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KAZALO

Uvodnik.....	5
<i>Primož Vitez</i> : LA NOTION DE «MOT» EN MARGE DE L'ANALYSE LINGUISTIQUE.....	7
<i>Tomislav Frleta</i> : LA PERSONNE DANS LES SYSTEMES LANGAGIERS.....	21
<i>Petra Zajc, Monika Kavalir</i> : HOW TO SPEAK LIKE A BRONTËAN BYRONIC HERO: A COMPARISON OF MR ROCHESTER AND HEATHCLIFF.....	39
<i>Jana Jurčević</i> : LEXICAL SYNAESTHESIA IN METAPHORICAL COLLOCATIONS: COLLOCATIONAL BONDING OF GUSTATORY ADJECTIVES IN ENGLISH.....	63
<i>Agata Križan</i> : ENGLISH AND SLOVENE FOOTBALL MATCH REPORTS THROUGH THE LENS OF APPRAISAL LANGUAGE: ATTITUDE.....	83
<i>Oleksandr Kapranov</i> : EVIDENTIALITY IN CLIMATE CHANGE DISCOURSE BY KING CHARLES III.....	109
<i>Metka Godec</i> : ANALYSE LINGUISTIQUE DES COMMENTAIRES FACEBOOK À PROPOS DES MESURES DE CONFINEMENT EN FRANCE ET EN SLOVÉNIE.....	131
<i>Claudia Mejía de la Pava, Silvia Manessi</i> : HANDS-ON DATA GATHERING: VIABILITY OF RESEARCH METHODOLOGIES IN TWO LINGUISTIC STUDIES.....	155
<i>Haithm Zinhom</i> : THE CHALLENGES OF USING MACHINE TRANSLATION IN RENDERING ARABIC TEXTS INTO ENGLISH: AN APPLIED PERSPECTIVE.....	175
<i>Vitja Bizjak</i> : HAMLET V PREVODU B. L. PASTERNAKA IN M. L. LOZINSKEGA.....	199
<i>Levente Borsos, Tamás Kruzslicz, Mojca Nidorfer, Chikako Shigemori Bučar</i> : INTERCULTURAL RECONCEPTUALIZATION OF INTERPERSONAL RELATIONSHIPS IN AUDIOVISUAL TRANSLATION: HUNGARIAN, SLOVENIAN, AND JAPANESE IN CONTRAST.....	217
<i>Anamarija Šporčič</i> : SPOL IN NADLJUDJE V AMERIŠKI ZNANSTVENI FANTASTIKI: OD CISSPOLNIH SUPERMOŽ DO TRANSSPOLNIH SUPERJUNAKINJ.....	241
<i>Kajetana Obreza</i> : DIE INFORMATIONSVERHÄLTNISREKONSTRUKTION UND IHR VERGLEICH IN DER FIGURENKONSTRUKTION ALS AUSGANGSPUNKT UND ZUGANGSMÖGLICHKEIT ZUM WISSEN DES MODELL-RETEXTUALISIERERS IN DER HISTORISCHEN PERSPEKTIVE.....	259
<i>Irena Samide</i> : VON DER NÜTZLICHKEIT DES UNNÜTZEN: ÜBER DEN SINN DER POESIE IM FREMDSPRACHLICHEN UNTERRICHT.....	277

<i>Lara Burazer, Janez Skela: CELOSTNO VSEBINSKO-JEZIKOVNO UČENJE SKOZI POGLOBLJENO RAZČLEMBO AKRONIMA CLIL</i>	<i>291</i>
<i>Jan Černetič: LIEDERBEHANDLUNGEN IN AUSGEWÄHLTEN LEHRWERKEN FÜR DEN DAF-UNTERRICHT: DIDAKTISCHE ANALYSE UND ERWEITERUNGSVORSCHLÄGE</i>	<i>313</i>
<i>Shadha Neiroukh, Binu Pathippallil Mathew, Mohsen Ghorbanpoor: INVESTIGATING THE IMPACT OF A COMPREHENSIVE WRITING FEEDBACK GUIDE ON ENHANCING LEARNER AUTONOMY</i>	<i>337</i>
<i>Jaqueline Mora Guarín: THE IMPLEMENTATION OF PROTOTYPICAL CONTENT WORD LISTS TO ANALYSE THE VOCABULARY INPUT CONTAINED IN ENGLISH LANGUAGE TEACHING TEXTBOOKS.....</i>	<i>365</i>
<i>Berlinda Mandasari, Maulida Rahmah, Nur Mukminatien: DEVELOPING AN ASSESSMENT INSTRUMENT MODEL FOR INDONESIAN CULTURE-BASED ORAL PRESENTATIONS FOR UNDERGRADUATE EFL STUDENTS</i>	<i>385</i>
<i>Blažka Müller, Cláudia Silva: SLOVENE STUDENTS' WRITING SKILLS IN PORTUGUESE: COMMON CHALLENGES AND PATHS FOR IMPROVEMENT</i>	<i>403</i>
<i>Dijana Ćorković: PRIMERJAVA KULTURNIH VSEBIN V UČBENIKIH ZA FRANCOŠČINO KOT TUJI JEZIK</i>	<i>419</i>
<i>Andreja Retelj: VORSTELLUNGEN VON DAF-LEHRAMTSSTUDIERENDEN ÜBER DEN QUALITATIV HOCHWERTIGEN DAF-UNTERRICHT</i>	<i>437</i>
<i>Sarah Löwenkamp: ANALYSE SPRACHLICHER FEHLER IN DER FREMDSPRACHLICHEN KOMMUNIKATION VON PFLEGEFACHKRÄFTEN MIT PATIENT:INNEN</i>	<i>457</i>
<i>Saša Jazbec: TRANSLANGUAGING UND SEIN POTENZIAL FÜR DEN DAF-UNTERRICHT SOWIE FACHSPRACHLICHEN DAF-UNTERRICHT</i>	<i>477</i>

Recenzija

<i>Mojca Leskovec: PRIMA AKTIV: DEUTSCH FÜR JUGENDLICHE A2.1: KURSBUCH</i>	<i>497</i>
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Spoštovane bralke, spoštovani bralci,

V Vestniku za tuje jezike tokrat objavljamo štiriindvajset znanstvenih prispevkov z različnih področij – jezikoslovja, prevodoslovja, književnosti in didaktike tujih jezikov oz. jezikov stroke. Še posebej nas veseli, da je med temi članki kar sedem takih, ki so jih napisali – ali pri njih sodelovali kot soavtorji – študentke in študentje doktorskega ali magistrskega študija.

S področja jezikoslovja objavljamo prispevke v slovenščini, angleščini in francoščini. **Primož Vitez** razpravlja o »besedi« kot robnem pojavu jezikoslovne analize. V francoščini piše tudi **Tomislav Frleta**, ki raziskuje kategorijo osebe v jezikovnih sistemih. **Petra Zajc** in **Monika Kavalir** sta s pomočjo korpusne analize ugotavljali, kako se izražati kot brontejevski byronski junak (primerjava gospoda Rochestra in Heatcliffa). **Jana Jurčević** obravnava leksikalno sinestezijo v metaforičnih kolokacijah – združevanje pridevnikov za opazovanje okusa. Na druga področja posegajo **Agata Križan**, **Oleksander Kapranov** in **Metka Godec**; prva analizira angleška in slovenska poročila o nogometnih tekmah, drugi evidencialnost v govorih kralja Karla III. O podnebnih spremembah, tretja pa komentarje, ki so se v obdobju pandemije pojavili na omrežju Facebook v Sloveniji in Franciji. V razdelek uvrščamo še prispevek **Claudie Mejia de la Pava** in **Silvie Manessi**; ukvarjata se z uporabo raziskovalne metodologije v dveh jezikoslovnih študijah.

Na področje prevodoslovja uvrščamo tri prispevke. **Haithm Zinhom** razmišlja o pasteh strojnega prevajanja besedil iz arabščine v angleščino. **Vitja Bizjak** primerja dva prevoda Hamleta v ruščino. **Levente Borsos**, **Tamás Kruzslíc**, **Mojca Nidorfer** in **Chikako Shigemori Bučar** pa pišejo o avdiovizualnem prevajanju – z medkulturnega vidika analizirajo medosebne odnose, na podlagi zelo zanimivo izbranih jezikov, slovenščine, madžarščine in japanščine.

Tudi s področja književnosti v tokratni številki objavljamo tri prispevke. Tema članka **Anamarije Šporčič** je spol in nadljudje v ameriški znanstveni fantastiki. **Kaja Obreza** se pri analizi oseb v srednjeveških francoskih delih in njihovih nemških retekstualizacijah s komparativnega vidika osredinja na rekonstrukcijo razmerja, ki jih imata dve informaciji za iste literarne osebe. **Irena Samide** pa v prispevku s povednim naslovom *O koristnosti nekoristnega* razpravlja o smiselnosti uporabe poezije pri pouku tujega jezika.

Najštevilčnejši so tudi tokrat prispevki s pomočjo didaktike tujih jezikov; objavljamo jih v slovenščini, angleščini in nemščini. **Lara Burazer** in **Janez Skela** sta se lotila

poglobljene analize celostnega vsebinsko- jezikovnega učenja (CLIL). **Jan Černetič** v svojem prispevku obravnava péte pesmi v učbenikih za nemščino kot tuji jezik. **Shadha Neiroukh**, **Binu Pathippallil Mathew** in **Mohsen Ghorbanpoor** raziskujejo vpliv orodja za dajanje povratne informacije na avtonomijo učencev tujega jezika. **Jaqueline Mora Guarín** analizira uporabo seznamov prototipskih polnopomenskih besed za analizo usvajanja besedišča v učbenikih za poučevanje angleščine. **Berlinda Mandasari**, **Maulida Rahmah** in **Nur Mukminatien** predstavljajo razvoj ocenjevalnega modela za ustne predstavitve študentov pri pouku angleščine v indonezijskem kontekstu. **Blažka Müller** in **Cláudia Silva** sta se posvetili analizi pisnih izdelkov slovenskih študentov v portugalsčini. **Dijana Čorković** primerja kulturne vsebine v učbenikih za francoščino kot tuji jezik. **Andreja Retelj** piše o tem, kako si študentje - bodoči učitelji nemščine predstavljajo kakovosten pouk tujega jezika. **Sarah Löwenkamp** delno posega na področje jezika stroke, saj obravnava analizo jezikovnih napak v tujejezični komunikaciji med zdravstvenim osebjem in bolniki. **Saša Jazbec** pa razmišlja o čezjezičnosti in potencialu pristopa za pouk nemščine kot tujega jezika in jezika stroke.

Številko zaključujemo z recenzijo učbenika Prima aktiv **Mojce Leskovec**.

Želim vam prijetno branje in vas vabim k oddaji prispevkov za naslednjo številko.

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Izvirni znanstveni članek



LA NOTION DE «MOT» EN MARGE DE L'ANALYSE LINGUISTIQUE

1 UNE NOTION INTUITIVE¹

Les locuteurs ordinaires ne se soucient guère de réfléchir la différence entre *savoir parler* une langue et *connaître* une langue. Le présupposé général veut que celui qui sait se servir d'une langue, n'a pas besoin d'en décrire la structure. Cette méconnaissance fonctionne bien dans l'usage quotidien: le locuteur ordinaire parle une langue sans avoir pour objectif de l'analyser. L'oubli de la langue, selon Gadamer (1967: 86), est une condition nécessaire du fonctionnement normal de la langue en société. Cependant, les intérêts que portent les différents locuteurs à la langue, sont bien diversifiés. *Savoir parler* une langue signifie la capacité du locuteur de s'en servir; *connaître* une langue, en revanche, permet de l'analyser, l'observer, comprendre sa structure, son système réglementaire, enfin la diversité de ses usages. La situation est quelque peu paradoxale, parce que toute expression linguistique a tendance à se poser des questions sur soi-même. Tout locuteur connaît des moments de questionner son usage, de se demander comment *on appelle* telle chose, comment *on dit* ceci ou cela, ce qui est *correct* ou ne l'est pas. Autrement dit, les éléments métalinguistiques lui sont inhérents. L'approche analytique de la langue, qu'elle soit appelée linguistique ou science du langage, opère par un métalangage dont le statut est également paradoxal: pour le linguiste, la langue est en même temps *objet* et *instrument* d'observation – la langue s'utilise pour s'analyser.

Comme la «langue», le «mot» est en même temps un concept pré-théorique (Souzet 2005: 246), linguistique et métalinguistique. Pour la linguistique structurale, cherchant à établir des schémas formels, le «mot» est un objet d'analyse peu intéressant. Mais on ne peut pas négliger le fait que le «mot», en usage ordinaire, est une notion dont les locuteurs sont clairement conscients. Ainsi, la *Grammaire de Port-Royal* (Arnould & Lancelot 1997: 36), la première grammaire comparée, se sert naturellement du

¹ Članek je nastal v okviru raziskovalnega programa P6-0218 (Teoretične in aplikativne raziskave jezikov: kontrastivni, sinhroni in diahroni vidiki), ki ga financira ARIS.

concept de «mot» en en donnant une définition très élémentaire: «*On appelle mot ce qui se prononce à part, et qui s'écrit à part.*» Les auteurs à l'époque supposent à juste titre que tout locuteur est capable de *sous-entendre* la distinction du «mot», l'entendre «à part», même sans pouvoir en formuler une explication théorique. C'est pourquoi il semble intéressant de considérer cette *entente* et de voir si la notion de «mot» supporte une analyse quelque peu détaillée.

2 LE MYTHE DU MOT

Une mythologie du logos. Dans la plupart des interprétations mythologiques de la création, y compris la chrétienne, le mot est le principe du monde possible et intelligible. L'incipit de l'Évangile selon Saint-Jean, dans le Nouveau Testament, postule: «*Au commencement était le Verbe, et le Verbe était auprès de Dieu, et le Verbe était Dieu. Il était au commencement auprès de Dieu. C'est par lui que tout est venu à l'existence, et rien de ce qui s'est fait ne s'est fait sans lui.*» Le verbe, ici, (gr. *logos*) doit être compris comme un véhicule, comme un dénotateur, signifiant ce qu'il n'est essentiellement pas, bref, comme «mot». L'usage évangélique de ce concept, en apparence, n'a rien de commun avec les acceptions scientifiques du signe linguistique. Néanmoins – et sans plonger dans dans le potentiel théologique de ce passage – on peut dire que la linguistique, dans sa longue histoire, négligeait de considérer l'interprétation de la langue que ce texte suggère et selon laquelle l'expression linguistique non seulement *précède* le monde réel, mais se «fait chair» et *crée* la réalité extralinguistique, perçue, reproduite et réinventée par l'humain. Dans un renversement de la terminologie saussurienne, on pourrait dire que le phénomène de toute chose, animée ou inanimée, se trouve dans son appellation, dans son nom, c'est-à-dire, dans son signifiant (Soutet 2005: 249). Cette idée a été reprise par Lacan (1966: 356) avançant que le sujet parlant, par son exercice linguistique, ne fait qu'appeler et rappeler, en parlant, les choses de la réalité extralinguistique, crée sa propre réalité pour «coudre» ainsi son discours dans sa situation communicationnelle. Dans le jeu communicatif, il n'y a que ce qui est énoncé, souvent par le silence. La langue est toujours *devant* le locuteur; la parole vient l'habiter, dessiner son profil spirituel, déterminer ses compétences communicatives et produire le statut social dont le locuteur peut bénéficier par ses interactions avec autrui. Dans ces processus interactionnels, le mot est le moyen symbolique d'accès non seulement à l'entente du locuteur avec ses partenaires sociaux, mais à la réalité même.

Un mythe populaire. Si, d'un autre côté, on poursuit les postulats de la linguistique systémique (structurelle ou formelle), la langue sert principalement à signifier la réalité extralinguistique, c'est-à-dire ce qu'elle n'est pas. Le signifiant a sa substance (acoustique ou graphique), nécessairement différente par rapport aux propriétés physiques des choses désignés qui, elles, n'appartiennent pas à la langue. Autrement dit: la langue permet au

locuteur d'établir des relations avec le monde, avec lui-même et avec la langue elle-même. Bref, la langue est destinée à signifier quelque chose et, par l'usage, produire du sens. Ce que nous percevons comme des unités linguistiques autonomes porte une signification qui est convenue à l'intérieur d'une communauté linguistique. En ce sens, le «mot» est un concept intuitif, intelligible à tous les locuteurs. Le locuteur ordinaire ne se demande pas ce qu'est le mot. Le concept «mot» contient des unités aussi différentes que le nom allemand «Weltmeisterschaft», le pronom anglais «you», le verbe français «déstabiliser» ou la préposition slovène «s». L'existence du mot est sous-entendue; le mot porte une signification dans la conscience des locuteurs et de leurs interlocuteurs, bref, on a l'*intuition* de sa cohérence interne et de son associabilité en unités d'expression supérieures, un syntagme ou une phrase par exemple.

Les choses sont moins évidentes quand le linguiste essaie de définir le «mot» comme une unité ou forme structurelle, descriptible par des critères morphologiques et/ou syntaxiques. L'envergure notionnelle du «mot» paraît inconsistente par rapport aux éléments formels de la structure linguistique. Le «mot» peut se présenter comme un seul morphème («monde»), une séquence polymorphémique («préétablir»), même comme une phrase entière («Viens !») ou un seul phonème («a»). Le «mot» est donc une interface constructive de différents niveaux de la structure linguistique. Dans les cas les plus élémentaires, on peut définir ses dimensions comme un lexème simple ou composé à divers degrés, p. ex. «rêve-rêver-rêvasser». Il est en quelque sorte dommage que le «mot», vu son potentiel intuitif pour le locuteur, ne puisse pas représenter pour la linguistique (ni pour la grammaire) l'unité formelle de base. Ce rôle est réservé aux concepts tels que *phonème, morphème, lexème* etc.

3 LE MOT ÉCRIT

Il semble que le mot reste le mieux définissable dans le texte écrit. On a établi une définition largement acceptable qui dit que le mot, du moins celui dans les systèmes graphiques alphabétiques, est une séquence de graphèmes (typogrammes, lettres), délimitée devant et derrière par deux espaces. On dit bien «devant et derrière», parce que l'écriture est perçue comme un processus spatial, analysable visuellement, par le regard. La bidimensionnalité du mot écrit est essentielle pour la lecture, parce que le lecteur, en lisant, n'y effectue pas la reconnaissance de lettres une par une, mais reconnaît par ses yeux le mot comme une unité délimitée et cohérente.

»Aoccdrnig to a rsreeach at Cmabrigde Uinervtisy, it deosn't mtttaer in waht oredr the ltteers in a wrod are, the olny iprmoatnt tihng is taht the frist and lsat ltteer be at the rghit pclae. The rset can be a toatl mses and you can sitll raed it wouthit porbelm. Tihs is bcuseae the huamn mnid deos not raed ervey lteter by istlef, but the wrod as a wlohe.»
Cet exemple – qui plane sur Internet – démontre bien l'aptitude du locuteur de reconnaître

le mot comme une séquence discrète. Il dit notamment que «*peu iprotme l'odrre des ltertes dnas un mot; ce qui cmptoe, c'est que la pmerèire et la dnèrree letrte sinoet en pacle. Le rtese puet êrte un coahs cplomet, mias la coshe srea tjoruous bein lblisie*». Ce principe fonctionne justement grâce à cette intuition de l'unité du mot comme une entité bien délimitée dans l'espace – et c'est une certitude qui se forme sur l'expérience d'un lecteur ordinaire. Comme la tradition de l'analyse linguistique s'appuie le plus souvent sur les manifestations linguistiques écrites, la question du «mot» n'a pas souvent été relevée. En revanche, les sciences du langage ont renoncé au graphocentrisme exclusif et à la seule analyse visuelle du matériel linguistique. Elles s'intéressent explicitement à l'oral et à sa nature sonore (acoustique, phonique, auditive).

4 LE MOT COMME UNITÉ MORPHOSYNTAXIQUE

La morphologie se définit d'habitude comme analyse de la structure interne des mots, et la syntaxe comme un système de règles permettant aux mots de s'associer en phrases. Dans cette définition apparemment claire, le statut structurel du mot lui-même reste obscur. Le problème de la délimitation du mot comme unité formelle d'expression linguistique provient d'abord de sa perception intuitive, mais aussi du fait que ce concept métalinguistique ne s'explique pas par un seul aspect analytique. Normalement, le mot est perçu comme une unité portant une certaine valeur sémantique. La structure grammaticale et la solidarité syntaxique du mot déterminent aussi son potentiel sémantique, mais les critères grammaticaux semblent mieux aider à définir la classification des mots que les seuls principes morphologiques.

Considérant les règles morphologiques, on comptera dans l'énoncé suivant

(1) *Monsieur Diderot n'a jamais voyagé à l'Orient*

neuf unités, analysables comme mots, à savoir *Monsieur, Diderot, ne, a, jamais, voyagé, à, le, Orient*. Chacune de ces unités a une forme correspondant à la solidarité syntaxique dans l'énoncé en question. Ce compte (9 mots) sera obtenu lorsque l'énoncé est analysé dans sa forme écrite : ce sont les blancs et les apostrophes qui nous permettront d'identifier visuellement les unités.

Pourtant, le rôle des apostrophes démontre bien un mécanisme syntaxique en français, notamment la tendance fusionnelle des mots qu'on appelle «grammaticaux» (déterminants, particules de négation etc.) en unités supérieures que le locuteur, sous influence de réalisations orales, ressent comme des mots particuliers. La séquence syntaxique *l'Orient*, par exemple, peut s'analyser morphologiquement comme comportant deux mots, mais l'analyse syntaxique (et, plus clairement, orale) la traitera comme un mot autonome.

Dans l'évolution historique du français il est particulièrement intéressant d'observer ce mécanisme syntaxique qui avait souvent résulté en composition de nouveaux mots à partir de deux unités morphologiques – et ces nouveaux mots sont actuellement perçus comme des mots cohérents ; leur compréhension n'est nullement perturbée si le locuteur ne connaît pas leur origine bi-morphématique. On sait que, par exemple, *Lorient* est le nom d'une ville à l'Ouest de la France.

Ainsi, le mot français «Monsieur» est un cas très évolué de ce principe syntaxique. Etymologiquement, il est composé du déterminant «mon» et du substantif «seigneur». La fréquence de l'usage n'en a pas fait seulement un mot unique et sémantiquement uni, mais aussi phoniquement et orthographiquement simplifié. Apparemment, le processus évolutif du mot «Monsieur», n'est terminé que pour notre actualité : sa prononciation standard actuelle [mɔsjø] semble promettre, à l'occasion d'une future réforme orthographique, une autre simplification visuelle : «Meussieu».

5 LE MOT COMME UNITÉ SÉMANTIQUE

«Le vrai problème du 'mot' [...] est dans l'impossibilité où nous sommes de définir exactement 1) ce qui est un ou plusieurs mots dans la chaîne du discours, c'est-à-dire en syntagmatique, 2) ce qui est un ou plusieurs mots dans le lexique, c'est-à-dire en paradigmatique.» (Martinet 1989: 129)

L'intuition suggère au locuteur que le mot porte une signification. C'est donc un signifiant qui appelle un certain segment de la réalité en s'investissant dans la communication linguistique. Pour que le mot fonctionne, il doit nous paraître isolable et indépendant par rapport aux autres unités du même ordre. Il se distingue par certains traits formels (acoustiques, morphématiques) qui sont réels (en contexte) ou potentiels (comme caractéristiques sémantiques) dans la structuration syntaxique d'un énoncé.

Cette définition contribue à la clarté conceptuelle du lexème, mais pas exactement du mot lui-même. Un segment cohérent de la «réalité extralinguistique» peut très bien être connoté par une séquence de plusieurs mots qui, souvent réalisés ensemble (fréquence d'usage) peuvent fonctionner comme un mot unique et indépendant. Pour la raison de l'usage de la flexion casuelle des substantifs et adjectifs, nous prendrons un exemple en slovène:

(2) *Pred par dnevi sem spet gledal* James Bonda.

Le nom du héros de la célèbre *Bondiad*e est un syntagme, pareil à n'importe quel autre prénom et nom usuels, que l'on analyse facilement comme une séquence pluri-lexicale. La flexion slovène de ce syntagme anglais, comme elle est réalisée dans l'exemple (2), n'a évidemment rien à voir avec la flexion en slovène standard – et ce syntagme serait écrit

différemment aussi: *Jamesa Bonda*. Mais on ne manquera pas d'observer que ce type de comportement grammatical est parfaitement habituel dans l'usage quotidien, surtout oral. C'est ce qui est particulièrement révélateur pour notre propos, parce que les unités linguistiques, du point de vue évolutif, sont changées, transformées et restructurées dans toutes les langues par l'usage réel. Dans ce type d'usage *James Bond* est intuitivement perçu comme un seul mot et reproduit dans l'énoncé (2) comme [dʒejmzbɔnda].

D'ailleurs, le slovène (comme d'autres langues slaves, par exemple) présente un problème quant à la flexion des noms composés, particulièrement quand ces noms sont de provenance étrangère. Le standard prescrit explicitement la flexion du nom personnel *Jean-Jacques* comme si ce prénom était composé (et il l'est) de deux unités séparées. Mais le respect de cette prescription standard, à l'usage quotidien, provoque un certain malaise parce qu'en réalisant la forme fléchie *Jeana-Jacquesa* (*Žana-Žaka*) on donne l'impression qu'on est dans l'hyper-correction et qu'il s'agit de deux prénoms alors qu'il n'y en a en réalité qu'un seul, même s'il est visiblement composé. Il est pourtant conceptuellement cohérent parce qu'il dénote un référent unique, bien discernable dans l'ensemble de la réalité extralinguistique. C'est pourquoi, dans les formes fléchies, les locuteurs slovènes (ou croates etc.) ont naturellement tendance à traiter Jean-Jacques (*Žanžaka*, *Žanžaku* etc.), comme d'ailleurs Anne-Marie en version slovène *Anamarija*, *Anamarije* etc., comme un seul mot – et souvent même en situations dans lesquelles cet usage est déconseillé par les règles du standard.

6 LE MOT ET LE SYNTAGME EN FRANÇAIS

La question des différences entre les langues s'impose surtout aux niveaux lexical et structurel. Du point de vue lexical, ces différences s'expliquent souvent par la diversité des visées du monde que les différentes langues traduisent en significations particulières. Ainsi, un même signifié, mettons le concept «cheval», reçoit en slovène le signifiant «konj», en allemand «Pferd», en anglais «horse», etc. Les différences structurelles, en revanche, s'expliquent moins bien par les facteurs externes. Elles semblent surgir des spécificités orales, particulières en chaque langue, et recouvrant ce qu'on appelle la prosodie, ou plus ordinairement, la musique de la langue. Le français, sous cet aspect, est une langue bien particulière. Sa prosodie, sous l'effet d'une accentuation unique, i.e. accent final (frappant systématiquement la dernière syllabe du groupe accentuel), est tellement différente par rapport aux autres langues, que le français, par sa mélodie, se fait souvent reconnaître par les locuteurs qui d'ailleurs n'ont aucune notion en francophonie.

L'un des effets de ce type accentuel est le déplacement radical de la désinence verbale pour marquer la personne grammaticale du verbe. Le verbe slovène «rečem» se réalise en français comme «je dis», en italien encore «dico». Ce concept sémantique est réalisé en slovène et en italien par un seul mot, alors que le français semble en dépenser deux

pour exprimer la même chose. En effet, «je dis» est analysable en deux mots distincts, surtout quand on se réfère à l'écrit. Mais une analyse morphologique montrerait que les trois exemples sont effectués à la base de deux éléments morphématiques, deux morphèmes: la base verbale et un indice, dénotant la personne. En slovène et en italien, cet indice est un suffixe et comme tel soudé à la forme verbale: *rečem, rečeš, reče* ; *dico, dici, dice*. Le français présente une situation différente, parce que le rôle d'indice personnel, de l'autre côté du verbe, est joué par ce qu'on appelle traditionnellement le pronom personnel atone ou conjoint. La forme verbale française elle-même, du moins à l'oral, n'est pas distinctive: *dis/dis/dit* – c'est pourquoi la personne est déterminée par le préfixe indicial *je/tu/il*. (Creissels 1995: 25; Revol 2005: 125-128) Cela signifie que ce type de syntagme français peut à juste titre se considérer comme un seul mot (Vendryes 1950: 67), même si l'analyse visuelle de l'orthographe en détecterait deux. C'est ce qu'on va détailler dans la suite.

7 DEUX CAS MORPHOSYNTAXIQUES EN FRANÇAIS

Deux structures, touchant au problème du mot, se distinguent parmi celles qui sont affectées historiquement par l'accentuation française.

Détermination nominale: marque du pluriel. Sauf dans les cas où l'accent final recouvre la variation phonique du marquage du pluriel, p. ex. *cheval – chevaux*, les formes lexicales du substantif au pluriel restent inchangées par rapport à celles du singulier : *enfant – enfants, citoyen – citoyens* etc. Par comparaison de ces formes fléchies avec les principes de flexion dans la plupart des autres langues romanes, mettons en italien, *bambino – bambini, cittadino – cittadini*, il est évident que le pluriel de ces formes italiennes est marqué par une variation désinencielle, réalisée sur une syllabe inaccentué, postérieure à l'accent. Or, l'accentuation finale en français ne permet pas ce type de solution morphologique : la fonction de la détermination, sous forme de proclitique (c'est-à-dire un monosyllabe anticipant la forme nominale), n'est pas seulement de déterminer le statut défini ou indéfini du substantif affecté, ou sa valeur déictique, mais aussi d'en définir la variation formelle selon le critère grammatical du nombre.

(3)	la femme	les femmes
	une femme	des femmes
	cette femme	ces femmes
	sa femme	ses femmes

Qu'il s'agisse d'article défini ou indéfini, adjectif démonstratif ou possessif, le déterminant se réalise par un morphème qui définit le pluriel de la forme lexicale qui, elle, est invariable à l'égard du nombre. Certes, la variation plurielle est réalisée à l'écrit par le graphème *s*, désignant orthographiquement le changement en nombre; il va sans dire que

cette analyse, traitant de l'accent en tant que fait prosodique, se rapporte aux réalisations orales. Le pluriel est déterminé par une substitution de la voyelle préfixée au substantif, respectivement *a/e*, *y/e*, *ɛ/e* ; *ə/e* pour les formes masculines *le/ce* – *les/ces*. C'est la qualité vocalique du déterminant qui marque le nombre de la forme substantivale, et pas la désinence qui n'existe pas.

La détermination phonique du pluriel, préposée à la forme substantivale, est encore plus marquante au cas où le substantif se réalise par une initiale vocalique.

- (4) l'ami/-e les ami-s/-es
 un/une ami/-e des ami-s/-es etc.

Dans les cas de ce type, la marque du pluriel (détermination) vient s'amalgamer à la forme substantivale, par la réalisation de la consonne de liaison /z/, pour créer l'impression d'un mot unique. La consonne latente devient ainsi la marque privilégiée du pluriel.

Détermination verbale: marque de la personne. L'absence de syllabes inaccentuées en fin du groupe accentuel a produit un autre type d'opération déterminative et d'invariance formelle qui s'observe dans la morphosyntaxe du verbe français. L'accent final en tant que résultat du processus historique d'oxytonisation provoque dans la flexion verbale un isomorphisme, semblable à celui du nom au pluriel par rapport au singulier, mais plus générale, parce qu'il touche la quasi-totalité des occurrences les plus représentatives dans la paradigmatique verbale en français. Il s'agit de la morphosyntaxe du paradigme verbal de l'indicatif présent au singulier où les formes des trois personnes présentent exactement la même réalisation parlée.

- (5) je parle (io) parlo govori-m
 tu parles (tu) parli govori-š
 il parle (egli) parla govori

Comme nous avons pu le voir dans le cas du pluriel des substantifs, les autres langues romanes, comme le latin, permettent le marquage du nombre par la variation désinentielle sur la syllabe inaccentuée post-accentuelle. De ce fait, la variation de la forme verbale est réalisable en italien sans élément pronominal, puisque la forme lexicale elle-même, par sa terminaison, rend compte de la personne marquée. En français, le «morphème zéro» – analogue à l'inexistence des syllabes finales sans accent – génère l'isomorphisme du paradigme entier et oblige le locuteur francophone à préciser la personne ailleurs. Le morphème en fonction de référent personnel est donc situé devant la forme verbale et ne peut en être dissocié.

Ces morphèmes de référence personnelle, *je/tu/il*, sont traditionnellement considérés par les grammaires françaises comme des pronoms personnels atones ou conjoints

– par opposition aux pronoms personnels toniques ou disjoints, *moi/toi/lui*. Leur fonctionnement morphosyntaxique, pourtant, ne supporte pas l'épreuve de substitution par un élément de la sphère nominale. Les pronoms personnels proprement dits (toniques ou disjoints) peuvent jouer un rôle dans un groupe prépositionnel ou être mis en relief, par exemple, tandis que les unités de ce type qu'on appelle «atones ou conjointes» n'ont pas cette puissance syntaxique.

(6)	pars avec moi	moi aussi je pars	c'est moi qui pars
	*pars avec je	*je aussi pars	*c'est je qui pars

Non seulement ces morphèmes personnels, du point de vue syntaxique, ne peuvent pas remplacer un nom; le rendement fonctionnel du paradigme verbal à l'indicatif est nul si ce type de morphème n'est pas attaché directement à la base verbale – et cela sous forme de proclitique ou de préfixe qui pré-détermine la personne verbale. Il y a entre le morphème personnel et son verbe un rapport de solidarité absolue (Martin 1979 : 3) ou d'indissociabilité. Comme le français ne produit pas, dans le paradigme de l'indicatif présent singulier, de terminaisons qui puissent assumer la fonction de référent du constituant sujet (Creissels 1995 : 25), cette tâche est revenue aux morphèmes *je/tu/il* que l'on définit non plus comme des pronoms personnels, mais comme des *indices pronominaux* ou *indices personnels*. Ces morphèmes indiciels sont inaccentuables du seul fait d'être obligatoirement conjoints (préposés) à la forme verbale pour en déterminer la référence personnelle – et pour former avec elle une unité sémantique unique et cohérente.

8 LE MOT COMME UNITÉ ACCENTUELLE

Après avoir donné une définition rudimentaire du mot – que nous avons citée ci-dessus – la *Grammaire de Port-Royal* (Arnauld & Lancelot 1997: 36), dans le paragraphe suivant, précise: «*Ce qu'il y a de plus remarquable dans la prononciation des mots est l'accent, qui est une élévation de voix sur l'une des syllabes du mot après laquelle la voix vient nécessairement à se rabaisser.*» Les critères définitoires sur lesquels nous avons jusqu'ici essayé de déterminer la nature et l'extension du mot sont d'ordres différents, mais reposent sur deux dénominateurs communs: a) le mot est une unité significative cohérente, b) l'intuition de cette unité repose sur les principes phoniques, ceux de l'oral.

Même si les locuteurs ont l'impression d'une certaine indépendance et discontinuité du mot, l'analyse de l'oral – ou d'une chaîne parlée – révèle que les mots ne sont pas énoncés un par un. Quand on parle, on ne fait pas de pauses entre les mots (Erdeljac 1997: 163) comme on fait des blancs entre les mots écrits. Les pauses (silences) entre les segments d'une chaîne parlée sont relativement rares, relatives à la respiration, pertinentes pour la compréhension du message oral. A l'écrit, les blancs délimitent les unités

sémantico-morphologiques minimales. Toutefois, un locuteur *peut* intensifier l'usage des pauses et exposer ainsi la valeur d'un segment oral choisi, d'un mot particulier. C'est ici que nous rappelons l'intuition qui permet au locuteur de faire des distinctions sémantiques par l'usage des mots séparés.

Le mot – qu'il nous soit intelligible ou pas – se reconnaît comme une unité physique, ou mieux, une unité phonétique (acoustique), déterminé par les critères suprasegmentaux (prosodiques) que l'on analyse en parlant par le recours à notre compétence phonologique. L'*accent* est essentiel à cette reconnaissance. C'est une émergence, une mise en relief, d'une seule syllabe parmi toutes les syllabes qui constituent une unité accentuelle, c'est-à-dire une *unité rythmique*. Dans la plupart des langues, en gros, cette unité est identifiée comme un «mot». Henry Sweet (1876: 479) a proposé la définition suivante du mot: «*Le mot, phonétiquement parlant, est un groupe accentuel.*» Il semble que ce simple constat affirme le mieux le propos que nous essayons de donner ici: il privilégie l'oral en annonçant les conséquences systématiques qui résultent de l'usage parlé. On prendra un exemple en slovène:

(7) On nikakor **nebi** hotel z mano.

(8) On nikakor **ne bi** hotel z mano. In res noče.

La différence formelle entre ces deux énoncés, on le *voit* bien, demeure dans leur nature orthographique. Tout le monde le sait; les questions du bon usage orthographique, surgissent souvent à l'école, et parmi elles le problème de l'écriture séparée ou conjointe. La règle normative prescrit dans le cas cité l'écriture séparée, en deux mots, comme elle est réalisée dans l'exemple (8). Mais tout locuteur possède l'expérience de l'«erreur», de cette faute orthographique typique qui est celle d'écrire cette sorte de cas «ensemble», en un seul mot. Cet exemple suggère une certaine inconsistance ou arbitraire de la prescription orthographique: la séquence *ne bi* ne contient en slovène qu'un seul accent, sur la première syllabe – et elle est censée être écrite séparément, en deux mots (au contraire du groupe prépositionnel *zame*). En revanche, la réglementation orthographique avait depuis longtemps accepté la graphie *noče*, *nima*, etc., cas exactement analogue de points de vues accentuel et morphosyntaxique, provenant formellement de deux mots distincts, la particule négative *ne* et forme verbale (*ho*)*če*. Il est possible de prévoir, dans un futur indéterminé, que la norme orthographique, par analogie avec *nima*, *noče*, acceptera *nebi* comme un mot unique.

9 CONCLUSION

Quant aux critères de description grammaticale, la notion de mot ouvre la question de délimitation entre l'analyse morphologique et syntaxique des structures linguistiques.

Même si ces critères semblent moins obscurcissants à l'écrit, il est dans la nature de l'orthographe d'hésiter parfois à déterminer l'extension du mot comme unité graphique. A long terme, c'est l'usage qui provoque des changements dans les prescriptions systématiques. La supposition sémantique avançant que le mot – en tant qu'unité de signification autonome – se réfère à un segment particulier de la réalité extralinguistique n'est guère plus précis: le cas des noms composés (porte-monnaie, quatre-vingt-dix, grand-père etc.) problématise ces unités sémantiques en hésitant de décider si leur structure consiste en un mot ou deux.

La réflexion du mot pose très concrètement la question du rapport entre la langue et son usage. Il semble que, pour définir le mot, il faut nécessairement prendre en compte la manifestation orale de l'usage linguistique et privilégier l'analyse de l'accentuation; et dire probablement que le mot est une unité accentuelle. La structure acoustique (prosodique) des messages linguistiques est ce qui permet aux locuteurs de s'orienter dans les réseaux des significations et du sens dans l'énonciation et dans les énoncés. Parmi les éléments inhérents à l'expression linguistique, l'accent est celui qui crée la base pour cette intuition par laquelle le locuteur reconnaît sans effort le mot comme porteur autonome de valeur sémantique.

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POVZETEK

»BESEDA« KOT ROBNÍ POJEM JEZIKOSLOVNE ANALIZE

Članek analizira opisni potencial metajezikovnega pojma »beseda«. Ta pojem je po svoji posplošeni rabi predvsem predteoretičen koncept, ker ga brez terminoloških ambicij vsak govorec prosto uporablja v raznih variantah njegove izrazite polisemije. Ob upoštevanju meril slovničnega opisovanja koncept besede najprej odpira vprašanje razmejčitve med oblikoslovno in skladenjsko analizo jezikovnih struktur. Zdi se, da je beseda v pisni obliki z vidika opredelitve razvidnejša, ker je relativno lahko vizualno razločiti kontinuirano serijo grafemov, zamejeno z dvema presledkoma. Tudi če se oblikoskladenjska merila v pisni obliki jezikovnega izraza zdijo manj nejasna, je v naravi pravopisa, da včasih omahuje pri določanju razsežnosti besede kot grafične enote. Dolgoročno gledano jezikovna raba povzroča spremembe, ki jih v nadaljnjem razvoju struktur sistemski predpisi potrjujejo ali pa jih zavrnejo. Tudi semantična domneva, da se beseda – kot neodvisna pomenska enota – nanaša na točno določen segment zunajjezikovne realnosti, ne zagotavlja dovolj natančne opredelitve: primer sestavljenih francoskih samostalnikov (*porte-manteau, quatre-vingt, grand-mère*, itd.) te pomenske enote problematizira tako, da mora opazovalec s pomočjo pomenske ali formalne razčlenbe utemeljiti, ali je njihova zgradba sestavljena iz ene besede ali iz dveh.

Aanaliza besede zelo konkretno odpira vprašanje razmerja med jezikom in njegovo rabo. Zdi se, da je za opredelitev besede nujno upoštevati ustne manifestacije jezikovne rabe in posvetiti potrebno pozornost vlogi naglaševanja. Tudi če delitev na naglasne enote ne vpliva na leksemsko enoto, kar se največkrat dogaja v jezikih z nefiksnim naglasom, je beseda (ali vsaj fonetična beseda) pomenska enota, katere razsežnost prepoznavamo predvsem zaradi naglasa oziroma naglasnega mesta. Besedo je torej mogoče opredeliti tudi kot naglasno enoto.

Ključne besede: beseda, govor, naglaševanje, enota jezikoslovne analize, oblikoskladnja

ABSTRACT

THE CONCEPT OF “WORD” ON THE MARGIN OF LINGUISTIC ANALYSIS

The article aims to examine the analytical potential of the metalinguistic concept of the “word”. It is at the same time an important pre-theoretical concept since any language user is free to exploit it in any of its numerous variants in polysemic dimensions. Considering the criteria of grammatical description, this concept first opens the question of delimitation between the morphological and syntactic analysis of linguistic structures. In writing, the problem of definition seems less complex because it is relatively easy to discern a continued series of graphic signs (i.e. letters) between two blanks. Even if the morphosyntactical criteria seem less obscure in writing, it is in the nature of orthography to sometimes hesitate to determine the extension of the word as a graphical unit. In

the long term, linguistic practice causes changes that later systemic prescriptions choose or refuse to adopt. The semantic supposition that the word – as an autonomous unit of meaning – refers to a particular segment of extralinguistic reality is hardly more precise: the case of compound French nouns (*porte-manteau*, *quatre-vingts*, *grand-mère* etc.) problematizes these semantic units, making it hard to decide whether their structure consists of one word or two.

Reflecting on the word very concretely raises the question of the relationship between language and its use. It seems that, to define the word, it is imperative to take into account the oral manifestations of linguistic use and therefore privilege the analysis of accentuation. Even if the division into accent segments does not affect the lexemic unit, which is most often the case in languages with non-fixed accents, the word (or at least the phonetic word) is a unit of meaning that the accent allows us to recognize. The word is therefore also definable as an accentual unit.

Keywords: word, orality, accent, linguistic analysis unit, morphosyntax

RÉSUMÉ

LA NOTION DE «MOT» EN MARGE DE L'ANALYSE LINGUISTIQUE

L'article se propose d'examiner le potentiel descriptif de la notion métalinguistique de «mot». Considérant les critères grammaticaux, la notion de mot ouvre d'abord la question de délimitation entre l'analyse morphologique et syntaxique des structures linguistiques. Le mot écrit semble présenter moins de complexité définitoire, puisqu'il est apparemment facile de discerner visuellement une suite continue de graphèmes entre deux blancs. Même si les critères morphosyntaxiques semblent moins obscurcissants à l'écrit, il est dans la nature de l'orthographe d'hésiter parfois à déterminer l'extension du mot comme unité graphique. A long terme, c'est l'usage qui provoque des changements que les prescriptions systémiques choisissent ou refusent d'adopter. La supposition sémantique avançant que le mot – en tant qu'unité de signification autonome – se réfère à un segment particulier de la réalité extralinguistique n'est guère plus précise: le cas des noms composés (*porte-manteau*, *quatre-vingts*, *grand-mère* etc.) problématise ces unités sémantiques de façon à ce que l'observateur doit argumenter si leur structure consiste en un mot ou deux.

La réflexion du mot pose très concrètement la question du rapport entre la langue et son usage. Il semble que, pour définir le mot, il faut impérativement prendre en compte les manifestations orales de l'usage linguistique et privilégier l'analyse de l'accentuation. Même si le découpage en segments accentuels n'affecte pas l'unité lexémique, ce qui d'ailleurs est le plus souvent le cas des langues à accent non-fixe, le mot (ou du moins le mot phonétique) est une unité de sens que l'accent permet de reconnaître. Le mot est donc aussi définissable comme une unité accentuelle.

Mots-clés: mot, oralité, accentuation, unité d'analyse linguistique, morphosyntaxe

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Izvirni znanstveni članek



LA PERSONNE DANS LES SYSTEMES LANGAGIERS

1 INTRODUCTION¹

Au cours de l'histoire, la triade latine *ego-hic-nunc* (moi-ici-maintenant) a été étudiée par un grand nombre d'auteurs. Ces trois mots représentent les notions qui sont le point de départ de toute langue. Nombreux sont les livres qui traitent de la problématique du temps (évidemment ceux qui traitent de la morphologie, de la sémantique... du verbe) par exemple, Guillaume, *Temps et verbe* (1929), Klum, *Verbe et adverbe* (1961), Revol, *Introduction à l'ancien français* (2005)², pour n'en mentionner que quelques-uns. Puis il y a beaucoup de livres qui étudient l'espace (mais sont relativement moins nombreux que ceux qui étudient le temps). Ces livres se concentrent principalement sur les déictiques (*ici* et *là*) et les études comparées comme celui de Vanderbauwhede, *Le déterminant démonstratif en français et en néerlandais* (2012) pour ne mentionner que l'un des derniers qui traitent de cette problématique. Et il y a un certain nombre d'ouvrages qui traitent de la personne (plutôt grammaticale) mais leur nombre est relativement pauvre par rapport aux livres, études, chapitres consacrés aux deux premières notions de la triade mentionnée.

Les raisons pour cela peuvent être très variées mais on a l'impression que les linguistes traitent de la catégorie de la personne comme quelque chose de connu, d'inhérent, de technique ou, comme on le dit en anglais, quelque chose qui est *taken for granted*.

Dans cet article sur la personne³, on tentera de montrer l'importance de celle-ci dans les différents systèmes langagiers⁴ qu'il s'agisse d'un mini-système (par exemple une

1 Cet essai qui est ici modifié et approfondi a été présenté au colloque *De l'espace à la langue...* qui a eu lieu à Dijon (France) du 7 au 8 octobre 2021 sous le titre « La personne, l'espace, la détermination ».

2 Même si les mots *verbe* et *temps* ne sont pas mentionnés dans le titre, ce livre représente un des points les plus importants pour l'analyse des temps verbaux et surtout pour l'analyse de la catégorie de la personne (non) conservée dans la conjugaison verbale.

3 La notion de la personne sera étudiée de deux façons différentes qui ne sont pas forcément opposées. Premièrement, nous allons analyser la notion de la personne en tant que catégorie grammaticale omniprésente dans tout système langagier. Puis, nous allons élargir notre étude sur la personne physique et son rôle dans la détermination du nom.

4 La notion de système langagier est prise ici dans le sens qui lui a été attribué par Meillet et Guillaume : la langue est le système de systèmes, un assemblage systématisé où tout se tient. Le système peut être défini comme un ensemble des éléments organisés qui entrent en relations mutuelles pour assurer le fonctionnement d'un tout.

phrase simple), d'un midi-système comme celui des déterminants ou qu'il s'agisse du maxi-système (des classes de mots). On essaiera de prouver que c'est la personne, non seulement grammaticale mais aussi la personne physique, qui fait fonctionner le(s) système(s) langagier(s).

2 SUR LA NOTION DE PERSONNE ET SON ETYMOLOGIE

Dans les grammaires, on ne trouve la notion de personne que dans des termes plutôt techniques. *Le Bon Usage* (1993) parle des *personnes grammaticales*, ou de la notion de personne en tant que *pronom indéfini* et en tant que *nom*. Wagner et Pinchon (1962) la mentionnent dans des syntagmes tels que *pronom indéfini* ou *personne verbale*. Wilmet (1998) va beaucoup plus en détail mais reste toujours au niveau « technique » du terme : *personne grammaticale*, *mode personnel*, *pronom essentiel personnel*, *adjectif caractérisant / quantifiant-caractérisant personnel*... La liste des ouvrages traitant de la problématique de la personne est, bien sûr, immense. Mais, tous ces livres, articles, chapitres se concentrent sur la notion de personne grammaticale. Peu d'entre eux, sinon aucun, voient la personne physique comme le point de départ des relations grammaticales. Et pourtant, celle-ci peut influencer directement sur la syntaxe des langues.

En croate, par exemple, le suffixe qui marque la possession n'est réservé qu'aux personnes ou noms personnifiés. Ainsi, pour marquer la possession, un nom représentant une personne / le possesseur obtiendra le suffixe *-ov*, *-ova*, *-ovo* ou *-ev*, *-eva*, *-evo*⁵ (pour les noms possédés au singulier) : *Ivan* (nom propre) > *Ivanov*, *ova*, *ovo* (« de Jean »). La forme féminine est *-in*, *-ina*, *-ino* : *Ivana* > *Ivanin* (« de Jeanne »). Les suffixes mentionnés ne fonctionnent pas avec les noms n'ayant pas la caractéristique + humaine, + personne. Par exemple, *stol* (« table ») ne peut pas obtenir le suffixe *-ov* > **stolov*. La problématique des possessifs et de la possession va bien au-delà de ces quelques exemples, mais ils montrent bien que la personne physique exerce ses influences directes sur la morphosyntaxe et sémantique des langues et que sa présence ne peut pas se réduire à la seule notion grammaticale qui n'en n'est que le reflet nécessaire rendant possible le fonctionnement de la langue.

En ce qui concerne l'origine du mot *personne* dans les dictionnaires (étymologiques), on trouve plus ou moins la même description. Il s'agit du nom féminin d'origine latine (mais emprunté de l'étrusque) signifiant « masque de théâtre » (cf. Dubois, 2014, s.v. *personne*) ou « masque de théâtre », « rôle » ou « personnage », « acteur », « individu » (cf. Clédât, 1914, s.v. *personne*). Dans le *Dictionnaire d'étymologie du français* (cf. Picoche, 2015, s.v. *personne*), on trouve aussi l'origine grecque du mot *prosôpon* (πρόσωπο) qui était, en latin, employé dans le langage juridique opposé à *res*, « chose ».

5 -*ev*, *-eva*, *-evo* sont les allomorphes de *-ov*, *-ova*, *-ovo* causés par le palatal final, *prijatelj* > *prijatelj*.

Dans les dictionnaires bilingues, par exemple grec-croate (Sironić, 2017), on trouve à peu près toutes les traductions citées ci-dessus, mais on ajoute que ce mot peut signifier « le vêtement porté par un acteur ». En tout cas, son origine vient du mot qui était employé au théâtre grec pour indiquer la personne (qui parle !), comme l'explique bien Chauvier (2003) dans son étude sur la personne.

« Boèce rappelle en effet que *persona* désigne originellement, en latin, le masque que revêt l'acteur et qui fait de lui, pendant le temps de la représentation, Hécube ou Médée. Le corps et la voix de *n'importe quel* acteur peuvent devenir le corps et la voix d'Hécube dès que l'acteur a placé la *persona* d'Hécube devant son visage et qu'il fait résonner au travers du masque les paroles que le poète a associées au nom d'Hécube... » (Chauvier, 2003 : 10-11)

Dans la note de bas de page, il donne son origine latine affirmant que *persona* « viendrait de « per-sonare », résonner en passant au travers du masque. » (ibid. 11, note 1)

On peut en conclure que, au début, le mot *personne* était attribué à l'acteur qui portait le masque qui, en attirant l'attention du public, lui permettait de parler. Cette fonction du masque (de la personne) ressemble beaucoup à *talking stick* (« le bâton de parole ») utilisé par les Amérindiens. La personne qui voulait parler dans une réunion prenait le bâton de parole et pouvait dire tout ce qu'elle voulait sans être interrompue par les autres participants de la réunion⁶.

On peut voir que, dans ses origines, le mot *personne* mélangeait déjà la personne (physique, un acteur) et la fonction de parler, qui est l'une des fonctions primaires du langage. Cela rend encore plus étrange le manque d'intérêt pour la personne physique et son importance dans la langue et ses constructions. Tout au long de l'histoire, surtout au XX^e siècle, les grammairiens et les linguistes se consacraient principalement à la fonction (grammaticale) de la notion de personne qui n'est que le reflet de la personne physique dans la langue.

Il est intéressant aussi de voir que trois livres très significatifs pour la linguistique française et mondiale du XX^e siècle, dans leurs études, traitent évidemment de la problématique de la personne mais manquent de souligner son importance. Il s'agit d'*Eléments de syntaxe structurale* de Tesnière (1959), de *Systématique de la langue française* de Moignet (1981) et de *Grammaire systématique de la langue française* de Baylon et Fabre (1978).

Par la suite, nous allons souligner le rôle voire l'indispensabilité de la personne dans un mini-système, tel que la phrase simple, dans un maxi-système, celui des classes de mots, et enfin nous allons montrer l'importance de la personne physique dans un

⁶ C'est à peu près comme dans nos assemblées nationales modernes, sauf que là, tout le monde parle en même temps.

midisystème des déterminants (démonstratifs) où l'on va montrer son importance notamment dans les relations spatiales exprimées par les démonstratifs et dans le procès de l'actualisation du nom en général.

3 **ELEMENTS DE SYNTAXE STRUCTURALE (TESNIERE, 1959) – MINI-SYSTEME**

La personne dans la phrase.

Le fameux exemple de Tesnière (FIGURE 1) :



ne tient pas compte de la personne⁷ mais n'est pas loin d'elle comme le dit Ćosić dans son article « La personne grammaticale et la personne humaine dans la langue et dans le discours » (2005).

Ćosić affirme que :

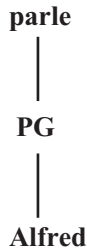
« Tesnière voyait dans la phrase : - *Alfred parle*. non pas deux mais trois éléments, le troisième étant la *connexion* entre *Alfred* et *parle*⁸. Avec un peu d'imagination et quelques remaniements de la phrase en question, on peut prouver que la connexion n'est rien d'autre que l'accord du verbe avec son sujet nominal

7 Dans son énorme ouvrage, il ne mentionne la notion de personne que dans trois situations : la personne dans le(s) verbe(s) où le pronom personnel marque la personne qui exerce l'action du verbe ; la personne en tant que second actant postposé ; et l'absence de la personne dans certaines langues qui connaissent l'emploi du pronom réfléchi « commun ». Dans la première situation qui se réfère à l'exemple cité, Tesnière fait la différence entre les substantifs personnels, traditionnellement appelés les pronoms personnels toniques : *moi, toi, lui* et les indices personnels : *je, tu, il, elle*, traditionnellement appelés pronoms personnels atones. Les premiers se comportent comme les « vrais » noms (*le père, le livre*), peuvent être précédés par les prépositions, et sont capables de désigner les trois personnes du dialogue : la personne qui parle, la personne à qui l'on parle et la personne de qui l'on parle. Les derniers (les indices personnels) sont privés de leur autonomie phonétique et ne peuvent pas être précédés par les prépositions comme les substantifs personnels, mais servent « beaucoup moins à marquer la personne du locuteur qu'à indiquer que le verbe est à l'autoontif » (Tesnière, 1969² : 132). Tesnière leur attribue le rôle d'adjuvants du verbe qui tendent à devenir de simples indicateurs de la personne, mais il manque de souligner l'importance de la personne conservée dans le « vrai » nom (*Alfred*) et sa connexion directe avec la personne du verbe.

8 On peut élargir la phrase de Ćosić par deux syntagmes qui incluent l'adjectif *personnel* pris dans deux sens légèrement différents : la *connexion* entre **le nom personnel Alfred** et **le verbe personnel parle**. Le terme de *nom personnel* a été pris au sens grammatical de la différenciation des noms communs et des noms des personnes, c'est-à-dire des noms propres. Le terme de *verbe personnel* a été pris au même sens que Moignet (1981) attribue au verbe conjugué.

à la troisième (et toujours à la troisième) personne⁹, singulier ou pluriel peu importe. Ainsi, dans la suite, par ex. « Alfred parlons. », etc., il n'y a plus de phrase. On peut donc insérer entre le nœud central de la phrase (*parle*) et son principal actant (*Alfred*) un PG (personne grammaticale) qui en est le lieu de rencontre, le site ou le support formel. » (Ćosić, 2005 : 4)

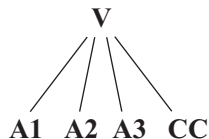
On aurait donc (FIGURE 2) :



On note que Tesnière tient beaucoup à la notion de connexion. En parlant de la syntaxe en général et de la phrase en particulier, il dit : « Tout mot qui fait partie d'une phrase cesse par lui-même d'être isolé comme dans le dictionnaire. Entre lui et ses voisins, l'esprit aperçoit des **connexions**...¹⁰ Ces connexions ne sont indiquées par rien. Mais il est indispensable qu'elles soient aperçues par l'esprit, sans quoi la phrase ne serait pas intelligible. » (Tesnière, 1969 : 11)

Il conclut « qu'une phrase du type *Alfred parle* n'est pas composée de **deux** éléments 1° *Alfred*, 2° *parle*, mais bien de **trois** éléments, 1° *Alfred*, 2° *parle* et 3° la connexion qui les unit et sans laquelle il n'y aurait pas de phrase. » (ibid., 11-12)¹¹

Or la connexion établit les rapports de dépendance entre les mots. Et dans la théorie tesnièreenne, c'est le verbe qui est le centre de la phrase, c'est-à-dire que c'est lui qui régit tous les rapports dans une phrase. On peut montrer les relations de hiérarchie par une figure simplifiée (FIGURE 3) :

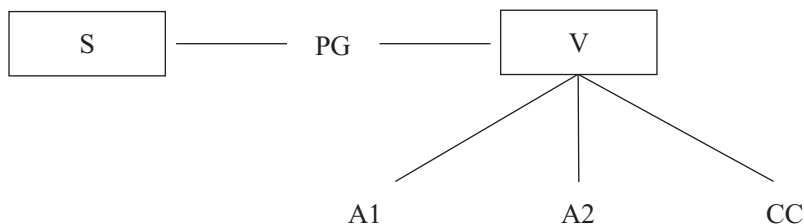


9 Il s'agit de la catégorie de la personne qui se trouve en nom de façon non marquée et qui se trouve également en verbe de façon marquée. En verbe, la personne se trouve dans les désinences verbales, quelle que soit la pauvreté des désinences dont la langue française dispose. La seule trace de la personne en nom est visible dans son accord avec le verbe.

10 En gras dans le texte.

11 En gras dans le texte.

Ne voulant pas entrer en détail et encore moins intervenir dans la théorie de Tesnière, nous proposons juste un petit remaniement¹² de la figure 3 (FIGURE 4) :



où le sujet et le verbe (prédicat) se trouvent au même niveau hiérarchique. Malgré ce petit changement dans la présentation des stemmas, les deux éléments principaux (sujet et verbe) gardent leur importance dans les constructions des connexions où les autres éléments constitutifs (actants et circonstants) dépendent de leur régissant respectif. De cette façon, on voulait élever la personne du sujet au même niveau que la personne du verbe puisqu'il s'agit de la même personne.

Aussi peut-on renforcer ce raisonnement par l'exemple cité dans le livre de Varga (*Syntaxe du français*, 2005) où il fournit l'exemple suivant

Paul lit tranquillement son journal.

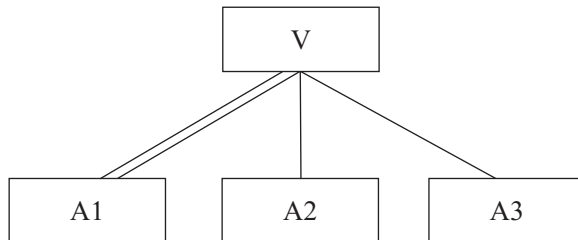
Pour montrer l'agrammaticalité de la phrase, Varga efface les éléments et obtient les résultats suivants :

1. *Paul lit tranquillement.*
2. *Paul lit son journal.*
3. **Paul tranquillement son journal.*
4. **Lit tranquillement son journal.*

Il garde le verbe au centre de la phrase et des stemmas mais conclut quand même que cet exemple « confirme que seul l'effacement du verbe et du sujet aboutit aux constructions agrammaticales. Par conséquent, ces deux éléments représentent le noyau, la partie indispensable de la phrase. » (Varga, 2005 : 18). En plus, il souligne cette liaison particulière entre le nom (substantif) et le verbe en modifiant un peu le stemma tesnièreien, en

12 Au fil du temps, les stemmas originaux ont subi plusieurs changements. Voir, par exemple Varga, 2005 : 18-19, et la note 29. En plus, il existe d'autres possibilités de présenter la hiérarchie dans une phrase comme la visualisation de la structure de la phrase en cercles concentriques (Ibid.)

encadrant le sujet et le verbe¹³, et en dédoublant la ligne qui unit la relation entre les deux éléments principaux (FIGURE 5) :



Varga (2005) modifie légèrement la représentation des relations entre le Verbe et le Sujet mais garde la hiérarchie proposée par Tesnière (V – S). Toutefois, nous considérons que cela ne diminue nullement l'importance du sujet et de la personne, celle-ci étant gardée en sujet et en verbe, et nécessaire à la grammaticalité de la phrase.

De cette façon aussi et dans ce sens uniquement, nous voulons souligner l'importance du sujet en tant que représentant de la **personne** (autant grammaticale que physique) qui exerce l'action du verbe (conjugué c'est-à-dire du verbe dans un mode personnel).

4 **SYSTEMATIQUE DE LA LANGUE FRANÇAISE (MOIGNET, 1981) – MAXI- SYSTEME**

La personne parmi les classes de mots.

Suivant l'idée du paragraphe précédent (la personne qui se trouve en même temps en sujet et en verbe), on examinera dans le présent paragraphe l'importance de la personne dans le système de classes de mots.

Autant qu'on le sache, au moins dans les grammaires françaises, avant le tableau de Moignet (1981), les classes de mots ont toujours été représentées sous la forme de listes comme s'il n'y avait pas de connexion entre eux. Ce n'est que dans la *Systématique de la langue française* qu'on trouve un essai (une réussite) sur la systématisation des classes de mots.

À la différence de Tesnière qui mentionne très rarement la catégorie de la personne, Moignet en parle beaucoup, surtout dans la partie de son livre consacrée à la prédicativité. Il suffit de regarder l'index des notions à la fin du livre et de voir que la personne y est mentionnée de nombreuses fois. Il parle donc de la personne *absente, actuelle, allocutive, animée-indéterminée, cardinale, collective, contrastée*, etc.

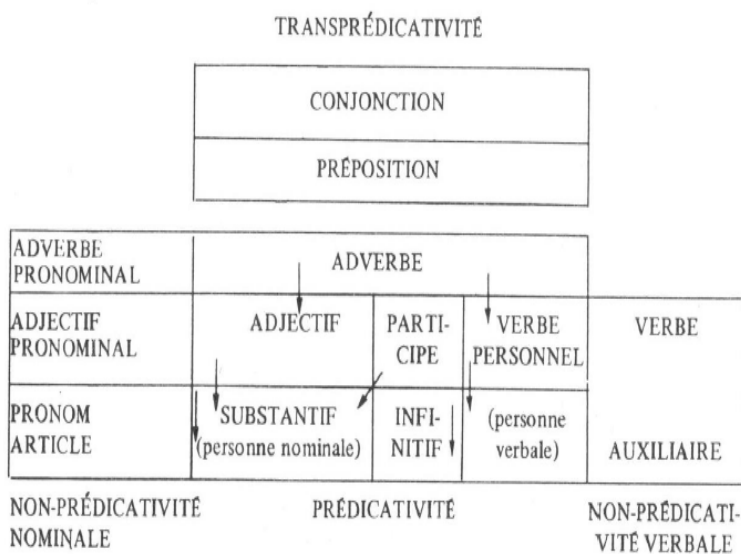
¹³ Le sujet et le verbe sont les seuls éléments de la phrase qui sont encadrés !

Ce qui distingue Moignet de nombreux autres linguistes qui traitent de la personne, c'est qu'il aborde la problématique de la personne non seulement en tant que partie des différents syntagmes « techniques » (*pronom personnel, verbe personnel...*) mais il lui consacre un chapitre entier où il parle de la personne en tant qu'une catégorie du nom.

Il lui donne une importance cruciale dans la formation du nom en la superposant aux autres catégories nominales : « Les catégories du genre, du nombre et du cas, dans le substantif, se concluent à la personne, dont elles sont les formalisations. (...) la catégorie de la personne cardinale... fonde le substantif. » (Moignet, 1981 : 40). On peut voir que les catégories formelles (genre, nombre, cas) sont d'une certaine façon dépendantes de la catégorie de la personne qui, malgré le fait qu'elle n'est pas formalisée en nom (substantif), apparaît comme la catégorie « supérieure » dont l'essence du nom est constituée.

On peut voir que les positions de Tesnière et Moignet ne sont pas éloignées quant au fonctionnement de la langue. La connexion entre les mots doit être conçue par l'esprit, comme le dit Tesnière ; en d'autres mots, cette connexion n'est pas de nature formelle. Il n'y a rien de formel qui régit l'emploi du COD, par exemple. C'est dans le domaine de l'esprit. Moignet dit que la personne est non marquée, qu'elle n'a pas de marques formelles (en nom). Si l'on accepte, d'un côté, que la connexion entre le sujet et le verbe, dans la théorie de Tesnière, n'est autre chose que la personne, et que cette personne est conçue par l'esprit et, de l'autre côté, que cette même personne se trouve dans le nom et qu'elle y est non marquée, et que par conséquent, elle aussi doit être conçue par l'esprit, on peut rapprocher les deux – plus grandes (?) – théories/écoles de la linguistique française du XX^e siècle : la syntaxe structurale et la psychomécanique (psychosystématique).

Moignet montre bien l'importance de la personne dans son tableau consacré au système des parties de la langue (FIGURE 6) (*ibid.*, 26) :



Toutes les classes de mots font partie du système où tout se tient par le critère de la prédicativité. Les quatre classes de mots forment le groupe des mots prédicatifs (des mots ayant le sens propre). Ce sont le nom/le substantif, le verbe, l'adjectif et l'adverbe (partiellement). De chaque côté, se trouvent les mots non prédicatifs, qu'il s'agisse de la non prédicativité nominale (pronom, article...) ou verbale (verbes auxiliaires). Il s'agit des mots fonctionnels qui n'ont pas de sens propre mais qui sont nécessaires au fonctionnement du langage (détermination, formation des temps composé, aspect...). Au-dessus du tableau se trouvent les mots transprédicatifs (prépositions et conjonctions) dont le rôle est d'intervenir là où l'enchaînement des mots n'est plus possible (**maison campagne* > *maison de campagne*).

Si l'on regarde le tableau de plus près, on peut voir que parmi les classes de mots prédicatifs, la seule notion qui est répétée plusieurs fois, c'est la notion de la personne (*personne nominale*, *personne verbale*). Même Moignet le confirme : « La médiation de la personne est indispensable pour qu'un verbe puisse dire quelque chose d'un être évoqué par la catégorie nominale. » (1981 : 26). Un peu plus loin dans le texte, il confirme aussi que pour « exposer le système avec plus de précision, il convient de montrer le rôle primordial qu'y joue la catégorie de la personne... La personne est présente dans le substantif comme dans le verbe » (ibid., 27)

Or, après une telle conclusion sur la personne et son rôle dans le système des classes de mots, d'aucuns s'attendraient à trouver dans la conclusion générale du chapitre beaucoup de mention de la... personne.

Mais, ce qui est un peu choquant, c'est qu'on ne trouve pas **un seul mot** sur la personne dans la conclusion de ce chapitre malgré l'évidence que c'est la personne qui est au cœur du système et que, sans elle, il n'y aurait pas de connexion entre le nom et le verbe – deux éléments indispensables de toute phrase, c'est-à-dire, sans elle, sans la personne, il n'y aurait pas de phrase ni de système tout entier. Moignet dit :

« La partie centrale du tableau est le domaine de la prédicativité, qui organise les rapports fondamentaux, en langue, du substantif, de l'adjectif, du verbe et de l'adverbe. Au-dessus se situe le domaine de la transprédicativité, représenté par la préposition et la conjonction. De chaque côté du système des parties de langue prédicatives, se situent les mots grammaticaux, fonctionnant comme les parties de langues prédicatives, et régis par le même système d'incidence, mais non porteurs de substance prédicative... » (ibid., 26)

Mais il n'y a pas de mention de la personne ?!

5 GRAMMAIRE SYSTEMATIQUE DE LA LANGUE FRANÇAISE (BAYLON ET FABRE, 1978) – MIDI-SYSTEME

La personne dans la détermination.

Dans le dernier chapitre de cet essai sur la personne, nous voudrions attirer l'attention sur la personne dans le procès de la détermination/l'actualisation du nom.

En décrivant le procès de l'actualisation du nom Baylon et Fabre disent que « L'adjectif démonstratif représente *le point le plus achevé de la réalisation* : il localise un individu, un objet, la manifestation d'une notion, dans l'espace » (1978 : 17).¹⁴

Ils ajoutent aussi que « la localisation devient alors une réalisation, une détermination. » (ibid.)

La personne n'y est mentionnée que dans la phrase où on fait la comparaison avec le latin. Selon eux, le latin gardait le rapport entre les adjectifs démonstratifs et la personne, tandis qu'en français « les formes *ci* et *là* fournissent à elles seules la détermination nécessaire à l'emploi de l'adjectif démonstratif¹⁵ » (ibid.)

Le tableau des actualisateurs du nom (FIGURE 7) :

VIRTUEL	REEL			
	<i>un/des</i>	<i>{ le/les son/ses</i>	<i>{ mon/mes ton/tes</i>	<i>ce/ces</i>
<i>A bon chat, bon rat.</i> <i>Un homme averti en vaut deux.</i> <i>Le plus sot animal, à mon avis, c'est l'homme.</i> <i>Les petits ruisseaux font les grandes rivières.</i> <i>Qui veut tuer son chien l'accuse de la rage.</i>	<i>J'aperçois dans le jardin un chien et des chats</i>	<i>Tiens! le chien pourchassait les chats.</i>	<i>Mais c'est mon chien!</i> <i>Mais ce sont tes chats!</i>	<i>Ce chien est bien méchant,</i> <i>ces chats aussi.</i> <i>Et ce jardin en aura vu des querelles!</i>
	TRANSITOIRE	NOTOIRE	REFERENCE A UNE PERSONNE SPECIFIQUE	GESTE
	identité mal définie = valeur de présentation	identité définie = valeur de notoriété	référence à un possesseur	localisation dans l'espace
Tous les actualisateurs susceptibles d'être neutralisés.	ARTICLE INDEFINI	ARTICLE DEFINI ET ADJ. POSS. 3 ^e PERS.	ADJECTIFS POSSESSIFS (1 ^{re} ET 2 ^e PERS.)	ADJECTIFS DEMONSTRATIFS

¹⁴ Souligné dans le texte.

¹⁵ La terminologie diffère mais il s'agit de la même notion (*adjectif démonstratif, déterminant démonstratif, actualisateur...*).

Dans ce tableau (ibid., 10) Baylon et Fabre rendent visible le procès de l'actualisation du nom. On peut voir que, d'un côté, le nom existe à l'état virtuel – qui peut être accompagné de tous les actualisateurs de valeur généralisante/neutralisée, par exemple *A bon chat, bon rat.* (article zéro), ou *Qui veut tuer **son** chien, l'accuse de la rage.* (déterminant possessif) – et que, de l'autre côté, se trouve le nom à l'état réel où il est accompagné d'un actualisateur spécifique qui, selon la situation/le contexte, détermine le nom en question.

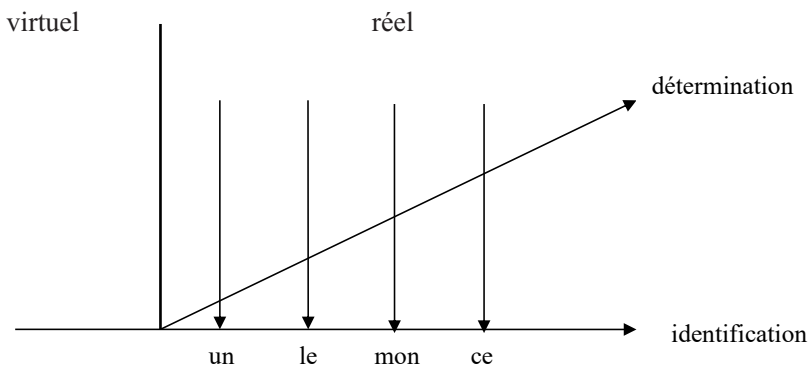
Dans la partie droite, là où le nom se trouve dans une situation réelle, Baylon et Fabre y voient 4 degrés/phases de la détermination. Du moins défini vers le plus défini, ce sont : 1) phase transitoire/identité mal définie du nom (*J'aperçois dans le jardin **un** chien et **des** chats*) ; 2) phase notoire/identité définie (*Tiens, **le** chien poursuit **les** chats*) ; 3) phase de référence à une personne spécifique (le nom est rattaché à une personne – *Mais, c'est **mon** chien ! Mais ce sont **tes** chats !*) ; 4) phase de localisation du nom dans l'espace par le geste (***Ce** chien est bien méchant, **ces** chats aussi*).

En bref :

UN > LE > MON > CE

On peut voir que la détermination augmente du gauche à droite du tableau selon qu'on rattache des « éléments » supplémentaires au nom : identité définie (article défini) par rapport à l'identité mal définie (article indéfini), rapport avec la personne (possessif) qui représente une meilleure identification par rapport à la « seule identité » de l'article défini, et le geste (le démonstratif accompagné éventuellement des adverbes *-ci* et *-là*) qui est susceptible de montrer le nom en question et de le localiser dans l'espace, ce qui selon Baylon et Fabre représente plus haut degré de la détermination que le possessif (ou la personne dans le possessif).

En bref, on peut reprendre la figure de Frleta (2005) pour visualiser comment la détermination augmente en partant de l'article indéfini à travers l'article défini et le possessif jusqu'au démonstratif (FIGURE 8) :



Or, nous postulons que c'est la personne qui est importante dans les trois systèmes analysés ici (mini, maxi et midi) et il faut prouver ici que la personne prévaut sur le geste et/ou l'espace.

Certes, le geste joue un rôle significatif non seulement dans la détermination mais dans le langage tout entier. On ne peut pas parler sans gestes. Ils font partie de notre langage aussi bien que les mots (qui sont très souvent accompagnés des gestes). Pourtant, en ce qui concerne le geste, le démonstratif et la localisation dans la détermination, nous croyons que la personne accompagnée éventuellement par le geste et les adverbes *-ci* et *-là*, y joue, de nouveau, le rôle principal.

Pour mieux expliquer le rôle de la personne dans la dernière étape de la détermination, servons-nous pour le moment du système croate des démonstratifs.

Le croate a développé un système tridimensionnel des démonstratifs, c.-à-d. qu'il existe trois formes différentes pour localiser un nom dans l'espace qui peut être plus proche, plus loin ou très loin de celui qui parle. Les démonstratifs croates sont : *ovaj, taj, onaj*.¹⁶ Le français, en revanche, n'a qu'une seule forme du démonstratif (*ce*)¹⁷ et si l'on veut exprimer la distance du nom en question, il faut employer les adverbes *-ci* et *-là*. On peut voir aussi que le français n'a pas la troisième dimension qui correspondrait au croate *onaj*.¹⁸ Dans ce cas, il faut se servir des locutions adverbiales de type *là-bas* ou autres.

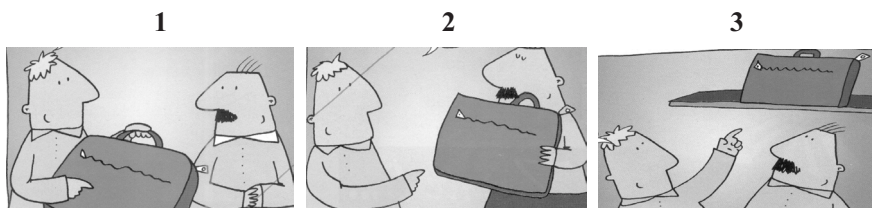
Prenons comme exemple trois phrases croates :

1. *Uzmi ovu torbu.*
2. *Uzmi tu torbu.*
3. *Uzmi onu torbu.*

Nous supposons que la traduction en français serait :

- 1' *Prends ce sac-ci.*
- 2' *Prends ce sac-là.*
- 3' *Prends ce sac (qui est) là-bas.*

Nous présenterons ces trois phrases par les images suivantes :



(Čilaš-Mikulić et al., 2015 : 29)

16 Le croate possède aussi des formes pour le féminin, pour le neutre et pour le pluriel des trois genres : *ova, ta, ona* (f. sg.) ; *ovo, to, ono* (n. sg.) ; *ovi, ti, oni* (m. pl.) ; *ove, te, one* (f. pl.) ; *ova, ta, ona* (n. pl.).

17 *Cette* (f. sg.) ; *ces* (m. et f. pl.)

18 Dans de nombreuses situations, les formes *taj* et *onaj* sont traduites par la seule forme française en *N-là* indiquant ainsi qu'il s'agit d'un nom qui est plus loin du locuteur.

Sur les images, on peut voir clairement que le nom est déterminé par rapport à la personne qui parle (le sujet parlant ou le **moi** de la triade du début de notre essai) et que nous situons les noms, non seulement par rapport à l'espace mais aussi par rapport à la distance de la personne qui parle. Ainsi, *ova torba* (« ce sac-ci ») se définit par la proximité du sujet parlant ou le locuteur, *ta torba* (« ce sac-là ») se définit par rapport à la personne à laquelle l'interlocuteur parle (l'interlocuteur), et *ona torba* (« ce sac là-bas ») se définit par la distance des deux personnes physiques et dialogales mentionnées précédemment. La troisième personne peut mais ne doit pas être présente dans le contexte.

Comme on l'a déjà dit, le geste accompagne les démonstratifs et les adverbes (de lieu) *-ci* et *-là* y jouent aussi un rôle significatif. Les adverbes *-ci* et *-là* sont une sorte de compensation du manque des formes déictiques des démonstratifs français. Si on les compare aux formes des démonstratifs croates ou anglais, on peut voir que les démonstratifs français sont monodimensionnels tandis que les démonstratifs anglais et croate sont bi- et tridimensionnels. Comparons : *ce* vs. *this – that* vs. *ovaj – taj – onaj* (1 vs. 2 vs. 3 dimensions).

En ce qui concerne le geste, en tant que phénomène extralinguistique, il peut accompagner les démonstratifs mais il n'est pas obligatoire. Dans les trois langues mentionnées, le geste accompagne souvent les démonstratifs et a très souvent un rôle redondant comme dans l'exemple croate : *Uzmi ovu* (→¹⁹) *torbu* ! « Prends ce sac-ci ! » où il n'y a qu'un seul sac. Pourtant, leur rôle peut être aussi décisif que dans la situation où il y a deux ou plusieurs sacs près de la personne qui parle, et qu'elle dit et montre par le geste qu'il faut prendre un seul sac : *Prends ce sac-ci* ! (que je montre par le geste) et non l'autre sac (qui est aussi près de moi mais que je ne montre pas par le geste).

Cependant ils déterminent le nom plus que ne le détermine le seul possessif (malgré la personne humaine/grammaticale conservée dans ses formes : *mon, ton, son*) **mais** seulement parce que les adverbes *-ci* et *-là* sont mis en relation physique avec **la personne humaine**. Ils déterminent le nom par rapport à l'espace, c'est-à-dire par rapport à la distance du sujet parlant, de la 1^{ère} personne ou tout simplement par rapport au **moi** (personne physique) de la triade *moi-ici-maintenant*.

Ainsi, les démonstratifs regroupent deux dimensions de la triade mentionnée, celle liée au nom (**personne**) et celle liée à l'espace (**ici**). C'est à cause de cette caractéristique (personne + espace) qu'on peut dire que le démonstratif est plus défini que le possessif (qui ne contient que la personne sans espace) et qu'il représente « *le point le plus achevé de la réalisation* » (Baylon et Fabre, 1978 : 17).

19 Représente le geste.

6 CONCLUSION

Dans notre article, nous avons voulu montrer l'importance de la personne dans le(s) système(s) langagier(s) en partant d'un mini-système (la phrase simple) à travers le maxi- système des classes de mots pour arriver finalement à un midi-système (les déterminants). Nous nous sommes servis de trois ouvrages d'importance considérable sur le développement de la pensée linguistique. Nous avons essayé de lier deux grandes écoles linguistiques du XX^e siècle – la syntaxe structurale de Tesnière et la psychosystématique de Guillaume – en attirant l'attention sur la personne qui représente le *spiritus movens* de deux approches différentes : d'un côté, la personne en tant que liaison/connexion entre le sujet et le verbe, de l'autre côté, la personne (nominale) et la personne (verbale) en tant que catégorie qui fait bouger le système langagier entier. Dans la dernière partie, nous avons montré que la personne (aussi bien grammaticale que physique) joue, avec les moyens extralinguistiques (gestes) et les adverbes *-ci* et *-là*, un rôle décisif dans la localisation des noms dans l'espace. De cette façon, la personne s'avère indispensable au système des déterminants et à la détermination du nom en général.

Dans la phrase simple la liaison entre le nom et le verbe, que Tesnière appelle la connexion, se réalise dans la catégorie grammaticale de la personne qui est contenue dans le nom aussi bien que dans le verbe. Tandis que la catégorie de la personne est « visible » dans le verbe, elle doit se concevoir intuitivement dans le nom. Mais l'accord avec la personne entre le nom et le verbe nous révèle la vraie connexion entre les parties principales de la langue. Si la personne du verbe et la personne du nom ne coïncident pas, la phrase est agrammaticale.

La catégorie de la personne se trouve aussi au centre du système des parties de la langue. Le verbe et le nom sont les deux parties principales de la langue. Toute phrase comporte un verbe et un nom (voir plus haut l'exemple de Varga). Dans le tableau de Moignet (voir plus haut), on peut noter que même si la personne ne fait pas partie des classes de mots, elle est présente dans le verbe et dans le nom/substantif, et elle est mise au centre du système entier malgré le fait qu'elle n'est pas mentionnée explicitement dans la conclusion du chapitre sur les parties de la langue.

Finalement, dans le midi-système des déterminants, nous avons montré l'importance de la personne dans le processus de la détermination du nom en montrant le rôle décisif de la personne (physique ou grammaticale) dont dépend le degré de connaissance d'un nom particulier. Plus le nom est proche de la personne, plus il est déterminé.

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POVZETEK

KATEGORIJA OSEBE V JEZIKOVNIH SISTEMIH

Pomen kategorije osebe potrjujejo tri za razumevanje sistema francoskega jezika zelo pomembna dela, čeprav te kategorije skorajda ne omenjajo. Tipičen primer je Tesnièrev znameniti stavek *Alfred parle*, v katerem avtor prepozna tri prvine: S, P in »povezavo«. Slednja je bila šele veliko pozneje prepoznana kot kategorija osebe.

Moignet v svojem delu *Systématique de la langue française* izraza oseba skoraj ne omenja, čeprav ga v tabeli o sistemu besednih vrst opazimo trikrat.

Tudi Baylon in Fabre (1978) pri obravnavi aktualizatorjev samostalnika poudarjata, da »kazalni pridevnik predstavlja najvišjo točko uresničitve«, in na koncu skleneta, da »lokalizacija postane uresničitev, določitev«. Oseba je drugotnega pomena.

V prispevku skušamo opozoriti na odločilno vlogo kategorije osebe v sistemu besednih vrst, tako v razmerju med osebkom in predikatom kot tudi v procesu določanja samostalnika, pri čemer je samostalnik določen v odvisnosti od prostora, ta pa je odvisen od osebe (govorečega subjekta), tj. »jaza«.

Hkrati v prispevku poudarjamo pomen osebe (slovnične in fizične) v različnih jezikovnih sistemih, naj gre za majhne sisteme (na primer preprosti stavek), srednje velike sisteme, kamor sodijo določila, ali velike sisteme (na primer besedne vrste).

Ključne besede: oseba, prostor, sistem, samostalnik, določnost

ABSTRACT

THE PERSON IN LANGUAGE SYSTEMS

Three very significant books for understanding the system of the French language affirm the importance of the category of the person by hardly mentioning it. Tesnière's famous sentence *Alfred parle* is a typical example. Tesnière himself sees three elements in it: S, P, and "connection". This connection would only be recognized much later as the category of the person.

Moignet, in his *Systématique de la langue française*, makes almost no mention of the term person, even though it appears three times in the table of the system of parts of speech.

Finally, Baylon and Fabre (1978), speaking of substantive actualizers, state that "the demonstrative adjective represents the most complete point of realisation", concluding that "localisation then becomes a realisation, a determination". The person is secondary.

In our work, we will try to show that the person plays a decisive role in the system of parts of speech, in the relationship between the Subject and the Predicate, and in the process of determining the noun, where the noun is defined in relation to space, which in turn depends on the person (of the speaking subject), i.e. the "I".

We will also highlight the importance of the person (both grammatical and physical) in different language systems, whether it is a mini-system (for example, a simple sentence), a midi-system such as determiners, or a maxi-system (word classes).

Keywords: person, space, system, noun, determination

RÉSUMÉ

LA PERSONNE DANS LES SYSTEMES LANGAGIERS

Trois livres très significatifs pour la compréhension du système de la langue française affirment l'importance de la catégorie de la personne en ne la mentionnant presque pas. La fameuse phrase de Tesnière – *Alfred parle*. – en est un exemple typique. Tesnière lui-même y voit trois éléments : S, P, et « connexion ». Cette « connexion » ne sera reconnue que beaucoup plus tard comme la catégorie de la personne. Moignet, dans sa *Systématique de la langue française* (1981), ne mentionne quasiment pas le terme de la personne même si celui-ci se trouve à trois reprises dans le tableau du système des parties de la langue. Finalement, Baylon et Fabre (1978), en évoquant les actualisateurs du substantif, affirment que « l'adjectif démonstratif représente le point le plus achevé de la réalisation » en concluant que « la localisation devient alors une réalisation, une détermination. » La personne y est mise sur le plan secondaire.

Dans notre travail, nous essaierons de montrer que la personne joue un rôle décisif dans le système des parties de la langue, dans le rapport entre le Sujet et le Prédicat ainsi que dans le procès de la détermination du nom où celui-ci se définit par rapport à l'espace qui, à son tour, dépend de la personne (du sujet parlant) c'est-à-dire du « moi ». Nous allons également souligner l'importance de la personne (aussi bien grammaticale que physique) dans différents systèmes langagiers, qu'il s'agisse d'un mini-système (par exemple une phrase simple), d'un midi-système, comme celui des déterminants, ou qu'il s'agisse du maxi-système (des classes de mots).

Mots-clés : personne, espace, système, nom, détermination

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HOW TO SPEAK LIKE A BRONTËAN BYRONIC HERO: A COMPARISON OF MR ROCHESTER AND HEATHCLIFF

1 INTRODUCTION¹

The way people speak, form utterances, and express themselves reveals a great deal about their personality and intentions, and the same is true for fictional characters. Although fictional characters are often categorised as different archetypes, no two characters are ever the same, even if they fall under the same umbrella archetype. Using keyword analysis, the aim of this paper is to draw parallels and highlight the differences between Edward Rochester and Heathcliff, both of whom are typical representatives of the Byronic Hero. Despite both having already been thoroughly examined and speculated about from various angles – such as their commitment to their love interests, alienation from society, troublesome past, their schemes and manipulative tendencies – the use of corpus linguistics could shed more light on their respective characters by employing an approach that complements the existing character analysis.

The paper begins with a concise review of the most relevant existing contemporary literature on the archetype of the Byronic hero, Heathcliff and Mr Rochester. Following this, keyword analysis is introduced as a recognised and acclaimed method in corpus stylistics. The methodology section outlines the research procedures and parameters employed in the corpus tool Sketch Engine. The findings are presented in tables that focus on each character, Mr Rochester and Heathcliff, separately. In the final part, the results are analysed in detail, interpreted and used to draw comparisons and determine the differences between the two characters.

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2 LITERATURE REVIEW

Mr Rochester and Heathcliff have been analysed and compared to each other extensively due to having been created by two sisters, Charlotte and Emily Brontë. They are often treated as a matching pair, and Stoneman (2011: 114) expands on this claim by naming many actors, such as Milton Rosmer and Timothy Dalton, who assumed the roles of both characters. This section summarises some of the key aspects of what has so far been suggested or speculated about their separate characters, actions and speech strategies.

2.1 The Byronic Hero archetype

As the name suggests, this literary hero archetype is based on the English poet George Noel Gordon Byron, also known as Lord Byron. Even though it was Byron's character Childe Harold that was the pioneering character of the newly created hero archetype, the many critics of Byron in the 19th century, such as Samuel Taylor Coleridge, Thomas Carlyle and Matthew Arnold, who wrote on Byron extensively, contributed to the coining of the name the Byronic Hero since Childe Harold was an embodiment of Byron himself. What makes the Byronic Hero a distinct and fascinating archetype is that the hero is a mixture of various archetypes that were popularised during the Romantic period. In comparison to other types of heroes, Palfy (2016: 164) defines this archetype as a hero that is "characterised as a rebel who stands apart from society and societal expectations, who is deeply jaded, morally superior, and obsessed with lost love." Poole (2010: 10) adds that the attractiveness of the Byronic Hero lies in "his transgressive allure" along with "confidence in his noble soul and the possibility of his redemption".

Although the Byronic Hero stands today as a completely separate entity in literary space, it came to be as a result of combining different character types into one. In his monograph *The Byronic Hero Types and Prototypes*, Thorslev (1962: 43–163) breaks down the new character type into the following preceding archetypes that served as inspiration: the Child of Nature, the Man of Feeling, the Gloomy Egoist, the Romantic Rebel, the Noble Outlaw and the Gothic Villain.

The archetype of the Child of Nature, created and popularised during Romanticism, is typically benevolent and good at heart. He has a deep appreciation for art and nature and prefers to reside in solitude, which enables him to view society from afar and thus assume the role of its critic. Although he is characterised by naivety, sensibility and daydreaming tendencies, he can be aggressive in his views and criticism of society. Just like the Child of Nature, the Man of Feeling shows optimistic beliefs. Compared to the other archetypes that are the building blocks of the Byronic Hero, the Man of Feeling's sentimental and sensitive nature is the most intense. His heightened emotions subject him to feverish melancholic fits, especially since his love is typically unrequited thus increasing his suffering, and his shy temperament often borders on cowardice. Like the Child of Nature and the Man of Feeling,

the Gloomy Egoist also prefers to reside in solitude. Even though he shares this trait with the other two archetypes, Thorslev (1962: 43) defines his solitude more as “rural retirement”, where the Gloomy Egoist is melancholically withdrawn from society and life, and can freely lament and ponder about death. In his comparison of these three types, Thorslev (1962: 46) elaborates that while “the Child of Nature could be initiated into adult society [and] the Man of Feeling could go through tender and soulful adventures, [...] the Gloomy Egoist, surfeited with life could only meditate on death.”

The Byronic Hero’s defiant spirit is a derivation of the Romantic Rebel and the Noble Outlaw’s characteristics. While both have this trait in common, the Romantic Rebel’s manner is more remorseful and he specifically defies the conventional societal norms, morality, and religious teachings. The Noble Outlaw, whose dignity, courage and loyalty are never questioned, starts off as a victim. His fiery passion, bigger-than-life heroism, dark looks and austere manner make others fearful of him, but his guilty conscience, experience of being wronged by someone close to him, his courteous and gentle behaviour towards female characters, and his sympathetic attitude make him likeable. The last archetype that impacted the creation of the Byronic Hero is the Gothic Villain. He normally belongs to the higher echelons of society and recognises the existing social conventions but takes pleasure in wickedly defying them. Although his character is cloaked in mystery along with sins from his past, he is intense, solitary, ingenious, and “as egocentrically analytic of his emotions as the Man of Feeling” (Thorslev 1962: 57).

With regard to his youth and wayward attitude, which evolves and matures with the progression of the narrative, the Byronic Hero resembles the Child of Nature, who, the same as the Gloomy Egoist and the Man of Feeling, prefers to live in solitude. The Byronic Hero’s rebellious nature, which complements his preference for solitude, however stems from the remorseful Romantic Rebel and the fiery and passionate Noble Outlaw, who reject many societal conventions – they reject stoicism, repression of feelings and traditional relationships that are often subject to the defiance of social hierarchy, are disenchanted with the teachings of religion, and defy traditional notions of morality. The traits taken from the Gloomy Egoist are evident in the melancholic and arrogant thoughts and contemplation of the character, which reinforces his defiance and cynical attitude towards others, something that can also be observed in the Noble Outlaw and the Romantic Rebel. To expand on this characterisation, Poole (2010: 15) adds that “[the Byronic Hero’s] introversion and hostility to the world, his isolation and his lack of intimacy with others is sometimes presented as a reaction to the injustice of society, as well as a result of his superior nature and consequent contempt for humanity at large” thus making his for solitude and disdain for society distinctly different from that of the Gloomy Egoist, the Child of Nature, the Romantic Rebel and the Noble Outlaw.

The most surprising source for the character’s traits is perhaps the Gothic Villain archetype, the type that gives the Byronic Hero his signature look of a dark-haired brooding man, his pridefulness, possessiveness and, most importantly, the dark mysterious

past that is the cause of his remorse and often also of his desire for revenge. The most important aspect of the Byronic Hero, however, appears to be directly connected to the traits of the Man of Feeling, making the new archetypal character deeply committed to the woman he loves.

Although these archetypes lend some of their characteristics to the creation of the Byronic Hero prototype, not all Byronic Heroes take on all of the traits, instead appearing on a spectrum. Some characters may lean more towards certain constituent archetypes than others, while still being distinctly Byronic.

When Lord Byron died in 1824, the archetype of the Byronic Hero almost died with him. However, a few notable characters kept the literary tradition alive, among them Emily Brontë's Heathcliff from *Wuthering Heights*, published in 1847, and Charlotte Brontë's Edward Rochester from *Jane Eyre*, also published in 1847. These characters, as Thorslev (1962: 3) puts it, "attest the continued appeal of this awesome hero," which Stoneman (2011: 112) argues is not due to their high moral values, since they are emotional, changeable, and perplexing, but due to the fact they are redeemably vulnerable. The appeal that Thorslev speaks about is attested to by the many Byronic Heroes that have been created since Byron's death, including such classic characters as Alexander Pushkin's Eugene Onegin, Herman Melville's Captain Ahab, and Alexander Dumas's Edmond Dantes, as well as those that have appeared in the popular media over the last few decades, such as Dr Gregory House from *House MD*, Damon Salvatore from *The Vampire Diaries*, Loki from *Marvel Cinematic Universe*, Bruce Wayne from *DC Universe*, Severus Snape from the Harry Potter series, and Dexter Morgan from *Dexter*.

2.2 'I cannot live without my soul': Heathcliff

In Emily Brontë's novel, Heathcliff is an orphan boy taken in by the Earnshaw family at Wuthering Heights, where he grows close to Catherine, the daughter, but is treated cruelly by the son Hindley. When Hindley inherits the estate and Catherine marries the heir of the neighbouring Thrushcross Grange Edgar Linton, Heathcliff runs away only to return a few years later, rich and intent on revenge.

Although Heathcliff is a typical Byronic Hero, as suggested among others by Lodine-Chaffey (2013), Thorslev (1962), and Pykett (1989) – wicked as the Gothic Villain, rejected by society, living out his life in solitude and having tender feelings for the woman he loves – his character to this day still perplexes many, the main disagreement between the scholars being his possible origin and the kind of love he cultivates for Catherine.

Heathcliff's Otherness is established very early on in the novel, and although scholars generally agree that he is a member of one of the ostracised minorities of Victorian England, they struggle to pinpoint which one exactly the author had in mind. He is often described as having dark and "savage-like" looks, and scholars such as Althubaiti (2015), Gilbert and Gubar (2020) and Stoneman (2000) argue that Heathcliff is of Romani origin,

but there are also alternative suggestions. While Lodine-Chaffey (2013: 208) agrees with von Sneider (1995) and claims that “Heathcliff’s personality traits incorporate contemporary understanding of black stereotypes,” Joffe (2023) supports the view that Heathcliff is of Jewish descent by taking into account the dark looks of the Palestinian population, his implied accent (“gibberish”, Brontë 2020: 50), which could reflect the distinct accent the Victorian Jews spoke with, and the negative stereotype of greed, pointed out by Nelly: “He has, nobody knows what money, and every year it increases. Yes, yes, he’s rich enough to live in a finer house than this; but he’s very near – close-handed; and, if he had meant to flit to Thrushcross Grange, as soon as he heard of a good tenant he could not have borne to miss the chance of getting a few hundreds more. It is strange people should be so greedy, when they are alone in the world! (Brontë 2020: 46). Both of these proposals for Heathcliff’s heritage are historically viable, since Liverpool, where Mr Earnshaw found Heathcliff, had both a large Jewish population and also operated as a slave-trade centre during the late eighteenth century. Regardless of what Heathcliff’s origin may be, Joffe (2023), Lodine-Chaffey (2013) and Tong (2016) agree that it is the source of other people’s mistreatment of him, which causes him to become resentful and vengeful to the point of self-destruction. Ceron (2010: 5) expands on this by defining Heathcliff as “a man who is not only distrustful of everybody, but utterly unable to engage in any social relations.”

Heathcliff’s departure, his sudden return as a wealthy respectable man, his marriage to Linton’s sister Isabella and the acquisition of the Wuthering Heights estate are all a consequence of the injustices he faced in his youth, a manifestation of the combination of the wicked Gothic Villain and the Noble Outlaw. Compared to other Byronic Heroes, Heathcliff does very little to please the woman he loves and is instead preoccupied with other people’s opinions of him, which is what has led Lodine-Chaffey and Stoneman to reconsider his affection for Catherine. Lodine-Chaffey (2013: 209) characterises it as an obsession within which Catherine is the pillar of Heathcliff’s identity, something that he continually struggles with, “providing him with a feeling of belonging.” Stoneman’s (2011) psychoanalytical approach confirms Lodine-Chaffey’s claims since she identifies Heathcliff and Catherine’s attachment as Lacan’s mirror-phase, in which children self-identify by means of another person. She expands on this correlation with Heathcliff’s love for Catherine by saying that “while the absence of the ‘mirror’ seems to threaten [the child’s] very existence, [the child] has no conception of the other person’s independent identity” (Stoneman 2011: 115), which is evident in Heathcliff’s inability to understand Catherine’s reasons for marrying Edgar, and later leads him to disturb Catherine’s grave after her death, thereby removing the ‘mirror’.

Heathcliff, in short, is a dark and brooding man whose hatred, grudges, deeply rooted anger and rejection cause him to destroy not only those in his path, but also himself. Scholars (Adams 2000, Joffe 2023, Lodine-Chaffey 2013, Newman 2019, Stoneman 2011, Tong 2016) concur that Heathcliff is a selfish, malicious character with a strong inclination to

vengeance and villainous plans, possessing sadistic qualities and a self-destructive nature, all of which can be observed in the novel through the progressive moral decline of his character. For example, after Hindley Earnshaw's death, his son Hareton is trusted into Heathcliff's care, and he openly says to the child: "Now, my bonny lad, you are *mine*! And we'll see if one tree won't grow as crooked as another, with the same wind to twist it!" (Brontë 2020: 269). Heathcliff then purposefully reduces him to a servant without paying him any money and treats him the same way that he was treated by Hindley.

Despite Heathcliff's consistent display of cruelty and continued abuse, Lodine-Chafey (2013), who views Heathcliff from the perspective of developmental psychology, and Tong (2016), who examines him through Sartre's idea of freedom, agree that due to the hardships Heathcliff goes through as a child, such as childhood abuse, sympathy is invoked in the reader, who is consequently hesitant to put the blame for Heathcliff's behaviour and actions entirely on him. The role of the victim that is present throughout the beginning of the novel ultimately affects the reader's perception of Heathcliff's actions, seeing them partly as an inevitable consequence.

2.3 'I am the very devil': Mr Rochester

Edward Rochester, commonly known as Mr Rochester, is the master of Thornfield Hall, where Jane Eyre, the heroine of Charlotte Brontë's eponymous novel, becomes employed as a governess to his ward. When he proposes to her and they are to be married, it is revealed that Mr Rochester is already married and is hiding his mentally ill wife in a remote corner of the manor. This prompts Jane to leave him, but she returns after a fire started by his wife that kills her and leaves him handicapped.

In his 1962 book on characterisation of the Byronic Hero, Thorslev places and defines Mr Rochester on the Byronic Hero spectrum as "a descendant of the Gothic Villain-Hero": he resorts to tricks, such as masking himself as a fortune teller, is arrogant and cynical, feels a strong attachment to Jane, and is desperate to keep his marriage to the locked-up Bertha Mason a secret. Even though he is not driven by vengeance, he believes that his father and Bertha's family have done him wrong in the past, which consequently turns him bitter. In his conversation with Jane, Rochester openly admits the selfish nature of his pursuits that are the result of life's disappointments: "Besides, since happiness is irrevocably denied me, I have a right to get pleasure out of life: and I *will* get it, cost what it may" (Brontë 2012: 138). Forina (2014: 86) expands on his general attitude by claiming that Rochester "thinks himself above others and depends on no one else for anything".

By the end of the book, little remains unknown about Mr Rochester or his past. Although there is little room for speculation, scholars have been most interested in discussing his manipulation tactics, the major transformation of his character, the nature of his love for Jane, and, as with any Byronic Hero, what makes him a redeemable character.

While there are many instances of Mr Rochester resorting to tricks in order to manipulate those around him, such as inviting Miss Ingram to spike Jane's jealousy, the one occurrence that stands out the most is Mr Rochester's dishonesty regarding his marital status and strategies of persuasion to convince Jane to stay with him as his mistress. Scaff (2002) takes a rhetorical approach to his conversation with Jane and analyses his speech in terms of Aristotle's theory, a theory that Charlotte Brontë is assumed to have been familiar with. She points out, however, that although Brontë "was familiar with the cultures of ancient Greece and Rome [...] through *Blackwood's Magazine*," it is unlikely that she "intentionally or systematically implemented ideas from the *Rhetoric* in *Jane Eyre*" (Scaff 2002: 115). Nevertheless, Scaff (2002: 115) argues that "Edward Rochester employs all three of the Aristotelian appeals [logos, ethos and pathos] with dexterity." The study goes on to explain that Mr Rochester tries to appeal to Jane's reason by sharing with her a detailed account of his troubled past, but when Jane does not falter, he feels "his rightful desire must prevail" (Scaff 2002: 114) and begins to play "unabashedly on [her] feelings, eliciting sympathy for himself" (Scaff 2002: 115). He also characterises himself "as a wise and moral person who has been wronged and pushed by the limits of endurance to extremities of behaviour" (Scaff 2002: 116) in an attempt to convince Jane through the (ab)use of self-pity, self-congratulatory behaviour and guilt.

Although Mr Rochester plays on Jane's feelings of guilt and shame, as is evident after the ruined wedding when Jane tells him she does not want to hurt him and he adds: "Not in your sense of the word, but in mine you are scheming to destroy me" (Brontë 2012: 304), Scaff (2002: 119) argues that he genuinely wants to pursue happiness with her, which is "a demonstration of his attachment to her". Other scholars agree that Mr Rochester's affection for Jane is genuine. Stoneman (2011: 114), who views Mr Rochester's relationship with Jane from a psychoanalytical angle, emphasises that he is in general gentle towards Jane and that his tenderness is the result of his eagerness "to share his life with her," while Mann (2011: 154), taking his personality under scrutiny, believes that during the persuasion scene, "Rochester's aggression and ill-temper originate from his desire for Jane and that his mercurial temper masks a sensitive inner character." Rochester's genuine attachment is confirmed by a servant who recounts observations made by other people in the house: "The servants say they never saw anybody so much in love as he was" (Brontë 2012: 433).

It is his love for Jane that inspires Mr Rochester to reflect on his actions and assume responsibility for them, which ultimately becomes his redeemable quality. Besides the strong connection that he and Jane share, which Newman (2019: 200) calls an "instant concord" between them, Stoneman (2011: 117) highlights the fact that Mr Rochester "promises the adult connection of expanded minds and throbbing bodies," which implies he does not view Jane as a temporary fling and later transforms himself through feelings of remorse for how he behaved towards her. Forina (2014: 87) goes as far as to say that Mr Rochester "must repent" to complete his transformation and become worthy of Jane's love, which is what he ultimately achieves.

3 METHODOLOGY

For the purpose of this research, two corpora were compiled – one containing all of Heathcliff’s utterances, amounting to 11,970 words, and one of Mr Rochester’s, with 27,166 words in total. The corpora were tokenised, lemmatised and POS-tagged using the *Sketch Engine* corpus tool (Kilgariff et al. 2014; <http://www.sketchengine.eu/>). Due to the high frequency of hyphens in both corpora, which could present a problem for the corpus tool, they were either replaced by commas or were separated from the utterance with a space. For example, the utterance “*And you came from-?*” (Brontë 2012: 123) was changed to “*And you came from -?*”

After the compilation of both corpora, Heathcliff’s and Mr Rochester’s speeches were examined in order to determine if there were any spelling inconsistencies present. Some expressions were found to be inconsistent and potentially presented a problem for the corpus tool, such as *to-night*, *good-bye*, *e’en*, *mad-woman*, &c. Such items were systematically checked in the *Oxford English Dictionary* in order to determine the most suitable standardised forms and changed accordingly, ending up as *tonight*, *goodbye*, *even*, *madwoman*, *etc.* respectively. Some expressions were merely changed to their unhyphenated forms, such as *ex-act-ly* to *exactly*.

Sketch Engine was used to process and extract the data. Both characters were analysed in terms of the following parameters:

- n-grams (bigrams and trigrams)
- word frequencies
- keywords: common/grammatically oriented single-words (rare-common focus: 1000000)
- keywords: single-words (rare-common focus: 1000)
- keywords: multi-word expressions (rare-common focus: 1000)

Keywords are “key items that reflect the distinctive styles of each character” (Culpeper 2009: 34) and they always reflect the relative frequency of a lexical item in the corpus under investigation compared to some other corpus, which can be either a corpus of general English or a corpus containing the speech of other characters in the same literary work or other text. For the purposes of this paper, the Heathcliff and Mr Rochester corpora serve as each other’s reference corpus. The term multi-words refers to combinations of two (or more) words. Keywords are items that are overrepresented in a character’s speech compared to the other character’s utterances. The rare-common focus refers to the smoothing parameter used in Sketch Engine’s Simple Maths keyness score that gives preference to less/more common lexical items (Kilgariff 2009; <https://www.sketchengine.eu/documentation/simple-maths/>). The attribute for all the searches was set to lemma.

4 ANALYSIS AND DISCUSSION

4.1 Heathcliff

Table 1: List of top ten most frequently occurring words

	Word	Frequency	Frequency per million
1.	I	542	37,623
2.	be	516	35,818
3.	you	410	28,460
4.	and	405	28,113
5.	the	369	25,614
6.	to	358	24,851
7.	a	242	16,799
8.	of	220	15,271
9.	not	218	15,133
10.	have	210	14,577

Table 2: List of top ten bigrams

	Bigram	Frequency	Frequency per million
1.	I be	69	4,790
2.	I have	66	4,581
3.	do not	63	4,373
4.	I will	56	3,887
5.	it be	53	3,679
6.	and I	44	3,054
7.	you be	37	2,568
8.	be not	35	2,430
9.	in the	34	2,360
10.	that I	33	2,291

Table 3: Keyword list of top 20 common/grammatically oriented single-words (rare-common focus: 1000000)

1.	he	11.	Nelly
2.	him	12.	to
3.	his	13.	do
4.	not	14.	that
5.	Linton	15.	Catherine
6.	will	16.	get
7.	I	17.	they
8.	she	18.	Hareton
9.	her	19.	we
10.	if	20.	from

Table 4: Keyword list of top 20 single-words (rare-common focus: 1000)

1.	Linton	11.	Joseph
2.	him	12.	get
3.	Nelly	13.	we
4.	he	14.	Edgar
5.	Catherine	15.	Grange
6.	his	16.	devil
7.	Hareton	17.	she
8.	Cathy	18.	lad
9.	us	19.	they
10.	till	20.	off

Table 5: Keyword list of top 20 multi-word expressions (rare-common focus: 1000)

1.	Edgar Linton	11.	paltry creature
2.	Miss Linton	12.	Ellen Dean
3.	blue eye	13.	young lady
4.	Miss Earnshaw	14.	advice concern
5.	little dog	15.	absurd termination
6.	Thrushcross Grange	16.	abominable snort
7.	Catherine Linton	17.	aspect next time

8.	Miss Catherine	18.	daily life
9.	amiable lady	19.	born fool
10.	few day	20.	aggravation of the constant torment

What is clear immediately is that the list of the top ten most frequent words (Table 1) features the personal pronoun *I* at the top. For the second and third hits – the verb *be* and the personal pronoun *you* – the concordances were checked to determine who Heathcliff refers to in his speech, and in both cases, the examples involve numerous second- and third-person referents, including Mr Lockwood, Catherine, Catherine’s daughter, Ellen Dean, Linton, Hareton and Isabella, which means that they are not character-specific. This makes the self-referring *I* even stronger and gives it more emphasis. As expected, the same item appears directly in five different combinations out of the top ten bigrams in Table 2 – *I be*, *I have*, *I will*, and *I* and *that I*. According to concordances, the third top bigram *do not* mostly – 22 out of 63 hits – appears in combination with the first-person pronoun as well. Taking this into consideration, the majority of the top ten bigrams involve the presence of *I*.

The dominant presence of *I* in different combinations of bigrams as well as its overall frequency stands as a firm reflection of Heathcliff’s selfish and self-centred character in speech, especially when compared with general corpora of spoken English. In the spoken part of the British National Corpus 2014 (Love et al. 2017), for instance, *I* is the second most common lemma in the corpus, lagging considerably behind *be*; in the spoken subcorpus of the British National Corpus 1994 (BNC Consortium 2007), *I* only appears in the third place, following *be* and *the*. While we tend to focus on ourselves when we speak in general, the comparison therefore singles out Heathcliff as considerably more egotistical than the average speaker. Such egotism can be observed in the following instances: in his conversation with Ellen Dean when Heathcliff first becomes jealous of Edgar: “Well, *I* cried last night [...] and I had more reason to cry than she” (Brontë 2020: 79); in the conversation he has with Catherine, who is jealous about Isabella, when he says: “Meantime, thank you for telling me your sister-in-law’s secret - I swear I’ll make the most of it.” (Brontë 2020: 160); and when he is planning to keep Catherine Linton trapped until she marries his son, which is when he explains his motive: “Miss Linton, I shall enjoy myself remarkably in thinking your father will be miserable; I shall not sleep for satisfaction.” (Brontë 2020: 393)

What stands out in the list of the top 20 common/grammatically-oriented keywords in Table 3 is the strong presence of third-person masculine pronouns, which appear in the top three positions – the personal pronouns in the top two places and the possessive one in the third place. They are followed by *Linton* in the fifth place, with the concordances showing this primarily reflects Heathcliff’s obsession with Edgar Linton, who Heathcliff wants to exact his revenge on for marrying Catherine, and not his son, whose name is also

Linton. This is in line with Tong's (2016: 235) claim that "Heathcliff, with his genteel manners, deprives Edgar of his past superiority."

The personal pronoun *I* that appears in seventh place (Table 3) is followed by two feminine pronouns – *she* and *her*. The relative order of personal pronouns reflects Heathcliff's priorities, where his main preoccupation is competition with several male characters, including Hindley Earnshaw, Catherine's brother, but primarily with Edgar Linton. It also showcases that female characters are not his priority: while their names appear later on in the list, they are partially the source of his desire for revenge and he fully sees them as tools for exacting it.

The presence of *if* among the top ten common keywords points both to his scheming nature and to his tendency to make threats, as is exemplified by Heathcliff's conversation with Catherine and Edgar: "if you fancy I'll suffer unrevenged, I'll convince you of the contrary, in a very little while!" (Brontë 2020: 160) This can also be observed in his conversation with Ellen Dean regarding Hindley's abuse when Heathcliff says: "I'm trying to settle how I shall pay Hindley back. I don't care how long I wait, if I can only do it, at last. I hope he will not die before I do!" (Brontë 2020: 85).

Table 4, which prioritises neither common nor rare lexical items, demonstrates similar results, and although they appear in a slightly different order, there are clear parallels that can be drawn between the results of analyses with different parameters. *Linton*, *him*, *he* and *his* appear at the top of the list, all except *his* surpassing references to Catherine and her daughter. The most interesting addition to the results is *devil*, appearing in 16th place. While the concordances include many instances of *devil* used as a swearword, there are also instances in which Heathcliff likens himself to the devil or even portrays himself as the worse alternative, as is evident in the passage where he introduces Miss Linton to his son Linton: "You would imagine I was the devil himself, Miss Linton, to excite such horror" (Brontë 2020: 386), and towards the end of the novel when he tells her: "I'll not hurt you. No! to you, I've made myself worse than the devil" (Brontë 2020: 480).

In Table 5, presenting the list of the top 20 multi-word items, the first place is taken by *Edgar Linton*, which again demonstrates Heathcliff's obsession with his romantic competition. Although there are many names that appear among the results that could potentially refer to Heathcliff's love – *Miss Linton*, *Miss Earnshaw*, *Catherine Linton*, *Miss Catherine* and *young lady* – manual analysis shows that the majority of the concordances are used to refer to Catherine's daughter, with the exception of *Miss Earnshaw*.

Among the results are three multi-word expressions that reflect different aspects of Heathcliff's character. Heathcliff uses the multi-word item *blue eye* whenever he refers to Edgar Linton's looks that are favoured by society and starkly different from his. Given that this expression appears among the top three, it is evident that Heathcliff has considerable inferiority and identity issues connected to his unknown origin that

he is shamed for by other characters. The second item reflecting a part of his character is *little dog*, the fifth multi-word item on the list, referring to Isabella's dog, which the novel uses to showcase that Heathcliff's cruelty knows no bounds, since he harms an innocent animal to hurt Isabella, Edgar Linton's sister who he "plots to seduce, marry and abuse" (Lodine-Chaffey 2013: 2010), showing "no remorse or empathy for the little dog or for Isabella" (Adams 2000: 170). Heathcliff himself admits the severity of cruelty to Nelly in his speech belittling Isabella: "The first thing she saw me do, on coming out of the Grange, was to hang up her little dog, and when she pleaded for it, the first words I uttered were a wish that I had the hanging of every being belonging to her," (Brontë 2020: 217) before saying that Isabella "disgraces the name of Linton" (Brontë 2020: 218).

Heathcliff's speech shows how preoccupied he is with other characters in the novel, such as Edgar Linton and Hindley Earnshaw, and their families. His tragic trait is that he has always wanted to be part of the genteel society but is never accepted by them due to his originating from one of the oppressed minorities and is thus treated poorly in his youth. His entire life consists of him assuming the role of an outcast and obsessing over people who belong to a class that is out of reach for him no matter his achievements. Both his obsession with self-gratification by means of revenge against those who contributed to his misfortune and ill-treatment and his internalised inferiority are thoroughly reflected in the results provided by the corpus analysis.

4.2 Rochester

Table 6: List of top ten most frequently occurring words

	Word	Frequency	Frequency per million
1.	be	1,132	34,909
2.	I	1,096	33,799
3.	you	1,086	33,491
4.	and	890	27,446
5.	the	868	26,768
6.	a	766	23,622
7.	to	736	22,697
8.	of	613	18,904
9.	have	459	14,155
10.	me	412	12,705

Table 7: List of top ten bigrams

	Bigram	Frequency	Frequency per million
1.	I be	148	4,564
2.	I have	139	4,287
3.	it be	121	3,731
4.	you be	118	3,639
5.	of the	98	3,022
6.	do not	80	2,467
7.	you have	79	2,436
8.	in the	78	2,405
9.	be a	77	2,375
10.	do you	74	2,282

*Table 8: List of top 20 common/grammatically oriented single-words
(rare-common focus: 1000000)*

1.	Jane	11.	me
2.	a	12.	but
3.	you	13.	this
4.	of	14.	the
5.	what	15.	Eyre
6.	now	16.	very
7.	with	17.	Adele
8.	all	18.	like
9.	which	19.	its
10.	my	20.	for

Table 9: List of top 20 single-words (rare-common focus: 1000)

1.	Jane	11.	Thornfield
2.	Eyre	12.	smile
3.	Adele	13.	man
4.	which	14.	all
5.	Mason	15.	Rochester
6.	its	16.	find

7.	pass	17.	what
8.	Janet	18.	now
9.	very	19.	woman
10.	wife	20.	marry

Table 10: List of top 20 multi-word expressions

1.	Miss Eyre	11.	good deal
2.	Miss Ingram	12.	something of that sort
3.	Thornfield Hall	13.	little child
4.	little friend	14.	shake hand
5.	few moment	15.	Mrs Fairfax
6.	Jane Eyre	16.	paid subordinate
7.	long time	17.	pearl necklace
8.	Bertha Mason	18.	communicative tonight
9.	few minutes	19.	much time
10.	Grace Poole	20.	Hay Lane

The most frequently occurring word in the whole of the corpus is *be*, as shown in Table 6, which is expected across spoken corpora. What is significant, however, is the hierarchy of personal pronouns. Although *I* is found in second place, it should be noted that, at 33,799 instances per million words (pmw), its frequency barely surpasses another personal pronoun, *you*, with a frequency of 33,491 pmw. The two pronouns are thus much closer in frequency in Mr Rochester's corpus than in general spoken corpora of English, such as the spoken parts of the British National Corpus 2014 (36,846 pmw for *I* in second place and 26,362 pmw for *you* in fourth place) and the British National Corpus 1994 (26,210 pmw for *I* in third place and 22,784 pmw for *you* in fourth place), and *you* in particular is used much more often. The concordances show *you* mainly referring to Jane Eyre.

Based on the word frequency list alone, the factor that could point to Mr Rochester's self-centredness is the presence of the only other personal pronoun on the list, *me*, in tenth place, especially given that it only occurs in speech at No. 58 in the British National Corpus 2014 and at No. 63 in the British National Corpus 1994. The similar frequencies of *I* and *you*, however, reveal more about Mr Rochester's character, since they stand as a testament to Mr Rochester's claim that Jane is "[his] equal [...]" and "[his] likeness" (Brontë 2012: 258), and suggest that he may indeed see her as his equal. This is emphasised by Mr Rochester's repentant transformation later in the novel, since "in order to have equality

between them, he must repent and admit some inferiority” (Forina 2014: 87). This can be observed towards the end of the novel when Mr Rochester admits: “Divine justice pursued its course; [...] the shadow of death. *His* chastisements are mighty; and one smote me which has humbled me for ever.” (Brontë 2012: 453)

Of the top ten bigrams in Table 7, the top two include Mr Rochester’s direct reference to himself – *I be* and *I have*. Even though these dominate the list, which could be taken as a demonstration of his preoccupation with himself and an indication of his selfish nature since “he takes his own needs unselfconsciously for granted” (Scaff 2002: 114), it is important to note that of the five bigrams that involve personal references, only two are used to refer to himself. The common denominator of the other three is the pronoun *you*, used for the second person singular. The concordances show that only few instances refer to someone other than Jane, confirming his strong focus on her. One such rare utterance occurs after Richard, Bertha Mason’s brother, is wounded and Mr Rochester is sending him on his way after he receives medical attention: “Where did you leave your furred cloak?” (Brontë 2012: 216).

The list of the top 20 common keywords in Table 8 further highlights Mr Rochester’s fixation with Jane, with *Jane* and *you* appearing among the top three, and *Eyre* in 15th place. The pronouns *me* and *my*, the only two first-person pronouns, appear further down the list, taking tenth and 11th place respectively. It is important to note that in many instances *my* is used with other words to form combinations with which Mr Rochester again refers to Jane and solely to her: *my little wife*, *my darling*, *my pale little elf*, *my Jane*, *my comforter*, *my paid subordinate*, *my conscience-keeper*, *my little friend*, *my pet lamb*, *my lovely one*, *my bride*, *my beloved*, *my equal*, *my likeness*, *my treasure*, *my Jane*, *my good angel*, *my mistress*, *my sympathy*, *my better self*, *my rescuer*, *my hope*, *my love*, *my life*, *my living Jane*, *my living darling*, *my nurse*, *my fairy*, *my skylark*, *my little Jane*, *my only treasure*.

Due to these results, it would be unfair to classify *my* entirely as self-referencing, even if some of the nicknames and references are a result of his intention to achieve whatever his heart desires, even at Jane’s expense, are about a service he believes Jane could provide, which would help him achieve happiness, or are a manipulation tactic he uses to play with Jane’s feelings. After Jane becomes aware of Mr Rochester’s marital status, for example, he tries to convince her to stay with him by means of manipulation – calling her unreasonable and emotionally blackmailing her: “Never fear that I wish to lure you into error—to make you my mistress. Why did you shake your head? Jane, you must be reasonable, or in truth I shall again become frantic” (Brontë 2012: 308). Following a manual analysis of the concordances, over half of the combinations with *my* are used by Mr Rochester to convey his tender (albeit possessive and even obsessive) feelings for and his attachment to Jane even if “the process of their coming together [...] is fraught with menace” (Stoneman 2011: 113). The part of him that is derived from the Man of Feeling’s devotion to Jane is accompanied by the Noble Outlaw and

the Romantic Rebel's self-righteousness and the Gothic Villain's manipulative strategies to achieve his goals.

Notably, expressions involving the attribute *little* referring to Jane are abundant in the first half of the book, when Jane is in an evidently lower position than Mr Rochester. Once he loses everything, suffers life-altering injuries, repents for what he has done and undergoes a transformation, only a single instance of using *little* to refer directly to Jane can be found in his speech, which confirms that by the end of the novel Mr Rochester truly sees Jane as his equal. His perception of her as his inferior is evident during their initial engagement, specifically when Jane shares with him visions of her nightmare, which foreshadows the bitter future of their wedding, and Mr Rochester's first response is: "And these dreams weigh on your spirits now, Jane, when I am close to you? Little nervous subject! Forget visionary woe, and think only of real happiness!" (Brontë 2012: 285). Notwithstanding the love he has for her, his speech also evidently reflects that in his mind Jane is yet to become his true equal. After they are reunited, Mr Rochester uses *little* in reference to Jane once when reminiscing about the past: "I thought my little Jane was all mine! I had a belief she loved me even when she left me" (Brontë 2012: 450), but he otherwise drops the use of *little*, as can be observed in the following quotations: "In truth? In the flesh? My living Jane?" (Brontë 2012: 441), "You should care, Janet; if I were what I once was, I would try to make you care" (Brontë 2012: 443) and in "but Jane's soft ministry will be a perpetual joy. Jane suits me: do I suit her?" (Brontë 2012: 452).

Table 9, showcasing the list of top 20 single-words, shows three direct references to Jane among the top ten: *Jane* and *Eyre* taking the first two places, and *Janet*, Mr Rochester's loving pet name for Jane, appearing shortly after in eighth place. Although his own name appears in 15th place, the lemma's concordances show that he uses *Rochester* either to refer to himself, his first wife – Bertha Mason, or even Jane when he tells her he wants her to be the next Mrs Rochester, hence it is mainly used to refer to people he shares or wants to share his name with, once again favouring Jane. For example, when Mr Rochester is tending to the necessary arrangements for the wedding, he asks Jane for her opinion on the carriage in the following way: "You must see the carriage, Jane, and tell me if you don't think it will suit Mrs. Rochester exactly" (Brontë 2012: 248). With this utterance, Mr Rochester does not refer to himself or Bertha Mason, but to his intentions of marrying Jane.

In Table 10, four of the top 20 multi-word expressions are directly connected to Jane: *Miss Eyre*, *little friend*, *Jane Eyre* and *paid subordinate*, the first three appearing among the top three and the last one appearing in 16th place. The other indirect reference to Jane is *Hay Lane* in 20th place. Even though it is not in any direct way connected to her character, Hay Lane plays a major role in the novel since that is where Mr Rochester and Jane first meet. It is also a moment that Mr Rochester reminisces about multiple times over the course of the novel. In this respect, *Hay Lane* can be viewed as relating to Jane since it bears no other significance in the novel and is not connected to any other

character apart from her. Taking the list at face value, one might assume that Mr Rochester is divided between his affection for Jane and Blanche Ingram, but the concordances of *Miss Ingram*, with nine instances in total, show that a third of the examples occur in the passage where Mr Rochester rejects her. He voices his feelings for Miss Ingram when he proposes to Jane: “I would not – I could not – marry Miss Ingram” (Brontë 2012: 258). *Bertha Mason* and *Grace Poole* are also among the top ten items, the former being Rochester’s past that haunts him and the latter his past’s keeper, since Rochester relies on Grace Poole to keep an eye on his wife and keep her a secret from everybody else. Their high rankings among the multiple references to Jane, a person Mr Rochester sees as his present and future, show that he is haunted by “a history of entanglements with women” (Stoneman 2011: 113) which interferes with his pursuit of happiness and which he would prefer to keep buried.

Although Mr Rochester may be a selfish character, this is not the trait that stands out the most in his speech. It is evident that he is actively troubled by his past due to the many references to his first wife, Bertha Mason, and those connected to her. The strongest presence that can be detected in his speech, however, is Jane’s, highlighting the aspect of devotion and tender love of the Byronic Hero that derives from the Man of Feeling. The various analyses show that he either talks about her with equal frequency as he talks about himself, or references to her dominate his speech and override the references to himself, making her a large part of who he is as a character, which is a testimony to the genuine love he feels for Jane, even if he shows his attachment in strange and manipulative ways. When his transformation is complete at the end of the novel, it comes as no surprise that he becomes a good and devoted husband to Jane.

4.3 A Byronic comparison

Mr Rochester and Heathcliff are both Byronic heroes, which is evident from the many traits that they share – they are both rebellious, removed from society, passionate, mysterious, brooding and prepared to do whatever it takes to reach their goal, even when (and sometimes especially when) they do it at someone else’s expense. Their ways of speaking, however, shed light on many important differences, which ultimately makes it impossible for them to be categorised as completely the same type of character.

It is evident in Mr Rochester’s speech that the majority of what he says and thinks revolves around Jane – the person he explicitly and implicitly refers to as his equal, and with whom he is deeply in love, according to the results of the in-depth analysis of the concordances. This is likely what also makes him a redeemable character, although his intensity and self-interest almost push Jane to the edge of society where she would be completely dependent on him. His plan to send her to one of his estates is exactly that: “You shall go to a place I have in the south of France: a whitewashed villa on the shores of the Mediterranean. There you shall live a happy, and guarded, and most innocent life”

(Brontë 2012: 308). On the spectrum of the Byronic Hero, Mr Rochester has many traits typical of the Gothic Villain – selfishness and a manipulative, obsessive and possessive behaviour with a past filled with secrets. However, his many redeemable traits, such as the remorse of the Romantic Rebel and the melancholic contemplation of the Gloomy Egoist, together with his undying loyalty to Jane and his ability to be vulnerable around her, steadily reveal the amount of feeling that he has for her – sentiment typical of the Man of Feeling. He demonstrates this vulnerability especially towards the end of the novel after being humbled both physically and emotionally when he shares with Jane he feels unworthy of her love and care: “I am no better than the old lightning-struck chestnut-tree in Thornfield orchard [...] And what right would that ruin have to bid a budding woodbine cover its decay with freshness?” (Brontë 2012: 451). Combined with the transformation of the Noble Outlaw as the most important feature, they significantly distance him from the Gothic Villain on the Byronic spectrum.

Heathcliff, on the other hand, is not the same kind of Byronic Hero as Mr Rochester. The cruelty he had to endure in the past, his humble beginnings, his burning passion for Catherine and the presence of remorse which leads to his death all affect his placement on the Byronic Hero spectrum. Due to his devious cruelty, pervasive darkness, destructive tendencies, lust for revenge, his mysterious coming into fortune, all of which are confirmed by corpus analysis, he comes closer to the Gothic Villain than any other constituent archetype. His love for a woman does not redeem him as a character since his self-interest and desire for revenge make him violent and destructive. How to bring about his revenge and emerge victorious is at the centre of his concerns. Where Mr Rochester’s love for Jane becomes his priority over time as he forms a meaningful connection with her, which can be seen by the incessant references to Jane in his speech, Heathcliff is unable to let go of the past, as can be observed in his hatred towards his own son, who, to Heathcliff, is a painful reminder of the past he has not moved on from, and a tool in exacting his revenge: “I should not wish him to die till I was certain of being his successor. Besides, he’s *mine*, and I want the triumph of seeing *my* descendant fairly lord of their estates; my child hiring their children, to till their fathers’ lands for wages. That is the sole consideration which can make me endure the whelp - I despise him for himself, and hate him for the memories he revives!” (Brontë 2020: 299–300). He continues to be driven by his desire for vengeance, his obsession with other people’s opinions, the need to emerge victorious in his competition with Edgar Linton, and his own inability to accept himself for who he is, while using his love for Catherine more as a vehicle and an excuse to demonstrate his obsession and brutality, as is thoroughly reflected in the results and the analysis.

5 CONCLUSION

Keyword analysis is a valuable and well-established method for researching the stylistic features of a language, including the speech characteristics of fictional characters and how those reflect their personalities. In this paper, keyword analysis was used to investigate the ways in which Mr Rochester from Charlotte Brontë's *Jane Eyre* and Heathcliff from Emily Brontë's *Wuthering Heights* differ, even though they are both Byronic Heroes and were created by two sisters who were influenced by the same environment and society and who consequently shared many similarities. This is investigated on the basis of five types of corpus analysis: 2–3 n-grams, word frequencies, common/grammatically oriented single-words, single-words and multi-word expressions.

Although keyword analysis is a computer-assisted research method and interpreting the data involves some subjectivity, all of the discussed findings show that Heathcliff's feelings of inadequacy, brutality, competition and obsession with other people are reflected in his speech. The overwhelming presence of self-referencing and the many references to people he wishes to destroy ultimately bring his character closer to the Gothic Villain on the Byronic Hero spectrum. On the other hand, it is evident in the case of Mr Rochester that he is undyingly devoted to the woman he loves and his speech patterns demonstrate that towards the end of the novel he truly sees Jane as his equal, while also being tortured by his past. The transformation that he undergoes is ultimately reflected both in his behaviour and his speech, which significantly distances him from the Gothic Villain on the Byronic Hero spectrum and brings him closer to the Gloomy Egoist and the Man of Feeling.

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POVZETEK

**KAKO SE IZRAŽATI KOT BRONTEJEVSKI BYRONSKI JUNAK:
PRIMERJAVA GOSPODA ROCHESTRA IN HEATHCLIFFA**

Članek uporablja korpusno analizo kot empirični temelj za karakterizacijo najbolj znanih byronskih junakov sester Brontë – gospoda Rochestra iz romana *Jane Eyre*, ki ga je napisala Charlotte Brontë, in Heathcliffa iz romana *Viharni vrh*, katerega avtorica je Emily Brontë. Primarni cilj prispevka je ugotoviti, kako govor gospoda Rochestra in Heathcliffa izraža njuno byronsko osebnost, in raziskati, katere vzporednice lahko zasledimo med njima in kaj ju dela izrazito različna. Analizirane jezikovne značilnosti obeh izbranih likov temeljijo na korpusih njenega govora, za obdelavo podatkov pa je uporabljeno korpusno orodje Sketch Engine. Korpusna analiza je narejena na podlagi n-gramov, ki identificirajo pogosta zaporedja besed, in besednih frekvenc, ki izpostavljajo najpogostejše rabljene besede vsakega od likov. Za poglobljeno analizo smo uporabili ključne besede in besedne zveze, saj te razkrivajo unikatne in specifične jezikovne vzorce, pri čemer govor enega vedno primerjamo z drugim likom kot referenčnim korpusom. Rezultate najprej interpretiramo in postavimo v kontekst za vsak lik posebej, kar razkrije njune edinstvene lingvistične značilnosti in unikatne attribute. Nato sledi primerjalna analiza, s katero se identificirajo podobnosti in razlike med obema byronskima likoma na podlagi podatkov iz korpusa. Obravnavane značilnosti kažejo, da se v Heathcliffovem govoru odražajo občutki nezadostnosti, brutalnosti, tekmovalnosti in obsedenosti z drugimi ljudmi, medtem ko je pri gospodu Rochesterju očitno, da je neomajno predan ljubljeni osebi, hkrati pa ga mučijo dogodki iz preteklosti. Vsaka od naštetih analitičnih metod razkriva zanimive razlike v njenem govoru in prikaže kako se temačnost byronskega lika izkazuje v gospodu Rochestru in Heathcliffu ter tako prispeva nov vpogled v trajno zapuščino teh dveh likov.

Ključne besede: karakterizacija, korpusna stilistika, analiza ključnih besed, *Jane Eyre*, *Viharni vrh*

ABSTRACT

**HOW TO SPEAK LIKE A BRONTËAN BYRONIC HERO:
A COMPARISON OF MR ROCHESTER AND HEATHCLIFF**

The paper uses corpus analysis as the empirical basis for aiding in / complementing the characterisation of the Brontës' best-known Byronic Heroes – Charlotte Brontë's Mr. Rochester from *Jane Eyre*, and Emily Brontë's Heathcliff from *Wuthering Heights*. The primary aim of the paper is to determine how Mr. Rochester's and Heathcliff's speech reflect their Byronic personalities, exploring both the parallels that can be drawn between them and what makes them distinctly different. The corpus analysis is based on the corpora of character speech, and the Sketch

Engine corpus tool is used to process the data and perform detailed analyses such as n-grams, which identify common sequences of words, and word frequencies, which highlight the most frequently used words by each character. Additionally, keywords and multi-word expressions are examined to uncover unique and defining linguistic patterns. The results are first interpreted and discussed separately for each character, highlighting their individual linguistic features and unique attributes. Following this, a comparative analysis is conducted to identify the similarities and differences between the two characters based on the corpus data. The discussed features show that Heathcliff's speech reflects his feelings of inadequacy, brutality, competition and obsession with other people, while it is evident in the case of Mr Rochester that he is undyingly devoted to the woman he loves, while also being tortured by his past. Each of these analytical methods exposes interesting differences in their speech, illustrating how both Mr. Rochester and Heathcliff embody the dark and brooding traits of Byronic Heroes in distinct ways, offering fresh insights into the enduring legacy of these characters.

Keywords: characterisation, corpus stylistics, keyword analysis, Jane Eyre, Wuthering Heights

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Izvirni znanstveni članek



LEXICAL SYNAESTHESIA IN METAPHORICAL COLLOCATIONS: COLLOCATIONAL BONDING OF GUSTATORY ADJECTIVES IN ENGLISH

1 INTRODUCTION

When discussing perception and the senses, people often employ figurative language which tends to manifest as metaphorical expressions such as *sweet voices*, *sour scents*, *spicy undertones*, etc.¹ Since metaphorical expressions do not form in a vacuum but depend on the context and co-text, it is no surprise that the simplest form in which they can be observed is a multiword combination. From a morphosyntactic perspective, such combinations do not differ from free word combinations and idioms, e.g.:

- (1) a. *Top with salsa, lime juice, and low-fat **sour cream**.* →
 b. *There was a **sour smell** leaking from the kitchen at the back of the house.* →
 c. *She'd prefer it if he wasn't such a **sour puss**, but she loves him regardless.*

Example (1a) represents a free word combination because both words retain their literal meaning. Example (1c) represents an idiom because both components undergo a change in meaning from literal to figurative, and together form a new one (e.g., *sour puss* is a person who constantly complains and looks unhappy). Example (1b) represents a metaphorical collocation because the meaning of the collocate *sour* is not literal, but extends from the domain of taste to the domain of smell. This mapping occurs across different senses – cross-modally – and is known as lexical synaesthesia (LS) in the field of lexical semantics. Some instances of LS are introduced as conceptual metaphors in the literature (Lakoff and Johnson, 1980), while others are considered to rely upon conceptual metonymies (Winter, 2019).

1 The study has been fully supported by the Croatian Science Foundation under the project *Metaphorical Collocations – Syntagmatic Relations Between Semantics and Pragmatics* (IP-2020-02-6319). More about the project on the following link: <https://metakol.uniri.hr/en/>.

In this paper, we argue that the word combination in example (1b) is grounded in specific conceptual mapping, departing from the assumption that LS tends to manifest as a subtype of metaphorical collocations. In particular, the focus has been placed on cross-modal conceptual mappings manifested as binary constructions. For this purpose, corpus-driven research has been conducted as a part of a larger scientific project dealing with metaphorical collocations. The main goal is to shed more light on the process of conceptual mapping and thus contribute to a better understanding of collocational bonding.

2 METAPHORICAL COLLOCATIONS

The notion of metaphorical collocations has already, but somewhat tacitly, been put forward by researchers such as Deignan and Potter (2004), Philipp (2011), McCarthy and O'Dell (2017), and Dai, Wu and Xu (2019). Most of these authors did not delve deeply into the subject and did not provide exact definitions of the phenomenon (Patekar, 2022: 37). Nevertheless, detailed definitions can be found in German and Croatian studies on the topic of collocational bonding, in the works of authors such as Reder (2006), Konecny (2010), Stojić (2018, 2019), and Stojić and Košuta (2020). The aforementioned authors define collocations with a metaphorical component as a specific collocational subtype, and call them metaphorical collocations (e.g., a *sweet child* and a *hot woman*), indicating their meaning is figurative. On the other hand, a few examples of non-metaphorical collocations, which lack that figurative component, would be an *innocent child* and a *beautiful woman*.

Departing from the assumption that metaphorical and/or metonymic mechanisms enhance collocational bonding, Stojić and Košuta (2020, 2021, 2022) opted for a usage-based approach dependent on the analysis of four different language corpora (*hrWac*, *enTenTen20*, *deTenTen20*, and *itTenTen20*) to prove the hypothesis. That reasoning subsequently led to the design of a scientific research project supported by the Croatian Science Foundation, called *Metaphorical Collocations – Syntagmatic Relations Between Semantics and Pragmatics* (IP-2020-02-6319), which this study is a part of. The project aims to gain insight into the rules and patterns of collocational bonding. The main hypothesis of the project states that collocational bonding is not arbitrary but motivated by conceptual metaphor and/or metonymy, which enhances semantic cohesion between collocational constituents.

In Section 4, the research goals and hypotheses of this study will be presented as a continuation and elaboration of this larger research project.

3 SYNAESTHETIC METAPHORS – PREVIOUS RESEARCH, THE RELEVANCE OF EMBODIMENT AND METONYMIC TRANSFER

As noted by Zhao et al. (2022: 554), “linguistic synaesthesia is a type of language usage whereby lexical items commonly considered to be in one sensory modality are employed to describe perceptions in another”. The best examples of such a phenomenon are metaphorical collocations which contain perceptual metaphors like *sweet voice*, *sour smell*, and *bitter cold*. In these examples, gustatory adjectives are mapped onto different senses, namely hearing, olfaction, and touch. Furthermore, the relevant literature indicates that lexical or linguistic synaesthesia can be found all over the world, in a plethora of different languages (Kumcu, 2021, Stirk Lievers, 2015, Ullman, 1966, Williams, 1976), which points to its status as a true semantic universal.

In their efforts to thoroughly investigate the phenomenon, researchers have fallen into two opposite camps: one group adopted a non-metaphorical and neurobiological explanation of LS (Ramachandran and Hubbard, 2001), whilst the other opted for a metaphorical view (Wilson, 2002, Stirk Lievers, 2017).

In this study, we have chosen the middle ground – a perspective that approaches lexical synaesthesia as a process independent from neurological synaesthesia, but heavily reliant on metonymization due to the embodied nature of language. Metonymies subsequently (in most cases) give way to metaphorization and idiom formation, serving as a necessary prerequisite.

In the mid-1970s, cognitivists recognized that we use our own body-part relations to make sense of objects and spatial relations in our surroundings (Johnson, 2018: 6), and that these body parts are often used imagistically and metaphorically. It was also suggested that perception should not be separated from conceptualization (a notion pioneered by William James in 1911). Furthermore, Embodied Cognition Theory (ECT) provided us with evidence that metaphor is our principal means of abstract conceptualization and reasoning, but it also suggested that the majority of these metaphors are not based on similarities but on common experiential relations occurring between the source and target domains. Grady (1997) named these basic correlational phenomena *primary scenes*,² and noted that they form without conscious awareness, from the neural co-activations of the source and target domains.

This aligns with and elaborates on Lakoff and Johnson’s (1980) train of thought, showing us that both metaphor and metonymy (apart from being viewed as rhetorical figures) are cognitive devices that function through conceptual mapping. They defined metonymy by contiguity and pointed out that the mapping during metonymization process occurs inside a single domain. An element of that domain gives mental access to another

2 Kövecses (2013) refers to these as correlational or primary metaphors, whose terminology we adopt for this study.

element inside the same experiential frame or domain (e.g., *I pledge my allegiance to the Crown*, instead of *I pledge my allegiance to the Queen*). Consequently, unlike metaphor, metonymy is usually more grounded in our experiences, and less abstract, even more basic, and in some cases, it gives rise to metaphor formation. On the other hand, metaphorical mapping involves two different domains: the source and the target domain, and is usually driven by the similarity of concepts (e.g., we can compare time with money via the conceptual metaphor TIME IS MONEY, and subsequently say that *time* can be *spent*, *saved*, *wasted*, that it is *valuable*, and is regarded as *a possession*, etc.).

Radden (2002) suggests that a great deal of metaphors emerge from metonymies and that it usually happens in four cases: correlations derived from experience, conversational implicatures, taxonomic structures and categories, and cultural models. Furthermore, Kövecses (2013) noticed (building upon Grady's insights from 1997) that correlational or primary metaphors emerge from metonymy due to our (early) pre-conceptual experience. He corroborated this with examples of primary metaphors, which actually represent metonymies. A case in point may be illustrated with the example *she's feeling up* and *he's a hothead*, given the fact that happiness and anger incite complementary behavioural reactions, such as upward body posture when we are happy, or a sensation of hotness while feeling angry. This is typical of the process of metonymization in which the effect stands for the cause. Kövecses further suggests that behavioural responses function as metonymies in emotion concepts (as in the above examples), but that they can also be applied more widely.

We confirm this through corpus analysis and demonstrate it in the examples in Section 6, which prove that behavioural responses also function as metonymies in sensory concepts. In the following sections, we shall see how this reflects on collocational bonding.

4 RESEARCH GOALS AND HYPOTHESIS

Since preliminary research within the larger project on metaphorical collocations (described in Section 2) demonstrated that the meaning of the base governs collocational behaviour and triggers semantic extensions in the collocate, it was decided to approach the problem of collocational bonding in this study from the opposite direction. Namely, collocates have been chosen as starting points of the analysis of LS since they are the ones undergoing shifts in meaning and since they, as adjectives, originally pertain to the senses. The decision to focus on gustatory adjectives was based on the previous research (Winter, 2019), as well as the preliminary analysis, which highlighted several crucial points. Firstly, gustatory adjectives can be limited to more or less six subcategories and subsequently six adjectives, which makes gustation a better candidate for comprehensive analysis than the sense of smell, hearing, or vision, which are much more versatile. Secondly, the referred directionality of cross-modal mapping in LS shows a tendency to

map from concrete, more embodied senses (such as taste and touch), to the more abstract ones (like hearing or vision). This reinforced the decision to opt for gustation as a starting point for the analysis and ultimately guaranteed a broader view of the changes in meaning while mapping onto all the other senses. Thirdly, Sketch Engine mostly generated metaphorical collocations including the gustatory adjectives, while other sensory adjectives were not used metaphorically to that extent. Furthermore, since corpus analysis indicated that the most common morphosyntactic form of LS is *adjective + noun*, and the previous literature notes that the primary synaesthetic transfer pattern is the binary attributive junction (Ullman, 1966: 381), we decided to select the most frequent gustatory adjectives as collocates to begin our analysis.

The main purpose of this study is to demonstrate how the human mind employs metaphorical and metonymic conceptualizations of the senses, and how and why these manifest on a lexical level as metaphorical collocations. We suggest that a metaphorical collocation is not arbitrary at all, but dependent on deeply entrenched concepts in our cognition and experience. Furthermore, their binary form tends to align with the necessity for minimal context, which is indispensable in forming figurative meanings. The aim is to observe whether specific patterns of collocational bonding are present in the phenomenon of LS manifested as a metaphorical collocation on a lexical level.

Previous research and preliminary English web corpus analysis gave rise to the following hypotheses: H1 states that metaphorical collocations are the preferred lexical form of LS manifestation. H2 points to the fact that metaphorical collocations enabled by cross-modal mappings stem from metonymy and the cognitive process subsequently applied to it – schematization³ (i.e., a cognitive process of generalization). When schematization is applied to metonymy, the result is a correlational⁴ metaphor. H3 posits that collocational bonding in LS reaches the highest degree of semantic cohesion between collocational constituents when idioms are formed. This is reflected in a low level of substitutability of the collocate.

Methodologically, we have opted for a combination of lexical-semantic, cognitive, and corpus⁵ linguistic tools, which were applied in the English web corpus (*enTenTen20*) analy-

3 Schematization is a process of generalizing the characteristics of a specific element inside the frame in order to place it in a different frame or domain. Only when this happens are we able to talk about metaphorical transfers because mapping now occurs between two different domains and is based on similarity, not contiguity (Kövecses, 2013: 80-82).

4 Correlational metaphors (or primary metaphors) are explained by Radden (2002) as metaphors derived from metonymies based on an experienced positive correlation between two concepts or variables. For two variables to be correlated, they need to be conceptually contiguous (i.e., a part of the same frame or domain). A good example of this is the correlation between quantity and verticality (e.g., MORE IS UP/LESS IS DOWN) because both variables come from the same experience.

5 Contemporary computational linguistic approaches that govern corpus analysis provided us with lists of word co-occurrences based on statistics. Information on bonded words was extracted automatically from the corpus with the help of statistical association measures (Evert, 2005). This approach, combined with qualitative lexical-semantic analysis, mitigated the subjectivity of introspective methods and enabled the analysis of genuine examples from real language use.

sis. Considering the attributes of the phenomenon, a frame for lexical-semantic analysis was based on the phraseological approach to collocations, conceptual mappings presented by Lakoff and Johnson (1980, 1999), and the Theory of Embodied Cognition (Johnson, 2018).

5 CORPUS AND METHODOLOGY

To test the previously listed hypotheses, this study turned to the English web corpus *enTenTen20* which provided us with access to examples of metaphorical collocations formed through cross-modal mappings, their frequencies, and the contexts in which they are used.

The corpus in question belongs to the *TenTen* corpus family, which consists of more than 40 languages. The version of the corpus used for this study (*enTenTen20*) consists of 36 billion words. The texts it comprises were downloaded from the Internet between 2019 and 2021, and are annotated according to genre and classified based on topic.⁶

The software designed and used for its analysis is called Sketch Engine (Kilgariff et al. 2014) and is equipped with tools that generate three crucial sets of data: n-grams (frequency lists of multi-word units), concordance (examples in context), and text type analysis (statistics of metadata in the corpus).

To explore the mappings of gustatory expressions to other senses, we decided to focus on six main adjectives describing gustation: *sweet*, *sour*, *salty*, *bitter*, *hot*, and *fresh*. In retrieving the most typical collocations with these adjectives, we relied on the Word Sketch function. This function allowed us to observe the different grammatical relations in which these adjectives occur. Since the relation *nouns modified by x* turned out to be the most productive one, we decided to focus on it.

The analysis of collocational profiles was conducted using the concordance option, which provided a lemma with the left and right context of a collocation with a gustatory adjective. Corpus methods have subsequently been supplemented by semantic and lexical analyses focused on types of conceptual mappings, shifts in meaning, and collocational bonding patterns.

6 RESULTS AND EXAMPLE ANALYSIS

To present the results, we used tables indicating the frequencies of appearance of metaphorical collocations concerning the sense of gustation. This gave us greater insight into the directionality of cross-modal mappings and the preferred cognitive devices applied.

6 More details on the *enTenTen20* corpus are available on the official Sketch Engine website, at the following link: <https://www.sketchengine.eu/ententen-english-corpus/> (2 June 2023)

The sense of touch has deliberately been incorporated into the sense of gustation, primarily because of the adjectives *hot* and *fresh*, where taste and touch explicitly overlap.

Each table in this section shows different uses and meanings of a specific gustatory adjective. If an adjective is paired with a noun from the same sensory domain, the meaning stays literal, and cohesion between collocational components is low. However, if it is combined with nouns referring to different senses, the meaning becomes metonymic or metaphorical, and collocational cohesion rises.

6.1 Adjective sweet

Table 1: Collocation frequencies and mapping tendencies of the adjective *sweet*

Type of mapping	intra-modal	cross-modal			
Type of meaning	Literal	metonymic & metaphorical			
Sensory modality	gustation + touch	olfaction	hearing	vision	idioms
Nouns sorted by frequency of appearance (number of hits) in the corpus	treat (19,988)	smell (10,019)	voice (8,271)	smile (6,242)	spot (47,151)
	flavour ⁷ (14,519)	scent (7,854)	sound (6,343)	face (4,808)	tooth (19,648)
	taste (14,479)	aroma (4,688)	note (5,902)	ass (2,322)	dream (11,690)
		fragrance (4,101)	music (5,562)	disposition (1,617)	deal (6,095)
		perfume (1,856)	song (5,132)		revenge (3,171)

Table 1 shows different uses of the adjective *sweet*, both literal and figurative. In the cases where the meaning remains literal, the mapping that occurs is termed *intra-modal*. Contrary to intra-modal mapping, there is the cross-modal category which represents cases of conceptual mapping *across* different modalities/senses. For instance, in the collocation *sweet scent*, the concept of sweet now refers to olfaction, not gustation. The meaning in this case becomes metonymized due to the contiguity of the two senses. Furthermore, cross-modal mapping can result in metaphorical meaning as in the example *sweet music*, because in addition to metonymy, schematization/generalization is employed. Idioms can also form as a result of cross-modal mapping. Some of them will rely on metonymy (e.g., *a sweet tooth* which is a result of metalepsis, a subtype of metonymy where logically

⁷ Frequency values for *flavour* represent the sum of frequencies for *flavour* and *flavor*. These nouns are listed separately in Sketch Engine due to spelling differences (British vs. American English orthography), but because they represent the same word it was decided their frequency of appearance would be shown as the total sum of frequency values listed for each of them.

preceding concept gets replaced by the one that derives from it), some only on metaphor (e.g., *a sweet revenge*), where we have a case of correlational metaphor formed by schematizing the meaning of *sweet* into something enjoyable or pleasurable). Others, however, will implement both mechanisms or the same mechanism multiple times (e.g., *a sweet spot* where the collocate changes its meaning from concrete to abstract utilizing metonymic transfer from taste to touch and subsequent schematization, while the change in the meaning of the base provides an example of yet another metaphor⁸).

Frequencies of specific nouns collocating with the adjective *sweet* reveal the mapping tendencies in LS. Namely, idiomatic expressions are most frequently used, while literal usage takes second place. The third place is occupied by the nouns belonging to the domain of olfaction and is determined by metonymic mapping. The fourth place is assigned to nouns belonging to the domain of hearing, while the fifth place belongs to the realm of vision. Mappings to the domains of vision and hearing are predominantly metaphorical transfers. This corroborates the assumption that LS tends to map from more embodied (less abstract) senses to those that are less embodied and more abstract.

6.2 Adjective *sour*

Table 2: Collocation frequencies and mapping tendencies of the adjective *sour*

Type of mapping	intra-modal	cross-modal			
Type of meaning	literal	metonymic & metaphorical			
Sensory modality	gustation + touch	olfaction	hearing	vision	idioms
Nouns sorted by frequency of appearance (number of hits) in the corpus	taste (7,269)	smell (881)		look (1,208)	note (4,665)
	flavour (1,831)	odour ⁹ (307)		face (1,036)	puss (287)
	aftertaste (247)	aroma (143)		mood (918)	
	tang (189)	scent (111)		expression (670)	
		stench (102)		attitude (285)	

⁸ *A sweet spot* can refer to two things – a physical point or area on a bat, club, or racket at which it makes the most effective contact with the ball, or an optimum point or combination of factors or qualities.

⁹ Frequency values for *odour* represent the sum of frequencies for *odour* and *odor*.

The analysis of the adjective *sour* shows a somewhat different situation than the one presented by analyzing collocations with the adjective *sweet*. Namely, idioms were not that frequently used, but they still took second place, while literal usage proved to be the most common. Nouns related to vision took third place, while those referring to olfaction came fourth. Cross-modal mappings from gustation to olfaction were primarily metonymic, grounded in the genuine contiguity of the senses. Similarly, some mappings from gustation to vision also proved to be metonymic, but the requirement for contiguity was satisfied by a shared experiential framework (e.g., tasting something *sour* prompts a grimace – an outward bodily reaction to that specific sensation). In contrast, other mappings from taste to sight were metaphorical (e.g., a “sour mood/attitude”), or more accurately, metaphonymic, where metonymy served as an experiential foundation for generalization, enabling the formation of metaphorical expressions. The domain of hearing was not mapped onto according to the corpus data, apart from the case of the idiom *a sour note*, which is based on metaphorical transfer. We presume this was the case because hearing is a very abstract and predominantly mentally experienced sense, unlike taste, smell, or touch which are more physically experienced. It is quite similar to vision, but unlike vision, it was not mapped onto because of culture-specific experiences of the extralinguistic reality that reflect themselves in such linguistic idiosyncrasies. Moreover, as we shall see further along, some sensory adjectives (e.g., *sweet*) seem to be more productive in figurative meaning construction than others (e.g., *salty*). It is presumed that this is a consequence of their more frequent usage in general, which makes their meaning more prone to schematization – a necessary prerequisite for further metaphorization.

By comparing the adjectives *sweet* and *sour* in the context of LS, it is possible to conclude that despite the differences the preferred mapping direction still has a starting point in more embodied (Johnson 2018), physical, or concrete senses, where it relies on metonymy, after which it progresses to more abstract, metaphorical constructions.

6.3 Adjective salty

Table 3: Collocation frequencies and mapping tendencies of the adjective *salty*

Type of mapping	intra-modal	cross-modal			
Type of meaning	literal	metonymic & metaphorical			
Sensory modality	gustation + touch	olfaction	hearing	vision	idioms
Nouns sorted by frequency of appearance (number of hits) in the corpus	taste (2,779)	smell (340)			seadog (64)
	flavour (1,725)	scent (181)			
	tang (560)				
	aftertaste (168)				

In the case of the adjective *salty*, we can see that forming metaphorical collocations is not as common as it was with the previously analyzed adjectives. Still, there is a cross-modal mapping from gustation to olfaction and one idiomatic expression (e.g., *a salty seadog*) corroborated by the corpus.¹⁰ Mappings from gustation to olfaction were metonymic, while the idiom combines both metonymy and metaphor (for example, the metonymic transfer is evident in the noun *seadog*, originally referring to a shark and later to an experienced sailor). *Sea* in *seadog* evokes associations of saltiness and implies a common frame. However, the suffix *-dog* as well as the adjective *salty*, suggest metaphorical mapping through schematization, semantically extending the meaning from a sailor to a seasoned mariner, characterized by experience and a touch of ruggedness. The favourable directionality of mapping still seems to go from more embodied senses (e.g., touch, gustation, and olfaction) to abstract ones (e.g., hearing, and vision). This analysis shows that hearing and vision have been left out as target domains, which can again be explained by the high level of abstraction or non-physical nature of these two senses.

¹⁰ It is possible to think of more idioms that include the adjective *salty* (e.g., salty remark, salty tongue, salty price), but they were not found in the corpus.

6.4 Adjective bitter

Table 4: Collocation frequencies and mapping tendencies of the adjective *bitter*

Type of mapping	intra-modal	cross-modal			
Type of meaning	literal	metonymic & metaphorical			
Sensory modality	gustation + touch	olfaction	Hearing	vision	idioms
Nouns sorted by frequency of appearance (number of hits) in the corpus	taste (15,107)		laugh (1,025)	smile (998)	end (10,497)
	cold (7,186)		cry (567)		enemy (6,298)
	flavour (3,349)				pill (5,677)
	feeling (2,221)				dispute (4,530)
	chill (410)				disappointment (3,581)

Table 4 shows the mapping tendencies of the adjective *bitter*. Literal usage takes first place, while second place is taken by idioms, and mapping onto the domain of olfaction has been completely omitted¹¹ here. Hearing and vision were mapped onto with similar frequency, with hearing¹² being somewhat more represented. All of the idiomatic expressions (apart from *a bitter pill*¹³) resorted exclusively to metaphorical mapping by generalizing the meaning of *bitter* to something bad or unpleasant. The same situation is present in the mappings to the domain of hearing. On the other hand, mapping from gustation to vision seems to be both metonymic and metaphorical (e.g., when one tastes something bitter it is common to make a specific grimace which represents an unpleasant reaction and feelings regarding that taste). This is what makes a primary scene and enables a correlational metaphor to form.

11 It is presumed that this is the case because *bitter smells* are usually described as *fishy*, *amine*, or *ammoniacal*.

12 Some of the examples of mapping onto the domain of vision, such as *bitter sight* and *bitter eye*, were not found in the corpus.

13 The idiom *a bitter pill* relies on both metaphor and metonymy. Initially, metonymy is evident as “bitterness” and “pill” share a common experiential frame. Later, through the generalization of this experience as unpleasant, metaphorical transfer occurs.

6.5 Adjective *hot*¹⁴

Table 5: Collocation frequencies and mapping tendencies of the adjective *hot*

Type of mapping	intra-modal	cross-modal			
Type of meaning	literal	metonymic & metaphorical			
Sensory modality	gustation + touch	olfaction	hearing	vision	idioms
Nouns sorted by frequency of appearance (number of hits) in the corpus	sauce (25,026)			girl (10,937)	topic (61,447)
	food (14,813)			guy (7,987)	pursuit (11,120)
	pepper (12,411)				trend (8,491)
	dish (4,609)				shot (7,027)
					mess (4,842)

The mapping tendencies in the case of the adjective *hot* are as follows: nouns forming idioms with the adjective took first place. All of these mappings rely on metaphor. The second place is reserved for the literal use of *hot*, while the third and final place involves a cross-modal mapping to the domain of vision using metonymy (e.g., when I see a handsome man, I feel my body temperature rising. I start to feel hot at the sight of him, so he gets labeled as the hot one by switching cause for effect). Olfaction and hearing have been left out as target domains.

¹⁴ The adjective *hot* was chosen instead of *spicy* because it proved to be more prolific in forming metaphorical collocations and taking part in LS. Furthermore, it has an (obvious) antonym in the domain of gustation: the adjective *fresh*, which will be analyzed in the following section. Both adjectives have proved to be just as reliant on the sense of taste as they are on the sense of touch.

6.6 Adjective fresh

Table 6: Collocation frequencies and mapping tendencies of the adjective *fresh*

Type of mapping	intra-modal	cross-modal			
Type of meaning	literal	metonymic & metaphorical			
Sensory modality	gustation + touch	olfaction	Hearing	vision	idioms
Nouns sorted by frequency of appearance (number of hits) in the corpus	flavour (6,800)	breath (2,728)	voice (3,389)	look (26,273)	start (31,084)
	taste (3,480)	smell (2,516)		perspective (23,363)	idea (20,851)
		aroma (2,435)		insight (8,355)	approach (15,092)
		fragrance (2,091)		eye (8,258)	blood (9,401)
					take (6,815)

The final table shows the mapping trends of the adjective *fresh*. Just like the adjective *hot*, it relies on both taste and touch, but is somewhat more prolific in cross-modal mapping, and covers all the senses. Idiomatic expressions containing *fresh* take first place by their frequency of appearance in the corpus, while the domain of vision comes in second. Hearing took third place and, along with vision and idioms, primarily relied on metaphor. Mapping onto the domain of olfaction was metonymic, but appears last based on its frequency in the corpus. We presume the reason for this could be the schematization¹⁵ of *fresh* as a concept, which subsequently gets to appropriate the meaning *new*, and is used as such.

7 DISCUSSION

7.1 The three hypotheses

Regarding the three hypotheses, we can conclude that all of them have been confirmed:

H1 – Metaphorical collocations are the preferred lexical form of LS manifestation.

This presupposition was corroborated by the analysis of the corpus data, which pointed to the fact that the minimal form in which LS manifests itself is a collocation

¹⁵ Schematization (as explained in Section 4) is the generalization of the main characteristics of a particular concept.

based on metonymic and/or metaphorical mapping. Furthermore, the frequencies of occurrence of these multi-word expressions, and especially their contextualized examples (viewed through the concordance option in Sketch Engine) showed that metaphorical collocation is truly the canonical and most productive form in which LS can be observed.

H2 – Metaphorical collocations enabled by cross-modal mappings stem from metonymy and one other cognitive process subsequently applied to it, schematization. This leads to the formation of primary or correlational metaphors, which are (just like metonymy) conditioned by our bodily experiences. These findings point to two highly important observations: that meaning lies on a spectrum and that body and mind form an indivisible whole and are in constant interaction, which manifests itself in human cognition and language.

7.1.1 Meaning on a spectrum

It has been shown that meaning begins in the domain of the literal and then transitions to metonymic. This metonymic meaning gives way to metaphor construction through schematization (i.e., generalization). Finally, metaphors as well as some metonymies have the potential to participate in idiom formation. This can be seen in the examples listed in Figure 1: *sweet candy* kept its literal meaning, while *sweet fragrance* became metonymic because the mapping occurred in the same frame/domain of interdependent senses (i.e., our experience teaches us that things that taste sweet very often have a smell associated with and dependent on sweetness). When the meaning of the adjective *sweet* got schematized (or generalized) into something pleasurable and good, it became more abstract and more widely applicable to other domains of human experience apart from the sense of taste (or smell). This is when the process of metaphorical mapping became possible and is exemplified in the metaphorical collocation *sweet girl*. Finally, idioms form mostly when metaphorical mapping is employed (like in the example *sweet deal*), but some cases combine metonymy and metaphor (e.g., previously explained *bitter pill*) as well as ones where it is difficult to tell what process we are dealing with since it is rather difficult to determine the exact number of frames in question. What is also relevant for idiom formation is of course the frequency of their usage, which ultimately makes them what they are – pragmatically fixed expressions with high semantic cohesion between their constituents and a low degree of substitutability.

literal meaning → metonymized meaning → metaphorized meaning → idiomatic meaning
<i>sweet candy</i> → <i>sweet fragrance</i> → <i>sweet girl</i> → <i>sweet deal</i>
embodied → embodied but transposed → abstract and schematized → abstract and pragmatically fixed

Figure 1: Meaning on a spectrum and the degree of embodied cognition

7.1.2 Dialectics of the body and the mind

Apart from the fact that metonymy turned out to play a significant role in the processes of metaphorization as well as idiom formation, as a cognitive mechanism it seems to be deeply embedded in bodily experience. This was corroborated by the example analysis and is especially conspicuous in the cross-modal metonymic mappings from the sense of taste and touch to the sense of smell. These senses are considered to be more concrete and embodied modalities (unlike vision and hearing), and we usually experience them in a shared frame. For instance, it is very common to express that something has a *sour smell* (which is usually a result of its acidic nature and can typically be felt through the sense of taste), but it gets extended to other senses because of experiential contiguity. These mappings caused by contiguity place metonymy at the base of motivated collocational bonding in the semantic field of human senses.

Moreover, corpus data have shown that human senses are not discrete categories – they overlap and interact with emotional and behavioural human responses, which is ultimately reflected in language constructions. The overlap of the senses can be seen in the meaning of some of the nouns functioning as collocational bases, such as *tang*, which can equally refer to the sense of taste and smell, sometimes even hearing. Furthermore, this overlap has been considered while deciding to combine gustation and touch to properly analyze the adjectives *hot* and *fresh*. Finally, the interaction of human sensory input with emotional responses and (language) behaviour is probably best represented in idiomatic expressions such as *sweet revenge*, *bitter end*, and *hot topic*, which conflate senses and emotions.

H3 – Collocational bonding in LS reaches the highest degree of semantic cohesion between collocational constituents when idioms are formed. This is reflected in a low level of substitutability of the collocate. For instance, it is not possible to change the collocate *fresh* to *cool* in the idiom *fresh start* because that would change the meaning of an entire expression although the mentioned adjectives can be considered near-synonyms. On the other hand, even if we replace the targeted collocate with a more appropriate word considering its intended meaning in the collocation (e.g., *new start*), the idiomatic aspect will be lost. Moreover, collocates such as gustatory adjectives possess a very limited collocational range (i.e., the set of words they can be combined with), but compensate for it through cross-modal mappings. These mappings in turn, both metonymic and metaphorical, strengthen collocational bonds and ensure semantic cohesion between chosen constituents.

7.1.3 Contributions to the problems of collocational composition

Besides confirming the specific hypotheses concerning this study, there are some general findings on the patterns of collocational bonding that need to be pointed out:

- a) In the cases of LS, the role of the collocate's meaning in forming a metaphorical collocation turned out to be of pivotal importance. The example analysis of gustatory adjectives in metaphorical collocations has shown that cross-modal mappings were enabled by semantic extension of the collocate alone.
- b) No morphosyntactic differences between metaphorical and non-metaphorical collocations on the human sensory domain were found. These correspondences have been ascribed to colligation (Firth, 1968: 181): the preferred syntactic patterns of the English language.
- c) The distribution of metaphorical collocations in the semantic field of human senses shows that LS is mostly unidirectional, presenting a tendency to map from more concrete and embodied senses (e.g., touch and taste), to more abstract ones (e.g., vision and hearing).
- d) Metaphorical collocations (referring to the semantic field of human senses) represent dynamic and developmental aspects of the human lexical system. These collocations are neither arbitrary nor the product of the mental lexicon's structure.

All this gives fresh insight into the laws of selective combining, which are confirmed to be semantically predetermined and pragmatically governed.

8 CONCLUSION

We can conclude by summarizing the main results of this study in the following points:

- a) Metaphorical collocations represent a preferred lexical form of the semantic universal¹⁶ known as lexical synaesthesia.
- b) Metaphorical collocations characterized by cross-modal mappings stem from conceptual metonymy and correlational, or primary metaphors.
- c) Collocational bonding in LS reaches the highest degree of semantic cohesion between collocational constituents when idioms are formed. This is reflected in a low level of substitutability of the collocate.
- d) Metaphorical collocations represent a useful category in investigations of semantic change, human cognition, conceptualization, and perception. As a collocational subtype, they can be employed in various fields of study, ranging from lexicography (e.g., analyzing polysemy) to construction grammar and simulation theory (e.g., conceptualizing the senses), extending in phraseology (e.g., tracing the origin of idiomatic expressions) or diachronic semantics and pragmatics (e.g., looking into semantically bleached or entrenched metaphors).

16 As pointed out on p. 3.

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POVZETEK

**LEKSIKALNA SINESTEZIJA V METAFORIČNIH KOLOKACIJAH:
KOLOKACIJSKO ZDRUŽEVANJE PRIDEVNIKOV ZA OPISOVANJE OKUSA V
ANGLEŠČINI**

Namen raziskave je osvetliti vlogo leksikalne sinestezije (LS), pojava, za katerega je značilno opisovanje enega čuta z značilnostmi drugega (npr. okušanje zvoka – *sladka melodija*), v procesu oblikovanja metaforičnih kolokacij. LS kaže na zanimiv preplet čutnega zaznavanja in jezikovnega izražanja, katerega raziskovanje se je izkazalo za pomembno iz več razlogov. Opozarja namreč na kompleksnost človekovega pojmovanja in na pomen utelešanja jezika, ki na različne načine vplivata na oblikovanje kolokacijskih vezi. Zanimanje za LS se je povečalo, ko je analiza primerov pokazala, da LS in metaforične kolokacije sprožata in omogočata ista kognitivna procesa – metonimija in metafora. Da bi omenjene pojave podrobneje proučili, smo izvedli korpusno raziskavo, v okviru katere smo zbrali primere metaforičnih kolokacij, ki se nanašajo na človeške čute. S pomočjo obsežne analize podatkov iz korpusa (*enTenTen20*) smo želeli odkriti vzorce in težnje pri jezikovnem povezovanju različnih čutov. Pomenska analiza podatkov je pokazala usmerjenost medmodalnih preslikav in omogočila identifikacijo pomensko motiviranih kolokacijskih zvez s področja človekovega čutnega zaznavanja. Rezultati analize kažejo, da so metaforične kolokacije prednostna oblika LS. Kolokacijske vezi, ki jih omogočajo medmodalne preslikave, izhajajo iz konceptualne metonimije in primarnih metafor. Kolokacijsko povezovanje s pomočjo LS dosega najvišjo stopnjo pomenske kohezije med kolokacijskimi sestavinami pri oblikovanju idiomov, kar se odraža v nizki stopnji zamenljivosti sopojavnic. Na podlagi korpusne in leksikalno-pomenske analize ugotavljamo, da metaforične kolokacije tvorijo smiselno kategorijo za raziskovanje pomenskih sprememb, človeške kognicije, pojmovanja in zaznavanja.

Ključne besede: metaforične kolokacije, metonimija, leksikalna sinestezija, medmodalne preslikave, utelešenje

ABSTRACT

**LEXICAL SYNAESTHESIA IN METAPHORICAL COLLOCATIONS:
COLLOCATIONAL BONDING OF GUSTATORY ADJECTIVES IN ENGLISH**

This study seeks to shed more light on the role of lexical synaesthesia (LS), a phenomenon exemplified by expressing one sense in terms of another (e.g., gustation for sound – *a sweet melody*), in the process of forming metaphorical collocations. Lexical synaesthesia is a fascinating intersection of sensory perception and linguistic expression, the investigation of which has proved to be significant for several reasons. Namely, it points to the complex workings of human conceptualization,

the relevance of the embodied nature of language, and subsequently shows ways in which it affects the formation of collocational bonds. This notion came to the foreground when example analysis indicated that LS and metaphorical collocations are both motivated and enabled by the same cognitive processes: metonymy and metaphor. To investigate these phenomena closely, we conducted corpus-driven research to extrapolate examples of metaphorical collocations pertaining to the human senses. By analyzing a wide range of corpus data (*enTenTen20*), we aimed to uncover patterns and tendencies in how different senses are interrelated linguistically. The semantic analysis provided insight into the directionality of cross-modal mappings and information on semantically motivated collocational bonding in the field of human sensory experience. Our findings indicate that metaphorical collocations represent a preferred form of LS, with collocational bonds enabled by cross-modal mappings stemming from conceptual metonymy and primary metaphors. Moreover, collocational bonding in LS reaches the highest degree of semantic cohesion between collocational constituents when idioms are formed, as reflected in the low level of substitutability of the collocate. Based on corpus and lexical-semantic analysis, it has been concluded that metaphorical collocations present a useful category in investigations of semantic change, human cognition, conceptualization, and perception.

Keywords: metaphorical collocations, metonymy, lexical synaesthesia, cross-modal mappings, embodiment

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Izvirni znanstveni članek



ENGLISH AND SLOVENE FOOTBALL MATCH REPORTS THROUGH THE LENS OF APPRAISAL LANGUAGE: ATTITUDE

1 INTRODUCTION

Football receives the most media attention among sports disciplines in the UK, which points to its immense popularity there (Boyle 2006: 51). In contrast, although certainly popular in Slovenia, football has never reached the same level as in the UK. In both countries, however, football match reports are regular parts of most broadsheet newspapers and tabloids. As one of the most familiar football genres, a match report focuses on a specific match that has ended, and is based on the assumption that “a large body of knowledge and values” are shared between the writer and reader (Ghadessy 1988: 20-21). The present study aims to investigate the occurrence and use of attitude, one of the main appraisal categories, between selected English football match reports and Slovene football match reports.

2 APPRAISAL

According to Martin and White (2005: 25), appraisal is a “discourse semantic system”, i.e., an evaluative resource for mapping interpersonal meanings. Bednarek asserts that “evaluation is extremely important in actual discourse, in that it is difficult if not impossible for human beings (and perhaps not even desirable) to speak with a completely ‘objective’ voice, *not* to impose evaluations on one’s utterance, and *not* to communicate value judgements” (2006: 4–5; emphasis in the original).

Attitude is one of three main categories (along with graduation, which grades attitudes, and engagement, which shows the author’s presence and dis/alignment with positions by others in the text). In the appraisal model (Martin and White 2005), attitude is further divided into affect, judgement, and appreciation. Affect is a resource that deals with language expressing emotions (example 1). Judgement concerns language that evaluates

human character and behaviour (example 2), whereas appreciation evaluates things, objects, events, and natural phenomena (example 3). Attitudes can be positive or negative, and expressed explicitly or implicitly.¹ Explicit attitudes are directly conveyed through attitudinal lexis (examples 1–3), while implicit attitudes are often encoded in ideational meanings or implied via co(n)text, as example 4 shows, in which a woman's behaviour implies negative judgement (a “gold digger”). Baumgarten et al. (in Lewandowski 2017: 87) also acknowledge explicitness and implicitness and define explicitness as the “overt encoding of information”, i.e., information directly conveyed by lexico-grammatical structures. In contrast, implicit information is not necessarily conveyed by lexico-grammatical structures but based on shared knowledge about the situational context, and is thus strongly bound to the context. Explicitness and implicitness constantly interact in a text (Kruger *ibid.*).

- (1) *This child is **happy**.*²
- (2) *He has become so **mature**.*
- (3) *The garden is **beautiful**.*
- (4) *She stayed with him just for the money.*

3 FOOTBALL MATCH REPORTS AND EVALUATION

A football match report is a straight news story and is composed of narrative content (an account of key episodes that occurred during a football game), and analytical (evaluative) content (e.g., the sportswriter's opinion on the game itself, the players' or teams' performances and playing processes) (Lewandowski 2017: 79). As such, a football match report often combines an objective report with subjective viewpoints, and this is not be surprising since even hard news is not completely free of evaluation (Bednarek 2006; White 2006).

The appraisal model developed by Martin and White (2005) was used for the analysis of Slovene and English football match reports in this study. Evaluation and appraisal in football match reports are still under-researched in the UK, and even more so in Slovenia. The analysis of written sports reports in the British newspaper *The Times* carried out by Ghadessy (1988: 20–21), a pioneering researcher on football match reports in the UK, observed that objectivity in these reports is mitigated by, among other things, the inclusion of the writer's opinions, and shows that writers express their opinions via “involved language” encompassing adjectives such as *good*, *fine* and *the best*, adverbs such as *brilliantly* and *dangerously*, and modals such as *could*. Additionally, Munday's research reveals that English football reports employed more “attitudinally marked verbs”

1 Explicit attitudes are also referred to as inscriptions in literature, and implicit attitudes as tokens or evoked attitudes.

2 Explicit attitudes are shown in bold in the examples.

(a term coined by Ghadessy) with an in-built evaluation than did Spanish football reports, and frequently use comparatives and superlatives as well as lexis of inclination and hope (2004: 128). Moreover, appreciation is more frequently employed, accompanied by some judgement in English and Spanish football reports. Justas (2017: 21), among others, demonstrates the biased use of positively loaded adjectives and adverbs in relationals when comparing football match reports on Chelsea's official website³ and in the British newspaper *The Guardian* (online version). Ebeling's study (2021) reveals that the verb *hope*⁴ inclines more to the negative use in English and Norwegian football match reports. Sahragard and Rahimi (2017) show how positive evaluation in football match reports on Real Madrid's official websites engages readers emotionally. Suparto's (2015) analysis of transitivity in three online football match reports of the match between Manchester City and Chelsea indicates that supposedly neutral reports also frequently use mental processes (emotion, cognition, perception, and intuition), implying the writer's opinion.

Moreover, an analysis of phrasemes conveying emotion in German and Croatian football match reports based on Martin and White's subcategories of affect, as conducted by Pavić and Miletić (2018), shows that the German and Croatian reports make more use of explicit emotion rather than of implicit emotion, and that the prevailing categories of affect are dis/satisfaction and in/security.

Furthermore, Olagunju (2016) established that evaluative content is present in some football reports published in Nigerian newspapers, and that the language in those reports employs praise or appreciation, alongside negative opinion or evaluation.

A comparative study on lexical variation in written match reports (primarily of football matches) in two Greek newspapers, as conducted by Politis (2009: 392), shows that adjectives denoting feelings may be less likely to be expressed because "the psychic sphere of players is not compatible with written reports of sporting events". Additionally, he observes that the dominant attitude is appreciation, targeting the sporting event rather than the behaviour of a team, its players, and its coach.

While studies in Slovenian sports reporting focus on various aspects of language, evaluation (and appraisal) remains under-researched. By exploring actualization in two Slovenian online media outlets – *Delo* and *Slovenske novice* – Žerjav (2018) found that both also use actualization⁵ to express opinions and evaluations. Actualization was also frequently employed to express evaluations in reporting on the 2010 FIFA World Cup in Slovenian print media (Vranič, 2011).⁶

3 Football match reports refer to reports published in print and online newspapers and tabloids or to reports published on clubs' official websites.

4 As an appraisal, *hope* – as both a noun and a verb – encodes attitude: affect.

5 According to Korošec (1998: 18–26), actualization comprises, for example, metaphors, idioms, archaic language, vulgar language, and expressive words.

6 This is a BA thesis. It is included due to the under-researched nature of the field.

4 METHODOLOGY

The objective of the present study is to compare selected English and Slovene football match reports through the lens of evaluative language. The appraisal system created by Martin and White (2005) is applied as an analytical tool, with the primary focus on attitude, one of the system's main categories, and its subcategories of affect, judgement, and appreciation, and on their status and realization. Therefore, by contrasting the selected English and Slovene football match reports, the following research question is addressed:

What are the differences/similarities in the occurrence and use of attitude, one of the main appraisal categories, between the selected English football match reports (EFMR) and Slovene football match reports (SFMR)?

Quantitative and qualitative methods were used in this study. The corpus for the analysis and comparison comprised 10 EFMR and 14 SFMR published by online print media. The total word count in EFMR and SFMR is similar (English: 6,787; Slovene: 6,741). The average number of words per article in EFMR is 679, while in SFMR it is 482. The English reports were sourced from the broadsheets *The Guardian*, *The Telegraph*, and *Evening Standard*, the tabloid newspaper *the Daily Express*, and tabloids *The Mirror* and *The Daily Star*, as well as the *BBC*, a digital service broadcasting news and sport, and *Sky Sports News*, a TV sports news channel. The Slovene reports were collected from the broadsheets *Delo*, *Večer*, and *Dnevnik*, the tabloid *Slovenske novice*, *Ekipa*, a sports newspaper, and *Siol Net*, a digital service broadcasting news, including sports. Although the football match reports were randomly selected, the following prerequisites were taken into account: reports on matches that took place within the same period in Slovenia and the UK, a similar total word count, online access to texts, and the inclusion of various news outlets to create a more diverse dataset. The somewhat imbalanced number of news outlets was necessary to achieve a similar total word count. The selected football match reports covered matches from the top football leagues in both countries: the English Premier League and the Slovene First League. The selected reports focused on matches⁷ that mainly took place on the 19th and 20th of October 2019. Since the selection of formats is also somewhat imbalanced, this may impact the results, although the context of the reports suggests that the style of reporting is similar in both broadsheets and tabloids.

We used the UAM CorpusTool for the analysis, a corpus software tool developed by O'Donnell (2008) for the linguistic annotation of text corpora. We created two layers, one for EFMR and the other one for SFMR. At each layer, we provided tags for attitude: affect, judgement, appreciation, explicit, implicit (attitudinal realization), positive, and negative (attitudinal status). The texts at each layer were annotated by ascribing appropriate tags to words, phrases and parts globally, including in the quoted material (e.g., what coaches and players said after the match). However, quoted material is rarely used in EFMR and SFMR.

7 Slovene football matches: Celje:Domžale, Olimpija:Rudar, Mura:Triglav, and Maribor:Tabor Sežana. English football matches: Manchester City:Crystal Palace, Manchester United:Liverpool, Tottenham:Watford, Manchester United:Liverpool, and Chelsea:Newcastle, Sheffield United:Liverpool.

At the end, the UAM CorpusTool provided statistical results for each layer (counts and a percentage for each feature). Because this was a comparative study, we were interested in the chi-square test, which was calculated to measure whether the differences between the attitudinal categories (affect, judgement, and appreciation), realization, and status between EFMR and SFMR are statistically significant. A number of + between 0 and 3 indicates how statistically significant the difference of the feature mean in the EFMR sample is from that mean in the SFMR sample (none = not significantly different; + = weak significance ($\alpha = 0.1$); ++ = medium significance ($\alpha = 0.05$); +++ = high significance ($\alpha = 0.02$). The effect size measures the strength of the association between two features and helps contextualize the practical importance of the findings. An effect size of 0.1 is considered a small effect, 0.3 a medium effect, and 0.5 a large effect.

Since judgement is the most frequently used appraisal category in EFMR and SFMR, and the chi-square test shows that the most significant differences occur with it, judgement is discussed at greater length than affect and appreciation. The results (number of occurrences, share, and chi-square test) are provided in tables in the following sections.

5 RESULTS AND DISCUSSION

5.1 Attitude

Table 1: Comparison of affect, judgement, and appreciation, and their status, and realization in SFMR and EFMR.

	ENGLISH FOOTBALL MATCH REPORTS		SLOVENE FOOTBALL MATCH REPORTS		COMPARISON			
ATTITUDE	N=838		N=896		ChiSqu	P	Sign	Effect size
	N	Percent	N	Percent				
affect	55	6.6	35	3.9	6.21	0.0127	+++	0.120
judgement	597	71.2	759	84.7	46.08	0.000	+++	0.329
appreciation	186	22.2	102	11.4	36.55	0.000	+++	0.293
REALIZATION								
explicit	479	57.2	468	52.2	4.24	0.0394	++	0.099
implicit	359	42.8	428	47.8	4.24	0.0394	++	0.099
STATUS								
positive	481	57.4	608	67.9	20.27	0.0000	+++	0.217
negative	357	42.6	288	32.1	20.27	0.0000	+++	0.217

Table 1 shows that judgement overwhelmingly prevails in EFMR and SFMR (EFMR = 71.2 %, SFMR = 84.7%), followed by appreciation (EFMR = 22.2 %, SFMR = 11.4%). The least utilized attitude is affect (EFMR = 6.6 %, SFMR = 3.9%). SFMR employ judgement slightly more frequently, while the situation is reversed for appreciation, with a more frequent occurrence in EFMR than in SFMR. Similarly, judgement and appreciation consistently dominate over affect in live text commentaries of the top four matches of the 2018 FIFA World Cup, as explored by Muhammad (2021). This may be surprising, as live text commentaries, being real-time narratives and a novelty in sports journalism, might be expected to include more emotions.

Regarding explicit and implicit attitude, there is a similar share in EFMR and SFMR (explicit: EFMR = 57.2%, SFMR = 52.2%; implicit: EFMR = 42.8%, SFMR = 47.8%). A slightly more frequent use of explicit attitude can be observed in EFMR, while the situation is reversed for implicit attitude, with a slightly more frequent use in SFMR. Although the prevailing attitude in EFMR and SFMR is explicit, the results indicate that implicit attitude is utilized substantially in both. This may suggest that with greater implementation of implicitness both EFMR and SFMR strive to achieve objective reporting, thereby emphasizing credibility.

Furthermore, EFMR and SFMR consistently exhibit positive attitudes more frequently than negative ones. SFMR employ positive attitude more frequently than EFMR (SFMR = 67.9%, EFMR = 57.4%). EFMR, in contrast, employ negative attitude more frequently (EFMR = 42.6%, SFMR = 32.1%). The results of the chi-square test showed statistically high significant differences between EFMR and SFMR for affect, judgement, appreciation, positive and negative status, and statistically medium significant differences for explicit and implicit realization. At the same time, the effect size is small for affect, appreciation, positive and negative status, and explicit and implicit realization except for judgement, where a medium effect size was found. From these results, it can be concluded that the most significant differences occur with judgement.

The following are examples of attitudinal categories, status, and realization in EFMR and SFMR:

Affect

(5)

... there was *disappointment* for... (E4⁸)

... ni mogel skriti *zadovoljstva* ... (S11) '... could not hide the **satisfaction** ...'⁹

8 E refers to the English text and S to the Slovene text. The number refers to the primary source listed at the end of the paper.

9 All translations were made by the author of the paper and are provided in quotation marks.

Judgement

(6)

*... take plenty of **positives** from ...* (E5)*Vodilna ekipa je bila za razred **boljša** ...* (S2) ‘The leading team was significantly **better** ...’

Appreciation

(7)

*... this game as an **important** step.* (E1)*... v klubu z **bogato** tradicijo ...* (S14) ‘... in the club with a **rich** tradition ...’

Explicit attitude

(8)

*... almost **devoid of ideas** of what to do next.* (E2)*... se je **jezil** nad individualnimi napakami ...* (S14) ‘... was **upset** by the individual mistakes ...’

Implicit attitude

(9)

... one point above the relegation zone ... (E6)*Vsa statistika je bila **krepro** na strani gostiteljev ...* (S3) ‘... All statistics were heavily in favour of the hosts ...’

Positive attitude

(10)

*... remained **cool, calm and collected** ...* (E3)*... pokazali več **bojevitosti** ...* (S2) ‘... demonstrated greater **fighting spirit** ...’

Negative attitude

(11)

*... the **problem** was ...* (E6)*... **ni** bil najbolj **srečen** ...* (S14) ‘... **not** particularly **happy** ...’

5.1.1 Affect

Table 2: Comparison of status and realization of affect in SFMR and EFMR

	ENGLISH FOOTBALL MATCH REPORTS		SLOVENE FOOTBALL MATCH REPORTS		COMPARISON			
AFFECT	N=55		N=35		ChiSqu	P	Sign	Effect size
	N	Percent	N	Percent				
REALIZATION								
explicit	53	96.4	30	85.7	3.38	0.0659	+	0.391
implicit	2	3.6	5	14.3	3.38	0.0659	+	0.391
STATUS								
positive	28	50.9	22	62.9	1.24	0.2661		0.242
negative	27	49.1	13	37.1	1.24	0.2661		0.242

As evident from Table 2, explicit affect exceeds implicit affect in EFMR and SFMR. EFMR use explicit affect more frequently than SFMR (EFMR = 96.4%, SFMR = 85.7%), implicit affect, in contrast, is used more frequently in SFMR (EFMR = 3.6%, SFMR = 14.3%). Affect is primarily expressed as a positive attitude in EFMR (50.9%) and SFMR (62.9%). Negative affect occurs in 49.1% of EFMR and 37.1% of SFMR. Positive affect occurs more frequently in SFMR, whereas more negative affect occurs in EFMR. A more balanced use of language that conveys both positive and negative feelings can be observed in EFMR.

The results of the chi-square test showed statistically low significant differences between EFMR and SFMR for explicit and implicit realization, whereas no significant differences were found for positive and negative status, likely due to the low frequency of these two features. At the same time, the effect size is small for explicit and implicit realization.

Furthermore, EFMR and SFMR predominantly exhibit affect as the players' happiness, satisfaction, disappointment, suffering, pleasure, and desire. However, specific affective states diverge between EFMR and SFMR. The former primarily express hope, relief and fondness for the game, while in the latter they exclusively express shock and confusion.

Notably, the coaches featured in EFMR and SFMR express happiness, but their emotional range extends further in the EFMR. In addition to happiness, they convey anger, gratitude, and pressure. In contrast, coaches in SMRF express regret and a lack of surprise. In EFMR, emotions are also expressed by the report's authors (surprise, wish, wonder). Furthermore, EFMR and SFMR attribute emotions to fans. EFMR describe fan emotions, such as obsession, happiness, shock, and nervousness, while SFMR emphasize enjoyment. Some examples of affect (12–16) are as follows:

- (12) ... *morali opazovati še **slavje** Erica Boakyeja ...* (S2) ‘... had to watch Eric Boakye’s **celebration** ...’
 (13) ... *je **žarel** trener ...* (S11) ‘... the coach was **glowing** ...’
 (14) ... *fans to get **excited** about.* (E2)
 (15) ... *made no attempt to hide his **annoyance** ...* (E6)
 (16) ... *just **loves** these games ...* (E7)

In example 12, the player’s happiness is explicitly expressed using the lexical term realized as a noun *slavje* ‘celebration’, while the unhappiness of players from the opposite team is implied via the use of the modal verb (engagement)¹⁰ conveying necessity *morali* ‘must’. This linguistic construction conveys that observing a player’s celebration after scoring a goal is a compelled action, and thus painful for the opposite team. In example 13, the coach’s happiness is conveyed explicitly with the intensified *žarel* ‘glowing’. In examples 14 and 16, positive excitement and love for certain games are expressed by the fans. In example 15, annoyance is expressed by the coach.

5.1.2 Judgement

Table 3: Comparison of status and realization of judgement in SFMR and EFMR

	ENGLISH FOOTBALL MATCH REPORTS		SLOVENE FOOTBALL MATCH REPORTS		COMPARISON			
JUDGEMENT	N=597		N=759		ChiSqu	P	Sign	Effect size
	N	Percent	N	Percent				
REALIZATION								
explicit	285	47.7	358	47.2	0.04	0.843		0.011
implicit	312	52.3	401	52.8	0.04	0.843		0.011
STATUS								
positive	368	61.6	531	70.0	10.35	0.0013	+++	0.176
negative	229	38.4	228	30.0	10.35	0.0013	+++	0.176

¹⁰ Besides attitude, graduation and engagement are two other major categories in the appraisal system. Graduation serves as a resource for up/downgrading attitudes (force), encompassing intensification (e.g., *brilliant, very*) and quantification as sources (e.g., *huge, plenty of*) or softening/sharpening attitudes experiential categories (focus) (e.g., *sheer, true*). Engagement focuses on sourcing attitudes and the dis/alignment of voices and positions in discourse, encompassing disclaiming (e.g., *still, not*), proclaiming (e.g., *of course, the truth is*), entertaining (e.g., *perhaps, might*), and attributing (e.g., *x said, x believes*) (Martin and White 2005: 97–153). Since graduation and engagement as co-texts may help evoke attitudes, they are included in the identification and discussion of certain implicit attitudes. For example, graduation and engagement help evoke attitudes and values in British print advertisements and in the lyrics of Slovene folk-pop music (Križan 2016, 2024).

As displayed in Table 3, implicit judgement (EFMR = 52.3%, SFMR = 52.8%) is more prevalent than explicit judgement (EFMR = 47.7%, SFMR = 47.2%) in EFMR and SFMR. A nearly identical share of implicit judgement in EFMR (52.3%) and SFMR (52.8%) can also be observed. The share of explicit judgement in EFMR (47.7%) and SFMR (47.2%) is also nearly identical. This may suggest that EFMR and SFMR avoid excessive direct evaluation to appear more objective. Regarding attitudinal status, positive judgement prevails over negative judgement in EFMR and SFMR. The share of positive judgement is greater in SFMR (SFMR = 70.0%, EFMR = 61.6%), whereas the share of negative judgement is greater in EFMR (EFMR = 38.4%, SFMR = 30.0%).

The results of the chi-square test showed statistically significant differences between EFMR and SFMR for positive and negative status, whereas no significant differences were found for explicit and implicit realization. At the same time, the effect size is small for all observed features.

In EFMR and SFMR, the primary subject of evaluation is the player or the team. Examples 17-21 show that positive and negative judgement predominantly revolve around the players' or teams' performance, skill, and excellence demonstrated during the match. Besides the rare use of the same explicit positive instances in EFMR and SFMR, such as in examples 17-18, in which are intensified via comparison and use infused intensification to enhance judgment, EFMR and SFMR often utilize a variety of other lexical expressions inscribing positive judgements (examples 19-21).

While repetition via listing as a source of intensification (graduation) of the players' positive skills, which upgrades the positive judgement, is more frequent in EFMR, strongly intensified judgement can also be observed in SFMR (example 21). While EFMR and SFMR positively evaluate the players' or teams' control of the play, SFMR also explicitly and positively evaluate the players' refined technique and the teams' better chance of winning.

(17) ... *eden najboljših strelcev* ... (S14) '... one of the **best** strikers ...'/*one of the best goalkeepers* (E1)

(18) ... *blestel prvi podajalec lige* ... (S14) '... the first forward passer **shone** ...'/*Jesus also shone* (E1)

(19) ... against a *top-class team* ... (E9); ... *Rashford can be brilliant* (E2); ... *looked particularly impressive in possession* ... (E2)

(20) *Triglav močan*. (S14) 'Triglav **strong**.'; ... *se je izkazal* ... (S1) '... **proved himself** ...'; ... *pa je bil v ospredju* ... (S2) '... was **at the forefront** ...'

(21) ... *užival v vragolijah in mojstrovinah igralcev* ... (S11) '... enjoyed the players' **mischievousness** and **masterpieces** ...'

When the player or team is judged negatively and explicitly the same lexical word can be observed in EFMR and SFMR, although this occurs rarely (examples 22–23). However, EFMR and SFMR prefer to employ additional explicitly negative lexis (examples 24–25). While EFMR directly assess the players' or teams' insufficient or lack of quality (example 26), SFMR, in contrast, avoid such direct evaluations, possibly to mitigate direct criticism.

(22) ... *had been **poor** in the first half* ... (E6)/*Bili smo **slabi*** ... (S12) 'We were so **poor** ...'

(23) ... *might be the **fall guy***. (E2)/... *brez doslej **dežurnega krivca*** ... (S11) '... without the hitherto **fall guy** ...'

(24) ... *was targeted as a **weakness** by the opposition*. (E3); ... *against **negative** opponents* ... (E1); ... *a team containing **no recognised** central defenders*. (E1); *against a **below-par*** ... (E5), ... *accused of being **predictable** and **one-dimensional*** ... (E9)

(25) ... ***jalovi** v napadu in **razglašeni** v obrambi*. (S11) '... **futile** in offence and **out of tune** in defence.'; ... *storil tako **nerodno*** ... (S11) '... did so **clumsily** ...'; ... *še **ni povsem pripravljen** za vrhunske predstave* ... (S14) '... **not full ready yet** for top performances ...'

(26) ... ***failed to have the quality*** ... (E2)

Furthermore, EFMR and SFMR demonstrate explicit positive and negative judgments in terms of failure, solution, struggle, courage, confidence, experience, danger, aggression,¹¹ caution, efficiency, crisis, success, agility, organization, guilt, and reliability, as the following examples show (27–29).

(27) ... *ki pa ga je bilo **precej manj** v **hlačah** na zelenici*. (S6) '... who **did not have the guts** on the grass.'

(28) ... *pokazal **brezvoljni** pristop* ... (S11) '... showed an **apathetic** approach ...'

(29) ... *the man who would **solve** Newcastle's creative and goalscoring woes*. (E2)

In terms of implicit judgment, EFMR and SFMR emphasize the social esteem of the player or team based on their tenacity and willpower. Given that English and Slovene reports express a refusal to give up (examples 30–34), the players' tenacity in EFMR is implied through their determination to persistently fight on the pitch, which is illustrated by a repetitive sequence of actions as a source of graduation (intensification) (example 31). Similarly, in SFMR, determination is reflected in the teams'

¹¹ Here aggression refers to a more offensive style of playing, which is often seen as positive in a football match, rather than to a (dangerous) physical attack.

strong will and desire to regain lost form and put on a good performance (example 32). Figurative language is also employed (example 33). However, only in EFMR does the players' tenacity receive an explicit positive evaluation lexically with that exact word (example 34).

(30) ... *niso dopustili* ... (S11) '... they did not let...'/ ...*refused to lose* (E6)

(31) ... *gets kicked, gets up, gets kicked, gets up again* ... (E7)

(32) ... *vse bomo naredili* ... (S12) '... we will do everything ...'

(33) ... *niso jim dovolili dihat* ... (S3) 'they... did not give them a chance to breathe ...'

(34) ... *high level of aggression and **tenacity*** ... (E9)

Furthermore, explicit positive and negative judgments of the player or team can be observed across various attributes. In EFMR, assessments are made regarding expertise, talent, physical capacity, creativity, age, comfort, curiosity, confusion on the pitch, persistence, calmness, cleverness, energy, commitment, attitude, and strength. Conversely, in SFMR, explicit positive or negative judgments are focused on perfection, superficiality, lack of knowledge, composure, motivation, seriousness, maturity, reward, resourcefulness, precision, concreteness, indecisiveness, and progress.

EFMR and SFMR also explicitly judge the player or team positively based on national and international titles, the player's role on the team (e.g., being a captain), and membership on a national team, as shown here (example 35).

(35) *Champions of Europe* (E10); *slovenski reprezentant* (S9) 'a member of the Slovene national team'; *državnimi prvaki* (S12) 'national Champions'

As with all implicit attitudes, implicit judgement is co(n)text bound, as exemplified in 36–40. Thus, in example 36 the team's good performance and skills are implied via the quantification *večino* 'most' and *dobre pol ure* 'a good half hour' as sources of graduation, together with counter-expectancy *že* 'already' as a source of engagement conveying a surprisingly short period of time. In example 37, the team's competence is also implied via the denial *ni* 'not' (engagement) to stress that coach's interference was unnecessary. In example 38, the sentence, functioning as a rhetorical question, contemplates the need for further financial stimulation for players, implying their bad performance, and thus evoking negative judgement. In example 39, a denied modality of probability (engagement) *unlikely* as an answer to a question also implies a rather negative evaluation based on the player's lack of superior quality. Similarly, in example 40, the player's insufficient skill is implied via the rhetorical question, using the modality of ability *could* as a source of engagement and comparison as a source of intensification (graduation).

(36) ... *večino dela opravila že v dobre pol ure*. (S2) '... most of the work was already done in just a good half hour.'

(37) ... *ni imel razlogov, da bi med tekmo posredoval*. (S11) '... did not have any reasons to interfere.'

(38) *Ali pa bi moral... igralce znova premamiti s premijo*. (S11) 'Or should tempt players with a financial reward again.'

(39) ... *but is he a superstar in the making? Unlikely*. (E2)

(40) *Could he have got out to Robertson quicker?* (E9)

In SFMR, attributing poor performance to a bad day by the coach not only mitigates negative judgement targeting the player or team but also implies positive judgement targeting the coach's character by avoiding direct criticism of the players or team. This approach, possibly aimed at preserving the teams' positive face,¹² aligns with the concept of politeness as discussed by Brown and Levinson (1987: 311–323).

Furthermore, EFMR and SFMR express the players' or teams' accomplishments (or lack thereof) during the match, encompassing various aspects such as the fulfilment of wishes and hopes, intents, expectations, and plans, as well as the achievement of goals, final scores, attempted goals, blocked shots and passes, positions and changes on the table, taken or missed chances, shots on target, goal-saving actions, and the prevention of attacks, as some examples show (41–43), which may imply a positive or negative judgement in the context of sports reporting. In example 41, the players played according to the coach's idea of playing, and thus fulfilled the plan successfully. In example 42, the quantification *one* conveying the teams' low number of shots on target, paired with counter-expectancy *only*, implies the teams' lack of successful accomplishment, and thus ineffective play. In example 43, the substitutes' failure to fulfil the coach's desire for a good performance implies a negative judgement.

(41) *They did so*. (E6)

(42) ... *who had only mustered one shot on target ...* (E3)

(43) ... *v nadaljevanju nista prinesla željenega*. (S12) ('... in the continuation they did not bring the desired result.')

In addition to assessing the players' or teams' quality and success, EFMR and SFMR may also imply a positive or negative judgement based on factors such as assistance, a player's debut, substitutions, and offence/sanction (e.g., yellow/red card, foul, misconduct), thus encoding a value of capacity or propriety.

¹² According to Brown and Levinson (1987: 311), 'positive face' is "the positive consistent self-image or 'personality' (crucially including the desire that this self-image be appreciated and approved of) claimed by interactants."

Although judgement directed at opponents is rarely expressed in EFMR and SFMR (it is expressed by the coaches), with more such occurrences observed in SFMR, judgement in EFMR is exclusively negative, whereas in SFMR it is only positive (examples 44–45).

(44) ... *they just defend*. (E6)

(45) *Lahko jim samo čestitam* ... (S11) 'I can only congratulate them ...'

While the player or team is explicitly evaluated as lucky in EFMR (example 46), SFMR, in contrast, evaluate the player or team as (un)lucky implicitly (example 47).

(46) ... being better to be **lucky** than good ... (E10)

(47) ... *ni prineslo sreče* ... (S11) '... did not bring luck ...'

Moreover, an implicit positive or negative judgement may be further evoked via a player's contribution to the team and play, as well as via the players' threatening actions, which imply offensive, and thus good play, in EFMR and SFMR. Notably, the players' reliability, and thus positive judgement based on the coach's trust, is implied solely in EFMR. In contrast, positive judgement targeting the team in SFMR is contingent on promotion, as the following example shows (48).

(48) ... *za povratnike v prvo ligo* ... (S12) '... for the returnees to the first league ...'

While EFMR and SFMR often express implicit judgement targeting the players' or teams' individual activities during the match, a slight preference for such an evaluation can be observed in EFMR. Indicative of this preference are the following examples (49–50).

(49) ... *find a hole* ... (E1)

(50) ... *poigral z nasprotnikovo obrambo* ... (S3) '... played with the defence of the opposite team ...'

In EFMR and SFMR, an interplay between explicit and implicit evaluation occurs. As shown in example 51, while EFMR tend to directly evaluate the part of the season (e.g., *worst start* E6), SFMR directly evaluate the part of the game (the start and continuation of the game). However, in both cases appreciation is inscribed and judgement is evoked targeting the player or team in terms of their capability.

(51) ... *odličnem uvodu gostiteljev in boljšem nadaljevanju gostov*. (S9)

'... **excellent** introduction by the host players and **better** continuation by visiting players.'

Similar evaluative interplay occurs around instances such as *performance*, *formation*, *play*, and *defence*. Martin and White (2005: 67–68) allow for double coding of appraisal categories and acknowledge the interplay of explicit and implicit categories. When a player is explicitly judged in a specific role, an invoked appreciation (an implicit evaluation of, for example, things, objects, events, and phenomena) of their accomplishments may be acknowledged. Conversely, when an activity is explicitly appreciated as a thing, judgement of the individual who accomplished it may be invoked. Thus, *responded with some clever play* (E3) can be regarded as inscribed positive appreciation targeting the play, while at the same time evoking positive judgement targeting the team in terms of capability. This, for example, stands in contrast to *they responded cleverly*, where judgement would be inscribed, and appreciation evoked.

Similarly, Thompson (2008: 178) demonstrates the concept of blurred boundaries, where human behaviour can be perceived as either an action/state or a product. However, despite the similarity to Thompson's example *his catches were brilliant*, which only inscribes appreciation, instances like *his performances are distinctly average* (E3) are nevertheless identified as double evaluations in the selected reports. By unpacking the clause into *he performed distinctly averagely*, where the players' activity clearly becomes the target, positive judgement may also be implied.

Moreover, EFMR also explicitly evaluate the players' position and alignment with a specific playing system, as well as the teams' formation as appreciation to further imply judgement about the quality of the player or team, although such cases are rare (examples 52–53). In example 52, positive and intensified (comparison) appreciation of the players' position as optimal is inscribed. Additionally, positive judgement targeting the players' maximum engagement motivated by this specific position is implied. In contrast, no such cases occur in SFMR. Such dual cases are absent in SFMR, although other examples of dual evaluation do occur (example 54).

(52) ... *definitely his **best** position.* (E9)

(53) ... *the system that **works** for him.* (E9)

(54) ... *za **neprepričljivo** obrambo* (S11) '... for the **unconvincing** defence';
*Igrali smo **vrhunsko** tekmo.* (S12) 'We performed a **superior** match.'

Similarly, specific playing actions occurring during a match in EFMR and SFMR (e.g., shots, passing the ball, scoring a goal, defending), as shown in examples 55–56, demonstrate an interplay between explicit and implicit evaluations, as well as a combination of different attitudinal categories. However, it can also be seen that EFMR are more inclined than SFMR to use structures that allow for such evaluative interplay. As such, the targets (cross, shot) initially inscribe positive appreciation and further evoke positive judgement targeting the players' skill.

(55) ... *excellent* cross ... (E1)

(56) ... *odličnem* prostem strelu ... (S3) '... **excellent** free kick ...'

While EFMR and SFMR employ idiomatic expressions and metaphors that suggest the players' quality, skill, or performance, as examples 57–61 show, EFMR make frequent use of these. Martin and White (2005) consider a metaphor as a device for expressing evaluation implicitly rather than explicitly.

(57) ... *with the bit between their teeth* ... (E6)

(58) ... *embraced the role of the pest* ... (E7)

(59) ... *United's dead wood* ... (E2)

(60) ... *napovedali lepše popoldne* ... (S6) '... predicted a brighter afternoon ...'

(61) ... *redko videnem harakiriju v obrambi* ... (S6) '... rarely seen hara-kiri in defence ...'

Pertaining to the coach, EFMR directly assess the coach's performance during the match, including factors such as strategic choices, knowledge gaps, and sarcastic demeanour, whereas SFMR attribute the coach's lack of success to mere luck. SFMR also do not judge a coach's work based on tactics and strategy, but instead focus on the coach's inability to motivate, to solve problems through substitution, to trust their staff, as well as on the exhibition of inappropriate behaviour after a match, sanctions, and emphasis on team dynamics over individual players. Additionally, EFMR judge the coach's pragmatic and optimistic attitude positively, and thus express social esteem, while SFMR judge the coach's truthfulness in admitting to making incorrect decisions regarding substitutes positively, and thus express social sanction. In example 62, an evaluative interplay can again be observed. Although the plan is positively inscribed as appreciation with the lexical expression *good*, it is nevertheless the coach who plans, and who thus may additionally become the target of implicit positive judgement based on knowledge.

(62) ... *good* tactical plan ... (E9)

5.1.3 Appreciation

Table 4: Comparison of status and realization of appreciation in SFMR and EFMR

	ENGLISH FOOTBALL MATCH REPORTS		SLOVENE FOOTBALL MATCH REPORTS		COMPARISON			
APPRECIATION	N=186		N=102		ChiSqu	P	Sign	Effect size
	N	Percent	N	Percent				
REALIZATION								
explicit	141	75.8	80	78.4	0.25	0.6141		0.063
implicit	45	24.2	22	21.6	0.25	0.6141		0.063
STATUS								
positive	85	45.7	55	53.9	1.78	0.1818		0.165
negative	101	54.3	47	46.1	1.78	0.1818		0.165

According to Table 4, explicit appreciation dominates over implicit appreciation in EFMR and SFMR. The share of explicit appreciation is slightly greater in SFMR (SFMR = 78.4%, EFMR = 75.8%), whereas the share of implicit appreciation is slightly greater in EFMR (EFMR = 24.2%, SFMR = 21.6%). Regarding attitudinal status, positive appreciation prevails over negative appreciation in SFMR, while negative appreciation prevails over positive appreciation in EFMR. The share of positive appreciation is greater in SFMR (SFMR = 53.9%, EFMR = 45.7%). The share of negative appreciation, in contrast, is greater in EFMR (EFMR = 54.3%, SFMR = 46.1%). The results of the chi-square test showed that it is not possible to determine the significance of the association between the two corpora according to explicit and implicit realization, or positive and negative status. At the same time, the effect size is small for explicit and implicit realization, and positive and negative status.

Interestingly, EFMR and SFMR rarely directly mention or evaluate the match/game itself (examples 63–64). Instead, they assess other aspects such as the result, the situation, and the club. EFMR also evaluate additional elements like the steps undertaken toward progress, VAR, plan, tactics, and formation. On the other hand, SFMR evaluate points gathered by the team and the round of matches in the competition, specific actions, and defeats. In example 64, the match is evaluated by the coach.

(63) *It was **not** a **pretty** game, ...* (E6)

(64) ***Dobra** tekma, **lepa** za gledati.* (S13) ‘A **good** match, **nice** to watch.’

As has been established, the interplay between explicit appreciation and implicit judgment is common in EFMR and SFMR (see Section 5.1.2). A notable example of this interplay can be found in example 65. In this case, the positive appreciation *powerful* targeting the player's effort also implies positive judgment of his skill. Additionally, the engagement element *but* introduces counter-expectancy, suggesting an unfortunate situation (hitting the crossbar instead of scoring) and thus negative appreciation.

(65) ... *but his **powerful** effort from a tight angle came crashing back off the crossbar ...* (E3)

However, the attribution of successful episodes in the match to luck and coincidence, which implies a negative evaluation, is present only in SFMR. Additionally, only in SFMR does a player receive an evaluation based on appearance, as the following examples show (66-67).

(66) ... *gol s sežansko asistenco.* (S11) '... the goal with Sežana's help.'; ...
gol je bil sad naključja ... (S11) '... the goal was a matter of coincidence ...'
 (67) *Postavni ...* (S11) '**Strapping ...**'

Although this is uncommon, EFMR and SFMR occasionally employ a comparison to implicitly express a positive or negative appreciation of the match, as example 68 shows.

(68) ... *bo povsem drugačna ...* (S14) '... will be entirely different ...'/...
could have been different ... (E1)

6 CONCLUSION

The quantitative and qualitative comparative analysis of Slovene and English football match reports presented here provides important insights into the occurrence and use of attitude, one of the three main categories in the appraisal system created by Martin and White (2005), and more precisely of its subcategories: affect (language expressing feelings), judgement (language evaluating people's behaviour and character), and appreciation (language expressing evaluation of things, products, objects, events, phenomena and alike), together with their status (positive/negative) and realization (explicit/implicit). Despite the small size of the corpus, the analysis shows similarities and differences in the occurrence and use of attitudes between the selected EFMR and SFMR, and the complex and rich world of evaluation in these reports.

The results show that all three attitudinal categories (affect, judgement, and appreciation) are utilized by EFMR and SFMR, underscoring the more subjective tone inherent in these reports. The occurrence of attitude may diminish the neutrality of reports, on the

one hand, while on the other, bringing the match closer to readers and thus fostering a closer connection between the match and those reading about it. The necessity for bringing sporting events closer to readers is emphasized by Harris and Spark (1993, 161–164). Additionally, explicit and implicit attitude, as well as positive and negative attitude, are employed in both EFMR and SFMR. The relatively frequent occurrence of implicit attitude in EFMR and SFMR may suggest a deliberate avoidance of excessive direct subjectivity, hence attributing more reliability and credibility to the reports. As Juknevičienė and Viluckas (2019: 79-80) state, more implicitness creates a more reserved tone.

Notably, judgement emerges as the dominant attitude, followed by appreciation in EFMR and SFMR, mainly targeting a player or team in terms of quality, skill, and performance. Affect is the least used attitude in both reports. Although this seems to contrast with Munday's (2004) findings, which suggest that appreciation is more frequently employed in UK *The Guardian* and the Spanish newspaper *El País*, accompanied by some judgement, the difference is likely ascribed to the different methodological approaches, coding decisions, choice and number of news outlets, and contexts.

EFMR and SFMR frequently employ language (e.g., in descriptions of the players' or teams' performances) that allows for double or even multiple attitudes to co-exist within a single instance or phrase. According to Thompson (2014), evaluation in discourse is often not single-layered. Although the interplay between explicit appreciation and implicit judgement occurs in EFMR and SFMR, more such cases can be observed in EFMR. To exhaust the possible multiple interpretations, double and multi-coding is necessary (Page 2003). However, the finding regarding affect in this paper aligns with Munday's, as it remains the least utilized attitude.

Furthermore, the comparison of the results for attitude based on the share shows that the dominant status in both reports is positive and the dominant realization is explicit, although the share of explicit and implicit attitudes is more balanced in both reports. Furthermore, judgement, implicit and positive attitude, implicit and positive affect, implicit and positive judgement, and explicit and positive appreciation are employed more in SFMR. On the other hand, more affect, appreciation, explicit and negative attitude, explicit and negative affect, explicit and negative judgement, and implicit and negative appreciation occur in EFMR. A relatively high number of implicit and negative attitudes in both SFMR and EFMR may contribute to the greater objectivity of these reports.

Regarding attitude, as the results of the chi-square test show, statistically significant differences between EFMR and SFMR occur with affect, judgement and appreciation, explicit and implicit realization, and positive and negative status, although the effect size is small for all features but judgement. A statistically significant difference is therefore found only with judgement.

Upon close examination of each category (affect, judgement, and appreciation), the results of the chi-square test reveal that statistically significant differences between EFMR and SFMR occur with both the positive and negative status of judgement, as well

as with the explicit and implicit realization of affect, whereas no significant differences regarding appreciation between EFMR and SFMR can be found. The more explicit affect in EFMR than in SFMR may suggest that the former express emotions directly (often with intensification) to have a greater emotional impact on readers. EFMR also express more negative judgement, which may indicate more criticism regarding the player, team or coach occurs. However, evaluation also depends on how the match unfolds and how well the players or teams perform during the matches. Although reports should be as objective as possible, a certain degree of evaluative subjectivity should be considered, as well as the possible bias of the writers (favouring one team over another).

Furthermore, the analysis reveals that although EFMR and SFMR employ the same lexical expressions for evaluation, both reports use more diverse ones. For example, expressions conveying the emotions of hope, relief, and fondness for the game are more characteristic of EFMR, while expressions conveying shock and confusion are more typical of SFMR.

Regarding judgement, EFMR and SFMR predominantly use expressions which judge players or teams based on various factors like failure, match accomplishments, courage, talent, titles earned, and tenacity. However, EFMR uniquely incorporate expressions of judgement related to expertise, physical capacity, creativity, age, comfort, curiosity, confusion, calmness, cleverness, energy, commitment, attitude, and strength. In contrast, SFMR focus on judgements related to perfection, superficiality, expertise, composure, motivation, seriousness, maturity, reward, resourcefulness, precision, concreteness, indecisiveness, and progress.

As the analysis further reveals, appreciation rarely targets the match itself in EFMR and SFMR. Instead, EFMR and SFMR evaluate various elements related to the match (e.g., the match result). Moreover, EFMR also evaluate additional aspects like VAR, plan, tactics, and formation, while SFMR evaluate points and rounds of matches in a competition, actions, and wins/defeats.

The significance of this study lies its contribution to the under-researched field of English and Slovenian sports reporting in relation to evaluation and appraisal, demonstrating that the interpersonal aspects of football match reports as written communication are livelier than one would perhaps expect. The application of the appraisal model is useful because it also takes context and implicitness into account when analysing attitudes. According to Macken-Horarik, "EVOKED APPRAISAL is important to analyze because it is primary mechanism by which a text insinuates itself into reader attitudes" (2003: 299; emphasis in the original).

The study may have practical implications by offering insights into the lexico-grammatical structures used to express various attitudes in both languages, which may be of interest in areas such as language studies, sports journalism, and translation.

While the current work refrains from generalizations, owing to the limited corpus, it lays the foundation for future research that could further explore attitudes by utilizing a larger and more balanced dataset, and by incorporating more recent data to observe changes. Attitudes could also be examined according to various targets/emoters or in other pairings of sport reporting (e.g., football live text commentary vs. written football match report).

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POVZETEK

ANGLEŠKA IN SLOVENSKA POROČILA O NOGOMETNIH TEKMAH Z VIDIKA JEZIKA VREDNOTENJA: ODNOS

Namen te študije je primerjati pojavnost in uporabo odnosa, kot tudi njegovega statusa in uresničitve v izbranih angleških in slovenskih poročilih o nogometnih tekmah, ki so jih objavili spletni tiskani mediji. Odnos predstavlja eno izmed treh osnovnih kategorij znotraj ocenjevalnega diskurzno-semantičnega sistema, znanega kot jezik vrednotenja (Martin in White 2005). Obsega jezik, ki izraža čustva, presojo ljudi, njihovih dejanj in karakterja ter oceno stvari. Z namenom raziskovanja in primerjave odnosa je bil kot analitično sredstvo uporabljen jezik vrednotenja, skupaj s kvantitativno in kvalitativno metodo. Analiza razkriva, da obstajajo podobnosti in razlike v slovenskih in angleških poročilih o nogometnih tekmah. Slovenska in angleška poročila o nogometnih tekmah uporabljata vse tri kategorije odnosa, jih izražata eksplicitno in implicitno ter uporabljata tako pozitiven kot negativen status. Prevladujoča kategorija v slovenskih in angleških poročilih o nogometnih tekmah je presoja ljudi, njihovih dejanj in karakterja, kjer je tudi ugotovljena statistično značilna razlika. Nadalje, ugotovitve pokažejo, da čeprav angleška in slovenska poročila o nogometnih tekmah včasih uporabljajo enako besedišče za izražanje odnosa, se le-to večinoma razlikuje. Analiza tudi pokaže, da slovenska in angleška poročila o nogometnih tekmah uporabljata jezik, ki dopušča oblikovanje dveh ali več odnosov okrog ene besede, fraze ali znotraj stavka, kar naredi ta poročila bolj ocenjevalna kot se zdi. Obravnavani so nekateri tipični primeri čustev, presoje ljudi, njihovih dejanj in karakterja in ocenitve, ki se uresničijo neposredno ali posredno in pozitivno ali negativno, ter v povezavi z njihovo tarčo (ali v primeru čustev s čustvovalcem).

Ključne besede: slovenska in angleška poročila o nogometnih tekmah, jezik vrednotenja, čustvo, presoja ljudi in njihovih dejanj, ocenitev, diskurzno-semantična analiza

ABSTRACT

ENGLISH AND SLOVENE FOOTBALL MATCH REPORTS THROUGH THE LENS OF APPRAISAL LANGUAGE: ATTITUDE

This study aims to compare the occurrence and use of attitude, as well as its status and realization, in selected English and Slovene football match reports published by online print media. Attitude constitutes one of the three primary categories within the evaluative discourse-semantic system known as appraisal (Martin and White 2005). It encompasses language that conveys feelings, judgement of behaviour, and evaluations of things. The appraisal model developed by Martin and White (2005) was used as an analytical tool to explore and compare attitude, along with quantitative and qualitative research methods. The analysis reveals that similarities and differences

occur between Slovene and English football match reports. They both employ all three attitudinal categories, express them explicitly and implicitly, and use both positive and negative statuses. The dominant attitude in Slovene and English football match reports is judgement, where a statistically significant difference is also found. Furthermore, the findings indicate that although English and Slovene reports occasionally utilize a shared lexis for the expression of attitude, this mostly differs. The analysis also shows that Slovene and English football match reports employ language that often allows for the formation of two or more attitudes around a single word or phrase, or within one clause, which makes these reports more evaluative than they appear. Some typical instances encoding affect, judgement, and appreciation are discussed in terms of their explicit/implicit realization and positive/negative status, as well as their targets (or in case of affect, their emoter).

Keywords: Slovene and English football match reports, appraisal, affect, judgement, appreciation, discourse-semantic analysis

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Izvirni znanstveni članek



EVIDENTIALITY IN CLIMATE CHANGE DISCOURSE BY KING CHARLES III

1 INTRODUCTION

The issue of climate change is both urgent and complex (Gardiner, 2024; Yasmin, 2024). In light of its critical importance to the existence of humanity and the wider survival of life on the planet, climate change-related topics are routinely addressed by a multitude of actors, including politicians, celebrities, and royalty (Wetts, 2023). As far as British royal figures are concerned, King Charles III is known as a passionate advocate of climate change mitigation (Kapranov, 2024a), whose opinions and speeches on the issue of the climate seem to resonate within both political and societal circles in the United Kingdom (UK) and far beyond its borders (Marshall, 2011). Typically, King Charles III's public speeches and written communication on climate change appear to be supported by science-based evidence (Lovelock & Lovelock, 2013). In this regard, it should be noted that the issue of climate change in political discourse in the UK is usually regarded through the lens of scientific evidence (Sébastien et al., 2014; Strassheim & Kettunen, 2014), which involves objective and specialized knowledge (Russo, 2019). In contrast, however, a number of British mass media actors portray the issue of climate change through an impressionistic prism that verges either on the apocalyptic imagery of "doom-and-gloom" or a denial of the reality of climate change (Morgan & Di Giulio, 2018; Rae, 2021; Weik von Mossner, 2021).

Given that climate change-related discourse by the mainstream political parties in the UK is based on scientific evidence (Levidow & Papaioannou, 2015), it is, perhaps, not surprising that climate change discourse by King Charles III (hereinafter – the King) appears to be informed by evidence (Lovelock & Lovelock, 2013). Presently, however, there seems to be insufficient research on how such evidence is manifested linguistically and discursively in the King's speeches on climate change (Kapranov, 2024a). Seeking to fill the current gap in scholarship, the article presents a mixed-methods study that aims to learn about evidentiality associated with climate change in a corpus of the King's speeches on the topic of climate change that are available on

the official site of the British Royal Family, www.royal.uk. The corpus is investigated within the scope of the linguistic notion of evidentiality. It should be borne in mind that in linguistics and discourse studies evidentiality is regarded as the linguistic marking of evidence (Bednarek, 2006: 635). While we will dwell upon the notion of evidentiality further in the article, let us observe for now that evidentiality in linguistics is assumed to express “the kinds of evidence a person has for making factual claims” (Anderson, 1986: 273).

In light of the aforementioned view of evidentiality, this study sets out to answer the following research question (**RQ**):

RQ: What are the manifestations of evidentiality in the corpus of the King’s speeches on the issue of climate change?

Guided by the RQ, the article is structured as follows. First, the theoretical premises associated with evidentiality are provided in section 2. Second, a review of the literature on climate change in political discourse in the UK is given in section 3. Thereafter, in section 4, the present study is introduced and discussed. Finally, the summary of the findings, the limitations of the study, and possible directions associated with future research are outlined in section 5.

2 EVIDENTIALITY: THEORETICAL PREMISES

The theoretical premises of the study are grounded in an approach to evidentiality that regards it as the information source behind a message and how the source is marked linguistically (Anderson, 1986; Carretero & Zamorano-Mansilla, 2015). Put differently, evidentiality may be argued to involve the source-based verification and authentication of statements and/or claims that are used by an interlocuter (Anderson, 1986). Evidentiality as a category in its own right is manifested in some languages (e.g. Finnish) by the grammatically obligatory markers (Aikhenvald, 2007: 209), typically represented by evidential morphemes (Mushin, 2001). It is posited in the literature that evidential markers point out to the nature of the information source in a proposition (Aikhenvald, 2007; Kaiser, 2024). In this regard, Kaiser (2024: 1) argues that evidential markers typically “indicate whether the proposition refers to something that the speaker saw, heard about from someone else, or inferred from other information”. Additionally, evidential markers may convey the speaker’s level of commitment to the proposition, given that information sources range in reliability from first-hand evidence to reported hearsay (Kaiser, 2024: 2).

English, however, lacks explicit morphosyntactic evidential markers, which are also referred to as evidentials (Brugman & Macaulay, 2015), that “indicate both source and reliability of the information” (Rooryck, 2001: 125). As previously mentioned, English does not have obligatory evidentials that mark the source of evidence morphosyntactically (Brugman & Macaulay, 2015: 202). However, it possesses a range of lexical, semantic, and pragmatic means that may refer to the information source, in particular, lexical verbs that are associated with claims, opinions, and reports (Aikhenvald, 2007). In other words, the literature argues that English, in which evidentiality is non-grammaticized (Papafra-gou, 2000), may develop an evidential dimension by using, predominantly, lexical and semantic forms (Aikhenvald, 2007) in a variety of pragmatic contexts (Ifantidou, 2001; Nuyts, 2006; Oleniak, 2020). Aikhenvald’s (2004) contention is encapsulated in Table 1, which summarizes her classification of the evidential dimension expressed by semantic means.

Table 1: Aikhenvald’s (2004) Classification of Evidentiality Based upon Semantic Means

#	Category	Explanation
1	Assumption	Evidence that is based upon logical reasoning, assumption, or general knowledge
2	Hearsay	Evidence that is based upon reported information with no reference to those it was reported by
3	Inference	Evidence that is based on visible or tangible evidence, or results
4	Non-visual sensory	Evidence that is based upon information acquired via hearing, smelling, tasting, or touching
5	Quotative	Evidence that is based on reported information with an overt reference to the quoted source
6	Visual	Evidence that is based upon information acquired through seeing

While Aikhenvald’s (2004) classification of evidentiality is argued to be applicable to most languages, including English, Rooryck (2001: 127-128) demonstrates that English, in particular, makes an extensive use of parenthetical constructions in order to manifest evidentiality. Rooryck’s (2001) view of parenthetical constructions as evidentials in English is summarized in Table 2, below.

Table 2: The Use of Parenthetical Constructions as Evidentials in English According to Rooryck (2001)

#	Category	Example
1	Nonvisual sensorial	Jules is back, I feel/I sense
2	Sensory inferential, visual deduction	Jules is back, I see
3	Hearsay	Jules is back, I hear/they say
4	Quotative	Sarah said, ...
5	Inferential	I realize/I found out ...; it turns out, ...
6	Circumstantial, unspecified source	It seems/it appears, ...
7	Speculative	I believe/think/suppose/presume/guess/ suspect/assume/, ...
8	Surprisal	I'm afraid/I'm sorry, ...

It follows from Table 2 that Rooryck's (2001) approach to evidentiality is indicative of the contention concerning the relation – or rather, interrelation – between evidentiality on the one hand, and epistemic and evaluative marking (e.g. I'm afraid) on the other. It should be observed that similar views are found in Bednarek (2006), who argues that epistemic marking and, in particular, epistemological positioning, often overlap with evidentiality. In this regard, Bednarek (2006: 635) specifies that epistemological positioning “deals with questions such as ‘Who is the source of information?’, ‘What is the basis of someone's (the writer's or a third party's) knowledge?’, ‘How certain is their knowledge?’”.

It is inferred from Bednarek's (2006) view of evidentiality in English that, in addition to the aforementioned semantic dimension, evidentiality in English may be manifested by discursive means. These are said to consist of pointing to the source of evidence in the text, with the sourcing based upon one of the following: (i) perception, (ii) general knowledge, (iii) proof, (iv) obviousness, (v) unspecified, (vi) hearsay, and (vii) mindsay (Bednarek, 2006). Similarly to Bednarek (2006), González, Roseano, Borràs-Comes, and Prieto (2017) argue that evidentiality may be marked in discursive contexts in the manner that is outlined in Table 3.

Table 3: Evidentiality Marking in Discursive Context According to González et al. (2017)

#	Types of Evidentiality Marking	Discursive Characteristics
1	Direct	Personal access to information; Speaker's personal involvement
2	Indirect/mediated	Non-personal access to information via science-mediated, tradition-mediated, common knowledge-mediated, and reported sources; Speaker's non-personal involvement; Mediated knowledge coming from third parties (science, tradition, common knowledge, etc.)

Concluding the present outline of the literature on evidentiality, it could be posited that there is a growing body of studies that deal with evidentiality in English, which, as already mentioned, does not have obligatory morphosyntactic evidentials. Given the absence of morphosyntactically marked evidentiality in English, one of the current directions in researching evidentiality consists of exploring its discursive functions in various forms of discourse. Presently, however, there are no state-of-the-art linguistic investigations that focus on evidentiality in English-medium climate change discourse. The study which is further presented and discussed in this article is thus one of the initial attempts to shed light on this under-researched topic. Prior to proceeding to the study, however, let us briefly review the literature on climate change discourse in the UK.

3 CLIMATE CHANGE IN POLITICAL DISCOURSE IN THE UK: LITERATURE REVIEW

The literature generally indicates that scientific evidence concerning the issue of climate change is crucial in policymaking (Demeritt, 2006; Fløttum & Dahl, 2011; Pieczka & Escobar, 2013). The British political tradition, in particular, is characterized by a robust involvement of science in policymaking that concerns climate change (Shackley & Wynne, 1995). Specifically, the literature demonstrates that scientific evidence-based policymaking was adopted in the UK in 1999 in the Modernising Government White Paper (Strassheim & Kettunen, 2014: 261). Furthermore, the literature posits that British policymaking culture and its respective discourse are essentially evidence-based (Sébastien et al., 2014). In this light, the present review seeks to summarize the literature that, at least, mentions evidence (for instance, science-based) in political discourse on climate change in the UK.

While evidence-based policymaking has been a much-debated concept in the UK (Levidow & Papaioannou, 2015), the major British political parties have availed

themselves of scientific findings reported by the British climate change advisory bodies (Averchenkova et al., 2021). In this regard, the literature suggests that scientific evidence, which is provided by external experts in the field, facilitates the legitimization of the UK governments' policy framework concerning the measures of climate change mitigation (Levidow & Papaioannou, 2015). Furthermore, the literature posits that British political parties seem to take into consideration expert advice on the issue of climate change and incorporate it into their respective climate change discourse, thus contributing to evidence-based policymaking (Averchenkova et al., 2021: 1218), which is reflective of regulatory practices, policy assessments, and stakeholder involvement (Strassheim & Kettunen, 2014).

As far as policymaking associated with climate change is concerned, the major political parties in the UK share a common view that the issue of climate change poses a serious threat both locally, in the UK, and worldwide (Kapranov, 2015a). To illustrate the point, climate change discourse by both the Conservative and Labour governments involves science-based evidence that points to the immense scope of the issue (Kapranov, 2018a). It is, then, not surprising that both Conservative and Labour prime ministers refer to the issue of climate change through the discursive lens of battle and war, and allude to the gargantuan challenge which it poses (Kapranov, 2017).

Another typical aspect of British policymaking concerning the issue of climate change involves the bipartisan (i.e. Conservative and Labour) discourse that construes climate change in economic terms (Kapranov, 2018b). Specifically, the bipartisan climate change discourse in the UK seems to be informed by evidence garnered by governmental and corporate actors, who point out the costs associated with climate change mitigation and amelioration, such as CO₂ emission reductions (Kapranov, 2015a). In this regard, the former British prime minister Rishi Sunak highlighted the way the British economy responds to the issue of climate change as a challenge to economic prosperity (Kapranov, 2024b). Judging from the literature, it can be argued that an extensive reliance on science-based evidence associated with climate change has contributed to the economization of the issue in British politics, which, in its turn, is reflected in the current political discourse on climate change in the UK (Von Malmberg & Strachan, 2005).

It should be noted that while the scientific approach to climate change constitutes a typical feature of the British mainstream political discourse, the right-wing as well as the extreme left-wing political parties in the UK do not seem to involve science-based evidence in their respective discourse on climate change (Lockwood, 2018). In particular, the British far-right parties ignore science-based evidence in their communication with the public. Moreover, their climate change discourse is characterized by an ethno-nationalist and authoritarian perspective that seems sceptical towards climate change (Forchtner, 2019; Kapranov, 2023).

Summarizing the outline of the literature, it can be argued that climate change in the British mainstream political discourse is predominantly informed by scientific evidence.

However, little is known about climate change discourse by the King as far as evidence and evidentiality are concerned. In the subsequent section of the article I thus present a study that aims to learn about evidentiality in the corpus of the King's speeches on climate change.

4 THE PRESENT STUDY: ITS RESEARCH QUESTIONS, CORPUS, AND METHODOLOGY

The present study, as mentioned above, seeks to illuminate how evidentiality is manifested in the corpus of speeches on the issue of climate change delivered by the King. In line with Kaiser (2024) and Aikhenvald (2004), evidentiality in this study is regarded as a category that signals the information source, in other words, "whether a speaker has direct evidence for something, heard it from someone, or inferred it" (Kaiser, 2022: 2). Informed by the seminal publications by Aikhenvald (2004) and Kaiser (2024), evidentiality is applied to the King's speeches on climate change in order to learn about the categories of evidentiality associated with this issue. Following this reasoning, the RQ was formulated and outlined in the introductory part of the article. Hopefully, providing answers to the RQ will facilitate our understanding of the King's discursive strategy of deploying evidence associated with climate change in the corpus of his speeches.

In line with the RQ, specific attention in the study is paid to the construal of sourcing as the cornerstone of evidentiality. As far as the definition of sourcing is concerned, I follow Bednarek (2006), who regards it as a construal that provides an answer to the query "To what/whom can this be attributed?", so that the basis of knowledge becomes clear due to the reference to, for instance, perception, assumption, and so forth. Acknowledging a possible overlap between evidentiality and epistemological positioning as postulated by Bednarek (2006) and Mushin (2001), the study does not attempt to illuminate the King's attitudes towards the sources of knowledge and evidence concerning climate change, since such an endeavour merits a separate investigation. Hence, the overlap between epistemological positioning (i.e. the King's attitude towards knowledge about climate change) and evidentiality is not pursued in the present investigation.

The corpus of the study involved the King's speeches on climate change available on the official website of the British Royal Family, www.royal.uk. In line with the prior studies (Kapranov, 2015b, 2017, 2018b, 2021, 2024b), the website was searched by means of applying the following keywords associated with the issue of climate change: *anthropogenic climate change*, *climate change*, *climate change mitigation*, *extreme weather*, *extreme drought*, *extreme flooding*, *global warming*, *greenhouse gasses*, and *CO₂ emissions*. The search returned 20 speeches on climate change delivered by the King within the timeframe from 2005 to 2023 (see Primary Sources for the links to the speeches). The official transcripts of his speeches on climate change were downloaded from

www.royal.uk, saved as Word files, and analysed in the Statistical Package for Social Sciences (SPSS), version 20.0 (IBM 2011) in order to compute the descriptive statistics that involved the total number of words = 36,272; mean words = 1,813.6; and standard deviation of words = 842.1.

In terms of the methodology, the analysis involved the following steps. Firstly, I conducted the qualitative part of the analysis in line with Bednarek (2006). It was text-driven and was executed manually without attempts to categorize the sources on an *a priori* basis. In other words, I searched the corpus of the King's speeches for the instances that manifested evidentiality, i.e. discursive passages, clauses, phrases, and lexical items that pointed to the source of information. Secondly, the identified sources of evidentiality were analysed for their possible fits with the semantic categories of evidentiality, which were proposed and developed by Aikhelvald (2004), namely (i) *assumption* (based upon logical reasoning, assumptions, and general knowledge); (ii) *hearsay* (based upon reported information with no reference to those it was reported by); (iii) *inference* (based on visible or tangible evidence or results); (iv) *non-visual sensory* (based upon information acquired via hearing, smelling, tasting, and touching); (v) *quotative* (based on reported information with an overt reference to the quoted source); and (vi) *visual* (based upon information acquired through seeing). The choice of Aikhenvald's (2004) typology was motivated by its universal applicability to the languages with and without obligatory morphosyntactic markers of evidentiality. Thirdly, once the categories of evidentiality associated with climate change were classified in accordance with this typology, they were turned into numerical representations and processed in SPSS (IBM, 2010) in order to calculate the ratio (as a percentage) of each individual category to the total number of occurrences of evidentiality in the corpus.

It should be specified that I only analysed the cases of evidentiality associated with the issue of climate change. To illustrate the point, the following two sentences should be considered:

- (a) Princess Anne reckons that climate change is getting worse as we speak.
- (b) Princess Anne reckons that Kate Middleton is visiting her aunt in Cheshire.

Both (a) and (b) could be argued to involve instances of evidentiality with the clearly marked source of evidence and linguo-discursive means that refer to it. However, only sentences similar to (a) were analysed in the study owing to their propositional content, which was related to the topic of climate change, while sentences similar to (b) were excluded from the analysis. Importantly, it should be noted that in the analysis sentences similar to (a) were analysed on the clausal level rather than on the lexical or phrasal level. The decision to limit the analysis to the clausal level was in line with González et al. (2017), who pointed to the clausal and supraclausal levels (i.e. paragraph) as an optimal solution for the analysis of evidentiality in discursive environments in those languages

that lack obligatory morphosyntactic marking of evidentiality. The results of the analyses are further presented in section 4.1 of the article.

4.1 Results and discussion

The quantitative analysis of the corpus has revealed that there are 208 instances of evidentiality in total. This finding is expanded upon in Table 4, below.

Table 4: The Descriptive Statistics of the Instances of Evidentiality in the Corpus

#	Descriptive Statistics	Measure
1	The total number of the instances of evidentiality	208
2	Mean instances of evidentiality	10.4
3	Standard deviation instances of evidentiality	3.1
4	Maximum instances of evidentiality	15
6	Minimum instances of evidentiality	6
7	Range of instances of evidentiality	9

We can observe in Table 4 that the corpus is marked rather substantially by the instances of evidentiality, with the mean occurrence of evidentiality being 10.4 and the range being nine. Furthermore, we can see in Table 4 that the minimum occurrence of the instances of evidentiality in the corpus is six, which means that each individual speech in the corpus involves at least six instances of evidentiality. In other words, it is evident from the descriptive statistics summarized in Table 4 that each speech bears the mark of evidentiality. This finding is indicative of the King's attention to evidence, which he incorporates in his speeches on climate change. The finding seems to be particularly relevant to the quite recent debate concerning the presence or, alternatively, absence of evidence in climate change discourse in the UK (Demeritt, 2006; Fløttum & Dahl, 2011; Morgan & Di Giulio, 2018; Russo, 2019; Weik von Mossner, 2021; Wetts, 2023). In particular, the present finding appears to lend indirect support to the literature, which indicates that climate change discourse by the reputable political and corporate actors in UK is, predominantly, evidence-based (Kapranov, 2015a; Russo, 2019; Weik von Mossner, 2021; Wetts, 2023), with the King's speeches on climate change being no exception.

Furthermore, the presence of evidentiality in the corpus appears to corroborate the literature (Shackley & Wynne, 1995; Pieczka & Escobar, 2013; Sébastien et al., 2014; Strassheim & Kettunen, 2014; Levidow & Papaioannou, 2015; Averchenkova et al., 2021), which indicates that evidence-based discourse on climate change is rather typical in the British political tradition. Even though the King is not a politician *per se*, the presence of evidentiality in his speeches on climate change is suggestive of a certain

discursive convergence of his speeches on climate change and those of British political actors representing the major mainstream parties. Additionally, we may argue that the presence of evidentiality in the King's speeches sets his climate change discourse apart from the climate change discourse by British right-wing and the extreme left-wing political actors that, typically, lacks references to evidence, especially science-based evidence (Lockwood, 2018; Forchtner, 2019).

In addition to unpacking the quantitative dimension of evidentiality in the corpus, it seems pertinent to establish how evidentiality is manifested qualitatively in the King's speeches on climate change. Guided by Aikhenvald's (2004) categories of evidentiality, it has been discovered in the present study that evidentiality in the corpus is manifested by the following categories: *assumption*, *hearsay*, *inference*, *non-visual sensory*, *quotative*, and *visual*. These findings are presented in Table 5, which provides the categories of evidentiality associated with climate change and the ratio (as a percentage) of an individual category in relation to the total number of instances of evidentiality in the corpus.

Table 5: The Categories of Evidentiality in the Corpus

#	Categories of Evidentiality	The Ratio of Category of Evidentiality
1	<i>Assumption</i>	25.0 %
2	<i>Hearsay</i>	5.8 %
3	<i>Inference</i>	13.9 %
4	<i>Non-visual sensory</i>	7.2 %
5	<i>Quotative</i>	36.5 %
6	<i>Visual</i>	11.5 %

Let us discuss the categories of evidentiality associated with climate change in the corpus (see Table 5) in more detail. It follows from Table 5 that *quotative* is the most frequent category of evidentiality in the corpus (36.5%), which is followed by *assumption* (25.0%), and *inference* (13.9%). The least utilized categories are *visual* (11.5%), *non-visual sensory* (7.2%), and *hearsay* (5.8%). We thus continue our discussion by focussing on the *quotative* and *assumption* categories, given that they seem to be dominant in the corpus.

Given that *quotative* is the most frequent category of evidentiality in the corpus, we may contend that the King relies substantially on outside sources, which he then incorporates in the discursive fabrics of his speeches on the issue of climate change. The King also quotes himself as the source of evidence, i.e. he employs self-quotations. While we will return to the King's self-quotations later in the discussion, let us illustrate the *quotative* category of evidentiality associated with climate change with an excerpt taken from one of his speeches delivered in 2015:

(1) Through extreme weather events, it is already causing ecosystem collapse, loss of habitation, poverty, starvation, migration and conflict. Some five years ago, the Lancet's Commission on Climate Change described it as 'The greatest threat to human health of the 21st Century' and this warning has been echoed worldwide by the American Medical Association, Academy of Paediatrics, College of Preventative Medicine and Public Health Association, the Australian Medical Association, the World Federation of Public Health Organizations and the World Health Organization. (A speech at a meeting about "Putting Health at the Centre of the Climate Change Debate: The Role of the Health Community in the Run Up to COP21" at the Royal Society in London on 25.02.2015)

In (1), the King uses the so-called direct type of quoting by citing "The greatest threat to human health of the 21st Century", which refers to climate change. He mentions the source of evidence, i.e. the Lancet Commission on Climate Change, and employs the reporting verb "describe" in the simple past tense in order to link the quote to the rest of the clause. It should be specified that the source of evidence is the annual report by the Lancet Commission on Climate Change, which is published by a reputable scientific panel of experts (Watts et al., 2017).

While most instances of evidentiality in the corpus are similar to (1) in the sense that they involve direct citations and, less often, indirect quotations with the explicit reference to the source, there are a number of self-quotations in the corpus such as, for example, "However, I said when I was in Brazil just two months ago that we had 100 months left in which to take the necessary action" (a speech at the Third May Day Business Summit on Climate Change in London on 1.05.2009). The occurrences of self-quotations are not numerous in the corpus, but presumably the King takes the liberty of quoting himself from time to time owing to his active involvement in the process of climate change mitigation, and his personal interest in the issue (Kapranov, 2024a). Given that the King has been delivering speeches on climate change since the early 1990s, when he was still the Prince of Wales, we may posit that he could be considered a person who is quite knowledgeable about the issue. In addition, the King presides over several foundations that carry out climate change-related activities. His self-quotations on the issue of climate change thus seem to be well-grounded in his personal involvement in the matter.

As Table 5 further reveals, the second most frequent category is *assumption*. It should perhaps be mentioned that the title of this category appears to be quite fuzzy, given that Aikhenvald (2004) regards it as the category of evidentiality whose evidence is based upon (i) logical reasoning, (ii) assumption, and/or (iii) general knowledge. In the corpus, the latter two aspects of the category seem to be used the most, namely assumption and general knowledge, respectively. An example of *assumption* is provided by excerpt (2):

(2) Taking action to address an issue like climate change – largely invisible, somewhat nebulous, still rather unpredictable in its precise consequences, is not an easy decision, I know. And I suspect there are quite a few sceptics here still. (A speech at the Celtic Nations Business Summit on Climate Change in Cardiff on 7.11.2007)

In (2), the proposition, which indicates that there are climate change sceptics who claim that the issue of climate change is “largely invisible, somewhat nebulous, still rather unpredictable in its precise consequences”, has its source of evidence in the comment clause “I suspect”. We may argue that the comment clause “I suspect” denotes an assumption rather than states factual knowledge. To reiterate, *assumption* appears very often as the category of evidence in the corpus. Its frequent occurrence may represent a discursive strategy on the part of the King to be perceived as a person who can conjure, reason, and draw inferences. Presumably, this strategy is meant to counterbalance the *quotative* category of evidentiality, which dominates the corpus. Arguably, it is not the King’s intention to be perceived by his audience as overbearing with quotations and references to scientific sources. It is likely that in order to facilitate an impression of being close to the audience he utilizes *assumption* as a manifestation of being on a par with his interlocutors.

The aforementioned contention seems to be reinforced by the finding that general knowledge as an aspect of *assumption* occurs quite frequently in the corpus. This is further illustrated by excerpt (3):

(3) BT and Vodafone have both continued to promote their flexible and home-working models, thereby reducing carbon emissions. Royal Mail has pioneered an innovative payroll-giving scheme with the Woodland Trust that encourages employees to reduce emissions and then offset what is left. And Chess PLC, a small business providing communications services, has rewarded employees who car-share with free parking. Improving energy efficiency and cutting back on the appalling levels of waste are the kind of simple things we can all do. (A speech at the Second May Day Business Summit on Climate Change in London on 1.05.2008)

In (3), the King makes statements about various organisations’ climate change activities by giving the impression that the members of his audience know the same facts, and thus no quotative evidence is required. In other words, we may argue that in (3) the King seeks to be on the same level as his audience by means of referring to the shared knowledge, which needs neither further explanation nor quoting external sources to corroborate it. It is quite feasible that the King, or his speechwriters, use *assumption* that involves general knowledge to create an effect of affinity between the King and his audience.

Finally, let us briefly illustrate the third frequent category of evidentiality associated with climate change, namely *inference*, which accounts for 13.9 % of all instances of evidentiality in the corpus. It should be, perhaps, reiterated that according to Aikhenvald (2004), *inference* typically involves visible and/or tangible outcomes and consequences. An example of *inference* in the corpus is provided by excerpt (4) below.

(4) Actions which are good for the planet are also good for human health: taking a more active approach to transport by walking and cycling and adopting healthy diets reduce greenhouse gas emissions, but also reduce rates of obesity, heart disease, cancer and more saving lives and money. Reductions in air pollution also result with separate and additional benefits to human health. A healthy planet and healthy people are two sides of the same coin. (A speech at The Royal Society in London on 25.02. 2015)

In (4), the King shares his observations and thoughts with the audience, which are, presumably, based upon evidence that the King regards as a result of prior factual knowledge concerning the interplay between climate change mitigation (e.g. “a more active approach to transport by walking and cycling and adopting healthy diets reduce greenhouse gas emissions”) and human health (e.g. “reduce rates of obesity, heart disease, cancer”). In (4), *inference* that is manifested by the King’s statements is not fortuitous but stems from tangible results and facts that are based upon prior observations, reasoning and research. We can argue that *inference* in (4) takes into account perceptible and ponderable outcomes of the intersection of the issue of climate change on the one hand and the topic of human health on the other hand.

5 CONCLUSION

The article has presented and discussed a mixed-methods investigation of evidentiality in the corpus of speeches on the topic of climate change delivered by the King. It has been found that there are recurrent instances of evidentiality in the corpus. The corpus analysis has revealed that evidentiality associated with the issue of climate change is manifested by the following semantic categories: *assumption*, *hearsay*, *inference*, *non-visual sensory*, *quotative*, and *visual*. Most of the instances of evidentiality associated with climate change are represented by the *quotative* category. This finding is interpreted in the study as the King’s discursive convergence on evidence-based climate change discourse by the British political actors, who represent the major mainstream political parties in the UK. Given that *assumption* is the second most frequently used category in the corpus, it is argued that its use forms part of the King’s discursive strategy of presenting himself as equal to his audience.

It can be concluded that the King's speeches on climate change are characterized by multiple instances of *quotative* evidentiality, which convey a tone of respect, seriousness, and trustworthiness. However, the present findings should be taken with caution, given that the study is one of the first attempts to apply the notion of evidentiality to climate change discourse. Despite the limitations of the study associated with the exclusive focus on the categories of evidentiality found in Aikhenvald (2004), the present investigation offers some novel avenues to be explored in future research, which, for instance, could focus on a possible interplay between King Charles III's attitude towards knowledge about climate change and evidentiality associated with climate change.

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POVZETEK

EVIDENCIALNOST V GOVORIH KRALJA KARLA III. O PODNEBNIH SPREMEMBAH

Podnebne spremembe predstavljajo velik izziv za ljudi, okolje, planet nasploh, še zlasti pa za posamezne države (Gardiner, 2024; Yasmin, 2024). Če proučujemo obravnavo te tematike v posameznih državah, lahko na primeru Združenega kraljestva (ZK) opazimo, da so podnebne spremembe stalna tema političnih razprav glavnih političnih akterjev (Kapranov, 2024a; Ruii et al., 2024). Ti podnebne spremembe predstavljajo skozi prizmo znanstvenih dokazov (Sébastien et al., 2014; Strassheim & Kettunen, 2014). Tudi trenutni britanski monarh, kralj Karel III., naj bi po nekaterih navedbah svoje izjave o podnebnih spremembah v javnih govorih in pisnih sporočilih za javnost podkrepljeval z znanstvenimi dokazi (Lovelock & Lovelock, 2013). A vprašanje, kako so dokazi oz. natančneje evidencialnost predstavljeni v govorih kralja Karla III. o podnebnih spremembah, še ni bilo podrobneje obravnavano. Zaradi pomanjkanja tovrstnih raziskav v pričujočem prispevku predstavljamo rezultate raziskave z mešanim metodološkim pristopom, katere cilj je bil (i) prepoznati, (ii) klasificirati in (iii) analizirati kategorije evidencialnosti v korpusu govorov kralja Karla III. o podnebnih spremembah. V raziskavi evidencialnost obravnavamo kot samostojno jezikovno kategorijo (Aikhenvald, 2004), ki razkriva »različne vrste dokazov, s pomočjo katerih posameznik podaja stvarne trditve« (Anderson, 1986: 273). Analiza korpusa na podlagi Aikhenvaldove (2004) klasifikacije evidencialnosti je pokazala, da evidencialnost v govorih kralja Karla III. sodi v več kategorij: (i) domneva, (ii) govorica, (iii) sklepanje, (iv) nevidno zaznavno, (v) citatno in (vi) vidno. Hkrati je v korpusu mogoče zaznati prevladovanje citatne vrste evidencialnosti, kar kaže na to, da govori kralja Karla III. o podnebnih spremembah v veliki meri predstavljajo na dokazih temelječa mnenja o tej temi.

Ključne besede: podnebne spremembe, evidencialnost, govori o podnebnih spremembah, kralj Karel III.

ABSTRACT

EVIDENTIALITY IN CLIMATE CHANGE DISCOURSE BY KING CHARLES III

The issue of climate change is a serious challenge to human beings, the environment, the planet in general and individual countries in particular (Gardiner, 2024; Yasmin, 2024). As far as the issue of climate change in individual countries is concerned, in the United Kingdom (UK), for instance, climate change resurfaces quite routinely as a topic of political debates by the major political actors (Kapranov, 2024a; Ruii et al., 2024), who usually regard it through the lens of scientific evidence (Sébastien et al., 2014; Strassheim & Kettunen, 2014). The current British monarch,

King Charles III, is also reported to use science-based evidence in his public speeches and written communication on the issue of climate change (Lovelock & Lovelock, 2013). Presently, however, little is known about how evidence, and more specifically, evidentiality are represented in King Charles III's speeches on this issue. In light of the lack of studies on evidentiality in King Charles III's speeches on climate change, the article presents a mixed-methods study, which aims to (i) identify, (ii) classify and (iii) analyse the categories of evidentiality in a corpus of speeches on climate change delivered by King Charles III. The study is informed by the view of evidentiality as a category in its own right (Aikhenvald, 2004), which expresses "the kinds of evidence a person has for making factual claims" (Anderson, 1986: 273). Guided by Aikhenvald's (2004) classification of evidentiality, the analysis of the corpus revealed that evidentiality in King Charles III's speeches on climate change was manifested by several categories, namely (i) assumption, (ii) hearsay, (iii) inference, (iv) non-visual sensory, (v) quotative, and (vi) visual. Furthermore, the analysis established that the quotative category of evidentiality was dominant in the corpus. The finding was taken to indicate that King Charles III's speeches on the issue of climate change involved, to a substantial degree, evidence-based judgements on the matter.

Keywords: climate change, evidentiality, speeches on climate change, King Charles III

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Izvirni znanstveni članek



ANALYSE LINGUISTIQUE DES COMMENTAIRES FACEBOOK À PROPOS DES MESURES DE CONFINEMENT EN FRANCE ET EN SLOVÉNIE

1 INTRODUCTION

Entre les années 2019 et 2023, la pandémie de Covid-19, provoquée par le coronavirus SARS-CoV-2, a profondément marqué nos vies. Cet événement mondial majeur a entraîné une maladie généralisée, une mortalité importante, et a exercé une forte pression sur les systèmes de soins de santé à l'échelle mondiale, laissant derrière lui des répercussions profondes. Détectée initialement en Chine, la pandémie s'est rapidement propagée dans le monde entier. Pour en atténuer les effets, de nombreux pays, dont la France et la Slovénie, ont mis en place des mesures de confinement strictes. Ces mesures comprenaient des restrictions de déplacements, la fermeture des commerces non essentiels et l'imposition de directives sanitaires telles que le port obligatoire des masques et la distanciation sociale.

En France, le premier confinement a été instauré le 17 mars 2020, suivi d'un second le 30 octobre 2020, en réponse à une résurgence des cas de Covid-19 après un été relativement calme. Pendant ces deux confinements, les résidents français étaient tenus de rester chez eux « hormis pour quelques activités soumises à attestation » (Sanchez 2021) et de respecter les restrictions décrites ci-dessus. En Slovénie, des mesures similaires ont été mises en œuvre avec un premier confinement annoncé le 20 mars 2020, suivi d'un second à partir du 26 octobre 2020. Dans les deux pays, les confinements ont suscité des réactions contrastées : certains citoyens ont soutenu les mesures comme nécessaires pour protéger la santé publique, tandis que d'autres les ont critiquées comme étant trop strictes et portant atteinte aux libertés individuelles. Mais comment ces opinions sur la gestion de la pandémie ont-elles été exprimées alors que les gens étaient confinés chez eux ? C'est là que les réseaux sociaux interviennent.

À l'ère numérique, où les réseaux sociaux sont au cœur de la communication publique, Facebook est devenu un espace central pour l'expression des opinions et des émotions. Pendant la pandémie de Covid-19, cette plateforme a permis aux gouvernements, aux organisations sociales de santé et aux individus de partager des informations, des

directives et des expériences personnelles en temps réel. Cependant, Facebook a également été utilisé pour la diffusion de désinformations et d'opinions polarisées. Les objectifs de cette recherche peuvent donc être résumés par les questions suivantes :

1. Avec quelles structures linguistiques les utilisateurs français et slovènes de Facebook ont-ils exprimé leurs émotions et leurs opinions sur les mesures de confinement adoptées pendant l'épidémie de Covid-19 ?
2. Comment les réactions de ces mêmes utilisateurs de Facebook ont-elles changé du premier au second confinement sur le plan linguistique ?

Pour répondre à ces questions, nous avons réalisé deux types d'analyse : (1) une classification des sentiments pour identifier les émotions exprimées dans les commentaires Facebook des utilisateurs français et slovènes, et (2) une analyse linguistique approfondie pour examiner les structures linguistiques présentes dans les commentaires Facebook et comprendre les stratégies de communication et la dynamique des discussions en ligne.

Le présent article est organisé en cinq sections, chacune s'appuyant sur la précédente pour fournir une analyse complète du sujet de recherche. Après l'introduction, qui pose les bases de l'ensemble de cet article, la section suivante présente le cadre théorique. Dans la troisième section, nous détaillons les méthodes de recherche utilisées pour collecter et traiter nos données, et nous abordons les limitations rencontrées au cours de notre recherche. La quatrième section constitue le cœur de notre article, puisqu'elle tente de répondre à nos questions de recherche. Enfin, dans la conclusion, nous résumons les principaux résultats et discutons de leurs implications plus larges.

2 CADRE THEORIQUE

Compte tenu du fait que notre base de données est composée de commentaires provenant d'une plateforme de réseaux sociaux, il est nécessaire de concentrer notre attention sur le phénomène linguistique qui caractérise la communication en ligne : le discours électronique médié (ci-après dénommé DEM). Ce nouveau type de discours, décrit par Rachel Panckhurst comme faisant partie de la « communication médiée par ordinateur » (CMO) (2006, 345), se distingue des autres formes du langage par ses spécificités lexicales, syntaxiques et graphiques. Les discours qui seraient classés comme faisant partie du DEM sont « quasi dépourvus des marqueurs para-verbaux et non-verbaux [...] qui [figurent normalement] dans une situation d'échange verbal conversationnel » (ibid., 347). Naturellement, les internautes tentent de corriger cette absence en les émulant à l'aide de différents procédés et signes. Sur la base de divers articles et travaux scientifiques rédigés à ce sujet (Anis 2003 ; Panckhurst 2006 ; Mourlhon-Dallies 2007 ; Farzindar et Roche 2013), nous proposons la liste ci-dessous, qui contient quelques-uns des procédés et signes caractéristiques du DEM :

- l'utilisation des binettes (émoticônes) et des GIFs pour exprimer des émotions - 😊 ;
- la présence des acronymes – *MDR* (*mort de rire* = *très drôle*) ;
- l'étirement graphique¹ et l'écriture des mots uniquement en lettres majuscules – *ssssuuuuuuppppeeeerrrr* ;
- l'utilisation des néographies² – *jvois* ou *bcp* ;
- l'usage fréquent du présent de l'indicatif et la présence diminuée des verbes.

Ensuite, étant donné que l'expression des opinions et des sentiments joue un rôle important dans cette recherche, il convient également de se pencher sur le domaine de l'analyse des sentiments ou *opinion mining*. Le rôle de ce domaine de recherche du traitement automatique des langues (TAL ou TALN) est

[d'analyser] les opinions, les sentiments, les évaluations, les appréciations, les attitudes et les émotions des personnes à l'égard d'entités telles que les produits, les services, les organisations, les individus, les problèmes les événements et leurs attitudes. (Liu 2012, 1, notre traduction)³

En outre, il faut savoir que l'analyse des sentiments est étudiée principalement à trois niveaux (ibid., 4-5), énumérés ci-dessous. Cependant, compte tenu de la nature de nos données, nous avons décidé que notre analyse se concentrerait uniquement sur le premier niveau :

1. Le niveau du document, où le but est d'évaluer le sentiment général d'un document.
2. Le niveau de la phrase, où l'objectif est d'identifier le sentiment (positif, négatif ou neutre) dans les phrases individuelles.
3. Le niveau de l'entité et de l'aspect, où l'on analyse l'opinion elle-même directement afin de découvrir les sentiments sur les entités et leurs aspects.

Enfin, étant donné que l'un des objectifs de cette recherche est d'identifier et d'analyser les structures linguistiques utilisées par les internautes français et slovènes de Facebook dans leurs commentaires, il est important de faire quelques remarques sur les catégories d'analyse linguistique. Premièrement, bien que l'étude de la linguistique couvre six disciplines majeures : la phonétique, la phonologie, la morphologie, la syntaxe, la sémantique et la pragmatique (Riegel, Pellat et Rioul 1999, 20-26), nous avons limité le champ de notre analyse à deux de ces disciplines, à savoir la syntaxe et la pragmatique.

1 L'allongement ou la répétition de caractères.

2 C'est-à-dire, les graphismes qui s'écartent de la norme orthographique.

3 Texte original : "Sentiment analysis, also called *opinion mining*, is the field of study that analyzes people's opinion, sentiments, evaluations, appraisals, attitudes, and emotions towards entities such as products, services, organizations, individuals, issues, events, topics, and their attributes." (Liu 2012, 1)

Deuxièmement, avant de passer à la présentation de la méthodologie, nous souhaitons faire une remarque sur la terminologie linguistique utilisée dans cet article. Afin d'avancer une analyse comparative plus concise et accessible, nous avons décidé de baser notre analyse linguistique sur le système grammatical français. Cela signifie que, bien qu'il existe certaines différences syntaxiques entre le slovène et le français, les « spécificités linguistiques » slovènes – par exemple, *nepopolne povedi* comme *pastavek* (phrase averbale) et *polstavek* (phrase contenant une forme verbale impersonnelle) (Toporišič 2000, 488) – ne joueront aucun rôle significatif dans notre analyse. Plus précisément, dans le domaine de la syntaxe, en ce qui concerne l'analyse de la structure des phrases, nous avons classé les phrases qui figurent dans les commentaires analysés en trois groupes : phrase simple, phrase complexe et « autres structures syntaxiques ». Bien que les définitions de ces structures diffèrent légèrement entre les deux langues, les définitions françaises suivantes servent de base à notre analyse :

- une phrase simple « contient un seul verbe conjugué [et ainsi] forme une proposition. » (Delatour et al. 2004, 10). Nous avons pris la décision de classer dans ce groupe uniquement des phrases avec un verbe conjugué, ce qui signifie que les phrases elliptiques ont été placées dans la catégorie « autres structures syntaxiques » ;
- une phrase complexe est caractérisée par la présence d'un constituant phrastique en dépendance qui est intégré dans la structure plus large soit par la coordination, par la subordination ou par la juxtaposition ;
- sous l'appellation « autres structures syntaxiques », nous avons classé les phrases infinitives, les groupes nominaux, les phrases elliptiques, les interjections, et deux structures syntaxiques propres au slovène, à savoir *pastavek* et *polstavek*.

Similairement, pour l'analyse des types de phrases dans les commentaires Facebook analysés, nous nous sommes concentrés sur les quatre types de phrases que le linguiste américain Noam Chomsky définit comme les types fondamentaux, à savoir la phrase déclarative ou assertive, la phrase exclamative, la phrase interrogative et la phrase impérative (Riegel, Pellat et Rioul 1999, 386). Cela signifie que les autres types de phrases présentes dans la grammaire slovène n'ont pas été pris en compte.

3 MÉTHODOLOGIE

Dotés d'une compréhension plus approfondie de quelques éléments clés de notre analyse, nous pouvons maintenant présenter la méthodologie employée pour rassembler, préparer et analyser les données utilisées et atteindre les objectifs de recherche précédemment annoncés. Par ailleurs, il convient de noter que notre méthodologie s'inspire de diverses œuvres scientifiques, telles que l'article sur l'analyse des sentiments d'Alexandra Balažur (2013, 123-124) pour le prétraitement des données, et plusieurs œuvres traitant de

l'analyse d'opinions et l'analyse des sentiments (Mencarini et al. 2019, 703-705 ; Liu 2010, 10 ; Zhou et al. 2013, 558 ; Zwitter Vitez 2020, 160 ; Zwitter Vitez 2021, 94-95) pour le processus de classement des sentiments.

3.1 Compilation des corpus

Tout d'abord, nous avons compilé quatre corpus distincts de commentaires Facebook : deux en français (1Conf-FR et 2Conf-FR) et deux en slovène (1Conf-SLO et 2Conf-SLO). Chacun des corpus d'une paire était assigné à l'un des deux confinements.

Les commentaires Facebook trouvés dans ces corpus proviennent d'affichages Facebook de journaux ou de médias nationaux partageant leurs articles annonçant les confinements ou discutant des mesures supplémentaires liées aux confinements. Souhaitant travailler dans des environnements comparatifs, nous avons décidé de rassembler nos données à partir de journaux ou d'autres sources d'information nationalement établies. Nous avons donc sélectionné le quotidien *Le Monde* pour la France et la plateforme de journal en ligne de l'organisation nationale de diffusion publique RTVSLO.si pour la Slovénie.

Une fois les affichages Facebook sélectionnés (les liens vers ceux-ci peuvent être trouvés dans la bibliographie sous la section « Affichages Facebook »), nous avons trié les commentaires. Facebook offre aux utilisateurs trois options pour trier les messages dans la section des commentaires : (1) en affichant en premier les commentaires d'amis et ceux ayant entraîné le plus d'interactions (option *plus pertinents*), (2) en affichant tous les commentaires avec les plus récents en premier (option *les plus récents*) et (3) en affichant tous les commentaires, y compris le spam potentiel, mais avec les commentaires les plus pertinents apparaissant en premier (option *tous les commentaires*). Nous avons opté pour la dernière option, même si celle-ci pourrait conduire à un biais d'échantillonnage. Une fois le tir effectué, les 50 premiers messages de premier niveau ont été retenus, ce qui signifie que les commentaires de second niveau (c'est-à-dire les réponses) ont été ignorés.

Enfin, nous avons effectué la classification de subjectivité. Ce processus, au cours duquel nous avons manuellement classé les commentaires comme étant à-propos ou hors sujet selon les paramètres décrits ci-dessous, nous a permis de filtrer les commentaires afin d'éliminer tout spam potentiel, les commentaires hors sujet ou ceux qui faisaient partie d'un débat interne.

- Les commentaires étaient considérés à-propos si :
 - o l'auteur parle de la pandémie de Covid-19 ;
 - o l'auteur exprime une opinion ou un sentiment sur les mesures de sécurité mises en place pendant la pandémie (par exemple, le confinement) ;
 - o l'auteur exprime une opinion ou un sentiment à l'égard des hommes et femmes politiques qui étaient au pouvoir à cette époque ;
 - o l'auteur exprime une opinion ou un sentiment à l'égard du climat politique de l'époque (par exemple, les manifestations).

- Les commentaires étaient classés hors sujet si :
 - o ils étaient incompréhensibles, généralement en raison d'un manque de contexte ;
 - o l'auteur ne parle pas de la pandémie ou des mesures de sécurité mises en place pendant la pandémie.

Une fois les différentes étapes du tri terminées, les corpus destinés à l'analyse contenaient en tout 170 commentaires environ.

3.2 Prétraitement des données

Avant de passer à l'annotation de l'opinion et à l'analyse linguistique des commentaires Facebook, nous les avons prétraités afin de normaliser la langue. Ce processus, inspiré de l'article « Sentiment Analysis in Social Media Texts » d'Alexandra Balahur (2013, 123-124), comprenait les trois étapes suivantes :

- l'uniformisation de la ponctuation : les signes de ponctuation répétés ont été remplacés par une seule occurrence du signe utilisé ;
- l'uniformisation de l'orthographe : les lettres répétées ont été réduites et les mots mal orthographiés ont été corrigés ;
- tokenisation : les commentaires plus longs (c'est-à-dire contenant plus d'une phrase) ont été divisés en token (c'est-à-dire en phrases isolées) sur la base des espaces et des signes de ponctuation.

Les données traitées, présentées dans des corpus distincts de ceux mentionnés dans la section précédente, faisaient l'objet de notre analyse syntaxique. Plus précisément, elles nous ont aidé à déterminer plus facilement la structure syntaxique de chaque phrase, ainsi que leur type, tandis que les données brutes étaient utilisées pour les autres analyses.

3.3 Annotation de l'opinion

Ensuite, nous avons procédé à la classification des sentiments (Liu 2010, 10 ; Zhou et al. 2013, 558 ; Zwitter Vitez 2020, 160). À ce stade, nous avons classé les commentaires précédemment jugés comme étant à-propos en trois catégories. La première catégorie, qui comprend les commentaires positifs (exemple 1), est appelée « Soutien ». La deuxième, qui comprend les commentaires négatifs (exemple 2), est appelée « Désaccord ». Enfin, les commentaires qui ne pouvaient être qualifiés ni positifs ni négatifs (exemple 3) ont été inclus dans la troisième catégorie « Neutre ».

(1) ⁴ *Enfin des mesures et des engagements clairs et adaptes pour aider mes concitoyens à prendre une large part dans cette guerre en adoptant un comportement responsable et altruiste!!!!*

4 Tous les commentaires originaux proposés comme exemples sont reproduits sans corrections.

(2) *On été en guerre quand il y a eu l'attaque du Bataclan ou encore l'attentat sur la promenade des Anglais, et pourtant aucune frontière n'a été fermée..*

(3) *Confinement n'est pas un mot très courant. Je trouve que le "rester chez-soi" est plus clair. Très bon discours.*

Pour chaque commentaire de notre corpus, nous avons fourni un effort concentré pour déterminer l'émotion ou la réaction prédominante exprimée par l'auteur.

3.4 Analyse linguistique

Enfin, nous avons effectué l'analyse linguistique qui s'est déroulée aux niveaux textuel, syntaxique et lexical. Au niveau textuel, nous avons évalué la longueur de chaque commentaire, en comptant le nombre de caractères, y compris les espaces blancs, les signes de ponctuation et les caractères spéciaux (tels que les binettes).

En passant au niveau syntaxique, nous avons d'abord déterminé la structure syntaxique des phrases (simple, complexe ou autre) qui figurent dans les commentaires de notre corpus, puis analysé les types de phrases (déclarative, interrogative, exclamative, injonctive).

Au niveau lexical, nous avons identifié la présence éventuelle d'éléments lexicaux indiquant les émotions de l'auteur. Par exemple, les mots « clounisme » et « cirque » dans l'exemple 4 suggèrent la présence d'un sentiment négatif dans le commentaire proposé.

(4) *une clounisme totale, une cirque..*

Lors de notre analyse linguistique, nous avons également prêté une attention particulière à la présence éventuelle de signes ou de processus propres au discours électronique médié (DEM), à savoir les binettes (émoticônes), les GIFs, les acronymes et le mot-dièse (exemple 5). En effet, Farzindar et Roche écrivent que « les spécificités [graphiques] (émoticônes, abréviations, répétitions de caractères etc.) véhiculent des informations précieuses pour l'analyse de sentiment » (2013, 8).

(5) *C'est ça ton confinement ?* 😊😊😊

En ce qui concerne l'analyse pragmatique des commentaires Facebook, il est important de noter qu'elle s'inspire de la théorie des actes de langage d'Austin. Cette théorie, qui constitue l'un des sous-domaines de la pragmatique, examine comment les mots sont utilisés non seulement pour transmettre des informations, mais aussi pour accomplir des actions (par exemple, exprimer des souhaits et des excuses, faire des promesses, avertir, etc.). Dans le livre *How to Do Things With Words*, Austin affirme que tout énoncé accomplit les trois actes de langage suivants :

1. L'acte locutoire est un acte de parole. À ce niveau, une personne (locuteur ou écrivain) produit un énoncé sémantiquement complet (Austin 1962, 108).
2. L'acte illocutoire fait référence à l'intention qui sous-tend un énoncé à sens plein précédemment prononcé, c'est-à-dire ce que le locuteur veut obtenir avec cet énoncé (par exemple, informer, commander ou avertir) (ibid., 108).
3. L'acte perlocutoire fait référence à l'effet (c'est-à-dire l'émotion, la pensée ou l'action) que le locuteur ou l'auteur d'un énoncé produit sur l'interlocuteur ou le lecteur (ibid.).

Cette partie de notre analyse est basée principalement sur l'acte illocutoire. Même si un commentaire peut accomplir plusieurs actes illocutoires, nous nous sommes concentrés dans notre analyse, uniquement sur celui que nous avons jugé être le prédominant.

En outre, il est important de noter que les résultats de l'analyse pragmatique seront présentés séparément de ceux des autres niveaux de l'analyse linguistique, que nous allons nommer « analyse grammaticale ». Cette distinction est nécessaire car les aspects pragmatiques nécessitent une approche différente pour mettre en lumière les intentions des utilisateurs de Facebook et les nuances de leur communication. En séparant ce niveau de l'analyse linguistique des autres, nous pouvons offrir une compréhension plus approfondie des réactions des internautes aux mesures de confinement. Commençons donc par comparer les résultats issus des différents niveaux de notre analyse grammaticale.

Pour mieux visualiser toutes les étapes de l'analyse, nous avons réalisé le tableau (1). L'exemple est basé sur l'un des commentaires trouvés dans l'un de nos corpus français.

Tableau 1 : Les annotations linguistiques du commentaire choisi.

Ce n'est pas ça un confinement ! C'est juste une restriction partielle de nos droits de liberté. Nuance.	
Opinion	désaccord
Nombre de signes	104
Structure de phrase	simple (3)
Type de phrase	exclamative (1) ; déclarative (2)
Lexique	restriction partielle de nos droits de liberté
Signes DEM	Non
Niveau pragmatique (acte illocutoire)	assertion

Pour résumer notre processus méthodologique : une fois que tous les commentaires ont été annotés, nous avons premièrement examiné les trois catégories d'opinion (soutien, désaccord, neutre) à tous les niveaux d'annotation linguistique pour chaque langue séparément. Enfin, nous avons comparé nos résultats pour identifier les

différences ou similitudes linguistiques entre les commentaires rédigés dans chaque langue.

3.5 Limitations

Avant de poursuivre, abordons les limitations qui se sont présentées au long de notre processus méthodologique. Étant donné que les données compilées proviennent des réseaux sociaux, nous avons dû tenir compte de la présence potentielle d'*astroturfing* (aussi appelé similitantisme). Ce processus implique « la simulation de l'implication populaire par des opérateurs rémunérés » souvent sollicités par des États, des entreprises ou même des groupes politiques réactionnaires (Stadler cité dans Santos Bruss 2023, 332, notre traduction)⁵. En termes plus simples, il s'agit de la pratique consistant à créer artificiellement l'impression de soutien ou d'opposition pour un événement ou une idée, notamment à travers la création de faux profils sur les réseaux sociaux. Ce phénomène pose un problème significatif, particulièrement dans la collecte de données, car il peut entraîner l'inclusion de commentaires inauthentiques ou manipulés dans notre base de données, compromettant ainsi leur intégrité. Cela pourrait conduire à une représentation biaisée de l'opinion publique ou du discours, affectant par conséquent la précision de notre analyse et menant à des interprétations ou conclusions biaisées.

Lorsque nous discutons des données, nous devons également parler de la taille de l'échantillon, ou du nombre de commentaires inclus dans notre étude. Étant donné que la population française est plus grande que la population slovène, une disparité dans le volume des réactions entre les deux est attendue, même sur les réseaux sociaux. Lors du processus de compilation des données, il s'est avéré que, alors que les Slovènes et les Français utilisaient Facebook pour commenter les mesures de sécurité mises en place pendant la pandémie de Covid-19, le nombre de commentaires slovènes était significativement plus petit par rapport aux commentaires français. Pour compiler une base de données comparable de commentaires dans les deux langues, nous avons par conséquent élargi la base de nos sources slovènes pour inclure plusieurs articles discutant des annonces de confinements et des mesures connexes, telles que le confinement à domicile ou la transition vers le télétravail.

4 RÉSULTATS

Après avoir présenté le cadre théorique et l'approche méthodologique, nous pouvons procéder à l'examen des résultats issus de nos analyses. Commençons par la répartition des opinions dans les commentaires Facebook de nos corpus.

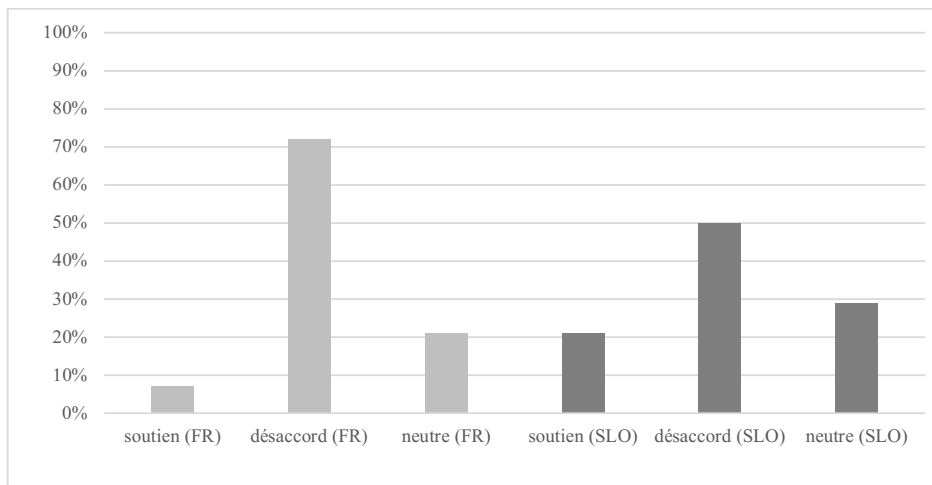
⁵ Texte original : “[...] the faking of grassroots involvement by grassroots operatives.” (Stadler cité dans Santos Bruss 2023, 332).

4.1 Analyse des opinions

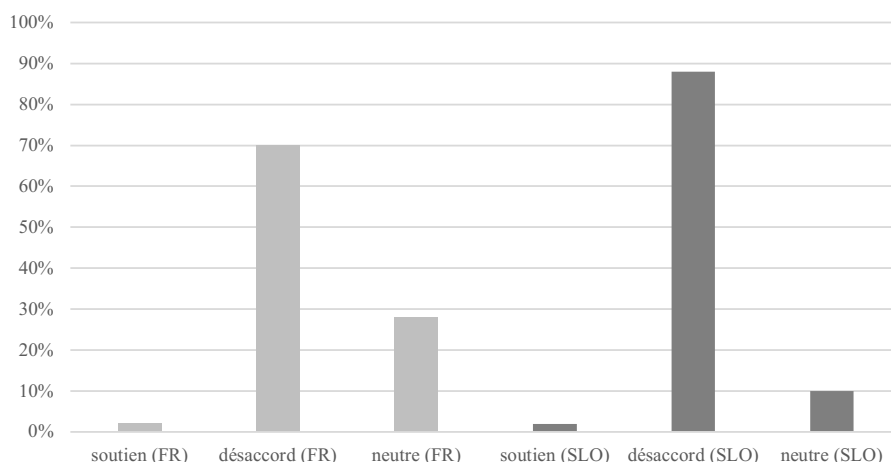
Les graphiques (1) et (2) montrent la proportion des commentaires exprimant le soutien, le désaccord ou la neutralité à l'égard des confinements et des mesures de sécurité liées à ceux-ci.

En observant les résultats, on constate que les deux groupes linguistiques présentent des similitudes importantes dans la distribution des opinions. Les données révèlent qu'au cours des deux confinements, la grande majorité des utilisateurs de Facebook dans les deux pays ont réagi négativement à ceux-ci. De plus, le pourcentage de commentaires de soutien, qui ne dépasse jamais 30 %, a sensiblement diminué entre le premier et le second confinement dans les deux environnements linguistiques.

Cependant, les deux graphiques montrent aussi quelques différences dans la distribution des opinions entre les commentaires slovènes et français. D'une part, les corpus français présentent une distribution assez similaire lorsqu'on les compare. D'autre part, les corpus slovènes indiquent une différence significative dans la distribution des opinions parmi les trois catégories. En effet, le corpus 1Conf-SLO, présenté dans le graphique (1), montre une distribution uniforme entre toutes les catégories d'opinion, ce qui signifie que la différence en pourcentage entre les trois catégories d'opinion est relativement faible. En revanche, le graphique (2) révèle une variation considérable dans la répartition des commentaires entre les trois catégories d'opinion, avec un écart de 86% entre la catégorie de désaccord et celle de soutien.



Graphique 1 : Distribution de l'opinion dans les commentaires français et slovènes traitant du premier confinement (corpus 1Conf-FR et 1Conf-SLO)



Graphique 2 : Distribution de l'opinion dans les commentaires français et slovènes traitant du second confinement (corpus 2Conf-FR et 2Conf-SLO)

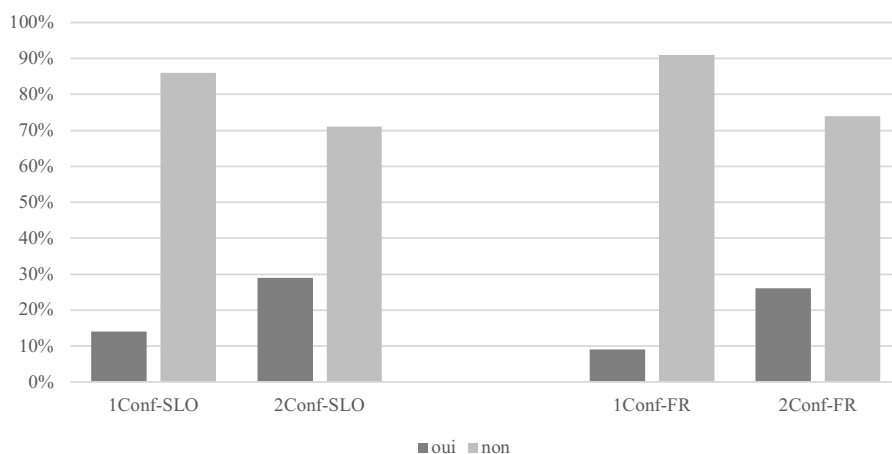
Explorons maintenant quelles autres similitudes ou différences se cachent dans les deux groupes de commentaires Facebook au niveau linguistique.

4.2 Analyse linguistique

Par souci de brièveté, cette section présentera les résultats des analyses linguistiques des commentaires Facebook français et slovène en les comparant. Cette approche nous permettra de mettre en évidence comment les réactions des internautes français et slovènes aux événements clés de la pandémie de Covid-19 diffèrent ou s'alignent et comment elles ont évolué entre les deux confinements.

4.2.1 Analyse grammaticale

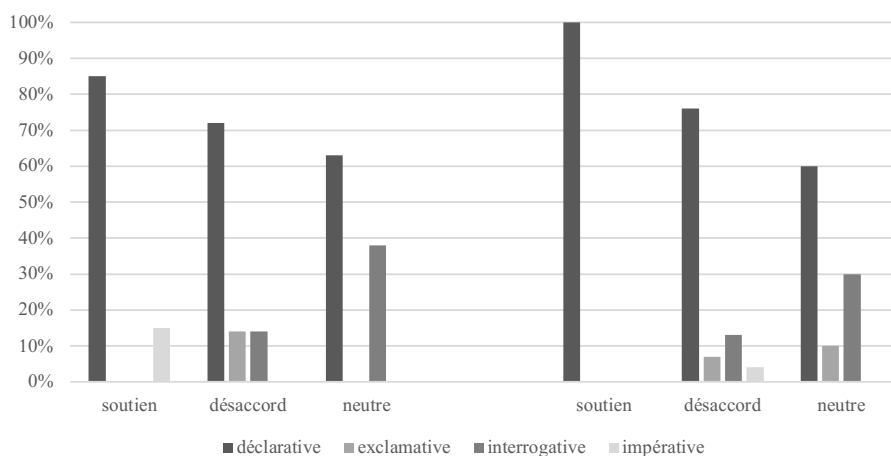
Les analyses grammaticales révèlent que les deux groupes linguistiques présentent des similitudes dans deux domaines : la fréquence d'utilisation des signes paralinguistiques et la distribution des types de phrases. Comme l'illustre le graphique (3), on constate une augmentation de l'utilisation des éléments paralinguistiques entre les deux confinements dans les corpus slovène et français. Il est également surprenant de noter que tant dans les corpus slovènes que dans les corpus français, les éléments paralinguistiques ne figurent pas très souvent dans les commentaires.



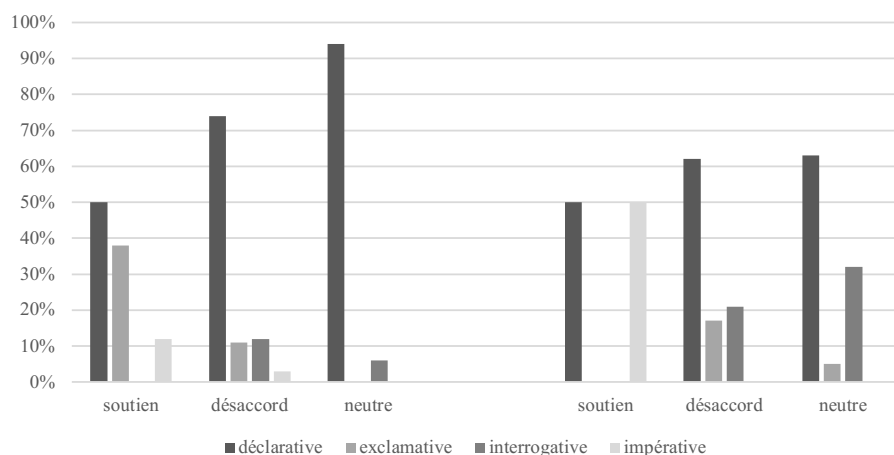
Graphique 3 : Éléments paralinguistiques dans les commentaires Facebook

Comme indiqué précédemment, certaines similitudes peuvent également être observées au niveau syntaxique, notamment dans la distribution des types de phrases dans les commentaires Facebook analysés. En observant les graphiques (4) et (5) ci-dessous, on peut constater que les phrases déclaratives sont le type de phrase le plus courant dans les quatre corpus.

Malgré ce point commun, plusieurs différences entre les commentaires Facebook slovènes et français en fonction des types de phrase sont observables. Premièrement, lors du premier confinement, les utilisateurs de Facebook slovènes ont exprimé leur soutien uniquement à l'aide de phrases déclaratives et impératives, tandis que les utilisateurs français ont aussi utilisé des phrases exclamatives.

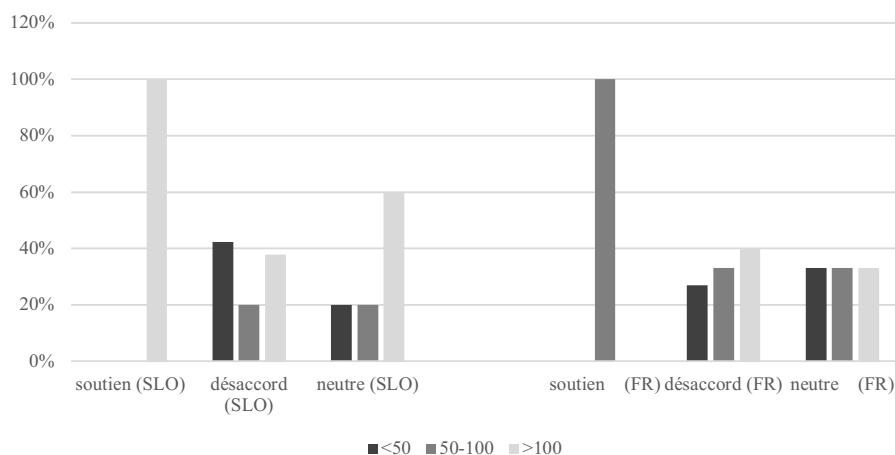


Graphique 4 : Types de phrases dans les commentaires des corpus 1Conf-SLO (à gauche) et 2Conf-SLO (à droite)



Graphique 5 : Types de phrases dans les commentaires des corpus 1Conf-FR (à gauche) et 2Conf-FR (à droite)

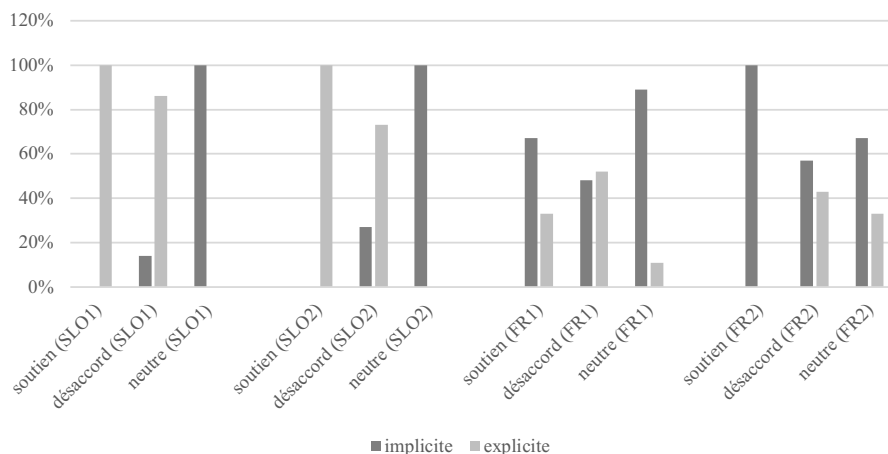
Deuxièmement, un schéma similaire est observé lors du second confinement. Dans le corpus slovène (2Conf-SLO), les commentaires exprimant le soutien sont composés exclusivement de phrases déclaratives, alors que dans le corpus français (2Conf-FR), nous pouvons observer une répartition égale entre les phrases déclaratives et impératives. Troisièmement, une différence intéressante, qui pourrait sans doute être classée comme une similitude, peut être observée dans la catégorie du désaccord. Dans cette catégorie d'opinion, les commentaires Facebook français du premier confinement, ainsi que les commentaires slovènes du deuxième confinement, étaient composés des quatre types de phrases.



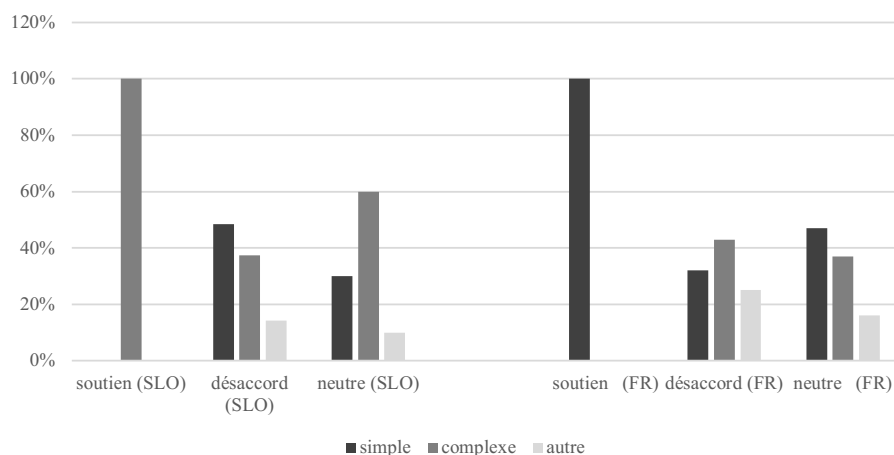
Graphique 6 : Comparaison de la longueur des commentaires français et slovènes traitant du seconde confinement (corpus 2Conf-SLO et corpus 2Conf-FR)

Les différences linguistiques les plus marquantes entre les commentaires français et slovènes se manifestent aux niveaux lexical, syntaxique et textuel. Sur le plan textuel, la divergence la plus notable dans la longueur des commentaires entre les deux langues est observée pendant le deuxième confinement (voir le graphique 6 ci-dessus). Les commentaires slovènes exprimant le soutien sont exclusivement composés de plus de 100 caractères, tandis que la longueur de ceux en français se situe entre 50 et 100 caractères. Dans la catégorie du désaccord, la majorité des commentaires français dépasse 100 caractères, contrairement aux commentaires slovènes qui contiennent moins de 50 caractères.

Au niveau lexical, les différences entre les deux langues se retrouvent dans les quatre corpus pour toutes les catégories d'opinion (voir le graphique 7). Dans les corpus français, la majorité, voire la totalité des commentaires de soutien, comme c'est le cas dans le corpus 2Conf-FR, manquent d'éléments lexicaux explicites révélant l'état émotionnel ou l'opinion de l'auteur. À l'inverse, tous les commentaires de soutien dans les corpus slovènes contiennent au moins un tel élément lexical. Une disparité similaire se retrouve dans la catégorie du désaccord, où les commentaires slovènes expriment cette émotion de manière explicite, alors que les commentaires français le font principalement de manière implicite.



Graphique 7 : Comparaison du lexique dans les commentaires slovènes et français (corpus 1Conf-SLO, 2Conf-SLO, 1Conf-FR et 2ConfFR)



Graphique 8 : Comparaison des structures syntaxiques présentes dans les commentaires français et slovènes traitant du second confinement (corpus 2Conf-SLO et 2Conf-FR)

Enfin, en termes de structure syntaxique des phrases, les plus grandes différences entre les commentaires français et slovènes sont observées dans les corpus liés au second confinement (2Conf-FR et 2Conf-SLO – voir graphique 8). Les commentaires slovènes des catégories de soutien et de neutralité sont principalement, voire intégralement constitués de phrases complexes, tandis que les commentaires français dans les mêmes catégories d’opinion sont majoritairement composés de phrases simples. De plus, dans la catégorie du désaccord, les commentaires français sont principalement composés de phrases complexes, alors que les commentaires slovènes de cette catégorie d’opinion sont majoritairement constitués de phrases simples.

Après avoir comparé les résultats de l’analyse grammaticale des commentaires Facebook français et slovènes, il est maintenant essentiel de se pencher sur une dimension plus profonde de la communication : l’analyse pragmatique. Cette approche nous a permis d’aller au-delà des mots pour explorer les intentions, les motivations et les contextes sociaux qui sous-tendent ces commentaires, offrant ainsi une perspective complémentaire et enrichissante aux observations grammaticales précédemment obtenues.

4.2.2 Analyse pragmatique

Les commentaires de soutien et d’opinion neutre présentent les plus grandes similitudes entre les utilisateurs français et slovènes de Facebook. Au début de la pandémie, les commentaires de soutien étaient plus fréquents dans les deux pays, exprimant des sentiments de solidarité et saluant les mesures strictes. Les Français encourageaient leurs pairs à respecter les consignes pour le bien commun (exemple 6), tandis que les Slovènes félicitaient ceux qui respectaient déjà les règles (exemple 7).

(6) *Quand on voit toutes les critiques contre les mesures, c'est à tomber par terre! Avant-hier il y avait foule dans les rues et les magasins, maintenant on critique que la mesure n'est pas suffisante. Faut savoir! C'est vrai que ces mesures sont tardives, mais c'est le moment de s'y mettre et de dépenser son énergie à défendre la population contre le virus, pas de se monter les uns contre les autres.*

Acte illocutoire : l'auteur tente de persuader les lecteurs de concentrer leur énergie sur le respect des mesures instaurées contre le coronavirus et la promotion de l'unité, plutôt que sur la critique de celles-ci.

(7) *"Strokovnjaki" so napravili največ težav. Vsaka čast tistim, ki so upoštevali navodila. Isto velja za politike ki so novi člani vlade. No morda so šli pogledat v Italijo kako se ukrepa.*

Acte illocutoire : l'auteur félicite ceux qui ont suivi les instructions et les nouveaux membres du gouvernement, soutenant ainsi implicitement leurs actions.

Les éléments lexicaux exprimant les émotions mentionnées incluaient des adjectifs comme « clair » et « pravilen » (correct), ainsi que des verbes comme « strinjati se » (être d'accord) et des interjections comme « bravo ».

Cependant, lors du second confinement, les commentaires de soutien sont devenus rares et plus critiques, reflétant la fatigue et la frustration croissantes des deux nations. En France, les commentaires insistaient sur le maintien de l'ordre social (exemple 8), tandis qu'en Sloénie, ils critiquaient l'hystérie publique (exemple 9).

(8) *Arrêtons de nous plaindre. L appel a la grève ou au manif n'est pas une solution.*

Acte illocutoire : l'auteur déconseille de se plaindre et de protester.

(9) *Več kot tragikomično je, da se s širitvijo zdravstvene krize in omejevalnih ukrepov nespamet in histerija ljudi vsak dan bolj povečuje. Bolj, kot se zaostrujejo prepotrebni ukrepi, bolj se razkriva razvejanost in nerazsodnost ljudi, ki napredajo same neumnosti, tudi in celo takšne, da vlado sprašujejo, kaj bodo ob zaprtju občinskih meja jedli njihovi štirinožni ljubljenci 🤔*

Acte illocutoire : l'auteur critique la réaction du public aux mesures jugées nécessaires, en soulignant l'irrationalité et l'hystérie du public.

Les commentaires neutres, quant à eux, cherchaient surtout à obtenir des clarifications sur les mesures de confinement et à fournir des remarques impartiales à leur sujet. Pendant le premier confinement, les utilisateurs de Facebook des deux pays questionnaient la logique de certaines mesures sans prendre de position claire pour ou contre elles (exemples 10 et 11). Lors du second confinement, ces commentaires ont exprimé davantage de doutes et de préoccupations, demandant plus de transparence de la part des autorités (exemples 12 et 13).

(10) *Respecter les distances de 1 metre! dans les transports ca va pas etre facile.*

Acte illocutoire : l'auteur attire l'attention sur les difficultés éventuelles à respecter les mesures sanitaires imposées par le gouvernement.

(11) *Kaj pa poivodnje v tovarnah*

Acte illocutoire : l'auteur interroge sur le degré de production dans les usines.

(12) *J'ai pas regarder, vous avez le droit d'aller au travail ou pas ?*

Acte illocutoire : l'auteur souhaite obtenir des précisions sur les personnes autorisées à se rendre au travail.

(13) *Kaj pa otroke ki peljemo v sosednjo občino na inštrukcije? Verjamem da niso samo naši ki jih potrebujejo (inštrukcije) s tem internetnim prodajanjem znanja?*

Acte illocutoire : l'auteur s'interroge sur les spécificités de la restriction des déplacements dans la région statistique de résidence. Plus particulièrement, sur la manière dont elle s'applique aux enfants ayant besoin d'un soutien scolaire dans les municipalités voisines.

Si la catégorie des commentaires neutres ne donne que peu d'indications significatives, il en va tout autrement pour les commentaires exprimant le désaccord. En effet, ces commentaires révèlent les plus grandes différences entre les deux groupes linguistiques. Même s'ils sont les plus fréquents dans les quatre corpus, ils montrent une intensification du vocabulaire entre les deux confinements. Lors du premier confinement, les critiques en France ciblaient principalement la sévérité des mesures (exemple 14). Au second confinement, elles ont évolué vers la moquerie et le sarcasme (exemples 15 et 16), et incluaient des expressions comme « c'est une farce » ou « à quand la troisième vague », indiquant un mécontentement profond et une perte de confiance dans les actions du gouvernement.

(14) *En bref, c'est pas un confinement mais uniquement des réductions de libertés.*

Acte illocutoire : l'auteur critique les mesures gouvernementales contre le coronavirus qu'il juge être extrêmement restrictives.

(15) *Je suis prête pour la 2eme vague, j'ai pris ma planche de surf.*

Acte illocutoire : l'auteur se moque des actions du gouvernement en assimilant le confinement aux vacances.

(16) *C'est un apéro de reconfinement ça on bosse tt le monde a l'école au taf c'est une farce ?*

Acte illocutoire : l'auteur ridiculise les mesures gouvernementales.

En Slovénie, une tendance similaire s'est manifestée, mais avec une intensité plus marquée. En effet, les critiques se sont transformées en menaces directes et en insultes

violentes, avec des termes comme « butalska vlada » (gouvernement débile) ou « psihopati » (psychopathes) pour désigner les membres du gouvernement. Des menaces explicites, telles que celle visant le Premier ministre slovène de l'époque (exemple 17), montrent une colère exacerbée et une animosité profonde, surpassant celle observée en France.

(17) *Tud za tebe vampir Janosh se bo našel srebrni metek in kol za v srce, če ga sploh imaš, ker možganov nimaš, pokveka* 🤩🤩🤩

Acte illocutoire : l'auteur menace le premier ministre slovène de l'époque.

5 CONCLUSION

L'objectif principal de cet article était de comparer les réactions des utilisateurs français et slovènes de Facebook face aux mesures de confinement pendant la pandémie de Covid-19. En observant les différences et similitudes linguistiques entre les réactions des deux groupes d'utilisateurs de Facebook, et en examinant les émotions exprimées dans leurs commentaires, nous avons analysé leur évolution au cours de la pandémie.

Pour atteindre nos objectifs, nous avons réalisé deux analyses distinctes. En premier lieu, nous avons effectué une analyse des opinions qui a révélé que la majorité des internautes dans les deux pays ont réagi négativement aux mesures de confinement, avec une diminution notable du nombre de commentaires de soutien entre les deux confinements. Cela peut s'expliquer par le fait que les réseaux sociaux assurent « la communication indirecte, abstraite, sans véritables rencontres avec l'autre [et sans répercussions réelles] » (Breton cité dans Panckhurst 2006, 349), ce qui peut mener les internautes à une agressivité sans bornes.

En deuxième lieu, nous avons proposé un examen linguistique approfondi des commentaires Facebook compilés dans nos corpus. Dans le cadre de cette étude, nous avons examiné leur structure textuelle, syntaxique, lexicale, ainsi que leurs valeurs pragmatiques. Les résultats montrent à la fois des similitudes, comme l'utilisation accrue des signes paralinguistiques et la prédominance des phrases déclaratives, et des différences marquées, notamment dans la manière dont le soutien et le désaccord sont exprimés.

Tous ces résultats ont enrichi notre compréhension de la dynamique des interactions en ligne en période de crise et ont mis en lumière des différences culturelles significatives dans la manière dont les populations française et slovène ont réagi aux mesures de confinement sur les réseaux sociaux. En France, la tendance à utiliser la moquerie et le sarcasme pour exprimer le désaccord souligne une approche plus indirecte et peut-être plus socialement acceptable de critiquer les autorités. En revanche, en Slovénie, l'expression plus directe et violente, se manifestant sous la forme de menaces explicites et d'insultes, indique une tolérance plus élevée pour l'expression brute de la frustration et de la colère.

Malgré des contextes linguistiques et culturels différents, les réactions aux confinements présentent des similitudes notables, soulignant l'importance des études comparatives pour comprendre les dynamiques du discours public en ligne. Les résultats de nos analyses peuvent aider les politiques à mieux anticiper et gérer les réactions du public en temps de crise.

Pour de futures recherches, il serait pertinent d'explorer les réactions des internautes sur d'autres plateformes de réseaux sociaux, comme X (anciennement Twitter) et Instagram, pour comparer les dynamiques observées sur Facebook. De plus, une analyse plus approfondie prenant en compte une période plus longue pourrait offrir des informations sur l'évolution des sentiments au fil du temps. Une comparaison avec d'autres crises, telles que des catastrophes naturelles ou des crises économiques, permettrait également de voir si les dynamiques observées pendant la pandémie sont spécifiques à ce contexte ou se manifestent dans d'autres crises.

En somme, cette étude démontre le rôle crucial des réseaux sociaux en temps de crise, non seulement en tant que reflets des émotions publiques, mais aussi comme catalyseurs de réactions collectives, influençant et façonnant les perceptions et les attitudes face à la crise.

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POVZETEK

JEZIKOSLOVNA ANALIZA FACEBOOK KOMENTARJEV O PROTIKORONSKIH UKREPIH V FRANCIJI IN SLOVENIJI

Članek analizira komentarje slovenskih in francoskih uporabnikov Facebooka glede ukrepov za preprečevanje in obvladovanje okužb z virusom SARS-CoV-2 med pandemijo covida-19. Glavna cilja analize sta prepoznati jezikovne strukture, s katerimi so se uporabniki Facebooka odzvali na protikoronske ukrepe in primerjati odzive na omenjene ukrepe na jezikoslovni ravni, da bi ugotovili, kako so se spremenili od prvega do drugega zaprtja obeh držav. Teoretični del obravnava računalniško-posredovano komunikacijo, analizo diskurza, analizo razpoloženja (opinion mining) in predstavi jezikovne značilnosti francoščine in slovenščine. Rezultati analize mnenj kažejo, da je večina uporabnikov Facebooka v obeh državah negativno reagirala na protikoronske ukrepe, pri čemer se je uporaba parajezikovnih znakov (smeškov, GIF-ov) povečala med drugim zaprtjem. Skladenjska analiza je pokazala, da je bila pripovedna poved najbolj uporabljen tip povedi v obeh jezikovnih skupinah, a da so slovenski uporabniki podpora in nevtralnost večinoma izražali s pomočjo večstavčnih povedi, medtem ko so francoski uporabniki ta mnenja izrazili predvsem skozi enostavne povedi. Pri komentarjih nestrinjanja je bila situacija obratna. Pragmatična analiza je pokazala, da so bili komentarji podpore v obeh državah na začetku pandemije pogostejši, med drugim zaprtjem pa so postali redkejši in bolj kritični. Podoben negativni obrat je opaziti tudi v nevtralni komentarjih. Največje razlike so se pokazale v komentarjih nestrinjanja: ti so med drugim zaprtjem v Franciji prešli v posmeh, medtem ko so se v Sloveniji spremenili v neposredne grožnje in nasilne žalitve. Rezultati magistrske naloge poglobljajo razumevanje dinamike spletnih interakcij v času krize ter poudarjajo kulturne razlike in podobnosti v odzivih na ukrepe zaprtja na družbenih omrežjih.

Ključne besede: protikoronski ukrepi, pandemija covida-19, Slovenija, Francija

ABSTRACT

LINGUISTIC ANALYSIS OF FACEBOOK COMMENTS ON THE CORONAVIRUS CONTAINMENT MEASURES IN FRANCE AND SLOVENIA

This article analyses how Slovenian and French Facebook users reacted to the containment measures that were put into place during the COVID-19 pandemic. The two main objectives of this analysis are to identify the linguistic structures used by the Facebook users to respond to the COVID-19 measures, and to compare how these reactions evolved between the first and second lockdowns on a linguistic level. The theoretical framework covers computer-mediated communication, discourse analysis, opinion mining, and the linguistic characteristics of French and Slovenian.

The analysis revealed that Facebook users in both countries generally reacted negatively to the lockdown measures. The use of paralinguistic signs (emoticons, GIFs) increased during the second lockdown. Syntactically, declarative sentences were the most commonly used type of sentence in both linguistic groups. Slovenian users, however, mainly expressed support and neutrality through complex sentences, while French users did so primarily through simple sentences. For comments of disagreement, the pattern was reversed. The pragmatic analysis showed that, early in the pandemic, most commentators welcomed strict measures, but this became rarer and the comments more critical by the second lockdown. Neutral comments shifted from seeking additional information to expressing doubt and demanding greater transparency. The biggest differences appeared in comments of disagreement: French criticism shifted to sarcasm and mockery, while in Slovenia they escalated into direct threats and violent insults. This master's thesis enhances the understanding of the dynamics of online interactions during a crisis and highlights significant cultural differences and similarities in how the French and Slovenian populations reacted to the lockdown measures on social media.

Keywords: COVID-19 prevention and control measures, COVID-19 pandemic, Slovenia, France

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HANDS-ON DATA GATHERING: VIABILITY OF RESEARCH METHODOLOGIES IN TWO LINGUISTIC STUDIES

1 INTRODUCTION

This paper aims to present different methodological approaches in eliciting sociolinguistic data vis-à-vis the research questions of a given study and its scope. To do so, it highlights the context and aims of the two sociolinguistic studies as examples of such linguistic approaches. The first study is conducted within the field of hang gliding and the English used by some of the members of this community. The second one is centred in the context of the management of staff working for European Institutions and their being acquainted with the concepts of equality and diversity.

Choosing the most effective research method in sociolinguistic analysis is of the utmost importance for the outcome of the research itself.

Qualitative research seeks to understand the ways people experience events, places, and processes differently as part of a fluid reality, a reality constructed through multiple interpretations and filtered through multiple frames of reference and systems of meaning-making. (McGuick 2016, 10)

While, at a first glance, the two studies seem far apart they still portray common elements, such as the analysis of the language used in their community of practice, which allows the opportunity to assess, compare and evaluate the adequacy of the different data elicitation methods in order to identify their suitability for each of the two studies and the lessons learned from these investigations.

The first research presented in this paper explores the use of spoken English as a second language (L2), among the members of the International Hang Gliding Community. This study of the interactions within a specific multicultural community of practice (CoP), similar to studies in different CoPs (Cogo and Dewey 2012; Ehrenreich 2009; Ranta 2009), also considers the fact that the interactions occur in both general and specialized contexts. The intention is to observe the production of natural spoken language and gain insight into the peculiarities of this variety of English, focusing on morphological, semantic and syntactic features, as well as code-switching, pragmatics and linguistic variation. A better understanding of the use and production of this specific variety of English within a specific CoP could contribute to areas such as English as a Lingua Franca (ELF), Multicultural Communication, English for Special Purposes (ESP) and/or Specialized Translation.

In short, it can be said that this CoP is composed of a heterogeneous group of individuals from different nationalities and linguistic backgrounds, belonging to various age groups. They have diverse professions, educational and English proficiency levels, as well as varying degrees of athletic skills, and have been involved in the sport, and its community, for different periods of time, ranging from a couple of years to several decades. Nonetheless, when they come together to participate in international events they communicate in English with each other. It is the possibility of studying the peculiar variety of spoken language produced by these athletes which appeals to the researcher.

In order to conduct this exploration, it was necessary to have access to suitable material to analyse, which led to the decision to self-gather spoken data with the purpose of creating our own specialized corpus to conduct the research.

The second study included in this paper focused on the degree of awareness of equality and diversity principles among staff working for the EU institutions, given their employment regulatory framework, which is composed of the EU Staff Regulations in conjunction with the Condition of Employment of Other Servants of the European Union, and by their implementing provisions. While the CoP in this study is quite different from that in the first study, the use of the English language as an element of identity of the different participants in the CoP is common to them both (Gee 2011:106).

The aim of the second study was to understand, by way of a written questionnaire, how the staff rules are used, on a daily basis, by a community of HR and Legal Officers working for the European institutions, and whether these rules foster a message on equality and diversity by using language that could substantiate and support those principles.

Further into the investigation, the methodology developed around the need to understand how the EU Human Resource Management (HRM) Legal Framework may have an impact on the creation of the identity of the staff members working for the different EU institutions in general, but also particularly vis-à-vis the values of equality and diversity. The methodology used to answer this second research question consisted of the analysis of the discourse around the EU HRM Legal Framework, in combination with the analysis of the replies received from a questionnaire distributed among EU staff members.

2 DESCRIPTION OF THE COMMUNITIES OF PRACTICE

The idea of Communities of Practice (CoP), developed in the early 1990s by Lave and Wenger, was first transferred into the field of sociolinguistics in 1992 by Eckert and McConnell-Ginet (Piller 2012). The three main aspects of a CoP are “mutual engagement, joint enterprise and shared repertoire” (Culver and Trudel 2008). Piller further expands the description as an assemblage of individuals bound by their commitment to an activity, resulting in a series of practices emerging from this shared venture. It diverges from a traditional community since a CoP is defined concurrently by its affiliation and the practices deriving directly from the affiliation. Each study presented in this paper is concerned with multinational and multicultural CoPs, one pertaining to the field of sports and the other to the professional field.

The International Hang Gliding Community (IHGC), besides being multicultural and diverse, also embodies a dynamic and cohesive group within the domain of sports, more specifically in the field of recreational aviation. Every year its members come in contact with fellow pilots from many different countries during a series of international competitions that take place in various regions of the world. With events ranging from four to five days up to two weeks, its members are in continuous interaction, both on an athletic as well as a personal level. Having observed several of these interactions and recognizing the complexities involved, the researcher was able to identify the potential for a field study of their naturally occurring, non-academic, generic as well as specialized spoken language.

With regard to the second study object of this paper, the CoP sample includes Human Resources and Legal Officers working for EU institutions, who are at the same time the subject of the focal legal framework, as are all other staff working for EU institutions, and have direct responsibility for reading and understanding the framework, given their deep knowledge and expertise on the subject matter. HR Officers in the EU institutions are, in fact, also particularly involved in translating the different aspects included in the legal framework into plain language. Each EU institution and each agency has internal decisions, notes, explanations and FAQs on the provisions applicable to EU civil servants, and this internal material is often prepared by HR and Legal Officers. Staff can access this broad range of material, but their exposure to primary legislation might in practice be rather limited. For this reason, it seems sensible that the population of HR and Legal Officers is the most relevant one as the subject of this research.

For the analysis of the discourse on equality and diversity in the workplace, the EU institutions represent a unique territory for linguistic research. Therefore, the aim of this study was to highlight the uniqueness of the discourse around equality and diversity and understand the identity of these staff members, *vis-à-vis* this topic, in their own CoP.

As mentioned in the introduction of this paper, the research projects presented in this work might seem quite different at a first glance. However, after a closer look it is

possible to find several similarities that offer the common ground on which we are basing our parallel analysis of the type of data-gathering methodologies implemented. Table 1, below, summarizes some of the general traits that define the two population groups in this project (IHGC is the International Hang Gliding Community, and MIEU is the Members of the Institutions of the European Union):

Table 1: General characteristics of the sample populations (by authors)

	IHGC	MIEU
Universal Population	Approx. 12,700	Approx. 12,000
Sampling Frame (SF)	Approx. 2,000	Approx. 600
Sample Population (SP)	116 interviewees (89 in-person/ 27 virtual)	53 respondents
Native Language - SP	Catalan, Czech, Danish, Dutch, French, German, Greek, Hungarian, Italian, Japanese, Macedonian, Norwegian, Polish, Portuguese, Russian, Slovene, Spanish, Swedish, Turkish and Ukrainian.	Bulgarian, Croatian, Czech, Dutch, English, Finnish, French, German, Greek, Hungarian, Italian, Lithuanian, Maltese, Polish, Romanian, Slovene, Spanish, and Swedish.
Education Level - SP	Secondary School: 33 Undergraduate / Graduate: 82	Secondary School: 0 Undergraduate / Graduate: 53
English Proficiency - SP	A Level: 28 B Level: 46 C Level: 42	A Level: 0 B Level: 2 C Level: 51

It is possible to see that while the size of both universal populations may be similar, the sampling frame (SF) size is quite different, with the SF for the IHGC being almost 3.3 times larger than that for the MIEU. Nevertheless, the pool of 116 interviewees comprising the sample population (SP) of the IHGC represent 6% of the SF, while the 53 respondents that constitute the SP of the EU institutions represent 9% of that specific SF, making both sample populations relatively similar. The linguistic scope of both studies comprises a similar number of languages (20-IHGC / 18-MIEU), mostly European (Czech, Dutch, French, German, Greek, Hungarian, Italian, Polish, Slovene, Spanish and Swedish). The major difference between both sets of languages is the exclusion of English and the inclusion of Japanese for the IHGC and the inverse situation for the MIEU. However, it is important to note that this dissimilarity is intrinsic to the nature of each study. In the former case, the study focuses on users of English as a second language, and therefore, members of this community with English as their first language were filtered out. In the latter case, the study centres solely on the institutions within the EU; therefore, while English is included, Japanese was never taken into consideration since it is not a language of an EU member state.

Looking at the education and English proficiency levels of the SPs, it is possible to notice a difference in the composition of both groups. Whereas in the SP of the IHGC 28% of the individuals completed secondary school and 71% have either an undergraduate or a graduate degree, in the SP of the MIEU no participants fall in the former category and 100% of the individuals belong to the second one. There is also an outlier within the IHGC SP, represented by a person who did not complete their secondary school education.

As far as English proficiency levels are concerned, we may observe that most of the individuals (40%) have an intermediate (B) level of proficiency in the SP of the IHGC, followed by a 36% having an advanced (C) level, and 24% with a basic (A) knowledge of English. This is in contrast with the MIEU SP, where 96% of the participants have an advanced knowledge of the language and the other 4% have an intermediate level of proficiency, with no one in the basic knowledge category. It is significant to state that the levels in both categories within the MIEU SP may be accounted for by the education requirements in place in order to be able to work within the EU institutions.

Figure 1, below, shows the age distribution of the participants of both groups:

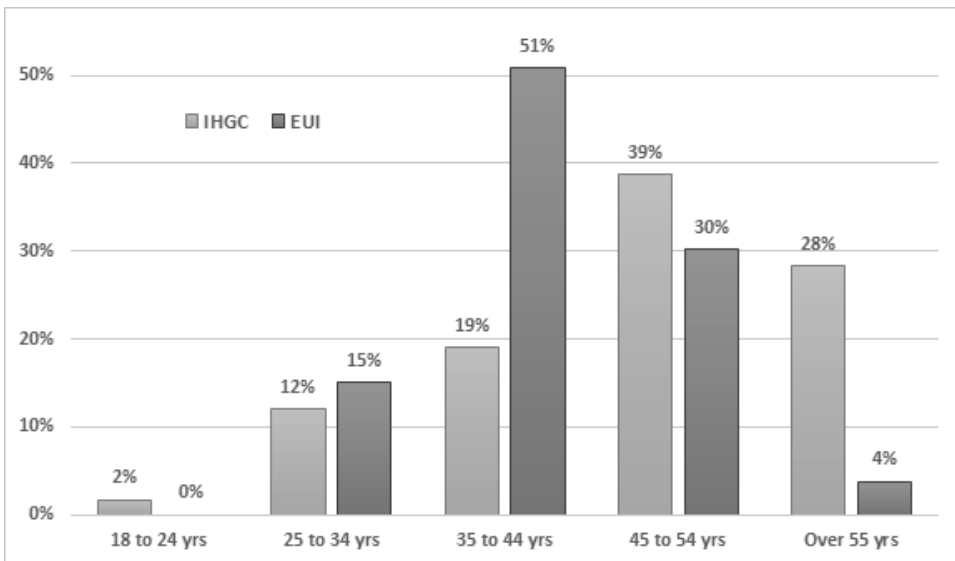


Figure 1: Age distribution of the sample populations (by authors)

It is possible to observe that both groups have a similar age distribution as far as three of the age brackets are concerned: (a) less than 10% of participants are between the ages of 18 and 24, (b) more than 10% but less than 20% are between the ages of 25 to 34, and (c) from 30% to 40% are between the ages of 45 to 44. Nevertheless, it is also possible to observe several variances between the groups. On the one hand, the largest

group for the IHGC is represented by those individuals between the ages of 45 to 54 (39%), while the 51% of the participants within the MIEU group are between the ages of 35 to 44. On the other hand, we have inversely divergent tendencies as far as the middle and last age brackets are concerned: 19% of the IHGC SP are between the ages of 35 and 44, while 51% of the MIEU SP belong to this same bracket, which is more than twice the number of individuals. The opposite situation can be found within the last bracket, over 55, where we see 28% of the IHGC participants and only 4% of the MIEU, indicating another substantial difference between the two groups.

Finally, we can observe a similar situation in the distribution of the years of involvement in each group, as seen in Figure 2, below, showing the members of the sample population of the IHGC in green, and MIEU staff in blue.

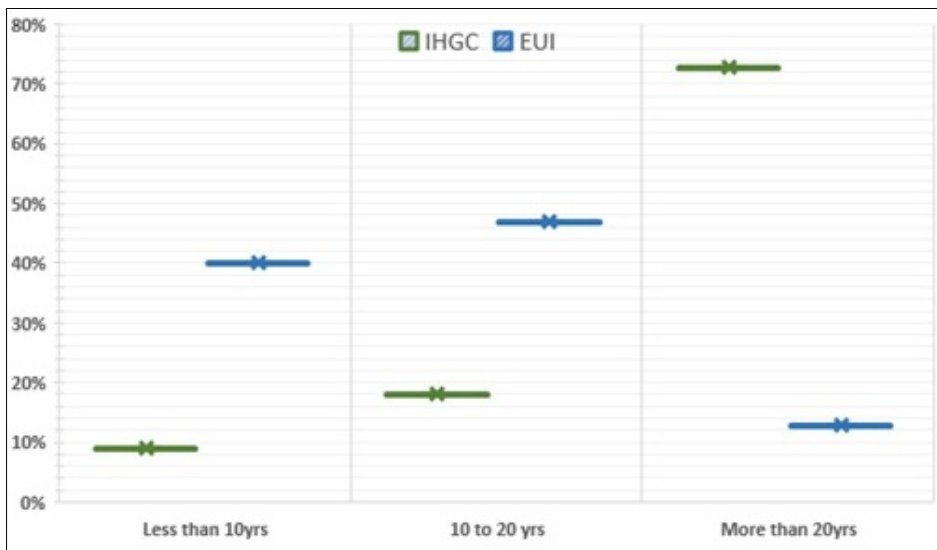


Figure 2: Distribution of years of involvement of sample populations (by authors)

The trait which can be said to be the most noticeable is the fact that while the vast majority of the hang glider pilots (73%) have been involved in the sport for over 20 years, only 13% of the staff members within the MIEU have been involved in these institutions for over 20 years. Moreover, a second notable characteristic is that only 9% of the IHGC group has been practicing the sport for less than 10 years, while this same bracket corresponds to 40% of the MIEU sample, an indication that this particular tendency in both groups is inversely related.

3 LITERATURE REVIEW

In order to outline the process and prepare the material required to obtain the specialized corpus for our first study, the researcher based the methodology on several publications that focus on works related to research methods in the fields of linguistics (O’Keeffe & McCarthy 2012; Podesva & Sharma 2013; Williamson 2018), corpus and applied linguistics (Hall, Smith & Wicaksono 2011; Kubler & Zinmeister 2015; Weisser 2016), as well as qualitative approaches, in general, and research methodology in social studies research (Gobo 2004; Lewis & Ritchie 2003; Neuman 2014).

Additionally, it was deemed essential to complement the research work by looking into studies concerning the different topics this project embraces, such as those encompassed in Paltridge and Starfield’s volume on *English for Specific Purposes* (2012), works on English as a Lingua Franca (Cogo & Dewey 2012; Mauranen 2007; Mauranen & Ranta 2009; Pickering 2006; Seidlhofer 2001 & 2005), as well as studies pertaining language teaching and translation correlated to corpus linguistics (Bernardini 2003; de Jesus 2014; Tagnin & Murakami 2014).

With regard to the studies on which the second research is based, a questionnaire for HR and Legal Officers has been developed to elicit direct data from this CoP (Brace 2004; Krug & Sell 2013; McGuirk 2016; Wiersma 2011).

To enhance the analysis of the language used in the EU HRM Legal Corpus, the study touched upon different features proposed by several of the aforementioned studies, in particular taking into account studies related to discourse in the workplace (Bhatia 1993; Grant and Iedema 2004; Danson, Green and McQuaid 2005; Cotter and Marschall 2006; Rodríguez 2006; Mayr 2008 and 2015; Shena et al., 2009; Koester 2010; Ten Thije and Maier 2012; Kärreman 2014; Jackson 2014; Holmes 2015).

Furthermore, the analysis of the discourse of the EU HRM Legal Corpus was based on research related to the discourse on equality and diversity (Holmes and Meyerhoff 2003; Hummert Garstka, Ryan and Bonnesen 2004; Baker 2005 and 2018; Ahmed 2007; Mautner 2007; Harrington et al., 2008; Goddard and Mean 2009; Talbot 2010; Özbilgin and Tatli 2011; Tatli 2011; De Graaff and van der Wal 2011; Altan et al., 2014; Grue 2014; Hord 2016; Sardar 2018).

4 RESEARCH HYPOTHESES

The questions driving the first study focus on looking for evidence to establish, first of all, whether occurrences such as semantic and syntactic deviations, among others, are related entirely to the speakers’ first language (L1) or if indications of a third, neutral language (LN) or a different factor can be observed. Secondly, to assess whether the peculiarities of this language variety appear to be linked mostly to the use of specialized vocabulary or

if they can be found within the register of non-specialized language as well, and to what extent. In the third place, to assess whether it is possible to recognize a clear group identity embedded in this discourse or the presence of a sociolect among the data collected, and whether it is feasible to identify how gender is represented within this community. This study will also analyse the data in an attempt to find out if the differences identified within the discourse appear to hinder the communication process among group members, as well as if there is a need to implement measures aimed at improving the oral interactions within the population.

In order to tackle the important and controversial matter of the second study, a fundamental research question has been identified as key for this paper, i.e. the need to establish what the EU HRM Legal Framework's discourse is inside the different EU institutions, and the degree to which it delivers a message of universal values of equality and diversity. The methodology used to address this research question was conducted in two dimensions: on the one hand, by analysing the semantic and syntactic features of a corpus of documents including all the HRM-related provisions common to all European institutions and, on the other hand by looking into the findings of the corpus linguistics analysis and the analysis of the discourse of this corpus of documents, together with the comparison of its narrative against other similar genres.

It is a contention of the authors of this paper that the methodological framework and research methods of the studies being considered align with each of the modalities of data gathering employed. The authors' decision of implementing a certain method of data elicitation (oral vs written) was determined by their own research interests (Jones 2013). Oral interviews were deemed appropriate for the first study, after establishing that the analysis would focus on linguistic features within the spoken language used by the community of hang gliding athletes. By the same token, for the second study a written questionnaire was considered a suitable method to facilitate this task, since it would target the influence of a set of written norms in the context of an international working environment.

We thus start with the context of the studies and the linguistic features that will be analysed, moving through the two CoPs as unique places of interaction and identity, to finally reach the aim of capturing the data itself, in order to obtain a description of the linguistic features and proceed to the analysis and/or to seek improvements by suggesting adjustments and refinements to the language being used.

5 METHODOLOGY

Both studies, considering the scope and nature of their subjects, entailed different methods to collect their data, which are described below. For one study, we present information regarding the design and implementation of a series of interviews – mostly in-person

and others virtually – while focusing here on the latter, which took place between 2018 and 2020. For the second study, we provide details regarding the design and implementation of an online questionnaire conducted throughout April and May 2019.

For each study, the researchers opted for what seemed to be the most appropriate method to elicit the data. For the first study, its focus on spoken language, combined with the ethnographical emphasis, were the main factors driving the decision as to which method to adopt. For the second study, a different approach was considered vis-à-vis the linguistic features of interest, with these being used for identity building within the CoP (Bathia 1993; Gee 2011).

With the extent and objectives of the first study in mind, and after weighing different options, the researcher decided to use recorded in-person interviews with members of the International Hang Gliding Community (IHGC) as the main data-collection method. That being said, it is relevant to mention that, due to travel restrictions and lockdowns caused by the COVID-19 pandemic, the researcher was compelled to adapt to the changed circumstances and implement a virtual interviewing protocol in order to fulfil the sampling quota. This section will focus mostly on the 89 in-person interviews, out of the total of 116, which were conducted during the researcher's visits to eight hang gliding competition venues in six countries, and 10 meetings in eight different countries.

The main advantages of opting for this kind of interview include the opportunity to collect natural speech and a diversity of registers with similar content, thus enabling a comparative analysis, while also ensuring that those individuals volunteering their time would feel at ease with the process.

There are three phases to the approach used in this study: (a) the design of the structured questionnaire, (b) the logistics involved in meeting with the participants, and (c) how these interview sessions were conducted.

With the right structure, the questions used would allow the elicitation of the different registers used by the members of this community: casual or informal conversation, technical or specialized vocabulary and evocative language. This led to the decision to use only open-ended questions to avoid any binary yes/no answers (Legard et al., 2003), as well as any short answers such as “maybe”, “I don’t know”, etc. By having the same questions for every participant, the researcher aimed at collecting data that would be homogeneous in subject yet possibly diverse in structure, facilitating a comparative analysis. Lastly, by designing questions flowing from general to more specific topics, related to known subjects while, at the same time, keeping them relatively simple to avoid intimidating the interviewees, the researcher could improve the probability of collecting higher quality data of a conversational nature (Arthur and Nazroo 2003).

The result was a series of seven questions covering both areas of general and specialized knowledge, related to hang gliding as well as providing the opportunity for the interviewees to share some of their individual experiences, in order to produce some evocative content.

Besides the seven questions mentioned above, given that the implementation of these interviews entailed a one-on-one interaction, where the participants were recorded while speaking, it was necessary to consider the ethical aspect of the process. Therefore, the researcher needed to make sure each interviewee would be properly informed of the process, its objective and how the data would be utilized, while verifying that their participation was categorically voluntary. Furthermore, it was necessary to get an authorization stating that the interviewees fully understood what they were agreeing to, and all of this needed to be done in such a way to establish a trusting environment and a collaborative relationship (Eckert 2013).

To satisfy these requirements, the research was based on a two-step format. A privacy and consent form with the introduction of the research was created, explaining how the data would be handled and requesting contact information for any follow-up that was needed. The presentation of this information and document, together with the collection of the signed consent form, was conducted directly during the initial stage of each interview.

The last stage of the interview sessions – after the recording – was the collection of certain personal information. In ethnographic research, many scholars consider that having access to personal data from the pool of interviewees represents an opportunity to gain better insights into the subject of interest (Legard et al., 2013), which could be helpful in better understanding the community or the features observed in their speech during the analysis phase. The researcher thus created a second PDF document that was filled out with help of the interviewee after the last question had been completed. Collecting this information after the interviewee had answered all the questions, and not before, was done in order to avoid a sense of apprehension or self-awareness with regard to the topics being discussed (Schilling 2013), which could – consciously or subconsciously – impact their mood or disposition to respond to the questions.

The potential volunteers were identified within the sampling frame obtained for this research, and those who participated in the study had 31 different nationalities and 20 different linguistic backgrounds. They were all hang gliding pilots who needed to use English, as a lingua franca, when participating in hang gliding events and interacting with staff members, officials and their peers.

The best course of action to optimize the implementation of the interviews appeared to be visiting competitions and conducting them on site, as well as attempting to meet with volunteers during the journeys to and from the venues, or amidst work-related travel. This involved extensive planning as well as understanding the importance of taking the potential participants' time constraints and engagements into consideration. These concerns influenced the overall shape of the interview itself, such as the length of the sessions, in order to avoid speaker fatigue (Chelliah 2013), and since all the participants were on a similar tight daily schedule, the researcher had an obligation to be mindful of their time (Levon 2013). Considering all the different factors, it was decided that each session should range between 45 minutes to an hour.

Most of the 116 interviews (79) were conducted during hang gliding events and under more challenging conditions compared to the other 10 face-to-face interviews conducted outside a competition setting, or the 27 virtual interviews. With regard to those interviews held during competitions, we can begin with the challenge presented by scheduling them. First of all, it was not possible for the researcher to plan these interviews ahead of time. Secondly, during any competition the researcher had to work around the participants' tight schedules, and generally there was only a short window in the morning, before the beginning of each race, and another small window in the evening, after the flights. On average, the researcher was only able to conduct between one to four interviews per day. Another challenge was the locations, as hang gliding is an outdoor sport and the events take place in remote settings, mostly due to the need for ample space both on the ground and in the air to provide a suitable and safe racing arena. This ruled out having access to places such as meeting rooms, classrooms, offices or quiet indoor spaces, and thus there was inevitably some background noise captured by the recording equipment (Podesva and Zsiga 2013).

The focus of the second study highlighted in this paper was the language and EU staff's understanding with regard to the values of equality and diversity (Brace 2004; McGuirk 2016). To complement the corpus linguistic and discourse analysis of the EU Staff Regulations, a questionnaire for HR and Legal Officers working for the EU institutions was designed, with the aim to gather meaningful data for the people who must work with this legal framework.

An important criterion in the development of the survey was the mode of submission of the questionnaire for HR and Legal Officers working for the different EU institutions, as these institutions are present in all of the Member States, and thus the target respondents were located throughout the EU.

For this reason, the most logical approach was to circulate the questionnaire by using an online survey tool. The added value of this was the possibility to reach a relatively large population of participants with a short and defined period of time. Another advantage was that the format gave more freedom to the participants taking part in the survey, and allowed the analysis of the resulting data in a timely manner.

One more added value of administering online surveys was the ease of accessing the questionnaire via computer or mobile phone, which was deemed particularly important since the participants were located in different cities across Europe. With the use of Lime Survey each person could access the questionnaire via a link, and they were also asked to help increase the amount of data collected by sharing this link with their personal contacts who have HR and legal backgrounds.

Lime Survey¹ is a free-to-access licensed tool for the design of online surveys, where the author can adapt the open-source code to the specific needs of their

1 <https://www.limesurvey.org/>

research. Its features include the option of having an unlimited number of surveys, questions and participants, a broad selection of pre-established questions (a total of twenty-eight types) and the possibility to avoid including any advertisements. A major advantage of Lime Survey is that it supports more than 80 different languages, and it includes a design editor that makes it possible to change and define the structure and layout of the survey, with a relatively simple layout being used in this work. Moreover, since it is an open-source tool, the system can be installed on the researcher's own computer, guaranteeing full control over the data acquired. Reaching out to the population was also convenient and easy, given the many internal channels for the distribution of information within EU institutions.

Another criterion that was considered in this study was minimizing the effort needed by the respondents to complete the survey (Krug and Sell 2013). In order to achieve this, all the questions and statements that were to be answered using a Likert scale were designed to be as concise and short as possible.

Another important factor when designing the questionnaire relates to clustering questions and statements in specific areas. The survey was thus structured using different thematic areas, to help the participants go into greater depth with regard to the different topics. It is important to underline that all parts of the survey were made fully accessible to the respondents at any time, and they could freely go back and forth throughout the questionnaire before submitting it.

The different parts of the questionnaire were designed to guide the participants to its completion, starting from broader questions and statements and then moving on to more specific ones. The aim was two-fold: on the one hand, to make the participants' journey through the survey easy and smooth, increasing the possibility of a high completion rate, and, at the same time, help them in dealing with the most sensitive or controversial questions by offering them the more general and less controversial items first.

6 RESEARCH FINDINGS

Despite the complexity of the interview process in the first study, which included extensive traveling and challenging conditions, it is possible to say that all this work resulted in valuable material and fulfilled the objective set by the researcher, with a total of 17.5 recorded hours of spoken data being obtained. Moreover, by selecting an oral, in-person interview as her main method, the researcher was also able to benefit from the inherent opportunity for her to become an observer, as well as sometimes acting as a participant-observer in some of the other activities within the community. This enriched the quality of the research, by allowing her, beyond the interview sessions, to better understand the group she was aiming to describe (Geznuk 2003), as well as broadening her personal experience.

During the initial analysis of the material that was obtained, it was possible to identify an extensive range of linguistic phenomena, falling within the scope of the initial research questions, which the researcher then went on to further analyse in the following stage of the study. These phenomena include various instances of coinages and calques, code-switching into the speakers' first language and some of examples of code-switching in a third language (neither English nor the speaker's mother tongue). The corpus obtained through the data-gathering and processing phases contains numerous linguistic structures, which may prove significant for the data analysis phase and the study's foci. Furthermore, the data offered valuable insights on the use of gender language within this community. In addition to the expected wide presence of gender pronouns within both the specialized and generic vocabulary, the data also seem to point towards a much higher than expected presence of gender-neutral speech. The preliminary findings reached by analysing the answer to one specific question, which gathered the most suitable material to analyse this feature, show that the vast majority of the interviewees (90%) used gender-neutral language, 9% used a mixture of gender-neutral and gender-specific language, and 1% explicitly used gender-inclusive language.

Finally, it seems plausible to say that this study may complement current lines of research, such as those mentioned in the literary review above, since this project combines different aspects of other studies, such as: oral language produced by users of English as their L2 and/or a lingua franca – gathered in a natural setting – that includes a certain amount of specialized vocabulary, yet remains outside the academic or work settings.

With regard to the second study, the research tried to complement the data obtained from the corpus linguistics and discourse analysis of the HRM Legal Corpus with the data elicited from the questionnaire.

The specific fields of research in the second study were related to four main areas: gender mainstreaming, the rights of LGBTI persons, persons with a disability and the inclusion of elderly staff (Holmes and Meyerhoff 2003; Hummert et al., 2004; Baker 2005 and 2018; Ahmed 2007; Mautner 2007; Harrington et al., 2008; Goddard and Mean 2009; Talbot 2010; Özbilgin and Tatli 2011; Tatli 2011; De Graaff and van der Wal 2011; Altan et al., 2014; Grue 2014; Hord 2016; Sardar 2018). The data related to gender mainstreaming in particular showed some unexpected and interesting results.

Contrary to the other study, in which gender-biased language was less frequent, the corpus and discourse analysis conducted for this study showed many examples where the neutrality of gender was not respected in the language used. Although in equality and diversity policies gender is usually seen as a very significant issue, due to the political and sociological discourse in recent years only a minority of the respondents to the survey felt that there was any inconsistency in the use of gender pronouns within EU institutions.

These responses contradicted the data of the corpus linguistics analysis, which highlighted the predominant use of gender-biased language, showing a more comprehensive and sensitive understanding of gender mainstreaming. This finding is also related to the

fact that current EU gender policies specifically target women in managerial positions.

With regard to the other categories that were investigated, the results of the survey showed an increased number of neutral responses (3 on a Likert scale from 0 to 5), showing that respondents to the questionnaire seemed to have less sensitivity with regard to the inclusion of LGBTI staff.

Similarly, almost two-thirds of the respondents to the questions related to persons with a disability offered rather neutral responses with regard to the language used in the EU HRM Legal Framework. This could be due to there being less exposure to the rights of persons with a disability and a rather undeveloped sensitivity with regard to this. This last hypothesis could be confirmed by the fact that two-thirds of the respondents stated that the use of the term “disabled” does not have any biased connotations.

With regard to the rights of the elderly, more than half of the respondents gave neutral responses (3 on a Likert scale from 0 to 5), possibly for the same reasons indicated above.

7 CONCLUSIONS

Each of the two studies described above were effective in the analysis of the linguistic features of their communities of practice, and the two different methodologies used both added value and problems to their respective research projects, as highlighted below.

Looking back at the method used with the hang gliding community, the in-person interviews allowed for a meaningful amount of data to be collected, and also provided the opportunity for the researcher to have better interactions with the population sample and the community overall, including the possibility of complementing the study by adding an ethnographic approach to it.

However, this method did present several challenges, such as the complexity of the logistics and the execution of the interviews in the remote areas where hang gliding competitions take place. In addition, while attending such events did provide an excellent opportunity for recruiting participants, it also created time constraints that resulted in relatively short interviews and an inability to fully control the sound quality of the recorded conversations. Overall, however, weighing the advantages and disadvantages identified by the researcher, the results show that the time and effort invested in this approach were definitely worth it.

With regard to the research conducted in the European Union context, the use of an online questionnaire proved to be highly effective vis-à-vis the aim of the data collection. While this approach (using Lime Survey) proved to be quite easy, the decision to make use of a written questionnaire to elicit data could potentially bring some complications in the design phase, as once the questions are completed there is no way to change them in order to increase the comparability of the data, if needed. Much effort thus needs to be put into designing the questionnaire before it is used, so that all the data needed are collected and that there is no missing information that is important for the research, and “the

information gathered is only as good as the questions that are asked” (Brace 2004, 1).

If such a questionnaire is well targeted and designed, though, an added value compared to oral interviews is the possibility for the respondents to reflect on the questions and topics, and so provide more meaningful insights than in an oral interview.

This proved to be the case for questions related to the improvement of the language of the EU Staff Regulations, which were one focus of the overall research. The respondents had the time to reflect on the different issues that were highlighted in the questionnaire and the Likert-scale questions, as well as having the possibility to include their thoughts and suggestions for future reference.

As a general lesson learned from both studies, it should be mentioned that the time and effort invested in eliciting direct data from the focal communities of practice were important in disentangling the language used and thus better addressing the research questions. If we had decided not to pursue direct data gathering with interviews and questionnaires, but only based the research on already available material (such as, for example, the Corpus of EU HR related rules), both studies would have been utterly incomplete (Brace 2004; Krug and Sell 2013).

At the same time, while acknowledging the balance between effectiveness and time needed, vis-à-vis both the data gathering and the respondents, a second round of questions could have helped to deepen the research, in particular regarding a few aspects of future developments with regard to the interactions and identity of the community of practices themselves (Brace 2004; Krug and Sell 2013; McGuirk 2016; Wiersma 2011).

While we are convinced that the modes of data gathering used – i.e., oral interviews for linguistic analysis mostly related to the use of spoken language and a written questionnaire to examine the discourse and identity around a written legal framework – were successful for both studies, the main takeaway from the experience of both projects was related to the meaningfulness of the direct interaction with the participants of both communities of practice, which can be said to have made the aims and evolutions of the studies more significant and relevant.

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POVZETEK

PRIDOBIVANJE PODATKOV V PRAKSI: IZVEDLJIVOST UPORABE RAZISKOVALNIH METODOLOGIJ V DVEH JEZIKOSLOVNIH ŠTUDIJAH

Pridobivanje podatkov je temeljni vidik raziskovalnih metodologij v sociolingvistiki in jezikoslovju nasploh. Medtem ko se nekateri raziskovalci opirajo le na že dostopne podatke, se drugi odločajo za samostojno pridobivanje podatkov. Metode pridobivanja podatkov so različne – od intervjujev, vprašalnikov, pa do vodenja fokusnih skupin. Lahko jih uporabimo kot glavni vir podatkov ali le za dopolnitev obstoječega gradiva, kar največkrat izboljša kakovost raziskave in hkrati obogati raziskovalčevo osebno izkušnjo.

Namen prispevka je predstaviti izkušnji raziskovalk, ki sta v okviru svojih raziskovalnih projektov uporabili različne metodologije pridobivanja podatkov, da bi zagotovili ustreznost gradiva za analizo pisne oz. govorjene angleščine z dveh različnih specializiranih področij. Avtorici predstavita svoji raziskovalni področji in skupnosti, v katerih sta izvedli raziskavi, ter tako orišeta okoliščine svojega raziskovalnega dela. Nato opišeta postopke, ki sta jih izvedli v okviru raziskav. Njun cilj je predstaviti odločitve, ki sta jih sprejeli v času raziskav, spremembe v pristopih k pridobivanju podatkov z namenom ugotavljanja primernosti uporabljenih metodologij in rezultate raziskovalnega dela.

Avtorici želita z empiričnim uvidom v pridobivanje podatkov v različnih skupnostih prispevati k raziskavam in literaturi s področja uporabnega jezikoslovja. Njun prispevek je zasnovan kot kratek vodnik, ki raziskovalce spodbuja k lastnemu pridobivanju podatkov in jim pri tovrstnem delu tudi pomaga.

Ključne besede: raziskave s področja uporabnega jezikoslovja in sociolingvistike, korpusno jezikoslovje, pridobivanje kvalitativnih podatkov, jezikoslovne raziskovalne metode, strukturirani intervjuji in vprašalniki

ABSTRACT

HANDS-ON DATA GATHERING: VIABILITY OF RESEARCH METHODOLOGIES IN TWO LINGUISTIC STUDIES

Data collection is a fundamental aspect of linguistic and sociolinguistic research methodologies, and while many scholars may choose to gather their own data, others tend to rely solely on data that are readily available. There are various different methods of elicitation, including conducting interviews, questionnaires or leading focus groups to gather data, either as the main source of information or to complement existing material, which will most likely enhance both the quality of the research as well enriching the researcher's personal experience.

This paper aims to elucidate the experience gained by two researchers who implemented different data-collection methodologies during their research projects, to gather suitable data and conduct their analysis of the English language – one written the other oral – in two diverse, yet specialized, settings. They introduce their subjects of study and the communities in which the studies took place in order to help the reader get acquainted with the context, and then proceed to describe the processes they carried out. Their aim is to offer a retrospective on the decisions made, the evolution of their data-gathering approaches to determine the suitability of the focal methodologies, and the results.

The aim of the paper is to contribute to the literature and applied linguistics research fields by disseminating empirical information on the collection of data within different communities of practice, so that it might be used, as a brief guide, to encourage and assist fellow researchers should they decide to embark in their own data collection projects.

Keywords: applied linguistics and sociolinguistics surveys, corpus linguistics, qualitative data gathering, research methods in linguistics, structured interviews and questionnaires

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Izvirni znanstveni članek



THE CHALLENGES OF USING MACHINE TRANSLATION IN RENDERING ARABIC TEXTS INTO ENGLISH: AN APPLIED PERSPECTIVE

1 INTRODUCTION

Between the 1970s and 1990s, translation studies emerged in diverse forms and paradigms, sparking significant debate regarding the significance of translation as an interdisciplinary construct that intersects with various academic disciplines. Translation studies adopt a multidisciplinary approach, integrating linguistic theory, descriptive theory, equivalence-based theory, poly-systems theory, and Skopos theory, among others. The primary objective of many of these theories and translation strategies is to explore how a source language (SL) text is transformed into a target language (TL) text, whether by retaining the SL's words verbatim or by what Jeremy Munday refers to as a "sense-for-sense" rendering (Munday 2000). Within this framework, many scholars argue that a strictly literal, word-for-word translation neglects the sensibilities and nuances of the intended target readership.

Undoubtedly, a literal, word-for-word translation method often compels translators to invent new vocabulary or resort to transliteration when rendering SL texts that lack equivalence in the TL. However, employing this method frequently results in errors in terms of form and content. Willis Barnstone highlighted the duality of language, stating that it comprises two elements – words and meanings – likened to body and soul (Barnstone 1993). He noted that if both elements can be conveyed accurately, a word-for-word translation may be acceptable. However, if this is not achievable, insisting on preserving the words while deviating from their intended meaning would be illogical (Barnstone 1993: 52).

Due to the limitations of the word-for-word method, most scholars tend to prefer the "sense-for-sense" approach, and specifically in the translation of colloquial language. This method considers the needs of the readers and aims to convey the essence or intended meaning of the text. Likewise, scholars often advocate for equivalence-based theory over other translation theories, emphasizing the importance of maintaining the essence and meaning of the original text over a literal adherence to its words.

According to Christiane Nord, the idea of equivalence between source text and target language units has long been considered an essential benchmark that was rarely challenged (Nord 2010:2). However, translation experts have often scrutinized the concept of equivalence, considering it as one of the most problematic aspects in the field of translation. Accordingly, equivalence is often defined as reproducing the same situation as in the original, while using completely different wording. Despite the challenges and debates surrounding equivalence, theorists and researchers continue to emphasize its significance in the translation process, with Werner Koller introducing the following five types of equivalence that form the basis of the translation process (Koller 1995):

- Denotative equivalence, which relates to the “extra-linguistic content of a text”.
- Stylistic or connotative equivalence, concerning the “lexical choices between near synonyms”.
- Normative text equivalence, addressing different types of texts that “behave in different ways”.
- Communicative or pragmatic equivalence, linked to the target text’s communicative function.
- Expressive or formal equivalence, associated with the formal aspects and aesthetics of texts (cited in Munday 2000: 47).

These various types of equivalence serve as guiding principles, highlighting the different facets and complexities involved in achieving parity between source text and its translated counterpart.

There is no doubt that the differences between English and Arabic languages across linguistic, syntactic, semantic, lexical, structural, pragmatic, contextual, and cultural dimensions pose significant challenges in achieving suitable equivalences, and particularly in the translation of colloquial expressions. For instance, if the equivalence in the TL accurately captures the contextual meaning of the SL text without distorting the cultural context, it becomes feasible to establish linguistic equivalences.

Further, the contextual theory of translation centres on translating SL texts into TL texts using a “sense-for-sense” approach. For the sake of using this method effectively in the translation of Arabic to English, and vice versa, translators should work on analysing the focal text’s context, encompassing its various components. Mona Baker underscores the pivotal role of context in translation, suggesting that words stripped of their context may lose coherence and meaning. Consequently, she extensively studied the “study of context” and identified three types of contextual contrasts. In the first, context is perceived as an abstract cognitive construct within the mind rather than a collection of real-world entities guiding social interactions. The second contextual perspective contrasts static elements with dynamic elements, while the third examines a neutral approach versus a power-sensitive approach (cited in Melby and Foster 2010:2). These contextual contrasts provide a framework for understanding the multifaceted nature of context and

its implications for translation, aiding translators in navigating the complexities inherent in the translation into English of both modern standard Arabic (MSA) and Arabic colloquial dialects.

In a similar vein, Itamar Even-Zohar introduced the poly-systems theory as a dynamic concept, which aims at addressing the complex interplay between culture and language (Even-Zohar 1978). Influenced by Russian Formalism, which viewed literature as an integral part of various social, cultural, literary, and historical frameworks, he categorized literature as a system intersecting with other systems, including social, political, economic, historical, religious, and ideological contexts. Munday highlights Even-Zohar's view that "the position occupied by translated literature in the poly-system conditions the translation strategy" (Munday 2000: 110). This theory firmly integrates literature within broader domains encompassing socio-economic, cultural, ideological, and political orientations.

While some scholars commend the above-mentioned theory for linking literature with multiple disciplines, others criticize it for its association with the old-fashioned formalist model and reliance on abstract paradigms rather than realistic constraints faced by the text and translator. In response to such critiques, Gideon Toury advocated a descriptive approach to translation, aiming to replace prevailing studies and isolated theories (Toury 1995). Toury proposed the development of "a properly systematic descriptive branch of the discipline" that does not focus on the translation product alone, but also considers the act of translation itself as a text-generating activity. He emphasizes that translation, as an activity, may vary in its position within the host culture concerning factors such as centrality, prevalence, prestige, and peripherality (Toury 1995:13). This perspective highlights the importance of considering translation not only as a product but also as a process within cultural and societal frameworks.

Further, the descriptive approach, as highlighted by Theo Hermans, focuses on exploring the "historic poetics and the role of translation" (Hermans 2009: 94). This method, praised by Munday, engages with "literary tendencies within the target cultural system" during the translation process (Munday 2000:117). However, critics of this approach argue that it overlooks or sidelines the political, ideological, and religious elements embedded in the text. Concurrently, functional approaches to translation emerged, exemplified by Skopos theory in particular. This approach prioritizes understanding the intentions of the individual or group who commissioned the translation, rather than focusing on the translation's quality.

While the descriptive approach, according to Peter Newmark, is primarily concerned with objectively analysing published translations without relating them to any specific standards of quality or moral value (Newmark 2007: 4), the functional approach, as outlined by Hermans, concentrates on questions related to who translated the text, for whom, when, where, how, and why (Hermans 2009: 95). This illustrates a shift in emphasis from

the translation product to the intentions, circumstances, and needs surrounding the act of translation.

In a similar context, Behrouz Karoubi categorized translation theories into two types: functional and non-functional. Functional theories are associated with the target text and readership, prioritizing communicative concerns. Conversely, non-functional theories focus on the author's intentions, giving weight to considerations of linguistic equivalence. These categorizations delineate the differing emphases and perspectives inherent in translation theories, accentuating either the practical communicative aspects or the linguistic equivalence elements (Karoubi 2003).

Further, there have also been advances in research on interpretation termed as the "cognitive study of translation" serving specific purposes (Alves and Albir 2010: 28). This approach incorporates linguistic and psycholinguistic factors, as well as artificial intelligence, to create a dynamic framework known as "systemic-functional linguistics" (Alves and Albir 2010: 29). It relies on a model that necessitates both short- and long-term memories for decoding source language input and encoding target language output. However, its application in the translation of colloquial dialects has faced significant challenges due to technical limitations, which are beyond the scope of this paper to discuss.

Regarding ideological translation approaches, the integration of ideology into translation has been a longstanding aspect of translation activities. André Lefevere argues that language is not the primary element in translation, and emphasizes that the crucial factors are "ideology first, followed by poetics, with language being of secondary importance" (cited in Hermans 2009: 95). Lefevere highlights the influence of the translator's ideology and the ideology imposed by sponsoring agencies on the translation process. This underscores the profound impact that ideological perspectives can have on the translation process, often superseding linguistic considerations in some instances (Lefevere 1992).

Ideology fundamentally constitutes a framework of ideas that underpin political and economic theories. In the realm of translation, Munday illustrates the inherent connection between ideology and politics (Munday 2000: 2). Conversely, researchers such as Van Dijk portrayed ideology negatively, defining it as a structure encompassing "wrong, false, distorted, or otherwise misguided beliefs" (Van Dijk 1998). Nevertheless, numerous researchers view translation as an inherently political endeavour. According to Karoubi, translation involves negotiation among various entities, including the translator, author, publisher, and other agents, reflecting its political nature.

The ideological theory of translation notably manifests in different contexts, particularly in postcolonial and feminist approaches. For instance, feminist translation seeks to manipulate language to underscore issues pertinent to the women's community. In this regard, feminist translators approach translation as an ideological endeavour. Despite its inherent bias, some scholars laud the ideological approach, with Suzanne Levine arguing

that “translation should be a critical act creating doubt, posing questions to the reader, re-contextualizing the ideology of the original text” (cited in Munday 2000: 153).

For example, during the translation of Arabic literature into English, and vice versa, translators may at times introduce modifications for ideological reasons, potentially leading to a distortion of the original text in the SL. This transformation in the TL might be a result of intentional ideological intervention, aimed at aligning the translated text with specific ideological beliefs or principles.

The act of intervention by translators does indeed challenge translational ethics, which emphasize fidelity and impartiality. However, it is widely acknowledged that all translation involves some level of intervention by the translator, driven by various motives. These interventions may include paraphrasing, omitting, adding, incorporating footnotes, and other modifications, unavailable with machine translation. Anthony Pym warns that literary translators should approach these interventions cautiously, as they can have significant consequences (Pym 2015). Nevertheless, some researchers argue that interventions are inevitable, and they perceive translation as an act where an SL text is transformed and given a new voice. In this context, the translator acts as a re-enunciator whose intervention in the text becomes unavoidable. This perspective suggests that translators inevitably impose their subjectivity onto the translated text (Hermans 2009: 97). However, the translator’s role as a re-enunciator raises important questions regarding fidelity, transparency, accountability, and the nature of intervention. It prompts discussions about the extent to which the translator’s intervention might impact the authenticity and integrity of the translated work, and how much subjectivity should be permissible in the translation process while maintaining faithfulness to the original text.

Juliane House defines intervention in translation as “a manipulation of the source text beyond what is linguistically necessary” (House 2008: 16). She argues that intervention could be acceptable if it does not violate translational ethics, explaining that intervention could serve as a “cultural filter” or form of “localization”, a method used as “a means of fulfilling the expectations of the recipients of the translation”. She elaborates further, emphasizing that there have been instances where it was not guaranteed that the target readers would accept a text that distorted the meaning of the SL message. House highlights that manipulation or intervention for ideological, socio-political, or ethical reasons could be risky, and raises the questions of who is able to judge the desirability of specific interventions and whether the recipients of a translation would prefer an equivalent source text instead. She points out the difficulty in justifying well-intentioned alterations to a text made under the guise of feminist or post-colonialist thinking from potentially biased chauvinistic or imperialist interventions, concluding that such judgments are complex and challenging (House 2008: 16). This underscores the ethical dilemmas and complexities surrounding the translator’s role in making interventions within the translation process.

Moreover, House suggests that while intervention can be acceptable when handled responsibly, in many cases it might be wiser to refrain from doing so altogether (House 2008: 16). This cautious approach stems from the recognition of the substantial differences between texts on various levels, including lexical, linguistic, cultural, structural, semantic, and syntactic. In the translation of colloquial structures, which are very common in MSA texts, pragmatic intervention becomes unavoidable for aesthetic reasons due to these differences. Intervention in translation, which involves tasks like paraphrasing, omitting, or adding footnotes, can thus be beneficial, particularly when aimed at improving readability or conveying nuanced meanings. However, intervention driven solely by the ideological biases of the translator, publisher, or sponsor can have significant consequences, ultimately violating the ethics of translation.

Moreover, in recent years new translation methods have emerged, such as the feminist approach, sparking considerable controversy. The feminist approach, highlighted by Hermans, has drawn attention for its use of language to advocate on behalf of women (Hermans 2009:100). This approach challenges established norms and has brought forth discussions on the role of language in representing gender and societal perspectives within translated works. Critics have asserted that feminist translators purposefully use translation as a tool for ideological aims, aiming to introduce ambiguity and challenge established representations of women in historical contexts. Sherry Simon highlighted that the translation of feminist texts, with the intention of advocating feminist perspectives, serves as a cultural intervention striving to generate new cultural meanings and incite social change (Simon 1996). She characterized her translation as a political endeavour aimed at empowering language to represent women, and explained that her signature on a translation signifies that every translation strategy was employed to render the feminine visible in language (cited in Munday 2000: 132).

Additionally, Suzanne Levine emphasized that a translation should function as a critical act, inducing uncertainty, posing queries to the reader, and re-contextualizing the ideology present in the original text (Levine 2009). The feminist translator highlights a parallel between the status of translation and other original forms of writing, drawing a comparison with the status of women, often repressed in both society and literature. These perspectives underscore the feminist translator's intention to challenge established norms, prompt reflection, and reshape language to address gender representation and societal roles.

Feminists certainly utilize translation as a tool to express and promote their ideological viewpoints (Munday 2000:131), while anti-feminist writers have criticized this on the grounds of hypocrisy, since such feminists often denounce others who carry out interventions and manipulations of the translation process aimed solely at realizing their ideological goals (Hermans 2009:101).

Likewise, postcolonial translation operates on an ideological foundation. This approach acknowledges and addresses the power imbalances between the ex-colonizers and

ex-colonized (Munday 2000: 133). Both feminist and postcolonial translation approaches share a common interest in issues of social inclusion and exclusion (Hermans 2009:101). The connection between translation and colonization lies in the belief that translation has played a significant role in the colonization process by disseminating an ideologically motivated image of the colonized people (Hermans 2009:134). These approaches reflect a critical examination of the historical and power dynamics involved in translation practices within sociopolitical contexts.

During the pre-colonial and colonial periods, translators from colonizing nations often interpreted the literature and culture of colonized peoples in ways that served the consciences of the colonizers and validated colonization. Regrettably, these translations thus failed to accurately represent the culture and identity of the colonized peoples. Conversely, translators from former colonies, when translating texts penned by former colonizers, might modify or otherwise distort these works to suit the preferences and needs of their local readers in the post-colonial era. Consequently, these translations may not authentically depict the positive aspects of the culture of the ex-colonizers.

Tejaswini Niranjana, an Indian scholar, advocated a post-colonial translation approach that is “speculative, provisional, and interventionist” (cited in Munday 2000: 135). This suggests a method that questions established norms, remains open to new interpretations, and intervenes in the translation process to challenge existing power dynamics and colonial legacies (Niranjana 1992). It aims to offer alternative perspectives and representations that better resonate with the cultural and social context of the post-colonial era. Explicitly, the postcolonial approach to translation grapples with the concept of “hybridity”, signifying the state of displacement associated with migration, transformation, re-inscription, and an in-between existence (Hermans 2009:102). Specifically, postcolonial translators encounter challenges due to the conflict between various local languages and the predominant master language of their postcolonial world, such as English (Munday 2000:135). Translators, as Munday suggests, operate within the liminal space “between” different countries, representing both emigrants like Salman Rushdie and those who remain within the complex tapestry of their native “site” – a situation termed as the “locational disruptor”.

In this context, translation goes beyond a mere verbal transaction, as it involves the transfer of territories into different ideological frameworks, essentially overwriting one system of thought with another (Munday 2000:135). Consequently, postcolonial translation constantly involves intervention as it navigates these intricate cultural and linguistic terrains. Translation has thus evolved beyond the straightforward transference of messages from an SL text to a TL. Recent developments at the crossroads of translation and various disciplines have introduced new paralinguistic features that influence a translator’s decision-making process regarding their translation strategy. This decision-making procedure, especially in the realm of literary translations, encompasses multiple dimensions.

The colloquial dialects and slang integral to modern literary texts, combined with other culturally specific elements, significantly complicate the translation process. Translators assume the role of intercultural agents, striving to reconcile two distinct cultures and bridge the gaps between them. Negotiating these cultural nuances and maintaining fidelity to the SL literary work poses a considerable challenge for translators, particularly those who use machine translation in rendering Arabic to English, and vice versa.

2 THE CHALLENGES OF USING MACHINE TRANSLATION IN RENDERING MSA ARABIC TO ENGLISH

Translation involves bilingual communication, guiding texts across linguistic and cultural barriers. It is the process of conveying concepts and ideas from one language to another, and from one cultural context to another. As such, it demands considerable expertise and reliable techniques to produce a rendition that preserves the essence of the SL while adapting to the TL. In the realm of modern translation theories, it can be argued that the translation of Arabic texts into English, and vice versa is a complex endeavour, necessitating diverse strategies, methodologies, and diligent effort. Many of the inaccuracies in Arabic-to-English translation, and vice versa, that are associated with machine translation stem from the differences between the two languages across linguistic, lexical, stylistic, semantic, syntactic, cultural, and pragmatic dimensions. Machine translation frequently encounters challenges in rendering into English not only MSA, but also Arabic vernacular expressions, and thus fails to properly translate slang, colloquial texts, folklore items, and elements from popular culture.

The Arabic language includes different layers of language constructs. The most famous and well-established form of Arabic is modern standard Arabic (MSA). This variety of Arabic is the predominant language developed in the Arab world in the late nineteenth century and into the twentieth. MSA has two similar versions in spoken and written forms, and it is used in print, literature, academia, mass media, legislation, and formal education in the Arab world. It is different from Classical Arabic used prior to the mid-nineteenth century, and is also distinguished from Arabic colloquial dialects, including the vernacular varieties of the language which are different from one country to another. MSA is the language of the Arab League, and is one of six official languages of the United Nations. MSA is the language of newspapers, magazines, and official documents, and is the written language of books, educational platforms and schools, and approximates the spoken language used in the news and official speeches. MSA – including its written version (Modern Written Arabic, MWA) – is particularly different from Classical Arabic with regard to vocabulary and lexical elements, and does not include archaic or fossilized vocabulary associated with the older form.

More specifically, MSA is distinguished from Classical Arabic in two ways linguistically: it synthesizes words from Arabic roots and adapts words from foreign languages. However, many Arab linguists and grammarians argue that MSA and Classical Arabic represent two historical periods of one language (known as eloquent Arabic, or al-‘Arabīyah al-Fuṣḥā). They associate Classical Arabic with the past, calling it Fuṣḥā at-Turāth or the eloquent Arabic language of past, while MSA is associated with the modern era and known as Fuṣḥā al-‘Aṣr, or the eloquent Arabic language at the present time. In addition to Classical Arabic and MSA, Colloquial Arabic includes many regional dialects derived from both Classical and Modern Arabic, and is considered as the first language in most Arab countries. While Arabs in all countries understand both Classical Arabic and MSA, they often encounter enormous difficulties in understanding Colloquial Arabic dialects spoken outside their own counties.

Due to the ambiguity of meaning of most of the colloquial dialects, it is recommended to avoid the use of machine translation in rendering Arabic vernacular/slang expressions and culture-bound elements from Arabic to English, and vice versa. It is advisable to disregard machine translation when dealing with vernacular or colloquial texts in particular, and use instead diverse translation approaches to establish a suitable equivalence between Arabic and English, and vice versa, ensuring an accurate conveyance of the textual meaning.

It is obvious that contemporary translation studies have expanded beyond mere strategies for converting the source text into a reasonably faithful target text. Scholars have embraced a multidisciplinary approach, integrating considerations of language traditions, discourse analysis, cultural studies, and postcolonial theories alongside philosophical theories (Munday 2000: 32). The translation of vernacular texts – unlike other forms of translation – is a demanding and complex endeavour, requiring immense dedication from the translator. It demands a high level of skill to transpose these texts from one language to another while retaining the essence and subtleties of the original source. This is because the translation of vernacular language transcends the mere transference of words or phrases and involves grappling with various elements across textual, lexical, linguistic, semantic, syntactic, cultural, and pragmatic dimensions.

As such, the translation of vernacular language necessitates creativity to effectively convey both the literal and implied meanings, stylistic elements, emotions, and perspectives from one cultural context to another. In essence, an appropriate translation of vernacular/colloquial language refers to the practice within translation studies whereby the adaptation of a message from one language to another aims to maintain its original purpose, style, tone, and contextual essence. The reconstituted vernacular message should evoke similar sentiments and provoke analogous effects in the target language as it did in the source language. Consequently, the translation of vernacular/colloquial language stands out as one of the most challenging forms of translation, given its frequent task of transposing SL vernacular lexical items into TL contents while preserving their essence.

For the reasons outlined above, it is recommended that the translation of vernacular language is not performed by machine translation, but instead human translators alone should be responsible for the translation of colloquial language items. The translation of vernacular or slang expressions requires tremendous effort because, beyond their literal meaning, translators should also navigate the intricacies of vernacular texts, striving to maintain the original structure while preserving cultural imagery, references, allegories, and other artistic elements. Undoubtedly, the translation of vernacular texts revolves around the transference of various forms of slang from one language to another, and thus translators working in this domain should possess a broad and comprehensive understanding of SL and TL cultures.

Moreover, machine translation systems lack innovation and creativity, which are indispensable traits for translators tackling vernacular language because the SL often includes texts that exhibit exceptional complexity and inherent ambiguities. The translator's creativity becomes evident in the successful translation of colloquial language, mirroring the form and substance of the original text in another language. Therefore, a translator of Arabic colloquial texts into English should possess in-depth knowledge about the cultures, vocabularies, and terminologies of both the source and target languages. This foundational knowledge streamlines the translation process, enabling the translator to consistently select terms that best suit the context of the source text, thereby saving time and effort.

Mere proficiency in two languages does not suffice for the translation of colloquial language, and translators who are involved in this should possess the capability to adjust vocabulary, decide on retaining or omitting specific phrases, or even rephrase entire passages, all while meeting the anticipated preferences of the target audience, while preserving the essence of the original work. Creating a faithful translation of vernacular language structures demands more than handling syntax and vocabulary. This process necessitates a profound understanding of the intricate meanings underpinning culture-bound items, which shape colloquial and slang terminology.

A translator of Arabic colloquial language and regional dialects should possess the adeptness to manipulate the text in suitable ways to craft a translation that communicates the essence of the source culture and satisfies the requirements of the target readers. The language spoken by a community mirrors its unique cultural values and practices, and therefore translating a text from one language to another effectively demands capturing and conveying the cultural subtleties inherent in the original language. This calls for a high level of sensitivity, flexibility in thinking, and skill in producing a translation that remains faithful to the content, tone, and identity of the source text while honouring its intended meaning. These abilities are not available with any machine translation system, and only a highly skilled translator can ensure that the message is accurately conveyed to meet the recipient's expectations.

Despite encountering numerous challenges, translators of Arabic colloquial texts working with contemporary literature and the mass media provide a valuable service

to students and enthusiasts of Arabic culture by translating works from one language into others, thereby making them accessible to a wider audience. This not only enriches cultural engagement but also contributes to overall cultural advancement by presenting vernacular texts in various translations. Such diversity encourages both scholarly circles and the public to explore and appreciate literature from different nations. Ultimately, the translation of colloquial texts fosters cross-cultural understanding and encourages an appreciation for the diverse and rich traditions of literature.

Translating MSA Arabic into English poses significant challenges, particularly regarding linguistic and cultural factors. With over 30 dialects prevalent in the Arab region, these variations are interwoven within the literary works, often leading to translation inaccuracies and errors, particularly when translators use machine translation tools. Errors often arise from the use of inappropriate translation strategies or methods that inadequately align with the source text. The array of translation approaches now available offers translators various choices, sometimes leading to discrepancies in the adopted approach itself.

Eugene Nida's exploration of the linguistic approach in translation highlights a fundamental challenge: the radical differences between languages. He acknowledges the complexities inherent in translating across languages, suggesting that it is impossible to fully convey in one language what was originally expressed in another (Nida 1964). In contrast, other linguists and anthropologists strive to uncover a shared human experience that bridges these differences, aiding comprehension, and communication across diverse cultures. However, certain texts exhibit disparities that not only outnumber the similarities, but also pose significant obstacles to understanding.

Translators using the linguistic approach often grapple with the tension between preserving form and conveying meaning. Striving to mirror the stylistic qualities of the source language may lead to a loss of the original meaning. Conversely, strict adherence to literal content risks sacrificing the nuanced stylistic elements, something that is particularly evident in translating literary works that often include colloquial dialects and slang expressions. This ongoing conflict between fidelity to form and fidelity to meaning is a persistent challenge for translators employing the linguistic approach.

Peter Newmark's distinction between translation methods and procedures provides a valuable framework for approaching different units of language during the translation process. Translation methods encompass broader approaches applied to whole texts, while translation procedures are specifically utilized for sentences and smaller language units. Newmark describes various translation methods – such as word-for-word, literal, communicative, and semantic translations – each with its focus on how to render content from the SL to the TL (Newmark 2007). However, beyond these methods and procedures, challenges in the translation of literary texts overloaded with vernacular language emerge when linguistic and cultural equivalences are absent. In some instances, certain meanings expressed in the SL may lack direct counterparts or equivalents in the TL. These gaps in

equivalence pose significant hurdles for translators aiming to convey nuanced vernacular elements, cultural references, or linguistic distinctions, especially when they have no direct parallels in the TL. This creates a complex landscape for translators where fidelity to both meaning and cultural nuances becomes particularly challenging.

Mona Baker's insight highlights a fundamental aspect of translation: the lack of a direct, one-to-one correspondence between words and their meanings across different languages (Baker 2018). This underlines the complexity of translation, where the challenge often lies in conveying the essence and nuances of meaning rather than strictly equating individual words or phrases. Eugene Nida's perspective on translation as both a process and a product emphasizes the multifaceted nature of translation, viewing it as a process which involves the complex task of reproducing the meaning and style of the SL into the TL. Achieving an accurate transfer of ideas, messages, and thoughts between languages and cultures is at the core of this process.

When translating MSA Arabic texts, particularly novels, into English, the complexities involved may necessitate employing various translation methods, with the exception of machine translation, which must be prohibited. These methods are essential tools for translators to navigate linguistic and cultural differences, striving to create an optimized product in the TL while remaining faithful to the essence of the source text. The diversity and richness of MSA Arabic prose texts often demand a nuanced approach to translation to capture its intricacies and cultural context effectively.

Translating MSA Arabic language texts into English presents significant challenges, especially due to the linguistic and cultural differences between the source and target languages. The process involves employing various translation techniques like literal, semantic, and communicative translation to approximate the intended meaning from Arabic into English. However, these efforts encounter obstacles stemming from unique linguistic and cultural elements inherent in the Arabic language and culture. The use of machine translation in this context will inevitably have very negative effects on the resulting translated texts at various levels: syntactic, stylistic, semantic, pragmatic and so on.

Arabic texts often contain words, phrases, idioms, and local dialects that lack direct equivalents in English, making it challenging to convey their exact meaning through machine translation. Additionally, the cultural references, allusions, and symbols embedded within MSA Arabic texts, and particularly literary works, carry specific cultural nuances and historical contexts that are difficult to convey accurately in English via machine translation.

Susan Bassnett's perspective sheds light on the complexity of the translation process, emphasizing that beyond linguistic considerations translators should also consider a range of extra-linguistic criteria (Bassnett 2013). This includes understanding and conveying cultural references and connotations present in the source text, which may not have direct equivalents in the TL, and this process is not available for machine translation systems. Furthermore, Bassnett highlights the importance of maintaining the essence of

the source culture without attempting to impose or modify the value system of the source culture onto the target culture. This underscores the translator's responsibility to ensure that while conveying the meaning, the translated text remains faithful to the cultural nuances and context of the original work without imposing foreign values onto the translated version, things that remain beyond machine translation.

The translation of literary and non-literary MSA texts laden with colloquial expressions poses considerable challenges, and scholars have offered diverse perspectives to tackle these inherent complexities. Peter Newmark emphasizes the significance of considering the quality of writing and the authority of the text as critical factors influencing the choice of translation method. He underscores that the quality of writing should be evaluated in relation to the author's intention and the subject matter. Newmark highlights that expressive texts, serious imaginative literature, and authoritative or personal statements demand close translation, ensuring alignment with the style, tone, and intent of the original work (Newmark 1988).

Acknowledging the demanding nature of the above-mentioned translation practices, experts such as Basil Hatim and Ian Mason stress the importance of competence on the part of the translator (Hatim and Mason 2005). Competence here refers not only to linguistic skills but also includes a deep understanding of cultural nuances, colloquial expressions, literary devices, and the context of the source text, all of which machine translation lacks. For machine translation, synonymy, for instance constitutes a major lexical challenge when translating MSA Arabic texts into English. Synonymy, the existence of multiple words or phrases with similar meanings, presents a hurdle even for human translators, who strive to capture the exact nuances and connotations embedded within Arabic vernacular expressions when rendering them into English. Understanding the nuances and multiple synonyms of words in the SL is crucial for translators, as it impacts the accuracy and richness of the translation.

3 THE USE OF MACHINE TRANSLATION (GOOGLE TRANSLATE) IN RENDERING ARABIC TEXTS INTO ENGLISH, AND VICE VERSA: AN APPLIED PERSPECTIVE

3.1 Using Machine Translation to Render MSA texts into English

The use of machine translation to render modern standard Arabic (MSA) texts including simple lexical items into English resulted into different kinds of mistakes- at the lexical, semantic, stylistic, and structural levels- which distorted the SL meaning in TL translation. The following examples including Arabic sentences and phrases are simultaneously translated using machine translation (MT) and human translation (HT). According to the examples below, all the sentences and phrases rendered by machine translation

(MT) include mistakes, which disfigure the source language (SL) meaning resulting into misconception on the part of target language (TL) readers. However, the use of human translation (HT) to render the same texts from Arabic into English leads to correct TL texts as follows:

-جريدة الفجر.

Daybreak Newspaper (MT).

Alfajr Newspaper. (HT).

-ترجمة الملحقات النصية: است خدام العتبات النصية لتوجيه القراء إلى كيفية الاطلاع على النصوص الحساسة.

Translating textual appendices: Using text thresholds to direct readers on how to view sensitive texts. (MT).

Paratextual Translation: Using Paratexts to guide the reading of sensitive texts. (HT).

-خرج الغواني يحتججن ورحت أرقب جمعهه
فإذا بهن تخذن كم سود الثياب شعارهه
فطلعن مثل كواكب يسطن في وسط الدجنه
(بين القصرين).

-The girls came out protesting,

and I watched their gathering,

Then they took black clothes as their emblem,

They appeared like stars,

shining in the middle of the garden. (Bain Al-Qasrain). (MT).

-Beautiful women marched in protest,

I went to observe their rally,

I found them proudly,

Brandishing the blackness of their garments,

They looked like stars,

Gleaming in a pitch-black night,

They took to the streets. (Palace Walk¹). (HT).

-الكشاف الموضوعي.

-Thematic Explorer. (MT).

-Subject Index. (HT).

1 Mahfouz, N. (1991) *Palace Walk*, Trans. William Hutchins. New York: Doubleday, 374. (The citation is originally part of a poem written by the Egyptian poet Hafiz Ebrahim praising a demonstration by women in support of the 1919 Revolution leader Saad Zaghloul, and it was quoted by one of the characters in Mahfouz's novel as a comment on a similar demonstration).

-كان الرئيس في مقدمة مستقبلي جلالة الملك عبد الله.

-The president was at the forefront of his future Majesty King Abdullah. (MT).

-The president was at the forefront of the reception of His Majesty, King Abdullah. (HT).

-التقى الرئيس مع دولة رجب طيب أردوغان.

-The president met with the State of Recep Tayyip Erdogan. (MT).

-The president met with His Excellency Recep Tayyip Erdogan. (HT).

-الاعتراف بالجميل الذي منّ به عليّ.

-The recognition of the beauty that he has bestowed upon me. (MT)

-Expressing my gratitude and acknowledging the kindness he has shown to me. (HT)

-وقد فتح هذا البعد الجديد مشربا نضبا للتعرف على ثقافات جديدة ومعارف مهمة.

-This new dimension opened a rich drink to get to know about new cultures and important knowledge. (MT).

-This new dimension has opened a rich source of knowledge for learning about new cultures and important knowledge. (HT).

-ولي عهد موناكو.

-Crown Prince of Munaco Era. (MT).

-Crown Prince of Munaco. (HT).

-إنه رصيدنا الحضاري والإنساني.

-It is our civilizational and human balance. (MT).

-It is our civilizational and humanitarian asset. (HT)

-كان اللقاء في سكن سعادته في البطين.

-The meeting was at His Excellency's in the ventricle. (MT).

-The meeting was at His Excellency's residence in Al Bateen. (HT).

-دراسة الأعلام.

-Study of flags. (MT)

- Onomastics. (HT).

- التهنية بعيد الفطر المبارك.

Congratulations on Eid blessed mushroom. (MT).

Congratulations on Eid Al-Fitr. (HT).

-غادر الرئيس البلاد وكان في مقدمة مودعيه حشد من الوزراء.

-The president departed the country and at the forefront of his deposits a crowd of ministers. (MT).

-The president left the country and a congregation of ministers bid him farewell. (HT).

-الذين انتقلوا إلى رحمة الله تعالى.

-Those who moved to the mercy of God Almighty. (MT).

-Those who have passed away to the mercy of God Almighty. (HT).

-استقبل شيخ القبيلة الضيوف في مجلسه.

-The tribal sheikh received the guests in his council.) MT).

-The Sheikh of the tribe received the guests in his Majlis. (HT).

-أقيمت الاحتفالية في قصر المشرف.

-The celebration was held at the supervisor's palace. (MT).

-The celebration was held at Al Mushrif Palace. (HT).

-قام الوزير بتسليم بيرق الشعر للشاعر الشاب.

-The minister delivered the hair shines to the young poet. (MT).

-The minister handed over the banner of poetry to the young poet. (HT).

-نجدد الرهان على قدرات شبابنا في كافة المجالات.

-We renew our bet on the capabilities of our youth in all fields. (MT).

-We renew our confidence in the capabilities of our youth in all fields. (HT).

-حضور القائد تخريج دورة جديدة من دورات الأغرار.

-The leader attended the graduation of a new session of Al-Aghrar courses. (MT).

-The leader attended the graduation of a new session of the young recruits' courses. (HT).

-نقل سعادته لدولته تحيات رئيس الدولة.

-His happiness conveyed to his country the greetings of the state president. (MT).

-HE conveyed to his excellency the greetings of the president of the state. (HT).

-حفل زفاف كريمة ربيع مفتاح إلى مطر النجار.

-The wedding of Karima spring key to rain the carpenter. (MT).

-The wedding of the daughter of Rabie Moftah to Matar Al-Najjar. (HT).

-دعم سعادته لتحريك أولى طائرات الجسر الجوي لإغاثة ضحايا الزلزال في المدينة المنكوبة.

- His Excellency supported the movement of the first air bridge aircraft to relief earthquake victims in stricken city. (MT).

- His Excellency supported the operation of the first air bridge aircraft to relief earthquake victims in stricken city. (HT).

The above-mentioned examples provided evidence to confirm the failure of machine translation to render modern standard Arabic (MSA) texts into English.

3.2 Using MT to Render Colloquial Arabic Texts into English

The use of machine translation to render vernacular or slang expressions or local proverbs or popular culture idioms or any form of colloquial dialects - proliferated in literary works or mass media outlets- from Arabic into English is a risky process leading to catastrophic consequences on the translated texts and distorting the SL meaning as follows:

-«ضربت المرأة كفاً على كف وقالت:
أصابتك عين، ماذا حصل لعقلك يا ابني؟
(السكرية).

- “The woman struck palm on palm and said:

You have an eye injury, what happened to your mind, my son? (Sukkariyya). (MT).

- “The woman struck her hands together and riposted, ‘The evil eye has struck you. What ‘s happened to your brain, son?’” (Sugar Street)². (HT).

-“كفاية ضحك، سكتنا له دخل بحماره”
(السكرية).

- “Enough of the laughter, we were silent when he entered with his donkey” (Sukka-riyya). (MT).

- “That’s enough laughter! ‘When we did not scold him the first time, he brought his jenny’” ((Sugar Street). (HT).

-صاح ماجد بنرفزة: “ما بقى فيني احملها واحمل طبعها يا شيخ. شو عامل لربنا حتى يعتري هالتعتير، ويشحرنى هالشحار. خلصني يا ابن عمي بالتى هي أحسن.”
(حكاية زهرة).

-Majid shouted angrily: “I can no longer bear it and bear its nature, Sheikh. What can I do to God that makes me suffer this taunt and make me angry. Save me, my cousin, with what is best” (Zahra Story). (MT).

-Majed yelled out, ‘I can’t stand her or her behaviour! What have I don’t that God should punish me in his way? Help me, cousin, and let you and I remain good friends’ (The Story of Zahra)³. (HT).

2 Mahfouz, N. (1997) *Sugar Street*. Translated from Arabic by William Hutchins. Cairo: American University in Cairo Press, 107.
Ibid., 227.

3 Al Shaykh, H. (1986) *The Story of Zahrah*. Translated from Arabic by Peter Ford. London: Quartet Books, 83.

- "أضحك مع اللي ضحك والهيم طاويني
طية شنون العرب لا قَطَرُوا ماها".
(القارورة).

- "I laugh with those who laugh, and worry takes me away."
Tayya Shnoun al-Arab, do not distill its meanings" (the Bottle). (MT).
- "I laugh with those who laughed before me,
Though troubles they abound,
Now I'm wrung dry like a Bedouin's water skin,
I don't think I'll stick around" (Munira's Bottle⁴). (HT).

- "عمر الشقي بقي والأعمار بيد الله...و محسوبك شقي وأهي هانت، فاضل يجي ٣ أيام كمان وألم فلوس
القسط".
(تاكسي).

- "A miserable life is left, and life is in God's hands... and I think you are miserable, and now it is in vain. Fadel will come for 3 more days, and the pain of the installment money" (Taxi). (MT).
- "The rogue has nine lives, and our lives are in God's hands,' he answered. 'And yours truly is a real rogue. I'm nearly there, just some three days to go and I'll have made the money for the instalment" (Taxi⁵). (HT).

- "اجلس عيني، كلنا مو خطر هنا، هذا مثل بيتنا وكلنا أهل. نادر عيني ترى أنت نحيف مثل أمك، شنو أنت
ما تأكل هناك؟"
(المحوبات).

- "Sit down, dear eye, Mu khtaar-none of us are guests here, it might as well be home and we're all family. Nader, I dearie, why on earth are you as thin as your mother, shnu inta ma takul Hunak? You must eat nothing over there! Why?" (Lovely Ones). (MT)
- "Sit down, we are not all dangerous here. This is like our home, and we are all family members. Rarely do I see that you are as skinny as your mother. Why don't you eat there?" (The Beloved Ones⁶). (HT).

-فقلت: «في ستين داهية». (موسم الهجرة إلى الشمال).

- She said: "In sixty shrewd ones" (Migration Season to the North). (MT).
- "Good riddance! she said" (Season of Migration to The North⁷). (HT)

4 Al-Mohaimeed, Y. (2010) *Munira's Bottle*. Translated from Arabic by Anthony Calderbank. The American University in Cairo Press, New York, 31.

5 Alkhamissi, K. (2006) *Taxi*. Translated from Arabic by Jonathan Wright. Dar El Shorouk, Cairo, 14.

6 Mamdouh, A. (2007) *The Beloved Ones*. Translated from Arabic by Marilyn Booth. Feminist Press at the City University of New York, 189.

7 Salih, T. (1969) *Season of Migration to The North*. Translated from Arabic by Denys Johnson-Davies. Penguin Books, 128.

فتخلصت من يده مقاومة من ناحيته هذه المرة، وحدقت إليه طويلاً ثم ابتسمت وتمتمت:
عصفوري يا أمه عصفوري لألعب وأروي له أموري
(بين القصرين).

-So, I got rid of his hand in resistance on his part this time, and stared at him for a long time, then smiled and muttered:

My bird, mother, is my bird to play with and tell him my affairs (Bayn al-Qasrain). (MT).

- "She escaped from his hand without any resistance this time. She gave him a lengthy look. Then she smiled and recited softly:

My sparrow, Mother, my little bird,

I'll play and show him what I have learned" (Palace Walk⁸). (HT).

وتناول السيد الدف، ومسح عليه براحته مبتسماً، وبدأت أصابعه تنقر عليه في مهارة على حين انطلقت آلات
الطرب عازفة، ثم غنت زبيدة وهي ترنو إلى الأعين المحدقة إليها:
على روحي أنا الجاني وخلي في الهوى رماني
(بين القصرين).

-“The master took the tambourine and stroked it with his palm, smiling, and his fingers began to tap on it skillfully, while the musical instruments started playing, and then Zubayda sang, looking up at the eyes staring at her:

On my soul, I am the culprit, and he left me in the air (between the palaces). (MT).

- “Mr. El-Sayyed took the tambourine and smiled as he rubbed it with the palm of his hand. His fingers began to strike it skilfully and then the other instruments started playing. Zubayda glanced at the eyes fixed on her sang:

I'm an accomplice against myself,

When my lover steals my heart" (Palace Walk⁹). (HT).

Obviously, the above-cited examples confirm the impossibility of using machine translation in rendering colloquial Arabic texts, proverbs, idiomatic and expressions and slang language into English. The preceding extracts reveal examples from different dialects used in a variety of Arab countries. The examples are cited from canonized Arabic fiction written by well-established novelists from Egypt (Naguib Mahfouz and Khaled Alkhamissi), Saudi Arabia (Y. Al-Mohaimeed), Sudan (Tayeb Salih), Lebanon (H. Al Shaykh) and Iraq (Alia Mamdouh). As demonstrated above, the use of machine translation in rendering Arabic vernacular language into English results into a wide range of errors at all levels-linguistic, lexical, structural, semantic, syntactic, stylistic- therefore it is a risky and unpredictable procedure, which should be avoided.

8 Mahfouz, N. (1991) *Palace Walk*. Trans. William Hutchins. New York: Doubleday, 96.

9 .Ibid., 103.

3.3 Using MT to Render English texts Into Arabic

Based on experiment and the applied examples above, machine translation failed to render correctly Arabic texts into English including a variety of modern standard Arabic (MSA) styles, colloquial dialects, proverbs, popular sayings, idioms, and vernacular/slang expressions. Similarly, and as shown below, machine translation -contrary to human translation-failed to render selected English texts into Arabic correctly. These texts include simple phrases, idiomatic and proverbial expressions, acronyms as well as slang and offensive lexical items. The first line in Arabic under the English item below shows the erroneous machine translation followed by the correct human translation as follows:

-The Waste Land

-أرض النفايات (ترجمة آلية)
-الأرض الخراب (ترجمة بشرية)

-Achilles heel

-كعب أخيل (ترجمة آلية)
-نقطة ضعف (ترجمة بشرية)

-It rains cats and dogs.

-تمطر قططاً وكلاباً (ترجمة آلية)
-تمطر بغزارة شديدة (ترجمة بشرية)

-Holy shit.

-سحق ملأ فرقلاً- (آي لا قمجرت)
-يا للهول (ترجمة بشرية)

-He had an access of despair.

-كان لديه وصول اليأس (ترجمة آلية)
-كان يشعر باليأس (ترجمة بشرية)

-The tail is wagging the dog.

-الذيل يهز الكلب (ترجمة آلية)
-عندما يتحكم المرووس في الرئيس (ترجمة بشرية)

PPP

-تعاذل القوى الشرائية. (ترجمة آلية)
-شراكة القطاعين العام والخاص. (ترجمة بشرية)

BOT

-العودة للموضوع. (ترجمة آلية)
-البناء-التشغيل- النقل. (ترجمة بشرية)

-Where it is so outside the consciousness of the living present that there can be no inter-textuality with the postmodern novel.

-حيث لا يمكن أن يكون هناك اختلاط جنسي مع رواية ما بعد الحداثة خارج الوعي الحاضر الحي. (ترجمة آلية).
 -حيث لا يمكن أن يوجد تناس مع رواية ما بعد الحداثة خارج الوعي بالحاضر الحي. (ترجمة بشرية).

4 CONCLUSION

The above arguments about the challenges confronting machine translation in rendering Arabic into English underscore the multifaceted nature of the translation of MSA texts and colloquial expressions, emphasizing the importance of linguistic proficiency, cultural sensitivity, and an acute understanding of the source text's nuances to produce a faithful and meaningful translation.

Due to the considerable disparities between English and Arabic, numerous errors resulted from using machine translation in rendering Arabic into English, and vice versa across various linguistic, cultural, and contextual aspects. This paper examined most of these mistakes by using an applied approach, and provided numerous examples from MSA and colloquial Arabic dialects. It contends that these translation errors primarily stem from linguistic and cultural differences between Arabic and English, and notably from the difficulty of using machine translation in rendering SL to TL, particularly regarding vernacular expressions. With more than thirty dialects prevalent in the Arab region, these variations are interwoven within literature and mass media, often leading to translational inaccuracies. Undoubtedly, errors might arise from the use of inappropriate translation strategies or methods such as machine translation, which inadequately align with the source text. The array of translation approaches available offers translators various choices, but they sometimes lead to discrepancies in the adopted approach itself.

As illustrated in the last part, this paper examined potential translation errors in excerpts from a variety of literary and non-literary texts written by canonized Arab authors and translated by first-tier translators, most of whom are of Western origin. The examples reveal several categories of translation errors at different levels, and these can be attributed to many reasons such as the lack of TL equivalents – linguistic and cultural – and textual/contextual as well as semantic ambiguities inaccessible to machine translation.

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POVZETEK

IZZIVI UPORABE STROJNEGA PREVAJANJA PRI PREVAJANJU ARABSKIH BESEDIL V ANGLEŠČINO: UPORABNI PRISTOP

Ne glede na nedavne argumente o širokih zmožnostih umetne inteligence v sistemih strojnega prevajanja (MT) nekateri strokovnjaki še vedno podcenjujejo ta novi pristop, drugi pa v njem vidijo priložnost za razvoj in izboljšanje prevajalske industrije. Ni dvoma, da je strojno prevajanje močno vplivalo na prevajalsko stroko in korenito spremenilo način, kako ljudje komunicirajo prek jezikov. Zato se prevajalci, univerzitetni profesorji in prevajalska podjetja skušajo prilagoditi tem velikim spremembam na področju prevajalskih študij. Ne glede na prednosti MT se ta še vedno sooča z velikimi izzivi, zlasti pri uporabi za specifična besedila v različnih kontekstih, zlasti za pogovorno arabščino, ki je zelo pogosta v sodobni literaturi in množičnih medijih. Na podlagi tega in kot odgovor na ponavljajoče se trditve o visoki učinkovitosti MT in njegovem izjemnem potencialu, da natančno in natančno pretvori katerokoli besedilo iz enega jezika v drugega, ta članek poudarja nezmožnost sistemov MT za pretvorbo arabskih besedil v angleščino in obratno. V prispevku je poudarjen škodljiv vpliv uporabe MT pri prevajanju v angleščino ne le pogovornih arabskih narečij, temveč tudi sodobne standardne arabščine (MSA). V prispevku so izpostavljene tudi napake pri prevajanju, ki so posledica uporabe MT pri prevajanju sodobnih angleških besedil v arabščino in obratno, s poudarkom na prevajanju idiomatskih izrazov in pregovorov. V članku kot primeru uporabne študije so uporabljena različna besedila, vzeta iz različnih literarnih in neli-literarnih virov/kontekstov, ki so prevedena s pomočjo Googlevega prevajalnika, da bi se pokazale pomanjkljivosti MT, ki so povzročile izkrivljanje pomena SL besedil, prevedenih v TL. Z drugimi besedami, namen prispevka je odkriti napake, ki so posledica uporabe MT pri pretvorbi tako MSA kot pogovornih arabskih izrazov v angleščino in obratno. Argumentacija prispevka je sestavljena iz štirih delov, med katerimi so uvod, v katerem so predstavljene sodobne teorije prevajanja, sledi razprava o izzivih, s katerimi se sooča arabsko-angleško prevajanje, in primeri arabsko-angleških/arabskih prevodov, ki so jih naredili strojni in človeški prevajalci, poleg tega pa sledi še sklep.

Ključne besede: strojno prevajanje, umetna inteligenca, teorije prevajanja, sodobna angleščina, sodobna standardna arabščina, pogovorni jezik, sleng, ljudski jezik, uporabni pristop

ABSTRACT**THE CHALLENGES OF USING MACHINE TRANSLATION IN RENDERING ARABIC TEXTS INTO ENGLISH: AN APPLIED PERSPECTIVE**

Regardless of recent arguments about the wide-scale capabilities of artificial intelligence introduced into machine translation (MT) systems, some professionals still underestimate this new approach, while others scholars see it as an opportunity to develop and improve the translation industry. There is no doubt that machine translation has massively impacted the translation profession and radically changed the way people interact through languages. Therefore, translators, university professors, and translation companies are all seeking to adapt to these radical transformations in the field of translation studies. Regardless of the advantages of MT, it still confronts huge challenges especially when applied to specific texts in different contexts, and particularly the colloquial Arabic that is very common in contemporary literature and mass media. On this basis and in response to repeated claims about the high efficiency of MT and its extraordinary potential to render any text from one language into another with accuracy and precision, this paper emphasizes the inability of MT systems to render Arabic texts into English, and vice versa. The paper emphasizes the damaging impact of using MT in rendering into English not only colloquial Arabic dialects but also modern standard Arabic (MSA). The paper also highlights the translation errors resulting from the use of MT in rendering modern English texts into Arabic and vice versa, with a focus on the translation of idiomatic expressions and proverbs. As an applied study, the paper uses a variety of texts selected from various literary and non-literary sources/contexts and translates them using Google Translate to show the drawbacks of MT, which caused a distortion of the meaning of the SL texts translated into TL. In other words, the paper aims to uncover the mistakes resulting from the use of MT when converting both MSA and colloquial Arabic expressions into English, and vice versa. The argument of the paper consists of four parts, including an introduction, which introduces contemporary translation theories, followed by a discussion of the challenges confronting Arabic-English translation, and examples of Arabic/English/Arabic translations carried out by machine and human translators, in addition to a conclusion.

Keywords: machine translation, artificial intelligence, translation theories, Modern English, Modern Standard Arabic, colloquial, slang, vernacular, applied approach

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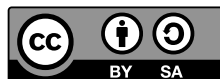
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Izvirni znanstveni članek



HAMLET V PREVODU B. L. PASTERNAKA IN M. L. LOZINSKEGA

1 UVOD

Članek odpira – ne pa tudi odgovarja na – večno vprašanje prevajalske umetnosti: je bolje prevajati zvesto ali prosto? Eno od manifestacij te dihotomije poiščemo v ruskem kulturnem prostoru, in sicer na primeru dveh prevodov Shakespearjeve tragedije *Hamlet* (*The Tragedy of Hamlet, Prince of Denmark*, 1603), pod katera sta se podpisala Boris Leonidovič Pasternak (1890–1960) in Mihail Leonidovič Lozinski (1886–1955). Uvodoma ugotovljamo, kakšno vlogo ima Shakespeare v ruski kulturi, nakar se lotimo kontrastivne analize prevajalskih poskusov. Pri tej nas zanimajo predvsem naslednji vidiki prevodnega dejanja: posnemanje zvočne podobe izvirnika, notranje- in zunanjeformalna ustreznost ter posluš za jezikovne nianse, ki izvirajo bodisi iz registra bodisi iz individualne govorice likov. Poleg razlik nekaj pozornosti namenimo tudi podobnostim med prevodoma.

2 PREVODI HAMLETA V RUŠČINO

2.1 18. in 19. stoletje

Ime danskega princa je v ruskem literarnem prostoru najprej zazvenelo sredi 18. stoletja v tragediji Aleksandra Petroviča Sumarokova (1717–1777). Težko bi rekli, da je prvi zvezdnik ruskega klasicističnega gledališča ustvaril prevod; prej je šlo za dokaj samostojno dramsko delo (1748), ki pa je tematsko vseeno temeljilo na izvirniku. Sumarokov naj bi se ob pisanju opiral na prozno interpretacijo *Hamleta* Pierre-Antoina de la Placea, saj bojda ni znal angleško, vsakršno omembo Shakespearja v povezavi s svojo stvaritvijo pa je dojemal kot napad na njeno izvirnost. Dejansko je imel prvi ruski Hamlet bore malo skupnega s Shakespearjevim: kot tipičen produkt svojega časa je poučeval in moraliziral, ostalo pa potisnil v ozadje (Levin 1988: 12–13).

Bolj tradicionalno je *Hamleta* v ruščino prevedel Mihail Pavlovič Vrončenko (1802–1855). V svojem prevodu iz leta 1828 je uporabil nove prevajalske principe, ki jih našteva v predgovoru, in sicer:

- 1) Kar najbolj se je treba ravnati po izvirniku: verze prevajajmo z verzi, prozo s prozo.
- 2) Ostajajmo zvesti avtorjevemu izrazu, a pazimo, da nismo prostaški.
- 3) Besedne igre ohranjajmo tudi za ceno pomena, ki ga nosijo, če pomen sam po sebi ni bistven (Levin 1965: 252).

V 19. stoletju francoščina ni več v vlogi posrednika, temveč *Hamleta* prevajajo neposredno iz angleščine. Vseeno pa prevajalci še ne znajo posnemati Shakespearjeve zapletene metrike. Namesto blankverza uporabljajo poljubne verzne vzorce, včasih, ko želijo ustvariti karseda natančen prevod, pa se zatečejo tudi k prozi. V tem obdobju je po postavitvah sodeč posebej priljubljena interpretacija (1837) Nikolaja Aleksejeviča Polevoja (1796–1846), ki se uveljavi kljub pomanjkljivostim: »Polevoj je dramo skrajšal skoraj za tretjino, pridušil Shakespearjevo ostroumnost in izpustil nedostojne besedne igre. Skrajšal je vse, kar se mu je zdelo nerazumljivo, prostaško ali pa pač predolgo ...« (navedeno po Kuvšinčikov 2021).¹

2.2 Pasternak in Lozinski

O pluralizmu, značilnem za 19. stoletje, v 30. in 40. letih 20. stoletja ni ne duha ne sluha. Poskusa Ane Dmitrievne Radlove (1891–1949) in Mihaila Mihajloviča Morozova (1897–1952) je sicer treba omeniti, a sta se skupaj z drugimi umaknila dvema izbranim, ki še danes veljata za najpomembnejša in pod katera sta se podpisala Mihael Lozinski ter Boris Pasternak.² Težko bi se bilo odločiti zgolj za enega, najboljšega, saj sta si prevoda popolnoma različna. Lozinski je dosegel natančen prenos izvirnika (1936), medtem ko je Pasternak sledil lastnemu pesniškemu čutu in ustvaril tekst (1939–1954), ki bi ga lahko smatrali za samostojno umetniško delo. Oba sta o svojih pogledih na prevajanje veliko pisala in govorila, kar je do neke mere vplivalo na pričakovanja in posledično vtise bralcev; še posebej Lozinski je poudarjal pomen skladnosti prevoda z izvirnikom nasploh (Peškov 2009).

Pasternak se svojih prevajalskih nazorov dotakne v *Komentarjih k prevodom Shakespearja* (*Замечания к переводам из Шекспира*, 1956):

¹ Vsi prevodi citatov iz neslovenskih virov: V. Bizjak

² Prevod Radlove (1937) je bil v veliki meri spregledan, prozni prevod Morozova (1948) pa bralcu ni ponudil nič novega, temveč se je v njem še enkrat več odrazila tradicionalna interpretacija Shakespearjeve tragedije. Nekoliko paradoksalno sta Radlova in Morozov tako zgolj utrdila primat Pasternaka in Lozinskega.

Kot mnogi drugi menim, da dobesednost in posnemanje oblike izvirnika še ne zagotavljata ustreznosti prevoda. Kakor sorodnost podobe in upodobljenega tudi sorodnost prevoda in izvirnika dosežemo z živim in naravnim jezikom. Ne le avtor, tudi prevajalec se mora izogibati besedam, ki jih v vsakdanjem življenju ne uporablja, in literarni narejenosti, ki se kaže v stilizaciji. Tako kot izvirnik mora tudi prevod dajati vtis življenja, ne slovstva. (1983: 394)

Tako Pasternak kot Lozinski sta imela med bralci svoje privrženke, večkrat pa sta se znašla tudi na kritičnem tla. Praviloma so se tisti, ki so se navduševali nad živostjo in poetičnostjo Pasternakovega prevoda, v isti sapi obregnili ob togost Lozinskega. In obratno: ljubitelji večjega in zvestega Lozinskega so v Pasternaku videli samovoljneža, ki si je dovolil odločno preveč pesniške svobode. Redkokdo je znal ceniti oba prevajalca.

2.3 21. stoletje

Pasternak in Lozinski sta bila dolgo nedotakljiva, nakar je v novem tisočletju nastala cela vrsta prevodov *Hamleta*. Nekateri so povsem ljubiteljski, spet drugi so si zadali težko nalogo, da odpravijo pomanjkljivosti predhodnikov – da presežejo Pasternaka v točnosti in Lozinskega v pesniškosti (Aleksandrov 2010). Igor Peškov govori o obdobju *parazitskega prevoda*: prevajalcem,³ ki »parazitsko izkoriščajo slavo Shakespearjevega *Hamleta*« (2005), očita psevdoznanstvenost in psevdoumetniškost.

3 KONTRASTIVNA ANALIZA PREVODOV *HAMLETA*

Pri analizi prevodov Lozinskega in Pasternaka smo se omejili na prvo dejanje, ki je sestavljeno iz petih prizorov in v katerem Hamlet od duha svojega očeta, nedavno preminulega kralja, izve, kakšne so bile dejanske okoliščine njegove smrti. Prevoda smo preučili s pomenskega, oblikovnega in ritmičnega zornega kota. Iskali smo predvsem trenutke, kjer prihaja do izrazitejših razhajanj, vseeno pa opozarjamo tudi na tiste, kjer sta se prevajalca odločila za enako rešitev. Pod besedilom izvirnika najdemo slovenski prevod Otona Župančiča, prevoda Lozinskega in Pasternaka pa smo glede na preučevani vidik opremili s prečrkovanjem v latinico z označenimi naglasnimi mesti ('), dobesednim prevodom ali obojim.

3 Peškov omenja prevode Andreja Černova (2003), Nadežde Koršunove (2001) in Vitalija Poplavskega (2001).

3.1 Zvočna podoba

Če je za Lozinskega na prvem mestu čimbolj popoln prenos, Pasternak svoj prevod podreja ritmu, pogosto tudi za ceno pomenske točnosti. Nič čudnega: imel je izreden občutek za muzikalčnost. V *Zaščitni listini* (*Охранная грамота*), filozofsko-avtobiografskem romanu, razmišlja o umetnosti in vlogi umetnika: »Bolj kot vse na svetu sem ljubil glasbo [...] Vendar nisem imel absolutnega posluha, sposobnosti, da razpoznam višino kateregakoli tona [...] vselej, ko je večerni navdih dal krila volji, jo je zjutraj kar najhitreje prizemljilo neizprosno zavedanje o tej moji pomanjkljivosti« (1970: 8). Pasternak se je zatekel v svet literarnega ustvarjanja, kjer je njegova ljubezen do glasbe kljub vsemu lahko prišla do izraza. Na prvem mestu seveda prek poezije, čutiti pa jo je moč tudi v avtorjevi prozi in prevodih – še posebej v Shakespearjevem *Hamletu*.

Shakespeare	Pasternak	Lozinski
Thus twice before, and jump at this dead hour/ With martial stalk hath he gone by our watch.	В такой же час таким же важным шагом/ Прошёл вчера он дважды мимо нас.	И так он дважды в этот мёртвый час/ Прошёл при нашей страже грозным шагом.
Tako je dvakrat prej to gluho uro/ korakal strumno mimo naših straž.	/v ta'koj že čas ta'kim že 'važnym 'šagom pro'šol vče'ra on 'dvaždy 'mimo nas/	/i tak on 'dvaždy v 'etot 'mjortvyj čas pro'šol pri 'našej 'straže 'grozным 'šagom/

Že z eno uvodnih replik se vzpostavi tipičen vzorec. Pasternak doseže učinek ritmične dovršenosti, h kateremu nezanemarljiv delež prispeva rima (*čas – nas*), a se odpove pridevniku *dead*. Župančič (*gluha*) in Lozinski (*мёртвый*) sta bolj dosledna.

Shakespeare	Pasternak	Lozinski
Seems, madam! nay it is; I know not 'seems.' 'Tis not alone my inky cloak, good mother, Nor customary suits of solemn black, Nor windy suspiration of forced breath, No, nor the fruitful river in the eye, Nor the dejected 'havior of the visage, Together with all forms, moods, shapes of grief, That can denote me truly: these indeed seem, For they are actions that a man might play: But I have that within which passeth show; These but the trappings and the suits of woe.	Не кажется, сударinya, а есть. Мне «кажется» неведомы. Ни мрачность/ Плаща на мне, ни платья чернота, Ни хрипая прерывистость дыханья, Ни слёзы в три ручья, ни худоба, Ни прочие свидетельства страданья/ Не в силах выразить моей души. Вот способы казаться, ибо это/ Лишь действия, и их легко сыграть, Моя же скорбь чуждается прикрас/ И их не выставляет напоказ.	Мне кажется? Нет, есть. Я не хочу/ Того, что кажется. Ни плащ мой тёмный, Ни эти мрачные одежды, мать, Ни бурный стон стеснённого дыханья, Нет, ни очей поток многообильный, Ни горем удручённые черты/ И все обличья, виды, знаки скорби/ Не выразят меня; в них только то, Что кажется и может быть игрою; То, что во мне, правдивей, чем игра; А это всё – наряд и мишура.
'Zdi'? Ne, ne, je; jaz ne poznam nič 'zdi'. Ne le ta temna halja, draga mati, niti navadna slavnostna črnina, ne burni vzdih obteženih prsi, niti kipeča reka iz oči, niti pobitost mračnega obraza, vsa običajna šega žalovanja/ ne kaže me, kot sem: to res se 'zdi'. zakaj te kretnje dajo se igrati/ a notri tu imam več kot ta vid; vse to je toge lišp le in nakit.	/ne 'kažetsja 'sudarynja, a jest. mne 'kažetsja ne'vedomy. ni 'mračnost pla'sča na mne, ni 'platja černo'ta, ni 'hriplaja pre'ryvistost dy'hanja, ni 'sljozy v tri ru'čja, ni hudo'ba, ni 'pročie svi'detel'stva stra'danja ne v 'silah 'vyrazit mo'jej du'ši. vot 'sposoby ka'zatsja, ibo eto liš' 'dejstvija i ih leh'ko sy'grat, mo'ja že skorb čuž'daetsja pri'kras i ih ne vystav'ljajet napo'kaz/ 	/mne 'kažetsja? net, jest. ja ne ho'ču tovo, čto 'kažetsja. ni plašč moj 'tjomnyj, ni 'eti 'mračnye o'deždy, mat, ni 'burnyj ston ste's'njonnovo dy'hanja, net, ni o'čej po'tok mnogo'o'biljnyj, ni 'gorjem udru'čonnye čer'ty i vse ob'ličja, 'vidy, 'znaki 'skorbi ne 'vyrazjat me'nja; v njih 'toljko to, što 'kažetsja i 'možet byt ig'roju; to, što vo mne, prav'divej, čem ig'ra; a 'eto vsjo – na'rjad i mišu'ra/

Hamletov odgovor materi iz drugega prizora je eden nazornejših primerov dihotomije ritma in smisla. Lozinski vzpostavi zgolj eno rimo, Pasternak vsaj tri. Kot po pravilu se tam, kjer išče zvočno ujemanje, oddalji od pomena: [...] *niti hripava pretrganost diha* (/dy'hanja/) *niti solze v treh potokih* (/ru'čja/) *niti drugi dokazi trpljenja* (/stra'danja/) [...] *moja žalost se izogiba okraskom* (/pri'kras/) *in jih ne postavlja na ogled* (/napo'kaz/).

Medtem Lozinski prevaja praktično besedo za besedo: [...] *niti burni stok težkega dihanja niti oči potok preobilni niti poteze, ki jih bremeni gorje, niti vse podobe, znaki, oblike žalosti* [...] *to, kar je v meni, je bolj resnično od igre (/ig'ra/); vse to pa je le kostum in kič (/mišu'ra/).*

Lozinskemu v bran opozarjamo, da blankverz navadno ni riman. Stopico – jamski enajsterec – dosledno upoštevatata oba prevajalca.

3.2 Pomen

Pokazali smo, da ima Pasternak boljši posluš, zato pa je v kategoriji točnosti nesporni zmagovalec Lozinski. Ne le, da zvesteje sledi izvirniku, kar deloma potrjuje zgornji primer, temveč tudi spretno vijuga med interpretativnimi pastmi – teh je spričo arhaične shakespearejanske angleščine kar nekaj. Več spodrseljavev si privošči Pasternak, kar ne preseneča, saj naj si pri prevajanju ne bi pomagal niti z drugimi ruskimi prevodi niti z neštetimi študijami *Hamleta* (Kaganovič 2022).⁴ Boris Pasternak v predgovoru k prve- mu prevodu omenja »premišljeno svobodo, brez katere se ni mogoče približati velikim stvarim« (navedeno po Morozov 1944: 55). Trdi, da moramo najprej preseči navidezno točnost, šele nato lahko govorimo o dejanski, vendar pa s tem ne upravičuje odstopanj, ki jih naštevamo v nadaljevanju in ki jih lahko bolj kot *premišljeni svobodi* pripišemo napačnemu razumevanju izvirnika.

Shakespeare	Pasternak	Lozinski
Or if thou hast uphoarded in thy life/ Extorted treasure in the womb of earth/ For which, they say, you spirits oft walk in death, [...]	Быть может, ты при жизни закопал/ Сокровище, неправдой нажитое, –/ Вас, духов, манят клады, говорят, – [...]	Или когда при жизни ты зарыл/ Награбленные клады, по которым/ Вы, духи, в смерти, говорят, томитесь, [...]
Ali če nakopičil si v življenju/ nagrabljenih zakladov zemlji v krilo/ kar često vas duhove goni okrog, [...]	Morda si za čas življenja zakopal zaklad, krivično pridobljen – pravijo, da vas, duhove, mamijo zakladi, [...]	Ali ko si za čas življenja zakopal nagrabljene zaklade, ki vas, duhove, pravijo, v smrti mučijo, [...]

Duhov zakladi (sploh *nagrabljeni* ali *krivično pridobljeni*) ne mamijo, temveč jih zadržujejo na tem svetu. Napaki, na kateri opozarjamo na teh straneh, sta se ohranili v vseh različicah Pasternakovega *Hamleta* – avtor je svoj prevod namreč večkrat popravil. Glede na pesnikovo občutljivo naravo se ni mogoče otresti občutka, da se je revizij loteval pod pritiski kritikov (Bykov 2007: 17). Med najostrejše je spadal Aleksander

⁴ V nadaljevanju to domnevo postavimo pod vprašaj.

Aleksandrovič Smirnov (1883–1962), čigar mnenje si je Pasternak več kot očitno jemal k srcu: »Pri nas moj Shakespeare ni imel sreče [...] Med drugimi ga še posebej ostro in vztrajno napadate vi [Smirnov], česar, po pravici povedano, sploh ne morem razumeti« (navedeno po: Kaganovič 2022).

Shakespeare	Pasternak	Lozinski
As stars with trains of fire and dews of blood,/ Disasters in the sun; and the moist star/ Upon whose influence Neptune's empire stands/ Was sick almost to doomsday with eclipse: [...]	В огне комет кровавилась роса,/ На солнце пятна появлялись; месяц,/ На чьём влиянье зиждет власть Нептун,/ Был болен тьмой, как в светопреставленье, [...]	Кровавый дождь, косматые светила,/ Смутенья в солнце; влажная звезда,/ В чьей области Нептунова держава,/ Болела тьмой, почти как в судный день [...]
[...] in repatice in krvava rosa,/ maroge v soncu; in vodena zvezda,/ v Neptunovem kraljestvu vladarica,/ je mrknila kakor za sodni dan: [...]	V ognju kometov je krvavela rosa, na soncu so se pojavili madeži; mesec, na vplivu katerega gradi oblast Neptun, je bolehal za temo kot ob koncu sveta [...]	[...] krvavi dež, raztrgana nebesna telesa, nemirno sonce; vlažna zvezda, pod oblastjo katere je Neptunovo carstvo, je bolehala za temo kot na sodni dan [...]

Pasternak v svojem prevodu mesecu, ki naj bi po ljudskem prepričanju uravnaval plimovanje morja (Neptunovega kraljestva), pripiše za odtenek manj pomembno vlogo, kot jo ima ta v izvirniku ter v prevodih Župančiča in Lozinskega. Na istem primeru pa lahko pokažemo še eno značilnost Pasternakovega prevoda, in sicer izrazito usmerjenost v *dinamično ekvivalenco*, ki »skuša vzpostaviti enak odziv pri bralcih v ciljnem jeziku, kakor ga je imel izvirnik pri bralcih v izhodiščnem jeziku, zato se prevajalec osredotoča predvsem na razumljivost sporočila in v luči tega izvirnik pogosto interpretira« (Kocijančič Pokorn 2003: 98). Eugene Nida jo zoperstavlja *formalni ekvivalenci*, h kateri na drugi strani stremi Lozinski. Prevodno enoto *moist star* nadomesti z rusko ustreznico (*влажная звезда*) in ne ponudi razlage, ki bi bila tu morda umestna, hkrati pa drži, da bralcu na ta način besedilo postreže takšno, kakršno »dobi v roke tisti bralec, ki lahko bere izvirnik« (prav tam).

Shakespeare	Pasternak	Lozinski
For he himself is subject to his birth:/ He may not, as unvalued persons do,/ Carve for himself; for on his choice depends/ The safety and health of this whole state;/ And therefore must his choice be circumscribed/ Unto the voice and yielding of that body/ Whereof he is the head.	Он сам в плену у своего рождения./ Не вправе он, как всякий человек,/ Стремиться к счастью. От его поступков/ Зависит благоденствие страны./ Он ничего не выбирает в жизни,/ А слушается выбора других/ И соблюдает пользу государства.	[...] Он в подданстве у своего рождения;/ Он сам себе не режет свой кусок,/ Как прочие; от выбора его/ Зависят жизнь и здоровье всей державы./ И в нём он связан изволением тела,/ Которому он голова.
[...] on je ujetnik svojega rodu:/ ne sme si, kakor dela vsak prostak,/ sam streči, kajti na njegov izbor/ opira se blaginja vse države,/ zatorej omejuje mu izbor/ glas in pristanek tistega telesa,/ ki mu je glava on.	On sam je v ujetništvu svojega rojstva. Nima pravice, da bi kot vsi drugi stremel k streči. Od njegovih dejanj je odvisno blagostanje države. V življenju si ničesar ne izbira, temveč se ravna po izboru drugih in upošteva prid države.	[...] Podložen je svojemu rojstvu; on si ne reže svojega koščka kot drugi; od njegovega izbora sta odvisna življenje in zdravje vse države, v njem pa je on zavezan volji telesa, kateremu je glava.

Še en primer dinamične ekvivalence najdemo v tretjem prizoru, kjer Laert svari Ofelijo, naj Hamletovega dvorjenja ne jemlje preresno. Pasternak prevodni enoti *carve for himself in that body whereof he is the head* razloži, pri čemer pa izsek izgubi vso svojo metaforičnost. O teoretičnih vidikih opozicije Lozinski – Pasternak bi lahko še razpravljali, a se bolj kot ne vse misli s tega področja stekajo v eno: tako komunikativna in semantična ekvivalenca (Newmark) kot tudi odkrita in zakrita ekvivalenca (House) v osnovi govorita o prostem in zvestem prevodu (Kocijančič Pokorn 2003: 96).

3.3 Individualiziranost in register

Morozov meni, da je prevod Lozinskega slogovna mojstrovina, kjer je vsaka beseda dobro premišljena, vendar gre vseeno za »hladno in nekoliko statično delo, ki spominja na relief, izklesan iz kamna« (1944: 53). Ni več impulzivne shakespearjanske dinamike, v svojem bistvu pa to ni dramsko delo, temveč povest, v kateri se izmenjavata dialog in monolog. Lozinskemu ni uspelo individualizirati govora. Na drugi strani se Pasternak po Morozovu ne vrača k tradiciji prostega prevoda, temveč izhaja prav iz oseb. Zavedal se je, da je bil Shakespeare predvsem dramaturg, ki je skušal posnemati življenje, tekst

prevoda pa je usmerjal in popravljajal glede na njegove – žive – like. Te je Pasternak individualiziral ne le z upoštevanjem izraznih specifik, temveč predvsem z intoniranjem njihovega govora, za katerega je imel kot pesnik pretanjen občutek.

Shakespeare	Pasternak	Lozinski
You shall do marvellous wisely, good Reynaldo,/ Before you visit him, to make inquire/ Of his behavior.	Да было б хорошо/ До вашего свидания, голубчик,/ Разнюхать там, как он себя ведёт.	Ты поступишь мудро,/ Рейнальдо, ежели до встречи с ним/ Поразузнаешь, как себя ведёт он.
In storil bi kaj pametno, Rejnaldo,/ če, preden stopiš k njemu, poizveš,/ kako se vêde.	Dobro bi bilo, da pred vajinim srečanjem, dragec, izvohaš, kako se vede.	Modro boš storil, Rejnaldo, če pred srečanjem z njim izveš, kako se vede.

Polonij na začetku drugega dejanja pošlje Rejnalda vohunit za Laertom. Ob prevodu Pasternaka si predstavljamo potuhnjenega, spletkarskega starčka, kar je tudi srž Polonijeve vloge. Enak ton je moč razbrati iz izvirnika, pri Lozinskem pa se ne ohrani, čeprav repliko prevede dobesedno.

Shakespeare	Pasternak	Lozinski
O, my lord, my lord, I have been so affrighted!	Боже правый!/ В каком я перепуге!	О господин мой, как я испугалась!
O Bog, tako sem se prestrašila!	Jejhata! Kako se bojim!	O gospod, kako sem se prestrašila!

Ta Ofelijin vzklik sam po sebi zadostuje, da si ustvarimo bolj ali manj pravilno predstavo o lahkovernem, nedolžnem dekletu. Pasternakovo mojstrstvo se med drugim kaže v tem, da je razrešil uganko Shakespearjevega jezika, ki je na videz zapleten, a je bil za angleško renesančno občinstvo povsem razumljiv (Morozov 1944: 56). Živo stihijo pogovornega jezika preseli na gledališki oder, zato ne čudi, da Hamleta Rusi »berejo v (dobesednem) prevodu Lozinskega, dramatizirajo in ekranizirajo [...] pa v (prostem) prevodu Pasternaka« (Toporov 2008).

Čeprav nekateri menijo, da se vrednost Pasternakovega prevoda skriva prav v premišljenem spreminjanju registra, so drugi nad *vulgarizacijo* Shakespearja manj navdušeni. Smirnov v neobjavljenem članku *O ruskih prevodih Shakespearja (O russkix perevodax Шекспира)* zapiše, da v Pasternakovem *Hamletu* »[...] najdemo cel nabor sprememb v tonu, ki ne ustrezajo temu, kar je imel v mislih Shakespeare« (navedeno po: Kaganovič 2022), in doda, da je »prevod poln nepredstavljivo čudnih in nerodnih intonacij, ki ga spreminjajo v tragično grotesko« (prav tam).

Shakespeare	Pasternak	Lozinski
He hath, my lord, of late made many tenders/ Of his affection to me.	Со мной не раз он в нежности пускался/ В залог сердечной дружбы.	Он мне принёс немало уверений/ В своих сердечных чувствах.
Izjavljal mi je često zadnje čase, kako me ceni.	Z menoj se je večkrat spuščal v nežnosti v znak srčnega prijateljstva.	Prinesel mi je nemalo dokazov o svojih srčnih občutkih.

Spuščati se v nežnosti po Smirnovu »ustvarja vtis prostaškega spogledovanja« (navedeno po: Каганович 2022), ravno nasprotno od visokega registra izvirnika, značilnega za plemstvo tistega časa. Ni nemogoče, da je Pasternak samostalniki *tenders* (*ponudba*) napačno razumel kot pridevnik v pomenu *nežen*. Smirnov mu očita tudi druge – zagotovo namerne in za naravnega govorca precej opazne – spremembe registra (*бедняк отпелый, барышня моя, режь на прямоу, типы вроде меня* itd.) (Kaganovič 2022), vendar jih tu ne bomo skušali prenesti v slovenščino, ki je razplastena nekoliko manj ali pa vsaj nekoliko drugače kot ruščina.

3.4 Zunanjeformalna ustreznost

Prevodi Shakespearja, ki misel iz izvirnika v ciljni jezik prenesejo z istim številom vrstic (ali celo zlogov), nasploh veljajo za bolj prestižne. Tudi za Lozinskega je *ekvilinear-nost* predstavljala enega osrednjih ciljev, Pasternak pa se s tem vidikom zunanjeformalne ustreznosti ni omejeval. V nadaljevanju podajamo tri primere.

Shakespeare	Pasternak	Lozinski
Have we, as 'twere with a defeated joy,--/ With an auspicious and a dropping eye, With mirth in funeral and with dirge in marriage, In equal scale weighing delight and dole,-- [...]	[...] Со смешанными чувствами печали/ И радости, с улыбкой и в слезах.	[...] как бы с омраченным торжеством --/ Одним смеясь, другим кручинясь оком, Грустя на свадьбе, веселясь над гробом, Уравновесив радость и унынье, -- [...]
[...] tako rekoč z zatrto veselostjo, z očesom enim jasnim, drugim solznim, s pogrebnim vriskom, jokom svatovskim, v enakih skledicah tehtaje bol in radost, [...]	[...] z mešanimi občutki žalosti in veselja, z nasmehom in v solzah.	[...] z omračenim praznovanjem, z enim smejočim se očesom in drugim žalostnim, žalujoč na svatbi in veseleč se nad krsto, uravnovešamo radost in obup, -- [...]

Shakespeare	Pasternak	Lozinski
[...] leave her to heaven/ And to those thorns that in her bosom lodge, To prick and sting her.	На то ей бог/ И совести глубокие уколы.	[...] с неё довольно неба/ И терний, что в груди у ней живут, Язвя и жая.
[...] prepusti jo nebesom/ in trnom v njenem srcu, ti jo naj/ skelé in zbadajo.	Zanjo bo poskrbel bog in vesti globoki vbodi.	[...] zanjo bo poskrbelo nebo in trni, ki ji živijo v prsih ter jo režejo in zbadajo.

Če je v naštetih primerih Pasternak kljub kratkosti ohranil pomen, pa je ob naslednjem izseku umesten razmislek, ali morda ni bil preveč lakoničen. Shakespearejevih devet vrstic najdemo tudi pri Lozinskem, medtem ko jih Pasternak več kot polovico izpusti.

Shakespeare	Pasternak	Lozinski
Then if he says he loves you, It fits your wisdom so far to believe it/ As he in his particular act and place/ May give his saying deed; which is no further/ Than the main voice of Denmark goes withal./ Then weigh what loss your honour may sustain, If with too credent ear you list his songs, Or lose your heart, or your chaste treasure open/ To his unmaster'd importunity.	Поэтому пойми, каким огнём/ Играешь ты, терпя его признанья, И сколько примешь горя и стыда, Когда ему поддашься и уступишь.	И если/ Тебе он говорит слова любви, То будь умна и верь им лишь настолько/ Насколько он в своём высоком сани/ Их может оправдать; а это будет, Как общий голос Дании решил./ И взвесь, как умалится честь твоя, Коль ты поверишь песням обольщения, Иль потеряешь сердце, иль откроешь/ Свой чистый клад беспутным настояннам.

Če pravi, da te ljubi,/ modrosti tvoji pristoji verjeti/ mu tolikanj, kar zakon in stališče/ mu da izpolniti: to je, nič dalj,/ kot kar prizna vseobči danski glas./ Pretehtaj, kar lahko ti čast trpi,/ če slušaš prezaupno njega pesmi,/ zgubiš srce in čisti svoj zaklad/ odpreš njega nebrzdanim prošnjam.	Zato razumi, s kakšnim ognjem se igraš, ko trpiš njegove izpovedi, in koliko boš prejela gorja in sramote, ko mu popustiš in se mu vdaš.	Govori ti obljube ljubezni, vendar bodi pametna in jim verjemi le toliko, kolikor jih on s svojim visokim stanom lahko izpolni: to pa je toliko, kolikor mu dovoli glas vse Danske. In pretehtaj, kako se bo zmanjšala tvoja čast, če boš verjela pesmim laskanja ali če izgubiš srce ali če svoj čisti zaklad odpreš brezsmiselnemu trmoglavljenju.
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Igor Peškov se sprašuje o smiselnosti prizadevanja za ekvilinearost. Logično je, da skuša prevajalec karseda zvesto posnemati tako notranjo kot tudi zunanjo obliko izvirnika, vendar je to zaradi variativnosti in grafičnih posebnosti praktično nemogoče. »In četudi bi bilo mogoče – v čem je smisel količinske enakosti? [...] bolje je porušiti slovito ekvilinearost in maksimalno ohraniti pomen, namesto da ga silimo v Prokrustovo posteljo vzporejanja vrstic« (2009).

3.5 Podobnosti med prevodom

Omenili smo že, da naj bi bil Pasternakov prevod neobremenjen z interpretacijami in poskusi drugih prevajalcev. V arhivu Lozinskega se je ohranilo Pasternakovo pismo, v katerem mu pesnik piše, da sploh ne bi začel prevajati *Hamleta*, če bi vedel, da se je podviga že lotil on – torej Lozinski (Ivanovskij 2015). Ker pa je Pasternak svojo stvaritev med letoma 1939 in 1954 kar dvanaajstkrat predelal, še posebej v luči naslednjih primerov težko verjamemo, da se v tem času ni seznanil s prevodom Lozinskega iz leta 1933.⁵

Shakespeare	Pasternak	Lozinski
The cock, that is the trumpet to the morn,/ Doth with his lofty and shrill-sounding throat/ Awake the god of day; [...]	Петух, трубач зари, своею глоткой/ Пронзительно будит ото сна/ Дневного бога.	Петух, трубач зари, своей высокой/ И звонкой глоткой будит ото сна/ Дневного бога; [...]

⁵ V zadnjih letih pred smrtjo je Pasternak cinično govoril, da se med svojimi prevodi ne znajde več in da bi moral *Hamleta* še enkrat prevesti zase, če bo le našel čas in moči.

[...] petelin, ki je jutru trobentač,/da z jasno glasovitim grlom drami/ podnevnega boga; [...]	[...] petelin, trobentač zarje, s svojim žrelom predirljivo budi iz sna dnevnega boga. /pe'tuh, tru'bač za'rji, svo'jeju 'glotkoj pron'ziteljno 'budit oto sna dnev'ново 'boga/	[...] petelin, trobentač zarje, s svojim visokim in zvonkim žrelom budi iz sna dnevnega boga; [...] /pe'tuh, tru'bač za'rji, svo'jeju vy'sokoj i 'zvonkoj 'glotkoj 'budit oto sna dnev'ново 'boga/
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Zanimivo je, da *petelin* v izvirniku ni *trobentač*, za katerega so ga oklicali vsi trije prevajalci, temveč *trobenta*, ki poleg tega ne oznanja *zarje*, temveč *jutro*. Še zdaleč ne gre za to, da ruščina ne bi poznala besede za *morn* (*jutro* – *ympo*). Tudi *горло* je na primer precej bližje angleškemu *throat* (*grlo*) kot *зломка* (*požiralnik*), *будит ото сна* pa ni niti edini niti najnaravnejši prevod glagola *awake* (*zbuditi*).

Shakespeare	Pasternak	Lozinski
My hour is almost come, When I to sulphurous and tormenting flames/ Must render up myself.	Настал тот час, Когда я должен пламени геенны/ Предать себя на муку.	/
Skoraj bo že ura, ko se v žvepleni, mukoviti plamen/ vrniti moram.	Prišla je ura, ko se moram vrniti v muke plamenov Ge Ben Hinoma.	/

Shakespeare	Pasternak	Lozinski
Be thou a spirit of health or goblin damn'd, Bring with thee airs from heaven or blasts from hell, Be thy intents wicked or charitable,	/	Блаженный ты или проклятый дух, Овеян небом иль геенной дышишь, Злых или добрых умыслов исполнен, [...]
Če duh si blažen ali bes preklet, zavit v dih néba ali puh peklà, naj tvoj namen je zloben ali blag, [...]	/	Če si blažen duh ali preklet, če si obdan z nebom ali s seboj nosiš Ge Ben Hinom, če imaš slabe ali dobre namene, [...]

Če zgoraj kljub izstopajočim ujemanjem še obstaja možnost, da sta prevajalca pač enako razmišljala in da si Pasternak dejansko ni pomagal s prevodom Lozinskega, pa ob

zadnjem primeru, ki ga izpostavljamo v pričujočem zapisu, o tem zlahka podvomimo. Lozinski namesto *ad* ali *бездна* (oboje *pekel*), ki se v Nacionalnem korpusu ruskega jezika (*Национальный корпус русского языка*) pojavita 9416-krat oziroma 8050-krat, *hell* (*pekel*) prevede kot *геенна* (*geenna*). Precej nenavadna beseda (zgolj 430 pojavitev) izhaja iz ruskega poimenovanja mesta Ge Ben Hinom, ki ima v *Svetem pismu* podobno vlogo kot Sodoma ali Gomora: »V Ge Ben Hinomu so zgradili višino Tofet, da so žrtvovali svoje sinove in hčere v ognju, česar jim nisem zapovedal in kar mi še na misel ni prišlo« (Jeremija 7:31). *Геенна* se pri Lozinskem pojavi trikrat, kar je skoraj tolikokrat kot sicer znatno bolj vsakdanji izraz *ad*. Zdi se, da se je navdušenja nad obskurno sopomenko navzel tudi Pasternak, čeprav jo uporabi na drugih mestih.

4 SKLEPNA MISEL

Malo je nacij, ki bi tako vneto prevajale Shakespearjeve drame, kot to počnejo in so počeli Rusi. Že samo *Hamleta*, prejkone najbolj znane stvaritve angleškega dramatika, so se lotili okoli petdesetkrat. Prvič v obdobju klasicizma, nato bolj deklarativno prek francoščine v 19. stoletju, ruski kanon pa sta v 20. stoletju vzpostavila Lozinski in Pasternak. Presadek Lozinskega odlikujeta izredna pomenska točnost in zvestoba zunanjeformalni podobi izvirnika. Avreola prestiža, s katero so obdana Shakespearjeva dela, nenazadnje morda celo terja takšen konservatorski (ali, če hočete, konservativen) odnos. Na drugi strani Pasternak stopa po tanki meji med predrzno svojeglavostjo in pesniško predelavo. Skozi številna odstopanja nam pravzaprav ponuja vpogled v svoje razumevanje *Hamleta*, v individualizaciji likov in stremljenju k dinamični ekvivalenci pa se kaže prevajalčeva ljudskost. Pasternak je ustvaril živ in melodičen tekst za gledališki oder, prevod Lozinskega pa kot zanesljiv pripomoček v prvi vrsti cenijo strokovnjaki in akademiki. Poskusa v sopostavitvi plastično ponazarjata dva diametralno različna prevajalska pristopa, ki imata vsak svoje prednosti in slabosti.

Sodobna literarna veda vse več pozornosti posveča Lozinskemu, ki so ga v času, ko sta prevoda izšla, zaradi vsesplošne priljubljenosti Pasternakovih avtorskih stvaritev postavljali v vlogo antagonist. Kljub temu rivalstvo med prevodoma nikoli ni postalo rivalstvo med prevajalcema, ki bi, če bi združila moči, bržkone ustvarila popoln prevod Shakespearjevega *Hamleta*. Pasternak in Lozinski predstavljata enega najizrazitejših primerov opozicije pesniške svobode in filološke pedantnosti, ki že več kot pol stoletja buri duhove ruske in svetovne prevajalske javnosti.

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POVZETEK

HAMLET V PREVODU B. L. PASTERNAKA IN M. L. LOZINSKEGA

Da bi bolje razumeli vlogo Shakespearja in njegovih del v ruskem kulturnem prostoru, v prispevku najprej podamo kratek zgodovinski pregled prevajanja Hamleta v ruščino. Ta zajema prevodno specifikko Aleksandra Sumarokova, čigar stvaritev s sredine 18. stoletja je bolj samostojno dramsko delo kot prevod, Mihaila Vrončenka, ki vzpostavi nekatere nove prevajalske smernice, in Nikolaja Polevoja, ki ustvari pomanjkljiv, a svojčas priljubljen prevod. Po kratkem orisu trenutnega stanja in obdobja t. i. *parazitskega prevoda* se osredotočimo na dogajanje v prvi polovici 20. stoletja. Izpostavimo poskusa nesojenega Nobelovega nagrajenca Borisa Leonidoviča Pasternaka ter Mihaila Leonidoviča Lozinskega, ki velja za enega najbolj izpopolnjenih ruskih književnih prevajalcev. Njuna prevoda prvega dejanja Shakespearjeve tragedije primerjamo med seboj, z izvirnikom ter s slovenskim prevodom Otona Župančiča. Na primerih preučimo, kako sta se prevajalca lotevala pomenskih, zvočnih, oblikovnih in drugih izzivov, ki jih poraja besedilo. Iščemo predvsem trenutke, kjer prihaja do izrazitejših razhajanj, vseeno pa opozarjamo tudi na tiste, kjer sta se odločila za enako rešitev. V manjši meri se posvetimo kritičskemu odzivu na prevoda in teoriji s področja prevodoslovja. Ugotovimo, da je Pasternak na prvo mesto postavljал ritmičnost, poleg tega pa je skušal kar najbolj posnemati individualiziranost govora, značilno za Shakespearjeve drame; na drugi strani je Lozinski skorajda do črke natančno sledil izvirniku, a njegov prevod zato deluje manj živo. Vseskozi si zastavljamo večno prevajalsko vprašanje: je legitimnejši prost ali zvest prevod? Razmišljamo o prednostih in slabostih obeh prevodov ter njuni zapuščini, katere odmev je v Rusiji čutiti še danes.

Ključne besede: Shakespeare, Hamlet, Pasternak, Lozinski, prevod

ABSTRACT

HAMLET AS TRANSLATED BY B.L. PASTERNAK AND M.L. LOZINSKY

To better understand the role of Shakespeare and his works in the Russian cultural space, this article opens with a historical overview of *Hamlet*'s translation into Russian. This includes the approaches of Alexander Sumarokov, whose mid-18th century creation is more of an independent dramatic work than a translation; Mikhail Vronchenko, who established new translation guidelines; and Nikolai Polevoy, who produced a flawed yet popular translation of his time. After a brief outline of the current state of affairs and the period of so-called *parasitic translation*, we focus on developments in the first half of the 20th century. We highlight the attempts of the would-be Nobel laureate Boris Leonidovich Pasternak and Mikhail Leonidovich Lozinsky, considered to be one of the most accomplished Russian literary translators. We compare their translations of the first act of Shakespeare's tragedy with each other, the original, and the Slovenian translation by Oton Župančič. Through

examples, we examine how the translators tackled various semantic, phonetic, structural, and other challenges posed by the text. We are particularly interested in moments of notable divergence, while also noting instances where the translators opted for the same solution. To a lesser extent, we address the critical reception of the translations and integrate ideas from the field of translation theory. We find that Pasternak prioritized rhythm and tried to closely mimic the individualized speech typical of Shakespeare's plays, whereas Lozinsky adhered almost word-for-word to the original, which resulted in a less life-like translation. Throughout, we pose the perennial translation question: is it more legitimate to translate freely or accurately? We consider the advantages and disadvantages of both translations and their legacies, which continue to resonate in Russia today.

Keywords: Shakespeare, Hamlet, Pasternak, Lozinsky, translation

АННОТАЦИЯ

ПЕРЕВОДЫ ГАМЛЕТА Б. Л. ПАСТЕРНАКА И М. Л. ЛОЗИНСКОГО

Чтобы лучше понять роль Шекспира и его произведений в русском культурном пространстве, в данной статье сначала предоставляется краткий исторический обзор переводов Гамлета на русский язык. В этот обзор входят переводческие подходы Александра Сумарокова, чьё произведение середины 18-го века является скорее самостоятельным драматическим произведением, чем переводом, Михаила Вронченко, который установил некоторые новые переводческие принципы, и Николая Полевого, который создал несовершенный, но популярный перевод своего времени. После краткого описания текущего состояния и периода так называемого *перевода-паразитирования*, мы сосредотачиваемся на событиях первой половины 20-го века. Мы подчёркиваем попытки несостоявшегося лауреата Нобелевской премии Бориса Леонидовича Пастернака и Михаила Леонидовича Лозинского, считающегося одним из самых выдающихся русских литературных переводчиков. Мы сравниваем их переводы первого акта трагедии Шекспира друг с другом, с оригиналом и со словенским переводом Оттона Жупанчича. На примерах мы изучаем, как переводчики справлялись с семантическими, звуковыми, структурными и другими вызовами, которые ставит текст. Мы особенно ищем моменты значительных расхождений, но также отмечаем случаи, когда переводчики выбрали одно и то же решение. В меньшей степени мы обращаемся к критическим отзывам о переводах и теории перевода. Мы выясняем, что Пастернак ставил на первое место ритмичность и старался максимально индивидуализировать речь, что характерно для пьес Шекспира, а Лозинский почти до буквы следовал оригиналу, что делало его перевод менее живым. На протяжении всего текста мы задаёмся вечным вопросом перевода: является ли более законным свободный или точный перевод? Мы рассматриваем преимущества и недостатки обоих переводов и их наследие, которое продолжает оказывать влияние в России и сегодня.

Ключевые слова: Шекспир, Гамлет, Пастернак, Лозинский, перевод

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INTERCULTURAL RECONCEPTUALIZATION OF INTERPERSONAL RELATIONSHIPS IN AUDIOVISUAL TRANSLATION: HUNGARIAN, SLOVENIAN, AND JAPANESE IN CONTRAST

1 INTRODUCTION

This article investigates various strategies for expressing interpersonal relationships (IPRs) in three languages – Hungarian, Japanese, and Slovenian – using a cognitive pragmatic linguistic approach. The research focuses on examining the (re)construction of IPRs in the three languages. It uses a contrastive analysis of selected scenes from the 1969 Hungarian film *A tanú* (*The Witness*) and its Japanese and Slovenian subtitles. The research analyses and compares the linguistic tools used for constructing IPRs in the three languages studied. It highlights the pragmatic strategies in different languages for the same situational settings with the same IPRs. The results of the analysis provide comparative qualitative data for these three languages in terms of the linguistic means used to construct IPRs.

The structure of the article is as follows: first, it introduces the theoretical background of IPR construction in language use within a cognitive pragmatic linguistic framework, and it introduces the dimensions of IPRs to be used in the analysis. It then presents the language-specific means of IPRs in all three languages, followed by an analysis of the linguistic constructions used for negotiating IPRs in a trilingual corpus. Finally, it summarizes the main findings of the analysis and discusses their implications for other fields of study.

2 INTERPERSONAL RELATIONSHIPS: A COGNITIVE PRAGMATIC APPROACH

2.1 Adaptivity, negotiation, and interpersonal relationships in language use

Human existence is essentially social – that is, people establish a wide range of IPRs, which are represented and shaped by both linguistic and non-linguistic social behaviour (Krauss & Fussell 1996, Fitzsimons & Anderson 2013). The expression of IPRs is not only an integral part of language use, but also one of the main functions of language, characterized by both cognition and interaction (Krauss & Chue 2016: 69–72.). When using a language, participants not only create and share perspectivized representations of the world, but also constantly represent and (re)shape their interpersonal relations. These two fundamental features of language use, which Tátrai (2011) refers to as the inter-subjective cognitive and interpersonal relational metafunctions of language, are present simultaneously in language activity and closely interrelated.

The linguistic representation of IPRs is a part of the dynamic adaptivity that generally characterizes language use. People's experience of the world can be construed in various ways, so that each utterance in a conversation implies a choice by the participants (i.e., choice making; Verschueren 1999: 55–58), allowing them to adaptively choose an option they consider the most appropriate, taking into account both their goals and the norms of the community. The same can be said for the participants' personal relations, and so IPRs are continuously reconstrued in the discourse within the context of social norms. Language use can thus be understood as a choice between discursive strategies that affect various domains of the linguistic system (Tátrai 2011). At the same time, language use is also characterized by negotiation between participants, in the sense that speakers try to impose their own choices on recipients, whereas recipients decide in each case whether to accept or challenge the speakers' choices based on their own expectations.

The norms of the community are (relatively stable) sociocultural rules that mark the appropriate utterances in a specific community under specific communicative circumstances (Tátrai 2011). Following flexible principles and strategies, participants try to

achieve their own actual goals within the context of these norms. This is made possible through the participants' metapragmatic awareness – that is, the ability to reflect on different linguistic constructions, cognitive processes, and the sociocultural expectations associated with them. The degree of awareness and markedness of the different linguistic choices may vary. Choices that are frequently used within a given situation tend to be unmarked, whereas those that are used less frequently are more marked (Schwartz 1980) and require more effort to process (Givón 1991). The higher awareness or markedness of a given choice also implies a higher level of reflection (Yang 2018: 202).

2.2 IPR dimensions in the analysis

In a specific communication scene, speakers take into account the full complexity of the cognitive, social, and cultural functioning of language (Verschueren 2009: 19). The options they choose from are highly determined by the social norms of each language community. These norms could be followed or neglected, and are part of a dynamic negotiation between the participants in the communication. Nonetheless, there are some basic dimensions that can be described.

The various dimensions of this dynamic process of conceptualizing IPRs in communication were first investigated based on the linguistic tools of expressing power (Holmes 1995, Locher 2004, Cutting & Fordyce 2020: 159–161.). The linguistic representations of IPRs were categorized into constructions of equality versus inequality. Although the expression of power is present in the context of language use, there are other linguistic representations of IPRs that are not only part of this pragmatic function (Haugh et al. 2013). Formal and informal linguistic elements (e.g., T- and V-forms – see Brown & Gilman 1960, Szarkowska 2013: 36–39), various lexical items used for addressing each other, and many other linguistic elements play a part in developing closeness or distance between the participants in a concrete communication scene (Locher & Graham 2010). Based on these two social dimensions (expressing power and expressing closeness vs. distance), the process of the sociocultural conceptualization of IPRs can be described within a pragmatic-linguistic framework (i.e. Duck & Usera 2014).

2.3 Hypotheses

This article uses a cross-cultural perspective to examine how IPRs are constructed in Hungarian, Slovenian, and Japanese. It presumes and investigates how conventionalized linguistic tools (e.g., T- and V-forms in Slovenian and Hungarian, forms of address, predicate styles in Japanese, etc.) impact the creation of meaning.

Furthermore, it presumes that the sociocultural aspects of using different strategies in communication take into account the sociocultural characteristics of a given culture and reconstruct them within the context of another sociocultural setting, such as a different

historical background. Notably, communist regimes were present in Hungary and Slovenia but not in Japan.

It is also presumed that the research will show the multimodal nature of IPRs – that is, how linguistic and non-linguistic tools (gestures, facial expressions, tone, etc.) are jointly applied to construct IPRs between participants.

2.4 Corpus and methodology

The analyses presented in the article are based on a trilingual parallel corpus containing excerpts from the 1969 Hungarian film *A tanú* (*The Witness*), directed by Péter Bacsó. The movie satirically depicts the communist dictatorship in Hungary in the 1950s, and it is considered one of the most significant and influential Hungarian films ever made, or “the number one Hungarian cult film” (Baski 2024).

The plot is set in the 1950s, a time when the regime consolidated its power by eliminating democratic forces, and the leader Mátyás Rákosi began to build his cult of personality by prosecuting his opponents within the Communist Party at show trials. The film tells the story of József Pelikán, an ordinary dyke keeper on the Danube River in rural Hungary. This genuine, somewhat outsider character eventually becomes the crown witness in the show trial of minister Zoltán Dániel, his old friend from the once illegal communist movement, who is accused of conspiring to assassinate a powerful leader, Comrade Bástyá.

The storyline presents a wide range of IPRs, from close, friendly relationships to characters separated by a large hierarchical gap that is appropriate to the totalitarian system depicted in the film. The relationships are constantly changing throughout the story, underscoring the importance of renegotiating them.

For the purposes of this study, five scenes (ranging in length from 27 to 38 seconds) were selected from the film (see Appendix 1), where establishment, negotiation, and maintenance of IPRs between characters from different social backgrounds and in various relationships are represented illustratively.

In addition to the linguistic data, the film provides contextual information about the characters and situations, as well as the non-linguistic aspects of communication, such as intonation, body language, use of space, and so on. The Hungarian text was transcribed by the authors of this article, and the Japanese and Slovenian translations of the original Hungarian text were obtained from the subtitles created by Japanese and Slovenian learners of Hungarian.¹ The authors then analysed the data through detailed research and discussion of the corpus in all three languages.

The corpus has certain limitations. Subtitling, or audiovisual translation in general, is a special form of translation characterized by a number of constraints (most importantly,

¹ The film was translated into Japanese by students of Hungarian major at Osaka University in 2015 as a class project. The Slovenian text was prepared by general linguistics students at the University of Ljubljana in 2020 as part of a Hungarian language course. (The film has no officially published Japanese or Slovenian translations.)

the spatial constraint to fit the length of the target language text within the limits set by industry practices and rules; cf. Díaz Cintas & Remael 2007), which may have an impact on the target language text and therefore also on how the IPRs are presented (Levshina 2017). On the other hand, subtitlers often overcome these limitations by relying on contextual information available to the viewer (either from the plot, from common knowledge of the viewers, or from visual or other modes in the film), and they exclude these pieces of information from the subtitles. It is also important to emphasize that the corpus is based on a film produced in 1969 and set in the 1950s, which means that some of the results may be limited to this context because contemporary language use may be different in some situations.

3 AN OVERVIEW OF LANGUAGE-SPECIFIC LINGUISTIC TOOLS FOR EXPRESSING IPRS

The participants in a discourse have a variety of means at their disposal to express and shape their IPRs. (Kato 2013: 43). These solutions, as well as the ways in which they are combined, are often conventionalized (from the point of view of the speech community) and routinized (from the point of view of the speakers), but they always work together in the discourse in a dynamic way, reinforcing or weakening each other's influence to represent and shape the relationships between the participants (Locher & Watts 2005, Debray & Spencer-Oatey 2022).

3.1 Language-specific linguistic tools for expressing IPRs in Hungarian

Among the linguistic tools associated with expressing interpersonal relationships in Hungarian, the use of T- and V-forms, along with various phatic expressions (greetings, forms of address, etc.), stand out, but directness–indirectness, style, lexical features, elaboration of the text (Veres-Guáspiel 2017), and other factors, such as tone of voice and body language, are also clearly linked to constructing IPRs (see Gifford 2010).

Among the above, the speaker's choice between the use of T- and V-forms is particularly important and present throughout the discourse, because it affects not only the conjugation of verbs, but also the inflection of nouns and pronouns, and the choice of personal pronouns, greetings, forms of address, and other phatic elements available to the speaker.

The use of T-forms (*tegezés*, from the informal singular personal pronoun *te* 'you') is associated with more intimate IPRs. Morphologically, it is characterized by the use of the second-person singular and second-person plural forms (suffixes and pronouns).

T-forms are typically marked by an overt morpheme, except for the imperative, for which singular T-forms can also be marked by a null morpheme: *Várg!* ‘Wait!’. The use of T-forms is generally accompanied by typical choices in other areas of language use as well. For example, it is typical to use familiar greetings (*Szia! Szervusz! Sziasztok! Szervusztok!* etc. – different forms of ‘Hello!’) and, in terms of the forms of address, it is common to use first names and nicknames.

In Hungarian, there are several ways of using V-forms. The choice between them is associated with slightly different IPRs, but what they have in common is that the speaker uses third-person singular or third-person plural forms (in the case of inflections, usually marked by a null morpheme) to refer to the addressee. The use of these forms, prototypically used to refer to a person who is outside the speech event, metaphorically expresses the distance between the speaker and the addressee (Tátrai 2011). Different manners of using V-forms are characterized by the different personal pronouns that the speaker uses to refer to the addressee. Thus, contemporary Hungarian distinguishes between *önözés* (the use of the formal pronoun *ön* and its plural form *önök*), which implies respect for the addressee, and *magázás* (the use of the formal pronoun *maga* and its plural form *maguk*), in which the respect for the addressee is less emphasized.

Another typical way of using V-forms is when, instead of using the personal pronouns mentioned above, the speaker refers to the addressee by name, title, or occupation (e.g., *igazgató úr* ‘(male) director’, *tanárnő* ‘(female) teacher’, *doktor úr* ‘(male) doctor’, *elvtárs* ‘comrade’; Domonkosi 2002: 118). Another possibility, often used in discourses between children and adults, is *tetszikelés*, or the use of a construction with the auxiliary verb *tetszik* (lit. ‘like’) and the infinitive form of the verb instead of the conjugated verb form. The use of V-forms is associated with the use of formal phatic elements (e.g., greetings and forms of address).

Among people who know each other, the choice between using the T- or the V-forms is essentially determined by their relationship. That is, when speaking to the same addressee, the speaker will typically use the same forms, regardless of the situation, topic of conversation, and so on. There are socially conventionalized forms of switching from using V-forms to using T-forms (i.e., who can initiate this change, when, and how). Refusing to accept an offer to use the T-forms or switching back to V-forms is considered impolite.

Among strangers, the use of T- or V-forms is linked to the contextual features of the speech event. In this respect, parallel to the rapid changes in Hungarian society, language use has been changing rapidly over the last decades, leading to an increased use of T-forms (cf. Bencze 2005).² In a discourse, this makes negotiation between participants over the use of T- or V-forms particularly important (although this negotiation is rarely made explicit).

Because the choice between using the two forms has profound implications for

2 This also means that, in terms of the use of T- and V-forms, there have been significant changes in language use since both the time the film was made and the time in which it is set.

language use and IPRs, and also because the boundary between using one form or the other is rather sharp, speakers often use distinctive strategies to avoid making an explicit choice. Such strategies include the use of first-person plural forms, which involve both the speaker and addressee, which makes it possible to avoid the clear marking of IPRs.

3.2 Language-specific linguistic tools for expressing IPRs in Slovenian

Similarly to Hungarian, linguistic tools that explicitly mark IPRs in oral (and written) discourse in Slovenian include the use of V- and T-forms, forms of greeting and address, and the use of closeness and distance. These indicate the degree of formality or informality, social distance, and equality or a certain hierarchy among the discourse participants.

V-forms are used to express formality when there is a large social distance between the participants. Informality is expressed with T-forms. A verb in the second-person singular (e.g., *ti si* 'you are', *pridi* '(you) come') is used to address a person with a T-form in Slovenian, and a verb in the second-person plural (*vi ste* 'you are', *pridite* '(you) come') is used to address someone with a V-form. In addition to singular and plural forms, Slovenian also has the dual, which is used to refer to or address two people and it uses a second person dual with the verb in a dual form (e.g., *pridita* 'come', *napišita* 'write'). However, the dual (as well as the plural) forms do not differ between T- and V-forms. Nevertheless, the form of a verb also depends on the gender (feminine, masculine, and neuter) in the singular, dual, and plural forms of nouns. Personal pronouns that replace nouns (persons) also take different forms according to gender, number, and case, and according to V-, T-, or semi V-forms (Toporišič 2004).

In central Slovenia, especially in the capital of Ljubljana, a semi V-form is often used – that is, the participle in a T-form (second-person singular) with the auxiliary verb in a V-form (second-person plural): *spoštovana, boste prišla?* 'madam, will you come?', *spoštovani, boste prišel?* 'sir, will you come?', instead of *prišli* 'come (formal)' in both examples. Semi V-forms were established and are used to build closer relationships with customers, and they are widely used in shops, services, and sometimes even in less formal interviews in the media. However, today T-forms are becoming more common in everyday communication.

To refer to a person who is highly respected in the society (e.g., due to their social status or profession), *gospod* 'Mr., Sir' or *gospa* 'Mrs., madam, lady' is usually used instead of the surname, combined with the profession in the masculine or feminine form (e.g., *gospa doktorica* 'Mrs. Doctor', *gospod predsednik* 'Mr. President', *gospod direktor* 'Mr. Director', *gospa dekanja* 'Mrs. Dean', etc.). When referring to large groups of people in public, it is usual to address these and any distinguished persons with the address *spoštovani* 'dear', followed by words denoting 'guests' (e.g., *spoštovani gostje* 'dear guests'), or 'Mr.', 'Sir', 'Madam', together with their full name or title; for example, *spoštovana gospa dekanja Filozofske fakultete* 'dear Madam, Dean of the Faculty of

Arts'. In slightly less formal situations, the greeting *pozdravljeni* 'greetings' or its variation *lepo pozdravljeni* 'warm greetings' is used.

The address *tovariš* (masculine) and *tovarišica* (feminine) 'comrade', contained in the corpus, was widely used in Yugoslavia during World War II and afterward, during the communist era, until 1991, when the political system changed. This form of address was used to express equality, even in clearly hierarchical relationships, and it also functioned as a standard address between colleagues.

Informal greetings used in Slovenian spoken discourse include the following: *dober dan* 'good day', *dobro jutro* 'good morning', *dan / živjo / zdravo* 'hello', and *hoj, ojla, čao* 'hi'. The greeting *zdravo* is preferred by speakers in eastern Slovenia.

3.3 Language-specific linguistic tools for expressing IPRs in Japanese

The most language-specific tool used to express IPRs in Japanese is the system of honorifics. The use (or non-use) of honorific expressions reflects the speaker's attitude toward other people (and even objects) in each specific context. They are manifested in morphology and syntax, especially in the pragmatics of greetings, addressing, and predicate formulation.

The main purpose of the system of honorifics is to express the speaker's respect towards the hearer or a third person, and to show his/her consideration of the content, setting and medium of the conversation. (Minami 1987, 12-16; Bajrami 2016, 26). To express his/her respect for the addressee, the speaker makes this distinction in two different ways. One is by using specific expressions referring to the actions and states of others (the addressee or others referred to), called honorifics. Another is by using specific expressions referring to the speaker's own actions (or actions of his family members or insiders) to express modesty, called humble forms. A similar distinction is made with adjectives and nouns when describing objects, specifically with the prefix *o-/go-* (e.g., *Kaban wo mochimasu* 'I will carry the bag', *O-kaban wo o-mochi shimasu* 'I will carry your bag / Let me carry your bag'). In certain sentence structures, these prefixes are also used to refer to actions, expressing either an honorific or humble attitude. The appropriate use of honorifics is conventionalized in the community of speakers, and both a lack of their use and their excessive use may lead to misunderstanding (i.e., irony, rudeness, etc.) (Matsumoto 1989).

There are two main discourse styles (*buntai*) used in Japanese, characterized by different predicate forms: casual and formal. The casual style refers to everyday expressions used among family members or close friends in informal situations. The formal style is used with the elderly or persons higher in rank, as well as in formal situations. The distinction between the casual and formal styles may primarily be observed in the morphology and syntax, as well as in the individual choice of words. Both styles may be used among the same discourse participants: one may freely switch to the formal style if the situation becomes more formal (e.g., in front of a large audience on formal occasions).

In terms of forms of address, the use of the suffix *-san* is common in Japanese, but there are also other ways to address children, colleagues, teachers, one's superiors at work, and so on. The choice of not using any suffix when addressing a person would imply rudeness or a very intimate relation. Even though a personal pronoun for 'you' exists (*anata*), it is not frequently used and is usually avoided. In order not to be rude, it is more appropriate to use the person's name or a noun that refers to their social function in the situation. For example: *Anata no hon wo yomimashita*. 'I read your book'; *Sensei no hon wo yomimashita*. 'I read your book' (to a teacher / esteemed author); *Tanaka sensei no hon wo yomasete itadakimashita*. 'I had the pleasure of reading your book, Professor Tanaka.'

The rich system of honorific expressions also plays an important role in understanding IPRs in a specific situation because Japanese lacks the distinction between gender and number. A neutral sentence without a context is often and preferably interpreted as referring to the first person, whereas in an honorific (marked) sentence the subject may be inferred with the help of an honorific or humble formulation. In contrast to most European languages, there is no bipartite opposition between V- and T-forms in Japanese.

IPRs are also evident in the use of sentence-final particles, giving and receiving verbs, and the passive and causative infixes. Sentence-final particles stand at the end of a sentence and express modality (i.e., the speaker's subjective view of each concrete situation, such as a question, hope, expectation, prohibition, exclamation, affection, etc.). They may be attached to formal and informal forms of the predicate. These particles are typically used in spoken discourse (Pardeshi & Kageyama 2018; Shigemori Bučar & Žele 2024, 86).

Verbs of giving and receiving are used as functional verbs in combination with another action verb to express actions to someone else's benefit. The main verb is in the continuative form *-te*. If someone is in the position to give or receive some favour, it is essential that their viewpoint/position is expressed with the second (functional) verb (Shigemori Bučar & Žele 2024, 64-65). The verb *kureru* 'to receive', for example, may be used in the imperative form to express the speaker's wish for something to be done by the addressee. Such a formulation would be a slightly softer version of the direct imperative.

Passive and causative infixes are both important means to express the relationship between people and events, often with modal connotations. The Japanese passive infix *-(r)are-* may also be used with intransitive verbs and, in certain cases, the semantics of the passivized verb becomes modal, acquiring the connotation of nuisance, trouble, or inconvenience. The basic meaning of the causative is 'to make/let someone else act'. The Japanese causative infix *-(s)ase-* has various meanings depending on the context, but mainly coercion, permission, non-interference, and cause-and-effect relationships.

4 THE CROSS-LINGUISTIC ANALYSIS OF CONSTRUCTING IPRS

4.1 Constructing distance and position

The corpus provides many examples of the negotiation and ongoing reconstruction of IPRs between participants, as well as varying degrees of explicitness of this negotiation. The first scenes (see Appendix, Scenes 1 and 2) of the film show how the incompatibility between the social and private contexts (e.g. distancing hierarchical status vs. personal familiarity between the characters) of a conversation can lead to the explicit negotiation of IPRs between the participants.

In Scene 1, the dialogue mirrors a hierarchical relationship, although it is clear that the participants know each other well. Specifically, Dániel (the minister) asks about Pelikán's (the dyke keeper's) family, and therefore the scene is marked by a discrepancy in formality. The informal and intimate language used by Dániel (greetings such as Hu. *Szervusz*, Sln. *Živjo*, Jpn. *yā*, the use of T-forms, both verbal and pronominal / Japanese sentence-end particles for casual conversation, lexical items such as Hu. *az asszony* '[informal] the woman [i.e., the wife]') contrasts with the formal language used by Pelikán (greetings such as Hu. *Szabadság*, Sln. *Zdravo* – both forms were used also as the official greeting of the Communist Party – and the address form 'Comrade Dániel'). This asymmetry between the participants characterizes the negotiation of IPRs in Hungarian and Slovenian.³ In Japanese, the strategy of negotiating IPRs is slightly different. The language that participants use in negotiating IPRs also depends on the actual situation, and so the same participants could use different registers based on their positions in different situations (Bajrami 2016, 25).

In Scene 1, Dániel leads the conversation. Pelikán replies in short and incomplete sentences, which is also a strategy: it causes tension. He avoids the use of grammatical personal markers to express a personal relationship in Hungarian, as well as in Slovenian. In Japanese, on the other hand, the translation reflects the rule that the addressee must be marked in terms of the honorific levels. Pelikán uses the formal style of predicates and the dialogue mixes formal and informal speech. However, this discrepancy, in contrast to Hungarian and Slovenian, is more common in Japanese, especially when starting a conversation. The social context, psychological distance between the speakers, and the specific situation of the conversation may lead to speech level shifts in both directions, formal to informal or informal to formal (ibid.).

The linguistic representation of IPRs becomes explicitly addressed by the participants in Scene 2: Hu. *Mi az, te magázol engem, Józsi?* Sln. *Kaj je zdaj to vikanje, Józsi?* Jpn. *Dōshite sonna katain da?* 'Why so formal with me, Józsi?'. In the utterance preceding this, Pelikán's formal treatment of Dániel is very pronounced: the explicit use of the V-pronoun (Hu. *maga*, Sln. *vi* 'you'), a verb conjugated in the V-form (Hu. *nőszült meg*, Sln. *niste*

³ The visual mode also supports these observations: the difference in clothing (Dániel: formal, Pelikán: casual) and body language (Dániel: relaxed, Pelikán: somewhat confused) is noteworthy.

poročeni ‘you are not married’), and the form of address (last name + Hu. *elvtárs*, Sln. *tovariš* ‘comrade’). In contrast, in Japanese he does not use the addressee’s name but the formal and neutral “pronoun” *anata* truncating the sentence (and another truncation in the following utterance), which is a choice for no explicit formality. It rather shows Pelikán’s uncertainty about how to behave and talk to Dániel. In his response quoted above, Dániel replies with an equally strongly marked informal utterance: the T-pronoun (*te* ‘you’) and T-verbal form (*magázol* ‘you use the V-forms’) in Hungarian. In Slovenian, the closeness appears at the lexical level with the colloquial phrasal question: *Kaj je zdaj to . . . ?* ‘What is this now . . . ?’ which contains an accusation of inappropriate behaviour (a formal way would be *Zakaj me vikaš?* ‘Why are you using a V-form?’) and a familiar address (*Józsi*, nickname based on the first name *József*). At the lexical level, Dániel also chooses words in Hungarian that have a familiar stylistic value (*ugrat* ‘to tease’, *hülyéskedik* ‘to fool around’). Dániel’s reaction to Pelikán using the V-form can be explained by the fact mentioned in Section 3.1 – that is, in Hungarian it is considered impolite to use the V-form with someone with whom the speaker has already previously switched to the T-form.

Pelikán explicitly says that the reason for him using the formal expressions is their unequal social status. Dániel responds in a somewhat humorous tone (in the Hungarian text referring to their common past and camaraderie: *Mi ketten aztán igazán . . .* ‘The two of us really . . .’, in Slovenian with the intimate friendly manner of speech, repairing Dániel’s provocative manner of speech in his question before, whereas in the Japanese text this is not really reflected), encouraging Pelikán to use more familiar language with him, playfully threatening him (note the use of humour as a means of informality).

In Hungarian, Dániel uses the first-person plural forms in the next two sentences, and in Slovenian he even uses the very informal first-person dual (*zajebavajva* ‘two of us joke around’), also explicitly (and unnecessarily) the personal pronoun: *midva* ‘two of us’, to express their long (and friendly) acquaintance. The first-person plural cannot be explicitly seen or expressed in Japanese. Instead, *keigo wo tsukau na* ‘Don’t use honorific language!’ is uttered in the informal direct style. In the following lines, we see that the two agree on a certain relationship, and at the end of the scene Dániel even uses an imperative form with the giving/receiving verb *-te kure* ‘do me the favour of sitting down’.

At the visual level, the tension of the scene is finally eased by Pelikán patting Dániel on the shoulder, as well as their laughing together and sitting next to each other.

4.2 Maintaining established IPRs

In Scenes 1 and 2, as presented above, the negotiation of IPRs plays a central part, whereas later scenes serve as examples of how to maintain the IPRs between Pelikán and Dániel. In Scene 3, the interpersonal function of language primarily focuses on how the participants express a direct, informal, and equal relationship between them. In Hungarian and Slovenian, this is indicated by the use of the second-person singular T-form verbs

(Hu. *várj(ál)*, Sln. *(po)čakaj* ‘wait’; Hu. *öntsed*, Sln. *zlij* ‘pour it’; Hu. *fogd*, Sln. *drži* ‘hold it’; Hu. *vigyázz* ‘be careful’) and the use of Dániel’s first name (*Zoltán*), whereas in Japanese this is expressed through informal verbal constructions using the verb *kureru* ‘give’ (*matte kure* ‘wait’, *sosoide kure* ‘pour (on it)’, *mottete kure* ‘hold this’; the direct address was omitted from the Japanese translation). The use of interjections (Hu. *ejnye*, *hű*, *hajaj*; Sln. *hej*, *o*, *evo* ‘hey’, ‘oh’, ‘here you go’) and a discourse marker (Hu. *csak* ‘just’) in Hungarian and Slovenian, and the informal sentence final particles (*-yo*, *-zo*) in Japanese indicate both the emotional intensity of the scene and the close relationship between the participants (see also below). The visual component may reinforce the strength of the relationship between the two characters, as well as their equality (they are performing a task together, like members of a team).

Instructions play a major role in Scene 3. As a result of the negotiation in the previous scenes, Pelikán now instructs Dániel completely naturally, using direct requests that indicate their equal and close relationship. Second-person singular imperative forms (see above) are used in Hungarian and Slovenian, and the informal verbal construction *-te kure* is used in Japanese. In all three languages, these forms are conventionalized when giving instructions in such a relationship. However, in all three languages these imperatives are accompanied by mitigating devices (Hu. *egy pillanatra* ‘for a moment’, *egy kicsit* ‘a little bit’; Sln. *trenutek* ‘a moment’, *malo* ‘a little’; Jpn. *chotto* ‘a little’). In Hungarian, using the expression *csak*, literally ‘only, just’, with the imperative verbal forms may also be an indicator of a close relationship.

4.3 Negotiating IPRs in the context of socially imposed power relations

In another part of the film (Scenes 4 and 5), socially imposed relations of power (citizen vs. police officers, police officers vs. the minister) are challenged by one of the participants (either voluntarily or due to a lack of information about the other participant). This can also make the negotiation of IPRs explicit in the conversation.

In Scene 4, power relations are challenged by the use of informal language in a formal situation – that is, Pelikán’s constant refusal to engage in a socially conventionalized linguistic behaviour in this kind of situation, which prompts one of the police officers to show his power in a way that does not follow the conventions either. The tools that both participants use for these strategies are similar in all three languages; for example, Pelikán’s provocative direct request for the police officers to be quiet, using the colloquial imperative interjection *Ssss . . . / Šššš . . . / Shī!* ‘hush’ (accompanied by body language also showing a lack of respect for the officers). In his reply, one of the police officers uses colloquial lexical choices (Hu. *szöveg* ‘manner of speech’, *vagy* ‘approximately’). In Japanese, all the sentences are informal and direct. The officer replies with a deictic (interrogative) sentence and a threat that his kindness will be over.

Pelikán challenges the police officers' authority once again, using a direct request. In Japanese, a casual request *ochitsuite kure* is used (with the giving/receiving verb 'do me the favour of calming down'), mentioning the third party (Dániel) by referring to him as *daijin* 'minister' and using the honorific address *sama* (directly and cynically indicating Dániel's existence). In Hungarian, Pelikán uses colloquial lexical items, but formal verbal conjugation. The (possibly ironic) use of *elvtárs* 'comrade' as a form of address is another sign of formal speech. The police officers reply even more angrily, however, preserving the V-forms and a formal style, using vulgar words (*se zajebavate* 'you're fucking with me') in Slovenian. They directly accuse Pelikán of disrespecting the authorities. The tension and uncertainty in negotiating IPRs is made more obvious by the visual component. Nevertheless, for the Japanese viewers, the relationship between Pelikán and the police officers might be puzzling because they might not be familiar with the background of the communist regime.

In Pelikán's last reply, Hu. *Csinálják! Érdekel engem? Sln. Naredita, kakor želita! Briga me!* Jpn. *Dōzo go-jiyū ni!* 'Do as you like! I don't care', the Japanese version is more polite than the Hungarian original and the Slovenian translation due to the use of the word *dōzo* 'please', and the prefix *go-* (see in Section 3.3).

Scene 5 presents the reestablishment of the relationships among the participants. It begins with the negotiation of power when Dániel, the minister, enters the room. The expected equality/inequality among the participants (i.e., the representatives of the system and Pelikán) is challenged by Dániel's use of formal and informal language. Dániel addresses Pelikán with his nickname *Jóska* and the police officers with Hu. *elvtársak*, Sln. *tovariša* 'comrades', but in a friendly way. However, Dániel does not use the name *Jóska* in the Japanese translation, and so the sentence at the beginning of the scene may be understood as him addressing everyone in the room (Pelikán and the policemen).

The police officers do not recognize Dániel at first and, trying to maintain control of power, do not respect the power relations. Visually, they do not look at Dániel at first, and one of them asks him Hu. *Az elvtárs kicsoda? Sln. Kdo ste pa vi, tovariš?* 'And who are you, comrade?' They use a formal tone and the V-form.

Dániel gains control, manifesting his power by using an authoritative and formal tone with the police officers, including direct orders and the second-person plural imperative in all three languages: Hu. *Jelentést kérek! Sln. Poročajte! Jpn. Hōkoku seyo!* 'Report!'. In Hungarian, one of the police officers replies by struggling to use formal language (*Miszerint feljelentés érkezett Pelikán József ellen, miszerint . . . feketevágás alapos gyanúja miatt.* 'József Pelikán has been reported for illegal pig-slaughtering'). This is not present in the Slovenian and Japanese translations, although Jpn. *kakatte masu* is shorter and more colloquial than the standard formal form (*kakatte imasu*).

Both officers stand at attention in front of Dániel, obeying his orders, using a formal tone in Hungarian and in both translations. The officers reply to him in the affirmative:

Hu. *Értettem*, Sln. *Razumem* ‘Understood’, Jpn. *Shōchi shimashita* ‘(formal) Noted, Acknowledged’. Overall, there is a marked contrast between the language the two police officers use before and after they realize that Dániel, the minister, is also there, which in the Japanese is clearly indicated by a switch from informal to formal sentences.

5 SUMMARY

This article provides several examples of the linguistic representation of IPRs within a cross-linguistic framework. The analysis proved the constantly changing, dynamic character of IPRs within a specific context. It also showed that this dynamicity is historically, socially, culturally, and linguistically bounded – and this boundedness is realized differently in different languages.

The construction of IPRs was observed in several situations: the negotiation, establishment, and maintenance of IPRs in private and public settings. The scenes portray rather universal personal and social relationships (friendship, citizen vs. police officer, superior vs. subordinate), but it was established that some specific sociocultural factors may have a significant impact on the linguistic expression of IPRs. Notably, the socio-cultural background related to the communist era is more difficult to access from the Japanese perspective, and the IPRs related to this context are also more difficult to express in the Japanese translation. Both cases of development confirmed the authors’ previous overview of linguistic tools and led to the following findings:

- A shift to a closer/informal relationship greatly increases the use of interjections and modal particles in all the languages studied and the choice of T-forms;
- The speaker’s tension and doubt are expressed with short or truncated sentences in all the languages;
- Expressing sarcasm in the opposite directions: formal to informal/vulgar in Hungarian and Slovenian, versus informal to formal in Japanese;
- There is a spatial constraint in subtitling, but the film’s audial and visual elements may compensate for any missing linguistic means in an individual language.

The variety of linguistic tools used for constructing IPRs shows the complex network of linguistically constructed relationships on the one hand, and the differences in the linguistic representations of the same IPRs in different languages on the other. The findings above can be applied in translation theory (terminology, metalanguage, translation strategies, equivalence of each term in another language) and subtitling methodology. A translation and multilingual perspective can offer insights for instructors and learners regarding their own native language and the language they are learning, and thus increase their language awareness (Borghetti 2011), which has an impact on general language competences. The research also has implications for further research in foreign language teaching and cross-cultural pragmatics.

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POVZETEK

MEDKULTURNA REKONCEPTUALIZACIJA MEDOSEBNIH ODNOSOV V AVDIOVIZUALNEM PREVAJANJU: MADŽARŠČINA, SLOVENŠČINA IN JAPONŠČINA V KONTRASTU

V pogovornem jeziku so prisotne govorčeve strategije pri pogajanju in vzdrževanju medsebojnih odnosov s sogovorniki: iskanje želene razdalje in vzpostavljanje ustrezne hierarhije. Gre za stalno dinamičen proces, izražen z različnimi jezikovnimi sredstvi.

Podlaga za raziskavo, ki jo predstavljamo v prispevku, je bil madžarski satirični film “A tanú (Priča)” in prevodi podnapisov v japonščino in slovenščino. Primerjani jeziki so tipološko različni, zato so bila podrobno analizirana jezikovnospecifična sredstva v posameznih jezikih, ki so najpomembnejša pri oblikovanju medosebnih odnosov:

- **oblike povedka:** Zaradi razlikovanja osebe in števila je v madžarščini in slovenščini relevantna izbira med vikanjem in tikanjem, posledično rabo zaimkov ter drugih elementov. V obeh jezikih je zaslediti tudi možnost izbire polvikanja. Ustrezno razlikovanje v japonščini je možnost izbire med več oblikami povedka, in sicer med formalnim in neformalnim slogom z dodajanjem spoštljivosti.
- **pozdravi in izrazi naslavljanja:** Njihova raba je običajno konvencionalizirana v vsaki družbi ali skupnosti. V slovenščini je še posebej prisotno razlikovanje po spolu. Uporaba (ali neuporaba) različnih nazivov pri naslavljanju je pomembna v vseh treh jezikih.

V naslednji fazi raziskave smo analizirali jezikovno rabo v madžarskem izvirniku in v prevodih podnapisov v japonščini in slovenščini ter analize smo tudi primerjali.

Opazili smo razvoj oblikovanja medsebojnih odnosov v več situacijah: v **pogajanju** in v **vzpostavitvi in vzdrževanju medsebojnih odnosov**, v zasebnih in javnih govornih položajih. Analiza rabe jezikovnih sredstev v procesu razvoja pogovora je v obeh primerih potrdila zaključke iz predhodnega pregleda jezikovnih sredstev v vseh obravnavanih jezikih in nas vodila k nadaljnjim ugotovitvam. Ugotovitve kontrastivne raziskave bodo uporabne v teoriji in metodologiji prevajanja in podnaslavljanja, medkulturne pragmatike in poučevanja tujih jezikov.

Ključne besede: medsebojni odnosi, medkulturna pragmatika, podnaslavljanje, prevajanje, kulturna konceptualizacija

ABSTRACT

INTERCULTURAL RECONCEPTUALIZATION OF INTERPERSONAL RELATIONSHIPS IN AUDIOVISUAL TRANSLATION: HUNGARIAN, SLOVENIAN, AND JAPANESE IN CONTRAST

In conversation, the participants' language use manifests their strategies when negotiating and maintaining interpersonal relations: seeking the intended distance between conversation partners and setting up a suitable hierarchy. It is a constantly dynamic process expressed with various linguistic tools.

This research is based on a 1969 Hungarian satirical film, *A tanú* (*The Witness*), and its Japanese and Slovene subtitles. The three languages are typologically diverse compared to each other. Based on our overview of language-specific linguistic tools for interpersonal relationships (IPRs), the most prominent are:

- **predicate forms:** The choice between V- and T-forms, pronouns and other elements in Hungarian and Slovene, because of the person and number distinction. Both Hungarian and Slovene have an additional semi-formal choice. The corresponding distinction in Japanese is the choice among several predicate forms, formal / informal with the addition of honorifics.
- **greetings and forms of addresses:** Their use is usually conventionalized in each society or community. The gender distinction is particularly present in Slovene. The use (or non-use) of various titles in addressing people is important in all three languages.

The language in the original film in Hungarian and the subtitles in Japanese and Slovene are analysed linguistically, and the analyses further compared. We can observe the development of constructing IPRs in several situations: **negotiation, establishment and maintenance of IPRs** in personal and public environments. All cases of development confirm our previous overview of linguistic tools, and lead to further findings.

The findings can be utilized in the theory and methodology of translation and subtitling, cross-cultural pragmatics, and foreign language teaching.

Keywords: interpersonal relationships, cross-cultural pragmatics, subtitling, translation, cultural conceptualization

Appendix 1. Trilingual corpus used for the analysis. The Japanese translation is from the subtitles created by students of Osaka University, the Slovene translation is from subtitles by students of the University of Ljubljana. The English translation is from the DVD edition of the film, published by the Hungarian National Digital Archive and Film Institute (Magyar Nemzeti Digitális Archívum és Filmintézet) in 2013.

The Witness – Scene 1
07:00–07:37

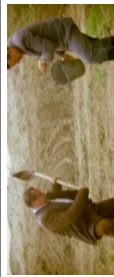
Description of the scene: Minister Dániel is fishing on the banks of the Danube, dressed in a suit, when he is approached by dam-keeper Pelikán, his long-lost friend from the illegal communist movement. Dániel greets Pelikán like an old friend, but Pelikán seems rather surprised and replies with caution.

	Hungarian (SL)	Slovene (TL1)	Japanese (TL2)	English	Image	Note
Dániel	Szervusz, Fickó!	Živjo, Fickó!	Yā, Fickō.	Hello Fickó!		Pelikán's dog, Fickó, runs up to Dániel. Dániel cheerfully welcomes the dog.
Dániel	Szervusz, Józsi!	Živjo, Józsi!	Yā.	Hello Józsi!		Pelikán also arrives to Dániel.
Pelikán	Szabadság, Dániel elvtárs!	Zdravo, tovariš Daniel!	Konnichiwa, Dānieru dajjin.	Hello, Comrade Dániel!		
Dániel	Na mi az, mit csodálkozol? Kijöttem egy kicsit horgászni. Négy éve nem voltam a Dunán.	Kaj si tako presenečen? Prišel sem malo na ribolov. Štiri leta nisem bil pri Donavi.	Nani ni odoroitte iru? Tsuru ni kita dake sa. Yonen buri no Donau gawa da.	Why so surprised? I've come to do a bit of fishing. I've not been here for ten [sic!] years.		They continue talking, Dániel sitting on a tree trunk, and Pelikán standing a few steps away.
Pelikán	Észrevettem.	Ja, opazil sem.	Naruhodo.	So I noticed.		
Dániel	Mi újság nálatok? Az asszony?	Kako ste kaj? Žena?	Kawari nai ka ne? Okusan wa?	How's life? How's the wife?		
Pelikán	Megszökött egy uszályossal. Egy románál.	Zbežala je z nekim mornarjem. Romunom.	Senchō to nigete ikimashita. Rūmania-jin deshita.	She ran off with a sailor, a Romanian.		
Dániel	Hát igen...	Aha...	Sōka...	Oh, well.		
Dániel	És a gyerekek?	Kaj pa otroci?	Kodomotachi wa?	How about the children?		
Pelikán	Jól vannak.	Vse v redu.	Mondai nai desu.	Fine.		

The Witness – Scene 2
07:38–08:04

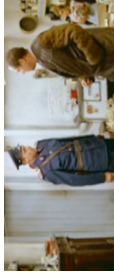
Description of the scene: Pelikán asks Dániel about his marriage, using the formal style. Dániel is surprised, then playfully threatens him, and asks him to use the informal style, referring to their old friendship. By the end of the scene the tension present since the beginning of the conversation is released, the two men laugh and Pelikán pats Dániel on the shoulder, who invites Pelikán, still standing, to sit down next to him.

	Hungarian (SL)	Slovene (TL1)	Japanese (TL2)	English	Image	Note
Pelikán	Maga nem nősült meg, Dániel elviars?	A niste vi že poročeni, tovariš Daniel?	Anata wa dokushin de?	Aren't you married yet, Comrade Dániel?		Pelikán moves one step closer to Dániel.
Dániel	Mi az, te magázol engem, Józsi?	Kaj je zdaj to vikanje, Józsi?	Dōshite sonna katain da?	Why so formal with me, Józsi?		
Pelikán	Hát hogy beszéljek egy miniszterrel?	Ja no, kako naj se obračam do ministra?	Sonna, daijin ni dō hanaseba yoika?	How should I speak to a minister?		
Dániel	Na ne ugrassuk egymást! Mi ketten aztán igazán... Szóval ne hülyéskedj ezzel a magázással, mert megharagszom!	No, ne zajebavajva se! Sekiralo bi me, če bi se midva vikala. Tako da nehaj s tem neumnim vikanjem, ker me bo razjezilo.	Nara jōdan wa yameyo! Kongo, keigo wo tsukau na. Hara ga tatsunda.	Let's forget the ceremony. I'll get angry if we of all people, stick to formalities.		Dániel threatens Pelikán in a playful tone. After a few seconds of silence, Pelikán pats Dániel on the shoulder, they both laugh.
Dániel	Ülj le!	Sedi!	Suwatte kure!	Take a seat!		Pelikán sits down next to Dániel.

The Witness – Scene 3 08:19–08:56						
Description of the scene: Pelikán and Dániel are walking on the dam when Pelikán suddenly spots the hole of a ground squirrel. He runs to a nearby stall and fetches a bucket of water and a shovel. He gives the water to Dániel who has been looking at the hole in amazement. As Dániel pours the water into the hole, two animals emerge from the hole and Pelikán beats them with the shovel. Pelikán then asks Dániel to hold the animal, so he can cut off its tail (since the children get a cash reward for presenting the cut-off tails of the animals damaging the dam).						
	Hungarian (SL)	Slovene (TL1)	Japanese (TL2)	English	Image	Note
Pelikán	Ejnye csak, várj egy pillanatra!	Hej, čakaj trenutek!	Matte kure!	Hold on!		Pelikán runs to the hole, followed by Dániel.
Dániel	Mi az? Mi történt?	Kaj? Kaj se dogaja?	Dōshita?	Why, what happened?		
Pelikán	Várájál csak! Hát az ürge a gát legveszedelmesebb ellensége! Egy pillanatra várájál csak!	Počakaj! Tekunica je nevarna za nasip! Počakaj trenutek !	Jirisu wa teibō no teki da! Isshun dake matte kure!	Gophers are the dike's most dangerous enemies. Wait a moment.		Pelikán runs to the stall, while Dániel stays next to the hole, watching it with curiosity.
Dániel	Ez egy ürgelyuk?	A je to njena luknja?	Kore ga suana ka?	Is that their hole?		
Pelikán	Öntséd csak, Zoltán! Fogd csak meg! Hű, hogy örülnek majd a gyerekek ennek! Két forintot kapnak a farkukért a MEH-ben, te! Hajaj!	Zlij to v luknjo, Zoltán! O, kako bodo otroci srečni! Dva forinta dobijo za vsak rep v zbirnem centru.	Sosoide kure! Tsukamaeru da! Aa, kodomotachi mo yorokobu yo. Ippiki ni-forinto no kasegi da!	Pour it down, Zoltán. The kids will be pleased, they get 2 forints for a tail at the depot. Oh my...!		Pelikán runs back to the hole with the water and the shovel, gives the water to Dániel. Dániel pours the water into the hole.
Pelikán	Vigyázz, jön!	Evo jo!	Hora, dete kita zo!	Watch out it's coming!		Pelikán hits the animals coming out of the hole with the shovel.
Dániel	Itt a másik!	Še druga!	Nihikime da!	Here is another one!		
Pelikán	Fogd csak meg egy kicsit!	Drži jo malo!	Chotto mottete kure!	Hold it up for a moment.		Pelikán takes out a knife, picks up one of the animals from the ground, asks Dániel to hold it, and Dániel does so.

The Witness – Scene 4
11:04–11:30

Description of the scene: Two police officers enter Pelikán's house to search it, suspecting a pig has been slaughtered without official permission. Meanwhile, Dániel, the minister, is sleeping in another room. Pelikán seems relaxed and tries to calm the officers by referring to the sleeping minister. The policeman does not believe him and threatens him. Finally, Pelikán gives up and tells the policemen to search the house.

Pelikán	Hungarian (SL)	Slovene (TL1)	Japanese (TL2)	English	Image	Note
	Ssss..	Ššššš..	Shi!			Pelikán is sitting at a table, smoking and reading a newspaper. Two policemen enter.
Police officer	Mi az, hogy ssss? Mit bizalmaskodik velem? Hol az a disznó? Most már aztán vége minden finomkodásnak!	Kaj ššš? Kako (pa) govorigite z mano? Kje je svinja? Zdaj bo moje prijaznosti konec.	Nanda, narenareshii! Buta wa doko da? Himitsu wo abaitte yaru!	What do you mean, »shush«? Where's that pig, or I'll get rough.		
Pelikán	Csendesebben, elviátsak! A miniszter elviátsat ne költsek fel!	Tišje, tovariša! Prebudila bosta tovariša ministra!	Ochitsuite kure! Daijin-sama wo okoshite shimau.	Not so loud, comrades, or you'll wake the comrade minister.		Pelikán stands up and confronts the policemen.
Police officer	A miniszterelviátsat! Már ez a szöveg is megér vagy másfél évi börtönt. Nem elég, hogy feketevágást hajtott végre, még a legfelső kormányt is káromolja, maga szerencsétlen!	Tovariša ministra! Tako govorjenje bi vas lahko stalo leto in pol zapora. Ni vam dovolj, da na skrivaj zakoljete prašiča, z vodilno administracijo se zajebavate, ničvreden ste!	Daijin sama? Sono kotoba mo shikei ka, rōgoku-iki ni atai suru. Buta wo koroshita dake de sumanai, kuni no naikaku sae nonoshittan da!	»Comrade Minister«! Talk like that will land you in jail. Isn't illegal slaughtering enough, without abusing leading comrades?		One of the policemen is shouting at Pelikán, insulting him for his behaviour.
Pelikán	Csinálják! Érdekel engem?	Naredita, kakor želita! Briga me!	Dōzo go-jiyū ni!	Do as you like!		Pelikán waves his hand and leans back.
Police officer	Házkutatás! Indulj!	Preiskava! Takoj!	Kataku sōsaku da! Hajimero!	It is a house search.		

The Witness – Scene 5
11:51 – 12:25

Description of the scene: Waking up to the noise made by the police officers, Dániel, the minister, enters the room where a loud argument between Pelikán and two police officers takes place. He calms the situation and regains power and control when he presents himself and orders policemen to start the search of the house.

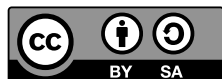
	Hungarian (SL)	Slovene (TL1)	Japanese (TL2)	English	Image	Note
Dániel	Mi az, Jóska? Mi folyik itt elvtársak?	Kaj je, Jóska? Kaj se dogaja, tovariša?	Nan no sawagi da? Nani wo shite iru!	What's going on, comrades?		The policemen search the apartment making a loud noise.
Police officer	Az elvtárs kicsoda?	Kdo ste pa vi, tovariš?	Doko no dare da?	Who are you, comrade?		The policeman asks without turning back (he does not see Dániel).
Dániel	Még sose láttak engem? Jelentést kérek!	Me niste še nikdar videl? Poročajte!	Watashi wo shiranai no ka! Hōkoku seyo!	Have you never seen me before?		Dániel speaks authoritatively, raising his voice.
Police officer	Miniszter elvtársnak jelentem, házkutatás. Miszerint feljelentés érkezett Pelikán József ellen, miszerint... feketevágás alapos gyanúja miatt.	Tovariš minister, poročam, da izvajamo preiskavo. Dobili smo prijavo, da je József Pelikán brez dovoljenja zaklal prašiča.	Daijin-sama, hōkoku itashimasu. Katakū sōsaku desu. Kare ni taisuru mikkoku ga kimashita. Buta wo koroshita yōgi ga kakatte masu.	Report, if you please. Comrade Minister, it's a house search. József Pelikán has been reported for illegal pig-slaughtering.		The policeman stands at attention.
Pelikán	Kutasanak, elvtársak! A feljelentés szent dolog!	Kar prejšiča, tovariša! Prijava je sveta zadeva!	Tsuzukete kure! Mikkoku wa fukahi da!	Proceed with your search, comrades, reports are sacred.		Pelikán speaks calmly.
Dániel	Tegyenek mindent a helyére!	Vse pospravite spet na svoje mesto!	Subete moto ni modose!	Put everything back in place.		Dániel speaks with authority.
Police officer	Értettem.	Razumem.	Shōchi shimashita.	Understood!		

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Izvirni znanstveni članek



SPOL IN NADLJUDJE V AMERIŠKI ZNANSTVENI FANTASTIKI: OD CISSPOLNIH SUPERMOŽ DO TRANSSPOLNIH SUPERJUNAKINJ

1 UVOD

Znanstvena fantastika je v svoji obravnavi spola in spolnih razlik inherentno kontradiktoren žanr, saj teoretično ponuja idealno platformo za raziskovanje in eksperimentiranje, ki ni obremenjeno z družbenimi predpisi in etičnimi omejitvami, hkrati pa se ponaša z dolgo zgodovino povelečevanja biološkega determinizma in esencializma, (cis)seksizma ter zagovorništva patriarhata. Sam žanr kot celota je tudi danes pogosto razumljen kot pretežno »moški«, kar je še posebej očitno v literarnih delih o superjunakih, ki pripoved gradijo na potenciranju stereotipno moških lastnosti, kot sta fizična moč ali pogum. V nasprotju z dojemanjem ustvarjalcev znanstvene fantastike kot »oglednikov, raziskovalcev, ki jašejo naprej, da bi premerili neznano deželo«¹ (Bova 2014), se obravnava spola in spolnih razlik namreč razvija na podoben način kot v neliterarnem svetu, četudi imajo avtorji in avtorice možnost eksperimentiranja z družbenim in ne le znanstvenim razvojem.

V pričujočem prispevku bomo zagovarjali tezo, da razlogi za izjemno pozen pojav transspolnih superjunakov tičijo prav v darvinistično patriarhalni genezi tega specifičnega podžanra znanstvene fantastike in njegovem problematičnem rokovanju z vprašanji spola v preteklosti, hkrati pa bomo predpostavili, da je zavedanje avtorjev in avtoric o subverzivnem potencialu prav teh globoko vkoreninjenih idej pripeljalo do presenetljivo hitrega razvoja upodobitev superjunaških transspolnih likov v zadnjih tridesetih letih. Posamezne poskuse preseganja binarne spolne delitve je v ameriški znanstveni fantastiki sicer moč zaslediti skozi skoraj celotno dvajseto stoletje, vendar se transspolni superjunaki prvič pojavijo šele v stripih devetdesetih letih², v prozi pa

1 Razen besedil, ki so v bibliografiji navedena s slovenskimi naslovi in citirana dobesedno, so vsi navedki v besedilu avtoričini lastni prevodi iz angleškega jezika.

2 Za eno prvih velja leta 1993 vpeljan lik Coagule iz stripa *Doom Patrol*.

so še danes relativna redkost. V nadaljevanju bomo zato zgoščeno povzeli bistvene premike v obravnavi in razumevanju spola skozi zgodovino (predvsem, a ne izključno, superjunaške) ameriške znanstvene fantastike³ in na ta način osvetlili pot do prvih upodobitev transspolnih superjunakov, ki se jim bomo nato podrobneje posvetili v zadnjem delu prispevka.

Poleg kratke kontekstualizacije obstoječih transspolnih superjunakov bomo vprašanje pomembnosti reprezentacije transspolnih oseb v superjunaških pripovedih za širše kulturno razumevanje spolne raznolikosti naslovili s pomočjo specifičnega primera mladinskega romana *Dreadnought* (2017) avtorice April Daniels. Roman sodi med tista dela, ki izkoristijo potencial znanstvene fantastike za bolj poglobljeno ukvarjanje s spolom, v konkretnem besedilu skozi sistematično subverzijo enega najbolj seksističnih arhetipov znanstvenofantastičnega žanra - superjunaka. S pomočjo predhodnega splošnega pregleda in analize zgodovine spola v superjunaški znanstveni fantastiki⁴ bomo preučili, v kolikšni meri April Daniels uporablja in/ali se oddaljuje od stereotipnega okvirja in tradicionalnih značilnosti superjunakov ter kako jih združuje z introspekcijo z namenom obravnavati, poudariti in bralstvu približati resnične težave transspolnih mladih.

2 ZNANSTVENA FANTASTIKA KOT PLATFORMA ZA PREVPRASEVANJE SPOLA, SPOLNIH RAZLIK IN HIERARHIJ

Za potrebe pričujočega prispevka bomo znanstveno fantastiko razumeli karseda široko, saj so poskusi definiranja žanra izjemno številni⁵ in občasno kontradiktorni, diskusija o tej temi pa bi bila na tem mestu preobširna in ne bi bistveno pripomogla k razumevanju tematike, na katero se besedilo osredotoča. Ena izmed v akademskih razpravah najbolj vplivnih je po mnenju Cluta in Nicholisa sicer definicija Darka Suvina, ki znanstveno fantastiko vidi primarno kot literaturo »nenehnega potujevanja vseh domačnosti« (Suvini 1979: 18). Fantazijska in sorodne literature namreč naslavljajo eksistencialna vprašanja v ahistoričnem smislu, medtem ko se znanstvena fantastika ukvarja s konkretnimi razlogi zakaj in kako je prišlo do razlik med našim in predstavljenim znanstvenofantastičnim svetom. Pogoji za obstoj znanstvene fantastike je po Suvinu torej kognitivna odtujitev – nekaj, kar je povsem drugačno od sveta bralca (t.i. *novum*), hkrati pa znanstvenofantastični

3 Povzetek temelji na obširnejši analizi, ki je del avtoričine doktorske naloge z naslovom *Postspolni svet v anglo-ameriški znanstveni fantastiki*. Vsebina doktorske naloge je v pričujočem prispevku nadgrajena in prilagojena, vendar je bilo izvorno besedilo uporabljeno kot osnova, zato so nekatere povedi ali odstavki lahko podobni ali enaki tistim v navedenem doktorskem delu.

4 Pregled sloni predvsem na ugotovitvah raziskovalcev Helen Merrick, Robin Roberts, Briana Atteberyja, Justine Larbalestier in Briana Aldissa.

5 Podrobnejšo razpravo o problematiki definiranja znanstvene fantastike sta pod naslovom "Definitions of SF" v delu *The Encyclopedia of Science Fiction* že leta 1995 objavila John Clute in Peter Nicholls, seznam predlogov definicij pa se je v zadnjih tridesetih letih zgolj podaljšal.

(t.i. diegetični) svet potrebuje tudi nekakšno kognitivno povezavo z našo realnostjo – prav odnos med njima naj bi ustvaril tisto bistveno razliko med znanstveno fantastiko in drugimi žanri. (Hubble in Mousoutzanis 2013: 105).

Znanstvenofantastične svetove in naš svet torej vsaj do neke mere oblikujejo enake zakonitosti in žanr pogosto povzema elemente iz naše družbene resničnosti, nato pa v fiktivnem svetu udejani posledice, ki bi teoretično res lahko izhajale iz danih dejanj ali stanj. »Pisec znanstvene fantastike torej ni zgolj popularizator znanstvenih idej, temveč nekdo, ki te ideje poveže s kulturnimi pripovedmi« (Attebery 2002:174). Le znotraj znanstvenofantastične pripovedi lahko namreč neosebne znanstvene dosežke dojemamo tudi v luči čustvene udeležbe in družbenih posledic. Navidezni formulaičnosti navkljub ima pripovedna proza inherentno moč spreminjanja danih vzorcev in v primeru znanstvene fantastike je to še posebej očitno.

Ontološka vprašanja o tem, kdo smo in kaj je resničnost, ki so prevladovala v klasični znanstveni fantastiki, so skozi dvajseto stoletje vedno bolj pogosto dopolnjevala »epistemološka vprašanja o obsegu in dosegu človekove zaznave, vprašanja o veljavnosti njegovih spoznanj« (Hvala 2005: 3). Mnogo feminističnih kritičark⁶ piše o znanstveni fantastiki kot o idealnem mediju za (predvsem žensko) raziskovanje novih možnosti. »Znanstvena fantastika je postala bistven žanr postmoderne s svojo značilno reprezentacijo futurističnih »svetov jutri«, v katerih živijo nezemljani, pošasti in kiborgi. Le-ti pozornost usmerjajo na umetnost, simulacijo in skonstruirano Drugost identitete. Skozi osredotočanje na razliko in z izzivanjem fiksnih kategorij identitet [...] znanstvena fantastika ponuja tudi potencialno plodna tla za feministične analize in prakse.« (James 2003: 92)

Žanr torej vsaj v teoriji nudi produktivno okolje za raziskovanje spola kot socialnega konstrukta, saj je vsaka nova domislica avtorja ali avtorice prisiljena v interakcijo z različnimi oblikami družbene hierarhije, tudi spolne. To sicer še zdaleč ne pomeni, da je znanstvena fantastika vedno tudi v praksi napovedovala zgodovinski potek dogodkov in razvoj družbenih konvencij, še posebej v povezavi s spolom, spolno identiteto, usmerjenostjo ter spolnimi vlogami, saj se naštetu le redko znajde v vlogi Suvinovega *novuma*. Binarna spolna delitev je skozi zgodovino žanra namreč zelo pogosto eden izmed tistih elementov, ki jih avtorji zgolj prenesejo v novonastali svet, da bi bralcu s svojim dobro (po)znanim kodom olajšali razumevanje drugih sprememb. Večina znanstvenofantastičnih del tako kljub svojemu disruptivnemu potencialu spol obravnava kot bistveno človeško lastnost ter družbene vloge, ki jih igrajo moški in ženske, obravnava kot ahistorične (Hollinger 2002: 126). Liki pogosto ostajajo ujeti v izvenliterarne spolne konvencije in, razen nekaterih izjem, ne izkoristijo številnih možnosti za vsaj minimalen poseg v obstoječo hierarhijo spolno zaznamovanih subjektov.

6 Npr. Joanna Russ, Sarah Lefanu in Marleen S. Barr.

3 DARVINISTIČNA GENEZA SUPERJUNAKOV V AMERIŠKI ZNANSTVENI FANTASTIKI

Človeška evolucija bržkone še ni končana in posledično številna znanstvenofantastična dela vse od *Frankensteina* Mary Shelley naprej ponujajo različne alternative fizično ali kako drugače »izboljšanega« človeka. Zaradi naraščajočega zanimanja za znanstvene (in kasneje predvsem jedrske) poskuse vse od viktorijanske dobe naprej je to nadbitje pogosto rezultat nekakšne mutacije in v angloameriški znanstveni fantastiki prvih dveh desetletij dvajsetega stoletja superiorno predvsem v fizičnem smislu⁷ (Attebery 2002: 63). Superljudje nato sčasoma sicer razvijajo celo množstvo nadnaravnih moči, od nesmrtnosti do izjemne inteligence, jasnovidnosti in nadpovprečno razvitih čutov. Domnevamo lahko, da so pisatelji fizično moč zamenjali z omenjenimi lastnostmi v interesu za znanost zanimajočega se bralstva, ki se je tako lažje poistovetilo z liki. V želji po raznolikosti nadnaravnih moči avtorji v tridesetih in štiridesetih letih počasi pričnejo posegati tudi po tradicionalno ženskih lastnostih, ki vodijo k pogostejšemu pojavljanju t.i. *ženskega moškega*⁸ (npr. lik bojevnice Jirel of Joiry C.L. Moore ali znanstvenice Susan Calvin v delih Isaaca Asimova), enem izmed prvih⁹, dasiravno bolj nerodnih poskusov preseganja spolnih delitev.

V obdobju med letoma 1930 in 1950 je lik superčloveka bistveno zaznamoval ameriško znanstveno fantastiko, le da v nasprotju z najbolj znanim stripovskim junakom Supermanom pogosto ni imel poudarjenih (le) fizičnih sposobnosti, temveč je bila, sicer še vedno pod vplivom Darwinove evolucijske teorije, v ospredju vedno pogostejše tudi njegova »intelektualna in znanstvena superiornost« (Merrick 2003: 242). Evolucija kot pripoved in kot način utemeljevanja družbenih ali bioloških sprememb je zelo uporabno orodje v znanstvenofantastičnem pisanju in je na ta ali oni način prisotna v večini zgodb. Avtorji, ki darvinistične ideje v svoje delo vpletajo nekritično, seveda tvegajo neposreden prepis predsodkov iz teorije v zgodbo (Attebery 2002: 62), kar najpogostejše zasledimo prav v pripovedih o superljudeh. Superliki svoje zmage prvotno torej dosegajo »s pomočjo superiorne moči in v imenu superiorne inteligence« (Attebery 2002: 71), kasneje pa se temu pridružijo tudi druge oblike superiornosti. Nadčlovek je tako ne le fizično najmočnejši, temveč tudi najpametnejši, najpogumnejši in po možnosti še najlepši in najprivlačnejši. Je rezultat ekstrapolacije izbranih človeških lastnosti, še posebej tistih, ki

7 V stripih se ta podoba zaradi njihove vizualne narave ohrani nekoliko dlje, kot enega zadnjih primerov superčloveka kot zgolj fizično močnejšega v leposlovju pa Attebery (2002: 63) navaja *Gladiatorja* iz leta 1930 (avtor Philip Wylie).

8 Izraz izhaja iz romana Joanne Russ *The Female Man* (1975), v katerem avtorica kot *ženskega moškega* označuje žensko, ki prevzema tradicionalno moške značilnosti in vedenja, da bi se znašla in uspela v patriarhalni družbi. Roman predstavlja analizo in kritiko spolnih vlog v družbi ter načinov na katere družbena pričakovanja omejujejo identiteto in uspeh žensk.

9 Primere najdemo že v 19. in zgodnjem 20. stoletju, npr. lik kraljice Ayeshe v *She: A History of Adventure* (H. Rider Haggard, 1887).

so razumljene kot moške. Končni produkt ima praviloma vlogo nedolžnega protagonista, ki svoje nadnaravne sposobnosti uporablja le v dobro vseh ostalih poštenih državljanov.

Preveč zavzeto sledenje darvinovski logiki v številnih pripovedih o superjunakih na videz višje razvite junake na nek način zreducira na tekmece preostali družbi, pri čemer so ženske (pogosto kot spremljevalke ali gospodične v stiski) potisnjene v ozadje kot zgolj sredstvo za doseganje moških ciljev. V tej vlogi je ženske seveda videl tudi Darwin sam, saj je o njih pisal kot o biološko manjvrednih bitjih, s katerimi se moški poroči zato, da izkazujejo zanimanje zanj, skrbijo za dom in so »nasploh boljše kot pes« (Darwin 1896: 232- 233). Ženske naj torej kljub svojim reproduktivnim zmožnostim znotraj evolucijskega razvoja na potomce ne bi prenašale svojih »nepomembnih« lastnosti, temveč po najboljšem scenariju tiste superiornega spola. Preživetje sposobnejšega je v Darwinovih očeh pomenilo bitko med moškimi, ki naj bi zaradi tega razvili fizične in umske sposobnosti, ženske pa jih kot njihova »nagrada« niso potrebovale, zato so manj evolucijsko razvite, njihovi »možgani pa ustrezajo tistim živali« (Fee 1979: 418).

Pričakovali bi, da bo znanstvena fantastika s svojim spekulativnim potencialom pogostejše poskušala preseči tovrstna prepričanja ali vsaj eksperimentirati z obstoječimi družbenimi normami, vendar se to v večjem obsegu zgodi šele veliko kasneje v razvoju žanra, predvsem v obdobju civilnodružbenih gibanj šestdesetih in sedemdesetih, in je omejeno na manjše število del.

4 RESNICA IN PRAVICA PO AMERIŠKO¹⁰: SUPERJUNAKI/NJE SKOZI 20. STOLETJE

Spol je torej v večini znanstvenofantastičnih del prisoten zgolj kot v projekcijo prihodnosti ali paralelnega sveta samoumevno prenešen hierarhičen sistem, število del, ki zavedno poskušajo na različne načine preseči spolne delitve ali vsaj prevprašujejo obstoječe stanje pa se skozi dvajseto stoletje sicer povečuje, vendar kljub temu ostajajo v manjšini. Znanstvena fantastika o superjunakih, ki močno temelji na prej obravnavanih postulatih evolucijske teorije, še desetletja po svojem nastanku¹¹ potiska ženske v ozadje in sprva¹² niti ne razmišlja o možnosti, da bi evolucija tudi njim lahko namenila kakršenkoli razvoj. Moški avtorji del o superjunakih so jim le redko priskrbeli družice s podobnimi sposobnostmi, kadar se je to le zgodilo pa jih zaradi različnih razlogov niso mogle uporabiti v enaki meri kot moški¹³. Močni ženski liki skozi znanstveno fantastiko celotnega dvajsetega stoletja

10 »Truth, Justice and the American Way« je bil moto superjunaka Supermana, ki je nastal v času McCarthyjevega »lova na čarovnice«.

11 Za enega prvih superjunakov, ali pa vsaj njihovega predhodnika, velja lik Johna Carterja, ki ga je Edgar Rice Burroughs ustvaril že leta 1912.

12 Prve odmevnejše zgodbe s superliki ženskega spola se pojavijo na začetku štiridesetih let, med njimi pa zagotovo najbolj izstopa lik Wonder Woman, ki ga William Moulton Marston ustvari leta 1941.

13 Glej npr. roman *Slan* A.E. Van Vogta iz leta 1940.

v veliki meri obstajajo zgolj kot grožnja in hkrati objekt poželenja, pa naj gre za superžensko oziroma *femme fatale* iz prve polovice stoletja, ali pa za neustavljivo privlačne in fizično nepremagljive pomanjkljivo oblečene borke iz obdobja po seksualni revoluciji.

Popularnost supermoškega kot osrednjega lika znanstvenofantastičnih zgodb gre delno pripisati uredniku in avtorju Johnu W. Campbellu, ki je »bolj kot katerikoli posameznik pomagal oblikovati sodobno znanstveno fantastiko« (Edwards v Clute in Nichols 1995: 199). Campbell je bil s superjunaki tako rekoč obseden in od pisateljev, ki so želeli pisati za njegovo revijo *Astounding Science Fiction*, zahteval, da v svoje zgodbe vključijo točno določene variacije na temo supermoškega oz. pisanje prilagodijo naslovnici, ki jih je kupil vnaprej. Superženska ni bila deležna takšne spodbude in kar nekaj let je preteklo, preden se je pojavila na prizorišču v sodobni obliki. Njen nastanek seveda ni bil mogoč z uporabo enake formule kot pri supermoškem, zato so njeno rojstvo spremljali številni porodni krči. Avtorji, ki so žensko dojemali v povezavi s kulturno določenimi ženskimi lastnostmi, verjetno niso videli pretiranega smisla v ekstrapolaciji le-teh, saj rezultat ne bi bila superženska, temveč nekakšno superpodložno, supersibko in supermuhasto bitje. Posledično so avtorji ženskim likom pričeli pripisovati »moške« lastnosti, predvsem nadnaravno moč in sposobnost bojevanja.

Enega zgodnejših poskusov uvedbe superženskega lika lahko zasledimo v zgodbi *The Adaptive Ultimate* (1935) Stanleya Weinbauma, kjer povprečno in nevedno dekle zaradi stika s hormoni sadne mušice postane superženska. Čeprav lahko celi rane in je odporna na strupe pa je njena glavna vloga, podobno kot pri njenih sodobnicah v *pulp* pisanju, zapeljivka brez primere. Lik Kyre Zelas se je namreč zmožen spremeniti tako, da »postane tisto, kar si želijo moški« (Attebery 2002: 84) in s tem izpolni svojo evolucijsko nalogo. A Weinbaum v njej vseeno zazna disruptivni potencial, saj njegova *femme fatale* svoje moči uporablja za lastne cilje in na neki točki celo grozi z vladavino svetu, zato jo je seveda potrebno ustaviti oziroma spremeniti nazaj v neprivlačno dekle. Attebery (2002: 84) opozori na dejstvo, da o liku samem, njenem lastnem razmišljanju, ambicijah in željah bralstvo ne izve tako rekoč nič. Obstaja kot fantazija, kot moški ideal, ne pa kot posameznica z lastno osebnostjo. Prvotni povod za stvaritev lika superženske torej ni bilo stremenje k izenačenju neenakopravne obravnave med spoloma, temveč nadaljnje utrjevanja patriarhalne ureditve.

V petdesetih letih preteklega stoletja se je znanstvena fantastika vendarle pričela zavestno ukvarjati z vprašanji spola in spolnih vlog, kar sovпада s pojavom in uveljavitvijo nekaterih pomembnejših avtoric¹⁴. Ženski liki so tako dobili možnost, da stopijo v ospredje, vendar so bili deležni kritike tako s strani takratne publike kot tudi kasnejše feministične kritike, ki je v njih videla utrditev stereotipov o ženskah. (Merrick 2003: 246) Junakinje so bile namreč pogosto prikupne lepoticе, ki so priskočile na pomoč moškemu pri reševanju medgalaktične krize, neredko s svojimi »ženskimi« sposobnostmi

14 Npr. Mildred Clingerman, Judith Merril, Katherine McLean, Margaret St Claire, Carol Emshwiller, Zenna Henderson in Kate Wilhelm.

opravljanja in klepetanja, kar jim je pomagalo pri pridobivanju pomembnih informacij. Tudi v mnogo kasnejših delih avtorjev, od katerih bi pričakovali večjo občutljivost za vprašanje spola in spolnih razlik, pogosto najdemo ženske like, ki s svojo izjemno (tudi fizično) močjo zgolj služijo moškemu liku in same nimajo odločilne vloge v dogajanju (npr. kiborška Molly Millions v kratki zgodbi *Johnny Mnemonic* Williama Gibsona).

Ženska sodelavka superjunaka se sčasoma fizično in tudi umsko okrepi, vendar bolj kot nosilka ženske identitete ostaja projekcija moških želja¹⁵. Prve podobe superžensk¹⁶ so namreč ustvarili moški avtorji stripov, moški pa so skozi zgodovino številčno prevladovali tudi kot avtorji znanstvenofantastične proze, s čimer so si vzeli pravico do definiranja vseh njenih elementov in tudi tega, kaj pomeni ženskost in kaj biti ženska. Ko so se avtorice v petdesetih letih pričele bolj množično ukvarjati s tovrstnim pisanjem so naletele na že precej globoko vsidrane konvencije in registre, ki jih ni bilo mogoče spremeniti in nadomestiti čez noč. Vpeljava ženskega gledišča je bil počasen, več desetletij trajajoč proces, pri katerem je bilo najprej potrebno uporabiti obstoječe načine pisanja in v njih postopoma nadomeščati oziroma spreminjati posamezne elemente, od pripovednih tehnik, gledišč in jezika do demistificiranja ženske kot skrivnostnega fantoma, ki se ga moški bojijo in si ga hkrati želijo.

Kljub počasnemu procesu spolne reinterpretacije lahko torej v petdesetih letih zasledimo prve šibke znake bledenja spolnih stereotipov (Carter 1977: 185), morda prav zato, ker ima osrednja vloga žensk in njihovega sveta močan disruptivni potencial znotraj žanra, ki se sicer osredotoča na znanost, herojske misije, medplanetarne vojne ipd. Znanstvena fantastika se postopoma prične zavedati tudi družbenih posledic maskuliniziranih tehnoloških, političnih in vojaških tem, ki jih tradicionalno favorizira, in počasi prične prevpraševati tudi biološko deterministične predpostavke o tem, kateri spol naj bi bil na primer bolj racionalen ali pogumen. Na tem mestu nikakor še ne moremo govoriti o feminističnem pisanju ali celo pisanju, v katerem prevladujejo ali se vsaj pogosto pojavljajo ženski liki, vendar je vsekakor mogoče zaznati premik v smeri večjega zavedanja o obstoju in omejitvah spolnih delitev.

V petdesetih letih tudi prvič zasledimo kritike predpisanih spolnih vlog¹⁷, predvsem v primeru žensk, vendar tudi v teh utopičnih delih kljub npr. vpeljavi uspešnega matriarhata še vedno vlada klasična družbena hierarhija, le da vodilna mesta moških prevzamejo ženske z moškimi lastnostmi¹⁸. Ohranijo se tudi »osnove heteroseksualne ekonomije« (Merrick 2003: 245) in besedila tako pričakovano podležejo tudi heteronormativnosti

15 Podoben trend opazimo v filmih o Jamesu Bondu, kjer so ženske pomočnice na splošno prikazane kot privlačne, fizično močne in spretno v boju, vendar redko igrajo ključno vlogo pri razpletu in so namesto tega predstavljene kot gospodične v stiski, ki jih je potrebno vedno znova reševati.

16 Npr. Wonder Woman, Miss Fury, Phantom Lady, Black Canary in Sheena - Kraljica džugle.

17 Npr. v *Consider Her Ways* Johna Wyndhama iz leta 1956.

18 Tudi avtorji, ki zaradi uporabe neodvisnih, sposobnih in inteligentnih ženskih likov izstopajo iz tega povprečja (npr. Robert Heinlein), tem likom ne omogočajo popolnega izstopa iz normativnega spolnega reda, saj njihove ženske v nekaterih pogledih ostajajo odvisne od moških, če ne drugače vsaj s svojo željo ugajati jim.

in ne predvidevajo istospolnih odnosov, temveč se raje odločijo za popolno eliminacijo spolnosti. Podobno se godi v primeru patriarhalnih družb v znanstveni fantastiki tega časa, kjer moški ohranjajo svojo heteroseksualno moškost z odsotnostjo spolnih odnosov¹⁹.

Trend prevpraševanja biološkega determinizma ter binarnih delitev se nato nadaljuje in stopnjuje v šestdesetih letih, ki prispevajo številna feministična znanstvenofantastična besedila²⁰ v katerih se (pretežno) avtorice pričnejo resneje spraševati o vrojenosti (ali potencialni kulturni pogojenosti) spolnih vlog ter (npr. z vpeljavo brezspolnih ali alternativno ospoljenih družb) načrtno poskušajo preseči družbene omejitve. Sedemdeseta leta ponudijo še bolj radikalne reinterpretacije spola (npr. hermafroditizem, androginitet, multiplicitanje spolov), v osemdesetih pa sledi vzpon kiberpanka. Žanr zaznamuje vrnitev kartezijanstva in biološkega determinizma, ki ju pretežno uporablja za namene prikaza nadvlade hipermaskulinizirane tehnologije. Kiberpank dihotomna nasprotja sicer poskuša združevati in brisati meje, pri tem pa se načrtno osredotoča na binarizme človek/stroj, narava/tehnologija, naravno/umetno in v manjši meri tudi moški/ženska. Z združevanjem dihotomij uvaja nove oblike (npr. kiborških) telesnosti (gl. Balsamo v Kirkup 2000), ki govorijo v prid možnosti paradigmatičnega premika v družbenem (in posledično tudi spolnem) redu²¹. Pozornost se ponovno usmeri na eksperimentiranje z (bio)tehnološkimi izboljšavami človeškega telesa, hkrati pa je vedno bolj prisotno tudi zavedanje, da je »v znanstveni fantastiki telo (človeško ali ne) *tabula rasa*, sposobno več in kontradiktornih branj.« (Wheeler 211)

Obdobje, ki kiberpanku sledi, je precej težko na kratko opisati skozi skupne imenovalce, saj ga zaznamuje pojav in razcvet velikega števila podžanrov, pogosto definiranih v odnosu do tematik, ki jih literarna dela obravnavajo. Tako poleg kiberpanka sedaj govorimo tudi o nanopanku in biopanku, popularizira se steampunk, pa gotska in apokaliptična znanstvena fantastika, slipstream, zombijevska in gejevka znanstvena fantastika ter na desetine drugih podžanrov. V povezavi s spolom opazimo predvsem dva trenda, in sicer vdor (mehke) fantazijske literature v svet (trde) tehnicistične znanstvene fantastike osemdesetih let, ter poskuse aplikacije teorije Judith Butler o performativnosti spola.

Frederic Jameson v delu *Archaeologies of the Future* trdi, da nam znanstvenofantastični romani ne nudijo »podob naše prihodnosti, temveč potujijo naše občutenje sedanjosti« (2007: 286). Jamesonovo opažanje velja seveda tudi za naša videnja spola, zaradi česar so feministične avtorice s preprosto spremembo gledišča lahko v novi luči pokazale in razkrinkale nekatere na videz samoumevne vidike patriarhalne kulture, neenakost skozi zgodovino pa predstavile kot nenaravno. Kot bo razvidno v nadaljevanju, se je podoben pristop obrestoval tudi pri naslavljanju krivic, ki jih doživljajo transspolne osebe.

19 V primeru romana Thomasa Gardnerja *The Last Woman* (1932) na primer tako, da s pomočjo posebnega eliksirja svojo spolno energijo usmerjajo v »razmišljanje in delo« (Gardner v Moskowitza 132).

20 Izstopajo npr. Ursula K. Le Guin, Joanna Russ in Alice B. Sheldon (James Tiptree Jr.).

21 Obdobje sicer res zaznamuje tudi vrnitev biološkega determinizma, vendar tokrat predvsem v vlogi stranskega učinka prevlade izrazito moško zaznamovanih tehnoloških elementov znotraj žanra.

5 SUPERJUNAKI/NJE IN TRANSSPOLNOST

Znanstvena fantastika je eden izmed redkih žanrov, ki od ustvarjalca zahteva, da prevprašuje trenutno stanje in raziskuje možne alternative. Bistveno je torej, da se avtor dela nenehno sprašuje, kakšne rezultate bi prinesla določena sprememba trenutnega stanja, v našem primeru npr. v hierarhično-binarnem dojemljanju spola, značilnem za našo družbo. Hkrati v znanstveni fantastiki alternativna videnja spola ali celo alternativni spoli sami ne predstavljajo nujno nedosegljivega ideala ali "nenaravne" izjeme. Prevpraševanje in destabilizacija binarnega spolnega koda gresta z roko v roki z ekstrapolacijo prihodnosti in predstavljata element, ki naj bi ga bralec ali bralka dojemal/a kot dejstvo predstavljenega fiktivnega sveta. V najboljšem primeru naj bi to izkušnjo nato vsaj delno apliciral/a na lastno izkustvo in na ta način pomagal/a prevpraševati spol in spolne vloge v dani realnosti.

Tako kot to na splošno velja za medijske in literarne reprezentacije, transspolni liki tudi v zgodbah o superjunakih zagotavljajo vidnost, ki je za marginalizirane skupine še posebej pomembna zaradi pomoči pri (iz)oblikovanju identitete in zburjanju občutka pripadnosti. (gl. poročilo "Trans Lives & Positive Visibility"). Pojav transspolnih junakov v znanstvenofantastičnih stripih, predvsem v zadnjem desetletju, je del širšega poskusa večjih založnikov (to so predvsem Marvel, DC in Image Comics), da bi v tradicionalno moško in belo okolje vpeljali več raznolikosti. Billard in MacAuley (2017: 233) kot primere med drugim navajata uvedbo muslimanskega lika Kamale Khan, spremembo naziva lika Carol Danvers iz gospe Marvel v kapetanko Marvel in retroaktivno kontinuiteto (razkritje, da so nekateri že obstoječi liki geji ali lezbijke). Za stripe, podobno kot za znanstveno fantastiko, velja, da so tradicionalno vzdrževali toge spolne delitve (Taylor 2007: 345), pri čemer Billard in MacAuley (2017: 234) ugotavljata, da tudi mnoge upodobitve transspolnih likov ustoličujejo spol kot binarno kategorijo, dasiravno v primerjavi s splošno medijsko reprezentacijo fiktivne pripovedi vseeno »predstavljajo bolj progresivne in kulturno transformativne reprezentacije transspolnih identitet« (2017: 235).

V analizi transspolnih superjunakov in njihovih zgodb v stripih med letoma 1978 in 2015 Billard in MacAuley izpostavita nekatere pozitivne in negativne učinke konkretnih upodobitev. Pri liku Shvaughn Erin tako omenita telesno transformacijo s pomočjo hormonske terapije, ki pa liku postane nedostopna, zaradi česar bralec lahko potegne vzporednico s težavnim dostopom do hormonskega začetka fizične spremembe spola, ki predstavlja izkušnjo marsikaterih transspolnih oseb. Wanda Mann iz kulturnega *Sandmana* je lik, ki pogosto izkusi posmeh, zaničevanje in napačno spolno označevanje, vendar ne popusti normativnim pričakovanjem in »ne dovoli, da bi cispolni kriteriji narekovali njeno identiteto« (Billard in MacAuley 2017: 242). Njeno doživljanje lastne spolne identitete predstavlja edini kriterij, ki je neodvisen od njenega fizičnega telesa, in vzpostavlja ženskost ločeno od njenih tradicionalno prepoznavnih znakov.

Alysia Yeoh iz serije *Batgirl* je trenutno verjetno še vedno najboljše poznan transspolni lik, hkrati pa tudi nebelka, lezbijka in udeleženka prve poroke transspolnega lika v superjunaških stripih. Zanimivo je, da se v tej isti franšizi DC Comics pojavi tudi Dagger Type, zlobna kraljica preobleke, ki pa je požela neodobravanje kvir bralstva in opravičilo avtorjev zaradi ponovne vpeljave preživetega stereotipa pošastne transspolne zlobnice (Rude 2014). Billard in MacAuley pri večini sodobnih likov, ki so se pojavili po letu 2010 (npr. Jake v Marvelovih *Maščevalcih*, Alain iz stripa *Shutter*, Zhen iz serije *Trees* in Sera iz miniserije *Angela: Asgard's Assassin*) opazita bistveno manj stigmatizirane upodobitve in pozitiven odziv okolice na razkritje likov kot transspolnih, predvsem pa so se pričeli pojavljati tudi liki (npr. prej omenjena Alain in Sera), pri katerih je transspolnost obravnavana kot dano dejstvo, ki ni predstavljeno kot kakorkoli problematično.

Nekatere glavne težave, ki so jih v svoji analizi transspolnih superjunakov v stripih zaznali Billard in MacAuley ter Stein (2018) vključujejo hiperseksualizirane (gl. Avery-Natale 2013) in fetišizirane upodobitve, pretirano in žaljivo stereotipizacijo (npr. lik Lorda Fannyja), upodabljanje transspolnih identitet oz. likov z namenom zasmehovanja ali šokiranja bralstva ter zgodbe o zamenjavi teles (ali likih, ki lahko spreminjajo svojo podobo), ki ne uspejo zaobjeti kompleksnosti dejanskih nenormativnih spolnih identitet. Omenjeni avtorji problematizirajo tudi domneven vznik neke vrste transnormativnih standardov, ki terjajo določene lastnosti (npr. bele, heteroseksualne like srednjega ali višjega razreda ipd.), da bi like legitimizirali kot pozitivne oz. »dobre«. Tovrstne reprezentacije omejujejo raznolikost transspolne izkušnje, še naprej glorificirajo binarno delitev in spodbujajo upoštevanje normativnih družbenih pričakovanj na področju spola in spolne usmerjenosti. Poleg tega iz omenjenih analiz izhaja, da transspolni liki nastopajo skoraj izključno v stranskih vlogah in dejanska »junaštva« prepuščajo cispolnim likom, kar močno spominja na ženske pomočnice superjunakov iz znanstvene fantastike preteklega stoletja. Skoraj vsi transspolni liki v stripih se tudi identificirajo kot ženske, kar pomeni, da je zastopanost transspolne izkušnje še vedno precej neuravnotežena.

Iz reprezentativnega pregleda transspolnih likov v superjunaških stripih Billarda in MacAuleya je razvidno, da se upodobitve vedno bolj premikajo v smeri destabilizacije in izzivanja heteronormativnih pričakovanj in biološkega esencializma, hkrati pa sprejemajo tudi transspolno identifikacijo znotraj binarnega modela kot pomembno in veljavno (2017: 248). Čeprav je večanje števila spoštljivih in celostnih prikazov prepoznavno kvir likov v splošnem pozitiven premik, pa Schott (2010: 25-28) to povečanje problematizira, saj naj bi bili ti liki prepogosto upodobljeni pretirano normativno in stereotipno, medtem ko so zgolj implicitno kvir liki v preteklosti dopuščali bolj široko branje.

6 »DEKLE KOT VSAKO DRUGO«: TRANSSPOLNA SUPERJUNAKINJA V ROMANU *DREADNOUGHT*

V stripih se torej povečuje število neposrednih in pozitivnih upodobitev transspolnih superjunakov, v prozni znanstveni fantastiki pa je ta trend manj očiten. Prozna besedila imajo to prednost, da se lahko bistveno bolj posvetijo doživljanju superjunaka in skozi prvoosebno pripoved in introspekcijo omogočajo bolj subtilen vpogled v superjunakovo doživljanje samega sebe. Podobne primere sicer lahko srečamo tudi v stripih²², vendar ti transspolni superjunaki običajno ne nastopajo v glavnih vlogah.

Lik Danny Tozer v romanu *Dreadnought* April Daniels je tako trenutno ena izmed redkih transspolnih superjunakinj v vlogi glavne protagonistke. Živi v svetu, ki je zelo podoben sodobnim ZDA, le da v njem za red in mir skrbijo superjunaki združeni v organizaciji Legion Pacifica. Danny nepričakovano pridobi supermoči najmočnejšega svetovnega superjunaka Dreadnoughta, hkrati pa prejme tudi žensko telo, ki odraža njeno pravo spolno identiteto. Prav znanstvenofantastični žanr je tisti, ki omogoča tovrstno takojšnjo fizično preobrazbo, posledično pa avtorica lahko zgodbo »prične tam, kjer se druge [pripovedi o trans mladih] končajo« (Cook 2022: 58), s čimer pokaže, da zgolj »prepričljivo« telo še zdaleč ni alfa in omega transspolnega obstoja.

Danny je in ni tipična superjunakinja, saj po eni strani bije klasični superjunaški boj z zlobno kiborginjo Utopio, pred katero mora rešiti svet, po drugi strani pa lik presega tipične pripovedi žanra s prvoosebnim osredotočanjem na njene notranje boje. Danny pravzaprav bije bitko za pravico do samoidentifikacije na dveh frontah. Opraviti ima z očetom, ki njene spolne identitete kljub transformaciji ne sprejema in jo sili v ponovno spremembo spola, poleg tega pa so glede nove članice skeptični tudi drugi superjunaki, še posebej lik Greywitch, ki predstavlja trans-izključujočo radikalno (t.i. TERF) feministko in Dannyjino spremembo biološkega spola označi za maškarado (Daniels 2017: 66) ter vztraja pri »mrtvoimenovanju«, torej rabi njenega rojstnega imena. Poleg tega Danny zaradi svoje cisnormativne vzgoje tudi sama večkrat delegitimizira lastno identiteto, še posebej, ko ugotovi, da kljub popolnemu ženskemu izgledu nima maternice (gl. Daniels 2017: 55). Na srečo najde zaveznico v znanstvenici z imenom Dr. Impossible, ki ji pomaga zaživeti v tako zelo zelenem telesu in morda predstavlja tudi poklon vsem znanstvenicam, ki so skozi zgodovino žanra ostajale v ozadju.

Kot superjunakinja ima Danny klasične supermoči (fizična moč, okretnost in sposobnost letenja), hkrati pa lahko kot supermoč razumemo tudi telesno spremembo, ki ustreza njeni spolni identiteti. Transspolnost je namreč pogosto zreducirana na fizični vidik in velja zmotno prepričanje, da »prepričljivo« telo, ki ustreza vsem družbenim pričakovanjem, transspolni osebi zagotavlja avtomatično legitimizacijo njihove spolne identitete.

22 Prej omenjeni lik Sere se na primer pojavi še v eni miniseriji (*Angela: Queen of Hel*), kjer nastopa v vlogi prvoosebne pripovedovalke in bralstvo tako zgodbo doživlja skozi njene oči.

Da temu ni tako je eno od bolj bolečih spoznanj, s katerimi se mora soočiti Danny, saj njena situacija kljub superjunaštvu ni povsem nič drugačna od tiste povprečne transspolne najstnice. Kljub temu, da so tudi pretekli Dreadnoughti doživljali fizične spremembe v skladu s svojimi željami in sanjami drugi superjunaki zaradi Dannyjine transformacije dvomijo vanjo ne le kot žensko, temveč tudi kot superjunakinjo.

Cook (2022) v eni redkih obstoječih analiz romana poudari njegovo spretno izrabo žanra za disrupcijo normativnih ideologij, ki se skrivajo za domnevno objektivno resničnostjo. Znanstvenofantastični svet namreč Danny res omogoči, da spremeni svoj biološki spol v najbolj popolno možno različico, vendar jo okolica še vedno obravnava kot lažnivko in njeno spolno identiteto kot performativno. Roman s tovrstno realistično obravnavo transspolne izkušnje osvetli številne težave transspolnih mladih, od tega, da jim ni priznana pravica do samoodločanja o samih sebi, do namenskega napačnega pripisovanja spola, militantnega radikalno feminističnega branjenja spolne kategorije ženskosti (in z njim povezane delegitimizacije z moškimi privilegiji domnevno omadeževanih transspolnih žensk), do esencialističnih zahtev po maternici in vagini kot pogojih ženskosti.

Daniels hkrati ponudi arhetipsko superjunakinjo in subverzijo le-te, saj so tradicionalni elementi superjunaške zgodbe sicer prisotni, vendar se tokrat znajdejo v ozadju, v ospredju pa je običajno marginalizirana tematika transspolnosti. Danny je kot belka postavljena v privilegiran položaj, hkrati pa je kot transspolna oseba in lezbijka predstavica manjšin. Dannyjina upodobitev tako presega stereotipne like, značilne za superjunaško leposlovje, saj v njeni zgodbi glavnega izziva ne predstavlja (sicer izjemno dramatična) tradicionalna bitka z zlimi nasprotniki, temveč soočenje z družbenimi predsodki, trans-izključujočim radikalnim feminizmom in cisnormativnostjo lastne vzgoje. Skozi raziskovanje identitetne kompleksnosti transspolne, lezbično identificirane superjunakinje tako mlado bralstvo dobi poučno lekcijo o tem, kako pomembna je pravica do samopoznavanja in samoidentifikacije.

7 ZAKLJUČEK

Upoštevajoč esencialistično, seksistično in patriarhalno preteklost žanra samega in predvsem darvinistično genezo lika pravzaprav ne bi smelo biti presenetljivo, da so prav literarna dela o superjunakih med zadnjimi v znanstveni fantastiki pričela vključevati transspolne like. Kljub zgodovinski hipermaskuliniziranosti žanra pa predvsem v zadnjih treh desetletjih opazamo hitrejši razvoj vsebin, ki spolne identitete obravnavajo kot bolj fluidne in raznolike kot kadarkoli prej. Superjunaška znanstvena fantastika v obliki stripov, grafičnih romanov ali proznih del je popularna predvsem pri mlajših bralcih, zato je še posebej pomembno, da vključuje širok spekter spolnih identitet in usmerjenosti, ki jih predstavi kot legitimne in enakovredne.

Analize razvoja obravnave spola v superjunaški znanstveni fantastiki pokažejo, da se prav to področje v literarnih delih skozi dvajseto stoletje razvija zelo počasi, saj je hiper-maskulinizirana narava podžanra zaradi osredotočenja na telesnost likov še bolj globoko ukoreninjena kot pri drugih podžanrih in temelji na nenehnem ponavljanju določenih značilnosti in motivov. Subverzivne različice, ki te značilnosti prevprašujejo in uporabijo za namene razkrinkanja patriarhalnega, cisseksističnega in biološko determinističnega družbenega modusa operandi se pojavijo šele po nekaj desetletjih obstoja žanra in sovpadajo s seksualno revolucijo šestdesetih in sedemdesetih. Pomembno je opozoriti, da ta dela utrejo pot kasnejšemu razvoju LGBTQ+ in transspolnih likov, ki posledično poteka bistveno hitreje. Enega pomembnejših premikov na tem področju predstavlja spoznanje avtorjev, da superjunaška telesa zaradi še vedno obstoječih superiornih fizičnih atributov opozarjajo nase bolj kot marsikatera druga, zato je mogoče z vpeljavo transspolnih junakov, katerih spolna identiteta se ne ujema nujno z njihovo anatomijo, lažje poudariti pomembnost ločevanja med spolno identiteto in njenim biološkim utelešenjem.

Kot smo lahko videli v pričujočem prispevku, se evolucija superjunakov nadaljuje, vendar ne v darvinističnem smislu preživetja najmočnejšega, temveč v smeri preseganja upodobitev, ki stigmatizirajo in delegitimizirajo transspolno izkušnjo. Transspolni liki predvsem v zadnjih dvajsetih letih niso več patologizirane osebnosti, ki bi se bile primorane podrežati različnim normativnim pričakovanjem, da bi upravičile svoj obstoj. Kljub številnim problematičnim upodobitvam transspolnih junakov lahko trdimo, da je v superjunaški znanstveni fantastiki mogoče zaznati trend normaliziranja transspolnih identitet celo do te mere, da so pri nekaterih likih predstavljene kot popolnoma običajne in nemudoma sprejete kot legitimne s strani drugih likov. »V primerjavi z zgodnjimi upodobitvami, ki so se skoraj v celoti osredotočale na nenavadnost transspolnih identitet njihovih likov, to vsekakor predstavlja pozitivno kulturno transformacijo« (Billard in MacAuley 2017: 249).

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POVZETEK

**SPOL IN NADLJUDJE V AMERIŠKI ZNANSTVENI FANTASTIKI:
OD CISSPOLNIH SUPERMOŽ DO TRANSSPOLNIH SUPERJUNAKINJ**

Prispevek predstavlja zgoščen prikaz, kako so darvinistična geneza žanra superjunaške znanstvene fantastike ter vkoreninjenost binarnih spolnih upodobitev, patriarhalnih vzorcev in hierarhij zamaknili pojav transspolnih superjunakov v žanru, poleg tega pa predpostavi, da je prav izjemna rigidnost žanra in njegovih postulatov sčasoma omogočila subverzivne upodobitve superjunakov in superjunakinj, najprej v feminističnem in kasneje v transspolnem kontekstu. Znanstvena fantastika je tudi danes še vedno pogosto razumljena kot izrazito moški žanr, kar je še posebej očitno v podžanru zgodb o superjunakih, ki kot superiorne poveljujejo predvsem tradicionalno moške lastnosti. Kljub teoretično neomejenim in z družbenimi normami neobremenjenim možnostim žanra za raziskovanje, prevpraševanje in eksperimentiranje je skozi analizo zgodovine obravnave spola v znanstveni fantastiki razvidno, da le-ta pogosto odraža družbene trende iz časa nastanka literarnega dela, ali pa za njimi celo zaostaja. Zgodovinsko gledano so bile ženske v superjunaških zgodbah marginalizirane, prikazane predvsem kot spremljevalke ali spolni objekti, redko pa so imele enake moči ali vloge kot moški superjunaki. Zgodnji ženski liki v znanstveni fantastiki so bili predstavljeni predvsem kot grožnja ali predmet poželenja. Ženske superjunakinje so se pojavile počasi in pogosto skozi moško perspektivo, kar je utrjevalo patriarhalne norme. V šestdesetih in sedemdesetih letih vzpon feministične znanstvene fantastike prinese prve bolj radikalne reinterpretacije spola, od devetdesetih let naprej pa sodobni trendi kažejo na večjo raznolikost in vključenost raznovrstnih, tudi transspolnih, likov. Kratki predstavitvi obstoječih transspolnih superjunakov ter njihovih prednosti in slabosti sledi analiza mladinskega romana *Dreadnought* (2017) avtorice April Daniels, ki predstavlja reprezentativen primer ubesedenja transspolne izkušnje s pomočjo subverzije superjunaškega arhetipa.

Ključne besede: spolna identiteta, znanstvena fantastika, transspolni superjunaki, *Dreadnought*, April Daniels

ABSTRACT

**GENDER AND SUPERHUMANS IN AMERICAN SCIENCE FICTION:
FROM CISSGENDER SUPERMEN TO TRANSGENDER SUPERHEROES**

The article provides a concise overview of how the Darwinian genesis of the superhero science fiction genre and the entrenched binary gender representations, patriarchal patterns, and hierarchies delayed the emergence of transgender superheroes. It also, however, proposes that the very rigidity of the genre and its tropes eventually enabled subversive portrayals of superheroes, initially in a

feminist and later in a transgender context. Science fiction is still often perceived as a predominantly male genre, which is particularly evident in the subgenre of superhero stories that present traditional masculine traits as superior. Despite the theoretically limitless possibilities of the genre for exploration, questioning, and experimentation free from societal expectations, an analysis of the history of gender representation in science fiction reveals that it often not only reflects the societal norms of its time but may even be more conservative. Women in superhero stories have historically been marginalized and depicted primarily as sidekicks or sexual objects, rarely exhibiting powers or roles equal to those of male superheroes. Early female characters in science fiction were mainly portrayed as threats or objects of desire. Female superheroes emerged slowly and were often portrayed from a male perspective, reinforcing patriarchal norms. The rise of feminist science fiction in the 1960s and 1970s brought about the first radical reinterpretations of gender, but it is only from the 1990s onwards that we observe greater diversity and inclusion within the genre, including of transgender characters. A brief overview of existing transgender superheroes including the strengths and weaknesses of their portrayals is followed by an analysis of the young adult novel *Dreadnought* (2017) by April Daniels, serving as a representative example of a transgender experience presented through the subversion of the superhero archetype.

Keywords: gender identity, science fiction, transgender superheroes, *Dreadnought*, April Daniels

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Izvirni znanstveni članek



DIE INFORMATIONSVERHÄLTNISREKONSTRUKTION UND IHR VERGLEICH IN DER FIGURENKONSTRUKTION ALS AUSGANGSPUNKT UND ZUGANGSMÖGLICHKEIT ZUM WISSEN DES MODELL-RETEXTUALISIERERS IN DER HISTORISCHEN PERSPEKTIVE

1 EINLEITUNG

In der Geschichte der Erzählforschung wurde der Leser¹ meist als derjenige verstanden, auf den ein Text wirkt (vgl. Prince 2009: 399). In Barthes' (1974) *S/Z* wird zwar noch immer strukturalistisch gearbeitet, aber es wird auch eine Übergangsphase deutlich, in der die Forschung der Dynamik des Lesens eine bedeutendere Rolle zuschreibt. Diese Dynamik zwischen Text und Leser betonen vor allem auch Ingarden (1972), Jauß (1970), Iser (1972, 1976) und Eco (1987), die von einer aktiven Beteiligung des Lesers am Rezeptionsprozess und vor allem an der Bildung von Bedeutung ausgehen. Der kognitionswissenschaftliche Ansatz ist somit nicht der erste, der eine aktive Beteiligung des Rezipienten bei der Konstruktion von Bedeutung vorsieht, jedoch werden im Gegensatz zu anderen Ansätzen erst in der Kognitionsliteraturwissenschaft die Verstehensprozesse des Rezipienten und die Informationsverarbeitung erfasst.

In der Kognitionsliteraturwissenschaft gewinnen somit auch die kognitionspsychologischen Untersuchungen an Bedeutung, die von einer ständigen Informationsverarbeitung des Gehirns ausgehen (vgl. Schneider 2000: 6). Weil der Rezipient Informationen verarbeiten muss, bekommt auch das ‚Wie‘ der Informationsvergabe samt Informationsvernetzung im Text eine größere Bedeutung für die Sinn- und Kohärenzbildung –einerseits, weil das ‚Wie‘ der Informationsvergabe die Anweisungen für den Rezipienten darstellt, andererseits werden dadurch neue Fragestellungen ermöglicht. In komparatistischen Untersuchungen

¹ Die Bezeichnung ‚Leser‘ wird wegen der spezifischen Vortragsart der mittelalterlichen Texte und der Anknüpfung des Artikels an diese im Weiteren durch den Überbegriff ‚Rezipient‘ ausgewechselt. Es sei denn, er wird in Bezug auf den Retextualisierer der altfranzösischen Vorlagen verwendet.

– im vorliegenden Fall zwischen den altfranzösischen Vorlagen und den entsprechenden mittelhochdeutschen Retextualisierungen anhand der Analyse von literarischen Figuren – kann eine Fragestellung wie folgt lauten: ‚Wie wurden Figureninformationen im verschriftlichten Kontext in der Vorlage und im Vergleich dazu in der Retextualisierung vergeben und welche Folgen hat dies für die Figurenkonstruktion?‘ Oder sogar: ‚Wie anders retextualisierte der Retextualisierer die literarischen Figuren und was wollte er damit erzielen?‘

Allerdings stößt die kognitive Literaturwissenschaft in der historischen Perspektive auf einige Herausforderungen. Um die Prozesshaftigkeit der Bildung von Bedeutung erforschen zu können, muss der Literaturwissenschaftler eine empirische Analyse durchführen. Diese ist jedoch mit Problemen verbunden: Denn neben der Abwesenheit des historischen Lesers stellt die Informationsmenge eine Herausforderung dar.

Das Ziel dieses Beitrags ist es, zu zeigen, dass die kognitive Literaturwissenschaft auch in der historischen Perspektive mit einer angepassten Methodik am Beispiel der Figurenkonstruktionsanalyse anwendbar und ein Ansatz für interessante Resultate ist. Die nachfolgende Informationsvergabeanalyse der literarischen Figuren und die Figurenkonstruktionsanalyse wurden an den altfranzösischen Vorlagen und im Vergleich² dazu auch an den entsprechenden mittelhochdeutschen Retextualisierungen durchgeführt: *La Chanson de Roland* und die Retextualisierung des Pfaffen Konrad *Rolandslied*; *Bataille d'Aliscans* und Wolframs von Eschenbach *Willehalm*; *Erec et Enide* von Chrétien de Troyes und Hartmanns von Aue *Erec*; *Le Chevalier au lion* von Chrétien de Troyes und Hartmanns von Aue *Iwein*.

2 LITERARISCHE FIGUREN ALS MENTALE MODELLE

Im kognitionswissenschaftlichen Ansatz werden literarische Figuren als „textuell basierte mentale Modelle von möglichen Individuen [verstanden], die in den Gedanken des Lesers durch den Prozess des Lesens gebildet werden [...]“ (Margolin 2007: 76). Die Konstruktion von mentalen Modellen ist demnach nicht nur vom Text an sich abhängig, sondern vor allem vom mentalen Einsatz des Rezipienten. Es ist der Rezipient, der sein Wissen und seine Erfahrungen einsetzen muss, um die im Text gegebenen Informationen zu verarbeiten und kohärente Schlüsse zu ziehen. Wissen soll dabei nicht nur als angeeignetes Allgemeinwissen verstanden werden, sondern vor allem auch als Wissen darüber, wie kohärente Verbindungen zwischen den Informationen gebildet werden können und woher das Wissen geschöpft werden soll. Letztendlich können zwei verbundene Informationen in verschiedenen kulturellen Umgebungen völlig Unterschiedliches bedeuten.

2 Die angeführten Vorlagen und ihre entsprechenden Retextualisierungen werden auch als Vorlagen-Retextualisierungs-Paare benannt.

Jannidis (2004) zufolge gibt es drei Quellen der Aneignung vom Wissen über die mentalen Modelle und zwei Arten der Aneignung von denen: Jannidis unterscheidet zwischen der Informationszuschreibung und der Bindung, wobei nicht jede Bindung das Resultat einer Informationszuschreibung ist (vgl. Jannidis 2004: 199). Denn literarische Figuren werden nicht nur durch Informationen, sondern auch durch Tatsachen und Inferenzen konstruiert. Die Informationen werden im Text entweder direkt oder indirekt vergeben, zudem kann der Rezipient Inferenzen aufgrund von figurenbezogenen Tatsachen bilden, die auf der *discours*-Ebene vergeben werden, oder er kann Inferenzen aufgrund von Zusammenhängen bilden, die auf der *discours*-Ebene nicht vorkommen und er sie daher selbst erschließen muss (vgl. Jannidis 2004: 199).

Die Kohärenz als ein seit Platon existierender Begriff (vgl. Schneider 2021: 42–58) kann als anthropologische Konstante angesehen werden. Sie bezeichnet

„[...] einen Zusammenhang, der nicht über die genannten linguistischen Merkmale, also über die Textoberfläche, sondern über die Texttiefenstruktur hergestellt wird.“ (Jannidis 2004: 140)

Kohärenz bedeutet seitens des Rezipienten Schlüsse zu ziehen bzw. Informationen und Tatsachen zu verarbeiten sowie Inferenzen zu bilden und verweist damit im Fall der Retextualisierungen auf die Prozesshaftigkeit des Verschriftlichten oder des Wiedergegebenen. Aus diesem Grund muss die Prozesshaftigkeit der Bedeutungskonstruktion auch in der historischen Perspektive so viel wie möglich berücksichtigt werden.

Die Zugänglichkeit zu den mentalen Modellen als Endprodukte des Rezipienten ist schon für den Literaturwissenschaftler, der mit einer empirischen Analyse arbeiten kann, schwierig – geschweige denn in der historischen Perspektive, die vollkommen unmöglich ist. Jedes individuelle mentale Modell ist nur dem Individuum selbst als sein persönliches *Unikum* zugänglich. Denn welcher Mensch kann genauso wie ein anderer denken und wessen Gedanken kann ein Wissenschaftler ‚wirklich‘ beobachten? Es kann aber davon ausgegangen werden, dass es „Bezugsgrößen“ (Lüsebrink 2016: 13) gibt, die über ein gemeinsames Wissen verfügen und die Leerstellen im Text entweder mit ihrem eigenen Inhalt füllen oder Verbindungen zwischen zwei oder mehreren Elementen des Textes in einer ähnlichen Weise ziehen können und somit einer ähnlichen Kohärenzbildung unterliegen. Dabei sind in der historischen Perspektive vor allem Inferenzen vom Interesse, die tatsachenbezogen sind. Bezugsgrößen müssen nicht an nationale Gebilde gebunden sein, sondern können auch durch eine gemeinsame Sprache, Religion oder sogar Interesse verbunden sein. Es kann davon ausgegangen werden, dass der Modell-Retextualisierer über das Wissen, wie zwei Bezugsgrößen Schlüsse ziehen, verfügte. Nicht umsonst betont Müller:

„Literarische Texte entstehen nicht im luftleeren Raum, sondern im Zusammenhang einer historischen Kultur, die ihnen bestimmte Themen und Motive, bestimmte Ordnungen des Wissens und bestimmte Diskurstypen, bestimmte Probleme und Lösungen vorgibt. Solche Vorgaben liegen den spezifische[n] literarischen Traditionen, poetischen Strategien, Gattungen usw. voraus, die im Allgemeinen der Hauptgegenstand der Literaturgeschichtsschreibung sind.“ (Müller 2007: 6)

Die Rezipienten verwenden ihr angeeignetes Wissen nicht nur, um die Leerstellen im Text zu füllen. Das Herstellen von Verbindungen zwischen den textuellen Elementen kann als ein Lernprozess des Rezipienten gesehen werden – denn er schöpft aus den textuell vermittelten Möglichkeiten der Kohärenzbildung auch Erfahrungen für sein Leben und bekommt kulturelle Konzepte in Form einer textuellen Erfahrung vermittelt.

Bei den Untersuchungen von mentalen Modellen wird die gesamte Gewichtung der Rezeption auf den Interaktionsprozess zwischen dem Text und dem Leser verlagert und weniger auf die ‚Wahrheit‘ oder ‚Korrektheit‘ (vgl. Margolin 2007: 76). Der Rezipient ist derjenige, der die Verbindungen zwischen den textuellen Elementen herstellt. Weil aber nur textuelle Anweisungen für die Konstruktion von mentalen Modellen zugänglich sind, können in diesem Fall bzw. in der historischen Perspektive Schlüsse lediglich aufgrund komparatistischer Vergleiche gezogen werden, um Eigeninterpretationen zu vermeiden. Wie die Figureninformationen vergeben wurden, kann im Vergleich zu einem anderen Text einen Ausgangspunkt in Form von Anweisungen für mentale Prozesse darstellen.

Vor der Auseinandersetzung mit der Informationsverhältnisrekonstruktion und ihren Vergleichen wird nachfolgend auf einige Spezifika der mittelalterlichen Retextualisierungen hingewiesen.

3 RETEXTUALISIERUNGEN IM HOCHMITTELALTER

„[D]ie mittelalterliche Kultur bringt durchaus Neues hervor, wenngleich sie sich bemüht, es unter den Überresten der Wiederholung zu verstecken (im Gegensatz zur modernen Kultur, die auch dann vorgibt, Neues zu produzieren, wenn sie nur Altes wiederholt).“ (Eco 1991: 13)

Dieses Zitat von Eco zeigt die Besonderheiten der mittelhochdeutschen Retextualisierungen. In der Abwesenheit eines theoretischen Rahmens für die textuellen Übertragungen wurden altfranzösische Vorlagen für das mittelhochdeutschsprachige Publikum übertragen. Diesbezüglich gibt es in der Wissenschaft zahlreiche Auseinandersetzungen zu den dadurch entstandenen Fragen zur Autorschaft (Forquet 1944, Huby 1968, Worstbrock 1985, Bumke 2005: 10-13; zu Eigenbezeichnungen: Unzeitig 2002, Unzeitig 2010)

und Terminologie (Geith 1996, Krass 1996, Unzeitig 1996, Worstbrock 1999, Bumke 2005, Steinmetz 2005), wobei die terminologische Frage wegen der Alterität der mediävistischen Werke und den durch moderne Theorien geprägten Wortschatz (vgl. Bumke 2005: 10) noch nicht beantwortet wurde. Wie Cramer (1986: 262) konstatiert, durfte im Mittelalter nur Gott Neues erschaffen. Deswegen vergewisserten sich die mittelhochdeutschen Retextualisierer, nichts Neues zu schaffen, sondern ‚nur‘ die *materia* zu übertragen.

Die Retextualisierungen führen mit all ihren Spezifika zu neuen Fragestellungen, die anhand gegenwärtiger Übertragungen, Übersetzungen u. Ä. wegen genauer theoretischer Rahmen der Übertragung nicht möglich sind. Es ist in der Forschung zu mittelhochdeutschen Retextualisierungen allgemein bekannt, dass die Texte erweitert und gekürzt wurden (vgl. Klein 2015: 40, Worstbrock 1985). An dieser Stelle muss aber auch auf die Ambivalenz der literarischen Figuren hingewiesen werden.

Literarische Figuren stellen bekanntlich eine große Herausforderung für den Wissenschaftler dar. Sie sind einerseits selbstständige Grundelemente der Erzähltheorie, andererseits fest in das Netzwerk des Textes eingebunden (vgl. Heidbrink 2010: 67). Für den Rezipienten sind sie ein wichtiger Teil des Rezipierten, weil sie Empathie wecken oder zu Identifikation führen können (vgl. Zupan Sosič 2017: 186). Im Sinne ihrer Ambivalenz können sie sowohl das ‚Veränderte‘ als auch das ‚Unveränderte‘ darstellen. Mit dem ‚gleichen‘ Namen in der Retextualisierung wird auf die gleiche literarische Figur wie die in der Vorlage verwiesen und mit einigen Eigenschaften auf dieselben Merkmale dieser. Doch trotz derselben Merkmale einer literarischen Figur – in diesem Beitrag sind es die erstvergebenen Figureninformationen – kann es einen Unterschied in der Figurenkonstruktion beim Rezipieren der Vorlage und der Retextualisierung geben. Dieser Unterschied resultiert aus der unterschiedlichen Informationsverarbeitung – mit dem Anfang bei den Anweisungen, wie literarische Figuren konstruiert werden sollen – und dem Kontext der einzelnen Figureninformationen. Die Informationsverhältnisverarbeitung durch die Retextualisierung wird erst nach einem *close reading* und der Eingrenzung von Figureninformationen analysierbar.

4 LÖSUNGSVORSCHLAG FÜR EINE KOGNITIVE WISSENSCHAFTLICHE FIGURENKONSTRUKTIONSANALYSE IN DER HISTORISCHEN PERSPEKTIVE

4.1 Modell-Retextualisierer

Die Rezeptionsästhetiker haben als Lösung für die Analyse von Texten anthropomorphe Konstrukte angeboten. Eco (1987: 31) geht davon aus, dass Texte von diesen anthropomorphen Konstrukten „aktualisiert werden müssen“, weil sie ansonsten „unvollständig“ (Eco 1987: 61) bleiben.

Auf ähnliche Weise, doch auf das Beispiel der altfranzösischen Vorlagen und mittelhochdeutschen Retextualisierungen bezogen, wird in dieser Untersuchung der Modell-Retextualisierer eingeführt. Der Modell-Retextualisierer ist ein anthropomorphes Konstrukt mit zwei integrierten Rollen und bietet die Lösung für die Unzugänglichkeit des historischen Retextualisierers an, die mit einer modellhaften Rekonstruktion und dem Vergleich von Unterschieden in der Figurenkonstruktion gelöst werden kann/muss.

a. Die erste Rolle des Modell-Retextualisierers ist die des Modell-Lesers, der über das Wissen verfügt, spezifische Informationsverhältnisse in einer Vorlage als Leerstelle zu erkennen und zu füllen. Leerstellen

„[...] ergeben sich überall, wo in einem Text eine Sinnverbindung zwischen zwei oder mehr Elementen nicht (eindeutig) hergestellt oder unklar ist.“
(Schneider 2021: 15)

Die Figureninformationen sind demnach deutlich miteinander verbunden, geben aber nicht alle Antworten über diese Informationsverbindung sofort preis. Die Leerstellen werden deswegen mit Allgemeinwissen, Erfahrungen, kulturellem, politischem, soziohistorischem Wissen etc. gefüllt, das im Text nicht vermittelt wird. Dieser Teil des Verständnisses und der Kohärenzbildung ist dem Wissenschaftler unzugänglich. Leerstellen werden aber auch mit Inferenzen gefüllt, die auf den im Text vorhandenen Tatsachen basieren und erst später im Text vorkommen. Ein Informationsverhältnis, bei dem eine Leerstelle im Text bleibt, bildet beim Rezipienten Erwartungen in Bezug auf das Informationsverhältnis. Da die Antworten ausbleiben und die Erwartungen des Rezipienten nicht sofort bestätigt, negiert oder verändert werden, muss der Rezipient die Antworten auf Annahmen über das Informationsverhältnis an einer späteren Stelle im Text suchen und erklärt bekommen. Wichtige Verweise auf das Informationsverhältnis stellen für den Modell-Leser Wiederholungen der Figureninformationen dar.

b. Die zweite Rolle nimmt der Modell-Interpret ein, der über das Wissen verfügt, wie er eine Leerstelle in der Retextualisierung – in diesem Fall in Form des gleichen Informationsverhältnisses wie in der Vorlage – verändern muss, um sie für ein neues Publikum anzupassen.

Der wichtigste Teil der Informationsverhältnisrekonstruktion ist der Übergang zwischen dem Modell-Leser und dem Modell-Interpreten. Die im Text signalisierten Bezüge zu einem Informationsverhältnis bzw. einer Leerstelle können durch den Modell-Interpreten verändert werden. Das bedeutet, dass Passagen im Text, die durch Wiederholungen auf ein Informationsverhältnis referieren, verändert werden können. Dadurch wird auch der textuelle Ausgangspunkt für die Inferenzbildung verändert.

Das mentale Modell an sich bleibt noch immer unzugänglich, doch die veränderten Informationsverhältnisse sind aussagekräftig an sich. Mit der modellhaften

Rekonstruktion von Informationsverhältnissen und ihrem Vergleich kann letztendlich der gedachte Unterschied vom Modell-Retextualisierer rekonstruiert werden. Wenn vom Unterschied in der Retextualisierung gesprochen wird, ist damit diese Stelle im Prozess gemeint.

4.2 Jannidis' Analysemodell

Das Instrumentarium für die Figurenkonstruktionsanalyse ist ein wichtiger Teil der Informationsverhältnisrekonstruktion. Die Informationsverhältnisrekonstruktion erfolgt anhand der komparatistischen Figurenkonstruktion, für die das Analysemodell von Fotis Jannidis (2004) *Figur und Person* verwendet wird. Dieses Modell hat die Rolle eines Instrumentariums inne, das die Figurenkonstruktion auf vier Ebenen nachverfolgt (vgl. Jannidis 2004: 198–235). Dies ermöglicht die Nachverfolgung der prozesshaften Konstruktion von literarischen Figuren im Text.

Die literarischen Figuren fangen mit einem Figurenreferent an zu existieren und erhalten direkte oder indirekte Informationen, die weiter vernetzt werden. Nach der Informations-Ebene geht Jannidis (2004) von der Charakterisierungs-, Motivierungs- und Identifikations-Ebene aus. Dem Figurenreferenten werden somit Informationen zugeschrieben, die sukzessive im Prozess der Figurenkonstruktion verfolgt werden können. Auf der Charakterisierungs-Ebene werden die Dauer, Menge, Häufigkeit, Ordnung und Dichte der Informationen sowie der Informationskontext und Figurenkontext untersucht. Die Motivierungs-Ebene ist eine „Sinnstruktur, mit der ein Element des Textes mit anderen Elementen in einen sinnhaften Zusammenhang gebracht wird.“ (Jannidis 2004: 254) Als Identifikations-Ebene, die vor allem in der historischen Perspektive schwer zu erforschen ist, beschreibt Jannidis (vgl. 2004: 229) vorwiegend die Lenkung der Empathie der Leser gegenüber den literarischen Figuren und die Imitation dieser. Durch die Figurenkonstruktionsanalyse auf vier Ebenen wird die Betrachtung und Beschreibung der literarischen Figuren zu einem dynamischen Prozess.

4.3 Einheitliche Einschränkung der Informationsmenge

Jeder Text weist eine Menge an Informationsvernetzungen auf, die durch die sukzessive Aneignung von textuellen Informationen exponentiell wächst. Um die veränderten Figureninformationsverhältnisse modellhaft rekonstruieren und vergleichen zu können, müssen die Ausgangsinformationen der Figurenkonstruktion eingeschränkt werden. In der kognitiven Literaturwissenschaft scheinen die erstvergebenen Figureninformationen die richtige Wahl für den Ausgang der Untersuchung zu sein, da sie schon an sich interessante Aspekte der kognitiven Analyse eröffnen. In diesem Zusammenhang wird vom „primacy effect“ (Grabes 1978) gesprochen. Grabes (1978) beschreibt die besondere Bedeutung der ersten und letzten Informationen folgendermaßen:

„[Da] die ersten Informationen bei der Bildung der Personenvorstellung ein stärkeres Gewicht haben als die folgenden („primacy effect“), wirkt sich [dies] auf die Konstituierung literarischer – und damit fiktiver – Figuren besonders stark aus. Der Grund dafür ist der, daß es diese Figuren ja ‚in Wirklichkeit‘ gar nicht gibt und somit keine Chance besteht, einmal gebildete ‚Vorurteile‘ durch eigene Beobachtung über die Sinneserfahrung zu stützen oder zu widerlegen.“ (Grabes 1978: 418)

Da das Informationsverhältnis zwischen der erstvergebenen Figureninformation der Vorlage und der erstvergebenen Figureninformation der Retextualisierung gebildet wird, wird eine genauere Verfolgung der veränderten Informationsverhältnisse in der Retextualisierung ermöglicht. Die Voraussetzung dafür ist, dass die Informationen unterschiedlich sind und die erstvergebenen Figureninformationen sowohl in der Vorlage als auch in der Retextualisierung vorkommen und auf der *discours*-Ebene wiederholt werden. Wiederholungen sind für die Verfolgung von kontextuellen Veränderungen in Bezug zum ausgewählten Informationsverhältnis wichtig.

5 REKONSTRUKTION DES INFORMATIONSVERHÄLTNISSES UND VERGLEICH ALS LÖSUNGSANGEBOT

Aufgrund der komparatistischen Informationsvergabeanalyse bei der Konstruktion von literarischen Figuren in den ausgewählten altfranzösischen Vorlagen und ihren mittelhochdeutschen Retextualisierungen werden literarische Figuren in vier Gruppen eingeteilt. Die Analyse der erstvergebenen Figureninformationen erfolgte bei 47 literarischen Figuren in vier Vorlagen-Retextualisierungspaaren. In der Tabelle 1 werden alle Figuren und ihre Gruppenverteilung dargelegt. In den Tabellen 2–5 werden Beispiele aus jeweils einem untersuchten Vorlage-Retextualisierungspaar gezeigt, um die Möglichkeiten der Informationsverhältnisrekonstruktion samt den Retextualisierungseingriffen des Retextualisierers, die nur in Gruppe 4 möglich sind, darzustellen.

Tabelle 1: Übersicht über die Gruppeneinteilung aller literarischer Figuren, die in die Informationsvergabeanalyse eingeschlossen sind.

	ChR/RL	Y/I	EeE/E	Al(BdA)/w
Gruppe 1	0	1	4	0
Gruppe 2	1	1	1	1
Gruppe 3	6	8	7	11
Gruppe 4	2	0	2	2
Anzahl von allen literarischen Figuren in der Informationsvergabeanalyse	9	10	14	14

Es gibt literarische Figuren, denen sowohl in der Vorlage als auch in der Retextualisierung die gleiche erstvergebene Information zugeteilt wurde. Diese Figuren gehören den Gruppen 1 und 2 an, wobei bei jenen der Gruppe 1 die Informationen nur einmal vorkommen und ohne Wiederaufnahme auf der *discours*-Ebene der Vorlage und der Retextualisierung bleiben.

Ein Beispiel einer literarischen Figur aus der altfranzösischen Vorlage *Erec et Enide* und der mittelhochdeutschen Retextualisierung *Erec*, die zur Gruppe 1 gehören, sind die 2 Riesen/2 Riesen E³, deren Informationsvergabe in Tabelle 2 vorgelegt ist. Die Tatsache, dass die 2 Riesen im Vergleich zu den 2 Riesen E die ‚gleiche‘ Information zugeschrieben bekommen – ‚der Mann der Jungfrau wurde entführt bzw. verschleppt‘ – macht die Bildung eines Verhältnisses, unter dem die Figurenkonstruktion der 2 Riesen/2 Riesen E vergleichend analysiert werden könnte, unmöglich.

Tabelle 2: Beispiel einer literarischen Figur der Gruppe 1.

<i>Erec et Enide</i>	<i>Erec</i>	Begründung für die Gruppenauswahl
2 Riesen <i>Seule la leisse, et seus s'an va,</i> <i>/ tant que la pucele trova / qui</i> <i>par le bois aloit criant / por son</i> <i>ami que dui jaïant / avoient pris,</i> <i>si l'an menoient; / vilainnemant</i> <i>le demenoient.⁴</i> (EeE 4299–4304) ⁵	2 Riesen E <i>„herre, dā hânt mir in benomen</i> <i>/ zwêne risen, die vuorten in /</i> <i>des gevertes vor mir hin. [...]“</i> (E 5355–5357) ⁶	Gruppe 1 Der Figurenreferent in <i>Erec et Enide</i> sind ‚zwei Riesen‘ mit der erstvergebenen Figureninformation ‚den Freund der Frau gefangengenommen und schlecht behandelt‘ zu haben. Der Figurenreferent in <i>Erec</i> sind ‚zwei Riesen‘ mit der erstvergebenen Figureninformation ‚sie haben den Mann der Jungfrau verschleppt‘.

Bei den literarischen Figuren der Gruppe 2 werden die erstvergebenen Figureninformationen noch mindestens einmal auf der *discours*-Ebene sowohl in der altfranzösischen Vorlage als auch in der mittelhochdeutschen Retextualisierung aufgenommen. Im Fall der literarischen Figuren Yvain/Îwein, wie in der Tabelle 3 dargelegt wird, ist die erstvergebene

3 Falls die Namen sowohl in der Vorlage als auch in der Retextualisierung identisch geschrieben werden, wird die Abkürzung des Werkes zum Namen hinzugefügt, um zwischen den literarischen Figuren differenzieren zu können. Alle Abkürzungen der Vorlagen und der Retextualisierungen werden neben den Werken unter der Primärliteratur angeführt.

4 Hochdeutsche Übersetzungen von altfranzösischen und mittelhochdeutschen Zitaten aus der Primärliteratur werden als Fußnote zu jeweiligem Zitat angeführt.

5 *Erec ließ sie allein und ritt fort, bis er die Jungfrau fand, die schreiend durch den Wald lief, ihres Freundes wegen, den zwei Riesen gefangengenommen hatten und fortführten; sie gingen roh und grausam mit ihm um.*

6 *„Herr, geraubt haben ihn mir / zwei Riesen, die ihn / auf dem Weg vor mir wegschleppten. [...]“*

Figureninformation ‚die Pflicht der Rache für seine Verwandtschaft‘. Auch in diesem Fall kann kein Verhältnis zwischen den ‚gleichen‘ Informationen gebildet werden, unter dem diese zwei literarischen Figuren komparatistisch verglichen werden können.

Tabelle 3: Beispiel einer literarischen Figur der Gruppe 2.

<i>Yvain</i>	<i>Iwein</i>	Begründung für die Gruppenauswahl
Yvain <i>„Par mon chief!“, dist mes sire Yvains, / „Vos estes mes cosins germains, / Si nos devons mout antramer; / Mes de ce vos puis fol clamer, / Quant vos le m’avez tant cèle. [...]“</i> (Y 581–585) ⁷	Îwein <i>Dô rechent der herre Îwein / die künneschaft under in zwein: / er sprach: „neve Kâlogréant, / ez richtet von rehte mîn hant / swaz dir lasters ist geschehen. [...]“</i> (I 803–807) ⁸	Gruppe 2 Der Figurenreferent für Yvain ist ‚Yvain‘ mit der erstvergebenen Figureninformation ‚er muss seinen leiblichen Vetter rächen‘. Der Figurenreferent für Îwein ist ‚Îwein‘ mit der erstvergebenen Figureninformation ‚Rache für die Verwandtschaft ist seine Pflicht‘.

Zur Gruppe 3 gehören literarische Figuren, denen in der altfranzösischen Vorlage und ihrer entsprechenden mittelhochdeutschen Retextualisierung unterschiedliche erstvergebene Figureninformationen zugeschrieben wurden und die nicht beide sowohl in der Vorlage als auch in der Retextualisierung vorkommen. Als Beispiel wird die Informationsvergabe von Ariofles/Arofel in der Tabelle 4 gezeigt. Im Fall von Ariofles aus dem altfranzösischen *Aliscans* ist die erstvergebene Information: ‚er kam den Christen entgegen und brachte die Leute in sehr große Bedrängnis‘. Diese Information kommt in der mittelhochdeutschen Retextualisierung nicht vor. In der mittelhochdeutschen Retextualisierung *Willehalm* ist die erstvergebene Figureninformation von Arofel auf sein verwandtschaftliches Verhältnis zum mächtigen heidnischen König Terramêr bezogen: ‚Bruder von Terramêr‘, die aber nicht in der Vorlage *Aliscans* in Bezug auf die literarische Figur Ariofles vorkommt.

Auch wenn der historische Retextualisierer einen Grund für die Veränderung der Figureninformationen von Ariofles/Arofel hatte und einzelne Aspekte unterschiedliche Figurenkonstruktionen oder ihre Interpretation verursachen, fehlt den literarischen Figuren der Gruppe 3 die Möglichkeit, die Figurenkonstruktion unter einem Informationsverhältnis zu analysieren, weil nicht beide Figureninformationen sowohl in der Vorlage als auch in der Retextualisierung vorkommen. Dass die erstvergebenen Figureninformationen in

⁷ „Bei meinem Haupt!“, sagte Herr Yvain, „Ihr seid mein leiblicher Vetter, und so sind wir gehalten, einander viel Liebe zu erweisen; und doch mag ich Euch einen Toren nennen, weil Ihr mir dies solange verschwiegen habt.“

⁸ Nun zählte Herr Iwein / zu seiner Verwandtschaft, / er sagte: „Vetter Kalogreant, / es ist meine Pflicht, daß meine Hand rächt, / was Dir an Schande geschehen ist. [...]“

der Vorlage und in der Retextualisierung nicht wiederholt werden, macht keinen großen Unterschied für die Gruppe 3, weil als Erstes ein Informationsverhältnis in der Vorlage und in der Retextualisierung existieren muss. Welche Unterschiede bei der Retextualisierung durch neu hinzugefügte Informationen in diesem Fall gewünscht waren, kann nur vermutet werden. Der Grund dafür liegt darin, dass der gegenwärtige Leser ein Verhältnis zwischen zwei Figureninformationen in der Vorlage nicht mit dem in der Retextualisierung vergleichen kann, weil dasselbe Verhältnis in der Retextualisierung nicht existiert. Die Gruppe 3 ist somit diejenige, die keine Informationsverhältnisanalyse erlaubt und dadurch auch keinen Zugriff auf das Wissen über die Informationsverhältnisse des Modell-Retextualisierers ermöglicht.

Tabelle 4: Beispiel einer literarischen Figur der Gruppe 3.

<i>Aliscans</i>	<i>Willehalm</i>	Begründung für die Gruppenauswahl
Ariofoles <i>Icele jenç i fu mol isbaratee,</i> <i>/ Qant li Ariofoles li sorç d'une</i> <i>valee / A toç .X. mille d'une gens</i> <i>desfaee.⁹</i> (BdA, 263–265)	Arofel <i>Terramêr was ir vater. /</i> <i>Arofeln, sînen bruoder, bat er /</i> <i>und den starken Halzebier.</i> (W 9,21–9,23) ¹⁰	Gruppe 3 Der Figurenreferent für Ariofoles ist ‚Ariofoles‘ mit der erstvergebenen Figureninformation ‚er kam den Christen entgegen und brachte die Leute in sehr große Bedrängnis‘. Der Figurenreferent für Arofel ist ‚Arofel‘ mit der erstvergebenen Figureninformation ‚Bruder von Terramêr‘.

Am interessantesten für die Analyse ist die Gruppe 4, zu der die literarischen Figuren gehören, denen in der Vorlage und in der Retextualisierung zwar unterschiedliche erstvergebene Figureninformationen zugeschrieben wurden, die jedoch beide in der Vorlage und in der Retextualisierung vorkommen. Aufgrund dessen kann die Figurenkonstruktion unter dem Paradigma von einem Informationspaar in der Vorlage und dem ‚gleichen‘ Informationspaar in der Retextualisierung analysiert und verglichen werden. Im Fall von *Chanson de Roland*, wie in der Tabelle 5 dargelegt wird, wird Guenes mit der erstvergebenen Figureninformation ‚begang Verrat‘ verbunden, die auch bei Genelûn im *Rolandslied* vorkommt – aber nicht als erstvergebene Figureninformation. Genelûn wird im *Rolandslied* mit der erstvergebenen Figureninformation ‚widersprechen‘ verbunden, die auch im Fall von Guenes im *Chanson de Roland* vorkommt – jedoch mit einer

⁹ Diese Leute wurden dort sehr in Bedrängnis gebracht, / als Ariofole ihnen aus einem Tal heraus entgegenkam / mit allen zehntausend ungläubigen Männern. (Al, 263–265)

¹⁰ Terramer war ihr Vater. / Arofel, seinen Bruder, bot er auf / und den starken Halzebier.

veränderten Reihenfolge bzw. nicht als die erstvergebene Figureninformation. Dadurch können beide literarische Figuren – Guenes und Genelûn – unter dem Informationsverhältnis *Verrat* und *Widerspruch* analysiert werden, das zum Paradigma der Untersuchung der vergleichenden Figurenkonstruktion wird.

Tabelle 5: Beispiel einer literarischen Figur der Gruppe 4.

<i>Chanson de Roland</i>	<i>Rolandslied</i>	Begründung für die Gruppenauswahl
Guenes <i>Guenes i vint, ki la traïsun fist.</i> (CdR 12; 178) ¹¹	Genelûn <i>Genelûn ûf spranc. / er sprach:</i> <i>„die fürsten haben alle undanc,</i> <i>/ daz si edele unde wîse sint. /</i> <i>wie man die tumbesten vernimt!</i> <i>/ die sint nû ze hove râtgeben.</i> <i>[...]“</i> (RL 1093–1097) ¹²	Gruppe 4 Figurenreferent für Guenes ist ‚Guenes‘ mit der erstvergebenen Figureninformation ‚begang Verrat‘. Der Figurenreferent für Genelûn ist ‚Genelûn‘ mit der erstvergebenen Figureninformation ‚widersprechen‘. Beide literarische Figuren werden mit den Informationen ‚Verrat, Verräter‘ und ‚Widerspruch, widersprechen‘ verbunden. Deswegen kann diese literarische Figur mit der ausgewählten Methode analysiert werden.

Die Figurenkonstruktionsanalyse derselben literarischen Figur der Vorlage und der Retextualisierung unter einem Informationsverhältnis durchzuführen, das sowohl in der Vorlage als auch in der Retextualisierung vorkommt und anschließend die Rekonstruktionen des Informationsverhältnisses zu vergleichen, vermeidet das Füllen einer Leerstelle mit Eigenannahmen des Interpreten. Zweitens ermöglicht der Vergleich der Figurenkonstruktionsanalyse unter dem Paradigma des Informationsverhältnisses die Verfolgung der Veränderungen in der Figurenkonstruktion in der Vorlage mit demselben in der Retextualisierung.

Die veränderten retextualisierten Informationsverhältnisse bedeuten auch eine Versetzung oder Veränderung im Kontext, der um die Figureninformationen gegeben und mit den Figureninformationen verbunden wird. Dadurch wird das Wissen des Modell-Retextualisierers im Sinne des Wissens über die textuellen Anweisungen als Rekonstruktion sichtbar. Daraus können letztendlich soziohistorische Spezifika des Veränderten und veränderte kulturelle Konzepte erschlossen werden.

¹¹ Ganelon kam dorthin, der den Verrat beging.

¹² Genelun sprang auf. / Er sagte: „Fluch über die Fürsten alle, / daß sie edel und erfahren sind. / Wie man hier auf die größten Toren hört! / Die sind heutzutage Ratgeber bei Hofe. [...]“

6 SCHLUSSBEMERKUNGEN

Der vorliegende Beitrag zeigt eine mögliche Annäherung an das Wissen des Modell-Retextualisierers mithilfe einer komparatistischen Figurenkonstruktionsanalyse, die ein Informationsverhältnis als Untersuchungsparadigma hat. Durch die Informationsverhältnisrekonstruktion desselben Verhältnisses in der Vorlage und der Retextualisierung wird eine Eigeninterpretation der Leerstellen vermieden, weil die Schlüsse aufgrund der textbasierten Tatsachen von literarischen Figuren gezogen werden. Der Vergleich der Unterschiede in der Informationsverhältnisrekonstruktion zwischen der Vorlage und der Retextualisierung kann Antworten auf die Retextualisierungseingriffe des Retextualisierers geben, die wiederum soziohistorisch und kulturell spezifisch kontextualisiert werden können. Diese Analysemethodik ermöglicht kognitiv, literaturwissenschaftliche Ansätze in der historischen Perspektive anzuwenden und die Prozesshaftigkeit der Bedeutungsbildung zu rekonstruieren.

Weil nur die erstvergebenen Figureninformationen verfolgt werden, bedeutet das aber nicht, dass das die einzigen Möglichkeiten der Analyseeingrenzung und Gruppenzuweisung der literarischen Figuren sind. Die erstvergebenen Figureninformationen bilden aber aufgrund ihrer besonderen Bedeutung bei der sukzessiven Aneignung von Informationen, Tatsachen und Bildung von Inferenzen einen guten Ausgangspunkt zur Eingrenzung einer exponentiell wachsenden Zahl von Informationen, Tatsachen und Inferenzen einer literarischen Figur.

LITERATURVERZEICHNIS

Primärliteratur

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POVZETEK

**REKONSTRUKCIJA RAZMERJA DVEH INFORMACIJ IN NJUNA PRIMERJAVA
PRI ANALIZI KONSTRUKCIJE DVEH LITERARNIH OSEB KOT IZHODIŠČE IN
MOŽNOST DOSTOPNOSTI K ZNANJU MODELNEGA RETEKSTUALIZATORJA V
HISTORIČNI PERSPEKTIVI**

Članek se osredinja na možnost uporabe kognitivnih literarnih pristopov v historičnem kontekstu, s ciljem sledenja procesu konstrukcije literarne osebe. Pri tem izhaja iz specifik literarnega prenosa staronemških tekstov in njihovih ustreznih starofrancoskih izhodiščnih besedil. Ti literarni prenosi niso vezani na moderne prevajalske teoretične okvire. Ta posebnost se kaže v velikem vsebinskem razkoraku, ki pa kljub temu ohranja podobnosti med prenesenim in izvirnim tekstom. V središče raziskave so postavljene literarne osebe, ki so nosilke tako podobnosti kot tudi razlik pri prenosu za novega recipienta. Teoretično jih razumemo kot mentalne modele, ki nastanejo v interakciji med bralcem in tekstom. Mentalni modeli kot končni produkti sicer za raziskavo ostajajo nedosegljivi, saj vsak recipient tvori svoj lastni unikatni mentalni model v interakciji s tekstom, ta pa ostaja nedosegljiv ne le ob odsotnosti historičnega recipienta, temveč tudi z empirično analizo v sedanjosti. To sicer ne onemogoča proučevanja teksta, ki predstavlja navodila za konstrukcijo mentalnih modelov. Opisana metoda temelji na primerjalni rekonstrukciji razmerja dveh informacij iste literarne osebe. To razmerje postane paradigma za analizo konstrukcije teh dveh literarnih oseb v kulturnem transferju in na podlagi njune primerjave omogoča slediti spremembam, ki so nastale pri retekstualizaciji literarnih oseb v in za novo sociološko-historično okolje. Za to analizo se ponuja model Fotisa Jannidisa (2004) *Figur und Person*, ki opiše konstrukcijo literarne osebe na štirih ravneh, od njenega nastanka in prve podane informacije preko karakterizacije, motivacije in vse do identifikacije. Primerjalno sledenje konstrukcij dveh literarnih oseb z omenjenim modelom na štirih ravneh omogoča sledenje procesu konstrukcije razlik in s tem spremenjenih navodil za konstrukcijo mentalnega modela ter dostop do znanja mentalnega retekstualizatorja.

Ključne besede: literarne osebe, kulturni transfer, retekstualizacija, kognitivna historična pripovedna teorija, paradigma razmerja informacij

ABSTRACT

**THE INFORMATION RELATIONSHIP RECONSTRUCTION AND ITS COMPARISON
IN THE CONSTRUCTION OF LITERARY CHARACTERS AS A STARTING
POINT AND POSSIBILITY OF ACCESS TO THE KNOWLEDGE OF THE MODEL
RETEXTUALIZER FROM A HISTORICAL PERSPECTIVE**

The following article emphasizes the possibility of using cognitive literary approaches in a historical context with the aim of following the process of the construction of a literary character. In doing so, it derives from the specific literary transmission of Old German texts and their corresponding Old French source texts. These literary transmissions are not tied to modern translation theoretical frameworks. This peculiarity is manifested in a large gap in content, which nevertheless maintains similarities between the transmitted and original texts. The focus of the research is placed on literary characters who are carriers of both similarities and differences in transmission for a new recipient. Theoretically, they are understood as mental models that arise in the interaction between the reader and the text. Mental models as final products remain inaccessible for research, since each recipient creates their own unique mental model in interaction with the text, and this remains inaccessible not only in the absence of a historical recipient, but also through empirical analysis in the present. However, this does not prevent the study of the text, which presents instructions for the construction of mental models. The method is based on the comparative reconstruction of a relationship between two information sources of the same literary character. This informational relation, however, has become a paradigm for the analysis of the construction of these two literary characters in a cultural transfer. Their comparison also enables the changes that occurred during retextualization of literary characters to be tracked in and for the new socio-historical context. For this analysis, the model from Fotis Jannidis' *Figur und Person* (2004) is presented, which describes the construction of a literary character on four levels: from its creation and the first information given through characterization, motivation and all the way to identification. The comparative tracking of the constructions of two literary characters with the aforementioned model on four levels enables the process of construction of differences, and thus the changed instructions for the construction of the mental model to be tracked and the knowledge of the mental retextualizer to be accessed.

Keywords: literary character, cultural transfer, retextualization, cognitive historical narratology, informational relation paradigm

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Izvirni znanstveni članek



VON DER NÜTZLICHKEIT DES UNNÜTZEN: ÜBER DEN SINN DER POESIE IM FREMDSPRACHLICHEN UNTERRICHT

1 EINLEITUNG

Nell'universo dell'utilitarismo, [...], un martello vale più di una sinfonia, un coltello più di una poesia, una chiave inglese più di un quadro: perchè è facile capire l'efficacia di un utensile mentre è sempre più difficile comprendere a cosa possono servire la musica, la letteratura e l'arte. (Ordine 2013: 9)¹

So konstatiert Nuccio Ordine in seinem Manifest *Von der Nützlichkeit des Unnützen* und schneidet damit eine Frage an, die in verschiedenen Bereichen und letztlich auch im fremdsprachlichen Unterricht häufig aufkommt: Inwiefern macht Literatur Sinn, wozu ist sie zu gebrauchen? Die Antwort liegt nicht immer auf der Hand, und vielleicht ist dies einer der Gründe, warum es in den gängigen Lehrbüchern nur wenige literarische Texte gibt. Und selbst wenn sie darin auftauchen, ist ihre Rolle oft optional und unverbindlich; sie erscheint nur dann, wenn alles andere bereits feststeht – als Zusatz, Schmuck oder Ornamentum. In einer Welt, die auf den Nutzen und das Nützliche in allem ausgerichtet ist, muss sich auch die Literatur jeder Situation anpassen, sich in sprachliches Material, in einen Übungsplatz für grammatikalische Strukturen, in einen Informationspool oder einfach in ein entspannendes Element am Ende der Unterrichtsstunde verwandeln. Ihre poetische Funktion wird dabei in der Regel bis zur Unkenntlichkeit auf ein Minimum reduziert. In der Fülle der das Lehrwerk begleitenden Aufgaben spielen literarische Kompetenzen praktisch keine Rolle, und nur selten wagen es Lehrende, im Deutschunterricht spontan ein Gedicht zu behandeln. Nicht nur die Lernenden, sondern auch Lehrkräfte begegnen Gedichten im DaF-Unterricht oft mit einer gewissen Zurückhaltung. Ein wesentlicher Grund dafür scheint in der nach wie vor häufig vorherrschenden Starrheit des

¹ "Im Universum des Utilitarismus [...] ist ein Hammer mehr wert als eine Symphonie, ein Messer mehr als Poesie. Ein Schraubenschlüssel mehr als ein Gemälde: Weil es leicht ist, die Wirksamkeit eines Utensils zu übernehmen, während es immer schwieriger wird zu verstehen, wofür Musik, Literatur oder Kunst verwendet werden können." (Ordine 2014: 7)

Literaturunterrichts zu liegen: Der Fokus liegt überwiegend auf der referentiellen Inhaltssicherung und der formalen Analyse, wobei von den Lernenden häufig noch immer erwartet wird, die 'richtige' Interpretation zu finden. Der Unterricht bietet somit wenig Raum für eigenständige Interpretationen und für eine genuin literarische Freude, wodurch die Lust an der Auseinandersetzung mit Gedichten oft verloren geht – und zwar auf beiden Seiten, sowohl bei den Lehrenden als auch bei den Lernenden.

Dabei sollten wir uns bewusst machen, dass echte, authentische Poesie uns erreicht, noch bevor wir sie verstehen. Gedichte sprechen uns in erster Linie durch ihren Rhythmus, Klang, ihre Melodie, Poesie und Magie an – und eben darum können wir auch fremdsprachlichen Gedichten, die wir auf der semantischen Ebene vielleicht gar nicht zur Gänze verstehen, mit Vergnügen lauschen und uns daran erfreuen. Poesie ist sinnlich und durchdringt jede Faser unseres Seins. Es erfordert Mut, poetische Texte mit in den Unterricht zu bringen und sich auf das Neue, Unerwartete einzulassen, daher möchte ich im Folgenden einige konkrete Praxisbeispiele vorstellen, wie dieses bedingungslose Sich-Einlassen auf das Poetische im Unterrichtsallday für alle gewinnbringend sein kann.²

2 DIDAKTISIERUNGSBEISPIELE

2.1 Konkrete Poesie

Die ersten Hürden im Umgang mit Literatur lassen sich vielleicht am ehesten mit der konkreten Poesie überwinden, die „Wort und Sprache auf elementare Bestandteile“ (Volkmann 2013: 396) reduziert und sie aus der „Einengung durch typographische Regeln und sprachliche Gewohnheiten befreien“ will. Häufig wird sie auch unter dem Etikett *visuelle Poesie* geführt und collagiert dabei intermedial Bild mit Text. Gerade aufgrund ihrer starken visuellen Präsenz eignen sich solche Texte bereits von Anfang an hervorragend für den Einsatz im fremdsprachlichen Unterricht. Denn es gibt nichts, was den Rezeptionsprozess verlangsamen oder erschweren würde, weder einen schwierigen Wortschatz noch eine komplizierte Syntax oder verschachtelte Satzstrukturen. Es geht also nur um die pure Freude am Poetischen, am Literarischen, am Entdecken.

Die Auswahl der Texte der visuellen bzw. konkreten Poesie ist zwar nicht groß, die beiden Reclam-Anthologien (Gomringer 1972 sowie Dencker 2002) und mittlerweile etliche wissenschaftliche Monographien zum beliebtesten Dichter des DaF-Unterrichts, Ernst Jandl (u. a. Lughofer 2011) bieten dennoch reichlich Ideen – und auch genügend Spielraum. An dieser Stelle sei daher nur auf das im Jahre 1970 entstandene Gedicht *Ein Apfel* von Reinhard Döhl (1972: 38) hingewiesen, das bereits in den ersten Deutschstunden zum Einsatz kommen kann:

² Der Beitrag ist im Rahmen des Forschungsprogramms Interkulturelle literaturwissenschaftliche Studien (Nr. P6-0265) entstanden.



Bereits beim ersten Anblick tritt das spielerische Element deutlich hervor: Die zahlreichen Wiederholungen des Wortes *Apfel*, die visuell einen Apfel formen, erweisen sich – im Einklang mit Groddecks Überzeugung, die Wiederholung sei das fundamentale poetische Prinzip (Groddeck 1999: 78) – als konstitutiv für das gesamte Gedicht. Doch erst, wenn durch sorgfältige Lektüre – oder auch nur durch aufmerksame Beobachtung – der Störfaktor entdeckt wird, nämlich der *Wurm*, erscheint das Gedicht in einem bisher ungewohnten Licht. Der Augenblick, in dem jede und jeder Einzelne den Wurm entdeckt, offenbart viel über das Wesen der Poesie. Es ist nämlich genau dieser Bruch mit dem Erwartungshorizont, diese Störung, die das Poetische hervorbringt – nicht nur in diesem Text-Tableau, sondern in literarischen Texten im Allgemeinen.

Die an die Lernenden gerichtete Frage, was der Wurm wohl bedeuten könnte, erweist sich als ein unendliches Spiel mit den Möglichkeiten, eine nie endende Suche nach dem Sinn. Ganz nebenbei werden dabei zahlreiche andere literarische Kompetenzen gefördert, wie etwa die Fähigkeit, verschiedene sprachliche bzw. rhetorische Mittel wie Metapher, Ironie und Ähnliches nachzuvollziehen und zu verstehen; die Fähigkeit, bestimmte literarische Formen und strukturelle Merkmale wahrzunehmen; die Erkenntnis, wie eng in literarischen Texten Form und Inhalt miteinander verbunden sind; die Fähigkeit, die 'Botschaft' eines literarischen Textes zu verstehen sowie die Fähigkeit, über eigene Leseweisen zu diskutieren und gleichzeitig die Meinungen anderer anzunehmen.

Natürlich kommen dabei auch die Mehrdeutigkeit literarischer Texte, die Inter- und Intratextualität sowie die Intermedialität zum Vorschein. Dass dabei die eigene Vorstellungskraft, Kreativität und das offene Denken gefördert werden, muss sicherlich nicht extra betont werden. Konkrete Poesie eignet sich zudem hervorragend für die Erprobung eigener kreativen Ideen: Je nach Zusammensetzung der Lerngruppe können wir die Lernenden dazu ermuntern, eigene Beispiele visueller bzw. konkreter Poesie zu erstellen – entweder in Paaren oder Kleingruppen oder als freiwillige Denkarbeit bzw. Hausaufgabe.

2.2 Zeitgenössische Poesie

Ermutigt durch das erste spielerische Herantasten an die magische Kraft der Poesie bietet sich ein weiterer Schritt in die poetische Richtung an. Im fremdsprachlichen Unterricht sind wir in der Auswahl der Texte relativ frei, was ein klarer Vorteil ist; die Selektionskriterien richten sich stärker nach unserer Lerngruppe als nach äußeren Vorgaben und Anforderungen. So können wir uns auch zeitgenössische Poesie gönnen (vgl. Meissner 2011) – warum nicht die des herausragenden deutschen Dichters Jan Wagner? Seitdem er 2015 den Preis der Leipziger Buchmesse und 2017 den Büchner-Preis erhalten hat, gilt er als einer der bedeutendsten Lyriker seiner Generation und wird mitunter als „poetischer Virtuose“ bezeichnet (Metz 2018: 15); dies bezieht sich auf seine kontemplative, sorgfältige und äußerst fokussierte Schreibweise. Seine Lyrik zeichnet sich durch Präzision, durchdachte Gedanken, poetische Versiertheit, Klugheit und Scharfsinnigkeit aus, wobei in seinen Gedichten kein Wort zu viel und kein Wort zu wenig ist. Obwohl ihm von manchen eine konventionelle Formgebung vorgeworfen wird (Metz 2018: 158), schätzen ihn andere gerade wegen seines formkonservativen Ansatzes, der sich an die Vergangenheit orientiert. Diese Eigenschaften, kombiniert mit der extremen Präzision und der Orts- und Zeitgebundenheit seiner Gedichte, machen ihn zu einer idealen Wahl für den DaF-Unterricht.

Die Titel seiner Gedichte sind in der Regel kurz, äußerst prägnant und auf das Wesentliche reduziert. Gleichgültig, ob im Titel ein Tier erscheint (selbstporträt mit bienenschwarm), eine literarische Gattung vertreten ist (abendlied), oder ob Pflanzen, Orte, Anlässe, Gegenstände oder sogar Gerichte benannt werden (champignons, botanischer Garten oder hamburg-berlin, weihnachten in huntsville, texas, nature morte, quittenpastete) – vor unseren Augen entsteht sofort ein aussagekräftiges Bild. Der Literaturkritiker Gustav Seibt sieht darin Wagners Vorliebe für das „handfeste Abseitige“ (Seibt 2011: 24). Dabei handelt es sich um Dinge, die nicht unbedingt als lebensessenziell betrachtet werden, die aber dennoch – oder gerade deshalb – in unserer Gedankenwelt Beachtung finden sollten. Wagner lenkt den Blick des Betrachters auf das vermeintlich Unwichtige und Nebensächliche und verlagert die Position der Poesie damit vom Altar auf das scheinbar Alltägliche. Und gerade diese Perspektive erweist sich als besonders gewinnbringend für den DaF-Unterricht.

Das Schöne an manchen zeitgenössischen Gedichten ist ihre Verfügbarkeit auf [lyrikline.org](https://www.lyrikline.org) im Originalton: Die Stimme der Autoren und Autorinnen verleiht den Gedichten eine zusätzliche, authentisch-vertraute Dimension, die das klassische Vorlesen im Unterricht ergänzen bzw. ersetzen kann. Auf [lyrikline.org](https://www.lyrikline.org) befinden sich 15 Gedichte³ Jan Wagners, unter ihnen auch ein sehr kurzes zweiteiliges Gedicht mit dem schlichten Titel *teebeutel*. Um den Lernenden einen möglichst breiten Assoziationsraum zu gewähren und gleichzeitig das Offene des Gedichts nicht sofort mit einer festgelegten Leseweise oder Formanalyse zu entzaubern, wäre es in diesem Fall ratsam, zunächst auf die Originalstimme zu verzichten. Erst in einem zweiten Schritt wäre das Einbeziehen der Audioaufnahme äußerst sinnvoll. Auch einzelne Videoausschnitte und Interviews mit Jan Wagner, die auf You Tube zugänglich sind, könnten je nach Unterrichtszielen und Zielgruppe im Unterricht verwendet werden.

Aber schlagen wir zunächst den umgekehrten Weg ein: Das kurze, zweiteilige Gedicht wird den Lernenden ohne Titel vorgelegt:

I
nur in sackleinen
gehüllt. kleiner eremit
in seiner höhle.

II
nichts als ein faden
führt nach oben. wir geben
ihm fünf minuten.

Das bewusste Auslassen des Gedichttitels bewirkt, dass sich die Lesenden in einem Zustand der Orientierungslosigkeit befinden: Indem ihnen eine klare thematische Ausrichtung bzw. ein erster Anhaltspunkt für die Interpretation fehlt, eröffnet sich ein Raum für individuelle Assoziationen und subjektive Zugänge, die von der eigenen Vorstellungskraft geleitet werden.⁴ Anstatt den Fokus zunächst auf das Vertraute zu richten, entfaltet sich die Lektüre als offene Suche nach dem Sinn. Die schwierigeren Wörter (eremit, sackleinen, faden) sollten im Vorfeld erklärt werden, da in einem solchen Text jedes Wort bedeutungstragend ist. Die Aufforderung an die Lernenden, das Gedicht als ein Rätsel zu betrachten und mögliche Assoziationen zu bilden, schafft eine engagierte, aber entspannte und kindlich-naive Atmosphäre. Die auftauchenden Ideen reichen von einer 'verlassenen Katze' über einen 'Schmetterling' und 'Geheimnis', zu einem 'Spinnennetz', doch auch abstraktere Vorschläge wie 'fünf Minuten Ruhm' sind zu finden. Alle

³ <https://www.lyrikline.org/de/autoren/jan-wagner>.

⁴ Über mögliche didaktische Zugänge zur zeitgenössischen Poesie, unter anderem auch zum *teebeutel* von Jan Wagner vgl. meinen Aufsatz (Samide 2020).

Einfälle werden kommentarlos an der Tafel festgehalten. Und, schließlich, erfolgt dann auch das Aha-Erlebnis: 'Tampax!', das in der Gruppe ein lautes Lachen auslöst. Spontanes und befreiendes Lachen im Unterricht spielt m. E. überhaupt eine zentrale Rolle für eine gelungene Auseinandersetzung mit Literatur. Es lockert die oftmals als belastend empfundene Atmosphäre bei einer Gedichtanalyse auf und fördert eine unbeschwerte Herangehensweise. Erst wenn der Druck, 'richtig' interpretieren zu müssen, abnimmt, entsteht Raum für kreative und unbefangene Zugänge zur Lektüre. Die Freude am Lesen und Interpretieren wird gestärkt, was letztlich die Bereitschaft erhöht, eigene Gedanken und Hypothesen in der Gruppe zu teilen. Eine sinnstiftende Lektüre setzt voraus, dass die Lernenden ohne Angst und mit einem Gefühl von Neugier und Entdeckerfreude an literarische Texte herangehen.

Schließlich kommt der Moment, in dem die bei den Studierenden geweckte Neugier gestillt wird: Teebeutel. Sobald diese Lösung offenbart wird, erscheint plötzlich keine andere Antwort mehr möglich. Das Gedicht kann nun erneut in seiner Gesamtheit angehört werden, dieses Mal in der Originalfassung von Jan Wagner. Der zuvor durch die anfängliche 'verkehrte Lektüre' geöffnete, andere Blick wird nun durch eine klar konturierte und fester umrissene Leseperspektive ersetzt. Bereits das Titelwort *teebeutel* genügt, um in uns einen Assoziationsrahmen zu aktivieren. Die bildhafte Metapher *kleiner eremit*, die im nächsten Schritt erscheint, sorgt sofort für einen kleinen Überraschungseffekt. Wie bereits bei der Wurm-Suche ist auch dies ein guter Moment, um den Lernenden den Bruch mit dem Erwartungshorizont als ein zentrales literarisches Verfahren zu verdeutlichen. Unabhängig davon, ob es sich um Lernende mit geringen Sprach- und Literaturkenntnissen handelt oder ob in der Klasse bereits erfahrene Germanistinnen und Germanisten sitzen: Wir sollten uns stets vergegenwärtigen, dass die Literatur gerade von solchen Zäsuren, von solchen Brüchen mit unseren Erwartungen, von diesem desautomatisierten Blick lebt. Wir als Leserinnen und Leser müssen innehalten, stehenbleiben und uns fragen: Was hat denn ein kleiner Eremit in diesem Gedicht verloren? Welches Bild wird durch diese Metapher heraufbeschworen? Im zweiten Haiku wird der Blick noch zusätzlich erweitert: Ein alltäglicher Gegenstand, der üblicherweise übersehen bzw. als etwas Selbstverständliches betrachtet wird, erhält durch seine poetische Inszenierung ein befremdend-vertrautes Eigenleben, und zwischen ihm und den Menschen entfaltet sich eine Art Beziehung.

Dass die Rede über den Tee, der in unserer Wahrnehmung gerne mit Japan verbunden wird, gerade in zwei Haikus verpackt ist, kann natürlich kein Zufall sein. Es empfiehlt sich daher, erstens auf das nahezu perfekte Ineinanderwirken von Form und Inhalt hinzuweisen und zweitens besonders auf die Geformtheit des Gedichts aufmerksam zu machen. Die Lernenden können eigenständig – durch das Zählen von Zeilen und Silben – zu einer normativen Bestimmung der Gedichtform gelangen. Schnell wird sich zeigen, dass jeder Haiku aus genau 17 Silben besteht: fünf im ersten und dritten sowie sieben im zweiten Vers. Auf diese Weise können die Lernenden auch weitere 'Gesetzmäßigkeiten'

der Haikus selbstständig erkunden sowie sich autonom auf die Suche nach Assonanzen (*nur / gehüllt; führt / fünf* sowie *sackleinen / kleiner / seiner*) und Alliterationen begeben. Dadurch erkennen sie, wie stark Gedichte auf Klang und Rhythmus angewiesen sind und wie auch das scheinbar Einfache sehr wohl durchdacht sein muss.

Das Gedicht scheint aus einer neutralen Beobachterperspektive geschrieben zu sein, wobei der Sprecher zunächst deutlich im Hintergrund bleibt. In der vorletzten Zeile jedoch wird auf einmal nicht nur der Sprecher aktiv, auch die Lesenden werden zur Mitarbeit aufgefordert: *wir geben ihm fünf Minuten*. Durch die vereinnahmende Wir-Form wird eine viel universellere Konstellation evoziert: Auch wir, die Lesenden, nehmen an diesem Mikrokosmos teil, wir werden als erfahrende Subjekte angesprochen und können uns existentielle Fragen stellen. Wie wichtig in der Poesie auch scheinbar unbedeutende Einzelheiten sind, zeigt sich in der slowenischen Übersetzung des Gedichts (Wagner 2021: 74). Die Auswahl an Jan Wagners Gedichten, an deren Übersetzung viele slowenische Übersetzer und Übersetzerinnen beteiligt waren, ist in einer deutsch-slowenischen Gegenüberstellung erschienen, was sich für den Einsatz von Wagners Texten im DaF-Unterricht als besonders förderlich erweisen könnte:

Čajna vrečka

I
samo v vrečevino
zavita. majhen eremit
v svoji votlini.

II
nič razen niti
ne vodi navzgor. na voljo
ima pet minut.

In der vorletzten und letzten Zeile heißt es hier: *na voljo ima pet minut*. Der Unterschied zwischen *na voljo ima pet minut* (= Es stehen ihm fünf Minuten zur Verfügung) und *wir geben ihm fünf Minuten* ist deutlich: Anstatt für das plurale *Wir*, was im Slowenischen mit *damo / ji* hätte übersetzt werden können, entschied sich die Übersetzerin für die neutralere, distanziertere, unpersönliche Form: *na voljo / ima*. Dadurch wird dem lyrischen Subjekt jedoch nur eine rein beobachtende Rolle zugewiesen: Es ist nicht mehr Teil des Geschehens, folglich entsteht zwischen dem beschriebenen Gegenstand, dem Teebeutel, und den Menschen auch keine Beziehung mehr. In fortgeschrittenen Klassen könnte gerade in diesem Kontext auf die Bedeutung des lyrischen Subjekts und seine Rolle in der Poesie eingegangen werden. Gleichzeitig könnten anhand der Übersetzung auch das Rhythmische sowie die Treue zum Original angesprochen werden:

Obwohl die slowenische Version eine adäquate Übertragung des deutschen Originals ist, wird die Anzahl der Silben nicht genau eingehalten; das traditionelle Schema 7-5-7 wird an manchen Stellen gebrochen. Wie wirkt sich dies auf die Lesenden aus? Und wie wichtig ist es überhaupt, sich an die Form zu halten? Was für eine Funktion steht dem Übersetzer bzw. der Übersetzerin zu? Wagt sich möglicherweise jemand an eine neue Übersetzung heran?

Gerade die Form des Haikus lädt im nächsten Schritt dazu ein, die Lernenden zur eigenen Kreation eines Gedichts zu ermutigen – eine Methode aus dem handlungs- und produktionsorientierten Unterricht (Haas 1997), die leider besonders im DaF-Unterricht oft sehr unreflektiert eingesetzt wird. Auch wenn wir als Lehrende einer solchen ‘Banalisierung’ des Poetischen skeptisch gegenüberstehen mögen, eignet sich Jan Wagner mit seinem exzeptionellen Sinn für Form und Poesie dennoch hervorragend, um den traditionellen Haiku unter Beibehaltung all seiner wichtigsten formalen und reflexiven Elemente in die heutige Welt zu transponieren. Durch ihre eigenen poetischen Kreationen können die Lernenden sicherlich einen anderen Blick auf den ‘Elfenbeinturm Literatur’ gewinnen. Wagners Minimalismus, seine betonte Einfachheit und sein Rückgriff auf Vertrautes erinnern uns daran, wie eng Schrift, Klang und Bild, das Akustische und das Optische, miteinander vernetzt und verbunden sind. Diese Kürze des Gedichts, das Zugängliche, das durch den Alltagston erreicht wird, das Lakonische und Nüchterne, gepaart mit dem Überraschungseffekt, der durch unsere methodisch-didaktische Herangehensweise noch zusätzlich verstärkt wurde, dürften auch bei den sonst weniger literaturinteressierten Lernenden eine lesestimulierende Wirkung entfalten.

2.3 Kanonisierte Poesie

Die Frage nach den Auswahlkriterien für literarische Texte, die für die jeweilige Lerngruppe geeignet sein könnten, steht im fremdsprachlichen Unterricht an oberster Stelle. Häufig besteht eine gewisse Zurückhaltung gegenüber kanonischen Dichtern, obwohl es gerade im Hinblick auf die Vermittlung von deutscher Kultur, Geschichte und Literatur durchaus sinnvoll wäre, gelegentlich Texte auch dieser Autorinnen und Autoren in den Unterricht einzubinden. Die Wahl eines Dichters wie Goethe mag – auch vor dem Hintergrund der Kanondiskussionen der letzten Jahrzehnte (Korte 2002) – vielleicht nicht unmittelbar naheliegen, doch gerade für wenig erfahrene oder unsichere Lehrende kann es sinnvoll sein, sich an kanonisierte Autoren und Autorinnen zu halten. Hier ein Beispiel für ein Gedicht, das sicherlich nicht zum festen Repertoire des fremdsprachlichen Unterrichts gehört, das aber sehr gewinnbringend im Unterricht eingesetzt werden kann. Abgesehen von den thematischen Anhaltspunkten, die weiter unten besprochen werden, müssen hier keine besonderen sprachlichen oder poetologischen Hürden überwunden werden; auch die sprichwörtlich sperrige poetische Sprache Goethes zeigt sich in diesem späteren Gedicht in einem anderen Gewand.

Gefunden

Ich ging im Walde
So vor mich hin,
Und nichts zu suchen,
Das war mein Sinn.

Im Schatten sah ich
Ein Blümlein stehn,
Wie Sterne blinkend,
Wie Äuglein schön.

Ich wollt es brechen,
Da sagt' es fein:
'Soll ich zum Welken
Gebrochen sein?'

Mit allen Wurzeln
Hob ich es aus,
Und trugs zum Garten
Am hübschen Haus.

Ich pflanzt es wieder
Am stillen Ort;
Nun zweigt und blüht es
Mir immer fort.

Das im August 1813 entstandene Gedicht *Gefunden*, das – wohl aufgrund seiner Leichtigkeit, Melodiösität, des regelmäßigen, volksliedhaften Rhythmus und einer eindeutig positiven Aussage – zu den am häufigsten vertonten und deklamierten Gedichten Goethes gehört, erzählt, auf den ersten Blick, von einem lyrischen Ich, das durch die Natur streift, eine Blume erblickt und sie nicht einfach pflückt, sondern sie nach ihrer freundlichen, *feinen* Ermahnung behutsam ausgräbt, mit nach Hause nimmt und sie in seinem Garten an einem stillen Ort wieder einpflanzt, wo sie fortan *zweigt* und *blüht*. Der anmutige Text, der traditionell als Paradebeispiel für Naturlyrik gilt, könnte vor dem Hintergrund des aktuellen Naturschutz- und Nachhaltigkeitsdiskurses auch als Öko-Lyrik eingestuft werden. Seine Botschaft ist einfach: Nur diejenigen, die der Natur mit Respekt und Achtung begegnen, werden von ihr belohnt.

Die ökologisch orientierte Literaturkritik hat sich in den letzten Jahrzehnten fest etabliert und es kommt ihr eine besondere Vermittlungs- und Vernetzungsfunktion zwischen

den zahlreichen Akteuren und Diskursen zu, die in die Problematik involviert sind. Auch die Theoriebildung hat in diesem Bereich eine ungeheure Dynamik entwickelt. Es sind eine Reihe interdisziplinärer Ansätze entstanden, die – vereinfacht gesagt – literarische Texte im Zusammenhang mit ökologischen Aspekten untersuchen, von Hubert Zapfs Model der *Literatur als kulturelle Ökologie* (Zapf 2002) und einer komparatistischen Ökokritik (Schmitt/Sollte-Gresser 2017) bis hin zu Diskursen über Ernährung, Nachhaltigkeit und den Literary Animal Studies sowie Tierethik. Auch im Bereich der Literaturdidaktik erhielt die Ökokritik eine fruchtbare Rolle: Die Forschungsstelle Kulturökologie und Literaturdidaktik an der Universität Siegen sowie einige Monographien der letzten Jahre (Hille/Jambon/Meyer 2015, Grimm/Waning 2015 und Freudenthal 2021) sorgen für neue Impulse – genug Gründe und Möglichkeiten, um diese Thematik auch im DaF-Unterricht von einer anderen, nämlich literarischen, Perspektive anzusprechen und die Lernenden für aktuelle kulturelle und gesellschaftliche Fragen zu sensibilisieren.

Eine Einbettung in die Umweltthematik, die mittlerweile in keinem Lehrbuch für Deutsch als Fremdsprache fehlt, ist jedoch nur eine Möglichkeit, das Gedicht im DaF-Unterricht einzusetzen. Schon die Frage nach dem Geschlecht des lyrischen Subjekts könnte in der Klasse eine interessante Diskussion auslösen. Anders als in der slowenischen Übersetzung von Fran Albrecht, in der das Ich bereits im ersten Vers männlich konnotiert wird (*Po gozdu hodil / sem sam s seboj*; Vidmar 1971: 13), bleibt das Geschlecht im deutschen Original verborgen. Dennoch vertreten die Lernenden in der Regel die Überzeugung, dass es ein Mann ist, der die Blume aus dem *Schatten* des Waldes ausgräbt und sie in seinen Garten am betont *hübschen Haus* verpflanzt.

Die Hervorhebung des Hell-Dunkel-Kontrastes ist hier eindeutig: Schließlich wird das Blümchen aus seinem verborgenen Dasein herausgeholt und ans Licht gebracht. Diese Zeilen können daher auch als Gegenüberstellung von (noch ursprünglicher) Natur und (bereits kultivierter) Kultur gelesen werden. Dass damit die patriarchalische Vorstellung eines kulturell höherstehenden Mannes gegenüber der schönen, natürlichen, dankbaren Frau verbunden ist, wird in einer Unterrichtsdiskussion sicherlich bald zutage treten. Und wenn die Lehrkraft Glück hat, erinnert sich vielleicht jemand in der Klasse daran, dass hübsche Blumen im Wald, die gebrochen bzw. gepflückt werden, seit dem Mittelalter ein verbreitetes Symbol für den Verlust der Jungfräulichkeit sind.

Aber selbst wenn die Diskussion in eine andere Richtung verläuft, zeigt sich bei genauerem Hinsehen, dass es sich hier möglicherweise nicht nur um ein Naturgedicht, sondern auch um ein Liebes- bzw. Beziehungsgedicht handelt. Je nach Interesse kann der/die Lehrende diese allgemeine Idee noch mit (mehr oder weniger trivialen) biografischen Informationen über die ehemalige Blumenbinderin Christiane Vulpius ergänzen, deren sozialer Status von der im Schatten des Waldes lebenden Geliebten zur Ehefrau Goethes avancierte, die am *stillen Ort* im *hübschen Haus* *fortblühen* durfte. Goethe widmete ihr das Gedicht nämlich anlässlich des 25. Jahrestages ihrer ersten Begegnung im Ilmpark zu Weimar.

Anhand der Behandlung dieses Gedichtes im Unterricht können – je nach Zusammensetzung, Alter und Interesse der Lernenden sowie dem Ziel der Unterrichtsstunde – entweder die Öko-Problematik, die Liebesthematik, kulturwissenschaftliche Aspekte der Genderdebatte oder der aufschlussreiche biografische Hintergrund **des** deutschen Kanondichters thematisiert werden. Das Spannende dabei ist, dass die Richtung gar nicht von vornherein festgelegt werden muss: Auch für die Lernenden ist es eine Erleichterung, wenn sie die Mehrdeutigkeit literarischer Texte sowie den „Freiraum Literatur“ (Šlibar 1997) so hautnah erleben können.

3 FAZIT

Bei der Auseinandersetzung mit einem Gedicht im Unterricht entsteht eine poetische Landschaft, die die Grundfragen der menschlichen Existenz anspricht, aber gleichzeitig genügend Raum für das Unausgesprochene und das Unausprechliche lässt. Denn in einem Gedicht – und dies wird im schulischen Umfeld viel zu oft vergessen – muss nicht alles gesagt werden. Gedichte zu lesen bedeutet, wie Wendelin Schmidt-Dengler es 1983 in seiner Laudatio anlässlich der Verleihung des Kafka-Preises an die Dichterin Ilse Aichinger so treffend ausdrückte, „sich auf diese mit behutsamer, ja ängstlicher Sorgfalt ein[zu]lassen, [...] jedes hastig deutende Wort [zu] vermeiden“ (Schmidt-Dengler 1983: 423).

Eine Auseinandersetzung mit Gedichten im DaF-Unterricht erweist sich daher als äußerst sinnvoll. Wie die besprochenen Beispiele zeigen, sind Gedichte nicht nur als Ornamentum oder zusätzliche Last, sondern als wesentlicher Bestandteil des DaF-Unterrichts zu betrachten. Die Herangehensweise hängt, wie im Artikel immer wieder erörtert, von der Gruppendynamik sowie der Leistungs- und Aufnahmefähigkeit der Lernenden ab, aber auch von ihrer Bereitschaft, sich auf das Unbekannte, Offene, Spielerische und Fremde einzulassen, von ihren literaturwissenschaftlichen und -geschichtlichen Vorkenntnissen, von ihrer (und unserer) Fähigkeit zum literarischen Gespräch und von ihrer Offenheit für spontane Einfälle und Assoziationen. Vieles davon können wir als Lehrende durch unsere eigene Herangehensweise und den Abbau unserer eigenen Ängste beeinflussen.

Indem die Lernenden auf die Eigenarten poetischer Texte reagieren, ihren Blick für Ambivalenzen, Mehrdeutigkeiten und die Poetizität von Sprache schärfen, werden sie zu ästhetisch kritischen Beobachtern ihrer eigenen Wirklichkeit und lernen die Welt mit anderen Augen zu sehen. Poesie im DaF-Unterricht ist sinnvoll, nicht obwohl, sondern weil sie die Lernenden mit anderen, bisher unbekannten und ungewohnten Perspektiven auf die Sprache, die Gesellschaft, das Zwischenmenschliche und Ästhetische konfrontiert.

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POVZETEK

O KORISTNOSTI NEKORISTNEGA: O SMISELNOSTI POEZIJE PRI POUKU TUJIH JEZIKOV

Prispevek obravnava literaturo pri pouku tujega jezika, pri čemer se osredotoča na žanr lirike. Na osrednje vprašanje, ali je vpeljava literarnih besedil v tujejezični pouk smiselna in koristna, daje nedvomno pritrdilni odgovor. Pri tem se zoperpostavlja precej razširjeni tezi, da morajo obvladati učenci in učenke, dijaki in dijakinje za obravnavo literarnih besedil jezik na višji ravni. Na treh zelo različnih primerih avtentične poezije pokaže, kako lahko literarna besedila malodane brezšivno uvrščamo v pouk tujega jezika in katere kompetence lahko urimo prav s pomočjo poezije. Na primeru konkretne poezije, pesmi *Jabolko (Der Apfel)* Reinharda Döhla pokaže, da lahko literarna besedila smiselno uporabimo že od prvih ur učenja jezika naprej. Nadalje se prispevek osredotoča na enega najvidnejših predstavnikov sodobne nemške poezije, Jana Wagnerja. Njegov z jezikovnega vidika preprost haiku z naslovom *teebeutel (čajna vrečka)*, ki je preveden tudi v slovenščino, pokaže, kako zelo inspirativen, osvobajajoč in ustvarjalen je lahko pouk nemščine, če si le drzujemo poseči tudi po literarnih besedilih. Nazadnje pa se razprava osredotoči še na kanoniziranega avtorja, velikana nemške književnosti Johanna Wolfganga von Goetheja. Analiza njegove pesmi *Gefunden (Najdena cvetka)* odstira različne možnosti obravnave besedila pri pouku nemščine: od obravnave pesmi v okviru tradicionalne poezije narave prek ekokritičnega pogleda do interpretacije na ravni ljubezenske tematike ter diskurzov spola (ne le) na prelomu 18. stoletja. Sklenemo lahko, da je poezija pri pouku nemščine kot tujega jezika smiselna, in to ne kljub temu, temveč prav zato, ker učence in učenke, dijakinje in dijake sooča z drugimi, doslej neznanimi in nenavadnimi pogledi na jezik, družbo, medosebne odnose in estetiko.

Ključne besede: pouk književnosti, poezija, nemška književnost, Jan Wagner, literarna didaktika

ABSTRACT

ON THE USEFULNESS OF THE USELESS: THE SIGNIFICANCE OF POETRY IN FOREIGN LANGUAGE TEACHING

The article discusses the role of literature in foreign language teaching, with a specific focus on the genre of poetry. It unequivocally answers the central question of whether incorporating literary texts into foreign language classrooms is meaningful and beneficial. The article challenges the widespread notion that students must have an advanced level of language proficiency to engage with literary texts. Through three very different examples of authentic poetry, it demonstrates how literary texts can be seamlessly integrated into foreign language teaching and which competencies can be developed through poetry. The analysis of the poem *Der Apfel* (*The Apple*) by Reinhard Döhl illustrates that literary texts can be meaningfully utilized from the very first lessons of language learning. Furthermore, the article focuses on one of the most prominent figures of contemporary German poetry, Jan Wagner. His linguistically simple haiku titled *teebeutel* (*tea bag*), which has also been translated into Slovenian, shows how inspiring, liberating, and creative German language teaching can be when one dares to include literary texts. Finally, the discussion turns to a canonical author, the giant of German literature, Johann Wolfgang von Goethe. The analysis of his poem *Gefunden* (*The Found Flower*) reveals various ways the text can be approached in German lessons: from traditional nature poetry to eco-critical perspectives, and interpretations related to the themes of love and gender discourse at the turn of the 18th century (and beyond). In conclusion, it can be stated that the use of poetry in German as a foreign language teaching is meaningful, not despite the fact but precisely because it confronts students with different, previously unknown, and unusual perspectives on language, society, interpersonal relationships, and aesthetics.

Keywords: literature in foreign language classroom, German literature, Jan Wagner, poetry, didactics of literature

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CELOSTNO VSEBINSKO-JEZIKOVNO UČENJE SKOZI POGLOBLJENO RAZČLEMBO AKRONIMA CLIL

1 UVOD

Prispevek¹ obravnava nekoliko izmuzljivo definicijo celostnega vsebinsko-jezikovnega učenja (CLIL-a), katerega praksa sega daleč v zgodovino (približno 5000 let pr. n. št.; Mehisto et al. 2008: 9), nato pa se v drugi polovici 20. stoletja v številnih različicah ponovno pojavi v akademskih in izobraževalnih kontekstih jezikovnega pouka. Strokovnjaki (npr. Coyle et al. 2010: 5) njegovo vlogo in rabo pogosto povezujejo z dosego cilja, imenovanega "avtentičnost namena" (ang. *authenticity of purpose*). CLIL bi naj učencem zagotavljal boljšo in bolj avtentično jezikovno izpostavljenost ter omogočal uspešnejše razvijanje sporazumevalne zmožnosti v tujem oz. ciljnem jeziku. Ta povečana avtentičnost bi naj, posledično, spodbujala zavzetost in motivacijo učencev v učnem procesu. V članku poglobljeno preučimo raznolike definicije CLIL-a in osvetlimo njegovo družbeno-kulturno ozadje. Po kratkem pregledu ustreznosti uporabe CLIL-a v različnih izobraževalnih kontekstih članek obravnava tudi nekatere kritike CLIL-a oziroma ustreznosti uporabe avtentičnega gradiva pri tujejezikovnem pouku, pri čemer gre v večini primerov za učenje angleščine kot tujega jezika (ang. *English as a Foreign Language – EFL*) oziroma kot drugega jezika (ang. *English as a Second Language – ESL*). Sklepne misli so namenjene potrditvi hipoteze o učinkovitosti pristopa CLIL kot načina za doseganje večje izpostavljenosti avtentičnim vsebinam in s tem potencialno povečane motivacije za učenje (Pinner 2013: 49).

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2 DEFINICIJA CLIL-A

CLIL je bil “uradno” uveden v evropski prostor leta 1994 (Marsh 2012: i). Zanimanje za ta pristop k poučevanju jezikov je od samega začetka zgolj naraščalo in je danes razmeroma uveljavljena norma (cf. Coyle et al. 2010: 2). CLIL je pogosto veljal za nekakšno “blagovno znamko” (Dalton-Puffer et al. 2010b; v Cenoz et al. 2014: 246) in kljub njegovi zdaj že tridesetletni tradiciji oz. prisotnosti v evropskem izobraževalnem prostoru, lahko CLIL pristope še vedno štejemo za “aktualne” ali “sodobne”, saj je njihovo izvajanje zelo prožno in raznoliko, kakor so pač raznoliki specifični konteksti poučevanja jezikov. Sodobni trendi na področju tujejezikovnega poučevanja so mnogokrat zelo ohlapno ali (pre)široko opredeljeni, pri čemer CLIL ni nobena izjema. Pogosto se ga uporablja kot nadpomenko oz. krovni izraz za številne pristope, katerih večina ponuja ‘*two-for-the-price-of-one deal*’ oz. ‘*dva za ceno enega*’ (Kerr 2022: 13). Razlog za tako ohlapno in široko definiranje CLIL-a tiči v njegovem družbeno-kulturnem ozadju. Evropska uvedba CLIL-a v zgodnjih 1990-ih je bila namreč “politična in izobraževalna” poteza (Marsh 2012: i). Politična gonilna sila je temeljila na viziji, da mobilnost po Evropski Uniji za določene jezike zahteva višjo raven kompetenc od takratnega stanja (“*higher levels of language competence in designated languages than was found to be the case at that point in time*” (prav tam)). Zamisel o spajanju različnih disciplin, zlasti jezikovnih in nejezikovnih, ter spreminjanju učnega jezika v izobraževalnih sistemih se je razvila kot odziv na znatne družbene spremembe in posledično zahteve po spremembah v izobraževalnih sistemih tistega časa.

V procesu razvijanja izobraževalnega pristopa, s katerim bi se otroci, mladi in odrasli učili nejezikovnih predmetov preko modernega tujega jezika, je CLIL črpal navdih iz širokega spektra kontekstov in izobraževalnih praks dvojezičnega izobraževanja, predvsem v kanadskih programih jezikovne kopeli. To je botrovalo pojavu množice izrazov za poimenovanje sorodnih pristopov, ki so bili uvedeni in uporabljeni v 1980-ih in zgodnjih 1990-ih, kot so: *Bilingual education/instruction*, *Content-Based Instruction* (CBI), *Developmental bilingual education*, *Dual-focused language education*, *Extended Language Instruction*, *Immersion*, *Languages across the curriculum*, *Language-based content teaching*, *Language bath*, *Language shower*, *Modern Languages Across the Curriculum*, *Multilingual education*, *Plurilingual education* itn. (Marsh 2012: 129–130). Večina je bila uvoženih iz tujine, zlasti iz ZDA, kjer so se uporabljali izključno za kontekste, v katerih učenci manjšinskega jezika usvajajo prevladujoči ciljni jezik (prav tam, str. 131). Sčasoma se je Evropska komisija odločila, da bo sprejela izraz **celostno vsebinsko-jezikovno učenje** (CLIL) “*kot splošen krovni izraz, ki zajema vsako dejavnost, pri kateri se tuji jezik uporablja kot orodje pri učenju nejezikovnega predmeta, pri katerem imata jezikovna in predmetna vsebina skupno kurikularno vlogo*” (prav tam, str. 132). Glavni razlog, zakaj se je izraz CLIL v 1990-ih vse bolj uveljavljal, je bil, da je jezikovno in nejezikovno vsebino postavil v

obliko kontinuuma, ne da bi pri tem dajal prednost eni ali drugi. Tako lahko vsebinske in jezikovne pristope razvrstimo vzdolž kontinuuma v razponu od tistih, ki poudarjajo učenje vsebin preko ciljnega jezika (drugega in/ali tujega), do tistih, v katerih je vsebina zgolj sredstvo za spodbujanje učenja jezika. V skladu s tem bi bila popolna jezikovna potopitev oz. jezikovna kopel (običajno v dvojezičnem okolju) umeščena na tisti del kontinuuma, ki je osredotočen na vsebino, medtem ko bi na jezik osredotočen del uvrstili jezikovni pouk, ki pogosto vključuje vsebine predvsem za jezikovno vadbo (običajno v tujejezikovnem okolju). Pri CLIL-u in sorodnih pristopih je učenje jezika sicer pomembno, vendar se pogosto obravnava kot stranski proizvod in logični nasledek poučevanja vsebine. Nejezikovni predmeti, ki se poučujejo prek drugega/tujega jezika, so usmerjeni v vsebino, saj je le-ta glavni cilj poučevanja. Te predmete običajno poučujejo predmetni učitelji, ki so strokovnjaki za vsebino, in ne učitelji jezikov. Na sredi kontinuuma so pristopi z enakim poudarkom na vsebini in jeziku. Pri teh pristopih se učenci pogosto učijo drugega/tujega jezika kot predmeta. Poleg tega se vsebina poučuje prek drugega/tujega jezika. Od učencev se pričakuje, da bodo izkazali rezultate tako na ravni jezika kot vsebine, lahko pa jih poučujejo tako predmetni kot jezikovni strokovnjaki. Na drugem koncu kontinuuma so *jezikovni* pristopi. Pri teh je glavni cilj učenje jezika, vsebina pa je orodje za doseganje višje stopnje motiviranosti za učenje jezika, ki poleg tega zagotavlja tudi smiselne in relevantne teme, o katerih se učenci lahko pogovarjajo.

Uvrščanje CLIL-a na kontinuum kaže na zelo širok spekter njegove uporabe v različnih učnih okoljih. Zato si ni težko zamisliti veliko različnih situacij, v katerih se za poučevanje lahko uporabi pristop CLIL (Harmer 2012: 227; Kerr 2022: 13): (a) predmetni učitelji in učitelji jezikov, ki delajo skupaj in uporabljajo različne jezike, tako da jezikovni pouk podpira učni jezik pouka vsebine; (b) en učitelj, ki izmenično preklaplja med jeziki; (c) določene ure se poučujejo v enem jeziku, druge v drugem; (d) dodaten jezikovni pouk za nekatere učence; (e) učitelji jezikov v pouk vključujejo vsebine iz drugih predmetov (medpredmetne vsebine); (f) učenci se najprej učijo vsebine v svojem L1 in nato ponovno pri jezikovnem pouku, kjer se učitelj osredotoči na jezikovni vidik; (g) nekatere CLIL vsebine poučuje predmetni učitelj (na primer učitelj geografije), ki izkazuje ustrezno raven angleščine, ali učitelj angleščine, ki obvlada vsebinski del CLIL ure; (h) šole in učitelji, ki ponujajo kratke (recimo 15-urne) izvedbe CLIL-a; (i) izvajanje delov učnega načrta v celoti v drugem jeziku itd.

Ker se CLIL lahko izvaja na kateri koli ravni izobraževanja in ima lahko različne vloge v učnem načrtu, se konteksti šol, ki uporabljajo CLIL, zelo razlikujejo. S toliko različicami CLIL-a in brez poenotenega pristopa ali teorije je zelo težko reči, kaj CLIL dejansko zajema. Če lahko CLIL definiramo tako široko, je očitno, da je njegova izvedba podvržena specifičnim socialnim dejavnikom posameznih držav, kot tudi splošnim smernicam v izobraževanju, zato ne moremo govoriti o nekem poenotenem načinu integriranja vsebine in jezika, ki bi ga lahko izvozili in na enak način aplicirali v različnih državah (cf. Baetens Beardsmore 1993; v Marsh 2012: iii).

Če se CLIL “uporablja kot splošen izraz za opis vseh vrst izobraževalnih oblik, pri katerih se drugi jezik (tuji, regionalni ali manjšinski jezik in/ali drug uradni državni jezik) uporablja za poučevanje določenih predmetov v kurikulumu, ki niso sam jezikovni pouk” (Eurydice 2006: 8), se pojavi vprašanje jezikov in z njimi povezanih kontekstualnih dejavnikov. Po tej definiciji se lahko CLIL poučuje z uporabo različnih tujih jezikov, drugih jezikov, dodatnih jezikov ali mešanice jezikov. V resnici pa je jezik poučevanja v programih tipa CLIL v veliki večini primerov angleščina (Eurydice 2008; Ur 2012: 220). To lahko povzroča terminološko zmedo, saj je “tuji jezik izenačen z lokalnimi jeziki, kadar se ti jeziki uporabljajo za poučevanje kurikularnih vsebin. Na ta način se da razumeti ne le, da sta CLIL in potopitev/jezikovna kopel enakovredna izraza, ampak tudi, da CLIL vključuje dvojezične programe jezikovne kopeli” (Lasagabaster in Sierra 2010: 368). Vendar je jezik, ki se uporablja pri CLIL-u, pogosto jezik, ki se ne govori lokalno: za razliko od dvojezičnih programov jezikovne kopeli, ki se izvajajo v jezikih, prisotnih v okolju učencev, so učni jeziki za programe CLIL tuji jeziki in mnogi učenci imajo z njimi stik le v formalnih učnih kontekstih (prav tam, str. 370).

Ta terminološka zmeda ni nepomembna, saj ni jasno, kaj pomeni črka “L” v angleški kratici CLIL – ali gre za “*a language*” (tj. *any language*) ali “*a foreign language*” (tuji jezik, ki ga v bistvu predstavlja angleški jezik)? To, ali je zadevni jezik lokalni ali tuji jezik, neposredno vpliva na jezikovne cilje in jezikovne rezultate, zato je potrebno jasno razlikovanje. Cilji dvojezičnih programov jezikovne kopeli in CLIL pristopa v isti državi zato ne morejo biti enaki. Po svetu obstaja dolga tradicija dvojezičnih programov jezikovne kopeli (Avstralija, Kanada, Finska, Španija, Združene države in druge), medtem ko so programi CLIL v številnih izobraževalnih sistemih po svetu še v povojih (Lasagabaster in Sierra 2010: 369). Povedano drugače, težko je primerjati situacije, kjer se na primer francoščina ali nemščina uporabljata v dvojezičnih programih jezikovne kopeli, ki se izvajajo v dvojezičnih regijah, ali če se CLIL programi v angleščini izvajajo v enojezičnih predelih Slovenije. Kot poudarjata Lasagabaster in Sierra (prav tam), so lahko v primeru neupoštevanja teh pomembnih razlik splošni cilji CLIL programov zastavljeni previsoko, učitelji se lahko znajdejo pod velikimi pritiski, od učencev pa se lahko pričakuje doseganje jezikovnih ciljev, ki so nestvarni (prav tam).

Raznoliki pristopi, ki so vključeni pod krovnim izrazom CLIL, vsebujejo temeljno značilnost CLIL-a – vsi namreč ponujajo “priložnosti za učenje jezika preko vsebine” (Cenoz et al. 2014: 246). Vendar pa vključevanje programov jezikovne kopeli in dvojezičnega izobraževanja pod okrilje CLIL-a povzroča precejšnjo zmedo, saj je integracija vsebine in jezika že sama po sebi sestavni del vsakega dvojezičnega izobraževanja, medtem ko kontekstualnih značilnosti jezikovne kopeli/dvojezičnega izobraževanja, tj. da so učenci izpostavljeni ciljnemu jeziku v svojem učnem okolju ali v družbi na splošno, ni mogoče zlahka poustvariti v CLIL programu pri formalnem

pouku v tujejezikovnem okolju. Dvojezično izobraževanje torej vedno že samo po sebi vključuje CLIL, medtem ko CLIL ne vključuje (nujno) jezikovne kopeli/dvojezičnega izobraževanja. Zato bi namesto uporabe CLIL-a kot krovnega termina, ki vključuje tudi jezikovno kopel/dvojezično izobraževanje, bilo bolje CLIL postaviti na sredino kontinuuma, kot predlagata Dale in Tanner (2012: 4), saj bi to povzročalo manj nejasnosti.

Več avtorjev je CLIL oz. medpredmetno povezovanje opredelilo tudi za slovenski prostor (Lipavic Oštir in Jazbec 2009; Jazbec in Lipavic Oštir 2009; Lipavic Oštir in Jazbec 2010; Zavod za šolstvo RS 2010; Lipavic Oštir et al. 2015; Pižorn 2017; Pižorn et al. 2022; Lipavic Oštir in Jazbec 2024). Ena izmed zgodnejših definicij denimo poudarja ravno raznolikost pristopov, ki so vključeni pod krovnim izrazom CLIL (Lipavic Oštir in Jazbec 2009: 104–105):

Akronim CLIL je v primerjavi z drugimi izrazi, ki označujejo to isto obliko pouka (jezikovna kopel, integrirani pouk, bilingvalni pouk itd.) nevtralen in kot tak uporaben v različnih socialnih kontekstih in izvedbenih variantah, saj zadosti različnim izobraževalnopolitičnim smernicam v Evropi. (Lipavic Oštir in Jazbec 2009: 104–105)

V publikaciji *Pot v večjezičnost – zgodnje učenje tujih jezikov v 1. VIO osnovne šole: Zgledi CLIL-a* (Zavod za šolstvo RS 2010: 38) je CLIL opredeljen predvsem kot pristop, ki povezuje poučevanje vsebine preko (tujega) jezika:

CLIL (ang. Content and Language Integrated Learning) je krovno poimenovanje za odprti didaktični koncept pouka, kjer se vse ali zgolj določene vsebine nejezikovnih predmetov poučujejo v tujem jeziku. [...] CLIL je koncept pouka, ki temelji na tem, da učenci pridobivajo vsebinsko oz. “nejezikovno” znanje (dosegajo cilje, ki so zapisani v učnih načrtih, npr. za matematiko, spoznavanje okolja, vzgojne predmete) in pri tem uporabljajo, spoznavajo, usvajajo in se učijo tudi tuji jezik. Tuji jezik se učijo v njegovi najbolj naravni vlogi, to je v funkciji sporazumevanja, kar CLIL loči od klasičnega (delno tudi od komunikacijskega) poučevanja tujega jezika. Didaktični pristopi so osredinjeni na poučevani predmet in njegove vsebine. Pri tem ni okrnjeno nejezikovno znanje zaradi tujosti medija in CLIL, tudi ne “škoduje” znanju maternega jezika, saj je splošno znano, da materni jezik pogosto spoznavamo in krepimo tudi ob *učanju in ukvarjanju z drugimi jeziki*. (Zavod za šolstvo RS 2010: 38)

V nadaljevanju (prav tam, str. 39) avtorji razmejijo razliko med CLIL-om in integriranim poukom:

CLIL je nedvomno tudi integrirani pouk, medtem ko obratno ne velja vedno. Ni vsak integrirani pouk tudi CLIL. Terminologija je pogosto nejasna, zato v pričujoči publikaciji uporabljamo izraz CLIL in s tem mislimo nejezikovni pouk v tujem jeziku, kjer so v ospredju nejezikovni cilji, seveda pa učenci z izpostavljanjem tujemu jeziku pridobivajo tudi tujejezikovne spretnosti. Izraz integrirani pouk pa pomeni integracijo pouka tujega jezika v siceršnji pouk, se pravi, da se pouk tujega jezika sicer vsebinsko povezuje z drugimi predmeti, a je v ospredju pridobivanje jezikovnih ciljev. (prav tam, str. 39)

Tudi učni načrt za tuji jezik v 2. in 3. razredu osnovne šole (Ministrstvo za izobraževanje, znanost in šport/Zavod RS za šolstvo 2013) ne postreže s kakšno posebno opredelitvijo CLIL-a za slovenske razmere, saj avtorji preprosto navedejo, da je CLIL v strokovni literaturi različno poimenovan, da vsa navedena poimenovanja izpostavljajo določene aspekte in so kulturno in družbeno pogojena, in zaključijo, da v učnem načrtu sledijo evropskim smernicam in uporabljajo nevtralno oznako oz. kratico CLIL (prav tam, str. 18).

Ob pregledu zgoraj omenjene slovenske strokovne literature na temo CLIL-a je zanimivo, da je bilo, vsaj na začetku, veliko več raziskovalne pozornosti namenjene uvajanju/izvajanju CLIL-a v zgodnjem obdobju kot pri učencih v višjih razredih osnovne šole ali srednje šole, kjer bi zaradi boljšega znanja ciljnega jezika pričakovali "lažjo" izvedbo CLIL pristopa. To se zdi na prvi pogled morda nenavadno, a je v resnici povsem logično. Kot navajajo Brewster et al. (2002: 43–52), so današnji pristopi k poučevanju (tujih) jezikov na zgodnji stopnji zelo raznoliki, pri čemer jih naštejejo šest: avdiolingvalni oz. slušnojezikovni pristop (ang. *the audio-lingual approach*); popolni telesni odziv (ang. *Total Physical Response*); komunikacijski pristop (ang. *the communicative approach*); na opravljenih temelječ pristop (ang. *task-based learning*); na zgodbah temelječ pristop (ang. *story-based methodology*) in medpredmetni pristop oz. CLIL (ang. *cross-curricular* or *CLIL*). Omenjeni pristopi se (delno) prekrivajo oz. sovpadajo. Čeprav se med sabo razlikujejo po svojih izobraževalnih poudarkih in ciljih, imajo vsi (razen morda *slušnojezikovnega*) dve skupni lastnosti oz. načeli, ki jih uvrščata v družčino komunikacijskega poučevanja, in sicer: (1) poudarek na pomenu, in (2) poudarek na interakciji, ki je osredinjena na učenca. Vse kaže, da se ti pristopi med sabo razlikujejo bolj po vsebini izobraževanja kot pa po načinu poučevanja. Pri CLIL-u, na primer, gre za eno od oblik jezikovne kopeli, ki jo je Krashen poimenoval "komunikacijsko poučevanje jezikov *par excellence*", ker je poudarek na pomenu in na razumljivem vnosu (Skela in Dagarin Fojkar 2009: 53–54). Tudi Jazbec in Lipavic Oštir (2009: 180) z navedbo raziskav na področju kognitivne psihologije in psiholingvistike poudarjata, da je CLIL še zlasti primeren v zgodnjem obdobju, saj mlajši učenci pristopajo k učenju celostno. Sodeč po zasnovi tujejezikovnih učbenikov za pouk angleščine v osnovni šoli, kar bo razvidno v nadaljevanju, se pouk tujega jezika, ki je na zgodnji stopnji zasnovan celostno, kasneje močno preusmeri v (fragmentirano) poučevanje jezikovnih vsebin (npr. slovnice).

3 CLIL POUK V SLOVENIJI

Po podatkih Eurydice (2023: 66) se CLIL programi izvajajo v skoraj vseh evropskih državah, vključno s Slovenijo. Najbolj razširjena vrsta programa CLIL je poučevanje nekaterih predmetov v uradnem jeziku države in drugih v tujem jeziku. Poleg tujih jezikov se za izvajanje CLIL-a pogosto uporabljajo regionalni ali manjšinski jeziki. Tako je tudi v Sloveniji, kjer obstajata dva regionalna in/ali manjšinska jezika z uradnim statusom – italijanščina in madžarščina (prav tam, str. 31).

Razen dvojezičnega osnovnošolskega izobraževanja na narodno mešanem območju Prekmurja, ki je bilo uvedeno leta 1959 (Hus & Jančič 2018), se CLIL pouk v Sloveniji, če ga razumemo kot dvojezično poučevanje, v večini šol še ni ukoreninil, z izjemo nekaj zasebnih (vrtcev) in eksperimentalnih šol v obeh velikih urbanih središčih. Nekaj primerov 'CLIL šol' v Sloveniji so: Mednarodna šola Danile Kumar, kjer IB World School izvaja dva programa: *The Primary Years Program* (PYP) za vrtčevske otroke in učence od 1. do 5. razreda (3–11 let) in *The Middle Years Program* (12–14 let); Gimnazija Bežigrad v Ljubljani, Gimnazija Novo mesto, Gimnazija Kranj in II. gimnazija v Mariboru, ki so pooblaščen za izvajanje programa mednarodne mature (16–19 let); Britanska mednarodna šola v Ljubljani (učenci od 3 do 18 let); Mednarodna šola QSI v Ljubljani (za otroke od 3. do 17. leta starosti); Montessori inštitut Ljubljana (vrtec in osnovna šola), Ecole Française internationale de Ljubljana (OŠ Livada v Ljubljani) in še nekaj drugih. Poleg tega se v Sloveniji vsi predmeti na tujejezikovnih univerzitetnih programih običajno izvajajo v ciljnem jeziku, v nekem širšem smislu pa bi lahko kot obliko CLIL-a šteli tudi vključevanje učencev migrantskih družin v slovenske enojezične šole. Sicer pa je pri uvajanju dvojezičnega izobraževanja v slovenske šole dodatna "ovira" državna zakonodaja, ki slovenščino določa kot uradni učni jezik v slovenskih šolah (več o tem in ostalih dejavnikih, ki pogojujejo nerazširjenost CLIL-a v slovenskem šolskem sistemu, glej Lipavac Oštir in Jazbec 2009).

Pri tem je pomembno poudariti, da so učenci v zgoraj omenjenih programih ob vstopu v šolo pogosto že dvojezični. Vpis v šolo je predmet selekcijskega postopka in praviloma se izkazuje, da imajo starši izbranih otrok običajno višji socialno-ekonomski status kot starši otrok v t.i. 'ne-CLIL programih'. Takšne demografske razlike, opažene tudi v številnih drugih CLIL kontekstih (Kerr 2022: 14), predstavljajo nevarnost za neenakost pri dostopu do CLIL programov, saj se ti pogosto izvajajo v šolah in okoljih z višjim socialno-ekonomskim statusom (kot so na primer urbane lokacije), kar lahko privede do neenakosti pri dostopu do te vrste izobraževanja (Medved Udovič 2017, Smajla 2018). Po drugi strani pa so bile zabeležene številne prednosti CLIL programov v Sloveniji, kot so spodbujanje večjezičnosti, izboljšanje splošnega znanja jezika in zagotavljanje bolj smiselne učne izkušnje, saj učenci lahko vidijo povezave med predmetom in jezikom, ki se ga učijo (Medved Udovič, 2017). Študije, izvedene v Sloveniji, so pokazale, da so učenci, ki sodelujejo v CLIL programih, uspešnejši tako v ciljnem jeziku kot pri

predmetu, ki ga v tem jeziku izvajajo. Študija avtorjev Juvan in Kontler-Salamon (2018) je na primer pokazala, da so učenci, ki so sodelovali v CLIL programu, izkazovali boljše pisne zmožnosti v angleščini in boljše razumevanje geografije kot učenci, ki niso sodelovali v omenjenem programu. Zelo podobni izsledki se kažejo v raziskavah, objavljenih v treh znanstvenih monografijah – *Učenje in poučevanje dodatnih jezikov v otroštvu* (Pižorn 2009); *Obrazi več-/raznojezičnosti* (Pižorn et al. 2022) in *Medpredmetno povezovanje in pouk jezikov* (Lipavac Oštir in Jazbec 2024).

Zgoraj omenjeni CLIL programi potekajo v (pretežno) enojezičnem in tujejezikovnem okolju. Ciljni jezik postane medij za poučevanje drugih predmetov, orodje, s katerim se nejezikovna predmetna vsebina poučuje prek ciljnega jezika. Zato metode tipa CLIL poskušajo poustvariti način učenja oz. usvajanja prvega ali maternega jezika, saj obstaja jasna povezava med količino izpostavljenosti jeziku in jezikovnim znanjem, ki ga učenci dosežejo (Ojeda Alba 2009: 131).

V nadaljevanju sledi analiza sestavnih delov kratice CLIL – vsebina, jezik in (integrirano) učenje – in njihova opredelitev v povezavi s tujejezikovnimi konteksti.

4 ANALIZA SESTAVNIH DELOV AKRONIMA CLIL

4.1 Črka “C”: vsebina

To, da prva črka “C” (ang. *content*) v akronimu označuje vsebino, seveda ni naključje, saj CLIL pristop temelji na predpostavki, da “*se je (tujih) jezikov najboljše učiti tako, da se pri pouku ne osredotočamo toliko na jezik, ampak na vsebino, posredovano preko jezika*” (Wolff 2007; v Wiesemes 2009: 55). Pri CLIL pouku bi se torej morali učenci učiti jezika tako, da z njim nekaj počnejo, namesto da se učijo o njem. V skladu s tem prepričanjem CLIL (domnevno) zagotavlja jezikovni rabi jasen in smiseln sporazumevalni namen, kar je pogosto težko doseči v razredu, osredotočenem na jezik. Posledično bi naj smiseln izbor tem in vsebine povečeval motivacijo za učenje jezika.

Če tuji jezik kot šolski predmet primerjamo z drugimi, bolj “vsebinskimi” šolskimi predmeti, kot so kemija, zgodovina ali fizika, hitro ugotovimo, da je pouk tujega jezika malce “čuden” oz. nenavaden. Jezik je namreč, podobno kot glasba, *spretnost* – se pravi nekakšen “kako” (tj. kako jezik uporabljati). Pouk tujih jezikov se je vedno ubadal z vprašanjem, s čim zapolniti t.i. “kako” sestavino jezikovnega pouka. V preteklosti, na primer v času slovnično-prevajalne ali slušno-jezikovne oz. avdiolingvalne metode, se je zdel odgovor glede vsebine tujejezikovnega pouka enostaven: poudarek je bil na slovnicah, besedišču in fonologiji. Od takrat so se na področju poučevanja tujih jezikov zgodili veliki premiki, ki so imeli velik vpliv tudi na konceptualizacijo vsebine. Razvoj je potekal kumulativno, zato danes t.i. “kaj” sestavina jezikovnega pouka poleg tradicionalnih vsebin (slovnice, besedišča in izgovorjave) vključuje tudi jezikovne funkcije/govorna dejanja,

pojme in teme (ang. *notions and topics*), komunikacijske situacije, štiri jezikovne spretnosti, kulturo, učne strategije, (tematsko) vsebino itn. (Graves 1996: 19–25).

Konceptualizacija vsebine tujejezikovnega pouka se lahko razlikuje od avtorja do avtorja, od učnega načrta do učnega načrta in od učbenika do učbenika. Nekateri razlikujejo med *jezikovno* vsebino (npr. slovnica, funkcije, spretnosti, leksika, fonologija itd.) in *tematsko* vsebino (tj. teme, o katerih govorijo besedila ali na katere se naloge nanašajo), drugi obravnavajo vsebino kot mešanico tem in jezikovnih značilnosti, ki jih je treba poučevati.

Tematska vsebina jezikovnega pouka (tj. teme, o katerih govorimo za razliko od jezikovne vsebine same) je lahko različna (Ur 1996: 197–98; 2012: 216–17), od nične ali trivialne vsebine, do učencev samih, lokalno okolje, morala, izobraževanje, politični ali družbeni problemi, kulturna vprašanja, književnost, jezik (vidiki ciljnega jezika, njegova zgodovina, etimologija in drugi zanimivi vidiki). Trend “globalnih” učbenikov za poučevanje angleščine, ki poskušajo biti mednarodno privlačni, je žal privedel do tega, da takšni učbeniki pogosto vsebujejo zelo varne, “sterilne”, površinsko zanimive in nevtralne “nične vsebine”. Ali, kot ironično pripomni Medgyes (1999), učbeniki za pouk angleščine zagotavljajo neskončen vir znanja in zabave, vendar vas ne naučijo ničesar koristnega.

Vprašanje, ki si ga je treba zastaviti na tej točki, je, ali se od učencev pri pouku tujega jezika lahko pričakuje, da bodo pokazali napredek v znanju tako jezika kot obravnavane tematske vsebine. Dokler bo tujejezikovni pouk temeljil predvsem na instrumentalnih ciljih, ki dajejo prednost razvijanju praktičnih jezikovnih spretnosti, bo to onemogočalo uporabo CLIL-a v tujejezikovnem razredu, vključno s kulturo (ali medkulturno sporazumevalno zmožnostjo), književnostjo in jezikovnim ozaveščanjem (Mitchell 2009: 89). V takšnih okoliščinah se tematske vsebine, vključno s CLIL-om, še vedno uporabljajo predvsem za kontekstualizacijo jezikovne vsebine. Zavedati se moramo, da uporaba 'avtentičnih' CLIL gradiv sama po sebi ne bo imela čudežnega učinka na izboljšanje sporazumevalne zmožnosti učencev, če se bodo tovrstna besedila uporabljala predvsem ali zgolj za učenje jezika.

4.2 Črka “L”: jezik

Črka “L” v akronimu CLIL (ang. *language*) se nanaša na jezik. Raznolikost CLIL kontekstov, od dvojezičnega izobraževanja/jezikovne kopeli na enem koncu kontinuuma (tj. *globokega* CLIL-a) do jezikovno usmerjenih pristopov na drugi strani (tj. *plitkega* CLIL-a), predstavlja pomemben dejavnik učenja jezikov, predvsem z vidika razlikovanja med kontekstom *drugega* jezika in kontekstom *tujega* jezika.²

2 Delitev CLIL-a na 'globokega' in 'plitkega' je povzeta po Harmerju (2012: 227), ki ju sicer poimenuje 'hard CLIL' in 'soft CLIL'. Avtorja članka sva se pri prevodu odločila, da dimenzijo 'trdote/mehkosti' prevedeva s pomočjo dimenzije 'globine/plitkosti', da bi s tem aludirala na 'jezikovno kopel' oz. 'potopitev' v jezik.

Kanadske dvojezične izobraževalne programe oz. programe jezikovne kopeli štejemo za zgodovinske predhodnike CLIL-a. Angleško govoreči otroci so v njih deležni vsebinskega poučevanja v francoščini (oz. francosko govoreči otroci v angleščini) “brez škode za njihovo angleščino ali njihovo predmetno znanje” (Thornbury 2006: 51). V takih kontekstih se jezik pogosto obravnava kot stranski proizvod poučevanja vsebine. V teh programih običajno poučujejo strokovnjaki za predmetne vsebine, ne pa učitelji jezikov, kar *kontekst drugega jezika* bistveno ločuje od *konteksta tujega jezika*, kjer je glavni cilj pouka učenje jezika.

CLIL se lahko poučuje z uporabo kateregakoli drugega jezika, dodatnega jezika ali kot mešanica jezikov – na primer CLIL jezik skupaj s prvim jezikom učencev. To se včasih imenuje *medjezikovno prehajanje* (ang. *translanguage* CLIL) (Harmer 2012: 226). Vendar pa je jezik poučevanja v programih tipa CLIL v veliki večini primerov angleščina (Eurydice 2008; Ur 2012: 220). S pojavom globalne angleščine, njeno vseprisotnostjo in dominantnim statusom se je tradicionalno razlikovanje med angleščino kot *tujim jezikom* (EFL) in angleščino kot *drugim jezikom* (ESL) zabrisalo. Zato je pri angleščini pogosto težko razlikovati, ali gre za tuji ali drugi jezik. Tako angleščina kot tuji jezik (EFL) kot angleščina kot drugi jezik (ESL) sta jezikovne norme tradicionalno utrjevali na domačem govorcu angleščine, kar pa ne velja za angleščino kot *linguo franco* (ELF, tj. jezik, ki ga uporabljajo govorci, ki ne govorijo istega jezika in za katere angleščina ni njihov materni jezik), kjer so relevantne jezikovne norme terjale ponovno presojo in drugačen pristop. Posledično je prišlo do pojava novih hibridnih modelov poučevanja angleščine po svetu, ki v različnih oblikah združujejo značilnosti teorije in prakse tako EFL kot ESL, vključno s CLIL-om.

Čeprav je tradicionalno razlikovanje med angleščino kot tujim jezikom (EFL) in angleščino kot drugim jezikom (ESL) v mnogih kontekstih zabrisano, ima v mnogih drugih še vedno pomembne pedagoške implikacije. V tujejezikovnih kontekstih je uporaba jezika pogosto omejena na jezikovno učilnico in na nekaj ur pouka tedensko, medtem ko imajo v drugojezikovnih okoljih učenci na voljo 24-urni “jezikovni laboratorij”.

4.3 Črka “I”: integrirano oz. celostno (učenje) – pristop k poučevanju CLIL-a

Črka “I” v akronimu CLIL se nanaša na ‘integrirano’ oz. celostno (učenje), kar je temelj CLIL pristopa in “njegova največja prednost v primerjavi z ostalimi pristopi k pouku tujih jezikov, kot npr. komunikacijski pristop in na opraviilih temelječ pristop” (Pinner 2013: 53).

Ur (2012: 220–221) izpostavi, da je integriranost oz. celostnost CLIL pristopa utemeljena na naslednjih predpostavkah in vrednotah: usvajanje jezika, avtentičnost, vključevanje angleščine v kurikulum, motivacija, nadaljnje izobraževanje (priprava učencev na študij in poklic), diverzifikacija učenja, povečanje izpostavljenosti angleščini, različni

kulturni in izobraževalni vidiki, medkulturnost, širjenje besedišča in izboljšanje govornih spretnosti.

Tudi Kerr (2022: 13) je prepričan, da uporaba CLIL-a pozitivno vpliva na motivacijo učencev, na njihov odnos do učenja jezika in njihovo samozavest. Učenci so verjetno res bolj motivirani, če se pri pouku angleščine učijo vsebine, ki so del njihovih šolskih vsebin, namesto da bi se učili le jezika oz. o jeziku. Poleg tega CLIL zagotovo predstavlja "boljše sredstvo za avtentično izpostavljenost jeziku in produkcijo v angleščini v tujejezikovnem kontekstu" (Pinner 2013: 49), kjer je izpostavljenost ciljnemu jeziku pogosto omejena na formalno učenje v razredu.

K temu lahko dodamo še številne druge značilnosti oz. prednosti CLIL pristopa: spodbujanje "diverzifikacije učenja" z ustvarjalnim in kritičnim razmišljanjem, vključevanje nalog/opravlil na taksonomskih ravneh višjega reda, vključevanje Gardnerjeve teorije mnogoterih inteligentnosti, spodbujanje uporabe metakognitivnih spretnosti (tj. učenje učenja in učni stili), spodbujanje sodelovalnega učenja (delo v dvojicah in skupinah), integracija vseh štirih jezikovnih spretnosti (poslušanje, branje, govorjenje in pisanje) itn.

Zgoraj naštetе značilnosti CLIL pristopa morda kažejo na to, da je način poučevanja/učenja na podlagi CLIL-a precej drugačen od običajnega tujejezikovnega pouka. Do neke mere je to res, vendar razlike niso nujno tako velike, saj učitelji lahko v obeh primerih uporabijo iste ali zelo podobne tehnike poučevanja (Harmer 2012: 226). Največja razlika je predvsem v tem, da pri CLIL-u vsebino vedno postavimo v ospredje. Čeprav sta pri CLIL pristopu pomembna tako vsebina kot jezik, učne ure organiziramo predvsem na podlagi vsebine, poučujemo oz. uvedemo pa samo tiste jezikovne vidike, ki so nujni za razumevanje vsebine.

Mehisto et al. (2008: 141) poudarjajo, da "sta naša obstoječa zaloga znanja in trenutna raven razumevanja tista, ki zagotavljata podlago za novo učenje", zato je umeščanje CLIL vsebin v predhodno znanje toliko bolj pomembno. Seveda pa to ne pomeni, da gre pri CLIL-u zgolj za uporabo tujega jezika za ponovno poučevanje tega, kar učenci že vedo. Tisti jezikovni ali vsebinski vidiki, ki jih učenec že pozna, služijo učitelju kot vodilo in podlaga za uvajanje nove snovi na ravni jezika in/ali vsebine (prav tam).

Coyle et al. (2010: 43) opozarjajo na možnost, da se pri učencih v primeru CLIL-a njihove kognitivne ravni nujno ne ujemajo z jezikovnimi. Da bi bilo učenje učinkovito, morajo biti učenci dovolj kognitivno izzvani, hkrati pa morajo biti deležni ustrezne jezikovne podpore. Ko učenci enkrat dosežejo razmeroma visoko raven znanja ciljnega jezika, potrebujejo nekaj več kot zgolj "ponovitev tega, kar so se že naučili" (Maley 2007: 3). Ker je vsebina CLIL gradiva tista, ki narekuje raven jezikovne zahtevnosti, moramo učencem zagotoviti ustrezno jezikovno podporo. Pri nižjih razredih bo poudarek verjetno bolj na sprejemniških kot tvorbnih spretnostih (Deller in Price 2007: 9). Podporo razumevanju in učenju lahko vključimo na več načinov: z uporabo vizualnih podob, kot so slike, grafikoni in diagrami; z uporabo vprašanj, z aktivacijo zaloge znanje itn. In nenazadnje, ni razloga, da bi opustili uporabo maternega jezika, ki se lahko uporablja kot

orodje za podporo in učenje. Izmenična raba maternega in tujega jezika je predvsem v nižjih razredih povsem naravna in pričakovana.

Osnovna razlika med CLIL-om in bolj tradicionalnimi pristopi k poučevanju je, da gre pri CLIL-u za poučevanje vsebine prek ciljnega jezika (Pinner 2013: 51), kar je sicer zelo podobno na opravljenih temelječem pristopu (ang. *task-based learning*), kjer učenci “*uporabljajo jezik, da se ga naučijo*”. To je v precejšnjem nasprotju z UUU (uvajanje, utrjevanje, uporaba) modelom (ang. *presentation-practice-production model*, *PPP model*), kjer se učenci “*učijo jezika zato, da ga uporabljajo*”, in ki še vedno ostaja prevladujoči način poučevanja jezika v tujejezikovnem okolju.

Coyle et al. (2010: 41) integrirajo ključne značilnosti CLIL-a v okviru 4C-jev, ki ga sestavljajo štirje “kontekstualizirani gradniki”: vsebina (ang. *content*), komunikacija (učenje in uporaba jezika; ang. *communication*), kognicija (procesi učenja in razmišljanja; ang. *cognition*) in kultura (razvijanje medkulturnega razumevanja in globalnega državljanstva; ang. *culture*). Tovrsten okvir upošteva integracijo učenja vsebine in učenja jezika v specifičnih kontekstih in poudarja simbiotično razmerje, ki obstaja med temi elementi. Četudi številni strokovnjaki (Banegas 2012: 117, 2014: 347, Gondová 2015: 153, McDougald 2016: 255) poudarjajo, da je konceptualna zasnova na podlagi okvira 4C-jev bistvena za kakovostno in ustrezno izvedbo CLIL pristopa, pa okvir ni in ne sme biti nekakšna brezprizivna mantra, saj bodo razmerja med posameznimi elementi okvira odvisna od specifičnega izobraževalnega konteksta.

4.3.1 CLIL vsebine v učbenikih angleškega jezika

Dve analizi CLIL vsebin v učbenikih za pouk angleščine v slovenskih osnovnih šolah (Mojškrc 2022; Dagarin Fojkar et al. 2024) kažeta na precejšnjo razliko med teorijo in prakso.

Prva analiza (Mojškrc 2022) je zajela šest učbenikov za pouk angleščine v 9. razredu OŠ, in sicer *Sprint 4* (Moore & Lewis 2017), *English Plus 3* (Wetz & Pye 2011), *English Plus 3* (2. izd.) (Wetz & Gormley 2016), *Think 4* (Puchta et al. 2022), *Wider World 4* (Gaynor et al. 2017) in *Right on! 4* (Dooley 2022). Vsi analizirani učbeniki vključujejo eksplicitne razdelke s CLIL vsebino bodisi ob koncu vsake učne enote ali na koncu učbenika.

Čeprav so številni avtorji prepričani (prim. Mehisto et al. 2008: 141, Banegas 2012: 124; Banegas 2017: 4), da bi morala biti CLIL vsebina povezana s preostalim šolskim kurikulumom, se v zgoraj omenjeni raziskavi (Mojškrc 2022) izkaže, “da od 35 analiziranih CLIL učnih enot/tem, 8 ni omenjenih v učnem načrtu za noben slovenski osnovnošolski predmet” (prav tam, str. 53). Poleg tega gradiva običajno povezujejo učno uro CLIL-a s samo enim šolskim predmetom, kljub dejstvu, da podrobnejša analiza kaže, da je večina CLIL tem običajno obravnavana v več učnih načrtih, kar precej povečuje možnost, da se učenci seznani s temo CLIL učne ure pri drugih predmetih. To

prekrivanje gotovo lahko zmanjšuje njihovo zanimanje in zavzetost. Analiza kaže, da to velja za 11 od 35 analiziranih lekcij CLIL (Mojškrč 2022: 54).

Druga pomembna ugotovitev se nanaša na pristop k poučevanju CLIL vsebin in s tem povezano notranjo organizacijo učne ure, kjer je bilo ugotovljeno neravnovesje v zastopanosti štirih jezikovnih spretnosti (poslušanje, branje, govorjenje in pisanje). Z izjemo enega učbenika (*Sprint 4*, Moore & Lewis 2017) je glavni poudarek pri CLIL vsebinah na razvijanju bralnih spretnosti, medtem ko so slušne spretnosti najmanj zastopane ali celo povsem izpuščene (npr. *Think 4*, Puchta et al. 2022; in *Wider World 4*, Gaynor et al. 2017). Raziskava razkriva tudi, da se "nobeno od analiziranih gradiv ne osredotoča pretežno na sposobnosti razmišljanja višjega reda, še več – nekatera gradiva veščin razmišljanja višjega reda sploh ne vključujejo" (prav tam., str. 57).

Cilj druge raziskave (Dagarin Fojkar et al. 2024) je bil preučiti pogostost in kakovost CLIL aktivnosti v učbenikih za poučevanje angleščine kot tujega jezika v 4. in 5. razredu osnovne šole ter ugotoviti, s cilji in vsebinami katerih nejezikovnih predmetov se aktivnosti povezujejo (prav tam, str. 179). Avtorice so s pomočjo kontrolnega seznama kriterijev analizirale šest učbenikov za 4. razred in pet učbenikov za 5. razred osnovne šole. Rezultati raziskave so pokazali, da vsi aktualni učbeniki za poučevanje angleščine v 4. in 5. razredu vsebujejo CLIL-aktivnosti. Te se v učbenikih pojavljajo v različnem obsegu, najpogostejša pa je povezava s predmetom naravoslovje in tehnika. Dodatna ugotovitev raziskave je, da se v učbenikih za 4. in 5. razred pogosto pojavljajo vsebine, ki se ne ujemajo z učnimi načrti nejezikovnih predmetov, temveč se pojavljajo v 1. triletju osnovne šole (prav tam, str. 179). Če gre za znane vsebine, ki so samo kodificirane v tujem jeziku, to učencem ne predstavlja zadostnega izziva in motivacije. Omenjena raziskava je pokazala tudi, da učbeniki vsebujejo premalo CLIL-aktivnosti, ki bi spodbujale medkulturne kompetence učencev ter naloge višjih kognitivnih ravni (prav tam, str. 202).

Iz zgornjih izsledkov omenjenih raziskav lahko upravičeno sklepamo, da CLIL vsebine/enote v učbenikih za osnovne šole predstavljajo 'ločen razdelek' oz. neke vrste 'dodatek', namenjen občasni popestritvi pouka. Takšna zasnova učbenikov kaže na to, da v glavnem še vedno postavljajo jezik v ospredje, vsebino pa v ozadje. Gre torej za učna gradiva, ki ne spodbujajo (nezavednega) usvajanja jezika, ampak njegovo (zavestno) učenje.

Avtorja pričujočega prispevka sva v okviru raziskave za prihajajočo publikacijo (izid predviden v l. 2024) analizirala deset učbeniških *serij* za pouk angleščine v zadnji triadi osnovne šole (tj. v 7., 8. in 9. razredu) v Sloveniji, torej skupno 30 učbenikov. Med drugim raziskava obravnava vključevanje vseh dodatnih vsebin, ki se pojavljajo kot ločeni razdelki ob koncu posameznih učnih enot ali na koncu učbenika, kar vključuje tudi CLIL razdelke. Če omenimo samo učbenike, ki niso bili zajeti v raziskavi Lare Mojškrč (2022), in sicer učbeniška serija *Project Explore* (Books 2, 3 & 4); učbeniška serija *New Challenges* (Books 1, 2 & 3); učbeniška serija *Messages* (Books 2, 3 & 4) in učbeniška serija *Touchstone* (Books 7, 8 & 9), potem lahko potrdimo, da

so izsledki glede *prisotnosti* CLIL vsebin, njihove kronološke *umeščenosti* v učne enote (tj. kot ločene razdelke ob koncu učne enote ali na koncu učbenika) in načina njihove *obravnave* tako rekoč enaki, kot jih navajata obe zgoraj omenjeni raziskavi. Osnovnošolski učbeniki torej vsebine CLIL obravnavajo precej uniformno, še največ razlik je morda pri poimenovanju teh ločenih rubrik (npr. *English across the Curriculum*, *Curriculum Extra*, *Curriculum studies*, CLIL itd.).

Vendar pa obstaja kar nekaj učbenikov, ki so zasnovani tako, da vsebino postavljajo v ospredje, jezik pa v ozadje. Povedano drugače, gre za učbenike, ki spodbujajo (nezavedno) usvajanje jezika, ne njegovega *učenja*. Nekateri od teh učbenikov se osredotočajo izključno ali predvsem na vsebino, nekateri pa imajo dobro ravnotežje vsebine in jezika, kar je v skladu s stališči nekaterih strokovnjakov, da je pristop CLIL lažje izvedljiv ob eksplicitnem poučevanju jezika (Dalton-Puffer 2007; Clegg 2007). Nekateri dokaj zgodnji CLIL-ski učbeniki, običajno namenjeni mlajšim učencem, so naslednji: *Zig Zag* (Byrne & Waugh 1981); učbeniška serija *Snap!* (Barbisan et al. 1983, 1984); *Time for English* (Vincent et al. 1984); učbeniška serija *Stepping Stones* (Ashworth & Clark 1989, 1990); učbeniška serija *Buzz* (Revell & Seligson 1993, 1995; Revell 1996); učbeniška serija *Cambridge English for schools* (Littlejohn & Hicks 1996, 1997); učbeniška serija *Macmillan English Language* (Bowen et al. 2006, 2007) itd.

4.4 Črka "L": učenje

Črka "L", ki se v akronimu CLIL nanaša na učenje (ang. *learning*), odpira eno najbolj perečih dihotomij v pedagogiki tujega/drugega jezika, in sicer med (zavestnim) *učenjem* in (nezavednim) *usvajanjem* (ang. *learning vs. acquisition*). Danes se strokovnjaki na splošno strinjajo, da se kot najboljši način za učenje jezika ne izkazuje učenje slovnice in prevajanje (slovnično-prevajalna metoda). Prav tako se jezika ne naučimo učinkovito zgolj z intenzivno vadbo (behavioristični ali strukturalistični pristop) ali samo s sporazumevanjem (komunikacijski pristop). Raziskave so opredelile tri glavne načine učinkovitega učenja tujega jezika: (nezavedno) usvajanje, interakcija in (zavestna) osredotočenost na obliko oz. učenje (Spratt et al. 2005: 41–43). *Usvajanje* je utemeljeno na predpostavki o izpostavljenosti številnim primerom ekstenzivne jezikovne rabe v naši okolici. Slišati in prebrati moramo veliko besedila, ki je bogato in raznoliko, zanimivo in na ustrezni težavnostni stopnji, se pravi malce nad našo ravno, vendar ne pretežko. *Interakcija* utemeljuje teza, da je jezik treba uporabljati v *interakciji* z drugimi ljudmi, da se v njem izražamo in sogovorce razumemo. Raziskave pa utemeljujejo tudi pomen *osredotočenosti na obliko*, na ustreznost in pravilnost produkcije jezika, ki ga potrebujemo za sporazumevanje. Med teoretiki prevladuje konsenz, da je najučinkovitejše učenje jezikov tisto, ki vključuje in povezuje vse tri omenjene sestavine (prav tam).

V praksi pa se zaradi omejitev, v okviru katerih delajo učitelji tujih jezikov (tradicionalni urnik – tri ali štiri kratke ure na teden, veliki razredi, majhna izpostavljenost

jeziku izven razreda itd.), običajno izriše kot bolj učinkovit način poučevanja poudarek na strukturo, pravilnost pisne oblike in podobno, kot pa dejavnosti, ki spodbujajo usvajanje. Usvajanje je v bistvu nezavedni stranski proizvod rabe jezika, v nasprotju z namernim oz. zavestnim "učenjem", ki se osredotoča na obliko, pravilnost itd. Čeprav se zdi razlikovanje med *učenjem* in *usvajanjem* pedagoško koristno, ga v praksi pogosto ni mogoče razlikovati oz. težko ločimo, kje se konča učenje in začne usvajanje, še zlasti če pomislimo na usvajanje besedišča, izgovorjave ali bralne in slušne spretnosti. Zdi se, da je kombiniranje formalnega in neformalnega pouka edina in verjetno najboljša možnost, ki je na voljo učiteljem tujih jezikov, da lahko poustvarijo vsaj nekatere značilnosti kontekstov drugega jezika in tako razvijejo okvir poučevanja, ki bo upošteval oboje – učenje in usvajanje.

5 ZAKLJUČEK

CLIL vsebine so lahko sredstvo za izpostavljenost avtentičnim jezikovnim vsebinam in za učinkovito spodbujanje produkcije pri tujejezikovnem pouku, kar posledično vpliva na višjo stopnjo zavzetosti in motivacije za učenje. Analiza nekaterih učbenikov, ki se uporabljajo za pouk angleščine v slovenskih osnovnih šolah, pa kaže, da je t.i. *UUU* pristop (uvajanje, utrjevanje, uporaba; ang. *presentation-practice-production model*, *PPP model*) v zasnovi učbeniških enot še vedno prevladujoč, kar vodi do zaključka, da so ta gradiva usmerjena v učenje in ne v usvajanje jezika. Podrobna analiza CLIL razdelkov utrjuje vtis, da so ti običajno dodani na koncu vsake enote ali celo v posebnem razdelku na koncu učbenika, kar kaže, da je CLIL vsebina vključena le kot dodatek, ki se ga obravnava, če čas to dopušča. Čeprav učbeniki v osnovi niso oblikovani in usmerjeni v usvajanje, so lahko ločeni odseki CLIL-a podpora za usvajanje jezika, če se pouk izvaja v skladu s CLIL pristopom, se pravi, da je vsebina postavljena v ospredje. Pričujoči članek temelji na razčlembi sestavnih delov kratice CLIL, katerih analiza ponuja vpogled v bistvo tega pristopa, saj je bil ta jedrni pomen kratice, ne glede na stopnjo razširjenosti CLIL-a, v preteklosti pogosto spregledan ali pa je izzvenel v družbi številnih sorodnih pristopov in poimenovanj.

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POVZETEK

**CELOSTNO VSEBINSKO-JEZIKOVNO UČENJE SKOZI POGLOBLJENO
RAZČLEMBO AKRONIMA CLIL**

Ker je v Sloveniji v sodobnih osnovnošolskih učbenikih angleščine pristop CLIL postal že neka-
kšna stalnica, avtorja v prispevku naslovita vprašanje učinkovitosti tradicionalne razdrobljenosti
učnih vsebin na eni strani in integracije jezika z vsebino šolskih predmetov na drugi. Namen članka
je razjasniti, v kolikšni meri CLIL dejansko sintetizira pretekle metodologije v navzkrižno izobra-
ževalno paradigmo in tako nastopa v vlogi alternative, ali pa morda ostaja na ravni občasnih CLIL
vložkov, dodatnih dejavnosti za popestritev pouka. Analitični pristop k temi se v razpravi neizo-
gibno dotakne številnih in raznolikih definicij pristopa CLIL in njemu sorodnih pristopov. V obšir-
ni razpravi primerja opise in številna poimenovanja sorodnih praks, ki so CLIL spremljali na nje-
govi poti. Članek primerja koncepte popolne potopitve (angl. *immersion*) pri učenju tujih jezikov,
trends na vsebini temelječega poučevanja (angl. *content-based instruction*, CBI) in komunikativ-
nega pristopa (angl. *communicative approach* - CA - ali *communicative language teaching* - CLT).
Avtorja vključita tudi kratko razpravo o tradicijah dvojezičnega izobraževanja in jezikovne kopeli,
skupaj s številnimi drugimi CLIL sopotniki. V kontekstu poglobljene analize akronima CLIL čla-
nek namenja posebno pozornost posameznim komponentam akronima, ki so podrobno razčlenjene
in opredeljene v okviru njihove uporabnosti v tujejezičnih kontekstih. Prispevek v sklepnem delu
spodbuja sistematično in kontinuirano uporabo pristopa CLIL kot učinkovito podporo za usvajanje
jezika, če se pouk izvaja v skladu s CLIL pristopom, se pravi, da je vsebina postavljena v ospredje.
Promovira ga kot način vključevanja koncepta fuzije, pri čemer kritično izpostavlja temeljne vre-
dnote CLIL metodologije kot pomembne vidike učinkovitega poučevanja tujih jezikov.

Ključne besede: CLIL pristop, akronim, slovenski, kontekst, tujejezični, tujejezikovni, pouk tu-
jega jezika

ABSTRACT

**THE CLIL APPROACH THROUGH AN IN-DEPTH ANALYSIS OF THE ACRONYM'S
COMPONENT PARTS**

Because the CLIL approach has become somewhat of a staple in modern Slovenian elementary
school English textbooks, the authors of this article address the question of the effectiveness of
the traditional fragmentation of learning content on one hand and the integration of language with
subject matter on the other. The purpose of the article is to clarify to what extent CLIL actually
synthesizes past methodologies into a cross-educational paradigm and thus serves as an alterna-
tive, or whether it remains at the level of occasional CLIL inserts, additional activities to enhance

the diversity of teaching. The article provides insight into the findings of recent research on the most commonly used English textbooks in Slovenian elementary schools and explores the place CLIL has taken in them. The analytical approach to the topic inevitably touches on numerous and varied definitions of the CLIL approach, discussed in the context of the acronym's analysis. It compares descriptions and names of related practices that have accompanied CLIL on its journey, including the concepts of immersion in foreign language learning, content-based instruction (CBI), and communicative approaches (CA or communicative language teaching - CLT). It briefly discusses the traditions of bilingual education and language baths, along with many other CLIL companions. The acronym's individual components (content, language, and (integrated) learning) are thoroughly examined, their effectiveness is outlined and linked to foreign language contexts. Finally, the article encourages systematic and continuous use of the CLIL approach as effective support for language acquisition provided the classroom instruction follows its fundamental principle of foregrounding the content. It promotes CLIL as a way to incorporate the concept of fusion, while critically highlighting the fundamental values of CLIL methodology as important aspects of effective foreign language teaching.

Keywords: CLIL approach, acronym, Slovenian, context, foreign language instruction, foreign language classroom

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Izvirni znanstveni članek



LIEDERBEHANDLUNGEN IN AUSGEWÄHLTEN LEHRWERKEN FÜR DEN DAF-UNTERRICHT: DIDAKTISCHE ANALYSE UND ERWEITERUNGSVORSCHLÄGE

1 EINFÜHRUNG

Musik und Sprache gehen Hand in Hand. Musik gibt den Wörtern einen emotionalen Charakter, erhöht die Gedächtnisfunktion, bewirkt Glücksgefühle, sorgt für Entspannung; zudem gilt sie schon seit Menschengedenken als ein bewährtes ganzheitliches Kommunikationsmittel. So wie Musik weist auch Sprache melodische Elemente wie Tonhöhe, Klangfolge, Betonungen, Rhythmus auf. Die Rezeption von Liedern verbindet beide Hirnhälften: die rechte kommt bei der Wahrnehmung der Melodie, die linke bei Worten zum Einsatz (vgl. Quast 1996; Feindert 2007; Kiviranta/Mäkelä 2014; Birkenbihl 2015). Über lange Zeit hinweg werden Lieder und Songs im Fremdsprachenunterricht eingesetzt, sie haben ihren Weg auch in die DaF-Lehrwerke gefunden (Morgret 2014).

Im vorliegenden Beitrag wird auf die Lieder, die sich in den sechs untersuchten DaF-Lehrwerkreihen befinden, und auf die auf diese bezogenen Liedbehandlungsübungen und -aufgaben eingegangen. Anfangs werden allgemeine Wirkungen von Musik dargestellt und Argumente für sowie gegen den Liedereinsatz im Unterricht beleuchtet, dann werden die Einsatzmöglichkeiten aufgezählt. Weiterhin wird zwischen nichtauthentischen, didaktisierten und authentischen deutschen Liedern unterschieden. Anschließend werden die Ergebnisse der quantitativen und qualitativen Lehrwerkanalyse dargestellt und diskutiert: Im Forschungsfokus stehen die Anzahl, die Positionierung, die Authentizität, die Länge, der Liedtext, die Liederbehandlungsübungen und die Lernziele, die durch letztere verfolgt werden. Anhand der Ergebnisse werden abschließend Vorschläge geliefert, wie die Liederbehandlungsaktivitäten aus untersuchten Lehrwerken sinnvoll erweitert werden könnten, um die gehörten Lieder am effektivsten für die Unterrichtszwecke zu nutzen.

2 EINSATZ DER LIEDER IM FREMDSPRACHENUNTERRICHT

2.1 Wirkungen von Musik

Der Musikeinsatz im (Fremdsprachen-)Unterricht weist affektive, kognitive, soziale, kulturelle, linguistische und pädagogische Wirkung auf (Kiviranta/Mäkelä 2014: 9–11; vgl. auch Quast 1996: 107–110). Bei der *affektiven* Wirkung geht es darum, dass Musik einen Auslösemoment von Gefühlsprozessen darstellt. Sie soll eine positive Einstellung zum Lernprozess gewährleisten, was geschieht, wenn alle musikalischen Komponenten im Einklang sind und bei Lernenden positive Assoziationen hervorrufen. Die *kognitive* und *linguistische* Wirkung sind beim Liedereinsatz noch verstärkt, weil die Arbeit mit Liedern mehrkanaliges bzw. multisensorisches Lernen ermöglicht. Die Verbindung von Sprache und Musik löst die Aktivität beider Hemisphären des Gehirns aus. Der Unterricht erhält einen informellen Charakter, was die Beziehung zwischen Lernenden und Lehrkraft vertiefen, für die gegenseitige Akzeptanz, Toleranz sorgen und die Interaktivität in der Klasse fördern kann. Die *soziale* Wirkung kommt vor allem im Kindergarten zum Ausdruck, wenn Kinder beim gemeinsamen Singen Rücksichtnahme, Einfühlungsvermögen, Verantwortungsgefühl und Selbstdisziplin entwickeln. Die *kulturelle* Wirkung zeigt sich im Verstehen des kulturell-historischen Kontextes, in dem ein Lied entstanden ist und dessen Werte es vertritt.

2.2 Argumente für den Liedereinsatz

In Fremdsprachen gibt es Klänge und Laute, an die man aus der Muttersprache nicht gewohnt ist, was die Chance vergrößert, diese im Gespräch zu überhören. Lieder ermöglichen daher schon in der Anfängerstufe ihre Wahrnehmung und verhelfen dazu, dass sich Lernende in die zu erlernende Sprache einhören (Willems 2019: 82–83). Wenn sich Lernende für den Rhythmus der deutschen Sprache sensibilisieren, beginnen sie automatisch richtig zu betonen und Wörter zu akzentuieren, weil sie der Liedrhythmus und die Liedmelodie dazu zwingen (Morgret 2014: 92).

Der emotionale Gehalt eines Liedes löst bei den Lernenden immer eine Reaktion aus. Lernende können entweder in ihrer Muttersprache oder bestenfalls auf Deutsch erklären, wie sie sich während des Liedhörens gefühlt haben, sie können ihre Stimmung versprachlichen und untereinander vergleichen. Die moderne Musik vermittelt Botschaften sowohl durch den Liedtext als auch durch den Ton und das Bild (Musikvideo), was unter anderem mehrkanaliges Lernen ermöglicht (Usbeck Frei 2019: 94).

Lieder bieten oft das Vokabular, das Lehrkräfte im Unterricht normalerweise nicht gezielt vermitteln wie z. B. umgangssprachliche Ausdrücke, denen aber man im Zielsprachenland tagtäglich begegnet. In der heutigen digitalen Gesellschaft werden Bedeutungen nicht mehr nur durch die Schrift vermittelt, es wird im Gegenteil immer mehr gehört oder

gesehen. Für eine erfolgreiche (interkulturelle) Kommunikation scheint die Bereitschaft, „Nichtverstehen von Gehörtem auszuhalten und in erhöhte Aufmerksamkeit umzuwandeln“ von großer Bedeutung zu sein (Lütge/Owczarek 2019: 24). Wenn Lernende nicht alles verstehen, stärken sie ihre Schlussfolgerungs- und Texterschließungskompetenz. Sie lernen also davon auszugehen, was sie schon wissen, und über das Unbekannte zu schlussfolgern.

Während einige Fremdsprachendidaktiker die aktivierende und kommunikationsfördernde Atmosphäre bzw. ein Durchbrechen der Unterrichtsroutine, das mithilfe von Liedern geschaffen werden kann, hervorheben (Lütge/Owczarek 2019: 25–26; Birnbaum 2013: 16), warnen andere davor, dass Lieder nicht als Preis in der letzten Stunde am Freitag gehört werden sollten (Esa 2008: 3) oder als ein Lockmittel anzusehen sind, weil dann ihr ästhetischer und künstlerischer Wert (Gountouva 2013: 32), aber auch pädagogisch-didaktisches Potenzial und das Potenzial für das Fremdsprachenlernen verloren gehen. Viele deutsche Lieder gehen auf aktuelle Themen ein, und wenn Lernende dies einsehen, dann entwickeln sie eine Art Aufnahmebereitschaft für die Behandlung dieser Themen im Unterricht und bringen Energie dafür auf (ibid.: 26).

Liedtexte sind meistens authentische Texte, die den Lernenden auch zu Hause kostenfrei zugänglich sind (z. B. auf YouTube). Ihre einfache Verfügbarkeit ermöglicht es, Lieder mehrmals und ortsunabhängig zu hören und somit die im Lied vorkommenden Chunks und grammatischen Strukturen durch Wiederholung tiefer im Gedächtnis zu verankern. Gountouva (2013: 28) betont darüber hinaus, dass sich für den Unterricht vornehmlich Strophenlieder eignen. Zwischen zwei Strophen spielt Musik, und diese nichtverbalen Liedteile bedeuten das Zeitintervall, das das menschliche Gehirn benötigt, um die Textinformationen zu verarbeiten und zu speichern.

Morgret (2014: 256) fasst in ihrer Studie¹ Verbesserungen zusammen, zu denen es bei ihren Lernenden nach acht Wochen Unterricht mit Liedern gekommen ist: schnelleres Sprechen und aufmerksames Hören, leichteres Lernstoffmemorieren, richtige Akzentuierung und schnelleres Merken neuer schwieriger Vokabeln, die Bewusstmachung des aktiven Wortschatzes, die Reflexion des eigenen Sprachgebrauchs und das Wecken von Interesse für deutsche Musik und Kultur.

Durch das Anhören der Lieder und das Ansehen ihrer Videospots, die online kostenfrei zugänglich sind, wird im FSU mehrkanaliges Lernen ermöglicht, die Lernenden können aber auch zum autonomen Lernen zu Hause angeregt werden. Während der Suche nach einem bestimmten Lied aus dem Unterricht stoßen sie nämlich mit hoher Wahrscheinlichkeit auf weitere deutsche Lieder, die sie interessant finden könnten.

¹ Zehn Probanden, arabische Muttersprachler, wurden vor und nach der Studie aufgenommen; im Forschungsfokus standen freies Sprechen, Artikulation, Sprechrhythmus beim Vorlesen eines Textes und Melodieverlauf und Satzakkzent beim Vorlesen eines Dialoges (vgl. Morgret 2014: 175). Die Autorin zieht Schlüsse aus den beiden Aufnahmen, den wöchentlichen Tests und den abschließenden Einzelinterviews, in denen die Probanden ihre (phonetischen) Kompetenzen reflektierten (vgl. ibid.: 255).

Auch wenn sie nicht alles verstehen, was gesungen wird, helfen Lieder, sich mit fremden Lauten, Klängen, Rhythmen vertraut zu machen, und beeinflussen positiv die Stimmung der Lernenden. Moderne Lieder bieten Einblicke in aktuelle gesellschaftliche Problematiken und heikle Themen, die mit unterschiedlichen Aufgaben zu bearbeiten sind und die vor allem auf höheren Sprachniveaus fächerübergreifende Diskussionen ermöglichen.

2.3 Argumente gegen den Liedereinsatz

Als ein Hauptargument gegen den Einsatz von Liedern im Unterricht wird oft angeführt, dass sich das Tempo, die Vokallänge und die Intonation der Lieder von der alltäglichen Sprechweise unterscheiden. Zudem sei es in unserer Lehr- und Lerngesellschaft anerkannt, dass Lieder im Unterricht eher eine Ablenkung darstellen, darum werden sie insbesondere bei Jugendlichen – auch wenn mit Bedacht in den Unterricht integriert – meistens nicht ernst genommen (vgl. Morgret 2014: 80). Darüber hinaus kommen aktuelle Lieder schnell aus der Mode. Weiterhin fehlen in den modernen Liedtexten oft Satzzeichen, was unter den Lernenden, die die Standardsprache lernen, schnell Verwirrung stiften könnte (ibid.: 81).

Usbeck Frei (2019: 93) stellt fest, dass Lehrkräfte ihre musikalische Kompetenz oft infrage stellen und sich beim Entscheiden, welche Popsongs momentan aktuell sind, unsicher fühlen. Sie sind meistens davon überzeugt, dass sich ihre Lernenden in der aktuellen Musik besser auskennen.

Liedtexte sind eine Art literarische Texte, die den Nichtmuttersprachlern in mehreren Aspekten fremd erscheinen können (vgl. Šlibar 2009). In authentischen Liedern tauchen umgangssprachliche und dialektale Ausdrücke, Auslassungen, Apokopen, Enklisen und anspruchsvollere grammatische Formen auf, deren Beherrschung der aktuelle Lehrplan für Gymnasium (vgl. Holc et al. 2008) nicht vorsieht.

Manche Lieder sprechen Tabuthemen an, enthalten Schimpfwörter oder saloppe Vokabeln. Wenn es zu schnell gesungen wird und in einem Lied so viele neue Wörter vorkommen, dass Lernende den Liedtext überhaupt nicht verstehen können, kann der Liedeinsatz demotivierend wirken. Darum sind vor dem Liedeinsatz bestimmte Kriterien zur Auswahl der Lieder zu berücksichtigen. Dazu vgl. z. B. Birnbaum 2013: 16–17; Velica 2009: 10; Kiviranta/Mäkelä 2014: 13–14; Gügor 2021: 6–8; AlHachami 2016: 91–97.

Da online ausgesuchte Lieder saloppe Ausdrücke und ihre Videospots unanständige Szenen beinhalten können, sollen sie mit Bedacht ausgewählt werden. Manche Liedinhalte, die den Lernenden fremd erscheinen könnten, sollen zunächst entsprechend vorentlastet werden. Zudem ist es m.E. nicht immer leicht, mit Liedern auf sprachliche Strukturen einzugehen, die der Lehrplan vorsieht, und zugleich den Musikgeschmack der (jungen) Lernenden zu berücksichtigen.

2.4 Einsatzmöglichkeiten

Lieder können im Unterricht auf verschiedene Art und Weise eingesetzt werden. Wenn *als Rituale*, dann dienen sie der Strukturierung des Unterrichts. Ein Lied kann beispielsweise immer in der Bewegungspause abgespielt werden. Lieder können *ein Unterrichtsthema einleiten*, sie eignen sich dabei gut für eine *sprachliche Aufwärmübung*, die die Lernenden dazu anstachelt, sich zur Liedatmosphäre zu äußern. Ein Lied kann aber auch *der eigenständige Lerninhalt* sein: Der Liedtext vermittelt bspw. Informationen über (deutsche) Geschichte oder lässt sich mit aktuellen gesellschaftlichen Ereignissen verbinden. Übrigens stellen Lieder ein Mittel zur *Einführung, Bewusstmachung, Wiederholung und Festigung* von sprachlichen Strukturen dar. Die für die Behandlung einer grammatischen Struktur zusammengestellten Lieder haben dank Wiederholungen zwar einen Ohrwurmcharakter, sind aber inhaltlich nur selten komplex, was vor allem Erwachsene als störend bzw. langweilig finden könnten (Usbeck Frei 2019: 99–102). Beim Liedereinsatz ist darauf zu achten, dass Lieder dem Musikgeschmack der erwachsenen Lernenden entsprechen und Sprechanlässe zu den für Erwachsene relevanten Themen bieten, so dass es nicht zu deren Infantilisierung kommt (vgl. Morgret 2014: 264; Kirchhöfer 2007).

Liedereinsatz fördert *kreatives Schreiben*, wenn z. B. ein Lied in eine andere Textsorte umgeschrieben werden soll, und zwar nach originellen Kriterien wie etwa Negieren, Verben in eine andere Zeitform setzen, Pronomen ändern. Weiterhin stellen Lieder eine Brücke zwischen verschiedenen Schulfächern her, sie können als Gegenstand für den *fächerübergreifenden Unterricht* dienen (Verbindung mit Musik, Geografie, Geschichte, Englisch). Letztendlich können Lieder im Unterricht aber auch nur *Spaß machen*, als Hintergrundmusik oder zum Mitsingen oder Tanzen eingesetzt werden. Lernende können ein Klassenlied auswählen, Karaoke singen, kleine Choreografien vorbereiten, Song der Woche abstimmen, meditieren, Improtheater spielen, wobei man ungezielt ganz nebenbei viel lernen kann und zum weiteren Fremdsprachenlernen motiviert wird (Usbeck Frei 2019: 99–102).

Chorisches Singen im Fremdsprachenunterricht fördert (introvertierte) Lernende, dass sie sich in der Sprache sicherer fühlen, bzw. löst sprachliche Hemmungen bei den schüchternen Lernenden auf: Wenn auch sie beim chorischen Singen phonetische Fehler begehen, hört diese niemand (Feindert 2007: 31); aber sie bleiben gerade deswegen unbeachtet, nicht korrigiert und erläutert. Jedoch ist chorisches Singen/Sprechen eine ausgezeichnete Übung der Intonation, weil diese dabei klarer wahrnehmbar als beim normalen Sprechen ist (Morgret 2014: 96, 229). Gountouva (2013: 29) macht aber darauf aufmerksam, dass chorisches Singen die Liedverständnisübungen nicht ersetzen darf. Lernende können die akustische Seite der Wörter nämlich hervorragend nachahmen, ohne ihre Bedeutung zu kennen.

Ein kritisch-reflexives Eingehen auf die gesellschaftlich-aktuellen (Lied-)Inhalte ist unabdingbar und soll in offenen Sozialformen erfolgen, wenn verschiedene Ansichten

gegeneinanderstoßen, denn erst dadurch wird das kulturbezogene bzw. interkulturelle Lernen in der Tat ermöglicht (vgl. Altmayer 2023, Bredella 2020, Byram 1997, Krumm 1995). Die Landeskunde darf nicht auf das Auswendiglernen von Daten beschränkt bleiben.

3 LIEDER ALS AUTHENTISCHE TEXTE

Lah (2021: 97f.) stellt in ihrer Monografie fest, dass sich die Forscher uneinig sind, welche Texte als authentisch bezeichnet werden können. Im Grunde genommen handelt es sich im Bereich der Fremdsprachendidaktik um unbearbeitete Texte, deren Autoren Muttersprachler sind. Diese in realen Lebenssituationen verfassten Texte entstehen für kommunikative Zwecke der Muttersprachler und nicht für die Bedürfnisse des Unterrichts bzw. den pädagogischen Gebrauch. Nach einigen Autoren dürfen bei authentischen Texten keine Änderungen vorgenommen werden, sogar ihre ursprüngliche Form und der Veröffentlichungskontext sollten behalten werden. Doch der Unterricht kann die kontextuellen Situationen, in denen authentische Texte normalerweise rezipiert werden, nur simulieren (ibid.: 98).

Authentische Texte ermöglichen den Lernenden einen unmittelbaren Kontakt mit der deutschen Alltagssprache. Das ist wichtig, weil Lernende schon am ersten Tag im Zielsprachenland gerade dieser Sprachvarietät bzw. Textsorte ausgesetzt sein werden (ibid.), was ihnen das Gefühl geben wird, dass die in das Fremdsprachenlernen investierte Zeit im Heimatland nicht umsonst war. Obwohl Lah für den Einsatz von (semi)authentischen Texten im Unterricht plädiert, betont sie zugleich, dass authentische Texte Lehrwerke nie vollkommen ersetzen können. Das Unterrichten mit authentischen Texten ist für die Lehrkräfte anstrengender, denn authentische Texte, die heute aktuell und interessant sind, werden nächstes Schuljahr höchstwahrscheinlich nicht mehr aktuell sein und die Lehrkräfte werden wieder neue aussuchen müssen (ibid.).

Badstübner-Kizik (2006: 42) bezeichnet als didaktische (d. h. nichtauthentische) Lieder die gezielt entwickelten Lieder, deren Texte akustisch gut verständlich sind und deren Singtempo der Lerngruppe angepasst ist. Sie beinhalten viele Wiederholungen und sind leicht singbar. Wichtiger als ihr Inhalt ist, dass die vorkommende Lexik und grammatische Formen „die Lernenden nicht überfordern und ein deutlicher (phonetischer, lexikalischer, grammatischer) Merkeffekt auftreten kann“ (ibid.).

Wiemann (2009: 27) gibt an, dass es an authentischen Texten in DaF-Lehrwerken für Anfänger mangelt. Dieser Mangel lässt sich den Autoren von Lernmaterialien zuschreiben, weil es ihnen schwerfällt, passende alltägliche Kommunikationssituationen zu finden, geschweige denn aufzunehmen. Auch Gountouvas Forschungsergebnisse sind ähnlich (2013: 31f.): In den untersuchten Lehrwerken tauchen meistens „didaktisierte“ Lieder auf, nur 18,5 % der Lieder stellen authentische Popsongs dar. Diese

sind vor allem in den Lehrwerken für ein höheres Sprachniveau vorhanden, und zwar entweder auf einer Startseite ins Kapitel oder auf (fakultativen) Extraseiten. Während von den Lernenden auf dem Anfängerniveau normalerweise nur das Mitsingen erwartet wird, finden sich auf den höheren Niveaus schon mehr differenzierte Aufgaben.

Zusammengefasst sind *authentische* deutsche Lieder diejenigen, die von Muttersprachlern gesungen werden und die man normalerweise auch online ausfindig machen kann (auf YouTube). Sie entstehen nicht für die Bedürfnisse des Fremdsprachenunterrichts oder mit Gedanken auf den pädagogischen Gebrauch. Sie tauchen in ihrer ursprünglichen Form auf – so wie sie auch in deutschen Radios (täglich) abgespielt werden. *Nichtauthentische* Lieder stimmt man für einen fremdsprachendidaktischen Zweck an. Sie werden nicht primär für das aus den deutschen Muttersprachlern bestehende Publikum gesungen. Alle Lieder, deren Texte vom Autorenteam eines Lehrwerks verfasst werden, um gewisse sprachliche Strukturen zu üben, bezeichne ich im Folgenden also als nichtauthentisch. Unter *didaktisierten* Liedern verstehe ich einst authentische Lieder, die in der Sprache (Grammatik, Vokabeln) einer Lerngruppe angepasst (d.h. geändert) werden und didaktisch zweckorientiert sind.

4 UNTERSUCHUNG

4.1 Forschungsfragen

In der Untersuchung wird versucht folgende Forschungsfragen zu beantworten:

- Wie viele Lieder gibt es, und an welchen Stellen werden sie im Lehrwerk eingebettet?
- Wie viele Lieder davon sind authentisch, nicht authentisch und didaktisiert?
- Ist der Liedtext bei der Liedbehandlung vorhanden und wozu dient er?
- Mit welchen Übungen bzw. Lernaktivitäten werden Lernende beschäftigt?
- Welche Sprachfertigkeiten werden trainiert und in welchen Sozialformen?
- Mit welchem Lernziel werden Lieder eingesetzt?

4.2 Forschungsgegenstand und -methode

Den Untersuchungsgegenstand stellen sechs Lehrwerkreihen dar, die für den DaF-Unterricht an slowenischen Gymnasien auf den Sprachniveaus A1–B1 (nach GeR) bestätigt wurden.² Insgesamt handelt es sich um 17 Lehrwerke, in denen alle Lieder und die zu ihnen gehörenden Behandlungsübungen untersucht wurden, und zwar nach der Methode der quantitativen Lehrwerkanalyse, systematisch nach oben angeführten Forschungsfragen. Die Ergebnisse der quantitativen Analyse wurden mithilfe der deskriptiven Statistik

² Die Liste befindet sich auf der offiziellen Internetseite von Ministrstvo za izobraževanje, znanost in šport RS: <https://ucbeniki.cobiss.si/books> (Zugriff: 24.07.2024).

ausgewertet, didaktisch bewertet (kommentiert) und anhand von konkreten Beispielen aus den Lehrwerken illustriert.

4.3 Analyse: Liederbehandlungen in Lehrwerken für Gymnasium

4.3.1 Präsenz

Die Mehrheit von den untersuchten Lehrwerken enthält mindestens ein Lied (65 %). Die meisten Lieder – drei pro Lehrwerk – findet man in den Lehrwerken *studio [21] A2* (2015), *Panorama A2* (2016), *Panorama B1* (2017) und *Ideen 2* (2009). Der Durchschnitt beträgt 3,7 Lieder pro Lehrwerkreihe (vgl. Diagramm 1).

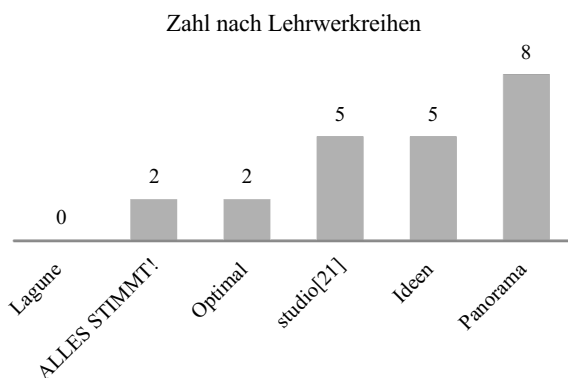


Diagramm 1: Zahl von Liedern nach den einzelnen Lehrwerkreihen

In den neueren Lehrwerkreihen tauchen mehr Lieder als in den älteren auf. Ihre Zahl steigt mit den neueren Ausgaben aber nicht überzeugend, obwohl sich auch die Formate des Liedrezipierens in den letzten Jahren geändert haben: 59 % der Lieder hört man heute auf einer CD, 36 % gibt es auf einer App zu hören, die am Handy heruntergeladen werden soll (vgl. die Augmented-Reality-Funktion bzw. die Page-Player-App der Lehrwerkreihe *Panorama*), ein Lied sollen aber Lernende im Internet selbst finden und hören (vgl. Diagramm 2). Letzteres ist keine schlechte Idee, denn authentische Lieder sind z. B. auf YouTube frei zugänglich, Lernende können ihr Tempo nach Bedarf verlangsamen, bestimmte Liedteile mehrmals abspielen oder sich mit Lyrics oder evtl. Untertiteln helfen.

Medienformat nach Liedern

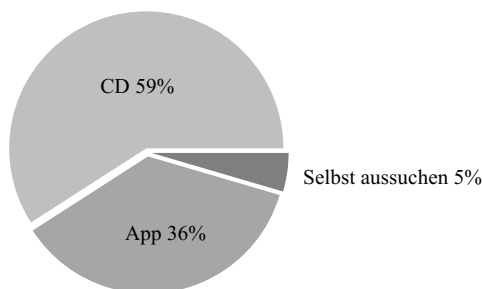


Diagramm 2: Medienformat, in dem Lieder rezipiert werden

Die Lieder samt Behandlungsübungen befinden sich zumeist (68 %) innerhalb der Lektionen (z. B. in *studio* [21]) und passen inhaltlich sinnvoll zum behandelten Kapitelthema. Andere stehen auf Extraseiten (z. B. in *Ideen*) und dienen der Wiederholung und Festigung des in den vorherigen Lektionen durchgenommenen Lernstoffes. Da sich die Extraseiten üblicherweise ganz am Ende eines Lehrwerks befinden, kann geschehen, dass die Lehrkräfte sie auslassen bzw. zu ihnen überhaupt nicht kommen. Die durchschnittliche Länge eines Lehrwerklieds beträgt 143 Sekunden (vgl. Diagramm 3).

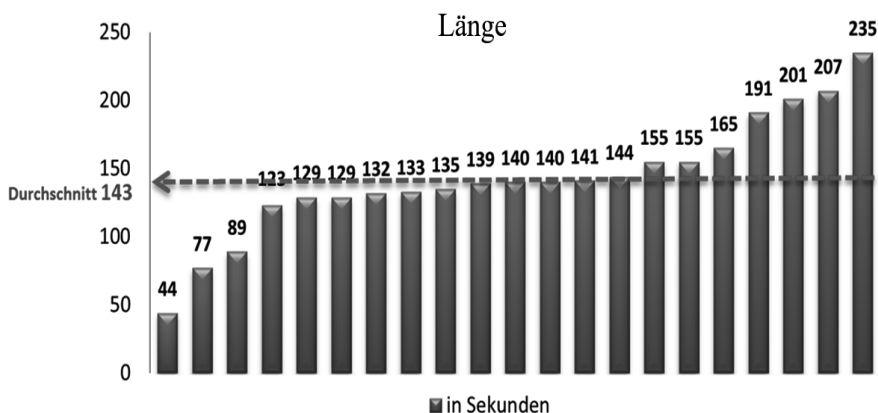


Diagramm 3: Länge der einzelnen Lieder

Vor allem authentische Lieder werden meistens gekürzt, denn sie sollen mehrmals abgespielt werden, damit Lernende sie gut verstehen können. Wären sie länger, dann bliebe im Unterricht weniger Zeit für die auf sie bezogenen Lernaktivitäten. Lange Lieder bedeuten eine längere kognitive Anstrengung³ und beeinflussen die Konzentration von Lernenden. Bei den zehn kürzesten Liedern gibt es im Schnitt 1,9 Übungen pro Lied, bei den zehn längsten 3,7 (vgl. Tabelle 1). Längere Lieder bieten mehr Impulse für abwechslungsreiche und umfangreichere unterrichtliche Aktivitäten. Authentische Lieder kommen zu 81 % gekürzt vor. Auf ihren Inhalt wird eher flüchtig eingegangen, nie wird dabei das detaillierte Verstehen geprüft, sondern werden Lernende öfters nach ihrer Meinung über das Liedthema gefragt. Die ganzheitliche Behandlung eines sprachlichen Phänomens ist mittels eines gekürzten Lieds nicht möglich.

Tabelle 1: Die zehn längsten Lieder und die Zahl der zu ihnen passenden Übungen

<i>Länge (in Sekunden)</i>	<i>Zahl der Übungen</i>
140	3
141	3
144	7
155	2
155	7
165	3
191	4
201	1
207	5
235	2
Durchschnitt	3,7

4.3.2 Authentizität

Die meisten Lieder aus den untersuchten Lehrwerken sind nicht authentisch (68 %). Während sie normalerweise keinen Titel tragen, weil ihr Thema schon die Übungsanweisung oder der Kapiteltitel selbst ankündigt, sind alle authentischen Lieder betitelt (32 %).⁴ In den untersuchten Lehrwerkreihen gibt es keine didaktisierten Lieder (vgl. Tabelle 2). Der Grund dafür könnte darin liegen, dass bei einer Didaktisierung mit dem Liedtext

³ Einem auf dem niedrigeren Sprachniveau mit dem vorhandenen Sprachwissen weniger verständlichen Liedtext ausgesetzt zu sein, kann für manche Lernende frustrierend sein.

⁴ Z. B. *Be cool, speak Deutsch* (Die Prinzen; *ALLES STIMMT! 1*), *Ab in den Süden* (Buddy; *studio [21] A1*), *Was soll ich ihr schenken* (Die Prinzen; *studio [21] A2*), *Ich denk an ...* (2raumwohnung; *Optimal B1*).

auch Reime, Melodie, Rhythmus geändert werden müssten, was viel Mühe von verschiedenen Experten fordern würde. Zudem wäre auch eine Genehmigung der das Original singenden Musikgruppe bezüglich der Urheberrechte nötig.

Tabelle 2: Zahl der authentischen, nichtauthentischen und didaktisierten Lieder und ihre Betitlung

	<i>Mit Titel</i>	<i>Ohne Titel</i>	<i>Zusammen</i>
<i>Authentisch</i>	7	0	7 (32 %)
<i>Nicht authentisch</i>	6	9	15 (68 %)
<i>Didaktisiert</i>	0	0	0 (0 %)

Nichtauthentische Lieder scheinen genau für die Entwicklung einer grammatischen Struktur verfasst zu sein oder für die Vermittlung neuer Vokabeln, die in einen inhaltlichen (ggf. auch kommunikativen) Kontext eingebettet werden. Das eventuelle Nichtverstehen von authentischen Liedern ist kein entscheidender Grund für ihren niedrigen Präsenzanteil, denn fünf von sieben authentischen Liedern kommen auf den Anfängerniveaus A1 und A2 und nur zwei auf dem Niveau B1 vor (vgl. *Optimal B1* 2006: 64, *ALLES STIMMT!* 3 2014: 121). Manche Lehrwerkautoren entscheiden sich für den Einsatz nichtauthentischer Lieder, weil diese ungezwungen in die „Lehrwerk-Welt“ passen, die durch Figuren, Charaktere und ihre Geschichten konstruiert wird. Jedoch scheinen nichtauthentische Lieder für Lernende weniger interessant als authentische, weil sie keine aktuelle Alltagssprache widerspiegeln, einen geringeren ästhetischen Effekt aufweisen und sich auch schwieriger oder gar nicht in den kulturellen Kontext integrieren lassen. Sie sind nicht etwas, was Lernende im Zielsprachenland „treffen“ können, auch das Auswendiglernen von solchen Liedern wäre aus diesem Grund sinnlos. Der ganzheitliche Ansatz, bei dem sich Lernende nicht nur mit dem Lied selbst, sondern auch mit der Musikgruppe, dem Hintergrund der Liedentstehung und dem Musikstil auseinandersetzen würden, bleibt aus.

4.3.3 Liedtext und seine Rolle

Bei den meisten Liedern (81 %) sind Liedtexte verschriftlicht – sie stehen entweder neben den Liedbehandlungsübungen (vgl. z. B. *Ideen 2* 2013: 73) oder befinden sich im Anhang am Ende des Lehrwerks (vgl. z. B. *Panorama 1* 2015: 98). Bei den Liedern ohne Transkripte (19 %) wird interessanterweise von den Lernenden nie verlangt mitzusingen. Umgekehrt geht es bei den Aktivitäten, die mithilfe eines Liedtexts ausgeführt werden sollen, in den meisten Fällen um Mitsingen (7 Liedtexte), aber auch um Ergänzen des Liedtexts mit den angegebenen Wörtern oder nach eigenem Gutdünken (5 Liedtexte) und um Markieren von bestimmten thematischen Vokabeln (3 Liedtexte) (vgl. Tabelle 3).

Tabelle 3: Aktivitäten, die mithilfe eines Liedtextes ausgeübt werden

Zahl der Liedtexte	Aktivität
7	(Mit)singen
5	Ergänzen (den Liedtext)
3	Markieren (Dialektwörter, Urlaubswörter ...)
1	Zuordnen (Strophen zu Bildern)

Weil bei Liedern der Liedtext vorhanden ist und Lernende während des Liedhörens mitlesen können, geht es dabei anstatt von einer Hörverständnisübung eher um eine Hör-Leseverständnisübung, was einen geringeren Höreindruck zur Folge hat. Überraschenderweise werden größtenteils nichtauthentische Lieder transkribiert, also diejenigen, deren Texte schon sowieso dem Sprachstand von Lernenden angepasst sind.

4.3.4 Liedbehandlungsübungen

Zu einem Lied gibt es von 1 bis maximal 7 Übungen, der Durchschnitt beträgt 2,8 Übungen pro Lied (vgl. Diagramm 4). In den Vorentlastungsübungen (11 %, vgl. die Lehrwerke *Ideen* und *Panorama*) sollen Lernende Reimwörter und Gegensatzpaare finden, antworten, was sie schnell und was sie nicht so schnell vergessen, in einer Kurskette fragen und antworten, was sie gern essen, ihr Vorwissen zum Thema *Adjektivdeklinaton* so aktivieren, dass sie ein Lernplakat erstellen (und somit einen grammatischen Inhalt visualisieren). In den Transferübungen (7 %, vgl. *studio* [21] A2) sollen Lernende ihre eigenen „vier Wände“ beschreiben, sich zu den Aussagen aus dem Lied argumentierend ausdrücken, einen originellen Geschenkvorschlag machen, eine dritte Liedstrophe verfassen und sie in der Klasse vorlesen. Der niedrige prozentuelle Anteil von Vorentlastungs- und Transferübungen deutet darauf hin, dass auf ganz viele Lieder ohne eine Vorentlastung eingegangen wird und dass das Neugelernte sehr selten in einer neuen (authentischen) Sprachsituation angewendet bzw. aktiviert wird.

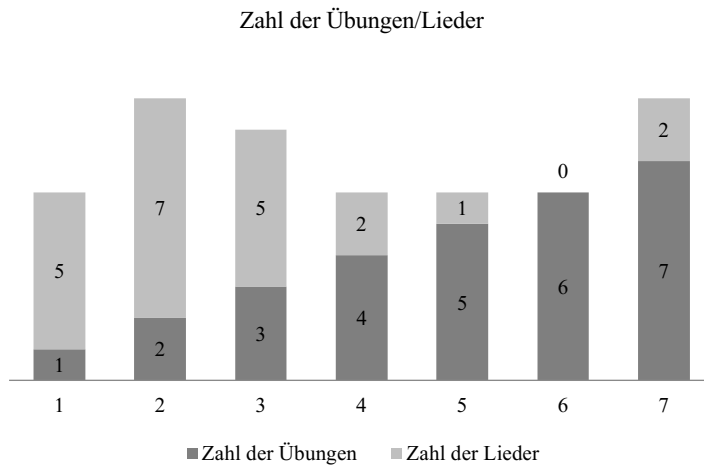


Diagramm 4: Zahl der Übungen in einer Liedbehandlung

4.3.5 Lernaktivitäten

Unter den Lernaktivitäten kommt am häufigsten das *Erkennen* (24 %) vor (vgl. Diagramm 5). Lernende sollen z. B. den Musikstil erkennen, zu einem vorabbestimmten Thema passende Wörter markieren, Dialektismen unterstreichen, die richtige Antwort ankreuzen ... An zweiter Stelle (22 %) steht *Frage beantworten* – Lernende sollen meistens Fragen zu dem Liedinhalt kurz beantworten. Deutlich weniger gibt es *Ergänzungsübungen* (13 %), in denen Lernende z. B. den Liedtext ergänzen sollen und ihre Lösungen beim ersten Liedhören überprüfen. Auch *Singen* (12 %) scheint keine populäre Unterrichtsaktivität zu sein; gesungen wird immer im Chor und mithilfe vom Liedtext. *Zuordnen* (10 %) sollen Lernende die Bilder den einzelnen Strophen. Nur sehr selten werden in einer Liedbehandlung *Meinungen geäußert* (6 %)⁵ und gezielt *Informationen* im Internet oder anderen Quellen *gesammelt* (6 %), ganz zu schweigen vom (produktorientierten) *Schreiben* (6 %, vgl. z. B. *Panorama A2* 2016: 49, *Panorama B1* 2017: 17). Es ist unverkennbar, dass die Liedbehandlungsaktivitäten den niedrigeren Stufen in der Bloomschen Taxonomie der Lernziele entsprechen und dass nur sehr wenige Aktivitäten die Anwendung des erworbenen Wissens oder seine kreative Weiterentwicklung fördern.

⁵ Eine ausführlichere Begründung der Meinung wird in keiner Aufgabe verlangt. Auch auf einem höheren Sprachniveau genügen einfachere Ausdrücke wie *sehr gut*, *nicht so gut*, *gar nicht* (vgl. *ALLES STIMMT* 3 2014: 121).

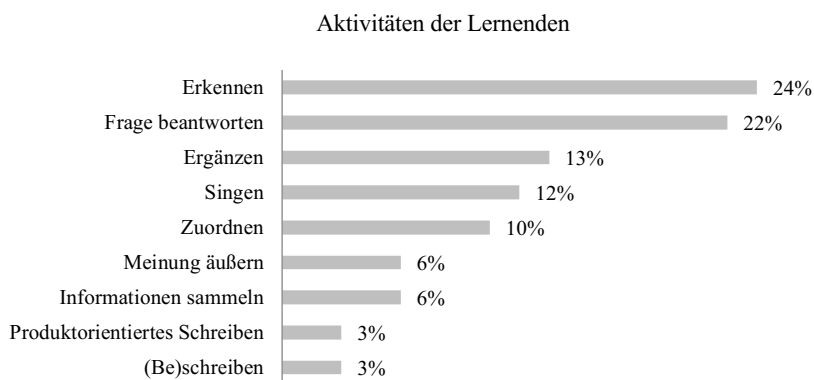


Diagramm 5: Aktivitäten der Lernenden bei den Liederbehandlungen

4.3.6 Sprachfertigkeiten

Was die vier sprachlichen Grundfertigkeiten anbelangt, trainieren Lernende in den Liedbehandlungsübungen vornehmlich das Hör-Leseverstehen (36 %; nur Hören zu 9 %). Wenn Lernende schon beim ersten Liedhören dem Liedtext folgen sollen, geht der Sinn des Hörverstehens verloren, denn auch in alltäglichen Kommunikationssituationen stehen Menschen keine Transkripte dessen, was ihre Gesprächspartner sagen, zur Verfügung. Ziemlich oft wird während einer Liedbehandlung gesprochen (33 %). Lernende sollen sich meistens kurz ausdrücken, wobei ihnen bei manchen Übungen einfachere Redemittel zur Verfügung stehen, die die Sprechübung erleichtern und Ideen liefern (vgl. z. B. *Optimal B1* 2006: 64). Es kann sein, dass Lernende zu bestimmten Themen auch in ihrer Muttersprache keine durchgestaltete Meinung haben und darum nach Klischees greifen oder die Worte von Mitlernenden nachsagen. Nur in wenigen Liedbehandlungen wird von den Lernenden das (freie) Schreiben verlangt (6 %, s. o.). Im Gegenteil kann man in den Lehrwerken viele Übungen ausfindig machen, mit denen man die Teilfertigkeiten Wortschatz und Grammatik festigt (15 %): Mitklatschen, wenn man eine bestimmte grammatische Struktur hört, Urlaubswörter im Liedtext markieren, den Liedtext mit Personalpronomen ergänzen usw.

4.3.7 Sozialformen

Die Sozialform, in der eine Liedbehandlungsaktivität auszuführen ist, ist in den Lehrwerken selten vorabbestimmt, z. B. in den Übungsanweisungen oder mittels Symbole. Die Lehrwerkautoren überlassen diese Entscheidung den Lehrkräften. An dieser Stelle ist anzumerken, dass Lernende unterschiedlichen Liedinterpretationen nur in einer

Gruppenarbeit begegnen können. In den Gruppen lernen sie höflich kommunizieren, sammeln Erfahrungen, wie man auf einen Konsens eingeht, wenn verschiedene Ansichten gegeneinanderstoßen, und wie die Gruppenmeinung vor der Klasse vorgestellt werden sollte. Die transversalen Kompetenzen wie Teamfähigkeit, Toleranz, Geduld beim Warten, bis jemand seine Antwort formuliert, werden nebenbei geübt. Es lohnt sich die Gruppen so zu bilden, dass leistungsstärkere Lernende den leistungsschwächeren Hilfe leisten können und ihre Angst mindern, dass sie bei sprachlichen Fehlern in eine peinliche Situation geraten würden.

4.3.8 Lernstrategien

Lernstrategien werden nur indirekt vermittelt. Lernende können so beispielsweise aus den Übungsanweisungen herauslesen, dass man sich auf das Berichten über den Liedinhalt vor der Klasse am effektivsten mit dem Notizenmachen während des Liedhörens und mit dem Markieren der Schlüsselwörter vorbereitet (vgl. *ALLES STIMMT!* 3 2014: 121; *studio [21]* A1, 2014: 168). Man kann neue Wörter als Gegensatzpaare lernen oder eine grammatische Struktur auf einem Plakat präsentieren (vgl. *Ideen 2* 2013: 33; *Panorama A2* 2016: 49). Unserer Ansicht nach wäre die direkte Vermittlung von Lernstrategien angebrachter: Es bleibt nämlich fraglich, wie viele Lernende diese „Hinweise“ als Lernstrategien begreifen, über sie nachdenken und sie beim selbstständigen Lernen auch an(zu)wenden (versuchen).

4.3.9 Lernziele

Lieder werden in den untersuchten Lehrwerken mit unterschiedlichen Lernzielen eingesetzt (vgl. Diagramm 6), auf die schon in den Übungsanweisungen hingewiesen wird. Diese streben eins bis drei Lernziele an.

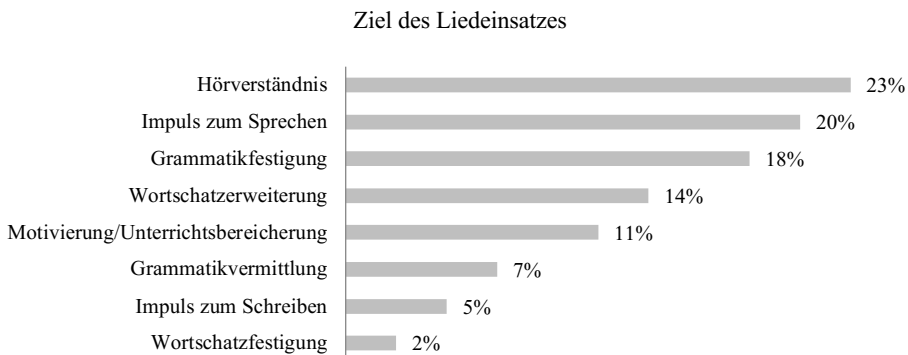


Diagramm 6: Ziel des Liedeinsatzes

Bei den meisten Liedern (23 %) wird das „Hörverständnis“ geprüft: Lernende sollen beispielsweise die richtige Antwort ankreuzen, über die Geschehnisse aus dem Lied berichten, Vermutungen zu den im Lied auftretenden Charakteren anstellen, kurze Antworten aufschreiben, die Liedstrophen den Bildern zuordnen, den Liedinhalt zusammenfassen u. Ä. Es geht dabei jedoch nicht unbedingt um das reine Hörverstehen, weil bei vielen Liedern Lernende im vorhandenen Liedtext mitlesen bzw. den Lyrics folgen können.

Ein Fünftel der Lieder (20 %) fungiert als Impuls zum Sprechen: Lernende sollen während des Hörens Notizen machen und dann berichten, sie sollen beispielsweise das Landleben in ihrem Heimatland mit der Beschreibung des Landlebens im Lied vergleichen (auch ein international-orientiertes kulturbezogenes Lernziel) und mündlich antworten, was sie schnell und was sie nie vergessen (vgl. *Ideen 2* 2012: 105). Weiterhin sollen sie raten, was das Wort *Geburstagsmuffel* bedeuten könnte, und in einer Gruppe auf die Frage eingehen, ob sie mit der im Lied ausgedrückten Meinung einverstanden sind (vgl. *Panorama B1* 2017: 107).

Anhand von etwas weniger Liedern (18 %) wird versucht, bestimmte grammatische Konstruktionen zu festigen. In solchen Liedern kommt eine grammatische Struktur immer wiederholt vor, z. B. die Partizip II-Formen (*Ideen 1* 2012: 113), Pronomen (*Ideen 2* 2013: 33), die Präteritum-Formen (ibid.: 73), die Modalverben im Präteritum (ibid.: 105), die Adjektivdeklinaton (*Panorama A2* 2016: 49), als-Nebensätze (ibid.: 93). In den Liedtexten sollen die in den vorigen Kapiteln behandelten grammatischen Strukturen eingesetzt werden, was die Einbettung von Grammatik in einen Anwendungskontext darstellt. Solche Aufgaben werden während des erneuten Liedhörens von den Lernenden selbst kontrolliert, wodurch sie sich für eigene Fehler sensibilisieren.

Ein Siebtel der Lieder (14 %) dient der gezielten Wortschatzerweiterung zu einem behandelten Thema. Die zu erlernenden Wörter werden dabei im Kontext des Liedinhalts verwendet, der das Entschlüsseln ihrer Bedeutung erleichtert.

Ungefähr jedes zehnte Lied (11 %) wird eingesetzt, um Lernende nur zu motivieren. Lernende lernen beispielsweise in einem kurzen Text die deutsche Musikgruppe *Die Prinzen* kennen, dann soll ein Lied von ihnen abgespielt werden, so dass Lernende den Eindruck gewinnen können, welche Musik in deutschen Konzerten gespielt wird (wurde). Das Lied begleiten keine Aufgaben (vgl. *ALLES STIMMT! 1* 2012: 36). In *studio [21] A1* (2014: 12) befindet sich ein Lied mit dem Titel *Alphabet-Rap*, das im Kapitel *Start auf Deutsch* Lernende auf eine lustige Weise mit dem deutschen Alphabet bekanntmacht. Es fällt auf, dass es in den Lehrwerken keine Lieder gibt, bei denen die Aufgabenstellung hieße, in Musik nur zu genießen. Jedes Lied wird mit einem didaktischen Zweck eingesetzt.

Nur anhand von wenigen Liedern (7 %) wird Grammatik vermittelt. In einem Lied (vgl. *Panorama A1* 2015: 58) kommen betont die Formen des Modalverbs *mögen* vor, dessen Konjugation zum Lernziel der darauffolgenden Übungen wird. Auch in einigen anderen Liedern aus der Lehrwerkreihe *Panorama* wird Grammatik induktiv vermittelt:

einmal sollen Lernende von Relativsätzen mit Präpositionen Kenntnis nehmen, ein andermal von Vergleichen mit *je ... desto*, die im Lied wiederholt bzw. an exponierten Stellen vorkommen.

Lediglich zwei Lieder (5 %) dienen als Anstoß zum Schreiben. Das finde ich schade, denn die Schreibaufgaben würden den Lernenden ermöglichen, die im gehörten Lied vorhandenen grammatischen Strukturen und Vokabeln in einen neuen eigenen Kontext zu übertragen – also das Neugelernte aktiv und integriert anzuwenden.

5 FAZIT UND AUSBLICK

Die Untersuchung von den ausgewählten DaF-Lehrwerken auf Lieder und dazugehörige Unterrichtsaktivitäten deckt auf, dass Lieder eher selten einen Unterrichtsinhalt darstellen. Überwiegend finden sich nicht authentische Lieder, die leicht an den in einer Lektion zu behandelnden Lernstoff angepasst werden können. Nur selten kommen Vorentlastungs- und Transferaufgaben vor, die eine praktische Anwendung des Gelernten in einen kommunikativen Kontext stellen und produktive Sprachfertigkeiten trainieren würden. Strategien für das Lernen mit Liedern werden nie direkt vermittelt. Da Lernende während des Liedhörens im Liedtext mitlesen sollen (was häufig in der Anleitung steht), handelt es sich dabei um kein Hörverstehen mehr, sondern eher um Hör-Lese-Verstehen.

Anhand von Ergebnissen der Ist-Stand-Analyse von Liederbehandlungen in Lehrwerken würde ich zur Berücksichtigung folgender Vorschläge für den Liedeinsatz und Herangehensweisen auf Lieder im Fremdsprachenunterricht raten:

- Einsatz von authentischen Liedern, und zwar nicht nur, weil diese die deutsche Alltagssprache widerspiegeln, sondern auch weil auf sie ganzheitlich eingegangen werden kann. Lernende können die Entstehungszeit eines Lieds, den kulturell-gesellschaftlichen Hintergrund, die Musikgruppe im Internet recherchieren und dadurch nebenbei Informationen in der Fremdsprache sammeln lernen. Authentische Lieder können auf jedem Sprachniveau eingesetzt werden, jedoch ist immer eine angemessene Vorentlastung nötig, in der nach Bedarf auch auf kulturelle Unterschiede (kulturbezogenes Lernen) einzugehen ist.
- Das Hörverstehen soll ohne ein Liedtext-Transkript erfolgen, dieses ist erst später sinnvoll, um die im Lied vorkommenden grammatischen Strukturen, auf die Aufmerksamkeit gelenkt werden soll, visuell zu veranschaulichen (z. B. durch das Unterstreichen).
- Nach dem zweiten Liedhören soll das globale und das detaillierte Hörverständnis überprüft werden. Dann sind diejenigen Übungen sinnvoll, durch die eine grammatische Struktur allmählich induktiv – anhand von Beispielen aus dem Liedtext – eingeführt wird. Zum Liedinhalt passen weiterhin offene (kommunikativ-orientierte) Aufgaben, deren Übertragung auf den Alltag der Jugendlichen nötig ist. Die

Transferübungen überschreiten den Liedrahmen und fördern von den Lernenden kritische Sichtweisen, in denen die neugelernten Sprachstrukturen mittels angegebener Redemittel angewendet werden.

- In den für unterschiedliche Lernstile konzipierten Unterrichtsaktivitäten sollen womöglich alle sprachlichen Grundfertigkeiten miteinbezogen werden. Dabei ist die Rolle der Lehrperson als Vermittlerin von Lernstrategien nötig, denn vor allem leistungsschwächere Lernende sind nicht unbedingt immer in der Lage, lernstrategische Hinweise aus den Übungsanweisungen herauszulesen. Eine Strategie für das Einüben des Rhythmus ist chorisches Singen oder Lesen eines Liedtextes, das nur im Plenum erfolgen kann und auch eine positive Klassenatmosphäre fördert.
- Lieder für den Unterricht gilt es mit Bedacht auszuwählen. Es darf nicht vergessen werden, dass sie thematisch lernerorientiert sein sollten, aber auch, dass man Lernende mit Liedbehandlungsübungen nicht überfordern soll. Darum plädiere ich auch dafür, Lieder ab und zu als Rituale, Ablenkung, Durchbrechen von Unterrichtsroutine einzusetzen, so dass Lernende ihnen nur zuhören und in den fremdsprachlichen Rhythmen genießen können.

Die vorliegende Untersuchung kann durch eine Umfrage unter den slowenischen DaF-Lehrkräften ergänzt werden, in denen diese gefragt würden, ob sie mit Liedern arbeiten (wollen), wie (oft) bzw. mit welchen Lernzielen und inwiefern die Lehrwerke ihnen dabei helfen (können). Erstellung einer Liste für den Unterricht passender Lieder finde ich sinnlos, denn diese sind immer in Hinblick auf in dem Zielsprachenland im Moment aktuelle gesellschaftliche Themen und auf Interessen der Lernenden auszuwählen, um deren Infantilisierung zu verhindern. Es sind weiterhin interdisziplinäre (experimentelle, z.B. kognitionspsychologische, sprachwissenschaftliche und didaktische) Untersuchungen nötig, die die Effektivität des „klassischen“ Fremdsprachenlernens mit der des Fremdsprachenlernens durch den gezielten Liedereinsatz vergleichen würden und aus denen Schlüsse gezogen werden könnten, welche Lernziele sich durch den Liedereinsatz langfristig und effektiv verfolgen lassen.

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POVZETEK

OBRAVNAVE PÉTÍH PESMI V IZBRANIH UČBENIKIH ZA NEMŠČINO: DIDAKTIČNA ANALIZA IN PREDLOGI RAZŠIRITEV

S predvajanjem nemških pesmi lahko učiteljice in učitelji nemščine pouk nemalokrat popestrijo ali pa ga na osnovi vsebin, besedišča in slovničnih struktur, ki se v pesmih pojavljajo, načrtujejo. V pregledanih šestih serijah učbenikov je pesmi razmeroma malo. Pojavljajo se kot uvod v posamezna poglavja ali na ločenih straneh na koncu učbenika. Največ pesmi je neavtentičnih, napisanih posebej za potrebe pouka posamezne ciljne skupine tujega jezika, saj jih kot take avtorji učbenikov lažje vključijo v učbeniški svet oz. prilagodijo obravnavani učni snovi, njihovo besedilo je transkribirano in dijakom na voljo pri reševanju na pesmi navezujočih se nalog. Najpogosteje se pri dijakih preverja slušno(-bralno) razumevanje; ob posamezni pesmi so povprečno tri naloge, med njimi le malo uvajalnih nalog in nalog učnega transferja, ki bi sledile učnim ciljem na samem vrhu Bloomove taksonomije, saj se od dijakov največkrat zahteva prepoznavanje in le malokrat prosto tvorjenje govorenih in pisnih besedil oz. argumentirano izražanje mnenja. Le redko naloge naslavlajo aktualne družbeno-kulturne teme v nemško govorečih deželah. Navodila nalog učnih oblik ne predpisujejo, učne strategije so preko njih posredovane zgolj posredno. Morebitne razširitve obravnav pesmi v smeri projektnega dela ostajajo domena učiteljice oziroma učitelja. Na podlagi povzetih izsledkov kvantitativne analize učbeniških obravnav pesmi s spremljevalnim didaktičnim komentarjem članek v zaključku izlušči in predstavi ključne pristope k obravnavi petih pesmi pri pouku nemščine na slovenskih srednjih šolah in gimnazijah.

Ključne besede: analiza učbenikov, nemščina kot tuji jezik, péte pesmi, slušno razumevanje, učni cilji

ABSTRACT

SONG TREATMENTS IN SELECTED TEXTBOOKS FOR GERMAN AS A FOREIGN LANGUAGE: DIDACTIC ANALYSIS AND SUGGESTIONS FOR EXTENSION

German teachers can enrich their teaching or plan their lessons based on the content, vocabulary, and grammatical structures that appear in German songs. In the six examined textbook series, there are relatively few songs. They appear as introductions to individual lessons or are located on separate pages at the end of the textbook. Most songs are not authentic and have been written specifically for the needs of the respective target audience of foreign language teaching, making it easier for textbook authors to integrate such songs into the concept of the textbook or adapt them to the curriculum. The song lyrics are transcribed and available to learners when solving tasks related to the songs. The most common aspect evaluated is the learners' listening (and reading) comprehension. There are an average of three tasks per song, but few of them are introductory or transfer tasks that pursue the higher learning objectives of Bloom's taxonomy. Learners are mostly asked to recognize information, and only rarely to produce spoken and written texts or to express an opinion. Tasks only occasionally address current social and cultural issues in the German-speaking area. The social forms are not predetermined in the instructions, and learning strategies are only indirectly conveyed through the tasks. Any extensions of the treatment of songs in terms of project work are left to the teachers. Based on the summarized results of the quantitative analysis of song treatments with accompanying didactic comments, they key approaches to the treatment of songs in German lessons at Slovenian high schools and grammar schools are identified and presented.

Keywords: German as a foreign language, listening comprehension, textbook analysis, learning objectives, songs

ZUSAMMENFASSUNG

LIEDERBEHANDLUNGEN IN AUSGEWÄHLTEN LEHRWERKEN FÜR DEN DAF-UNTERRICHT: DIDAKTISCHE ANALYSE UND ERWEITERUNGSVORSCHLÄGE

Durch das Abspielen von deutschen Liedern können Deutschlehrerinnen und -lehrer ihren Unterricht bereichern oder anhand von Inhalt, Vokabeln und grammatischen Strukturen, die in den Liedern auftauchen, planen. In den sechs untersuchten Lehrwerkreihen gibt es relativ wenige Lieder. Sie erscheinen als Einleitungen zu den einzelnen Lektionen oder befinden sich auf separaten Seiten am Ende des Lehrwerks. Die meisten Lieder sind nicht authentisch und wurden speziell für die Bedürfnisse der jeweiligen Zielgruppe des Fremdsprachenunterrichts geschrieben, weil sie für die Lehrwerkautoren leichter in das inhaltliche Konzept zu integrieren oder an den Lehrstoff anzupassen sind, die Liedtexte sind transkribiert und stehen den Lernenden beim Lösen der auf

die Lieder bezogenen Aufgaben zur Verfügung. Am häufigsten wird das Hör(-Lese)-Verständnis der Lernenden überprüft; es gibt durchschnittlich drei Aufgaben pro Lied, aber nur wenige davon sind Einführungs- oder Transferaufgaben, die die höheren Lernziele der Bloom'schen Taxonomie verfolgen. Lernende werden meistens dazu aufgefordert, Informationen zu erkennen, und nur selten, gesprochene und geschriebene Texte zu produzieren oder eine Meinung argumentierend zu vertreten. Nur ausnahmsweise greifen die Aufgaben aktuelle gesellschaftliche und kulturelle Themen im deutschsprachigen Raum auf. Die Sozialformen sind in den Anleitungen nicht vorgegeben und die Lernstrategien werden nur indirekt über die Aufgaben vermittelt. Etwaige Erweiterungen der Liederbehandlungen im Sinne einer Projektarbeit bleiben den Lehrkräften überlassen. Auf der Grundlage der zusammengefassten Ergebnisse der quantitativen Analyse von Liederbehandlungen mit begleitenden didaktischen Kommentaren werden abschließend zentrale Ansätze für die Behandlung von Liedern im Deutschunterricht an slowenischen Mittelschulen und Gymnasien herausgefiltert und dargestellt.

Schlüsselwörter: Deutsch als Fremdsprache, Hörverstehen, Lehrwerkanalyse, Lernziele, Lieder

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INVESTIGATING THE IMPACT OF A COMPREHENSIVE WRITING FEEDBACK GUIDE ON ENHANCING LEARNER AUTONOMY

1 INTRODUCTION

Written corrective feedback, or WCF, is a crucial element in Foreign Language Acquisition (FLA) that helps English as a Foreign Language (EFL) learners become proficient writers. The role of WCF is a focus of research, as language educators and researchers look for new and efficient ways to support language learning and development. WCF acts as a linguistic growth scaffold by offering focused feedback on written works, which promotes correctness, fluency, and communicative competence in writing.

This research aims to contribute to an area that would benefit further from understanding personalized feedback with a comprehensive approach. A correction code is limited to addressing linguistic errors in writing by identifying and labelling them, while the Comprehensive Writing Correction Guide (CWCG) considers linguistic, content-related and organizational aspects. It offers guidance on rhetorical features to enable learners to revise the content and organization of the essay with clarity and coherence. The CWCG provides options for learners to write an effective thesis, topic sentences for body paragraphs, supporting details with reasons, facts or examples, and discourse markers to produce a better second draft.

The CWCG was tailored for revision tasks across several types of writing, including comparison-contrast essays and describing industrial process; the errors are labelled with codes, and then learners use the guidelines to follow the steps to correct their own writing, thus promoting learner autonomy. The CWCG was introduced to intermediate-level EFL students in the General Foundation Programme (GFP) at the University of Technology and Applied Sciences in Oman. The research aims to test the effectiveness of the CWCG by comparing the exam results of the control and treatment groups, and is intended to address the following research questions to find out learners' and teachers' experiences using the CWCG:

- What is the impact of the CWCG on the overall writing proficiency of EFL learners?
- What are the preferences of EFL learners regarding the types and methods of feedback they receive on writing?
- To what extent does the CWCG foster learner autonomy and self-correction skills?
- What are the perceptions and attitudes of male and female EFL learners (and lecturers) towards using the CWCG?

2 LITERATURE REVIEW

Developing writing skills is challenging for EFL learners as it requires background knowledge about the topic, the right choice of register, style, rhetorical organization in the target language and constant feedback from instructors (Zachariah, 2007). Writing is a complex skill which demands the command of both grammatical and lexical knowledge (Hyland & Hyland, 2006). Numerous studies have explored the impact of corrective feedback on writing in the EFL classroom. Giving corrective feedback on student writing is not a mechanical process of correcting errors, but an essential component of teaching writing. It is a way of interacting with student writers to enhance their communication skills (Binu, 2011).

Constructive feedback is crucial to developing writing proficiency in an EFL setting (Wahyuningsih, 2020). Binu (2020) contends that positive feedback is a great reinforcer that can improve writing performance. Corrective feedback directly impacts EFL learners' writing complexity and accuracy (Bagheri, 2024), while sustained feedback is crucial for improving learners' writing performance (Wicaksono, 2024). Corrective feedback on linguistic errors offers affordances for enhancing accuracy in writing (Cheng & Zhang 2024), and metalinguistic corrective feedback contributes more to writing improvement than error code feedback (Azizi, Behjat & Sorahi, 2014; Shakra, 2013).

Numerous researchers have highlighted the importance of giving explicit feedback to EFL student writers. Sheen (2007), who studied the different effects of various types of corrective feedback, found that feedback targeting a single linguistic item improved learners' accuracy. Karim and Nassaji (2018), who investigated the effects of comprehensive

written corrective feedback, observed that learners who received feedback that included labelling the language errors and providing metalinguistics cues showed significant improvement in revision tasks. According to Ekinci and Ekinci (2000), giving feedback using error correction codes improves learners' writing proficiency. Sheen (2010) argues that explicit corrective feedback with metalinguistic information contributes to learning, as it enables students to know about the rules of grammar and writing conventions. These observations underline the importance of proper guidance for students to revise and improve their written work.

While giving explicit feedback on writing is essential, researchers have also cautioned against the dangers of overcorrection. Overcorrection of errors is sometimes discouraging for learners, and it may negatively affect their fluency and complexity of writing (Kim, 2000). Coyle and Roca (2014), who explored the effects of two different modes of feedback, error correction and model texts, report that learners who received corrective feedback did comparatively better in their revised texts than those who used model texts.

EFL students' preferences regarding teacher feedback on writing vary depending on their learning styles, cultural backgrounds, and proficiency levels. Ferdouse (2012) states that "students prefer coded feedback a lot over non-coded feedback as with the help of the correction codes they get enough opportunity to know about their mistakes and to correct them as well" (p. 79). The acceptance and retention of corrective feedback on writing depend much on learners' affective factors (Storch & Wigglesworth 2010). While some students prefer direct and explicit corrective feedback to pinpoint their errors, others may favour a more indirect approach focusing on positive reinforcement and guiding their self-correction (Eslami, 2014). Similarly, Simard et al. (2015) point out that some EFL students are unhappy with teachers who correct all their errors rather than highlight them, leaving no room for self-correction (see also Ferdouse 2012). According to Chong (2019), most ESL learners prefer electronic written feedback (e-feedback) on their writing tasks. Leki (1991) suggests that the teacher and students should agree on the type of corrective feedback that is most likely to lead to improvements.

Researchers differ in their opinions about the effectiveness of direct and indirect feedback on writing. Ahmadi, Maftoon, and Mehrdad (2012) posit that indirect feedback is more beneficial to ensure accuracy in writing. However, Binu and Nair (2015) argue that personalized feedback and comments are more effective than coded feedback, as teachers can adapt their language, tone, and examples to meet the learner's comprehension level and preferences.

Self-generated feedback plays a significant role in developing writing skills in English, as it enables learners to review and critique their writing independently. The metalinguistic cues in the comprehensive correction guide motivate students to respond to teacher feedback and initiate action in order to independently complete a revised task. Motivation and self-regulation are key factors leading to learner autonomy (Benson,

2007). Metalinguistic corrective feedback contributes more to writing improvement than error code feedback (Azizi, Behjat & Sorahi, 2014; Shakra, 2013). Self-confidence and independence from the teacher are crucial factors in developing learner autonomy in writing (Yeung, 2016). According to Benson and Voller (2014), using correction codes encourages learner autonomy in language learning, while Yugandhar (2014) states that referring to correction codes enables EFL learners to take ownership of their learning and improve their writing skills.

Geçkin (2020), who studied gender differences and student reactions to feedback, claims that female students differ significantly from their male peers in their responses to corrective feedback on writing, with the former liking feedback and a combination of comments and error corrections more than the latter. Peterson (2000) found that while female students considered conformity to writing conventions as their strengths, male students, in contrast, were proud of their creativity. According to Zumbrunn et al. (2023), female students like teacher and peer feedback more than their male peers, while Bijami et al. (2013) state that gender differences play a significant role in writing performance, as males and females differ sharply in their learning attitudes and learning strategies.

3 METHOD

3.1 Participants

The study was conducted in the Preparatory Studies Centre (PSC) at the University of Technology and Applied Sciences, Al Mussanah (UTAS-A). The study targeted intermediate students (B1) in the General Foundation Programme (GFP), which offers preparatory courses in Mathematics, English, and IT before students begin their bachelor studies. It includes four English proficiency levels, from A1 to B2. The classes are for high school graduates aged 18-20, and all GFP students take an entry placement test. The students in this study were placed in L3 either through this placement test or by having passed the level 2 final examinations. There were three treatment groups with a total of 77 students, out of which 57 students agreed to complete the questionnaire. Three questionnaires were removed from the data due to careless responses i.e. they had selected the same alternative across all questions regardless of the reverse-worded questions. The remaining 54 students were composed of 29 and 25 male and female students, respectively. Convenience sampling was used as the treatment could only be applied in the classes of lecturers who had agreed to use the CWCG.

Table 1: Participant Information

Group Assignment		Frequency	Percent	Valid Percent	Cumulative Percent
1 Control	1 Male	261	54.5	54.5	54.5
	2 Female	218	45.5	45.5	100.0
	Total	479	100.0	100.0	
2 Treatment	1 Male	29	53.7	53.7	53.7
	2 Female	25	46.3	46.3	100
	Total	54	100	100	

The control group was comprised of 479 students enrolled in the GFP Level 3, excluding those in the two treatment groups, and three teachers (two female, one male) also participated in the study, two of whom are the authors of this paper. All three teachers are highly experienced lecturers and one of them is the GFP level 3 Coordinator.

3.2 The Comprehensive Writing Correction Guide (CWCG)

The CWCG is a feedback tool designed to enable students to correct organizational errors in their writing. It addresses several writing tasks that are taught in the GFP curriculum, including describing an industrial process, compare/contrast writing, and cause/effect writing. The guide has distinct sections that address each writing task. Organizational errors that are common are identified by the teacher, and each one is given a numerical code (1, 1-2, 1-3, etc.). Each code represents an error. For example, the code ‘1’ indicates a ‘hook sentence needs improvement’. Code 1-2 indicates a ‘missing hook sentence’. and this continues until organizational errors in the introduction, body paragraph, and conclusions are addressed. The next column of the table is labelled ‘How to correct’, and this section is crucial as it is the teacher’s written instruction on what students need to do to address that error. For example, if a student needs to improve their hook sentence, the instructions are: “Improve your hook sentence by starting with a WOW statement: a sentence that attracts the attention of the readers or arouses curiosity in them. Get the attention of the reader with something interesting about the theme of the question” (see Figure 1 below).

Code	Use	How to correct	Example
1	Hook sentence needs improvement	Improve your hook sentence by starting with a WOW statement. Get the attention of the reader with something interesting about the theme of the question.	<i>These days, education is the foundation of a successful career.</i> <i>The health of our Earth is essential for our survival.</i>
1-2	Hook sentence missing	Add a hook sentence at the start of the introduction (see 1).	
1-3	Topic of essay not specified	Before your thesis statement, you should have a sentence that zooms in and explains the issue in your question. <i>Remember, do not copy the same sentence from the question – write it in your own words.</i>	<i>One issue now is that many students are not completing their college education due to many factors.</i> <i>However, global warming has been on the rise and this affects every person.</i>
1-4	Thesis statement missing/error	Make sure your thesis statement includes the keywords: ‘cause’ & ‘effect’	<i>There are some causes and effects of this problem.</i>

Figure 1: Cause and Effect Writing

An example is given to model the correct organizational structure in the final column. When the teacher receives the first draft of writing for marking, they underline organizational errors and add the relevant label (see Figure 2).

People nowadays sleep less than they used to in the past. What do you think is the reason behind this? What are the effects on individuals and people around them?

Give reasons for your answer and include any relevant examples from your own experience and knowledge.

Write at least 200 words.

diffedat in live , tecnology should

sleep^{sv} are the most important^{sp him} in our l.f. sulde^{sp} everyone

for sleep^{sv} tak^{sv} at less 8 hours aday because the body and mind need some rbtst and time to relax. (1-4)

Figure 2: Student sample

Before returning the marked first draft to the students, the teacher should go through the process of familiarizing them with the new CWCG and demonstrate how they need to use it. This is done by showing samples of marked work with the numerical code. The teacher then shows students how to refer to the feedback in the guide. To ensure full understanding, the teacher will sample a variety of errors labelled with different numerical

codes and ask the class to use their CWCG to make corrections. Once they are finished, each student will receive their own paper and begin the process of correcting their own mistakes and then writing their second draft.

The CWCG reduces the amount of writing on the first draft of the paper, which can be overwhelming if many corrections are needed. It is also personalized to the students, as it is created for the writing task they are learning, and the errors are aligned with the organizational components of the essays that students need to become familiar with. Furthermore, the CWCG ensures the teacher has a chance to leave effective feedback that is shown very clearly in a table format, thus making it easier for students to access the feedback while also eliminating the need to write extensive notes on each first draft.

It should be noted that these numerical codes, which identify the organizational errors, are used alongside other forms of feedback codes that address grammatical issues (e.g., ‘sp’ for spelling errors, ‘v’ for verb tense, and so forth). These grammatical codes were used as the standard feedback in all other groups.

3.3 Data Collection

Students in the treatment group were first exposed to the Comprehensive Writing Correction Guide (CWCG) in a writing feedback class. After teaching each writing task, students were given one writing question per week over a period of four weeks to practice the conventions of those tasks. Samples of corrected first drafts using the codes were then presented in the feedback sessions of the four writing tasks, and the students were instructed to refer to the guide to locate the codes, as needed. Finally, students had to identify and correct the errors using the instructions from the guide. This fairly independent process of revision was done in class time, and the students also wrote a second draft in class.

The data was collected through an online questionnaire, semi-structured interviews, and the writing marks in the intermediate final exams (Fall AY23-24). The self-administered online questionnaire was utilized to investigate the attitudes and experiences of intermediate students and teachers with regard to the effectiveness of the new CWCG. The questionnaire consisted of 16 five-point Likert scale rating questions, covering feedback given to linguistic errors such as word choice, verb tense, word order, sentence structure, and subject-verb agreement, as well as essay organizational errors such as paragraphing, thesis and hook sentences in the introductory paragraph, topic sentences, discourse markers, unity and coherence in the body paragraphs, as well as features of a concluding paragraph. There was also a question to assess the respondents’ attitudes towards using the correction codes with the CWCG. The last two questions aimed to measure their overall satisfaction with the new corrective feedback guide. The internal consistency reliability of the questionnaire was calculated by SPSS, and its Cronbach’s alpha coefficient based

on standardized items was found to be 0.85 (see Table 2), which indicates a consistent measurement of the underlying construct. The questionnaire administered to teachers had an extra question to explore their ideas on how the new feedback tool could improve student autonomy.

Table 2: Student Questionnaire Reliability Statistics

Cronbach's Alpha	Cronbach's Alpha Based on Standardized Items	N of Items
.849	.851	16

Seven students were randomly selected to participate in follow-up semi-structured interviews. Two teachers, who had implemented the new feedback tool in their classrooms, were also interviewed. There were two open-ended questions designed to elicit rich narratives about the most useful aspects of the CWCG and the challenges in using the new tool.

3.4 Data Analysis

Considering the ordinal nature of the data collected through a Likert-scale survey, the small sample size, and violations of normal distribution for two out of the three constructs in question (see Table 3), the non-parametric test of Mann-Whitney U was used to compare the two independent male and female groups in the treatment classes.

Table 3: Normal Distribution Test of the Student Questionnaire

	Kolmogorov-Smirnov ^a			Shapiro-Wilk		
	Statistic	df	Sig.	Statistic	df	Sig.
Linguistic Feedback	.119	57	.042	.963	57	.080
Organizational Feedback	.134	57	.012	.958	57	.047
Overall Satisfaction	.152	57	.002	.952	57	.025

a. Lilliefors Significance Correction

The Shapiro-Wilk results have been considered as there are less than one hundred cases. A non-significant result indicates normality. In this case, the Sig. value is 0.8 for linguistic feedback, which indicates that the data in this category is normally distributed. However, the Sig. values of 0.025 for overall satisfaction and 0.047 for feedback on the organizational elements of the essays indicate that the normality assumption is violated for these two constructs.

The results of the Mann-Whitney U test for all three constructs indicate a significant difference between male and female students.

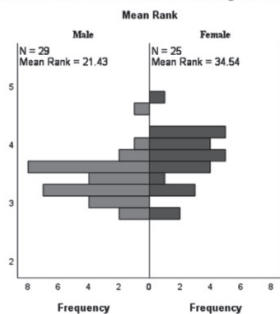
Table 4: Male vs Female Students – Summary of Hypotheses Testing

Null Hypothesis	Test	Sig. ^{a,b}	Decision
1. The distribution of Linguistic Feedback is the same across categories of Gender.	Independent-Samples Mann-Whitney U Test	0.002	Reject the null hypothesis.
2. The distribution of Organizational Feedback is the same across categories of Gender.	Independent-Samples Mann-Whitney U Test	0.034	Reject the null hypothesis.
3. The distribution of Overall Satisfaction is the same across categories of Gender.	Independent-Samples Mann-Whitney U Test	0.019	Reject the null hypothesis.

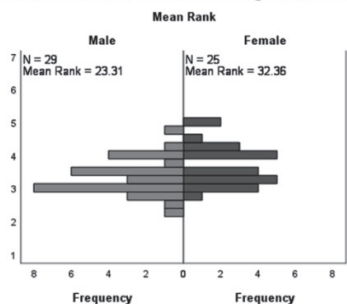
a. The significance level is .050. b. Asymptotic significance is shown.

Additionally, a closer look at the mean ranks (see Graph 1) reveals a central tendency in higher satisfaction ratings for female students compared to their male classmates. This means that females were statistically more satisfied with the feedback they received for their written work (see Graph 2 for bar charts).

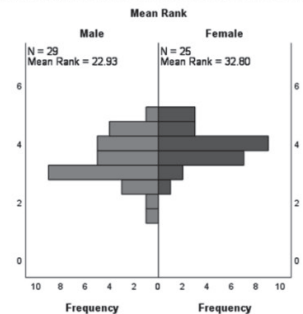
Male vs Female Students' Satisfaction with Linguistic Feedback



Male vs Female Students' Satisfaction with Organisational Feedback



Male vs Female Students' Satisfaction with Overall Feedback

*Graph 1: Students' Mean Rank Satisfaction with the CWCG's Three Constructs*



Graph 2: Students' Mean Satisfaction with the CWCG's Three Constructs

However, to find out if the difference stems from the predispositions of female students towards the writing guide, their writing style, their learning style, or whether the guide addresses mistakes more commonly made by female students, requires further research which is beyond the scope of this study.

Next, the two participant groups (teachers and all students) were compared to find out their satisfaction with the effectiveness of the CWCG in improving students' second draft writings. A Mann-Whitney U test was avoided due to the large imbalance in sample sizes (54 students vs three teachers). Therefore, the mean satisfaction rating of the two groups was compared and no inferential statistical measures were used (see Table 5).

The average mean ratings of students for feedback on linguistic and organizational features, as well as overall satisfaction, were 3.56, 3.44, and 3.63, respectively. This indicates that the students, on average, tended to agree with the statements in the questionnaire, although the average mean ratings are still under 4 (agree) and 5 (strongly agree), which could imply they had some reservations or mixed feelings about the guide's effectiveness. In addition, this result could potentially mean that there are areas for improvement or concerns that have not been fully addressed by the new feedback guide.

On the other hand, the figures for teachers were 4.00, 4.54, and 4.50, which suggests that they were much more pleased with the features of the CWCG. A lower standard deviation and variance for teachers also indicate that their satisfaction ratings are more clustered around the mean, indicating that the teachers expressed more consistent opinions about the guide's effectiveness than the students.

Table 5: Students' vs Teachers' Satisfaction with the CWCG

Participant Type		Linguistic Feedback	Structural Feedback	Overall Satisfaction
Student	Mean	3.56	3.44	3.63
	N	54	54	54
	Std. Deviation	.457	.611	.772
	Variance	.208	.374	.596
Teacher	Mean	4.00	4.54	4.50
	N	3	3	3
	Std. Deviation	.346	.072	.500
	Variance	.120	.005	.250
Total	Mean	3.59	3.49	3.68
	N	57	57	57
	Std. Deviation	.460	.645	.782
	Variance	.211	.416	.612

Treatment students and teachers were asked to compare the correction codes – which was the standard feedback tool for the control students – and the CWCG, and state if they believed there was a difference between them. It is worth noting that the treatment groups were familiar with the correction codes and this made it possible to make a fair comparison. The result of the mean rating for teachers (4.33) indicates their firm belief that there is a significant difference between the standard linguistic codes and the new organizational feedback tool, and the low standard deviation value of 0.57 shows relatively consistent ideas among the three lecturers. On the other hand, the mean rating of 3.41 for students, despite leaning slightly towards agreement with the teachers, does not indicate the same level of confidence. The standard deviation value of 1.190 also implies less consistency and more diversity in the students' ideas (see Table 6).

Table 6: Comparing Correction Codes with the CWCG

Question 14 Reversed (I do not see any difference between the new writing guide and the unified correction codes.)			
Participant Type	Mean	N	Std. Deviation
Student	3.41	54	1.190
Teacher	4.33	3	.577
Total	3.46	57	1.181

The results of the Mann-Whitney U test (see Tables 7 and 8) suggest that there is no significant difference in the opinions of male and female students regarding the same question. The mean ranks of 27.02 and 28.06, respectively, also indicate a general agreement between the students (see Graph 3).

Table 7: Male vs Female Students' Views about Q14 – Summary of Hypotheses Testing

Null Hypothesis	Test	Sig. ^{a,b}	Decision
The distribution of Question 14 Reverse is the same across categories of Gender.	Independent-Samples Mann-Whitney U Test	.803	Retain the null hypothesis.

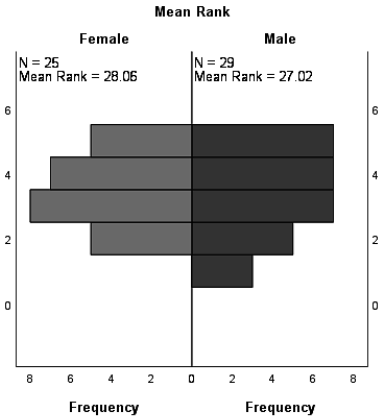
a. The significance level is .050.

b. Asymptotic significance is shown.

Table 8: Male vs Female Students' Views about Q14 – Mann-Whitney U Test

Total N	54
Mann-Whitney U	376.500
Wilcoxon W	701.500
Test Statistic	376.500
Standard Error	56.006
Standardized Test Statistic	.250
Asymptotic Sig. (2-sided test)	.803

Male vs Female Students' Views about Q14-Reversed



Graph 3: Male vs Female Students' Views about Q14 – Mean Ranks

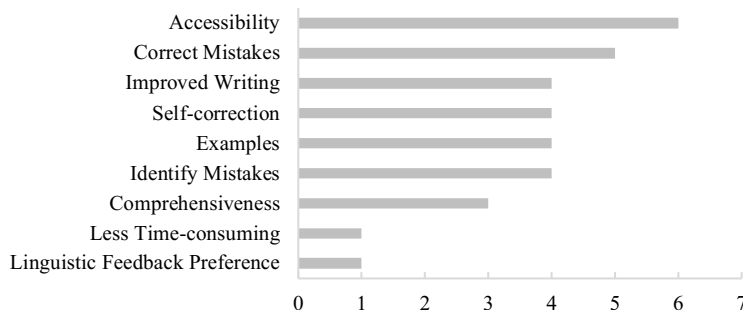
The last question on the teachers' survey sought to determine whether they believed that the guide contributes to student autonomy, and the average mean score of 4.67 (see Table 9) indicates strong support for this idea.

Table 9: Teachers' Views on Increased Student Autonomy (Question 17)

Valid	3
Missing	0
Mean	4.67
Std. Deviation	.577

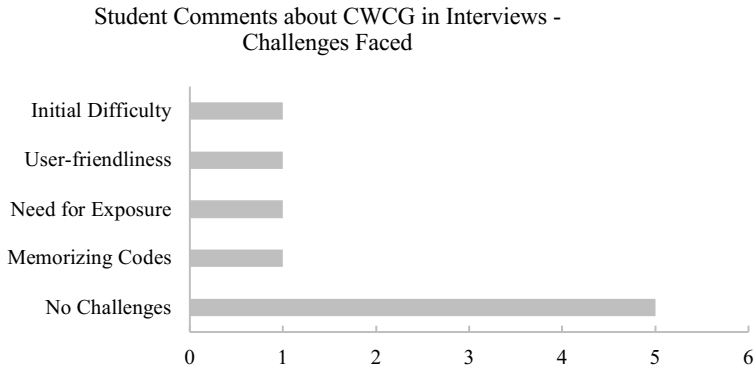
The thematic analysis of the student interviews suggests that most students found the accessibility of the new guide very helpful. They believed the new guide was comprehensive, and helped them identify any errors as well as attempt self-correction by looking at examples. Overall, more than half of the interviewed students stated that using this feedback tool has improved their writing proficiency.

Students' Comments about Useful Aspects of the CWCG



Graph 4: Students' Comments in Interviews about Useful Aspects of the CWCG

In terms of challenges, over 70% of the interviewees could not think of any noticeable difficulties in using the new guide. However, one student reported the initial difficulty, lack of user-friendliness and amount of exposure, and memorizing the codes as some of the challenges he had faced.



Graph 5: Student Comments in Interviews about Challenges Faced When Using the CWCG

Based on the two interviewed teachers' observations, locating the right information caused some initial difficulty, although this issue was solved after enough exposure to the tool. On a more positive note, they listed the reduced workload despite offering individual and quality feedback, identifying common mistakes for remedial purposes, and the simple and self-reliant nature of the guide as the most useful aspects of the CWCG.

Table 10: Student Writing Marks – Tests of Normality

	Group	Kolmogorov-Smirnov ^a			Shapiro-Wilk		
		Statistic	Df	Sig.	Statistic	df	Sig.
Writing Task 1 (out of 20)	Control	.085	479	.000	.986	479	.000
	Treatment	.089	77	.200*	.982	77	.353
Writing Task 2 (out of 20)	Control	.087	479	.000	.965	479	.000
	Treatment	.119	77	.009	.962	77	.020
Writing Total (out of 25)	Control	.057	479	.001	.991	479	.005
	Treatment	.141	77	.001	.967	77	.046

*. This is a lower bound of the true significance. a. Lilliefors Significance Correction

In addition to the qualitative analysis, the control group's writing marks in the final exam (479 cases) were compared to those of the treatment groups (77 cases). They were all level 3 (B1) students taking the same final exams. Due to violations of the normal distribution (see Table 10 above), Mann-Whitney U, a non-parametric test, was used to compare the two independent control and treatment groups. Table 11, below, summarizes the findings.

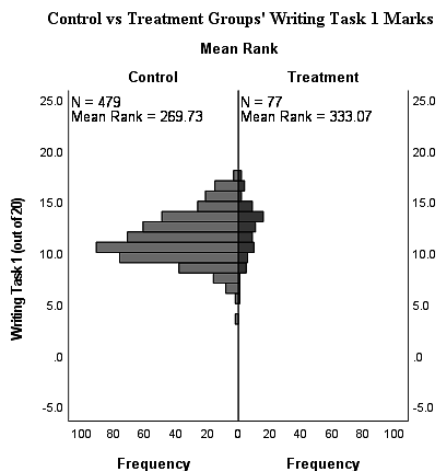
Table 11: Control vs Treatment Groups' Writing Marks – Summary of Hypotheses Testing

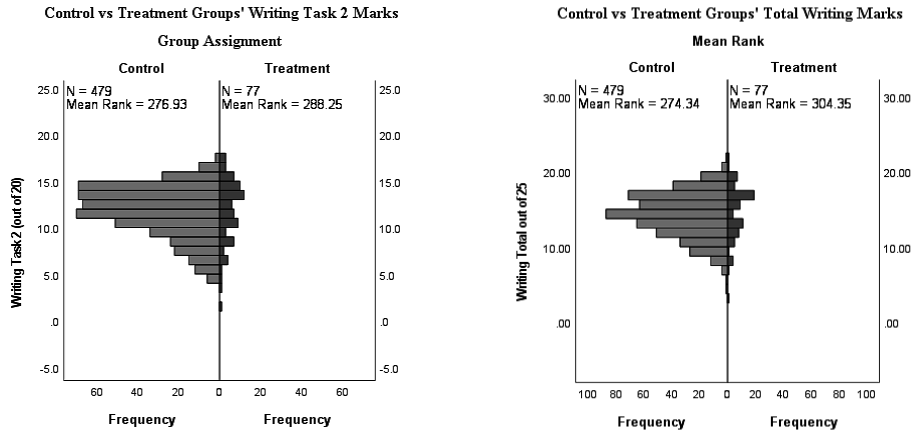
Test	Sig. ^{a,b}	Decision
Task 1- Mann-Whitney U Test	0.001	Reject the null hypothesis.
Task 2- Mann-Whitney U Test	0.565	Retain the null hypothesis.
Total Writing Mark- Mann-Whitney U Test	0.128	Retain the null hypothesis.

a. The significance level is .050. b. Asymptotic significance is shown.

A closer look at the Sig. values of the three comparisons suggests that there is only a significant difference in the marks for Writing Task 1. This is further supported by looking at the mean rank (see Graph 6) of the students in the control groups (269.73) versus that of the students in the treatment groups (333.07). The difference in the mean ranks could imply that there is a positive correlation between using the CWCG to provide corrective feedback in completing a second draft of task 1 questions and improvement in the relevant final exam marks.

It is also worth noting that although the Sig. values of Task 2 (0.56) and Writing Total Mark (0.12) are nonsignificant, the higher mean rank of both (see Graph 7) indicates an improvement in the writing marks of the students in the treatment groups in both categories.

*Graph 6: Mean Ranks of Control vs Treatment Groups' Writing Task 1 Marks*



Graph 7: Mean Ranks of Control vs Treatment Groups' Writing Task 2 and Total Marks

Finally, the Pearson Chi-square test and Fisher's Exact test were used to observe if there was any significant difference in the Pass/Fail results between the control and treatment groups. The total writing mark in the GFP programme for intermediate students is out of 25, and 50% achievement signifies a pass mark. The Pearson Chi-square test result (0.83), as well as Fisher's Exact test result (0.89), indicate no association between using the CWCG and students' pass rates.

Table 12: Pass/Fail Crosstabulation

			Pass	Fail	Total
Group Assignment	Control	Count	349	130	479
		Expected Count	349.8	129.2	479.0
	Treatment	Count	57	20	77
		Expected Count	56.2	20.8	77.0
Total		Count	406	150	556
		Expected Count	406.0	150.0	556.0

Table 13: Correlation between CWCG and Pass/Fail Rates

	Value	df	Asymptotic Significance (2-sided)	Exact Sig. (2-sided)	Exact Sig. (1-sided)
Pearson Chi-Square	.046 ^a	1	.831		
Continuity Correction ^b	.006	1	.940		
Likelihood Ratio	.046	1	.830		
Fisher's Exact Test				.891	.476
Linear-by-Linear Association	.046	1	.831		
N of Valid Cases	556				

a. 0 cells (0.0%) have expected count less than 5. The minimum expected count is 20.77.

b. Computed only for a 2x2 table

4 DISCUSSION

This research set out to explore the impact of the Comprehensive Writing Correction Guide (CWCG) on the overall writing proficiency of EFL learners. It also examined student preferences with regard to the type of corrective feedback they received and their perception as to whether the CWCG encouraged learner autonomy and self-correction skills. The findings reveal that the students who used the CWCG demonstrated notable improvements in their technical writing and essay writing.

Regarding student preferences on the type of feedback, there was no significant indication that they preferred the CWCG. Despite this, the survey affirmed that teachers who used the guide observed a significantly higher degree of learner autonomy. This finding was corroborated by student interviews, which indicated increased self-correction skills.

However, the findings should be treated tentatively, bearing in mind that the design of this study is subject to limitations. Without a pre-test to measure the proficiency of the students in both groups it would be misleading to attribute the writing improvements solely to the CWCG. Additionally, the observed increase in learner autonomy was only reported by three teachers, and thus this result should be interpreted with caution.

Nevertheless, this study can be interpreted as the first step in widening the scope of written feedback and branching out to encompass organizational feedback in correction codes. Stakeholders may benefit from using the CWCG in writing courses and thus seeing an improvement in writing skills. Researchers may also consider using the guide on wider populations and using it with students over a longer period in order to test the long-term effects on writing.

In future research, the limitations of this study should be considered and could be addressed by pre-testing students and increasing the sample size to yield more representative results.

Another suggestion for future research is exploring the relationship between the guide and AI. Stakeholders may consider using the guide as a basis for creating innovative AI solutions to provide linguistic and organizational feedback to meet the needs of different students. Developing this AI solution can also bridge the gap between writing and assessment, which can bring educational institutions closer to the possibility of providing instant feedback and generating more accurate grades in writing assessments.

5 CONCLUSION

To conclude, this study compared two writing feedback tools and found that the Comprehensive Writing Correction Guide (CWCG) enhanced student writing proficiency compared to the traditional correction code. The CWCG's holistic approach, which addresses both linguistic and organizational aspects, resulted in notable improvements in exam scores for students who engaged with it. While students did not express a strong preference between the two feedback tools, teachers observed that the CWCG fostered greater learner autonomy and encouraged independent learning practices. These findings underscore the CWCG's potential as a valuable resource for educators and students, not only improving writing skills but also promoting a more autonomous learning environment.

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POVZETEK

RAZISKOVANJE VPLIVA ORODJA ZA POVRATNE INFORMACIJE O PISANJU NA KREPITEV AVTONOMIJE UČENCEV

V raziskavi smo primerjali dve orodji za podajanje korektivnih povratnih informacij o pisnih izdelkih študentov: tradicionalne korekcijske kode in *Celoviti vodnik za korekcijo pisanja* (*Comprehensive Writing Correction Guide* oz. CWCG), ki so ga oblikovali raziskovalci. Proučevali smo tudi izkušnje študentov in učiteljev z uporabo teh orodij. Medtem ko s pomočjo korekcijskih kod dajemo predvsem splošnojezikovne povratne informacije, CWCG ponuja celostnejši pristop, ki omogoča podajanje povratnih informacij o jezikovnih in organizacijskih vidikih različnih pisnih izdelkov. Vodnik omogoča klasifikacijo napak in ponuja nasvete za njihovo odpravljanje. Osrednji cilj naše raziskave je bil ugotoviti, ali CWCG pozitivno vpliva na izboljšanje študentove pisne zmožnosti. Uporabili smo mešan metodološki pristop. Ta je vključeval količinske podatke, pridobljene iz rezultatov zaključnih pisnih izpitov ter anket študentov in učiteljev, in kakovostne podatke, pridobljene s polstrukturiranimi intervjuji. Naši izsledki kažejo na opazno izboljšanje izpitnih rezultatov pri študentih, ki so uporabljali CWCG, tako pri nalogah tehničnega pisanja kot pisanja eseja. Čeprav iz odzivov študentov nismo zaznali pomembnih razlik v odnosu do kateregakoli od obeh orodij, učitelji poročajo o večji avtonomiji študentov pri uporabi CWCG. CWCG torej spodbuja oblikovanje samostojnejšega učnega okolja, četudi študenti ne izražajo večje naklonjenosti temu orodju. Naše ugotovitve potrjujejo koristi uporabe CWCG, saj to orodje izboljšuje učenčevo pisno zmožnost, obenem pa pripomore k njegovi večji avtonomiji, zato je dragocen pripomoček za učitelje in učence.

Ključne besede: pisna korektivna povratna informacija, povratna informacija o jezikovnih in organizacijskih vidikih pisanja, učenčeva avtonomija, učiteljeva povratna informacija za učenčevo samoizboljšanje, vključevanje povratne informacije, pisanje v drugem jeziku

ABSTRACT

INVESTIGATING THE IMPACT OF A COMPREHENSIVE WRITING FEEDBACK GUIDE ON ENHANCING LEARNER AUTONOMY

This study compared two tools for providing corrective feedback on student writing: the traditional correction codes and a Comprehensive Writing Correction Guide (CWCG) designed by the researchers. The research also explored the perspectives of both students and teachers regarding their experiences with using these feedback tools. While the correction codes primarily focus on general linguistic feedback, the CWCG offers a more holistic approach by providing feedback on both linguistic and organizational aspects of several writing tasks. It labels the type of error and provides

instruction on how to correct these identified errors, making it more comprehensive in nature. The primary aim of this study was to determine whether the CWCG positively impacts learner writing proficiency. A mixed-method approach was employed to achieve this, integrating quantitative data from final exam writing results and surveys from both students and teachers, alongside qualitative data obtained through semi-structured interviews with the participants. The findings revealed a notable improvement in the exam results of students who utilized the CWCG for both technical writing and essay writing tasks. Although the student responses indicated no significant difference in their attitudes toward either tool, the teachers reported an increase in learner autonomy when students engaged with the CWCG. This suggests that while students may not express a strong preference, the CWCG fosters a more independent learning environment. Ultimately, the findings highlight the potential benefits of implementing the CWCG, as it not only improves student writing proficiency but also encourages greater learner autonomy, making it a valuable resource for educators and students alike.

Keywords: written corrective feedback, linguistic and organizational feedback, learner autonomy, self-correction tutor feedback, feedback incorporation, second language writing

Appendices

Appendix A: Questionnaires

Questionnaire 1: Students' Feedback on the Comprehensive Writing Correction Guide

The following survey intends to compare two corrective feedback tools for use with students' writing. The tools are the correction codes and the new Comprehensive Writing Correction Guide (CWCG). Thank you for taking the time to complete the questionnaire. Your feedback and insights are greatly appreciated.

My Consent: I acknowledge that I have voluntarily agreed to participate in this survey. I understand that my responses will be used for research purposes, and I hereby grant permission for the collection and use of my data. I am aware that my personal information will be kept confidential and used only for the stated research objectives. By typing my name below, I confirm my willingness to participate.

Demographics

I. Please choose your level: Level 3 Level 4

II. Please type your section number (for example, 12): _____

III. Please select your gender. Male Female

A	Please rate your agreement with the following statements using the Likert scale (1 = Strongly Disagree, 5 = Strongly Agree)	Strongly Disagree 1	Disagree 2	Neutral 3	Agree 4	Strongly Agree 5
	My choice of words (for example, correct collocations) has improved.					
	I am more aware of the use of appropriate verb tenses (e.g. past tense, simple present tense, etc.) for each writing task (e.g. process essay, incident report, etc.)					
	After using the new writing correction guide, I see little improvement in my understanding of sentence structure (e.g. subject + verb + object).					
	My understanding of word order (e.g. adjective + noun) has improved.					
	My understanding of how a verb should agree in number with a singular or plural subject has improved. (For example, <i>They <u>play</u> football</i> , but <i>He <u>plays</u> football</i> .)					

Despite using the new writing correction guide, I am still unsure when it is the right time to start a new paragraph .					
My understanding and usage of a thesis statement in an essay have improved.					
I am still unsure what a hook sentence is and where it should be used.					
My understanding of the function and use of topic sentences has improved.					
I know how to finish an essay well in the concluding paragraph.					
The new guide has been helpful in improving my use of discourse markers (linking words or phrases that connect ideas such as <i>Also, However</i> , etc).					
The new writing guide has little positive effect in helping me stay on topic .					
I am still unsure how to develop my ideas with examples, reasons, personal experiences, etc.					
I do not see any difference between the new writing guide and the unified correction codes.					
Overall, I am satisfied (happy) with the new writing correction guide.					
Overall, the new writing correction guide has helped me become more aware of my writing mistakes.					

Questionnaire 2: Teachers' Feedback on Comprehensive Writing Correction Guide

The following survey intends to compare two corrective feedback tools for use with students' writing. The tools are the correction codes and the new Comprehensive Writing Correction Guide (CWCG). Thank you for taking the time to complete the questionnaire. Your feedback and insights are greatly appreciated.

My Consent: I acknowledge that I have voluntarily agreed to participate in this survey. I understand that my responses will be used for research purposes, and I hereby grant permission for the collection and use of my data. I am aware that my personal information will be kept confidential and used only for the stated research objectives. By typing my name below, I confirm my willingness to participate.

Demographics

I. Please choose the level you teach: Level 3 Level 4

II. Pleasetype thesectionnumber you teach (for example, 12): _____

III. Please select your gender. Male Female

A	Please rate your agreement with the following statements using the Likert scale (1 = Strongly Disagree, 5 = Strongly Agree)	Strongly Disagree 1	Disagree 2	Neutral 3	Agree 4	Strongly Agree 5
	Students' choice of words (for example, correct collocations) has improved.					
	Students are more aware of the use of appropriate verb tenses (e.g. past tense, simple present tense, etc.) for each writing task (e.g. process essay, incident report, etc.)					
	After using the new writing correction guide, I see little improvement in my students' understanding of sentence structure (e.g. subject + verb + object).					
	Students' understanding of word order (e.g. adjective + noun) has improved.					
	Students' understanding of how a verb should agree in number with a singular or plural subject has improved. (For example, <i>They play football</i> , but <i>He plays football</i> .)					
	Despite using the new writing correction guide, students are still unsure when it is the right time to start a new paragraph .					
	Students' understanding and usage of a thesis statement in an essay have improved.					
	Students are still unsure what a hook sentence is and where it should be used.					
	Students' understanding of the function and use of topic sentences has improved.					
	Students know how to finish an essay well in the concluding paragraph.					
	The new guide has been helpful in improving students' use of discourse markers (linking words or phrases that connect ideas such as <i>Also</i> , <i>However</i> , etc).					
	The new writing guide has little positive effect in helping students stay on topic .					
	Students are still unsure how to develop their ideas with examples, reasons, personal experiences, etc.					
	I do not see any difference between the new writing guide and the unified correction codes.					
	I am satisfied with the quality of feedback provided by the new writing correction guide.					
	Overall, the new writing correction guide has helped students become more aware of their writing mistakes.					
	The new writing correction guide has increased learner autonomy .					

B. Considering your experience with the two writing correction tools, please answer the questions below.

1. Does the new writing correction guide reduce your marking time?
2. In your opinion, what specific areas of the guide are most effective, and why?
3. What suggestions do you have for further improvements to the guide or its implementation in the GFP?

Appendix B. Interview Questions

Interview Questions for In-Person Interviews (for selected lecturers):

1. Can you describe any noticeable changes in student writing quality since the implementation of the new writing correction guide?
2. Have you observed any challenges or difficulties students face when using the guide? If so, please provide examples.
3. How has the guide affected your teaching methods or workload in terms of time and quality of the provided feedback?
4. Does the use of the new writing guide help the common mistakes stand out?
5. In your opinion, does the new guide have any effect on the ease of giving feedback (for the teacher) and receiving feedback (for the learner)?

Interview Questions for In-Person Interviews (for selected students):

1. What specific aspects of the new writing correction guide do you find most helpful, and why?
2. Did you face any challenges in using the new correction guide? If yes, please specify.

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Izvirni znanstveni članek



THE IMPLEMENTATION OF PROTOTYPICAL CONTENT WORD LISTS TO ANALYSE THE VOCABULARY INPUT CONTAINED IN ENGLISH LANGUAGE TEACHING TEXTBOOKS

1 INTRODUCTION¹

Textbooks are key elements that involve the presentation of material, development activities such as learners' practice and communicative interaction, stimulation and ideas for classroom activities, and a reference source for learners on grammar, vocabulary, and pronunciation (Cunningsworth, 1995). In EFL contexts, textbooks are considered a resource or guide to language learning and teaching (Asher, 1994; Harmer, 1991). Also present is the idea of textbooks as crucial components of language education that provide the teacher with ideas for lessons and the complementary input learners need when learning a new language (Richards, 2001). Moreover, language learning textbooks provide the necessary input into classroom lessons through different activities, readings, and explanations (Tomlinson, 2012). Therefore, the central notions with regard to textbooks involve them being an essential resource for language teaching and learning and being containers of vocabulary input. In this respect, the present study aims to analyze the vocabulary contained in two ELT textbooks differing in age and course levels based on semantic prototypes through the elaboration of prototypical content word lists. To this end, we aimed to ascertain whether there is evidence of word prototypicality in each textbook and to determine whether there are differences and similarities regarding the type of prototypical content words found in each textbook.

2 PREVIOUS RESEARCH

Although few studies have examined prototypical words in the analysis of ELT textbooks, the current work aims to provide a general overview of the research conducted so far on ELT textbooks in instructional contexts.

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Studies on vocabulary input in EFL textbooks initially follow two research tendencies: non-corpus and corpus-based studies (Jiménez & Mancebo, 2008). Researchers from the former set of studies focused on the rate at which new vocabulary is introduced in EFL coursebooks (Schofield, 1991), the design of vocabulary activities in school manuals by language learners (Martinez, 1999), the vocabulary related to social success (Ojeda Alba, 2004 in Jiménez Catalán & Ojeda Alba, 2009), and the adoption of the guidelines proposed by the European Framework of Reference (Mancebo, 2005). Some of these studies highlight the deficiencies or weaknesses of textbook writers, textbook designers, and vocabulary selection criteria. As for the latter, corpus-based studies have concentrated on the design of EFL syllabuses (Sinclair & Renouf, 1988; Willis & Willis, 1988; Cheng, 2011; Papajani, 2015); the learning and teaching of English instructional programmes (Stevens, 1991; Baleghizadeh & Saharkhiz, 2012); and the analysis of previous language teaching materials (Gavioli, 1997; Gray, 2016; Littlejohn, 2022), which has been a neglected research area since it has not been funded by educational projects (Leech, 1998).

Research on the vocabulary input contained in ELT textbooks for Primary and Secondary Education has encompassed studies about word frequency, word repetition, cultural vocabulary input, and very little on semantic prototypes.

Researchers on vocabulary input have centred their attention on word frequency as one of the main criteria as far as EFL materials are concerned (Sinclair & Renouf, 1988; White, 1988; Jiménez Catalán & Fitzpatrick, 2014). Furthermore, in general English, most of the attention should be paid to the most frequently used words since they have been regarded as a crucial dimension in the assessment of learners' lexical competence (Nation, 2001). To the best of our knowledge, studies on ELT textbooks regarding word frequency have been scarce in the fields of Primary and Secondary Education (Guerra & Jiménez Catalán, 2022; Criado & Sánchez, 2009; Rahmat & Coxhead, 2021; Larsson, 2017), although varied in aim and scope. Guerra and Jiménez (2022) focused on the analysis of four primary textbooks to identify the most frequent content words they contained and to determine whether the input provided to 6th graders was identical in terms of content words, finding that although there was a shared thematic structure in the distribution of topics among the four textbooks, there was an unequal number of units and additional material. In Secondary Education, Criado and Sánchez (2009) analysed the role frequency plays in language and vocabulary learning and showed that the frequency of vocabulary is clearly unbalanced since it seems to be too low, and there were few opportunities for the students to rehearse and repeat the lexical words they are supposed to learn in a textbook. Rahmat and Coxhead (2021) explored the corpora of three Indonesian EFL textbooks and determined that the Secondary Education materials contain a large number of high-frequency words, at more than 80% of the total, and up to 7% of the textbook comprises Indonesian words, which play roles in learning objectives and pre-vocabulary teaching activities. Larsson (2017) focused on investigating the vocabulary profiles in six

English language learning textbooks. The results indicated that with regard to word frequency, many of the tokens in all the textbooks belonged to the first 1,000 most frequent words (K1) followed by the second 1000 most frequent words at the K2 level within the general frequency word lists.

Analyses of word repetition suggest that the recurrence of words plays an essential role in assisting L2 learners to gain an in-depth understanding of both receptive and productive knowledge regarding form, meaning, and usage of the target vocabulary (Nation, 2013). Research in this respect has outlined that repetition has played an important role in learning vocabulary through ELT textbooks. For example, Jiménez Catalán and Mancebo (2008) indicated that the comparison of Primary and Secondary Education materials revealed that publishing houses do not agree regarding the frequency of word occurrence and the number of words learners are exposed to regarding coursebooks. The results showed many occurrences of the repetition of words in the school manuals. Norlund (2016) explored the frequency distribution of content words in the two most used series of textbooks in Sweden, with the results showing that publishers do not consider frequency in their choice of what words to include in textbooks, even though frequency lists and research on the importance of knowing the most frequent words are available.

Turning to cultural vocabulary input in ELT textbooks, some research has been carried out in the Spanish educational system of our region, the Autonomous Community of La Rioja. For instance, Canga and Cifone (2015, 2021) examined how intercultural competence was integrated into the vocabulary content of Primary and Secondary Education materials, finding that the total amount of words related to culture encountered in both textbooks is not balanced and that the target culture prevails over the source or international types of culture.

Regarding analyses of the vocabulary input of ELT textbooks by means of semantic prototypes, little work has been conducted to date, and we only found two recent studies on this linguistic and semantic field (Mora and Cifone Ponte, 2021a; Cifone Ponte and Mora, 2021b). These two studies mainly focused on examining the semantic prototypes in EFL textbooks in 6th-grade Spanish Primary Education to identify how multilingual cultures were represented in the vocabulary input of the materials. The results revealed that the target culture is pervasive, while immigrant learners' cultures in schools are scarcely included in the materials. Moreover, there were similarities and differences regarding the cultural aspects through semantic prototypes in the two EFL textbooks selected, and there were few elements related to cultural identity because most of the vocabulary contained in the materials is centred on using words from the target language (English).

The literature presented above mainly refers to studies that have dealt solely with word frequency, word repetition, and cultural aspects, given that research on prototypical content word lists in ELT materials has yet to be included because it has yet to be published.

The present study investigates the vocabulary input contained in two textbooks differing in course level (6th year of Primary Education and 12th year of Secondary Education). It has the following objectives: (i) to ascertain whether there is evidence of prototypicality in the vocabulary input contained in each textbook within the 50 most frequent content words, and if so, to determine whether there are differences and similarities between both textbooks in terms of semantic prototypes; and (ii) to find out whether the elaboration of content word lists might cast light on the types of prototypical words found in the selected ELT textbooks.

3 METHOD

3.1 Sample

The sample used in the present study consisted of two textbooks, one for Primary Education (*New Tiger 6*) for children between the ages of 11 and 13 and one for Secondary Education (*Key to Bachillerato 2, first edition*) for adolescents between the ages of 16 and 17. Table 1 gives more details of both textbooks.

Table 1: Description of the Selected ELT Textbooks

Course Level	Textbook	Authors	Publishing House	Year of Publication	Number of Units	CEFR Level
6 th grade	<i>New Tiger 6</i>	Carol Read Mark Ormerod	MacMillan	2018	7	A1-A2
12 th grade	<i>Key to Bachillerato 2</i>	Ben Wetz	Oxford	2014	6	B2

These two ELT textbooks were mainly selected due to the identification of prototypical words in the input received by the two groups of EFL informants differing in age and grade level (6th and 12th graders), whose output of lexical availability on prototypes was also analysed in a previous study (Mora, 2024). Additionally, these materials have been and are currently used as samples in several investigations within the framework of research projects conducted in the Autonomous Community of La Rioja in the north of Spain. Besides, not only has the Spanish Ministry of Education approved these textbooks, but also our regional Education Council in La Rioja, Spain. Moreover, the analyses of these coursebooks can be helpful for other teachers and researchers, given that they were published in the UK and are used in different countries to teach English. Furthermore, the selection of these two course levels stems from the fact that 6th grade is the final year of Spanish Primary Education, and 12th grade is the final year of compulsory Secondary Education. In this respect, comparisons in the vocabulary input of the materials will allow us to determine whether there are significant differences by grade level regarding the prototypical words contained in each grade's ELT textbook.

3.2 Data processing, edition, and lemmatization

We first converted the textbooks into .txt files, one per textbook, and submitted them to the computational software programme WordSmith Tools (version 7.0) for the corpus compilation. The lists of words were extracted in alphabetical order and by means of frequency (repetition or number of occurrences of the word through the text). The units of analysis considered were the *word* and the *lexical unit of meaning*. The former is defined as “any sequence of letters (and a limited number of other characteristics such as hyphen and apostrophe) bounded on either side by a space or punctuation mark” (Carter, 1998:4). We also followed Sinclair (2004), who defined a word as a *lexical item* or *lexical unit* to refer to word patterns (phrasal verbs, idioms) and not to individual words, as is the case of corpus studies. The latter focused on the combination of words such as phrasal verbs and idioms (e.g., go out, meet up, fall in love). Regarding lemmatization, we followed Read (2000) and Nation (2001), who defined it as grouping the base and inflected forms of a word under the same heading. In this respect, plural nouns and verb inflections were removed to count the word once (e.g., *dog-dogs: dog, examines-examined: examine*).

The two ELT textbooks’ editing and lemmatization criteria followed the procedural steps stipulated by the Applied Linguistics Group from the University of La Rioja (GLAUR). Some of the criteria included (i) correction of spelling mistakes, if applicable as a result of the scanning of the textbooks; (ii) deletion of symbols and words written in different languages; (iii) compound words and lexical phrases consisting of two words, or more, were linked and considered one lexical unit and counted as one word (e.g., *CD-player, tidyup, windowshopping, hookon*); (vi) abbreviated words such as *TV* and *mum*, and acronyms such as *PE*, *CEO*, and *IT*, were included in the counting since they appear as lexical entries in dictionaries. Two dictionaries were used as a guide in this, the Cambridge Online Dictionary and WordReference Dictionary; (v) proper nouns referring to people, cities, and places were discarded, but we kept those referring to nationalities (e.g., *English, Spanish, French*); (vi) brand names (e.g., *Coca Cola*) were discarded; (vii) fictional characters and names were deleted (as seen primarily in 6th grade textbooks); (viii) titles of films, books and videogames (e.g., *Harry Potter, PS4*) were deleted; (ix) verbs were changed to their bare infinitives; (x) comparative and superlative adjectives were joined to their corresponding positive forms (e.g., *higher: high*).

As for the identification of prototypes in the two ELT textbooks, content words (nouns, verbs, adjectives, and adverbs) were used in our analysis. Thus, based on the lists of function words stated by Nation (2001), O’Shea (2013), and Ozturk (2019), prepositions, conjunctions, determiners, definite and indefinite articles, numbers, and auxiliary verbs, including contractions were ignored for this study, since, as opposed to function words, content words have meaning when used alone (Richards & Schmidt, 2002). Moreover, since a review of the literature suggests that prototypical word lists have not been created regarding the corpora in ELT textbooks, we created some preliminary criteria,

such as: (i) phrasal verbs were kept and linked and counted as one word (e.g., goout, meetup, workout); (ii) the word form *there be* was deleted; (iii) *have got/has got/ haven't got* word forms were removed; (iv) auxiliary verbs such as *do*, *get* and *have* were removed, unless they were used in the textbooks as verbs (e.g., do the shopping, get a new house, have a haircut); (v) the proper names of people, countries, and places were deleted (e.g., Phil, Scott, Jamaica, Wales, San Francisco).

Regarding the prototypical content words contained in the two ELT textbooks, we elaborated prototypical word lists following the semantic approach to the classification of content words proposed by Dixon (2005) and Viberg (1984). Dixon's classification consisted of *concrete* (people, volcano), *abstract* (time, year), and *speech act* (answer, question) nouns, *motion* (run, move), *stative* (believe, like), and *speaking* (talk, call) verbs, and adjectives of *value* (good, bad) and *similarity* (different, alike). Viberg's (1984) classification focused on the identification and typology of the *verbs of perception* (listen, look).

To the best of our knowledge, this study is the first attempt to elaborate prototypical word lists to analyse semantic prototypes in ELT textbooks. It focused exclusively on the 50 most frequent content words, with *frequency* referring to the number of times the words occur in a text. The higher the frequency of a word, the more prototypical it is within a text.

4 RESULTS

Before presenting the results regarding the two research questions set out in this study, Table 2 presents the distribution of the corpus and content words per course-level textbook for the sake of clarity.

Table 2: Distribution of Corpus and Content Words per Textbook

	Corpus (content + function words)	Tokens (content words) *Lemmatized	Types (content words) *Lemmatized
<i>New Tiger 6</i>	120,449	8,477	1,452
<i>Key to Bachillerato 2</i>	394,506	27,315	3,486

The results show differences in the number of words contained in terms of the general corpus (content and function words within the textbooks), tokens (total number of content words within the textbooks), and types (different content words within the textbooks). As seen in Table 2, the adolescent EFL learners' textbook (*Key to Bachillerato 2*) had the highest number of words, including content and function words, whereas the EFL children's material (*New Tiger 6*) had the lowest. As for tokens and types, the results showed that, as expected, the Secondary Education textbook *Key to Bachillerato 2* had more than the Primary Education Textbook *New Tiger 6*. Thus, the standardized token-type-ratios (TTRs)

indicated that the lexical variation between the two textbooks differed, at 37.74 for *New Tiger 6* and 45.50 for *Key to Bachillerato 2*. Moreover, within the number of content word types, the frequency of occurrence was up to a minimum of nine times, which was a low percentage in each textbook, at 16.25% for *New Tiger 6* and 18.15% for *Key to Bachillerato 2*. In contrast, the frequency of occurrence equal to one time had the highest percentage for both *New Tiger 6* (33.81%) and *Key to Bachillerato 2* (37.14%).

With reference to our first research question about the evidence of prototypicality in the two ELT textbooks, the results revealed that according to the frequency 'F' (repetition or number of occurrences of the word through the text), there were some prototypical content words for each book, as highlighted in bold in Tables 3 and 4. The analysis of how the prototypes were represented in each textbook was based on the same semantic approaches that were applied to the content words.

Table 3: Prototypical Words Contained in *New Tiger 6*

New Tiger 6							
W	F	WC	Type of Category	W	F	WC	Type of Category
1. Listen	133	V	Perception	26. Make	41	V	Motion
2. Read	126	V	Motion	27. Place	40	N	Abstract
3. Like	103	V	Stative	28. Project	39	N	Abstract
4. People	103	N	Concrete	29. Answer	38	N/V	Speech Act/ Speaking
5. Go	102	V	Motion	30. Club	37	N	Concrete
6. Think	87	V	Stative	31. Favourite	37	ADJ	Value
7. Find	77	V	Motion	32. Take	36	V	Motion
8. Say	77	V	Speaking	33. Talk	36	V	Speaking
9. Day	63	N	Abstract	34. Friend	35	N	Concrete
10. See	59	V	Perception	35. Learn	35	V	Motion
11. Help	56	V	Motion	36. Year	34	N	Abstract
12. Story	56	N	Abstract	37. Name	33	N	Abstract
13. Play	55	V	Motion	38. Put	33	V	Motion
14. Good	53	ADJ	Value	39. Sport	32	N	Concrete
15. Country	51	N	Concrete	40. Volcano	32	N	Concrete
16. Time	51	N	Abstract	41. Call	31	V	Speaking
17. World	51	N	Concrete	42. Past	31	N	Abstract
18. Write	50	V	Motion	43. Ask	30	V	Speaking
19. Live	49	V	Stative	44. Different	30	ADJ	Similarity
20. Use	48	V	Motion	45. Home	30	N	Concrete
21. Tree	46	N	Concrete	46. Look	30	V	Perception
22. Know	43	V	Stative	47. Question	29	N	Speech Act
23. Want	43	V	Stative	48. Visit	29	V	Motion
24. Park	42	N	Concrete	49. Activity	28	N	Abstract
25. School	42	N	Concrete	50. Culture	28	N	Abstract

Note. W: Word, F: Frequency, WC: Word class, N: Noun, V: Verb, ADJ: Adjective

Table 3 shows that in the children's textbook *New Tiger 6*, the classification of content words consisted of different category subtypes. Namely, nouns (*concrete*, *abstract*, and *speech act*), verbs (*motion*, *stative*, *speaking*, and *perception*), and adjectives (*value* and *similarity*). Concerning concrete nouns, the highest number of words (24%) were referred to as real physical objects, things, or places (e.g., *people*, *country*, *school*), followed by abstract nouns (20%) related to ideas, qualities, or states (e.g., *time*, *project*, *culture*), and speech act nouns (4%) that serve a function in communication (e.g., *question*, *answer*). Regarding verbs, most of the words were highly related to motion verbs (24%) which express the meaning of action (e.g., *read*, *go*, *play*), proceeded by stative verbs (10%) that refer to a state of being (e.g., *think*, *know*, *want*) followed by speaking verbs (8%) related to those words used to report what someone has said (e.g., *say*, *ask*, *talk*), and verbs of perception (6%) that convey the experience of one of the physical senses (e.g., *listen*, *see*, *look*). Adjectives were the least represented, with a mere 6% in total, split into adjectives of value (4%), which refer to the quality added to the noun (e.g., *good*, *favourite*), and similarity (2%), which are related to the comparison of two things, states, or events (e.g., *different*). In this respect, semantic prototypes in the 6th graders' ELT textbook were mainly related to concrete nouns (24%) and motion verbs (24%).

The first five positions on the list show that the most frequent words in the textbook, with over 100 occurrences, were *listen* (133/1.57%), *read* (126/1.49%), *like* (103/1.22%), *people* (103/1.22%) and *go* (102/1.20%), and these can be considered the most prototypical in the 6th graders' textbook. The next five words on the top ten list also had rather high frequencies, and these were *think* (87/1.03%), *find* (77/0.91%), *say* (77/0.91%), *day* (63/0.74%) and *see* (59/0.70%). The findings thus showed that the top ten prototypical words in *New Tiger 6* referred to motion verbs (*read*, *go*, and *find*), perception verbs (*listen* and *see*), stative verbs (*like* and *think*), and verbs of saying (*say*). As for nouns, within the top ten most frequent only two stood out, with *people* as a concrete noun and *day* as an abstract noun referring to a unit of time. As seen in Table 3, the most prototypical word in the children's ELT textbook was *listen*, whereas the least was *culture*, at least within the 50 most frequent words in the text. Figure 1 shows the subcategory word types in *New Tiger 6*.

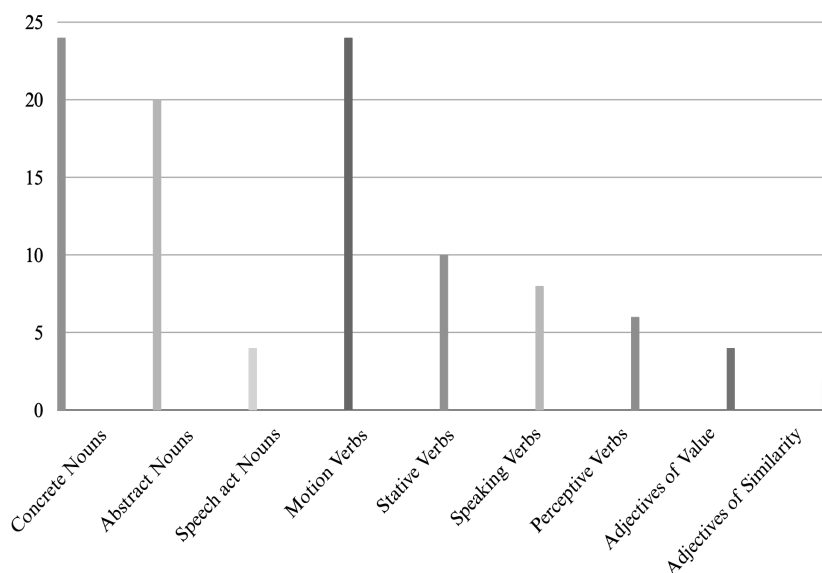


Figure 1: Prototypical Representation of Subcategory Word Types in New Tiger 6

Table 4: Prototypical Words Contained in Key to Bachillerato 2

Key to Bachillerato 2							
W	F	WC	Type of Category	W	F	WC	Type of Category
1. Notebook	355	N	Concrete	26. Look	111	V	Perception
2. Use	342	V	Motion	27. Ask	110	N	Speaking
3. Word	336	N	Abstract	28. Job	109	N	Concrete
4. People	313	N	Concrete	29. Choose	106	V	Motion
5. Sentence	263	N	Abstract	30. Listen	104	V	Perception
6. Question	260	N	Speech Act	31. Year	104	N	Abstract
7. Say	246	V	Speaking	32. See	96	V	Perception
8. Complete	238	V	Motion	33. Key	95	N	Concrete
9. Think	215	V	Stative	34. Exam	94	N	Abstract
10. Write	214	V	Motion	35. School	93	N	Concrete
11. Text	206	N	Abstract	36. Speak	93	V	Speaking
12. Answer	204	N/V	Speech Act/ Speaking	37. Thing	92	N	Concrete
13. Verb	204	N	Abstract	38. Want	91	V	Stative
14. Go	180	V	Motion	39. Take	89	V	Motion
15. Make	169	V	Motion	40. Find	88	V	Motion
16. Good	164	ADJ	Value	41. Paragraph	88	N	Abstract
17. Read	153	V	Motion	42. Walk	88	V	Motion
18. Like	140	V	Stative	43. Example	87	N	Abstract
19. Form	134	N	Abstract	44. Activity	86	N	Abstract

20. Correct	128	ADJ/V	Value	45. Unit	86	N	Abstract
21. Work	121	V	Motion	46. Know	85	V	Stative
22. Give	115	V	Motion	47. Language	80	N	Abstract
23. Past	113	N	Abstract	48. Need	80	V	Stative
24. Phrase	113	N	Abstract	49. Start	80	V	Motion
25. Time	112	N	Abstract	50. Change	79	V	Stative

Note. W: Word, F: Frequency, WC: Word class, N: Noun, V: Verb, ADJ: Adjective

The findings in Table 4 indicate that – similar to the children's textbook (A1/A2 CEFR levels) – the classification of the prototypical words in the adolescents' textbook *Key to Bachillerato 2* (B2 CEFR level) included nouns (concrete, abstract, and speech act), verbs (motion, stative, speaking, and perception), and adjectives (value). Unlike *New Tiger 6*, the most common nouns in *Key to Bachillerato 2* were abstract nouns (30%) (e.g., *word*, *sentence*, *text*), followed by concrete nouns (12%) (e.g., *notebook*, *people*, *job*), and nouns referring to speech acts (4%), such as *question* and *answer*. As in the children's material, motion verbs were also highly represented (26%) in the adolescents' textbook, such as *use*, *complete*, and *write*. Motion verbs were followed by stative verbs (e.g., *think*, *live*, *want*) and verbs of perception (e.g., *look*, *listen*, *see*), at 12% each. Speaking verbs accounted for 6% of the total, represented by words such as *say*, *ask*, and *speak*. As for adjectives, unlike *New Tiger 6*, *Key to Bachillerato 2* only included the *value* subtype (e.g., *good* and *correct*), with a frequency of 6%.

As can also be seen in Table 4, the highest positions in the word list for the 12th grade ELT textbook ranked from positions one to 31, since all these words had more than 100 occurrences. The most frequent prototypical word in this specific textbook (*Key to Bachillerato 2*) was the concrete noun *notebook* (355/1.30%), whilst the least frequent was the stative verb *change* (79/0.29%). Within the top ten most frequent words in the adolescents' textbook, the results showed that the most prototypical words – apart from *notebook* – were *use* (342/1.30%), *word* (336/1.23%), and *people* (313/1.15%). Other prototypical words appeared from the fifth position onwards in the word list, although at a lower frequency level. For instance, *sentence* (263/0.96%), *question* (260/0.95%), *say* (246/0.90%), *complete* (238/0.87%), *think* (215/0.79%), and *write* (214/0.78%). The findings showed that, as in the children's textbook, the top ten most prototypical words in the adolescents' material mainly corresponded to motion verbs (*use*, *complete*, and *write*). However, just one stative verb (*think*) and one speaking verb (*say*) had high frequencies, and no perceptive verbs were included in the top ten most frequent words in the prototypical word list. With regard to nouns, there were two concrete nouns (*notebook* and *people*), two abstract nouns (*word* and *sentence*), and a speech act noun (*question*). Therefore, these top ten words might be considered the most prototypical ones in *Key to Bachillerato 2*. Figure 2 shows the classification of the subtype categories used for the elaboration of the prototypical word lists in the adolescents' textbook.

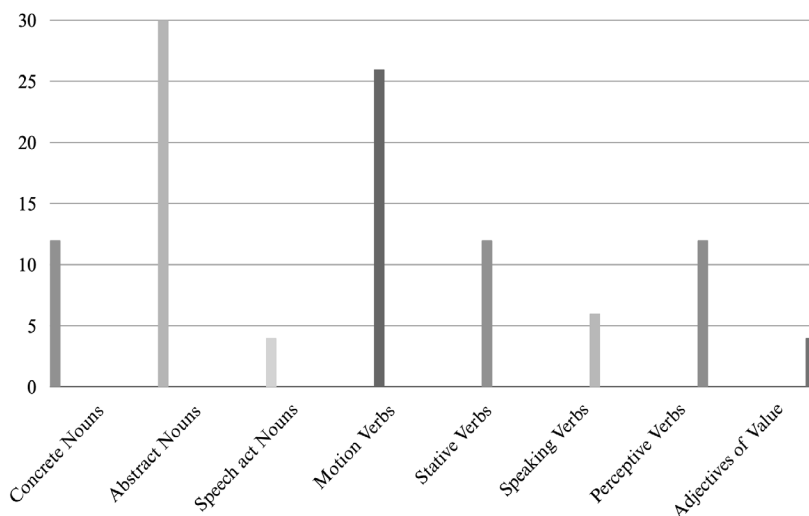


Figure 2: Prototypical Representation of Subcategory Word Types in Key to Bachillerato 2

Regarding our second research question, the results showed that despite the differences in terms of the frequency of the words contained within the 50 most frequent words per textbook, there were still some similarities among the prototypical words with regard to the type of content word subcategories. For instance, most of the prototypical content words were related to motion verbs in both the children's and adolescents' ELT textbooks. Moreover, the subcategories proposed for the elaboration of the prototypical content word lists in the ELT materials coincided with the classification of nouns, verbs, and adjectives. Another notable finding is that the word *people* appears in fourth places in both textbooks (Tables 3 and 4), although with a different number of occurrences. Within the most 50 frequent words, 25 prototypical words were found to be the same in both ELT textbooks, despite the different course levels. Most of the shared prototypical words were verbs (64%), followed by nouns (32%) and a single adjective (4%). Table 5 shows the classification of these prototypical content words in the children's and adolescents' textbooks for ease of readability.

Table 5: The Prototypical Content Words that Appeared in Both ELT Textbooks

New Tiger 6 & Key to Bachillerato 2	Nouns		Verbs		Adjectives	
	Concrete	People, school	Motion	Read, go, find, write, use, make, take	Value	Good
	Abstract	Time, past, year, activity	Stative	Like, think, know, want		
	Speech Act	Question, answer	Speaking	Say, ask		
			Perception	Listen, see, look		

Note. Source: The 50 most frequent words per textbook

There were notable differences between both textbooks with regard to the most prototypical content words, as shown in Table 5. For instance, although the most frequent words were related to concrete nouns and motion verbs in the children’s textbook *New Tiger 6*, the most representative prototype was a verb of perception (*listen*). In the case of the adolescents’ textbook *Key to Bachillerato 2*, the highest percentage of words were related to abstract nouns and motion verbs, while the most prototypical content word was a concrete noun (*notebook*).

Furthermore, the results also revealed that among the most frequent concrete nouns in *New Tiger 6* there was evidence of subcategories such as Environment (*tree* and *volcano*), Geographic Places (*world* and *country*), and Town (*park*, *school*, and *club*). In contrast, in *Key to Bachillerato 2* the highest percentage of nouns were abstract ones, and the leading subcategory was Units of Language (*word*, *sentence*, *text*, *verb*, *paragraph*, and *phrase*).

5 DISCUSSION

Content words were the focus of this study with the aim of identifying prototypical words in the two EFL learners’ ELT textbooks, given that they refer to notions, concepts, facts, and feelings (Nation, 2001; Gardner, 2013). Our results showed that when comparing the 6th and the 12th graders’ ELT textbooks (*New Tiger 6* and *Key to Bachillerato 2*), content words, as expected, were more common in the older learners’ B2 level material. As for the total number of words (tokens) and different words (types), our results indicated that there were fewer of these words in the young learners’ textbook were than in the older learners’ coursebook. These results were not surprising, since differences in factors such as age and course level have an impact on the learning language process. The data for the children’s textbook *New Tiger 6* revealed that the total number of content and function

words was in line with the results presented by Guerra and Jiménez Catalán (2022). However, our data regarding content words exclusively (8,477 tokens and 1,452 types) did not agree with Guerra and Jiménez's results (20,350 tokens and 1,535 types). This difference derives from the fact that for our specific analysis of prototypes we eliminated all function words, including auxiliary verbs and their corresponding contractions (e.g., *be: aren't, isn't- do: don't, doesn't, didn't*), as suggested in the list of function words proposed by Nation (2001, p.430-431). Regarding *Key to Bachillerato 2*, such comparisons are irrelevant since, to the best of our knowledge, no research has been conducted concerning this 12th graders' textbook. However, the standard token-type ratio (STTR) in the list of content word types showed that, as expected, *Key to Bachillerato 2* had a higher lexical variation than *New Tiger 6*.

As stated in the section on methodology, the elaboration of prototypical word lists was carried out to identify patterns of prototypical words contained in the learners' ELT textbooks. These lists followed the semantic approaches put forward by Dixon's (2005) and Viberg's (1984) classification of words. As previously mentioned, the classification of the 50 most frequent words was conducted using these semantic approaches to determine whether there was evidence of semantic prototypes in the children's and adolescents' materials.

The data collected revealed that in the children's textbook (*New Tiger 6*), the most prototypical words corresponded to concrete nouns and motion verbs, as Dixon (2005) proposed in his classification of words. This may indicate that nouns and verbs are the most predominant words in the learners' materials (Guerra & Jiménez Catalán, 2022; Norlund, 2015; Hsieh et al., 2011). However, the results must be interpreted cautiously since this study only considered one of the many textbooks used in 6th primary education. The findings also showed that abstract nouns and speech act nouns, alongside stative, speaking, and perceptive verbs, appeared with low frequencies. Nevertheless, the most prototypical word, which was the most frequent in the textbook, was *listen*, a verb of perception. An interpretation of this result might be that this verb conveys the experience of a physical sense, and perception is more accessible for young children than mental states (Davis & Landau, 2020). Within the top ten most frequent words, most of the prototypical words were mainly verbs, with only two nouns. Most of the verbs belonged to the subcategory of motion verbs, followed by perceptive, stative, and speaking verbs. This tendency may suggest that verbs are the most frequent words and thus the most prototypical in the children's textbook, given that verbs constitute one of the largest classes of content words (Börjars & Burridge, 2001), which, in turn, are essential for vocabulary acquisition.

The results for the adolescents' textbook (*Key to Bachillerato 2*) showed that, unlike *New Tiger 6*, prototypical words were highly associated with abstract nouns followed by motion verbs. The findings for nouns within the top 50 most frequent content words in the 12th graders' material showed that abstract nouns outnumbered concrete nouns, unlike in the

6th graders' textbook. This may stem from the fact that textbook designers would have considered that the cognitive changes which take place during adolescence include a shift from concrete to more abstract and complex thinking (Lang et al., 2022). In addition, according to the Common European Framework of Reference (CEFR), learners who achieve a B2 upper intermediate level of performance are conditioned to understand the main ideas of complex texts on concrete and abstract topics, including some technical discussions. Regarding verbs, the results for this textbook were in line with those for the children's textbook, since the leading ones were motion verbs followed by stative, perceptive, and speaking verbs. As for adjectives, they were exclusively related to the value subcategory. The most prototypical word found in *Key to Bachillerato 2* was *notebook*, a concrete noun that might be considered a basic word within the category of School, as well as being the most used object by adolescent learners in this educational context. Concerning the top ten words within the 50 most frequent content words, the results indicated that, as in the children's textbook, in the adolescents' book the most representative subcategory was motion verbs. However, some differences were noticeable, since within the top ten words there were a mixture of nouns and verbs. However, unlike *New Tiger 6*, the results for *Key to Bachillerato 2* did not reveal any verbs of perception. This may suggest that although perceptive verbs related to physical senses were indeed present in the adolescent's textbook, they were not the most frequent, and thus not the most prototypical words as they were in the children's book, being within the top ten most frequent content words.

The findings with regard to the shared prototypical content words in both textbooks revealed that despite difference in age and course level, the children's and the adolescents' textbooks shared 25 basic prototypical words (Table 5). All of these basic words (e.g., *people, school, activity, answer, question, read, write, think, say, ask*) are included within the 2,000 most frequent words at introductory levels, and 5,000 most frequent 5000 words at advanced levels. This means that the vocabulary input provided by ELT textbooks includes these words so that learners can acquire a general comprehension of the language (Alsaif & Milton, 2012). However, caution should be taken since the sample of textbooks in this study is limited to only two titles. However, the basic words highlighted in this study have also been found within the top 50 content words in other Primary Education textbooks, with Jiménez Catalán and Mancebo (2008) noting items such as *people, school, read, write, and play*. This shows that apart from the two textbooks used in this investigation, these basic words are also present in other ELT textbooks, which is unsurprising since they belong to the 1,000 most frequent words (K1) (Nation, 2014).

6 CONCLUSIONS

This study is the first on the representation of word prototypicality in children's and adolescents' ELT textbooks, and thus its elaboration of prototypical word lists contributes

to the exploration of semantic prototypes in students' materials. The findings with regard to the 50 most frequent content words in both books support the conclusion that although the most frequent word in *New Tiger 6 (listen)* differed from that in *Key to Bachillerato 2 (notebook)*, there was evidence of shared prototypes within both top ten most frequent words, such as *people*, *think*, and *say*. The results showed that for the children's textbook the prototypical words were mainly motion verbs and concrete nouns, while for the adolescents' textbook they were mainly abstract nouns followed by motion verbs. The results also showed that the top ten most frequent words in *New Tiger 6* included motion and stative verbs, verbs of perception and saying, followed by a small number of concrete and abstract nouns. In contrast, in *Key to Bachillerato 2* the most prototypical words were motion verbs, abstract and concrete nouns, followed by a few stative and speaking verbs, along with one single speech act noun. These findings should be valuable for researchers, EFL teachers, and textbook designers, given that the insights with regard to the prototypical words in ELT textbooks open new and first lines of investigation on vocabulary learning through the elaboration of prototypical word lists based on content word semantic approaches.

However, the findings should not be generalized since we only considered two textbooks, one each for learners from the 6th and 12th grades. We did not include a higher number of textbooks, given that in the selection criteria of the materials, we only considered those most and still used by EFL learners in the Autonomous Community of La Rioja, Spain. In further research, it could be useful to elaborate a more general and complete word list, including the classification of words by means of the semantic approaches proposed by Dixon (2005) and Viberg (1984) to ease the analysis of prototypes in ELT textbooks. As previously mentioned, ours is the first attempt to elaborate prototypical word lists based on the frequency of occurrences of the words contained in textbooks. However, for the specific purpose of our study, we exclusively focused on only two textbooks instead of a general word list that could be more useful for any textbook in FL research.

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POVZETEK

UPORABA SEZNAMOV PROTOTIPSKIH POLNOPOMENSKIH BESED ZA ANALIZO UVAJANJA BESEDIŠČA V UČBENIKIH ZA POUČEVANJE ANGLEŠKEGA JEZIKA

Učbeniki veljajo za ključno pedagoško komponento pri poučevanju in učenju tujih jezikov. Vendar so analize zastopanosti prototipskih vzorcev v besedišču, ki ga vsebujejo učbeniki za poučevanje angleškega jezika (ELT), redke, saj po nam znanih podatkih še ni bil izdelan noben seznam prototipskih besed. Namen te študije je predvsem razkriti, ali je prototipičnost besed zastopana v dveh učbenikih ELT za učence EFL, ki se razlikujeta po starosti in stopnji tečaja, pri čemer se osredotočamo na 50 najpogostejših besed v vsebini in nato pripravimo predhodne sezname prototipičnih besed na podlagi klasifikacije, uporabljene v semantičnih pristopih, ki sta jih predlagala Dixon (2005) in Viberg (1984). Ugotovitve so razkrile dokaze o prototipičnosti v obeh učbenikih, kljub razlikam v predvideni starosti in ravni tečaja. Rezultati so pokazali tudi, da glede na vrsto vsebinskih besed, ki jih najdemo v posameznem gradivu ELT, med knjigama obstajajo razlike in podobnosti, povezane s prototipskimi izrazi. Poleg tega so bile prototipske vsebinske besede, ki se nanašajo na konkretne in abstraktne samostalnike ter glagole zaznavanja, pogostejše kot druge vrste vsebinskih besed. Poleg tega so ugotovitve pokazale tudi, da so bili glagoli najbolj prototipične vsebinske besede, ki jih najdemo v obeh učbenikih ELT. Ta raziskava ima dve glavni pomembni izobraževalni posledici. Prva vključuje preučevanje pomenskih prototipov v učbenikih ELT za učence EFL, kar bi prineslo nova in bolj specifična spoznanja o vlogi, ki jo lahko imajo prototipne besede pri učenju besedišča v formalnem kontekstu. Drugi se nanaša na to, kako bi bilo mogoče prototipičnost besed v besedišču učbenikov ELT analizirati z uporabo seznamov prototipičnih besed v vsebini.

Ključne besede: semantični prototipi, vnos besedišča, učbeniki ELT, vsebinske besede, prototipni seznam besed

ABSTRACT

THE IMPLEMENTATION OF PROTOTYPICAL CONTENT WORD LISTS TO ANALYSE THE VOCABULARY INPUT CONTAINED IN ENGLISH LANGUAGE TEACHING TEXTBOOKS

Textbooks are considered a crucial pedagogical component in foreign language teaching and learning contexts. However, analyses of the representation of prototypical patterns in the vocabulary input contained in English language teaching (ELT) textbooks have been scarce since, to the best of our knowledge, no prototypical word lists have yet been produced. This study is primarily intended to reveal whether word prototypicality is represented in two EFL learners' ELT textbooks differing

in age and course level, focusing on the 50 most frequent content words and then elaborating preliminary prototypical word lists based on the classification used in the semantic approaches proposed by Dixon (2005) and Viberg (1984). The findings revealed evidence of prototypicality in both textbooks despite the differences in their intended ages and course levels. The results also showed that, according to the type of content words found in each ELT material, there were differences and similarities related to the prototypical terms between the two books. Moreover, prototypical content words referring to concrete and abstract nouns and perception verbs were more common than other types of content words. Furthermore, the findings also indicated that verbs were the most prototypical content words found in both ELT textbooks. This research has two main significant educational implications. The first involves studying semantic prototypes in the EFL learners' ELT textbooks, which would bring novel and more specific insights into the role prototypical words might play in vocabulary learning in formal contexts. The second refers to how word prototypicality in the vocabulary input of ELT textbooks might be analysed with the use of prototypical content word lists.

Keywords: semantic prototypes, vocabulary input, ELT textbooks, content words, prototypical word lists

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DEVELOPING AN ASSESSMENT INSTRUMENT MODEL FOR INDONESIAN CULTURE-BASED ORAL PRESENTATIONS FOR UNDERGRADUATE EFL STUDENTS

1 INTRODUCTION

The main goal of 21st-century language learning is communicative competence, particularly particularly oral skills, which are crucial for academic and career success (Fareen, 2018; López et al., 2019: 207; Werdiningsih & Mukminatien, 2023: 422). Effective oral communication involves the smooth, clear expression of ideas and grammatical accuracy (AlSaleem, 2018; Mamo & Yigzaw, 2015). Developing students' oral competence prepares them for professional tasks like cooperation, negotiation, and problem-solving. Integrating effective teaching methods and supportive environments is essential for enhancing students' oral communication skills (Cavanagh et al., 2019: 441).

Learning a language is closely tied to understanding its culture, making culture-based teaching essential. A language reflects the cultural values of its speakers, and in today's globalized world teaching English requires not only linguistic competence but also intercultural communicative competence (Cheng, 2012: 164; Wahyuni et al., 2014: 84). This is in line with the findings of Darong and Menggo (2021: 253), who revealed that when someone

learns a language, they inherently acquire some knowledge about the people who speak that language. To achieve this, learners of the target language need to produce language with both linguistic and cultural competency. Marhamah et al. (2017: 492) suggest that incorporating target culture into teaching is seen positively, as it enhances students' cultural awareness and understanding of nonverbal cues, which are crucial for effective communication. While the target culture is important, using a more familiar local culture can boost student engagement and reduce awkwardness (Alakrash et al., 2021: 549). Therefore, local culture-based materials should be considered when teaching speaking.

Darong and Menggo (2021: 256) highlight that incorporating culture into English teaching can enhance students' appreciation of their culture. In Indonesia, Seftika et al. (2017: 19) found that teaching English through a local cultural context improves students' understanding of Indonesian culture and increases their awareness of cultural diversity, aiding in effective social communication. Speaking practice in English also helps students transfer their knowledge of local culture. In addition, Rahman et al. (2022: 67) found that integrating local culture into speaking lessons significantly boosts students' motivation and emotions. It reduces anxiety, creates positive emotional experiences, and fosters a more enjoyable learning environment and speaking sessions with local cultural content. Overall, familiarity with the local context is beneficial for English learners.

As teaching English speaking skills using local culture has been proven beneficial, the question arises as to what constitutes effective ways of assessing the student's oral communication performance in this context. In the language education, assessment is considered a crucial process to identify whether students have achieved the specified learning aims, emphasizing communication strategies, encouraging communication, managing unpredictable language output, and being appropriate to the focal situation (Richards, 2006). Assessment can help achieve the intended educational purposes, providing essential feedback on students' understanding and progress (Fitriyah et al., 2022: 126; Slamet & Mukminatien, 2024: 189). However, each learning objective needs to be assessed in order to ascertain the success of the learning process (Khotimah et al., 2024: 96; Masitoh et al., 2023: 926), as otherwise the intended learning aims may not be achieved.

While assessment helps to map the students' learning progress, some of the speaking instruments that are currently available are not well-suited for assessing students' culture-based oral performance. Some studies suggest assessing speaking by focusing on pronunciation, fluency, organization and structure, language use, and gestures (Werdiningsih & Mukminatien, 2023: 425), thus neglecting the value of the various aspects of intercultural competence embedded in the culture-based content knowledge as assessment indicators. In addition, the learning activities used in this context must be able to develop students' creativity and critical thinking, as these are important skills for their future careers. The absence of speaking instruments that cover these skills may be perceived negatively by students, as it suggests that being creative and critical thinkers has nothing

to do with their learning process. Therefore, it is crucial to develop more comprehensive assessment instruments that address these gaps.

The present study uncovered the problem faced by Indonesian private university lecturers in teaching English for tourism conversation courses to carry out classroom-based assessments. Due to a limited understanding of this issue, the procedures used to carry out classroom-based assessments of Indonesian culture-based oral presentations do not meet the criteria of effective classroom-based assessment, and several changes are needed. First, to reduce ambiguities, it is essential to validate speaking prompts with expert input, ensuring they are perceived as high-quality, readable, and relevant to the learning objectives. Second, relying solely on linguistic competence is inadequate for Indonesian culture-based oral presentations, and it is important to incorporate the dimension of intercultural communicative competence and acknowledge students' efforts in critical thinking and creativity (Santoso et al., 2021: 4). To address this issue, this study envisions the development of Indonesian culture-based oral presentation instruments, as guided by two main research questions:

1. What is an effective speaking prompt?
2. How are the speaking assessment instrument indicators best developed and validated?

2 METHOD

2.1 Research Design

This research was done for development purposes, adopting a research and development (R&D) design. The final products of this study are speaking prompt and assessment indicators on Indonesian culture-based oral presentation. Implementing the ADDIE model adopted from Morrison (2010) throughout a descriptive study allows researchers to systematically document each aspect of the instructional design, while learning about best practices and areas for improvement. This systematic method not only improves comprehension of useful educational practices but also encourages continual development in terms of instructional design efforts by documenting comprehensive descriptions of procedures and outcomes at each stage. The stages of development include analysis, design, development, implementation, and evaluation.

a) Analysis

First, researchers examined the curriculum, focusing on the syllabus of English for tourism conversation courses at one private university in Indonesia to identify suitable speaking activities and assessment models aligned with learning objectives. Second, the researchers conducted library research to create a standardized Indonesian culture-based speaking assessment model, considering the needs of both teachers and students.

b) Design

The design step is done by designing speaking outlines containing speaking prompt and assessment indicators. First, the researchers formulate the speaking prompt. The specifications of the prompt are as follows.

Table 1: Specification of an Effective Speaking Prompt

No	Specification	Description
1	Instruction	Students describe the product of cultures such as customs/traditions, cuisine, and social norms, as well as historical facts, individually.
2	Participant	Second-semester who enrolled in the English for Tourism Conversation course.
3	Material	Each student chooses one of the Indonesian cultures among the listed ones – Javanese, Lampungnese, Bataknese, Balinese, or any other local culture they are interested in. Supporting aids are highly recommended.
4	Setting place and time	The presentation takes place at the scheduled time and place, with each presentation having a maximum length of 10 minutes.
5	Assessment indicators	Grammatical accuracy, pronunciation, fluency, vocabulary, cultural knowledge, attitude, skill of interpreting and relating information from different cultural contexts, cultural awareness, time management, and appropriate use of audio-visual aids.

Table 1 shows that the specifications of an effective speaking prompt comprise five main aspects that aim to produce clear and precise prompts. In terms of instruction, the students need to get clear instructions on what they have to do. Additionally, the prompt should address particular participants to avoid misinterpretation of those who have no interest in the related speaking activities. The specifications also note that students have to insert materials based on Indonesian culture in their presentation, as supported by relevant aids either audio or visuals. The prompt should also inform students about the time and place where the presentation will take place, and how long they have to present their materials. Lastly, the students should be informed of the assessment indicators used, so that they are aware of the targeted learning outcomes.

In terms of designing speaking assessment indicators, the researchers conducted library research by reviewing relevant previous studies and theories of assessment. After synthesizing these resources (Aprianoto & Haerazi, 2019: 2797; Cheng, 2012: 164; Nemati et al., 2014: 8; Wahyuni et al., 2014: 84; Wehmeier, 2020: 535) and taking only relevant data, the researchers divided culture-based speaking assessment indicators into three main aspects: linguistic competence (grammatical accuracy, pronunciation, fluency, and vocabulary), intercultural communicative competence (cultural knowledge, attitude, skill of interpreting and relating information from different cultural contexts, and cultural awareness), and self-management competence (time management and appropriate use of audio-visual aids).

c) Development

The development step involves expert judgments to validate the assessment model. Two prominent lecturers, with doctorate degrees and expert in teaching speaking skills, teaching English as a foreign language, and language assessment, were invited to validate the instrument content. They evaluated the quality of the speaking prompt, instruction readability, and the relevancy of the speaking assessment indicators for assessing students' linguistic, intercultural, and self-management competence in relation to the learning objectives. The experts also tested the assessment indicators on volunteer students. Their feedback was then used to refine the assessment.

d) Implementation

The implementation step involves testing the speaking prompt and the assessment indicators for students. Four second-semester English education student volunteers read the instructions to ensure clarity. With a similar understanding to the experts, they were given one week to prepare their oral presentations. After one week, the four students made their presentations on Indonesian culture and were assessed by the two experts using the developed indicators. The scoring results from the experts were then analysed for validity and reliability.

e) Evaluation

The evaluation step followed the completion of the other four steps. Here, the researchers analysed the instrument's strengths and weaknesses based on the validity and reliability results. Once deemed appropriate, they created an assessment model with a valid speaking prompt for culture-based presentations and adaptable culture-based speaking assessment indicators for broader culture-based language learning.

2.2 Research Instrument

The products of this study include a speaking prompt and culture-based speaking assessment indicators. To ensure the validity of the speaking prompt, researchers distributed close-ended questionnaires to measure its quality, readability, and relevancy to the learning objectives. The experts could add support for their responses to the questionnaire. The second product is the culture-based speaking assessment indicators. As the main goal is to help students achieve their communicative competence, the researchers developed indicators that cover linguistic competence and speaking skills in terms of fluency, grammatical accuracy, pronunciation, and vocabulary (Cheng, 2012: 164; Wahyuni et al., 2014: 84); intercultural communicative competence in which students present knowledge of cultures, attitudes, and cultural awareness, as well as the skills needed to interpret and relate information from many cultural backgrounds (Aprianoto & Haerazi, 2019: 2797; Nemati et al., 2014: 8); and self-management competence in

which students can control the length of the presentation and choose appropriate audio-visual aids to support it (Wehmeier et al., 2020: 535). Once the students can meet the standards set for the various indicators of assessment when conducting an oral presentation, their communicative competence is achieved.

2.3 Data Analysis Technique

The researchers used content validity to analyse the questionnaire data on the speaking prompt and assessment indicators, obtaining expert feedback through a close-ended questionnaire. Additionally, the researchers used statistical analysis – calculating Cronbach’s Alpha using SPSS – to assess the reliability of the speaking assessment indicators across dimensions and as a whole. Testing reliability ensures consistent and impartial measurement over time and across different parts of the instrument, as proposed by Shweta and Chaturvedi (2015: 21). Furthermore, they recommended using the interpretation criteria of inter-rater reliability proposed by Landis and Koch (1977), cited in Shweta and Chaturvedi (2015: 22), and as presented in the following table.

Table 2: Interpretation Criteria of Inter-Rater Reliability Coefficient

Coefficient	Interpretation
<0.00	Poor
0.00 - 0.20	Slight
0.20 - 0.40	Fair
0.41 - 0.60	Moderate
0.61 - 0.80	Substantial
0.81 - 1.00	Almost Perfect

According to Gelişli and Beisenbayeva (2017: 282), an instrument is considered highly reliable and acceptable if the coefficient of consistency is more than 0.7. The researchers evaluated the reliability of the indicators right after the instrument was used by the two raters to assess the oral presentation of the four second-semester student volunteers in the English education program, using a five-point scoring scale ranging from 1 to 5, with 1 meaning “poor” and 5 “excellent”.

3 FINDINGS

3.1 Content Validity of Speaking Prompt

As part of their attempt to develop an assessment of Indonesian culture-based oral presentation, the researchers developed the specifications of an effective speaking prompt. The quality, readability, and relevancy of the prompt were examined by two experts on teaching speaking and teaching English as a foreign language (E1), and language assessment (E2). The results of their assessment are shown in the following table.

Table 3: Validation Results for the Speaking Prompt

Aspects	Guided Questions	E1	E2
Quality	Does the speaking prompt have good clarity and quality?	Yes	Yes
Readability	Does the speaking prompt address the specific participant?	Yes	Yes
	Does the speaking prompt state the time and place for conducting the oral presentation?	Yes	Yes
Relevancy	Do the materials stated in the speaking prompt represent to the related cultural aspects?	Yes	Yes
	Do the assessment indicators stated in the speaking prompt cover all aspects of the students' communicative competence in culture-based oral presentations?	Yes	Yes

Referring to the findings in Table 3, the experts unanimously agreed that the speaking prompt meets the criteria of quality, readability, and relevancy. Both experts found the speaking prompt to be clear and of high quality. They also agreed that the instructions were readable and easily understood by people who share a similar perception of what is required during the oral presentation. There were no ambiguities in the language used. Furthermore, in terms of relevancy, both experts agreed that the speaking prompt effectively integrated cultural aspects, guiding the students to present selected aspects of Indonesian culture, including customs/traditions, cuisine, and social norms. In addition, they affirmed that the assessment indicators are relevant for evaluating students' communicative competence in culture-based oral presentations.

3.2 Content Validity of Culture-Based Speaking Assessment Indicators

The second assessment instrument used culture-based speaking assessment indicators. Similar to validating the speaking prompt, the researchers brought in experts to validate the content of the indicators, with the results presented below.

Table 4: Validation Results of Culture-Based Speaking Assessment Indicators

Aspect	Guided Question	E1	E2
Linguistic Competence	1. Is assessing students' grammatical accuracy, fluency, vocabulary, and pronunciation relevant to assessing students' oral presentation?	Yes	Yes
	2. Should content be included in linguistic competence?	No	No
Intercultural Communicative Competence	3. Is assessing students' knowledge of cultures, attitudes, skills, and cultural awareness relevant to assessing students' oral presentation?	Yes	Yes
Self-Management Competence	4. Does assessing students' time management in controlling their oral presentation and managing their content delivery with regard to a given length contribute to students' critical thinking?	Yes	Yes
	5. Does assessing aids in supporting students' oral presentation contribute to critical thinking?	Yes	Yes

As shown in Table 4, the experts agreed that the assessment indicators covering the three competencies are relevant for evaluating students' culture-based oral presentations. However, one specific question was deemed irrelevant, leading to redundancy in the indicators, as the dimension of content should belong under intercultural communicative competence rather than linguistic competence. This makes sense because the content of the presentation reflects cultural products. As such, discussing content relates to students' knowledge of Indonesian culture, which they present. Consequently, both experts recommended removing the content dimension from the linguistic competence aspect.

3.3 Reliability of Assessment Indicators of Indonesian Culture-Based Oral Presentation

Measuring the reliability of the speaking assessment indicators was done through inter-rater reliability. Two experts scored the oral performance of four second-semester student volunteers as a pilot study using scoring rubrics developed from assessment indicators. The results of scoring the students' oral performance were calculated and analysed using Cronbach's alpha. The following table presents the inter-rater reliability of each dimension of competence.

Table 5: Coefficient of Inter-Rater Reliability in Each Dimension

Aspect	Dimension	Coefficient	Criteria
Linguistic Competence	Fluency	1.0	Almost perfect
	Grammatical accuracy	.80	Substantial
	Vocabulary	.74	Substantial
	Pronunciation	1.0	Almost perfect
Intercultural Communicative Competence	Knowledge	.72	Substantial
	Skill	.84	Almost perfect
	Attitude	.93	Almost perfect
	Cultural awareness	.72	Substantial
Self-Management Competence	Time management	.93	Almost perfect
	Appropriate use of audio and visual aids	1.0	Almost perfect

The table above shows the results for the inter-rater reliability coefficient, showing various coefficients of reliability ranging from substantial to almost perfect. The “substantial” level includes grammatical accuracy, vocabulary, knowledge, and cultural awareness, while the “almost perfect” level includes fluency, pronunciation, skill, attitude, time management, and appropriate use of audio and visual aids. The results indicate that each dimension of the assessment indicators is applicable to assess students’ oral presentation.

In order to find the overall reliability of the assessment indicators, the researchers calculated the consistency using Cronbach’s alpha, with the result presented in the following figure.

Reliability Statistics	
Cronbach's Alpha	N of Items
.991	2

Figure 1: The Coefficient of Reliability of All Indicators

As shown in Figure 1, the reliability coefficient of all indicators is 0.99, which implies that all the all indicators for assessing students’ oral presentations are reliable and applicable. To some extent, the indicators can be employed to assess various kinds of speaking activities, particularly those that involve linguistic, intercultural, and self-management competence. The following table shows the assessment indicators used for the students’ culture-based oral presentations.

Table 6: The Assessment Indicators of Indonesian Culture-Based Oral Presentation

Competence	Dimension	Indicator
Linguistic Competence	Pronunciation	Students are able to pronounce words correctly.
	Fluency	Students are able to perform at a smooth and continuous pace, with virtually no repetition or hesitancy during a presentation.
	Grammatical accuracy	Students are able to use a variety of structures with only occasional grammatical errors.
	Vocabulary	Students possess an extensive vocabulary range, and make precise and accurate word choices that are highly appropriate to enhance effective communication.
Intercultural Communicative Competence	Knowledge of the culture	Students are able to present the cultural products (customs, cuisine, social norms) of a selected culture and deliver the culture-based materials in a capable manner.
	Attitude	Students are able to communicate politely, exhibit curiosity, perform open-mindedly, suspend scepticism and beliefs about both their own and other cultures, avoid making assumptions about which cultures are right or wrong, and respect cultural differences and similarities.
	Skill in interpreting and relating information	Students are able to recognize cultural viewpoints in a new cultural setting, provide an explanation of the new cultural setting they encounter, recognize the potential for cultural misunderstandings, and resolve them.
	Cultural awareness	Students are able to share cultural products and practices appropriately, as well as modify their values and actions while engaging with other cultures.
Self-Management Competence	Time management	Students are able to manage their presentations so they meet the required length of time.
	Appropriate use of audio and visual aids	Students are able to use aids that are very clear and visually/audibly appealing and support the materials on specific cultures being presented.

4 DISCUSSION

The outcome of this study was a culture-based speaking assessment instrument model. More specifically, two kinds of instruments were developed as the final products – the speaking prompt and culture-based speaking assessment indicators. The validity of the speaking prompt and assessment indicators was ensured by examining the content validity, which was done with the help of two experts. Almanasreh et al. (2019: 215) note that content validity can offer a proof of how well-suited and representational an instrument's components are for the intended construct. A pair of experts evaluated each component of the instruments and assigned scores based on their representation and relevance to the content domain. Three aspects of the speaking prompt – quality, readability, and relevancy – were analyzed, along with the indicators for linguistic, intercultural, and self-management competence. Two validation

stages were conducted: the development stage and the expert-judgment stage, ensuring the instruments' high quality. The results indicated that the speaking prompt was appropriate for the learning objectives and was deemed valid. Similarly, the competencies assessed – linguistic, intercultural, and self-management – were found to be relevant for evaluating the students' speaking performance in oral presentations. This is in line with what has been suggested by previous studies (Almanasreh et al., 2019: 216; Koller et al., 2017: 2), in which a two-step procedure (development and judgment quantification) is recommended to assess each instrument's content validity. This can subsequently assess the instrument's representativeness and relevance to the subject matter. By carrying out content validation systematically and thoroughly, useful information can be obtained for researchers and practitioners.

Since both instruments were valid, the following step was undertaken to ensure their reliability. Four English education student volunteers were invited to read the instructions and conduct the culture-based oral presentation. Their performances were assessed by two experts using scoring rubrics based on culture-based assessment indicators. The scoring results were calculated and analyzed, revealing a *Cronbach's alpha* reliability coefficient of 0.99, indicating that they are reliable, applicable, and acceptable to measure the students' oral presentations. Aprianoto and Haerazi (2019: 2803) state that an instrument is highly reliable if *Cronbach's alpha* is higher than 0.7.

A clear speaking prompt/instruction for students' culture-based oral presentations contributes significantly to their success in achieving communicative competence. It informs students about the target audience, the task requirements, time allocation, location, necessary materials, and how the related assessment indicators can help them prepare effectively. Moreover, teachers may experience challenges if the prompt is vague, hindering their ability to enhance students' skills. As such, clear instructions are recommended to enhance students' cognitive strategies when generating speech and improve their awareness of the learning process (Sabnani, 2024: 75). More emphasis should also be given to engaging students in meaning-making based on the instructions they have been given, to better prepare them for achieving effective communication.

The speaking assessment indicators used in this study encompass three aspects of competence: linguistic, intercultural, and self-management. Regarding linguistic competence, an analysis of the literature and expert judgments identified four key dimensions: fluency, grammatical accuracy, pronunciation, and vocabulary. These dimensions are considered crucial for improving students' content delivery during speeches. The rules of word creation and vocabulary, pronunciation, and sentence construction make up linguistic competence. Rahnama et al. (2016: 1) also added fluency to the students' linguistics competence, which refers to the student's ability to produce the spoken language without undue pausing or hesitation. Competence in all four dimensions will enhance students' awareness of the literal meaning of an utterance, as well as their knowledge and ability to utilize language correctly in communicative contexts within a particular speech community.

In terms of intercultural communicative competence, four dimensions were constructed: knowledge, attitude, skills, and cultural awareness. Student's knowledge of cultures reflects their ability to describe the product of cultures such as customs/traditions, cuisine, and social norms as well as historical facts in a capable manner. In line with this, Byram and Morgan (1994) emphasize that factual knowledge about a society, including its customs, geography, and history, is essential for students to effectively communicate across cultural boundaries. Additionally, students' attitudes toward cultures should demonstrate respect for both similarities and differences, avoiding judgmental actions regarding the correctness of various cultural practices. Intercultural communicative competence, on a broader scale, involves fostering a positive attitude towards language learning and appreciation for individuals from diverse cultures and nations (Candel-Mora, 2015: 28). More practically, students' ability to orally present cultures involves identifying cultural perspectives in new cultural contexts, explaining these contexts, and recognizing and addressing potential cultural misunderstandings. Ilie (2019: 265) suggested that the essential skills needed to process any information that needs to be learned include observation, listening, analysis, evaluation, interpretation, and relation. Critical introspection is also crucial for developing intercultural communicative competence. Lastly, the dimension of cultural awareness demonstrates students' ability to adapt their beliefs and behaviors appropriately in the exchange of culture and traditions. It also involves understanding how people from different cultures think and act and recognizing the differences in values, customs, and behaviors between one's culture and the host culture (Ilie, 2019: 267-268).

In terms of self-management competence, two dimensions are involved; time management and appropriate audio-visual aids. As the speaking prompt requires students to deliver an oral presentation of a given length and bring aids to support their presentation, the student's ability to manage their time and select appropriate aids is considered crucial. The deliberate planning and structuring of study schedules includes choosing the best times and durations for students to complete their assignments (Alario-Hoyos et al., 2017: 120). Moreover, critical and creative thinking requires mental processes throughout project implementation, including effective time management skills from students (Santoso et al., 2021: 4). Derakhshan et al. (2015: 523) also stated that the success of project-based learning is influenced by several factors, including time management, as students must be able to meet their learning objectives within the time series. Additionally appropriate audio and visual aids to support oral presentations reflects the students' creativity and curiosity, which, in turn, enhances their performance.

5 CONCLUSION

This study developed an assessment model for Indonesian culture-based oral presentation by undergraduate EFL students taking English for tourism conversation courses.

Two instruments were developed; a speaking prompt and a set of culture-based speaking assessment indicators. The instruments were validated by experts using content validity, and the results showed that both instruments were valid and reliable. Constructive feedback from the two experts was essential to minimizing irrelevancy among the indicators. To ensure the reliability of the assessment indicators, inter-rater reliability was measured using Cronbach's alpha after the indicators had been used to assess four student volunteers. The resulting coefficient of internal consistency was 0.99. In short, these assessment instrument indicators were reliable and applicable for assessing students' culture-based speaking practice.

The instruments were developed purposively to meet the need for classroom-based assessment instruments, particularly in culture-based speaking activities. On the one hand, the specifications of the speaking prompt instrument cannot be merely adopted by teachers or lecturers, as each institution may have a different policy in instructing students with particular speaking activities. On the other hand, the culture-based speaking instrument indicators can be adopted broadly by teachers and lecturers who deal with teaching culture-based speaking. Teachers and lecturers may then develop various scoring rubrics that are suitable for each indicator. The ADDIE model used in this study is considered an effective and adaptable procedure for such instruments. Therefore, it is recommended that the model be applied to develop a classroom-based assessment instrument for other areas of English language learning.

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POVZETEK

RAZVOJ OCENJEVALNEGA MODELA ZA USTNE PREDSTAVITVE DODIPLOMSKIH ŠTUDENTOV O INDONEZIJSKI KULTURI PRI POUKU ANGLEŠČINE KOT TUJEGA JEZIKA

Ker povpraševanje po visoko usposobljenih diplomantih z dobrimi sposobnostmi ustnega sporazumevanja narašča, je v visokošolskem izobraževanju poseben poudarek na učenju angleškega jezika. Poučevanje jezika z navezovanjem na elemente lokalnih kultur lahko poveča študentovo samozavest, zavzetost in kulturno ozaveščenost. Pomanjkanje učinkovitih ocenjevalnih orodij, s pomočjo katerih bi lahko pri pouku ovrednotili študentovo sporazumevalno sposobnost, pa ovira doseganje učnih ciljev. Namen naše raziskave je bil razviti ocenjevalni model za ustno sporazumevanje, ki temelji na napotkih oz. spodbudah za ustno sporazumevanje in kazalnikih za ocenjevanje ustnega sporazumevanja o različnih kulturah. Ocenjevalna orodja, katerih ustreznost so preverili strokovnjaki, smo zasnovali posebej za potrebe ocenjevanja kulturno obarvanih govornih dejavnosti pri pouku angleščine. Izhodišče naše raziskave je bil predmet angleške konverzacije za potrebe turizma na zasebni univerzi v Indoneziji. Na podlagi opisa predmeta in njegovih učnih ciljev smo se lotili raziskave in razvoja v okviru modela ADDIE, ki obsega analizo, načrtovanje, razvoj, izvedbo in vrednotenje. Podatki iz relevantne literature in mnenja strokovnjakov, ki so ovrednotili ocenjevalno orodje, so pokazali, da je uporaba napotka oz. spodbude za ustno sporazumevanje utemeljena in pomembna za doseganje učnih ciljev ter da je uporaba kazalnikov za ocenjevanje ustnega sporazumevanja o različnih kulturah utemeljena in ustrezna pri ocenjevanju kulturno obarvanih govornih dejavnosti. Govorne dejavnosti naj bi pripomogle k razvoju treh kompetenc: jezikovne in medkulturne kompetence ter kompetence samoupravljanja. Predlagamo, da se v prispevku predstavljeni model uporabi kot podlaga za oblikovanje ocenjevalnih orodij tudi na drugih področjih razvoja jezikovnih kompetenc pri pouku angleškega jezika, ne le na področju govornega sporazumevanja. Vsestranskost predstavljenega modela ponuja možnosti za nadaljnje raziskave in za uporabo modela v drugih izobraževalnih okoljih.

Ključne besede: ocenjevanje, orodje, govorjenje, sposobnost ustnega sporazumevanja

ABSTRACT**DEVELOPING AN ASSESSMENT INSTRUMENT MODEL FOR INDONESIAN CULTURE-BASED ORAL PRESENTATIONS FOR UNDERGRADUATE EFL STUDENTS**

As demand grows for highly qualified graduates with strong oral communication skills, prioritizing English-speaking proficiency in higher education has become essential. Incorporating local cultures into language teaching can boost students' confidence, engagement, and cultural awareness. However, the absence of effective classroom-based assessment instruments to measure students' communication competence hinders the achievement of learning objectives. This study aims to develop a speaking assessment model in terms of a valid speaking prompt and culture-based speaking assessment indicators. Experts verified the instruments based on content validity. The instruments were designed specifically to meet the needs of classroom-based assessment instruments in culture-based speaking activities. Developed from the course description and learning objectives of English for tourism conversation course at a private university in Indonesia, this study employed research and development (R&D) by adopting the ADDIE model covering the stages of analysis, design, development, implementation, and evaluation. After gathering data by reviewing related literature and involving experts to validate the instruments, this study obtained the following conclusions. First, the speaking prompt is valid and relevant to the learning objectives; second, the culture-based speaking assessment indicators are valid and relevant to assess culture-based speaking activities. Three competencies are expected to be achieved from the speaking activities – linguistic, intercultural communication, and self-management. Therefore, it is proposed that the model be used to create a classroom-based assessment instrument not only for speaking skills but also for other aspects of English language development. This versatility highlights the potential for further research and the application of the model to various other educational contexts.

Keywords: assessment, instrument, speaking, oral communication competence

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SLOVENE STUDENTS' WRITING SKILLS IN PORTUGUESE: COMMON CHALLENGES AND PATHS FOR IMPROVEMENT

1 INTRODUCTION

Writing in a second language is a difficult task, as the underlying process is multifaceted, requiring the use of higher order thinking skills. The cognitive competences of self-regulation and problem-solving, inherent to the stages of planning, writing and revising a text, are necessary to meet the demands of this task, in terms of format, information and linguistic dimension. Concerning grammar, when learners' native and target languages are significantly different then it is particularly useful for teachers to identify the linguistic areas that are the most problematic, and use them as opportunities for increasing students' language awareness. Ultimately, this can pave the way towards a broader linguistic knowledge among second language students, as, by learning how to put grammar at their service more effectively, they can better convey their intended messages in writing.

Within this context, it is this paper's aim to identify and explore some of the most common difficulties Slovene students face when writing in Portuguese, and specifically the European variant, as well as present didactic strategies tailored for mitigating them. In the first section of the article we provide a theoretical framework which, on the one hand, highlights difficulties in writing faced by learners of a second language in general and, on the other, contrasts linguistic domains in Portuguese and Slovene. The goal is to offer insights on the challenges Slovene students face with regard to attaining expertise in writing in Portuguese, while recognizing that written and linguistic competencies are deeply intertwined. As for the second section, we describe a pilot study conducted in a higher education setting, where 1st- and 2nd-year students were given written tasks of a predominantly expositive nature.

The analysis of the patterns emerging in their productions allowed us to confirm our hypothesis that there is certain content in university-level curricula for Portuguese as a second language which poses problems for Slovene students, especially regarding some distinctive features that do not exist in their native language. Finally, we describe a series of didactic strategies centred on helping students master such issues, while developing self-regulatory, metalinguistic and creative problem-solving skills.

2 AN OVERVIEW ON COMMON WRITING DIFFICULTIES AMONG STUDENTS OF A SECOND LANGUAGE

Writing is a complex activity, which demands the use of higher order thinking skills, associated with gathering, organizing, and communicating information in written form (Coimbra 2011: 27). Because the interlocutor is an abstract entity, as one usually does not write for a particular reader, students need to exhibit good comprehension skills, complemented by creativity and problem-solving (Hyland 2021: 20).

From a cognitive standpoint, according to Hayes and Flower (1980: 366), rather than a product, writing needs to be perceived as a process, through which one plans, writes and revises a text, with these steps being iterative and non-sequential. Still, didactically, it is useful to divide writing activities into pre-writing, writing and post-writing moments. In practice, students tend to exhibit difficulties because not enough time is dedicated to the planning and revising stages. In the words of Zimmerman and Risemberg (1997: 73), “writing activities are usually self-planned, self-initiated, and self-sustained”. Disregarding such characteristics leads to texts lacking structure, with no clear division of the ideas into thematically coherent paragraphs, and, on a more foundational basis, into introduction, development and conclusion.

Other common issues pertain to a lack of knowledge about the world, as well as the lack of a wide lexical and syntactical repertoire (Duarte 2023: 82). This is conducive to texts not being properly informed by thematically relevant ideas nor formulated in a linguistically correct manner. One can infer from this that there is not enough contact between students and texts such as those they are expected to produce. Salvado (2011) notes the need for students to gain more exposure to texts of different genres, stating that it “favours the discovery of the principles governing the process of writing”¹ (p. 10).

Furthermore, self-regulation can be a problem for learners of a second language, especially when they are writing a text. It is necessary, in this respect, to improve not only their language awareness, but also their ability to constantly evaluate their writing production, ascertain what needs to be maintained or improved, and find strategies for overcoming difficulties (Pinho 2021: 53).

1 Translated freely by the authors from Portuguese into English.

After elucidating some of the common issues – not strictly linguistic – that students of a second language face in writing, it is important to identify and describe some of the specific linguistic domains where Slovene students of Portuguese may encounter difficulties, given the stark grammatical differences between the two languages in question.

3 LINGUISTIC DIFFERENCES BETWEEN SLOVENE AND PORTUGUESE

3.1 Some challenging linguistic domains

The topics presented under point 3.1 of this article are traditionally considered to be some of the most problematic areas in the acquisition of Portuguese by Slovene university students. The most notable differences between these two languages, which students tend to perceive as particularly challenging, are therefore briefly presented. Because this study does not aim to be exhaustive and since the subjunctive is a grammatical item which is taught at a later point in the curriculum, we chose not to address it here. Given that 2nd year students are significantly more exposed to this content, practicing it more often than 1st year students, we decided to keep consistency in our analysis and compare both groups in terms of the grammatical domains they had learned and extensively practiced in the classroom.

3.1.1 Determiners

In European Portuguese, noun phrases are usually specified by using a series of linguistic forms that belong to the class of determiners. In Slovene, there are no specific markers corresponding to definite and/or indefinite determiners.

In terms of morphology, Portuguese determiners encompass the articles *o*, *um*, the demonstrative forms (*este*, *esse*, *aquele*...) and the possessive forms (*meu*, *teu*, *seu*, *dele*, *nosso*, *vosso*...) or quantifiers – numeral, universal (*todo*) – and existential quantifiers (*algum*). All these forms may exhibit gender markers (masculine and feminine) and number markers (by adding “-s” to plural forms). It is mandatory that determiners agree in number and gender with the noun phrase they precede.

Determiners specify the noun in both Slovene and Portuguese, establishing the reference of the noun phrase. As previously mentioned, Slovene lacks specific markers for expressing the value conveyed by definite and indefinite articles. Therefore, the expression of the definite determiner is achieved through other means, such as demonstrative determiners (Correia in Markič & Correia 2013: 25).

In languages like Portuguese, noun phrases can be specified by using the indefinite article. In order to convey the article indefinite value in Slovene, it is possible to use either an indefinite pronoun (*neki*, *neka*, *neko*), or numeral pronoun (*en*, *ena*, *eno*), as stated in Correia (in Markič & Correia 2013: 25). This creates, as in Portuguese, a

certain ambiguity as to whether the determiner expresses a value of quantification or indefiniteness.

Determiners in Portuguese are also often merged with prepositions, resulting in different forms. Because of the high number of prepositions in the language and the consequent difficulty in differentiating between them, given a lack of knowledge regarding their semantic value, students may struggle to acquire them properly, as well as combine them with determiners when needed (Martins 2020: 13).

As for determination in Slovene, it can be conveyed through demonstrative determiners (*ta, tisti, oni*), as illustrated by Correia in Markič and Correia 2013: 22. However, in some cases, within a colloquial context, it is possible to combine demonstrative determiners with nouns, or noun phrases, to mark a non-deictic value of definiteness. Furthermore, as in Portuguese, in Slovene, noun specification can be achieved through possessive markers.

3.1.2 Pronouns

The pronoun system in Contemporary European Portuguese is quite complex, given its forms and placement, and this may constitute an obstacle for Slovene learners when learning and practicing their writing in the target language. Although Contemporary European Portuguese and Slovene share some characteristics in terms of pronouns, they differ in some respects, such as pronoun placement.

Just like in Portuguese, the Slovene pronoun system maintains specific forms that play the grammatical role of the main noun phrases in a sentence. In Portuguese, the personal pronouns can act as *sujeito* (subject), *complemento direto* (direct object), *complemento indireto* (indirect object) and *complemento oblíquo* (a prepositional phrase, different from the direct and indirect object and demanded by the verb) (Xavier, in Markič & Correia 2013: 36). One should note that the existing distinction between pronouns is based on the categories strong and weak pronouns, also referred to as clitics. Moreover, in Slovene's pronoun system we can also find strong personal pronouns (*naglasne oblike: jaz, ti, on, midva, vi...*), weak personal pronouns (*naslonske/nenaglasne oblike me, te, ga, je...*); and personal pronouns with a preposition or *complemento oblíquo* (*navezne oblike: zame, zate, zanj...*) (Xavier, in Markič & Correia 2013: 36).

Portuguese pronouns retain case information: some clitics correspond to the accusative case, functioning as direct objects, while others correspond to the dative case, functioning as indirect objects (Xavier, in Markič & Correia 2013: 41). In Slovene, pronouns – like nouns and adjectives – change their forms according to the case information they retain (nominative, genitive, dative, accusative, locative, and instrumental). They also show variation in number, person, and gender.

The gender of personal pronouns in Slovene implies the need for a distinction among masculine, feminine, and – unlike Portuguese – neutral. Similarly, the number of

pronouns implies a distinction among singular, plural and – again unlike Portuguese – dual pronouns.

3.1.3 Verb paradigms

The distinctions among the indicative *pretérito perfeito simples*, *pretérito imperfeito*, *pretérito perfeito composto* and *pretérito mais-que-perfeito composto* in European Portuguese are a typical source of difficulties for Slovene students, especially considering that their mother tongue does not have the same verbal distinction in terms of temporal and aspectual values.

Both European Portuguese and Slovene have temporal verbal inflection. However, the number of verbal tenses in Slovene is lower than in European Portuguese (Müller, in Markič & Correia 2013: 83, 84). Furthermore, with regard to the past, the Slovene language only has one past tense, which is the *preteklik* (*pretérito*), contrasting with the Portuguese past tenses of the indicative, *pretérito perfeito simples*, *pretérito imperfeito*, *pretérito perfeito composto* and *pretérito mais-que-perfeito composto*.

In both languages, time is associated with the location of the situation, both in relation to the enunciation time and to another time marked linguistically. The aspect, in turn, concerns the internal temporal structure of the situation, as noted by Oliveira (2019: 509-553).

In languages like European Portuguese, some verbal tenses can convey both temporal and aspect information. As already pointed out, Slovene operates with only one paradigm of the past, the *preteklik*, which is supposed to mark all the temporal and aspectual nuances contained in the forms of the four Portuguese past tenses of the indicative. However, European Portuguese does not formally mark the verbal aspect, while the Slovene verbal system is characterized by the aspect as a morphological category. Slovene verbs, in principle, are either imperfective or perfective, and, therefore, uniaspectual (Markič in Markič & Correia 2013: p. 65). In line with this view, the Slovene *preteklik*, in terms of aspect, conveys the aspectual value, either perfective or imperfective, depending on the verb with which it is built.

In short, in contrast to European Portuguese, the Slovene *preteklik*, concerning the internal temporal structure of the situation, with relevant distinctions between the presence or absence of dynamism, telicity or duration, among others, marks the aspectual values, using the perfective or imperfective form of the uniaspectual verb and adverbial markers, both aspectual and temporal (Medvedšek & Müller 2020: 211-225).

Considering these observations, it is supposed that the difficulties in choosing the adequate past tense form for the Slovene students also appear due to the problem of perception associated with the temporal and aspectual nuances that each of the Portuguese past paradigm contains.

4 EMPIRICAL STUDY

This study took place in the second semester of the present year (from February to June 2024), in the Faculty of Arts of Ljubljana, in a Portuguese language bachelor's course. The participants were mainly Slovene students attending the 1st or 2nd years of the course, with ages ranging between 18 and 22. The levels they are expected to reach by the end of the year, according to the CEFR (Common European Framework of Reference for Languages) scale, are A2/B1 for 1st-year students, and B2, for 2nd-year students. The curriculum states that, in terms of written competence, students should develop their "writing skills, related to everyday issues and communication situations" (Filozofka Fakulteta n.d: para. 3) and, in terms of linguistic competence, they should gain knowledge of different word classes in Portuguese, as well as common syntactic structures (Filozofka Fakulteta n.d.: para. 8).

4.1 Pilot study

For this pilot study, we conducted an analysis of the texts produced by seven 1st- and 2nd-year university students during the second semester of the academic year of 2023/2024, in the Faculty of Arts of Ljubljana. The texts were predominantly of an expository nature and covered themes pertaining to students' experiences and cultural identities. They ranged from national holidays in Portugal, Brazil and Slovenia, to the differences between these countries' political and educational systems. Significant societal events which happened in recent years were also explored. The 1st-year students' productions were titled (often with slight variations): "As duas primeiras décadas da minha vida"² and "A semana da cultura brasileira"³. As for the titles of the 2nd year students' texts, they were "O Carnaval na Eslovénia"⁴, "Resumo do discurso de Mariana Mortágua"⁵, "A semana do Brasil"⁶, "Uma lenda eslovena"⁷ and "O sistema educativo esloveno"⁸. These productions were formatively assessed in terms of format, relevance, and linguistic correction. Personalized feedback was provided to students regarding their texts' strengths and weaknesses.

4.2 Results

In terms of format, the students performed satisfactorily, respecting the communicative demands of the expository texts they were asked to produce. Nonetheless, most produced

2 English translation: "The first two decades of my life."

3 English translation: "Brazilian culture week."

4 English translation: "Carnival in Slovenia."

5 English translation: "Summary of Mariana Mortágua's speech."

6 English translation: "Brazil's week"

7 English translation: "A Slovenian legend"

8 English translation: "The Slovene political system."

paragraphs that were not clearly marked nor contained information relevant for the topic introduced in them. Structural problems – relating to the organization of thematically coherent paragraphs into distinct sections (i.e. introduction, development and conclusion) were also identified. Indeed, some students exhibited a good range of vocabulary and understanding of Portuguese grammar, but wrote their ideas in a sequential and unstructured manner, with no division of their topics into separate paragraphs. For instance, in the following text, the student described an interview between their professor and Brazil's ambassador in Slovenia in one paragraph, without using linking words or discourse markers for distinguishing between topics and examples, as well as ensuring the cohesion among ideas:

Na segunda-feira, 18 do março, houve uma reunião introdutória, onde nossa professora Blažka Müller fez uma entrevista com um convidado especial: o embaixador do Brasil na Eslovênia. Ele falou sobre suas impressões sobre a Eslovênia, sobre a cidade capital Ljubljana e depois falou sobre sua cidade natal, o Rio de Janeiro, e também contou uma anedota sobre uma menina chamada Eslovênia [...]. Mostraram-nos as suas obras mais importantes e conhecidas: a Catedral, os museus, o ministério, ... disseram-nos que ele foi criticado por preferir decoratividade e não enfocarse suficientemente na funcionalidade [...].⁹

With regard to pertinence, most of the texts were communicatively efficient, since they covered topics relevant for the proposed themes, with the most obvious problem being the lack of depth in some ideas. In the paragraph that follows, the student introduces an important topic, which would, however, benefit from being elaborated: “*Na terça-feira, 19 de março, às 19h, assisti a uma conversa sobre o livro Nove Noites, de Bernardo Carvalho, que teve lugar no MKL Šiška. O debate foi moderado pela tradutora Barbara Juršič.*”¹⁰

The text activity that presented students with the most evident issues asked them to describe the most impactful societal events they experienced in the first two decades of their life. This theme was misunderstood by some, as seen in the following example, as some students explored topics other than societal changes: “*Desde meu nascimento meu coração tem batido cerca de 826, 558, 224 vezes.*”¹¹

9 English translation: “On Monday, March 18th, there was an introductory meeting where our teacher, Blažka Müller, conducted an interview with a special guest: the Brazilian ambassador to Slovenia. He talked about his impressions of Slovenia, the capital city Ljubljana, and then spoke about his hometown, Rio de Janeiro. He also shared an anecdote about a girl named Slovenia [...]. They showed us his most important and well-known works: the Cathedral, the museums, the ministry, ... and told us that he was criticized for preferring decoration over focusing sufficiently on functionality [...].”

10 English translation: “On Tuesday, March 19th, at 7 pm, I attended a discussion about the book *Nove Noites*, by Bernardo Carvalho, which took place in MKL Šiška. The debate was moderated by the translator Barbara Juršič.”

11 English translation: “Since my birth, my heart has beaten about 826,558,224 times.”

Although students' lexis was sufficient for conveying their intended ideas, it would benefit from being widened. In our analysis, it was obvious that the students' lexis was often influenced by "false friends", derived from their knowledge on other Romanic languages, as well as English. For instance, in the sentence "*Ele falou sobre suas impressões sobre a Eslovênia, sobre a cidade capital Ljubljana e depois falou sobre sua cidade natal, o Rio de Janeiro, e também contou uma anedota sobre uma menina chamada Eslovênia*"¹², the student employs a word close to "anecdote" ("*anedota*") to mean story or narrative. In Portuguese, however, the word "*anedota*" is equivalent to the word "joke".

Concerning linguistic correction, the students showed syntactic difficulties in areas such as determiners, more precisely the distinction between them and prepositions, and the situations that require their contraction. In the example "*Em 2004 a Eslovenia entrou de União Europeia e de NATO [...]*",¹³ the student chooses the preposition that follows the verb "*entrar*" erroneously, opting for "*de*" rather than "*em*". They also fail to contract the preposition with the article that should precede singular phrasal nouns. The correct sentence would be: "*A Eslovênia entrou na União Europeia e na NATO [...]*". A tendency for omitting articles before nouns and using the Brazilian variant, which does not require the use of articles before possessive determiners, unlike European Portuguese, was also evident: "*[...] Senhora Milena falou sobre sua experiência, sobre Brasil [...]*".¹⁴

Likewise, students' knowledge of clitic pronouns and their placement proved to be an area in need of improvement. Some confusion between the European and Brazilian variants of Portuguese was also found. In the example "*[...] Me parece muito interessante que a expectativa de vida aumentou [...]*",¹⁵ the student placed the pronoun in a proclitic position, likely influenced by the Brazilian variant. Analogously, students exhibited difficulties in identifying proclitic-attracting elements in a sentence (e.g., "*não*", "*para*", "*que*"). The example "*O caçador utilizaria o chifre do animal para apoderar-se do tesouro*"¹⁶ shows the student organizing the words according to the typical sequence in Portuguese, with the pronoun "*se*" in an enclitic position, possibly overlooking the proclitic-attracting word "*para*". The correct wording would be "*O caçador utilizaria o chifre do animal para se apoderar do tesouro*".

Regarding past tenses, students used almost exclusively the *pretérito perfeito simples*, sometimes in passive structures, as seen in the following example: "*Nós ganhamos 42 medalhas nos Jogos Olímpicos de 2004 a 2024 [...] Em 2010 foi lançado o meu filme preferido esloveno, Gremo mi po svoje e em 2013 foi lançado a sequência, Gremo mi*

12 English translation: "He talked about his impressions of Slovenia, the capital city Ljubljana, and then he talked about his hometown, Rio de Janeiro. He also shared an anecdote about a girl named Slovenia."

13 English translation: "In 2004, Slovenia entered the European Union and NATO."

14 English translation: "Ms. Milena talked about her experience and about Brazil."

15 English translation: "It seems very interesting to me that life expectancy has increased."

16 English translation: "The hunter would use the animal's horn to seize the treasure."

po svoje 2 [...]”¹⁷ However, a few combined *pretérito perfeito simples* with *pretérito imperfeito simples*, showing a good understanding of their temporal and aspectual value (“*Achei a conversa bastante interessante e pouco usual porque se falava dalguns temas menos tradicionais para um embaixador [...]*”¹⁸).

Still, some issues were found. In the sentence “*Em 2005 o furacão Katrina era um dos furacões mais mortíferos dos EUA historia*”, the student combines a concrete temporal reference (“*em 2005*”) with the *pretérito imperfeito* (“*era*”), commonly used with longer and more indeterminate time references. An example of a correct version of the sentence would include *pretérito perfeito*: “*Ocorrido em 2005, o furacão Katrina foi um dos furacões mais mortíferos da história dos Estados Unidos.*”¹⁹

Finally, analysing the overall syntax of the texts in our corpora, it is important to note that a reasonable number of students used Portuguese grammar competently, writing short, mistake-free sentences (“*O Carnaval não seria o verdadeiro sem os disfarces que se expõem no desfile que decorre pela cidade. As máscaras mais comuns são 'kurenti' que fazem parte da herança da UNESCO.*”). The problems we described are merely sources of information about what teachers can do to improve their students' abilities, without disregarding their pre-existing knowledge and potential.

4.3 Discussion

As stated before, students' written skills and linguistic competence are deeply interwoven (Rodrigues & Silvano 2015: 2). Given the impossibility of assessing the quality of a text based on grammar alone, we studied both non-strictly linguistic and linguistic issues.

The analysis of our corpora allows us to understand that, in matters of non-strictly linguistic dimensions related to writing, such as formatting, content and coherence, students can produce communicatively efficient texts, informed by pertinent ideas. Overall, they respected the demands of the exercises with which they were presented, opting for a descriptive approach, consonant with the expositive nature of the texts they were asked to write.

Nevertheless, we identified some issues intrinsic to text formatting, which stem from difficulties in deciding what should constitute a paragraph, as well as organizing ideas into three distinctive, and clearly marked, sections – introduction, development and conclusion. This suggests that students do not have the habit of planning before writing, and thus they would benefit from being introduced to didactic strategies aimed at helping them dedicate time to such an important stage in the overall process. Pre-writing

17 English translation: “We won 42 medals at the Olympic Games from 2004 to 2024 [...] In 2010, my favourite Slovenian film, *Gremo mi po svoje*, was released, and in 2013, the sequel, *Gremo mi po svoje 2*, was released.”

18 English translation: “I found the conversation quite interesting and unusual because it covered some less traditional topics for an ambassador.”

19 English translation: “In 2005, Hurricane Katrina was one of the deadliest hurricanes in US history.”

exercises that are reliant on schema building – mind maps, tree diagrams and alike – may be a useful tool for helping students structure their thoughts into well-organized paragraphs and sections. In this regard, we argue that adding a digital element, by promoting the use of online resources like *Miro* and *MindMaster*, can potentially engage students in properly planning their texts, while developing their digital proficiency.

Indeed, in line with the framework presented by Hayes and Flower (1980: 366), teachers need to promote pre-writing, writing, and post-writing practices in order to cultivate good writing habits among students. In the planning stage, to better decide what to write and how to structure it, students should be exposed to good text models, like the ones they are expected to produce. Organizing reading workshops, dedicated to having students analyse texts of the same genre and derive from them and information useful for their own productions, is another strategy that is recommended for encouraging students to effectively plan their work before writing, while improving their lexis and syntax knowledge. This is also conducive to higher levels of language awareness and creative problem solving.

As for the post-writing stage, to ensure that students review their productions, paying special attention to any mistakes, teachers can provide them with checklists personalized in terms of the communicative and linguistic demands of the target text. By doing this, learners are encouraged to read their productions multiple times, in a focused and reflective manner. This process can help them to identify any linguistic issues in their writing, think about alternatives to structures in need of improvement, and change their texts' information or organizational devices (the connectors, for instance), if needed. Once again, we argue that providing checklists in digital form, or even having students digitally create their own checklists, may potentially increase their engagement in post-writing activities, thus allowing for more significant learning opportunities (Li et al. 2018: 1141).

Encouraging students to break down the writing process into achievable goals is also important for promoting self-regulation skills. Activities that help promote self-regulation include self-reflective writing and discussions, before and after writing a text, aimed at exploring the communicative goals students need to achieve, the characteristics and structure of the text genre they need to produce, the most appropriate language for it, and the linguistic mistakes they need to avoid (Pinho, 2021: 56). Discussing what areas need to be improved, once the text is finished, and passing it on to their peers to obtain their feedback, is also beneficial (Fan, & Xu, 2020: 1).

Linguistically speaking, apart from the strategies described above, one must be mindful of the specific grammar areas that present students with the most problems. With regard to prepositions and determiners, our analysis offers interesting insights into these problematic linguistic domains. As explained before, European Portuguese and Slovene differ in terms of the use and function of their prepositions and determiners. The literal translation of temporal and spatial prepositions, which is often the strategy used by students, it is not an effective approach in this context, neither is the use of an intuitive type

of logic. Slovene students, in the pilot study, seemed to not employ articles due to their absence in Slovene.

To address this issue, teachers can have their students identify prepositions and determiners in authentic Portuguese discourse, both written and oral, and identify patterns from which they can infer grammatical rules. In those situations where prepositions do not follow a rule, as their place in some phrases is defined by convention, it may be advantageous to introduce some of them in each lesson and challenge students to compete among themselves by attempting to integrate those phrases in their classroom dialogue as many times as possible. The results should be written on the board by the teacher or a student, so winners can be acknowledged at the end of the lesson.

In the specific case of articles, in order to avoid missing them, the students can learn simple feminine and masculine noun phrases in vocabulary exercises, which include the article and noun it precedes, rather than isolated words. If they get used to seeing words in combination and, in practice exercises, are encouraged to always work with those sets of linguistic elements, they may be more bound to internalize the importance of articles in the Portuguese language.

Addressing verb paradigms, the cause of the problems concerning the past tense can undoubtedly be attributed to the absence of a large number of past tenses in the Slovene verbal system compared to European Portuguese. Nevertheless, this study also reveals that another cause of these problems seems to be related to a weak perception of the temporal and aspectual nuances characterizing Portuguese past tenses. In sentences with no temporal and aspectual markers, choosing the appropriate temporal form of a verbal tense tends to be more difficult.

This suggests that the distinction between European Portuguese past tenses is not stabilized at the B1 level, which is understandable, given that the contrast between these tenses is yet to be improved at this level. Slovene students need a relatively large amount of training to master the use of the past tenses in European Portuguese, since there are significantly more of these than in Slovene. To do that, they need more practice to reach an acceptable level of knowledge. In trying to identify the problems related to the training of the selection of the correct form of past tense, the teacher must recognize the temporal and aspectual interaction between the mother tongue and the foreign language in question, preparing exercises aimed at establishing bridges and contrasts between those languages. In this sense, contrastive analysis can have an important role in students' awareness of their tense selection errors, and in improving their knowledge of the verbal system.

Likewise, pronouns correspond to an area that demands special attention, which must be well understood and practiced during the process of learning Portuguese, so that learners completely acquire the morphologic, syntactic, and semantic properties of Portuguese clitic pronouns. It may be useful, in this regard, to promote activities where students analyse authentic or semi-authentic texts or sentences, contextualized within a theme, to identify clitic pronouns and their syntactic purposes. Afterwards, they should rephrase the sentences by

including a specific word (an attractor of proclitic pronouns, for instance), as established by the activity's instructions. Students should use their own words and keep the clitic pronoun present in the original sentence, but reposition it to respect the structure demanded by the word or phrase the exercise asks them to use in their answers.

5 CONCLUSION

A number of interesting observations arose during the procedures described in this article. The general writing areas identified in the literature as problematic for second language students – and the specific linguistic domains where Slovene students learning Portuguese struggle the most – coincide with those identified in our pilot study.

The results also showed that the students had problems with properly formatting a text and informing it with sufficiently elaborated ideas while using appropriate syntax and lexis. This is due to a likely lack of contact with different texts and genres, as well as poor habits with regard to planning and revising texts.

Linguistically speaking, the absence of definite and indefinite determiners often results in the omission and misuse of this grammatical element. The need to make articles agree in gender and number with the noun they precede, as well as contracting them with prepositions, also jeopardizes their integration in texts written in Portuguese by Slovene learners of the language.

Regarding pronouns, the results showed that Slovene students have problems with their placement. They struggle to choose the correct position of clitic pronouns, based on the type of sentence they intend to produce, and the presence of certain words that determine this position. Despite some similarities between Portuguese and Slovene pronominal systems, the absence of dual and neutral pronouns in Portuguese can be a source of problems in this context.

As for the past verb paradigms, there is a tendency for the students to only use one tense, the *pretérito perfeito* of the indicative, without combining it with others, and this is due to the complexity associated with the aspectual and temporal values Portuguese verb paradigms exhibit, and thus students need more time to properly acquire and consolidate such content.

As for ways to attenuate such issues, didactic strategies that acknowledge writing as a process comprising of iterative stages, rather than just a product, can help students improve both their writing skills and linguistic competence. Furthermore, a contrastive analysis of Slovene and Portuguese, in a way that invites critical reflection, should be carried out in the Portuguese as a second language classroom, in order to increase linguistic awareness.

To attain expertise in writing in Portuguese, students should participate in pre-writing, writing and post-writing activities, aimed at understanding the genre of the text they are expected to produce, the related communicative demands, and the linguistic structures

they commonly present. This implies encouraging learners to come into contact with a variety of texts, plan their own productions, revise them and constantly reflect on what needs to be done and what needs to be improved.

The practices arising from such activities contribute to turning students into self-regulated writers, capable of resorting to language-contrasting and creative problem-solving to autonomously overcome any obstacles they may encounter during the writing process. Introducing a digital element into these practices may make them more engaging for students, while encouraging them to exercise their digital competencies in this domain.

In this regard, it is clear that the pilot study described in this article serves as a basis for the preparation of didactic material for future students of the Portuguese language. Moreover, this pilot study opens up some potential avenues for future research, dedicated to easing the acquisition and mastery of writing and linguistic competencies among students of Portuguese as a second language.

One limitation in this study research is that our selection of problematic areas may not encompass all the challenges faced by Slovene students learning to write in Portuguese. Methodologically, our choice of a qualitative analysis also means that our results may not be as rigorous as those typically obtained through a mixed-method approach. Nonetheless, they are still important pointers to the domains that should demand more time and attention from teachers of Portuguese as a second language, and the creative routes they can follow to make the process of learning writing as engaging and successful as possible.

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POVZETEK

VEŠČINA PISNEGA IZRAŽANJA SLOVENSКИH ŠTUDENTOV V PORTUGALŠČINI: IZZIVI IN MOŽNOSTI ZA IZBOLJŠAVE

Namen prispevka je identificirati ter z več gledališč osvetliti težave, s katerimi se srečujejo slovenski študenti, ko pišejo v portugalsčini, ter predstaviti didaktične strategije, ki bi utegnile biti ustrezne za reševanje teh izzivov. Ker se zavedamo, da je pisanje kompleksna in kognitivno zahtevna naloga, naša raziskava, umeščena v kontekst univerzitetnega jezikovnega programa ter univerzitetnih študentov, poudarja pomen spodbujanja njihovih pisnih in jezikovnih kompetenc, torej veščin, ki so med seboj tesno prepletene. Teoretični okvir, ki ga predstavljamo, izpostavlja splošne težave pri pisanju v drugem jeziku, primerja določena slovnična ter širše jezikovna področja v portugalsčini in slovenščini ter ponuja vpogled v izzive, s katerimi se srečujejo slovenski študenti. Pilotna študija, ki smo jo izvedli s študenti prvega in drugega letnika univerze, katerih naloga je bila napisati razlagalni zapis, je potrdila, da so težave pri pisanju, ki smo jih opredelili pri pregledu literature - glede formata, informacij, leksike in sintakse -, področja, ki zahtevajo dodatno pozornost in čas v učilnicah portugalsčine kot drugega jezika. Natančneje, kar zadeva slovnico, je naša analiza skušala pokazati, da v portugalsčini obstajajo določena slovnična področja, ki se dotikajo besednih vrst ter skladenjskih struktur, katerih jezikovno delovanje zaradi določenih razlik z njihovim maternim jezikom predstavlja izziv za slovenske študente. Na podlagi analize težav, ki izhajajo iz teh področij, predlagamo nekaj didaktičnih strategij, katerih namen bi bil pomagati študentom pri premagovanju težav pri pisanju, hkrati pa razvijati njihove avtonomne, metalingvistične in ustvarjalne veščine reševanja teh problemov. Naš znanstveni prispevek skuša prispevati k spodbujanju pedagoških dejavnosti, ki temeljijo na učinkoviti primerjavi med jeziki, ustvarjalni uporabi digitalnih virov ter ustvarjanju samostojnih avtentičnih gradiv.

Ključne besede: pisanje v drugem jeziku, slovenski univerzitetni študentje, portugalsčina kot drugi jezik, jezikovne spretnosti, didaktika

ABSTRACT**SLOVENE STUDENTS' WRITING SKILLS IN PORTUGUESE: COMMON CHALLENGES AND PATHS FOR IMPROVEMENT**

This paper seeks to identify and reflect on the difficulties Slovene students face when writing in European Portuguese, in order to present didactic strategies tailored to address such challenges. Acknowledging that writing is a complex and cognitively demanding task, our research stresses the importance of fostering learners' written and linguistic competencies, abilities that are deeply intertwined. As such, the first part of our theoretical framework provides a description of general difficulties associated with writing in a second language. Subsequently, it contrasts linguistic domains in Portuguese and Slovene, while offering insights into common issues Slovene students encounter when writing in Portuguese. A qualitatively assessed pilot study, involving 1st- and 2nd-year university students, tasked with expository writing, confirmed that the issues identified in our review of the literature – concerning format, information, lexis and syntax – are areas that demand extra attention and time. In terms of grammar, more specifically, the analysis we carried out has proven that there are word classes and syntactic structures in Portuguese which pose challenges for Slovene students, due to their unfamiliar features. According to our results, problems with determiners, their contraction with prepositions, past verbal tenses and the placement of pronouns were particularly significant. Based on these domains, we suggest the use of didactic strategies which acknowledge writing as an iterative process, aimed at helping students overcome their difficulties, while developing self-regulatory, metalinguistic, and creative problem-solving skills. Our scientific contribution lies in the promotion of pedagogical actions based on the efficient contrast between languages, the creative use of digital resources and materials presenting authentic discourse.

Keywords: second language writing, Slovene university students, Portuguese as a Second Language, linguistic skills, didactics

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Izvirni znanstveni članek



PRIMERJAVA KULTURNIH VSEBIN V UČBENIKIH ZA FRANCOŠČINO KOT TUJI JEZIK

1 UVOD

Učiteljem francoščine so pri pouku največkrat v oporo učbeniki, njihova vsebina pa je tesno povezana s smernicami, ki jih najdemo v Skupnem evropskem jezikovnem okviru (v nadaljevanju: SEJO). Svet Evrope je SEJO izdal leta 2001 in z njim definiral šest referenčnih ravni jezikovnega znanja in kompetenc, ki jih upoštevamo še danes. Čeprav SEJO ni dokument preskriptivne narave (slovenski prevod SEJA 2011: 12), bi njegov vpliv na pouk francoščine kot tujega jezika težko zanikali. Smernicam SEJA sledijo vsebine v potrjenih učbenikih francoskega jezika na slovenskem trgu, izbira učbenikov za pouk francoščine kot tuji jezik je v skladu z ravnmi iz SEJA, prav tako se nanj opira Učni načrt francoščine za gimnazije (2008: 6).

Cilji jezikovne politike Sveta Evrope so jasni: Evropa in njena bogata dediščina jezikov in kultur so bogastvo, ki ga moramo ohranjati, pri čemer naj bi skrbeli za medsebojno razumevanje in ohranjanje socialnega miru z odpravljanjem predsodkov in diskriminacije (SEJO 2011: 24). Kot kvantitativni dokaz o pomembnosti kulture pri jezikih navajamo dejstvo, da se kultura in njene izpeljanke v SEJU pojavijo 247-krat.

Izbor in vključevanje kulturnih vsebin v pouk francoščine sta se spreminjala in razvijala glede na duh časa. Opisali bomo nekaj ključnih dogodkov na področju didaktike francoščine kot tujega jezika v Franciji, kjer se je vse skupaj začelo, zaključili pa bomo s statusom francoskega jezika v slovenskem šolskem prostoru. Pri poglavju, v katerem bomo opisali pojme *kultura*, *civilizacija* in *medkulturnost*, se bomo dotaknili nekaj osnovnih definicij in pojasnili, katere družbene spremembe so privedle do razmišljanja in posledično do vključevanja modernih kulturnih vsebin v pouk francoščine. Kultura in medkulturnost sta široka pojma, zato se bomo v članku opirali predvsem na definicijo, ki je zapisana v SEJU: medkulturno spreten govorec tujega jezika zna vzpostaviti odnos med lastno (izvorno) in tujo kulturo, je kulturno občutljiv in večš različnih strategij za navezovanje stikov z ljudmi druge kulture, je izkušen posrednik med lastno in tujo kulturo,

pri čemer rešuje medkulturne nesporazume in je sposoben presegati stereotipne odnose (prav tam: 128). Ta definicija predstavlja osnovo našim kriterijem za analizo pregledanih kulturnih vsebin v izbranih učbenikih. Kultura in civilizacija nista vedno definirani enako. Mi ju bomo, vsebinsko gledano, obravnavali kot sopomenki, bomo pa, zaradi negativne konotacije, ki jo lahko pripišemo pojmu civilizacija, raje uporabljali izraz kultura. Glede na to, da se osredotočamo na učbenike, ki so v rabi v slovenskem prostoru, bomo razložili tudi, kako sta kultura in civilizacija definirani v Slovarju slovenskega knjižnega jezika.

Zanimalo nas je, v kolikšni meri izbrani učbeniki vključujejo kulturne vsebine, s kakšnim namenom in kako uspešne so (lahko) vključene kulturne vsebine pri krepitevi medkulturne kompetence. Prva dva učbenika smo analizirali zato, ker sta na področju didaktike francoščine znana kot pomembna mejnika in zato, ker vsak sledi drugačni metodologiji. Za izbiro preostalih treh učbenikov smo uporabili vprašalnik o rabi učbenikov, ki so ga rešile gimnazijske profesorice francoščine v Sloveniji. Zanimalo nas je tudi, če se kulturne vsebine pojavljajo izven posebnih kulturnih enot, zato smo pri treh izbranih učbenikih za 1. letnik gimnazije pregledali tudi prve tri enote. Vsi trije učbeniki so namenjeni prevemu letniku gimnazije oziroma začetni ravni A1, zaradi česar smo menili, da bodo prve tri enote primerljive po vsebini.

Izhajali smo iz predpostavk, da bodo vsi učbeniki vsebovali posebne enote, namenjene kulturnim vsebinam, da pa bodo te v starejših bolj povezane samo s Francijo in da bodo kot takšne tudi bolj stereotipne. Pri učbenikih, ki so izšli po izdaji SEJA, smo predpostavili, da bodo vsebovali bolj raznolike kulturne vsebine, ki bodo povezane tudi s frankofonijo in da bodo te vsebine spodbujale krepitev medkulturne kompetence. Pri teh učbenikih smo pričakovali, da kulturne vsebine ne bodo omejene zgolj na kulturne enote.

2 FRANCOŠČINA KOT TUJI JEZIK

Z razvojem didaktike tujih jezikov sta se spreminjala tudi metodologija in obravnavanje kulture oziroma civilizacije pri pouku francoščine kot tujega.

Spaëth (2021) povzema pomembnejše dogodke na področju didaktike francoščine kot tujega jezika:

Leta 1910 so v Grenoblu uvedli certifikat *Certificat d'Aptitude à l'Enseignement du Français à l'Étranger*¹. Deset let kasneje je Brunot odprl *L'École de Préparation des Professeurs de Français à l'Étranger* (EPPFE) na pariški Sorboni, kar je veljalo za začetek didaktičnega izobraževanja (Spaëth 2021: 67, 68). Konec druge svetovne vojne je pripeljal do ustanovitve dveh organizacij, ki sta preoblikovali jezikovno politiko in vplivali na poučevanje tujih jezikov. To sta UNESCO (1945) in Svet Evrope (*Conseil de l'Europe*) (prav tam: 69). Unesco se je sprva ukvarjal z vprašanjem kolonialne vloge

1 L'Université de Grenoble, Centre d'enseignement du français

francoščine v Afriki in skušal najti način, ki bi francoščino približal tistim, ki se jo učijo na novo. Tako je nastal *Le français élémentaire* (1954), inventar najpogostejših besed in slovničnih struktur, ki se pojavljajo v govorjeni francoščini. Zbrane so bile glede na pogostost pojavljanja, pri čemer so upoštevali le enote, katerih frekvenca je bila višja od 29 (Le Monde 1954). V šestdesetih letih 20. stoletja so se nekdanje francoske kolonije v Afriki osamosvojile; političen premik se je odražal tudi v razvoju didaktike francoskega jezika (prav tam: 71).

V uvodu Skela razloži, da je bil Svet Evrope, s sedežem v Strasbourgu, ustanovljen leta 1949, z namenom krepitev enotnosti Evrope v demokratičnem duhu, kar je pomenilo zagovarjanje in zagotavljanje osnovnih človekovih vrednot. Da bi zagotovili mir v Evropi, se Svet Evrope odloči za »promocijo poučevanja in učenja tujih jezikov, skupaj z razvijanjem medkulturne ozaveščenosti kot bistvene sestavine pri razvijanju sporazumevalne zmožnosti v drugem jeziku oz. jezikih« (SEJO 2011: 8). Leta 1960 se je pojavil izraz FLE (Français Langue Étrangère), dve leti kasneje pa je Léopold Sédar Senghor na novo definiral izraz *frankofonija*, ki ga je pred njim prvič uporabil geograf Onésime Reclus (Spaëth 2021: 74).

Še preden se je uradno pojavil izraz FLE, so leta 1958 odprli Le Centre de Linguistique Appliquée (CLA) v Besançonu. Leto kasneje sta nastala še CREDIF (Le Centre de Recherche et d'Étude pour la Diffusion du Français) in Le Bureau d'Études et de Liaison (BEL). Le Centre d'Étude et de Recherche pour l'Enseignement de la Civilisation (CREC) je nastal leta 1960. Svet Evrope je leta 1961 v Parizu organiziral prvi Simpozij na področju tujih jezikov. Francoska vlada je dala pobudo, da se je Simpozij odvil v Parizu, da bi tam predstavili delo univerzitetne ustanove CREDIF (*Centre de Recherche et d'Étude pour la Diffusion du Français*). CREDIF je na simpoziju predstavil *Le français fondamental* (SEJO 2011: 9). Istega leta so odprli Le Centre d'Étude du Français Élémentaire na ENS de Saint-Cloud. V tem centru so ustanovili metodo SGAV (Méthode Structuro-Globale Audiovisuelle), ki temelji na dokumentu *Le français fondamental*, ki je vseboval večje število besed in struktur kot *Le français élémentaire*. Leta 1966 je, z združitvijo centrov CREC in BEL, nastal BELC: Bureau d'Enseignement de la Langue et de la Civilisation Françaises à l'Étranger, ki deluje še danes. Sredi 1980 so v Franciji začeli ponujati študij francoščine kot tujega jezika na vseh treh stopnjah; na dodiplomskem, magistrskem in doktorskem študiju (Spaëth 2021: 74, 75).

Leta 1984 je Ferdinand Brunot organiziral poletne tečaje na Francoski Aliansi (*Alliance Française*), namenjene prvemu izobraževanju tujih učiteljev francoščine. Brunotov program je pomenil odmik od direktne metode, kar je za poučevanje francoščine pomenilo, da so učitelji prostor dali tudi poučevanju kulture (prav tam: 54, 55).

V Sloveniji ima francoščina status tujega jezika. Prvi stik slovenskega prostora s francoščino se zgodi v času Ilirskih provinc na začetku 19. stoletja (Okoliš 2010; povzeto po Lah 2012: 47). Po drugi svetovni vojni je bila francoščina vključena v gimnazijski program po celi državi, za kar je zaslužna pokojna profesorica Marija Saje (Polenšek

2020). Danes je najpogostejši način poučevanja francoščine v slovenskih gimnazijah poučevanje francoščine kot drugega tujega jezika, kar pomeni 420 ur v enem šolskem letu (Učni načrt 2008: 6). V Sloveniji je na poučevanje francoščine (in drugih jezikov) pomembno vplival SEJO, in sicer na različna področja, kot so učenje učenja, izobraževanje učiteljev, oblikovanje učnih načrtov in učbenikov ter ocenjevanje jezikovnega znanja (SEJO 2011:12).

3 KULTURA, CIVILIZACIJA, MEDKULTURNOST

Definiciji kulture in civilizacije se po SSKJ razlikujeta v tem, da je civilizacija bolj povezana s znanstvenim in tehničnim napredkom, medtem ko je kultura povezana z umetniškim delovanjem in ustvarjanjem (SSKJ 2014).

KULTURA je definirana kot skupek dosežkov, vrednot človeške družbe kot rezultat človekovega delovanja, ustvarjanja; dejavnost, ki obsega področje človekovega umskega, zlasti umetniškega delovanja, ustvarjanja in lastnost človeka glede na obvladanje; uporabljanje splošno veljavnih načel, norm, pravil pri vedenju, ravnanju.

CIVILIZACIJA je definirana kot skupek dosežkov, vrednot človeške družbe, zlasti glede na znanstveni in tehnični napredek.

Medkulturnosti se v Franciji več pozornosti začne namenjati med 1960 in 1970, ko Francija dobi prvi večji val priseljencev in francoska kultura ni več izrazito homogena. Medkulturnost nato preide v poučevanje francoščine z namenom, da se učencem francoščine pokaže raznolikost kultur, povezanih s francoskim jezikom (Chnane-Davin 2021: 167, 168). Poučevanje medkulturnosti in ozaveščanje o drugačnosti in strpnosti ni nključje – ker se Evropa v tistih časih sooča s pomembnimi migracijskimi spremembami, si z vključevanjem medkulture kompetence v izobraževalnih ustanovah prizadeva za socialni mir (Weber 2021: 241).

Kulturo pri pouku tujega jezika lahko poučujemo iz različnih razlogov: sam prevod iz enega jezika v drugega ni dovolj, če želimo razumeti tudi vrednote in pogled na svet, povsem mehanično razumevanje jezika lahko jeziku odvzame pomen in smisel², vstop v novo civilizacijo ima lahko pozitivne učinke na motivacijo učencev in nazadnje, mešan pristop je bolj ustrezen za doseg različnih učnih ciljev (Debyser 1981, povzeto po Collès, 2007: 64). Danes je pri poučevanju francoščine kot tujega jezika bolj kot kultura v ospredju medkulturnost oziroma razvijanje medkulture kompetence.

Medkultura ozaveščenost po SEJU (2011: 127) vključuje razumevanje podobnosti in razlik med lastno in ciljno kulturo. Idealno naj bi učenec pridobil dovolj širine, da bi se zavedal bogatega nabora kultur, ki presega meje učenčeve lastne kulture in tujega jezika, pomembno pa je tudi nasloviti (narodnostne) stereotipe. Samo področje medkulture

2 « Une idée purement mécanique de la langue risque de vider cette dernière de tout sens ».

raziskovanja se začne razvijati v sredini 80-ih let. Unesco se želi izogniti sektarizmu oziroma narodnostni omejitvi (*cloisonnement*), zato poudarja dialog med kulturami (Weber 2021: 240). Pojavijo se pojmi, kot so medkulturnost, multikulturnost, plurikulturnost in bikulturnost, ki imajo vsak svoj pomen, a se bomo za potrebe našega članka osredotočili samo na medkulturnost in na njeno definicijo iz SEJA.

Kulturo in civilizacijo so avtorji definirali na različne načine. Robert Galisson in Daniel Coste v Slovarju za didaktiko jezikov³ ponudita tri definicije civilizacije: postopek civiliziranja sebe ali drugih, vse, kar je skupno razvitim družbam in vse, kar je skupno kateri koli družbi (Galisson in Coste 1976, povzeto po Chnane-Davin 2021: 166). S prehodom na komunikacijski pristop v 80-ih letih prejšnjega stoletja, dobi kultura nov status pri poučevanju tujih jezikov; če želi biti učenec uspešen pri komuniciranju, je poznavanje različnih delov kulture neobhodno. Avtorji delijo kulturo na različne dele; Galisson razlikuje med dvema deloma; kultivirano (*savante*), ki je povezana z literaturo in umetnostjo, in na deljeno (*partagée*), na kulturo, ki pripada in je dostopna vsem, ki je povezana z načinom življenja (Galisson 1987, povzeto po Dakhia 2017: 102, 103). Chnane-Davin kulturo razdeli na antropološko in kultivirano, za katero je značilno, da težko vstopa v francoščino kot tuji jezik, oziroma je v učbenikih omejena na nekaj odlomkov najbolj znanih francoskih literarnih besedil (Chnane-Davin 2021: 165).

4 OPIS ANALIZIRANIH UČBENIKOV IN NJIHOVA UMESTITEV V METODOLOGIJO

Analizirali smo pet učbenikov, ki so bili izdani v različnih obdobjih, pri čemer nas je zanimalo, kako je kultura predstavljena; katere vsebine so vključene v učbenik, kako je kultura vsebinsko umeščena v zasnovo učbenika in ali se je kaj spremenilo po izdaji SEJA, kar bi bil pokazatelj spremembe odnosa do medkulturne kompetence.

Najstarejša učbenika, *Cours de langue et de civilisation françaises 1^{er} tome* (Mauger Bleu), ki je bil izdan leta 1953 in *Voix et images de France*, ki je izšel leta 1966, smo izbrali na podlagi dveh kriterijev. Želeli smo analizirati dva učbenika, ki sta znana na področju didaktike francoščine kot tujega jezika in ki sta oba izšla pred izdajo SEJA. Novejše tri učbenike smo izbrali na podlagi vprašalnika. Na spletni strani Ministrstva za vzgojo in izobraževanje smo pridobili seznam⁴ 17-ih potrjenih učbenikov za 1. letnik francoščine v gimnazijah. Profesoricam francoščine (N=20) smo poslali vprašalnik, v katerem so izbrale učbenik, ki ga uporabljajo za 1. letnike. Največ (8) profesorice je izbralo učbenik *Génération A1*. Ena profesorica je izbrala učbenik *Latitudes 1*, ki je med najstarejšimi

3 Dictionnaire de didactique des langues (1976)

4 Potrjeni učbeniki za 1. letnik gimnazije: Agenda 1, Alter Égo 1, Alter Égo + A1, Belleville 1, Campus 1, Connexions niveau 1, Entre nous 1 (2017), Entre nous 1 (2016), Génération A1, Latitudes 1, Le nouveau taxi 1, Nouveau Rond Point 1, Rond Point 1, Scénario 1, Taxi ! 1, Tendances A1, Version Originale 1.

učbeniki, ki so ga profesorice še izbrale, učbenik *Connexions 1* pa je na splošno najstarejši učbenik na seznamu potrjenih učbenikov⁵. Vsi trije so izšli po letu 2001, torej po objavi SEJA, in sicer leta 2004 učbenik *Connexions*, 2012 *Latitudes* in leta 2015 *Génération*. Vsi učbeniki so namenjeni začetni stopnji oziroma ravni A1.

Prvi učbenik na seznamu je Maugerjev *Cours de langue et de civilisation françaises 1^{er} tome (Mauger Bleu)*, ki je izšel leta 1953 pri Éditions Hachette. Učbenik sledi slovnično-prevajalni (tradicionalni) in direktni metodologiji. Za tradicionalno metodologijo (druga polovica 17. stoletja do 20. stoletja) je značilen poudarek na slovnicu in na prevajanju besedil. Pri tej metodi so se obravnavala literarna besedila ciljnega jezika. Učenci so kulturo spoznavali preko literarnih besedil, katerih namen je bil olajšati zmožnost sodelovanja v pogovoru (Puren 1988: 43, 44). Literatura je obravnavana kot »krona« učenja tujega jezika in je spadala med t.i. visoko kulturo (Cuq in Gruca 2002: 254, 256). Za direktno metodologijo je značilno to, da se poučevanje odvija samo v tujem jeziku, kar naj bi učencu pomagalo, da bi takoj začel razmišljati v novem jeziku. Takšen model poučevanja naj bi posnemal usvajanje maternega jezika (Puren 1988: 80).

Avtor Mauger je bil vpet v vodenje Francoske Alianse (*Alliance française*), katere misija je širiti francoski jezik in kulturo po celem svetu. Aliansa v Parizu je pripravljala vse materiale, pripomočke in izpite, ki jih je nato posredovala vsem drugim Aliansam po svetu (institucionalizirano širjenje francoskega jezika) (Blanchet, 2000a). Učbenik je sestavljen iz treh stopenj (*degrés*) in 65 enot (*leçons*).

Drugi analizirani učbenik je *Voix et images de France*, avtorjev Guberine in Rivenca, ki je izšel leta 1966 pri Éditions Didier.

Francija se je soočala s političnimi težavami, ki so se pojavile po koncu druge svetovne vojne, in iskala svoj prostor med velesilami, tudi na jezikovnem področju. Jezikoslovec Georges Gougenheim je sestavil in vodil ekipo, ki je izvedla analizo francoskega govorjenega jezika. S pomočjo korpusov so sestavili *Français Élémentaire* in kasneje tudi *Français fondamental*. Petar Guberina, Raymond Renard in Paul Rivenc so razvili SGAV (strukturo-globalna avdio-vizualna metodologija) in obenem tudi izdali učbenik, ki je sledil tej metodi: *Voix et images de France*. Pri metodi SGAV učenje poteka s pomočjo dialogov, pomemben pa je tudi socialni kontekst (Cuq in Gruca 2002: 260–264). Glavni cilj te metode je, da se učenci naučijo govoriti in komunicirati. Da bi čim prej dosegli ta cilj, se učitelji poslužujejo (umetno ustvarjenih) dialogov. Kultura ni posebej vključena v to metodo (Puren 1988: 207–209).

Poučevanje francoščine s tem učbenikom se fizično odvija v posebnih pogojih: učitelj predvaja zvok in diapozitive s sličicami, učenci sedijo v polkrogu, v poltemi. Dialoge spremljajo sličice v določenih sekvencah v učbeniku, podobno kot strip, vendar brez kakršnega koli besedila (Blanchet 2000b). Učbenik *Voix et images de France* je sestavljen iz 32 lekcij (*leçons*).

5 Drugi rezultati: Entre nous 1 (2017) (6), Alter Ego + A1 (6), ne uporabljam učbenika (1).

Zadnji trije analizirani učbeniki so *Connexions 1* (Mérieux, Loiseau) iz leta 2004, izdan pri Éditions Didier, *Latitudes 1* (Mérieux, Loiseau) iz leta 2012 prav tako izšel pri Éditions Didier in *Génération 1* (Cocton, Dauda, Giachino in Baracco) iz leta 2015, izdan pri Éditions Didier. Učbenika *Connexions* in *Latitudes* imata 12 enot, *Génération* pa 6.

Connexions 1 sledi komunikacijskemu pristopu, *Latitudes 1* in *Génération* pa akcijskemu. Bistvo komunikacijskega pristopa je, da je učenec sposoben komunicirati v tujem jeziku. Pristop je bil razvit na začetku 1970, da bi Evropejcem omogočal prehajanje iz države v državo. Veliko je dialogov, ki predstavljajo situacije, v katerih bi se lahko znašel turist (Puren 2022: 6). Kar zadeva kulturo, so prisotni deli iz vsakdanjega življenja, pri bolj naprednih ravneh pa se lahko učenci srečajo tudi z bolj splošnimi deli francoske civilizacije (Cuq in Gruca 2002: 264–268). Akcijski pristop je podaljšek komunikacijskega pristopa in učenca pripravlja na to, da bi se bil sposoben integrirati v tujo družbo oziroma kulturo. Učenec naj bi bil bolj avtonomen, ne glede na kontekst (Puren 2022: 7, 8).

5 ANALIZA KULTURNIH VSEBIN V IZBRANIH UČBENIKIH

HIPOTEZE

Pred pričetkom analize smo zastavili sledeče hipoteze:

- Vsi učbeniki bodo vsebovali posebne enote, namenjene kulturnim vsebinam.
- Kulturne vsebine starejših učbenikov *Mauger Bleu in Voix et images de France* bodo osredotočene na kulturo, povezano s Francijo.
- Kulturne vsebine učbenikov *Mauger Bleu in Voix et images de France* bodo bolj stereotipne.
- Novejši učbeniki, *Connexions*, *Latitudes* in *Génération*, ki so vsi izšli po izdaji SEJA, bodo vsebovali bolj raznolike kulturne vsebine, ki bodo povezane tudi s frankofonijo.
- Učbeniki *Connexions*, *Latitudes* in *Génération* bodo vsi vsebovali vsebine, ki krepijo medkulturno kompetenco.
- Učbeniki *Connexions*, *Latitudes* in *Génération* bodo vsebovali kulturne vsebine tudi izven posebnih kulturnih enot.

REZULTATI ANALIZE KULTURNIH VSEBIN

Mauger Bleu, 1953

V učbeniku sledimo življenju dveh družin, ki sta obe frankofonski. Družina Vincent je iz Kanade, družina Legrand pa iz Francije⁶. veliko je potoval, pozna Pariz, Rim, Moskvo, Madrid itd.), ga. Vincent (Margaret Bell iz New Yorka, njegova žena, 35 let, 1,65

6 Opis družin sta prevoda iz opisa družin kot se pojavita v učbeniku *Cours de langue et de civilisation françaises I*.

m, blond lasje, modre oči, nežna, rada ima glasbo), Pierre (njun sin, 16 let, 1,68 m, črni lasje, rjave oči, rad ima šport), Hélène (njegova sestra, 7 let, 1 m, živahna in klepetava).

Opis družine Legrand: G. Étienne Legrand (40 let, 1,66 m, široka ramena, okrogla postava, sivi lasje, sive oči, brki, očala, knjigarnar v Parizu), ga. Legrand (njegova žena, 38 let, 1,6 m, vitka, rjavi lasje, modre oči, živahna in dobrovoljna), Cécile (njuna hči, 18 let, 1,6 m, blond lasje, rjave oči, študentka na Sorboni), Jean (njen brat, 17 let, 1,65 m, rjavi lasje, modre oči, gimnazijec na Saint-Louis, rad ima šport).

Slike, ki so uporabljene v učbeniku, so črno-bele. Kadar so povezane s kraji, predstavljajo različne predele Pariza. Blanchet (2000a) učbenik opiše kot slovnični učbenik z ilustracijami. Učbenik se osredotoča na francoščino, kot jo govorijo v Parizu. Tako so tudi kulturne vsebine, ki obstajajo, povezane s Parizom in so precej stereotipne ter posplošene.

Kulturne vsebine so predstavljene v delu, ki nosi naslov Documents (En France). Gre za slike in krajše opise, ki spadajo k posameznim lekcijam (lekcije so označene), zbrane so na enem mestu. Učbenik je namenjen začetnikom, gre za prvega od štirih delov, zato v njem ne najdemo dolgih literarnih besedil. Vsebuje pa tri pesmice in trinajst pesniških del.

Tematika kulturnih vsebin je sledeča: pozdravljanje, vrste prevozov, hoteli, obroki, kavarne, znamenite stavbe Pariza, meni v restavraciji, stanovanja, pariške četrti, nakupovalne navade, komunikacija, podzemna železnica, pariške kavarne, pariški parki, Baski, baskovska igra, agrikultura, vitikultura, zakonske zveze, drugi obredi, državni prazniki in šolski sistem.

Primer 1, stran 192 (Documents, Leçons 36 à 39) : Les Français mangent souvent des escargots au commencement des repas. (...) Les Français aiment aussi beaucoup les moules. Mais leur passion pour les grenouilles est une légende ! ...

Primer 2, stran 192 (Documents, Leçons 40 à 43) : À Paris, le pain a souvent la forme d'un bâton long et mince (ficelles, baguettes). Les étrangers disent : « Les Français achètent le pain au mètre. » Mais certains Parisiens achètent aussi du gros pain, coupé et pesé.

Voix et images de France, 1966

V tem učbeniku ni posebnih enot, ki bi bile namenjene kulturnim vsebinam, zato je nemogoče govoriti o razvijanju medkulturne zmožnosti (kompetence). Ta učbenik je poseben tudi zato, ker je v celoti sestavljen samo iz oštevilčenih sličic brez besedila. V kazalu vidimo, da v učbeniku spremljamo dogodke naslednjih oseb oziroma protagonistov: Catherine, Paul, Mme Thibaut in M. Robin. Kulturne vsebine sicer niso eksplicitne, vendar lahko iz imen sklepamo, da gre pri izboru protagonistov za osebe, za katere avtorji menijo, da predstavljajo »tipično« Francijo. Osebe, ki jih vidimo na sličicah, so dokaj stereotipne: oblačila so formalna in elegantna, moški so ponavadi v oblekah, ki namigujejo na višji družbeni položaj in vodstveni položaj v službi, v rokah nosijo aktovko. Ženske so v vlogah mam, gospodinj in tajnic. Druge moške poklice prepoznamo po uniformi (lovec, poštar, policist), katere sestavni del je pokrivalo.

Connexions 1, 2004

Kulturne enote se imenujejo *Civilisation*. Naloge za krepitev medkulturne kompetence so prisotne pri petih od dvanajstih delih enot, in sicer pri naslednjih temah: prazniki in praznovanja, prosti čas, aktivnosti zunaj, igre, ravnanje z odpadki in bralne navade. Za krepitev medkulturne kompetence štejemo naloge, ki nagovarjajo učenca oziroma uporabnika učbenika. Primeri: Kako pa je v vaši državi? Primerjaj podobnosti in razlike. Tovrstne naloge oziroma vprašanja učenca spodbujajo, da preko tuje kulture spoznava tudi lastno.

Pregled kulturnih vsebin iz kulturnih enot, ki spadajo v sklop *Civilisation*, v večini primerov pokaže, da so kulturne vsebine podrejene drugim kompetencam, kot na primer bralnemu in slušnemu razumevanju, ali reproduciranju slovničnih vaj.

Latitudes 1, 2012

Kulturne enote se imenujejo *Découvertes socioculturelles*. Naloge za krepitev medkulturne kompetence so prisotne pri devetih od dvanajstih delov enot, in sicer pri naslednjih temah: družina, hišni ljubljenci, prosti čas, darila in posebne priložnosti, arhitektura, Evropska unija, frankofonija, moda in glasba.

V primerjavi s kulturnimi vsebinami iz učbenika *Connexions* so kulturne vsebine v tem učbeniku namenjene informiranju učencev. Naloge so sicer povezane z bralnim razumevanjem, vendar s tem namenom, da učence vpeljejo v temo. Potem so tu še naloge za besedišče, interpretacije grafov oziroma podatkov in sestavljanje krajših dialogov za dane sociokulturne situacije, kar učenec omogoča, da aktivno razmišlja o vsebinah in lastnih odzivih. Slovničnih nalog v kulturnem delu praktično ni.

Génération 1, 2015

Kulturne enote se imenujejo *Culture*. Naloge za krepitev medkulturne kompetence so prisotne pri dveh od treh enot, in sicer pri naslednjih temah: Francija in počitnice, Francija in kulinarika.

Pregled kulturnih enot, ki spadajo v sklop *Culture*, pokaže, da gre za kulturne vsebine, katerih namen je informirati in izobraziti učenca. Vse kulturne vsebine so povezane s Francijo.

Kulturnih vsebin je sicer manj kot v učbenikih *Connexions* in *Latitudes*, so pa te namenjene zgolj odkrivanju kulture in niso *izkoriščane* za utrjevanje slovnične kompetence.

Iz spodnje preglednice, ki vključuje tudi naslove kulturnih enot, je razvidno, da so snovalci učbenika upoštevali smernice SEJA glede sociokulturnega vedenja, ki je, glede na obseg in definicijo, predpogoj za razvoj medkulturne kompetence. SEJO sociokulturno vedenje definira kot » *védenje o družbi in o kulturni skupnosti, v kateri/katerih se govori jezik, eden od vidikov védenja o svetu.*« Sociokulturno vedenje si zasluži posebno obravnavo, med drugim tudi zato, ker je lahko zaradi stereotipov, ki jih učenec goji do določenega jezika in kulture, izkrivljeno. Poglavja sociokulturnega vedenja se nadalje delijo na: vsakdanje življenje, življenjske okoliščine, medosebne odnose, vrednote, prepričanja in stališča v povezavi z različnimi dejavniki, govorica telesa, družbene konvencije in obredno vedenje ob različnih dogodkih (SEJO 2011: 126, 127).

Preglednica 1: Primerjava kulturnih vsebin v Connexions 1, Latitudes 1 in Génération 1.

	Connexions 1	Latitudes 1	Génération A1
Unité 1	Bonjour	Salut !	Bonjour, ça va ? Salut ! Je m'appelle Agnès !
Kulturna enota in vsebina	La géographie de la France, str. 16, 17 Zemljevid Francije in 4 čezmorskih regij (Guyanne, la Martinique, la Guadeloupe, la Réunion), slike 5 različnih francoskih lokacij.	En France et ailleurs, str. 18, 19 Zemljevid Francije in 4 čezmorskih regij (Guyanne, la Martinique, la Guadeloupe, la Réunion), slike 5 različnih frankofonskih lokacij.	La France physique et politique, str. 28, 29 Zemljevid Francije in čezmorskih regij, Francija na kratko.
Medkulturna kompetenca ⁷	-	-	-
Unité 2	Rencontres	Enchanté !	
Kulturna enota in vsebina	La France en Europe, str. 26, 27 Zemljevid Evrope, slike petih evropskih prestolnic.	L'Europe, str. 28, 29 Zemljevid Evrope, slike štirih evropskih prestolnic	
Medkulturna kompetenca	-	-	
Unité 3	100 questions.	J'adore !	Il est comment ? Allô ?
Kulturna enota in vsebina	La télévision, str. 36, 37 Najbolj prepoznavni francoski/frankofonski TV programi in njihovi logoti (France 2, France 3, arte, Canal+) in nekaj frankofonskih osebnosti, med njimi Céline Dion.	La famille en France, str. 38, 39 Vabilo, grafi, opisi različnih tipov družin in zvez.	Le pays des vacances, str. 60, 61 Zemljevid Francije, slike francoskih znamenitosti, besedila o znanih francoskih krajih.
Medkulturna kompetenca	-	+	+
Unité 4	Enquête	Tu veux bien ?	
Kulturna enota in vsebina	Les fêtes en France, str. 50, 51 Koledar leta 2004, fotografije praznovanj, 8 francoskih praznikov.	Animaux & compagnie, str. 54, 55 Besedilo o hišnih ljubljenceh Francozov, slike živali.	
Medkulturna kompetenca	+	+	

7 Simbol + ponazarja pristotnost vsebin za krepitev medkulturne kompetence, simbol – pa ponazarja odsotnost tovrstnih vsebin. Za krepitev medkulturne kompetence štejemo naloge, ki nagovarjajo učenca oziroma uporabnika učbenika. Primeri: Kako pa je v vaši državi? Primerjaj podobnosti in razlike.

Unité 5	Invitations	On se voit quand ?	Où faire ses courses ? Découvrez et dégustez !
Kulturna enota in vsebina	Les sorties des Français, str. 60, 61 Naslovnica tednika <i>L'officiel des spectacles</i> , slike vstopnic, kratki opisi dogodkov, besedilo o kulturnih navadah Francozov.	Les Français cultivent leur temps libre, str. 64, 65 Plakati festivalov, besedilo o kulturnih aktivnostih Francozov, slike vstopnic.	Le pays des gourmands, str. 92, 93 Besedilo o francoski kulinariki, recept za palačinke, slika francoskega kuharja in francoske jedi.
Medkulturna kompetenca	+	+	+
Unité 6	À table !	Bonne idée !	
Kulturna enota in vsebina	Au café, str. 70, 71 Slike menija in računa.	Quel cadeau offrir ?, str. 74, 75 Besedilo o darilih za različne priložnosti, slike daril.	
Medkulturna kompetenca	-	+	
Unité 7	Rallye	C'est où ?	
Kulturna enota in vsebina	Les jeux des Français, str. 84, 85 Opis treh iger (med njimi la pétanque), fotografije različnih iger, besedilo o igrah v Franciji.	Architecture et nature, str. 90, 91 Besedilo o arhitektu Jeanu Nouvelu, slike njegovih projektov, slike različnih frankofonskih arhitekturnih zanimivosti.	
Medkulturna kompetenca	+	+	
Unité 8	Chez moi	N'oubliez pas !	
Kulturna enota in vsebina	Tri sélectif et recyclage, str. 94, 95 Slike odpadkov, slike smetnjakov in navodila za sortiranje.	La France d'outre-mer, str. 100, 101 Besedilo o čezmorski Franciji, slike čezmorskih območij, tabela s podatki, pregovori iz teh območij.	
Medkulturna kompetenca	+	-	
Unité 9	Les vacances	Belle vue sur la mer !	
Kulturna enota in vsebina	Les vacances, str. 104, 105 Besedilo pesmi <i>Simone à la neige</i> .	L'Union européenne, str. 110, 111 Besedilo o arhitektu Evropski uniji, slike simbolov, slogan v vseh uradnih jezikih.	
Medkulturna kompetenca	-	+	

Unité 10	Au jour le jour	Quel beau voyage !	
Kulturna enota in vsebina	Les Français et la lecture, str. 118, 119 Besedilo o avtorju stripov ZEP, rezultati ankete o bralnih navadah, slika naslovnice <i>Titeuf</i> .	Francophonie, str. 110, 111 Besedilo o Frankofoniji, slike različnih organizacij, slike francoščine v različnih geografskih kontekstih, frankofonska francoščina.	
Medkulturna kompetenca	+	+	
Unité 11	Roman	Oh ! Joli !	
Kulturna enota in vsebina	La francophonie, str. 128, 129 Zemljevid sveta in frankofonskih držav, slike krajev, besedila treh frankofonskih avtorjev (Kanada, Senegal, ZDA), frankofonski pregovori.	Mode et société, str. 136, 137 Kviz o modi, slike oblačil, modne piste, citati znanih francoskih kreatorjev.	
Medkulturna kompetenca	-	+	
Unité 12	Je te retrouverai	Et après ?	
Kulturna enota in vsebina	Notre vie dans 50 ans, str. 138, 139 Besedilo o življenju leta 2050. Slike: tovarna Renault, pariške stavbe.	Musique, musique, str. 146, 147 Graf o glasbi in kulturi, plakati glasbenih festivalov, opis festivala Francofolies.	
Medkulturna kompetenca	-	+	

REZULTATI ANALIZE PRVIH TREH (SPLOŠNIH) ENOT

Čeprav obstaja formalna delitev in lahko v že v kazalu vsakega izmed učbenikov vidimo, katere enote so posebej rezervirane za kulturne vsebine, se ob bolj podrobni analizi posamičnih enot (v našem primeru prvih treh) izkaže, da so kulturne vsebine prisotne tudi drugod v učbeniku.

Vsebine, ki bi učitelju lahko omogočile primerjavo z izvorno kulturo, smo označili za kulturno vsebino. Spodnja preglednica vsebuje takšne kulturne vsebine, ki smo jih zaznali v prvih treh splošnih enotah posameznega učbenika.

Preglednica 2: Kulturne vsebine v prvih treh enotah v izbranih učbenikih za 1. letnike gimnazije.

	Connexions 1	Latitudes 1	Génération A1
Unité 1	Bonjour ! Različni pozdravi, vikanje in tikanje Črkovanje kratic – kulturno pomembne kratice (RER, SNCF, TGV) Kako se opravičiti Geste (dvignjen palec, stisk roke, pokliči me, oh là là ...) Najpogostejša imena za dečke in deklice leta 2004	Salut ! Okvir Saluer in Ça va ? Okvir Formule de politesse	Bonjour, ça va ? Salut ! Je m'appelle Agnès Okvir L'info en +: vikanje in tikanje Okvir L'info en +: le collègue, le lycée + le bac Entrer en contact – vikanje in tikanje, različni pozdravi glede na kontekst
Unité 2	Rencontres Slike nekaterih frankofonskih osebnosti, ki jim je treba določiti narodnost.	Enchanté ! Vikanje in tikanje	Qui est-ce ? Dans mon sac, j'ai ... Slike znanih frankofonskih osebnosti (Stromač, Daft Punk, Napoléon ...) Kratki opisi frankofonskih znanih ljudi Francoska osebna izkaznica Različni vljudnostni izrazi (Pardon, C'est très gentil de ta part ...) Atelier vidéo – spoznavanje dveh frankofonskih osebnosti, Naloga : predstaviti frankofonsko osebnost
Unité 3	100 % questions Besedilo o oddaji: Questions en pagailles na France 3 Slika gradu Angers Kako izpolniti ček	J'adore ! Kako izpolniti ček	Il est comment ? Allô ? Okrajšave in nazivi (gospod, gospa) Okvir L'info en +: telefonske številke v Franciji Kako govoriti po telefonu

Connexions 1

V tem učbeniku najdemo tudi v prvih treh enotah slike, ilustracije, besedila in tabele, ki so kulturno pomembne za Francijo oziroma frankofonijo. Te vsebine so včasih uporabljene kot del uvodne aktivnosti, kot del naloge bralnega razumevanja ali kot del ustnega oziroma pisnega izražanja.

Latitudes 1

Po analizi prvih treh splošnih enot vidimo, da ni veliko dodatnega kulturnega materiala. Obstajajo okvirčki z dodatnimi informacijami ali s krajšimi povzetki, vendar ti niso vedno kulturno obarvani. V prvih treh enotah smo identificirali 4 besedila oziroma vaje, ki bi jih lahko opredelili kot kulturne, kar je najmanj od vseh treh učbenikov.

Génération 1

Učbenik na prvi pogled deluje skup, kar se tiče kulturne vsebine, saj vsebuje le tri enote, namenjene odkrivanju kulture. Po analizi prvih treh splošnih enot se izkaže, da je v posameznih enotah več kulturno obarvanih vsebin, kot je recimo okvir z naslovom L'Info en +.

Primer L'Info en +, stran 49: En France, les numéros de téléphone ont dix chiffres. Les deux premiers (de 01 à 05) sont liés à la zone géographique. Les indicatifs 06 et 07 sont réservés aux téléphones portables. (...)

Omeniti moramo tudi del, ki se imenuje *Atelier vidéo*, v katerem učenci spoznavajo različne dele francoske oziroma frankofonske kulture in ki jih spodbuja k ustvarjanju projektov na določeno kulturno temo. Kulturne vsebine lahko najdemo tudi v delu enote, ki se imenuje *Je m'exprime*.

6 ZAKLJUČEK

Poučevati francoski jezik nedvomno pomeni tudi poučevati kulturo, vprašanje je le, katero. V Sloveniji ima pri tem pomembno vlogo SEJO, ki je s svojimi smernicami vplival na učne načrte za francoščino, kot tudi na sestavo učbenikov, ki so potrjeni za poučevanje francoščine v slovenskih šolah. Glede na to, da je bila Francija nekoč pomembna kolonialna sila, je bilo poučevanje francoščine in takrat izključno francoske kulture in/ali civilizacije podrejeno drugačnim ciljem. Pristop in cilji so se skozi zgodovino spreminjali, kar smo opisali v začetnem delu. Danes kulturo poučujemo tudi zato, da krepimo medkulturno kompetenco, oziroma, da preko tuje kulture spoznavamo tudi lastno, kar smo potrdili tudi v primerjavi kulturnih vsebin v novejših učbenikih.

Z izbiro petih učbenikov smo želeli zagotoviti vpogled v različne pristope in metodologije. Po opravljeni analizi kulturnih enot in vsebin smo prišli do različnih zaključkov. Predpostavko, da bo prav vsak učbenik vseboval posebne kulturne enote, smo zavrgli. Učbenik *Voix et images de France* ni vključeval nobenih takšnih enot. Predpostavka, da bodo kulturne vsebine starejših učbenikov *Mauger Bleu* in *Voix et images de France* izključno etnocentrične oziroma povezane s Francijo, drži. *Mauger Bleu* sicer vključuje krajši opis frankofonske kanadske družine, vse kulturne vsebine pa so namenjene Franciji oziroma se celo zožajo na Pariz. *Voix et images* ne vsebuje posebnih kulturnih enot. Presenetilo nas je, da so v najnovejšem učbeniku s seznama, *Génération*, vse tri kulturne enote posvečene samo Franciji, kar pomeni, da moramo zavrniti predpostavko, da bodo novejši učbeniki, kamor štejemo tiste, ki so izšli po letu 2001 (po izdaji SEJA), vsi vsebovali raznolike frankofonske vsebine.

Pri analizi kulturnih vsebin, ki krepijo medkulturno kompetenco v novejših učbenikih, smo potrdili predpostavko, da bo to držalo za vse tri učbenike. Največ takšnih vsebin smo našli v *Latitudes*. Prav tako smo pri vseh treh učbenikih potrdili predpostavko, da so kulturne vsebine prisotne tudi v drugih, splošnih, enotah. Glede na status, ki ga ima SEJO na področju poučevanja tujih jezikov, smo se odločili, da bomo leto njegove izdaje uporabili kot mejnik med »starejšimi« in »novejšimi« učbeniki. Če smo čisto natančni, je najnovejši učbenik iz naše analize star 9 let, najstarejši še potrjen učbenik s seznama, *Connexions*, pa 20 let. Devet let je veliko časa, zato menimo, da bi bilo v prihodnosti

smiselno analizirati učbenike, ki so izšli pred kratkim. Smiselno bi bilo pregledati tudi Dodatek k SEJU, ki je v slovenščini izšel leta 2023.

Čeprav učbeniki vsebujejo razne kulturne vsebine, ugotavljamo, da so te še vedno obravnavane ločeno, kar pomeni, da se lahko hitro zgodi, da pri pouku zmanjka časa za njihovo obravnavo. To potrjuje Skela (2011: 13):

Ko začnemo natančneje proučevati značilnosti učnih načrtov, učbenikov in jezikovnega poučevanja, hitro naletimo na sledove strukturalističnih oz. slovničnih pristopov, predvsem pa na dejstvo, da je prevladujoče organizacijsko načelo današnjih učbenikov – in s tem verjetno tudi poučevanja – še vedno slovnični učni načrt. Kljub priporočilom Skupnega evropskega jezikovnega okvira in številnih drugih dokumentov Sveta Evrope pred njim se pri učenju jezikov in izobraževanju učiteljev še vedno v veliki meri daje prednost predvsem razvijanju slovnične in leksikalne zmožnosti.

Učbenik je sicer pomemben, lahko tudi edini pripomoček učitelja, a imajo pri podajanju kulturnih vsebin in pri krepitvi medkulturne kompetence najbolj pomembno vlogo še vedno učitelji. S tem člankom smo želeli pokazati, kako lahko že z analizo kazal in posameznih delov kulturnih enot dobimo vpogled v to, katere vrste kulturo naj bi učencem z določenim učbenikom podajali. Upamo, da bo učiteljem v pomoč pri bolj kritični izbiri vsebin, ki jim bodo omogočale krepitev medkulturne kompetence v pri pouku.

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POVZETEK

PRIMERJAVA KULTURNIH VSEBIN V UČBENIKIH ZA FRANCOŠČINO KOT TUJI JEZIK

V prispevku analiziramo kulturne vsebine v učbenikih za poučevanje francoščine kot tujega jezika. Analiza temelji na smernicah iz SEJA, ki poudarja pomembnost kulture in razvijanja medkulturne kompetence. Izbrali smo pet učbenikov iz različnih obdobjih, s čimer smo želeli preveriti, kakšne so razlike med metodološko različnimi učbeniki.

Predpostavili smo, da bomo v vseh učbenikih našli kulturne enote, ki bodo v starejših učbenikih (izdani pred izdajo SEJA), to sta *Mauger Bleu* (1953) in *Voix et images de France* (1966), bolj osredotočene na Francijo in bolj stereotipne. V novejših učbenikih, to so *Connexions 1* (2004), *Latitudes 1* (2012) in *Génération 1* (2015), smo pričakovali večjo raznolikost kulturnih vsebin, ki bodo vključevale frankofonijo, obenem pa krepile medkulturno kompetenco pri učencih in jih spodbujale k primerjavi kultur. Kljub temu, da so kulturne enote razvidne iz kazal, smo se pri novejših učbenikih odločili za dodatno analizo prvih treh splošnih enot, da bi preverili, če so kulturne vsebine prisotne tudi drugje.

Izkazalo se je, da vsi učbeniki nimajo kulturnih enot, kar pa ne pomeni, da niso kulturno obarvani (*Voix et images de France*). Kulturne vsebine, povezane samo s Francijo, so odvisne od učbenika in avtorjev in ne (samo) od časa nastanka; najnovejši učbenik s seznama vse kulturne enote posveča Franciji. Pri analizi vsebin za krepitev medkulturne kompetence smo ugotovili, da je vključevanje takšnih nalog naključno. Analiza prvih treh splošnih enot je potrdila predpostavko, da bomo kulturne vsebine našli tudi tam, kar pomeni, da se ne moremo zanašati samo na kazalo učbenika, ampak je potrebna bolj podrobna analiza posameznih enot.

Ključne besede: kulturne vsebine, medkulturna kompetenca, francoščina kot tuji jezik, učbeniki

ABSTRACT

COMPARISON OF CULTURAL CONTENT IN TEXTBOOKS FOR FRENCH AS A FOREIGN LANGUAGE

In this paper, we analyse the cultural content in textbooks for teaching French as a foreign language, based on CEFR guidelines emphasizing culture and intercultural competence. Five textbooks from different periods were selected to examine methodological differences.

We hypothesized that we would find cultural elements in all the textbooks, with the older ones (published before the CEFR), such as *Mauger Bleu* (1953) and *Voix et images de France* (1966), being more focused on France and thus more stereotypical. In more recent textbooks, including *Connexions 1* (2004), *Latitudes 1* (2012), and *Génération 1* (2015), we expected a greater diversity of cultural content, including the Francophone world and developing students' intercultural competence, encouraging them to compare cultures. Despite cultural units being evident from the tables of contents, we decided to also analyse the first three general units of the newer textbooks in search of cultural content.

The analysis showed that even though not all textbooks have cultural units, this does not mean they lack cultural content (e.g. *Voix et images de France*). The cultural content related only to France depends on the textbook and its authors, and not just on the period of publication. Cultural units of the most recent textbook on the list, for example, are all devoted to France. In our analysis of the intercultural competence content, we found that the inclusion of such tasks is randomly distributed. The analysis of the first three general units confirmed the assumption that cultural content can be found there as well, meaning that we cannot rely solely on the textbook's table of contents, and that a more detailed unit analysis is required.

Keywords: cultural content, intercultural competence, French as a foreign language, textbooks

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Izvirni znanstveni članek



VORSTELLUNGEN VON DAF-LEHRAMTSSTUDIERENDEN ÜBER DEN QUALITATIV HOCHWERTIGEN DAF-UNTERRICHT

1 EINLEITUNG

In der aktuellen Bildungsforschung gewinnt die Unterrichtsqualität zunehmend an Bedeutung (vgl. Helmke 2007, 2008, 2014, Hattie 2013, Blömeke et al. 2022). Da sich Vorstellungen der Lehrenden über einen qualitativ hochwertigen Unterricht auf die Unterrichtsplanung, -durchführung und -evaluation auswirken (Baumert/Kunter 2006, Kunter/Trautwein 2013) und bei Lehramtsstudierenden ihre zukünftige Rolle als Lehrkraft (Markic/Eilks 2007, Mayer 2020, Retelj 2022) beeinflussen, ist es unerlässlich ihre Vorstellungen zu verstehen. Vorstellungen werden in der Fachliteratur auch als Überzeugungen, subjektive Theorien oder Ansichten bezeichnet. Meyer bezeichnet subjektive Theorien als „Unterrichtsbilder“ (2007: 29) und argumentiert, dass diese sowohl „Bestandteil des Alltagswissens von Lehrern“ (ebd.) als auch „die entscheidenden Steuerungsinstanzen des methodischen Handelns“ (ebd.: 30) sind. Er definiert Unterrichtsbilder als „sinnlich-ganzheitliche, parteilich-wertende und untheoretisch-pragmatische Vorstellungen über den in der Vergangenheit erfahrenen, aktuell erlebten und für die nahe oder ferne Zukunft prognostizierten Unterricht“ (ebd.: 28). Seine Definition verdeutlicht, dass subjektive Theorien tief verankert sind und eine große Rolle in der Unterrichtsgestaltung spielen.

Zahlreiche Studien widmen den Ansichten von Lehramtsstudierenden besondere Aufmerksamkeit, da sie eine wichtige Datenquelle zu unterschiedlichen Unterrichtsaspekten darstellen können. Ochta et al. (2023) untersuchten z. B. die berufliche Identitätsentwicklung der DaF-Studierenden, Pogradova (2022) fokussierte sich auf die Vorstellungen der Lehramtsstudierenden über den guten DaF-Unterricht im Primarbereich. Gebauer und Rübber (2023) erforschten die Ansichten der Studierenden zur diversitätssensiblen Unterrichtsgestaltung und Borowski (2021) die Überzeugungen über Mehrsprachigkeit in der Lehrerbildung. Hirsch (2017) prüfte, wie sich die subjektiven Theorien vom Lehren und Lernen nach einer Fachdidaktik-Lehrveranstaltung veränderten und

Markic und Eiks (2007) untersuchten, mit welchen Vorstellungen Lehramtsstudierende der Physik am Anfang des Semesters zu den Veranstaltungen kommen. Göllner und Mitarbeiter (Göllner et al. 2016) zeigten in einer umfassenden Studie, dass sich Schülerurteile als ein sehr zuverlässiges Instrument zur Messung der Unterrichtsqualität erwiesen. Unseres Wissens gibt es keine Untersuchungen zu den Vorstellungen der DaF-Lehramtsstudierenden über qualitativ hochwertigen Unterricht. Daher wurden im Rahmen dieser Untersuchung studentische Vorstellungen über DaF-Unterricht in Form von Zeichnungen dokumentiert und analysiert. Zeichnungen als Ausdrucksform studentischer Sichtweisen bieten eine gute Möglichkeit, diese Vorstellungen kreativ und häufig unbewusst darzustellen (vgl. Hirsch 2017).

Im Artikel werden zunächst ausgewählte Modelle der Unterrichtsqualität, überwiegend aus dem deutschsprachigen Raum, präsentiert. Anschließend erfolgt eine Analyse der Konzepte des guten Unterrichts, wie sie in den Zeichnungen von DaF-Lehramtsstudierenden zum Ausdruck kommen. Mit der Untersuchung soll verdeutlicht werden, wie angehende Lehrende den guten DaF-Unterricht wahrnehmen und welche Aspekte der Unterrichtsqualität sie als besonders bedeutsam erachten. Die systematische Auswertung der Zeichnungen zielt darauf ab, tiefere Einblicke in die Lern-Lehrqualitätsvorstellungen der DaF-Lehramtsstudierenden zu gewinnen, was bedeutende Auswirkungen auf die Praxis haben kann.

2 WAS IST GUTER UNTERRICHT?

Die empirische Unterrichtsforschung befasst sich seit Jahrzehnten mit der Frage, welche Merkmale, Prinzipien bzw. Gütekriterien den guten Unterricht ausmachen. Forschende versuchten sowohl generische, d. h. allgemeingültige, als auch fachspezifische Aspekte der Unterrichtsqualität zu identifizieren (für eine Übersicht siehe Helmke/Schrader 2008; Helmke 2014: 168) und stützen sich dabei auf empirische Studien, theoretische Grundlagen und auf die Unterrichtspraxis selbst. Das Ziel dieses Beitrags ist nicht, die in der Literatur vorgestellten Qualitätsmodelle zu bewerten, sondern sie vorzustellen und miteinander zu vergleichen. Im deutschsprachigen Raum haben sich vor allem zwei Merkmalskataloge zur Qualität durchgesetzt. Das sind der s.g. Zehnerkatalog auch Kriterien-Mischmodell genannt, von Hilbert Meyer (2004, 2014) und die Qualitätskriterien von Andreas Helmke (2014).

Meyer (2004, 2014) stellte seine 10 Merkmale guten Unterrichts vor, die empirisch belegt sind und gleichzeitig auf den Praxiserfahrungen basieren. Seine Merkmale guten Unterrichts lauten:

1. Klare Strukturierung des Unterrichts: Prozessklarheit, Rollenklarheit, Absprache von Regeln, Ritualen und Freiräume

2. Hoher Anteil echter Lernzeit: durch gutes Zeitmanagement, Pünktlichkeit, Auslagerung von Organisationskram
3. Lernförderliches Klima: durch gegenseitigen Respekt, verlässlich eingehaltene Regeln, Verantwortungsübernahme, Gerechtigkeit und Fürsorge
4. Inhaltliche Klarheit: durch Verständlichkeit der Aufgabenstellung, Plausibilität des thematischen Gangs, Klarheit und Verbindlichkeit der Ergebnissicherung
5. Sinnstiftendes Kommunizieren: durch Planungsbeteiligung, Gesprächskultur, Sinnkonferenzen und Schülerfeedback
6. Methodenvielfalt: Reichtum an Inszenierungstechniken; Vielfalt der Handlungsmuster; Variabilität der Verlaufsformen und Ausbalancierung der methodischen Großformen
7. Individuelles Fördern: durch Freiräume, Geduld und Zeit; durch innere Differenzierung; durch individuelle Lernstandsanalysen und abgestimmte Förderpläne; besondere Förderung von Schülern aus Risikogruppen
8. Intelligentes Üben: durch Bewusstmachen von Lernstrategien, passgenaue Übungsaufträge und gezielte Hilfestellungen
9. Transparente Leistungserwartungen: durch ein an den Richtlinien oder Bildungsstandards orientiertes, dem Leistungsvermögen der Schüler/innen entsprechendes Lernangebot und zügige Rückmeldungen zum Lernfortschritt
10. Vorbereitete Umgebung: durch gute Ordnung, funktionale Einrichtung und brauchbares Lernwerkzeug (Meyer 2004: 17).

Helmke (2014: 168-271) identifizierte zehn „wichtige fächerübergreifende Qualitätsbereiche“ (ebd.: 168), die den guten Unterricht auszeichnen. Seine Merkmale des guten Unterrichts sind folgende:

1. Klassenführung (aktive Teilnahme der Lernenden, aktive Lernzeit, Regeln, Umgang mit Störungen)
2. Klarheit und Strukturiertheit (klarer, verständlicher Input, sprachliche Klarheit, Aktivierung des Vorwissens und Lernhilfen)
3. Konsolidierung und Sicherung (variantenreiches Angebot von Übungen, Erfolgskontrolle)
4. Aktivierung (kognitive, soziale und körperliche Aktivierung)
5. Motivierung (Interesse und Neugier wecken, lebensrelevante Lerninhalte)
6. lernförderliches Klima (angstfreie und entspannte Lernatmosphäre, konstruktiver Umgang mit Fehlern, passendes Unterrichtstempo)
7. Schülerorientierung (Feedback, Unterstützung, Mitbeteiligung der Lernenden)
8. Kompetenzorientierung (Kompetenzorientierter Unterricht, Rückmeldungen zum Lernstand)
9. Umgang mit Heterogenität (Binnendifferenzierung, adaptiver Unterricht)
10. Angebotsvariationen (Vielfalt von Methoden) (Helmke 2014: 168-271).

Beide Forschenden legen Wert darauf, dass ihre Merkmale empirisch fundiert sind, warnen aber zugleich davor, dass solche Listen leicht falsch interpretiert werden können und nicht automatisch einen qualitativ hochwertigen Unterricht gewährleisten. Wichtig ist, wie kompetent diese Prinzipien umgesetzt werden (Helmke 2014: 169). Helmke (ebd.) betont, dass seine Merkmale (2 bis 4) einen direkten und einen indirekten Einfluss (5 bis 7) auf den Unterricht haben, und die Merkmale 9 und 10 berücksichtigen die Rahmenbedingungen. Meyers Kriterien-Mischmodell (2014: 17) liefert, wie Meyer selbst hervorhebt, „eine [eigene] normative Orientierung“ (ebd.) und bezieht neben der Förderung des kognitiven Lernens auch das affektive und das soziale Lernen als Ziele des guten Unterrichts mit ein. Meyer (ebd.: 13) definiert guten Unterricht als Unterricht, „in dem (1) im Rahmen einer demokratischen Unterrichtskultur, (2) auf der Grundlage des Erziehungsauftrags (3) und mit dem Ziel eines gelingenden Arbeitsbündnisses (4) eine sinnstiftende Orientierung (5) und ein Beitrag zur nachhaltigen Kompetenzentwicklung aller Schülerinnen und Schüler geleistet wird.“ Helmke (2007: 3) betrachtet dagegen die Unterrichtsqualität aus zwei Perspektiven, und zwar auf der Prozessebene, die sich auf Lehr-Lern- und Interaktionsprozesse im Unterricht bezieht, und auf der Produktebene, die sich als Leistungs- und Motivationsentwicklung der Lernenden ausweist. Helmke (2014) entwickelte das umfassende Modell, das s.g. „Angebots-Nutzungs-Modell“, mit dem er zeigt, dass für erfolgreichen Unterricht nicht nur das eigentliche Unterrichtsgeschehen Verantwortung trägt, sondern dass dieser noch von weiteren Faktoren (z. B. Familie, Klassenklima, Lernpotenzial, kulturelle, regionale Rahmenbedingungen etc.) abhängig ist.

Ein weiteres bekanntes Modell von Unterrichtsqualität im deutschsprachigen Raum ist das Modell der drei Basisdimensionen, das im Rahmen der TIMSS-Studie entwickelt wurde. Es setzt drei Bedingungen für guten Unterricht voraus: effektive Klassenführung (auch Classroom-Management), konstruktive Unterstützung (ein positives Unterrichtsklima, ein wertschätzender Umgang) und kognitive Aktivierung der Schüler (Klieme 2001, zitiert nach Gräsel/Göbel 2022).

Keine andere Studie über die Unterrichtsqualität sorgte im letzten Jahrzehnt weltweit für so viel Furore wie die 2009 erschienene Hattie-Studie (Hattie 2013, deutsche Übersetzung). Um die Faktoren zu analysieren, die eine Wirkung auf den kognitiven Lernerfolg der Schüler haben, wurden in der Metaanalyse über 800 Studien untersucht. Das Resultat der Studie sind berechnete Effektstärken für 138 Merkmale, die Hattie in sechs Bereiche unterteilt: Lernende, Lehrende, Elternhaus, Schule, Curriculum und Unterricht. Die Effektstärken geben Informationen darüber, wie stark sich ein Merkmal auf einen Unterrichtsaspekt auswirkt. Hatties Studie bewies, dass für die Unterrichtsqualität unterschiedliche Einflussfaktoren eine Rolle spielen, darunter insbesondere Selbsteinschätzung des eigenen Leistungsniveaus, kognitive Entwicklungsstufe (nach Piaget), formative Evaluation des Unterrichts, Feedback, Lehrer-Schüler-Beziehungen, Metakognitive Strategien (siehe Lotz/Lipowsky 2015: 103).

Die genannten Kriterien für guten Unterricht und die zugrunde liegenden Studien beziehen sich auf den Unterricht im Allgemeinen. Die vorliegende Untersuchung richtet den Fokus speziell auf angehende Lehrkräfte im DaF-Bereich und untersucht deren Vorstellungen von qualitativ hochwertigem Unterricht.

3 **UNTERSUCHUNG**

3.1 **Untersuchungsfragen**

Die Untersuchung soll folgende Fragen beleuchten:

- Wie stellen sich angehende DaF-Lehrkräfte den guten bzw. qualitativ hochwertigen Unterricht vor?
- Welche Merkmale guten Unterrichts lassen sich in Zeichnungen von angehenden DaF-Lehrkräften erkennen?
- Welche Schlussfolgerungen für die Organisation der Lehrveranstaltungen Didaktik DaF lassen sich anhand der studentischen Vorstellungen ziehen?

3.2 **Methode und Untersuchungsinstrument**

In der vorliegenden Studie wurde ein deskriptiv-kausaler, nicht-experimenteller Forschungsansatz verwendet, und zwar die Analyse des Bildmaterials. DaF-Studierende wurden in den ersten Stunden am Anfang des Wintersemesters im Oktober gebeten, sich als Lehrkraft in einer qualitativ hochwertigen Unterrichtsstunde zeichnerisch darzustellen. Dabei bekamen sie zusätzlich noch die Anweisung, dass sie auf die Lehreraktivität, die Aktivität der Lernenden und die Lernumgebung achten sollten. Die Studierenden haben ihre Skizzen zusätzlich mit Erklärungen, Reflexionen oder kurzen Kommentaren versehen. Die Zeichnungen wurden gesammelt, anonymisiert, durchnummeriert und für die Analyse vorbereitet. Unsere Untersuchung umfasst die Analyse von 48 Zeichnungen von DaF-Lehramtsstudierenden, die in den letzten drei Jahren in der Pflichtveranstaltung Didaktik DaF eingeschrieben waren.

Die ursprüngliche Idee für eine solche Untersuchung stammt von Thomas, Pederesen und Finson (2001). Sie haben mit ihrem „Draw-A-Science-Teacher-Test-Checklist“ Lehramtsstudierende gebeten, sich als Lehrkraft in einer spontanen Unterrichtssituation zu zeichnen. Eine ähnliche Untersuchung mit Deutschstudierenden führte Hirsch (2017) durch, die mithilfe von Zeichnungen untersuchte, wie sich die subjektiven Theorien zum Lehren und Lernen nach einem Semester Fachdidaktik-Veranstaltungen änderten. Sie erhob die Daten zweimal und verglich sie miteinander. In der Studie von Markic und Eilks (2007), die die Vorstellungen der Physikstudierenden untersuchten, wurden Daten mithilfe von Zeichnungen am Anfang des Semesters erhoben.

Das methodische Vorgehen basiert auf der qualitativ-quantitativen Inhaltsanalyse nach Mayring (2010). Dabei wurde das deduktive Verfahren gewählt, um im Vorfeld definierte Elemente aus dem Datenmaterial zu extrahieren (vgl. Mayring, 2010: 65). Zur Auswertung der Zeichnungen wurde ein leicht modifiziertes und ein wenig erweitertes Auswertungsraster von Hirsch (2017) verwendet. Ähnlich wie bei Hirsch (ebd.) interessierten mich studentische Vorstellungen in folgenden Bereichen bzw. Kategorien:

- Aktivitäten der Lehrenden,
- Aktivitäten der Lernenden,
- Gestaltung der Lernumgebung,
- Proportion der Elemente.

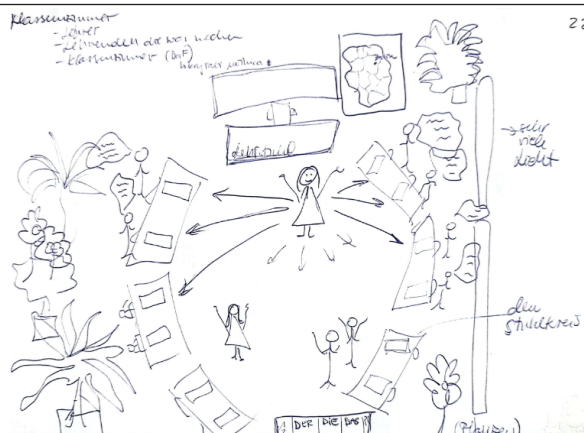
Zusätzlich wurde das ursprüngliche Auswertungsraster um die Kategorie „Weitere Visualisierungen“ erweitert. Alle Zeichnungen wurden mithilfe unseres Auswertungsrasters ausgewertet, indem das Erscheinen oder das Nicht-Erscheinen der vordefinierten Elemente dokumentiert wurde. Die Anzahl der einzelnen Elemente (siehe Tabelle 2) wurde mithilfe der deskriptiven Statistik berechnet und mit absoluten Nennungen (N) sowie der Prozentzahl angegeben (N %).

3.3 Analyse der Zeichnungen

Jede Zeichnung wurde nach den oben genannten Kriterien zuerst qualitativ und dann quantitativ ausgewertet. Alle Erscheinungen auf dem Bild wurden den Kriterien zugeordnet und zusammengezählt. Zur Veranschaulichung des Analyseverlaufs werden beispielhafte Abbildungen in Tabelle 1 stichwortartig kommentiert.

Tabelle 1: Kommentierte Zeichnungen der DaF-Lehramtsstudierenden (eigene Quelle)

Zeichnung 1:



Kommentar zur Zeichnung 1:

Aktivitäten der Lehrenden:

Lehrerin steht im Zentrum des Klassenzimmers. Lehrerin bewegt sich in unterschiedliche Richtungen. Lehrerin gibt Impulse und Aufträge. Lernende arbeiten in differenziert in Gruppen und zu zweit. Lernende nutzen verschiedene Lernmethoden.

Aktivitäten der Lernenden:

Einige Schüler bewegen sich. Einige Schüler sitzen zu zweit und sprechen miteinander. Einige Schüler arbeiten alleine. Lernende machen, was die Lehrerin sagt. Schüler bearbeiten differenzierte Aufgaben.

Gestaltung der Lernumgebung:

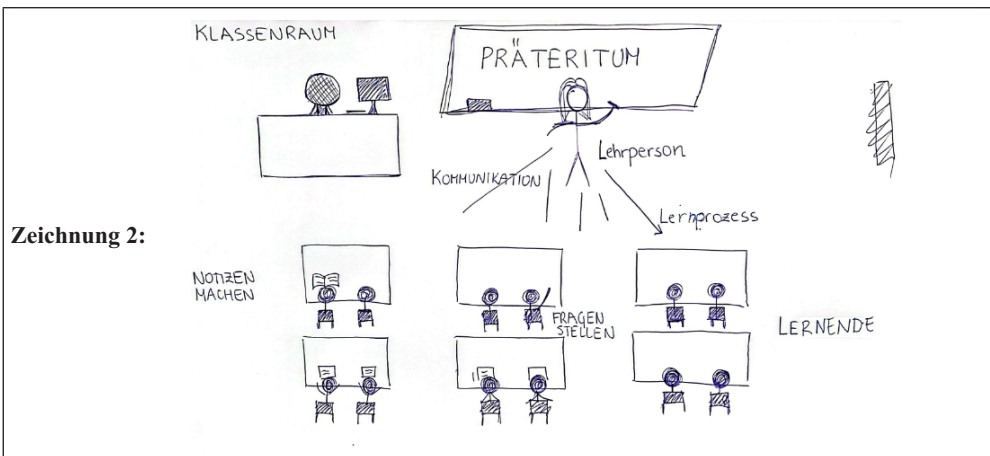
Im Klassenzimmer gibt es viele Pflanzen. Es gibt Bilder (Landkarte von Deutschland an der Wand). Arbeitsblätter liegen auf den Bänken. Das große Lehrerpult ist vorne. Es gibt eine große Tafel ohne Anschrift. Im Klassenzimmer gibt es große und geschlossene Fenster. Das Lernmaterial befindet sich hinten im Schrank.

Proportion der Elemente:

Lehrperson ist größer als Schüler. Tafel ist groß. Lehrerpult vorne ist nicht anders als Schulbänke.

Weitere Visualisierungen:

Es gibt keine weiteren Personen im Klassenzimmer, und Heterogenität ist nicht sichtbar. Mädchen und Jungen sind gleichermaßen vertreten, und die Lernenden können selbst entscheiden, wo sie arbeiten möchten (einige Lernende arbeiten zu dritt ohne Materialien).



Zeichnung 2:

Kommentar zur Zeichnung 2:

Aktivitäten der Lehrenden:

Die Lehrerin erklärt den Stoff (Grammatik) und steht dabei im Zentrum des Klassenzimmers, vor der Tafel. Sie gibt Anweisungen und verteilt Arbeitsaufträge.

Aktivitäten der Lernenden:

Die Schüler sitzen zu zweit, es gibt keine Bewegungen im Raum. Sie stellen Fragen, machen Notizen und beobachten den Unterricht, während die Lehrerin den Titel der Stunde an der Tafel präsentiert (grammatische Struktur).

Gestaltung der Lernumgebung:

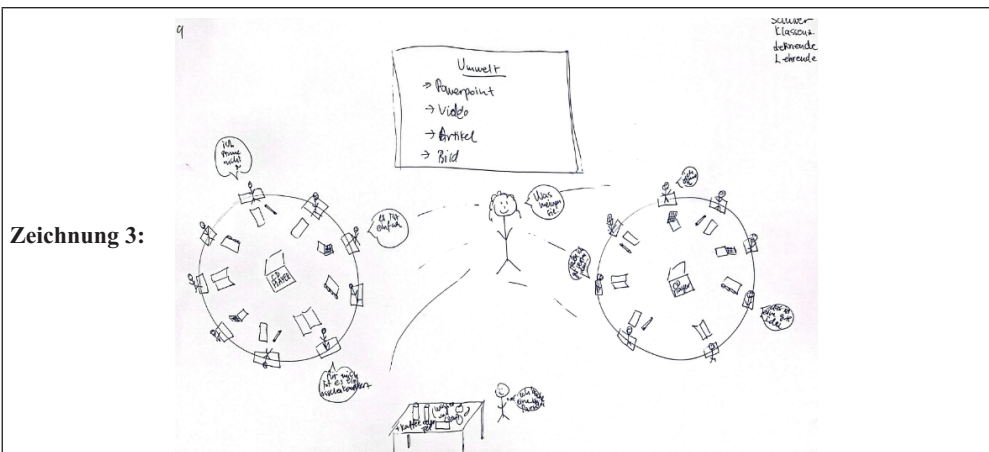
Die klassische Sitzordnung erfolgt in Reihen, und eine große Tafel mit Anschrift steht im Vordergrund. Das Lehrerpult befindet sich vorne rechts von der Lehrerin. Der Raum ist schlicht, ohne Dekoration oder Bilder an den Wänden. Auf dem Lehrertisch stehen ein Computer und weitere Lernmaterialien. Einige Schüler haben Hefte, während andere keine Lernmaterialien vor sich haben. Die Fenster sind geschlossen.

Proportion der Elemente:

Das Lehrerpult ist größer als die Schulbänke, und die Lehrerin wirkt im Vergleich zu den Schülern ebenfalls größer. Die Tafel ist im Vergleich zum übrigen Inventar des Klassenzimmers besonders groß und dominiert den Raum.

Weitere Visualisierungen:

Es sind keine Merkmale von Heterogenität erkennbar, und es ist keine andere Person im Raum anwesend. Zudem gibt es keine Aufteilung in verschiedene Arbeitsbereiche.



Zeichnung 3:

Kommentar zur Zeichnung 3:

Aktivitäten der Lehrenden:

Die Lehrkraft steht im Zentrum des Geschehens, gibt Aufgaben und bewegt sich, während die Lernenden in Gruppen arbeiten. Unterschiedliche Lehrmethoden werden angewendet.

Aktivitäten der Lernenden:

Die Lernenden sind aktiv, arbeiten an zwei Gruppentischen und einige kommunizieren miteinander (Sprechblasen). Sie bearbeiten auch eigenständig Aufgaben, können sich frei bewegen und entscheiden selbst, wann sie eine Pause machen (Schüler in der Pausenecke).

Gestaltung der Lernumgebung:

Im Raum stehen zwei große runde Gruppentische, es gibt kein Lehrerpult und keine Einzeltische. Der Text an der Tafel ist stichwortartig notiert. Es sind weder Fenster noch Türen oder Dekorationen vorhanden. Lernmaterialien wie Hefte, Stifte sowie Medien wie ein CD-Player und ein Computer befinden sich auf den Gruppentischen der Schüler. Es gibt eine Pausenecke.

Proportion der Elemente:

Die Tafel ist sehr groß. Die Lehrerin ist größer als Schüler.

Weitere Visualisierungen:

Es ist keine andere Person im Raum, und es sind keine Merkmale der Heterogenität erkennbar. Es gibt eine Pausenecke mit Kaffee und Süßigkeiten.

• **Kategorie 1: Aktivitäten der Lehrenden**

Die Analyse der Zeichnungen zeigt ein vielfältiges Bild der Aktivitäten der Lehrkraft im Klassenzimmer (siehe Tabelle 2). Die häufigste Darstellung war, dass die Lehrkraft vorne im Klassenzimmer steht (58 %) und die Klassenaktivität dominiert, wobei alle wesentlichen Impulse, Entscheidungen und Anweisungen von ihr ausgehen (66 %). Oft wird die Lehrkraft vor dem Lehrertisch dargestellt, sodass sie den Lernenden nähersteht und die Hände offenhält oder eine Geste macht. In einzelnen Fällen ist sogar der „Lehrer Lämpels Zeigefinger“ zu erkennen. In einem Drittel der Zeichnungen (33 %) steht die Lehrkraft nicht vorne, sondern in der Mitte der Klasse. Auf keinem Bild steht die Lehrkraft an der Seite oder hinten. In 50 % der Fälle signalisierten die Zeichnungen, dass sich die Lehrkraft im Klassenzimmer in Richtung der Lernenden bewegt. Die Darstellung der Lehrkräfte, die sich im Hintergrund halten und kooperativ agieren, ist mit 4,2 % sehr niedrig. Es ist bemerkenswert, dass alle DaF-Studierenden eine weibliche Lehrerfigur

zeichneten, die entweder lange Haare hat oder einen Rock trägt. Das deutet noch stärker darauf hin, dass Lehrkräfte einen feminisierten Beruf darstellen. Die Lehrerin sitzt nie; nur auf zwei Bildern steht sie hinter dem Lehrerpult.

In der DaF-Lehrerbildung wird lernerzentrierter Unterricht zwar stark betont, doch es lässt vermuten, dass viele angehende DaF-Lehrer guten Unterricht als lehrerzentriert empfinden. Obwohl auch Beispiele von dynamischem und interaktivem Unterrichtsstil vorkommen, scheint es, dass ein schülerzentrierter und von Lernenden initiiert Unterricht seltener als Idealbild des guten Unterrichts angesehen wird.

75 % der künftigen Lehrkräfte illustrieren, dass Lehrpersonen Medien zur Visualisierung und zur Aufrechterhaltung der Aufmerksamkeit einsetzen. Es handelt sich dabei am häufigsten um Tafelbilder, Plakate, Bildkarten oder Präsentationen auf der interaktiven Tafel bzw. auf dem Computer.

66 % der Zeichnungen zeigen, dass Lehrkräfte über ein breites Methodenrepertoire verfügen. Gruppenarbeit ist in der Hälfte der Zeichnungen dargestellt, was auf die Anerkennung kooperativer Lernformen hinweist. Allerdings ist die Gruppenarbeit auf den meisten Zeichnungen nur auf einige Lernende begrenzt, was eher auf eine Binnendifferenzierung hinweist. Nur auf neun Zeichnungen ist die Gruppenarbeit als Arbeitsform für die ganze Klasse dargestellt. Selbstständig arbeiten nur 16,7 % der Lernenden, was bedeutet, dass Einzelarbeit weniger bevorzugt oder als weniger effektiv betrachtet wird.

Tabelle 2: Aktivitäten der Lehrenden (eigene Quelle)

Aktivitäten der Lehrenden	N	N %
Lehrkraft befindet sich im Zentrum im Klassenzimmer	28	58,3
Lehrkraft befindet sich nicht im Zentrum im Klassenzimmer	16	33,3
Lehrkraft führt die Klassenaktivität; alle wesentlichen Impulse, Aktivitäten und Entscheidungen kommen von der Lehrkraft	32	66,7
Lehrkraft gibt Aufgaben und Lernende arbeiten in Gruppen	24	50,0
Lehrkraft gibt Aufgaben und Lernende arbeiten alleine	8	16,7
Lehrkraft agiert kooperativ / hält sich im Hintergrund	2	4,2
Lehrkraft verwendet Medien zur Visualisierung / Fokussierung der Aufmerksamkeit	36	75,0
Lehrkraft verfügt über ein Methodenrepertoire	32	66,7
Lehrkraft geht im Klassenzimmer umher	24	50,0

• **Kategorie 2: Aktivitäten der Lernenden**

Die Mehrheit der Zeichnungen (83 %) zeigt, dass die Lernenden auf die Aufforderungen, Aktivitäten und Entscheidungen der Lehrperson reagieren und den Anweisungen der Lehrkraft folgen. 41 % der Zeichnungen verdeutlichen, dass Lernende aktiv lernen und den Unterricht mitgestalten, sie arbeiten an Projekten, präsentieren ihre Ergebnisse,

diskutieren, arbeiten an Lernstationen, kommentieren. In 58 % der Zeichnungen sitzen die Lernenden und schauen zur Lehrperson, wobei sie z. B. auch Notizen machen oder von der Tafel abschreiben.

Das impliziert erneut, dass die Mehrheit der angehenden DaF-Lehrkräfte qualitativ hochwertigen Unterricht mit einer lehrerzentrierten Unterrichtsform assoziiert, bei der die Lehrkraft im Fokus steht, das Unterrichtsgeschehen initiiert, lenkt und Frontalunterricht ausübt. Es zeigt sich jedoch auch die Anerkennung eines interaktiven und partizipativen Lernansatzes, bei dem die Lernenden eine aktivere Rolle spielen, z. B. durch Gruppenarbeit.

Lernende, die zu zweit in Reihen sitzen und miteinander sprechen oder zusammen eine Aufgabe lösen, wurden in 58 % der Zeichnungen dargestellt. Ein Drittel der Zeichnungen (33 %) zeigt Lernende, die an Gruppentischen sitzen und miteinander interagieren. Nur ein kleiner Anteil der Zeichnungen (8 %) zeigt Lernende, die sich im Raum bewegen.

Die Prozentzahl (58%) deutet darauf hin, dass traditionelle Sitzordnungen zu zweit an einer Schulbank häufig als typischer Bestandteil des Unterrichts wahrgenommen werden. Kooperative und dynamische Lernformen oder bewegungsintensiver Unterricht werden weniger häufig als das ideale Bild von gutem Unterricht betrachtet. Keine der Zeichnungen zeigt völlig passive Lernende, was ein positives Zeichen dafür ist, dass die DaF-Studierenden aktives Lernen und Interaktion als wesentliche Merkmale guten Unterrichts betrachten.

Tabelle 3: Aktivitäten der Lernenden (eigene Quelle)

Aktivitäten der Lernenden	N	N %
Lernende reagieren auf die Aufforderungen, Aktivitäten und Entscheidungen der Lehrperson	40	83,3
Lernende sind aktiv und führen die Unterrichtsaktivität	20	41,7
Lernende sitzen und schauen zur Lehrperson	28	58,3
Lernende bewegen sich im Raum	4	8,3
Lernende sitzen an Gruppentischen und interagieren miteinander	16	33,3
Lernende sitzen in Reihen und interagieren paarweise	28	58,3

• **Kategorie 3: Gestaltung der Lernumgebung**

Die Mehrheit der Studierenden (58 %) zeichnete die klassische Sitzordnung in Reihen. Schulbänke sind rechteckig und für zwei Lernende. Eine hufeisenförmige Anordnung wird in 41,7 % der Zeichnungen gezeigt und Gruppentische sind in 33 % der Zeichnungen vertreten. Für die Gruppenarbeit werden Schulbänke zusammengerrückt, nur auf drei Zeichnungen gibt es große Tische, einmal rund oder zweimal rechteckig, die nicht getrennt werden können. Der rechteckige Lehrertisch befindet sich in 41 % der Fälle vorne in der

Mitte oder auf der rechten Seite des Klassenzimmers. In 25 % der Zeichnungen wird interessanterweise kein Lehrertisch gezeichnet.

Dies lässt darauf schließen, dass viele Studierende eine traditionelle Sitzordnung als üblich ansehen. Dennoch gibt es andere Tischanordnungen, die auf eine Akzeptanz für alternative Sitzformen hinweisen und die eine lebendige und effektive Interaktion sowie kooperative Lernformen zwischen allen Beteiligten ermöglichen. Bei einem großen Anteil der Studierenden wird erneut die traditionelle Rolle der Lehrperson als zentrale Figur im Unterricht hervorgehoben.

Visualisierungsmedien (75 %) und Arbeitsmaterialien (83 %) sind in den meisten Zeichnungen vorhanden. Der Text auf der Tafel ist in 33 % der Zeichnungen visualisiert. Arbeitsergebnisse der Schüler und Schülerinnen (z. B. Plakate) hängen in 50 % der Fälle an der Wand. Dekorationen wie Blumen, Bilder und Vorhänge sind in 33,3 % der Zeichnungen vertreten. Auf drei Zeichnungen gibt es einen Tisch, der mit Süßigkeiten oder Getränken ausgestattet ist. Interessanterweise wurde auf keiner Zeichnung eine Wanduhr abgebildet, obwohl typischerweise eine Uhr in slowenischen Klassenzimmern an der Wand hängt. Geschlossene Fenster und Türen sind in 41 % bzw. 25 % der Zeichnungen vorhanden.

Daraus lässt sich ableiten, dass für die Mehrheit der Studierenden visuelle Hilfsmittel und Lernmaterialien sowie eine angenehme und ästhetisch ansprechende Lernumgebung von großer Bedeutung sind. Der Text an der Tafel weist darauf hin, dass die klassische Tafel noch immer als relevantes Mittel für die Wissensvermittlung angesehen und noch nicht völlig von anderen Technologien ersetzt wird. Da Studierende ein Klassenzimmer als einen Ort empfinden, der Ruhe benötigt und frei von störenden Einflüssen sein sollte, sind sowohl Türen als auch Fenster immer geschlossen. Allerdings weist das auch darauf hin, dass das Unterrichtsgeschehen nicht von anderen Personen beobachtet wird. Ein bemerkenswertes Detail ist das Fehlen einer Wanduhr in allen Zeichnungen, was einerseits darauf hindeuten könnte, dass die Zeitmessung im Unterrichtskontext weniger wichtig erscheint, oder dass z. B. Handys und andere Technologien diese Funktion übernehmen.

Unterschiedliche Lernmaterialien befinden sich in 41 % der Fälle auf dem Lehrertisch und in 33 % der Fälle hinten oder vorne im Raum. Dies zeigt, dass Lehrmittel sowohl in der Nähe der Lehrperson als auch im gesamten Raum verteilt vorhanden sind, damit der Zugang erleichtert ist.

Tabelle 4: Gestaltung der Lernumgebung (eigene Quelle)

Gestaltung der Lernumgebung	N	N %
Tische sind in Reihen ein Tisch pro Paar angeordnet	28	58,3
Tische sind hufeisenförmig angeordnet	20	41,7
Tische sind als Gruppentische angeordnet	12	25,0
Tische für Schüler sind nicht visualisiert	0	0,0
Lehrerpult befindet sich vorne im Raum	20	41,7
Es gibt keinen Tisch für den Lehrer	12	25,0
Visualisierungsmedien sind im Raum verfügbar	36	75,0
Arbeitsmaterialien für Schüler sind im Raum verfügbar	40	83,3
Text auf der Tafel ist visualisiert	16	33,3
Arbeitsergebnisse der Schüler hängen an der Wand	24	50,0
Eine Uhr hängt an der Wand	0	0,0
Blumen / Bilder / Vorhänge / Dekorationen im Raum	16	33,3
Fenster vorhanden	20	41,7
Tür vorhanden	12	25,0
Lehrertisch befindet sich auf der linken / rechten Seite des Klassenzimmers	16	33,3
Lernmaterialien befinden sich auf dem Lehrertisch	20	41,7
Lernmaterialien befinden sich hinten / vorne im Raum	16	33,3

• **Kategorie 4: Proportion der Elemente**

Ein hervorstechendes Ergebnis ist, dass in 41 % der Zeichnungen die Lehrerfigur größer als die Lernenden dargestellt wird. Auch die Tafel wird in 91 % der Zeichnungen proportional sehr groß gezeichnet. 7 % der DaF-Studierenden haben den Lehrertisch proportional sehr groß dargestellt. In 8 % der Zeichnungen ist keine Tafel vorhanden.

Die Darstellungen betonen erneut die vorherrschende und autoritäre Rolle der Lehrperson im Klassenzimmer und spiegeln eine hierarchische Struktur wider, in der die Lehrkraft als zentrale und übergeordnete Person im Unterrichtsgeschehen angesehen wird. Ebenso wird die Tafel als zentrales und wesentliches Instrument des Unterrichts angesehen, das bei der Vermittlung und Visualisierung des Unterrichtsstoffes eine wichtige Rolle spielt. Es gibt eine kleine Gruppe von Studierenden, die alternative Lehrmethoden bevorzugen und entweder die traditionelle Tafel ablehnen oder zumindest als nicht unbedingt notwendig ansehen. Es wäre möglich, dass solche Darstellungen moderne Unterrichtsansätze reflektieren, die auf dem Einsatz der Technologie basieren und digitale Medien anstelle der klassischen Tafel verwenden.

Tabelle 5: Proportion der Elemente (eigene Quelle)

Proportion der Elemente	N	N %
Lehrperson wird größer als die Schüler gezeichnet	20	41,7
Tafel wird proportional sehr groß gezeichnet	44	91,7
Lehrtisch wird proportional sehr groß gezeichnet	20	41,7
Es gibt keine Tafel	4	8,3

• Kategorie 5: Weitere Visualisierungen

Zusätzlich zu den Proportionen wurden auch weitere Visualisierungen dokumentiert. Die Darstellung der Lernenden als heterogene Gruppe mit unterschiedlichem Aussehen (z. B. bestimmte Kleidungsstücke wie z. B. Kopftuch, unterschiedliche Hautfarben etc.) ist in 16 % der Zeichnungen zu finden. Eine Anerkennung der Vielfalt und Individualität der Lernenden lässt sich daher nur sporadisch erkennen. Nur in 16 % der Zeichnungen ist das Klassenzimmer in verschiedene Bereiche für unterschiedliche Methoden unterteilt, in denen sich z. B. ein Sofa, Liegestühle oder Kissen befinden. Daher erkennen wenige DaF-Studierende flexible Lernumgebungen, die verschiedene Lehrmethoden und Aktivitäten unterstützen, als einen Faktor der Unterrichtsqualität, obwohl diese die aktive Teilnahme und Autonomie der Lernenden fördern und gleichzeitig Individualisierung und Differenzierung ermöglichen können.

Keine der Zeichnungen zeigt eine andere anwesende Person im Klassenzimmer außer der Lehrkraft und den Lernenden, was darauf hindeutet, dass Studierende das Klassenzimmer als einen geschlossenen Raum wahrnehmen, in dem Schüler und Schülerinnen lernen und die Lehrkraft den Stoff vermittelt. Interessanterweise gibt es auf keinem Bild zwei oder mehrere Lehrende gleichzeitig im Klassenzimmer, was auf Team-Teaching hindeuten könnte.

Tabelle 6: Weitere Visualisierungen (eigene Quelle)

Weitere Visualisierungen	N	N %
Eine andere Person außer Lernende und Lehrkraft ist im Klassenzimmer anwesend	0	0,0
Lernende sind eine heterogene Gruppe / Individuen mit unterschiedlichem Aussehen	8	16,7
Das Klassenzimmer ist in verschiedene Bereiche für verschiedene Methoden unterteilt	8	16,7

4 FAZIT UND AUSBLICK

Der Beitrag untersucht, wie sich angehende DaF-Lehrkräfte qualitativ hochwertigen Unterricht vorstellen und welche Merkmale guten Unterrichts sich in ihren Zeichnungen erkennen lassen.

Als erstes Merkmal lässt sich die Lehrerzentrierung feststellen. Die Analyse der Zeichnungen verdeutlicht, dass angehende DaF-Lehrkräfte im guten Unterricht sowohl traditionelle als auch moderne Rollenverteilungen anerkennen, wobei eine lehrerzentrierte Perspektive stark vertreten ist. Häufig wird die Lehrperson zentral im Vordergrund des Klassenzimmers dargestellt, was ihre führende Rolle bei der Unterrichtsstrukturierung und der Initiierung von Aktivitäten betont. Die Proportionen der Elemente in den Zeichnungen heben die zentrale Rolle der Lehrkraft und der Tafel im Unterricht hervor. Die überdimensionierte Darstellung dieser Elemente signalisiert ihre Bedeutung für die Wissensvermittlung und die Strukturierung des Unterrichts. Es ist wichtig, zukünftige Lehrkräfte darauf vorzubereiten, sowohl eine führende Rolle zu übernehmen als auch den Lernenden mehr Autonomie zu gewähren. Ähnliche lehrerzentrierte Vorstellungen von Studierenden zu Beginn des Studiums wurden auch in anderen Studien dokumentiert (Hirsch 2017; Markic/Eilks 2007).

Das zweite Merkmal ist die Mischung aus Frontalunterricht und kooperativen Lernformen. Trotz der Lehrerzentrierung wird auf den Zeichnungen dennoch die Bedeutung kooperativer Lernformen (Gruppenarbeit, Partnerarbeit) und visueller Hilfsmittel anerkannt, was auf eine Offenheit gegenüber interaktiven und unterstützenden Unterrichtsansätzen hinweist. Die Aktivitäten der Lernenden lassen ein Gleichgewicht zwischen Passivität bzw. Reaktivität und Aktivität erkennen. Während die Mehrheit der Zeichnungen die Lernenden als reaktiv auf die Impulse der Lehrkraft zeigt, wird auch die aktive Teilnahme und Interaktion in Gruppen- oder Partnerarbeit mehrmals dargestellt, was bereits ein grundlegendes Verständnis für moderne didaktische Ansätze erkennen lässt.

Das dritte Merkmal ist die traditionelle Lernumgebung. Die Gestaltung der Lernumgebung zeigt eine Präferenz für traditionelle Sitzordnungen, jedoch lässt sich auch eine Anerkennung alternativer und flexibler Raumkonfigurationen erkennen. Die Lehrerausbildung sollte daher angehende Lehrkräfte dazu anregen die Vorteile verschiedener Raumgestaltungen kennenzulernen und sie ermutigen, diese je nach Unterrichtsziel und -situation flexibel anzuwenden.

Das vierte Merkmal ist die Bedeutung der Visualisierungsmedien. Die Verfügbarkeit von Visualisierungsmedien und Arbeitsmaterialien wird als zentral für den Unterrichtserfolg betrachtet. Darüber hinaus wird durch die Darstellung von Schülerarbeiten und Dekorationen die Bedeutung einer ästhetisch ansprechenden und motivierenden Lernumgebung hervorgehoben.

Das fünfte Merkmal ist die fehlende Berücksichtigung der Heterogenität. Die Darstellung von Lernenden als heterogene Gruppe ist weniger verbreitet. Nur wenige Darstellungen greifen die Vielfalt von Lerngruppen auf, was darauf hinweist, dass Heterogenität und Inklusion in den Vorstellungen von angehenden DaF-Lehrkräften nicht im Vordergrund stehen. In der Lehrerausbildung sollte daher die Bedeutung von Inklusion und Differenzierung im Unterricht stärker betont werden. Zukünftige Lehrkräfte sollten darauf vorbereitet werden, die individuellen Bedürfnisse sowie z. B. kulturelle oder

sprachliche Hintergründe ihrer Lernenden zu berücksichtigen und eine inklusive Lernumgebung zu schaffen.

Im Vergleich zu den erwähnten Qualitätskriterien von Helmke (2014) und Meyer (2004, 2014) lässt sich bei den Merkmalen der angehenden DaF-Lehramtsstudierenden erkennen, dass die Lehrerzentrierung, mangelnde Berücksichtigung der Heterogenität, traditionelle Lernumgebung und Schüleraktivierung wesentliche Unterschiede darstellen.

Die Zeichnungen zu Beginn des Semesters erwiesen sich als ein wirksames Instrument zur Überprüfung der subjektiven Theorien der Lehramtsstudierenden und ermöglichen den Lehrenden einen Einblick in die Vorstellungen vom guten DaF-Unterricht. Aus den Ergebnissen der Untersuchung lässt sich ableiten, dass in der DaF-Lehrerbildung gezielt und verstärkt die Lernerzentrierung, die Autonomie der Lernenden, die Förderung kooperativer Lernformen, das Bewusstsein für flexible Raumgestaltung, Konzepte der Differenzierung und Inklusion sowie die kritische Reflexion der Lehrerrolle thematisiert werden sollten. Diese Ansatzpunkte können dann im Verlauf der fachdidaktischen und allgemeindidaktischen Veranstaltungen während des Studiums aufgegriffen (vgl. Markic/Eilks 2007) und weiterentwickelt werden (Hirsch 2017). Es handelt sich um fachspezifische und generische Herausforderungen, die nur durch eine enge interdisziplinäre Zusammenarbeit zwischen Fachdidaktikern und Allgemeindidaktikern erfolgreich beleuchtet werden können (Praetorius et al. 2020, Reusser/Pauli 2021).

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POVZETEK

PREDSTAVE BODOČIH UČITELJIC IN UČITELJEV NEMŠČINE O KAKOVOSTNEM POUKU NEMŠČINE

Vprašanja, kakšen mora biti kakovosten sodoben pouk in kako kakovosti zagotavljati, intenzivno zaposlujeta tako splošne kot specialne didaktike. Razumevanje koncepta kakovostnega pouka pa je v praksi prepogosto prepuščeno posameznikovi lastni predstavi in njegovim prepričanjem. Glavni namen članka je ugotoviti, kakšne so predstave o kakovostnem pouku nemščine pri študentkah in študentih na začetku drugostopenjskega pedagoškega študija Nemščine. Raziskava je osnovana na analizi risb, ki so jih študentke in študenti nemščine narisali na začetku semestra in ponazarjajo njihove predstave o kakovostnih aktivnostih učiteljev, učencev in kakovostnem učnem okolju.

Ugotovitve kažejo, da si večina bodočih učiteljic in učiteljev še vedno predstavlja kakovosten pouk precej tradicionalno, z učiteljem ali učiteljico v ospredju, veliko šolsko tablo, učenkami in učenci, ki sedijo v vrstah, rešujejo naloge in poslušajo navodila ter razlago učiteljice. Tudi podoba učilnice, zaprtega prostora z učiteljskim pultom, klopmi in učnimi pripomočki, ostaja trdno zasidrana v njihovih predstavah. Čeprav se nakazujejo spremembe, saj je kar nekaj bodočih učiteljic in učiteljev prikazalo aktivne metode dela, sodelovalno učenje, sodobno tehnologijo in učne pripomočke ter alternativne postavitve šolskega inventarja, se kaže potreba po tem, da se pri pedagoških predmetih v času študija intenzivneje ukvarja tudi s temami, ki so na prvi pogled banalne, a v resnici še kako pomembne. Če želimo povečati kakovostno šolsko prakso, je treba študentke in študente tekom študija spodbuditi k refleksiji o kakovosti pouka in jih podpreti pri njihovih prvih učiteljskih korakih.

Ključne besede: kakovost pouka, prepričanja učiteljic in učiteljev, nemščina kot tuji jezik, bodoče učiteljice in učitelji, risbe

ABSTRACT

PERCEPTIONS OF GFL STUDENT TEACHERS WITH REGARD TO HIGH-QUALITY GFL TEACHING

The issues of what constitutes high-quality teaching and how this can be guaranteed are the subject of intense debate among both general and specialized didacticians. In practice, however, the understanding of the concept of teaching quality is too often left to individual interpretations and beliefs. The main aim of this article is to determine the perceptions of the quality of German language teaching (GFL) among students at the beginning of their master's degree programme in German. The study is based on the analysis of students' drawings, which depict their perceptions of the quality of the teacher's work, student activities, and the learning environment. The results indicate that most student teachers still imagine high-quality teaching in a traditional manner, with the teacher at the forefront, a large whiteboard, students sitting in rows, solving tasks, and listening to the teacher's instructions and explanations. The image of the classroom as a closed room with a teacher's desk, student desks, and teaching aids remains firmly anchored in their perceptions. Although there are signs of change – as some pre-service teachers have presented active working methods, collaborative learning, modern technologies and learning materials, as well as alternative classroom arrangements – there is a need for pedagogical and methodological courses to address topics that may seem trivial at first glance but are, in fact, crucial. To improve the quality of school practice, student teachers should be encouraged to reflect on the quality of teaching and supported in their initial teacher steps during their studies.

Keywords: quality, teacher beliefs, German as a foreign language, student teachers, drawings

ZUSAMMENFASSUNG

VORSTELLUNGEN VON DAF-LEHRAMTSSTUDIERENDEN ÜBER DEN QUALITATIV HOCHWERTIGEN UNTERRICHT

Sowohl Allgemein- als auch Fachdidaktiker beschäftigen sich intensiv mit den Fragen, was die Qualität modernen Unterrichts ausmacht und wie diese Qualität gewährleistet werden kann. Die Interpretation des Begriffs qualitativ hochwertiger Unterricht wird jedoch in der Praxis zu oft den individuellen Vorstellungen und Überzeugungen überlassen. Das Hauptanliegen dieses Artikels besteht darin, die Vorstellungen von qualitativ hochwertigem DaF-Unterricht bei Studentinnen und Studenten zu Beginn ihres pädagogischen Masterstudiums Deutsch als Fremdsprache zu ermitteln. Die Untersuchung basiert auf der Analyse von Zeichnungen, die zu Beginn des Semesters angefertigt wurden und studentische Vorstellungen von qualitativ hochwertigen Aktivitäten der Lehrkräfte, der Lernenden und des Lernumfelds darstellen. Die Ergebnisse zeigen, dass sich die meisten angehenden Lehrkräfte nach wie vor einen eher traditionellen Unterricht vorstellen, bei dem der Lehrer oder die Lehrerin im Vordergrund steht, eine große Tafel vorhanden ist, die Schüler in Reihen sitzen, Aufgaben lösen und den Anweisungen und Erklärungen des Lehrers folgen. Auch das Bild des Klassenzimmers als geschlossener Raum mit einem Lehrerpult, Schülerbänken und Unterrichtsmaterialien ist fest in ihren Vorstellungen verankert. Obwohl sich Veränderungen andeuten, da einige angehende Lehrkräfte aktive Arbeitsmethoden, kooperatives Lernen, moderne Technologien und Unterrichtsmaterialien sowie alternative Sitzordnungen dargestellt haben, besteht die Notwendigkeit, dass man sich bei allen pädagogischen und didaktischen Veranstaltungen während des Studiums intensiver mit Themen auseinandersetzt, die auf den ersten Blick banal erscheinen mögen, aber in Wirklichkeit sehr wichtig sind. Um die Qualität der schulischen Praxis zu verbessern, sollten Lehramtsstudierende während ihres Studiums zur Reflexion über die Unterrichtsqualität angeregt und bei ihren ersten „Lehrschritten“ unterstützt werden.

Schlüsselwörter: Unterrichtsqualität, Überzeugungen von Lehrenden, Deutsch als Fremdsprache, angehende Lehrende, Zeichnungen

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ANALYSE SPRACHLICHER FEHLER IN DER FREMDSPRACHLICHEN KOMMUNIKATION VON PFLEGEFACHKRÄFTEN MIT PATIENT:INNEN

1 EINLEITUNG

Der Fachkräftemangel wird in allen Ländern der Europäischen Union immer deutlicher spürbar und es ist davon auszugehen, dass sich dieser in der kommenden Dekade weiter verschärfen wird. Zu den Maßnahmen, um diesem Trend entgegenzuwirken, zählt die Anwerbung von Fachkräften aus Drittstaaten (Europäische Kommission 20.03.2024). Daraus resultiert eine wachsende Gruppe an Zugewanderten, die (fach-)spezifische Anforderungen an den Spracherwerb im Zielland stellen. Dass eine zunehmende Globalisierung und Internationalisierung Einfluss auf die an ein Berufsfeld gestellten Anforderungen, insbesondere die Fremdsprachenkenntnisse und deren Vermittlung, nimmt, postulieren bspw. auch Samorodova und Bakaeva (2022), die die an Jurastudierende gestellten Erwartungshorizonte im Fremdsprachenunterricht untersuchten. Sie nehmen zurecht an, dass die gestiegenen Anforderungen an die Fremdsprachenkenntnisse auf dem Arbeitsmarkt ein genaues Verständnis dieser Anforderungen, neue Zugänge zum Fremdsprachenunterricht und ggf. eine Optimierung von Unterrichtsmethoden nach sich ziehen müssen (2022: 307, 308). Die von Samorodova und Bakaeva untersuchte Zielgruppe und die Fachkräftezuwanderung nach Deutschland lassen sich nicht als deckungsgleich beschreiben. Dennoch kann die Parallele gezogen werden, dass sich aufgrund der verstärkten und systematischen Fachkräftezuwanderung spezifische Anforderungen an die Qualifikationen einer Berufsgruppe ergeben – in diesem Fall spezifisch an die Fremdsprachenkenntnisse der ausländischen Pflegefachkräfte. Daraus lässt sich die These ableiten, dass der bisherige Prozess des Erlernens der Fremdsprache Deutsch einer gründlichen Untersuchung bedarf und basierend auf den zu identifizierenden Bedarfen der Gruppe eine Anpassung bzw. Optimierung des Lernprozesses vorzunehmen ist. An diesem Punkt setzt der vorliegende Artikel an und analysiert die in einer medial schriftlichen und konzeptionell mündlich gestellten Aufgabe gemachten sprachlichen

Fehler hinsichtlich ihrer Auswirkungen auf das Gelingen oder Misslingen der beruflichen Kommunikation in der Fremd- bspw. Zweitsprache Deutsch. Die genauen Untersuchungskategorien wurden in der vorliegenden Untersuchung bedarfsorientiert aufgestellt. Dies bietet den Vorteil, offen zu erkunden, an welchen Stellen der Kommunikation Probleme auftreten (Norris 1983: 81). Die Gruppe der Proband:innen bei der vorliegenden Untersuchung bilden deutschlernende Pflegefachkräfte aus verschiedenen Herkunftsländern. Dieses Berufsfeld wurde ausgewählt, da Altenpfleger:innen sowie Gesundheits- und Krankenpfleger:innen auf Platz vier und fünf der größten Engpassberufe (IW Köln 27.01.2023) liegen und somit eine vom Fachkräftemangel besonders betroffene und damit relevante Gruppe darstellen. Hinzu kommt, dass Deutschkenntnisse für ausländische Pflegefachkräfte eine mehrdimensionale Relevanz besitzen: Da es sich bei Pflegeberufen um stark regulierte Berufe handelt, müssen ausländische Fachkräfte einerseits neben einem anerkannten Abschluss, der gesundheitlichen und persönlichen Eignung auch Deutschkenntnisse auf dem Niveau B1/B2 vorweisen (Die Bundesregierung, o. D.). Andererseits ist Kommunikation auch für die Bewältigung des beruflichen Alltags essenziell, besonders im Gespräch mit den Patient:innen (Bechmann 2014a: 38). Einem eher translingualen Ansatz folgend wird daher bei der Analyse der Ergebnisse eine Identifikation von möglichen Fehlerschwerpunkten unabhängig von Erst- und Zweitsprache angestrebt. Dies bildet auch die Realität der genannten Lerngruppen ab, die bezüglich der Erst- und Zweitsprachen meist heterogen sind. Der hier zugrunde gelegte Ansatz des Translanguagings zielt auf eine gleichberechtigte Behandlung aller Erstsprachen und weiteren erlernten Sprachen und ist auf Vorgehensweisen ausgerichtet, die die sozial konstruierten Grenzen zwischen den Sprachen transzendieren (vgl. Garcia & Wei 2014b: 2 f.). Theoretische Ansatzpunkte dieses relativ jungen Forschungsfeldes in der Fremdsprachendidaktik werden aktuell in verschiedenen pädagogischen Experimenten erprobt (vgl. Straszer 2017, Jazbec 2022). Obwohl Translanguaging im Beruf international schon Teil der Philosophie einzelner Unternehmen ist (Kalkavan-Aydın 2024: 260), ist der konstruktive Einsatz von Translanguaging am Arbeitsplatz und die Untersuchung der Wirksamkeit dieser Strategien in Deutschland und anderswo aktuell ein noch zu erforschender Bereich (ebd. 2024: 263). Dieser Artikel ist somit auch als Beitrag zur weiteren Etablierung translingualer Strategien im beruflichen Kontext zu verstehen, indem durch die Analyse des Materials mögliche Ansatzpunkte für diese Strategien identifiziert werden. Da sich mögliche Methoden des Translanguaging durch ihre Unabhängigkeit von Erst- und Zweitsprache auszeichnen und der Fachkräftemangel die Länder der EU und nicht ausschließlich Deutschland betrifft, können die im Artikel vorgestellten Ergebnisse auch außerhalb des deutschen Kontexts als relevant betrachtet werden.

2 KOMMUNIKATIONSMERKMALE UND FEHLERANALYSE IM KONTEXT DER SITUATION AUSLÄNDISCHER PFLEGEFACHKRÄFTE

Die Analyse, die in diesem Artikel vorgestellt wird, basiert zum einen auf der Annahme besonderer Charakteristika der Kommunikation im medizinisch-pflegerischen Kontext, die sich von der Kommunikation in anderen Berufsfeldern unterscheidet. Zum anderen wird das der Auswertung des Materials zugrundeliegende Fehlerverständnis definiert, um festzulegen, welche Äußerungen in der Analyse als fehlerhaft eingestuft werden. In Bezug auf die Wichtigkeit des Gelingens der Kommunikation soll der Fokus hierbei darauf liegen, herauszuarbeiten, inwieweit diese durch die sprachlichen Fehler beeinträchtigt wird. Auf die Merkmale der Kommunikationssituation sowie auf die Fehlerdefinition soll daher im Folgenden genauer eingegangen werden.

2.1 Kommunikation in Heilberufen

Pflegefachkräfte sowie Gesundheits- und Krankenpfleger:innen gehören zu den geregelten Heilberufen und zählen somit zu denjenigen Berufen, „deren Tätigkeit die Heilung von Krankheiten und die medizinisch-helfende Behandlung und Betreuung von Patientinnen und Patienten erfasst“ (Bundesgesundheitsministerium, o. D.). In ihrem Berufsalltag kommunizieren in Pflegeberufen Tätige daher nicht nur mit Fachpersonal in weiteren Heilberufen, sondern insbesondere auch mit Patient:innen und Angehörigen. Die Kommunikation ist dabei als „wesentlicher Bestandteil“ dieser im Gesundheitswesen verorteten Interaktion zu sehen und kann durch ihr Gelingen oder Misslingen „Arbeitsprozesse förderlich oder hinderlich“ gestalten (Hoos-Leistner 2020: V). Durch die Interaktion mit Fachpersonal sowie mit Patient:innen und Angehörigen erstreckt sich die Kommunikation über verschiedene Kommunikationsebenen und -situationen sowie über verschiedene Register¹ (Jehle 2019: 44 & 46). Auch wenn die Register teils als prätheoretisch und nicht klar bzw. einheitlich definiert gelten, kann nach Efing argumentiert werden, dass Allgemein- und Fachsprache das Kontinuum als Pole aufspannen, „zwischen denen alle weiteren diskutierten Register mit je unterschiedlicher Nähe zu einem der beiden Pole und einem je unterschiedlichen Fachsprachlichkeitsgrad angesiedelt werden“ (2014c: 419). Ende der 1990er Jahre entstand auf diesem Kontinuum das Register der Berufssprache, da festgestellt wurde, dass „große Teile beruflicher Kommunikation nicht mithilfe des Registers der Fachsprache bestritten werden“ (Efing 2014c: 419). Dies gilt auch für die Realität von Menschen in Pflegeberufen. Es sei essenziell, darauf zu achten, dass die verwendete Sprache allen an der Kommunikation beteiligten Personengruppen verständlich ist, also dem medizinischen Fachpersonal ebenso wie den Patient:innen und

¹ Auf eine Diskussion des Registerbegriffs wird im Rahmen dieses Artikels verzichtet. Das Register wird hier als Sprachgebrauchsvarietät verstanden also als „regelmäßige sprachliche Variation in der diaphasischen (situativen, funktional-kontextuellen) Dimension“ (Efing 2014c: 417).

Angehörigen. Die medizinische Fachsprache sei einerseits von für Laien schwer oder nicht verständlichen lateinischen Begriffen durchzogen (Bechmann 2014a: 60). Andererseits sei die Nutzung der Fachsprache in anderen Berufen unproblematischer, da es weniger oder kaum Berührungspunkte zwischen Sprecher:innen der Fachsprache und denen der Allgemeinsprache gäbe. Bechmann nennt hier exemplarisch Informatiker:innen, die vor allem innerhalb ihrer Expertengruppe kommunizieren und dazu die allen Teilnehmenden bekannte Fachsprache nutzen können (2014a: 61). Im Gegensatz dazu verlässt die Kommunikation in der Medizin „den Raum des Privaten und wird öffentlich“ (2014a: 61), was so verstanden werden kann, dass es im Rahmen der Kommunikation mit Patient:innen zu einem Kontakt mit Menschen außerhalb des fachsprachlichen Kreises kommt. An dieser Stelle ist der Einsatz des Registers der Berufssprache vonnöten. Kommunikation im medizinischen Kontext erstreckt sich also über verschiedene Register, die situationsabhängig gewählt werden müssen. Darüber hinaus sind die Patient:innen in der medizinischen Kommunikation nicht nur von der medizinischen Handlung betroffen, sondern auch aktiv an dieser beteiligt (2014a: 61). Erfolgreiche Kommunikation ist also unter Umständen Voraussetzung für die erfolgreiche Durchführung einer medizinischen Handlung. Im medizinischen Kontext können sich Verständigungsschwierigkeiten also „über das Misslingen der Kommunikation hinaus auf die Gesundheit der Patienten auswirken“ (2014a: 6). Daraus kann abgeleitet werden, dass der erfolgreichen Kommunikation im medizinischen Kontext eine besondere Bedeutung zukommt und die Sicherung dieser einen hohen Stellenwert im DaF-/DaZ-Unterricht einnehmen sollte.

2.2 Fehler kategorisieren und analysieren

Das Auftreten von Fehlern ist entgegen allen Bemühungen von Lehrenden ein im Rahmen des Fremdsprachenlernens natürliches Phänomen. Obwohl diese Aussage nach Kleppin als „Binsenweisheit“ beschrieben werden kann (1998: 14), ist der wissenschaftliche Diskurs um die Entstehung, Klassifizierung und Korrektur von Fehlern beim Fremdsprachenerwerb komplex und umfasst verschiedene Auffassungen von Fehlertoleranzen. Zur Erklärung ihrer Entstehung wird einerseits die Erstsprache der Lernenden herangezogen und von negativen Interferenzen zwischen Erst- und Zweitsprache ausgegangen oder dem Identitätshypothetischen Ansatz folgend davon, dass der Fremdsprachenerwerb gleich dem Erstsprachenerwerb ablaufe und daher intralinguale Übertragungen z. B. durch Übergeneralisierungen als signifikanter anzusehen sind als interlinguale Übertragungen (vgl. Raabe 1980a: 65–68; Kleppin 1998: 32f). Grundsätzlich kann ein Fehler als „Abweichung“ von bzw. als „Verstoß“ gegen „etwas“ beschrieben werden, wobei das „Etwas ... als Vergleichsgröße existieren [muss]“ (Kleppin 1998: 15). Um eine Äußerung also als fehlerhaft einstufen zu können, muss das „Etwas“ definiert sein (1998: 15). Dies können beispielsweise die orthographischen, grammatischen

und lexikalischen Normen einer Sprache sein. Basierend auf den Erkenntnissen von Linguist:innen und Sprachlernforscher:innen trägt Kleppin eine Liste verschiedener Fehlerdefinitionen zusammen. Diese umfasst unter anderem die Definition eines Fehlers als „Abweichung vom Sprachsystem“ bzw. „der geltenden linguistischen Norm“ sowie „das, was gegen Regeln in Lehrwerken und Grammatiken verstößt“ (Kleppin 1998: 19). Für diese Untersuchung werden jedoch jene Punkte als relevant eingestuft, die den Fokus auf die auf die Verständlichkeit bzw. die Angemessenheit des Gesagten legen: „Ein Fehler ist das, was ein Kommunikationspartner nicht versteht“, „Ein Fehler ist das, was ein Muttersprachler nicht versteht“ (1998: 19). Hier tritt die formale Korrektheit in ihrer Gewichtung hinter den kommunikativen Effekt zurück (Presch, 1980b: 230). Die Fehlergewichtung bezieht sich also auf das Erreichen oder Nicht-Erreichen des kommunikativen Ziels (1980b: 230). In seinem Artikel „Über schwierigkeiten [sic!] zu bestimmen, was als fehler [sic!] gelten soll“ fasst Presch eine Fehlerdefinition in Bezug auf Enkvist (1973:20) in diesem Sinne wie folgt zusammen:

Die traditionelle fehlergewichtung² ... beruht auf einem als absolut gesetzten standard; der ansatz zielorientierter fehlerbestimmung geht davon aus, daß [sic!] standards und normen mit zielen und situationen wechseln. Kommunikationseffekte und -störungen können also nur dann bestimmt werden, wenn bedingungen von redesituationen wie unterschiedliche hörer mit verschiedenen toleranzbereichen, mit situationen wechselnde kommunikative anforderungen usw. berücksichtigt werden (1980b: 231).

Eine solche Fehlerdefinition zeichnet sich durch eine hohe Fehlertoleranz aus und definiert einen Fehler danach, dass er die Kommunikation behindert (Kleppin, 1998: 21). Zur Kategorisierung der Fehler hinsichtlich des Einflusses auf die Verständlichkeit schlagen Burt und Kiparsky (1972) eine Einteilung in lokale („local“) und globale („global“) Fehler vor. Globale Fehler, die das Verständnis der gesamten Äußerung behindern, haben in ihrer Behandlung/Korrektur eine höhere Priorität als lokale, die keine oder wenig Auswirkungen auf das Verständnis der Äußerung haben (Norris 1983: 81). Ein weiterer Punkt auf der von Kleppin vorgeschlagenen Liste zur Fehlerdefinition lautet: „Ein Fehler ist das, was ein Muttersprachler in einer bestimmten Situation nicht sagen oder tun würde“ (1998: 19). Dieser Punkt verweist auf beispielsweise die Angemessenheit des Registers oder auch die Einhaltung weiterer Konventionen wie Höflichkeit oder das Level der Direktheit/Indirektheit.

Bezüglich der Relevanz und Anwendbarkeit der verschiedenen Fehlerkategorien kann in Bezug auf den DaF/DaZ-Unterricht die Annahme gelten, dass abhängig vom

2 Presch (1980) verstößt in seinem Aufsatz konsequent gegen orthographische Normen, indem er auf die Großschreibung mit Ausnahme von Satzanfängen vollständig verzichtet. Dies wurde im Zitat übernommen und aus Gründen der Lesbarkeit an dieser Stelle darauf verzichtet, jeden Verstoß mit [sic!] zu kennzeichnen. Durch dieses Vorgehen von Presch wird bereits die Diskussion bzw. die Reflexion darüber, was als Fehler gewertet werden sollte und wie hoch die Toleranz bezüglich bestimmter Abweichungen ist, eröffnet.

Lernziel unterschiedliche Fehlerkategorien angewendet werden müssen. Beim Erlernen einer syntaktischen Struktur gibt es beispielsweise eine geringere Fehlertoleranz als bei der mündlichen Bewältigung einer handlungsorientierten Aufgabe. Wird das Verständnis der Äußerung nicht beeinträchtigt, kann ein Fehler toleriert werden. Diesem Ansatz soll auch die Bewertung im Rahmen dieses Beitrags folgen.

3 METHODISCHES VORGEHEN

Aus den im vorangegangenen Kapiteln vorgebrachten Merkmalen von Kommunikation im medizinischen Kontext sowie aus den möglichen Definitionen von Fehlern in einer Äußerung ergeben sich für die Konzeption der zu bearbeitenden Aufgabenstellung und für die Auswertung des Materials folgende Parameter:

- Pflegefachkräfte sowie Gesundheits- und Krankenpfleger:innen kommunizieren in ihrem beruflichen Alltag sowohl mit medizinischem Fachpersonal als auch mit Patient:innen und Angehörigen. Eine Anpassung des Registers ist Teil ihrer täglichen Kommunikation. Die gestellte Aufgabe bildet daher eine authentische Situation des Berufsalltags ab, innerhalb derer sprachliche Muster, die der Alltagssprache zuzuordnen sind, und solche, die als berufssprachlich gelten können, angewendet werden müssen.
- Die erfolgreiche Kommunikation zwischen medizinischem Fachpersonal und den Patient:innen spielt eine besondere Rolle. Ein Fehler wird also zunächst so definiert, dass er als eine Abweichung, die Kommunikation behindert oder blockiert, verstanden wird. Angelehnt an Burt und Kiparsky (1972) erfolgt die Einordnung der Fehler nach global und lokal.

3.1 Datenerhebung, Auswahl und Profil der Proband:innen

Die Erhebung des Materials folgt einem quantitativen Forschungsansatz, dessen Basis die schriftliche Beantwortung einer konzeptionell mündlichen Aufgabe bildet, die so konzipiert wurde, dass sie erstens eine authentische Situation aus dem Berufsalltag der Pflegekräfte abbildet, dass sie zweitens so gesteuert wird, dass vergleichbare Äußerungen entstehen, und dass sie drittens die Besonderheiten medizinischer Kommunikation wie etwa die Anpassung des Registers beinhaltet.

Die Auswahl der Proband:innen basierte auf den Kriterien, dass Deutsch nicht ihre Erstsprache ist, sondern als Zweit- oder Drittsprache erlernt wird, dass sie im Rahmen der Fachkräfteeinwanderung nach Deutschland kommen, ihre fachliche Ausbildung spezifisch im medizinischen und/oder pflegerischen Bereich liegt und dass die Ausübung eines in der medizinischen Pflege verorteten Berufs in Deutschland das Ziel der Proband:innen darstellt. Mit dem letzten Kriterium geht einher, dass auch der

Deutschunterricht auf dieses Ziel ausgerichtet ist und somit das Erlernen berufsbezogener Kommunikation forciert. Es konnten insgesamt elf Textbeispiele erhoben werden:

Nr.	Erstsprache	Zweitsprache (L2) und Niveau	Drittsprache (L3) und Niveau
1	Filipino	Englisch B2	Deutsch A2
2	Malayalam	Englisch B2	Deutsch C1
3	Filipino	Englisch B2	Deutsch B1+
4	Filipino	Englisch B2	Deutsch B2
5	Thai	Englisch B1	Deutsch B1
6	Malayalam	Englisch B2	Deutsch B1
7	Filipino	Englisch B2	Deutsch B1
8	Filipino	Englisch B2	Deutsch B2
9	Spanisch (Kolumbien)	Englisch B1	Deutsch A2
10	Mazedonisch	Englisch B1	Deutsch B2
11	Bosnisch	Englisch A2	Deutsch B2

Alle Proband:innen besuchen eine auf den Pflege- und Medizinbereich spezialisierte Sprachschule und haben in ihren jeweiligen Herkunftsländern ein Bachelorstudium im Bereich Pflege absolviert.

In der gestellten Aufgabe sollen die Proband:innen eine Patientin nach einer Operation im Bauchraum drehen. Laut Aufgabenstellung soll die Patientin begrüßt werden, es soll ihr erklärt werden, was geschehen wird und warum ein Drehen der Patientin wichtig ist und wie sie die Pflegefachkraft bei der Drehung unterstützen kann. Der Text soll mit einer Verabschiedung enden und insgesamt ca. 200 Wörter umfassen. Zusätzlich gibt es auf dem Arbeitsblatt auch eine nicht beschriftete Abbildung des Drehens einer Person. Die Abbildung soll zusätzliche Orientierung bieten und dazu beitragen, dass der beschriebene Prozess bei den Proband:innen möglichst einheitlich ist. Werden Korrekturen vorgenommen, soll die ursprüngliche Formulierung in Klammern gesetzt werden. So bleiben Korrekturansätze seitens der Proband:innen nachvollziehbar. Die Bearbeitung erfolgt handschriftlich auf Papier in den Räumlichkeiten der Sprachschule, umfasst circa eine Stunde und läuft ohne Hilfsmittel ab.

Die Auswertung der Texte wird anhand der folgenden Variablen dargestellt:

- Analyse der gemachten Fehler und Evaluation des Grades der Einschränkung des Verständnisses in den drei Phasen Begrüßung/Verabschiedung, Ankündigung der pflegerischen Handlung und Beschreibung des Drehvorgangs
- Angemessenheit des Registers

3.2 Ergebnisse der Aufgabenstellung – Vergleichsgröße

Um die erwartbaren Äußerungen zur Bewältigung der Aufgabe zu definieren, wurde ein Lehrwerk für ausländische Pflegekräfte herangezogen, das eine ähnliche Aufgabe enthält und diese Situation anhand eines Beispieldialogs beschreibt und relevante Chunks/Redemittel auflistet (Schrimpf, Becherer & Ott 2011: 96 f. & 99). Dies bildet die Vergleichsgröße zu den von den Proband:innen produzierten Texten. Basierend auf dem Lehrwerk sind folgende Äußerungen (oder Variationen dieser) erwartbar:

Ablauf	Äußerung
Begrüßung/ Verabschiedung	• Hallo Frau X / Guten Tag Frau X • Ich bin.... • Auf Wiedersehen. • Gute Nacht. • Bitte klingeln Sie, wenn Sie einen Wunsch haben.
Beschreibung des Ablaufs	• Wir möchten Ihnen helfen, sich zu drehen. / Wir möchten Sie drehen. / Wir drehen Sie auf die linke/rechte Seite • Wir drehen Sie jetzt. • Wir zählen bis drei, dann drehen wir Sie. • Wir legen Ihnen ein Kissen in den Rücken, auf dem Sie sich abstützen können. • Haben Sie keine Angst, wir halten Sie fest. • Jetzt legen wir Ihnen noch ein Kissen zwischen die Knie. • Liegen Sie bequem? • In zwei Stunden kommen wir wieder.
Gründe	• Das ist wichtig, damit Sie kein Druckgeschwür (am Steißbein) bekommen. • Dieser sogenannte Dekubitus kann sehr große Schmerzen verursachen.
Unterstützung durch die Patientin	• Bitte winkeln Sie die Knie an / Bitte die Knie anwinkeln. • Drücken Sie mit beiden Händen fest auf die Bauchwunde. • Legen Sie den Kopf auf die Brust. / Bitte legen Sie den Kopf auf die Brust.

Das Lehrbuch schlägt vor, nach der Verwendung des Begriffs „Druckgeschwür“, das als allgemein verständlicher angesehen werden kann, das Fachwort „Dekubitus“ einzuführen (Schrimpf, Becherer & Ott 2011: 96). Dies ist m. E. nicht zwangsläufig erforderlich, da es der Patientin keinen Mehrwert bietet. Es kann vermutet werden, dass das Lehrwerk den Fachbegriff hier zur Wortschatzwiederholung nennt. In der Kommunikation mit der Patientin sollte ein anderes Register, d. h. eine der Patientin verständliche Beschreibung gewählt werden.

4 ANALYSE DER ERGEBNISSE

Von den elf Texten konnten neun vollständig ausgewertet werden. Zwei Texte waren nicht wie gefordert als Kommunikation mit der Patientin verfasst, sondern wie eine Vorgangsbeschreibung. An manchen Stellen haben die beiden Proband:innen zusätzlich aufgeschrieben, was an der entsprechenden Stelle gesagt werden müsste. Es handelte sich also um Vorgangsbeschreibungen mit kurzen Passagen in wörtlicher Rede. Diese kurzen Sätze wurden ausgewertet, der Rest des Textes jedoch aus Gründen der Vergleichbarkeit vernachlässigt. Nach Sichtung des Materials konnten verschiedene Fehlerschwerpunkte und Auffälligkeiten festgestellt werden.

4.1 Begrüßung und Verabschiedung

In Bezug auf die Begrüßung der Patientin und die Einleitung in das Gespräch wurden folgende Äußerungen getroffen:

Begrüßung	Guten Tag Frau Müller ³ Guten Morgen Frau Müller. Hallo, guten Morgen Frau Müller. * ⁴ Hello, Guten Morgen Frau Müller.
Vorstellung	Ich bin --- ⁵ , wir arbeiten heute *zusammen. Ich bin Schwester --- Ich bin Pfleger --- und heute habe ich *frühdienst. Ich bin Pflegehelferin Frau --- Ich bin Krankenschwester --- Ich bin ---, Krankenschwester.
Frage nach dem Befinden	Wie geht es Ihnen? Wie geht es Ihnen heute? Wie *gehts ihnen? Wie *gehst es Ihnen? Wie *geth es Ihnen?
Darstellen der Zuständigkeit	Ich bin *Heute auch für Sie zuständig. Ich bin heute für Sie zuständig. * ..., die bei Ihnen zuständig bin. * Ich bin heute Ihre zuständige Schwester. * Wenn Sie etwas brauchen, melden Sie sich wie schnell so möglich.

3 Der Name der Patientin war in der Aufgabe vorgegeben.

4 Der Asterisk zeigt einen Fehler an. Soll ausgesagt werden, dass der gesamte Satz als fehlerhaft ist, steht der Asterisk am Satzanfang gefolgt von einem Leerzeichen.

5 Um die Anonymität der Teilnehmenden zu wahren, wurden Namen oder andere persönliche Angaben getilgt.

Weitere Fragen	Wie *ist die Schmerzen? Haben Sie Schmerzen im Bauchraum? Haben Sie etwas *besonders heute? Haben Sie gefrühstückt? Haben Sie Ihre Medikamente eingenommen? Wie war die Nacht? Haben Sie gut geschlafen? * Wie hoch Schmerzen sind von 0-10?
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Die Analyse ergibt, dass besonders die Begrüßung, die Vorstellung und weitere Fragen an die Patientin überwiegend fehlerfrei formuliert wurden. Da Abweichungen in der Orthografie nicht hörbar wären, können diese Fehler in der Bewertung vernachlässigt werden. Auch die Darstellung der Zuständigkeit wird vom Großteil der Proband:innen gut bewältigt. Überwiegend wird hier „Ich bin heute für Sie zuständig“ gewählt, was die Vermutung nahelegt, dass diese Äußerung im Ganzen gelernt und automatisiert wurde. Mit „..., die bei Ihnen zuständig bin“ kann nur eine Äußerung in diesem Kontext als kommunikationsbehindernd eingestuft werden. Der Sinn kann nur noch über „zuständig“ erschlossen werden, wird jedoch durch die fehlerhafte Struktur des verbleibenden Relativsatzes nicht gestützt. Da diese starke Abweichung allerdings nur einmal vorkommt, kann von einem individuellen Defizit ausgegangen werden.

Für die Verabschiedung wurden folgende Äußerungen gewählt:

Verabschiedung	Bis gleich Bis nachher Bis später Bis *Gleis Dann bis *nächste 2 Stunden. Ich will noch sagen, bis später. ... Noch einmal, bis später. Also Frau Müller, dann erholen Sie sich weiter gut. Gute Besserung.
Hinweis auf Klingel	* Ich gehe anderes Zimmer. Das ist ihre *Klingeln. Wenn brauchen Sie *hilfe, *klinge Sie bitte. Wenn es etwas gibt, *klingeln Sie einfach. Ihre *Klinger ist neben *Sie. Wenn Sie etwas brauchen, können Sie hier *klingen. Die Klingel steht neben *ihn.
Weiteres Vorgehen	Ich werde Sie in den nächsten 2 Stunden umdrehen, zur Unterstützung des *Stuhlgang und * Wundheilung. Wenn Sie in *andere Position liegen wollen, bitte melden Sie sich bei mir, oder *meine Kollegen. Nach zwei oder drei Stunden *müssen wir *ihn nochmal drehen, ja? Ich werde *hier kommen, nach zwei Stunden, * weil Sie auf Ihre rechte Seite drehen.

Wie bei der Begrüßung, zeigt auch die Analyse der Verabschiedung, dass hier wenig Fehler gemacht werden. Interessant ist, dass der Verweis auf die Klingel nicht explizit in der Aufgabe gefordert, aber dennoch von fünf Teilnehmenden erwähnt wurde, was darauf verweist, dass dies im Berufsalltag der Pflegefachkräfte relevant ist. Allerdings ist „Klingel“ nur in einem einzigen Text und das Verb „klingeln“ in keinem Text orthografisch fehlerfrei. Das lässt darauf schließen, dass es sich bei der Formulierung des Hinweises auf die Klingel um eine zwar alltägliche, aber dennoch schwierige Äußerung handelt und bei der Automatisierung nachgefasst werden müsste.

4.2 Ankündigung der pflegerischen Handlung

Während die Begrüßung und die Verabschiedung überwiegend erfolgreich bewältigt worden sind, verhält es sich bei der Ankündigung der folgenden pflegerischen Handlung anders. Die von den Proband:innen gewählten Äußerungen sind:

		Nr.
Ankündigung der Drehung	Ich soll Ihnen helfen die *position *wechseln.	1
	* Deswegen sollen Sie vom Rücken auf Ihre linke Seite drehen.	2
	* Jetzt, Ich muss Sie auf *ihre linke Seite drehen.	3
	* Also Sie haben eine Operation im Bauchraum und wird operiert.	4
	Jetzt möchte ich Ihnen bei der Lagerung helfen.	5
	Und jetzt sollen sie auf *ihre linke Seite gedreht werden.	6
	* Ich bin hier, weil sie jetzt muss gelagert werden.	7
	* Ich erkläre Sie, wie man richtig Drehung ablaufen wird.	8
	* Ich werde Ihnen nach links wenden.	9
	* Ich werde Ihnen helfen vom Rücken auf die linke Seite drehen.	10
	* Dann ich würde sagen, weil sie eine Operation gehabt.	11
	Ich möchte Ihnen helfen, sich umzudrehen.	12

Bei den Äußerungen, die die Drehung betreffen, lassen sich einige als hinderlich für die Kommunikation beschreiben. Bei Äußerung 4 klingt es durch die Wahl des Tempus‘ als würde die Operation noch bevorstehen und bei Äußerungen 2, 7 und 8 etwa ist nicht ersichtlich, ob die Patientin sich selbst drehen soll bzw. dass sie selbst angesprochen wird. Auf grammatischer Ebene finden sich besonders Fehler in Bezug auf die Kongruenz von Verb und Objekt. Zudem kann beobachtet werden, dass Konstruktionen, die einen zu-Infinitiv brauchen würden, teils fehlerhaft gebildet werden. Auf der Ebene der Lexik werden neben dem Wort „drehen“ auch „umdrehen“, „wenden“, „lagern“ und „Position wechseln“ verwendet. „Wenden“ und „lagern“ wirken jedoch in diesem Kontext eher fremd und könnten die Kommunikation beeinträchtigen. Bei der Ankündigung des Drehens, was eine alltägliche pflegerische Handlung darstellt, sind im Vergleich große Unsicherheiten zu beobachten, die sich darauf auswirken könnten, ob die Äußerung von der Patientin verstanden werden würde.

4.3 Ablauf des Drehvorgangs und Unterstützung durch die Patientin

Während des Drehvorgangs benötigen Pflegefachkräfte, wenn möglich, die Unterstützung der Patient:innen. Die gestellte Aufgabe beinhaltet, dass die Proband:innen der Patientin erklären, wie sie sie bei der Drehung unterstützen kann, und auch zu beschreiben, was sie selbst tun. Insgesamt kann hier festgestellt werden, dass es in den Texten der Proband:innen zu teils starken Abweichungen kommt. In dieser Phase kommt dem Gelingen der Kommunikation jedoch eine große Bedeutung zu, da nur so sichergestellt werden kann, dass die Handlung erfolgreich abläuft. Bei der Analyse fällt auf, dass keine:r der Proband:innen das im Lehrbuchtext vorgeschlagene „Beine anwinkeln“ wählte. Stattdessen wählten sie „beugen“ teilweise begleitet von der Angabe „90 Grad“ oder „aufstellen“. Diese Entscheidungen können m. E. als angemessen bewertet werden und diese Abweichung von der Erwartung ist nicht als fehlerhaft zu bewerten. Daraus kann auch abgeleitet werden, dass andere Lehrbücher oder Dozierende in diesem Kontext die Verben „aufstellen“ und „beugen“ verwenden. Zwar enthalten die Äußerungen, die sich auf das Anwinkeln der Beine beziehen, einzelne Fehler, diese sind jedoch überwiegend als lokal einzuordnen:

- Beugen Sie *ihre *rechte Knie.
- Zuerst beugen Sie *die rechte Knie auf 90 Grad.
- Zuerst *, beugen Sie die Knie auf 90 Grad.
- Beugen Sie Ihre Beine
- *Dannach stellen Sie Ihre *beide Beine auf.
- Zuerst beugen Sie Ihr rechtes Knie...

Bei zwei Äußerungen bezüglich der Haltung der Beine kann von einer Beeinträchtigung des Verständnisses ausgegangen werden. Wie die nachfolgend angeführten Äußerungen zeigen, ist der Vorgang in beiden Fällen als „Beine aufstellen“ beschrieben worden, was akzeptiert werden kann. Allerdings ist die Höflichkeitsform und somit die Ansprache der Patientin nicht mehr erkennbar:

- Zuerst *muss sie Ihre *beide *beine aufstellen.
- Sie *muss Ihre Beine aufstellen...

Während die Kommunikation über die Positionierung der Beine mit der Patientin überwiegend erfolgreich bewältigt wurde, ist auffällig, dass die Beschreibungen der Armposition sowie die Verwendung der Kissen zahlreiche Fehler aufwiesen, die sich negativ auf das Verständnis auswirken. Orientiert am Lehrbuchtext konnte erwartet werden, dass die Proband:innen die Patientin darum bitten, während der Drehung auf die Bauchwunde zu drücken. Dies wurde von keinem der Teilnehmenden umgesetzt. Kritisch ist an dieser Stelle anzumerken, dass die zur Verfügung gestellte Abbildung auf dem Arbeitsblatt dies auch nicht zeigte, sondern die Standardarmposition bei der Drehung, die dadurch

gekennzeichnet ist, dass die Arme angewinkelt und über Kreuz auf die Brust gelegt werden. Für die Beschreibung dieses Standardvorgangs entschieden sich auch die Teilnehmenden. Allerdings konnte dieser Vorgang von den Proband:innen weder korrekt noch verständlich sprachlich ausgedrückt werden. Dies kommt überwiegend durch Fehler in der Lexik zustande, da „legen“ häufig mit „stellen“ verwechselt wurde.

- **stellen** Sie Ihre beiden Arme auf Ihren Brüsten.
- Dann **stelle** ich ein Kissen neben Ihre Rücken, damit Sie sich wohler fühlen.

Der gleiche Fehler ist auch bei der Beschreibung der eigenen Handposition zu beobachten:

- ich **stelle** meine Linke Hand unter ihren Knien und die Rechte Hand hinter ihre Schulter.
- Ich **stelle** meine arm hinter ihre schulter und die andere hinter ihre rechte bein.

Während es sich aus der Perspektive des Spracherwerbs um einen nachvollziehbaren Fehler handelt, da viele Sprachen diese Unterscheidung nicht machen und es für das Deutsche „legen“, „liegen“, „stehen“, „stellen“ nur ein Lexem gibt, ist es hier jedoch als globaler Fehler zu betrachten, der sich erheblich auf das Verständnis auswirkt. Von der Patientin kann nicht erwartet werden, dass sie herleitet, dass „legen“ gemeint ist. Auch bei anderen Äußerungen zur Armposition ist das Verständnis als eingeschränkt bis blockiert zu betrachten:

- * Bitte halten Sie ihre Arme auf deine Brust.

Hier die Wahl des Verbs „halten“ als Fehler zu betrachten und darüber hinaus der Wechsel der Anrede innerhalb des Satzes. Als weitere Formulierung wurde gewählt:

- Jetzt nehmen Sie die Arme neben den Brustkorb.

Dieser Satz ist als korrekt zu betrachten, allerdings würde er nicht zur Ausführung der gewünschten Bewegung führen, da die Arme *auf* nicht *neben* den Brustkorb gelegt werden müssen. Die Präposition „neben“ ist hier also als globaler Fehler zu kategorisieren. Die Wahl des Verbs „nehmen“ kann jedoch als angemessen betrachtet werden.

Bei der Untersuchung dieses Teils des Textes war insgesamt auffällig, dass es sehr große Unterschiede in der Bewältigung der Beschreibung der jeweiligen Bewegungsabläufe gab. Dies soll an den folgenden Beispielen gezeigt werden:

- Beugen Sie Ihr rechtes Knie und stellen Sie Ihre beide Arme auf Ihren Brüsten.
- Beugen Sie ihre Beine, ich stelle meine Linke Hand unter ihren Knien und die Rechte Hand hinter ihre Schulter.

Der erste Teil des Satzes ist korrekt geäußert, während der zweite kaum bis nicht verständlich ist. Diese Diskrepanz in einem einzigen Satz ist bemerkenswert. Auch wurden die Sätze von Proband:innen unterschiedlicher Muttersprache (Spanisch und Filipino)

und unterschiedlicher Sprachniveaus (A2 und B1) aufgeschrieben. Als möglicher Grund hierfür kann angeführt werden, dass der erste Satzteil bereits automatisiert ist und somit stärker geübt wurde und damit einhergehend, dass diese Bewegung in verschiedenen Kontexten vorkommt und den Pflegefachkräften daher vertrauter ist.

4.4 Verwendung des Registers

Wie in Kapitel 2.1 dargestellt, zeichnet sich die Kommunikation in Heilberufen unter anderem dadurch aus, dass das Register an die Patient:innen angepasst wird und beispielsweise wenig oder keine lateinischen Fachbegriffe, sondern die deutschen Entsprechungen gewählt werden. In der Analyse der Texte fiel auf, dass diese von einem steten Registerwechsel durchzogen waren. Während die Äußerungen im Rahmen der Begrüßung der Allgemeinsprache (bspw.: Wie geht es Ihnen?) und der Berufssprache (etwa: Haben Sie Ihre Medikamente eingenommen?) zugeordnet werden können und von den Teilnehmenden überwiegend verständlich und mit wenigen Abweichungen realisiert werden konnten und insgesamt als angemessen zu betrachten sind, kam es speziell im Kontext der Beschreibung des Drehvorgangs und bei der Darstellung der medizinischen Relevanz dieses Vorgangs zu einer Verschiebung des Registers in den Bereich der Fachsprache. Beispiele sind:

Äußerung	Proband:in
• Jetzt möchte ich Ihnen bei der Lagerung helfen. • In diesem Moment Lagerung ist sehr wichtig, weil diese die Mobilisation, Regeneration und damit auch die Wundheilung fördert. • Ich umfasse...die Außenflanke des Knie.	6
• Lagerung ist sehr wichtig. Das hilft Dekubitus zu vermeiden.	2
• Zuerst werde Ich Ihre vital Parameter durch messen. • Es ist wichtig, dass die Patientinnen muss gelagert werden, um eine Dekubitus zu vermeiden.	1
• Das machen wir als Dekubitusprophylaxe.	10
• Weil im Bauch OP eine Lagerung hilfreich ist, um kein Problem in Peristaltik zu haben und Darmbewegung zu fördern.	4
• Das müssen wir machen als Dekubitusprophylaxe.	11

Die Proband:innen verwenden im Gespräch mit der Patientin Begriffe, die der Fachsprache zuzuordnen sind. Besonders die Beschreibung des Drehvorgangs durch die Bezeichnung „Lagerung“ kommt häufig vor, ebenso die Verwendung des lateinischen Fachterminus „Dekubitus“, ohne die verständlichere deutsche Variante einzuführen, wie es etwa im Lehrbuch vorgeschlagen war. Bei der Beschreibung der eigenen Handlung greifen die Proband:innen auf „Beckenkamm“ und „Außenflanke“ zurück. Diese sind als semantisch korrekt zu bezeichnen, in der Alltagssprache finden sie jedoch kaum oder

keine Verwendung. Es kann daraus abgeleitet werden, dass es den Proband:innen bisweilen nicht gelingt, ihr Register auf die Kommunikation mit der Patientin anzupassen.

4.4.1 Register und Perspektive

Basierend auf der Untersuchung der Verwendung des Registers soll an dieser Stelle eine weitere Anmerkung gemacht werden. Während der Durchsicht der Texte entstand wiederholt der Eindruck, dass viele Texte Sätze enthielten, die im Vergleich mit dem Rest des Textes als auffällig korrekt beschrieben werden können. In Kapitel 4.2 ist bereits auf diese Auffälligkeit im Rahmen der Beschreibung der Bewegungsabläufe verwiesen worden. Eine erste Annahme könnte sein, dass die Beschreibungen unterschiedlich intensiv geübt und so verschieden stark automatisiert wurden. Zu dem beschriebenen Eindruck kam jedoch hinzu, dass beispielsweise die Proband:innen 10 und 11 (Deutschniveau jeweils B2, Erstsprachen Bosnisch und Mazedonisch) der fiktiven Patientin sagten, sie solle nun zur Drehung „angeleitet“ werden. Proband:in 1 (C1, Malayalam) und 2 (A2, Filipino) schrieben, dass sie der Patientin nun „die Lagerung erklären“ werden. Da besonders „anleiten“ in fachlichen Kontexten in medizinischen und sozialen Berufen vorkommt, legte dies die Vermutung nahe, dass die Proband:innen hier reproduzieren, wie *mit ihnen* im Berufsalltag gesprochen wird bzw. wie ihnen Abläufe erklärt oder sie zu diesen angeleitet werden oder welche Art von Texten normalerweise von ihnen gefordert werden. Ein Perspektivwechsel gelang hier nicht und auch kein vollständiger Transfer in eine andere Kommunikationssituation. Zur Stützung dieser These kann auch die wiederholte Verwendung von „Beckenkamm“ und „Außenflanke“ herangezogen werden. In dem von Proband:in 6 produzierten Text ist neben der in der Aufgabe geforderten direkten Kommunikation mit der Patientin durch einen Absatz getrennt auch eine Vorgangsbeschreibung desselben Ablaufs niedergeschrieben worden. Die Vorgangsbeschreibung wirkt dabei wie aus einem Lehrbuch und enthält kaum Abweichungen von linguistischen Normen, während der Text, der die direkte Kommunikation beschreibt, zahlreiche und teils globale Fehler enthält. Dies soll an folgendem Beispiel aus dem Text illustriert werden:

Kommunikation mit Patientin	Vorgangsbeschreibung
Deswegen brauche ich auch Ihre Unterstützung und * ich umfasse meine linke Hand die Außenflanke des Knie (die rechte Hand liege ich am Beckenkamm).	Die linke Hand der Pflegekraft greift unter den Knien des Bewohners hindurch. Sie umfasst die Außenflanke des rechten Knies des Bewohners. Die rechte Hand des PP umfasst den Beckenkamm des Bewohners.

Hieraus lässt sich ableiten, dass der Vorgang bekannt ist, dass dieser auch beschrieben werden kann, dass aber der Transfer in die Kommunikation mit der Patientin nicht gelingt.

5 FAZIT

Im Rahmen der Untersuchung sollten möglichen Bedarfe der Lernenden, spezifisch ausländischer Pflegefachkräfte mit verschiedenen Erstsprachen, identifiziert werden. Dazu wurden sprachlichen Fehler in den von den Proband:innen produzierten Texten danach analysiert und eingeordnet, ob sie die erfolgreiche Kommunikation mit der Patientin einschränken oder nicht. Basierend auf der Analyse des vorliegenden Materials kann zunächst die Aussage getroffen werden, dass alle Proband:innen trotz verschiedener Erstsprachen ähnliche Fehler im Bereich der Verben „stellen“ und „legen“, in Bezug auf die Verwendung von Konstruktionen mit zu-Infinitiv und der Syntax machten. Der größte Erkenntnisgewinn lässt sich jedoch aus der unterschiedlichen Verteilung der gemachten Fehler in den Texten ableiten. Aus der Analyse geht hervor, dass bestimmte Teile der Patientenkommunikation im DaF/DaZ-Unterricht geübt und in der Konsequenz von den Lernenden automatisiert wurden. Begrüßung, Verabschiedung und die Formulierung spezieller Fragen, etwa nach der Einnahme der Medikamente, wurden von den Proband:innen im Rahmen der zugrundeliegenden Fehlerdefinition erfolgreich bewältigt und überwiegend fehlerfrei umgesetzt. Bei den Äußerungen zur Beschreibung des Drehvorgangs und der Unterstützung durch die Patientin konnte beobachtet werden, dass einige Teile bereits gelernt wurden, aber insgesamt festzustellen war, dass eine Anpassung der Äußerungen an das erforderliche Register teils nicht erfolgte und es zu in diesem Kontext unangemessenen Vorgangsbeschreibungen und zahlreichen sprachlichen Unsicherheiten sowie nach Burt und Kiparsky (1972) zu globalen Fehlern kam. Hier wird das Beispiel aus 4.3.1 als besonders eindrücklich gewertet. Durch die große Wichtigkeit der Kommunikation mit den Patient:innen können der Registerwechsel in der Beschreibung medizinischer Vorgänge und auch die Kommunikation mit den Patient:innen jenseits der festgestellten automatisierten Phrasen als erste Ansatzpunkte abgeleitet werden.

Da festgestellt wurde, dass die Fehler/Schwierigkeiten unabhängig von den Erstsprachen (und auch des angegebenen Sprachniveaus) auftraten, sollten auch mögliche Lösungs- oder Optimierungsversuche übergreifend und unabhängig von der Erstsprache erfolgen. Der Einsatz von Methoden des Translanguaging wird daher als passend bewertet. Die Entwicklung bzw. der Einsatz konkreter translingualer Ansätze zur Reduzierung der Diskrepanz zwischen fachlichem Wissen und dessen Umsetzung in der Patientenkommunikation in der Fremdsprache kann als nächster Schritt definiert werden. Als weiterer Forschungsausblick ist zu nennen, dass ein Weg gefunden werden müsste, um auszuschließen, dass die Texte auf diese Art produziert worden sind, weil die Teilnehmenden es nicht gewohnt sind, einen mündlichen Text medial schriftlich zu verfassen. Die gleiche Übung müsste also zudem noch mündlich durchgeführt werden, um zu prüfen, ob sich dann Ähnliches beobachten lässt. Zudem könnte die Untersuchung in einem anderen sprachlichen und beruflichen Kontext wiederholt werden, um übergreifende Strategien zu erarbeiten. Für Slowenien böte sich hier bspw. die Gastronomie, der Einzelhandel

oder das Handwerk an, da Kellner:innen, Verkäufer:innen und Handwerker:innen hier zu den vom Fachkräftemangel besonders betroffenen Berufen gehören (vgl. Lichter & Buhin Peharec 2022, AHK Slowenien 2021: 4, 10) und sich diese Berufe darüber hinaus ebenfalls durch die Kommunikation mit Kund:innen und deren Gelingen auszeichnen.

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POVZETEK

ANALIZA JEZIKOVNIH NAPAK V TUJEJEZIČNI KOMUNIKACIJI MED ZDRAVSTVENIM OSEBJEM, BOLNIKI IN BOLNICAMI

Pomanjkanje kvalificirane delovne sile je vse večji izziv za trg dela v Nemčiji in EU. Ena od strategij za preprečevanje pomanjkanja kvalificirane delovne sile je zaposlovanje tujih kvalificiranih delavcev in delavk. Gre za proces, ki je za migrante in migrantke, tj. kvalificirano delovno silo iz tujine, povezan s posebnimi cilji med drugim tudi pri pouku nemščine kot tujega ali nemščine drugega jezika, ki jih je treba uresničiti na najboljši možni način. V prispevku bomo zato analizirali jezikovne napake zaposlenih v zdravstveni negi v Nemčiji, in sicer v nalogi, ki prikazuje avtentično strokovno situacijo, da bi ugotovili njihove specifične potrebe pri učenju za njih tujega oziroma drugega jezika, tj. nemščine. Analiza napak bo omogočila tudi kategorizacijo stopnje, do katere bi storjene jezikovne napake lahko omejile uspešnost komunikacije z bolniki in bolnicami. Ta poklicna skupina je bila izbrana na podlagi različnih kriterijev: Prvič, poklici zdravstvene nege spadajo v skupino deficitarnih poklicev in drugič, dokazilo o znanju nemškega jezika je za njih pogosto velik birokratski izziv. Poleg teh formalnosti je znanje nemškega jezika dejansko tudi nujno potrebno in pomembno za obvladovanje delovnega vsakdanjika s strokovnega vidika. V raziskavo vključeni intervjuvanci in intervjuvanke, to velja tudi sicer za ta poklic, so zelo heterogena skupina glede na njihov materni jezik in raven znanja tujega oz. drugega jezika nemščine. Na podlagi te heterogenosti in dejstva, da kljub obstoječim učnim gradivom, ki so prilagojena ciljnim skupinam, še vedno obstajajo možnosti za njihovo optimizacijo, v članku predlagamo nov didaktični pristop, tj. čezjezičnost. Čezjezičnost oz. elementi čezjezičnosti lahko pomembno pripomorejo k uspešnem jezikovnem in strokovnem obvladovanju strokovnih situacij v tujejezičnem okolju.

Ključne besede: nemščina kot tuji jezik, poučevanje tujega jezika, zaposleni v zdravstveni negi, jezikovne napake

ABSTRACT

ANALYSIS OF LINGUISTIC ERRORS IN FOREIGN LANGUAGE COMMUNICATION BETWEEN NURSING STAFF AND PATIENTS

The shortage of skilled workers is a growing and prevalent challenge for the labour market in Germany and the EU as a whole. One strategy to counter the shortage of skilled labour is to recruit qualified professionals from abroad. This involves the immigration of skilled workers with specific needs in terms of teaching and learning German as a Foreign Language/German as a Second Language, which need to be met in the best possible way. This article will therefore use an analysis of linguistic errors in a written task to determine the needs of foreign nursing staff with regard to

learning German. This is done by aiming to identify any potential key areas in which errors may occur. The task places the participants in an authentic scenario from their everyday working life. The error analysis is also used to classify the extent to which these errors would limit the success of communication with their patients. This professional group was selected based on various relevant criteria: First, nursing professions belong to the group of professions with the greatest shortage on the labour market, and proof of German language skills is a bureaucratic requirement. In addition to the related technicalities, proficiency in German can also be considered essential for successfully navigating everyday working life. The group of participants is heterogeneous in terms of first language and German level, which reflects a common composition of these learning groups. Based on this heterogeneity and the fact that there is still potential for optimization despite existing teaching and learning materials specifically designed for the target group, the article proposes translanguaging as a new didactic approach for successfully mastering professional situations in a foreign language environment, both linguistically and professionally. Translanguaging can thus be described as the lens through which the results of the task at hand are viewed.

Keywords: German as a Foreign Language, foreign language teaching, nursing profession, linguistic errors

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Izvirni znanstveni članek



TRANSLANGUAGING UND SEIN POTENZIAL FÜR DEN DAF-UNTERRICHT SOWIE FACHSPRACHLICHEN DAF-UNTERRICHT

1 EINLEITUNG¹

Der Fremdsprachenunterricht und der fachsprachliche Fremdsprachenunterricht, vor allem der LOTE-Sprachen-Unterricht², stehen heutzutage wegen vieler Veränderungen vor großen Herausforderungen. Zu diesen Herausforderungen zählen bspw. der dominante Status des Englischen unter den Sprachen, Migrations- und Globalisierungsprozesse sowie die Mediatisierung der Welt. Es scheint, und die Praxis bestätigt das, dass die didaktischen Konzepte für die aktuellen Schüler nicht mehr ausreichen. Aus dem dazugehörigen wissenschaftlichen Diskurs sind sowohl Diskussionen als auch Kritik und neue Lösungsansätze hervorgegangen (vgl. bspw. Dietrich-Grappin, Hufeisen 2023; Opitz, Sambanis 2023). Hier anknüpfend ist das Anliegen dieses Beitrags, das Potenzial des theoretisch gesehen jungen Ansatzes Translanguaging zu präsentieren und mit Beispielen aus der Praxis didaktisch zu beleuchten. Laut Translanguaging soll man, anstatt vom Wechsel zwischen Sprachen oder von der Sprachmischung zu sprechen und die Sprachen zu trennen, lieber den Begriff „fließend von einer zu einer anderen Sprache überzugehen“ gebrauchen. Kurzum, man soll Sprachen fluide verwenden und den Gebrauch des ganzen linguistischen Repertoires der Schüler im Unterricht fordern und fördern und somit ihr kommunikatives Potenzial maximieren. Von einem solchen Verständnis des Sprachenlernens (auch Fremdsprachenlernens sowie fachsprachlichen Fremdsprachenlernens) geht man im Rahmen des Translanguaging aus, vor allem aber liegt ihm ein anderes Verständnis von Sprachen zugrunde als beim Code-Switching. Es handelt sich um ein anderes

¹ Der Beitrag ist im Rahmen des Forschungsprogramms Interkulturelle literaturwissenschaftliche Studien (Nr. P6-0265) entstanden.

² LOTE-Fremdsprachenunterricht ist die Abkürzung für „Languages Other than English“, die sich in den gegenwärtigen Quellen für das Gegensatzpaar Englisch und Non-Englisch etabliert.

Denken und demnach sollte auch anders unterrichtet werden.³ Außerdem wird auf das Konzept Translanguaging auch aus linguistischer und aus sprachdidaktischer Perspektive eingegangen. Den theoretischen Überlegungen darüber folgt die Darstellung des didaktischen Potenzials des Translanguaging für den DaF-Unterricht bzw. den fachsprachlichen DaF-Unterricht anhand eines gelungenen Beispiels des „Translanguaging-Klassenzimmers“ von Herrn Brown in den USA sowie anhand zweier didaktischer Vorschläge für einen DaF- und fachsprachlichen DaF-Unterricht mit Elementen des Translanguaging-Ansatzes, die durch ein pädagogisches Experiment untermauert werden.

2 DAS KONZEPT TRANSLANGUAGING – THEORETISCHE ÜBERLEGUNGEN

2.1 Das Konzept Translanguaging aus linguistischer Perspektive

Der Begriff *Translanguaging* stammt von dem walisischen Begriff *trawsieithu*. Der Pädagoge Williams verwendete ihn in den 80er Jahren des vergangenen Jahrhunderts, um damit die systematische und geplante Verwendung von zwei Sprachen (Englisch und Spanisch in Wales) im Rahmen einer Unterrichtsstunde zu benennen. Der Begriff wurde später ins Englische als *translanguifying* übersetzt. Baker (2001) formulierte ihn dann in *translanguaging* um. Translanguaging steht für eine spezifische Sprachpraxis im Sprachenunterricht, bei der zwei Sprachen oder das ganze linguistische Repertoire eines Individuums verwendet werden, mit dem Ziel, einen Inhalt möglichst optimal zu kommunizieren. Um Missverständnisse zu vermeiden, muss an dieser Stelle verdeutlicht werden, dass diese Sprachpraxis kein Übersetzen, d. h. kein *translating* ist (Williams 2002: 29) und auch kein Code-Switching, d. h. kein Sprachwechsel (Bialystock 1990), sondern *translanguaging* (dazu mehr Kapitel 2.2).

Das deutschsprachige Äquivalent zu *translanguaging* ist *Translingualismus*. In Analogie zu *multilingualism*, dessen Äquivalent Mehrsprachigkeit lautet, oder *bilingualism*, was auf Deutsch auch Zweisprachigkeit genannt wird, könnte man alternativ für das Äquivalent zu translanguaging den deutschsprachigen Hybrid *Übersprachlichkeit* vorschlagen. Trotz dieser Überlegung zur deutschsprachigen Variante des Begriffs Translanguaging wird im Beitrag weiter so wie in anderen deutschsprachigen Publikationen (bspw. Seidl 2020 und Kirsch, Mortini 2016) der Begriff Translanguaging verwendet.

Wei (2016: 18) hebt vor allem die Bedeutung des Präfixes *trans-* im Begriff Translanguaging hervor und erklärt somit auch das Translanguaging:

- es handelt sich um eine fluide Sprachpraxis, die sich *trans-* bzw. jenseits des sozial konstruierten Systems der Sprachen und Strukturen ausdehnt, sie transzendiert und diverse sinnstiftende Systeme aktiviert;

³ Während Translanguaging in der bilingualen Forschung bzw. im bilingualen Unterricht schon angewendet wird er im Fremdsprachenunterricht weder etabliert noch gründlich erforscht.

- es hat nicht nur für das System von Sprachen, sondern auch für Kognition und soziale Strukturen des Individuums eine transformative Kapazität;
- es hat transdisziplinäre Folgen für die Re-Konzeptualisierung von Sprachen, Sprachenlernen und Sprachgebrauch in der Linguistik, Psychologie, Soziologie und Bildung.

Die Definition von Wei geht auf verschiedene Aspekte von Translanguaging ein, von der fluiden Sprachpraxis, die vom Menschen und seinen sprachlichen Ressourcen ausgeht und die traditionellen Grenzen zwischen Sprachen relativiert, über die Folgen, die das Konzept für das Denken des Individuums und der Gesellschaft hat, bis hin zu einer neuen Positionierung und Auffassung von Sprache(n) für das Lernen und Lehren sowie die Forschung.

Kirsch und Mortini behaupten, der Begriff Translanguaging „beschreibt den Prozess, in dem Personen flexibel und strategisch auf ihr gesamtes sprachliches und nicht-sprachliches Repertoire zurückgreifen, um zu kommunizieren, Wissen zu konstruieren, Verständnis zu erzeugen und ihre sprachliche Identität auszudrücken“ (2016: 23). Wenn man die Definition betrachtet und bspw. an ein Kind denkt, das zwei- oder mehrsprachig aufwächst, dann kann man sie nur bestätigen. Um das Ziel zu erreichen, bspw. die Bedürfnisse zu stillen, greifen mehrsprachige Kinder zu allen möglichen sprachlichen und auch nicht-sprachlichen Ressourcen. Das Resultat einer solchen „sprachlichen Aktion“ ist bspw. der Satz: *Schokolade? Nimam pojma, wo sie ist, muca papala. [Schokolade? Keine Ahnung, wo sie ist, die Katze hat sie aufgegessen]*. Die Akteure im nichtinstitutionellen Umfeld, konkret die Eltern des Kindes, kümmern sich nicht um die sprachliche Formulierung, sondern um den Inhalt der Aussage. Im institutionellen Umfeld dagegen würden die Lehrer dem vorherrschenden monolingualen Paradigma im (Fremd-)Sprachenunterricht folgend den Schüler korrigieren oder ihn darauf aufmerksam machen, dass man Sprachen nicht mischen darf bzw. dass das Code-Switching im Fremdsprachenunterricht eher vermieden als verwendet wird.

Das Konzept Translanguaging stammt aus dem bilingualen Bereich und ist in der bilingualen Forschung wissenschaftlich und praktisch fundierter (vgl. z. B. Blackledge und Creese 2010; Creese und Blackledge 2010; Wei 2011; Cenoz und Gorter 2015; García und Wei 2014; Hornberger und Link 2012; Otheguy et al. 2015) als bspw. im Fremdsprachenunterricht, wobei es sich allgemein um ein junges Forschungsfeld handelt (dazu bspw. Nagy 2018; Seidl 2020). Die Translanguaging-Theorie, die die bilinguale Forschung entwickelt, geht davon aus, dass Sprachen, so wie wir sie kennen, bspw. Deutsch, Slowenisch, Englisch, Kroatisch, Ungarisch, soziale Konstrukte sind, und plädiert dafür, dass die Schule alle Sprachen, alle Sprachpraktiken der Schüler nutzen muss und nicht nur die in den Schulen legitimierten (Wei und García 2017). Bilinguale Menschen

mögen, so García (2015, Interview⁴), zwar sozial gesehen zwei getrennte Sprachen haben, aber sie seien doch eine Person mit **einem** inneren Sprachsystem. „Das sind nicht zwei Einsprachige in einem, sondern das ist ein zweisprachiger Mensch“, betont García in einem Interview (2015, Interview).

Dieser zweisprachige oder sogar mehrsprachige Mensch hat also eine mentale Grammatik, aber zwei oder mehrere Sprachen. Die Sprachen, die laut García linguistisch konstruierte Entitäten bzw. sozial, politisch, national und wissenschaftlich motivierte Konstrukte sind (García 2009), sind aus individueller Perspektive strikt getrennt. Aus der Perspektive der Menschen bilden sie aber ein Repertoire bzw. eine mentale Grammatik. Das Individuum wählt daraus, je nach den unterschiedlichen Situationen, einzelne relevante Bestandteile aus. Die These, dass ein Repertoire sowie eine mentale Grammatik zwar vom Außen als zwei oder mehr repräsentiert sind, aber im Inneren eine oder eins sind, veranschaulichen García, Johnson und Seltzer (2017: 21) mit dem Bild des Flusses bzw. sie nennen es *translanguaging corriente*. Ein Fluss durchzieht scheinbar zwei durch ihn getrennte Gebiete und so werden auch die Sprachen eines mehrsprachigen Menschen als scheinbar getrennt wahrgenommen – an einem Ufer das Sprachsystem der einen Sprache, der Familiensprache, und am anderen Ufer, das der anderen Sprache, der Unterrichtssprache. Der Fluss verläuft jedoch auf einem nicht sichtbaren Flussbett und dieses ist verbunden, die beiden getrennten Gebiete sind eigentlich eines. Ein solcher Fluss – *ein translanguaging corriente* – durchzieht auch zwei oder mehrere Sprachen und das mentale System des Menschen sowie auch den Unterricht. Er ist, wie das Wasser selbst, nicht beständig, sondern verändert sich laufend durch die sprachlichen Praktiken der Schüler und der Lehrer und passt sich den Gegebenheiten an.

Wei, neben García ein wichtiger Forscher des Translanguaging, behauptet:

Translanguaging is that it is not conceived as an object or a linguistic structural phenomenon to describe and analyze but a practice and a process – a practice that involves dynamic and functionally integrated use of different languages and language varieties, but more importantly a process of knowledge construction that goes beyond language(s). [...] It has the capacity to enable us to explore the human mind as a holistic multi-competence [...].
(Wei 2018: 27; Hervorhebung S. J.)

Aus Weis Auffassung geht genauso wie bei García hervor, dass man nicht über den Gebrauch von verschiedenen Sprachen sprechen soll, sondern von einer Sprachpraxis, die sich jenseits der Sprachen auf die Wissenskonstruktion und die holistische

4 Dass hierdurch eine Benachteiligung entstehen kann, indem mangelhafte sprachliche Kenntnisse oder Ausdrucksmöglichkeiten allgemein mangelhaften kognitiven Fähigkeiten eines Individuums gleichgesetzt werden, ist ein Problem, das insbesondere für schulische Bewertungen von Relevanz ist und auf das Translanguaging eine Antwort bietet.

Multikompetenz des menschlichen Verstandes fokussiert. Sowohl García als auch Wei u. a. verweisen in ihren Studien auf eine Seite der Sprachen, die bisher in traditionellen linguistischen Theorien und folglich auch im pädagogischen Diskurs, Fremdsprachenlernen inklusive, etabliert wurde und darauf, dass diese in der neuen globalisierten und mehrsprachigen Welt relativiert wird. Das Translanguaging soll verhindern, dass Menschen die sog. „Smartphone-Sprachlogik“ verwenden bzw. sie leben und danach unterrichtet werden.

Die „Smartphone-Logik“ sei eine von Garcías größten Frustrationen, postuliert sie in einem Interview aus dem Jahr 2015. Wenn man auf einem Handy einen Text schreibt, etwa an die Familie, dann schreibt ein bilingualer Mensch nie nur in einer Sprache. Er benutzt ständig Wörter aus verschiedenen Sprachen und versucht sein sprachliches Repertoire ohne Einschränkungen zu benutzen. Aber beim Handy muss man sich entscheiden, man muss eine Sprache auswählen, sonst schreibt es das Falsche bzw. korrigiert die Wörter automatisch (manchmal ist das humorvoll, manchmal peinlich). „Das iPhone kennt nicht Translanguage (sic!)“ (2015 Interview und García und Kate Seltzer 2016: 22). Obwohl die Technik Garcías Frustrationsproblem schon behoben hat, ist ihre Metapher immer noch überlegenswert. Das Translanguaging ist die Fähigkeit solche Sprachfunktionen auf dem Handy zu ignorieren und alle Sprachressourcen fluide zu nutzen, da sie zum Repertoire des Bi- bzw. Multilingualen gehören.

Tatsache ist, dass Bilinguale kommunizieren, ohne Rücksicht darauf, ob ihre Wörter der einen oder anderen Sprache angehören. In der Gesellschaft – und vor allem in der Schule – dominiert aber das andere traditionelle, eigentlich das „Handy-Paradigma“, das Sprachen trennt, Grenzen zwischen Sprachen hervorhebt und Sprachmischungen sowie Sprachwechsel nicht unterstützt, sondern sanktioniert. Beim Translanguaging als einem „Gegen-das-Handy-Paradigma-Verständnis“ von Sprachen setzen die pädagogischen Grundannahmen des Ansatzes an.

2.2 Das Konzept Translanguaging aus sprachdidaktischer Perspektive

Wenn aus linguistischer Perspektive Translanguaging für die Entwicklung des ganzen linguistischen Repertoires des Individuums ohne Rücksicht auf die Einhaltung der gesellschaftlich und politisch definierten Grenzen zwischen Sprachen steht (Otheguy, et al. 2015: 281), ist Translanguaging aus der didaktischen Perspektive ein neuer Ansatz, der die Entwicklung des ganzen, komplexen linguistischen Repertoires mit didaktischen Strategien unterstützt und fördert (Cenoz 2017: 194). Dieser Ansatz ist im Vergleich zu dem traditionellen „monolingualen Habitus“ (Gogolin 1994) oder „two solitudes“ (Cummins 2008) radikal anders. Nach Gogolin wird in Deutschland, aber man kann behaupten auch anderswo, jeder Unterricht (auch jeder Fremdsprachenunterricht sowie jeder fachsprachliche Fremdsprachenunterricht) von einer Sprache dominiert. Kurzum Mehrsprachigkeit wird monolingual unterrichtet; nach Cummins gibt es „two solitudes“,

d. h. Muttersprache und Fremdsprache(n) werden beim Fremdsprachenunterricht isoliert und voneinander unabhängig behandelt und die verschiedenen Muttersprachen in einer Klasse werden ignoriert (Cummins 2008). Der Translanguaging-Ansatz will diese konstruierte Kommunikation ändern und erreichen, dass das, was inoffiziell bereits in der Klasse stattfindet, offiziell wird. Dağhan-Aslan und Kıray stellen in diesem Kontext treffend fest, der Translanguaging-Ansatz mache die Komplexität des Sprachaustausches zwischen Menschen unterschiedlicher Herkunft im Unterricht sichtbar (2020: 1370). Das Wichtigste beim Translanguaging-Ansatz ist, dass er schülerorientiert ist, dass er das Lernen der Fremdsprache aber auch verschiedener Muttersprachen in einer Klasse fordert und fördert, dass er dadurch die Grenze zwischen der Schule und dem Zuhause von Schülern verwischt und auch eine tiefere Auseinandersetzung mit behandelten Inhalten ermöglicht.

Laut dem aktuellen fremdsprachlichen Paradigma lernen Schüler Fremdsprachen im gegenwärtigen Unterricht auf einem sog. monolingualen Weg, d. h. die Zielsprache ist die einzige Sprache, die unterrichtet wird und in der auch unterrichtet werden sollte. Ein effektiver Fremdsprachenunterricht sollte die Fremdsprache als Ziel und als Medium der Kommunikation verwenden und somit den Schülern einen optimalen fremdsprachlichen Input ermöglichen, um später dann einen optimalen fremdsprachlichen Output erzielen zu können. Dagegen stellt den Ausgangspunkt beim Translanguaging, wie oben erwähnt, die kommunizierende Person mit ihren vielfältigen (fremd-)sprachlichen Ressourcen dar. Die wesentlichen Ziele des Translanguaging sind folglich nicht etwa native-like Sprechende einer Fremdsprache, sondern die Erfüllung drei wesentlicher Funktionen für Schüler: 1) eine aktivere Teilnahme am Unterricht, 2) eine bessere Ausarbeitung ihrer Ideen und 3) ein intensiveres, konstruktiveres Aufwerfen von Fragen (García & Leiva 2014). Damit unterstützt das Translanguaging sowohl das metalinguistische Bewusstsein der Schüler als auch ihr kritisches Sprachbewusstsein. Schließlich bietet das Translanguaging Vorteile auch für Lehrer: Translanguaging versetzt den Lehrer in eine neue Rolle, eine Rolle des Mitlernenden, der nicht nur von der Sprache, sondern auch von den kulturellen Praktiken der Schüler lernt (García, Johnson und Seltzer 2017).

Der Vorschlag, dass man den fremdsprachlichen Input in Klassen auf Kosten verschiedener Muttersprachen, die beim Translanguaging offiziell zu Wort kommen können bzw. dürfen, reduziert, widerspricht dem Ansatz, sich durch einen möglichst großen fremdsprachlichen Input beim Fremdsprachenunterricht dem natürlichen Muttersprachenerwerb zu nähern (bspw. Skela, Dagarin Fojkar 2019). Weiter noch kann man behaupten, dass ein quantitativ und qualitativ intensiver, fremdsprachlicher Input sowie aktives und intensives Lernen direkt zum Ziel führen, eine Fremdsprache auf einem Niveau (von A1 bis C2) zu beherrschen. Mit einem intensiven und qualitativ hochwertigen fremdsprachlichen Input sind jedoch mehr als 2 Stunden pro Woche und das Lernen zu Hause gemeint. Da die LOTE-Sprachen meist nur in der Schule und wenig zu Hause gelernt werden und die meisten Lehrer sich vor allem mit der Motivation ihrer Schüler für

das Fremdsprachenlernen beschäftigen, scheint der Vorschlag, ein anderes Lernparadigma bzw. einen anderen didaktischen Ansatz vorzuschlagen, nicht ganz abwegig zu sein.

Neben dem fremdsprachlichen Input, der beim realen Fremdsprachenunterricht meist sowieso schon jetzt nicht 100 % fremdsprachig ist, worüber viele Lehrer berichten und man aufgrund vieler Unterrichtsbeobachtungen in Slowenien und auch anderswo behaupten kann, sticht dabei noch ein anderes Problem hervor: die kognitive Unterschätzung von Schülern (bspw. Skela, Dagarin Fojkar 2019; Schart 2019). Dieses zeigt sich bei den Schülern, aber auch und vor allem bei Erwachsenen, bspw. bei Migranten. Die meisten haben vermutlich schon ein Schulsystem, einige sogar ein Studium absolviert und/oder sind Fachleute auf einem bestimmten Gebiet. Dann setzten sie sich mit einer Fremdsprache auseinander und sie werden nicht nur sprachlich, sondern auch intellektuell, beim Fremdsprachenlernen, auf ein Anfängerniveau reduziert, bspw. *Guten Tag. Wie heißen Sie? Wie alt sind Sie?* Das vorherrschende Lernparadigma tendiert dazu, dass sie die Fremdsprache möglichst schnell lernen. Dabei wird auf die Kenntnisse und Wissen in den Sprachen, die sie schon erlernt haben, meist verzichtet. García (2009) erläutert diese Lernpraxis wie folgt: Wenn einem zweisprachigen Schüler gesagt wird, er soll auf seine Muttersprache beim Unterricht verzichten, der in einer anderen als seiner Muttersprache abläuft, dann kann man das mit einer Situation vergleichen, in der ihm die Hände hinter den Rücken und die Augen verbunden werden und er sollen dieselben Aufgaben lösen, wie die Schüler mit freien Händen und unverbundenen Augen.

Dieses Unbehagen oder sogar den Zorn bestätigte auch ein Schüler beim fachsprachlichen DaF-Unterricht, bei dem auch Studierende als Beobachter beteiligt waren. Bei einer Stunde, die den Wortschatzerwerb zum Ziel hatte, versetzte der Lehrer die Schüler ständig in eine Rolle, in der ihnen gezeigt wurde, was sie noch nicht können. Das Thema waren Fachbegriffe, die sprachlich gesehen dem Niveau B2 oder nach dem Referenzrahmen (Europarat 2001) sogar einem höheren Niveau zugeordnet werden können. Eigentlich aber waren das die Grundbegriffe und Konzepte ihres Faches, die sie schon vor einigen Jahren erlernt haben und sie fühlten sich fachlich deutlich unterfordert. Am Ende der Stunde drehte sich ein Schüler zu den Studierenden um und sagte: *Wissen Sie [Studierende], bei den anderen Fächern [d. h. nicht DaF] sind wir nicht so retardiert wie hier [beim DaF]*. Wir können uns vorstellen, dass ein noch so qualitativ hochwertiger fremdsprachlicher Input dieses Unbehagen nicht auflöst, dass in einem solchen didaktischen Kontext die Motivation für das Fremdsprachenlernen stark reduziert und der Erfolg beim Fremdsprachenlernen minimiert werden.

Die in dieser Situation entstandene Benachteiligung, die mangelhaften sprachlichen Kenntnisse oder Ausdrucksmöglichkeiten werden mit allgemein mangelhaften kognitiven Fähigkeiten eines Individuums gleichgesetzt und das ist ein Problem, mit dem sich insbesondere das schulische Lernen, Fremdsprachenlernen und das fachsprachliche Fremdsprachenlernen auseinandersetzen müssen. Translanguaging bietet m. E. eine mögliche Antwort darauf. Es könnte einen anderen Weg für das Fremdsprachenlernen bahnen, noch

genauer für das fachsprachliche Fremdsprachenlernen. Demnach wären alle Muttersprachen in der Klasse wichtig und man sollte und dürfte sie legitim verwenden und somit könnte auch das Fachwissen, das in verschiedenen Sprachen erworben wurde, aktiviert und in den Lernprozess einbezogen werden. Mit dem Translanguaging-Ansatz würde man das bisherige traditionelle monolinguale Paradigma dekonstruieren und ein neues konstruieren.

2.2.1 Translanguaging und Code-Switching

Bevor auf konkrete Vorschläge für den translingualen Fremdsprachenunterricht sowie translingualen fachsprachlichen Fremdsprachenunterricht eingegangen wird, soll das Translanguaging noch kurz im Vergleich zum Code-Switching thematisiert werden.

Code-Switching ist ein Konzept, das theoretisch älter als Translanguaging ist, praktisch aber gab es und gibt es beide schon seit jeher. In der Literatur über den Fremd- und Zweitspracherwerb der 80er und 90er Jahre wird Code-Switching als Teil der Kommunikationsstrategien (bzw. Interlanguage) verstanden (Bialystock 1990, Tarone et al. 1990, Faerch und Casper 1990, Corder 1990). Es wird mit flexibler Anpassung des Sprachverhaltens an die konkrete kommunikative Situation verbunden, aber vor allem mit Defiziten in der Sprachkompetenz. Beim traditionellen Fremdsprachenlernen wird das Code-Switching entweder als Vermeidungsstrategie behandelt (man weicht vom Thema ab, weil die sprachlichen Ressourcen fehlen) oder als Leistungsstrategie (man weicht von Ressourcen einer Zielsprache ab, indem man auf alternative Ressourcen zugreift) (ebd.).

Die Äußerung „*Leg den pencil auf den Tisch*“ kann man aus linguistischer Perspektive wie folgt erklären: Laut dem Code-Switching wird die Äußerung als ein Mischen zweier sprachlicher Systeme (der Zielsprache Deutsch und der eingebetteten Sprache Englisch) gedeutet. Die Perspektive des Code-Switching ist die externe Perspektive aus der Sicht der getrennten Sprachsysteme. Nach Translanguaging dagegen würde man den Satz als das Resultat eines einzigen, eigenen sprachlichen Systems verstehen. Dabei wird die Innenperspektive des sprechenden Subjekts hervorgehoben.

Code-Switching fokussiert eine gesellschaftspolitische Definition der jeweiligen Sprachen, basiert auf zwei/mehreren monolingualen Normensätzen und erkennt sozialpolitische Grenzen zwischen Sprachsystemen an. Es legt auch nahe, dass das Vermischen der jeweiligen Sprachen entweder strategisch abweichend oder fehlerhaft sei. Dieses kann zu einer negativen Wahrnehmung bilingualer Menschen beitragen, da ihre Sprache beispielsweise als „gebrochen“ empfunden werden kann. Translanguaging dagegen ist in einer an Sprecher und Gemeinschaft orientierten Perspektive auf die Verwendung von Sprachen verwurzelt, überwindet bzw. transzendiert die Grenzen der jeweiligen Sprachen und etabliert und befürwortet eine fluide Sprachpraxis. Es definiert die Verwendung des gesamten kommunikativen bzw. sprachlichen Repertoires als eine authentische, legitime und reiche Sprachpraktik und bekräftigt somit bi- bzw. multilinguale Identitäten und damit verbundene Denkweisen.

Die Äußerung „*Leg den pencil auf den Tisch*“ kann man auch aus didaktischer Perspektive der Ansätze Code-Switching und Translanguaging behandeln: Das Code-Switching will den Lernprozess so organisieren, dass Schüler nur einen Teil des sprachlichen Repertoires nutzen, konkret in der Äußerung nur Deutsch, und dass sie das neue sprachliche Repertoire einsetzen, um vor allem die Fremdsprache, hier Deutsch, aber auch den Inhalt lernen. Translanguaging dagegen fordert die Schüler auf, das gesamte sprachliche Repertoire im Unterricht flexibel einzusetzen, um vor allem im Unterricht den Inhalt zu kommunizieren, aber auch die Sprachen, hier Deutsch und auch die Muttersprache(n), in der Klasse zu lernen.

3 DIDAKTISCHES POTENTIAL DES TRANSLANGUAGING FÜR DEN DAF-UNTERRICHT UND DEN FACHSPRACHLICHEN DAF-UNTERRICHT

3.1 Ein Beispiel des Fremdsprachenunterrichts nach dem Translanguaging Ansatz

Im Weiteren wird kurz das in der fachlichen und auch wissenschaftlichen Öffentlichkeit bekannte und diskutierte Klassenzimmer von Andy Brown geschildert (Brown 2016). Brown ist, wie den Quellen zu entnehmen ist, ein Vertreter des Translanguaging. Er inkorporiert Translanguaging in seine Didaktik und stellt das Verfahren und seine Reflexionen den Interessierten zur Verfügung (vgl. García und Seltzer 2016).

Brown ist Klassenlehrer und auch Lehrer für Englisch als Fremdsprache in NYC. Seine Klasse ist sprachlich heterogen, darin gibt es 5 Muttersprachen: Spanisch, Polnisch, Arabisch, Ukrainisch und Englisch. In seiner Klasse werden dem Translanguaging-Ansatz entsprechend alle Sprachen gehört und gesprochen. Brown baut im Klassenzimmer sog. Translanguaging-Spaces (Wei 2018) auf, indem er sicherstellt, dass das sog. „linguistic landscape“ an Wänden, Plakaten, auf dem digitalen Whiteboard und in den Schülerbüchern alle Klassensprachen umfasst, obwohl dies offiziell ein englischsprachiges Klassenzimmer ist. Die Schüler werden in den Translanguaging-Spaces auch aufgefordert, ihre Muttersprachen zu verwenden, unabhängig davon, wieviel davon von den anderen tatsächlich verstanden wird. Interessanterweise erklärt Brown sich dabei als „monolingual Englisch“. Er lernt zwar Fremdsprachen, bspw. Spanisch, aber andere Sprachen seiner Schüler kennt, versteht und spricht er nicht. Trotzdem fordert er die Schüler regelmäßig auf, eine Aussage in ihrer Muttersprache zu formulieren oder etwas in ihrer Muttersprache, bspw. Ukrainisch, laut vorzulesen. Nach dem Vorlesen in der bspw. polnischen Sprache lautet sein Kommentar: *Danke. Und macht das [was du in deiner Muttersprache vorgelesen hast] Sinn für dich?* (Brown 2016). Er versteht kein Polnisch und er fordert auch den Schüler nicht auf, das Vorgelesene

ins Englische zu übersetzen oder zusammenzufassen. Vor allem aber schafft er es, den Stress zu überwinden, als Lehrer nicht alles zu verstehen, was die Schüler sagen und reden.

Das nächste, wichtige Ziel, das er mit einer solchen Einstellung gegenüber allen Klassensprachen in der Klasse erreicht, ist, dass er die Grenzen zwischen Sprachen relativiert und den Schülern das Bewusstsein vermittelt, dass alle Sprachen gleich wichtig sind. Dazu ist er nicht ein allwissender Lehrer, sondern Ko-Lerner und die Schüler sind sehr motiviert ihm ihre Sprache, bestimmte Ausdrücke beizubringen, ihn bei der Aussprache zu korrigieren usw. Das Lernen in einer solchen Lernumgebung bei einer solchen Lernstimmung ist erfolgversprechend. Das Klassenzimmer sieht wie eine Lernwerkstatt aus, in der wirklich alle Schüler arbeiten und der Lehrer Brown keine Probleme mit etwaigen unmotivierten Schülern hat. Ein weiteres Anliegen von Browns Arbeit, das aber erst langfristig ersichtlich wird und empirisch noch nicht bewiesen wurde, ist auch eine hohe Stufe des Sprachbewusstseins, metalinguistischen Wissens und kritischen Denkens, das seine Schüler bei einer solchen Arbeit in der Klasse entwickeln sollten (siehe dazu Wei 2011), sowie – last but not least – dann noch ein neues, für die jetzige Zeit relevanteres Konzept der Mehrsprachigkeit.

3.2 Didaktische Vorschläge für einen DaF- Unterricht bzw. den fachsprachlichen DaF-Unterricht mit Elementen des Translanguaging-Ansatzes

Aus der Perspektive der Fremdsprachendidaktik kann Translanguaging als eine Lehrstrategie verstanden werden, auf die Lehrer zurückgreifen können. Konkret bedeutet das, dass Lehrer „translanguaging spaces“ organisieren oder das spontane Agieren von Schülern in diesen Räumen erlauben und dass sie auch die sog. „translanguaging rings“ nach Bedarf anbieten. Im Weiteren werden die zwei Lehrstrategien erklärt und mit Beispielen untermauert.

3.2.1 „Translanguaging spaces“ oder Translanguaging-Räume

„Translanguaging spaces“ (Wei 2011, 2018) sind Räume, konkret im Fremdsprachenunterricht sind das Zeiträume, in denen die Schüler ihr gesamtes Repertoire beim und zum Lernen einsetzen können. Außerhalb dieser Räume wird weiter noch das Ziel verfolgt, dass die Schüler lernen müssen, sich korrekt in der Fremdsprache auszudrücken und ihre Muttersprache zu unterdrücken.

Hier wird kurz das Resultat eines pädagogischen Experiments dargestellt, das die These bestätigt, dass das Einsetzen von Translanguaging-Räumen im Fremdsprachenunterricht positive Auswirkungen auf den Unterricht selbst und auf die Arbeit sowie die Motivation der Schüler hat.

Der Unterrichtsablauf:

Die Schüler (13 bis 15 Jahre) der 7., 8. und 9. Klasse in einer Gesamtschule in der Umgebung von Maribor lernen Deutsch als Fremdsprache als obligatorisches Wahlfach unterschiedlich lang. Ihre sprachlichen Kenntnisse und auch ihre Motivation für das DaF-Lernen sind unterschiedlich. Bei allen ist die Kluft zwischen dem, was sie sagen wollen, und dem, was sie auf Deutsch sagen können, sehr groß. Für das Experiment hat die Lehrerin mit ihnen wie üblich im DaF-Unterricht eine kurze Geschichte behandelt. Als Transfer sollten die Schüler dann eine Fortsetzung der Geschichte schreiben. Die Methode kennen die Schüler und laut der Erfahrung der Lehrerin sind diese Fortsetzungen in der Regel sehr kurz und inhaltlich sowie sprachlich sehr bescheiden und begrenzt.

Die Lehrerin befolgte beim Experiment den Vorschlag und eröffnete in dieser Transferphase einen Translanguaging-Raum, d. h. sie forderte die Schüler auf, eine Fortsetzung zu schreiben und hob hervor, dass sie dabei alle Sprachen, die sie kennen, verwenden dürfen. Nach einem „Das-gibt’s-doch-nicht!-Gefühl“ bei den Schülern, so die Beobachtung des Unterrichtsgeschehens, begaben sie sich an die Arbeit. Sie schrieben die Fortsetzungen mit einem unglaublichen Eifer und einer unglaublichen Motivation. Dabei sprühte die Klasse vor Ideen und Gedanken. Nach 20 Minuten baten sie die Lehrerin um mehr Zeit, um ihre Geschichten zu Ende schreiben zu können.⁵

Die Fortsetzungen, die die Schüler geschrieben haben, sind quantitativ gesehen deutlich umfangreicher als beim Schreiben außerhalb der Translanguaging-Räume und vor allem waren die Schüler sehr motiviert, sie zu verfassen. Inhaltlich waren sie auch interessant, unterschiedlich verwickelt, aber im Durchschnitt viel besser als die Ergebnisse sonstiger Arbeit im DaF-Unterricht. Sprachlich gesehen waren sie eine bunte Mischung verschiedener Sprachen. Die Schüler haben den Anweisungen folgend Sprachen fluide verwendet. Dies kommt innerhalb eines Textes zum Ausdruck, im dem die Sprachen Slowenisch, Englisch und Deutsch verwendet werden oder auch so, dass der ganze Text bspw. auf Ukrainisch oder Kroatisch geschrieben wurde.

Nachfolgend sind einige Ausschnitte aus den Texten, die die Translanguaging-Praxis belegen, angeführt. Die Texte sind authentisch, was den Sprachgebrauch und die Abweichung von sprachlichen Standards einer Sprache oder die Kombination mehrerer Sprachen angeht. Die Texte hier sind Auszüge aus den Fortsetzungen, die der Text, den die Lehrerin erstellt hatte, auslöste. Der Text handelte über Laura, die sich an einem Wintertag sehr langweilt, und Jan, der dann kommt und etwas unternehmen will.

Ko sta si umila obraz sta šla igrat človek nejezise pa sta vzela kokice in sta šla gledat film z naslovom Grinch imela sta oblečene iste pižame. in uno Jan glih ni najboljši pri unu zato pa mu gre zelo dobro človek nejezise. (Maj, 12 Jahre)

⁵ Die Lehrerin hat gesagt, dass es noch nie passiert ist, dass die Schüler für eine offenere Aufgabenstellung, die dazu noch schriftlich angefertigt werden sollte, mehr als 20 Minuten Zeit gebraucht hätten, geschweige denn um mehr Zeit gebeten hätten.

Nato pa se Jan spomni i have odl motobike in my garage so you can go spaktirat rucksack an i will go po my motor bike, se vidima čez 20 min pri tebi. (Alex, 13 Jahre)

Posle Doručka otišli su da se spakuje za kući, kad su se spakovali otišli su kući vozili su se 2 sata iz planine kući kad su došli su se odmorili od sküana i tako se jim se Dan zaključijo. (Minja, 14 Jahre)

Der Film was sehr gut. Laura und Jan went to Schnee und the go sankati. They sankati down the hrib und sta treščila to a dreva. Laura hurt die nos und Jan breake the sanke. (Laura, 13 Jahre)

Die Textprodukte sind analytisch sehr interessant, denn sie zeigen einerseits, dass die sprachlichen Repertoires einiger Sprachen dominieren (bspw. Slowenisch) bzw. dass darin verschiedene Sprachen vorkommen (Englisch, Deutsch, Slowenisch, Kroatisch), die den Schülern helfen, ihre Gedanken und Ideen zu versprachlichen. Andererseits sind sie das Analysematerial für den Lehrer, für die weitere Planung des Unterrichts, für das bessere Kennenlernen der sprachlichen Kompetenzen und auch die noch fehlenden Kompetenzen der Schüler. Darüber hinaus sind sie aber auch die Produkte, in denen alle Sprachen der Klasse, die die Schüler beherrschen, eine Stimme bekommen (können).

3.2.2 Translanguaging rings oder Translanguaging-Ringe

„Translanguaging rings“ (García, Solorza & Sánchez: 2019 25) sind Ringe, die im Unterricht um die Schüler herum aufgebaut werden und ihnen ermöglichen, sich an Aufgaben zu beteiligen, die ohne Hilfe (im weitesten Sinne des Wortes) nicht durchführbar sind. Es handelt sich um eine Art „scaffolding“ oder um ein konstruiertes, fiktives Gerüst, womit dem Lehrer und auch den Schülern ermöglicht wird, individuell und ausgerichtet auf die Bedürfnisse jedes Schülers einzugehen.

Die sog. Translanguaging-Ringe können Folgendes umfassen:

- unterschiedliche Zugänge wie etwa Murmelphasen in Paaren an strategischen Punkten der Stunde, die Ermutigung, sich in der Familiensprache auszudrücken und Mitschüler übersetzen zu lassen, Raum zu schaffen für das Ausdrücken von Meinungen und Gefühlen, für offene Fragen zum Thema, gemeinsames Lesen und Schreiben, generatives Schreiben/freies Schreiben sowie Rollenspiele
- unterschiedliche Medien (zweisprachiges Lehrmaterial), Technik- und Übersetzungsunterstützung (Google-Translator, DeepL), Nachschlagewerke, Wörterbücher und Glossare, multimediale Angebote, Visualisierungen
- unterschiedliche Sozialformen, wie die Zusammenarbeit mit anderen Schülern und in kleinen Gruppen, Austausch mit anderen Schülern, zeitgleiche individuelle Arbeit einzelner Schüler und Plenum oder Gruppenarbeit anderer Schüler

Das Anliegen dieser Translanguaging-Ringe ist es, die Zone der proximalen Entwicklung des Schülers zu erweitern (Vygotsky 1978) und jeden Schüler individuell zu unterstützen.

4 FAZIT

Im Beitrag wurde der theoretisch gesehen junge Ansatz Translanguaging aus sprachlicher und didaktischer Perspektive diskutiert und mit Beispielen aus einem didaktischen Experiment im DaF-Unterricht beleuchtet. Die fremdsprachlichen Produkte der Schüler, die an dem Experiment teilnahmen, zeigen laut Translanguaging einen fluiden Einsatz von Sprachen, auch Sprachvarietäten, und zwar zugunsten einer tieferen Auseinandersetzung mit behandelten Inhalten und einer Fortsetzung des Textes.

Um Missverständnisse zu vermeiden, soll an dieser Stelle betont werden, dass in diesem Aufsatz nicht für eine beliebige, ständige, bunte Mischung von allen möglichen Sprachen plädiert wird, sondern dafür, den Schülern die fluide Verwendung von Sprachen gelegentlich in den sog. Translanguaging-Räumen oder -Ringern zu erlauben bzw. zu ermöglichen. Obwohl die Förderung der fremdsprachlichen Kenntnisse in so organisierten didaktischen Räumen weniger stark als üblich im Fremdsprachenunterricht gefördert wird, können die Schüler hier eine bessere Ausarbeitung ihrer Ideen erzielen und somit motivierter arbeiten. Dazu soll und darf man alle Fremdsprachen, alle Muttersprachen in der Klasse verwenden und somit könnte auch das nichtsprachliche Wissen – beim fachsprachlichen Fremdsprachenunterricht das Fachwissen – das in verschiedenen Sprachen erworben wurde, aktiviert und in den Lernprozess einbezogen werden. Auch der Lehrer profitiert von Translanguaging, denn sie wird in die Rolle eines modernen Lehrers, bspw. eines Mitlernenden versetzt. Zuallerletzt kann behauptet werden, dass das pädagogische Experiment ein guter Beweis ist, dass mit den „didaktischen Translanguaging-Schritten“ das bisherige, traditionelle monolinguale Paradigma im Fremdsprachenunterricht, auch fachsprachlichen Fremdsprachenunterricht, dekonstruiert und ein neues, mehrsprachiges Paradigma konstruiert werden kann. Dafür müsste man aber noch viele pädagogische Experimente ausführen und analysieren, Lehrer aus- und fortbilden, konkrete didaktische Szenarien entwickeln usw., was als das Forschungsdesiderat für die Zukunft formuliert werden kann.

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POVZETEK

ČEZJEZIČNOST IN POTENCIAL PRISTOPA ZA POUK NEMŠČINE KOT TUJEGA JEZIKA OZ. TUJEGA JEZIKA STROKE

Pouk tujih jezika danes, predvsem pouk neangleščine, se zaradi statusa angleščine med jeziki, migracij, globalizacije in mediatizacije sooča z velikimi izzivi. Učenje in poučevanje jezika po znanih in do pred spremembami uspešnih metodah, ni več učinkovito, učence ne motivira in uspehi niso takšni, kot jih učitelji želimo. Predvidevamo, da bo treba spremeniti obstoječo monolingvalno paradigmo dela pri pouku tujega jezika. Na razpolago so različni bolj ali manj učinkoviti pristopi in v prispevku se osredotočamo na čezjezičnost (angl. translanguaging). Gre za nov pristop obravnave in rabe jezikov, ki izhaja iz posameznika in njegovega enega samega jezikovnega repertoarja, ki je vir vseh jezikovnih virov tega posameznika. Uporabo teh virov je možno z vidika koncepta čezjezičnosti razumeti kot *prehajanje* med jeziki oz. fluidno rabo vseh razpoložljivih jezikovnih virov. Zlasti je to prehajanje pomembno pri premostitvi komunikacijskih zadreg zaradi omejenih tujejezikovnih kompetenc oz. pri premostitvi prepada med strokovnim znanjem posameznika in omejenim tujejezikovnim znanjem. Koncept čezjezičnosti je v prvem delu prispevku obravnavan s teoretskega jezikovnega in didaktičnega vidika. V drugem delu pa je opisano poučevanje učitelja Browna iz Amerike, ki uspešno dela po pristopu čezjezičnosti, in predstavljena sta dva didaktična predloga za udejanjanje čezjezičnosti v razredu, to sta t. i. čezjezični prostori (angl. translanguaging spaces) in čezjezični obroči (angl. translanguaging rings). Prvi predlog je ponazorjen s pedagoškim eksperimentom, v katerem pokažemo, da je prehajanje med jeziki za vsebinsko pestrost izjemnega pomena, četudi je v tem času razvijanje tujejezikovne kompetence oz. razvijanje sposobnosti komuniciranja v nemščini zapostavljeno. Drugi predlog samo opiše možne didaktične načine v razredu. Menimo, da smo teoretsko opredelili in ilustrativno pokazali, da je pristop čezjezičnosti pomemben potencial za pouk tujega jezika nemščine, pa tudi za pouk nemščine kot tujega jezika stroke.

Ključne besede: čezjezični prostori, čezjezični obroči, prehajanje med jeziki, neangleščine, nemščina kot tuji jezik (stroke)

ABSTRACT

TRANSLANGUAGING AND THE POTENTIAL OF GERMAN AS A FOREIGN LANGUAGE OR LANGUAGE FOR SPECIFIC PURPOSES

Foreign language teaching, especially the teaching of non-English languages, is facing significant challenges today due to the status of English among languages and in the context of migration, globalization, and mediatization. The old, familiar methods that have long been successful with

regard to language learning and teaching are now no longer effective, do not motivate learners, and do not achieve the results that teachers want. The current monolingual paradigm of foreign language teaching will thus have to change, and various different approaches are available. This paper focuses on translanguaging, a new approach to language processing and use that starts with the individual and their single linguistic repertoire.

These resources can be understood from the perspective of translanguaging as a transition between languages or a fluid use of all available linguistic resources. This transition is essential in bridging the communication gap between the individual's professional knowledge and limited foreign language skills, or overcoming the communication constraints caused by limited foreign language competencies. The first part of the paper discusses the concept of translanguaging from a theoretical linguistic and didactic perspective. In the second part, the teaching of Tessa Brown, an American teacher who has been working successfully with the translanguaging approach, is described, and two didactic proposals for implementing translanguaging in the classroom – namely the so-called translanguaging spaces and translanguaging rings – are presented. The first proposal illustrates a pedagogical experiment in which cross-linguistic transitions are essential for contextual diversity, even if developing foreign language competence or communicative skills in German needs to be addressed. The second proposal describes possible didactic methods in the classroom. We have theoretically identified and illustratively shown that the cross-linguistic approach has significant potential for teaching German as a foreign language, as well as for teaching German as a language for specific purposes.

Keywords: translanguaging spaces, translanguaging rings, crossing between languages, non-English languages, German as a foreign language (languages for specific purposes)

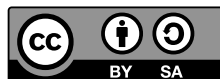
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Recenzija



PRIMA AKTIV: DEUTSCH FÜR JUGENDLICHE A2.1: KURSBUCH

Carapeto-Conceição, Robson/Jentges, Sabine/Jin, Friederike/Kothari, Anjali (2023): *prima aktiv: Deutsch für Jugendliche A2.1: Kursbuch*. Berlin: Cornelsen Verlag. ISBN: 978-3-06-122592-6, mehka vezava, 96 strani, 12,50 €.

1 UVOD

Pregledano učno gradivo *prima aktiv* poleg učbenika obsega še delovni zvezek, digitalni in tiskani priročnik za učitelja, aplikacijo PagePlayer, vadnico s testi, interaktivne vaje ter avdio- in videoposnetke, dostopne na spletni strani cornelsen.de/codes/. Učbenik in delovni zvezek sta v e-obliki dostopna prek spletne strani cornelsen.de, kot tudi na platformi BlinkLearning.

2 ZASNOVA UČBENIKA

Učbenik za raven A2.1 sestavlja sedem enot, vsakokrat z desetimi stranmi, ter mednje uvrščene štiri dodatne enote: dve enoti *Dejstva in zanimivosti* ter dve enoti *Mali odmor* oz. *Veliki odmor*. Na zadnje strani učbenika je uvrščen abecedni seznam v učbeniku uporabljenih besed s pripisano enoto, nalogo in stranjo njihove prve pojavitve ter pri samostalniki s členom in množinsko obliko oz. pri nepravilnih in ločljivih glagolih s pripisano obliko za tretjo osebo ednine v sedanjiku. Na zadnjih platnicah učbenika je natisnjen zemljevid Nemčije, Avstrije in Švice, na prvih platnicah pa legendi v učbeniku uporabljenih simbolov ter navodila za uporabo aplikacije PagePlayer oziroma alternativnega dostopa do gradiv na spletni strani založbe. Učbeniku je priloženo tudi knjižno kazalo s pravili tvorbe in rabe sestavljenega preteklika perfekta in enostavnega preteklika preterita.

Vsaka od sedmih enot učbenika *prima aktiv* za raven A2.1 se prične z dvojno stranjo, ki s fotografovom uvaja v temo in predstavi učne cilje enote. Na nadaljnjih šestih straneh so v dialogih in različnih drugih besedilih posredovane pomembne jezikovne strukture, učenci in učenke pa razvijajo poslušanje in branje ter govorjenje in pisanje. Pri tem vsaki dve strani predstavljata samostojno učno enoto in se zaključita z nalogo, ki zahteva uporabo tu obravnavane učne snovi. Deveta stran ponuja vlog, prek katerega učenci in učenke spremljajo Amalio in Marwina pri njunem vsakdanjem življenju v Münchnu, deseta, zadnja stran pa strnjeno povzema učno snov enote: učne cilje, fraze in strukture ter slovnična pravila. Dodatni enoti *Dejstva in zanimivosti* posreduje informacije o nemško govorečih deželah, družbi in kulturi, enoti *Mali in Veliki odmor* pa omogočata ponovitev naučenega prek igre.

3 RAZVIJANJE ZMOŽNOSTI IN DOSEGANJE CILJEV

Učno gradivo *prima aktiv* učence in učenke vodi k osrednjemu cilju učenja nemščine, kot ga opredeljuje učni načrt za nemščino kot obvezni izbirni predmet (2001) oz. kot neobvezni izbirni predmet v programu osnovne šole (2016), tj. doseganje celostne zmožnosti za medkulturno in medjezikovno komunikacijo, in sicer tako, da učenci in učenke postopno razvijajo področja ključnih zmožnosti za vseživljenjsko učenje, splošnih zmožnosti in sporazumevalne jezikovne zmožnosti. Poleg zmožnosti sporazumevanja v tujem jeziku z gradivom *prima aktiv* učenci in učenke namreč razvijajo tudi preostalih sedem ključnih kompetenc za vseživljenjsko učenje, še posebej (med)kulturno kompetenco in (med) kulturno zavest ter učenje učenja in digitalno pismenost. Ob uporabi gradiva učenci in učenke prav tako pridobivajo in nadgrajujejo svoja splošna znanja o svetu, socialne kompetence in zmožnost učenja.

Ko spoznavajo nemški jezikovni sistem, osnovne lastnosti besedil, družbeno-jezikovna in družbeno-kulturna pravila sporazumevanja ter razvijajo strategije za ustrezno sporazumevanje in zmožnost uporabe jezikovnih znanj za razumevanje in tvorjenje besedil, učenci in učenke gradijo sporazumevalno jezikovno zmožnost. Na ravni A2.1 jo postopno razvijajo v okviru enot, naslovljenih *Kako je bilo na počitnicah?*, *Veliko uspeha!*, *Dobri prijatelji!*, *Si na spletu?*, *Skupaj smo močni*, *Povsem v trendu*, *To je meni pomembno*, ki so usklajene z učnimi temami *Počitnice*, *Prazniki*, *izleti in potovanja*, *Dežele nemškega govornega območja*, *Nakupovanje in moda* ter *Šola oz. Prebivalci in jeziki*, *moja država*, *moji sosede*, *Medkulturna izmenjava*, *Moji prijatelji*, *Izmenjava stališč*, *Socialna omrežja*, *Nakupovanje* in *Začetek/konec šolskega leta*, predvidenimi za obravnavo v učnih načrtih za nemščino kot obvezni oz. neobvezni izbirni predmet v osnovni šoli.

4 METODIČNO-DIDAKTIČNI PRISTOP

Tretji učbenik serije, namenjene mladostnikom in mladostnicam, ki se učijo nemščine kot tujega jezika, ostaja zvest svojemu imenu in uresničuje aktivno vlogo učenca oz. učenke v učnem procesu. V ospredje postavlja govorno sporazumevanje in sporočanje, h kateremu učence in učenke nagovarja prek zanje aktualnih tem, kot so socialni mediji, šport, pustolovščine, glasba, moda, znane osebnosti, in besedilnih vrst, kot so kratka sporočila, blogi, vlogi, pa tudi prek projektnega dela, dela v dvojicah in skupinah. Učno gradivo *prima aktiv* prav tako upošteva dopolnitve Skupnega evropskega jezikovnega okvira iz leta 2020 ter tako poudarjeno razvija mediacijo, raznojezičnost in -kulturnost, vključuje literarna besedila in spletno komunikacijo ter uri izgovarjavo.

Jezikovne zmožnosti v ožjem smislu učenci in učenke na ravni A2.1 dalje razvijajo s samostojnim odkrivanjem jezikovnih zakonitosti, kar dopolnjujejo nazorne preglednice. Usvajanje besedišča zopet poteka s poudarkom na vizualni podpori fotografij in ilustracij, z besednimi zvezami v parih in s podporo posredovanih učnih strategij, zlasti pa v povezavi z jezikovnimi strukturami, in ne ločeno od njih.

5 ZAKLJUČEK

Ocenjujem, da se učenci in učenke po predelanem učnem gradivu *prima aktiv A2.1* skladno z opredelitvijo ravni A2 v dokumentu SEJO v nemščini kot tujem jeziku ustrezno znajdejo v vlogi prejemnikov/prejemnic in tvorcev/tvork prvih preprostih praktičnosporazumevalnih besedil ter udeležencev/udeleženk v precej preprostih vsakdanjih situacijah. Učne vsebine so ustrezne starosti ciljne skupine, učno gradivo pa usklajeno z najnovejšimi spoznanji o učenju in poučevanju tujega jezika ter že upošteva nove dopolnitve k dokumentu SEJO (2020), poleg tega pa je uporabnikom in uporabnicam prijazno.

