant qu'elle nourrit ce désir suprême, elle refuse de croire qu'elle le sera un jour. Ses plaintes et alarmes, n'ayant apporté rien de bénéfique, n'engendrent que de l'inconstance et de la méconnaissance. Se voyant toujours malheureuse en amour, à travers ses écrits, elle constate : « Pour moi, il n'y a pas d'amour heureux ! » *Je l'ai prévu… j'ai voulu donc fuir : / L'Amour jamais n'eut de moi que de larmes. »*[22]

Marquée à vie par son calvaire amoureux, Marceline s'abstient d'un nouvel amour qui se serait sûrement mal fini. Cette expérience l'avait programmée à penser toujours le pire des affaires du cœur. *« Inconstance ! affreux sentiment ! / Je t'implorais… je te déteste. /*

17 Id., p. 60.

18 Marceline Desbordes-Valmore, *Élégies et Poésies nouvelles*, p., 47

19 Id., p. 50.

20 Id., p. 51.

21 *Élégies, Marie et Romances*, p. 37.

22 Id., p. 58.

Si d'un nouvel amour tu me fais un tourment, / N'est-ce pas ajouter au tourment qui me reste ? /... / Je tremble d'être heureuse et je verse des larmes. »[23] Paradoxalement, quoique les êtres humains ne puissent généralement qu'essayer, la première déception amoureuse a été une fois de trop pour la poétesse hypersensible. *« Oui, de trop de regrets, l'espérance est suivie : / Je renonce au bonheur, j'ai perdu mes beaux jours. / Adieu, le charme de ma vie ! »*[24] De rares instants heureux (*« Un bienfait de l'Amour a changé mon destin : Oh ! qu'il m'a révélé de touchantes nouvelles ! Il m'aime, il m'aime encore ! ... »*[25]*)*, si elle arrive à y faire allusion, ils ne dépassent jamais le cadre bien figé, conditionné par la privation d'amour. En effet, tout n'était qu'un songe. Elle ne dit pas : » J'étais heureuse, » mais : « Je rêvais de bonheur. » (*« Ivre de toi, je rêvais le bonheur, / Je rêvais ! ... tu m'as éveillée ! / Que ce réveil va me coûter de pleurs ! »*[26] Ce qui nous touche d'avantage, en tant que lectrices et lecteurs, c'est le moment du réveil, lorsque Marceline parvient à y mettre un nom : elle était la seule à avoir envisager un futur commun et à avoir aimé ou bien elle était la seule à aimer encore. « *Que faisait-tu, mon idole chérie, / Quand ton absence éternisait le jour ? / Quand je donnais tout mon être à l'amour, / M'as-tu donné ta rêverie ? »*[27] Lui, à son tour, poursuivra le cours de sa vie, il retrouvera le bonheur en multipliant les rencontres amoureuses. *« Votre bonheur, hélas ! sera d'être volage, / Vous séduirez encor dès qu'on vous entendra ; / Vous ferez le tourment de qui vous aimera. »*[28] Pourtant, rien ni personne ne pourrait empêcher Marceline d'accomplir les vœux, faits à son ami – Nul homme ne la fera vibrer comme il l'avait fait, car elle était née pour n'aimer qu'une fois. *« J'ai repris le serment d'être à vous pour toujours ; / Mais mon âme un instant fut unie à la vôtre, / Et je le sens, jamais un autre / N'aura mes vœux, ne fera mes beaux jours. »* [29] *Et mon cœur fut créé pour n'aimer qu'une fois !»* [30]

3.2 Marceline sous l'emprise de son amant

Au premier regard, aux premiers mots échangés, Marceline a succombé sous le charme de cet homme. Ce n'était pas une rencontre comme les autres, mais plutôt une rencontre à part, subite et violente. Comme tous les grands romantiques, elle a été victime d'un puissant coup de foudre qu'elle a fini par transposer en vers avec une sensibilité distinguée. Force est de constater que son élu avait un caractère plutôt difficile, pour ne pas dire insupportable. Il paraît qu'à un moment donné, il a tâché de transformer leur vie de couple en un enfer terrestre,

23 Id., p. 48.
24 Id., p. 62.
25 Id., p. 30.
26 Id., p. 21.
27 Id., p. 21.
28 Id., p. 26.
29 Id., p. 25.
30 Id., p. 50.

suggérant vivement à Marceline de ne plus l'aimer, vu que lui n'en était pas capable à cause de sa maladie noire qui reléguait le bonheur à l'état de rêve lointain. Blessée par ses outrances, Marceline blâme l'Amour de l'avoir enchaînée à tout jamais à son malfaiteur. Se voyant dépourvue de force, elle n'est pas en mesure de le quitter. *« De te quitter donne-moi le courage. »*[31] Durant les rares moments de lucidité, elle en profite pour nous communiquer sa prise de conscience : elle s'est rendu compte de l'effet néfaste de cet amour et envisage la séparation en tant que la seule et unique issue possible : *« Laisse-moi respirer du trouble qui m'accable ; / Laisse-moi retrouver mon cœur ! / Séparons-nous, je suis trop attendrie : Sur ce cœur agité ne pose plus ta main. Va… »*[32] Cependant, au moment même qu'elle y songe, une sorte de servilité reprend le contrôle ; habituée à cet esclavage, qui la suit comme une ombre, comment son âme tiendra-t-elle ? *« Que sert de lui donner ma vie, / S'il est heureux sans moi ? / Que deviendra l'amour dans mon âme asservie… »*[33] *« Qu'il m'était cher ! que je l'aimais ! / Que par un doux empire il m'avait asservie ! »*[34]

Dans le but de ne jamais manquer de son affection au quotidien, chaque pas, chaque souffle, tout était conditionné par lui. C'était son tyran, son maître, son inspiration, sa raison de vivre. *« Ces jours consacrés à vous plaire, / Ces vœux si tendres et si doux, / Et toujours inspirés par vous, / Désormais qu'en pourrai-je faire ? »*[35] Progressivement, toute cette dépendance affective – car, effectivement, elle n'aimait que « par lui » – dont elle souffrait a débouché sur le déni total de sa propre personne. « *Quand ta bouche m'apprit, je ne sais quel serment : / Qu'importe les serments ! Je n'étais plus moi-même, / J'étais toi. J'écoutais, j'imitais ce que j'aime : / Mes lèvres, loin de toi, retenaient tes accents, / Et ta voix dans ma voix troublant encor mes sens. »*[36] La fusion, au moins de la part de Marceline, semblait être complète, à tel point qu'elle n'appartenait plus à la sphère terrestre : *« Qu'ai-je dit ? Notre amour, c'est le ciel sur terre. »* [37] Avec lui, Marceline ressentait un vrai bonheur qui donnait les justes couleurs à ses jours, dont rien ni personne ne pouvait ravir l'harmonie. Autrement dit, ni son tempérament, ni le fait qu'il l'ait cachée à sa famille, parce qu'elle exerçait un métier peu flatteur, ni le fait qu'il ait refusé de reconnaître leur enfant, ne pouvait la détourner de lui.

Tous les doutes qu'on aurait pu garder viennent de se dissiper. Effectivement, à ce moment-là, leurs cœurs ne battaient plus à l'unisson, même si, au départ, les sentiments avaient été réciproques. Il n'a jamais envisagé un futur commun : *« Jouant avec mon cœur qu'il déchirait… hélas, / Il parlait de bonheur sans parler de tendresse. / Il parlait d'avenir, et ne me nommait pas ! «*[38]

31 *Élégies, Marie et Romances*, p. 13.

32 Id., p. 14.

33 *Élégies, Marie et Romances*, p. 20.

34 *Élégies et Poésies nouvelles*, p. 48.

35 *Élégies, Marie et Romances*, p. 26.

36 *Élégies et Poésies nouvelles*, p. 9.

37 Id., p. 10.

38 Id., p. 47

3.3 Son départ

Leur histoire a connu deux séparations, néanmoins certains assure qu'il y eut une deuxième réconciliation.

C'est par orgueil qu'aucun d'entre eux n'a voulu faire son *mea culpa* et renouer ainsi la relation en premier. De ce fait, la première rupture semblait déjà définitive (« semblait », car, quelques années plus tard, leurs chemins allaient se recroiser ; au total, ce douloureux bonheur n'aura duré qu'un an et demi, deux ans au maximum.) À peine avaient-ils rompu que son bien-aimé s'en allait en Italie et, pendant ce temps, Marceline, pleurant à chaudes larmes, s'est réfugiée à Rouen. Bien que certains prétendent que les amoureux avaient continué à échanger même après cette rupture (elle aurait reçu une lettre d'Italie), on n'en a pas, à part de ce qu'elle nous fait connaitre à travers ses poèmes, la moindre preuve, d'autant plus que Marceline nous dit dans « le Retour chez Délie » : *« Ne me reprochez plus ma fuite et mon silence. »*[39] Faut-il croire alors que Marceline s'était promis à un silence absolu ? En tout état de cause, Marceline se voyait de retour à Paris pour reprendre son métier d'actrice, et malheureusement, elle y est tombée dans les bras de son amant. Même s'il paraît que, tout au début, Marceline essayait de garder ses distances, le fait de fuir et de renoncer à son amoureux aurait exigé d'elle une force surhumaine. Une fois de plus, elle rêvait de l'impossible. Apparemment, les amants s'étaient promis de ne jamais s'adresser la parole, de s'oublier complètement. Une deuxième fois, elle prononce le nom du grand coupable, de celui qui lui a « coûté tant de larmes » : l'orgueil.

La séparation, l'abandon, mais surtout la crainte extrême de l'abandon ; la hantise qu'il ne revienne jamais plus, une fois que les portes se seront refermées derrière lui, marque dès le début un grand nombre de poèmes. Quoi que « le méchant » dans l'histoire soit le soir séparant les jeunes amoureux : *« En te disant adieu chaque soir je soupire ; / Ah ! puissions-nous bientôt désapprendre à le dire ! / Ce mot, ce triste mot n'est pas fait pour l'Amour, »*[40] ou le mauvais temps – un orage prophétique du futur malheur : *« Quels éclairs ! quel bruit sourd ! … ne t'en vas pas, j'ai peur ! Les cris aigus de l'hirondelle / Annoncent le danger qui règne autour de nous /… Reste, mon bien-aimé, reste, je t'en conjure ; /… / Tu t'éloignes… tu crains un danger que j'ignore ? »*[41] la menace du futur départ est omniprésent. Désespérée, elle s'adresse même aux muses, en les implorant de lui rendre son amour : *« Votre empire a troublé mon bonheur le plus doux. / Muses ! rendez-moi ce que j'aime ! /… Ce n'est plus pour moi qu'il délire/ Il a banni mon nom de ses écrits touchants. »*[42]

Dans plusieurs poèmes, on a l'impression que Marceline revit le moment douloureux de la séparation ; qu'elle se force à y penser afin de recréer les derniers instants passés dans sa compagnie, d'entendre ses derniers mots. Néanmoins le mot ne sort jamais de sa

39 *Poésies de Madame Desbordes-Valmore*, tome II, 1830, pp. 265–266
40 Id., p. 13
41 Id., p. 14
42 Id., p. 19

bouche. Lui dire adieu l'aurait entraînée dans une défaillance complète. « *Point d'adieu, non ! ce mot est l'effroi d'un cœur tendre. »*[43]

« Pale, presque à genoux, suppliante, craintive, / J'ai dit… Je n'ai rien dit, mais on entend les pleurs. / Et ce morne silence ou parlaient les douleurs, / Ce cris, prêt d'entrouvrir le sein qui le captive. »[44] À force d'avoir souffert si longtemps, elle n'arrive plus à extérioriser ses ressentis. Seules les douleurs, accompagnées de larmes, osaient briser ce silence glaçant, régnant lors de cette « fraction ». *« C'en était fait, ma sœur. De mes larmes suivie, / Je repris la raison sans reprendre la vie. / J'écoutai… de ses pas le bruit s'était perdu, / J'étais seule…* »[45] Ne faisant que du surplace, elle se voyait obligée, coûte que coûte, de poursuivre cette existence qui ne rimait à rien. Bien qu'endeuillée, Marceline n'avait pas de choix, ni de temps, pour essuyer ses larmes, d'autant plus qu'il fallait faire vivre sa famille et d'avantage son père. Cependant, reprendre la vie avec tout ce qu'elle promet ne lui était plus accessible. Partant de sa logique, où le lien entre aimer / (d'être aimée) et de vivre repose sur la synonymie, l'on arrive à la conclusion suivante : sans amour (sans Lui), elle s'identifie à « une femme morte en vie », car seul l'amour pourrait la garder en vie. La nouvelle réalité s'affiche du jour au lendemain : « Il ne viendra pas ! », et elle l'endure, car elle n'a pas de choix. « *Toi tu ne viens jamais ! Qu'importe que je meure. / Les minutes en vain volent autour de l'heure ; / Et l'heure, en les comptant, fait tomber sans retour / Les mois, les ans, la vie ! et sans toi, sans amour. »*[46] Dorénavant, les scènes où Marceline se peint morte vont défiler crescendo.

3.4 Après son départ, Marceline tombe dans un état second

Après son départ, une fois que toute trace de lui s'est perdue, lorsque le regain d'espoir n'était plus envisageable, la conscience de Marceline a commencé à lui imposer des images délirantes. On y voit une Marceline, empoissonnée par ses rêves fiévreux, la faisant croire qu'il s'approche. *« Dans le demi-sommeil où je tombe rêveuse, /Je te crains, je t'espère et je te sens venir ;/ Tu parles, mais si bas ! une oreille amoureuse / Peut seule entendre et retenir : « Veux-tu, mais ne dis pas que l'heure est trop rapide, / Veux-tu voir la montagne et le courant limpide ? / Veux-tu venir au pied du grand chêne abattu ? » / Moi je ne réponds pas pour écouter : « Veux-tu ? » / Veux-tu voir notre image au bord des flots penchée ? / Ne tremble pas tout dort ; l'écho même s'est tu. / Et mon refus se meurt en écoutant : « Veux-tu. »*[47] Autrefois incarnation de l'Amour, paré d'une voix tendre, maintenant il se voit réduit à un simple écho, faible et craintif s'affichant devant elle. Le cruel ne la laisse pas faire son deuil en paix, il la perturbe en faisant jaillir quelques vestiges de l'ancien amour. Tout pour

43 *Élégies et Poésies nouvelles*, p. 56
44 Id., p. 47
45 Id.
46 *Élégies et Poésies nouvelles*, p. 15
47 *Élégies et Poésies nouvelles*, p. 5

affirmer son éternelle emprise sur elle : elle ne l'oubliera pas. *« Pourquoi ce faible écho, craintif comme nos vœux, / Dit-il contre mon cœur : « Bonsoir, ma bien- aimée ? » / Ah ! je t'en prie, il ne faut plus venir / Redemander mon âme presque heureuse : / Je crains de toi jusqu'au ton souvenir ; / Loin du danger je suis encor peureuse… »*[48] Avant assurant son rôle du maître de sa vie, maintenant comme une entité protéiforme, il accapare son sommeil, en devenant une ombre, un fantôme – celui qui fait peur ! Bien sûr, il est impossible qu'elle l'échappe. *« Mais à travers mes pleurs et cette clarté sombre, / J'ai vu paraitre une ombre, / Autrefois mon idole, aujourd'hui mon effroi : / Cette ombre était la sienne, elle avançait vers moi. »*[49] Dans son délire, Marceline s'imagine des rencontres fictives, elle revêt cette ombre de chair humaine, parce que c'est inconcevable pour elle de continuer à vivre sans lui. *« L'ombre alors me repousse et m'entraine a-la-fois. / Oubliant ma faiblesse et ma fièvre brûlante, /Partout pour la saisir, j'étends ma main troublante …/ J'ai couru, j'ai suivi des sentiers que j'ignore ;/ Demi-nue, insensible au souffle de l'hiver, / J'obéissais, mourante, à ce guide si cher : Il ne m'appelait plus, j'obéissais encore. / La pluie a longs torrents inondait le chemin:/ Le vent soufflait : « Demain ! n'attends pas à demain ! » / Et je tombe à sa porte, et presque évanouie, / Par l'éclat des flambeaux je m'arrête éblouie. /… C'était… l'ai-je rêvé ! »*[50] Dans son rêve, elle s'efforce en vain d'attraper cette ombre. Ces longues attentes stériles se transforment en ombres qu'elle chasse ardemment et qui, en retour, la persécutent jusqu'à la faire tomber dans le délire. Ainsi finit-elle par le voir partout et à toute heure, « *Le soir, à l'horizon, ou s'égare ma vue, /Tu m'apparais encore, et j'attends malgré moi:/ La nuit tombe… ce n'est plus toi ; Non ! C'est le songe qui me tue. »*[51]

3.5 Haïr, mais comment ? …

La voir plongée dans un monde qui n'est nullement le sien, où règnent colère, injures et haine, risque de nous faire détourner le regard et de la taxer d'« impudique ». Bien que toujours affligée, ce n'est pas dans sa nature de s'en prendre à l'Amour, ni de courir après la gloire. Malgré une prise de distance, derrière cette troisième personne se cache bel et bien Marceline. « *… Punis ton injuste maitresse : / Elle a maudit l'amour ; j'en suis tremblante encor. / Elle a maudit ses pleurs, ses tourments, son ivresse, / Et sa révolte a pris l'essor. « /…/ L'amour seul est rapide, ingrat, sans souvenir ; / Il devance, il dévore, il détruit l'avenir : / Je déteste l'amour. / Je veux aimer la gloire ;/ Elle promet des biens : / Je tâcherai d'y croire. »*[52] D'habitude elle chérit, elle est aimante avec ses maux et ses pleurs. De plus, en composant des vers, elle en vient parfois à leur rendre

48 Id. p. 6
49 Id., p. 23
50 Id., p. 25
51 Id. p. 10
52 Id., p. 13

hommage : « *Oui je sens que mes pleurs avaient pour moi des charmes, / Et que mes maux étaient mes biens !* »[53] Elle dit à Délie, à son de confiance, : *« N'enviez plus à votre amie / Un plaisir aussi douloureux : / Ravir la plainte aux malheureux, /C'est leur dire : Quittez la vie, »*[54] ou dans un autre poème : « *Contre tous les plaisirs d'une nouvelle flemme / Je n'échangerais pas mes pleurs. »*[55] Peut-être la haine n'était-elle qu'une des étapes à franchir sur ce long chemin de guérison. Car, *in fine*, et elle l'écrit noir sur blanc : elle n'est pas capable de haïr. *« / Je hais tout ! / Mais bientôt elle n'eut plus de voix, / Que pour former ton nom, pour t'appeler cent fois ;/ Elle cherchait en vain sa colère exhalée:/…/ En vain l'écho trompé disait : Je veux haïr ».*[56]

3.6 Marceline se voit morte …

Se voyant défaillante, sans aucun espoir d'occuper un jour à côté de lui une autre place que celle de maîtresse : *« Blessée au cœur d'un trait dont je ne puis guérir, / Sans prétendre aux doux noms et de mère et d'épouse, / Il me faut donc mourir ! »*[57]*)*, son dernier souffle, Marceline en use à seule fin de pousser ses derniers cris – ses dernières élégies d'un cœur blessé à mort : *« Cruel ! en me quittant, tu me verrais mourir. »*[58] Lorsque son chagrin eut gagné une ampleur importante, ce mal-être immense s'est répercuté le long de tout son organisme. Même les larmes avaient cessé de couler : c'était une fois de trop. « *Mes pleurs se desséchaient à leur source brulante, /Mon sang ne coulait plus, j'étais pâle, mourante ; / Mes yeux désenchantés repoussaient l'avenir… »*[59] « *C'est la mort que je veux avant elle. / Tout est détruit : lui-même il n'est plus le bonheur. / Il brisa son image en déchirant mon cœur. … il n'a pas vu ma main faible et glacée, / Rassembler mes cheveux pour voiler mon affront : / Il n'a pas vu la mort par lui-même tracée... / Aveugle ! il n'a pas vu se troubler et s'éteindre, / Mon œil long-temps fermé.*[60]

Comme la goutte qui fait déborder le vase, la larme en trop possède la force de creuser un abîme encore plus profond. Si elle seule éprouvait un malheur inexplicable, c'est que, par analogie, elle était également la seule dans son couple à avoir aimé. C'est pourquoi elle ne parvient pas à intellectualiser cet acte dépassant l'entendement et qui se traduit chez elle par les images les plus morbides, dont celle où l'on la voit dans sa tombe – la nouvelle qu'elle venait d'apprendre lui a coûté la vie – ou même, comme dans les vers suivants, où Marceline se plaint de contempler sa tombe ignorée : *« Au bord de ma tombe ignorée, /*

53 *Élégies, Marie et Romances*, p. 48
54 Id., p. 54
55 Id., p. 61
56 *Élégies et Poésies nouvelles*, p. 13
57 *Élégies, Marie et Romances*, p. 56
58 Id., p. 14
59 Id., p. 50
60 Id.

Ciel ! par cette langue acérée, /Faut-il qu'un nom trop cher puisse m'atteindre encor/Pour m'apprendre (nouvelle affreuse !) / Que j'étais seule malheureuse, / Et qu'on m'oublie avant ma mort ! / Du plus sincère amour quel châtiment terrible ! » [61]

Néanmoins, son imagination se nourrit davantage de ses plaies non cicatrisées ; elle ne trouvera la paix qu'une fois morte, car uniquement la mort pourra éteindre sur sa cendre l'amour maladif dont elle se trouvait prisonnière. « *Mais je compte, j'attends que moins inexorable / Une heure, la dernière à mes maux secourable, / Éteigne sur ma cendre un importun flambeau, / Et défendre à l'amour de troubler mon tombeau. »*[62] Ce qui est peut-être même plus frappant, c'est que Marceline se lamente de ne pas être morte avant, lorsque l'Ingrat l'aimait encore. Ainsi, la mort lui aurait été douce, sachant que les larmes de son bien-aimé auraient arrosé les fleurs poussant sur sa tombe. « Qu'il *m'eut été doux de mourir / Pour l'amant dont les pleurs me suppliaient de vivre. »*[63] *« Ne meurs pas, disait-il, ou je meurs avec toi ! » / … / Sous ses pleurs j'allais m'éteindre heureuse, / J'allais mourir aimée. »*[64] Pourquoi insiste-t-elle tant sur ce désir presque pervers de se voir morte ? Parce qu'elle s'est emmurée dans sa tête l'idée qu'après l'avoir vue morte, le Cruel se serait repenti. Ses yeux sont voilés de pleurs de bonheur, de pleurs d'amour, car la mort lui a rendu l'affection de son ami.

4 CONCLUSION

L'orage s'apaise, mais elle en sort gravement touchée. Marceline ne se remet pas et ne se remettra jamais, s'il s'avère que ses écrits sont fiables. Des recueils, tels que *Les Pleurs* et *Pauvres fleurs* n'en sont qu'une preuve probante où ce tendre cœur de Marceline, ensevelie par ses pleurs, prend la parole. Sa « carmen miserabile » se transforme ici en une expression de la plus poignante lassitude ; quoique toujours en vie, Marceline semble être détachée de sa propre personne. Elle est « morte » tout en poursuivant sa vie.

Marceline Desbordes-Valmore appartenait à une classe d'individus à part, sensibles et meurtris dès le jour de leur naissance. L'infortune et le malheur l'ont élevée à leur exemple de sorte que le bonheur paraît être une abstraction, malgré son acharnement à l'atteindre dans l'écriture comme dans la vie réelle. Ses vers, si monotones qu'ils puissent sonner aux oreilles de certains, restent bien gravés dans la mémoire en raison de leur note languissante, sortant directement du cœur. Derrière ses œuvres se cache une poétesse qui nous offre un spectacle en vers à son état primaire. Par manque de fard et d'une certaine habileté, ses vers, écrits dans un style décharné, nous offrent une poésie sincère et originale.

61 Id., pp. 16–17
62 Id., p. 37
63 Id.
64 Id., p. 38

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POVZETEK

VIHAR LJUBEZENSKIH OBČUTIJ V POEZIJI MARCELINE DESBORDES-VALMORE ALI POETIZIRANA LJUBEZENSKA ZGODBA

V pričujočem prispevku bomo posvetili pozornost zgodnji ljubezenski poeziji Marceline Desbordes-Valmore, kakor tudi njeni osebni zgodbi, zaznamovani z viharno zvezo, ki žal ni dočakala srečnega epiloga. S pomočjo izbranih verzov bomo osvetlili »dar joka«, ki ji ga je s svojim odhodom poklonil ljubimec, čigar identiteta navkljub različnim predvidevanjem ostaja skrivnost. Sainte-Beuve, ki je Marceline osebno poznal, jo je opisal kot zelo nežno, instinktivno in čustveno pesnico, ki je pisala zaradi ljubezni; zato ker je ljubila in ker je bila nekoč ljubljena ter nenazadnje, ker je vse to izgubila. Marceline se je znotraj »romantične šole« uveljavila s preprostostjo in iskrenostjo izraza, s poezijo, kipečo od čustvenega naboja; uspelo se ji je približati esenci lirske poezije. Četudi bi ji želeli pripisati patetičnost in solzavost, ji izumetničenosti nikakor ne moremo očitati. Pri motivni analizi se bomo opirali na epizode iz njenega življenja, obenem pa bomo pod drobnogled vzeli ljubezensko čustvo, primaren navdih v začetnih letih pesnikovanja. Sledili bomo odmevom, ki so jih v verzih pustili nerazumevanje, lažen up, razočaranje, neutolažljivost, žalost, strah ob misli na poslednje slovo, itd. ... Spomnili se bomo delirijev, sanj in prividov, v katerih ga ponovno vidi ter sliši, a ob tem se prizadejana bolečina le še poglobi. Nazadnje bomo omenili postopno spreminjanje razpoloženja, ki zavlada v pesmih, postaja zmeraj bolj temačno in morbidno, s tem pa naznanja tematski prelom v nadaljnjih zbirkah.

Ključne besede: Marceline Desbordes-Valmore, pesnica, dar joka, ljubezenska poezija, romantika

ABSTRACT

A WHIRLWIND OF EMOTIONS IN THE POETRY OF MARCELINE DESBORDES-VALMORE OR THE POETISATION OF A LOVE STORY

The subject of this paper is not only the love poetry of Marceline Desbordes-Valmore, which belongs to her early creative phase, but also her personal story, which was marked by a stormy relationship that unfortunately did not come to a happy end. Sainte-Beuve, who knew Marceline personally, described her as a very gentle, instinctive, and emotional poet. Through selected verses we examine her gift of “weeping”, which she received with the departure of her lover, whose identity remains a mystery despite much speculation. Marceline established herself in the "Romantic school" with her simplicity and sincerity of expression, with poetry that boils with emotion. She even managed to approach the essence of lyrical poetry. While we can attribute pathos and sadness to her work, but there is no trace of artificiality in these verses. When analysing the motifs, we draw on episodes from her life, and at the same time look at her most important inspiration in the first years of her work, the power of love. We follow the effects that misunderstandings, confusion, disappointment, desolation, sadness etc. have left in the verses. We consider the deliriums, dreams, and illusions in which she sees and hears her lover again, but without causing her physical exhaustion. Finally, our discussion touches on the gradual change of mood that prevails in the poems. They become dark and morbid, and herald a thematic break that occurs in her following collections.

Keywords: Marceline Desbordes-Valmore, poet, love poetry, biographical reading, Romanticism

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ENCOURAGING LEARNER AUTONOMY DEVELOPMENT IN DISTANCE TEACHING IN PRIMARY SCHOOL

1 INTRODUCTION

This article, based on the MA thesis of the same title, explores learner autonomy and distance learning and treats them separately but also proves that they relate to each other in many aspects. The article also observes what the teacher's role is in the development of learner autonomy as well as in effective distance learning.

The first part deals with the definition of learner autonomy and its application to the classroom environment. It also introduces concepts that are connected to it, such as the psychology of the learner, learner strategies, motivation, and a discussion on the teacher's role in the encouragement of learner autonomy.

The second part focuses on distance learning by first discussing the incorporation of technology into teaching EFL, and then delves into distant teaching and learning. This part was largely influenced by the context of this year's pandemic and discusses the importance of the development of learner autonomy for successful distance learning.

As we were able to observe this year, it is not impossible for the entire world to change the school system in a matter of days. With the speed at which the coronavirus or COVID-19 was spreading, countries were forced to drastically adjust the ways of teaching we were accustomed to prior to the pandemic. In a matter of a couple of weeks or even days, schools were forced to move their teaching processes online, most having no experience of distance teaching. An even bigger obstacle was distance learning – how the students would adjust, and not only work on school matters at home, but learn new materials on their own. For that reason, we decided to research how teachers encouraged the development of learner autonomy in these circumstances in order to help them develop as much as possible, and how the students performed under such conditions.

2 DEFINITION AND KEY CONCEPTS

Learner autonomy was first defined by Holec in 1981 in a seminal report published in the Council of Europe's Modern Languages Project. He defined the term as "the ability to take charge of one's own learning" (Benson 2007: 22). Holec (1981, in Little 1991: 7) delineates the term further by stating it means:

> [...] to have, and to hold, the responsibility for all the decisions concerning all aspects of this learning, i.e.:
> - determining the objectives;
> - defining the contents and progressions;
> - selecting methods and techniques to be used;
> - monitoring the procedure of acquisition properly speaking (rhythm, time, place etc.);
> - evaluating what has been acquired.
>
> (Little 1991: 7)

Although the definition later varied from one author to another, Benson (2007: 22) stated that it is important to note that that learner autonomy is "an attribute of learners", and that they cannot become more autonomous by simply having to be, but must be guided in the freedom they are given. He therefore stresses the importance of the role of the teacher and that learners should be guided towards autonomy. Little (1991: 4), on the other hand, after taking into consideration the psychology of the learner, suggests learner autonomy is a *capacity* which the learner can achieve by focusing on their own learning process and relating it to their experience. Little in this way implies learner autonomy is a quality the learners should acquire on their own. Legenhausen (2011: 387) defines learner autonomy by describing an autonomous learner as being intrinsically motivated, taking charge of their own learning, having developed a metacognitive awareness of what the learning undertaking implies, being active in their learning process, having developed a strategic learning competence, and practicing self-evaluation. Kumaravadivelu (2003: 131) points out that learner autonomy does not only benefit the learning process but has other far-reaching implications, namely an overall better understanding of the self and the predisposition to become a more independent individual. Depending on how involved the teacher is in the learning process, Kumaravadivelu (2003: 132) distinguishes between self-instruction (no direct control of the teacher), self-direction (learners accept responsibility for all decisions concerning the learning process, but not for its implementation), self-access learning (learners use self-access teaching materials) and individualised instruction (the learning process is adapted to each individual learner).

Considering all the major researchers, we summarise the key elements of an autonomous learner as (i) being able to take control of their own learning, (ii) having awareness of their learning process, (iii) being intrinsically motivated, (iv) having developed personal learning strategies and (v) practicing self-evaluation.

Scharle and Szabo (2000: 7–9) propose some important concepts connected to encouraging the development of learner autonomy, namely: motivation and self-confidence, monitoring and evaluation, learning strategies, cooperation, and group cohesion, sharing information with the learner, consistent control and delegating tasks and decisions. These aspects adopted by the teacher ensure the better development of learner autonomy and a successful learning process.

Legenhausen (2011: 380) introduces three principles for implementing autonomous language learning, ordered hierarchically as underlying, guiding, and procedural. He states that teachers should be aware that "language learning is a 'creative construction process'" (*ibid.*), and that the basis for this construction should be the authentic communicative interaction, as studies show that communication is the principal language acquisition method. He states that awareness-raising, authenticity, and autonomy together form "the essential properties of the educational enterprise" (*ibid.*: 381). He also suggests group work as an effective method with which students acquire communicative competence and allows them to reflect on the learning process.

2.1 Collaborative learning

As collaborative learning is one of the key aspects of the development of learner autonomy, we researched the topic and found it can lead to great results "on a wide range of cognitive and affective variables, including achievement, thinking skills, interethnic relations, liking for school, and self-esteem" (Jacobs and Hui Shan 2015: 4). The authors of this earlier study present four principles which can guide teachers towards successful implementation of group work: maximum peer interaction (frequent group discussions lead to active involvement usage of higher-order thinking skills, and also suggest working in pairs and smaller groups maximises peer interactions), equal opportunity to participate (turn-taking and effective delegation of tasks), individual accountability (encouraging responsibility, monitoring, peer assessment) and positive interdependence (setting a clear goal helps with students being motivated) (*ibid.*: 5–8).

Learner autonomy, according to Reinders (2010: 46–51), develops through stages. He discusses these in two different classroom settings, teacher-directed and learner-directed. Both types of classrooms follow the same stages but differ in their implementation. The stages are as follows: identifying needs, setting goals, planning learning, selecting resources, selecting learning strategies, practice, monitoring progress, and assessment and revision. He also stresses that reflection, motivation, and interaction are the core of autonomy development (*ibid.*: 49).

2.2 Learner-centred approach

To ensure learner autonomy development, a learner-centred approach to teaching should be used. In order to apply it, a teacher needs to consider many aspects related to the learners and learning process itself, and develop strategies and methods which help the learning process become as successful as possible. The first notion connected to this is the psychology of the learner. Little (1991: 17–18) studied George Kelly's personal constructs and discussed how learners constantly reshape their personal constructs by learning. Another concept connected to learner autonomy is language learning strategies. It is crucial for learners to learn about learning strategies and how to use them. Nunan et al. (1999: 70) discuss how in order for learners to be able to decide on what and how they want to learn, and thus become more autonomous, teachers must systematically educate them in the skills and knowledge they need. The classification of language learning strategies was researched by Cohen (2011: 682). He provides a classification in terms of function and the categories are cognitive, metacognitive, affective, and social strategies. Cohen (1999) introduces the term 'strategies-based instruction' and defines the concept as "a learner-centered approach to teaching that focuses on explicit and implicit inclusion of language learning and language use strategies in the L2 classroom" (*ibid.*: 62). He emphasises the importance of integrating strategies instruction in the teaching process as it encourages its development and usage.

Another key concept of language learning is motivation. Harmer (2007: 100–103) explains that teachers have a powerful effect on students' motivation throughout the teaching process, and although that is not their sole responsibility, they can encourage and even create it. He introduces five stages of building motivation, which are: affect (students will be more motivated when they feel that their teachers have their best interest at heart, care about them and respect them), achievement (teachers should create a learning environment that is challenging for the students, and also builds on their confidence), attitude (students need and want teachers who know what they are doing, can prove they are capable of teaching them and have a deep understanding of the subject and of what students should do), activities (teachers should know their students' needs, what types of activities they enjoy and feel engaged with) and agency (students should be involved in some of the decision-making and thus can take responsibility for their learning).

The teacher's role in the development of learner autonomy is vital, as they are the ones who plan and carry out the teaching process and shape the knowledge of their students. By teachers encouraging autonomy, students can learn how to solve problems on their own, come up with more creative solutions to tackle different issues, and become more self-aware and confident, because they have to trust their own knowledge and abilities in order to complete tasks (Little, 1991).

Self-assessment is another concept related to the learner-centred approach to teaching. McMillan and Hearn define it as "a process by which students 1) monitor and evaluate the quality of their thinking and behavior when learning and 2) identify strategies that improve their understanding and skills" (McMillan and Hearn 2008: 40). The authors also provide several positive effects of self-evaluation, noting that it promotes intrinsic motivation, internally controlled effort, a mastery goal orientation, and meaningful learning (McMillan and Hearn 2008: 40).

2.3 Technology and distance teaching

Technology plays a major role in all aspects of life, including pedagogy. The incorporation of technology into the teaching and learning process was inevitable as the progression of computer technologies accelerated, and the nature of pedagogy is such that it is always advancing. This has helped teachers of English modernise the process of teaching, which consequently made the lessons more motivating for students. Mutlu and Eroz-Tuga (2013) conducted a research study that would answer their questions about computer-assisted language learning in connection with developing learner autonomy. They discovered (2013: 218) that the students involved in the research improved their language learning strategies, were more motivated, became more independent throughout the process, and found their own learning methods. With the help of their teacher, they went through strategy training, where they used computers and were given materials that encouraged autonomy.

Distance teaching has recently become a widespread form of education due to the COVID-19 pandemic, which forced schools to move their teaching and learning processes online in a matter of days. The drastic change required teachers as well as students to adjust to the new situation without prior experience or planning. Not only is it difficult for teachers to create a universal timeline of the course on its own, but it is even harder to do so when they are not in direct contact with students, since they must first know and understand them to then design quality materials and course plans. Students in primary schools, especially younger students, do not yet have the knowledge and experience that could result in effective and successful individual learning, which is why the quality of their learning process depends on the instructions they receive. It is important to acknowledge that the learning process involves much more than just the content or the materials, but also the questions of 'how' and 'why'. Although individual learning should not be confused with autonomous learning, in the context of this year's issues they are closely connected.

Jacobs and Hui Shan (2015: 2–4) suggest that when the learning process is student-centred, learners can actively help create their own learning environments, take responsibility for their learning, and develop autonomy. The teacher should merely be a facilitator that guides the learner towards knowledge. In the context of foreign language classes this not only raises learners' motivation and confidence in the focal language, but it also helps students become more aware of the language and learning process, and more independent from the teacher.

White points out the importance of self-awareness in the learning context by saying; “the ability of each learner to identify, participate in and manage learning experiences, which match their individual learning needs, is essential to fully benefit from the opportunities available in distance learning.” (White 2004: 1). Another important discovery was made by Collins (2008: 535), that the development of autonomy is closely connected to online communication, which should be relevant and useful, as well as to social interactions, which help with the development of cognitive complexity, and to collaboration rather than independent studying. Not only should teachers often interact with their learners about their progress and materials, but they should also provide them with tasks that encourage teamwork.

3 RESEARCH

The purpose of the research was to explore how learner autonomy was manifested during the time of the pandemic, where the learning process had to be moved online. The aim of the research was to prove that autonomous learning plays a major role in the effectiveness of the learning process. Another aim was to establish how the teachers in primary schools encourage the development of learner autonomy and how this benefitted the students’ learning process during the pandemic.

3.1 Hypotheses

With our research we examined five hypotheses. The basis for the research was the interviews conducted with nine primary school teachers. We also designed a questionnaire which 132 students completed.[1]

The following hypotheses were confirmed or partially confirmed:

1. Teachers in primary schools use many ‘tools’ for the encouragement of learner autonomy (i.e., motivation, self-evaluation, decision-making, collaborative learning, etc.)

   Based on the interviews we concluded that the teachers have a clear idea of what learner autonomy is and how to encourage it. Most of them mentioned independent learning, which is the key aspect of autonomous learning. All teachers also agreed that they play a vital role in the development of learner autonomy, and that it does not develop on its own. They suggested a broad range of activities and tools they use on a daily basis which help students take control of their learning. Especially important are the motivational tools and learning strategies on which they spent the most time during the lessons, and are integrated into the lessons themselves. According to

1 The interview and the questionnaire are in the appendices in the language they were conducted in, i.e., Slovene.

their answers, we can conclude that the interviewed teachers often let their students decide on the content of their learning material, especially for various projects or presentations. Although not all teachers are in favour of collaborative learning, those who do practice it say it is very successful and efficient.

2. During the pandemic, students acquired new learning strategies, motivational tools, and other competencies which made them more autonomous learners.

   Although the teachers were not very optimistic about students being successful in distance learning, the students nevertheless did learn on their own. They were forced to discover new strategies and organise their schedules. Many had to find alternative resources for explanations, which is a key aspect of learner autonomy. Even though not all succeeded, the ones who did benefitted greatly from distance learning, as reported by the teachers as well as the students in the questionnaires. The results of the questionnaire also showed that students are aware of their learning styles and learning strategies which helped them towards a more successful learning process.

3. Teachers in primary schools are confident that their students acquired enough learner autonomy during the school year (as well as in previous years), and thus that the distance learning process during the pandemic is effective.

   This hypothesis was partially confirmed, as the opinions of the interviewed teachers were split on this issue. The teachers said that students differ in how autonomous they are and that, in general, those who had established good learning habits beforehand were more successful. However, there are still exceptions to this rule. Some students who struggled at school were now more organised and learned better this way. Others who were considered 'good' students before, now lost motivation or interest in learning. Teachers said some students benefitted from distance learning, while others were lost. We conclude that each student is different and that we cannot generalise with regard to this hypothesis.

4. Students feel more confident in their learning abilities after experiencing distance learning and are more aware of their learning strategies, the importance of self-evaluation, etc.

   This hypothesis was also only partially confirmed. The results of the questionnaire showed that distance learning was a challenge for the majority of students. Fifty percent of students answered that distance learning was harder than normal school, which suggests they face some challenges in this new context. The main reason for this was the lack of explanations, which forced students to find other resources for these and use them for independent study. We were not able to obtain enough information to decide whether students know the importance of self-evaluation, only that 77% of students practice it on a regular basis. This is a positive result, as the majority of students were able to provide a strategy of how they self-evaluated.

The results of the interviews were, however, less positive, as the teachers reported that only about half of students thrived while distance learning and discovered new learning styles and strategies, and the rest were not as successful.

The following hypothesis was rejected:

1. The activities (that the teachers provided during the pandemic) work positively towards the development of learner autonomy.

   Teachers reported that due to the change to distance learning being so sudden and the lack of preparation for it, the scope of the normal workload was reduced by a third. They had to change their teaching style in a matter of days and make several adjustments. The primary focus was not to encourage learner autonomy, but to reach as many students as possible and make the learning process attainable. There are, however, some exceptions; several teachers reported that as they were able to continue the lessons either via videoconferences or other mediums, they of course tried to provide quality materials as well as explanations, motivational tools, and self-assessment options to ensure the development of successful autonomous learning. The most important aspects were explanations and materials. The teachers reported that technology played a major role in distance learning because students generally enjoy working with computers and were, in some cases, even more motivated to learn when using them.

An interesting aspect to observe was also how the instructions changed during distance teaching. More specifically, most teachers reported that they had to present very clear and detailed instructions to ensure that all students could understand and execute the learning process.

3.2 Comparison and discussion

A comparison of the results of the interviews and questionnaires showed they share one important aspect; both the teachers and students expressed that the quality of explanation is the key to successful learning, as it ensures an understanding of the materials. Learning without understanding translates to rote learning, which is not conducive to autonomous learning. In addition, the teachers pointed out that understanding the materials leads to higher levels of intrinsic motivation. The first step towards encouraging learner autonomy is therefore to combine quality and engaging materials with a good explanation. This leads to students being more motivated and learning successfully on their own.

The second major point to be considered was the answers to the questions about the factors contributing to successful distance learning, in which the teachers all agreed that home environment was the most important aspect. The term home environment primarily entails the attitude the parents have towards school, i.e., how important it is to them and why, the amount of attention they pay to it, and their opinion of the teachers and subjects studied. In most cases, students take similar positions towards school as their parents. It is therefore of great importance to present a positive attitude towards school to students from the beginning. This can be achieved through encouragement that students get from parents, the amount of help with schoolwork, and general interest in their learning process.

Teachers reported that working habits contributed greatly to successful and unsuccessful distance learning. The analysis of the results from the questionnaire shows that the students use numerous learning strategies and self-evaluation options, and many even said they developed new ones during their time distance learning. The results also show that the students enjoy working with computers and that distance learning presented an opportunity to develop new learning styles and strategies, which helped them become more autonomous. Moreover, the analysis confirmed that distant teaching took many forms. Students reported using several mediums and channels, such as e-classrooms, videoconferences, project work, interactive games, interactive coursebooks, emails, and various applications. Many of these are not standard classroom tools, and by incorporating them into their lessons the teachers introduced new elements that forced the students to adjust and learn in a different way. This change affected the learning process in a positive way, as it offered variety and options for the students to choose from, and thus they could find what fits them best.

The main problem of distance teaching and learning was the lack of contact between teachers and students. The teachers stated that the main difficulty they experienced was the fact that they were not prepared and that they could not monitor all of their students appropriately. This lack of contact was also reflected in the answers of the students, as the main problem for them was the lack of explanations. Of course, explanations were still there, but took on different forms – the students often had to use the coursebook or other resources to find explanations, which posed a challenge due to the fact they were not prepared to use them effectively. The pandemic created a unique situation where the whole teaching and learning process was moved online very quickly and without preparation. Teachers struggled because they had no proper feedback and students were suddenly alone, forced to work independently. The change was so abrupt that teachers focussed on reaching as many students as possible, and not whether they were promoting the development of learner autonomy. We need to consider, however, that the students were autonomous in their learning as they had no other option. They had to be responsible for their own schedules and time allocation, they needed to decide on how they are going to organise their work, they had to be resourceful when it came to finding alternative explanations or additional materials online, and they often had to work on their own, whereas in the classroom they normally worked in pairs or groups.

What would benefit students in primary schools who had to engage in distance learning is the systematic incorporation of learner development strategies into the lessons in order for them to acquire skills which would allow them to learn more efficiently. These skills are beneficial in any learning context, but were much needed in distance learning and teaching. In this context, teachers should generally focus more on aspects of the lessons which encourage the development of learner autonomy, such as collaborative learning, self-evaluation, motivation, learning styles and strategies, as well as the incorporation of technology into the learning process. On this last point, technology is an important part of today's society, and being able to use it to find resources is an essential skill every student needs to acquire. Not only are students now more than capable of learning and understating the online world and how it works, they usually already know the basics at this age. Knowing how to use it to learn and advance in their knowledge would thus be extremely useful. Especially when it comes to learning English, the internet serves as a very valuable resource that can be exploited in numerous ways and can be highly motivating for students, since they usually enjoy using this technology.

Since we do not know what the future holds, it is impossible to determine the best course of action. Nonetheless, seeing how quickly the world can change and how necessary technology is, now even more so than before, we can safely say that teachers should learn about and regularly include technology in their teaching. The pandemic changed the way we view distance teaching and learning, which will now become more widespread – due to its convenience, if for no other reason. However, knowing how to use technology is not enough for students to learn and advance in English as a foreign language. They need to have a better understanding of what technology can offer and the various elements that encourage the development of autonomy, so that distance learning can help them, instead of slowing their learning down.

As a suggestion for further research, we would like to present the idea that parents are a major factor influencing the development of learner autonomy. Not only do parents present the biggest authority in their children's lives, and therefore have the most impact on how they view school and learning, but they are also the main source for creating an environment that can benefit learners outside of school, which in turn has an effect on how they perform in school.

4 CONCLUSION

This article discusses the term learner autonomy, which was introduced by Henry Holec in 1981 (Benson 2007: 22), and defines it by taking into consideration several major researchers and authors who worked on the topic. The paper summarises the main points of learner autonomy as students (i) being able to take control of one's own learning, (ii) having awareness of their learning process, (iii) being intrinsically motivated, (iv) having developed personal learning strategies, and (v) practicing self-evaluation.

The theoretical overview suggests that in order to encourage learner autonomy teachers should pay attention to certain key concepts such as collaborative learning, the psychology of the learner, how to develop intrinsic motivation, the development of language learning strategies, and self-evaluation. Moreover, teachers need to understand the role they play in their students' learning process. It also touches on distance teaching and learning, with the added the element of technology. Teaching with technology has become a standard in EFL/ESL. However, this year's pandemic forced teachers and students to move the whole teaching and learning process online, revealing that the teacher's role is crucial for a successful learning process.

The purpose of the empirical part of this study was to determine whether teachers in primary schools in Slovenia encourage learner autonomy and in what ways. The aim was also to explore how the teaching and learning process adapted to the situation caused by the pandemic, and whether students became more autonomous in their learning as they were forced to be more independent. Although our expectations with regard to the hypotheses were not fully met, it turned out that encouraging the development of learner autonomy is important to teachers, albeit it was not a priority in distance education this year. In addition, the teachers reported seeing an overall progress in the majority of their students' independence and use of learning strategies.

By analysing the results, we came to the following conclusions regarding learning autonomy and distance learning: (i) quality and engaging materials and well-executed explanations are key for successful learning, as they ensure understanding and intrinsic motivation; (ii) parents play a major role, as their attitudes towards school tend to be adopted by their children, and therefore a positive home environment is needed in order to advance in the learning process; and (iii) learner autonomy should be encouraged systematically throughout the teaching process, as it is crucial for successful learning in the case of another pandemic.

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POVZETEK

VZPODBUJANJE RAZVOJA AVTONOMIJE UČENJA PRI POUČEVANJU NA DALJAVO V OSNOVNI ŠOLI

Osrednja tema članka je avtonomija učenja in kako učitelji v slovenskih osnovnih šolah spodbujajo njen razvoj.

Prvi del članka obravnava avtonomijo učenja, dejavnike, ki so pomembni za njen razvoj in druge koncepte, povezane s pojmom avtonomije učenja. Ključni vidiki avtonomije učenja so notranja motivacija, učne strategije, sodelovalno učenje in samoevalvacija. Teorija avtonomije učenja je v nadaljevanju povezana s kontekstom učenja na daljavo, ki smo mu bili letos priča ob svetovni pandemiji zaradi virusa COVID-19. Članek obravnava tudi uporabo tehnologije v poučevanju angleščine kot tujega/drugega jezika in predstavi kako le ta pomaga k razvoju avtonomije učenja.

Drugi del članka predstavlja analizo in razlago odgovorov učiteljev v osnovnih šolah, s katerimi so bili opravljeni intervjuji, in učencev osnovnih šol, ki so izpolnili vprašalnik. Namen raziskave je bil preučiti kako se je avtonomija učenja pokazala pri učenju na daljavo, ko se je celoten učni proces zaradi epidemije prestavil na splet. Z analizo rezultatov sva potrdili oz. zavrnili pet hipotez.

Rezultati raziskave kažejo, da veliko učiteljev v poučevanje vključuje dejavnosti, ki vzpodbujajo razvoj avtonomije učenja. Glavna dejavnika, ki vplivajo na razvoj avtonomije učenja pri počuevanju na daljavo pa so kakovostna, privlačna in zanimiva gradiva in dobra razlaga. Učitelji so poročali tudi, da je domače okolje eden izmed glavnih elementov, ki pripomorejo k uspešnemu ali neuspešnemu učenju.

Ključne besede: avtonomija učenja, osnovna šola, učenje na daljavo, motivacija, tehnologija

ABSTRACT

The central topic of the article is the development of learner autonomy and how teachers in Slovenian primary schools encourage it.

The first part of the article presents and explains what learner autonomy is, the factors important for its development, and other significant concepts connected to it. The key aspects of learner autonomy are intrinsic motivation, learning strategies, collaborative learning, and self-evaluation. The theory of learner autonomy is then related to the context of distance learning that we were able to observe this year, during the COVID-19 pandemic. The article also discusses the use of technology in teaching EFL/ESL and suggests it helps in the development of learner autonomy.

The second part presents an analysis and discussion based on the results of interviews conducted with primary school English teachers and questionnaires that were given to primary school students. The purpose of the research was to explore how learner autonomy was manifested during the time of the pandemic, when the learning process had to be moved online. By analysing the results, we were able to confirm or reject five hypotheses.

The results show that teachers use many activities that promote the development of learner autonomy. The research shows that in distance teaching the main factors that influence the development of learner autonomy are quality, attractive, and engaging materials, as well as good explanations. Teachers also reported that the home environment was one of the key aspects contributing to a successful or unsuccessful learning process.

Keywords: learner autonomy, primary school, distance learning, motivation, technology

APPENDIX 1: INTERVJU ZA UČITELJE

1. Kaj si predstavljate pod pojmom avtonomno učenje?
2. Ali menite, da je avtonomno učenje pomembno za uspešno učenje? Koliko časa posvečate temu, da ga spodbujate? Ali menite, da se razvije samo od sebe?
3. Ali med poukom namenite čas temu, da učencem predstavite različne učne strategije? Na kakšen način? Kako pogosto? + primer (npr. učenje učenja)
4. Kakšne aktivnosti uporabljate, da svoje učence motivirate? Primer + kako jih motivirate za delo doma? (v smislu, da imajo učenci notranjo motivacijo, npr. V učbeniku ‚kaj že znam')
5. Kako se odločate o vsebini pouka? (npr., samo na podlagi učnega načrta in učbenika, gradiva s spleta, itd.) Kakšen vpliv imajo na to učenci? Na kakšen način (ali kdaj skupaj določite vsebino ali jim pustite, da si vsebino sami prilagodijo? Ali se o tem pogovarjate, kako pogosto?
6. Kako pogosto izvajate aktivnosti, kjer morajo učenci sodelovati med sabo (skupinsko, projektno delo)? Ali je to odvisno od starostne skupine?
7. Ali menite, da so vaši učenci odgovorni za svoje učenje? Kolikšen je vpliv staršev? Ali je to odvisno od starostne skupine? Kako to spodbujate?
8. Kako spodbujate samoocenjevanje? (učbenik, domače naloge)
9. Kako ste zgoraj omenjene aktivnosti prilagodili pouku na daljavo?
10. Ali ste z učenci imeli videokonference? Če da, kako pogosto?
11. Kako so se spremenila navodila, ki jih dajete učencem pri pouku na daljavo? Kako pogosto ste bili v stiku z njimi? (kako ste pošiljali gradiva, e-učilnica, e-mail ...?)
12. Ste imeli individualne ure z učenci? Koliko, zakaj?
13. Kako so potekali določeni deli pouka, kot so

a) Interakcija
b) Povratne informacije
c) Učenje 4 jezikovnih spretnosti (govor, poslušanje, branje, pisanje)
d) Preverjanje in ocenjevanje (tudi samopreverjanje)

14. Ali opazite spremembe v motivaciji pri pouku na daljavo? Ali uporabljate več aktivnosti za izboljšanje motivacije?
15. Ali opazite spremembe v uspehu pri pouku na daljavo? (ne nujno ocene, na splošno pri oddajanju nalog, sodelovanje pri video konferencah. Ali menite, da so bili učenci pripravljeni na uspešno učenje na daljavo že od prej, ali opažate večje težave?
16. Po vaših opažanjih, kateri dejavniki še vplivajo na (ne)uspešno učenje na daljavo? (starši, pomanjkanje socializacije, osamljenost, stres, tehnologija, starostna skupina..)

APPENDIX 2: VPRAŠALNIK ZA UČENCE

Q1 – Razred, ki ga obiskuješ.

- ◯ 5
- ◯ 6
- ◯ 7
- ◯ 8
- ◯ 9

Q2 – Pri vsaki trditvi obkroži, kar najbolj velja zate.

	1. sploh ne velja zame	2. večinoma ne velja zame	3. delno velja zame	4. večinoma velja zame	5. popolnoma velja zame
Rad/a se učim angleščino.	◯	◯	◯	◯	◯
Angleščina se mi zdi uporaben predmet.	◯	◯	◯	◯	◯
Za učenje si vedno pripravim urejen prostor.	◯	◯	◯	◯	◯
Za učenje si vzamem dovolj časa.	◯	◯	◯	◯	◯
Pomembno je kdaj in kje se učim.	◯	◯	◯	◯	◯
Pomembno mi je, da razumem snov.	◯	◯	◯	◯	◯
Pred učenjem si vedno zadam cilj (kaj vse se moram naučiti).	◯	◯	◯	◯	◯
Mislim, da se iz domačih nalog veliko naučim.	◯	◯	◯	◯	◯
Če se učenja lotim na pravi način, se lahko naučim vsega.	◯	◯	◯	◯	◯

Q3 – Če mi je kakšna naloga težka (obkroži kar najbolj velja zate)
Možnih je več odgovorov

- Poskusim sam/a najti rešitev
- Vprašam starše
- Vprašam učitelja/ico
- Vprašam sošolce
- Drugo:

Q4 – V šoli najraje delam

- Samostojno
- V paru
- V skupini

Q5 – Najlažje se učim
Možnih je več odgovorov

- Iz svojih zapiskov
- Iz učbenika
- Z reševanjem vaj
- Drugo:

Q6 – Za učenje uporabljam različne učne strategije (npr. podčrtovanje, ponavljanje na glas, itd).

- DA
- NE

Q7 – Če DA, katere?

Q8 – Pred testom (ali spraševanjem) vedno najprej sam/a preverim svoje znanje.

◯ DA
◯ NE

Q9 – Če DA, kako?

Q10 – Naslednja vprašanja se nanašajo na učenje na daljavo.

Q11 – Obkroži, kar najbolj velja zate.

	1. sploh ne velja zame	2. večinoma ne velja zame	3. delno velja zame	4. večinoma velja zame	5. popolnoma velja zame
Tehnologija mi ne predstavlja težav pri učenju na daljavo.	◯	◯	◯	◯	◯
Učenje na daljavo je bolj zanimivo, ker poteka prek računalnika.	◯	◯	◯	◯	◯
Odkar se šolam na daljavo, bolj poznam svoje učne stile (tj. kakšen učenec/kakšna učenka sem).	◯	◯	◯	◯	◯
Odkar se šolam na daljavo, sem razvil/a nove učne strategije (tj. načine, kako se učiti).	◯	◯	◯	◯	◯
Odkar se šolam na daljavo, večrat sam/a preverim svoje znanje.	◯	◯	◯	◯	◯

Q12 – Ali je bilo učenje na daljavo lažje ali težje kot delo v šoli?

◯ Lažje
◯ Težje
◯ Enako po težavnosti

Q13 – Zakaj? (Npr. težje ker: ni bilo razlage, sodelovanja, preverjanje nalog, časovno organizirano… ali lažje ker: lahko sem si sam/a organiziral/a delo, več samostojnega dela, ….)

Q14 – Na daljavo smo se učili prek različnih medijev. (obkroži, kar velja zate)
Možnih je več odgovorov

◯ Spletne učilnice
◯ Spletne klepetalnice
◯ Video posnetki razlag
◯ Interaktivne igre
◯ Video klici
◯ Projektno delo
◯ Drugo:

Q15 – Kakšna je bila razlaga snovi pri šolanju na daljavo? (npr. samo učbenik, video razlage, napisane razlage itd.)

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LA INFLUENCIA DEL TEATRO EN EL DESARROLLO DE LA DESTREZA ORAL Y EL DESCENSO DEL NIVEL DEL FILTRO AFECTIVO EN LA CLASE DE ELE

1 INTRODUCCIÓN

En el presente artículo nos centraremos en el uso del teatro en las clases de español como lengua extranjera (ELE), si bien los argumentos expuestos en este trabajo podrían aplicarse a cualquier otra lengua. Asimismo, entendemos que el término “teatro en la clase de ELE” está estrechamente relacionado con el concepto de continuidad, es decir, puede referirse tanto a las técnicas dramáticas (i.e. micro-actividades) como a las representaciones de obras enteras. Por lo tanto, nuestro trabajo se centra en la relación entre las clases de teatro, el factor afectivo y la destreza oral, así como los beneficios del uso de teatro en las clases de ELE. El objetivo principal del trabajo es explorar los potenciales efectos positivos del teatro en el desarrollo de la destreza oral de los estudiantes a través de un análisis cualitativo de entrevistas semi-estructuradas con un grupo de estudiantes universitarias de español que participaron en la clase de teatro español. Mediante el análisis de las experiencias personales de las estudiantes con el teatro, esta investigación examina la relación entre la participación en una clase de teatro y el nivel del filtro afectivo, la conexión entre la participación en una clase de teatro y la adquisición de la lengua y la relevancia de la participación de las estudiantes en la clase de teatro por su involucramiento activo en otras clases.

2 EL FACTOR AFECTIVO EN LA CLASE DE UNA LENGUA EXTRANJERA

La importancia de los factores afectivos para el aprendizaje ha sido resaltada por muchas investigaciones contemporáneas (Arnold 2000, 2006; Sánchez Carrón 2013; Boquete Martín 2014, Pavlin 2017; Rosén 2018). Los factores afectivos pueden ser tanto negativos como positivos y deberían estar en el centro de atención de los maestros de ELE, ya que pueden o facilitar o dificultar el aprendizaje de la lengua extranjera.

En el *Marco Común Europeo de Referencia* (MCER, Consejo de Europa 2002) se reconoce explícitamente la importancia de los factores afectivos en el proceso de aprendizaje. Hablando de la "competencia existencial" (saber ser), que forma parte de las competencias generales del alumno, se establece que

> la actividad comunicativa de los usuarios o alumnos no solo se ve afectada por sus conocimientos, su comprensión y sus destrezas, sino también por factores individuales relacionados con su personalidad y caracterizados por las actitudes, las motivaciones, los valores, las creencias, los estilos cognitivos y los tipos de personalidad que contribuyen a su identidad personal (Ibíd.: 103).

De acuerdo con la ideología actual, una de las metas principales de los docentes de lenguas extranjeras es desarrollar la competencia comunicativa. A menudo esa meta resulta inalcanzable para los alumnos, a pesar de que objetivos comunicativos estén escritos en las programaciones y de que se intenten introducir actividades comunicativas. Una explicación puede ser que las restricciones temporales en el aula no coinciden con las necesidades de los alumnos. Por otro lado, la incompetencia comunicativa también puede ser producida por los factores afectivos (Arnold 2006: 409). En lo referente a los aprendientes eslovenos, Pavlin (2017: 227) observa que los eslovenos cultivan un tipo de "perfeccionismo lingüístico" que transmiten de la relación que tienen con la lengua materna y esto se está convirtiendo en una característica cultural de los eslovenos multilingües.

Arnold (2006: 409) establece que en la enseñanza de segundas lenguas tiene un papel transcendental "la disposición a comunicarse" (*willingness to communicate*). McCroskey y Richmond (1990: 21) la definen como una decisión volitiva de participar en un acto comunicativo.

Nuestros esfuerzos en el aula deberían centrarse en la estimulación del efecto de los factores positivos y la reducción del efecto de los factores negativos, entre los que destacan la ansiedad y la baja autoestima (Arnold 2006: 410). En cuanto a la ansiedad (Ibíd: 411), el profesor la puede reducir considerablemente con su actitud y con la atmosfera que crea en el aula. Asimismo, hay que "mantener una política sobre la corrección de errores que no resulta amenazante para el alumno" (Ibíd.: 412). Boquete Martín (2014: 7) coincide con Arnold y propone que "la corrección [se realice] cuando se produce una interrupción en la comunicación (o el desarrollo del ejercicio) antes que cuando se haya producido algún tipo de inexactitud o error fonético".

En una clase de LE con un enfoque comunicativo, la autoestima de los estudiantes adolescentes o adultos puede verse afectada de manera negativa, especialmente en las primeras fases del aprendizaje. Los alumnos tratan de expresarse, de comunicar a sus compañeros "ideas ya maduras con recursos lingüísticos inmaduros" (Arnold 2006: 410).

3 LA DESTREZA ORAL EN LA CLASE DE LENGUA EXTRANJERA

La destreza que probablemente está más afectada por los factores afectivos negativos (auto-estima baja, ansiedad conectada con la competencia lingüística) es la destreza oral (Pavlin 2017: 224). De hecho, Šifrar Kalan (2008: 291) observa que “frecuentemente identificamos hablar una lengua extranjera con dominar la lengua extranjera, lo que sugiere que la expresión oral tiene un papel principal en el aprendizaje de una lengua extranjera”[1]. Respecto a la destreza oral, Muñoz-Basols y Gironzetti (2018: 204) alegan que “con la integración de la tecnología dentro y fuera del aula, profesores y alumnos disponen hoy en día de un amplio abanico de recursos y herramientas para trabajar las destrezas orales”. No obstante, los autores admiten que a pesar de la disponibilidad de los recursos, en el aula de español como L2 no se presta suficiente atención a la expresión oral (Ibíd.).

El MCER (Consejo de Europa 2002: 48) define comunicación oral como una de las dos actividades en las que el hablante transmite un mensaje hablado a uno o más oyentes/interlocutores. Skela (1999: 100) afirma que la comunicación oral es un proceso bidireccional que requiere un hablante y un oyente, lo que no significa que el hablante sea la única persona que habla y que el oyente sea pasivo durante el intercambio oral. Cohen (2008: 122) observa que, para crear un acto comunicativo auténtico, es necesario que los hablantes y los oyentes colaboren. Por eso los profesores deben crear en la clase unas circunstancias adecuadas que permitan a los estudiantes combinar de manera significativa ambas destrezas (i.e. la destreza de hablar y la destreza de escuchar/entender) y participar en situaciones comunicativas auténticas (Skela 1999: 100).

Pavlin (2017: 224) retoma la idea de Skela (1999), quien alega que “la comunicación oral es la destreza lingüística más difícil de todas porque requiere el nivel de espontaneidad más alto, producir el texto y pensar al mismo tiempo, así como también un nivel de conocimiento formal de la lengua lo suficientemente alto como para evitar errores o corregirlos instantáneamente”.

Muñoz-Basols y Gironzetti (2018: 205) se basan en la idea de Ramírez Martínez (2002) y explican que frecuentemente se considera que para adquirir la destreza oral no es necesaria la intervención directa del profesor, ya que los aprendices la adquieren espontáneamente, a través de la práctica. Según Skela (1999: 101), para alcanzar la fluidez en la lengua, se debe guiar a los estudiantes desde las actividades donde ellos solamente imitan un modelo hacia las actividades que requieren utilizar la lengua independientemente. Mientras que la lectura en voz alta, por ejemplo, es una de las actividades menos exigentes, las representaciones de obras de teatro pertenecen a la categoría de actividades que solicitan que los estudiantes usen la lengua más libremente (Ibíd.: 112–114).

1 Todas las traducciones españolas son nuestras.

4 EL TEATRO COMO RECURSO PARA EL DESARROLLO DE LA DESTREZA ORAL EN LA CLASE DE LENGUA EXTRANJERA

4. 1 El teatro y el Marco Común Europeo de Referencia

¿Qué papel tienen la literatura y el teatro en una clase enfocada en la adquisición de la competencia comunicativa? En lo que atañe a los propósitos comunicativos de la lengua, Hidalgo Martín (2012: 16) observa que el MCER implica los "usos estéticos de la lengua", entre los cuales la autora destaca dos usos: representar obras de teatro con guion o sin él; presenciar y escenificar textos literarios como, por ejemplo, leer y escribir textos (relatos cortos, novelas, poesía, etc.); representar y presenciar como espectador recitales, obras de teatro y de ópera, etc. (Ibíd.). La autora añade que "entre la descripción de tareas recomendadas, el MCER propone la 'interpretación de un papel en una obra de teatro'" (Ibíd.).

Asimismo, la autora (Ibíd.) afirma que todas las subcompetencias (la competencia pragmática, sociolingüística y lingüística) de la competencia comunicativa se pueden desarrollar con la ayuda del teatro. En cuanto a la competencia lingüística, el aprovechamiento más grande se puede observar en el plano fonético-fonológico. Eso se debe al hecho de que en la fase de representación del texto se dedica mucha atención a la pronunciación y la prosodia. En lo que se refiere a los planos léxico y sintáctico, la misma autora (Ibíd.) admite que el uso puede resultar más problemático, puesto que el profesor puede enfrentarse con dificultades al buscar textos que fuesen compatibles con, por ejemplo, el nivel de conocimiento de sus estudiantes. Por lo que respecta al aspecto sociolingüístico, si bien escasea en muchas obras de teatro (lo admiten tanto Hidalgo Martín como el MCER), siempre se puede encontrar algunas obras que sí incluyen a ese aspecto. En cuanto a la competencia pragmática, Hidalgo Martín (2012: 17) aduce que "el trabajo sobre esa tipología textual, tan completa por la cantidad de hablantes que intervienen en ella y por la variabilidad de contextos y situaciones, nos ofrece un recurso magnífico para trabajar la ironía, la parodia y los actos de habla, por ejemplo".

En lo referente a las cuatro destrezas, para conseguir un buen producto, en un primer lugar son imprescindibles la lectura y la comprensión de la obra. También es importante que el estudiante comprenda a sus compañeros y a las instrucciones del profesor/director. Mientras que la expresión oral es importante a la hora de hacer actividades para mejorar la dicción, la expresión escrita se practica, por ejemplo, cuando los estudiantes hacen anotaciones, escriben listas de materiales, cartas o resúmenes (Hidalgo Martín 2012: 18).

4.2 Por qué usar el teatro en la clase de ELE

4.2.1 La situación actual

En lo que respecta al teatro en español en Eslovenia, actualmente hay un interés considerable en la lengua y cultura española. En consecuencia y debido a las muchas oportunidades para aprender español, hay numerosos grupos de teatro que representan obras de teatro en español tanto en escuelas secundarias como en la Facultad de Filosofía y Letras en Ljubljana (activo desde 1999) (RTVSLO.si 2009).

4.2.2 Ventajas del uso

Hay varias ventajas del uso de teatro en la clase de una lengua extranjera. A continuación, enumeramos algunos beneficios que nos parecen los más relevantes. El uso del teatro en la clase es compatible con el enfoque comunicativo. Nicolás Román (2011 en Vaqueiro Romero 2014: 38), afirma que está claro que el uso del teatro en la clase está basado en el enfoque comunicativo, ya que los estudiantes trabajan en grupos y tienen el papel de protagonistas en su aprendizaje. Sirisrimangkorn (2018: 14) se basa en la idea de Miccoli (2003), quien explica que en los ensayos de teatro se crea un auténtico propósito comunicativo cuando los estudiantes deben establecer los personajes, sus personalidades y motivos.

La participación en actividades teatrales también motiva a los estudiantes. Maley y Duff (1982:13) sostienen que "el teatro es motivador". Cuando los estudiantes participan en un grupo de teatro, esto no solo ayuda a cultivar su curiosidad sobre la lengua, sino que también les motiva más para usar la lengua meta (Lemut Novak 2009; Sirisrimangkorn 2018).

Es más, el teatro ayuda a bajar el filtro afectivo. En las clases o talleres de teatro, los estudiantes son proclives a explorar la lengua extranjera de una manera más relajada, ya que la atmósfera de confianza que se ha establecido les anima a dejar de bloquear el nuevo lenguaje, a tomar riesgos y sentirse estimulados de manera positiva (Williams-Fleck 2014: 13; Boudreault 2010).

El teatro, asimismo, estimula la confianza que los estudiantes tienen en su habilidad de hablar una lengua extranjera. Heldenbrand (2003: 31) explica que, en el escenario, ser exacto a la hora de hablar es menos esencial que poder comunicar las ideas. El enfoque está en equipar a los estudiantes para que comuniquen en la lengua meta y no en el habla exacto.

En las clases de teatro los estudiantes pueden practicar y desarrollar su competencia oral, en particular la pronunciación y la fluidez (Boquete Martín 2014; Lemut Novak 2009). Los estudiantes también practican la entonación, acentuación y la pronunciación en la lengua meta (Lemut Novak 2009: 37).

El teatro es una herramienta útil en la enseñanza de lenguas porque permite que los estudiantes adquieran nuevos elementos del vocabulario de una manera plenamente contextualizada (Boudreault 2010). Aparte del vocabulario, los estudiantes también practican el orden de las palabras y las estructuras sintácticas (Lemut Novak 2009: 37).

En cuanto a la cultura de la lengua meta, el teatro nos puede ayudar a acercarla a los estudiantes . Williams-Fleck (2014: 13) se apoya en la idea de Miccoli (2003) afirmando que "la lengua no solo son palabras que se dicen, sino que también incluye cómo los hablantes nativos interactúan entre sí, se estrechan las manos, sostienen su cuerpo, etcétera".

Autores como Boquete Martín (2014: 19), Hidalgo Martín (2012: 23) y Boudreault (2010) declaran que el teatro puede ayudar a desarrollar el pensamiento crítico y la creatividad de los estudiantes. Según Hidalgo Martín (2012: 23), la creatividad surge tanto cuando los alumnos buscan argumentos y la trama como cuando buscan soluciones para montar la presentación de la obra de modo apropiado (por ejemplo, buscan un posible escenario, se distribuyen los papeles, preparan los materiales, etc.). La misma autora (Ibíd.) explica que el pensamiento crítico se desarrolla "comentando aspectos de la obra o del montaje con los que están o no de acuerdo".

4.2.3 Inconvenientes del uso

Hay una abundancia de ventajas al usar las técnicas dramáticas en clase, o incluso al realizar un taller de teatro. Sin embargo, hay que tener en cuenta también algunos inconvenientes. Desde el punto de vista del profesor, organizar una clase de teatro significa que tiene que asumir un volumen de trabajo adicional por el cual tal vez no será remunerado (Lemut Novak 2009:38). Es esencial que el profesor sepa motivar a los alumnos y que, en caso de no ser nativo, tenga la suficiente fluidez y sea capaz de una comunicación eficaz en la lengua meta (Hidalgo Martín 2012: 27).

Respecto a un taller de teatro, Hidalgo Martín (2012: 27) observa que "lo que sí parece un problema es el afán de protagonismo de algunos estudiantes que puede ser contraproducente, ya que algunos estudiantes, los más tímidos, pueden cohibirse por la extroversión de estos". El profesor, entonces, debe "intentar dar las mismas oportunidades a todos buscando opiniones consensuadas" (Ibíd.). Asimismo, Hidalgo Martín expone que, para proteger la autoestima del alumno, es imprescindible "ir graduando las actividades que supongan mayor riesgo para la imagen personal" (Ibíd.).

Otro reto al que los profesores pueden enfrentarse es que no es fácil encontrar textos para niveles bajos de competencia. En general, los textos no están adaptados para el uso en el aula, lo que significa que abundan en coloquialismos y juegos de palabras, que a veces resultan difíciles de entender incluso para los niveles más altos. No obstante, con un poco de perseverancia se pueden hallar textos interesantes y motivadores también para los alumnos de niveles bajos (Ibíd.).

Por último, creemos que la responsabilidad del grupo a veces también puede ser problemática. Las clases de teatro, especialmente cuando se planea una presentación final, requieren un esfuerzo de todo el grupo y muchas veces es difícil de conseguir que todos los miembros del grupo hagan las tareas asignadas (por ejemplo, lean el texto en casa, vengan a la clase, estudien su personaje, preparen el vestuario) con el mismo grado de responsabilidad. Por eso, el trabajo de equipo, tanto dentro como fuera del escenario es esencial para el buen funcionamiento del grupo.

5 DESCRIPCIÓN DE LA INVESTIGACIÓN

5.1 Preguntas de investigación

Nuestra investigación examinó la influencia del teatro en el desarrollo de la destreza oral de un grupo de estudiantes de la Facultad de Filosofía y Letras en Ljubljana desde la perspectiva de los propios estudiantes. El propósito de dicha investigación fue llamar la atención sobre el teatro como una herramienta de gran alcance en la clase de lengua extranjera en lo que se refiere al desarrollo de la destreza oral, así como promover el teatro como un instrumento que ayuda a los estudiantes a superar la ansiedad conectada con la competencia lingüística. Esos objetivos llevaron al planteamiento de las siguientes preguntas de investigación:

- ¿La participación en las clases de teatro ayuda a los estudiantes a confiar más en su destreza oral? ¿Les ayuda a perder el miedo de hablar en la lengua extranjera?
- ¿Los estudiantes consideran el teatro como algo beneficioso para la adquisición de la lengua extranjera? ¿Sienten que el teatro les ayuda a mejorar su destreza oral?
- ¿Si los estudiantes participan en una clase de teatro, esto también favorece a su participación en otras clases?

5.2 Metodología

Esta investigación está basada en el enfoque cualitativo, porque nos pareció más flexible y compatible con el tipo de datos (experiencias personales, subjetivas) que necesitábamos recopilar; de ahí que nos interesara investigar una muestra de menor tamaño, pero con mayor profundidad. Según Dörnyei (2007: 24) "una investigación cualitativa implica procedimientos de recopilación de datos que primordialmente resultan en datos abiertos, no-numéricos, que luego se analizan con métodos no-estadísticos". Es decir, las entrevistas fueron realizadas con el objeto de obtener los datos necesarios para que, a continuación, fueran interpretadas las respuestas de las entrevistadas de modo descriptivo. El objetivo final de la investigación cualitativa no es determinar "en qué grado la muestra es representativa o cómo se distribuye la experiencia entre la población" (Dörnyei 2007: 126). La meta principal de este tipo de exploración es "encontrar individuos que pueden proveer observaciones ricas y variadas sobre el fenómeno bajo investigación para maximizar lo que se puede aprender" (Ibíd.).

5.3 Descripción del instrumento y del proceso de recopilación de los datos

El formato utilizado fue entrevista semi-estructurada que según Dörnyei (2007: 136) significa que "hay una serie de preguntas orientadoras preparadas de antemano […] [pero al mismo tiempo] el formato es abierto y se alienta al entrevistado a que ahonde más en las cuestiones planteadas de modo exploratorio". En todas las entrevistas llevadas a cabo fueron planteadas las mismas doce preguntas que habían sido preparadas con antelación. No obstante, durante cada entrevista individual también fueron añadidas algunas preguntas adicionales con el objeto de precisar o añadir alguna aclaración. Para el diseño del cuestionario, nos basamos parcialmente en Goitia Pastor (2007: 108–109).

La pregunta 1 requirió que las estudiantes evaluaran su competencia en español. Las preguntas 2 y 3 se centraron en el factor afectivo en la clase de ELE. Su propósito fue descubrir los sentimientos que acompañan la expresión oral y cómo los estudiantes abordan la expresión oral en la clase de ELE. Las preguntas 4–8 abordaron el tema del teatro. Exploraron potenciales experiencias previas de las estudiantes con teatro y las razones por las que decidieron participar en las clases de teatro en la Facultad de Filosofía y Letras en Ljubljana. Asimismo, las preguntas examinaron qué sintieron las estudiantes cuando actuaron en la lengua extranjera. También se investigó la influencia del teatro en el progreso de las estudiantes en lo que se refiere a la ansiedad y competencia lingüística. Las preguntas 9 y 10 pretendieron identificar la influencia de las clases de teatro en la expresión oral de las estudiantes y en su participación en otras clases. Se pidió a las estudiantes evaluar el progreso de sus compañeros de clase con la pregunta 11. La pregunta final requirió que las estudiantes declararan si les gustaría participar en otra clase de teatro o no. Para asegurarnos de que las preguntas proveyeran a la investigación de los datos adecuados, diseñamos una entrevista piloto con dos estudiantes de español llevada a cabo en abril de 2019. El perfil de los estudiantes con los que se hizo la entrevista piloto coincidía con el perfil de las estudiantes que fueron después participantes de investigación. Como la información obtenida del pilotaje no coincidía totalmente con los objetivos planteados por las hipótesis, hubo que introducir algunos cambios.

En lo que se refiere al proceso de recopilación de datos, primero se contactó con la profesora Santiago Alonso que imparte la clase de teatro español. Le explicamos a la profesora qué tipo de investigación vamos a hacer, cuál es el propósito y qué características necesitan exhibir los participantes. Con la ayuda de la profesora escogimos dos estudiantes para la entrevista piloto. Después, la profesora escribió un correo electrónico a las candidatas; les explicó el tema general de la investigación y el formato, y les preguntó si estarían dispuestas a participar. Cuando las estudiantes le confirmaron su disposición, la profesora nos facilitó sus correos electrónicos. Contactamos a las estudiantes por el correo electrónico, nos introducimos y les presentamos el tema de nuestra investigación. Les agradecemos por su disposición y les preguntamos cuándo podrían reunirse con nosotros para la entrevista.

Las entrevistas se realizaron entre mayo y octubre de 2019, y tomaron lugar en la Facultad de Filosofía y Letras en Ljubljana, después de las presentaciones de las obras. Al principio de las entrevistas se les explicó a las estudiantes cómo se grabará la conversación y qué pasará con los datos después. Además, se les aseguró que serán anónimas. También se informó a las participantes aproximadamente cuánto tiempo durará la entrevista. Enfatizamos que no hay respuestas erróneas, que nos interesan sus experiencias.

Las preguntas fueron preparadas en esloveno y español, ya que una de las entrevistadas era montenegrina. Las primeras preguntas (por ejemplo: ¿Qué tal?) nos sirvieron para crear la atmosfera de confianza y para establecer la relación con las entrevistadas. Después de estas preguntas, empezamos con las preguntas de contenido (*content questions*). Dimos a las entrevistadas el tiempo que necesitaban para pensar y respondernos. El promedio de duración de las entrevistas fue 40 minutos. Las conversaciones fueron grabadas y también tomamos algunas notas. Tuvimos cuidado para no reaccionar demasiado fuerte (por ejemplo, tomar notas con mucho entusiasmo, reaccionar con mucha sorpresa) a algo que dijeron las entrevistadas, ya que esto podría influir en sus respuestas a preguntas futuras.

Las conversaciones fueron transcritas después de hacer las entrevistas. Imprimimos las transcripciones y las re-leímos varias veces para formar las impresiones generales sobre los datos. Luego preparamos los rotuladores fluorescentes de diferentes colores y leímos las transcripciones de nuevo. Esta vez, resaltamos los fragmentos relevantes y añadimos los códigos al lado del texto (los códigos, por ejemplo, fueron: *el miedo de hacer errores, la confianza, estar relajado, la ansiedad social, la comunicación*). Más adelante, leímos todos los fragmentos resaltados de nuevo y comparamos los códigos de los fragmentos entre sí. Agrupamos los códigos que fueron similares o relacionados entre sí en categorías más generales (por ejemplo: los códigos *el miedo de hacer errores, la confianza, estar relajado, la ansiedad social, la comunicación* se agruparon en categoría *Los beneficios de las clases de teatro en cuanto al factor afectivo*).

5.4 Descripción de las participantes

Las entrevistas fueron planteadas a cuatro estudiantes de español que participaron en la clase de teatro en el año académico 2018/19. Todas las entrevistadas tuvieron que exhibir por lo menos una de las siguientes características: tener un conocimiento de la lengua española bajo o ser tímidas. Si la entrevistada tuvo el conocimiento de lengua bajo, se investigó la influencia de este factor en su disposición a participar en comunicación oral. Si la entrevistada tuvo el conocimiento de lengua bajo y también fue tímida, se investigó la influencia de los dos factores en su disposición a participar en comunicación oral. La timidez de las participantes se identificó con la ayuda de la profesora que tuvo la clase de teatro con las participantes y pasó mucho tiempo con ellas. En las entrevistas se comprobó la timidez también por nuestra parte. No era necesario que las estudiantes tuvieran alguna experiencia con las clases de teatro antes de participar en la clase de teatro en la Facultad. Las primeras tres entrevistadas participaron en la presentación de la obra de teatro *Dios en la Niebla* escrita por Natalia de la Llana, mientras que la cuarta entrevistada participó en el montaje de la obra *El lector por horas* escrita por José Sanchis Sinisterra. En ambos casos, la clase de teatro duró un semestre.

A continuación se presentan los perfiles de las entrevistadas. La primera entrevistada (SSP1) fue una estudiante montenegrina que vino a Eslovenia para estudiar. Fue estudiante de español e italiano y empezó a estudiar español en la facultad. Tuvo 20 años. Cuando tuvo lugar la entrevista, el nivel de competencia lingüística de la estudiante fue A2. No fue tímida. En cuanto a sus experiencias con el teatro, la estudiante formo parte de grupo de teatro montenegrino y grupo de teatro francés en la escuela secundaria (4 años). La segunda entrevistada (SSP2) fue estudiante de español e inglés. Fue tímida. Tuvo 20 años. Cuando tuvo lugar la entrevista, el nivel de competencia lingüística de la estudiante fue B1/B2. En lo referente a sus experiencias con el teatro, la estudiante formó parte de un grupo de teatro en la escuela primaria. También participó en un grupo de teatro en la escuela secundaria (3 años). La estudiante formó parte del grupo de teatro español y del club de teatro inglés en la Facultad de Filosofía y Letras en Ljubljana (1 año). La tercera entrevistada (SSP3) fue estudiante de español e historia. Fue tímida. Tuvo 21 años. Cuando tuvo lugar la entrevista, el nivel de competencia lingüística de la estudiante fue B1+. Respecto a sus experiencias con el teatro, la estudiante participó en un grupo de teatro en la escuela primaria. La cuarta entrevistada (SSP4) fue estudiante de español y latín que aprendió español en la escuela secundaria, pero se tomó un año sabático y olvidó mucho. Fue tímida. Tuvo 22 años. Cuando tuvo lugar la entrevista, el nivel de competencia lingüística de la estudiante fue B2. En cuanto a sus experiencias con el teatro, la estudiante formó parte del grupo de teatro esloveno en la escuela secundaria.

6 INTERPRETACIÓN DE LOS RESULTADOS Y DISCUSIÓN

6.1 Pregunta de investigación 1: Relación entre la participación en las clases de teatro y el factor afectivo

En cuanto al factor afectivo, la estudiante SSP1 mencionó que el teatro le "[ayudó] quitar la (…) el miedo un poco, el miedo de hacer errores en español, porque fu[e] muy estresada, porque eso fue el principio". La estudiante SSP2 declaró que "sient[e] que esta clase [l]e hizo sentir aún más segura a la hora de hablar en español". De modo similar, la estudiante SSP3 observó que "definitivamente fu[e] un poco más relajada al final". Según la estudiante, la actitud de la profesora fue esencial, ya que "siempre enfatizaba que era importante estar relajado y decir la primera cosa que [les] vino a la mente [y esto le ayudó] a salir de [su] zona de confort". También se mencionó un beneficio no lingüístico. La estudiante SSP4 confesó que la clase de teatro "[l]e ayudó con [su] ansiedad social," añadiendo que "[a]hora para [ella] es más fácil comunicar con la gente en general".

Las opiniones de las estudiantes de español en cuanto al progreso de sus compañeros variaron. La estudiante SSP1 alegó que "piens[a] que esto depende mucho de persona".

Explicó que “había algunas personas que fueron muy cerradas, pero no vi[o] que ellos querrían […] mejorar esto. Aunque [la profesora de teatro] ha tratado de […] ayudarles. Ella trató de ayudar a todos y trató de ayudarles perder el miedo”. No obstante, la estudiante también admitió que probablemente no es la mejor fuente de información, ya que “no estuv[o] tan atenta de[l] progreso [de los demás]”. Por otro lado, las estudiantes SSP3 Y SSP4 tuvieron una opinión diferente. La estudiante SSP3 declaró que “[l]e parece que fu[e] entre los estudiantes más reservados. Pero piens[a] que otros estudiantes con ese problema también progresaron”. De modo similar, la estudiante SSP4 declaró que “cre[e] que todos progresaron,” añadiendo que “la diferencia se pud[ó] observar ya el primer semestre”.

Todas las estudiantes de español afirmaron que la actitud de la profesora y su reacción a los estados de ánimo de estudiantes fueron esenciales, ya que la profesora se aseguró de que los estudiantes estuvieran relajados a través de actividades que les animaran a relajarse. La estudiante SSP2 mencionó que “trabaja[ron] en algunas escenas, que [uno de los compañeros] presentó una escena y después otra persona tuvo que resumirla.” La estudiante explicó que “todos, incluso los estudiantes más reservados tuvi[eron] que decir qué pasó. [La profesora] insistió que cada estudiante encontrase la respuesta cuando fue su turno. Fue necesario hablar, y la próxima vez cuando tuvi[eron] la clase de teatro, no [se] sentí[an] tan forzados a hablar”. En lo referente a la actitud de la profesora y las actividades relajantes, la estudiante SSP3 alegó que “forma[ron] un círculo y cada uno de [ellos] tuvo que decir la primera palabra española que [les] vino a la mente. Cuando terminó la primera ronda, [la profesora] leyó [su] lenguaje corporal y entendió que [la estudiante] no [s]e sentía muy cómoda”. Después de un par de actividades, la profesora “logró que [la estudiante] [s]e relajó físicamente y que fu[e] capaz de decir la primera cosa que le vino a la mente”. La estudiante SSP4 sostuvo que “no [podía] acordar[se] de ninguna actividad beneficiosa específica”, pero añadió que “el proceso en su conjunto fue beneficioso”. También confesó que “[l]e gusto la actitud de la profesora”. Explicó que la profesora “vio inmediatamente que [la estudiante] no [s]e sentía relajada, sin embargo, no estaba emitiendo la vibra de ‘¿Qué haces tú aquí?’”.

En lo referente al factor afectivo en el presente, todas las estudiantes de español alegaron que ahora están (aún) más relajadas cuando tienen que hablar en español. La estudiante SSP1 alego que “si compar[a] Morfosintaxis 1 y Morfosintaxis 2, en Morfosintaxis 1 cuando hici[eron] ejercicios de gramática no quis[o] decir nada, siempre tenía miedo de que v[a] a hacer un error y ahora pued[e] preguntar si no entiend[e] [algo]”. La estudiante añadió que “todo esto empezó en el teatro”. La estudiante SSP2 afirmó que “ahora [es] más relajada en otras clases también” y que “ahora ya no se preocupa por si [hizo] algún error porque en la clase de teatro [se] acostumbraron a no preocuparse si alguien dijo algo incorrectamente o si hizo un error gramatical”. Explicó que “[la profesora] [les] dijo al principio que no va[n] a tratar ese tema porque no está[n] [allí] para tener una gramática perfecta. [Les] dijo que hay otras asignaturas para ayudar[les] con eso; el objetivo de [la clase de teatro] fue ayudar[les] a hablar con más fluidez y a ser menos reservados a la hora de hablar". La estudiante SSP3 admitió que, en cuanto a su estado de relajación, "esto depende de con quién habl[a]. [S]e sient[e] totalmente relajada en compañía de ciertas personas, y en compañía de otras, no." Elaboró que "tal vez todavía no [s]e siente relajada [si tiene que hablar] ante un grupo en la facultad. Si fuese un grupo pequeño de 10–15 estudiantes, entonces tal vez [s]e sentiría mejor". La estudiante SSP4, por otro lado, alegó que "ahora v[a] a decir algo aunque no sea totalmente correcto," y añadió que "ahora [s]e sient[e] más relajada":

Como demostraron los resultados del análisis cualitativo en la presente investigación, es recomendable participar en las actividades teatrales por varias razones. En lo que se refiere al factor afectivo, los resultados de la investigación muestran que la participación en una clase de teatro reduce el miedo de hacer errores a la hora de hablar una lengua extranjera. El filtro afectivo disminuye porque, en una clase de teatro, el énfasis está en la transmisión del mensaje y no tanto en la precisión lingüística. También es importante la actitud positiva del profesor hacia los errores. Las actividades que ayudan a los estudiantes a perder el miedo en una clase de teatro son las actividades comunicativas que requieren que los estudiantes superen sus miedos y participen activamente. Según los resultados, las actividades beneficiosas específicas son: La actividad que requiere el resumen de una escena y la actividad de asociaciones, hecha en un círculo.

6.2 Pregunta de investigación 2: Posibles beneficios del teatro para la adquisición de una lengua extranjera y el mejoramiento de la destreza oral

La mayoría de las estudiantes de español afirmó que su participación en actividades teatrales tuvo una influencia positiva en la adquisición de la lengua. La estudiante SSP1 señalo que "[c]uando terminó el teatro, fue una lección muy buena para [ella]. De este punto hi[zo] una aproximación, [s]e acer[có] más [al estudio de español]. [L]e ayudó a ser aún más espontanea en [su] expresión oral. Claramente, [su] español ha mejorado mucho después de esto". En lo que se refiere al enriquecimiento del vocabulario, la estudiante SSP2 hizo una observación interesante alegando que después de la clase de teatro "us[ó] ciertas palabras o frases que aparecieron en el texto [la obra de teatro] cuando escrib[ió] los ensayos, así como también cuando tuvo otras clases y cuando conversaba". Por otro lado, la estudiante SSP3 declaró que "piens[a] que la clase de teatro no [l]e ayudó a adquirir ninguna palabra o frase nueva". En contraste con esta estudiante, la estudiante SSP4 afirmó que "cre[e] que esta clase [l]e ayudó a adquirir las estructuras, [a aprender] cómo decir algo (por ejemplo: qué tiempo verbal utilizar). […] También empe[zó] a usar más las palabras que aprend[ió] del texto".

Respecto a la destreza oral, todas las estudiantes de español señalaron que la clase de teatro tuvo un impacto positivo en su destreza oral. La estudiante SSP1 observó que "Si emp[zara] el año con la gramática todo el tiempo, nada hablar no est[á] segura si ahora hablaría tan bien como habl[a]”. En lo referente a las características fonéticas y prosódicas de la lengua, la estudiante SSP2 hizo una observación intrigante. Señaló que “piens[a] que estuv[o] rodeada de los compañeros de clase que tenían una pronunciación muy buena, y si estas en la compañía de tales personas, tu pronunciación mejora también”. La estudiante SSP3 confesó que “al principio, piens[a] que [l]e dificultó la participación el hecho de poder observar la diferencia entre el grado de [su] competencia y el grado de la competencia de los demás. Esa diferencia [l]e hizo abstener de comunicación, apenas pud[o] decir algo en español. Pero después, en las clases de teatro, fue un poco más fácil”. Además, la estudiante SSP3 hizo una observación importante. Sostuvo que “no est[á] segura si deb[e] atribuir [su progreso] a la clase de teatro, al hecho de que trabaj[a] para la organización Nefiks, o a otras asignaturas, más enfocadas en la gramática”. La estudiante concluyó que su progreso “probablemente es [el producto de] la combinación de todos los factores mencionados”. La estudiante SSP4 alegó que “[las clases de teatro] tuvieron un efecto positivo. [L]e parece que todavía est[á] quedándo[se] atrás de [sus] compañeros, pero aún así, cre[e] que [las clases de teatro] [l]e ayudaron”.

Por lo que respecta a la adquisición de la lengua, los resultados muestran que las clases de teatro pueden ayudar a los estudiantes a alcanzar una mayor espontaneidad en la lengua extranjera. La participación en una clase de teatro también les puede ayudar a enriquecer su vocabulario y a comprender mejor la gramática (por ejemplo, cuándo usar ciertos tiempos verbales, o cómo expresar ciertas funciones de lengua).

En cuanto al desarrollo y mejoramiento de la destreza oral, los hallazgos indican que las clases de teatro pueden ayudar a los estudiantes en esta área. La participación en una clase de teatro puede ayudar a los estudiantes a mejorar su pronunciación cuando están rodeados de un profesor y compañeros de clase con una buena pronunciación.

6.3 Pregunta de investigación 3: Relación entre la participación en las clases de teatro y la participación activa en otras clases

Todas las estudiantes de español afirmaron que ahora participan activamente en las clases. La estudiante SSP1 confesó que ahora participa más “gracias a muchas cosas, pero la clase de teatro fue el clave. Ahora no t[iene] miedo de hacer errores. Si compar[a] Morfosintaxis 1 y Morfosintaxis 2, en Morfosintaxis 1 cuando hici[eron] ejercicios de gramática no quis[o] decir nada, siempre tenía miedo de que v[a] a hacer un error y ahora pued[e] preguntar si no entiend[e] [algo]”. La estudiante SSP2 sostuvo que “cre[e] que ahora particip[a] más que al principio, pero [que a ella le] molesta en general si hay un silencio horrible cuando el profesor pregunta algo y (...) di[ce] algo, aunque s[abe] que puede ser que no sea totalmente correcto en cuanto a la gramática”. En cuanto a la participación activa en otras clases, la estudiante SSP3 “diría que se puede observar una diferencia, pero no s[abe] a qué exactamente deb[e] atribuirlo. Probablemente es el resultado de muchos factores, como ya mencion[ó]. Pero, se puede observar la diferencia.” De modo similar, la estudiante SSP4 declaró que "diría que otras asignaturas también contribuyeron a eso". La estudiante añadió que "[l]e parece que el teatro más bien [l]e ayudó […][a] entender que sueña español, y no a hablar con más fluidez. Pero [l]e ayudó a estar más relajada cuando habl[a] en español".

Además, en las entrevistas la mayoría de las estudiantes de español declaró que ahora asumen un rol activo en los debates en clase. La estudiante SSP1 señaló que "por ejemplo, en la clase de prof. Alejandro […] el profesor a veces [la] corrige, o una amiga [l]e ayuda con alguna palabra, pero [que] esto no [l]e frustra". Asimismo, la estudiante SSP2 afirmó que "habl[a] mucho […] [y] [l]e gusta expresar [su] opinión y si t[iene] que hacerlo en la clase de español, esto no es un problema para [ella]. A veces le pid[e] ayuda a la compañera de clase si no conoce alguna palabra, pero aparte de esto, todo está bien". La estudiante SSP3 confesó que "cuando el tema [l]e interesa (por ejemplo: la crítica social), [l]e gustaría participar [en el debate]". Elaboró que "si el debate fuese en esloveno, definitivamente levantaría la mano, pero aún t[iene] algunas reservas si el debate es en español. De modo normal, esper[a] un poco, y después, si realmente no est[á] de acuerdo con algo que alguien dijo, o si [l]e llama el profesor, di[ce] algo". La estudiante SSP4 observó que "de hecho, [s]e ofre[ce] a hablar porque normalmente ti[enen] debates interesantes, y a pesar de todo [ella] quiere decir algo". Explicó que "al principio del primer año esper[ó] que no [la] llamaran nunca, para poder guardar silencio. [Ahora] a veces es difícil para [ella] decir lo que quier[e], pero a pesar de esto, [s]e ofre[ce] a hablar".

Los datos recogidos mostraron que, en mayoría, las estudiantes ahora participan más activamente en otras clases y asumen un papel activo en los debates. En general, si las estudiantes no conocen alguna palabra o no saben cómo exactamente decir algo, esto ya no reprime su voluntad de comunicar en español. El hecho de que las estudiantes ahora participan más en las clases podría ser el producto de diferentes factores. No obstante, los datos recogidos sugieren que las clases de teatro pueden considerarse uno de esos agentes.

6.4 Observaciones generales

Los hallazgos de esta investigación podrían servir tanto a los aprendientes como a los profesores de lenguas extranjeras en todos los niveles educativos, ya que tanto en la escuela primaria, como en la escuela secundaria o en la universidad se puede encontrar con alumnos que tienen nivel de conocimiento entre A2–B2 (como las entrevistadas de esta investigación). Los resultados mostrarán a los estudiantes los beneficios de participar en una clase de teatro y los animarán a participar en las actividades teatrales y en las clases de teatro. En cuanto a los profesores de lenguas extranjeras, los resultados los animarán a incluir las actividades teatrales en sus clases. Además, estimularán a los profesores para ofrecer a sus estudiantes las clases de teatro como una asignatura opcional. Esta investigación también podría servir a otros investigadores proveyéndoles con información adicional sobre la utilidad de las clases de teatro en cuanto a la reducción del filtro afectivo, la adquisición de la lengua y el desarrollo/mejoramiento de la destreza oral.

En lo referente a la mejora de la destreza oral, la adquisición de la lengua y la bajada del filtro afectivo, los resultados también coinciden con los hallazgos obtenidos por Hidalgo Martín (2012: 53) y Čamernik (2018: 83–85). Este sincronismo de resultados sugiere que sería buena idea dedicar más espacio físico y curricular al teatro. El teatro debe continuar siendo una asignatura optativa a nivel universitario. En cuanto a las escuelas primarias y secundarias, las clases de teatro en la lengua extranjera meta se podrían ofrecer a los estudiantes como una asignatura optativa.

7 CONCLUSIÓN

Este artículo pretende promover el teatro como una herramienta poderosa en la enseñanza de lenguas extranjeras. Se centra en la relación entre las clases de teatro, el factor afectivo y la destreza oral. El objetivo final del artículo fue explorar los beneficios potenciales del teatro en cuanto al desarrollo de la destreza oral de las estudiantes de español en la Facultad de Filosofía y Letras en Ljubljana.

Es importante tener en cuenta que esta investigación se basa en el enfoque cualitativo, por lo cual, su propósito no es generalizar los resultados. La información se obtuvo a través de entrevistas que pretendieron recoger las experiencias personales de las estudiantes con el teatro. También es difícil aislar el impacto del teatro de otras influencias como las otras asignaturas de español que las estudiantes atendieron.

En cuanto al factor afectivo en relación con la destreza oral, los resultados sugieren que las clases de teatro son más útiles en las fases principales de aprendizaje de una lengua extranjera. En lo que se refiere a la adquisición de la lengua, los resultados sugieren que las clases de teatro tienen un impacto positivo en cualquier nivel de competencia lingüística. Por lo que respecta al factor afectivo, la investigación implica que el silencio de los estudiantes en la clase podría tener raíces no solo en la ansiedad por la lengua, sino que también por la ansiedad social. En cuanto a la adquisición de la lengua, el beneficio que fue mencionado varias veces por las estudiantes fue que el teatro les ayudó a enriquecer su vocabulario. El aumento en la participación de las estudiantes en otras clases podría ser el resultado de varios agentes. Según los datos recogidos, las clases de teatro son uno de esos factores.

Sería interesante seguir explorando el tema desde un enfoque cualitativo, usando el formato de grupo de discusión (*focus group*), para conseguir información de otra índole, pues entendemos que al ser el teatro una actividad grupal, la recogida de datos también debería establecerse también desde la misma dinámica. Otro ángulo interesante de una investigación ulterior sería incluir los alumnos de la escuela primaria y secundaria y comparar las respuestas de los diferentes grupos de edad entre sí.

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POVZETEK

VPLIV GLEDALIŠČA NA RAZVIJANJE GOVORNIH SPRETNOSTI IN NIŽANJE RAVNI ČUSTVENEGA FILTRA PRI POUKU ŠPANŠČINE KOT TUJEGA JEZIKA

Ta članek se osredotoča na odnos med poukom gledališča, čustvenimi dejavniki in govornimi spretnostmi. Glavni cilj članka je raziskati morebitne pozitivne učinke gledališča na razvoj govornih spretnosti študentov. Empirični del je sestavljen iz analize polstrukturiranih intervjujev s skupino študentk španščine, ki so prisostvovale pri predmetu *Špansko gledališče*. Skozi analizo osebnih izkušenj intervjuvank z gledališčem ta raziskava proučuje naslednje vidike uporabe gledališča pri pouku tujih jezikov: odnos med sodelovanjem pri urah gledališča in ravnjo čustvenega filtra, povezavo med sodelovanjem pri urah gledališča in usvajanjem jezika, ter vpliv sodelovanja študentk pri gledaliških urah na njihovo dejavno sodelovanje pri drugih urah. Glede govornih spretnosti in ravni čustvenega filtra so rezultati pokazali, da je imel pouk gledališča pozitiven vpliv. Študentkam je namreč sodelovanje v gledaliških dejavnostih pomagalo izgubiti strah pred delanjem napak med govorjenjem v španščini. Kar se tiče ustnega sporočanja in čustvenih dejavnikov, rezultati nakazujejo tudi, da so pozitivni učinki sodelovanja pri pouku gledališča najbolj opazni v začetnih fazah usvajanja tujega jezika. Poleg tega pa rezultati nakazujejo, da molčečnost študentov v razredu ni vedno povezana le s strahom pred tujim jezikom, pač pa je lahko povezana tudi s socialno anksioznostjo. Pouk gledališča je prav tako študentkam pomagal izboljšati njihovo poznavanje tujega jezika. Izkazalo se je, da je imelo gledališče na vseh ravneh jezikovnega znanja ki jih je zajela raziskava pozitivne učinke na usvajanje tujega jezika. Dejstvo, da študenti bolj dejavno sodelujejo tudi pri drugih urah je lahko rezultat večih dejavnikov (na primer: obšolskih dejavnosti). Rezultati kažejo, da je pouk gledališča eden od teh dejavnikov.

Ključne besede: pouk tujih jezikov, španščina kot tuji jezik, zmožnost ustnega sporočanja, čustveni dejavniki, pouk gledališča

ABSTRACT

THE INFLUENCE OF THEATRE ON DEVELOPING SPEAKING SKILLS AND LOWERING OF THE AFFECTIVE FILTER LEVEL IN THE SFL CLASS

This article focuses on the relationship between theatre classes, affective factors, and speaking skills. The article's main goal is to explore theatre's potential positive effects on the development of students' speaking skills through an analysis of semi-structured interviews with a group of university students of Spanish who took part in a *Spanish theatre* class. Through the analysis of the interviewees' personal experience with theatre, this research examines the relationship between participation in a theatre class and the affective filter level, the link between participation in a theatre class and language acquisition, and the relevance of student participation in a theatre class with regard to their engagement in other classes. Regarding the speaking skills and the affective filter level, the results show that participation in the theatre class had a positive impact. Students' participation in the theatre class helped them get over the fear of making mistakes when speaking Spanish. According to the results, theatre classes have the most notable positive impact on the progress of beginners. The results also indicate that when students are silent in class, this may not only be related to language anxiety, but also to social anxiety. The theatre class aided students in improving their knowledge of a language. The findings suggest that theatre classes have a positive influence on language acquisition at all language competence levels that were included in this research. The increase in students' participation in other classes may be brought about by various agents. The results suggest that theatre classes are one of these agents.

Keywords: foreign language classes, Spanish as a foreign language, speaking skills, affective factor, theatre classes

RESUMEN

Este artículo se centra en la relación entre las clases de teatro, el factor afectivo y la destreza oral. Su objetivo principal es explorar los potenciales beneficios del teatro en el desarrollo de la destreza oral a través de un análisis de entrevistas semi-estructuradas con las estudiantes universitarias de español que participaron en la clase *Teatro español*. Mediante el análisis de sus experiencias personales, se examinan las siguientes facetas: la relación entre la participación en una clase de teatro y el nivel del filtro afectivo, la conexión entre la participación en una clase de teatro y la adquisición de la lengua y la relevancia de la participación de las estudiantes en la clase de teatro por su involucramiento activo en otras clases. En cuanto a la destreza oral y el nivel del filtro afectivo, según los resultados, la participación en la clase de teatro tuvo un impacto beneficioso; les ayudó a perder el miedo de hablar en español. Los resultados sugieren que el efecto positivo de las clases de teatro es más notable en el progreso de los principiantes. Si los estudiantes guardan silencio en la clase, esto puede relacionarse tanto con la ansiedad conectada con la competencia lingüística como con la ansiedad social. La clase de teatro ayudó a las estudiantes de todos niveles de competencia lingüística a mejorar su conocimiento de la lengua extranjera. El aumento de la participación activa de los estudiantes puede ser el resultado de varios factores, entre los cuales también se encuentran las clases de teatro.

Palabras clave: clases de lenguas extranjeras, español como lengua extranjera, expresión oral, factor afectivo, clases de teatro

ANEXO: CUESTIONARIO EN ESPAÑOL PARA LAS ENTREVISTAS

1. ¿Cómo evalúas tu habilidad de comunicación oral en español? ¿Cuándo hablas, puedes expresar en español todo lo que quieres decir de modo normal?
2. ¿Cómo te sientes cuando tienes que hablar en la clase de español de modo normal? ¿Sientes miedo/incomodidad/ansiedad? ¿Por qué?
3. ¿Cuál es tu estrategia respecto a, por ejemplo, debates en clase? ¿Hablas voluntariamente? ¿Participas si te llama el profesor? ¿Prefieres no intervenir?

4.1. ¿Fue esta la primera clase de teatro en la que participaste?

4.2. ¿Por qué escogiste esta asignatura? ¿Qué esperabas de la asignatura? ¿Cumplió con tus expectativas?

5. ¿Cómo te sentiste cuando tuviste que actuar en español delante de la profesora y tus compañeros de clase?
6. ¿En qué áreas crees que esta asignatura te ayudó más? ¿Y en el sentido emocional? ¿Cómo te ayudó en cuanto a la lengua?
7. ¿Cómo influyó la participación en la clase de teatro en tu destreza oral en español?
8. ¿Te acuerdas de alguna actividad hecha en la clase de teatro que te ayudó a ti y a tus compañeros a perder el miedo de hablar en español?
9. ¿Piensas que ahora hablas con más naturalidad/fluidez/corrección? ¿Te sientes más relajada cuando tienes que hablar en las clases de español?
10. ¿Crees que ahora también participas más (hablas más, preguntas más) en otras clases?
11. ¿Qué tal los otros compañeros? ¿Crees que los que lucharon con la ansiedad cuando tuvieron que hablar también progresaron?
12. ¿Te gustaría participar en otra asignatura de este tipo? ¿Por qué sí/no?

RECENZIJE

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WEITBLICK: DAS GROẞE PANORAMA: KURS- UND ÜBUNGSBUCH B1+

Anielski, Maren/ Falch, Bernhard/Finster, Andrea/Magersuppe, Jens/Würz, Ulrike/ Herzberger, Julia/Stander, Julia (2019). *Weitblick: Das große Panorama: Deutsch als Fremdsprache: Kurs- und Übungsbuch B1+*. Berlin: Cornelsen Verlag. ISBN: 978-3-06-120883-7, mehka vezava, 200 strani, 19,99 €.

1 UVOD

Učno gradivo za nemščino kot tuji jezik *Weitblick B1+ poleg* pregledanega učbenika in delovnega zvezka obsega še aplikacije za učenje, avdioposnetke za prenos in kot zgoščenko ter digitalni in tiskani učiteljski priročnik. Dodatno gradivo ponujata tudi spletna stran *http://www.cornelsen.de/codes* in platforma Scook *https://www.scook.de/*, kjer je prav tako na voljo učbenik v e-obliki.

2 ZASNOVA UČBENIKA

Učbenik se prične z dvojno stranjo, namenjeno uvajanju v učno gradivo ter učenje z njim in s skupino. Sestavlja ga osem enot, vsakokrat z desetimi stranmi, od tega šestimi stranmi vnosa besednih zvez in jezikovnih struktur prek besedil ter tremi stranmi modularnega dela, čemur sledi zaključna stran s povzetkom pomembnih besednih zvez enote. Medtem ko v rednem delu uporabniki in uporabnice uravnoteženo razvijajo vseh pet spretnosti, vključno s slušno-vidnim razumevanjem, pa tudi slovnico in besedišče ter učne strategije, je modularni del namenjen krepitvi spretnosti ter ponovitvi in poglobitvi besedišča in jezikovnih struktur, učitelju oz. učiteljici pa omogoča neposredno izvajanje notranje diferenciacije. Na zadnjih straneh učbenika najdemo obsežen pregled slovnice, partnersko stran z dopolnjenimi podatki za delo v dvojicah ter seznama nepravilnih glagolov in glagolov s predlogi.

3 RAZVIJANJE ZMOŽNOSTI IN DOSEGANJE CILJEV

Učno gradivo *Weitblick B1+* z nadaljnjim razvijanjem splošnih zmožnosti in specifičnih sporazumevalnih zmožnosti uresničuje temeljni cilj pouka nemščine kot tujega jezika, kot ga opredeljuje aktualni učni načrt za pouk nemščine v gimnaziji (UN 2008), tj. razvijanje medkulturne in medjezikovne zmožnosti. Dijaki in dijakinje ju razvijajo v okviru enot, naslovljenih *Preprosto preizkusiti*, *Nekaj povedati*, *Nasmejati se iz srca*, *Vzeti si čas*, *Neizmerno se jeziti*, *Skupaj se spominjati*, *Najti rešitev* in *Izpolniti želje*, ki se nanašajo na teme *Medčloveški odnosi*, *Prosti čas in zabava*, *Potovanje in promet*, *Kultura, umetnost, medkulturnost*, *Znanost, tehnologija, množični mediji*, *Delo in poklic, storitvene dejavnosti*, *Družina in stanovanje*, *Narava in varstvo okolja* ter *Telo in zdravje*, priporočene v UN-ju (2008). Pri tem je vsaka tema predstavljena z različnih vidikov; prva navedena tema *Preprosto preizkusiti* recimo vključuje podteme *Spoznati nove ljudi*, *Oditi za leto dni*, *Drugače odkrivati mesta*, *Digitalni sosedje*, *Rudirockt* in *V iskanju zaklada*. Gradivo tako poglablja obsežen nabor tem, okvirno obravnavanih na predhodnih ravneh učenja, in hkrati nagovarja raznolike interese uporabnikov in uporabnic.

Poleg zmožnosti sporazumevanja v tujem jeziku z gradivom *Weitblick B1+* dijaki in dijakinje razvijajo tudi preostale ključne kompetence za vseživljenjsko učenje, še posebej digitalno pismenost in učenje učenja. Gradivo jim poleg že običajnega e-učbenika in spletnih interaktivnih vaj namreč ponuja široko digitalno podporo prek brezplačno dostopnih aplikacij z avdio- in videoposnetki k enotam ter dodatnimi nalogami različnih ravni zahtevnosti in navedbami spletnih povezav za nadaljnje raziskovanje – vse to po motu *prinesi svojo napravo* (BYOD) preprosto dostopno s pametnim telefonom ali tablico. Sposobnost učinkovitega obvladovanja lastnega učenja krepijo jasna zgradba gradiva, sprotna navedba učnih ciljev v učbeniških enotah, preglednica najpomembnejših besednih zvez enote na njeni vsakokratni zadnji strani in predvsem eksplicitno urjenje učnih strategij. Kulturno zavest in izražanje ter v okviru tega literarne zmožnosti pa neposredno razvijata dve učbeniški enoti.

Z gradivom *Weitblick B1+* dijaki in dijakinje v nemščini kot ciljnem jeziku uravnoteženo dalje razvijajo ne le receptivne in produktivne zmožnosti, temveč skladno z novimi dopolnitvami dokumenta SEJO (2018) poudarjeno tudi interakcijo in mediacijo ter medkulturno in raznojezično zmožnost. Slovnično zmožnost kot ključni sestavni del sporazumevalne zmožnosti dijaki in dijakinje razvijajo s samostojnim odkrivanjem jezikovnih zakonitosti, kar dopolnjujejo nazorni prikazi v enotah in napotitve v slovnične preglednice na koncu učbenika. Ponavljanje besedišča ciljnega jezika in usvajanje novih besednih zvez poteka v okviru besedil, z raznoliko vizualno podporo in s pomočjo namigov o učinkovitih učnih strategijah. Gradivo *Weitblick B1+* se s posredovanimi strategijami za slušno razumevanje in pisno izražanje v stalni sporočanjski obliki ter vajami za posamezne dele izpita izkaže tudi kot primeren pripomoček za pripravo na splošni maturitetni izpit iz nemščine na osnovni ravni.

4 METODIČNO-DIDAKTIČNI PRISTOP

Pristop učnega gradiva *Weitblick B1+* povzemajo naslednja didaktično-metodična načela: medkulturnost in raznojezičnost ter usmerjenost k opravilom in uporabniku/uporabnici. Učno gradivo na tej ravni zares odpre pot pluralnim pristopom, ki jih v okviru druge enote tudi tematizira; vključevanje drugih jezikov v proces učenja tako vendarle ne ostaja več le v domeni učitelja oz. učiteljice. *Weitblick B1+* dijake in dijakinje nadalje pripravlja in navaja na uporabo jezika v avtentičnih situacijah. Pri tem nagovarja različne učne tipe in upošteva raznolikost učnih slogov, učitelju/učiteljici pa tako v rednem kot v modularnem delu enot omogoča notranjo diferenciacijo pri vsebini in nalogah ter s tem upoštevanje različnega predznanja in siceršnjih individualnih posebnosti dijakov in dijakinj. Z izborom aktualnih tem, kot so *aplikacije*, *hitri zmenki*, *plogging*, *roboti*, *trendi*, gradivo pritegne zanimanje mlajših odraslih in ohranja njihovo motivacijo za učenje.

5 ZAKLJUČEK

Ocenjujem, da gradivo *Weitblick B1+* učinkovito krepi in nadgrajuje raven sporazumevalnega praga uporabnikov in uporabnic, skladno s SEJO-m predvsem z večanjem količine posredovanih stvarnih informacij. Ti tako po predelanem učnem gradivu tvorijo ne le preprosta besedila ter kratko utemeljujejo in pojasnjujejo v nemščini kot ciljnem jeziku, temveč tudi omejeno natančno opisujejo, podajajo podrobnosti in napotke ter samozavestneje sodelujejo v izmenjevanju nakopičenih informacij. Učno gradivo je pri tem usklajeno z najnovejšimi spoznanji o učenju in poučevanju tujega jezika ter že upošteva tudi dopolnitve k dokumentu SEJO (2018).

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Bajerski, Nadja/Böschel, Claudia/Meister, Hildegard/Würz, Ulrike/Herzberger, Julia/Schäfer, Martina (2019). *Weitblick: Das große Panorama: Deutsch als Fremdsprache: Kurs- und Übungsbuch B2.1.* Berlin: Cornelsen Verlag. ISBN: 978-3-06-120889-9, mehka vezava, 208 strani, 19,99 €.

1 UVOD

Učno gradivo za nemščino kot tuji jezik *Weitblick B2.1 poleg* pregledanega učbenika in delovnega zvezka obsega še aplikacije za učenje, avdioposnetke za prenos in kot zgoščenko ter digitalni in tiskani učiteljski priročnik. Dodatno gradivo ponujata tudi spletna stran *http://www.cornelsen.de/codes* in platforma Scook *https://www.scook.de/*, kjer je prav tako na voljo učbenik v e-obliki.

2 ZASNOVA UČBENIKA

Učbenik se prične z dvojno stranjo, namenjeno uvajanju v učno gradivo ter učenje z njim in s skupino. Sestavlja ga šest enot, vsakokrat z dvanajstimi stranmi, od tega šestimi stranmi vnosa besednih zvez in jezikovnih struktur prek besedil ter petimi stranmi modularnega dela, čemur sledi zaključna stran s povzetkom pomembnih besednih zvez enote. Medtem ko v rednem delu uporabniki in uporabnice uravnoteženo razvijajo vseh pet spretnosti, vključno s slušno-vidnim razumevanjem, pa tudi slovnico in besedišče ter učne strategije, je modularni del namenjen krepitvi spretnosti ter ponovitvi in poglobitvi besedišča in jezikovnih struktur, učitelju oz. učiteljici pa omogoča neposredno izvajanje notranje diferenciacije. Na zadnjih straneh učbenika najdemo obsežen pregled slovnice, sezname nepravilnih glagolov ter glagolov, samostalnikov in pridevnikov s predlogi, pa tudi stalnih zvez samostalnikov in glagolov.

3 RAZVIJANJE ZMOŽNOSTI IN DOSEGANJE CILJEV

Učno gradivo z razvijanjem splošnih zmožnosti in specifičnih sporazumevalnih zmožnosti na višji ravni uresničuje temeljni cilj pouka nemščine kot tujega jezika, kot ga opredeljuje aktualni učni načrt za pouk nemščine v gimnaziji (UN 2008), tj. razvijanje medkulturne in medjezikovne zmožnosti. Dijaki in dijakinje ju razvijajo v okviru enot, naslovljenih *Razširiti obzorje*, *Živeti z drugimi*, *Iskati in najti*, *Spoštljivo komunicirati*, *Nekoliko odklopiti* in *Predajati se spominom*, ki se nanašajo na teme *Medčloveški odnosi*, *Prosti čas in zabava*, *Kultura, umetnost, medkulturnost*, *Družina in stanovanje*, *Delo in poklic, storitvene dejavnosti*, *Znanost, tehnologija, množični mediji*, *Šola in izobraževanje, Narava in varstvo okolja, Telo in zdravje* ter *Politika in družba,* priporočene v UN-ju (2008). Pri tem je vsaka tema predstavljena z različnih vidikov; tema *Živeti z drugimi* na primer vključuje podteme *Kako bi želeli živeti?*, *Odnosi v digitalni dobi*, *Premagovati predsodke*, *Ženske so nečimrne. Moški? Nikoli!*, *Ko se srečajo kulture* in *Iti do svojih meja*. Nabor tem, obravnavanih na predhodnih ravneh učenja, učno gradivo tako nadgrajuje, hkrati pa upošteva individualnost posameznega uporabnika/uporabnice.

Poleg zmožnosti sporazumevanja v tujem jeziku z gradivom *Weitblick B2.1* dijaki in dijakinje razvijajo tudi preostale ključne kompetence za vseživljenjsko učenje, še posebej digitalno pismenost in učenje učenja. Gradivo jim poleg že običajnega e-učbenika in spletnih interaktivnih vaj namreč ponuja široko digitalno podporo prek brezplačno dostopnih aplikacij z avdio- in videoposnetki k enotam ter dodatnimi nalogami različnih ravni zahtevnosti in navedbami spletnih povezav za nadaljnje raziskovanje – vse to po motu *prinesi svojo napravo* (BYOD) preprosto dostopno s pametnim telefonom ali tablico. Sposobnost učinkovitega obvladovanja lastnega učenja krepijo jasna zgradba gradiva, sprotna navedba učnih ciljev v učbeniških enotah, preglednica najpomembnejših besednih zvez enote na njeni vsakokratni zadnji strani in predvsem eksplicitno urjenje učnih strategij. Dijaki in dijakinje z učbeniškim gradivom prav tako razvijajo literarne zmožnosti ter tako krepijo kulturno zavest in izražanje.

Z gradivom *Weitblick B2.1* dijaki in dijakinje v nemščini kot ciljnem jeziku uravnoteženo dalje razvijajo ne le receptivne in produktivne zmožnosti, temveč skladno z novimi dopolnitvami dokumenta SEJO (2018) poudarjeno tudi interakcijo in mediacijo ter medkulturno in raznojezično zmožnost. Slovnično zmožnost kot ključni sestavni del sporazumevalne zmožnosti razvijajo s samostojnim odkrivanjem jezikovnih zakonitosti, kar dopolnjujejo nazorni prikazi v enotah in napotitve v slovnične preglednice na koncu učbenika. Ponavljanje besedišča ciljnega jezika in usvajanje novih besednih zvez poteka v okviru besedil, z raznoliko vizualno podporo. Z nalogami iz uveljavljenih izpitnih formatov na zadnjih straneh enot v delovnem zvezku in posredovanimi učnimi strategijami, naborom vaj za slušno in bralno razumevanje ter rabo jezika (vstavljanje slovničnih in pomenskih besed, besedotvorje, pretvorbe), pa tudi pisno sporočanje in ustno izražanje je gradivo hkrati ustrezen pripomoček za pripravo na splošni maturitetni izpit iz nemščine na višji ravni.

4 METODIČNO-DIDAKTIČNI PRISTOP

Pristop učnega gradiva *Weitblick B2.1* povzemajo naslednja didaktično-metodična načela: medkulturnost in raznojezičnost ter usmerjenost k opravilom in uporabniku/uporabnici. Učno gradivo spodbuja pluralne pristope in vključevanje drugih jezikov v proces učenja tako ne ostaja več le v domeni učitelja oz. učiteljice. S simulacijami raznolikih situacij *Weitblick B2.1* uporabnike in uporabnice nadalje pripravlja na avtentično rabo jezika. Pri tem nagovarja različne učne tipe in upošteva raznolikost učnih slogov, tako v rednem kot v modularnem delu enot pa omogoča notranjo diferenciacijo pri vsebini in nalogah ter s tem upoštevanje različnega predznanja in siceršnjih individualnih posebnosti. Z izborom aktualnih tem, kot so *blogi*, *digitalizacija delovnega procesa*, *ekstremni šport*, *študij v tujini*, gradivo pritegne zanimanje mlajših odraslih in ohranja njihovo motivacijo za učenje.

5 ZAKLJUČEK

Ocenjujem, da gradivo *Weitblick B2.1* uporabnike in uporabnice uspešno pripelje prek ravni sporazumevalnega praga na višjo raven samostojne uporabe nemščine kot ciljnega jezika. Navaja jih na sprejemanje kompleksnih besedil o konkretnih in abstraktnih temah, učinkovito argumentiranje in tvorjenje poglobljenih besedil širokega nabora tem ter krepi njihovo jezikovno zavedanje in sposobnost uveljavljanja v družabnem diskurzu. Učno gradivo je pri tem usklajeno tako z veljavnim področnim učnim načrtom (2008) kot z najnovejšimi spoznanji o učenju in poučevanju tujega jezika ter že upošteva tudi dopolnitve k dokumentu SEJO (2018).

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SPRACHEN LERNEN IN DER PUBERTÄT

Heiner Böttger; Michaela Sambanis: Sprachen lernen in der Pubertät. Tübingen: Narr Francke Attempto, 2017 (Narr Studienbücher). – ISBN 978-3-8233-8049-8. 178 strani, 24,99 evrov.

Skupno delo dveh nemških visokošolskih didaktikov angleščine Böttgerja in Sambanisove z naslovom *Sprachen lernen in der Pubertät* (Učenje tujih jezikov v obdobju odraščanja) prinaša pomembno novost in odstira nova spoznanja na področju didaktike tujih jezikov. Avtorja obravnavata doslej še dokaj prezrto temo vpliva pubertete na učenje tujih jezikov in povezujeta izsledke raziskav s področja tujejezikovne didaktike in nevroznanosti. Izjemno obširna in poglobljena interdisciplinarnost tega dela predstavlja veliko dodano vrednost in je hkrati tudi precejšnja redkost. Delo je v prvi vrsti namenjeno tujejezikovnim didaktikom, študentom tujih jezikov, bodočim učiteljem tujih jezikov in navsezadnje vsem učiteljem, ki se vsakodnevno spopadajo z izzivi poučevanja mladostnikov.

Avtorja sta delo razdelila na pet poglavij, sestavljenih iz številnih podpoglavji, v katerih z izjemno interdisciplinarnostjo osvetlita številne vidike mladostniškega odraščanja v povezavi z učenjem jezikov.

Prvo poglavje je namenjeno nevrobiološkim procesom, ki spremljajo razvoj mladostnika in odločilno vplivajo na njegovo dojemanje sveta in na njegovo vlogo v njem. Avtorja natančno opišeta hormonske spremembe v možganih, vlogo hipotalamusa in limbičnega sistema, analizirata razlike v odraščanju z vidika spola in obravnavata spremembe spalnih navad, ki lahko pomembno vplivajo na šolski uspeh. Avtorja opozorita na *use it or lose it* princip v razvoju možganov, ki se nanaša na redčenje nevronskih povezav v puberteti, kar pomeni, da odmirajo tisti nevroni, ki so premalo aktivirani.

V **drugem poglavju** z naslovom *Komunikacija* Böttger in Sambanisova predstavita mladostnika kot sogovornika v odnosu s starši oziroma skrbniki, učitelji in vrstniki in poudarita, kako odločilno vlogo za uspešno komunikacijo ima za mladostnika občutek enakopravnosti. Na področju poučevanja velja zlasti razmisliti o tipologiji nalog, ki mladostniku omogočajo parcipatornost v največji meri. Avtorja obravnavata tudi značilnosti in vlogo slenga, komunikacijo na socialnih omrežjih in mladostniški mutizem.

Tretje, najobširnejše, **poglavje** je razdeljeno na podpoglavja z naslovi *Glasba, Motorika, Emocije, Kognicija, Koncentracija in Ustvarjalnost*. V podpoglavju *Glasba* avtorja tematizirata vlogo glasbe v življenju in pri učenju v obdobju odraščanja, razglabljata o glasbenem okusu in povezavami med glasbo in čustvenim svetom. Avtorja predstavita podobnosti in razlike v možganih med predelavo glasbenih in jezikovnih informacij, kritično polemizirata o preteklih enoznačnih študijah o vplivu glasbe na inteligenčni kvocient in predstavita možnosti pozitivnega vpliva glasbe na učenje, ki lahko doprinese k boljšemu tujejezikovnemu iztržku. Podpoglavje *Motorika* obravnava vlogo gibanja, ki ima lahko izjemno pozitiven učinek na učenje jezikov, a ga je treba zaradi spreminjajočega se telesa mladostnika v učni proces vpeljevati z veliko mero občutka in z razumevanjem za morebiten odpor mladostnikov. Učenje tujih jezikov skozi prizmo mladostniškega upiranja, čustvene nestabilnosti, hitre menjave razpoloženja, odobravanja vrstnikov, nagnjenosti k večjemu tveganju, strahov in ranljivosti mladostnika so osrednje teme podpoglavlja *Emocije*. Podpoglavje *Kognicija* se osredotoča na samoregulacijo učenja in vlogo učnih strategij pri pouku tujega jezika v času pubertete. Kakšne so značilnosti mladostnika in njegove koncentracije, kaj se dogaja v njegovih možganih in kaj so glavni motilci koncentracije ter kako didaktično osnovati pouk glede na značilnosti mladostnika, obravnava podpoglavje *Koncentracija*. Avtorja predlagata med drugim igrifikacijo in metodo *Storytelling* ter natančno premišljen izbor nalog, ki učence ciljno usmerjajo in jim pomagajo, da ostanejo čimbolj zbrani. V podpoglavju *Ustvarjalnost* avtorja predlagata vpeljevanje elementov dramske pedagogike v pouk tujih jezikov, ki naj bi mladostnikom pomagali, da potenciale na področju ustvarjalnosti negujejo in razvijajo še naprej, ne glede na to, da občasno dajejo občutek, da se je v času razvoja njihova ustvarjalnost nekje izgubila.

Četrto poglavje *Individualno spodbujanje in podpora* obravnava diferenciacijo in individualizacijo, vpliv napak in njihovega popravljanja na kakovost učnega procesa ter učiteljsko oziroma vrstniško povratno informacijo. Avtorja poudarita prednost diagnostične obravnave, ki učenca seznani z njegovimi dosežki in trenutnim stanjem ter možnostmi za napredek, napram ocenjevanju trenutnih dosežkov, ki ne vodijo v razvoj kompetenc.

Zadnje, **peto poglavje**, obsega bogat nabor praktičnih nasvetov in učnih dejavnosti za pouk z odraščajočo mladino. Čeprav je večina primerov pripravljena za pouk angleščine, lahko bralec najde vrsto idej za pouk kateregakoli tujega jezika in navsezadnje tudi za pouk prvega jezika. Predlogi temeljijo na integriranem pristopu, ki pridobivanje novega znanja vključujejo v avtentične situacije, tipologija nalog pa ima izrazito komunikacijski značaj. Tako najdemo npr. diskusije, debate, strateške igre, organizacijo konferenc, zaslišanja na sodišču, različne dramskopedagoške oblike, naloge, ki temeljijo na igrifikaciji ipd.

Knjiga *Sprachen lernen in der Pubertät* iz izbirke *narr Studienbücher* prestavlja temeljno delo v času pedagoškega študija tujih jezikov v Nemčiji, ki bi si vsekakor zaslužilo natančno obravnavo tudi pri nas. Navsezadnje pa bi bil izjemno dobrodošel tudi prevod v slovenščino, saj bi nova spoznanja in aktualne študije, ki jih delo prinaša, doseglo širši krog bralcev – učiteljev, ki bi pri svojem delu lahko lažje in bolje razumeli mladostnika v najobčutljivejšem obdobju šolanja in mu s poglobljenim didaktičnim premislekom še bolj stopili naproti.

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KINDER- UND JUGENDLITERATUR

Gina Weinkauff / Gabriele von Glasenapp (2018): *Kinder- und Jugendliteratur*. UTB GmbH. Paderborn: Verlag Ferdinand Schöningh. ISBN 978-3-8252-4839-0. Broširano, 320 strani, 22,99 €.

Mit dem Buch *Kinder- und Jugendliteratur* legt der Verlag Ferdinand Schöningh einen UTB-Band aus der Reihe Standard Wissen Lehramt – Studienbücher für die Praxis vor. Die Reihe richtet sich an Lehramtstudierenden, Referendare, Lehrerinnen und Lehrer in der Berufseinstiegsphase sowie an alle Fortbildungsteilnehmer in der Ausbildung und in der späteren pädagogischen Tätigkeit. Das Werk der Autorinnen Gina Weinkauff und Gabriele von Glasenapp ist schon auf den ersten Blick ein ansprechendes und besonders für diejenigen, die sich einen elementaren und kompetenten Einblick in das Thema verschaffen wollen, ein anregendes Buch. Der vorliegende Band stellt die aktualisierte und erweiterte 3. Auflage aus dem Jahr 2018 dar. Der ersten Auflage aus 2010 folgte die zweite Auflage in 2014, die in Konzeption und Inhalt nicht verändert wurde, lediglich die Literaturangaben wurden aktualisiert.

Das Werk ist sehr übersichtlich in 10 Kapitel mit mehreren Abschnitten gegliedert. Dem ersten Kapitel vorangestellt ist die **Vorbemerkung,** in der Autorinnen erklären, diese Einführung in den Teilbereich der Literatur, d.h. in die Kinder- und Jugendliteratur (KJL), „bietet historische und systematische Aspekte“, die auf der Basis des aktuellen Forschungsstandes entstanden sind. Den Begriff der Kinder- und Jugendliteratur stellen sie als ein „soziales Handlungssystem“ vor, das sich vom 18. Jahrhundert an als „ein besonderer Sektor der literarischen Öffentlichkeit“ immer mehr ablöste und verselbständigte. Dieses Werk bietet für die Lehrkräfte nicht nur Grundkenntnisse, sondern ist auch ein guter Begleiter bei didaktischen Überlegungen und ausgezeichneter Wegweiser zur Orientierung im Literaturangebot für Kinder- und Jugendliche.

Kapitel 1 und **Kapitel 2** vermitteln Einblicke in zwei Epochen, Aufklärung und Romantik, die KJL nachhaltig geprägt haben. Diese Meinung teilen die Autorinnen mit Seibert (vgl. 2008: 119), der darauf verweist, dass man erst mit der Anerkennung der „Kindheit“ als „eine eigene Phase im Leben eines Menschen“ sowie mit der Realisierung des schulischen Unterrichts für alle Kinder vom Beginn der Kinder- und Jugendliteratur sprechen kann. Die Zeit davor wird von der historischen KJL-Forschung erforscht, die u.a. feststellen konnte, dass die Anfänge der KJL bereits ins späte Mittelalter bzw. in die Frühe Neuzeit zurückreichen. Hervorgehoben werden auch Lesegewohnheiten von J.W. v. Goethe, der im Werk *Der Orbis sensualium pictus* von J. A. Comenius eine sehr anschauliche Freizeitlektüre fand. Für die Entwicklung der eigens für Kinder verfassten Texte in der Aufklärung machte sich die Pädagogik sehr verdient. Die Pädagogen, die den bürgerlichen Habitus verbreiten wollten, erkannten die spezifischen Entwicklungsprozesse der Kinder und die Philanthropen trugen mit dem Prinzip der Kindgemäßheit dazu bei. Im Kapitel 2 steht Romantik als Gegenentwurf zur Aufklärung mit folkloristischen Gattungen und Genres im Vordergrund. Die historischen Aspekte werden durchgehend mit wichtigen Zitaten (die Quellen befinden sich in den Anmerkungen am Ende des Werkes) beweiskräftigt untermauert und vom übrigen Text getrennt. **Das Kapitel 3** behandelt realistisches Erzählen aus historischer Sicht und an der Grenze zum phantastischen Erzählen. Realistisches Erzählen definieren die Autorinnen als „ein mit künstlerischen Mitteln erzielter Effekt" und betonen, dass es dabei nicht „bloß" um eine Abbildung der Welt oder den Gegenpol zum phantastischen Erzählen geht. **Das Kapitel 4** stellt die phantastische Kinderliteratur mit ihren vielen Definitionen vor, deren Ursprünge bereits in der Romantik zu finden sind, sich aber erst in den 1950er und 1960er etablierte. Dieses Genre erfreut sich großer Beliebtheit und wird gut erforscht, wobei die Leistung der Literaturwissenschaftlerin Maria Nikolajevas und der drei zentralen Modelle (die geschlossene sekundäre Welt, die offene sekundäre Welt, die implizierte sekundäre Welt) mit anschließenden Motiven nicht außer Acht gelassen wird. Durch die Impulse aus der Erwachsenenliteratur ist jugendliterarisches Erzählen geprägt, das im **Kapitel 5** anhand zweier Modelle mit Subgenres bzw. Ausprägungen behandelt wird: Abenteuerroman und Adoleszenzroman. So wie im gesamten Werk werden auch hier präzise Analysen anhand konkreter Beispiele erarbeitet. Eine der umfangreichsten Analysen und Interpretation vom Gedicht *Das ist das Ende* von Elisabeth Borchers wird im **Kapitel 6** vorgestellt, das sich mit Kinderlyrik und Kindergedicht und vorrangig mit der Notwendigkeit, die beiden Begriffe zu unterscheiden, auseinandersetzt. Das **Kapitel 7** steht im Zeichen des Bilderbuches, einer Gattung, die aus verschiedenen Blickwinkeln erfasst und hier in komplexen literarischen, künstlerischen, kulturhistorischen Zusammenhängen verdeutlicht wird. Hervorgehoben wird auch die traditionelle sozialisatorische Funktion, die in der Postmoderne eher in den Hintergrund rückt. Das Bilderbuch kann als Lehrmedium oder als Unterhaltungsmedium betrachtet werden. Die Textstrukturen, die das Bilderbuch bietet, eröffnen Spielräume für verschiedene Lesarten, z.B. Doppelsinnigkeit. Das in der dritten Auflage neu hinzugefügte **Kapitel 8** über die Medien der Kinder- und Jugendliteratur befasst sich nicht nur mit medialen, codalen und modalen Besonderheiten der Kinder- und Jugendliteratur, sondern werden in diesem Kapitel auch die historischen Anfänge der Einzelmedien der KJL und der gegenwärtige Medienalltag ausführlich geschildert. Erst seit Mitte der 1970er Jahre kam es zu einer „die Einzelmedien übergreifenden Perspektive", die als

Teil der Popkultur im Rahmen der sozialwissenschaftlichen und KJL-Forschungsansätzen entstand. Dabei betonen die Autorinnen, dass sie prinzipiell von der Medialität aller Texte ausgehen. Sie sind an den Medien als Instrumenten zur Verbreitung und Überlieferung von kinder- und jugendliterarischen Texten, die Zeichen aus unterschiedlichen Codes (verbalen, piktoralen, mimischen, gestischen, musikalischen, räumlichen usw.) enthalten können, interessiert. Thematisiert wird die wachsende Präsenz von Computer, Internet und mobilen Geräten, aber nach wie vor besteht eine Vielfalt der Angebote in den traditionellen Einzelmedien. **Kapitel 9** beschäftigt sich mit dem Kulturtransfer der KJL im weitesten Sinne, vor allem nach dem Jahr 1945, als man erkannte, dass KJL aus anderen Sprachen und Kulturen zum interkulturellen Verstehen beitragen kann. In den deutschsprachigen Raum werden traditionell viele KJL-Werke aus anderen Sprachen übersetzt, nicht nur die internationalen Klassiker. Es stellte sich heraus, dass der Leser auch sprachliche Veränderungen in der Zielsprache in Kauf nehmen muss. Dieser Tatsache müssen sich die Übersetzer bewusst sein, denn eine Übersetzung ist zunächst eine Interpretation vom Übersetzer, wie Rita Oittinen (2000: 17) feststellt: „The translator is a very special kind of reader: she/he is sharing her/his reading experience with target-language readers.” Eine Art Sensibilität für Übersetzungsphänomene im Bereich der KJL entwickelte sich relativ spät, erst nach 1980 und hatte eine kritische Betrachtung zur Folge. Das abschließende **Kapitel 10** stellt die KJL im Sozialisationsprozess und in der Schule im historischen Wandel dar. Es wird ausführlich erläutert, wie unterschiedlich die Lektüre von KJL im Laufe der Geschichte betrachtet wurde. Wenn heute literarische Erfahrung und Erwerb vom Weltwissen betont werden, bemängeln die Autorinnen zum Schluss entsprechende didaktische Konzepte zur aktuellen KJL seitens der Literaturdidaktik.

Leserinnen und Leser, die sich einen schnellen Überblick über den Inhalt der einzelnen Kapitel verschaffen wollen, seien auf die letzten Seiten der Kapitel verwiesen. Hier wird das untersuchte Thema, welches zuvor im Detail vorgestellt wird, noch einmal in einem recht prägnant formulierten zusammenfassenden Überblick präsentiert. Jedem Kapitel sind nach der Zusammenfassung mehrere Testfragen angestellt, die der Wissensabfrage dienen und mit denen die LeserInnen die theoretischen Inhalte wiederholen können. Die Lösungen zu den Aufgaben in den jeweiligen Kapiteln, hier als Modellantworten bezeichnet, kann der Leser im Anhang nachschlagen. Zum kreativen Umgang mit verschiedenen Inhalten laden die an die Testfragen anschließenden Anregungen zur Textarbeit ein, die Leser zur wertvollen Weiterarbeit animieren bzw. motivieren. Das Layout ist sehr ansprechend und übersichtlich. Die angeführten Zitate in Kursivschrift heben sich vom übrigen Text ab, was ihre Authentizität und Wichtigkeit zusätzlich unterstreicht.

Das Buch von Gina Weinkauff und Gabriele von Glasenapp bietet insgesamt ein umfangreiches Programm und geht ausführlich auf die wichtigen Fragen im Bereich der KJL ein. Sehr gut ist, dass das Buch nicht nur theoretisch fundiertes Wissen vermittelt, sondern sich um Vermittlung von konkreten Analysen und Interpretationen bemüht sowie zur weiteren Arbeit anregt. Ebenfalls positiv zu bewerten sind die verständliche Sprache, die zahlreichen Abbildungen und auch die Anführung von Definitionen aus kanonisierten Werken oder Studien.

Kapitel 1 (*Am Anfang war die Pädagogik ...)* und Kapitel 2 (*Wo Kinder sind, da ist ein goldenes Zeitalter*) werden mit kennzeichnenden Sprüchen bzw. verfestigten Zitaten vor dem eigentlichen Titel versehen, die man sich leicht einprägen kann. Schade, dass auch die anderen Kapitel nicht genauso ausgestattet sind. Eine kleine Korrektur würde ich bei der Angabe der Literatur vorschlagen. Es werden Wissenschaftler erwähnt, aber in den Literaturtipps findet man keine weiteren Angaben zu ihren Werken (z.B. Turgay Kulurtay usw. auf S. 205). Etwas irritierend wirkt das kurze Sachregister mit wenigen Begriffen. Wenn das Sachregister die Benutzung des Werkes erleichtern sollte, dann sollte es ausführlicher erfasst werden.

Alles in allem handelt es sich um ein sehr gelungenes Buch, das anschauliches Material zur Kinder- und Jugendliteratur bietet, das in dieser Form bis jetzt auf dem Markt fehlte.

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ALTHOCHDEUTSCHE GRAMMATIK. I. LAUT- UND FORMLEHRE. 16. AUFLAGE

Wilhelm Braune, Frank Heidermanns (2018). *Althochdeutsche Grammatik. I. Laut- und Formlehre. 16. Auflage. Neubearbeitet von Frank Heidermanns*. Berlin/Boston: De Gruyter. ISBN 978-3-11-051510-7, 557 Seiten, 29,95 €.

0 EINLEITUNG

Vor uns liegt das langlebige Referenzwerk der deutschen historischen Grammatik, das bereits seine 16. Auflage erlebte. Die *Althochdeutsche Grammatik: I. Laut- und Formlehre* umfasst Phonologie und Morphologie der germanischen Dialekte zwischen dem 7. Jh. und der 2. Hälfte des 11. Jahrhunderts im hochdeutschen Sprachraum. Die hohe Anzahl der Auflagen spricht für die kontinuierliche Aktivität auf dem Forschungsgebiet und für die unübertreffliche Qualität des Werkes. Die Erstauflage wurde im Jahr 1886 von dem wichtigen Junggrammatiker und Mediävisten Wilhelm Braune herausgegeben. Sie ist Teil der Sammlung kurzer Grammatiken germanischer Dialekte und bildet mit anderen historischen Grammatiken, z. B. die *Mittelhochdeutsche Grammatik* von Herman Paul ([1]1881, [25]2007), die *Althochdeutsche Grammatik: II. Syntax* von Richard Schrodt (2004), die *Gotische Grammatik* von Wilhelm Braune ([1]1880 ,[20]2004) u. a., die Basisbibliothek vor allem für diachrone LinguistInnen und MediävistInnen. Diese Rezension beruht auf dem Vergleich mit der von Ingo Reiffenstein bearbeiteten 15. Auflage (2004).

Das Werk ist seit der Erstauflage paragrafenweise aufgebaut. Im Laufe der Zeit wurden existierende Paragrafen aufgebessert, neuere Inhalte wurden als Zwischenparagrafen, die mit einem zusätzlichen Buchstaben gekennzeichnet sind, eingelegt. In der Neuauflage wurde die Gestalt des Werkes noch benutzerfreundlicher gestaltet. Jetzt steht vor jeder Paragrafnummer noch der Buchstabe des Hauptkapitels (E für Einleitung, L für Lautlehre, F für Formlehre) und die Nummer des Unterkapitels, z. B. L 2. Vokalismus (§ 9–77a), L 2.1.6.1. Ablaut (§ 50), L 3. Konsonantismus (§ 78–191), L 3.1.6. Grammatischer Wechsel (§ 100–102) usw.

Im Bereich von Laut- und Formlehre sind mehrere Quellenverweise als zuvor zu finden, da das Werk sowohl als Lehrbuch als auch Referenzwerk der althochdeutschen Sprachstufe dient. Die Quellen der Neuauflage wurden mit der Zeitzer Beichte, dem Fragment des Computus und den Sankt Galler Fragmenten der Vetus Latina erweitert. Das Quellenverzeichnis befindet sich jetzt am Anfang des Werkes. In der Neuauflage sind linguistische Kennzeichnungen für Grapheme (<>), Phoneme (//) und Allophone/Laute ([]) konsequent gebraucht. Weitere Anweisungen auf Sekundärliteratur befinden sich nicht mehr unter den Anmerkungen einzelner Paragrafen, sondern im eigenen Absatz unter dem Paragrafen.

In der Einleitung (§ 1a, Anm. 3.) findet man eine Aufzählung der wichtigen digitalen Ressourcen (Handschriftenportale, Wörterbücher, Quellen und Texte) zum Althochdeutschen, neu sind auch Vergleiche des Althochdeutschen mit dem Altsächsischen (§ 2a). Besonders hilfreich ist die neue Liste der wichtigen phonologischen und morphologischen Charakteristika einzelnen althochdeutschen Dialekten – des Oberdeutschen im Allgemeinen, Alemannischen, Bairischen und Fränkischen (§ 6a).

1 VOKALISMUS

Die Übersicht der Vokalgrapheme wurde mit folgenden Diagraphen erweitert: <aa>, <ao>, <au>, <ee>, <ii>, <iy>, <oe>, <oo>, <oy> und <uu> (vgl. §13–21). Neben der graphischen Bearbeitung der Tabellen, die übersichtlicher gestaltet sind, wurden auch neue tabellarische Darstellungen hinzugefügt, wie z. B. die Quantitätskorrelationen bzw. Vokalminimalpaare (§ 24). Die Anmerkungen zum primären Umlaut (§ 27) wurden auf das aktuelle Forschungsstand gebracht, hinzugefügt wurden Umlaut von /a/ über /e/ bis zu /i/ (Anm. 7.) und Umlaut von /ai/ zu /ē/ (Anm. 8.). Die Phonemsymbole wurden in der Neuauflage überarbeitet, so steht /e/ für das kurze germanische *e* (früher /ë/), das Lautsymbol für das lange germanische /ē (ē^{1})/ wurde mit /ǣ (ē$_{1}$)/ ersetzt, parallel dazu auch das lange germanische /ē (ē^{2})/ mit /ē (ē$_{2}$)/, um die qualitative Unterschiede zwischen den beiden germanischen *e*-Lauten zu bewahren. Bei dem a-Umlaut (§ 52) wurde der Terminus *Senkung* neben der *Brechung* benutzt. Terminologisch wurde das Kapitel *Die Vokale der nicht starktonigen Silben* zu *Die Vokale der Nebensilben* (§ 54) und *Die Vokale der Vorsilben* zu *Die Vokale der Präfixe* (§ 70) umbenannt; mit dem Oberbegriff für die Endsilben, Mittelsilben und Präfixe, die keine Hauptbetonung tragen können, wurde die Kontinuität der Terminologie bewahrt. Bei den Sprossvokalen (§ 69) wurde neben der eingedeutschten *Vokalentfaltung* der Terminus das *Anaptyxe* statt früher *Svarabhakti* verwendet.

2 KONSONANTISMUS

Der Kapitel des Konsonantismus wurde durch die Übersicht der ostfränkischen Konsonantenphonemen (§ 80) erweitert. Nach der tabellarischen Darstellung folgen die konsonantischen Quantitätsoppositionen zwischen den einfachen und geminierten bzw. langen Konsonanten. Besonders wichtig sind neue Anmerkungen zur (vermutlichen) Aussprache des Konsonanten, z. B. des *r*-Lautes im Althochdeutschen (Anm. 4. des § 80). Die phonologische Transkription des Werkes nähert sich mit seiner Überarbeitung dem Internationalen phonetischen Alphabet. Das Symbol des stimmhaften velaren Frikativen, der durch Spirantisierung aus dem stimmlosen /χ/ im In- und Auslaut schon im Urgerm. entstanden ist, wurde zu /g/, früher /γ/ – dadurch ist zwar die Unterscheidung zwischen der Entwicklung des ide. /k/ und des ide. /g^h/ verschwunden, wurde aber das Inventars der Konsonantenphonemen im phonetischen Sinne vereinheitlicht (vgl. § 81). Neu sind die Paragrafen zum germanischen /k^w/ (§ 146a) und zum germanischen /h^w/ (§ 154a). Der Übersicht der Konsonantengrapheme wurde mit weiteren Sequenzen der Grapheme erweitert: <fh>, <gch>, <gu>, <hk>, <hqu>, <hs>, <phf>, <sh>, <ssc> (§ 173, § 176–178, §184, § 187), neu ist der Paragraf 190a zum Graphem <y>.

Der Terminus *Doppelkonsonanten* wurde mit *langen Konsonanten* (Geminaten) (§ 82) bzw. *geminierte Konsonanten* (§ 91) ersetzt, es geht nämlich um längere und nicht doppelte Aussprache des Konsonanten. Wegen Vereinheitlichung wurde der veraltete Terminus *Sonorlaute* mit *Sonanten* ersetzt (§ 104). Besonders lobenswert ist die Arbeit, die an der Klarheit des Textes geleistet wurde. An vielen Stellen wurden Beschreibungen der Reihenfolgen der Phoneme präzisiert und systematisiert, z. B. bei der Anm. 3. des § 118 steht in der Neuausgabe „Zur Folge /r/ + /j/“, in der 15. Ausgabe stand „Das j nach r“. Der Terminus *Gutturale* wurde mit dem Terminus *Velare* ersetzt (§ 140), da es im Althochdeutschen keine Palatale gab (das *j* galt im Ahd. als Halbvokal [i̯]); der Terminus *Guttural* fungiert als Oberbegriff für velare und palatale Laute. Einige Paragrafen wurden stark erweitert, z. B. zum germanischen /l/ (§ 122).

3 FORMLEHRE

Im Oberkapitel Formlehre wurden einzelne Unterkapiteln systematisch umbenannt, z. B. statt *ja-Stämme* steht *Stämme auf -ja-* oder statt *Ehemalige germ. -iz-/-az-Stämme* steht *Flexion mit germ. *iz-/-az* u. a. Im Bereich der Terminologie wird *Wurzelvokal* statt früher *Stammvokal* verwendet, aber inkonsequent (vgl. § 245). Die Paragrafe 204 und 205 wurden mit der Kategorie der Nomina, die sowohl als Maskulina als auch Neutra vorkommen, z. B. *hrēo*, *rēo* ‘Leichnam’, *klēo* ‘Klee’, *sou* ‘Saft’, *tou* ‘Tau’, *trëso* ‘Schatz’, erweitert. Dem Paragrafen 204 wurden auch weitere Beispiele, z. B. *brīo* ,‘Brei’, *dëo* ‘Diener’, *bū* ‘Bau, Wohnung’ usw., hinzugefügt. Die Beschreibung der Deklination der

Stämme auf *-wō-* wurde erweitert, in der früheren Ausgabe gab es nur ein Hinweis auf die Deklination der reinen ō-Stämmen (§ 212). Bei der i-Deklination des Femininums wurde das Paradigma des Wortes *anst* 'Gunst' mit dem Paradigma *kraft* 'Kraft' ersetzt (§ 218). Die Deklination der Maskulina auf *-n-* (§ 222) wurde durch die Kategorie der aus schwach flektierten Adjektiven substantivierten Personenbezeichnungen, z. B. *mennisko* 'Mensch' und *wīȝago* 'Prophet', und den Lehnwortschatz, z. B. *pfaffo* 'Pfaffe', ergänzt. Neu ist die Auseinandersetzung mit dem ide. Wortbildungstypen Nomina ohne Suffix bzw. Wurzelnomina (§ 237a).

Bei der Deklination der Adjektiva auf *-a-/-ō-* und bei der schwachen Deklination der Adjektiva wurde der Beispiel *blint* bzw. *blinto* 'blind' mit dem Beispiel *jung* bzw. *jungo* 'jung' ersetzt (§ 248, § 255), bei der Steigerung der Adjektiva wurde das Paradigma für die Komparation mit dem Beispiel *jungiro* 'jünger' (früher *rëhtiro* 'richtiger') ajouriert (§ 262).

Der Paragraf 267 zu Adjektivadverbien wurde mit weiteren Beispielen und Anmerkungen ergänzt. Der ehemalige Paragraf 270 wurde entzweit, sodass der neue Paragraf 269a jetzt als eine Einleitung zu den Zahlwörtern fungiert. Das Paradigma der Possessivpronomina hat in der Neuausgabe eine tabellarische Illustration bekommen (§ 285).

Bei der Konjugation des ahd. Verbes wurde der Modus, der noch in der 15. Ausgabe *Optativ* hieß, in den *Konjunktiv* umbenannt (vgl. § 301), um die terminologische Kontinuität zum Mittel- und Neuhochdeutschen zu sichern und dem 2. Band der *Althochdeutschen Grammatik: II. Syntax* (Schrodt 2004) zu entsprechen. Die Benennungen der beiden Tempora wurden in der Neuausgabe eingedeutscht, *Präsens* statt *Praesens* und *Präteritum* statt *Praeteritum*. Zur Illustration der Konjugation verschiedener Verbkassen wurde eine Tabelle mit dem fränkischen Lautstand des 9. Jh. hinzugefügt (vgl. § 328a).

4 SCHLUSSBEMERKUNGEN

Die 16. Ausgabe der *Althochdeutschen Grammatik: I. Laut- und Formlehre* bietet allen, die sich für die deutsche Sprachgeschichte interessieren, das Grundwissen zum Thema und zugleich einen Wegweiser mit umfangreichen und aktualisierten Quellen- und Sekundärliteraturverzeichnis. Besonders lobenswert sind zahlreiche Stellen, die auf die Uneinigkeit der SprachwissenschaftlerInnen aufweisen, das Paradebeispiel wäre die Datierung der 2. (hochdeutschen) Lautverschiebung. Das Werk soll nach der Vollendung des Leipziger Althochdeutschen Wörterbuches neugestaltet werden und damit nur noch als Grammatik fungieren.

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LE FRANÇAIS EST À NOUS ! PETIT MANUEL D'ÉMANCIPATION LINGUISTIQUE

Candea Maria, Véron Laélia. (2019). *Le français est à nous ! Petit manuel d'émancipation linguistique.* Paris : La Découverte. ISBN : 978-2-348-04187-7. Broché, 240 pages. 18€

Dans cet ouvrage, Maria Candea et Laélia Véron, enseignantes et chercheuses, respectivement en linguistique et en stylistique, se sont associées afin d'initier le plus grand nombre à la (socio) linguistique et à l'histoire de la langue française en comparant, entre autres, discours sur la langue et pratiques de la langue. Partant du principe que la langue appartient à celles et ceux qui la parlent, les autrices adoptent en cela un point de vue résolument politique sans se départir d'une démarche rigoureuse, réflexive et scientifique. Comme son titre l'indique, cet ouvrage didactique invite les locuteur·ices du français à s'affranchir de l'autorité de certaines règles, expert·es et institutions qui prétendent détenir les savoirs et savoir-dire et empêchent ainsi les débats linguistiques dont pourraient se saisir les francophones pour faire vivre et façonner, ensemble, la langue française.

Le manuel se présente en trois parties reflétant les trois objectifs initialement fixés par les autrices dans le préambule : « définir la langue et les notions linguistiques de base, décrypter les enjeux sociaux et citoyens liés à ces questions de langue et, pour finir, raconter quelques histoires situées à différentes époques de l'histoire du français » (p.11). D'où le découpage suivant : Partie I. « Qu'est-ce que la langue ? » (3 chapitres) ; Partie II. « Au nom de la langue » (4 chapitres) ; Partie III. « Langues et débats : promenades dans les histoires la langue » (4 chapitres). Ces 11 chapitres empruntent tous la même structure : ils s'ouvrent sur un encadré intitulé « On pense souvent, à tort, que », « Pourtant on ne sait pas que » annonçant la teneur du chapitre, le développement méthodique étant marqué d'un ou deux « focus » permettant d'approfondir un point précis, et s'achèvent sur une très brève bibliographie « Pour aller plus loin » qui s'ajoute aux références ponctuellement indiquées en notes de bas de page. La conclusion de l'ouvrage est suivie d'un glossaire final regroupant une vingtaine de notions clairement définies.

La **première partie** expose succinctement les notions invoquées tout au long de l'ouvrage, en répondant à un certain nombre de questions. Les exemples pris dans l'histoire de la langue ou des enjeux de langue dans l'histoire de la France montrent combien toute réflexion sur la langue est nécessairement sociolinguistique et donc politique, dès l'instant où le point de vue concerne ce que les usager·ès font avec la langue. Le **chapitre 1** présente des réflexions sur la frontière entre les notions de langue, créole, dialecte, sur l'intercompréhension, la fabrique des dictionnaires (du *Dictionnaire françois* de Pierre Richelet aux dictionnaires actuels de l'espace francophone en passant par les dictionnaires collaboratifs en ligne, comme *Le Dictionnaire de la zone*) ou les emprunts de mots; dans le **chapitre 2**, suit une discussion autour de la notion de la faute de langue après la fabrication – idéologique – du « français standard », soulevant la question de l'unicité de la langue française, des niveaux de langue et des discours normatifs à l'origine du sentiment d'insécurité linguistique, ou encore ce qui pourrait faire d'elle « la plus belle langue du monde »; le **chapitre 3** interroge l'idée, relayée depuis le XVIe siècle, de « langue en danger ». En effet, certains usages généralisés et inconséquents menaceraient la pureté et l'authenticité de la langue française : il s'agirait notamment de l'invasion de mots étrangers ou de néologismes, ou encore de l'invention de typographies fantaisistes, comme le point médian de l'écriture inclusive. En posant les bases nécessaires pour comprendre le domaine linguistique, nul doute que cette partie inaugurale nous invite à distinguer « ce qui est stable et ce qui peut prêter à débat » (p.12).

La **seconde partie** offre une nouvelle lecture de quatre lieux discursifs extrêmement sensibles, comme l'indiquent les sous-titres des 4 chapitres : « la langue comme arme », « la langue comme champ de bataille », « la langue comme étendard » et « la langue comme prétexte ». Ces quatre champs mettent en lumière des aspects politiques et idéologiques, passés ou récents, souvent méconnus ou caricaturés, suscitant parfois débats et combats. Prenant comme point de départ la nature pragmatique du langage, le **chapitre 4** examine le pouvoir que recèle la langue jusqu'à faire basculer ses usagers dans la violence, symbolique ou non, sinon provoquer la mort sociale. Cette conception actionnelle du langage et de la communication, développée notamment par Bourdieu en France, est importante pour comprendre les « mécanismes de hiérarchie et d'opposition entre dominants et dominés par le langage » (p.91). Des expressions comme « péquenot », « ma jolie » ou « nègre » ne sont pas neutres – connotation et dénotation s'articulent – et portent la trace d'une idéologie qui enferme les gens dans une image sociale et raciale préconstruite. Le **chapitre 5** aborde la féminisation de la langue française que Candea-Véron préfère renommer « démasculinisation », en rappelant l'offensive lancée au XVIIe siècle par des grammairiens « interventionnistes » pour imposer la fameuse règle du « masculin [qui] l'emporte sur le féminin », et pour éclipser la présence des femmes dans les noms de titres et métiers. En conclusion de ce chapitre, le focus sur l'écriture inclusive révèle à quel point les « luttes sociales et idéologiques se mènent aussi sur le terrain linguistique » (p.119). Le **chapitre 6** porte sur la colonisation et le colonialisme, rappelant, au-delà des clichés (la langue française volontiers dépeinte comme « universaliste » et « civilisatrice »), la parcimonie ou la condescendance avec lesquelles la France a dispensé l'enseignement du français dans ses colonies ; l'étude des cas de l'Algérie, de l'AOF (Afrique occidentale française) et de la Nouvelle-Calédonie dévoile une transmission très inégale et partielle du français en fonction des territoires. Si les valeurs attachées à la langue comme vecteur d'éducation et de potentielle émancipation étaient importantes, il fallait donc manier la diffusion du français avec précaution. Enfin, **chapitre 7** insiste sur le caractère opaque de l'Organisation internationale de la Francophonie, institution dont la France tire les ficelles et qu'il serait sain de juger à l'aune de ses missions officielles : en effet, alors qu'elle prétend « promouvoir la francophonie et soutenir la paix, les droits humains, l'éducation, le développement durable, elle accueille en son sein des États et des personnalités politiques loin d'être démocratiques » (p.140). Les autrices s'emploient par ailleurs à démystifier deux figures majeures controversées de la francophonie : Onésime Reclus, précurseur du mot et théoricien de la colonisation française nationaliste, et Léopold Sédar Senghor, père de la Francophonie institutionnelle qui avait une conception globalisante et racialiste de la langue française par rapport aux langues africaines.

Finalement, la **troisième partie** s'attarde sur certaines périodes clés de l'histoire du français qui nourrissent la mythologie courante autour de cette langue. Dans le **chapitre 8,** l'Âge classique et la mise en place de la notion de « génie » de la langue (p.162), au détriment des autres langues (dialectes régionaux, patois, langues étrangères des pays voisins) qu'il convient de dénigrer ; la construction d'un « esprit français », « fleur de la conversation aristocratique » (p.166) dans les salons de l'Ancien régime qui alimentaient des fantasmes linguistiques confondant histoire et mémoire ; la revendication actuelle d'une « exception française » qui tente de recréer le passé sous prétexte de le célébrer et de défendre une spécificité nationale, dans un sens élitiste voire nationaliste. Le **chapitre 9** concerne des idées reçues sur la Révolution et sa politique linguistique : elle aurait créé une nouvelle langue en révolutionnant les pratiques sociales et langagières. Au contraire, le paysage langagier n'a pas été tant bouleversé qu'on le dit puisque le français intéressait beaucoup les révolutionnaires qui aspirait à s'en servir dans le souci d'unifier la nation; cela dit, les parlers régionaux ont été progressivement étouffés après l'enquête de l'abbé Grégoire; faire du français la langue de l'éducation participait de cette volonté des révolutionnaires de franciser le territoire avec la création du Comité d'instruction public en 1791 mais cette entreprise demeura incomplète faute de moyens suffisants. C'est durant la IIIe République, présentée dans le **chapitre 10**, que se systématise la scolarisation de masse, d'abord gratuite (1830) puis obligatoire (1880). L'apprentissage de l'écriture est une pratique d'abord élitiste car exceptionnelle au sein de la société française, et genrée car les filles n'ont pas accès à l'éducation avant 1850. Les défis de l'école pour tou·te·s consistent à diffuser le français en imposant la maîtrise de l'orthographe comme outil de distinction sociale par le biais de la grammaire scolaire après que celle-ci eut été fixée. Le **dernier chapitre** de l'ouvrage se concentre sur l'émergence du numérique et les défis, plus ou moins inédits, qu'il entraîne : les nouvelles formes d'écriture (textos, tweets et graphies originales), les conséquences de la communication numérique sur le rapport entre l'oral et l'écrit, et enfin, la réévaluation de nos représentations du plurilinguisme et de l'enseignement/apprentissage des langues à l'ère de ce qu'il convient d'appeler les « humanités numériques » (p.214).

Douze focus, entre une et six pages, pointent certains enjeux historiques, sociaux et/ou idéologiques dissimulés derrière des faits visiblement insignifiants. La première mise au point intitulée « Comment Molière écrivait-il ? » nous rappelle combien la langue ne se confond pas avec son orthographe. L'on s'amusera également du second focus, interrogeant le rôle, l'utilité et la légitimité de l'Académie française, qui campe souvent sur des positions très réactionnaires alors qu'elle ne compte qu'une seule linguiste[1] sous sa coupole (chapitre 1). Sans vouloir passer en revue tous les focus, l'on attirera l'attention des lecteur·ices sur l'arabisation fantasmée du français dans le langage des jeunes (chapitre 3), le « retournement du stigmate » ou la lutte pour la réappropriation par un peuple minorisé du sens d'un mot (chapitre 4), le parler « petit nègre » (chapitre 6), la réforme de l'ortografe (*sic*, chapitre 10), ou encore l'authenticité des accents (chapitre 11). Ces courts exposés constituent autant d'éléments de savoirs qui aident à se positionner, en tant que citoyen·ne éclairé·e, sur des sujets clivants.

En guise de **conclusion**, Candea&Véron se demandent finalement ce qu'aimer la langue française veut dire : traquer les impertinents et les couvrir d'opprobre au moindre néologisme, à la moindre bavure grammaticale ? condamner les accents et dénoncer LA faute qui instaure une seule bonne façon de s'exprimer et place les locuteur·ices dans une posture d'insécurité linguistique ? s'agripper à la norme et s'ériger en détenteur du « bon français » ? Au contraire, aimer la langue française, « c'est passer du temps à lire, parler, écrire et surtout s'interroger » (p.220), déconstruire quelques mythes et idées reçues, se réjouir de l'amplitude de ses variantes qui font la richesse de la langue. Les deux enseignantes-chercheuses terminent leur ouvrage avec optimisme en revenant sur l'expression « Le français est à nous » – à celles et ceux qui la pratiquent – telle une exhortation joyeuse à s'emparer de la langue et de son histoire. Contre les « passions tristes » (p.219) d'une certaine élite conformiste qui déplore, dans des ouvrages alarmistes, le déclin du niveau de langue des jeunes français·es, le désarroi identitaire et le nivèlement par le bas que provoquerait la *superdiversité* (notion définie dans le glossaire) de nos sociétés plurilingues, les autrices invitent les usager·ès du français à adopter une attitude critique. Cette émancipation linguistique passe par la connaissance des fonctionnements courants et une réévaluation des savoirs historiques de la langue française, ce qui éviterait de prendre les règles de grammaire et l'orthographe pour acquises en considérant qu'elles s'appliquent sans qu'il soit nécessaire d'en comprendre les ressorts (cas de l'accord du participe passé, de l'accord de proximité, des catégories des adverbes et des compléments). En effet, derrière les polémiques autour des titres et noms de métiers, se cache « la question de la place des femmes dans le monde du travail et dans les grilles de

1 Barbara Cassin, philologue et philosophe, élue le 3 mai 2018 et reçue sous la coupole le 17 octobre 2019, après la publication de l'ouvrage recensé ici.

salaire » (p.133) ; « prises de position sur la langue et prises de positions citoyennes » sont étroitement liées comme le rappellent Candea-Véron (p.223).

Véritable hymne à l'amour de la langue française, il s'agit là d'un ouvrage original, agréable et facile à lire, éminemment pédagogique et foisonnant de conseils de lectures complémentaires et d'anecdotes historiques qui nous rappellent combien nos rapports à la langue sont ambigus car ils constituent un enjeu de société, celui du vivre ensemble. Ce *Petit manuel d'émancipation linguistique* permettra au corps enseignant et étudiant de français, langue maternelle, seconde ou étrangère, de réévaluer ses représentations et se forger un point de vue critique et complexe sur la langue et les discours tenus en son nom. Ce sera aussi l'occasion de désancrer certains lieux communs et de dépoussiérer ses savoirs sur une langue dont l'apprentissage est jugé difficile et exigeant. En cela, la lecture de cet ouvrage dense mais simplement écrit est vivement recommandée, sinon hautement nécessaire, à celles et ceux qui s'intéressent amoureusement à la langue française, auraient besoin de se réconcilier avec elle, ou se demandent en quoi consiste le métier de linguiste.